

Shawkat Mullah Ismail Hassan

**DAYS FROM THE KURDISH MOVEMENT
(1961-1975)**

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CONTENTS

Introduction	9
Days Prior to the September Revolution	17
The 14th July Copu de'etat 1958	28
Hawcherkh Village (= Modern Town)	31
Plants and Animals Preservation	37
Toward Zawita Mount	40
The Importance of Wireless-set	45
'Decyphering coded –massages'	50
The Peshmerga Forces: Lashkir, Qol and Hêz	54
The KDP Activities in Behdinan	60
Our Living Throughout 1962	65
Significant Message from KDP Central Committee	68
The squadron leader	72
The Regime's Wireless-sets were under our observation	78
The old woman of a Kurdish Countryside	83
Installation of wireless-set Stations in Behdinan (Mosul area)	90
From the Peris Mountain to Bekhma Guli(straits)	94
Mas'ud Barzani joins the Kurdish Guerrillas	97
A Man with locks of hair	103
A Message to the Balak Mudir Nahia	106
Tunnel under the Rayat Fortress	109
Tens of Coded Messages	114

Fighting in Avgeni village in the Area of Batuva (Mosul government) ...	120
Negotiations	125
Rayat Fort is captured	127
Iranian Artillery shellings beside Airforce raids	131
Important Events through the months of July 1962	135
(Garawan) Village	139
The Book of Kurdish War	143
General Barzani and Dana Adam Schmidt	146
(Khoshnaw) Area is besieged	150
The Outstanding events of August 1962 in brief	155
The Kurdish Wireless Communications for the First Time	158
Barzani's Plan for Capturing Lolan	164
Summary of Events in September 1962	167
Mule Rugs for Bedding	170
Application of Specified Cyphers for Kurdistan Wireless	173
Dressing Peshmerga Uniforms	176
In the Beginning of 1963	179
Coup d'etat of Ba'ath	184
Barzani Demands from Ba'ath in the Name of Kurds	188
The Month of March 1963	191
The Ba'ath Regime Countermanded the Negotiations	200
Persecution of the Communists	204
The Iranian Kurdistan Democratic Party's Role in the September Kurdish Movement	208
The Overwhelming Offensives against Kurdistan	214
Sawer with no salt and Oil	221
Christians in the Areas of Barzan	226
The important events of August 1963	231
Imperial Detached Barzan	235
Burning of Tobacco Warehouses	240

Self-Rule: an agreement between the Kurds and A.S. Arif.	249
The Leader Barzani in the Peace Time	252
Deposing Barzani by the KDP Polit Bureau	255
Reconstruction of KDP Prior to the Six Congress	258
Schools and Nursing Courses	260
The Sixth Congress of KDP in Preparation	264
During The Sixth Congress of KDP	269
The Famous Poet Qani'â	271
The Beginning of the Plight	277
Permission Cards	287
Barzani's Letter to General de Gaulle	290
Planning Out a Military Campaign for Artillery Shelling	293
The Continuity of Revolution	298
From Abdu Salam Arif to Abdulrahman Arif	301
With the Barzani Stage by Stage	306
Days of 1967	326
Mullah Baqi Kwêstani's portable battery radio	329
The Eastern Kurdistan KDP Members Assassination	337
The Six Day War 1967 between the Arabs and Israel	340
Barzani's Representative in Mosul is to Make it a Kurdish Town ..	344
A Tour by Barzani around Sulaimaniyah	348
A Private Letter	351
I had been blacklisted	366
Barzani is detained in Tehran	373
Barzani's Delegate Forever	376
The Communist Party Project for Co-operation with Ba'ath	379
Nazim Gizar's Coup d'etat and his Associate Culprits	381
Shah of Iran's Demands to Aid Nadhim Gizar	384
Interpreter for Barzani	390
A Few Significant Dates	394

Between the Years 1976 – 1980	402
Old Names of the Kurds and Settlements in History and Kuran ...	410
Little Unforgettable History	416
Mediators between Iraq and Iran	418
The importance of decoding Cyphered Texts	423
The Arts of Lexicon	432
Barzani's Family Tree	434
Postscript	435
Political parties in Iraqi Kurdistan	441
History of the Kurds	443
Photoes Album	490
Daily Registration	499

Introduction

Over many years in the past I had been requested by a great number of Kurdish patriots and by my own intimate friends, urging me to write a book in the reminiscences of those great old days. I had the honour to enjoy living within the ranks of the Kurdish revolutionary fighters (Peshmerga). I had been spending years of my youth with those sturdy, determined partisans who were defending their homeland – Kurdistan. They were bravely fighting the aggressive Iraqi successive regimes which had been repressing people all over the country in a frantic attempt to suppress their struggles for the sake of attaining their just right in freedom and self-rule for Kurdistan. I was one of the few early military officers, the pioneers who were greatly fortunate to have the privilege of taking part in the Kurdish revolution, whilst in the early stages, taking first steps in September of 1961.

Arriving at the headquarters of Mullah Mustafa Barzani the legendary commander of the Kurdish successive uprisings, all over the northern Iraqi Kurdish provinces, I found myself soon engaged in the war and the difficult works of administration. Barzani was in need of helping hands to assist him in taking

from his shoulders the burden of the tasks accumulated around him in all aspects of life. Barzani was a modest, unassuming gentleman. Although I was quite young, he treated me with great respect and kindness; soon becoming friendly with me, appreciating my enthusiasm for work, so that I was delighted in his company, his sublimity of refined manners with very distinctive quality that made of him such great a personality, conspicuous all over the world.

Immediately I was involved in the tangles of many jobs of different nature, resulting in the increase of my relationships with people, the fact which promoted my position as well and making of me an indispensable element in the core of an environment unfamiliar and rather complicated in the beginning for me. The tender treatment and personal protection with the fatherly favour of Barzani himself could alleviate most of our worries, for the people and for myself in particular. My main responsibility was now to work as an assistant and personal secretary for Barzani himself wherein I was entrusted with personal letters, private messages and confidential correspondences. Among significant tasks assigned to me was a particular one of vital importance, an undertaking which had been in consideration for quite a long time, and before my association with the group of the fighters. It was an ambitious project for the installation of a network of communications in order to connect parts of the liberated areas of Kurdistan together.

My career and the life I had been leading then, at the time, was latterly described in brief by a friend, fairly popular within the literary circles in Kurdistan. He said, "You have lived during

historic times, unique in the occurrence of events. That will never repeat again in the annals of future. You have performed astonishing deeds in the field of technological communications, revealing the Iraqi Military Forces concealed secrets, destroying the tactical arts of ciphering composition; in a manner it had bewildered friends and foes at the same time. Hence, you are a code-breaker indeed.”

This manner of encouragement and the incentive desire of the readers to get at reality and to appropriate facts about the revolution with the Peshmerga’s type of living and their sacrifices have added other factors to my own sense of responsibility in order to endeavour for putting my personal viewpoints forward to be published for the sake of comparison with the ideas and precepts of many authors and journalists who had been to the erupted parts of Kurdistan, in constant visits, and had written volumes about this subject which was of paramount importance within the circles of political affairs of the world. My assessments and thoughts I hope will be accepted especially by the veterans and those comrades of arms who had endured many breathtaking moments of horror in a devastating war while suffering the griefs of famine and destitute, persevering in order to survive to repel the formidable enemy’s machine of war.

I would like to mention a trait adherent to me constantly through my life, a kind of modesty which extends to the boundary of bashfulness, so that I refrain from intruding upon anything which is not in the realm of my duties. Normally Barzani had to meet with delegates, newspapermen, negotiators or different kinds of people who were visiting our residences or the military quarters.

Occasionally there were very many important personnel. On other occasions there came chieftains of tribes, Arabic or Kurdish, leaders and outstanding members of political parties. Nearly in all these important meetings I had to present myself to serve as an interpreter, translating from English or scribe notes during the discussions. There was also many a time in which I participated vehemently in the tumultuous current and trend of arguments when occasionally such intervention was required. These were not all as important as a problem which had been worrying me particularly all the time. It was nagging me incessantly. There in my soul was an inner feeling entreating to persuade me for conquering the Iraqi's kingdom of secrecy and to enter into its realm for revealing its malicious plans. Then I would save the lives of a great number of Peshmerga with the lives of their children and wives. Here I cannot prevent myself from the vice of ostentation in the memory of these glorious but irksome days and nights during which I had constantly to escort vigilantly my own apparatus waiting to receive horrible messages, the harbingers of death doomed to be directed towards the Kurdish quiet villages and the innocent people of their occupants. When the enemy's purpose became quite clear, after I had deciphered the contents of a message, we started to alert the people living in the locations which were intended to be attacked by the hostile aircrafts or to be shelled by the artillery. The targets were usually villages at the foot of mountains or in the depth of valleys while their residents were living peacefully there, working as peasants, ploughing the fields, attending the daily farm tasks or rearing their domestic animals. Then those

quiet, harmless people would have to leave their homes and possessions and take shelter in the safe havens of caves in the mountains or any other places which could offer safety to them before the ruthless Iraqi warships could have carried out their murderous actions and massacre acts.

With all these calamities in mind, I can recall now many pleasant hours I lived with Barzani where I was cordially attached to him in the protection of a real parental custody and sincere attention he paid to my comfort and personal affairs, as a result of which I obtained a most remarkable position, highly esteemed by people, of all status of life and manner of standing. Thus, while occupying an important post sustained by Barzani himself I was able to help great numbers of people and stand by needy ones in different walks of life, among the Peshmerga or the locals living in the vicinity or were within the neighbourhood of the revolutionary quarters or even in the areas extending as far as the main cities and the towns in the distant parts of Kurdistan lying outside the sphere of partisan powers.

During fifteen years living as a Peshmerga, from 7.12.1961 until 20.03.1975 I had endeavoured to keep certain morality enabling me to endure hardships and privations which I had suffered inadvertently or I had encountered during the execution of my works. What upholds a man in these circumstances are the patriotic feelings, sympathy and national sentiments essential for facing unexpected dangers and abnormal disasters, while death and devastation are all around.

Decyphering is an extremely hard function to be carried on especially in the unusual conditions owing to the lack of

concentration during such times, besides that it was not only the Iraqi army's messages that we had to take into consideration but, there was also a score of other sources we had to cope with. These covered most of the departments besides the military units which are composed of regiments, divisions, companies, platoons and even the squads. Moreover, there were also quasi-formal militant groups temporarily set up to support the regime's campaign.

By means of my wireless set I would receive scripts coded by the army intelligence services in curious appellations (Mukhabarat = Secret Service Office) or (Istikhbarat = Intelligence Agency) all of which means information services in Arabic. They often acted, or conspired to incriminate each other – the policy which is practically essential to preserve the constitution of dictatorship. Other forces there were besides the army taking part in the offensive. They were groups made up of police and Arabs' or Kurds' mercenary who were named (Fursan) = equestrians, but derisively called (Jash) = donkeys by people in Kurdistan. (Mukhabarat) was an office dealing with the aliens, the NGO employees and those of the European organisations. The U.N. diplomats were not excluded. Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Interior were also ripe with bundles of correspondence to be dealt with, too.

These works which were in need of careful examination and intensive scrutiny had to be accomplished adequately under the threat of death from incessant air-bombardment, the shelling of artillery and the rocket fires. Nevertheless, exertion was made in spite of all mishaps for the sake of arriving at the mysterious

secrets of those messages. Owing to the fact that I was the only officer among the crowd of the combatants, in possession of qualifications necessary for this sort of technical work, it put all my efforts to design a system which may be used practically in coding the contents of our own correspondences. Eventually after working for days and nights I was successful to create an elaborate system of ingenious methods of novelty, which we could use for our purposes. After frequent experiments we were now confident that our highly reliable scheme would not be penetrated by any of Iraqi Government's sources.

During the endless long years of continual Kurdish revolution innumerable victories and glorious heroism have been achieved, selflessly by the Kurds and their gallant fighters who have devoted their own lives for the sake of their sacred cause. There were also besides that many calamities and unexpected crises, so frequently happening, that they have become part of the life of the Kurds in Kurdistan. One of these great catastrophes of the Kurdish revolution had taken place after the ill-famed treaty which was held between Saddam and the Shah of Iran stipulating prevention and withdrawal of all military and civil aids previously had been supplied to Peshmerga and the civilians who had taken refuge in the liberated areas after they had fled from the grasp of Saddam's despotism and tyranny. Consequently after this great plight most of the Peshmerga and two hundred thousand civilians with their families started to return in a huge exodus towards the Kurdish areas under the authority of Saddam.

I was one of those unfortunate Kurds who were destined to

suffer agony in the disasters of those days. Barzani's home during the time of fighting was at Naghada Iranian border town, where his large family lived. For going back to Iraq I had to pass through this township and then take a tour through Kurdish Iranian country toward southeast so that I may avoid the Iraqi forces which started to advance forwards in the direction of our locations. In Naghada I took the opportunity sending a letter to the leader Barzani in which I included my sorrows and grievances confirming to him that it would be beyond my capacity to continue living in Iran, the state which is run by the Shah who had stabbed us with a dagger in our back from behind. With that venomous dagger and plethora of ominous days threatening future evils, it was only such plausible a decision one could possibly make. Nevertheless, nothing left in the dilemma, for anyone in my situation but to those one of the evils and go back to the old misery and inhuman treatments of Baaath and its savagery.



**The Writer ex-general police officer
Shawkat Mullah Ismail Hassan**

Days Prior to the September Revolution

When the Mahabad Republic was established on 22 September 1946, in the northern part of Iranian Kurdistan, Mullah Mustafa had arrived at the town of Mahabad in the leadership of two thousand strong of armed men, recruited from surrounding localities and Barzan districts, the native place of Barzani himself. The force was composed of reliable companies well trained and highly experienced, prepared to form the core of the main combatant military strength entrusted with the task of defending the newly born Republic. Their greatest duty was preparedness for defending the Republic against any of the diverse belligerent groups or adversary powers which were constantly in search of opportunities, convenient sufficiently to wage a war for turning the Kurdish Republic experience into a failure. The emergence of an infant entity as such was not to be tolerated by so many enemies surrounding the Republic. It was regarded as a phenomenon which would become a thorn in the structural body of the neighbouring states to promote the zeal of Kurdish patriotism all over the rest of Kurdistan. Quazi Mohamed, President of the Republic had received Barzani with vehement enthusiasm and cordiality, thereby promulgating a

presidential decree appointing him the Commander in Chief of the Republic armed forces. He conferred on him as well the rank of a general. As it will have become universally know, the Republic's life was short extremely. It had collapsed after it had been in power for one year only. The USSR expeditionary forces occupying the north of Iran had withdrawn after the end of the Second World War, repudiating agreements and pledges they had made with the Kurds. The American and British troops stationed in the south had also extended support to the Shah of Iran in order to annihilate the Kurdish entity which they had considered to have been a progeny of a communist regime.

Now, after this novel consequential plight of the Kurds, the episodes of Barzani's heroic adventures have come to effect, with event of great epic drama. This was embarkation upon the performance of deeds ever heard of and which have become lately a saga widely known all over the world. In addition to the hundreds of armed men whom Barzani had to rescue, he had to evacuate thousands of their family members. He thrust forward leading the emaciated, exhausted men, women and children across three antagonistic countries of Iraq, Iran and Turkey in the face of continuous attacks conducted by these powers in a deadly trial of strength. The forces had endeavoured despairingly to hamper this daring forward advance, employing all the available military forces in the air and on the land. While the ground war machines were carrying on the land attacks, the aircrafts conducted straffing the locations and their progress with no respite. The names of these courageous people must be eternally upheld by history in reverence, in as much as much

is owed to them by so many people of the world since they had set magnificent examples of the human struggles for freedom – while the forces of three supposedly democratic states were in chase, following to annihilate them. Iranian enforcement troops had been on the way to reach the scene of the battlement but failed to arrive in time. Being now very close to the Soviet border lines, the poorly supplied men, had to set out toward strange lands they had never thought of but in those direst moments of their lives, in the hope of they may take refuge in the safety of a regime never thought of by Barzani during his long struggle of revolution. Skilfully manoeuvring they avoided the bulk of the strong forces abound in the area; they succeeded to reach the shores of the Arax, the river demarcating frontiers between USSR and Iran.

This unpremeditated sanguinary pilgrimage which had been contrived by the hands of destiny to determine the fate of these persistent strugglers had lasted for fifty-two odd days but yet it had glorified the path of a magnificent campaign – to honour everyone who had taken a part in it. Among the personages of the famous Barzani family among the group were: Sheikh Sulaiman Sheikh Abdulsalam Barzani, Sheikh Muhamed Barzani and Ali Mohamed Sadiq Muhamed Barzani.

In connection to these events Barzani had related to the guests in his divan (reception hall) the following story: “Across the river,” he said, “the post in charge of patrolling started to fire, aiming at our direction, over our heads and at the surface of the drifting water, in an attempt to prevent our crossing. Since death was coming from the Iranians who were following us at

our heel and from the bullets falling all around us, from the guns of the firing squad, we had nothing but to try crossing stubbornly towards the possible safe haven, despite all the hazards. Sheikh Sulaiman Sheikh Abdulsalam Barzani was the first pioneer clearing the way for us. Bravely he crossed the stream, gaining the opposite bank, at the edge of the Soviet land. He was the youngest man among us. Then he was followed by two other fellows who could cross also safely, the other younger warriors from Barzan region were mala Abdullah zewayee and Abulrahman Yahya Biyayee. But there was another mishap to tackle: The warriors who did not know how to swim. It was a great challenge for which I had to find a solution: Those who know to swim must help those who do not know how to swim. The sentinels on guard in the post had tried in fact very hard to discourage our crossing but all of a sudden they stopped to do so. It seemed they had been alerted by a higher command to avoid any more interventions. They came out of their bungalows, toward us in friendly gestures, to receive us cordially. When we had settled in the safety of the sentry dwellings, the sensations of security welled out of our tormented souls in tantalising hopes of amnesty we had regained, away from the everlasting threats of impending death. The guards were hospitable showing benevolence; when offering food, they were discreet in their judgments, avoiding serving us heavy diets containing fat, but they let us have dishes of only light soup with cups of black tea. Hunger and exhaustion had been holding firm grasps at us, so that our stomachs could not have digested anything other than very light nourishments. Fasting thus for several days we could

at last regain our good health, and when our bowels began to absorb meat and ordinary food cooked as usual we resumed eventually the habit of taking our meals now, nevertheless, not without a little tendency towards avarice and gluttony.”

From now on the Leader Barzani and his comrades lived in the USSR, living as refugees from 1947 until 1958. Sheikh Ahmed Barzani, senior brother to the Leader Barzani and Ubeidulla, the Leader’s elder son, both had been banished to Basrah, the Iraq’s main harbour on the Gulf, for imprisonment in the formidable gaol of the city. Sheikh Ahmed Barzani was an elegant, smart, fair, good-looking gentleman with high stature. He possessed a sympathetic, tender heart. While he was in that gaol an old rustic man, coming to visit him, from a far village in the mountains of Kurdistan, with a rock partridge, inside a cage as a present. The bird is greatly admired in Kurdistan owing to its beautiful shape, tenderness and sweet singing. When the Sheikh asked the man where he may possibly have caught the bird “In the Shireen Mount, my great Sheikh!” he replied. “Then will you take it back to the same high mountains where you had caught it, to the bird’s native country. There it may breath happily the joy of freedom. This bird is now shut in the prison of its cage. If you will have it here with me the bird will get another gaol, a double confinement. That is not fair my son. I wish freedom for the bird, for myself and for my own people and for all the people of the world as well, especially in Kurdistan; the hopes we have cherished for our cause throughout so many long centuries.”

Barzani’s expedition, after his withdrawal from Iran, his march

through three territories of antagonistic, powerful states with the bulk of numerous families while fighting during days and nights in confrontation of strong military armed forces, under the aids of air attacks, in the coldness of high mountains along unknown, strange lands of enemies are compared to the campaigns conducted by Hannibal and in the history of mankind.

Barzani occasionally would relate the episode of the historic withdrawal telling the audience that it was not unusual to find one of the armed men drowsing along the road while walking and then fall down asleep on the path. Siamend M. Silki, in his book (*The Caravan of Success*) had published the annals of the occurrences as follows: On 15 May 1947 Barzani forces accompanied by families left Iran arriving at the Valley of Gader situated in a corner between Iran, Iraq and Turkey. All of the families returned to Iraq escorted by Sheikh Ahmed Barzani to live again under aggression, maltreatment and inhuman atrocity of Monarchy's hegemony. A total of 526 selfless, agile combatants sacrificing their own comfort set out to take the most hazardous, dreadful adventurous journey towards the Soviet boundary.

In (Bakhi Geli), Barzani addressed his men with these words: "While we are defending our people and their rights we feel we are obliged to proceed forward in the labyrinth of an unknown path which is entangled with hardships and dangers, and it may be harder than what we have encountered up until now. From now on we may suffer hunger, cold weather and heat. Moreover there will be death, murder inflicted on us by our enemies who will try to destroy us, all the time and in all the places and from

all directions. Any man among you who is sure he can stand the oddity of these days he is welcome to stay with us as our brother. We shall live or die together, but, anyone who cannot endure to carry on, with these burdens on his shoulder, I would like him to go back now before it is too late for him to do so. In that case I should not blame him.” At the end of the speech all the fighters agreed to stay and continue the tiresome marching until the end; they said they were ready to die, if necessary, with their leader Barzani.

As it was related previously, this mysterious walk of life and death had initiated from Gader Gully towards the junction of three frontier lines of Iran, Turkey and Iraq. Arriving now at this critical point bravely the men in a dramatic manoeuvre returned once again to Iraq in the direction of Barzan. They were anxious to see their dear villages and the countryside – much alive in the heart of these daring fighters who had not expected to see their homeland for probably a very long time after they had taken refuge in the Sovietic alien lands. They found the country utterly devastated and the villages and their houses in complete destruction.

Now when in their dear, old homeland again, and real sensation of love had revived their unconquerable hearts, they felt it would be very great to commence another trial of strength with the enemy in the defence of the homeland.

The Iraqi forces supported by the British RAF initiated a great offensive against Mazori area in which Barzani and his fighting men had the intention of taking it as a resting place, temporarily. Iraqi forces launched attacks for four days in

which considerable casualty was inflicted upon the Iraqi forces, but to continue the war was not possible in the face of so huge an army with so scanty equipment and few numbers of fighters. Therefore, Barzani decided to evacuate the area. In the aftermath of withdrawal from Mazori area an assembly of commanders of fighting men was formed on 5 May 1947 in which unilateral resolution was made – the fatal decision upon the procession of the great march towards the Soviet's territory lands. On 22 May 1947 the fighters were at a meeting at the village of Dre in Harki Binejê area when the RAF started bombing their positions. Two men were killed and two others injured. One of the men's wounds was so serious he could not move to continue marching with the ongoing troop. He fell behind. His brother made a scene of weeping and lamentation. Assad Kushawi was excited. Rushing upon them in anger, he said, "now don't make us more miserable than what we are, in this damn war!" The great expedition had started from this point to proceed through the Turkish formidable mountain foots and deep valleys until 27 May 1947 when entering again the Iranian lands with the intention of resuming their material struggle again. Salim Hussain now was with Barzani with the expedition, while his brother who was left behind, died as a martyr for the cause of the people who were struggling to gain freedom.

After a short respite for taking a rest in the villages of Shekh Shamzin and Tule which belong to the Shukak tribe and carrying with them food and other necessary supplies, they set out again. When reaching the residential region of (Trupa) tribe they were involved in a fierce battle, hindering their path. There

they became short of ammunition and food. For them hunger was a problem far much greater than fighting with the Iranians. The Iranian troops aiming at coup de grace had blocked the outlets in front of Barzani forces. In Makko lowlands, near the Zangé River and Susu Mount, the only exit which was there for breaking the siege, lay firmly around them, was a bridge over the Zangé River.

Barzani divided his men into two parts; the first branch to attack the Makko lowlands and the bridge, the second to attack the Iranians who had stationed themselves in the Susu Mount. Then a war for survival was waged on 9 June 1947. The Kurdish forces (Barzani's) could break through the Iranian defence lines, heading towards the bridge, they captured it. They had achieved a great victory in crossing the river over the bridge and getting to the other side safely, with the loss of only four fighters killed and another eighteen wounded.

On 12 June 1947 the fighters arrived at Hassoon village of the Jalali tribes area. Homer Khan, the chieftain of this tribe had played the role of a Kurdish guisling informing an Iranian commander of a division stationed in the outskirts of that province about the Barzanians' whereabouts. Barzani had ordered his men to continue proceeding towards the River Arax when they were near, two control points of guards could be witnessed, an Iranian one on their side, the other a Russian on the opposite side. Sheikh Sulaiman S. Abdulsalam Barzani was the first man who crossed the river. The second was a Christian Kurd. He was to ask the guards for permission to let them cross to the opposite side, but (Lawko) the Christian Kurd was not

heard of until the next day when they were obliged to send over a new messenger for the same errand. The lot fell to Mir Haj Akrei. Owing to the dearth, food scarcity, famine was about to lay its grips on the men. There was nothing to eat. Now, hunger forced them to dig the roots of wild plants and herbs up, around and at shores of the river.

On 18 June 1947 Barzani and his armed men crossed the River Arax triumphantly.

A great victory was achieved by a small group of gallant fighters who were scantily armed, poorly furnished and were fiercely emaciated, still could bravely rout the army of three states. It was a great proof in confirmation of the will of a patriot who insists upon sacrificing his comfort and his life for the sake of promoting the cause of his people.

The number of the Barzanis as we have already mentioned in the beginning was 526, six of them were killed, two wounded very seriously as a result of which they were left in one of the Kurdish villages where they died to follow the long caravans of the Kurdish martyrs.

Barzani used to tell the following story eagerly:

While on our way to Russia, we were tired and very hungry. I had to stop for taking a rest. In one village of (Shukaks) tribe I entered a house. The landlord received us very cordially, taking us to his (divan) the drawing room, then going out and coming in shortly after. He started counting us, and going out. He came again counting, repeating this act several times. The last time, happily he said, "Take your seats, please, dinner is coming." It

was great news at that moment of terrible hunger, when we had lost all hope of getting any sort of dinner, after all this counting. All of a sudden series of dishes followed one another, blissfully brimming over with a delicious variety of food.

After they had come to the end of their long tiresome journey, during which they had suffered all sorts of tortures and dangers of continual wars, the Soviets received them with scepticism, misanthropically. Barzani was provided with a residence in the city of Moscow with a few of his own bodyguards. The other men were dispersed in the scattering vast regions of USSR.

The Leader Barzani had related to me the following incident. He said, "I was given a house by the Government to live in, in Moscow, with a maid to serve me in the house. Whenever I was back home, every day, I noticed that my personal belongings, written papers and letters had been tampered with and my drawers had been rummaged. I understood that the woman was not a real servant but an agent from KBC to carry out intelligence errands entrusted to her."

The 14th July Copu de'etat 1958

Within the context of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) there emerged an idea to orientate the Kurdish Nationalism on the foundation of Marxism and Leninism doctrine; as a result of which Barzani's attempts to clarify disparity between the two different theories and dissimulation of Kurdish Nationalism with communism had cost the Kurdish movement enormously dear. From now on this was the main reason for creating controversy among diverse fundamental backgrounds of reasoning. Moreover, Barzani from now on was frequently charged with the adoption of principles of conservatism and feudalism. However, this accusation was proved to be baseless convictions, unfounded and not based on facts and sound observations. In accordance with Barzani's approbation many leftist and communist parties of the Arabs, Kurds and Turkmans, all over Iraq adopted the September Revolution's aspirations, making of these principles the agenda of the work of their programmes.

Returning of Barzani and his Comrades to Iraq

The law of amnesty was sanctioned by the Iraqi new government of the military Coup d'etat in 1958 for Barzani and

his comrades permitting them to return to Iraq after twelve years of exile in Russia. He was allocated a large house in Baghdad. His return to Iraq was received jubilantly and celebrated publically. The Kurds and KDP members enjoyed this delightful event greatly and soon published Barzani's name as the Leader of the Kurdish People. This was an insinuation to perturbing Abdulkereem Qassim, the new president. Hence forward, he was called 'The Sole Leader' as well, especially during the years 1956-1959 (KDP) launched active party political works inside Baghdad under Barzani's leadership and supervision. Qassim was provoked and he adopted a novel policy of persecution against the Kurdish party members and its leader who was Mustafa Barzani by now. Furthermore Iran and Turkey were agitated, inhibited by the new policy of Iraqi tolerance with the Kurds. They also initiated more inhumane treatment against their own Kurdish citizens. Barzani sensed a malicious and ill-intention in the policy of Qassim. He feared an imminent conspiracy of assassination therefore, he abandoned Baghdad in great haste, returning to Barzan, his ancient homeland.

At this time the tribes in Suran area had revolted for private interests of their own, in July, 1961. When this insurrection was subdued by the force of arms, two members of the Polit Bureau of (KDP) travelled to meet with Barzani. This interview with Barzani took place in Shanader village on the night of 11/12 July 1961 in which Umer Debbabe and Ali Abdull were present, Hamza Abdulla (KDP) secretary and a few members of the same party had inserted a certain clause in the programmes of the party stating that Marxism and Leninism should be utilised for the benefit of the Kurdish Nationalism, while Barzani opposed the idea of exploiting (KDP) for the interests of the

Iraq Communist Party. He maintained that a person holding communist principles is better to join the Communist Party and those theologies of the Islam religion concepts and the absence of industrial establishments, factories and large capitals render the existence of communist parties useless in Kurdistan. This problem had disturbed Barzani; eventually it made a gap between him and the (KDP) Polit Bureau. Controversy over this problematic issue stayed on without any solution to finalise. Barzani never prevented any Kurd to choose membership of any Communist parties, but insisted that the service of Kurdish cause must take priority in the concepts of a Kurd. The (KDP) members must teach the Kurdish idealism which do not believe in differentialism or discrimination of classes among the Kurdish people. Hamza Abdulla and a few members of the party had inserted a certain clause in the party's internal programmes indicting that Marxism and Leninism must be utilised to promote the Kurdish Nationalism, while Barzani was opposing this idea of exploiting (KDP) for the interest of the Iraqi Communist Party thus indirectly. He maintained that the Islamic religious concepts and the absence of industry, factories and large capitals made the existence of socialist and communist parties useless and redundant in Kurdistan. There is no less of proletariat to make such party a necessity. He believed that the reverence of the admonitions of Kuran and the advices contained in the Prophet's speech will certainly purify man's conscience and heighten his morals and manners. Besides our religious guidance and characters there exist our old customs and our ancient cultural habits to be followed and respected.

Hawcherkh Village (= Modern Town)

In the outset of September Revolution in 1961 A. K. Qassim had informed Barzani, in one of the negotiations that he would build a modern town for him to live in with his people and would also allocate him a monthly payment amount to eighty thousand dinars, equivalent to 264.5 thousand dollars. Qassim imposed conditions for his pledge: The Leader Barzani must live in the village with his men after they had lain down their arms. The suggestions were rejected and utterly ignored by Barzani. After the new Qassim's regime had realised that no allurements would entice Barzani to deviate from the correct path of his ideals: his belief in democracy and the right of Kurds to live in freedom, the Iraqi airforce started on 15 August 1961 raiding villages in Barzan, Rezan and Shanader. Barzani had no choice but to conduct defensive actions for the protection of the region and its people from this new aggression. He set out with six fighters amongst his men to Peris Mount. Before a long time preparation was complete, for conducting defensive actions, followed by KDP Polit Bureau office to transfer to (Maluma village) in the vicinity. Most of the Barzan village residents fled their peaceful homes, from the flatlands, climbing to the top of the high summits

of mountains where, new abodes and locally-made tents of the tribes soon appeared. The oncoming bloodthirsty regime's soldiers, in their constant onslaughts invaded the poorly-built old houses, plundering orchards, cornfields, cattle and herds with whatever assets or possession left in the villages. Then, the officers issued orders for ruining the houses and set fire to the remnants and anything which could be seen around. But in spite of all the calamities, Barzani could hold their own for long and on many occasions, in which the spectacular, brave warriors of the tribe repulsed the Iraqi Armed Forces fierce attacks, so that the district remained completely protected and no forces of any of the aggressive regimes could approach this glorious countryside for generations.

The Sheikhs of Barzan, their disciples and adherents would carry no arms in peace; on their bodies no weapons could be seen and no man enters Barzani (Khaneqa) = the religion sanctuary for practising rituals, prayers and supplications. The teaching methods of (Naqeshbendy) school are urged and the Barzani traditions, the long established, generally accepted customs and moral usages are encouraged. The sanctuary is a house where no frivolity, jest or humour is heard, but serious advice and useful admonitions. For a Barzani man to lie is not only a bad manner, but is regarded as blasphemy for which one should seriously be punished.

Farmlands are owned by the community of people, i.e. no private piece of land is allocated for any one man, especially he who is agile can get greater share of the outcome from the land. Marriages are consummated by the consent of the wish of

both the brides and bridegrooms with nominal bonds, in which no burden of money is laid on a young man who wants to marry a girl. No social disputes are witnessed in Barzan therefore, no family or any social group leave the region for any other part of Kurdistan. Ancient customs, traditionally followed in various parts of Kurdistan and other countries in the Middle East, are not practical in Barzan, for instance, marriage between an old man and a young girl or vice versa, or offering a girl to a family for obtaining their daughter for marriage are not to be found. Political and cultural bonds between Barzani's Sheikhs and the renowned men of Kurdistan, inside the country or abroad, have been continuous always and never have terminated. People who have pilgrimmed to holy Mecca (Haji) are rare in Barzan, due to two main reasons, the lack of security on the roads, passing through the Government's regions, on the one hand, and inability of people to spend money, on the other hand. Money is not used commonly as is usual all over the world, people trade in commodities through bartering. Money was used to be called (the dirty thing) in the past. For clothing men wear loosely hanging down trousers, like other Kurds, but attractively modified, with the adaptation of long colourful stripes that have impressed a lot of foreign visitors in Kurdistan. Barzanis graze their herds and cattle on their private lands. They dislike trespassing, and if the shepherds or graziers of the neighbouring tribes happened to use a patch which belongs to Barzan, they are allowed to do so by the orders issued by the Sheikh, provided that they have entered the land peacefully. Divorce and the act of separating a man and wife by Islamic

Shari'a are rare in Barzan and, in accordance with a census conducted by Abdulmuhaimen Sheikh Sulaiman Barzani; only seven cases of divorce have been recorded in all the history of Barzan. Divorce is regarded as a phenomenon that seldom occurs. While this is the case, men are absolutely at liberty to have another wife. Polygamy is permissible in Islam up to four wives.

Primitive Socialism

Barzani's Sheikhs and their ancestors have never been landowners and have not possessed any private properties. Farmsteads and agricultural lands have been placed in the hands of peasants and the Sheikhs' followers. Near every village there are warehouses which have been built for storing crops and the outcome of the lands, to be distributed among the inhabitants according to the numbers of their families and needs, and for their possible guest or their (divans), the guesthouses, if they have any. A piece of land may be owned by a farmer after he had been cultivating it for many years. Sufficient quantities of seeds would be left in the stores for sowing next year, distributed to the farmers as well. To pick the yield of wild plants and mountain trees, groups of men, women, young boys and girls gather in large groups in every village. When they come back all the fruits are piled in big heaps and shared equally by all the people. For unity of a couple in marriages the consent is essential for both, the man and woman. When the marriage is decided upon finally, a house would be built for the new family by means of co-operation of the villagers.

They would be allocated a piece of land for cultivation and given enough seeds from the stores with enough heads of cattle, lambs and goats. Co-operation takes a great role during the works of sowing, harvesting, reaping and building houses. The post of Sheikhdom is not hereditary; it would be assigned to a Sheikh of singular capabilities, intelligence and wisdom. After the death of Sheikh Mohamed Sheikh Abdulsalam Barzani his son Abdulsalam Barzani was selected to become the tribe's chieftain and the leader of the Neqishbendi theology. Thereafter, as a result of an act of treason he was apprehended in the eastern part of Kurdistan and delivered to a military force of the Ottoman Empire who put him to death in the city of Mosul in 1914. While he was ascending the step to the gallows he said "Blast you, the Kurds will never end by killing me."

After him Sheikh Ahmad Barzani became chief of the tribe and took over responsibility of the Sheikhdom spiritually. After the death of the Sheikh Ahmed, the Barzani people elected Sheikh Mohamed Khalid Barzani, in a democratic plebiscite, as the chieftain, but not as a tribal head in the high office of the Nagishbandi creeds. This indicates that after Sheikh Ahmed Barzani's demise no other Sheikh had been endowed with the holy order and inspiration to qualify him for taking over responsibility of the Sheikhdom, spiritually.

At present the post of spiritual Sheikhdom does not exist in Barzan as, it seems no man could withstand the office responsibilities. The Barzani's tribes have constantly lived together in peace. They do not fight each other for any purposes, being for social, economic or land disputes. Never

in the history of the tribe has a limb of the tribe allied with the enemy of Kurds, neither during the Ottoman Empire reign, nor after the Iraqi Monarch establishment. In troubles the villagers of Barzan never have taken shelter in the neighbouring tribes' sanctuaries. The tribes living within the areas of Barzani region, the Zebaries, Rekanis and Harkys have often been encouraged against the Barzani tribe. However, no writer who belongs to one of these tribes has ever published an adversary or antagonistic criticism against Barzanis, their revolt and continual uprising for the sake of the Kurdish cause.

Plants and Animals Preservation

Ever since Sheikh Ahmed Barzani's father was alive, hunting of certain kinds of animals and birds has been forbidden for specific periods in April and in the procreation seasons all over Barzan. The birds which are not allowed to be shot or caught are partridges, rock partridges, pigeons, quails, ducks and geese. The wild animals are deer, stags, wild goats, antelopes and hares. Shotguns are not to be used for killing rock-partridges and quails. They must be caught with traps or nets. Sheikh Ahmed Barzani said "If shotguns are used the bird might get one of the cartridge killing beads only, then it could fly, but dies later in any hole or corner of the mountains of the wilderness. This is indeed a very harsh, inhuman treatment." Barzani used to advise the people, concerning herbs and grass. He said, "any sort of these plants that are eaten by sheep and goats can be taken by human beings, in time of need, famine or dearth."

In the Shireen Mount and the summer resorts of (Sari Horé), under Sheikh Ahmed's supervision and careful surveillance tens of variety of grass and herb, roses, bulbs of wildflowers of aromatic odour had been preserved with utmost care. Many of them had been brought here from other mounts and from the far

districts of Kurdistan, which were customly used for medication and other therapeutical purposes, as sedatives, tranquillisers or for beauty treatment and cosmetics.

In the same summer resorts ditches of vast dimensions are dug deep in the ground where the walls of the holes underneath are covered with layers of concrete. They are used as underground stores for keeping in snow during winter to use later in the hot season of next summer.

Until autumn dawns upon the mountains streams of thawing snow rush in the glistening brooks to glide past the makeshift tents and the thatched roof hut at the foot of hillsides.

In this part of the world wherein Kurdistan lies, though I am a Kurd spending almost the greatest part of my life there, I had come across a number of strange customs and practices of work I had never seen before.

I was a police officer in (Herin) village, within the (Zebari) tribe district, in 1961. When I was on a tour through the country to get acquainted with the area, I passed (Chwarboot) a tiny hamlet among the rocks of a hillside. I saw a man on a mule engaged in unloading two sacks from the animal's back. One of the sacks was full of wheat; the other was brimful with earth. On the skirts of the mountain where the flatland soil is rare. I saw the man engaged in unloading the two sacks from the animal's back. The farmer poured the earth into the spaces between the stones, then he spread a handful of wheat over the earth (soil) using a spade to cover the wheat seeds in order that they may grow thereafter when the proper season arrives. In (Harin) water springs are seldom to be found. Instead there are

wells dug in the yards of the houses or outside, where there are enough spaces to allow for that. In the rainy season the villagers used to go near the shores of the (Rubari Sheen = the Upper Zab) river, where vast trenches had been dug out in the huge rocks to be used as reservoirs for keeping water. The villagers would clean the big holes from the soil of the past year. These containers would be the new tanks ready for holding water of the rains in the springtime. Then the icy-cool water would be carried to the village in sheepskin bags carried on shoulders by the fine damsels of this attractive country.

Toward Zawita Mount

At the end of November 1961 -the Mobile Police Force Battalion- I was serving in was transferred to (Zawita) a town in the Government of Duhok. I had been thinking of the question of joining the revolution at the first favourable opportunity. Therefore, I met Mustafa Sulaiman, a dear friend who was an engineer from Sulaimaniyah. He generously accepted to help me ,he met Abdulrahman Zebeehi in Baghdad, a well-known Iranian-Kurdish patriot working surreptitiously in Baghdad. The latter provided me with a personal letter written to Ali Askari a Kurdish revolutionary leader (for security purpose, as is usual in underground activities, he had a quasi name = (Shalaw).) I used to keep this letter in a matchbox hidden on my body. King Faissal's palace in (Zawita) had been altered to use as a military camp which I with forty policemen under my command occupied. Our dugout trenches were high upon the summit of (Mount Senam) north-east of Duhok..

In the small hours of the first night on the cold, high mountain summit, near to the twinkling stars of autumn, roaring loud explosions of bombs, with shelling and shots started; getting louder and louder as they became nearer to us. I realised of

course they were Peshmerga who were advancing towards our positions. I ordered the force under my control to avoid firing, then I commanded the evacuation of the military post so that they may be taken by the Peshmerga. These hostile actions of mine (no doubt regarded as a traitorous act by the Iraqi regime) were reported daily to the High Commands in Mosul and Baghdad, while I had been reluctantly musing over how to arrange fleeing to the Peshmerga side where I would be able to serve in the movement to work for freeing my homeland.

An Order for Apprehension

After receiving several reports in which I had been accused of treason involving capital punishment, an order for my arrest was issued in Baghdad arriving at our commander's office in the Regiment. A short time prior to receiving the apprehension order, I was called 'Sir' by the policemen. The same 'rascals' now started to 'boss me around'. Hence, it was incumbent upon me to escape, in order that I may save my own skin; but there were no hopes of that, as all the eyes were upon me, watching any steps I was taking to move away, out of their sight. Lastly, I was put in a truck. The driver was on my left and a guard on my right-hand side. Three other guards were riding in the truck behind us. I was really in great trouble, thinking of miracles that may happen to come to my rescue, probably in vain; but while I was deep in these miserable thoughts the unhopd for miracle did happen, in reality, by the grace of his Almighty God. Near 'Bady' village suddenly a crowd of Peshmerga jumped on to the road, rushing to hold the movement of the vehicle. A

glimpse of light shone upon me. I felt immediately I was safe, rescued from the danger of being put to death. The policeman on my right quickly grasped his rifle and the driver accelerated the speed of the car. I told them not to try to escape because that was impossible. "Even if we could flee from this trap there would be further groups who would kill us for our disobedience." "If you want to get out of this safely, lay down your arms and get off the truck."

This admonishment of mine was followed strictly. The Peshmerga received us all amiably in a gentle manner. When they realised I was a Kurd arrested by the Regime, they held me in great esteem. I can still remember one of the Peshmerga's called (Hassan Sté Bamerni) and another (Arif Badê). I met with (Arif Badê) in (Duhok) in 1993. He received me with my family in his home very generously as guests. He told that (Hassan Sté) was living in (Bamirni).

I delivered the letter in the matchbox to (Hassan Sté). The seventh of December 1961 in which this episode had taken place was a triumphant, graceful day that I shall remember all my life. I could achieve on that day the happiest aspirations of my life. Thence forward, I was able to struggle for the cause of my own people and my homeland.

The policemen on guard, who were leading me to my doom in Baghdad to be put to death there on the gallows, were released later, whole and completely intact and unharmed.

The following night the late Ali Askari accompanied me to meet with the Leader Mullah Mustafa Barzani for an interview in which I saw the Leader for the first time. Askari read him Zabihi's

letter to which he listened attentively. Barzani received me very gently, with his usual sublimity of manners and cordiality. I was extremely delighted, and genuinely happy to be accepted as a new Peshmerga. Henceforward, I had become his permanent young fellow, glad in his service which he had devoted for the cause of the Kurdish people.



Towards Being a Peshmerga (i.e. A Kurdish guerrilla)

The Kurdish sense of nationality had been inoculated in my conscience ever since I was a young boy and had blazed thereafter more emotionally in the wake of the Kurdish Revolution of September in 1961. Three months later when the revolution had become reality and a fact universally accepted as a popular Kurdish national movement I was completely prepared to ally myself with the brave men who had been continuously leaving

their personal interests and the comforts of their homes to join the revolution in order to serve the cause of the Kurdish people.

The first step I had taken along this graceful path was in Barzani Headquarters on 7 December 1961 as a result of his encouraging and nice words he was accustomed to use. He used to call me as if I were really his own son and insisted on confirming that to me, the fact which made me happy and comfortable in his presence.

The Importance of Wireless-set

There were no wireless sets to be used by Peshmerga. When a set was captured in a battle from the enemy the fighters did not consider it a useful article to be kept. They threw it away. For avoiding that I had to inform the commanders of the armed-men units to issue orders for keeping all the apparatus in good condition for using later on.

Ten days after my arrival at the Barzani HQ a great battlement took place between the Peshmerga forces and those of the Regime's. The Iraqi forces were consisted of the First Armoured Regiment and the Mobile Police Forces. Migs, Hocker Hunters were raiding our forces while Iraqi Air Forces bombers were bombarding the villages especially those villages which were used for resting at the nights.

The Iraqi Armed Forces and Mobile Police Force casualty at the battle was as follows:

1. 45 soldiers and policemen killed
2. Approximately 50 soldiers and policemen wounded
3. 35 trucks burned and 2 armoured vehicles left
4. 4 Police Officers taken prisoner.

I was requested by the Leader Barzani to visit the prisoners to

make a list for their names. They were horrified as they thought I went to tell them that they would be killed.

A terrible inhuman crime that never happened in the history of the Kurdish Revolution. No prisoner had ever been maltreated. They were all served humanly and released after the war. Our Peshmerga were the symbol of kindness and humane quality.

The officers were: Captain of Police, Abdulkhaliq Abdulaziz – the vice-commander of the fighting Regiment. Formerly he was in a unit of the Mobile Police Force with myself in Baghdad. The other officers were: First Lieutenant Abdulmun'im and Second Lieutenant Talib. There was another officer who was called Atta Jamil.

A few days later after the battle, Mullah Mutafa Barzani ordered us, in the company of Ashraf Amêdi and Ali Askari to visit the prisoners and inform them that a decision had been taken to release them. They were greatly impressed to hear the happy news. Guides were sent to accompany them until they reached the village (Sakrin). Then they managed to join the Regime's forces later.

Concerning Captain Abdulkhaliq Abdulaziz, after the collapse of Qassim's Regime he was assigned the post of the Police General Manager.

The spoils of the battle were huge in which tens of Siminov and Klashincov guns were captured, with a great lot of ammunition. There were also a few wireless apparatus. I selected one of 12 capacities with a small electric generator, three tins of petrol, a few gallons of motor oil and four bundles of paper.

Two sergeants defected from the Regime's army trained to work as wireless assistants were attached to me. They were called Mula Sulaiman and Mustafa Amadiyah. These agile

fellows were busy in listening to the enemy's messages containing orders for bombing villages with civilians. The messages were not in codes because the enemy did not believe that we were in possession of wireless gear, which would enable us to listen to their conversations. Very soon after, the regime's messages and their conversations were started to be relayed in codes.

Soldiers are Our People's Sons, too

Leader Barzani was sorry indeed for so many officers , soldiers and armed policemen being killed in the battle of 13 December. He said, "These are our people's sons, too. They come here because they are ordered to do so. Don't kill them, please. Try only to wound them."

In the battlement of that day, our Peshmerga had surrounded the Regime's aggressive army from all sides. Their lines of retreat were tightened, so that there was no hope of escape. It was indeed a tactical besiege of military manoeuvre. Therefore, Barzani issued orders to Peshmerga commander Nabi Sur'asin to relax the grip from the enemy rear lines, so that they may flee for their lives. He ordered that: great numbers of soldiers should not be killed. Regarding this humane idealism, it is said: There was a certain Peshmerga, who was the leader of a unit. He was called (Hajar) brother to the celebrated (Teli Aga) the chieftain of (Doski) tribe. Hajar was a pious Muslim Kurd. When firing a shot in fighting at the enemy he used to say, "By the grace of God none will be killed, they would be wounded only. You, Almighty God, please don't let anybody be killed with my hands."

Negotiations

On 17 December 1961 Major Hassan Abud Commander of the Mosul military base had arrived at (Sunsung) area for negotiations with the Leader Barzani on behalf of Abdulkereem Qassim. There, a certain place had been appointed for the meeting. Major Abud arrived at the place, near (Bamirni), riding in his car. However, Barzani had beforehand ordered three Peshmerga to take the delegates when they arrived to another place that he had assigned, and not to the old one. The new meeting spot was five kilometres from the old position. When the delegates arrived the Peshmerga took them to Barzani's presence. At the time agreed upon for the negotiations to take place, the Iraqi Regime's war fighters came flying over the place, bombarding it with rockets and heavy shells. Then Barzani looked at the envoys telling them, "Do you see what the Regime is doing? If we were now at the nominated place we would have been dead, killed by the bombs of the Government that had sent you?"

When the delegates were back in Baghdad, Qassim told Major Hassan, "Why didn't you kill Barzani, you had a revolver with you?" The Major was arrested and put in prison by Qassim.

First Portable Wireless

On 21 December while we were in the surroundings of Bamarni Village I installed the first foundations for a portable wireless post. In collaboration with (Mustafa Amadiyah) I started the set to work.

First Portable Wireless-set

On 21December while we were in the surrounding of Bamerni village far in the north-west of Mosul, I installed the first foundation for a mobile wireless-set.

In collaboration with Mustafa Amêdi a former police sergeant wireless operator, I started the set to work.

‘Decyphering coded –messages’

On 28 December while we were in (Karkarava) village ,close to the abovementioned area,I was able to decypher a coded message and the guiding keys of the codes. At the time, I had no clues or references to rely upon and had obtained no information from the enemy to assist me for solving any of its secrets; but, with introspection, scrutiny and comparison of the data in the message itself, I could loosen its numerical relations for getting into the graph’s contents. In this message, the Regime’s army requested bombardment of villages, one of them was (Karkarava)

I sent the message to the Leader Barzani. The villages whose names were in the message were alerted and the occupants told to leave their homes. In the evening when the villagers were back at home, they were greatly astonished to find their villages had been bombarded and started to whisper amongst themselves, “O, Barzani must have some informant at Baghdad, otherwise how could he know that on this Friday our villages would be attacked first in the early morning!”

I named that wireless station (Aras Wireless-set Station) after the Arax River. It lasted with this appellation for long time

until the last days of the Kurdish war. .And even now, the same wireless station resumed its activity in the main headquarter of the Kurdish leader Mas'ud Mullah Mustafa Barzani in Erbil for his private communications.

Many Peshmerga were engaged to work at that Wireless-set Station, days and nights, receiving coded messages. Mula Sulaiman a former police corporal wireless operator as usual was there, with his colleague Hema Raza Abdul- Rahman. The contents of the decoded messages were on many occasions about matters very important to us. They told about the enemy's movements, their casualties, plans of offensives, strategy of attacks by infantry, or artillery shellings. They also listed the results of daily fightings if any, and information concerning the Peshmerga's movements, or Barzani's places of residence. Moreover, we learned a great deal about many enemy's departments related to the fighting, such as the branches of the intelligence services and about the mercenaries, or the police, and the security agents' activities...etc.

Number of Peshmerga and the Types of Arms

In the December of 1961 the number of Peshmerga were (720) fighters, nearly (150) were unarmed; they had only daggers for self-defence. Two shepherds had also joined the Peshmerga, bringing with them their canes, enormous batons. During a battle those who had no arms kept near the battlement field, taking the opportunity for capturing a piece whenever that was possible.

The kinds of our weaponry at the time were:

1. Bernu rifles, long and short types
2. British and Polish rifles, single barrel shot guns with a number of twin barrels. Both kinds were called (Jift) meaning a pair in the Kurdish language.

As we left a village there were always three, four or more young men who volunteered to join our ranks. They did that for no personal interests, but to serve with the Peshmerga for the Kurdish National cause. In the outset of the movement KDP members had taken the initiative for launching comprehensive teaching campaigns for general education and in the adoption of ethical values. As a result, disputes, so common among the tribes and the lineages of villagers' groups, had disappeared, because young men were busily engaged in learning to practice the arts of partisans fightings.

From the beginning until the end of the Revolution there had been spectacularly renowned, brave men among the distinguished Kurdish families who had sacrificed their assets and lives generously in order to defend their homeland from the tyranny of aggressive regimes. Their names have proudly been kept in the annals of the human history of struggling for the cause of achieving freedom.

Among these brave men are the following, which were fighting the enemy in the region of 'Behdinan'.

Rashid Ismail Griveli, Ali Koramary, Ahmed Haji Mohi, Muhamed Ali Dergjzhniki, Ahmed Hassan Bajelori, Hamo Kamaki, Darwesh Bisifki, Farho Kashani, Haji Remedan

Slevani, Waissi Bibani, Hameed Hifzulla, Khurshid Mzori zhêr, Sharif Goyi, Na'man Bossuli, Ali Mhi Betassi, Sleman Sindi, Muhamed Ali Bnari, Sabri Hallawayi, Ramazan Rasho Ormani, Omer Tirwanshi, Abdulrahman Bedohi, Hemid Sharif, Arif Said Mayi, Arif Mahamed Brifki, Rashid Haji Bamerni, Mirza Hetiti, Isho Aredini, Abdulla Amêdi, Mustafa Linavai Duhoki, Jubreal Muhamed Selki, Salih Shêmad, Mikail Bijani, Aziz Bossi.

They were all martyred during the massacres of the inhuman wars waged by the diverse Iraqi regimes against Kurdistan.

Anecdote of a Peshmerga

A humorous Peshmerga had a shotgun he used to carry on his shoulders. In the outskirts of (Zawita) town. Hockerhunter fighters came often to raid Peshmerga dugouts, diving very low over their trenches usually burnt gas passed out through the exhaust pipe of the plane in a great mass, especially while ascending fast.

The amusing fellow fired his shotgun at the plane, seeing at the same time smoke and fire coming out from the back part of the fighter. He looked musingly and said "You don't feel it now; maybe when you are at Mosul, back on the bloody aerodrome, you will then feel what I have done to your anus."

The Peshmerga Forces: Lashkir, Qol and Hêz

The armed forces of Peshmerga gathered together were called collectively (Lashker) army. It was divided to (Qol = squadron) which contained 15-150 or more armed men. Its commander was called (Surgol), assisted by two Peshmerga, one stayed in his company, the other was left behind in the HQ with 6-7 Peshmerga. They were to perform the works of supervising food and water and ammunitions supplies and to attend to the wounded, and bury the dead. When necessary they acted as an emergency force arriving at the sites of conflict to assist their (Qol), or any other unit in need of help.

(Hêz = Brigade) consisted of 5-6 (Qol) in some instances it amounted to (10 Qol). It's commander was called (Amir Héz). One (Qol) was left behind to carry on administrative works as it has been already mentioned.

Barzani recruited three (Hêz)'s in (Behdinan) area (i.e. Musol surrounding areas), they are:

1. (Zakho Hêz) made up of 600 armed Peshmerga, in command of (Issa Swar Barzani). His deputy commanders were: Ali Halo, Mullah Hassan and Haji Sadiq.

2. (Duhok Hêz) made up of 350 armed Peshmerga in command of (Ali Khalil Khoshewi).

3. (Shêkhan Hêz) made up of 400 armed Peshmerga in command of (Hisso Mirkhan Dolemeri)

(Lashkir = Division) Army is composed of three (Hêz)'s or more. The commander of the army is called (Ser Laskir) which literally means Army Leader. His duties as Commander in Chief are multifarious with responsibilities to follow up the duties of all the deputy or vice-commanders to ensure performance of their obligations. He is accountable for complete application of Barzani's orders and instructions. An army HQ normally was accommodated in the remotest rear part of the forces. The Commander in Chief of the Behdinan First Army was As'ad Khoshewi Barzani with 600 partisan fighters under his command. Mullah Hemdi, a Syrian Kurd was secretary and holder of the Army syphering and deciphering manual. Selseem As'ad Khoshevi Barzani was his assistant.

Ahmed Agha Amêdi and Sidqi Ahmed Agha both were (Serqol)'s, in charge of a regiment with 600 fighters. Defence of the two significant strategic points of mountains (Gara and Matina) was assigned to them.

In this junction, it is fair to enlist the names of a group of brave tribal men who have followed the ranks of Peshmerga voluntarily, bringing with them their own arms and ammunition in order to defend the cause of Kurdistan. They have obediently followed the ideals and principles of the Kurdish Revolution. A great number of these courageous men have sacrificed their own lives generously in the aftermath of remarkable achievements

in the distinguished combats found in the annals of the Kurdish Liberation Movement.

These martyrs are

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Uzair Agha Dolemeri | 9. Sulaiman Laj |
| 2. Mamendi Kako | 10. Taimuz Arab |
| 3. Hashim Merozi | 11. Abdull Ali Gurani |
| 4. Yassin Mêrozi | 12. Sun'an Slori |
| 5. Abdulrahim Jussim | 13. Ahmed Herki |
| 6. Hussain Jurgis | 14. Wassman Argoshi |
| 7. Sufuet Shevi | 15. Majid Bossi |
| 8. Hussin Sheikh Banani | 16. Khalid Dezoi |

Those who volunteered in Behdinan area were:

1. Sa'id Sha'ban Amêdi
2. Seleem Cheyi
3. Mahmud Agha Chemanki

While Ghazi Haji Melo and Abdulwahid Haji Melo Mazori have attached themselves to the Peshmerga forces from the beginning of the September Revolution.

On 20 October 1961 Barzani's forces arrived at the (Nerwai) tribe's area where these tribesmen joined the Barzani forces: Mohamed Nerwayi, Nazmi Nerwayi, Mullah Ahmed Dotazayi and Mustafa Nerwayi. In the area of upper (Berwari) Jamila Sur (man), Ahmed Shana Harori, Tofiq Beg Berwari joined the ranks of Peshmerga as well. In Guli area, these persons came to fight in collaboration with the Kurdish partisans: Muhamed Haji Saddiq Biro, his relatives, brothers and all kinsmen and members of the tribe and residents of the villages.

On 15 November 1961 those who joined in the region of Selvani are: Faissal Nizarki, Sulaiman Haji Bedri, Ali Ali Kocher, Ali Hallo, Areef Darwesh Sindi, Abdul- Rehman Dino, Mullah Hemdi Suri, Namo Samad Kocher, Mirkhan Bawirki, Ramadan Guli, Selman Muhamed Bamerni, Tahir Rashavi, Sa'id Salih, and Salih Seleem Nalbend Bamerni.

From the start of the Revolution until the year 1964, all the forces in (Behdinan) area, combined with those under the Leader Barzani himself were put into deliberate relations in accordance with the army orders we have already mentioned, nevertheless, the KDP had thereafter established its own system of arrangements which were known as: (Desta= 6-12armed men), (Pel= platoon), (Liq= squadron),(battalion and Hêz). Barzani also had renewed the order. He had put a Commander in Chief at the head of an army, i.e. any 3-4 (Hêz)'s became a Lashkir = Division. Barzani used to advise the citizens and the tribe chieftains that in case they were unable to become Peshmerga, let them not serve the Iraqi Regime as a mercenary. Of the KDP members who joined the Peshmerga forces were men who could carry arms and fight the Iraqi Armed Forces or citizens who were afraid to be apprehended by the Regime for the sake of being tortured and imprisoned in the future.

The Commanders and the Forces in Behdinan Area (i.e.Musol area)

As we have previously stated Zakho Hez had been commanded by Issa Swar Barzani until 1975. Ali Khalil Khoshawi commanded Duhok Hez and Hisso Mekhan

Dolamari the Shekhan Hez. Ass'ad Khoshewi Barzani was the Commander in Chief of the First Army. Ever since they were quite young, these commanders have been accompanying the Leader Barzani in the southern Kurdistan in the Republic of Mahabad which is in the east of Kurdistan and during Barzani's banishment in the USSR.

The Peshmerga and the personnel commanding the (Qol)'s were inhabitants from the Behdinan villages or policemen and soldiers who had defected leaving their posts, bringing with them all the arms and effects of the posts. No customs, duties or excise were exacted from the citizens or from the villagers and the Peshmerga were not paid any cash or allowance. Since, there was neither budget nor any resources of incomes to collect money from. The Revolution administration had no budget in its possession. It was customary for the villagers to feed Peshmerga in their homes of whatever kinds of food they had in their houses. When necessary, Peshmerga were distributed reasonably among the village houses to be served one meal or more during a day. The Peshmerga who used to smoke were given enough tobacco to fill the purse hanging from his waist, with a packet of thin papers to be rolled as cigarettes. The (Shari'at) Islamic tax which is 2.5 of any person's extra or superfluous money was donated benevolently by the wealthy to the Peshmerga as a gift and also for the performance of the sacred duties of the Islamic religion. From the year 1961 until 1964 the Kurdish Revolutionary forces had received no financial aids, neither from the KDP Polit Bureau nor from any other sources. On 1964 (Hebas Agha Mamund agha) and (Sheikh

Hussain Boskani) had extended generous financial assistances to the Kurdish Guerrillas during the critical instances. Barzani had kept a diary in which he made a list for the amounts he received, so that he would pay back the money when enough was available. Towards the end of 1963 we were in (Akoyan) valley (north-west of Sulaimaniyah). Abbas Mamend Agha had put his own barns' contents of corn at the Peshmerga's disposal to be given to the Kurdish Guerrillas units and the Peshmerga's families.

In the mid-year of 1966, during a short negotiation held between the Iraqi Regime and the Kurdish side, Hebas Agha Mamund agha unfortunately fell ill. He was sent to Kirkuk, under the Iraq Regime's authority, for medical treatment, in the main public hospital (Republic Hospital). The authority was aware of Hebas's outstanding attitude towards the Kurdish Movement and his great importance in supporting Mullah Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdish Revolution. He was injected with a poisonous needle, raising his temperature abnormally. He succumbed and died following the long caravan of the Kurdish martyrs.

The KDP Activities in Behdinan

KDP as a political party, was to be headed by Barzani, had not extended any tangible help to the Revolution in the Behdinan area, politically, economically, or taking the responsibility of supporting the fighting forces until 1964. It had no activity to be felt throughout all Behdinan (Northern regions of the Movement). In fact, despite their dormant state, there existed three KDP organisations all over the area. They were situated in (Spindar) village in (Sindi tribe) region, in (Gohurz) near (Amadiyah), in the township of (Bamerni), in (Keshan) of (Guli tribe) region. In the towns of (Duhok) and (Amadiyah) the KDP members used to hold surreptitious meetings. A few members, who were inside the ranks of the fighting units, participated in defending the area with their arms, which they carried on them.

Occupation of Kani Massi Township in Berwari Bala (Mosul area)

When December 1961 had ended, before General Barzani's Forces could reach the vicinity of (Kani Massi) town in (Berwari Bala) area, the Iraqi Regime's administration office hearing of Barzani's approach on the head of his Guerrillas, terrorised; they

had fled with all the body of 200 employees actively working in its different departments, crossing the border they entered Turkey.

In this connection Barzani sent the nearest Turkish army unit inside the borders a personal letter stating that the Turkish Authority should expatriate the officials and the armed persons who had taken refuge in Turkey. Our forces, he said, otherwise should become obliged to enter the Turkish land in pursuit of our enemies. We should not stop following them, if need be, up until the Turkish capital Ankara. It is our legal right to follow our enemies to capture them. In doing so, we have no intention to commit aggressive acts against the Turkish Army or the Turkish properties. Two days later, after receiving this letter the Turkish Authority promptly compelled the refugees to return across the frontiers, over the Mount (Sari Zêr) safely arriving in Kurdistan. The series of Kurdistan mountains were snow topped and the persons in return were beaten very hard by the severe cold. At the foot of the hills they surrendered, delivering any arms they had after being interrogated for a short while. The Director of the County and several police units were Arabs. They were allowed to return to the Regime and the employees and officials who were Kurds returned to their own villages in the area.

It was impossible for us at the time to keep prisoners for the shortage of places to accommodate and feed prisoners. "They must be released," Barzani said, "and shall rest assure they would not be killed when taken as prisoners. Next time if they were sent to fight us again, they shall surrender, since they know that they would not be killed when taken prisoners."

Pharmaceutical and Medication Business

A small dispensary was in (Kani Massi) township which is situated in (Berwari Bala), had been evacuated as the administrative manager of the district, his employees, the police and mercenaries in the area had all been compelled to leave, wherein they took refuge in Turkey.

The medicines and contents of the dispensary were entrusted to me. Whenever I was requested for a medicine by a patient to cure, for instance, diarrhoea, vomiting or any sorts of injuries, I had to refer to the directions printed on the packets or the vials to find out whether that particular type could be used for the disease we were trying to find a proper healing for it. Thus, in addition to my works of deciphering, I had become a (proficient) practitioner performing the tasks of therapeutic and medical treatment of diseases.

Destruction of Caves in Turkey

In accordance with the news being relayed to us from Turkey, the Authority started the act of destroying caves, in the southern regions i.e. the Kurdish areas. Then they cram the caves with rocks and earth, closing the entrances with concrete barricades which they build at the gateways. Surveillance works are also on for enlisting water-wells and springs, mountain tops and valleys in the Kurdistan of Turkey. It is well known ominous intentions of the Turks which have been their dominant character during the past centuries.

Vultures and Crows Diving with Aeroplanes

During Qassim's reign, the war planes mostly used to raid herds and cattle in Kurdistan. Whenever they appeared, diving in action to take good aims at the animals, with these fighters came flocks of raptorial (birds of prey) feeding largely on carrion. Vultures and crows which expected masses of animals, dead bodies filled the sky in preparation for sumptuous meals.

The Peshmerga in the countryside were not afraid of airplanes. When these war machines appeared in the sky of the region they did not take the danger seriously. On the contrary, they made of it a subject for jokes and for amusing comments. Remembering the birds diving with the fighters, they said, "The vultures" friends are on again, or the carrion eaters will have today's meal together. The birds of feather flock together."

In the mountains of Kurdistan, particularly the mountains of the Behdinan areas, various kinds of birds are found. There are predatory, wading and many sorts of singing birds. Of buzzard there are hawks, kestrels, vultures and falcons. Among wading birds there are wild geese, ducks and even swans. Snipes and storks are in the fields and inside the towns. Partridge live among bushes and shrubs, while rock-partridge live in the mountains. There are innumerable birds of singing which are common almost everywhere, these are: pigeons, doves, turtles, wrens and nightingales. Ominous birds are owls and crows.

During the years prior to 1961 the hunting of birds in Kurdistan was not practised with so many different kinds of arms as it is common nowadays, on a large scale. There was no blowing

thuds of bombardment and horrible sounds of shelling as heard frequently almost everywhere nowadays. Therefore, through immigration seasons, hundreds of thousands of birds appeared flying in the skies of Kurdistan, over villages and towns in large blocks, swishing, swashing and roaring, searching for suitable environs to live in during the season.

Machine Gun

Frequently Qassim disseminated propaganda stuffed with harangues in which he tried to make people believe his incredible false statements. Now and then said he “Barzani and the rebels are besieged; they have nothing to do but to surrender. The news of their annihilation will soon be announced to the nation. Their numbers however do not exceed the number of fingers on one hand.” Barzani being always humorous commented, “If Qassim is to release a bit of air, fart with every lie he makes, there would be hurricanes and floods!”

Now the Leader returned to his usual serious manner, he said, “Qassim has adopted an atrocious policy to rule Iraq. He is persecuting all Iraqis, Kurds and Arabs. Suppose that we stopped fighting him, he would still fall because, he is destroying himself with his own aggressive acts.” Then he recited a proverb, “If God wills to ruin a man He shall endow him with frivolity, lunacy and foolishness.”

Qassim had become more and more disgruntled, cruel and fierce in trying to keep the wheels of his authority in motion.

Our Living Throughout 1962

In Behdinan area as we have mentioned KDP had never been conducting activities, from 1961 until 1964. However, on 7 January 1962 Ali Hemdi who was a member of KDP Central Committee visited Barzani in (Bamerni) village close to the area of (Berwari Bala). At the time, the fighters were not in possession of any resources for obtaining money, food and ammunition. They were drastically poor, in need of necessary supplies. The significant KDP member had brought seven thousand dinars to Barzani's HQ, but Barzani refused the offer. He showed unhappiness. The Party had been neglecting the duty of extending any sort of aids through all this long time.

On Monday of 1st December 1962

Today, we are in (Dêr-Shish) village in Berwari Bala) area. We have installed our wireless set listening to the Regime's conversations over their wireless radio.

Haji Sadiq Bro:

On 5 December 1962 accompanied by (Ali Askeri) and ex -police officer Abdulrehman Said Ali and a number of

Peshmerga we had crossed (Peshabur) or (Fish-khapur) river, and passed by a village called (Narimké) arriving at a township called (Batuva), with other villages which belong to (Guli and Sindi) tribes. In this journey we had an errand assigned to us by Barzani.

We had the pleasure of visiting (Haji Sadiq Bro) the chieftain of (Guli) tribe. He is an elderly man, dignified, conscious with keen observations. He related to us the interesting events of Sheikh Mahmud's well-known courageous revolts. He told us about his past olden days and how he had been fighting the British Army in his area and how he could bring down an RAF fighter with a Moutser rifle.

How Peshmerga Lived

When we were Peshmerga fighting the Iraqi Regimes successively we used to live through destitution and deprivation. We had no pecuniary resources therefore we were always bankrupt and penniless, and in need of money. This is a state followed naturally by hunger in addition to our exertion and weariness (Taj-addin) a friend from Biya village behind Barzan County, once told me to put a handful of dry corn (wheat) in my knapsack. When hungry he said, put a little in your mouth. This will lessen the sense of hunger. This was true and greatly helpful. But woe is me, alas; even this handful was often unavailable. Nevertheless, we were in constant movements from a mountain to mountain and a dale to dale or from a village to another walking all through, still never feeling exhausted or being fed up, out of patience or disgusted. When a Peshmerga

was killed we would consider him fortunate since he had been martyred for the sake of the sacred cause he was fighting for. What we had never been scared of was death. We were united in one ideal, similar principle and same aspirations. Everything was focussed on one aim, our objective was to save Kurdistan and realise freedom for our people.

On one day which happened to be on 2 February 1962 we were in (Bédohi) village. The snow was on the ground as high as a man's knees. There were instructions for us to head forward to (Bnavé). It happened that it was a real crisis for me, probably because of a trivial reason. My shoes were worn out, in an utter dilapidation. However, in any case, I had to go and follow my comrades, but I was unable to keep on walking as fast as they did. Therefore, I had to fall back, and wait in the cold weather. When they reached the village, Ali Askari, as he had been helpful as usual could rescue me with a pair of shoes, he had sent with a villager, but the shoes were plastic, terribly cold to be worn in winter. Putting them on, despite of all the odds, I ran as fast as I could trying to warm my feet and myself. When arriving at this destiny in the village, I had to attend to my frozen feet with warm water and bandages.

Significant Message from KDP Central Committee

During a session held on 10 February 1962 in (Adana) village, Barzani had related the following incident: I was in (Shaneder village) when rain was falling very heavily. A guard suddenly entered the room I was sitting in. He said, "There are three torches flashing from a distance. It seems they are men, they have lost their way. They are heading towards the wrong direction which is impossible to cross even if they are mounting horses. Immense accumulation of mud and the slough of very wet land will hinder their path. They won't be able to proceed along" I said to the guard, Barzani related, "Let our Peshmerga signal to them with flashes, tell them to correct their direction. I am sure they are coming to see us."

The guards did as they were told, putting the men on the right direction.

"When they arrived," Barzani said, "they were three comrades from the KDP Central Committee. After they had changed their clothes which were covered with mud, smeared and sludged with dirt and after they had reposed to take a rest and relieving themselves from exertion, I asked them if it was an

errand of good omen that had brought them in such hours and on such a difficult rainy night!”

They produced important documents signed duly and endorsed unanimously by the members of the Central Committee of the Party. Consequently they required my own approval. As a result, I was obliged to tell them that I had taken the stronghold of the haven I was in for the sake of the Revolution and fighting for the just rights of the Kurds. I said, “I have been elected by the people to head KDP, Do you think it would be fair, if I were the last one to sign?”

I reasoned that, it would be highly recommended if we worked hard to guarantee ammunition, food and other necessary supplies for two or three thousand armed-men so that we may be able to avoid any troubles or catastrophes that might happen in the future.

They said, “We have trained, armed and prepared so many fighters as to be enough for defending the whole valleys, paths and passages of Kurdistan. A shot out of our gun will let Qassim collapse with his nasty regime forever!”

In conclusion Barzani said, “Quassim’s regime is still on. It has not collapsed. The comrades who had come to me on that dreadful night are resentful now. They are refraining from supporting us. Nevertheless, we must rely upon his Almighty God and on the Kurds for working to achieve our goals and to serve our country and its people.”

Towards (Berwari Zhêr) Area

On 12 February 1962 Barzani appointed Assad Koshawi the

commander of Berwari Forces. He headed to Berwari Zhêr area with Barzani's Guerrillas. On 15 February while we were climbing the (Matina) Mountain, with Ali Askari accompanied by Aras Wireless Unit we fell under artillery shelling of the Army Quarters in Screen. At 06.30hours, next morning on Friday we arrived at (Spindar) village in the area of Berwari Zhêr. Thirty minutes later the Iraqi fighters were over our heads gunning and rocketing the villages in the area. Fortunately they did not inflict casualties or damage.

Barzani's Headquarters Budget

On 12 February 1962 in (Adena) village, Ahmed Tofiq, Secretary of Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran, told Barzani to permit him to travel to the Kurdish area in Iran for the purpose of collecting a quantity of necessary clothes, headwear and boots for the Peshmerga, from the Kurdish nationalist of Iran and philanthropist donors.

Ahmed Tofiq told Barzani he would be in need of a little money for his trip which he would spend for buying food and other necessary things on the road until he was at the Kurdish villages of Iran, over the borders. Barzani called for Yonis Aqrawi who was a Peshmerga, asking him of what amount of money they had in their possession. He said they had 28 dinars (the equivalent of 92.4 dollars of those days. "Quite well, give the greater part of Ahmed and leave the rest for us." Yonis gave 18 dinars (49.4 dollars) to Ahmed and left 10 dinars (30.3 dollars) in Barzani's budget.

Mercenary of Nasra and Rebetkê Villages

On 19 February 1962 mercenaries in the area surrendered peacefully without resistance. Shortly after that the Regime, with the good offices of three persons from the neighbouring villages sent an officer to meet with Barzani. He tried to allure the Leader of the Kurdish Movement with pecuniary offers. He would receive a great amount of money provided that he stopped the fighting. Barzani replied ! Let the Government gratify the demands of our people and make them happy and prosperous, stop murdering. I am a single person alone. My happiness will be complete if the people are happy and satisfied!"

Thursday and Friday 23, 24 February 1962

Qassim's aircrafts started bombarding the villages around Nesra and Rabatké with many other villages further such as Mursida, Blan, Shêkhkê and Khôrt.

Mariba Village and the Chiyapank Mount

Ever ,since 26 February our Peshmerga fighters have been retaining their continual onslaughts on the Regime's forces, mobile police force and mercenaries, around Mariba Village and the Chiyapank Mount. The enemy artillery is shelling our armed men from Chiyapank incessantly.

On Wednesday 28 February we had been preparing ourselves to leave (Blan) village for (Mersida) village. At 19.15hours the Iraqi armed-forces started to projectile heavy shells from (Chiyapank where mercenaries who belong to Abdulla Agha Sharafani) had been directing the gunners to the targets.

The squadron leader

On Wednesday 7 March 1962, during the fierce raids of Peshmerga on the hideouts of Abdulla Sharafani's mercenaries, Muhamed Amin Mirkhan and two other Peshmerga were severely wounded. The Peshmergas died latterly of their serious injuries. Among the other casualties were Nazhad Bêrokhi, Issa Abdulla Krkamoi, Zuber Fago, who were injured as well.

On 10 March Peshmerga forces launched new onslaughts on (Mrêba) and the mountain of (Chiyapank) under the commandment of (Sarqolas Mullah Shéni and Haris Bêdaruni). Their objection was the police post in (Brifka) village and the mercenaries in the villages close quarters. In collaboration with the Peshmerga armed men, the tribe's fighters who belonged to (Abdulwahid Haj Melo) and (Ghazi Haj Melo) blockaded (Brifka). Muhamed Amin Mirkhan's health conditions had deteriorated. We negotiated the (Mudir Nahia) Administration Manager of Atrush, for help to send Mirkhan for treatment in one of the State's hospitals. With Ali Asskari I wrote a letter to the Manager. Reluctantly, we were obliged to take the risk and send one of the bravest of our Peshmerga to his unknown fate. He eventually was attended in Atrush dispensary – then he was

sent to Mosul for treatment in the Republic Hospital, the fact which made great anxiety and worry to the Leader Barzani.

In his sadness we found him next morning fast asleep under a blanket drenched with the rain pouring in cascades over him. Before we tried to awaken him he rose up with tears in his eyes for the sake of our gallant comrade who was seriously wounded lying alone in agony under the hands of the merciless Iraqi Armed Forces.

On Friday 16 March 1962 while we were in (Shahian) village, one hour of walking from (Atrush) township, the regime had delegated several men of celebrity, arriving from (Sheikhhan) Qaza, which is a step below a government for administration authority. The envoys were: Ibrahim Agha Mamend Agha (Brother to Habas Agha Mamend Agha, the renowned Kurdish nationalist who had been supporting the movement through the past years before he died in a Kirkuk hospital). With them were also Captain Sebri Meran Qadir Beg. Their deliberations focussed generally on fightings and imminent political issues, especially on a subject which was considered by them the most eminent i.e., the reason for the utter neglect by Barzani of Abdulkereem Qassim's generally announced amnesty all over Iraq. After they had been duly indoctrinated and taught the particular ideas and belief of the Kurdish Revolution and its essential demands they left on the following day taking the itinerary they had followed in coming to Barzani's HQ. The delegates travelled to Baghdad to report the results of their negotiation to the Authority in the capital.

On 17 March we were in (Arzekh) village beyond (Atrush)

township. The administration manager was still there with the Regime's employees and workers. From (Mreba) village, the distance of four miles from us, we received a telegram which read, "today we have received seven heavy guns of 120 calibre. We shall beat up the unruly, rebellious this evening." By these epithets they meant, no doubt, the enemy.

At the same time fighting went on incessantly at the police quarters of (Brifka). The Peshmerga operating the wireless were chatting with (Mrêba), said, "The unruly are unbelievably clever in target hitting. Today they took a snap shot at our aerial cutting it twice apart.

At night raining started heavily; we were compelled to take shelter in the villager's huts and houses and were distributed among the households. All of a sudden and unexpectedly, we fell under the explosions of shelling from heavy guns. The blasts were blowing inside the village among the houses, and in a special way in the proximity of the house where the Leader Barzani was residing.

(Feqo Akrayi) a Peshmerga was in a great panic at the time. Barzani viewing him horrified as such, he told him, "Fago, hurry up, bring me my torch; let us go out together and find out how deep are the trenches dug up by the round explosions." Fago retorted, "Your Grace, how should we go out while bombs are falling down like a blizzard." Barzani looking at him smiling, "Yes, you are right, we shouldn't go out."

On 18 March 1962 we were at (Arzekh), a village lying at the back of (Atrush), (Ubaidulla Barzani) elder son of the Leader Barzani himself, and Mahmud Kawani had come to visit the

Leader. When going back, Barzani entrusted the latter with a letter sent to Habas Agha including instructions and concluded with good wishes and regards. This message contained instructions to Abbas Agha to the effect that in case our force reaches (The Blue) river, i.e. the Greater Zab, Abbas Agha and his armed men should prepare facilities for our forces to enable them to cross the waters of the Greater Zab.

As a result of deciphering messages exchanged between the Regime's various wireless stations, we were shocked by hearing the sad news of the murdering of (Muhammed Amin Mirkhan), cowardly, inhumanly, in a savage way, firing at him, in the Mosul Republic Hospital, through the window of his room. Following this unmanly act, which was undoubtedly orchestrated and then perpetrated by the Authority itself, a herd of mercenaries who belonged to (Maàwia Yazidi), (Shivan Yazidi), (Abdulrahman Baramonki) and mercenaries who belong to Sorchi, Hurki and Zebari tribes arrived at the scene of the battles in great combination.

On 20 March 1962 through the mediation of Sheikhhan Qaimgam (an administration post below that of a governor), Abdulkereem Qassim had addressed Barzani by a telegram in which he stated, "Mullah Mustafa Barzani is at liberty to avail himself in choosing any city of Iraq to live in. His personal demands will be met with and favoured kindly unobstructed, without objections.

Conveyance of Subordinate Forces

On Thursday 22 March 1962 we realised, by means of decoding messages that the Regime would send extra forces

to (Rewandiz), (Kawlock), (Kalabin) (Gali Ali Beg), (Blazher), (Mazna), (Diana), (Seri Bardi), (Khelan), (Bafistian), (Khelifan).

Ever since the night on 29 March fighting was on for (Atrush) township. Artillery and war aeroplanes had been bombarding the Peshmegeras' strongholds. Our forces were stationed in the following areas: surroundings of Atrush, Arzukh, Armesht, Blan Village (the latter village is the property of a eminent Kurdish lady known as Khatu Hamdia), Ashkafte (it is one of the villages, belongs to Mahmud Agha Chamanké), it is on Badradin River which is a tributary of the Khazar River, on the foot of the (Gara Mount) opposite to the Mount Khairi. Our HQ was inside a cave on the same river. During the night seals, which are very uncommon, hardly found in other waters of Kurdistan, would come out of the river, frolicking about at the shore shrilling and squeaking with merriment. The cave is immensely vast and deep towards the interiors, with two entrances. One of these two natural gateways is situated on the riverside, the other is far away on the farther end of the mountain. It was not possible to walk from one gateway to the other; rocks falling from the cave ceilings had blocked the path. Deep inside one heard the sound of splashing water springing from the earth inside the cave.

It is incumbent upon me to mention the names of those brave patriotic tribesmen who participated in the war in defending their fatherland: Mahmud Agha Chimanki, Abdulwahid Haj Malo, were battalion commanders. They were accompanied with three hundred Peshmegera. Battalion Commanders Rashid Agha Said Agha Doske, Teli Doski had also three hundred Peshmegera under their command. They all took part sincerely

and heartfully, with great enthusiasm in all the engagements.

On a day in Ashkafté village, Barzani had presented me with five dinars (16.5 dollars at the time). With this money I bought several necessary things for the Aras Wireless Station, a fat goat, ten kilograms of Kurdish rice, sugar, tea and oil. We lived for two days along in great happiness and tremendous luxury. Those were the days of dearth and starvation for the Kurdish country folks in the area. They awfully lacked means to procure necessities of life. The farmers' land had been confiscated by the immigrant Arabs who had compelled the Kurds to drudge as serfs on their own properties. The Arabs from Mosul had plundered the villages of Blan, Talan, Helan and Marsida and drove the inhabitants out of the area, acting violently and dishonestly for the acquisition of the Kurds' property.

The Regime's Wireless-sets were under our observation

As a result of our constant vigilance and awareness in watching and listening to the reciprocal messages in exchange among the various Regime's wireless stations we were now absolutely capable of imposing incessant observation of the enemy's activities. We were aware of tactics and plans, their intentions of attacks, and the exact times. We were, consequently able to avoid their artillery shellings and the critical hours of bombardments. One of the Iraqi ground forces messages read as follows: The Army requires strong offensives to be launched during the following twelve days. Another message declared, "Sheikh (Jalal Brifkani has fled, leaving his village. On 27 March he arrived at (Ba'adra). Tomorrow he will be at Sheikhan."

In the events of taking orders for movement from a place to a new destination we had to wait for a Barzani's courier who used to come for providing the Peshmerga with the necessary instructions. It was our duty to follow the directions, to leave the village, for instance from the left or the right and start walking, keeping watch on the road for finding a certain pile of pebbles heaped up to indicate the intended landmark. The landmarks

were put on such spots where the road deviated or branched to have more than one direction. It was incumbent on us to wait here for the moon, watching, when it will rise, for spreading a faint light, helping us not to stumble and fall in to the bottom of a valley. We had to wait for the moon to rise even if we kept there waiting for many hours of the midnight. Sometimes you found a branch of tree stuck on the stone heap, the limb with leaves showed the right direction.

Barzani never stayed in one particular place for any long time. He was on the move continuously, to pass through villages and descend to the bottoms of valleys and walk along the foot of mountains. On all the occasions, our Aras Wireless Station was in the rear, at his service, providing him with vital information.

I would provide Barzani consecutively with whatever news and information I could collect by means of deciphering great numbers of messages I used to receive from various sources of the Regime for eventual analysis and introspection of the contents, then, I would collect the documents in great bundles of papers which contained implications and the clues enabling us to get at knowledge of valuable importance concerning the enemy's army movements and its intentions.

When we had no opportunity to bring down the wireless set from the mule's back to install it for operation, the worker in charge of the set would use a powerful radio set, which we had for hearing music and news, to eavesdrop, listening to the Iraqis' operator's conversing over their sets at near distances from us. Decoding several messages in this way pedestrianly, while travelling on foot I placed them before the Leader who

starts reading them with interest and real attention.

Liberation of Atrush Township

On Thursday 13 April 1962, after a fierce fighting our forces were able to capture and liberate the township of Atrush. One hundred policemen were taken prisoner with their personal arms. Among the civilian government's officials were the administration manager of the town (Hassan Abdulla Azawi), the police commander (Ali Wali Beg), three police battalion commanders (Ismail Khalil), (Abdulla Aziz), Abdulwahab Yunis), in charge of the police station (Zaki Yunis), medical practitioner (Salim Ishaq), municipality accountant (Yunis Ali Khalaf). The prisoners were transported to the First Army HQ for interrogations. In the aftermath of the remarkable victory Barzani drew a tactical plan for the occupation of the Akre mountain summits for which he set apart almost two thousand Peshmerga and appointing four outstanding Peshmerga commanders for the task. They were Hasso Mirkhan, Haji Bairokhi, Mula Shini and Umar Agha Dôlamari.

Aghjeler Township appeals for help

On Friday 6 April 1962, we had a number of the Regime's messages intercepted in which Aghjeler Nahia, (Nahia = smallest class of government administration), had been appealing for rescue. They requested army troops to be dispatched very quickly, to arrive at their destination within four days at most; failing to do so they told the HQ of the Regime's forces; they had no alternative but to surrender to the rebels.

On 7 April 1962 the Commander of Zakho peshmergas division Issa Swar Barzani, and a company of selected Peshmerga, after heroic heavy fightings were able to capture (175) soldiers and 16, army officers. The bodies of fifty soldiers, killed in the fighting, had been left by the Iraqi troops at the battlefield.

The spoils captured from or left by the Iraqi armed-forces were: (5) mortars of 3 inches, (250) heavy guns rounds, (2) mortars of 2 inches, (11) Bren machine guns, (5) Vickers machine guns with (75 thousand cartridges), (14) rifles semi-automatic with (2257 rounds), (75) English rifles and (22) cartridge boxes, (12) Tocarif revolvers, (11) wireless sets No 9, (4) portable wireless sets, (5) personal wireless sets, (75) grenades and a great quantity of army equipment and articles of food and commodities.

From Monday (9 April 1962) when our forces had initiated their great offensives; some of Barzani's forces crossed the river of (Khazer) after they had inflicted tremendous defeats on the Regime's forces and the mercenaries of Herki and Surchi tribes. Three Peshmerga battalions captured the (Khairi) mountain summits; therefore onslaughts for the capture of the following villages became feasible: Shush, Sharmin, Bakrman, Kashkava, Hezankê and Dupré. In another sector of fightings, five battalions, after they had freed (Dinarta Nahia) in the valley of (Nahla) they set out towards (Seri Akre mountain). The mercenary chieftain (Muhamed Selim Shosh) had lefted the Regime's fighter's ranks and joined the Kurdish National Movement pledging to fight Abdul-Kereem Qassim's aggressive

forces eagerly and intensively.

On 5 April we left (Ashkaftê) village for (Doopré) past the village of (Zhoolé), carrying with us all the equipment related to the Aras Wireless-set Station. When I was still a police officer last year, I had been living in (Doopré) village for a month. Before being transferred to (Herin), two residents of (Doopré) had become very friendly with me. They are (Muhamed Sidiq and Fattah Muhamed Ali). When I was at the village now after a year, they were happy to receive me cordially. They invited me to their homes with my wireless station colleagues for dinner where we had delicious food and delicatessens which we had been denied for quite a long time. On 15 April our fighting forces started raiding the Regime's Army and mercenaries' strongholds that had stationed on the (Seri Akrê) mountains.

Their heavy guns were pounding the road we were on for travelling to (Bnamawaté) village at the foot of (Peris Mountain). When arriving at our destination, Binamawaté village was empty; its inhabitants had evacuated their houses because of the heavy bombardment. The harsh resounding of explosions continued with no relaxation from nine thirty at night until five thirty of the morning. We were extremely tired in walking all the night; however, we managed to install our wireless station inside a cave of Peris Mountain, behind a village which was called (Ashkafté) as well. We could witness the prolonged conflicts ferociously going on, hardly being able to hear anything other than the thuds and dull sounds of the blows, while our wireless set was humming.

The old woman of a Kurdish Countryside

On Tuesday we were in the mountain of (Peris). The villages in the area of (Dinarta) and (Nehla) dale had been evacuated of the residents. There was nobody to be seen. The people were terrified by heavy bombardments and there were also several men who went with the enemy to carry arms and enlist themselves as mercenaries.

In one of these villages, the mercenaries had left an old woman alone unattended, with no food to eat and no water to drink. Barzani heard of this terrible news. He ordered a Peshmerga to take bread, water and other necessities with himself for the old woman.

He should then take her to a village around the (Akré) mountain where she would be entrusted to the people so that she may be taken back to her relatives.

Nowadays, in the tumult and problems of fighting our food supplies had dwindled. One of our Peshmerga Ahmed Chemchemali had taken a great deal of herbs and grass instead of food, he fell seriously ill.

Through all the nights our Peshmerga keep on attacking the Regime's forces inside the town of (Akré), giving no favourable

opportunities to the Iraqi troops for taking a breath.

According to the telegrams we are receiving all the time by listening to the Iraqi Army secret broadcasting, fighting is strongly on in the (Kemeka) mountain and the (Spi) valley in the area of Zakho. Moreover, there are fightings as well in the environs of the city (Hawlêr) and the city of (Sulaimaniyah). Nevertheless, as far as we are concerned, we are still near (Binamawata) village on the Peris hillsides, living under the barrages of gunning by huge field artillery.

On the 1 April at 7 hours in the morning, a great Regime's army had moved from (Zakho) to station itself in the (Geli Spi) valley. As usual we were aware of their intentions. To direct a great blow, our forces had established their positions 100 metres away from the highway road, waiting for the Iraqi troops to pass by then quite in front of them as an easy target. Our Peshmerga were so near from the Iraqi army front lines, the warplanes were practically unable to take any part in the fighting. They would have hit their own units. At the end of this highly tactical manoeuvre (150) solders of the aggressive Iraqi army were killed. Their corpses were left at the battlement field.

Following an order by the commander of Peshmerga (Hêz), Issa Swar Barzani, the prisoners who could drive trucks were told to load the corpses and drive to the town of (Zakho). When they arrived with their terrible cargo fear and alarm spread out among the enemy soldiers demoralising them so greatly that they lost courage and a great number fled defecting the Iraqi's army.

The spoils of this encounter were so boundless that, in addition to the hundreds of weapons the Peshmerga had laid

their hands on the Zakho forces, for the first time could procure four big mortars of 8 millimetres.

The prisoners whose number was consisted of (187) officers and soldiers were totally freed. The Guerrillas of Kurdistan losses were three gallant Peshmerga who followed the caravan of the martyrs.

Herbage sustaining our lives

The mountains of Peris bounds in herbage with multifarious species of innumerable different qualities. Relatively for long times, these herbs had comprised our essential nourishment for the sustenance of our lives. On a certain day we had received a small sack full of some bread. The loaves of bread were made of a dough with ingredients of malt, hops, ryes and barley. This sort of bread is regarded as dainty in this part of the country. The loaf is savoury when it is still hot, but when cold it becomes unpleasantly sharp and would turn into greenish colour. In a few hours later, it would get hardened such as a solid stone, abominably bitter.

On one occasion, in the tumult of war, one of our horses had strayed away. It had fallen into the hands of the Iraqi troops near (Zanganan) village. The horse had been loaded with two sacks of the kind of bread we had mentioned. They led the animal to one of the army commanders of the area. When the commander looked at the bread he said, "if the Kurds are satisfied with this sort of bread and eat it happily then they fight, they will no doubt conquer and prevail." A man from the area who had lefted the Iraqi army related the story to Barzani.

(Jash) = Donkey = mercenaries regiments. How the word (Jash) became Popular

During the Monarchy reign, in addition to the Iraqi army and the police units, there were other forces recruited from the civilians and tribesmen. They did not put on Khaki uniforms. Instead they wore their own Kurdish traditional clothes which are a sort of collarless thick cardigan with baggy trousers. The bandoleers were put across their chests and round their waists. Then, they donned a (Sidara), an Iraqi headwear, in a manner similar to that of a policeman, but not exactly. Hence, they were called (Jash police. Literary: sub-policeman). Jash in Kurdish language is the offspring of a donkey. When the April Revolution broke out the Iraqi Regime called the Kurdish mercenaries (Selah-eddin's cavalrymen) and the Arab mercenaries (Khalid Bin Walid's Cavalrymen), but the Kurds called them (Jash = donkey).

On 17 April in (Dinarta) on the (Peris) mountain the Leader Barzani admonished us, that after the Revolution had broken out, those who had joined the Regime willingly and started to act against the revolution must not be called (Jash Police) because, whenever we presented ourselves in one of the areas, tens of noble policemen would come to join our rank and serve faithfully as Peshmerga. Therefore, from now on you should call the mercenaries (Jash=donkey). The word (police) must not be attached in this respect.

On Thursday 19 April, according to the news we have received through listening to the Regime's wireless stations, there are,

in addition to (Akré) conflicts, continuous fightings between the forces of Kurdistan armies and those of the Regime supported by the mercenaries. There are also encounters fiercely going on in Zawita, Kamaka mount, near Duhok, (Geli Spi) in Zakho, and in the surroundings of Hawlêr and Sulaimaniyah.

A brave (Jash)

On 24 April, 1961 a few (Jash) mercenaries were captured. One of those was a real scoundrel, proved to be extremely merciless, hard-hearted and a notorious murderer, besides his reputation as a courageous criminal. When he was brought before Barzani, he cross examined him and made sure of his perversity. Barzani told the guards, "Take him away and kill him." This he intended to check the truth of his courage, since no prisoner is maltreated by a Kurd. The (Jash) prisoner, held tightly, in the guards' hands, released a gust of air (a fart). Barzani heard; smiling he said, "Let him alone, release him with the other prisoners. We cannot kill a farting (Jash) mercenary. This (Jash) began a new life as a villager and never returned back to the mercenary regiments.

On Thursday 24 April, a delegate of the Iraqi Communist Party had visited Barzani. It was headed by the Secretary Aziz Muhamed who called at our wireless station house. He told us that he asked Barzani about his opinion as regards the rockets removal from Cuba by Russia. Barzani replied: "Russia had done very well to serve humanity by this act. Peace is insured for the world. "Aziz Muhamed appraised Barzani's reply and was very pleased.

Habas Agha Mamend Agha and his armed-men

On Monday 30 April 1962 the Regime's news tells that Habas Mamund Agha has been attacking with his forces the police station in (Walash) village and besieged (Gelala) township. Qassim is claiming Kuwait, he says it is a part of Iraq. On the other hand he is keeping on hitting us frantically as a lunatic. He has adopted a new pretence: The English prompts the Kurds to revolt. This is a novelty and a pretext concocted for justifying his own tyranny. Hundreds of Kurds are expelled daily from their offices, hundreds are detained, imprisoned and tortured. People in Kurdistan are court martialled under the military iron rule of illegal authority.

Barzani's Declaration

In a public speech announced by the Leader Barzani he had clarified essential points in relation to the purposes and aims of the Kurdish National Revolution. He asserted that, we as the people of Iraqi Kurdistan demanding our national rights that are clear and justifiable. The goals we are struggling for are true and fairly acceptable by honest people who feel conscientiously. Our aspirations and ambitions concentrate upon the acquisition of a national freedom that we have been denied for years, and since the establishment of the modern system of Iraqi Monarchy after the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. In collaboration with the Arabs, the Kurds had stood firmly in opposition to the old system of Monarchy offering sacrifices in great deal until the conservative regime was toppled down. As a result of our great

efforts and immense exertion of energy, with the Arab citizens of Iraq the new Republic entity has come to existence. When we had started anew, and submitted demands for our just question to be taken into consideration, we found the Republic (which is supposed to be revolutionary) adamant and more reluctant to hear our just national cause. The Republic now headed by Qassim had proved to be more hostile than all the conservative ruined Iraqi government, of the past.

Following orders issued by Qassim himself, the whole Army and police aided by thousands of mercenaries have launched against the Kurds in pursuit of destroying our peoples' culture and identity.

We have participated in the Revolution of 14 July with Arabs together in order to attain our national ambitions. Despite all our sincere participation in the national struggles, Qassim's intention now is a great attempt to tread upon all our ambitions in the blazes of this war which he has broken out to destroy Kurdistan and to kill our people, ruin our villages and towns and erase every single sign of life in the country. He burns our forests, our harvests and plants and kills our wild beasts and domestic animals. He annihilates our herds and flocks and tries to destroy the entire country, devastating all the land in the hysteria of his disturbed and diseased mind.

Installation of wireless-set stations in Behdinan (Mosul area)

Prior to our departure from (Behdinan) area and travel to the areas of (Balak) and (Gelala) {Erbil province), we had established stations and installed wireless apparatus for the First Peshmerga Army in the Behdinan Area.

- Berwari Bala Station for Ass'ad Khoshewi Barzani
- Zakho Station for Issa Swar Barzani
- Duhok Station for Ali Khalil Khoshewi
- Shêkhan Station for Hasso Mirkhan Dolamari

Special ciphering codes were arranged for the stations to be used for connection with Aras wireless-set station when necessary. In this manner we could extend our powers over the whole area of Behdinan, while the Regime's army units and mercenaries were engaged in constant movements in the process of changing positions to confront our Peshmerga forces, in preparation of major offensive.

A Great Demonstration in Baghdad

On Tuesday 1st May the World Workers Day, the secretaries of all the political parties in Iraq had arranged a great

demonstration, appearing on the major streets of Baghdad in which the demonstrators had asked Qassim to fulfill the following issues:

- Release of Political prisoners
- Abolition of all martial courts
- Solution of the Kurdish issue
- Freedom of work for the political parties
- Freedom for journalism

Offensive by the Army, Mobile Police Forces and Mercenaries

On Thursday 3 May great army forces supported by the mobile police forces and a herd of two thousand mercenaries from the tribes of Hurki, Surchi, had launched a great offensive against our Peshmerga strongholds in the hills around the villages of (Khirpê), Shush), (Sharmin) and (Bakirman). This major offensive was preceded and accompanied by artillery shellings, air bombardment and the machine gun firing. While proceeding, the Iraqi troops set fire to (Smaqok) village and the villages in the surroundings.

Ten women and children were killed, according to the Regime's wireless announcements.

Fortunately, our Guerrillas command had learned of their intended plans, in advance of the attacks, therefore our losses were marginal, while we had taken this fortunate opportunity to inflict huge casualties and losses on these attacking enemy forces. The Regime's onslaught was beaten out, shattered and forced to withdraw in a great panic to their former positions.

As a result of this catastrophe, the Regime's army now was sceptic of their cipher codes, they embarked upon a general alteration of their key-system of coding. On 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 May I could penetrate to the new clues and coding system used by the Iraqi armed-forces and other governmental authorities. For memorising the secrets of all the hidden signs I inserted all the vital information in my notebook which was all the time in my pocket.

On 10 May there was a tremendous air bombardment on our positions. Casualties were immense among the civilians in the villages of (Nahla) valley, (Shush), (Sharmin), (Gundik) and (Bakrman). Three Peshmergas were martyred and three others injured.

On 11 May we had information through the Iraqi military news, heard over their radio-sets, that the majority of police stations of (Pênjween) area were captured. The only station of (Kani Spika) remained to be in the police hands. This post has not surrendered yet. All the police stations in (Chwarta) county are now completely occupied. Our forces had besieged the Governmental main building of the Qaza office. This important target is under fire now.

On 15 May, according to a coded message from the Government of Sulaimaniyah to the Ministry of the Interior, the K.D.P. Polit Bureau Forces had raided the police station in (Pênjween) town. The Qaimaqam (deputy governor) of the town is wounded. Manager of Finance and the police station corporal are imprisoned. Deputy Police Manager of Pênjween town Kamal Sheikh Gherib is also injured.

Peshmarga Activities in Sulaimaniyah

According to the coded messages the situation during April and first week of May are as follows: On 11 May Baghdad (the capital) has been advised that all the police posts throughout (Pênjween) area are now under Peshmergas control. Fighting is on for the occupation of (Kani Spika) police station by Peshmerga, and for the occupation of (Chwarta) Government offices. The Qaimagam of the town is appealing for extra military aids.

From the Peris Mountain to Bekhma Guli (straits)

For 21 days we were residing inside a cave upon the top of the Mount Peris during which we have been under the constant attacks of the Iraqi armed- forces and the mercenary onslaughts without any short break or a wink of respite. We were under the bombs and shelling incessantly by the artillery and war aeroplanes. Our Peshmerga forces did not stand idle.

The intensified aggressive retaliating action, inflicted heavy casualties and great losses on the Iraqi forces. Barzani had established hardy, vigorous and robust army units on the top of Mount Peris and Nehla Valley. On Thursday 7 May at 9 hours we started going towards the (Bekhma) gorge. At 6 hours we reached (Naqab) village, opposite to the (Sada) mountains. Until the afternoon we had taken rest through which I was engaged in receiving the Iraqi Regime's coded messages. Our temporary camp was the back of the village which is populated by (Surchi) people. Being adversary tribe, they had set fire to their houses before evacuating the village, and fleeing to the surroundings of (Acré) north of Mosul province. At 4 o'clock we left the area for our destination. At 8hrs in the night we were on the shores

of the (Rubari Sheen) river i.e. The (Grater Zab) river. We are bound to leave the village on Friday 18 May, four o'clock in the morning and start our journey towards the (Bekhma) Gorge which is also on the shores of the (Great Zab) river.

As it had been agreed upon formerly by Barzani and Abbas Agha the latter should have been at the riverside with an attachment of his armed men. We must have stayed waiting for them to arrive, then we had to start crossing the river into the opposite bank in the direction of (Erbil).

Mahmud Kawani and a Verbal Message from KDP

We had arrived at the (Great Zab) river in time. While we had been engaged in preparing ourselves for crossing the river, the well know Peshmerga commanded Mahmud Kawani had arrived all of a sudden at the side of the river Zab unexpectedly. He had a verbal message which he had brought from (Maluma) the HQ of KDP. He delivered the message verbatim, indicating that Mullah Mustafa Barzani must not cross the river with his forces to the side of (Soran) i.e. Erbil, Sulaimaniyah and Kurkuk provinces. Since (KDP) believed that (Soran) area was under jurisdiction of the Party. Barzani in accordance to their belief must stay in (Behdinan) as the commander in chief of the area.

Barzani was greatly distressed by this the extraordinary peculiar instructions. He decided to change the plan and set out towards (Maluma) the KDP headquarters, occupy it and make it a centre for the Peshmerga leaders in command. This behaviour, strange as it was and by the Party's members, had aggravated the already terse relations between both sides, i.e.

Barzani and the members of KDP.

It was a night with full moonshine when in the evening we had begun crossing the river at the Gorge mouth. Mercenaries who belonged to Surchi tribes were shooting at us from the opposite side trying to hit the goat-skins we had filled with air to use for crossing. We perched on these goat-skins in groups of four Persons each. They were pushed towards a floating ferry moored in mid river. When riding the ferry a man pulled it with all the loads to the direction of the opposite side. The current would pull the ferry down the river. Eventually we would land, but a fair distance away from our destination.

A group of 10 to 12 Peshmerga had crossed the river ahead of us. They bravely engaged the shooting mercenaries trying at the same time to approach their positions. Unwilling to open a new front for fighting these armed men had satisfied themselves with acts which might deter them. Therefore they shouted at the mercenaries to stop firing otherwise they would all be killed. The threat was effective. The mercenaries fled from their dugouts. This group of brave men who defeated the mercenaries was led by (Kuko Dôlamari). There was no sound of shooting to be heard. Before the sunrise all the Peshmerga Army was able to cross the (Great Zab) river, settling themselves in the (Soran) area.

Mas'ud Barzani joins the Kurdish Guerrillas

On Saturday 19 May 1961 on the shores of Great Zab adjacent to (Malmos) a village whose residents are (Surchi tribe, adversary to the Kurdish Movement). A group of Peshmerga are in preparation for crossing the river by locally made ferry boats which are devised by lying wood planks side by side in a parallel manner, then tightened with ropes made of branches and placed over seven or eight goat-skins inflated with air.

At the time Mas'ud Barzani, accompanied by his elder brother (Ubaidulla Barzani) had arrived in order to join the Kurdish Revolution. (Mullah Sulaiman) who was the operator of our (Aras wireless-set station) at that time , was actively engaged in receiving coded messages which I took from him and worked decoding to be handed to Barzani for decisions and actions thereof.

When Mas'ud Barzani and Ubaidulla Barzani arrived we could obtain a quantity of dry black tea. It was on the fire brewing in an old black kettle, properly boiled. We served our guests with the tea in hard unbreakable glasses. Mas'ud Barzani was a very young fellow with faint traces of moustache hardly seen on his upper lip. His countenance inspired calmness,

gravity, sobriety and solemn-ness – prognostic of great future-fortunately realised as it was predicted.



Our Password is (Massi) theirs is (Mazi)

On Monday 28 May 1962 we crossed the (Lower Zab) river, travelling on foot from the evening until the next day morning. We arrived at (Sheikhhan) village at five. The village is situated at the foot of (Seriburdi) and (Hassanbeg) mountains. A number of Peshmerga surrounded the villages of (Kasheka), (Shwana) and (Hawilg). The villages were pestered with (Mahmud Khalifa Semed Bradosti's) mercenaries. Our Peshmerga had to fight all the day until they were able to clear the villages from the hostile elements. The enemy casualties were as follows: 13 mercenaries were captured, seven killed, twenty one (21) mules were captured with their loads. The load consisted of

food, ammunition and various kinds of articles.

At late evening we arrived at the foot of Hassang Beg Mountain because we were in the rear caravan of our army. Our password was (Massi= fish). We wanted to enter (Gashaga) a village at the lower outskirts of the mountain. A man inside the village shouted, "Who are you?" One of the Peshmerga replied, "Massi" He was satisfied with the password and let us in. In a while our men realised that those armed forces were a group of people from a caravan who belonged to the mercenary chieftain (Lolan). They had stopped at the village for resting. It was by a strange coincidence that the password for night was (Mazi= oak gall). Both sides were at mistake, there, a great hubbub arose, great noise and shouting were aloud among the firing guns and fighting in the darkness of night. As is usual like all the times, the mercenaries were defeated and fled leaving spoils of war behind. In this peculiar war among the spoils was a mule, a quiet animal, very comfortable for riding on. It fell to our lot and was later reared and looked after by the Aras Wireless Station Peshmerga. Before getting this precious trophy we had only one mule which carried on its back the wireless set, a generator and two big batteries. One Peshmerga was responsible for carrying a jerry can of fuel, another to carry engine oil and files for the lists of the messages and their forms. When the new mule came and freed these two Peshmerga from their heavy burdens, they felt that they had gained freedom, in advance, before Kurdistan could procure its liberty.

In the summer of 1964 when we were in (Qala Diza) town{north-east of Sulaimaniyah}, a man had visited us from

the area of (Sidekan) north of Erbil. He described the shape of two mules he had lost in the tumult of a fighting. He also described the events closely in detail, we were contented he was undoubtedly the owner of the mules. After consulting the Leader Barzani he gave us permission to give back the mules to the owner. He then led the mules before him happily after I had given him a sum of money for himself and to buy fodder for the horses.

During years in dearth, starvation, drudgery and discomfort, with no horse-shoes or saddles on the horses instead they had rags on their backs, these two animals walked under the burdens of tiresome loads and unheard of dangers. Now they walked into a different life, free of most of their heavy burdens, while the Peshmerga themselves stayed on as before to suffer misery, same as they had done in the past.

On Tuesday 23 May we arrived at (Bêshê) village on (Hassanbeg) mountain which is behind (Hassnan) village. We had settled the wireless and started working. On Wednesday 30 May we left for (Barssarin) mountain. Installing our wireless set at (Barssarin) we started to put the Iraqi armed – forces and local government wireless-sets communications at (Rewandiz) and (Erbil) under observation. The Iraqi forces seemed to be aware of Barzani's and his Guerrillas arrival at the area. On Thursday 31 May we went to (Mawilian) village at the foot of (Handrên) mountain. We could receive a number of the Iraqi regime's messages. They were aware of our arrival as well. In addition to (Hawlêr = Erbil) they were addressing their messages to the Ministries of Interiors and the Defence.

Previously this permission had not been allowed. Barzani had distributed a great number of Peshmerga all over the mountains around the villages of (Chumbarok), Daralsalam), (Barsarin) and (Mawelyan). Previously he had sent (5-6) battalions to the tops of (Handren and Zozik) mountains around Rewandiz town.

Barzani's Army in the Rewandiz Area

The Leader Barzani had established the first spring military point of the Kurdistan Army at Rewandiz. From there he had extended the scorching fires of Revolution to the Hawlêr = Erbil) areas. (Haji Berokhi) and (Kako Dolumari) battalions are with us. Thus, they are a part of the moving Barzani HQ forces. A lot of administrations and the distribution of battalions work have been achieved completely in this area.

What I would like to state here, as I remember very well, is that the people of this part in Kurdistan are hospitable welcoming us with warmth and generosity. In the day times the villagers take their families with children and wives for protection from the air bombardments and artillery shellings. In the late evenings, they start returning to their villages. A number of people stay back in the mountains. They don't return even during the nights, hiding in fear of the drudgery of working to serve the Peshmerga armed forces. Nevertheless, in obedience to Barzani's firm orders no fighter or any other Person had the right to force a villager to do work which he does not like to do quite willingly.

Brawls and Complaints

Our wireless set is kept now in the safety of a village house and as usual we are carrying on listening to the Iraqi troops, mobile police force, air forces bases in Mosul, Baghdad,

Kurkuk, etc. and the wireless-sets of the northern Iraq governorates conversations over their wireless systems. During the daytime we keep working, hiding inside the caves in the mountains or would take shelter behind huge boulders. Then in the darkness of late evening we would go back to the villages again where we constantly find people waiting for us in order to raise any complaints they might have against other villagers. These kinds of problems are usually taken to the Leader himself for decisions, but almost in all these occasions he would send the matter, on which there had been controversy, to me for inspection and a sort of deliberation after which I would form realistic ideas in connection with the problem for making the final decisions. After all, the last judgement on the issue is made by Barzani himself.

A Man with locks of hair

During the revolution people had been in constant attempts to find opportunities for joining the Kurdish movement for attaining freedom. They came out of the large cities, towns and villages and even from the remote, high strongholds of the mountains. Nevertheless, in the meantime, various problems were apt to occur among those different people, since we had been accustomed to receive quite a considerable number of letters in which the writers included many kinds of accusations against others, in stories, authentic or fabricated for which we had no means to realise the truth or the authenticity of the cases. In the course of acquiring sufficient experience in our dealings with many different kinds of similar subjects we had arrived at convincing conclusions that most of these issues were far from reality and they had been utterly baseless, mostly emerged from old hostilities created by the ancient traditions and the chronic problems of land disputes and family contentions.

In this connection, while we were in the village of (Gezna) which is far behind Rewandiz town, a prominent man in the village had come to pay us a visit for greeting our arrival. He was, it seemed, intelligent and a fellow of great ability, well

aware of the general well-being or problems of his village and of the conditions in other places of the area.

He related the following anecdote for us. He said, "If you would oblige me with your kind permission I should like to recount the following story for you. I have heard it from my father." I told him, "Would you please tell us your story." Then the man started:

Once upon a time there was a man who had great locks dangling down from his head and swinging loosely about his shoulders. With a bowl and a baton in his hands, he stood before the mosque of a village. He had spread a piece of cloth on the ground and put a beaker made of cast iron on the cloth.

Then he began shouting gathering the village people round himself. When the people thronged in a huge crowd he said, "If you would throw enough money on this piece of cloth which I have spread on the ground I'll enter the beaker from its spout." The people threw money to fall on the cloth. The man counted the lot, "and now" he said, "If you throw a bit more, I shall come out from the beaker through its spout?" The people became very anxious and were in a hurry to see this strange magic. They threw extra sums on the cloth. The man collected the amounts, with the beaker and his baton and his cloth starting to leave. The people shouted at him, "Where is your performance, your magic going inside the beaker and coming out?" The man replied, "Don't you see me, I'm out; and don't you see, if you are so foolish to believe that I could descend to the bottom of this small beaker with my awful bulk, you don't deserve the money I extracted from you with my sagacity and wisdom besides my

own rakishness and mischief?”

The village's prominent man had recounted his story very calmly. Then he said, “Our evolution, with the grace of his Almighty God has taken its stand and has spread out widely among the strata of our nation in Kurdistan. Now when it is in the prime of its success, our enemies are trying to drive a stake in its wheels. They shall fail, I am sure. With our brotherhood, faithfulness and solidarity we shall avail. We have to avoid bringing about old hostility and misunderstandings of the past.”

In the Vicinity of Gelala Town

The commanders of battalions who were in the company of Barzani are the following comrades: Keko Dolemeri, Mullah Amin, Haji Bairokhi, Mustafa Nêrwayi, Ereef Yassin, Hassani Khala Hamza, Mam Haris Bêdaroni, Hemeed Bêri, Hemeed Hsên Mullah (Known as Hemeed Affendi), lately was appointed commander in chief of the forces in Balak, Kawkas Said Taha, Ahmadi Stê.

The following prominent Personalities had joined Barzani's forces in Gelala: Mullah Taha Sheikh Watman, Slêman Nebi, Haji Homerani, Mam Wusso Kawani, Sheikhh Hissên Boskên.

They had been promoted to commanding posts or are among the staff of higher positions.

A Message to the Balak Mudir Nahia

N.B. Mudir Nahia =Regional manager.

The administration areas in Iraq are divided into three categories. The largest is run by Muhafiz (the Governor) a smaller area is Gaza, which is run by Gaimagam, the smallest is Nahia run by Mudir Al-Nahia(Regional manager).

On Sunday 3 June 1962, when we were at (Makossan village) Barzani had sent a letter to the Mudir Al-Nahia of Balak in which he stated (you must surrender peacefully with all the Personnel and officials of the administration and also the police and their stations all over the Nahia of Gelala). We bring your attention to the fact that (Haffiz) bridge is ruined; our forces are stationed on the summits of Balak Mountain.

On Monday, 4 June, the Iraqi air forces bombers and fighter aeroplanes kept raiding our positions and forces savagely. In the night of the same day one of the police stations had surrendered, while under the intensive bombardment of our posts, the Nahia administration officials and the police could escape secretly withdrawing to take safety in the (Rayat Fortress) taking defensive positions within the strongholds of this citadel. We made sure of their position when listening to

their messages which were sent with the wireless-set from their new positions.

On Tuesday 5 June five units of our forces had blockaded the (Rayat Fortress) from all sides preventing communications or escape of its occupants.

This was a very trying day and a new, hard experience that was in need of great patience and real Periseverance, the condition in which Barzani was prompted to give admonitions to the people in his short speech about the morale and acceptable manners of an excellent Peshmerga; he said: "A man living with us is supposed to fight and work for the Revolution and he must not follow desires for wealth and lure of money. If he does he leads himself to his doom as a result of his abominable behaviour, or at least he shall not avail in his struggles with the enemy. In case he did not encounter these adverse consequences he would damage his name, prestige, dignity and reputation. Anyone who descends to this abyss of the low levels and despicable behaviour he shall not be able to remain here with my army; he must leave. If he did not and preferred to stay here, I should regard him as nonentity. A genuine Kurd and a trustworthy Peshmerga, within the ranks of the Revolution, must struggle only for the good of the Kurdish people and for the sake of the Kurdish cause. He must not have intentions to satisfy his own benefits and Personal interests."

Our bazooka with three missiles

We had only three rounds for our anti-armour small gun (bazooka) which we had directed its muzzle towards the

strongholds of the (Rayat Fortress). However, we had been pounding the strong citadel walls intermittently with two inch calibre mortars. For twenty odd days during which we had been continuously projecting mortar shells we could make one gap of small dimension in the rampart; but it seemed at this stage it was not possible for anyone to launch speedy attacks for entering the fort through this tiny passage, in the face of riddling bullets fired by the defenders.

Tunnel under the Rayat Fortress

On the night of 4/5 June, after the (Mudir Al-Nahia) the Administration Manager and the policemen had managed to reach the Rayat Fortress, the forces of Peshmerga laid siege round the Fortress for thirty-eight days starting from Tuesday 5 June 1962. The Iraqi air forces aeroplanes started to drop food items by parachute into the Fortress yard. On several occasions food parachutes dropped among the Peshmerga who were surrounding the great buildings. They would eat the food and use the parachute strings for cleaning their rifle muzzles after they would tie them to a piece of tubular iron. A number of clever Peshmerga tailored elegant, durable shirts out of the material from which the parachutes had been manufactured.

As we have already related we had at the time only one bazooka with three rounds. During the first week of the siege a round was shot at the Fortress Gate, but missed and fell short of the target. The second round hit the gate, was able to damage the gate frame, marginally here and there. At this juncture an enthusiast of Peshmerga shouted aloud at the occupants "If you don't surrender we'll destroy you with our Bazooka." From inside the Fortress a cry was heard aloud, "Do whatever you'd

like. You have only one round left.”

They had enough information about our shortage of arms and the absence of any heavy guns in our possession. Now, inside the Fortress were (150) policemen from Gelala and from the police stations of (Balak) area.

On Sunday 10 June 1962, following Barzani's order, the Peshmerga started digging the earth to cut a tunnel through, towards the first turret of the Fortress. Sixteen Peshmerga with two masons (who were also Peshmerga) specialists in the works of wells, began to dig the ground from the hillside at the distance of (350) metres from the Fortress. They had chosen a ditch opposite the first turret.

The instruments used in the work were simple and primitive and consisted of local tools such as spades, shovels, mattocks, axes and hammers. No modern equipment, machinery or technical methods were utilised.

In fifty-two days of working the farthest end of the new tunnel reached the first turret from the outer side of the Fortress, under the stony walls. (Ali Askari) and (Ashref Amêdi) stretched their bodies inside the narrow tube and crawled on their hands and feet until they reached the last point where they were able to get through a hole to speak to (Mudir Al-Nahia) the manager of Administration area. The latter was an Arab. Ali Askari promised him if they surrendered and came out of the fortress they would be freed.

On 12 July 1962 eventually the occupants of the fortress were obliged to come out and surrender themselves. The Regional Manager of Balek and a number of policemen were

commuted to (Bêtwata) escorted by guards. The others were sent to (Peran Shahir-Khana) Iranian Kurdish town, where the authority had received them reluctantly putting them into custody. Consequently they were sent back, through Iran to Khanagin in Iraq to be delivered to Abdulkereem Qassim's regime. The European media announced the news and wrote about it.

Later when I travelled to (Bêtwata) I heard that these prisoners had been taken out of the lock-ups because the prison was only a mere cave inside a mount. It was shady and damp. They were in need to be exposed to the sun and to breathe fresh air for a while. This was a general policy of the guards in the prison everyday. It happened that Ali Askari and Ashref Amêdi were also basking in the sun near the prisoners. The imprisoned Regional manager asked to meet Askari. When he was permitted he said to Askari, "Ha, Kak Ali (Brother Ali) what happened to your promise?" In a few days he was released with the other remaining policemen.

The account of Rayat tunnel episodes had never been related in the media by any means. None of the world newspapers, magazines, radio stations or satellite channels have ever mentioned this heroic deed, up to the present time.

For the sake of comparison, I would like to mention that in the year 2001, the German (Spiegel TV Special) had exposed a film regarding the construction of a tunnel 200 metres long due in 1962 between the East and West Germany. All the available methods of technology had been employed in the work, including electric machinery, mechanical shovels, bulldozers and stone-

grinders in addition to the brains of professional experts and engineering specialists.

A number of workers and students had been working day and night on the project. Even then they were able to complete the work in five months. In the aftermath of this giant achievement only twenty-nine men were able to escape through the tube from the East to the West Germany. The film lasted for (125) minutes at the end of which an interview was held for the heroes, for the bravery and escaping through the tunnel.

Concerning the topics of laying siege to fortresses, throughout the history of Kurdistan, (Abdulwahid Ibrahim Sheikh Salam Barzani) had related to me the following interesting short story:

He said: In 1945 (during the Republic of Mahabad in Iran in which Barzani had taken part), the well-known four Kurdish military officers had arrived from Iraq at the Barzani HQ, they set a plan for capturing (Beera Kepra) Police Station. They thought of a cleverly devised instrument they could use for subduing the will of its occupants and thereby capture the great citadel. They cleverly arrived at an idea they thought to be of great use – it is none other than making a great gun which could certainly shatter the strongholds of the fortress. They cut the trunk of an oak tree and used it as the muzzle of the gun after they had bored the pulp and threw it away. The smooth, globular stones at the banks of the (Rubari Sheen){i.e. Upper Zab} river were excellent rounds for the gun. Then they put this strange design, with its muzzle confronting the strong walls of the great citadel, the garrison and police station of (Beera Kepra).

Then the intelligent officers (who had been trained by Iraqi

military experts) shouted at the policemen inside the garrison, “If you don’t surrender within an hour we’ll pound you with artillery shellings.” Waiting for the threat to affect a result in vain, with no response from within the fortress, they intended upon the utter devastation of the grand building on the heads of its occupants. They now placed a cinder, hard-burnt remains of coal on a hole at the end of what was supposed to be a gun. The whole thing caught fire, burning in horrible great flashes started to move, on the wheels it had been mounted on, towards the fortress. Arriving at the gate it blasted with thundering explosions shattering all its own components.

Tens of Coded Messages

After the police station in (Rayat), had been captured its wireless operator was brought to my office. Since nothing adverse had been registered against him I employed him to work as an operator with our group. He was agile from the beginning. "Today," he said, "I shall pick up so many Regimes' messages to keep you busy until midnight." His promise proved to be true. In a short time he became very awkward. Every night he indulged in a spasm of fear, weeping and wailing about, disturbing everybody around him. He had been distressed sharply with pangs of nostalgia. The condition of homesickness was so much critical that we were forced to set him free in order to return to his family.

When the nostalgic man was back in the Iraqi troops garrison at (Rewandiz) he had informed the Iraqi officers of an incredible capacity of a man who could decypher hundreds of coded messages relayed daily by the Army. The Iraqi authorities, therefore, had altered their methods, and made them extremely hard. Nevertheless with the intensive desire of ours for work incessantly I found solutions for the riddles of the new system and resumed the acts of deciphering the messages.

An Orchard of Apricots

On 6 June 1962 we were in (Sheikh Watman) village in (Gelala) area. Several Personages were in waiting for the arrival of Barzani to receive him. They were Mamusta Ibrahim Ahmed, Umer Debbabe, Ali Askari, Sheikh Re'uf (brother to Ali Askeri and Mullah Abdulla (known as Mullah Mator), with a group of Peshmerga.

The Kurdish people in arms were greatly disciplined so much so that a slight infringement of law was not allowed. At the time when people were awaiting to receive Barzani, a man was seen inside an orchard of apricot trees. He was on top of a tree picking the fruits, eating them one by one. This was unwanted trespass which infuriated (Ibrahim Ahmed) (ex Secretary of KDP). He yelled, berating the man who descended quickly from the tree, running to sit in a corner shamefully. Barzani would have been more angry, but fortunately he arrived when the episode was over. Barzani on this occasion had honoured a brave Peshmerga commander (Selam Mullah Sabir) with a Klashnekoff automatic gun.

On Thursday 7 June we arrived at (Khushkan) in Gelala area. Here Barzani expressed the principle fighting strategy of our forces. He said, we must avoid purchase of food, arms and ammunitions. It is very important that these should be snatched from the Iraqi Troops. Our forces must not be loaded with heavy burdens of boxes and gears. Nothing must encumber our path, so that we can move about very fast, from a place to another in search of the Iraqi forces, wherever we find them weak we shall

direct our blows at them there.

On Saturday 9 June, 1962 (Umer Debbaba) had arrived at (Koshkan) village to visit Barzani. In this village Barzani had brought our attention to a certain significant tactic of partisan war. He said: "Peshmerga must not leave his position when fighting is on, whether he is attacked or the dense of fire was heavy, otherwise he will be killed because, while he runs away he exposes himself to fire. You must stay in your dugout or your shelter, hold on steadfastly with great determination. Your enemy in this manner will be horrified. Thus, fleeing for his life he will be the one who is exposed to your fire and killed as a result of his cowardice.

On Monday 11 June we were at (Derbendi Rayat) (Rayat Gorge). We had intercepted very important Iraqi messages which I had decoded to take to the Leader Barzani with (Umer Debbabe) in my company.

I delivered my important messages, but I am unable to understand what had prompted Barzani to repeat to us the following premise: He said, "I don't believe in a man's spoken words or in the type of his countenance. I believe, in what he does actually and what he performs in front of me. His actions should be for the good of the Kurdish people and their benefit. I believe in action nothing else, in struggling for the achievement of our goals and demands. I have no faith in talking and the speech of the mouth."

On Tuesday 12 June Mig aeroplanes followed by Ellutions bombarded (Derbend) village for a long time. A huge bomb had fallen on the watermill house, destroying all the building

completely. The HQ of Peshmerga Army is situated here in the village therefore it had become a daily routine for the Iraqi planes to raid the village and the area in the surroundings. As a result of today's bombardment a woman and a man were injured.

(Hassari Sekran) Mountain and the teak tree

On Friday 15 June we arrived at (Mizhdainan) village opposite to the (Hessari Sakran) mountain which is called (Sekri Sekran) as well. It is high, rugged and steep. Snow covers it from the top down to its foot. There is a spring of water perched on a spot quite near to the summit with milky waters rushing down the precipices fast with great velocity. Thick forests surround this spring in a circle from all sides. The trees of the forests are a species not found in other places of Kurdistan. The branches turn red as blood when cut and smoothed with a knife; yellow spots are sprinkled all over on the surface, in the shape of a snake of this kind.

The inhabitants of (Khoshkan, Mizhdainan and Enê) villages believe that the forest trees belong to the Prophet Mohamed's companions; hence, they are sacred and nobody should approach them for felling or cutting down the branches. That would be a great sin which breaks the law of his Almighty God, entailing heavenly punishments thereupon. But, for all that, when winter comes and snow falls heavily, sudden slipping of masses of snow bring a quantity of branches and limbs with the avalanches. The villagers use the wood for making necessary simple items of house furniture such as: sugar containers, spoons, ladles, sheep skin handles for milk churning, lady-

combs. The wood is very strong, hard to slit. Its red colour lasts to become more brilliant with attractive veins of brownish-grey hue. The rocks over the mountain slopes are mostly black; some are silvery or greyish, dimly brilliant. On the whole they are stiff and compact. When cut and smoothed they make best knife sharpeners instead of whet stones with which the villagers sharpen their penknives, small adzes for cutting and sickles. The stones which are found in this mountain and other places in (Gelala) are considered as the best kinds of marbles.

Bees are reared and cared for in the villages at the mountain slopes. Their honey is white, crystal clear and looks like creams taken from goat's milk. When the honey is left in its combs for a year in the mountain it turns to a brilliant glassy yellow colour.

In the late autumn farmlands are ploughed and then sown with corns. The seeds fall under the winter snow. Late in the spring time it begins to grow for reaping during the last months of the same season. Grains of wheat are boiled in big cauldrons to dry later under the sun and then ground in mortars for separating the chaffs. Sometimes baskets, covered from outside and inside with cloth, are used for the same purpose.

In the pounding season of (Sawer) the boiled dried crushed-wheat, young men face damsels in long lines for performing the job, they sing with merry making and jokes and laughter in a favourite time for love, matchmaking and future marriages. During a break they would play, run after each other and wrestle girls and boys together. They would set out in groups for digging up mountains edible wild plants that are found growing in these remote high lands. Where they stop for taking rests the girls

follow the boys, running after them. The boy who is caught would be beaten with thorny balls of wild plants until he shouts and asks for mercy from the girls.

The effect of the war had subdued all merrymaking and, with it, these jubilant, rejoicing rude festivals have gone.

On Friday 15 June, the Regime's news, heard over our wireless, indicate that Battalion Commander (Abdulwahid Haj Mullo) leading (350) Peshmerga had attacked the Iraqi forces near (Aloka) south of Duhok, inflicting heavy casualties and damages and had returned safely to their HQ.

Fighting in Avgeni village in the Area of Batuva (Mosul government)

On 18 June, an armoured regiment commanded by Captain (Majid Saidy), with the support of air-forces and thousands of mercenaries had left (Zakho) in order to attack (Batuva) area for reaching the Turkish borders. Several Kurdish units ,well-armed under the commandment of (Issa Swar Barzani) had confronted their advances. The First Battalion of Peshmerga managed to break a dam, flooding the path of the armoured vehicles and stopped their movements.

Another battalion commanded by (Issa Swar Barzani) had confronted the Regime's Army and the mercenaries, while the onslaught by the enemy had been going on continuously for four days. In one of the attacks, the Commander of the enemy regiment Captain (Majid Saidi) was killed. These antagonist Iraqi forces and the mercenaries had been paralysed, unable to move for 21 days, stuck to the ground, cut off the road to (Zakho), thus their bravado, the defiant expedition was rendered a fiasco. After the period of this elongated besiege on the enemy, our Zakho forces allowed its forces to move retreating to the town of (Zakho). This was a tactic to allow our forces free

movements, in defending the vast areas, from the impending conflicts on the other fronts.

On Tuesday 19 May, I called on (Hebbas Agha Mamend Agha) at his home in (Ênê) village. The same night we went together to pay a visit to the Leader Barzani. During our stay with him I started to fall again as usual under his inveterate, wondrous influences with extraordinary, magnetic impressions he reflects upon anyone who meets him on important errands, for business, interviewing or for the purpose of listening to him.

When I was back at home I was completely indulged in an overwhelming meditation of the outstanding quality of the Great, eminent Leader. I thought deeply of his traits, the special and peculiar points of his admirable character. I thought of his manner of thinking. Ideas had interacted actively in my mind in sensational agitation whereupon I was obliged to register what concepts whether idealistic, consistent or realistic had filled my mind.

Barzani is a man of great capability to work assiduously for the sake of his people. He hardly felt tired during his life for struggling constantly to serve his country, Kurdistan. He is one of the fearless fighters seldom found to have achieved so great deeds through contesting, constantly in the series of endless wars. Barzani wisely estimates the abilities and strength of the opponents, and is always devoid of trepidation and excitement. His confidence in himself is incredibly boundless, always in possession of prominent Personality with unshakable morale.

Staring at his face one finds ardent sensations of genuine nationalism that prompts one's own real desire for emulating

the Great Man in his Perseverance to gain the iron will that he acquired through the labyrinth of endless paths he had taken for attaining his ambitious objectives, serving as the goal of his actions.

While we were in his presence, he affirmed that the majority of Kurds desire freedom, but he said they are not ready to get tired and sacrifice for it. At the same time there are Kurds who like to remain as slaves as they always have been whilst they don't feel the reality of their strange desire. Barzani hates aggression. He does not like this trait in any man, even if the aggressor were one of his own sons, or a man in responsible, or a significant position and especially that aggression which is practised by the Iraqi Regime against the Kurdish people. He Perisisted in his deliberation telling us, that there are people among us who like to become tyrants. If a Kurdish authority became a reality, and were an aggressive one, during my life, I should become an opponent, fighting against it. I would like to topple down such an aggressive government. Complimenting those who serve the Kurdish Movement he said, "A man who has moved a stone from its place, for a purpose which might benefit the people in Kurdistan, he can be proud of himself and become a distinguished, significant Person of his society."

(Zumi) (Shorê) Village

Monday 25 June. We are now at (Zomi, Shorê) village, facing (Chighaber) mountain. (Helgurd) mountain is behind us. The radio stations of several countries have been broadcasting since the last night. The news of the great (Epic) of (Issa Swar

Barzani) and his armed forces of Peshmerga, how they had conducted an offensive from (Batova) in (Zakho) area and how they had shattered to pieces an artillery company and destroyed completely another infantry one. The radio stations announced that most of the Iraqi Regime's soldiers had been taken prisoner. Their casualties are so great that dead bodies are scattered on the field of battlement. Many injured soldiers had been left behind.

Tuesday 26 June 1962

I have written the following account of events in my memoir:

Barzani does not consider himself as the Secretary of the present Democratic Party of Kurdistan and he reiterates the statement on many occasions. He says, "The party Leaders have immensely harmed the Kurdish Revolutionary Movement, especially in the beginning when the Revolution had commenced." According to Barzani's views the Kurdish (Aghas) tribe Chieftain's revolt in opposition to the Agrarian Law stipulated by the Government, had been instigated by the Party Polit Bureau members. This was targeted against Mullah Mustafa in order to damage his reputation and any revolutionary movements he leads.

A Household samovar and a carpet

On Friday 29 June a man in (Abbas Agha) armed- men, from (Khoshkan) village had robbed forcibly a samavar and a carpet from a family in the village. Barzani learned of the culprit. He summoned the Chieftain (Abbas Agha) the commander of the

armed-men in which the robber serves. Regaining all the articles for the family and berated the Chieftain strongly: "I am not worried about the mischievous acts of (Jashes) i.e. mercenaries and the Regime's Persons as much as I am terrorised by the illegal acts when committed by our own people, trying to oppress the residents of the peaceful villages, I have no option but to fight first of all the Persons whose behaviour is worse than those practised by the (Jash), in pretence of being members within the ranks of Peshmerga. If the offenders are not disarmed by their commanders, they are to be regarded as collaborators in these repulsive obscenities."

In case of the commander being careless to punish a misdemeanour I shall degrade him to work as a muleteer. Although this is not a shameful career, nevertheless, it had been chosen as a harmless, disdainful penalty proffered by Barzani as chastisement.

On several occasions Barzani had asserted, "I don't need a great number of Peshmerga. I am in need of only eighty armed fighters." However, when Barzani's army had passed a village dozens of men joined him; thus, the forces had been growing into huge armies. Nevertheless, the armies were in urgent need of all kinds of armaments. There was a shortage of artillery with medium and large sizes. What was in the possession of Peshmerga were rifles and mortars, few numbers of 2 inch calibre, three mortars of three inches, with a small number of rounds and only one bazooka gun.

Negotiations

On 5 July 1962 a delegate sent by the Second Regiment authorised by Abdulkereem Qassim arrived at (Haji Homaran) to negotiate with Barzani. At the same time we learned from the decoded messages sent by the same Regiment that a battalion from the Third Company stationed at (Zêwa) near (Bersrin) bridge would launch an offensive at our forces on 7 July 1962.

The officer who had been sent under the pretence of negotiation had come in fact for (connoisseur) or surveillance, to acquaint themselves with the Peshmerga forces on the sides of Hamilton Road between (Zêwa) and (Haji Homeran) for the sake of drawing plans for their impending offensives.

The Iraqi Army and Mercenari Offensive from (Zêwa) towards (Haji Homeran)

The attacks are launched by the mercenaries from (Zêwa) towards (Gelala) with the intention of capturing (Rayat) to break the siege laid round the fortress. Up till now 10 July fierce fightings of confrontation continue. The Regime's forces with the support of mercenaries, air force and artillery shellings attack the Peshmerga during the day times, while

during the nights our Peshmerga fiercely attack their fortified positions. The enemy shell our armed men and the peaceful Kurdish villages at random, indiscriminately. The sparkling of innumerable bullets when swishing in the darkness of night in the clearness of the sky appear as hundreds of stars fleeting through the firmament in immense speed infinitely. They illuminate the darkness of night as unimaginably huge mirrors projecting the reflected lights. The explosive detonations and the roaring of bombs reverberating among huge mountains mingling with all sorts of sounds, of rifles, guns, mortars and bombs blow off the peacefulness of night to create blazing hells for all these innocent, peaceful, calm villages to tremble for fear of utter devastation.

Rayat Fort is captured

On Thursday 12 July 1962 (Rayat Fortress) fell and surrendered to the Peshmerga. Trophies and spoils of the Fort were as follows: (1030 rifles of various makes, Russian, British or Polish, (6) Bren machine guns, (20) Tocarif pistols, (5000) Siminof rifle rounds, (3000) British cartridges, a wireless set type 12, (8) batteries, a generator.

Salim Hassan, a prisoner newly captured with the other is an Arab from (Hamam Alil.Mosul). He spoke Kurdish fluently. As he used to work with the Iraqi police force on wireless sets. I appointed him a monitor to receive messages sent by the Regime. During his working with us he seemed to be a faithful chap from the beginning at least.

There was a new task for me to look after. In the wake of alterations in the code-keys, when the Fortress had fallen I had to work again as usual finding the secrets of the new codes, now in use by the Iraqi authority in general. Fortunately it was not a long time before I could get into the mystery of the new system. Thus we were able to resume the duty of deciphering again, probably with more new enthusiasm.

Nowadays, our forces had adapted fearless daring military

tactics in launching daytime assaults. Contrary to the habit of the usual night attacks. The Regime's and mercenary units had abandoned their strong positions, fleeing before the courageous daytime onslaughts carried out by Peshmerga. According to their own messages decoded by us, the Iraqi troops' morale has dwindled, falling to a low level.

On Saturday 14 July (Mahmud Kawani) commanding a special force, aided by armed men from (Barzani tribe), fearlessly entered the Regiment HQ in (Zêwa) and (Bersrin) and the First Unit Army HQ. Chaos erupted among the soldiers of both armies. A mutiny was followed when the battery on both sides started to shell each other. Mahmud Kawani pounding in all sides he rendered them cracked and ruined in the front and from behind by their own friendly fire. There was devastation everywhere. Two Iraqi ground force units were annihilated, and two Arab unit commanders were found among the dead soldiers. Khalid Shemseddin, a commander from Sulaimaniyah city was taken prisoner. A great number of soldiers and officers were captured as well. An injured commander imprisoned with the other wounded soldiers was all taken for medical treatment and attendance, to our hospital in (Wartê) village. An assistant physician (Khalid Sa'id) was prepared all the time to take care of anyone who was in need of help in the hospital. (Khalid Sa'id) is called 'doctor' by everybody. It is an honorary title fairly he deserved as he had never failed to take part even in the combats as well with his comrades in arm within the ranks of Peshmerga. Doctor Khalid was the symbol of the unknown soldier who had strength and stamina for activity in all the battlefields of life – he

was ready to defend his land, attend the village patients and treat the wounded while he was also prepared to carry arms for fighting when necessity arose.

About the end of July, in retaliation for the abduction of eight Peshmerga from (Zakho) forces, who had been inhumanly mistreated and thereafter murdered in a cruel, savage way by the Arab mercenaries near (Dêraboön) village, the commander of (Zakho) Brigade (Issa Swar Barzani) attacked with his forces the locations of the Regime's Army and the Arab mercenaries at (Bania Nergiz). An enemy army unit with approximately (50) Arab mercenaries were murdered all, with no soul being able to escape the informal death.

Dancing of the young girls and boys

In the summer of 1962 in (Gelala) a few residents of (Wallash) village had visited the Leader Barzani, indirectly eluding to him that: It was customary in (Balekyan) area that during weddings and national festivals, groups of young girls and boys participated in mixed dances together. This kind of dancing is called (Rushbelek) in Kurdish, i.e. mixed colours. It is narrated by people that there lived a stern monarch who had intended to prevent this kind of unseemly, indecorous mixed dances, as he believed (this monarch was a Kurdish ruler in the town of Rewandiz during the seventh century). However, the people of the area could convince him to annul his command, for the present of seven purses of gold which he received. Thereafter these dances are continued to be practiced until now. Barzani said, "All right, what would you now present me

with, for giving you permission?” “Order us whatever you would desire.” “Promise me,” Barzani replied, “to pledge in your own name and for the people of all the area, that nobody should ever become a (Jash) mercenary or act against the revolution, and fight its principles and interests.”

Iranian Artillery shellings beside Airforce raids

On Monday 16 July 1962, the Iranian bombers and heavy guns had started from the early morning until the evening bombing and shelling in a wild frenzy the areas they believed to have been liberated by Peshmerga and in which Barzani probably might have resided. Therefore, a great number of Peshmerga have entered today the territorial lands of Iran, while Barzani travelled for visiting (Ahmed Shabaz Balekyan) at the latter's summer resort at the Iranian frontiers.

On Thursday 19 July we left (Mijhdaynan) village for (Shorê) village opposite to (Helgurd) mountain where on 20 July we could witness the Iraqi Airforce bombers drop heavy bombs on (Nawand) and (Wartê) villages and on the debris of buildings around (Dêlzê) villages and on (Mumi Khalan) and (Derbend) villages as well. In (Derbend) a woman and two men were injured. The village watermill was targeted again, although it had been completely destroyed already, during previous raids. The Iraqi aeroplanes had been targeting all the mills in Kurdistan in constant raids to prevent the mills from preparing flour for bread for the Kurdish people.

Shwan Nahia is freed

According to the Iraqi authority decoded wireless messages the Kurdish Peshmergas have liberated the town of (Shwan) which is the Centre of Government administration. The (Nahia) manager, the police station sergeant and all the policemen were captured. It is worth mentioning that the Regime Media call the Kurdish Liberation Divisions as bandits and brigands.

Hornai Balekyan Mountain

On 20 July we were at (Hornai Balekyan), a rugged, high mountain covered with white snow reflecting brilliantly from the summit down to the lower precipices of the cliffs. After we had put up our camps in the bottom of a deep, narrow excavation full of the ice which had accumulated to grow into great masses throughout centuries, we stirred immediately to make a fire from the dry leaves, stocks, branches and limbs of trees with the help of soft roots of herbs, igniting in great blazes to drive off the prickly, chill of the severe cold. Then we could put our black, sooty kettles on the cinders for brewing a hot, delicious tea, using the crystal water underneath the solid blocks of ice covering the ground around us.

Then, we started again, taking us five hours to reach the highest top, during which time Barzani had been looking around closely, eying thoroughly with attention, scrutinising and examining positions, dugouts and the banks and ramparts of the mobile police force and mercenaries who had been occupying the sides of the mountain, only a few days before and had

fled under the continual attacks and heavy blows directed by Peshmerga. Barzani's aim in his deliberate study of the situation was for the purpose of gathering sufficient data of information as regards the Iraqi ground forces behaviour and tactics in conducting war, and also for laying out plans accordingly for any future encounters or attacks. Thereafter, Barzani would clarify his points to the battalion and unit commanders quietly while, they would also express their own views frankly, void of any hesitation.

Towards (Bôle) Village

On Sunday 20 July we were in (Bôle) village opposite to (Gurulazin) Pass. The residents of this village had descended from the noble house of (Sayd Taha) who had obtained a widespread, significant reputation for their steadfastness, determination and loyalty to the cause of the Kurdish people.

Babagurgur Flames

While climbing (Helgurd) mountain to attain its chilly, high tops which are dotted with the cottages and huts of the scattered villages, the darkness of night crept on the precipices and the cliffs clearing the way to the stars for twinkling along the surface of near firmament. A gentle breeze intermittently brought pleasant scents reviving our tired limbs, enlivening our souls to continue moving along in our arduous climbing efforts. The men who were acquainted with the place told us that after climbing sufficient heights the fires of Kirkuk oilfields would appear, clearly seen from the tops of high summits. To make

the atmosphere more exotic, thousands of fire flies roamed about, wandering in their sparkling phosphoric fires. They are females trying to attract the attention of the males with their electric, illuminating lights under their bellies for the purposes of breeding and propagation to perform this wondrous duty of nature.

An hour later after we had conquered the long narrow ridges of (Hessari Rostê), the highest summit of which is called (Helgurd), the fires of (Babagurgur) oil wells appeared clearly in blazing. It is a common notion among the Kurds that the blazes of these oilfields are the great obstacles that hinder the path of the Kurdish people to get at their rights for acquiring freedom and obtaining autonomy and self rule.

Important Events through the months of July 1962

1. Visit by a number of the Second Regiment of Regime's officers sent by Abdulkereem Qassim to negotiate with Barzani
2. Defeat of all the Armoured Battalions of Third Company offensives in (Zewa) and (Barsrin) which attempted to proceed towards (Gelala) and (Rayat).
3. Capture of Rayat Fortress.
4. Unexpected attacks by the Iranian aeroplanes and the shellings of artillery against the Kurdish Strongholds in (Haji Homeran), (Rayat), (Derbend) and (Rêzanôk).
5. Regaining (Shwan) and (Sengeser) towns and occupation of police stations at the town.
6. During seven days of fighting in July mercenaries led by the following chieftains had fled to (Spirêz), (Hewra Khatun) and (Gader) mountains: The chieftains are: (Sofi Rashid Lolan), (Mahmud Khalifa Semed), (Fatah Agha Herki), (Muhi Herki), (Ass'ad Herki) and (Kereem Khan Mahmoud Khalifa Semed). Since it was dangerous for them to hold in those positions, they had fled to the Iranian territories. They were also accompanied by the Mobile Police Force of the areas who had taken with

them four complete installations of wireless sets of the stations.

7. The administration offices of (Sidakan) Nahia had withdrawn to (Rawandis).

8. The visit of two western media correspondents to meet Barzani during which time I had been assisting in the works and duties of interpreter. One of them was: Richard G. Andergy, Middle East Correspondent, Swiss Broadcasting Corporation. The other: Peter W. F. Fera, German Television Film Reporter in the Middle East.

They filmed scenes of many battles in (Barsrin), (Zêwe) and (Hiran) with the sceneries of nature and environs including the returning of cattle and herds in the evening to the villages from the mountains with the sounds of the beasts, bleating of sheep, braying of ass and barking of the dogs.

Arrival of Aids to a Battalion of the Iraqi Third Regiment

Today, 1 August 1962, we are in (Gezna) village in the skirt of Helgurd. Fresh forces have been sent to rescue a battalion in the Third Regiment. Our forces have liberated (Hafiz) and (Bersirin) bridge between Rewandiz township and Gelala town. Iraqi Ground Forces have initiated attacks with the support of various types of aeroplanes and artillery shelling. Our forces were successful to blockade a company of the attacking forces and three other units fell inside a cordon of our forces; they were annihilated completely.

A great number of their soldiers were killed and many dead bodies were left behind in the battlefields. The first unit of their pioneer had been left with (15) soldiers who could escape with

their lives.

On Thursday 2 August we have returned to (Bêshè) village which is situated at the foot of (Hassan Beg) mountain opposite to (Körita) mount. It is impossible to sleep because of the thundering of bombs, explosion of artillery round, rockets and continuous blasts from all kinds of small and heavy weapons.

On Sunday 5 August we arrived at (Dar Al-Salam) village. Today Russian made aeroplanes have bombarded our positions. Many heavy bombs have fallen inside the village. High explosive rockets of 55 inches have been used in the shelling, too. Continual raidings have been constantly on this village because (Mahmud Kawan's) HQ is here.

On Monday 6 August we started again to move during the night until we were at (Umar Awa) village, opposite (Mama Rutta) mountain. At that night Barzani held a general meeting for the residents of the village and all the other villages in the surroundings. The Mullah of the village was present to help in conveying the necessary admonitions to the villagers for following the duties of patriots in the defence of the fatherlands.

On Tuesday 7 August we arrived at (Dergela) village. Barzani was the guest of (Slêman Beg) of (Dergela). Continuous raids and bombardments of war planes have scorched the village from two opposite sides. As a result of the bombardments of three days before, a villager had been killed and three houses burnt. The HQ of (Abas Agha Mamend Agha's) forces is here in the village.

Today on 7 August 1962 (Abdulla Agha Pishderi) the commander of (Rayat) forces, his assistant (Mullah Abdulla)

known as (Mullah Mator) and (Kwekha Kereem Mauati), Commissariat Officer of the same forces has arrived at the (Sidekan) area.

On Wednesday 8 August we left (Dergela) village, passing by Rezhikeran and (Selan) villages, arriving at (Garawan) village behind (Korek) mountain which is at the back of this village is at the distance of half an hour by walking. In the afternoon of today, heavy rains have fallen in great torrents.

(Garawan) Village

On Friday 10 August at (Garawan) village I received a coded Regime's message which contained information about a certain place in which Barzani slept at night. A man of the village had provided the (Qamiagam) Assistant Governor of (Rewandiz) with the particulars of his sleeping location which was under a large tree in the east of the village. Barzani chose two big branches and had a makeshift bed arranged for him between those branches with masses of leaves and limbs hiding him from inquisitive eyes. Immediately, and without delay imparted all the knowledge to Barzani, and the guards were also alerted to tell the village people. With the dawning and first appearance of the daylight, two Mig aeroplanes dived down the gorge in which the village was. One of the planes directed a rocket at the tree under which they supposed Barzani was sleeping. The other war aircraft targeted its rockets at a house occupied by a few of Barzani's Personal escorts. Unfortunately not all of the guards had been sufficiently careful to become cautious of the danger.

The quisling, the traitor who worked as an agent for the Regime came back to the village the same day unaware of the fact that

he had been discovered. This villager, who had been working in the intelligence service of the Regime, was interrogated by (Mullah Abdulla), i.e. (Mullah Mator). He confessed the crime and his disloyalty to his country. As a result of the air raid two Persons were killed in the village. Four others were injured. One of the wounded died in the afternoon of the same day thus the number of the dead rose to three Persons. The latter was a Barzani Peshmerga who belonged to (Kuko Dolemeri) Guerrilla unit. Three village houses were burnt with incendiary bombs.

On Saturday 11 August we arrived at (Khandaz) village in the late evening. The village is situated behind (Bani Harir) mountain, adjacent to (Bejan) mountain. Prior to our arrival, a few days before, the Regime's Army HQ at (Harir) had shelled the village with heavy guns of (55) inches. Great damages were inflicted upon the domestic animals and four houses were destroyed.

On Sunday 12 August we arrived at (Alana) village in the early morning. The village is at the foot of (Bêjan) mountain, opposite to (Bani Harir) mountain. In accordance to the Regime's messages, two helicopters escorted by fighters, today will transport ammunitions to the Mobile police force and the mercenaries of (Rashid Lolan) who are stationed at the frontiers of Iraq and Turkey.

While mentioning (Bêjan) mountain I would like to say that by a strange accident I had come face to face with the company commander (Bêjan Jundi Shikaki) who belongs to Barzani's special Guerrilla unit. It was in front of the mountain summit when I encountered him. This gentle man is one of the (526)

brave Kurdish Barzanis who had crossed the (Arax) river to enter USSR territorial lands. At last days only (518) Barzanis .Promenading in the labyrinth of the mountain tracks he related to me the episode of his life in Russia. He had completed his education in the Academy of Politecnics. He is an intelligent, humorous, pleasant man who had shown great courage during the war.

On Monday 13 August while we were at (Alan) .The (Surchi) chieftains and Aghas of the tribe had come to the village in order to visit Barzani. They promised the Leader that they would not ally themselves with the Regime, and that they would take orders from now on, from Barzani. At the end of useful advice which Barzani had given to these prominent tribe Personalities, he overlooked their past adverse actions against their own country Kurdistan, in the hope that they would be affectionate friends in the future.

During the same night a gathering was held in which the village Mullah and the villagers were present. Barzani addressed them cordially. The audience were very attentive to Barzani's directions and admonitions.

On Tuesday 14 August we arrived at (Ashkaftê) village opposite to (Zartkan) mountain. After walking for three hours (Zinatir) mountain could be seen. The village people belong to (Harota) tribe. After they had eaten their dinner in the evening, a group of the villagers paid Barzani a visit, during the time of which they had been discussing the situation of Kurdistan in general.

Return of the Two Russian Astronauts to the Earth

On Wednesday 15 August 1962, at 9 o'clock in the morning the Russian astronauts returned safely to the earth. (Andre Nicoliev) had spent four days in Space and (Popovich) stayed for three days. It is noteworthy to mention here that during the day the Russian-made aeroplanes had been straffing from the morning up to the late hours of the evening with heavy and high explosive bombs the (Mergesur) areas incessantly.

The Book of Kurdish War

Decoding a message by the Regime's Army HQ in (Penjwin) sent to The Iraqi Ministry of Interior, indicated information in regard to David Adamson, a British journalist entering the Kurdish areas. The journalist is the author of a well-known book (*Kurdish War*). He had entered Kurdistan from Iran through (Maluma) village with the KDP Polit Bureau's assistance. On 15 August the journalist visited Barzani at (Wartê) village, accompanied by a translator. Half-an-hour later after conversation with Barzani, the journalist requested me politely to take over the work of translation, instead of his own man who had been doing the job. Georgis Fat-hulla, who had lately translated the book (*Kurdish War*), was present at the time. He has alluded to this occurrence in his Arabic translation, indicating that, the journalist had been greatly satisfied with the perfect accomplishment of the translation task assigned to Barzani's Personal secretary and Kurdish Peshmerga's adequate usage of the English language terms and expressions, i.e. the author of the present book in the hands of the reader.

It was not probably merely by accident that at the same time, the Commander of Zakho Army, Issa Swar Barzani with eighty

Peshmerga of his force, had managed to get into the location of (Ain Zala) oil refinery zone where he had imprisoned a number of the oil officials. Among them were a few local engineers with a British oil expert called (Gozling). Mr Adamson before any other questions, had asked Barzani about the British expert: "Where he might have been; what the outcome of his fate would come to." Not waiting to hear Barzani's reply he asked him to free the expert, before Christmas so that he might return to London to join his family for the holiday celebrations.

In reply Barzani said, "Let the engineer stay here as our guest. We'll kill a turkey for him. We have got Cypress and fir trees which we shall decorate, with multi-coloured, dappled festoons and trinkets; all will be illuminated, instead of electric lights, with candles made of honey bee wax." Hearing this reply from Barzani, Mr Adamson was exacerbadated. Barzani murmured to himself "This journalist has been sent to us by UK's orders and by arrangements of Iran and Iraq with the help of KDP Polit Bureau. His errands are for the release of (Gozling) in addition to the collection of information about the Kurdish Revolution for the interests of Iraq and Iran and Britain. As regards the KDP Polit Bureau's purpose, it is to create an embarrassing situation for me with the UK." In a short time (Gozling) was freed. The effect that was intended by detaining foreigners was to agitate the media during the act of negotiations for their release in order to communicate our voices abroad. No pecuniary demands whatsoever had been made nor any sort of pressure been applied on foreigners or any other sources in these circumstances.

Whenever a journalist asked Barzani what were the demands that the Kurds insisted upon, he used to reply indirectly in a style that was appropriate for the circumstances of the days, and the world political situations. The Kurdish Revolution had been progressing forward for the acquisition of self-rule and even independence, therefore, frankness at the time would have involved the Revolution status in unwarranted problems.

Rendezvous

On Thursday 16 August, in the evening we arrived at (Khaté) village, the first village in the series of (Khoshnawati) area, the last village being (Ashkafté), which belongs to (Rewandiz) administration town. An old friend whom I had met a year before at (Bira Kapra) on the (Sheen River) i.e. Upper Zab, entertained me at his house generously. I was a police officer when I had met him first near Barzan. He was an ardent, Kurdish enthusiast whose renewal of the later friendship in different circumstances was the source of great delight.

General Barzani and Dana Adam Schmidt

The author of *Journey among Brave Men* widely known as the friend of the Kurds arrived at Barzani HQ on 17 August 1962. He had come from (Beirut) through Syria, then completing the journey to Kurdistan on horseback. During all the period of his staying with us I had been translating the conversations he made with Barzani. The author's book is translated by Georges Fathulla Shamas into Arabic with many other English works on the Kurdish Question, thus he had benefited the Kurds and especially the Iraqi Arabs at large in further understanding of the old problems of a people living with them in one country through centuries. On the path of his humanitarian precious services this Christian, gallant man had been exposed to brutal Persecutions by successive Iraqi authorities, but he continued his sublime works, never flinching from pain or fear, Dana Schmidt asked Barzani, "Why are you called 'Red Mullah' in America?" Barzani replied, "This is false; it is an insult propagated by the enemy. Since I had been living in Russia for some years it is assumed that I had adopted the theories of communism and Marxism. This is an offence and baseless conviction." The journalist reiterated the question on the same theme, "You have learned

the Russian language, and then, certainly you have adopted their ideals and conceptions.” In reply Barzani said, “I am a Kurd and a Muslim. I believe in the Kurds and Kurdish nationalism and in all the heavenly prophets sent by his Almighty God.” (Dana Adam Schmidt) had promised to explain all the facts to the American readers in a series of articles which he would write in the New York Times. This he said would affect the Congress to correct their false beliefs and convictions about the vital issue of Kurdish Revolution. In fact this honest writer and splendid journalist helped the Kurdish people and their cause in order to be known throughout America and all over the world.

Through his journey to Kurdistan (Dana Adem Schmidt) had been direct by (Ahmed Tofiq) an Iranian Kurdish nationalist who spoke Persian and little French. At his insistence, I wrote him a list of English sentences which he latterly used when he travelled to Iran in secret and met in Kermanshah William Eagleton the US diplomatic attaché in order to explain to him the question of the Kurdish Movement.

(Dana Adam Schmidt) the American journalist had asked Barzani in his first meeting “Why are you called General Barzani? Is it true that Stalin has bestowed upon you the rank?” Barzani replied, “When I had joined the Republic of Mahabad with two thousand of Barzani armed men and been appointed as General Staff, the Kurdish people found it proper to assign this honorary status to me.” Then he related to him how the Iranian army had beleaguered the Republic countryland from three directions and how he could break the cordon, then pursuing the fleeing Iranians. After the collapse of the Republic, the only

armed forces that remained intact were those of the Barzani's. Following his conversation about the events he confirmed that the destruction of Mahabad Republic was consummated by the English and the Russians and the Americans were also not unaware of the catastrophe. 'At the time', Barzani said, "I contacted the British and the American Ambassadors asking them for a suitable solution of the Kurdish question, but unfortunately my request was rejected and I was rendered hopelessly forlorn. As a result, I had not any alternative but to suggest that until a proper solution could be found, a safe haven would be provided for our timely sojourn. This offer was also rejected. "In fact I had warned Qazi Muhamed," Barzani said, "that he should not, in any circumstances surrender to the Iranian Army, since he would be captured and murdered, nonetheless he was adamant and insistent upon some of his own principles and criteria which he desired to follow, eventually leading him to the unfortunate disaster of being hanged on the gallows by the cruel Shah of Iran." Barzani resumed his deplorable, sorrowful story, "I warned the four Kurdish officers, who had joined us in the wake of the Revolution, with Mir Haj in front of me, I order you, and you must not go back to Iraq." Mir Haj retorted, "You are no more our commander, you cannot order us!" Then I said, "I am older in age. Connect your destiny to that of mine." Four days later I was told that the four officers had returned to Iraq, while Mir Haj lagged behind reluctantly following my advice. "When we were here in Kurdistan," Barzani said, "after coming back from Russia, Mir Haj devoted his life for the service of his own family."

In the Shades of Walnut Trees and the Rocks

On a mount behind (Bin Daizan) village which is opposite to (Sakri Sakran) mountain there is a large pond, so deep when a horse or a donkey falls into it's water it submerges, not seen again. To find out the mystery of its nature, villagers throw sacks of hay in the water. The sacks are found coming out of (Chwarqurna) water-fountain, near (Rania) town, not less than (50) miles away.

At the same village and the surroundings walnuts are grown in abundance, yielding plentifully, but the people of the village do not sleep in their shade. They believe that sleeping under walnut tree causes jaundice, a disease of yellow colour appearing over the skin, while sleeping in the shade of mountain rocks makes the human face and cheeks full of life and spirit with vivacious, rosy colours.

(Khoshnaw) Area is besieged

On Friday 17 August when we were at (Totma) village, we learned that after surrounding the Mobile Police Force strongholds and mercenaries for eight days, our forces today were able to liberate (Spindar) village of Khoshnaw area.

The commander of the Special Force (Mahmud Kawani) and his Peshmerga had a great role in attacking bravely the strongholds of the Regime's forces around (Spindar). Prior to sunset, two Mig aeroplanes strafed (Mahmud Kawani's) positions. The commander suffered severe injuries. Nevertheless, beleaguering (Khoshnaw and Hiran) villages is continued.

Today, 18 August, the Russian fighters and bombers aircrafts had bombed all the villages in (Khoshnaw) area with heavy bombs weighing 750 pounds each; the raids continued until the evening on (Haruta, Khatê, Totma, Balisan and BêInga).

Great damages were inflicted upon the residents and their houses, herds, cattle, orchards, cornfields and the forests. The tribes of the area consider the aggressive Regime their most dangerous enemy, the fact which made them friends who are affectionately holding to us. The tribes who fight the Regime on

our side are: (Haruté, Misory and Peshtagré).

On Monday 20 August, we passed (Darash and Chewa) villages. We have installed our wireless set beside (Kani Gweza) water spring on the (Zinater) mountain.

Khoshnaw (Nahia) is Freed

On 21 August our forces captured (Knoshnaw) (Nahia). The officials and the employees at the town were all taken prisoners. We have also taken all the wireless sets and their accessories as the spoils of war. Since the majority of the policemen were the residents of the area they were all released, on condition of good conduct and the guarantee of prominent persons in the area. All of them returned home in their villages unharmed.

Two journalists who had come to Kurdistan from Switzerland and Germany had been taking live pictures with their cine cameras while fighting was on for capturing (Khoshnaw) and other places. They had also filmed the Leader Barzani's daily activities and outlooks, insight and perceptions of the war with his attachments to the fighting locations. Many other private pictures of Barzani were taken while he had his dinner.

Five or six units would enter (Shaglawa) Qaza every night inflicting heavy damage on the mercenary and police forces. Before the sunrise they would return to their HQ's.

Now, all the strategic mountains of (Saffin) is in our hands; while, we have been informed through decoding the Regime's messages directed to the Ministry of Interiors, that the (Harki) mercenaries, from Iranian borders and the (Bradost) mercenaries from the Turkish borders have re-entered Kurdistan bringing all

their arms and wireless equipment. They have started to rebuild and strengthen the position around their own villages and on the mountains in the vicinity. These tribal mercenaries are preparing for an assault from behind the Peshmerga lines. Barzani had also received the news of adverse activities exercised by (Bradost, Soffi and Hurki) tribes from his brother (Sheikh Ahmed Barzani). I started to leave for (Betwata) position to meet its supervisor (Umer Debbaba). I had to pass by (Chiwa) and (Mergaser) villages which are facing (Nusak) mountain. Then I passed (Hatal) opposite to (Zhare) and (Sarigalat) mountains. These two villages are within the authority of (Sulaimaniyah). To arrive at (Betwata) in the evening we had to go through (Peerkeer) village at the foot of (Shikar and Mota) mountain. The following day we went back to (Mandêr) village.

Umer Debbabe

Umer Debbabe, a celebrated member of the KDP, Peshmerga, intellectual and pioneer who had studied in the College of Law in Baghdad was an enthusiast interested in the capture of the Kurdish major cities. In one of his attempts for the achievement of his desire he submitted a plan for attacking one of these towns, to the Leader Barzani which was refused by him. Barzani presented an opinion he had maintained continuously all through his struggles. He said, "We fight for the sake of the inhabitants of these towns which form the resources of all our powers, therefore, we must not try to destroy them because we don't have heavy arms to defend the towns after their liberation by us, neither on the land nor in the air." Barzani then folded

the paper in which the plan was written handing it to (Umer Debbabe). Moreover, Barzani was against the destruction of any establishments or factories inside the Kurdish big cities as they were the source of living for the people. Destruction of the railway lines between both Kuruk (Hamrin) and Kirkuk – (Pirdê), which happened later on, had helped in transmitting our voices to the world outside Iraq, nevertheless, the destruction of the lines had been predicted already by Barzani because the Regime intended to obliterate them before they would be used by the Peshmerga.

On Wednesday 22 August two Mig aeroplanes raided our wireless post at (Mander) village. Our Peshmerga (Abdull Haji Rasul Bendaizani) was martyred and (Kereem Mustafa Bendaizani) was injured.

On Thursday 23 August we climbed (Hawré) mountain, arriving at (Kuneflusa) and Kamôsk) villages, opposite to (Gezhabzher) mountain. We transferred our wireless (Aras) post to a vale near (Hiran) town at the foot of (Safin) mountain.

On Saturday 25 August, Barzani ordered us to return to (Bradost) area. To make our burdens a littler lighter, I left a wireless set with (Haj Muhamed Ibrahim Agha) in (Hiran) village. I left another set with a battery charger with the grocer (Qassim) in (Darusalam) village.

On Monday 27 August, since the past two days our army and wireless installations station headed by Barzani started to return to (Bradost) area in the day time (Hiran) area was entrusted to the Peshmerga, with the appointment of responsible leaders. Barzani had furnished all the fighters with necessary instructions.

We had passed (Mander, Chêwê, Balisan, Bêraw and Shêrê) villages. We are now in (Malaka) village. While we were moving along (illusion aircrafts roared highly above our caravan of proceedings, with no attempts of attacking us. They had been manoeuvring for knowing our real intentions in leaving the forward regions for the areas we had been occupying previously. It seemed that the Regime was greatly puzzled by the new tactics.

Today, a new participant has joined us. He is a man from the Barzan area who had been working with the Ministry of Defence in Baghdad in the capacity of wireless officer. With Barzani's permission I appointed him to assist (Mullah Sliman), the Peshmerga who is in charge of our wireless post.

These days, the Regime's correspondence is getting bulky and more complicated to be deciphered easily compared to the conditions a month before.

On Friday 31 August we left (Malaka) village. We passed by (Warté, Razhikaran, Prdisur and Darasalam) villages. We are now in (Gazna) village after we had left (Béshé) opposite to (Hassarirôsté) mountain.

The Outstanding events of August 1962 in brief

- A Turkish war aircraft has shot down an Iraqi (Illusion) aeroplane on the borders between Turkey and Iraq. This is in retaliation for the bombardment by the Iraqi planes of a Turkish Gendarmerie border post a day before with the infliction of some damages. A K Qassim harangued that the incident was a conspiracy concocted by the English and the Americans with the aid of the bandits and rebels.
- Barzani is desirous of adopting the motto of peace raised throughout Kurdistan as a flag, so that the blood of Kurdish people not to be split by the Kurds themselves. For the achievement of so sublime an end he has often requested hostile tribes such as the (Harki, Surchi, Bradosti and Rashid Lôlani) for the truce and friendship, but the urgent, sincere demands of Barzani were considered by the adversaries as the signs of the weakness of our forces. These hostile groups, were insistent upon behaving aggressively against our forces, therefore Barzani was obliged in these circumstances to prepare for launching defensive campaigns against the tribes. Barzani believes a great purge should be carried out against the mercenaries to purify Kurdistan

of them, so that the Kurds could be freed of serfdom and slavery a day before.

- Several films of fighting for freeing areas, towns and villages in Kurdistan of the Regime's Mobile Police Force and Iraqi army stations, have been shown in Germany and Switzerland. They have horrified the Iraqi Ambassador in Germany to an extent that he contacted Baghdad enquiring whether Baghdad itself was immune of so many offensives launched by Barzani and his forces.
- Now, a drastic decision was made by Barzani: We were to retreat towards the areas of: (Sidekan, Bradost and Lolan). Referring to the hostile tribes he said, "I don't want serpents and scorpions on my back." The mercenaries and Mobile police Forces who had previously fled to Iran and Turkey returned to Kurdistan occupying positions behind our Peshmerga strongholds. "We have to stamp out and trample these snakes and scorpions first" said Barzani, "Then we can proceed forward in the front lines."
- According to the decoded wireless messages relayed by the Regime, fighting in (Behdinan) is continuous between the Peshmerga and the Regime's, the police and the mercenaries' forces in the (Badinan) area. Until now, no freed villages or Peshmerga positions have been recaptured by the enemy.

The Special Force Commander Mahmud Kawani martyred

On Saturday 1 September, the Commander of the Special Army and the affectionate friend of Barzani died after he had

been severely wounded on 17 August at (Spindar) village behind (Shaglawwa) by shrapnel from a rocket fired by an Iraqi Airforce plane targeted at his dugout. It was a heartbreaking event and a hard bereavement for Barzani and a loss that could not be retrieved, for the Kurds in general.

The Wireless Net Stations in Operation

The Peshmerga numbers had been growing increasingly every day. Many Kurds had been joining the ranks of our movement while, the distances between the HQ and the posts in outer stations had grown so far that approaching them was not an easy task. To send a letter and wait for an answer was a problem in need of practical solution, therefore to facilitate the work I asked the Leader Barzani for permission to let us operate our wireless stations of(Behdinan).

The Kurdish Wireless Communications for the First Time

On Sunday 2 September 1962 the Leader Barzani issued an order for the utilisation of wireless net throughout the quarters and posts of the Peshmerga. The operation in the beginning started between our portable station and the (Behdinan) Army HQ under the command of (Ass'ad Khoshawi) and the KDP post in (Bêtwata). A notice was distributed by letters to our wireless operators in charge of the task to make use of wireless communications, for the first time in the history of our Movement. They were notified of the radio meter bands as follows:

1. Aras Wireless Station = APJ
2. Ass'ad Khoshawi Wireless Station = APM
3. Bêtwata Wireless station = APL

I brought the attention of all the operators to use the wireless in an emergency or whenever necessity arose. It is not to be used regularly for all the day permanently. This confirmation was to let the apparatus be available for eavesdropping, listening to the coded messages relayed by the Iraqi armed-forces, Mobile Police Forces and other governmental establishments. Our main task that concerned us most of all.

- On Monday 3 September we left (Talan) village for (Sidaken) village. Today fighting was continuous between our forces and the mercenaries at (Barzin and Berkma) villages near the Iranian borders. According to the messages we received by our wireless, (Fatah Agha Harki) and a group of his tribe who were following him had moved to (Kani Spi) village in Iran. They are to meet with an Iranian army commander for taking permission to live as refugees in Iran.
- On Tuesday 4 September, at 15.30hours we were bombarded by the Regime's airforce, outside (Sidekan) village. The Unit commander (Keko Dolemeri) and cousin were severely wounded. Among the village residents two children and a man were also wounded. At (Gezna) village a woman was killed. At (Talan) village a number of houses were burned with incendiary bombs. Air raids are continuous on the villages around (Sidekan), especially over the mountain sides and in the valleys of its surroundings.

On Wednesday 5 September air raids were resumed again on the same area. At (Gezna) village a woman was killed. The clues of the coded messages in terms of Regime's messages have been altered in connection with the Army, police and the governors of Erbil, Sulaimaniyah and Mosul. I am busy at present for deciphering the new keys and clues.

On Friday 7 September, according to the messages received by our wireless system and been decoded thereafter the following places will be bombarded tomorrow. In Sulaimaniyah, the villages in (Susê, Sukan, Mukan). In (Ain Sufni, Duhok and Zakho) the names of the villages are mentioned as

follows: (Pirafat, Zêwa, Bêsfki, Darchil, Barjon, Shalgrê, Govel, Bêbokhke, Gulnask and Dukhrak). Today we leave (Sidekan) for (Berkma) village. We passed (Topzawa) village in the night. We are still at (Banê) village. The mountain the back of the village is called (Barbzên). After taking a rest we resumed walking to pass (Banê and Berkma) villages arriving at (Snoni). A number of the villages we got through, in obedience to (Rashid Lôlan's) (the mercenary chieftain In the district) orders were burned while the residents were living inside their homes. Then he forced the men to join him as his own servants and mercenaries. They were transferred to (Lôlan) village by force (the village is owned by the mercenary chieftain Rashid Lôlan himself). A number of other residents followed the atrocious mercenary chieftain of their own accord, therefore in retaliation of their mischief's our forces set fire to their houses in the village. Hence, hardly a house could be seen intact in all these villages.

New Tombs and Cheese in Goatskins

On 13 September, a group of Peshmerga were walking in (Khoa Kork) valley beside a cemetery had noticed a dozen new tombs. The earth on the graves was fresh and the epitaph stones were out of order and disarranged. One of the Peshmerga said to his comrades, "let us now unearth the graves to find out the secret of this new burial. When digging the ground upon the graves, they found goatskins filled with cheese and tins full of bees honey hidden inside the false tombs.

Sheikh Rashid Lolan Meets High Rank Turkish Officers

1. Turkey has given permission to Sheikh Rashid Lolan, who is

a Kurdish mercenary living now in the Kurdish Turkish village (Kapank), to use wireless contact with Erbil and Rewandiz. As a result of decoding some of his messages we have realised that he had met with a Turkish army general and a group of other high rank Turkish officers. Turkey entices him to attack the Peshmerga forces with the assistance of the Turkish army so that they leave the border areas and the mercenaries could return to their villages. If they could not do that, the Turkish authorities would permit them to live in Turkey as refugees.

2. Yesterday we were in (Kawarté) village. We arrived at (Shôshne) village this evening.

Turkey Likes to Oust the Mercenaries

In accordance to the Regime's decoded messages the Turkish authorities urges Sheikh Rashi Lolan and all his followers of mercenaries to leave Turkish Kurdish village (Kapank) and return to the Iraqi territory.

Rolling a Turban

When a Kurd likes to indicate the shortness of the time an event would take, he uses the common Kurdish proverb (It takes the rolling of a turban) i.e. the time for rolling the turban round one's head.

I was sitting in (Khwa Kork) village with (Abdulla Agha Pishderi) the celebrated chieftain of a Peshderi tribe. We were chatting together. I asked him, "Agha, when do you think we would get our rights and become a free nation?"

In reply, he raised his hand and turned it round his head

and said, "It would take the rolling of a turban." This prophecy took place on 15 September 1962 at (Harumar) village, behind (Lolan).

- These reliable Personages of high responsible positions as commanders of battalions and units were constant companions of Barzani in (Sidekan) area: Haji Bêrôkhi, Hamad Agha Dôlamari, Sheikh Kawkas Said Taha and others who will be mentioned duly.

We Moved Again to (Khwakork) Valley

On Monday 17 September we returned to (Lolan) again. The mercenaries of (Herki) and (Sôfi) had been ousted from Turkey. They had settled behind our forces. We had installed our wireless station at (Bisôk) village which is at the bottom of (Khwakôrk) valley.

On Tuesday 18 September, the Erbil Governor gave instructions to Sheikh Ahmed Barzani, brother to the Leader Barzani himself, that he should provide facilities to Rashid Lolan's followers and the families of the (Bradosti) and (Soffi) to come back from the Turkish frontiers to (Mergasur) village, while they pass through the villages of (Khwakôrk) and (Kherazok) area.

On Wednesday 19 September Sheikhh Ahmed Barzani notified the Erbil Governor that he was prepared to accomplish this demand. While he indicated that he was unable to send any of armed men outside the Barzan region.

On Thursday 20 September we changed our position to (Spiaw) village, near (Khwakork) mounts and valleys. (Shakeu)

mountain is in front of the village and the other villages that had been burnt out exactly the same as the other devastated fields, gardens and houses in the area.

Unbroken Sequence of Bombardment

On 23 September, during the past two days, the air fighters and bombers have been continuously raiding, strafing and bombing throughout the mountains and valleys of (Khwakork) and (Shakew), from the dawn until the last hours of the sunset. Concentration is made upon (Armosh) village wherein Barzani is residing now and the Aras Wireless Station has been installed.

Barzani's Plan for Capturing Lolan

On 29 September 1962, we were in the (Lôlan) area. The Regime's forces had taken their strong positions on the high summits of twelve mountains in the surrounding areas. The Regime's forces had three wireless stations in addition to the station which was in (Lôlan) itself. We had laid all the wireless stations under strong, alert observation of the Aras Wireless Station. We had been monitoring and receiving whatever messages they had sent to (Rewandiz), (Erbil) and (Baghdad). We would decode the messages and deliver them to Barzani.

Later on one of those days Barzani convened most of the prominent Personages for an important meeting. The members who were called for the meeting were: Abaidulla Barzani, Brigadier Aziz Akrawi, Captain Bakir Abdulkereem, Aziz Atrushi, Hashim Agrawi, Ali Shaban, Abdula Agha Pishderi, Mullah Abdulla, Mullah Mator and Kwekha Kereem Mawati.

Barzani looked at the men assembled in the reception place asking "It is essential before the impending cold season to rescue the mountain summits from the enemy for occupation by our forces. Now, for the completion of this vital action how many weeks do you think we will need?" One by one everybody indicated a certain period none of which was less than five or

six weeks. Then Barzani said, “I’ll make them evacuate the mountain tops in one week, I’ll drive them out of Lolan, too.” He turned his eyes toward (Ali Shaban) telling him “Prepare food for the consumption of seven days” – our food available at the time consisted of leavened bread, tea and sugar.

Barzani’s plan was set in the following manner:

1. Five hundred Peshmerga should proceed in the direction of (Lolan) during the sunset. In the dark stage of twilight they must return to their former place. The following day, monitoring three Regime’s wireless stations as usual we heard them alert (Lolan) of the movement.

2. A day after in the twilight when the sun was setting the same Peshmerga started again towards (Lolan). They came back again to the same place where Barzani was. At the same night, the Lolan wireless station told three posts on the mountains to leave their posts and return to Lolan.

3. The same tactic was repeated on the third day. At night the wireless of Lolan was now in great panic, requesting all the mercenaries and mobile police force to abandon the mountain strongholds and hurry to rescue Lolan village. They imagined that all these Peshmerga were on the way to attack Lolan in which the mercenaries’ families, children and wives were living.

4. On the fourth day in one overwhelming offensive the Peshmerga swept all Lolan and its surroundings, a great part fled to Turkey the rest hid themselves in the Iranian territory.

When the colds of winter crawled over the mountainy countryside, Barzani announced amnesty for all the mercenaries outside the boundary of Kurdistan to return. They came back with all their families, wives and children and possessions,

herds and cattle in caravans passing through the throngs of Peshmerga posts towards 'Erbil'. A great number settled in (Mandan) on a flat land near (Akrê) In the aftermath of this gigantic pilgrimage the Regime apprehended the chieftains of the tribes regarding them as traitors, because they passed through the hostile Peshmerga unharmed. Nonetheless they were released after a few months. In this manner the rear and flank of our forces were safe. Our armed squadrons moved forward to (Safin) and (Shaglawa) for striking feely at the Iraqi armed-forces with harder blows.

On 11 October 1962 after the twilight in the evening two hundred Peshmerga moved under the command of (Issa Swar Barzani) and the company of a group of battalion and unit commanders. There were: ('Areef Darwesh Sindi), (Ali Ali Kocher), (Ali Halo) and (Hashim Mirozi). A number of other Peshmerga had joined this expedition because they were acquainted with the locations and the area where the oilfield lay. These were (Hasso Kelki), (Hama Sur Hssen), (Mustafa Farej).

A great offensive was launched on all the police stations guarding the oil wells and the installations inside (Ain Zala) in Mosul governorate .It was a great triumph the purpose of which was to extend our voice to the world outside Kurdistan and also to prove for the aggressive Regime that the liberation Army of Kurdistan is capable to reach any place through the country in order to inflict severe damage and effective punishment.

In this campaign more than (70) armed-policemen were captured with two British oil experts (Gozling and Derick Dankors). Many world media sources in the world broadcast the news of the daring attack.

Summary of Events in September 1962

Our movement is continuous especially in the (Behdinan) and (Soran) areas, and fighting is going on as usual against the Regime's Army, Mobile police force and mercenaries, achieving great victories. Any Kurd with nationalist sense every day becomes angrier against the Iraqi Regime and its various institutions because whenever he looks around he finds poverty and utter destitution spread out among the people. Nevertheless, despite their entire calamity the people never shrink, they are never defeated. On the contrary they are always prepared for serving the Peshmerga fighters wholeheartedly with all that they possess, in spite of their intense poverty.

When the sun rises in the morning and you look about viewing the gorgeous mountains, flowing fountains, verdant natural lawns, fresh fields and dense forests in the old places which had been summer resorts in the old peaceful times, real beauty of Kurdistan emerges out to prevail upon everything else unit the horror of impending bombardments presents itself. Then it deprives the heart of the transient pleasure; sorrow and catastrophe start as usual again. The loveliness of the trees invoke a great sense of pleasure especially when the trees shade and hide our position from being discovered by the

raiding planes and the shelling of artillery, when they receive instructions, by telephone for pounding our hideouts.

House Furniture Items of a Peshmerga Unit

When we had been residing at (Khwakor) village, the furniture items in (Abdulla Agha Peshderi) unit position were three or four sheep tanned skins usually used as mattresses or cushions, for sitting and sleeping, and two sooty tin kettles. On many occasions their position would happen to lie near my wireless station. During the fights or moving to transfer their places, they would put all their belongings on the back of one donkey.

On one of those hard days when fighting was very intense and the Iraqi army was facing us, owing to the tremendous sounds of blasts and explosions the donkey was scared, strayed and ran away towards the Iraqi frontlines. Abdulla Agha being a nice gentleman would never lose his humour, started to shout at the Peshmerga, "Good chaps, for God's sake, please don't let our headquarters surrender itself to the enemy."

On 10 January 1963 (Abdulla Agha Peshderi) was assigned the rank of commanding the (Safin) Regiment, latterly he was appointed as the commander of (Balak) Regiment.

Invisible Beads

When a thing or a Person is hard to be found, the Kurds say, (it is or he is invisible beads). The origin of this saying is not known, but it may have come down from the ancient Kurdish mythology when rosary, or beads were used to evoke invisible spirits.

The mercenaries in (Lôlan) area were afraid of Abdulla Agha's forces greatly. They were the only fighters who donned

Khaki uniforms, therefore, they were hard to be seen when hiding among the rocks. The Regime's wireless station brought their comrades' attention to this question. They would shout, "The Barzanis have a group of armed men fighting on their side. They resemble invisible beads; they will suddenly appear and present themselves in front of you to prevail upon you."

Mullah Abdulla (Mullah Mator)

Mullah Abdulla was a supposedly pious, religious man, he was enlisted as an agile KDP member, and reliable cadre who propagated the KDP criteria and principles among the people in Erbil and its vicinity. He used to roam the country on a motorcycle, thereupon; he was nicknamed (Mullah Mator = Mullah motorcycle-rider).

Unground Paddy – Rice in the Husk

Once, a Peshmerga of our wireless-set mobile headquarter had found a cotton bag full of rice among the branches and leaves of a tree. Happily he brought it to our H.Q., a thatched mud hut at that time. He showed his precious asset which he regarded as invaluable as rubies and emeralds. When he showed it to his comrades, thus making everybody as happy as he was. Hurriedly, he put empty petrol tin on the fire, with the rice and water. A great fire started to cook the pottage, for hours till the midnight, but to no avail, the ingredient was not willing to stew. It was a strange puzzle until a comrade Peshmerga popped in. He had been a chef in his old happy days. Looking at the clumsy vessel with its contents he said, "This is not rice, it is Paddy Rice in the husk."

Mule Rugs for Bedding

At (Khwakork) of (Lôlan) area when we were travelling, darkness had spread on the wilderness of valleys and heights. Rain had been falling in torrents drenching us thoroughly all over to the bones. Our clothes, gear and whatever we had on our mules, were soaked in water. The old rugs on the mules which we used instead of saddles were saturated in water. We could not find a cave to settle in for the night. From dry leaves, limbs and branches we made a big fire as usual to dry and warm ourselves. While gathering in a circle round it, we brought down from the mules backs a few sheep skins which we used for sitting on and as blankets for sleeping. Thereafter we were all in search for finding rocks suitable for protecting us from the rains while we were asleep. As my share, I had a sheepskin to use. Then I prepared my bed in the shade of a rock and arranged the wireless equipment and all the other accessories. Suddenly I heard the voice of two Peshmerga shouting at each other, in a way which hardly happened among the people who had sacrificed everything for the sake of a cause which made of them true, faithful friends. I hurried immediately to find out what the problem was. I said, "Why are you shouting at each

other?” One of the two Peshmerga said, “This mule has always been mine. I am serving it, loading and pulling it all the time. Now I want to use its rugs, which are used as a saddle on the mule, for the sheltering of me from the rains. My friend wants to deprive me of my rights. He wants to sleep under the rugs.” I had settled the quarrel by giving my own sheepskin to one of the men and let the other use the rugs. Our pack animals were as ourselves. We had no means to provide them with horseshoes, therefore when their hooves grew and became too long they stumbled over the rocks and the ridges of the rugged mountains. Many of these poor animals had lost their lives, tumbling down the precipices.

Upholding the Morale of the Army and Jash

During the Qassim’s reigning era the Regime’s Security and Media sources had been constantly informing their armed force units in ciphered messages that Mullah Mustafa Barzani had left the Zones of fighting. They often mentioned places 200-300 kilometres far from the actual location of Barzani. The substantial reason for this propagation was to uphold the morale of their armed forces which had been destroyed by the mere mentioning of Barzani and his existence within the zones of fighting. On 19 November we intercepted a coded message addressed to the police H.Q. and the administration government administrator (Barzan) township in which it was claimed that Barzani had been wounded severely, near (Spindarok) village in (Zakho) area, by a heavy gun round explosion, whereupon he had succumbed and died two days later. In this message

the Regime Authority asserts “This news should be imparted to Sheikh Ahmed Barzani (Brother to the Leader Barzani). At the time we were in the (Lôlan) area where (Avdal) mountain is situated. We were in movement, going back to (Sidekan) village. Barzani sent the news of his good health to (Barzan). He assured the residents of his native village of the falsehood and contrariety of the Regime’s proclamations.

Shooting Guns in the Wedding of an Old Bride

On 21 December at (Betwata) village, one of Barzani’s escorts, while cleaning his rifle, dropped a cartridge which fell in a slit between two rocks. Two of his escorts and himself tried hard to take the cartridge out of the slit. At the same time a man who was passing by came forward to know what was going on. He said, “May I help you?” Barzani replied we had dropped a cartridge, now we wanted to take it out from the slit between these two big rocks. The passer-by vehemently said, “Your honour, you are sorry for one cartridge you have lost. Yesterday they brought back – wife (he mentioned the name of a prominent Personage occupying a responsible post with Peshmerga) from (Hiran and Nazanin), on a horseback. When the lady arrived at (Betwata), for jubilation and merrymaking, in obedient to the Betwata Station leader hundreds of rounds were fired over the old lady’s head. She was not a bride, neither a new one nor an old one either. In the evening when we were back in the village, Barzani sent for the responsible man. He scolded him strongly for the shooting and the wastage of ammunition in so foolish a way.

Application of Specified Cyphers for Kurdistan Wireless

On 21 January 1962 while I was in the company of Barzani's Special Force in (Betwata) Ismail Sarhang the First Operator of Wireless in (Permam = KDP Polit Beureau) came to visit me for the purpose of explaining certain points of information in regard to the coding systems with the Regime's methods of relaying messages. He was quite clever and intelligent and attained acceptable standards of ciphering with his own initiative and study, so that he could appreciate and thereby comprehend the essence of this particular profession rapidly. With the permission of Barzani we agreed to arrange a special system of ciphering to be used between the Aras Wireless Station and (Permam Wireless Station). I set a certain ciphering system, an innovation, void of fragile and susceptible weak points usually we found in the Iraqi Regime's compositions. We did all our best and exerted much effort to arrange it in a way that it would be impossible to penetrate for discovering its hidden secrets. Ismail also had a system of his own which we had revised together, agreeing later, after thorough inspection, on the main artistic factors. Until now, no professional expert within the Iraqi

Regime's Army units could ever unravel the difficult mystery of our ciphering methods. Two German journalists working with the German TV and radio had arrived at our HQ today. I performed the duty of translating for them when speaking with Barzani. One of the journalists said, "This abnormal system of wireless communication, not found in any other revolution, is unique of its kind. It discovers all the secrets in the possession of your enemy, in a manner there is no possibility of being surpassed."

Monday 10 October 1962

On the above date, the Shah of Iran had contacted KDP Polit Bureau at (Maluma) village close to Mawet in Sulaimaniyh province.. Barzani is not aware of the foundation details of this relation.

Discovery of Barzani's Position

On Monday 1 October, while the sun was about to set, I came across a cable relayed by one of the Regime's Wireless Stations. After decoding the content, it indicated that a great number of rebels had already entered (Sidekan) village and Mullah Mustaf Barzani is now in front of a rock near a certain dale. Barzani's place of residing had been meticulously described. It seemed that it had been precisely traced. I sent the cable immediately to Barzani when he in turn informed (Keko Dolemeri) to go to the village for warning the families of the impending bombardment. In the meantime Barzani with his son Ubaidulla Barzani changed their place to another location 300-400 metres away from their former hiding place. The war

aircrafts appeared strafing immediately to rocket the exact rock, while other aeroplanes bombarded the houses in the village. Unfortunately, the brave messenger (Kako Dolameri) while he was returning, shrapnel hit him, severely injured, as a result of which he spent all his life disabled and crippled.

(Khalid Sa'id) whom we have mentioned as a clever selfless man who works as a male nurse at his hospital of (Sidakan) village is now with us, in (Bradost) area.

New Round of Negotiations

Approximately about the month of December in 1962, when we were around the flat lands of (Betwen), the Iraqi Regime had shown a desire for the renewal of another round of negotiations. For this purpose it had assigned an officer to carry out discussion with Barzani. A member of the KDP Polit Bureau told Barzani: You are the Leader of the Kurdish people; the Government should send to you a delegate in the rank of a minister. In replying, Barzani said, "For the benefit of Kurdish people, if the Government even send a corporal I would negotiate with him."

Dressing Peshmerga Uniforms

About the month of December in 1962, when we were in (Betwen) area, among all the Peshmerga, I was the only one within the ranks of Barzani's Special Forces, who had put on Khaki uniform which had been designed for wearing by the armed men as a formal dress. The dress of Party and Polit Bureau members were the clothes worn by ordinary Kurdish countrymen, a pair of baggy trousers and a padded coat, or a sort of lighter dress donned in the summer. That was made of a native fabric, knit out of spun threads of various colours tailored in styles. Peshmerga Khaki uniform after 1964 had become prevailing fashion and mode of all the time among the armed men in (Behdinan). The KDP members have adorned themselves with the new fashion of dress after I had put it on two months before. They had waistcoats made of Khaki fabric, semi-brilliant, while the Peshmerga who belonged to the units of (Soran) area wore Khaki uniform in general.

His People's servant

We were sitting as usual in the presence of Barzani with (Ali Askari) the prominent party member. The Leader was busy

writing a letter to (Abas Agha Mamund Agha) the great chieftain of (Akoyan) tribe. When completing the letter, Barzani started to read it for us, in the end concluding it with the routine phrase “Your servant.”

Hearing these fulminating words, which are so abnormal to the Kurdish ears, (probably Barzani had learned them from the European style of writing letters in Russia), Askari infuriated, standing up erect, about to leave the room, he said, “You are the Leader of a nation. What is that sort of strange humbleness?” “What do you mean by servant?” Barzani exasperated said, “O, sit down please, you crazy man! I am the servant of all the Kurds who are nationalists and all the others; those who serve their own people and extend an assisting hand to whoever they may be. If the Kurds find it that I desire to have the honour of being their servant, then I should be happy and proud.” At the end he folded the letter and handed it to be sent over. In this conjuncture and combination of events I would like to state here that Ali Askari, in the outset of the Kurdish National Movement until the end of 1962 had been attached to Barzani. He had been permanently in the service of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and a real ferment for consolidation. His being in proximity of Barzani was a great advantage. When (Umer Dabbaba) another party member of prominent position had come to our HQ and departed with (Askari) for (Maluma) the KDP Central Bureau High post, Barzani was greatly dejected and disconcerted, regarding that as a beginning for disconnecting him with the Party and its members at (Maluma).

In the same manner, after the lapse of a short time, the party

Polit Bureau in (Maluma) had advised (Abdulla Agha Peshderi) to return to the KDP HQ at (Maluma). The Special Force, which was under the command of (Pishderi), had been supporting Barzani at (Lôlan). Therefore, when Barzani got wind of some sort of political agitation in the move, he alerted (Pishderi) to ignore the call of the Party message and remain adjacent to him, since a sense of conspiracy had been felt in the Party members' actions.

In the Beginning of 1963

January 1963

I would like to enlist the following items I had registered in my memoir booklet as follows:

- On 1 January Leader Barzani visited (Betwata) village
- On Wednesday 2 January we are with Barzani at (Kunaflosa) village in (Shaglaw) area.
- On Thursday 3 January (Lugman Barzani) the Leader Barzani's son had arrived at (Barwari Balla) area. Now he is with his brother (Aubaidulla) at the First Army HQ with (Assad Khoshawi) at (Qumre) village.
- On Friday 4 January I had put down this sentence: (The day I feel despondent and have no hopes. That day must be the last day of my life).
- On Wednesday 9 January our Guerrillas began activities near Erbil. A Peshmerga force had attacked the police station at (Derbend Gomaspan) = Gomaspan Valley.
- On Thursday 10 January A. K. Qassim had issued a letter of amnesty for the people who carry arms against the Regime. It states, the armed men should surrender themselves within ten days, without pre-conditions.

- On Friday 11 January. Tonight there are fightings on a large scale between our Peshmerga and the Regime's and mercenaries' forces at (Sari Akrê) at (Mangish = Duhok) and also in the surroundings of (Amadiyah). Our Peshmerga morale is quite high while there is a lack of food at the same time.
- On Tuesday 15 January: We arrived at (Chiwa village on the skirt of Sefin Mountain) in the evening. The Leader Barzani is a guest at Haji Badri's house. Other news is that the students in the university colleges are on strike. They demand freedom for the Iraqi political prisoners and solution for the Kurdish issue in a democratic way.
- Haji Bedri's elder son has killed a tiger cub on (Chewa) mountain. He told us that he found on the same mountain deers with branched horns. He meant stags or deer with antlers. Relating the incident of his tiger killing he said, "I went out after midnight for hunting deer. I lurked behind a rock near a water spring. In early dawn, suddenly and inadvertently I noticed a wild animal move cautiously to hide in the crevasses and small caves in the mountain. I went forward and aimed my shotgun at the hole into which it had entered. When it was hit and shrieked I knew it was a tiger. I was frightened tremendously. I ran and hid hurriedly behind a huge rock. When the sun rose and mountainsides were bright I could see the dead animal which was a two-year old tiger cub killed with the gunfire, I pulled the carcass down the steps. In the drawing room of Haji Badri's house I latterly saw the small tiger's hide which was extremely attractive with multi-coloured sparkling spots of various sorts of reflection when changing the positions for sighting it.

- On Wednesday 16 January: We arrived at (Betwata) village. The Leader Barzani had resided as a guest at (Anwar Beg's) home. During his stay in this area this house had been used as the HQ for Barzani and his Special Force, (Anwar Beg) was Barzani's eye, his informer telling him of any misdemeanour or aggression impartially perpetrated by a man in the village. Nevertheless, this service cost him dearly, with both the KDP members and the Regime's authorities later on. He was obliged by the Regime to carry arms against Peshmerga which he did reluctantly as it became known when he had been in constant cordial relations with Barzani during his attachment to the groups of mercenaries.
- On Friday 18 January 1963: Tonight (Derbend Gomaspan) police station has surrendered to Peshmerga with all their arms and ammunition.
- Saturday 19 January: Since yesterday (Degala) police station near (Koia) has been surrounded by Peshmerga.
- Sunday 20 January: Today (Degala) police station surrendered to Peshmerga
- Wednesday 23 January: Widespread demonstrations are orchestrated overwhelmingly in Mosul, Erbil and Baghdad against A. K. Qassim. People request democracy, liberty, release of the political prisoners and the solution of the Kurdish problem by democratic methods.
- On 26 Saturday: (Rashid Lôlan) urged people from the Iraq Radio at Baghdad to head and take advantage of the general amnesty issued by the Regime.
- On Thursday 31 January: Since the announcement of the

general amnesty no Person has surrendered to the Regime, in spite of this, fighting in many regions of Kurdistan has become more intense and severe. Peshmerga obtained massive quantities of spoils from the Iraqi armed forces.

The Month of February

- Today on 1 February 1963: We left (Betwata), passing by (Shkarta) village. We arrived at (Saruchawa) village in (Bitwen) plateau opposite to (Nalashken) mount. Today is the seventh day of Ramadan. Barzani is on fast. After he had dined (broken his fasting) I delivered a few cables (telegrams) for pursuing. He was reading (Quran). After completing his reading of the Holy book, he began to read the messages.
- On Saturday 2 February: Today we passed by (Choliawa, Mirabag and Pashkotal) villages. We arrived at (Kani Bnaw) upon (Sharaw) river, between (Shawer) mount and (Kêwa Rush).
- On Sunday 3 February: Yesterday night approximately (300) Peshmerga under the command of (Kamal Mufti) raided (Silêman Beg) railway station. They captured a great number of armed policemen and soldiers with an army officer and the guard of the station. They had delivered their personal arms, too.
- On Monday 4 February: Yesterday the Regime's aeroplanes dropped leaflets. They extended the period allowed for surrender until the end of the month of Ramadan.
- On Wednesday 6 February: Today the Peshmerga forces near (Badawa) and (Khanzad) cracked down upon an Iraqi

army caravan. Eight soldiers were killed. A Major was injured with an armed policeman and four mercenaries.

- On Thursday 7 February: We have left (Kani Benaw) and we passed (Kotul, Dalalan and Woshian) villages, heading for (Kewarush) mountain. We can view (Hanjira and Teloka) villages (Rania) the important town where the Regime has its administration centre is only half an hour by foot. We arrived at (Mamkan and Melekan) villages. We stayed at (Zangana) village.

Coup d'etat of Báath

- Friday 8 February 1963: Today, from 8 o'clock in the morning until 12 at midday, the Baghdad Broadcasting Radio Station has announced eight proclamations, stating that A K Qassim has been murdered and the coup d'etat has succeeded. It seems that the Arab Nationalist ideology has been adopted in the policy of this movement. A great number of the police and army officers have been expelled and others have been appointed. (Abdulsalam Arif) has appointed himself a President, (Ahmed Hassan Bakir) Prime Minister and Defence Minister, Hussain Talib Shbib Foreign Minister, Ali Salih Alsaïdi Interior Minister, Tahir Yahia Commander in Chief of the Army, Rashid Muslih Chief Martial Law Commander, Airforce Staff Captain, Arif Abdulrazzag appointed as the Commander in Chief of Air Forces.
- Today we left (Doogoman) village. We passed by (Gertic) village crossing (Gafrên) river and headed to (Shaidan) village. Yesterday, by Barzani's order (Mamjala Talabani) visited (Peshder) Qaimgam = the Administration Governor. He informed the Governor of a truce proclaimed by Peshmerga temporarily until further notice, and that we would be in waiting for the new

administration's decisions with regard to the recognition of the Kurdish just demands.

- On 8 February 1963: When the Ba'ath Coup d'état occurred Barzani at the time was in (Doogoman) village in (Rania) area. Normally he did not sleep at the nights therefore; he had left the village in the early morning and had slept by an enormous rock. I was listening to the Regime's wireless-sets. They were greatly disturbed. The sun was almost up when I was listening to my portable small radio. Baghdad Radio Station, the Arabic Programs announced No. 1 Proclamation. The Kurdish Baghdad Station played the usual song records consequently. At the same time two aeroplanes flew highly above the area. They did not inflict any aggressive acts. I told Barzani's Personal escorts of the Coup d'état in Baghdad and that they should wake up the Leader. Nobody was ready to take the responsibility of the task, thereupon, I was obliged to take the initiative very carefully and quietly, near the Leader's head I whispered to him, "Your Grace, Coup d'état has occurred in Baghdad." He opened his eyes very quietly. He was not startled. He asked for his portable radio set, the Proclamation No. 1 was repeated. Barzani said, "I am convinced that we will be asked for negotiations by the new Regime."

- There were two ponds in (Doogoman) village full of water. The residents of the village used to go to the ponds with their cattle and herds for drinking water and filling their pots and pans and goatskins. The pond's water was stagnant. They were surrounded by dung and dirt. Barzani during our 1971 Agreement with the Government had asked the late (Noori

Shawez) who was minister at the time, to have an artisan well dug in (Doogoman) village for securing clean water for the village residents and their domestic beasts.

The houses in the village had been built by stones, bare stones with no plastering materials in between. A few houses were covered from the outside with dung, others had not any covering layers. Mice and rats were sporting, going inside and coming out freely.

From this village Barzani desired to visit (Pishder) area to meet a few tribe chieftains. His purpose was to advise the prominent tribe leaders not to antagonise the path of our movements. One of these chieftains in (Pishder) had claimed, before the Ba'ath Coup d'état being proclaimed, that Barzani would not arrive at their quarters. He said, "Barzani would either fall ill or his conditions with the Movement would fall apart. This false prophecy had been conveyed to Barzani lately.

- On Monday 11 February 1963: (Abdulsalam Arif) the new President of Iraq after the Coup d'état issued an ultimatum that all the communist leaders and well know members of the party should be put to death, and the ordinary members must be apprehended. All over the Governments, assassinations, imprisonment and pursuing of the communists were asserted. The member who could save himself from being hanged or caught, fled to take asylum in the liberated parts of Kurdistan.
- On Tuesday 18 February: We passed through (Qalawa, Sidalan and Sharwêt) villages. The residents are (Mangur) tribe. We are now in (Tôtma) village near by (Kôrash and Panasur) mounts.

- On Wednesday 13 February: A few men were sent by Barzani to Baghdad for demanding the national just rights of the Kurds from the new authority.
- On Thursday 14 February: With Barzani's order and following a request by the Government in Baghdad our wireless started to communicate with the government stations and also with Brigadier Fuad Arif for the continuation of negotiations between the Government and Barzani. We have assigned the time and place for a future meeting.
- On Saturday 16 February: The military staff Major Majid Amin was assassinated by the new Regime. (Lugman Barzani) Barzani's son, (Salih Yusifi) accompanied by Captain (Kereem Qarani) arrived at (Spirô) village, beyond (Qaladza).
- On Sunday 17 February: We are now in (Basté) village.
- Today, Jalal Talabani and Salih Yusifi travelled to Baghdad representing a special delegation sent by Barzani. They are accompanied by (Kereem Qarany) the Government representative.

Barzani Demands from Baàth in the Name of Kurds

1. Recognition of autonomy for Kurdistan, proclaimed and announced through the Government Radio and published in the Official Journal, with confirmation of the rights in the Iraqi Constant Constitution whereupon to be submitted to the UN.
2. Demarcation of Kurdistan frontiers as: Turkey in the North, Iran in the East, Syria in the West and the series of Mount Hamrin in the South.
3. The Kurdish language must be the official language of Kurdistan, and teaching at school must be in Kurdish. Areas whose languages are not Kurdish should be taught in their own native languages, in addition to the Kurdish language.
- 4A. Autonomy shall base on parliamentary democratic system. The Vice President and Deputy Prime Ministers must be Kurds. A Kurdish National Assembly must be convened by the Kurds Authority. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Defence shall be within the Federal Government whilst for the other ministries, Kurdish Ministers of Staff must be appointed.
- 4B. The number of the Kurdish Ministers within the cabinet in Baghdad must be in accordance with the ratio of the Kurds to

the Iraq population.

4C. Specification of definite portion for the Army, in ratio with the Kurdish population.

i. The armed men (soldiers) and the officers of all ranks in Kurdistan must be Kurds.

ii. The portion assigned to the Kurds must consist all the army forces: the air forces, infantry, armoury, communications, engineering and air-defence units.

iii. Establishment of military institutions in Kurdistan equivalent to the institutions in Baghdad.

iv. Kurdistan Budget: Income tax, customs and excise and duty charged by the Government Departments with a fair dividend of oil income not to be less than (2/3)

v. Peshmerga forces to be left intact in Kurdistan until that time when the Army service strength is completed. Wage and salary are paid to the Peshmerga with food and clothes effective as from the instant.

vi. Establishment of the autonomous temporary government in Kurdistan.

- On Tuesday 19 February: we set out from (Bastê) village for (Bulk) village upon (Zharawa) river, beyond (Qaladiza). The residents of these villages belong to (Mangur) tribe.

- On Wednesday 20 February: We left (Bulk) village this afternoon and we passed (Richwan and Srija) villages arriving at (ChomKhrka). We are the guests of (Mahmud Agha Abas Agha Mirawdaly). He is related to (Babakr Agha) of (Pishdar).

- On Friday 22 February: Today we entered (Qaladiza) town.

- On Wednesday 27 February: We left Qaladiza and we

passed by (Tzarawa, Sultana De and Sengeser) villages, staying at (Derbend) village. Following a request by the Barzani delegation, the Government yesterday released a great number of detained Kurdish Prisons.

- On Thursday 28 February: The new Government had started to review and reconsider the past events taking place formerly in Mosul and Kirkuk, supposedly under the name of communism against the people of these cities. The real intention of this Government is to annihilate or apprehend all those who had supported A K Qassim. Aggression is also rife against those known to have supported democratic principles. Approximately 40-42 newspapers and magazines are published now, all of which are pro-Arabs, while, the free-minded people who believe in democracy are Perisecuted, detained and murdered. The new Regime has introduced an armed group of Youth whom it calls the 'National Guards'.

To pave the way and prepare the conditions for the Perisecution of the leftists and the democrats, the new Regime pretends it is desirous to abide by the promises for the recognition of the Kurdish rights; nevertheless, until the present time, there is not any tangible symptom of the pledges it has made. Freeing the Kurds who had been detained on the pretext of being KDP members is going constantly on; at the same time the Regime is busy moving its army units from the old battlement sites towards the main Kurdish cities as Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk, Mosul and Erbil. It seems that this military action is performed for the sake of reorganisation of troops and preparation for any unexpected events.

The Month of March 1963

- On Friday 1 March: Today we left the villages of (Derbend, Chwarqurna, Girjan and Quraniagha). We are now at (Kani Maran) village, in front of (Sheikh Zard) mount extending to the series of (Qochi Khoshnaw) mountains. The residents of these villages are of (Bilbas) tribe.
- On Monday 4 March: Today the Minister of State Fuad Arif, Baba Ali Sheikh Mahmud and the Chief of Staff of the Iraqi Army Tahir Yahia have come to meet with the Leader Barzani at (Qulay Kani Maran) village in the (Betwên) area. At the said village, which is situated between the main roads of Sulaimaniyah-Rania, the delegate resumed negotiations with Barzani.

The final list of the Kurdish demands was submitted to the government in the following manner:

1. Recognition of the Kurdish Rights on the basis of autonomy. This recognition must be included in the provisional constitution and later on inserted in the permanent constitution when obtaining final consensus.

The rights as listed below shall be clarified by the bilateral committee and be executed immediately

2. Proclamation of amnesty for all who have taken part in the

Kurdish Question.

3. Purification purging of all the Government institutions of the Persons who have inflicted damages on the Kurdish people and on Kurdistan.

4. Removal of any attachment on assessment and properties belonging to the Kurds who have participated in the Kurdish Revolution.

5. Taking off embargo laid on Kurdistan.

6. Withdrawal of all the forces from Kurdistan.

- On Friday 8 March 1963: A Coup d'etat under the motto and maxim of Arab Nationalism took place in Syria.

At 10.30 in the morning the former National Delegation returned to meet Barzani for another round of negotiation at (Chwargurna) near (Rania). The delegates are: (Rzha Shbib), (Faig Alsamarai), (Hussain Jamil), (Abdulaziz Alduri), (Zaid Ahmed Uthman) and (Faissal Habib Al-Khaizaran).

- On 9 March 1963: The Baghdad Radio Station announced that autonomy for the Kurdish was recognised within the framework of the Iraq Government.

- On Saturday 16 March: The following of Peshmerga unit commander started from (Amadiyah) town for (Koia) accompanied by (Hashim Agrawi). They will present themselves in an assembly for the discussion of the legal and political procedures upon which agreement on the Kurdish rights should be recognised and sanctioned.

The Personages assigned to make themselves present are: Assad Khoshawi, Ahmed Haj Shaban, Eged Sediq, Rashid Said Doski, Abdulwahid Haj Malo, Sleman Haj Badri, Tofiq Bag

Berwari, Khairi Said Beg Yazidi, Muhamed Tahir Haji Sadiq and Muhammed Haj Sadiq Bro.

- On Sunday 17 March: We are now at (Kani Bnaw) village. A great snow has fallen.

At the Town of Koia

- On Sunday 17 March: From (Rania) to (Koia) town I mounted a tractor with a few other armed men. I installed the Aras wireless station in the house of a townsman. The Iraqi Government administration folks were around at the town quarters.

Negotiation is carried on with the Baàth. The Government wireless sets at (Koia) and the Security's are under our observation. Telegrams and messages sent by the Government sources from (Koia) to Baghdad, Kirkuk and Erbil have been overheard and decoded by us. After reading them carefully I sent them to Barzani for his consideration.

- On Thursday 21 March: The Government request us to deliver all the weaponry and arms together with the wireless apparatus we have captured during one year and a half by fighting and sacrificing our lives.

Nevertheless, today there is a national celebration of the well known holiday of Nawroz which starts on the beginning of the spring, 21 March with hundreds of fires set all around Kurdistan.

- On 22 March: Among (30) delegates who had taken part in the negotiations a number were elected and sent to Baghdad for presenting the Government with the items of the Kurdish demands as regards of the latest general agreements.

- On Tuesday 26 March: A telegram was sent to Barzani notifying him of the negotiation delegates to be present at Baghdad on 31 March.
- On Thursday 28 March: Barzani approved of the negotiations to be held with the Martial Law Chief of Staff and our delegates consisted of Hashim Agrawi, Eged Amadiyah and Jalal Talabani.

The Month of April 1963

- On Thursday 4 April 1963: This morning (Umer Nugli Kwêstani) a member of the Democratic Party of Eastern Kurdistan left our H.Q.in Koi for Iran for the achievement of duties connected with the Kurdish National affairs. This man was a member of the group headed by (Ahmed Tawfiq) the Kurdish Nationalist from Iran. While he was working with the Barzanis moving HQ we taught him the techniques of wireless operation and the arts of coding, in the hope that he would be able to use his knowledge for the National Kurdish Movement if it started in the Eastern part of Kurdistan.

In the outset and prior to the April Movement, Barzani had the intention to start the Kurdish Revolution in the Eastern part of Kurdistan (Iranian Part). For the fulfilment of this purpose he had convened secret meetings with (Ahmed Towfiq) the Kurdish Iranian Secretary of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and a few of his comrades at (Chalwe) haven in the mount of (Shireen) where Arif Qarachatni and other Persons. Untimely resurgent nationalism of the tribe chieftains and the riots of landowners in (Sulaimaniyah) and other parts of Kurdistan with the knowledge and instigation of the Polit Bureau of that time

submerged Barzani's plan and rendered it inactive.

- On Monday 8 April: Our delegation is now in Baghdad. They have presented a memorandum to the Iraq and Arab delegation which is in Cairo now. It was essential for the Kurds' delegates to be present with the Iraqi members in Cairo, or at least the Kurds should have been allowed to send their own representatives since the Kurds are part of the Iraqi Government, therefore they must be taken into consideration when vital decisions are taken as regards the whole country. The Arab delegates of Iraq in Cairo are regarded as the representative of the Kurds as well, in accordance to the constitutional jurisdiction, nevertheless, it was far more preferable to have Kurdish representatives with the delegation for the sake of strengthening the Kurdish Arab brotherhood.

Now in the wake of negotiation in Kairo if Iraq remains with its present conditions, the Kurds accept (self-rule), while if among Iraq, Egypt and Syria Federal Government is formed, it is essential for the Kurds to be allowed an autonomous system of government. In case unification of Iraq and Syria was announced the Kurds must have the 'fourth region' of their own, which must have the right of self determination while staying within the Iraqi territory.

- On 25 April: Prior to our leaving (Koia) the Special Forces assigned to Barzani assembled ready for departure.
- On 26 April: We left (Koia) in the evening. It had been decided to arrive at (Sreshma) village, in two days, near (Gali Ali Beg) waterfall.

In two hours we arrived at (Mirsaid), consisted of four or five

houses. The villages of (Chinar and Mirsaid) are behind this village.

- On Monday 27 April: We passed by (Jali village and we are now in (Sknan) village. It is opposite to (Awagird) mountain. The mountains of (Mamkhoshnaw and Daroshan) are lying behind.

Haji Haji

He who pilgrims to Mecca in its precise time which is on a day before the Greater Bairam is called Haji in Islam, i.e. pilgrim. As storks are birds which migrate from one place to another with seasons, they are also called Haji. What brings attention at a village in (Balisan) valley is that on every tree and around the roofs of the village mosque there were tens of nests built by storks; their number exceeds one hundred and most of the elder men in the village had gone to Mecca, therefore they were called Haji. Some of those men had been named Haji by their parents when they were born. It was not a great surprise when I heard a man called 'Haji Haji'.

- On Sunday 28 April, we started to move again. We had received orders to the effect that no one should smoke cigarettes, no torch lighted and nobody should cough as much as possible. Chatting was also discouraged and shouting at the mules was also to be avoided. This was all because whenever, we passed along the mountainsides, the Iraqi soldiers had their strongholds and dugouts. It was a wonderful night as the mules on which our equipment and wirelasses had been loaded were also absolutely quiet and whenever these calm, obedient animals happened to trip on a stone in the mountain, they tried

silently to stand up on their hinds again. After walking a long while we arrived at the village of (Chewa Sura).

- On Monday 29 April: Following an order issued by Barzani, (Abdulla Agha Pishderi) was sent to (Spilk) mountain at the head of a special force to take their permanent position there.
- On Tuesday 30 April: We passed the villages of (Darash, Balôka and Tôtme). We are now at (Khate) village.

The Month of May 1963

- On Thursday 2 May 1963: Today we bypassed (Haruta Kôn and Tôtma) villages and we are now at (Sharasten) village opposite to (Harir) mountain.

In accordance to the current relayed conversations between the Regimes' various sources and decoding of several messages it is apparent that there is the intention of resuming war by the new Baàth authority.

- On Saturday 4 May: Tomorrow we will travel to the village of (Srëshma) and have to pass through these villages: (Bnaué, Grdkôk, Alana, Kani Rush, Kani Walman, Dashtilôk and Srëshma).
- On Sunday 5 May: The unit commanders and responsible Personages who had travelled from (Behdinan) to take part in the meeting of (Kôia) town, will start from (Srëshma) village, where we are now, to return to (Behdinan) area. Barzani had interviewed them and explained the matters related to the war times and necessary steps to be taken during the peace.

When we arrived at (Srëshma) village we installed our wireless in a village house. It was a happy coincidence that

(Umar Agha Surchi) the prominent chieftain of Surchi tribe, was a guest in the same house. In the early evening the (Agha) sent our host to buy him eggs from one of the few shops in the village. The man returned with a basket full of eggs, a part of which were boiled to be eaten on that evening, and the remnant was left for the next morning's breakfast.

- On Thursday 16 May: Today Jalal Talabani and the Kurdish delegation travelled to Cairo for further negotiations in relation with the Kurdish Question. This in the aftermath of the proclamation of (Unity of Association) among the countries of Iraq, Egypt and Syria.
- On Tuesday 21 May: We shall leave (Srëshma) village today and travel to (Khalan). On our way there is only (Hanara) village. We shall turn to the left direction in order to cross the (Khalan River).
- On Sunday 26 May: We are now in (Hanara) village at the foot of (Bradôst) mountain. Barzani travelled today to the area of (Barzan).

A Lie is a Short Rope

- In the month of May 1963 when we were in the areas of (Bradôst) mountain I was sitting beside my wireless set busy solving the riddles of the Iraqi coded messages. Fighting was continuing strongly on. A man called (Muhammad Raza Abdul- Rahman) was an operator in our Aras wireless-set. He was sending uncoded letters to other stations in which he enthusiastically said, "Lieutenant Shawkat has defected, left the rebel's side. He is sitting beside me now." When I heard this

stark lie, I could not hold myself and interfered. He became silent. The Kurdish proverb says “Lie is a short rope; the two ends don’t come together.”

The Baàth Regime Countermanded the Negotiations

- On Monday 9 June: Tonight after decoding the Iraqi authorities' secret messages I was completely assured of the Baàth unfaithful devices and devious intentions. They had decided on the resumption of war. The plans of impending attacks were obvious in the telegrams, the contents of which I sent to Barzani after deciphering them.
- On Monday 10 June: From the outset the Regime's troops and mercenaries launched an unwieldy offensive from (Erbil towards Shaqlawa).

The Baàth Regime headed by the new President Abdulsalam Arif read a proclamation on 10 June 1963, from Baghdad Radio announcing the end of negotiations between Barzani and the new Regime of Baàth. They have taken the decision to resume war. On the same day they attacked the Kurdish towns and villages. They arrested people and killed the innocents at random. A widespread and overwhelming conquest was on all over Kurdistan throughout the areas of (Dehok, Zakho, Barzan, Merga Sur, Koia, Chamchamal, Sulaimaniyah, Rania, Qaladza,

Dashti Garmian, Qaradagh, Khangin, Kfri, Kalar, Derbendi Khan, Halabja and Sharazur area.

Two Syrian Armies arrived at (Duhok) and (Zakho) areas in assistance to the Iraqi forces in their acts of attacking on Kurdistan. Both units were of the highly trained army groups of the Syrian commandos. They were called (Yarmuk and Barada) forces. They were accompanied by the Arab bedouins (Jash) mercenaries wearing white night robes and setting round their heads Keffiyehs and agals. Raising their robes in one hand they shouted, "We are bedouins, where are the enemies?" On their first onslaught they lost forty (Arab Beduin Jashes). In retaliation the Regime deplced the villages on both sides of the main road between (Zakho and Simêl). The residents of these villages were all Kurds. Arab Bedouins were brought to settle in the villages. As a result of fierce attacks launched by Baàth at (Barzan and Merga Sur) Barzani was obliged to withdraw to the (Pêris) mountain with his special forces.

- On Thursday 11 June: Fighting between the Regime's Army, mercenaries and our Peshmerga on the road of Erbil-Shaglawa is continuous on a great scale. In accordance to the Regime's correspondence we have decoded, the mercenary and all the Iraqi forces will launch further attacks under the protection of air cover and artillery shellings at the whole areas of Kurdistan.
- On Wednesday 19 June: We bypassed the villages of (Mandan, Zardagoman, Sorankê, Kani Dan and Shanadar) to arrive at (Rêzan).

(Sorankê) village is at the foot of (Biradost) mountain, opposite to the (Sheen) river = The upper Zab. Great fighting

is now around (Hujran and Korê) towards (Shaqlaw) vicinity.

- On Friday 21 June: We arrived at (Rêzan) village tonight. We were guests of Barzani in his dwelling. There are two valleys beyond (Rêzan) village. One is (Bêdarôn) valley, the other (Rêzan) valley.

- On Saturday 22 June: It is now two days since (Anwar Mai) has surrounded a company of Iraqi soldiers in the proximity of (Barbanki) village, between (Skreen) and (Swaratoka) villages. A raid of Iraqi fighters on the Peshmerga strongholds, while besieging the Iraqi forces, fired rockets (Anwar Ma'i) was martyred as a result of the attack.

- On Sunday 23 June: With the support of mercenaries the Fifth Battalion of the Regime was able to enter to town of (Koia). Our forces were not capable of transporting the tobacco bales in the town warehouse, in order not to fall in the enemy's hand, our forces were obliged to put one thousand bales on fire.

- On Monday 24 June: Our forces moved from (Salahaldin-Shaglaw) road. Therefore, the mercenaries could enter (Shaglaw) town.

- On Wednesday 26 June: The following army leaders were injured during the fights in (Spilek): Abdulla Agha Peshderi, Areef Yassin Chai, Umar Agha Surchi.

- On Thursday 27 June: This evening on the left-side of the mountain top of (Peris) the Commander (Mullah Shini Barzani) and four other Barzani Peshmerga were martyred.

- On Friday 28 June: Today the top of (Peris) mountain on the left side, opposite to (Bira Kapra) fell to the enemy.

- On Saturday 30 June: Today Colonel Aziz Agrawi peacefully

evacuated his position which was confronting the enemy forces under the command of Colonel (Kaffi Nabawi) on (Spilek). He returned with his forces to the mountains of (Goris and Nawakhên). In a future encounter the latter enemy Colonel had shown a great defensive fighting, in the aftermath of which he could rescue his forces from utter annihilation with the application of fine military tactics.

Perisecution of the Communists

From the first days of their Coup d'etat, the Baathist started to pursue the communists in the most harsh way and greatest savagery ever known in Iraq. They captured a communist wherever he was found, whether in the Army, the Government offices, private establishments, businesses, schools, institutions, universities, public or private companies. Aware of this unprecedented danger they fled towards Kurdistan in hundreds and thousands, seeking safe haven for themselves and their families. They took refuge where Barzani's forces were stationed and prevailing because, they did not feel secure in those villages where KDP members had been in the majority or prevalence. In the area where Barzani's forces were absent the KDP Polit Bureau of that time would have detained the escaping members of the Communist Party, releasing them after being jailed for months in their prisons. Eventually the Communist Central Committee had settled at (Durgala) near (Gelala). They began to arrange their rank and file to establish a military corps which latterly proved to be of great fighting ability and prowess when working under Barzani's supervision. On a battle in the (Handren and Zozik) mountains their trophy of

war consisted of semi-heavy weapons that proved to be highly useful and practical for our own forces.

The Baathists ended all relations with the Soviets and cancelled unilaterally the agreements previously sanctioned between Iraq and USSR.

We could distinguish the Syrian aeroplanes from the Iraqi ones since the Syrian had red signs under the fuselages that could be seen with the naked eye. They often flew over our positions and look around for bombing us. At night Special aircrafts had come, appearing from the Turkish frontiers. They flew very high, it seemed they had been on some reconnaissance purposes, sketching outlines of plans for future raidings. This tactic became obvious when the following days those places were attacked after they had been surveyed during the previous night. Sometime after the close surveillance great volleys of artillery shellings and missiles followed in an unprecedented manner.

On 18 October 1963, A S Arif led an uprising against the Baathists, prevailed upon all the Government's authority and institutions. According to the news and reports we received from the people inside the Turkish territory, the Government is concreting the cave entrances, the water fountains and carrying out a census in the Kurdish parts in preparation for probably military actions.

Tactics of Barzani's Independent Defensive War

In the month of June the Baathist's attacks were widespread with a war of annihilation particularly on the mount of (Peris) and (Mergasur) area, where Barzani's special force was

fighting. In the Southern areas further forces were intent on defending against the savage onslaughts of the Regime. Still further to the southern Kurdistan the Baathist Army fought the civilians barbarously, hence, it was obviously impossible to send any rescuing units to support Barzani's front which was in a great need of that, while the Peshmerga were fighting to keep (Bradost) mountain and (Gali Ali Beg) valley and (Mergasur) regions from falling to the Regime. The (Behdinan) troops are not inactively waiting at a distance from the Turkish frontiers. In spite of that Barzani did not request any rescuing forces from this front. Instead he tried his utmost to recruit the youth from the Barzan villages, such as (Mergasur and Argush). He supplied them adequately with arms and ammunition and for taking part in the defensive war as fresh units. At the same time all these villages were under the aggression of continuous bombardments and shellings.

It was greatly fortunate that hardly a man or woman among the residents of these areas had ever fallen in custody of these barbarous Baathists since the villages were evacuated completely before the hostile troops had approached the inhabitants were moved to the upper native lands. The mountains of Kurdistan had always been safe havens for the peaceful people, and were fortunate protection from the infernal fires and tortures of the unrelenting aggression of the Baathists. From Barzan and (Mergasur) areas the villagers withdrew, before the arrival of mercenaries and the hostile Army, to the villages in (Argush) area.

In addition to the Syrian troops, experts from the Algerian

partisans and the Yemeni pilots had participated in the fighting.

During the long period of the Baàth, while engaged fighting us, experts of the Algerian partisans and pilots from the Yemeni Air Force, in addition to the Syrian troops, had been participating in the aggressive war. Moreover, technicians and professionals of the Pakistani and Indian nationalities assisted the Regime in carrying out the act of reconnaissance and land sketching from the air, and in surveillance to pinpoint the strategic positions, the prominent mounts and many other vital strongholds for military purposes. Our decoding of Iraqi armed-forces, mobile police force and oter governmental departments messages had always confirmed this truth and the vitality of adverse foreign despotism.

The Iranian Kurdistan Democratic Party's Role in the September Kurdish Movement

In 1959 the KDP in the eastern part of Kurdistan (the Iranian Kurdistan) fell under unprecedented persecutions and became a target of aggression by (Savak) the Iranian Security Police. Many of the party active members such as (Ghani Blurian, Aziz Yusif and Dr. Maulawi) were apprehended. As a result of this despotism three hundred (300) of their party members took refuge in Iraq. They were received friendly in the Kurdish towns of (Penjwin, Chwarta, Rania) and the city of (Sulaimaniyah), especially by the KDP in Iraq, following Barzani's instructions.

In a quarter of (Sulaimaniyah) (Asshabaspi) a rent house was allocated to the guests and called a (commune). They practised their political activities in freedom. Their illiterate members took to free business and commercial transactions. Another group were paid by A. K. Qassim the sum of ten Iraqi Dinars as subsidy. In a few months these donations were blocked and this group was also obliged to indulge in the problems of manual works. Furthermore, they were harassed by the police. Under this difficult situation they left the city, and one by one or in larger groups went to live in the villages on the

borders of Iraq and Iran. Another group travelled to Europe for taking asylum in its countries. The last remnant of this Kurdish nationalist adhered their destiny with Barzani and the future of the Movement. When Qassim became reluctant to abide by his promises to the Kurdish Movement, a number of the armed men of the Democratic Party of Kurdish Iranian assembled to form a fighting front on the mount (Azmer) behind (Sulaimaniyah) city, where they started to be trained for fighting as partisans for the Kurdish Revolution.

The prominent Peshmerga who associated with the group were: Toffiqa Sur, Hama Mina Abdulla, Kwekha Kereem, Saà Sêtir, Ali Ajam. Their party leaders were: Ahmed Toffiq, Faiq, Mullah Baqi, Qadir Sharif, Sheikh Jamil Mardokhi, Mullah Abdul-Rahman, Mullah Said Rashid and Umer Wasta Raàuf. The latter Personages of the party travelled to (Pishder and Akoyan) area. They held meetings with (Abbas Agha Mamend Agha) and (Sheikh Hussain Boskin). They also visited (Penjuin), the border town near Iran. They met with (Hama Rashid Khan) a prominent tribal chieftain who has a great history of antagonistic problems with the Iranian Government.

On 19 September 1961 the Iraqi aeroplanes attacked the tribal groups perched on the mountain tops, and after heavy charges of artillery shelling they disappeared, fleeing back in a hurry to the villages. Now the wandering, desperate members of the Kurdish Iranian patriots were again in a new crisis. They retreated to the regions beyond (Azmer) mount and settled finally at (Qalla Churalan) village, in the protection of (Kwekha Hamad Amin) and (Qadir Tagarani). Nonetheless after a month

they changed this haven again for (Maroi) village to become guests in (Abdulla Agha Maroi's) house.

(Ahmed Tofiq) who was the party secretary decided with his comrades to join Mullah Mustafa's forces in the beginning of spring and to fight within the ranks of Peshmerga. At that time Peshmerga units were not in existence throughout (Sulaimaniyah) area for the volunteers to attach themselves to these forces. Besides this fact there was also no political party to take the responsibility of arranging political constitutions.

(Ahmed Tofiq) and his comrades guided by (Rashai Qachakhehi) took side roads to reach Barzani forces. After walking for seventeen days they arrived at the (Behdinan) area, near (Zawita Gali). It was at that time when I had the pleasure of meeting (Ahmed Tofiq) a brilliant, agile Kurdish nationalist of Iran. Being a native of (Sulaimaniyah) myself, he assured me of his well-being and the situations in the city and its surroundings. He also had information and fresh news to tell Barzani.

Barzani gave instructions to (Ahmed Tofiq) to travel abroad and dissipate facts as regards the Kurdish situation and their legitimate rights, and to extend our voices to the countries outside Kurdistan. His first activity started with his travelling to (Sulaimaniyah) when he could publish a leaflet under the title of (Barzani Again) = Disan Barzani.

The Kurdish Patriots of Sulaimaniyah took the task of distributing the pamphlet surreptitiously. People in the city were greatly anxious to hear the views of the Movement. After a while (A .Tofiq) and (Sheikh Jamil Marokhi) were able to get to the town of (Sina) a Kurdish prominent centre of nationalistic

movements and revolutions. It was the capital city of Mahabad Republic. From there, (A.Tofiq) travelled to (Kerman Shah) to meet the American Consul William Eagleton. He returned to (Berwari Bala) where we met him again. Then he embarked on a new journey for Tehran and after to Syria and Lebanon. In (Beirut, Issmat Sharif) met him to help in spreading the Revolution news. There it was when (Tofiq) could arrange for the celebrated journey to Kurdistan by the famous American journalist (Dana Adam Schmidt), accompanying him until they both arrived at Barzani's HQ in Behdinan area.

In the month of June (Ahmed Tofiq) returned to (Tagaran) village behind (Azmer) mounts. He wrote letters to his comrades indicating that they should promptly report to Barzani's HQ and bring the printing press with all its accessories in their possession. As a result of that, a great number of the KDP of the Eastern part of Kurdistan travelled to (Lôlan) in order to join the Barzani forces. These Iranian Kurds immersed willingly in the Revolutionary Kurdish Army. Ever since the outset of September Revolution in 1961 and up to 1964 the selfless volunteers of the Kurdish party men of Iran had been working and fighting with all their ability until certain suspects entered their lines to stain their reputation and create suspicion in the patriotic and immaculate highly appreciated works they had been performing. Their invaluable achievements throughout a caravan of effective struggling for obtaining and safeguarding freedom and democracy for the Kurdish people must be esteemed greatly and registered in the historic annals of patriotic works.

In the beginning of June Ahmed Tofiq returned from Eastern Kurdistan with 10 to 15 mules loaded with clothes, overcoats, stockings, wool headwear, torchlights, batteries for the torches, a great deal of footwear. As the children's happiness for the presents they get at Christmas and other holidays, our Peshmerga's happiness on the arrival of these precious presents is hard to relate.

The Word Birwar = Date

The Kurds had been accustomed to use an Arabic word for the word (date) which is (Ta'rikh), because there was no equivalent word for the date in Kurdish; but now the word (Birwar) is used instead and has become common among the educated people. The story of adopting the word is a strange coincidence. The reader will have noticed that the word (Brwar) had been used in this book for the name of an area in which Peshmerga have settled permanently, as a station from which they travelled to other regions for fighting or for other purposes.

On an occasion (Ahmed Tofiq) had written a letter to (Abdulrahman Zabihi) a famous Kurdish volunteer from Iran. To mention the name of the place in which the letter had been written he put (Brwar) the name of the area. (Zabihi) receiving the letter he thought it was a Kurdish word for date. When replying to the letter he wrote Brwar 4.6.1962. From that day on the Kurds had been using a new word which was not found in their dictionaries.

Remembering (Zabihi) in this connection, I would like to relate the unfortunate sad story of his death at the hands of the

despotic Regime. He was reported to the Regime that, while in Beirut he had contacted a prominent Kurdish nationalist. When returning to Baghdad, he was arrested by a Kurdish (quisling) traitor. He was brutally tortured and put to death to follow the endless caravan of the Kurdish martyrs.

With the aid of six other Peshmerga of Kurdish Iranian volunteers, one of whom was a crippled man with one hand, we published a periodical pamphlet, under the title of (Dissan Barzani) = Barzani Again. For the duplication of this widespread circular an old dilapidated Roneo was used. People in Kurdistan were constantly waiting to put their hold on one of its rare copies in great anxiety to review the news and performances of their dear relatives and sons fighting for their sake in the wild mountains of Kurdistan.

In this connection it is fair to mention the names of those chivalrous knights who bravely took part in the publication and distribution of this historic treatise; they are: (Ahmed Tofiq – Abdulla Ishaqi, Fai'q Amin (Sleman Ma'ini), Sheikh Jamil Mardokhi Sarchawa, Umer Sadiq Nigli, Mullah Said Rashid Sarshewi Saqiz, Mullah Abdulrahman Saqzi.

Nine editions were printed. The number one to number six were printed and issued in Sulaimaniyah in a quarter called (Qazazekan District) where a secret house had been leased, number seven and eight in (Ganaw) village in (Qaladiza) area, number nine in (Nura-addin) village behind (Qaladza). The copies of the periodical were regularly sent to Baghdad for reading by the Kurdish patriotic people.

The Overwhelming Offensives against Kurdistan

From the beginning of the first week in June the Barzani Forces are engaged in widespread confrontations with the Iraqi Army. Fighting is fiercely on in many areas as : (Gali Ali Beg, Mazna, Mergasur, Chama, Peris Mountain, Bla and Barzan. Day after day the Baàthists' offensives grow more aggressive. Barzani is engaged in the work of re-organizing and putting his forces in new order, and training the new recruited elements in the different Units of the Guerrillas. The villages, especially those within the perimeter of Barzan were always ready sources for providing fresh units formed out of the enthusiasts who were anxious to join in the defence of Kurdistan. More often they preferred to serve under the direct command of Barzani himself, and this was not making an obstacle for sending the new formations to other parts of Kurdistan when necessity called for the purpose.

Hardly ever Barzani imposed his warplanes on the commanders of other fronts in various areas. Every army unit was responsible, under its commander, for defending its own area. The army units were firmly united in launching defensive

attacks against the aggressive Baàth, while at the same time Barzani was insistent on the importance of not letting the Kurdish forces lie about detached and in lack of firm connections. During all the periods of fighting he was extremely careful not to let the Iraqi Army or mercenaries take the opportunity of running round the Peshmerga forces for taking positions at the rear of our forces. In case a hostile unit succeeded in a manoeuvre to circle round a unit of our forces, even if the unit was very small, Barzani tactfully withdrew from his position and moved round the enemy in its rear, then attacking it with great blows until it was defeated. In the wake of all these wonderful tactics he would return to his former posts for the resumption of front fighting anew. If the fighting was in need of more troops he would secretly contact Sheikh Ahmed Barzani, his brother, and the groups of the Kurdish young volunteers were always ready to sacrifice themselves for the sake of defending Kurdistan.

On Wednesday 3 July 1963, today an attempted Coup d'etat had taken place in Baghdad. It is not clear for us which sector or party had initiated this. The Regime incriminates the leftists and the communists of conspiracy.

The Bride and Bridegroom – Mountain Top

i.e. Buk u Zawa Mountain Top

On Friday 12 July, the Leader Barzani, at the foot of (Peris) mountain was supervising the conditions of fightings. I delivered a great number of important messages about the Regime's plans for attacking the summit of (Book u Zawa) = Bride and Bridegroom in (Peris) mountain. Beside him was sitting Mas'ud

Barzani, his son and the President of the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan at the present. Aeroplanes were bombarding the dales, valleys and mountain tops. Mas'ud's solemnity and high morale was apparent on his features, with his binoculars looking at the mountain tops while the planes were diving swiftly at what they thought significant targets.

At the same time the Leader began to write a letter to (Sheikh Muhamed Khalid Barzani) son of Barzani's senior brother. Looking at his son Mas'ud with squinting eyes, smiling, he said, "I have sent your greeting, too."

On 25 July, the Regime has sent a few men to meet (Abbas Agha Mamend Agha) and the chieftains of (Pishder) tribes, for negotiations supposedly. Barzani warned the chieftain of the Regime's intentions of an attempt to create doubt and mistrust among the various parts of the Kurdish Movement. The Regime's aim is deception for the purpose of delusion and misleading with promises it does not intend to keep. At the same time the Regime had approached several other sides for the same purpose of creating disturbances and mistrust.

When the Ba'ath Regime took over the Government Authority in Baghdad it laid siege at (Behdinan and Barzan) areas, that is to say the regions lying in the north of Iraqi Kurdistan. This part of Kurdistan was important for the Ba'ath because Barzani had initiated the Movement from here and he was launching his military operations through these parts. The Ba'athists opened a wide gateway of negotiations with the KDP Polit Bureau at (Maluma) village. ON 25 July we received through our (Aras) wireless-set a cable directed to Barzani with (Pirmam) wireless

station at (Maluma). The message stated that the Baàth Regime desired to initiate negotiations. It was intent on holding discussions promptly. The Democratic party of Kurdistan was seeking Barzani's attitude and viewpoints concerning the vital issue. At the time we were engaged in very great and broiling fighting with Baàth. The area of (Mergasur, Mazna and Chama) on the one hand and the area of (Shanadar, Bla, and Barzan all along Peris Mountain) on the other were all besieged tightly by the Regime's forces. We had been fighting for our lives. War had not been started throughout (Suran) area i.e. the region lying in the southern parts of Iraqi Kurdistan. After a thorough study and consideration of this urgent message we forwarded the matter for Barzani's consideration and final decisions.

Barzani ordered to send a reply to the following effect: Baàth's intention is to lead you astray by engaging your forces in deceptive dilemma, hindering your fighting abilities temporarily until, they had realised of this victory on our front, then they started to open a new front throughout your areas. I had intended to send the cable with the same context and meaning expressed by Barzani, nevertheless, the Baàth forces started their offensives so widely it covered all parts of Iraqi Kurdistan, including the parts occupied by the KDP Polit Bureau.

In 1963 when Baàth had caught hold of the Government authority, they adopted a frantic habit of changing their ciphering codes and keys ten times a day. Three wireless communication stations had been installed in the cities of Kirkuk, Erbil and Musol by the neighbouring states of Syria, Turkey and Iran. They were under direct supervision and observation of these

three countries. On (Sury Akre) mountain there was also another communication station under the direct supervision of the Egyptian Chief of Staff General (Ali Ali Amer). These were in combination for assisting Baàth in its aggressive combats against the Kurdish liberation forces. The Baàth messages were directed usually to the Iraqi Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Interior, the Mobile Police Force, Security Departments, Information Department, traffic and the air force. On inspection, the decoded messages preserved the lives of Peshmerga, the residents of the liberated areas and the life of the Leader Barzani himself. These daily exchanging of letters between the various sources, friendly or antagonist relate the gist of a long narrative of events and the plights of people most inhumanly being treated for so many decades during an unjustifiable despotic long war.

Our capability of reading the Iraqi's secretive messages, did not only dismantle the intended plans, but enable Barzani to draw counterplans for rendering the enemy's designs null and void.

On Tuesday 30 July, we left (Barzan) village for the (Shireen) mountain. We arrived at a water spring where we installed our wireless. There are three water fountains in our neighbourhood. They are called (Solini, Sirke and Tatuke). Another one is high at the upper side of the mountain which is called (Chavrabia).

In accordance to the Iraqi secret messages, approximately nine percent of the forces, combined of the infantry, mercenaries, different heavy guns, tanks, armoured cars and the units of military engineering have started to move towards Kurdistan, coming from all parts of Iraq. All these in addition to

two Syrian commando forces, aeroplanes attached to the army forces stationed in (Shuàiba, Habbania, Baghdad, Mosul and Kirkuk). All these forces had been launched to fight in the war of Kurdistan, while many aeroplanes of different types from the Syrian, Egyptian and Turkish armies were busy in performing military tasks assigned to them.

Sheikh Shafi' Sheikh Babo Barzani

On Tuesday 30 July, I was walking in front of my colleagues who were working with me in the wireless business. We were climbing the foot of (Shireen) mountain. The wireless operator (Hama Raza) had been mounting one of our mules because he had been tired of climbing the steep hillsides for more than one hour. When I arrived at the position assigned for me as a temporary camping position, I noticed a Barzani comrade near the summer resort (Abshkhor) with binoculars. It seemed he was awaiting our arrival.

He introduced himself to me, "I am Shafi'." He was Sheikh Shafi', son of Sheikh Babo Barzani, the Leader Barzani's brother. He enquired "When will Lieutenant Shawkat arrive? Is the man on the mule Lieutenant Shawkat?" I replied, "No, I'm Shawkat." He said, "I thought you were an old fatty man, I think all my guessings were wrong."

Prior to 1960 the army and police officers were 40-50 years old. They were reputed to be old and obese. Commonly they were called (Meslaki = professional) since they had been promoted to the officer rank from serving quite a long time as a policeman. I was one of the first cadets who graduated from

the (Academy of Police) after being trained for three years in accordance to the modern methods of the world standards of police and military academic training. To be accepted for training in the academy a candidate had to be a graduate of the Secondary Iraqi School which is equivalent to the High Schools of Europe.

Sawer with no salt and Oil

In the beginning of the sixties Kurdistan was in great poverty and utterly destitute of food and all other necessities of life. The Peshmerga suffered greatly from hunger, the lack of clothing in the coldness of winter and the heat of summer. Nevertheless no Person had ever complained or showed discontent. On the contrary they were always proud of being in extreme difficulty for the sake of defending their motherland. My aim is not to assert on the pang of hunger upon a human being which is quite clear but when I relay the events related to the word, I feel it is incumbent upon me to mention the tremendous suffering of Peshmerga throughout the September Revolution.

In the summer of 1963 we were in the area of (Barzan) near the (Chama) river in the company of a few Peshmerga partisans travelling to get to our destination. We had nothing to eat and stayed hungry since the morning until very late hours in the afternoon. Hunger inserted its sharp fangs in our stomachs and tiredness wearied our limbs so that we were in need of taking a rest. Near a village we took a huge rock as a shelter and lay down near it. At the same time I noticed a poor dog, feeble and emaciated, half asleep beside a boulder. It was a heartbreaking

scene, because the dog, it seemed, was very hungry because it had no ability to move. I called upon one of the Peshmerga by the name of (Salih Bamarni). I asked him, "Is there anything to give this dog for eating?" He said, "A little sawar = dried, boiled wheat, and nothing else." I said, "Boil a little and put it before the dog, so that it may revive and be able to search for food." The dog ate all the boiled (sawar) and stood up. Being a dog, it was faithful and stayed around us for several days watching.

In the evening the Peshmerga who had gone to the villages for finding anything possible for us to eat, returned disappointed since the villages had been evacuated long before our coming to the area. Hunger had its upper hand upon us. I called Salih Bamarni, "Of the Sawar you gave to the dog, prepare a meal for us, if there is any left." He boiled the delicious sawar, with no flavour, no salt and no oil. It soaked in the hot water in a pot placed upon the fire of wild branches and leaves of the mountainsides.

Biya Village

The first night we arrived at (Biya) village we climbed up a sloping above the village where we found a cave not deep enough to enter easily into it and take it as a safe haven to live in. However, after we had been busy to settle down, shattering and blast of heavy explosions started to be heard astoundingly around us. The shellings were from the direction of (Mergasur) when all our areas had been under constant observations. One of the rounds blasted so near, it shattered our hurricane lamp and darkness descended all around us. We were then obliged

to go inside the narrow cave, with only little space left for our indispensable wireless. Then we started our working as usual as the sound of the old drums of everlasting explosion was in vibrations in our ears and heads.

Hand to Hand Fighting

On one day in summer an unheard of encounter took place between our Peshmerga and the Regime's forces and (Jashes) = mercenaries. It was a formidably violent hand-to-hand fighting in the middle of a bridge called (Chama). It happened that our comrades met the enemy at that point. There was not space for using guns. Our Peshmerga resorted to using their daggers which they had always hung on their waists. The enemy was not used to such barbarous wrestling; they lost initiative and morale. Most of these hostile men were either thrown alive from above the rails down to the valley underneath, or gored and pierced to death and their corpses lay at the bridge steps cut to pieces.

On that night while I was observing the Iraqi correspondence I heard a wireless station say "Yesterday our army forces with the help of (Salahaldin horsemen) i.e. the mercenaries wrestled in the middle of a bridge with the Kurdish rebels.

Goat Meat, Oat and Keshk

In the summer of 1963 after the Ba'ath had launched its furious attacks throughout the whole Barzan area, the assets, herds and cattle owned by the late (Sheikh Ahmed Barzani) were distributed as alms among the Peshmerga and people

associated with the fighting forces. We had our share as well which consisted of six goats and a sack containing oats and (Keshk = dried yogurt which is processed through special treatments to use as food in winter).

I asked the porter, "What are the oats and kashk for?" He replied, "For people like yourselves, who had not eaten meat for a long time, who go through a pang of diarrhoea. For stopping that, you have to take oats and Kashk." This predicament occurred and the prescribed doses of this strange medication were astonishingly useful.

Black Tea

In the summer of 1963 when we were on the bank of the river (Chama), we had not been drinking tea until that time for nearly twenty days. Thereafter, I always thought that I had lost an important thing. When I became conscious again after this meditation I realised it was because I had not drank tea for a long time. I felt so dizzy and dispirited that I sent two Peshmerga to the villages near the Turkish frontiers, where smugglers may sell tea.

At that time the Regime of the Baàthists had laid embargo on all the liberated parts of Kurdistan, so that no food or any sorts of nourishment could be obtained. A few days later the two Peshmerga returned with a glassful of very black tea; but they could not get any sugar. A kettle was put on the fire with the black tea to boil and brew. Everybody had a cup and I also received mine and began drinking it with such delight and pleasure, it surprised everyone around me.

They were astonished how I could drink such a bitter, poisonous liquid with such great ease. One of the Peshmerga told me later that he had been anxiously awaiting me to finish my cup, to taste it and find out whether it contained any sugar, or it was as bitter as their cups.

Sheikh Muhamed Khalid Barzani

In 1963 ferocious war was going on in (Barzan and Mergasur) area. This front of fighting had been entrusted to (Sheikhh Muhamed Khalid Barzani) nephew to the Leader Barzani. Under his command he had a number of Barzani Peshmerga who had been courageously defending Barzan region against the Regime's army and mercenaries in the face of continuous bombardment by the aeroplanes incessantly. When this situation prolonged in an unprecedented manner, Barzani thought of a psychological treatment. The reason for incessant attempts to reach (Barzan) village was due to the old tribal hatred of enmity by the mercenaries. Barzani thought when they reached the area; their enthusiasm would dwindle and eventually fade away. Then the mercenaries leave alliance with the Regime's army. Following this strategy, orders were issued for the evacuation of the villages and setting fire to the houses, before the arrival of the Iraqi armed forces and mercenaries. When the mercenaries witnessed the devastated villages their chagrin calmed down. In the aftermath of this fanciful victory the Regime was forced from now on to exercise force and threat for sending mercenaries to fight.

Christians in the Areas of Barzan

In the areas of Barzan (as well as other parts of Kurdistan) there are a considerable number of Christians who had been living there from the time immemorial. There are many Christian villages whose inhabitants are completely Christians. They follow their own habits and ways of life, religiously and traditionally. There, in every village of their own, they have a church, in which they can freely perform their religious services. In their surroundings which are mostly dominated by a majority of Muslims, the Kurds are tolerant of their habits and their traditions; for instance, while alcoholic beverages are forbidden in Islam, the Christians are free to drink it, and to monopolise, as they did, its trading. Therefore, the best brands of wine are brewed and fermented by the people of these Kurdish Christian villages.

As the Baàth pestilence of aggression permeated the area, these peaceful Christian folk were obliged to leave their old havens of the quiet villages. They voluntarily left to live in the big cities such as Erbil and Mosul and some even went to Baghdad.

It is convenient, in this connection, to mention that the Bible kept and read by the Christians in Kurdistan is written, as is in the

old scripture, in Aramaic language. The Judaic Old Testament is written in Aramaic as well.

New Muslims with Christian Ancestors

In (Barzan) area there are a few families who are called by the Kurds (BnaJü) which means they are of Judaic (Jewish) ancestors. These are households who appeared as a result of passionate love and later on marriages among young girls and boys. They had changed their religion and become Muslims for the sake of facilitating the formality of their wedlocks. This they did voluntarily with no obligations. They go on living in the same simple manners, as they were before, undisturbed by the adoption of their new faith. On a certain occasion I became the guest of a family whose housewife had ancestors who had been Christian. To get married she had altered her creed and become a new Muslim. Nevertheless I did not find these phenomena in the villages of Barzan area, i.e. families whose ancestors had been Christians altering their religion to Islam, while there are frequently families who have Jewish forefathers, as a result of this sort of intermarriage.

In the summer of 1963, I heard from (Abdulwahid Barzani) the following story which probably seems in contradiction to certain fanaticism followed by a few restricted numbers of theologians in Islam. He said, "Sheikh Muhamed Sheikhh Abdulsalam Barzani, the Leader's father, had been a guest in the house of a Christian. When he ended his dinner and the time for praying had come, he performed ablutions and started to pray in the same house, the house of a Christian." Barzani's ancestors are

the holders of the famous Islamic denomination sector which is called Neqishbendi method or creed. The Barzanis themselves and the followers of this system of creed are strongly against sins and committing crimes, which they regard as extremely abominable and totally unacceptable, such as lying, stealing, killing innocent people and application of aggressions. Barzani Sheikhs had been proud and dignified chieftains who had been through centuries respected constantly by people in Kurdistan. They had accepted no drudgery, serfdom or slavery and never lived in a state of subjection, neither to the Ottoman Empire, nor to the British Authority and in no eras of Iraq reigns of sovereignty had they accepted illegal aggressive despotism and tyranny exercised by the successive regimes. The Barzani revolts against the foreign rulers have been in a series of successive outbursts covering all stages during the foreign occupation. The series of uprising were frequent in consecutive years of 1907, 1909, 1913, 1920, 1922, 1931, 1932, 1945 and 1943, thereafter were completed by the significant movements led by the Barzani the Great. They all witness the outstanding role of the Barzani family and their sincere attempts to realise freedom for Kurdistan. They refute the hostile, antagonistic epithets unjustifiably ascribed to the Barzanis as being tribal bandits, outlaws and insurrectionist. The peoples' demands in the area of Barzan were concentrated upon the annihilation of excessive duties and taxes so often imposed unlawfully on the villagers, therefore, whenever opportunity arose, the rulers were attacked and the government was forced to accept the demands of the destitute people.

The offensives of the Regime's Army and Mercenaries on the places where Barzani could be found.

In the year 1963, offensives by the enemy armies and mercenaries were continuous on the (Peris) mountain and the roads of (Sreshma, Shanedar, Hawdian and Kouran) towards (Mazna) and the river (Chama), never stopping in the daytimes and the nights. All the armaments and munitions owned by the Regimes were transported to (Barzan) and (Mergasur) areas. The aeroplane fighters were raiding and bombing from the rising of dawn until the evening twilight. The war aeroplanes of the types (Bajer, Hooker-Hunter, elusion, Venim) threw barrels of petrol, acid and tar with fuel to pour over the dugouts and places where Peshmerga had taken their positions and on the villages situated in the neighbourhoods. Whenever a bomb fell inside the dugouts of Peshmerga, the corpses mingled with the debris and dust boiling and broiling in a froth such as a gruel on fire. The smoke blackened and smeared the faces of all the other fighters near by on all sides. There were bombs when descending to a low level above the strongholds, they detonated before striking the ground and the bombs directed to the forests divided into many other fragments, grenades, shells and shrapnels emanating tongues of fire burning everything around themselves, while the shells fired at Peshmerga were throwing nails and blades in a circle round the place.

The Iraqi troops aimed its fires at any object when moving, such as the herds, cattle and mules and horses as well as the residents of the villages, men, women, children and the old folks with the shepherds and peasants. Incendiary bombs

were thrown on the forests, orchards, farmlands, cornfields and barns and even the graveyards and cemeteries. During the night the forests and farmlands were constantly ablaze on fire, sparkling in the flares of light as it were great cities jubilant in celebration, decorated with thousands of electric bulbs and fireworks. Nevertheless it inspired catastrophe, devastation and widespread murderous and criminal heartbreaking acts. When the air bombardment stopped for a half hour the heavy guns started shelling all the quarters hap-hazardly at random.

As it was my usual duty to perform permanently at night I had been monitoring the enemy's plans of fighting. One of these important plans I happened to receive was a coded message indicating that; a special force which embodied army and mercenary forces had reached (Bedaron) village. They had been helped and guided by (Assad Shitna) with the intention of attacking the HQ of Barzani on the summit of a mountain near the river (Chama) in front of (Biya) village.

I delivered the message to Barzani who promptly sent a unit commanded by a Peshmerga from (Bedaron) village, in order to occupy the gorge leading to the village. With this strategic manoeuvre the enemy plan lost the element of surprise and failed. The commander was called (Mam Haris Bedaroni), a 50-55 year old, tall gentleman who always had been in Barzani's company. At the same time, during the nights until the following mornings the artillery had been shelling the highlands with no respite even for an instant. When sometimes at night we had been compelled to light a lantern for reading or writing, our position would be discovered and then gun shellings would start again, pounding all points around us, from all directions.

The important events of August 1963

- On Friday 2 August 1963, at 10.30 in the morning, the Regime's army and mercenary forces captured the top of the (Pêris) mountain. In the wake of a great, bloody fighting they reached (Bla) village. They set fire to the houses and left them in devastation.
- On Saturday 3 August, we climbed the (Shireen) mountain to get to (Kani Kaliga). We arrived at (Rawasha) village, behind (Shireen) mount. The water of (Kaliga) fountain is colder than the water of springs in (Mergasur).
- On Sunday 4 August at 12.45pm the village of Barzan fell to the enemy hands. In spite of the fierceness of battles our Peshmerga had offered selfless sacrifices in the defence of the area very bravely but, the unprecedented deployment of tens of thousands of mercenaries as well
- The diverse unit introduction armed with most modern equipment and weaponry and continuous raiding of aeroplanes which had been using rockets, napalms and tar and petrol poured at the Peshmerga posts had made insistence upon defence beyond the human capability. According to the message I was able to uncode in the aftermath of this great battle I realised

that during the major offensive the Regime's forces had been accompanied by a group of foreign officers, particularly when they had started from (Nahla) toward the (Peris) mountain. The foreign officers were from the Syrian and Jordanian armies commanded by the Egyptian Chief of Staff, General Ali Ali Amer.

- On Friday 10 August, after midnight, I was engaged decoding messages sent by the forces stationed at (Bla) village. I became fully aware that the Iraqi armed-forces had the intention of attacking the Peshmerga strongholds at the area of (Hasnan) and (Hasnaka). This became a real fact when a battalion of soldiers and mercenaries launched an offensive. They were unsuccessful in attaining their targets. On the contrary they sustained heavy losses with great casualties of many men killed and more injured. They were eventually forced after heavy fighting to withdraw to their stations in the village of (Bla).

- On Saturday, after heavy fighting and great losses by the enemy, the Regime's forces were able to reach the administration centre of (Mergasur) Qaza. The residents of the villages (Bawa, Sheikh Saida and Khushkan) which are lying near (Mergasur) have totally evacuated their houses; crossing the bridge over the (Chama) river now, they have settled behind the mount of (Shireen). All the evacuated villages had been set on fire and burnt entirely by the mercenaries.

- On Thursday 15 August, the Iraqi forces have reached (Khurmal) Nahia within the Government of Sulaimaniyah.

- On Saturday 17 August, yesterday a great fighting occurred in two fronts, (Mergusur) and (Shireen) mountains. Our forces inflicted a shameful defeat on the Iraqi forces. The casualties

sustained by the enemy were as follows: twenty-one dead bodies left at the battlefield and twenty-five soldiers and mercenaries were heavily injured.

- On Thursday 22 August, we passed by (Kanibot and Beia) villages. We are now at (Bekhshash) village, opposite to the mountains of (Shireen) and (Halbit). There is a mountain in the rear called (Pe). The (Chama) river is half an hour away from here. There are two villages near by the river, called (Zrar) and (Leragi).
- On Saturday, 24 August, mercenaries and soldiers have arrived at (Koran) village. They are supported by heavy tanks and artillery. A great fighting took place between our armed men and the Regime's forces, on the main road to (Mergasur) and (Goratu). The Iraqi army tried to get to the (Chama) bridge. Nevertheless, our army of Peshmerga initiated an attack, preventing them to realise their aim, after inflicting heavy losses upon the Regime's armed-forces.
- On Friday 6 September 1963, a long time ago, the Commander of Zakho Forces Issa Swar Barzani had sent us two Bazooka guns. Today following Barzan's orders a special force moved to (Kooran) for fighting and the prevention of tanks from driving towards the Peshmerga positions. On this occasion Bazookas could be utilised. The Iraqi units are formed of Khalid cops accompanied by the third and fifth battalions.
- On Tuesday 17 September, the third and fifth brigades with (300) mercenaries attacked the Peshmerga strongholds on the mountains and villages around (Rokuchuk) river near (Chama) bridge. Our forces fell so near to the Iraqi forces there was

not enough space to fire the guns. Wrestling took place and daggers were used.

Every single Peshmerga fighter was surrounded by a dozen of the Iraqi soldiers and mercenaries. Despite the odds, fifty soldiers and mercenaries were massacred by the thrusts of the ready daggers carried on the waist by Peshmerga. Hundreds more were severely wounded by the strokes of the rifle-butts. Fifty Personal guns of diverse types with ammunition and thousands of round cartridges fell into our Peshmerga hands.

Imperial Detached Barzan

During the Baàth authority the Barzan areas had been blockaded and beleaguered from three directions by the Regime's army forces and mercenaries. After the end of numerous encounters and confrontations of frightful carnages, the Leader Barzani and his brother Sheikhh Ahmed Barzani conceded to rescue the women, old men and children from the probability of falling under the Baàth merciless grasps. They concluded to proclaim the Barzan's villages impartial areas, void of arms and vacant of any belligerent forces. Following this decision the Barzani forces evacuated the whole area. For the observation of family and domestic affairs Sheikhh Ahmed Barzani was looking after the Barzani households as the dean and chieftain of the wandering tribe, provided that he would be assisted by both Sheikh Muhamed Khalid Barzani and Sheikh Uthman Barzani who were the most prominent Personages of the Barzani celebrated tribe. Nonetheless, despite this drastic procedure, the high morale of the Peshmerga remained unaffected negatively in the novelty of that situation.

In this connection Barzani commented: "The most important factor in our situation is that we must not yield and surrender to

the Ba'ath Army. If it was impossible to fight here, we would go somewhere else fighting more ardently. It is the same enemy everywhere. We'll strike and hit sharply upon the feeble points. We'll attack the caravans and the files of their vehicles." Then the Leader resorted to his usual humorous nature: If we could not harm them in anyway we would spread nails and broken glass on their paths on the main roads to puncture the truck's tyres in order to hinder their movements. It is necessary for us to keep our stamina, vigour and strength and work hard to keep fighting for a long time. It is also essential that we let the countries all over the world, outside our native land, understand that we are struggling for the sake of the national, just, human rights and that we are willing to live peacefully in a free country governed by the legal rules and methods of democracy. Our purpose and aspirations in our fighting is that we may live happily in co-operation and brotherhood with all the people of Iraq. We do not like to differentiate national or ethnic sectors on the contrary, we live all the people in Iraq and are desirous of stopping the carnage of blood spilling out of our young citizens bodies for the acquisition of inhuman, selfish ambitious ends.

On Sunday 22 September, following an order issued by Sheikh Ahmed Barzani, both Sheikh Sleman Sheikh Abdulsalam Barzani and Sheikh Muhamed Khalid Sheikh Ahmed Barzani travelled to meet the Commander of the Second Regiment on the bridge over the (Chama) river, in order to negotiate for changing the Barzan area into an impartial area void of arms and fighting forces. Furthermore, it was intended to prolong the discussions so that a greater overwhelming effort be made for

general deliberations in the way of achieving effective results in order to stop more bloodshed and start peaceful methods for the solution of all disagreements and disputes.

In the end of any movement led by Barzani the successive Iraqi Regime's Security and Media State Offices embarked on publishing different types of booklets and cheap pamphlets of little value in which they dissipated baseless stories and fabricated events in an attempt to devaluate the importance of all the sublime sacrifices and noble acts of the Kurdish people. On frequent occasions army officers of high ranks were volunteers or paid accomplices in the performance of these unworthy, unbelievable acts.

On Tuesday 1 October 1963, our Peshmerga forces at the end of a fight at the foot of the (Matina) mountain captured a heavy mountain artillery with a number of the gun shells. Fifteen Iraqi army corpses had been left by the enemy inside the dugouts. As it is the holy, religious traditions of our Peshmerga, the corpses were duly buried in accordance with the Islamic rites.

Now it is quite a long period of time since Jalal Talabani had been abroad. In the name of Barzani and the Revolution he is making announcements and spreading reports and news. Barzani confirmed his disagreement and dissatisfaction with Talabani's behaviour is using his name without getting his approval beforehand.

On Friday 18 October, Mam Jalal (Jalal Talabani) returned to Kurdistan. Immediately after his arrival at home, Ibrahim Ahmed and Umer Debbabe (both prominent Party members) left this country to go abroad. They did not inform the Leader

Barzani of their departure. Barzani's viewpoint concerning the unconventional behaviour is that they may be the harbingers of a future imminent division of KDP, and an attempt for freezing my own role (Barzani's role) and keeping themselves away from the Kurdish Revolution.

On Friday 1 November, the Regime's army and mercenaries are attacking (Aghjalar) area, against the (Rizgari = liberty) Guirrella forces and (Chemi Rezan) HQ.

A great number of the Army Personnel and Arab mercenaries are attacking (Chami Rezan). They are supported by armoured vehicles, tanks and aeroplane fighters.

By means of the decoded messages I had been providing the Leader Barzani with, he became aware comprehensively of the situations in (Chami Rezan). He said, "If the Rezgari Forces can hold on for one week and struggle against such massive onslaughts by an army greatly exceeding their numbers and ammunitions, they will be considered abnormally courageous;" but at the end of many great battles in which they defended the area with all their might bravely during four days, they were forced to retreat to new positions in the rear. Two days later, the area was occupied by the Ba'ath army of that time.

On the sixth day of fighting all the Guirrella forces in the area withdrew towards (Surdash) mountain. The area of (Chemi Rezan) was the main HQ of Jalal Talabani who had been commanding the forces in the area.

On Thursday 7 December, the Regime's Army forces and mercenaries entered the caves and strongholds of (Chemi Rezan). By means of the decoded Iraqi Army's messages I

gained information indicating that the Regime's antagonistic forces have set plans for attacking the (Pishdar) and (Mawat) areas. A great regiment of fighters would attack, employing heavy guns and armours, the hideouts of Peshmerga in (Qaradagh).

The onslaughts directed towards (Rezgari) forces in (Chami Rezan) area had been under the supervision of a group of high ranked army officers expatriated from Iran and Turkey and in collaboration with the Iraqi Army Chief of Staff, the Syrian top army officers had assisted in the layouts , designs and plans for the battlements.

Burning of Tobacco Warehouses

For Kurdistan tobacco is one of the chief sorts of agricultural produce the people trade in. Until recently, before the great catastrophic devastations had taken place in the wake of the series of Coup d'etat's, this staple article and invaluable asset had been monopolised by the government. A special State Office had been assigned for supervising all the businesses connected with its commercial affairs. After the farmers had brought the quantity of the productions they had collected from their farm, to the Tobacco Monopoly Department, the produce was investigated, checked and classified according to the various degrees of quality, poor, mediocre or first rate. The prices were set in the light of this category.

When the aggressive Regimes came into being in Iraq, the farmers, found great difficulties in transporting their products to the towns where they had to bring their loads. Many a time they had been exposed to the raids by helicopters, and soldiers inside their hideouts used to open fire at their caravans.

Eventually, as a result of an open conspiracy, quite apparent, the tobacco storehouses in (Qaladiza) and (Rania) were set on fire and burnt down completely. The Regime of Baàth had been

unwilling and hesitant to distribute great amounts of money through payment to the peasants which would have assisted the Kurdish areas financially.

The burning out of the tobacco storehouses was a great damage and regrettable loss for the Kurdish farmers and the people of Kurdistan at large. Nevertheless, it was a greater harm and injury to the Iraqi nations as a whole since the Government had no alternative then but to resort to find new markets for the purchase of tobacco from Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Egypt and other countries.

On Saturday 9 November, we received orders to leave (Barzan) area. Tomorrow, early in the morning we shall leave our posts here to pass through (Chemi Hassaran) to the (Chama) river. On a placard the name of the place is written (Rokuchik). We are to wait for the Leader Barzani's arrival in the company of his son (Lugman Barzani), at (Zrar) village.

On Sunday 10 November, we are near the (Chama) river, in great trouble with the mules as they are extremely tired. (Salih Selim Bamerni) a clever and agile Peshmerga is looking after the animals. He gave fodder to the two mules and pack-horse.

On Monday 12 November, we passed by (Bardary) village and stayed for one night at (Kawlokan) village. We started to move in the very early morning with (Lugman Barzani) and a group of Barzani Peshmerga who were in his company.

On Wednesday 13 November, we passed by (Mia) village and stayed overnight near the river (Bêrkma). We had been monitoring the Regime's messages during the whole night. The National Guards in Baghdad had made a sort of Coup d'etat

against the authority of Abdulsalam Arif.

On Thursday 14 November we started in the morning passing by the villages of (Sidekan) and (Sure). We arrived at (Gezna) village at night.

On Saturday 16 November, we left the village of (Kawlan), (Dezu) and (Rost). We stayed at (Girtik) village at night. The village is at the foot of the great mountain of (Hassarost).

We installed our wireless set at one of the village houses starting to listen to the Regime's messages. The village is very prosperous in fruit orchards, especially pears and apples. The pear trees are engrafted upon the quince trees, therefore the fruit is very large and juicy.

In the sitting room on a sill there was a lamp of great size which had brought our attention. The fuel container under the lamp; was large enough to hold two bottles of oil and under the lamp also there was a radio set joined to it. When the lamp was lit and the glass bulb over the wick was hot enough, the radio could be put on and operated. Radio stations abroad could be heard. The brand, mark and place of manufacturing were all engraved in the Russian language on the lamp.

On Sunday 17 November, we passed by the villages of (Talan, Dega, Sherkawa and Guêzan) and we arrived in the evening at (Daralsalam) village.

During the fighting we found a stray pack-horse. It had been hit with a bullet in its eye and became blind. The wound seemed not to heal in a short time. We presented our host with this wounded and blind horse that made him quite happy. He was an elderly simple fellow when hearing the buzzing of our

wireless set after we had started it to operate, the man was greatly disturbed and frightened. He was about to leave the room, but, when we explained the apparatus work to him with its merits, he became extremely delighted to hear that the Kurds possess such wonderful devices.

On Monday 18 November, in Baghdad Coup d'état versus Coup d'état happened. Abdulsalam Arif orchestrated and conducted a new uprising against the National Guards and the Ba'ath party.

No announcement has been made as yet with regard to the Kurdish question.

On Tuesday 19 November, we left (Gelala) village, crossing the bridge over the (Choman) rivulet. We arrived at (Nawand) village during the night.

On Wednesday 20 November, we left the villages of (Derbendi Rayat) and (Bakrawa). We installed our wireless-set at the village of (Rayat).

On Thursday 21 November, we left (Rayat) village and went to the village of (Khalani Rayat).

On Friday 22 November, we arrived at (Zinwa Sheikh) village. One will notice commercial activities here, and all kinds of foodstuff, corns, tea and sugar are available for a buyer. The commodities are imported from the Iranian areas.

On Saturday 23 November, the President of the United States of America, John Kennedy was assassinated while he was parading in Boston. He was shot by a sniper murderer. It is rumoured that this President had been more pro-Arabian than his relations with Israel.

On Tuesday 26 November, we returned from (Zinwa Sheikh) village to (Derbendi Rayat) again.

On Thursday 28 November, Abdulsalam Arif announced an amnesty for all the people who have taken part in the September Revolution. He used the same jargon as that of Abdulkereem Qassim.

On Sunday 1 December, the President of Iraq, Abdulsalam Arif has sent a verbal message to the Leader Barzani c/o Sheikhh Ahmed Barzani in which he states that he is prepared to initiate new negotiations on the basis of self-rule for the Kurdish people.

On Monday 2 December, we arrived at (Shiwalok) village.

On Tuesday 3 December, we passed (Guroon) village to arrive at (Walash) village. We are the guest of (Mustafa Beg Walsh).

Behind the village a hillock is seen full of verdant trees, fenced with barbed wire secluded in privacy. In the middle of the grotto there is a well-attended tomb.

Mustafa Beg Walsh told us that in the era of monarchy in Iraq, a British army officer of high rank had visited the area on official errands. Before his death he had written the last will and testament in which he required his ashes buried here in this village. Many a time, he said, a man used to come here from Britain every year to visit the tomb but, now it is a long time before anyone has come to visit the tomb.

On Thursday 5 December, we travelled to (Gelala) and stayed there until 9 December when we left it, passing by (Rujhdur) village. We arrived at (Rézanok) village staying there for the

night. We operated our wireless-set again to become aware of the Army and mercenary movements.

On Monday 16 December, an officer of high rank has arrived to visit the Leader Barzani. He is called (Askander). He met Barzani in (Nawkêlakan) village. He had certain private messages from Abdulsalam Arif to Barzani in respect of the resumption of new negotiations.

On Wednesday 18 December, we arrived at (Khanaqa) village which is near to (Rejhikaran). The Leader Barzani went to (Zêwa) village accompanied by Jalal Talabani and Nuri Shawes. They will discuss the present issues in regard to initiating negotiations with the Government delegates. Sheikh Ahmed Barzani, the Leader's elder brother is kept in (Rewandiz), the town which is under the Regime's control, as a guarantee for the delegation Personnel who are in the custody of our forces in the area while they participate in the negotiations. Sheikh Ahmed Barzani will stay in (Rawandez) until the delegates return safely.

On Friday 20 December, today Barzani will meet the Government delegates in (Zêwa) village. In the evening we shall move towards (Warté) village. We stay there at night to move to (Ranya) the following day. We expect that the negotiation would be prolonged in (Ranya).

(Warté) is not far from (Kawrôkh) mountain. One hears a legend narrated by the residents of this village as it is conveyed by the old generations to the new ones. It is an amusing story which says that the Alexander the Great and his fighters when arriving at the Karokh's gorge, full of jungles, dense forests and deep valleys, that allow no further exit at its farthest end, since it

makes high ramparts, immensely convenient for defence, here the Kurdish mountain combatants defied him. Alexander was captured and imprisoned by the warriors. Eventually he decided to live and stay with the Kurds voluntarily. He took a Kurdish damsel for his wife. He died as a result of an ailment which was thought to be the high fever of typhoid. He was buried in a place near to (Warté) village.

The word (Kawrokh) probably had been a distorted pronunciation for the Greek word (Kurthos) which indicates (Kurds).

This epic story may appear as a legend but what is considered a real historic fact is that the great Armies of Greece had been defeated in the Kurdistan mountainous northern lands, while they had been on their journey returning home to Greece.

On Sunday 20 December, we passed by the village of (Pilingan). We stayed at (Bardanga) village for the night which is situated in (Shawer) valley.

On Monday 22 December, it has been snowing since the last night until midday of today. In the valley of (Shawer) near the village the height of the snow which fell last night is one metre.

The Most Important Events in 1963

- The destruction of the National Guards' forces by Abdulsalam Arif, and the weakening of the Baàthists powers in Iraq.
- Change of the Communists' attitude and ideology towards the Kurdish People Movement. The Communists' co-operation within the Kurdish constitution, heartily with Peshmerga within limited boundaries.

- The installation of a broadcasting station which will be inaugurated soon to be heard all over Kurdistan and Iraq and probably abroad.

Barzani and Sheikh Mahmud

After the end of the First World War, and when Sheikh Mahmud had revolted in Sulaimaniyah and its surroundings against the Arab dominance and the British occupation of the country, Mustafa Barzani, in consensus and general agreement of people in Kurdistan, he obeyed his elder brother's instruction and travelled to join Sheikh Mahmud's Movement, with a group of 80-90 strong selected fighters in order to take part in the Revolution led by Sheikh Mahmud for the realisation of self-rule for Kurdistan. The greatest aim of this alliance was to coordinate for the establishment of joint efforts throughout the constant struggles in the northern areas and the south to attain the ambitious, identical goals.

In these circumstances, and in one of the rare moments of his pessimism while recalling grievous memories of Sheikh Mahmud's collapse of his revolt, Barzani took a deep breath, sighing audibly and said, "We Kurds have achieved nothing, yet we all try to strangle our brothers' necks, from where we stand."

Sifting the Wheat from the Chaff

From the beginning of the Movement in 1961 until 1964, the wireless colleagues of the Polit Bureau in (Pirmam) used to say that Shawkat had removed a great burden from our shoulders. Before we send any information about the Iraqi activities to Barzani, he would tell him all the vital knowledge he gets by

means of his outstanding capability of decoding. He separates useful information by putting the whole quantity through a sieve. He sifts the wheat from the chaff. I used to send the code-keys to my colleague Ismail Sarhang in the Wireless Station of (Pirmam) who in turn would send all that was in his possession of vital items to me. Thus we could form a firm unity of co-operation.

Self-Rule: an agreement between the Kurds and A.S. Arif.

Since the beginning of January, 1964, Haji Abdulrazaq Mahmud, Sulaimaniyah Governor, had been a messenger and go between for making arrangements of negotiations between Barzani and Arif. An open notice of order by Barzani was announced from the Aras Wireless Station informing all forces in the Kurdistan Revolutionary units and the KDP, all over Iraq to avoid the roads used by the Government for transportations. On 31 January the cessation of fire was announced, and on 10 February agreement between A. S. Arif and Barzani was proclaimed through Baghdad Radio Station.

Meanwhile the Shah of Iran, being always suspicious of the Policy of Arab unification which had been encouraged and urged by J A Nassiz, was in constant interference with regard of the Kurdish issue. At the same time he showed that he was in a state of preparedness for assisting the Kurdish Question provided that they would continue fighting. Barzani believed that the Shah's attitude had probably been prompted by the Americans or probably by the Russians, too. He said, "If America or Russia and America together want to support the Kurdish cause the neighbour countries, whether they are willing or not,

will not be an important issue.” Consequently, he had been careful and desirous always to draw the attention of both the East and the West to the Kurdish problems. On many a time he would try to let them overhear his own notions and viewpoints, concerning the matter. Barzani firmly believed that agreement of truce and peace would not last with A S Arif for a long time.

There were a group of Arab Officers who had joined the Revolution, settling at (Qaladiza). They probably had fled from the Baàthist Persecutions. I used to pay everyone a sum of money for necessary expenditure. At one of the frequent visits of the Governor Haj Abdulrazaq’s visits to Barzani I arranged a list including their names, after taking Barzani’s approval. I had put the names of two Kurdish officers in the list, as well. They required to return to their former positions in the army. When returning to Baghdad they were all reinstated and given their previous ranks. Among them was a single police officer who was a brave Peshmerga whose reputation with Barzani had been stained as a result of adverse gossips which can often work as poisonous plague to destroy valuable assets in all societies and conditions all over the world.

On Friday 21 February, the Leader Barzani is the guest of (Kanabi Agha) at (Ranya). The Governor of Sulaimaniyah accompanied by two Egyptian newspapermen paid a visit to Barzani.

The Kurd’s Friend

On Thursday 27 February, a great number of the world’s newspapermen and the representative of the Media have visited the Leader Barzani.

Among the newspapermen, the New York Time's representative Dana Adam Schmidt has come again to visit Barzani at (Ranya). I was assigned to perform the duty of interpretation between this reputable journalist and the Leader Barzani. Mr Schmidt has always been a free-minded writer and frank humanitarian, a noble man who has represented the Kurdish question justifiably and truthfully. He regards himself as an intimate, close friend of the Kurds.

On Saturday 29 February, Ibrahim Ahmed, Said Aziz and Umer Debbabe have returned to (Mawat) after the completion of their tour abroad. Barzani said "I am sure that this group, as well as the group with Jalal Talabani, will not provide us with any information. They will not tell me the outcome of their visits to the foreign countries, but as regards myself, I shall call them to take part in all the negotiations between us and the Government and will listen to their points of view."

The Leader Barzani in the Peace Time

After all the ceasefire opportunities and the renewal of hope for peace, relations with the city residents became easier by means of frequent contacts with the people. Barzani was always anxious to know exactly whether the citizens like to endorse the agreement with the Government. The citizens also were desirous to know if the Government will honour, in the future, the agreement, or it is only a deceptive act for taking the opportunity of benefit from the time. Barzani had always shown his desire for negotiation with all the series of Regimes so that all the people know that the Kurds are a peaceful nation who hate the troubles of war. Barzani was obedient to the desires of people for the achievement of self-rule, but with the lapse of time he became aware of the Regime's reluctance to abide by its promises; and on the other hand, a great majority of people in Kurdistan were unhappy with the promises embodied in the agreement since they found the sacrifices they had offered in the carnages of fighting were far more worth than they were promised to gain. Realisation of self-rule and autonomy were not satisfying the ambition of a nation who had struggled for years and offered tens of thousands of martyrs of its young men

at the oracle of patriotic sense.

When after the collapse of an agreement, that frequently happened, fighting resumed again, thousands of young men hurried to join the Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan. Thus, the Revolution had always become more powerful and more capable of defying the successive aggressive regimes. During the periods of peaceful times, the ranks of the Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan had been reorganised and the posts had been reshuffled and redistributed for the improvement of its organisation. The unit commanders had paid Barzani regular visits to receive his valuable directions and advice which helped in raising their morale and get better opportunity for understanding the Revolution problems and their Chief Commander Personally. In these assemblies and aggregations of men several overhanging problems had been discussed and proper ideas were suggested for their solution.

During the fightings and peace Barzani used to find opportunities for sending Personal letters to the politicians, leaders, presidents and premiers of the foreign states in which he had explained the problems and just demands of the Kurdish nation and their genuine, authentic desires to be left in peace to live as all the people of the world happily free in their own country.

After the reclamation of the agreement had been broadcast by the Radio Baghdad, people all over Kurdistan rushed out to the streets and town squares a gathering in jubilant celebration of the happy event, dancing for the Kurdish traditional music of (Zurna) and great drums. Before these happy days, prior

to the announcement of approving the agreement, there had been opponents and members of the opposing parties busy in the dissipation of rumours against Barzani's intentions in terms of the cease-fire and his attempts for making peace with the Government. They blamed him for accepting food supplies, fruits and clothes from the Regime. This was a question which lately developed to become a widely discussed issue of antagonism and disapproval among the opposing party members and common people. The extremists liked to convict Barzani of "Selling the Kurds and Kurdistan for apples and orange fruits."

Now, when the agreement was announced finally, it became a universal occasion for happy celebrations. In this respect, Barzani commented, "The brothers who had accused me of selling Kurdistan for apples and oranges don't stop dancing even after the drums had ceased beating."

Deposing Barzani by the KDP Polit Bureau

Jalal Talabani, member of the Polit Bureau had been abroad holding newspaper conferences and Ibrahim Ahmed, a member of the Polit Bureau as well had travelled to America and Russia. Barzani was not informed of these party activities. This certainly will increase controversy between the KDP and Barzani's supporters.

From the fourth of April until the ninth of the same month a conference was held in (Maluma) the H.Q.of the Polit Bureau of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in which the party leaders had decided to depose Barzani. Accordingly he was removed from the post of Chief of the DPK and the command of the Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan.

Barzani when he completed reading the cable in which the decisions had been stated he commented on it, "I have been appointed Commander of the Revolution not according to the decisions of these fellows. I have taken over the responsibilities as a result of my own works and struggles. I am striving to remove injustice and maltreatment in Kurdistan. I shall not deviate from this path. For all this fact I have been elected by the whole Kurdish nation as the Chief of the KDP and the

Leader of the Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan.”

In the aftermath of the (Maluma) KDP polit Bureau resolutions, Barzani issued orders for the appointment of new commanders of the Revolutionary Army Units in the (Soran) area.

On Sunday 3 May 1964, the new Iraqi constitution was proclaimed by Baghdad Radio Station. There were no articles for the specification, stipulating or even mentioning national rights of the Kurds.

On Monday 4 May, Barzani has decided to convene a public conference in which the representatives of the different parts of Kurdistan would participate for the discussion of the Government's Provisional Constitution. Recommendations will be prepared to be sent with an elected group of representatives to the Government leaders in Baghdad. The Kurds' suggestions and national requests shall be included in this memorandum.

On Tuesday 2 May, a project including the outlines of the system of self-government in Kurdistan was delivered to Barzani by a delegate of the top representatives of the Regime. The most prominent Personages were: the Prime Minister Tahir Yahia, Commander of the Second Division Ibrahim Faisal Alansari, Director General of Army Information Hadi Khamas and a few others.

Military Salute to Issa Swar Barzani

On 2 June 1964 when Prime Minister Tahir Yahia came to (Khalakan) to visit Barzani he was accompanied by Ibrahim Faisal Alansari the commander of the Second Regiment. He related the significant incidents of the fightings to Barzani. He

told the Leader, “I would like greatly to meet (Issa Swar Barzani) the commander of (Zakho)Kurdish army. When I see him, I’ll stand up and salute him as his subordinate, for his courage and unique intelligence and high ability in the military art of planning against the Government forces in the areas of (Zakho). I should respect him and commend him for his active counter-planning the most genius skill and wonderful power of our commanders in his defensive wars.” Ansari narrated another incident of fighting. He said in the mountains of (Harir) and (Batas) there were two Peshmerga commanders opposing us. One of them was Colonel Kaffi Nabawi, the other lieutenant colonel Aziz Aqrawi. We designed a military plan for attacking the right and the left wings of the Peshmerga positions.

I told the unit commanders, “Captain Kaffi is a wise man and a solemn, quiet Person who is adept and skilful in the war tactics. We will attack his forces in the first place. When he is defeated, Major Aqrawi will soon leave his own stations, because he is irritable, nervous, easily excited and impatient. Meanwhile, fighting was extensively at blazing against Captain Kaffi, he evacuated his fighting positions stealthily to grant us victory and the success of our plans.

On Wednesday 3 June 1964, we prepared a project containing all the just rights of our people. The project was delivered to the Government, which was refused at the point completely. Despite this calamity, Barzani thought it was more convenient to send a new delegate to Baghdad for the resumption of negotiations.

Reconstruction of KDP Prior to the Six Congress

By Barzani's order I had arranged a committee which we called the Committee of Sulaimaniyah City for the solution of the city problems and to provide services to the residents as well as to facilitate the activities and duties of the KDP until that time when the Six Congress of the Party will convene. The committee was composed of: Kamal Ahmed Bargi, Ali Ibrahim Darwesh, Hema Aziz and Hema Darwesh Nadir. In a few days, a group of troublemakers, with no authority or permission by the Revolution Leadership, started to spread horror in the region, killing and pursuing the Communist Party members inside the city of Sulaimaniyah. Barzani had given me instructions to travel from (Qaladiza) to Sulaimaniyah to send the committee members to (Betwata) HQ for investigation about these crimes. The late lawyer (Awni Yusif) was appointed the Chairman to the investigation committee. (Kani Massi)H.Q.was in the vicinity of Sulaimaniyah had no knowledge of or relations with these inhuman actions. Nevertheless, the HQ of (Kani Massi) was suspended for ever. Likewise another KDP committee had been established in (Qaladiza) by order from Barzani. The committee

was headed by (Rassul Mamand), being at the same time the Chairman of a similar committee in (Ranya).

On Friday 5 June, 1964, the following day will display the convention of an Army Congress under the auspices of the Leader Barzani.

Donkey is Respected in America

During the summer of 1964, a journalist called Stephenson and his secretary from Milwaukee Newspaper had been meeting with Barzani for a couple of days successively; at the same time I had been interpreting for them. When their visits came to an end, they asked me for the arrangement of a bathroom for them. I was able to allocate a Turkish bathroom at (Ranya) for them to wash in, privately alone. Then I showed them the room for changing clothes and the taps for cold and hot water. When Stephenson was out he told me, one hundred years before (from that time of course) the last public bath in America had been closed by the State decree. Then he told me about (Jash = donkey which is a degradation name used by the Kurds for the mercenaries). He said, "In America a donkey is lucky. Its name is not used as an insult. Not everybody can keep a donkey, other than the very well to do, rich families who take care of donkeys in their house gardens for their children to play with and for mounting on. The Democratic Party logo in America is donkey. This is the Party which severed the United States of America from Great Britain.

Schools and Nursing Courses

After the year 1964 and even during the short periods of negotiations, the public schools had been reopened by the Kurdish Movement's Authority for the girls and boys who wanted to learn at the primary, intermediate and secondary levels. For instance, in the intermediate and secondary schools of (Gelala) boys and girls studied together. The students had been lucky pupils since the following intelligent and learned Personages took upon themselves the responsibility of teaching although they were not teachers professionally. Dr Mahmud Ali Usman, Nuri Shawes, Hashim Aqrawi and (I myself teaching the English language).

The hospitals and clinics in the depths of valleys and inside the caves were attending the wounded fighters and arranged hygienic campaigns for the promotion of health and the prevention of disease epidemics under the auspices of the politician and physician Doctor Mahmud. In the Barzan area, at the (Shireen) mount foot near the (Sheen) river Dr Tahir Baban had instituted a clinic, single-handed, where he often practised minor operations and hypodermic syringes.

In July 1963, on one occasion a blind man led by his

daughter visited Dr T Baban's clinic, complaining of diarrhoea. When delivering the patient the necessary medicine, the doctor requested to have a look at his eyes. The man happily agreed. With ordinary pins of round tops the physician went through his eyes removing old scars from the membrane of his eyeballs, in front of the retina. Then he bandaged the patient's eyes. Two weeks later when he took away the bandages, the physician found his patient had regained the power of sight, though a bit dimly. This news spread out through the length of Kurdistan, and Doctor Tahir Baban was looked at as a magician. People started to pilgrim to his clinic, from places as far as villages beyond the boundaries of Turkey frontiers.

By a curious coincidence, the girl who had led her blind father to the doctor's clinic happened to have a black spot, spreading out over the upper part of one of her cheeks. It had created a great problem for the little damsel as it had dwindled her dazzling beauty. Doctor T Baban, now took his usual old instrument, the round-head pin and started to work with agility using the same rudimentary tool and cleverly removed the dark stain from the girl's cheek. A few months later the damsel with her more attractive face now she was wooed and got a fine husband.

In the Barzan area, too, a man who was affected by leprosy visited Dr Baban for treatment. The type of medicine usually used for this ailment is available only in the Government Hospitals, not to be sold in the markets. Dr Baban secretly sent a man to one of his doctor friends in the main public hospital in the Kut Government, in the middle part of Iraq. When he got the

medicine he could cure the poor leprous man.

Regarding public service, the Revolution Authority had been taking transport systems and roads maintenance into great consideration. New roads between the villages have been built and the old ones broadened out to hold greater numbers of cars and other means of transportation. For the supervision and execution of these works the Civil Engineer (Nuri Shawes) who latterly was appointed as the Minister of Works and Transportation, had been insistent on the accomplishment of the services as they had been closely connected with the requirements of fighting and the daily ordinary public affairs. When he became Minister at Baghdad during peace, he maintained and broadened out the famous Hamilton Road between (Erbil and (Hajihomeran) on the Iranian frontiers.

Animal Kingdom was also another section for great attention. Veterinary services had been always in service for the villagers' herds, cattle and the other kinds of animals.

A Good Kurd is One of Us

In the outset of the Revolution when the Polit Bureau HQ was in (Maluma), a countryman visits (Ibrahim Ahmed) the renowned party leader. The man asked him for a gun. I Ahmed says, "Are you a member?" He means the KDP membership to make him entitled to get arms. The naïve man replies, "your excellency, please give me the gun so that I'll break the necks of one hundred members for you." In the area of (Maluma) a KDP member was usually called 'one of us', and if he was not a member of the party, he was called 'Not one of us'. When this

was related to Barzani, he frankly expressed his disapproval of this kind of discrimination, saying, “A pure, clean, hearted Kurd whoever he was, is always ‘One of us’.”

One day after the March Agreement held with the Regime, I was sitting with the late Idris Barzani, the Leader’s son. An elderly man called to see him. He said, “Your Excellency, would you please put my name in the list with the martyrs,” he said, Idris was astonished, “Why should I put your name with the martyrs, while you are healthy and sound?” “Because the martyr’s family subsidy, is five dinars more than a Peshmerga’s payment while he is alive.”

The Sixth Congress of KDP in Preparation

On Wednesday 1 July 1964, the Sixth Congress of KDP has started today at the town of (Qaladiza) under the auspices of the Leader Barzani. Those who participated were (639) delegates representing each twenty five (25) members.

Although at that time I was in the capacity of Director General of Communication all the burden of the work fell on my shoulders, such as sending invitations to the delegates all over Kurdistan to report to (Qaladiza), as well as preparing and arranging a hall for the conference. I had also to secure residences for living, eating and sleeping of all the people who accompanied the delegates besides ensuring all other necessary requirements for the members during their discussions or outside the conference lobbies and rooms. Then I had to prepare transport for returning the member to their original places and other destinations.

Peshmerga Forces on Way to the KDP Political Bureau HQ

At the end of the Sixth Congress at (Qaladiza) under Barzani's leadership, the Peshmerga forces were ordered by the Leader to move towards (Maluma) the HQ of the Political Bureau. In

one week only, without fighting or even firing a single shot, all the Peshmerga and the leaders of this opponent group have surrendered voluntarily and joined their brethren in the Kurdish Revolution.

A number of 400-500 KDP members (cadre) and other members of the Polit Bureau in (Maloma) left the area in the same week and travelled on the night of 24 July to Iran, settling in (Hamadan) eventually.

Ibrahim Ahmed

Prior to the departure of members of sector of KDP Polit Bureau, Ibrahim Ahmed the renowned politician and old-time struggler delivered a speech on 24 July to the Peshmerga and the Army Unit Leaders in which he said, "I don't let the Kurds spill their brethren's blood, moreover, I'm not willing to fight Barzani forces who are on the way to (Maluma). We intend to cross the borders to Iran. Any Peshmerga or leaders who desire joining Barzani, he is free to do so and he who likes to go with us to Iran, he is welcome as well to accompany us. We cannot predict what will happen to us inside Iran, therefore, any Peshmerga or a member of KDP who likes to go home and live peacefully with his family to resume his old occupation he can also do that, according to his own decisions and desires."

By the Leader Barzani's orders the Headquarters of the Kurdistan Revolutionary Army in Erbil and Sulaimaniyah were notified that they have to extend friendly hands to the old comrades, the supporters of the former KDP Polit Bureau Sector and no Person by any means is allowed to harass or disturb the

life and tranquillity of those brothers who are welcome to take part in the ranks of the Kurdish Revolution, as they desire.

On 26 September 1964, a National Congress will convene at (Qallidiza) on 28th instant for the election of peoples' representatives who will participate in the Kurdistan Revolutionary Commanding Council.

Chemical Gas

After the withdrawal of Pro J Talabani's Polit Bureau members to Iran, Colonel Nuri Mullah Ma'ruf was appointed in the post of the Chief of Army Commander in the Kurdistan Revolutionary Army. A few days after taking responsibilities he sent a circular to all the Kurdistan Revolutionary Army Headquarters in which he stated: All the Army units must be alerted that, in case of the renewal of war, the enemy will utilise poisonous gases. When reading the cable, Barzani was angry and greatly exasperated. He said, "We are still at the early stages of negotiations, and there is no sign of war to resume. How should we ruin our peoples' morale with such kinds of news, especially when there is no evidence that the Regime would use such gases."

A Basket of Eggs and Excises

After 1964, in a tour around Kurdistan, Barzani had arrived at (Chwarta) a town about twenty miles north of the Government of Sulaimaniyah city. While he had been a guest in the home of one of the town citizens, a man carrying a basket full of eggs insisted upon entering to meet Barzani Personally. When he was inside the room, the man said, "I have brought this basket

of Kurdish chicken eggs for your honour!” Bazarni in reply told the man “I don’t need eggs, but it seems you are after something else and you have something to tell me.” The man said, “Yes, my wife for a while has been collecting our chicken eggs at home. Today I started towards (Sulaimaniyah) in order to sell the eggs. When I was out of (Chwarta), your post for custom excises extracted half a dinar from me, handing me a receipt for it. After that, when I arrived at (Azmir), the top of the mount between Chwarta and Sulaimaniyah, another custom post said the receipt was not valid and they also in turn extracted another half a dinar from me. I realised then, if I was nearer to the approaches of the big city, there they can’t be satisfied even with one dinar, therefore, I knew it was more convenient for me to come back to (Chwarta) and present your Lordship, who is the Leader of the Kurdish Revolution, with the basket of eggs!”

Barzani was upset greatly by the story but at the same time he was pleased to get the facts from the original source itself. Under the orders of Barzani I sent a wireless message to all the Kurdistan Revolutionary Army HQs and the KDP centres that from now on no taxes must be levied from the citizens whatsoever whether customs and excise or other kinds of duties such as ransoms, except the current excises on tobacco when the consignments are on the way to the cities for commercial purposes.

Barzani believed that the Kurds who had not taken arms against the Revolution are also Peshmerga. They are the people who had not been behaving in a harmful way against us, therefore, they should not be encumbered with undue and

unnecessary taxation. In case a Person is liable to pay the legal alms ordained by His Almighty God he is free to send what is due, 'voluntarily'. In no circumstances is he to be forced to do so. We must commend and pray for those who pay their duty taxes willingly in obedience to his Almighty God's decree who may accept their alms blessedly."

Barzani is aware of the World News constantly

Barzani liked anxiously to listen to the news of the world. He wanted to hear news bulletins when they were broadcast in Arabic, in Persian or Russian in addition to the Kurdish. While he was in search for a certain favoured program, and the indicator happened to pose where enchanting of the Holy Kuran could be heard, he did not try to change it, but listened solemnly until it had finished.

During The Sixth Congress of KDP

During the congress days situations in Sulaimaniyah had worsened extremely. When darkness fell, thefts and robbery started. Raids carried out, frightening people in their homes, and threatened them for money and their valuable possessions. The criminal then started to attack innocent people, beating some until they were black and blue and killing notable Persons of the city, with several other city residents. Many of these thugs, murderous ruffians, vagabonds and hooligans who gathered in gangs had previously managed to intrude in the groups of the party members of the bygone days and thereafter established a prison house in (Kani Massi) village, south of Sulaimaniyah. For the investigation and solution of this deteriorated situation I was nominated to travel to Sulaimaniyah with a unit of Peshmerga selected by Barzani with the assistance and good offices of other notable people in the city we did all our best to straighten the abnormal state. We found the schools at all levels unstable and the masters and teachers were not able to perform their duties properly. Teachers had been threatened and humiliated. The pupils brought knives and daggers with them to the classrooms. Villains had pistols with which they

threatened even their teachers.

In a very short time we could surmount all these difficulties, capturing the most violent ruffians and cruel men who often kept list of names inside their pocket for people who had been ear marked for assassination. It needed very strenuous efforts and a long time working until peace and tranquillity returned to the area.

The Famous Poet Qani'à

Although Barzani always had been buisy engaged in the mesh of problems in politics and the affairs in association with the Peshmerga administration and leadership he still was ready for the reception of Kurdish Persons of all walks of life. This is in addition to his constant meetings with the Arabs and Turks as well. In his humble reception room he used to listen to the daily various kinds of topics while they were being discussed vehemently. Most of these topics were interesting subjects for conversation.

In the summer of 1964 at the Barzani HQ of (Sursang) the celebrated Kurdish poet (Qani'à) was present. He had been animated and warmed up with conversations. Out of many topics, the poet came to a very embarrassing one which rather irritated the Leader. He directed his speech to Barzani and said, "Your Grace, will you please leave this hackneyed phrase, the brotherhood of Arabs and Kurds. Even his Almighty God has sworn against the Arabs in the Kuran." Barzani said, "There are no insults and abusing words in the Kuran." The poet replied, "Isn't there in (Altawba) chapter a sentence in which God says 'the Arabs are the most blasphemous and hypocrites'." Barzani

said, "This is not swearing." Then the poet insisted, "Insults used by our Creator must be mild, not like ours."

Although I have included this incongruous conversation, for which I apologise and request the readers' forgiveness, I confirm my strongest disapproval with what was believed by the poet, whether he was serious at the time, or he had uttered the nasty words for the sake of chattering only. In fact the sentence which is in the holy Kuran is not directed to the Arabs as a whole, but only to a certain faction of tribal nomads who had been in constant enmity with the Prophet Muhammed and his religion Islam. The word (Al-Aàrab) means the nomadic tribes, not the Arabs as a whole. The Arabs had been the most faithful believers and ardent supporters of the prophet and the religion of Islam.

On Friday 13 December, Major General (Taha Muhamed Amin) is appointed Commander of the Second Division of the Iraqi Army.

On Saturday October, 1964, a number of the Government ministries were changed and reshuffled. The new cabinet is according to the following: Prime Minister Naji Talib, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Naji Talib, Ministry of Interior Subhi AbdulHameed, Ministry of Defence Muhsin Hussain Al-Habib, Ministry of Culture and Guidance Muhamed Juad Al-Abusi, Ministry of Finance Abdulstar Ali Al-Hussain, Ministry of Justice Shukri Salih Zaki, Ministry of Education Abdulaziz Alwattar, Ministry of Oil Aziz Haffiz, Ministry of Economy Shamil Al-Samarai, Ministry of Health Abdulsahib Alwan, Ministry of Cultural Development Abdulfattah Al-Alussi, Ministry of Works Abdulmuhssin Zalzala, Ministry of

Planning Abdulmajid Said, Ministry of Communications Hadib Al-Jadir, Ministry of Industry, Abdulhaddi Al-Rawi, Ministry of Agriculture Fuad Al-Rawi, Ministry of Municipality Abdulkereem Alhani, Ministry of Works, Musslih Al-Naqishbandi, Ministry of Awqaf, Abdulrazaq Muhiadin, Ministry of the Unification Affairs ,Mas'ud Muhamed, Ministry of State, to be appointed in accordance to the nominations in the Kurdish Lists.

Barzani had the intention of submitting my name for appointment in one of the Ministry Posts, but at exactly the same time a foreign journalist came to visit Barzani at the town of (Sengeser). This journalist told the Leader, "In the United States, a certain political faction prefers..... to take the Ministerial post. I have no means to confirm or refute the journalist's statement, and I am reluctant to mention the name he had mentioned to Barzani.

On Wednesday 9 December 1964, Sheikh Ahmed Barzani, Captain Aziz Toffiq and Brigadier Aziz Chalaki have visited the Leader Barzani at (Ranya).

On Thursday 10 December 1964, the Leader Barzani told me to nominate myself for a member in the Revolutionary Commanding Council.

On Sunday 13 December, Captain Salim Fakhri, Mussa Kadhim Al-Jubari and another group of army officers, with Engineer Sami Abdulrahman have taken asylum with us and settled in (Qaladiza). They had fled from the Regime's aggression in Baghdad. I rented a house for their living at the town and assigned a monthly subsidy payment for each of them.

As regards Lieutenant Ahmed Said Lawa who had joined

latterly and grouped with the former Persons was promoted to the rank of Captain in accordance to the 11 March Agreement. Unfortunately he was assassinated by a thug in Baghdad. Captain Lattif who was the Leader of the National Army, a pro-communist association, following my own request and Barzani's consent was reinstated in his former post with the Iraqi Army. In the presence of Barzani, the Governor of Sulaimaniyah blamed me for this mediation(as regard to Captain Latif).

Captain Salim Fakhri had returned to Baghdad via (Quaradagh) road, south of (Sulaimaniyah). On 13 December 1969 Israeli Broadcasting Station announced that possibly he was sentenced to death with a group of high rank army officers in Baghdad and was executed. They were charged with being accomplices in a Coup d'etat against Abdulsalam Arif's Regime.

War between A.S. Arif's Army and Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan

Approximately about 1 April 1965 fighting started between Arif's Army and the Kurdistan Revolutionary Forces. The Regime became reluctant to honour the Agreement on autonomy which it had promised to sanction. People in Kurdistan renewed their pledges to support the Revolution. They were not prepared to live in a state of semi-slavery under the despotism of Ba'ath. Peshmerga institutions withdrew from the towns and cities and started moving towards the strongholds of Kurdistan mountains for the purpose of taking the best positions of defence and for avoiding the civilians the horrors and devastation of the War. Hundreds of soldiers, officers and policemen left the various

Kurdish regions to join the fighting units of Peshmerga.

On Saturday 1 January 1965, after 10.30 hrs, a fierce conflict took place on the main highway between Kirkuk and Sulaimaniyah in which a wing of Peshmerga battalion and the Regime Army were involved. The bodies of six soldiers were left behind in the battlefield. According to the Regime's decoded messages six soldiers were injured badly. The Regime's Army blocked the road between the two Governments.

On Sunday 3 January, the main highway between Kirkuk and Sulaimaniyah will be opened from 11hrs in the morning until six o'clock in the evening. Travelling on this road is prohibited on the other hours of the day and night.

On Sunday 10 January, we are still in the town of (Qaladiza). A heavy rain had been falling all day.

On Tuesday 19 January, the Regime is not allowing males to travel between Kirkuk and Sulaimaniyah on one hand and between Sulaimaniyah and Qaladiza on the other.

On Wednesday 20 December, As I have mentioned previously, by Barzani orders, today I travelled to (Sulaimaniyah) with a unit of Peshmerga to clean (Kani Massi) from the remnant of the Polit Bureau members of the KDP who had left for Iran and also to protect Sulaimaniyah citizens from the criminals who torture innocent people and force them to pay ransoms for their lives.

On Wednesday 3 February, a large number of criminals and robbers and ruffians were arrested. To assure the citizens of Sulaimaniyah, the wrong-doers were put in open trucks and shown to the people through the streets and side roads of the city.

On Wednesday 10 February, inside the city of Sulaimaniyah the shops are closed and the people are on a general strike as protests against the Regime's reluctance to honour the Agreement for autonomy after a year of ceasefire. The Regime has stopped transporting oil and fuel from Kirkuk to Sulaimaniyah and the road between Sulaimaniyah and (Derbendi Khan) is blocked as well.

On Wednesday 17 February, in front of the (Mosque of Khanaqa) inside Sulaimaniyah city, a group of unknown armed men had opened fire on myself and the Peshmerga who were in my company. Peshmerga Nassradin, my driver and PM Sheikh Rashid were injured. The following day I went back to (Qaladiza). The same night I had a meeting with Barzani who listened to my reporting the criminal offence. He became really angry and upset.

The Beginning of the Plight

When I completed my errands in Sulaimaniyah I was sent to the area of (Shwan) in the neighbourhoods of Kirkuk, owing to the fact that a few responsible men of the Revolution had been indulging in undesirable enterprises, causing misunderstandings and antagonism between the Regime and the Revolution leadership. While I was engaged in discussion to find solutions for the problems, I received orders from Barzani to stay in Kirkuk for a period of time and make a tour with an officer from the Second Regiment in an attempt to remove misunderstanding, if any, between the various Peshmerga headquarters. We were assigned to negotiate for returning the army trucks confiscated by Peshmerga during negotiations. While we had been trying our best for the solution of difficult problems faithfully and seriously, we noticed that the chasm between us and the Regime was getting wider and deeper. Prior to the renewal of fighting I felt that I had been deluded and the Regime's representatives were trying to gain time making excuses. They did not show readiness or desire to accomplish our requirements. They told me that it was necessary to report to the capital for the accomplishment of some outstanding issues. In Baghdad I was told, I should

not return to the Revolutionary areas. They expressed real intentions to offer me any post I required. At this point I realised that I had been enmeshed in a tangled net of conspiracy from which I could not rescue myself single-handedly. I tried to make a circle round the trick and asked to send me outside the country since I was sure that my returning to Kurdistan was impossible from Baghdad. The Regime's intention was to hold me in its custody for exploitation in the drudgery of infamous act of decoding the Revolution's messages for the benefit of the bloodsuckers of the Kurds, for those who have been engaged through tens of years in the devastations of my own beloved country, killing innocent people, children, women and elderly Persons and setting thousands of villages on fire. Beside all this, taking me away from the name of the Revolution, would have denied Peshmerga the arts and techniques of discovering the mischievous intentions of the despotic Baàthists.

In Baghdad I managed to send a letter to Barzani telling him about my situation and problems. My sister knowing about my existence in Baghdad had the intuition to feel the danger. She had reached Baghdad in a great hurry to find out the reason of my long delay for returning to Kurdistan. The only thing she could do at those critical situations was to inform Barzani about my terrible plight. Despite this prospect of hope I have been seeking to find an opportunity for assistance from anybody among the friendly people in Baghdad for the arrangement of escape from the nightmare of the horrifying event. To get the help I contacted a Kurdish officer who was called (Kereem Qarani) living in Baghdad. He promised to do his best for saving

me from my bondage.

When I was in his house, he took me from his car and went out. While we were at the threshold of the house we noticed two strange cars standing at a distance watching us. They started following us when we moved and were on the main street. Qarani who was driving, accelerated the speed to a horrifying extent in order to get lost in the bends of the side streets until we could get out of their sight . I became sure now that it was impossible for the cars to find us. At the end of this adventurous racing we finally arrived at the gate of a grand house. Qarani said, "This house is also ours, but it is vacant." I stayed in the house for the night alone and slept there with great worry. I found the house well furnished and full of cool boxes of quantities of food, bread and fruits. When Qarani returned next morning he found the house blockaded by the intelligence service agents upon which he told me under that condition it was impossible for me to get out of Baghdad safely. I lost all hopes of being able to return to Kurdistan; thereupon I wrote another letter to Barzani telling him that when I arrived in any country in Europe I would write him a letter, after contacting the Revolution Kurdish people there. I said I would request their assistance for my returning voyage.

I was assigned the post of assistant supervisor by the Regime at the Iraqi Embassy in Greece. There I was in a great agitation to find a source for helping in order to get back from here to Kurdistan. I sent a registered letter to (Kamal Fuad) a prominent party member living in Germany. I thought that this kind of letter is apt to reach quickly. When I received a reply from Dr Fuad, I still remember him telling me that normal letters

were faster to reach the destinations than the registered. He also expressed readiness for help, describing for me how I could reach Germany. While my mind was busy thinking of my own calamities, an Arab army officer, coming from Baghdad arrived with a big valise full of ciphered documents and formal letters and memorandums "I have brought you these documents. You have to find the code keys and complete them in one week," he said.

I had to contact some other sources to help me for arriving in Germany, because, in fact I did not have enough money for travelling. I was obliged to change the hotel to another one which was more suitable and cheaper. We went to an obscure hotel disrupting all connections with the Embassy. As all the coded documents were with me in the hotel I started with the help of my wife to burn them in the washbasin of the hotel room, for four nights at length. The washbasin cracked and damaged greatly. I had been extremely worried in case I was captured by an order from the Iraqi Embassy then I would be charged with treason of divulging the official documentary secrets and would be put to death.

While I was busy, one of those nights, indulged in the act of burning the official papers, suddenly I heard a bang. I was a bit frightened. Looking down to find out what had happened, I found a great, long incision in the washbasin. I washed the bathroom and everything around leaving no track behind. The following day I left this hotel as well. I told the hotel keeper we were travelling to Italy. We stayed in this manner for three weeks going from one hotel to another. I avoided going out

unless I had a telephone urgent call to make or for buying food for our usual meals which I could not afford to have in the hotel.

In the morning of one of these sad and miserable days I had a notion to contact the people I had been know to by Barzani for the sake of an arrangement for my returning home in Kurdistan, my heart was beating hard before hearing a man answering the call. "Are you Ismail?" said the man, "I congratulate you. Prepare yourself with your wife. You have to be in Athens Airport tomorrow morning, ten o'clock. Our representative will meet you. Don't worry. Everything will be OK." He told all the details for our journey which was arranged to take us to Tehran. That night happiness, which had deserted my life for a very long time, returned in a rush of joy and pleasure never been experienced by us in our lives. We hardly slept an hour during the whole night, in waiting for a brighter morning of the following day on which a car will come to carry us to the airport, for freedom and the brave hours of living with the comrades of arms as we did in the past at the foot and tops of the mountain, beside brooks and crystal water springs shining under the sun of the beloved, lovely Kurdistan.

We arrived at the Tehran Airport, where we were taken by a car for Kurdistan by great help from Iranian authoriyies. At that historic moment when I met dear Barzani, he was at (Hajithomeran) area, precisely at a hamlet called (Barda Klor), where he received me with parental affection. He gave instructions to the people of his household to put us, with my wife, as members of his family, with his wife and children.

Barzani instructed to notify all the Revolution newspapers

and publications that my absence abroad, outside Kurdistan was in accordance to the wish and approval of Barzani himself, for the execution of special business and my return as well is for the resumption of my beneficial services to the Great Movement of Kurdistan.

The period of my staying in Greece was considered to be absence from service without payment, in accordance to the letter issued by the Ministry of Finance No 74904, Police Section 114714 date 17 November 198.

On day, before I went to Kirkuk following Barzani's orders, I met Jalal Talabani (The President of Iraq at the present time), he took me by surprise shouting, "Congratulations, I am breaking happy news to you. By general consent you have been nominated to take the post of Minister in the Government Cabinet. You will be the first Minister ever appointed by the Revolution. I asked Barzani of the validity of the news, he said, "You have been taking great burdens upon yourself. It is the outcome of your great services that we are willing to make you a Minister." Then he posed a while and continued, "Your name with that of mine must be kept in the annals of history."

In the wake of my faithful works and sacrifices I have suffered the calamity of destiny and life, but none of which were so unkind as the unkindness and cruelty of man, (Blow, blow thou winter wind, thou are not so unkind as man's ingratitude). The question of my exile to Europe was a great conspiracy, not against myself Personally, but against the Revolution as a whole. Wasn't my safeguarding the invaluable life of the Kurdish Leader not to be regarded as an essential factor enabling the continuation of

the blessed and courageous Revolution of the Kurdish people for the sake of liberty and self rule? Barzani used to tell me on several occasions and many a time, (Shawkat, you own me) I am in turn feeling I am indebted forever to the paternal affection and estimation of so great a man, the General Barzani.

In my diary of 1965 I have noted down all the important events one by one consequently as follows:

- On Monday 15 March 1965; In Baghdad we stayed at (Shtora) hotel.
- On Wednesday 31 March: A great number of army Personnel, mercenaries and armours entered, Sulaimaniyah city. They fired the people at random. At the first assault they killed (57) fifty-seven Persons inside the city. Among the people murdered innocently five were women.
- On Sunday 4 April: An official decision was announced by the Government in which they stated I had been appointed as Supervisor in the Iraqi Embassy in Athens.
- On Monday 12 April: I was sent from Baghdad to Athens in Greece. I was assigned to attach to the Iraqi Embassy there. The First Secretary was Khalil Al-Chalabi and Khassraw Rashid Jawdet was the Embassy accountant.
- On 7 April 1965, the Iraqi Regime issued an amnesty for all the people participating in the September Revolution, and those who have taken arms against the Government.
- On Saturday 22 May, an officer has been sent from Baghdad to Athens. He is called (Ahmed Mahmud Al-Shania). He has brought a large number of coded messages and documents concerning the Kurdish issue. He expected me to decypher

their contents in order to take them back to the Iraq Ministry of Defence. I am intent on leaving Greece as quickly as possible.

- On Friday 4 June, the Iranian Ambassador tried hard with me to stay in Iran and work with their associated department. When he knew I would disappoint him, then he told us that he would send me back to Kurdistan through the Iranian territory.

- On Tuesday 8 June, at 06.30hrs today we shall travel from Athens to Tehran by air, and we shall travel to Kurdistan from there. The Iranian Ambassador is a Kurd from the city of (Sablagh = Mahabad). He accompanied us until the Athens International Airport with his Secretary who had entertained us with his interesting anecdotes and nice conversations about the cheese and (do = the liquid left after churning the milk and the cheese extracted). In Tehran we had been put in the (Venak) hotel. The following day the Barzani representative in Iran (Shemsaddin Mufti) visited us. He provided us with all necessities until our arrival at the Kurdistan near (Haji Homeran).

- On Thursday 17 June we started towards Kurdistan from Tehran by a private car.

- On Sunday 20 June, by orders of Barzani we were sent to (Shkero) at the foot of the (Bardaklor) mount. We were received by Barzani in great respect and fatherly attention to take residence in the camp assigned privately for the Leader's family members. Immediately special tents were perched at the foot of the mountain and furnished with clean and comfortable mattresses and quilts.

- On Monday 20 June 1965, the commander of one of the Peshmerga battalions has stated in his cable, "We have shot

down an aeroplane and the pilot has been taken a prisoner. By order of Barzani we requested the Battalion Commander to send us a few fragments of the aeroplane and the imprisoned pilot. In his reply it appeared that he had circulated this buffoonery for raising the Peshmerga morale. After this stupid conduct the commander was disarmed and discharged to remain without any post of responsibility.

- On Monday 28 June, today bomber aeroplanes launched air attacks at our positions, seven very heavy bombs were dropped quite near us aiming at the shelters and tents of Barzani's family dwelling camps. Meanwhile fighting is fiercely on all over the fronts of Kurdistan.
- On Sunday 4 July 1965, in accordance to the information we received from reliable sources, dispute and quarrels are obvious, clearly seen among the Regime's ministers in the capital. A few ministers had fled to Cairo taking refuge with Jamal Abdunnassir.
- On Monday 5 July, in the town centre of Sulaimaniyah city, unknown gunmen shot at Nahida Sheikh Salam = A well known patriotic lady and the daughter of the celebrated Kurdish poet Salam and latterly the wife of the Kurdish engineer Minister of Works and Communications. The lady was injured. Her husband is a well champion of the Revolution, serving at the present the Kurdish cause adjoining Barzani as a prominent member of the Central Committee of KDP.
- On Tuesday 6 July, ten of the Regime's ministers resigned their portfolios. Hadi Khamas, Subhi Abdulmameed and Abdulrazaq Arif have attempted a Coup d'etat.

The Faction of the Political Bureau

Barzani gave permission to the faction of the Polit Bureau who had taken refuge in Iran to return to Kurdistan. With Adris Barzani I have been working hard to re-settle these Peshmerga who had come back to their country. Shortly an army unit was established under Idris Barzani's command and an important battlement front was entrusted to the Polit Bureau Peshmerga who were now called the Fighters under Jalal Talabani's Jurisdiction. They soon manifested bravery by their tremendous, heroic assaults at the Regime's strongholds and trenches on the (Hundren) mountains. They achieved an outstanding triumph, while offering martyrs and wounded fighters. I wish the renewal of such a brotherhood was eternal, not intermittent as it is.

In fact I am not inclined in this context to indulge in the politics associated with the series of occurrences through the long struggles since there are so many issues that I regard as yet to be in the dilemma of secrets to be kept from the knowledge of the public. On the other hand I refrain from blazing up the fire of controversy to create party fractions and dissension and infighting. In the subject of controversy among the Party faction I never had any role other than that of mediation and arbitration and judgement between parties in peaceful ways. I abhorred the encouragers of disputes and the opportunists who tried to benefit by broiling misunderstandings and quarrels.

Permission Cards

After the return of the Political Bureau faction from Hamadan and Tehran to Haji Homeran (north of Erbil government)and their settlement near Barzani's HQ, a few members, among them, requested to get permission for going to the areas around Sulaimaniyah for meeting their families. I had arranged a system for procuring such permission from Barzani; furthermore, I had been sending with a few notable members escorting Peshmerga to accompany these Persons until they arrived at the township of (Mawat). Thereafter, information came from Sulaimaniyah stating that these people had come to the city for the purpose of rearranging the rank of their party faction and not to visit their own families.

On another occasion when Barzani was asked to give permission to a few other members of the same faction of the old Polit Bureau, he said, "There are a group among this faction whose purpose for going to Sulaimaniyah is not to visit their families but to carry out political designs against the Revolution. Hence, it is not possible at the moment to give these Persons permission until the time when this tantalising issue has been cleared up." The system of this work was now changed to request the late Idris Barzani in a memorandum to find out

the validity of the request. Barzani in his comment on this subject in a frank expression without the intention of insinuating to any other faction, he said, "When a political faction works inadvertently for strengthening an opposing side, certainly he would in this way weaken his own political nomination."

In my own pocket diary I had registered the following notes as regards the events occurring throughout the period:

- A short time ago the Leader Barzani proclaimed amnesty for all the Peshmerga and the Leaders of the Polit Bureau Faction who are known now as (Jalali) = Jalal Talabani followers.
- On Tuesday 6 July 1965, a number of (180) Peshmerga and leaders of the former Political Bureau Faction have returned from Hamadan to Haji Homeran.
- On Thursday 8 July, another number of Peshmerga and leaders of the former Polit Bureau Faction, known as (Jalali) have returned from (Hamadan) to (Haji Homeran). The Leader Barzani met them in a collective interview, for strengthening solidarity and brotherhood for the interests of Kurdistan in general. Barzani received the opponents with great estimation and regard, in a way that they had not been committing any mistakes, wrongdoing or offence against the Kurds and Barzani in Person.
- On Sunday 11 July, Barzani instructed me to travel to the villages of (Haji Homeran and Zinwa Sheikh) as his representative, with Lieutenant Colonel(Kamal Mufti) who had returned from (Hamadan) as well. I had to welcome the returning faction members and prepare all necessary requirements for their maintenance. I am also to assure them that from now on they will be considered as Peshmerga in the rank of the

Kurdistan Revolutionary Army.

- On Monday 12 July, today Idris Barzani and Mas'ud Barzani took away the heavy gun for trial and inspection before being taken to the fronts for fighting. Rounds of these guns will be fired at the Iraqi military bases neighbourhood of (Rawandez and Hawdeyan) area.
- On Thursday 15 July, two French journalist visited Barzani near the mount of (Bardklor). Both of them work for Le Monde and Paris Match. I performed the work of an interpreter. Much as I remember one of the journalist was called Jan Chuvelle
- On Monday 19 July, according to the message interchanged between the Regime's various offices, yesterday a unit of the Regime's mobile troops have blockaded two of our Peshmerga, near (Bekrajo) in the (Sulaimaniyah) vicinity. After they had killed eight soldiers, the Peshmerga (Ussai Ama) was martyred and the Peshmerga (Hussain Faris) was injured and taken prisoner. The latter was murdered as a result of a savage torturing. Then his corpse was tied to the back of an armoured vehicle and dragged along the streets of Sulaimaniyah city.
- On Tuesday 20 July, two aeroplanes aimed rockets at the shelter of the two French journalists who are staying with us as our guests, fortunately none was harmed.
- On Wednesday 21 July, war is on fiercely at (Chwarta). The morale of our Peshmerga is very high.
- On Saturday 24 July, both the French journalists have returned from the areas of (Bêshê, Zôzik) and later the (Handren) mount. They met Barzani today and they will return tomorrow to their own country through (Haji Homeran) to Iran.

Barzani's Letter to General de Gaulle

On Thursday 15 July 1965, at (Bardaklôr – Haji Homeran) when the French journalist had visited Barzani I had been a translator in the English language between the two sides. General Barzani asked them to explain the situation and the requirements of the Kurdish people to General de Gaulle. One of them who was called Janchuvil said, "It will be more proper if you write a letter in your name to the General." Barzani asked the journalist to carry the letter to the intended destination. The journalist smiling he said, "What do you require?" Barzani in turn smiled as well saying, "Of what are you making money?" "We make money of leaves of the trees," the journalist replied. "All right we'll give you oak tree leaves, please make money of them for us!" At the end of this interview, Barzani presented each of them with a penknife. They both took out a franc from their pockets and told Barzani, "We have bought these two knives from you for two francs." In our country they say it is ominous to present a friend with a knife. We believe that the friendship will end. Therefore to keep our friendship eternal, forever, we buy the knives for a nominal sum." Barzani pleasantly took the two francs and gave the journalist the knives.

On Sunday 25 July, we received a quantity of light and heavy weapons through Haji Homeran way. The aeroplane has bombed Haji Homeran and its periphery on the mount (BardaKlôr).

On Wednesday 28 July, for the first time bombers have raided the fighting fronts around (Rewandiz). Some of the bombs had fallen into the Peshmerga trenches.

The Oil of Stones and blasphemous worm (i.e.poisonous worm)

In the (BardaKlôr) mountain which is facing the town of (Haji Homaran), three strange phenomena had brought my attention. On the mountainside I noticed boulders in brown-bluish colour which can be split with the hand into separate layers, in the shape of cardboard. Between the layers which are piled naturally on one another, clear thin oil of jade colour, similar to olive oil are found in the stones. Later on I knew that the oil is called stone-oil which has great chemical and manufacture value. The other peculiar thing was the existence of two species of mice. The first was a kind of mouse whose both eyes were closed with a skin cover with no ears at all. The mouse used to come out of a hole, running straight for one metre; then crunching quickly the stubs of some herb roots and returned in a haste, on the same path when it came out, to the original hole in the ground. When coming out again it took a new direction. The space at the hole mouth was smooth and for the distance of fifty centimetres in diameter, the space had been cleared of all grass and herbs. The second species was a kind of rat, white as snow, with upturned ears. Intermittently it got up on its hinds, turning

about and looked far way into distances. Then stretching out its neck and ran about here and there among the trees and stones hiding itself in the holes.

The third phenomena is a sort of worm whose size is as big as that of the first joint of the human small finger. The worm is in a case of woven straw. When creeping, this straw umbrella drags behind on the ground. If domestic beasts such as sheep or goats, happened to eat it while mixed and hidden in the dry straw of the fields the beast will die on the spot. In the area of Haji Homeran this worm is called (Quzalgurt) which means blasphemous poison. On the same mountain there are many kinds of medical herbs and roses, a great deal of which are to be found in the herbariums and herbal treatises.

There are also yellow coloured flowers which are bunched in garlands and bouquets the pelts of which do not fall and their colour keeps a lovely brightness with the scent of lavender and rosemary. The flowers are placed in the folds of cloths instead of perfume and also for killing pests and harmful insects. One of its genre is called (Rôn) in Kurdistan, which is a type of Afsenteen used by the peasant folks for various medical purposes.

On 30 July 1965, the Leader Barzani and Mas'ud Barzani (his son) heading a special army moved towards the mountain of (Handren). We in turn followed in their wake at 7 o'clock in the morning of the following day taking with us all the installations and equipment of the Aras Wireless Station.

Planning Out a Military Campaign for Artillery Shelling

On Friday 30 July, the Leader Barzani and Mas'ud Barzani started from (Berda Klôr) of (Haji Homeran) towards the mountain of (Handren). Their intention was to make a plan for attacking the Regime's forces from (Rewandiz, Jundian, Diana and the plateau in front of (Gali Ali Beg). The offensive should be extended to cover (Hawdian) plain, the mount (Zozik) foot and (Gerdin Hushter) towards (Hawdian) side.

The Leader Mullah Mustafa Barzani had completed the final outlines of the attacking plans by assigning the heavy gun to their positions. He instructed that two of the heavy guns be installed on the (Hendren) mountain and the other four to be put on the (Zozik) and (Garden Hushter) mountains. I with my comrades fell behind from Barzani's procession by half an hour. I passed them and took over to take the left direction for climbing (Handren). I tried from this high position to find the long rank of Barzani's forces, then coming back to my friends for going together and reach the forces soon. It was a very hot day. My water cask was hung on a horse side, with my friends. During climbing up and down the mountain I lost the trace of the

group. I could see deep ditches and ruined crevices. I had been trying hard to approach them for finding water. I could see birds of many kinds and different colours. They all have taken shelter in these crevices because of the intense heat. A great number of those fine birds were motionless and dead on the ground. They all had been in search for water.

Hardly are there water springs on the Handren. In many places, hundreds of boulders and old stock of trees are piled upon other trees and rocks. The few springs which are in the mountainsides were in places invisible from me wherever I went and roamed about. However, I arrived at the road usually frequented by the villagers, but I felt I was extremely tired. In that great thirst the inside of my mouth turned dry like bones. Fatigue caught hold of me and gradually I began losing strength and dropped down in utter exhaustion. I managed with great effort to hold my rifle hanging from my shoulder, but always ready for action. I fired three shots in the hope that a friend would hear and come for my rescue. Then I lost consciousness. The rest of the story I heard later on from my friends. They had thought the shots were fired by a hunter. After a while of fainting I woke up and regained consciousness, but, in this horrible infernal heat I started to shiver. I could not stand the cool shelter of the ditch, I made a great effort to reach where the sun threw dim rays of light. My eyes blurred and my brain fell into delirium, then between now and then I awoke with a shock. I was often dreaming of cold bowls of water or curdle milk with ice blocks. In the fearful delusion I woke up suddenly whenever I tried to touch the water with my mouth. Then throwing my

limbs about, exerting all my efforts I could fire two other shots in the air. I spared a few rounds for the night in case I stayed in that situation, to kill the predatory animals which may attack, although I was sure that until the night I would be so weak, unable to do anything beside firing a gun. Many ideas were coming to my mind such as writing a will, but I had no power to hold a pencil. Gradually I lost all hope and fell down on the ground motionless and still. On the other hand my friends were greatly surprised why they were unable to find any trace of me, as I had been pretty out of their sight during my climbing the precipices. Strangely enough despite all these calamities I had been successful to get to the main path of the mountain where the track was used by people.

In this moment of destitute and disaster I imagined the sound of mules. However, I had no energy or stamina to get up on my feet. Little by little I heard voices, probably of my friends. They appeared, from nowhere. When they found me in that state, nearly dead, they were astonished and held in a trance of grief. One of the friends was a Peshmerga from (Qaradkh) who had knowledge of mountains and whereabouts of ditches where snows could be found. He had been wandering about the holes and caves of the mountain until he had found a narrow channel full of white snow of the winter. He had been working very hard to remove branches and leaves of the trees holding the snow inside the channel.

My friends made a fire and put a kettle full of snow on it. They started to wet my lips, drop by drop, while I was craving for drinking the whole kettle. The water was bitter in my mouth

like quinine. It looked like stench water with horrid smell. Now I began to have another bout of shivers. With the great help of these gallant comrades of arms, and their kind tenderness and attendance I was able to get to the position where the Barzani's forces had stationed. The Leader when he heard about the incident he was greatly upset, but I had learned a great lesson. From that time on, wherever I intended to go I carried my water container with myself dangling from my waist or strapped to my shoulders.

Barzani's Private Meetings

While we had been travelling during our constant tours throughout different districts of Kurdistan and it happened that Barzani heard of a dispute between any two families or more he immediately took the matter into his consideration and he tried with great interest and intention to bring the contestants to forgiveness and reconciliation. He did not leave the area until he was really convinced of the realisation of fraternity and peace in the region.

In the gatherings of his guest hall he used to speak according to the educational levels and states of the audience. When he felt the existence of an intruder in the room between the guests, he avoided the discussions of politics and the fighting plans. He would relate in this situation the boar hunting and the killing of wild animals. If necessity arose and required to explain the Kurdish Question and to go through the discussion of politics, then he would treat the subject pragmatically according to the factual conditions of the time. He was indeed a practical

man who never pursued the fancy of dreams. He was greatly irritated by the hypocrites who agreed to all that he said, with no disapproval, but merely for the sake of securing his Personal satisfaction. He used to say to the listeners “I would like to hear your opinions and to what you may think correct. I am anxious to listen to your advice and directions.” He never showed boredom and discomfort to any guest who had prolonged his sitting in his presence.

His firm instructions to the guards, who worked as receptionists to be polite with the people who required opportunities of getting interview with him. He often sat with visitors staying in the meeting idly uttering no words while he was tired of the burden of working all day long. He often used to say, “I prefer to be uncomfortable while the guest feels happy with me. Even if I were ill or had a headache I would not like to show it, avoiding to embarrass the guest with my own troubles.”

The Continuity of Revolution

During the numerous revolutions taking place in Barzan, in the years of 1913, 1932, 1933 and 1943, if other supporting revolutions had broken out in all the parts of Kurdistan, one of these revolutions would have been effective sufficiently to outspread and cover all parts in Kurdistan, provided that it had adopted similar ideology on the basis of politics, economy and social criteria.

- On Sunday 1 August 1965, the Army of Kurdistan Revolution reoccupied the (Safin) mountain. It has been completely freed at the present.
- For the past few days high flying aeroplanes have been reconnoitring the areas of (Haji Homeran) and the (Handren) mountains. This morning at 6.30am two warplanes attacked and bombed the Barzani family camps. Eight Persons were injured. Doctor (Hikmat) is treating and attending the casualties. Next morning the planes bombarded the village of (Zinwé).

Fighting is continuous in all parts of Kurdistan. The Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan is enjoying great morale and prowess. Our heavy guns crackdown upon enemy targets at the distance of 32 kilometres.

- On Thursday 9 September 1965, two Iraqi warplanes bombarded the nomadic tribes' tents who are camping below the Barzani's family dwelling quarters. The planes killed seven women and a man.
- On Monday 13 September, the Regime's forces and mercenaries have arrived at the town of (Qalla Diza). Fighting is going on at (Sarsang) between the Revolutionary (Kawa) forces on the one hand and those of the Regime's Army and mercenaries.
- On 17 September, an attempt for Coup d'etat took place in Baghdad, initiated by (Arif Abdulrazaq) unsuccessfully.
- My own wife and children left (Barda Klôr) with Barzani's family for (Dilman) village. A house is being built to accommodate my family, a little far from Barzani's family houses.
- On Saturday 2 October, the Regime has sent (Sheikh Baba Ali Sheikh Mahmud) for the commencement of negotiations.
- On Sunday 3 October, the Regime announced amnesty for all the people who have taken part in the September Revolution.
- The deadline for the amnesty is the first of November 1965
- On 10 October, I had been home to visit my family at (Dilman). Idris Barzani had advised me to return to (Rezanok) village in order to visit his father the Leader Barzani. I was needed to listen to the Regime's wireless stations. I had to move immediately.
- On Thursday 14 October, today the Regime will start a census all over Iraq, in the areas under its control of course. They are unable to include the liberated parts of Kurdistan.
- On Saturday 16 October, today bomber aeroplanes raided

(Dilman) village and all the other villages in the neighbourhood. They dropped a great deal of bombs. The bombs were so many over the sky the people mistook them for pamphlets.

- On Sunday 24 October, today the Chief of Staff of the Regime and the Governor of Erbil visited (Sheikhh Ahmed Barzani). They want (Sheikhh Ahmed Barzani) to mediate and tell Barzani of the Government's readiness for resuming negotiations. Meanwhile fighting is very intensive around the mounts of (Harir) and (Zinater).
- On Friday 3 December, it is now approximately one month I have been in the service of Barzani at (Penjuin).
- On Sunday 5 December, the Regime is insistent to start negotiation with Barzani. Barzani's view for this question is that the Government must proclaim the law of self-rule for Kurdistan before stopping the war in the areas of Revolutions.
- On Sunday 19 December, I returned to (Dilman) village from (Penjuin) at Barzani's service.

Salih Beg Miran a friend to Barzani

Salih Beg Miran was an intelligent, discreet and quiet gentleman. Until the year 1965 he had been a mediator to make peace among the tribal chieftains. He had solved several problems of the notables with the villagers and made Barzani's directions known to the people in the townships and villages of Kurdistan. Barzani held him in great respect and regarded him as a close friend. This nobleman has been around near us at the Aras Wireless Station.

From Abdu Salam Arif to Abdulrahman Arif

On 13 April 1966, Arif was burned and died in a helicopter falling down near Basrah, the Iraqi main commercial port. His death was announced formally and his brother Abdulrahman Arif was appointed the President of Iraq. Certain Iranian newspapers have written in their features with very distinct letters that Arif's plane had been shot down by one of Barzani's brothers. Barzani proclaimed the news not true and unfounded.

Following the steps of the burnt President's mischievous plans, the new allies had initiated great offensives from the mountains of (Zozik and Handren) but the counterplans designed masterly by Barzani Personally, with the courage and prowess of the Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan all the Regime's forces suffered great defeats, shattered and destroyed. The Kurdish Army achieved glorious victories, the fact which made the enemy resort to requesting a truce and negotiation for another time.

The fighting of (Hendren) mountain occurred on 12 May 1966 between the Regime's Army and the Revolutionary Kurdistan Army. As we have already mentioned, the Regime's Army was defeated severely. After this historic encounter, the Agreement

of 29 June was proclaimed by the authority of the President Abdulrahman Arif and the premiership of Abdulrahman Bazaz.

A young officer who was found killed with others had written in his pocket diary on 13 May 'I have spent a miserable night. May God, please end this misery, for us and the rebels, and may you open up the path of freedom for us all.'

In a few days the Regime had sent representatives to Barzani, stating their readiness for negotiations. Barzani at that time was in the (Zozik) mountain. He climbed down with the guards from the hills and proceeded forward directly to enter the frontline HQ of the Army at (Hawdian). Abdulrahman Arif, the army officer and the soldiers rushed out to receive the Leader Barzani clapping and shouting joyfully. The late Idris Barzani ordered all the commanders and Peshmerga of the mountain to come down and mix up with the Regime's Army forces, for the sake of protecting Barzani and taking part in the celebration of the occasion for peace.

For another time Barzani had proved for all the people of Iraq and abroad that the Kurds are peaceful people they dislike wars. The Kurds demand their just rights and a regime which represents all the people of Iraq. Barzani believed in the peaceful methods and negotiation for the solution of Kurdish question. Even during many times when the Regimes had sustained horrible defeats and asked for negotiation as a result, he never refrained from accepting their peaceful approaches, such as the manifesto of 13 July 1966 promulgated with Abdulrahman Bazaz and issued finally on 29 July embodying an agreement of 12 articles of self-rule for Kurdistan. This

was a great step forward in the achievement of the September Revolution objectives which are prospects for which Barzani had been striving.

After the June of 1966, internal strife between the two principal factions of KDP developed into serious 'infighting'. A group of considerable number, mostly intellectuals and the supporters of the Iraqi communist party were, from now on called (Jelali), i.e. pro-Jalal Talabani and his principles, systems and methods of struggling for the realisation of the Kurdish aspirations, and the other faction was formed by the fundamental foundation headed by the Leader Barzani, the pioneer and designer of almost all the modern movements of Kurdish patriotism and the general of marshal facts and military forces. The Jalalists had published their own periodical titled (Alnoor), (The Light) in Baghdad and Barzani's followers had their own newspaper which had developed into a famous widespread and popular organ of the KDP for a long time, which was called Al-Ta-akhi, brotherhood.

As I was aware of Barzani's psychological state of mind I felt a sensation that procuring merely self-rule had troubled him to the extent of anxiety, since his dreams had always travelled ,far beyond that boundary. His ambition, in fact, was to procure complete freedom and substantial independence, within the framework of Iraqi jurisdiction.

The Title of Sheikh of Barzan

In 1966 I asked the Leader Barzani very politely, "Why are your father and all your brothers called 'Sheikh', such as: Sheikh Muhamed, Sheikh Abdulsalam, Sheikh Ahmed and

Sheikh Babo, why aren't you Sheikh Mustafa?" he answered, "Before I was born, there was in Barzan a great Mullah who was very religious, God-fearing and extremely nice. The Mullah was held in great esteem by all the people. I was named 'Mullah Mustafa' after this respectful man, when I was born." Sheikh Abdulsalam the Chieftain of the Barzani tribe, and the elder brother to Mullah Mustafa when died, Sheikh Ahmed Barzani, son of Sheikh Muhamed Barzani was appointed the Chieftain of the tribe. (Sheikh Babo) is a nickname. Before he was born his father died and he was called after his father the late Sheikh Muhamed Barzani. The nickname (Babo) which means father is for Muhamed. However, the Leader Barzani (Mullah Mustafa Barzani) is the son of Sheikh Muhamed Barzani, the son of the great Sheikh Abdulsalam Barzani.

Avoidance and Secrecy

On many occasions when the journalists reported for duty in Kurdistan and to visit Barzani I used to ask them earnestly not to publish my photographs and the photographs of my colleagues and those of the Aras Wireless Station as we sought secrecy and avoided publicity in case we may give the Regime hints or any clue which might have indicated that we were deciphering their coded messages, and making great advantages out of them. Moreover, I did not expose myself to the cameras even when I had been sitting beside or next to Barzani while I was translating for him.

The fewer (Jashes = Mercenaries) the greatest esteem

In 1966 a foreign newspaperman asked Barzani, "What is the number of Peshmerga?" Barzani answered, "We have twenty thousand Peshmerga." "But the Regime estimates the number of all the Kurdish mercenaries armed men at thirty thousand" said the journalist, then he resumed, "It shows that the Kurds have not reached the standards of other peoples' living. Therefore, you must try to encourage these armed mercenaries to join your rank and to leave the Iraqi Regime's side. Now, you ought to prevent people in the liberated areas from being (Jashes), because the fewer the number of the mercenaries gets, the stronger the support of the foreign countries will be for your cause and the smaller the number of the Jashes the higher is the rate of your esteem."

With the Barzani Stage by Stage

During the period of negotiations a comrade told Barzani, “Your honour, it is not convenient that you should write a letter in your name to a government official for the reinstatement of a public servant or a policeman.” He replied “If I had confidence in the Government’s faithfulness I would go with such a man to Sulaimaniyah, Erbil or Kirkuk and wait in front of the official’s door until they let me in to beseech the man in the position, to re-employ the ousted Kurd in his old work again.” He used to say as well, “Any Kurd who would be pleased with a work or service of mine I would be glad to make him happy. In a moment of scepticism he said, “When three Kurds speak to one another tête-a-tête, one of them will turn into an enemy, the remaining two will never want to agree with each other.”

There are a great many books which have been written about the Leader Barzani, nevertheless, I have lived with this great Personality for so long a period of time that I could acquaint myself with many of his kind and natural traits, the fact which made me always more affectionate, loyal and interested in his intelligence, genius, morality, principles, behaviours and wisdom.

In the time of dearth he behaved with his comrades in this manner; for instance, if I had a loaf of bread I would split it into two halves, then I divide it, giving a portion to the hungry man and spared the other half to give it to another hungry man on another occasion. In this way he stayed hungry most of the time.

In other aspects of life he was unique; he required money for the service of people. He spent all the amounts for the Peshmerga whom he called 'the off-springs of the Kurdish nation'; a great man distantly away from the desires of greed or the acquisition of wealth or the high worldly states. His natural simple statements were immensely indicative embodying objective facts as for instance once he said "For what purpose should I accumulate wealth? If I have more than three meals a day I will get sick and fall ill; and if I change my clothes every now and then and put on new attires, certainly the people about me will think that I have lost my mind and went lunatic and insane. Moreover, I have no intention of taking money and gold with me to the grave." Enormously religious, he had put all his faith in God. He read the Holy Kuran regularly, nearly every day and astonishingly could recite many of the innumerable chapters of the sacred book which he had learned ingeniously by heart. On many occasions, he was performing the rites of prayers, on a carpet, aeroplanes came suddenly dropping heavy bombs; I have never seen him, even for one instant ending his supplications and search for a hiding place for protection. In the months of Ramadan as all the faithful Muslims he used to fast.

When he was riding a horse he kept on mounting while on a road for travelling, never jumping from its back in case

aeroplanes came for the usual bombardments.

He often said, "There is no difference between me and any other Kurd in our striving for the acquisition of National rights, but let everybody know that I shall not surrender to the enemy I shall endure much for the benefit of our people. " While sitting and ruminating over the endless war problems, he picked a penknife and started to split a piece of wood, making a cigarette holder sometimes and a knife in the shape of a dagger at the others.

He did not sleep most of the time at night. In the daytime when there were important works to do he kept awake, especially when there was aeroplanes and raids going on. He said, "Sleep is for vacant time; when there is work, sleeping is not necessary."

Barzani utilised the experiences of his life and the process of gaining his knowledge and skill properly and practically. He framed his ideas solidly and substantially to express them for his listeners in simple statements of words. He did not express or convey his very necessary advices in a direct way roughly but briefly and to the point, concisely full of the gist of meanings. Very mildly he imparted with tough issues, avoiding sincerely not to injure his audience, implying gently to what was essential for the application of principles and proper methods of the duration of the just contests and struggles.

For all events he had ready sentences from the Holy Kuran which he often recited aloud to the people in the audience, and the couplets of the Kurdish renowned poets as (Mallai Jaziri) which were applicable and suitable for the occasion. At all these

times he could read the poem so passionately in a masterly way that he attracted all attention and admiration.

He greatly appreciated and highly esteemed the intellectuals, the learned men of religious, especially the (Mullahs) in the various parts of Kurdistan. Wherever we went he put his doors ajar for these sorts of people to visit him whenever they liked. When he addressed the listeners he spoke

very clearly, never blurting out, and although his voice was rough, he did not speak aloud, but still he could be heard clearly afar, from a distance of eight to ten metres away.

When he made a speech he did not alter his voice vibrations, speaking naturally in a normal way. He criticised and ridiculed the sham orators who puff up, reddening their faces, raising their voices and throwing their arms about.

As all other societies of the world, there were troublemakers, scandal and gossip mongers who harassed the Leader with fabricated and unfounded, derogatory tales against their old-time foemen, trying to exploit the Revolution powers for crushing anyone they disliked. For this connection, Barzani would say, "If I try to purge the impurity of people around me, on the basis of what I hear from these baseless harangues and scolding gossips I would find myself one of these days alone up the top of a mountain while black crows and falcons roaming about high in the sky above my head, seeking a moment to plug my eyes."

The Kurds Deserve Service

In a gloomy day of dejection and ingratitude because of certain people who had returned my kindness for evil I told Barzani that "the Kurdish people are similar to a blacksmith oven, the

nearest you are, the more you are apt to burn. The oven sparks are in blazing. The more you serve them, the more they blame you.” Barzani commented on my view, “I have suffered many times from these unfortunate instances, but these people are base. Their number is few. They don’t represent the Kurdish people. In fact the Kurdish people deserve to be served.”

Barzani and the People

Barzani was a real entity, a school of peculiar conceptions of patriotism in relation to the Kurdish ideology of striving for liberty in the whole of Kurdistan. He strengthened friendship with all strata of people, visiting various parts of different qualities in Kurdistan to confirm relations with all social classes as shepherds, peasants, chieftains, Begs, tribe leaders, the village Mullahs and the Sheikhs and their followers. His purpose was to end quarrelling, strife and misunderstanding among these different strata of people and between the tribal chieftains and the villagers. He also elaborated on the objectives of the Revolution and its extensions.

When he became a guest he never stayed more than four to five days in one house, or until the errand for which he had come ended. When wandering in the villages, mountains, plains and valleys of Kurdistan he thought of the best methods of setting plans for the defensive fightings, when the dangers become imminent. For Barzani it was not essential the Leader of a unit, battalion or even an army should be a member of KDP. He appreciated and respected any Kurd who was ready to serve his people or join the rank of Peshmerga or live in the

shade of revolution.

He used to instruct the mosque Imams and Mullahs, whom he regarded in great esteem, to include in their Friday speeches social problems, to encourage decent behaviour and morals and enhance Kurdish traditions and culture. The men of religion formed a special institution for the promotion of virtues and excellences. On their own particular occasions, during their gatherings and feasts they encouraged the citizens to observe the norms of society and inculcate the sense of patriotism.

A man who observes the religious orders he ought to be patriotic with all his human senses. In the performance of this noble duty the Christian priests and clergymen of the numerous churches of Kurdistan had a great, substantial role for which they ought to get the laurel of victory and success from their Kurdish brothers. The religious leaders of the Zoroastrian people(i.e.Yezeedees) as well had taken part in the activities of this patriotic and social works sincerely.

Occupation of Towns and Cities

Barzani believed that to leave the towns and cities unoccupied as much as possible because the Peshmerga do not possess heavy armaments as anti-tanks and anti aircraft (ack-ack) guns in order to defend these occupied places. He regarded this sort of behaviour an inconsiderate and rash on the basis of the partisan fighting rules and also inconvenient socially and economically. He believed that avoidance of front fighting is most essential. We must not confront the army forces face to face, on the contrary, it is necessary to crack down on it every

time from an angle. Thus we will force the Regime to separate its forces here and there. In this way we can direct our blows, when opportunities arise, on the selected targets wherever they are weak and vulnerable.

He maintained, our fighting units are in need of weaponry, explosives and the preparation of foodstuff, water, pack animals or vehicles to an extent of equality with the Regime's Armies' possessions. Nevertheless, we do not have that much in our possession at the present time. What is important now is to continue fighting and keep the Kurdish people in a state of preparedness for maintaining its Revolution, until that time when the Great Powers and the UN would make account of us and take our issue into consideration.

Returning to the question of occupying great centres such as the towns and cities he said, "If we are unable to defend them why should you harass their peaceful residents and create the danger of imminent death and devastation throughout the tranquil areas?" Furthermore he confirmed, "When we would be obliged to unoccupy the captured towns and cities, we could certainly suffer great defeat and dwindle the morale and stamina of the residents and ourselves."

However, on many occasions when translating for the Leader during his meetings with the journalists I heard them telling Barzani, "It is essential that you have a permanent area under your constant control, even if it were in a valley or at the foot of the Kurdistan Mountains." In fact we had such an area permanently in our occupation.

Uneasiness, Anxiety and Anger

The Leader Barzani had never mingled his Personal feelings with the serious issues in discussion while he was on a meeting with the Regime's responsible Personages. He never revealed the sense of anxiety, upset or uneasiness. He used to say, "The peoples' interests are a great burden on our shoulders. Annoyance and disappointment must not affect these essential interests we are struggling for." When this determined Leader had put his hand in the hand of a Regime's responsible Person after they had signed a document for agreement or a pledge he did not withdraw or snatch it away until the other side did so.

Once on a farewell occasion with a responsible official in high Governmental position he shook his hand and told him, "I take out my hand from yours, but please regard it as being there forever, as a sign of keeping our pledge."

The Kurdish Movement Objectives

Barzani believed that the objective of the Kurdish Revolution was the creation of a democratic system for a Regime elected by people and for all the people of Iraq, so that the Kurds could obtain their freedom and national just rights under its jurisdiction. If there were mountains and valleys in the central and southern parts of Iraq, the people there would take up arms and revolt against this despotic Regime.

Any new authority which came to rule in Baghdad started to adopt injustice and despotism immediately after they had consolidated their position. Then they followed by savage military attacks at our native lands, thereby breaking all their pledges

and agreements they had signed, denying the people freedom and national rights. In our attempts for protecting our rights we have never antagonised the Iraqi people. The Government must be trusted by all the people and it must conduct as their representative. In the beginning of all negotiation he asserted that the Kurds should enjoy their justifiable national rights; they must live freely, the outcome of Kurdistan wealth must be used for the prosperity of its own people, only the rest, the remaining portion has to be transferred to the budget of the central Government.

The 'Shimshal' Flute Note

Barzani loved the music note of (Shimshal) a musical wind instrument in the form of a wooden pipe with holes to be stopped by the fingers. Shimshal is an oriental, typical Kurdish variation of the flute. He liked to listen to it adoringly.

We were guests of a family at (Bêduhê) village in the area of (Berwaribala). Our host had brought a singer or rather a bard or minstrel. He sang outside the room where Barzani was sitting. I noticed his attentive listening to the man's song accompanied with very pleasant note of his playing on his wonderful musical magic instrument. The Great Leader, constantly busy and overwhelmed by the troubles of war, had left the usual piles of documents accumulated around him to enjoy a few happy minutes listening to the rustic bard.

A Country of Multi Party

Barzani believed in the political system which encourages people to unite, but form multi-coloured parties i.e. of various types of ideology and conceptions, the parties that have been banned by the Government, and their activities had been strictly forbidden. The members of these sorts of parties who were pursued by the security agents of the Regimes sought refuge in the liberated areas of Kurdistan to form their own groups and practise political works in their private headquarters. There were mutual co-ordination and assistance between them and the Kurdish Revolution which they highly respected its objectives. They respected Barzani's admonition and instruction, and the Leader in return had never discriminated against them. He offered equal quantity of ammunitions and necessary provisions to all the parties exactly as were supplied to the Revolutionary Armed Forces. Whenever, they were successful to gain war trophies, these were kept by themselves for their own benefit. When they had captured heavy arms they sent them to the Revolution HQ to be used more properly at the times of big fightings.

The Sons of People

The Regime throw thousands of youngsters, the people's sons into the infernal fires of war willingly. Barzani said, "It does not care how many will die since tens of other young men will take their places, therefore, the number of the soldiers killed is not an effective factor to influence the war to end, while as we are concerned, those Peshmerga who are martyred in the war as

a result of their selfless sacrifices will affect the outcome and the consequences of our struggles in so much as we do not regard our fighting as an oven of blazing fire into which we inadvertently throw our peoples' off springs into it to perish and die."

The Regime does not pay attention to the losses which it undergoes because, they are able to replace them easily without so much difficulties which we find in doing so. They do not find great trouble in the tactical military movements of their forces from a front to another if need be, while for us all these are in contrast. For all these, we possess high morale and the people who are our backbone of aids. Hence, we ought not to dispose of our young men, our sons, who are difficult to be replaced.

Pleasant Talk

Barzani laughed on few occasions and laughed a little for a short time, but when he heard a joke he liked, he laughed so long and heartily that both his eyes welled up with tears affluently, and when he urged for repeating, he resumed another bout of laughing more from the depth of his heart.

I heard him relating this joke in a pleasant manner: A man from the city of Musil (a city in the north of Iraq whose people are known to be economical as the Duchy's in Holland) took a dog and its puppy to a market place for selling. A man asks him for the price. "How much is this dog?" he says. "It is for five dinars" the man replies. "How much is the puppy?" "Ten dinars" the man replies. The buyer says, "Why is the mother for five and the puppy for ten?" The seller says, "Because the mother is a dog, but the puppy is dog, son of the dog."

Barzani related the story in the dialect spoken in Musil which has a sort of peculiarity of accent.

It may be necessary to mention that the story is more pleasant in a Muslim country because the word 'dog' is an insult and abusive word in Arabic. Here lies the paradox of (dog son of dog).

When he was in Russia the State started a scheme for teaching the Barzani's reading and writing in the Kurdish language (a campaign against illiteracy). The teacher was (Mullah Hama Amin) a religious Muslim man from the town of (Ranya) in Kurdistan. He asked one of his students to stand up. He asked him a question to which he could not give a correct answer, because he had not prepared the subject. The Mullah became angry and he said to the student, "Tomorrow, if you don't prepare the subject I will slap you so hard you will fly over Kurdistan falling over (Betwen) plateau and will kiss its surface (Betwen plateau is near Ranya)."

Barzani when relating this anecdote he used to say, "How far Betwen is away from Moscow!"

Mullah Hamma Amin was one of the group who joined Barzani in his well-known expedition to Russia. He was a weak, emaciated man. That is why Barzani laughed at the Mullah's 'slapping'. However he was an agreeable, humorous Person.

Once, he told us that when he was a young chap, his mother used to pray for him saying, "God willing you will live as long as the trees and leaves in the forests." It was the supplication which God had accepted. I have spent all my life among the forests of wilderness and mountains.

Clothes and Costumes

During all his life Barzani used to wear Kurdish clothes while he was in Kurdistan which is composed of a padded coat and a pair of straight trousers and a cummerbund which is a sash worn round the waist. Round his headwear he tied a red colour headdress habitually worn by the Kurds in the northern parts of Kurdistan. On his feet either he put the local footwear made of soft leather or the ordinary shoes put on by the people in Kurdistan and all other people of the world.

Mostly he wore the Khaki style which was the military uniform of Peshmerga, tightening round his waist a leather bandoliers studded with cartridge rounds above the waist band of white colour ornamented with tiny black or blue roses. On the right side of the waistband there was stuck a dagger of high style in Kurdistan called (Daban) famous for its quality and sharpness.

When there were no guests in the room he would undress his head and put his turban and (Klaw) headdress beside himself. He put on his legs wool stockings spun and woven locally. The leather wristband of his watch was unordinarily broad.

He shaved with a shaving knife which he carefully sharpened with a whetting stone. He was a habitual smoker using a cigarette holder. Sometimes he folded the tobacco in thin cigarette papers for himself to smoke. He carried a (Brnu) rifle on his shoulder with fifty to sixty rounds on the bandolier. He used his eye glasses for reading or writing only, otherwise his sight was perfect even to see remote distances.

Equestrian

Barzani was an excellent equestrian who could control any stubborn horse completely. Both his knees were always tightened on the flanks of the animal so strongly that instinctively it had to obey him. He pressed his arms on his own sides whenever he drew the horse reins or slackened them. When he dismounted from his long pedigree stallion he usually patted its neck around for some time as the sign of approval and gratitude.

When Barzani walked on foot his neck and chest were kept high. He never quickened his steps nor made them very slow. One of his guards used to walk in front of him, therefore he would harmonise his pace according to the guard's speed. When he became tired, especially over the hillsides and precipices, he would take a halt for resting a short time, during this time he would relate little interesting anecdotes. Many a time he told us about the different sorts of these mountain herbs and their usefulness for healing properties, or their harmfulness. Being a man of ample knowledge and experiences throughout the country he was acquainted almost with all the roads and quarters we used to pass, hence, he was able to tell us a great deal about every new road we later on frequented.

As for the fighting obligations and manners he had strict instructions. He did not allow us to fire a shot at random. He said, "A Peshmerga who carries fifty to sixty rounds at the time of fighting he can defy the enemy and defeat him." No doubt this would be a victory and the achievement of triumph. When a group of such kind of Peshmerga confront a unit of the Regime's

Army they will certainly prevail and realise achievements of higher values, on the other hand, Barzani would say “Other factors are essential as food, ammunition and water that should not be neglected at all.”

The Kurdish Movement secrecy

Barzani could be regarded as the reservoir of Revolution secrecy into which he did not let anybody. He told me on one occasion, “I haven’t told sixty percent of the Revolution secrets to the nearest friend of mine up until now. The hard works, problems and misfortunes of diplomacy and fighting for the Kurdish cause have thrown such great a burden upon me.”

The Partisan Fighting of Kurdistan

In addition to what he had been reiterating in terms of the tactics, methods and information which are extremely vital for Peshmerga to make himself overwhelmingly acquainted with, he summarised the whole procedure in the following list of instructions:

1. Specification of the objectives required from the impending offensive.
2. Earmarking the enemy we want to attack.
3. Thorough estimation of the enemy’s potentials, its human capabilities, manpower, the unit number, sort of armaments and its communication means.
4. Studying the land on which the enemy will launch its offensiveness, being flat land, high plateau or mountainous.

Who is a Peshmerga

A journalist asked Barzani, “Who is a Peshmerga?” They consist of all the Kurds young and old and even the oldest people. They are educated and uneducated, ploughmen, workers, chieftains and begs. That is to say from all strata of people, without discrimination in terms of classes, political ideology, conservatism or radicalism. Among these are tens of cadres who have improved to great extent as a result of which they have become good enough to take responsible positions for the fulfilment of military and political works to assist in the realisation of the great Kurdish aspirations.

Barzani had allowed absolute freedom for the expression of viewpoints by the unit commanders. They were to assign the time and locations for the impending attacks, in accordance to the situation they found most convenient for the actions.

Glory was to the man who displayed more courage, prowess and human traits, in the fighting fronts. The man who stayed awake during the nights for the benefit of the nation and is patient to endure and stand the pang of hunger, destitution during the war is a real Peshmerga.

Barzani and the Foreign Countries

Barzani’s relations with the foreign countries were based on identical, similar conditions. He used to say, “The Kurds are in need of moral and material assistance and the support of the foreign countries. Therefore as a beggar I extend my arms and open my laps to get the alms which may contain help from a foreign country abroad. I will not question him, who he may be.

Have you ever seen a beggar who asks a generous Person who happens to offer him a piece of bread, who he was or why he wanted to help him. Now, even in these conditions, I shall not tie myself to the conditions laid down by the Western or Eastern fronts.”

“Sometimes” he said, “I will be obliged to tell these countries you are our friends. I want to make them understand that the Kurds are not murderers and robbers. They are only pursuing their national just rights.”

“I don’t want to be blamed in the future as (Sheikh Mahmud) had been blamed by the people who had forged lies and rumours for him, who said when he was shaking hands with an Englishman, he turned the fringes of his sleeves round his lap so that he would not touch the filthy hand of a heretic. A foreign country gives you alms with one hand and with the other digs a deep ditch for you to fall in.”

Favour

A Kurdish proverb says “Do favour and throw it into the current of a stream” indicating that help must not necessarily be directed to a particular Person. Upon this maxim Barzani said, “if you did a favour, don’t mention it to the man or woman you helped. Don’t tell it to others. If you give alms for God’s sake, you must not reveal that to people. Talking about generosity will obliterate its good quality with the Person you favoured and with Almighty God.”

Delusion

When Barzani felt that a dishonest or doubtful Person was sitting among the people in his presence, or a journalist who had come to meet him, in fact he was hiding a purpose other than what he had already shown or mentioned, he answered the enquiries naively and in deceptive ways to mislead the Person. On other occasions he elaborated diplomatically the complicated political issues and answered the questions properly in clever ways.

The Simple Bedding of a Great Man

When sitting on the ground two blankets were folded and set for him instead of a cushion and he would keep all his extra clothes in a long sack he used as a pillow, putting it behind his back during the daytime. He crossed his legs while sitting straight, not leaning on the wall behind his back. He stayed in that position for hours, without turning his legs to different sides or showing any signs of tiredness.

When dining at a plastic covered or a round metal tray he ate quietly, never in haste, and did not try to speak during that time. He liked to have one or two other people with him to dine together. On the same dining tray he took his breakfast in the morning. His main food in the morning was the Kurdish delicious mast (yoghurt) with thin local bread. When staying outdoors in the fields and mountains, he used to have mast and bread for all his meals, three times a day. Drinking tea accompanied the meals but it seemed as a perpetual article to sustain living. If food had not been placed in front of him he did not ask for it,

while, if the cups of tea were not in front of the guests or himself he would ask a guard to bring the tea. Many a time he left the tea before him cold. When the guards did not change it, he did not ask for another hot cup. When food was placed for eating he did not like it to be put in front of him before the guests were served. If the plates were put on a tray he asked if a share had been allotted for him. In that case he would ask for two or three other Persons to dine with him.

Gold, Diamonds and Uranium

Barzani paid great attention and valued the wealth of metals and deposits of precious minerals in the Kurdistan mines. Many samples were brought to him among which were natural crystals of (Mama Rutta) mountain, asbestos, coal in the (Mawat) area, gold deposits of (Dilman village) fountain. He would send samples for analysis abroad. When the results of (Mama Rutta) returned, they confirmed the existence of diamond under the layers of the natural crystals. They also said, from the crystals, articles of antiquity could be manufactured. Even with manual instruments and tools fine artefacts are possible to be made.

In accordance to the information Barzani was able to obtain, the following areas contain uranium deposits suitable for mining. They are the areas of (Penjuin and Chami Shler), (Mran) village, (Lalomaro and Shéné) in (Qaladiza).

Posterity

“It is advisable not to hinder or prevent conception” Barzani said, “The more we get children the better will be our chance, because, if among this high number of children one, happened to be a genius, he will compensate the defect of them and will become a good asset for his parents and probably for the service of his country. For years we have been offering sacrifices, let our nation grow to increase, not to be in danger of extinction.”

Days of 1967

The Old Women of Kirkuk Countryside

In 1967 a newspaperman asked Barzani the following questions:

Newspaperman: "How old are the people who join Peshmerga?"

Barzani: "From 18 years to 84."

Newspaperman: "Those who participate in the Revolution, what kind of people are they, in your opinion?"

Barzani: From the kind of an old woman near Kirkuk who hears or sees the aircrafts which come to bomb Kurdistan. She quietly sighs and prays for the safety of Peshmerga.

Newspaperman: "How old are you?"

Barzani: "While sitting I am seventy years old. When I am with Peshmerga on errands for serving our people I am thirty-five.

At the same time Barzani faced the newspaperman and said, "Why aren't the western countries supporting us to procure our own rights?"

The newspaperman in replaying said, "Unfortunately when the Kurds demand their rights, they divide into two parts. One

half becomes the enemy of the other half. The Kurds have not yet developed common conceptions to unite and consolidate their ranks to be able to procure their just rights.”

Problems Solutions

In 1967 at the village of (Dilman) from the morning until the evening I was trying, with Mas’ud and occasionally with the late Idris Barzani to study and find solutions for the Peshmerga who had arrived from the different Army quarters to report to the Barzani Head Office. Most of these problems were of a nature to be settled only by Barzani HQ. The problems that were too hard to be settled by us, we submitted these to Barzani to be dealt with by the Leader at night. Consequently, when the people were satisfied, they were given each the expenses of commuting to return happily to their unit stations.

A Father and a Son

Respect and affection between myself and the Leader Barzani were akin to the love of a parent to his son. I felt predominate affection in his eyes and I in return had the greatest respect and faithfulness towards his excellent Personality. Despite all his sublimity and grandiose he used to stand up as a real sign of respect when I entered his sitting room, although this overwhelming respect had caused great embarrassment for me.

One day a man had told him, “Shawkat is not old enough to stand up for him.” He had told the man, “Shawkat is as dear as my own eyes. He is really a respectful young man.”

On Monday 20 February 1967, the President of Iraq,

Abdulrahman Arif travelled to Turkey, appointing the Republic Council Command to reign in his stead. The members are: Naji Talib, Rajab Abdulhameed and Shakir Mahmud Skukri.

On Thursday 2 March, the oil pipelines were opened for transporting oil from Kirkuk to the Mediterranean Sea. The problems between Syria and the Iraqi Oil Company are settled, after a dispute lasting for eleven weeks.

On Saturday 4 March, by orders of Barzani I am appointed as the Barzani Leader's Representative in the city of (Mosul). For this purpose telegram cables were sent to the Ministry of Defence, in Barzani's name. The office of the President's Secretariat, the Prime Minister's Secretary, the Commander in Chief of the Iraqi Army, all the Regiment's Commanders, the Provinces Governors and all the Commanders of the Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan.

On Sunday 5 march, I travelled from the village of (Dilman) for Erbil. There I visited the Commander of the First Regiment in Erbil, in order to discuss with him the duties of my responsible post in (Mosul).

On Tuesday 7 March, I arrived at Mosul, I met, before noon the Commander of the Fourth Regiment (Brigadier Abduljabbar Shanshal). I conveyed to him Barzani's greeting and regards.

Temporarily I stationed the HQ of my works in the Sargon Hotel in the downtown of Mosul.

Mullah Baqi Kwêstani's portable battery radio

Mullah Baqi Kwêstani, one of the Kurdish comrades from the East of Kurdistan had been with Barzani since the beginning of September Revolution until the Leader passed away. The faithful man had a transistor radio set dangling from his neck. Small batteries did not suffice his almost permanent using of the apparatus; therefore he tied two or three bigger batteries together and put them in a cardboard pipe adjusted to the back of his precious set. He used to collect news in Perisian by listening to our or five radio stations. Then, he would go to Barzani at night relating to him the news of the events all over the world, especially whatever related to the Kurdish Question. He had been highly esteemed by Barzani. His tomb is lying at the present at (Barda Klôr) opposite to (Haji Homeran) north of Erbil.

On Friday 10 March 1967, for the execution of the works related to my new post I left (Mosul) for (Berwari Bala) to meet the Commander of our First Army, Assad Khoshawi. I first rode in a car towards (Bamrni). From here I was obliged to go on foot because of the twisting roads of rugged mountains. Through

my journey I passed these villages: (Dhé, Shirtê, Barzanka and Husnpêrka). In the evening I arrived at (Dahé) village.

On Saturday 11 March, from (Dhé) village I walked to the HQ of the First Army, situated at (Qumri) village. I passed by these villages: (Kani Blav, Bapir, Grga, Agari Suri and Qumri). After I had met with (Ass'ad Khoshawi Barzani, Mullah Hamdi, Ramazan Issa and Saleem Ass'ad Khoshawi) I decided to visit the Commander of Zakô Army (Issa Swar Barzani). The Commander of the First Army Assad Khôshawi, is another patriot among his struggling family members and one of the tribes who are firmly attached to Barzani. He has been one of the gallant youths who befriended Barzani during his renowned expedition towards Russia from Kurdistan.

On Sunday 12 March, I started on foot from the HQ of the First Army towards (Zakhô) area. I passed the village of (Agari Suri). I crossed the (Khapur) river, and stayed at (Narmkê) village overnight.

I am busy daily for settling the citizen's problems and the problems related to the forces around (Mosul) such as the areas of (Shêkhan, Akrê, Dihok and Zakho). Representatives in (Erbil, Kirkuk and Sulaimaniyah) have been appointed to represent Barzani.

On Monday 13 March, I left (Narmkê) village passing by these villages (Livo, Shivê, and Kani tu, Tavhê, Dêr Shkê and Batuva). At the latter village I visited a Party and Peshmerga man of responsibilities who is called (Mullah Ali).

Tomorrow the President of Iraq will pay a visit to Tehran.

While we are engaged in negotiating with the Iraqi Government

to make agreement with the Authority for securing our rights, the neighbouring countries come together holding conferences openly or surreptitiously to disrupt our attempts for attaining any successful attempts for arrival at a permanent political solution of the Kurdish Question.

On Tuesday 14 March 1967, I started to move towards the HQ of Zakhô Army. I passed by these villages: (Livô, Hezawa). From here I went to (Bhrava) village, then to (Kabardik and Dernik). I stayed overnight with the Commander of Zakô Army, Issa Swar Barzani. We have settled many problems formerly created by the Regimes.

The strategic plans designed by Issa Swar Barzani have always been surprising the Iraqi Regime and constantly upraised by the military commanders.

On Wednesday 15 March, I started walking from (Armsht) village to meet with the Commander of Dihôk Army, Ali Khalil Khoshawi, who is residing at (Chiran) village. On the road I passed by the following villages: (Dubank, Bibank, Zinawa and Adjank).

Problems with the (Dihok) area are very rare.

Ali Khalil is a competent commander of highly administrative abilities, from a family well known for patriotic sacrifices during their struggles with Barzani for the Kurdish Question. He was one of those brave lads who followed Barzani crossing the Arax River at the Epic Expedition towards Russia.

On Thursday 16 March, I started towards (Ashkafté) village to meet with the Commander of Shékhan Army Hassu Mirkhan Dôlamari, the journey which took two days at longest. On my

way I passed by these villages: (Alandké, Brahjra, Kamaka, Maman, Reshéwré, Kôrégavna, Reshanké, Baru's in Lower Mazori, Suré, Kani Baska, Gabirké, Bay Bak, Mêgê, Chamanké and Kani Mazi). Near the evening we arrived at (Ashkafté) village. I met with (Hassu Mirkhan Dolameri) the Commander. One of his assistances was (Ali Joqi Yazidi).

I stayed with Dolameri for one night working to settle the problems in the area. The following day I passed by these villages: (Birkiat, Shilia and Ziria). In the afternoon I arrived at (Atrush) town. I took a car for travelling to (Shekhan Qaza) from which I returned to the city of (Mosul).

On Thursday 30 March 1967, I travelled from (Mosul) to (Dohuk). I was the guest of (Abdul-Rehman Garmav). His truck loaded with (Zubeida) cooking oil was plundered by the robber on the road between (Zakho and Simel). In the wake of thorough investigations, the oil consignment was found and delivered to this man, my host who was a native of (Mosul) city.

The following day I returned to (Mosul).

On Thursday 6 April, I went to (Atrush) Nahia to perform my duty works. I became the guest of (Yunis Georgis) at his home. A few hours later I left to pass by (Arzukh) village. At (Armisht) village I held another meeting with Hassu Mirkhan Dolemeri at (Armisht) and stayed for the night. We could settle all the standing problems in the area in relation with my own duties. The commander is an amiable gentleman, agile, active and an administrative of great works. He possesses prominent authority over all the villages and regions within the boundary of his Army.

On Friday 7 April, I left (Armisht) village for (Mriba). For the evening I was at (Shekhan) township.

I had the invitation for a necessary visit to the Grand Baba Sheikh, the Head of all the Kurdish Zoroastrian. I have studied the history of this religion, it is regarded as the most ancient Kurdish theological beliefs. I can confirm that the word (Baba) is precisely identical to the word (Papa) or (Pope). Zoroastrian traits and worships are similar to a great extent to the Catholic religious performances of the Roman Churches and the Coptic churches in Egypt and the Greek Churches. Furthermore the word (Sheikh), as used in Arabic (Shaikh), is also an ancient Kurdish word used by the Zoroastrians universally. These religious sectarians believe that after Adam, Noah was the first prophet, in contrast to the Orthodox concept that Abraham was the father of all the messengers who came after Adam.

However, for the purpose of comparison I would like to register here what is commonly and historically known about this group who have an ancient religion which they keep as a result of the tolerant nature of the Kurds.

Zoroaster (also Zarathustra) lived in the sixth century BC as the founders of the dualistic religious system of the (Magi) and ancient Persia which survives among the (Parsees), its scriptures, the Zend-Avesta, teach that (Ormazd, Lord of Goodness and Light and Creator of Mankind is ceaselessly at war with (Ahriman) and the evil spirits of darkness.

Returning to our Kurdish conceptions, the Noah's Ark is supposed to have been constructed on an artificial hillock; it is still in existence at the town of (Ain Sufni). In accordance to the Holy

Kuran, the ark landed on the mountain of (Juddy) and (Shari Noah) in Kurdish which means (The Noah Town) had changed to (Shurnekh) which is situated in the northern part of Southern Kurdistan. It is a small town believed that Noah had built.

In accordance to the Kuran sentences, God had created arks identical to the Noah's ark, so that the people of (Juddy) town would not get submerged by water and drowned. This is because the people of the town were divine, and believers in God.

Returning to our initial story, when I visited (Baba Sheikhh) I found him a man with features more identical to a philosopher than to a theologian. He was calm, speaking in short sentences full of gists of meanings. His clothes were composed of a white, thin garment, wearing a cloak of light brown threads of goat hair.

He wore a locally made headdress and sat, on a piece of rug on the ground, instead of a cushion a woollen pad had been placed on a Kurdish rug. In front of him at a distance there was a pair of (Klash) the Kurdish footwear. It was clear from the folds in the back of the footwear that he used them only as slippers.

He told me that he had prepared a lamb to be killed for our dinner, asking me whether we desired it to be killed by one of our men or we would not mind if they did the work by themselves. If you will it in accordance to your modern religion (he meant Islam) it proves that all new things are preferable to the old ones. I said, "Let us do the work as our prophet Abraham did it to sacrificing his son to God."

We all sat round a cloth spread on the ground. I was sitting

beside (Baba Sheikhh). He pulled off the flesh round the lamb's head for me to eat. Later I was told placing a lamb head in front of a guest is the sign of appreciation and respect.

On Wednesday 12 April, my daily works were consisting of safeguarding peace throughout the (Behdinan) area between our forces and those of the Government's and also to prevent any act which may disturb the conditions of truce held between the two parties, the Peshmerga and the Regime. We had to avoid allowing the Regime an excuse for the resumption of war. In order to ensure this would not happen I had to leave (Mosul) every day for (Akrè, Shêkhan, Zakhô, Dihôk, Amadiyah and the other villages. When I had completed my works I used to return to (Mosul) many times as usual.

On Saturday 29 April, I received a letter from the Leader Barzani in respect of a question concerning a Christian brother named (Moshé Odusho). For resolving his problem I had to take him to Baghdad and report to the related governmental offices, in his company.

On Wednesday 30 April, I travelled from (Mosul) to the village of (Ashkafté). A brawl had erupted between Peshmerga and the Regime's mercenaries.

This afternoon in Baghdad shuffling of the cabinet occurred. The President Abdulrahman Arif appointed four deputy presidents. They are Tahir Yahia, Ismail Mustafa, Fuad Arif and Abdulghani Al-Rawi.

On Thursday 11 May 1967, I left (Ashkafté) village for (Bani) village. I passed by the following villages: (Bébad, Karava, Kanika, Rabatkê, Nisra, Hassnaka, Kani Baska, Suré, Bané).

The following day I went to Chiran) village. I met with Issa Swar Barzani. In the evening I went to (Bétas) village. I was the guest of (Ali Muhi) at his home. The rain is falling very heavily.

On Sunday 14 May, I visited (Sleman Hussen) in (Zakhô). On the same day I went back to (Mosul).

On Sunday 21 May, from (Mosul) I went to the township of (Algush). The residents of the town are Christians. The Commander of Sheikhan Army Hassu Mir Khan Dôlameri was awaiting my arrival. A sort of trouble had taken place among some Persons which we could settle completely. We held a meeting in a private hall of the church in which the church deacon was present. After the meeting I returned to (Mosul.)

On Thursday 25 May, I went from (Mosul) to (Bamrni) and from there I went to these villages: (Dargella, Tishish, Girga, Baibur, Kani Blav, Dookare and Naw Ashka). About the evening I arrived at the village of (Yakmalai Dosky). Latterly I went to the villages of (Tiakor and Armisht). From there on Monday 29 May I went to (Zakhô). After I had met with the Commander of Zakho Army, I returned for a second time to (Armisht). At night I arrived at (Chiran) village which belongs to the (Dihôk) Government. The meetings were successful.

The Eastern Kurdistan KDP Members Assassination

Since the beginning of the September Revolution in 1961 a number of the leading members of the Eastern KDP (Iran) had joined the September Revolution. They took refuge in its protection and the attention of Barzani himself, such as (Ahmed Toffiq) otherwise Abdulla Isshaqi, Mullah Abdulla Mullah Uthman Sharawan, Mullah Rashid, and Sleman Muini. One of them worked with me in dealing with the arts of decoding and coding messages. Then he wrote the contents of the messages at a special registering office. He was under training to become a competent master in this essential profession for which all the Revolution Army units were in need. Upon a request from (Ahmed Toffiq) another number of the prominent members of the East KDP (of Iran) were allowed to work in the liberated areas of Kurdistan along the boundary frontiers of Iraq and Iran. They worked for the benefit of their objectives in relation to the Kurdish movement throughout the Kurdish Iranian region.

The Shah of Iran requested Barzani to repatriate Ahmed Toffiq and his comrades to the Iranian Government. Nevertheless, Barzani had neglected this request. He sent A Toffiq and a few

others of the East KDP members to (Assad Khoshawi) in order to hide them from the observation eyes of (Iranian Savacks) the Intelligence Agents of the Iranian Security Department. There, in the remote areas governed by Khoshawi they could perform their patriotic duties in an atmosphere more abounded with freedom.

In the area under the command of (Khabat Army) a number of the KDP leadership members of Iranian Kurds were delivered to the (Iranian Sazman, i.e. the Iranian Intelligence Service). This atrocious, harmful action which had debased the Revolution's reputation was performed without Barzani's knowledge or consent. In the area of (Behdinan) Ahmed Toffiq and his comrades were living at (Berwari Bala) villages. They used to go hunting for the boars in the valleys and mountains of the area and would go back to their headquarters in the evening. They continued passing time in this way until one day they had rushed into an Iraqi Military Base. Surrendering themselves, they were sent to Baghdad to become under the observation of the Directorate of Security until the unfortunate era of the Notorious Nazim Gzar, the Director General of Iraqi Security, the tyrant and relentless butcher who put all of these innocent, brave men to death. It was rumoured that this inhuman butchery had been performed in obedience to an ultimatum sent by the Shah of Iran.

On Tuesday 30 May, I went from (Chiran) village to (Dihôk), passing by these villages: (Gulnaské, Linawa, Bakhrmé, Garmava, Gri Qasrôk and then arriving at Dihôk). From Dihôk I passed by the following villages: (Alôka, Faïda, Algush, Biban,

Jarahia, Nassré and Ba'adra).

In Ba'adra village I was honoured by visiting (The Mir of Ezidi) = the Chieftain of Yezeedies, Tahssin Beg Sa'id Beg Yezeedee and I became his guest staying at his home for the night. He is a quiet, respectable gentleman who leads his people who are the most ancient religious tribe of Kurdistan, believing in the faith of (Yazidi or Yezeedee) Zoroastrianism. He supervises all the matters strictly related to this theological faith. The word (Mir), or (Amir) as in Arabic, has been derivated, through the historic Kurdish methodology, from (Mihr) which means (The God of Light and the Earth Affluence). The word (Mihraban = Observer of Mihr) which is a common word in the Perisian and Indian languages is a noun changed into an adjective for instance: (Khudai Mihraban = Merciful God). In the Arabic language the word (Mir) became (Amir). It took the vowel (A) for easier pronunciation (Amir) is a man who rules and manages his peoples' affairs and comforts.

On Wednesday 31 May I went to (Biré and Bafré) villages for the settlement of some disputes and problems of the people.

On Monday 5 June 1967, a great war broke out between Israel on one side and Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraqi forces stationed in Syria on the other side.

The Six Day War 1967 between the Arabs and Israel

In the month of June, the President Abdulrahman Arif had sent a religious Muslim man and a few officers for a meeting with Barzani. They requested him to send two or three thousand Peshmerga to fight Israel. Barzani told the group, “the Iraqi Government until now has not recognised any of the just National rights of the Kurdish people and it has not benefited the Kurds in all aspects, therefore, if I ask the Kurds to send their children to fight in this war and expose themselves to death, they will not obey me.” Then he maintained, “It is preferable and more convenient for you to go back to Baghdad and contact the President in order that he may advise Gamel Abdalnassir to immediately stop this self-ruining campaign. It is the war of an American Province in the Middle East. If the Palestinians unite among themselves and all the Arab Presidents, Kings and Princes agreed to be ruled under one flag, undoubtedly they will prevail in the politics and wars. The delegation returned to Baghdad disappointedly. On their way to the capital they murmured among themselves that Mullah Mustafa was a traitor. Their ears were stuck to the radio in the car announcing news

bulletins from Cairo and other broadcasting stations which contained lies and misleading news. The more they approached Baghdad, the more their hard ideas about Barzani softened enabling them to accept reality.

When the delegates were in Baghdad, they were quite ready to admit the truth, telling each other between themselves that Barzani spoke the truth. In these circumstances and with the Arab countries state of affairs and their political conditions they cannot sustain this kind of war. Under the effectual many international factors, after fighting for six days, Israel stopped the war in compliance with a request from the United States of America. During the whole time of the conflicts, Peshmerga stopped all fighting activities in all the fronts in obedience to Barzani's orders.

On Tuesday 6 June, I rented a house in a district of Mosul city called (Zhoor) to use it as a residence and the office of my HQ.

For the settlement of disputes and problems in the neighbouring districts of Mosul I paid a visit to the HQ of the Mosul Regiment. I took a seat in the office of the Fourth Division Commander's Assistant, Captain Muhamed Zuhad Qassim. He said, "We never believed that you can decode our messages. We are sure that there are traitors who sell you the keys and codes of our correspondences." In replying to him I said, "All right, bring me a cyphered telegram. I shall try to decode it here for you."

I could find the secrets of the coding in a quarter of an hour. He was astonished greatly. He took back the coded message to (Abduljabbar Shanshal, who was at the time the Commander of

the Fourth Division. This incident had taken place on 14 June 1967. A few minutes later Shanshal sent for me. He told me, "Come and work for us. We shall appoint you straight forward as a professor for Communications and Cyphering Arts in the Staff Military Academy." I said, "When the Kurdistan Question is solved I shall discuss the business with you."

On Saturday 1 July 1967, for the settlement of some problems at (Batuva and Shranish) villages I left Mosul for (Zakhô). With (Zakhô) Qaimgam = Assistant Governor we went to visit (Batuva and Shiranish).

Hameed Bilal an Arab Chieftain

In the surroundings of (Smell) Nahia, the smallest administration area, there are vast lands in which wheat and barley are grown. Most of the lands lie within the area governed by Peshmerga. The tribesmen of Arab had not been allowed to collect their harvests. Hameed Bilal the Arab tribe chieftain came to my HQ. He said, "I am a man who is responsible for a large tribe. We all live by the produce of this wheat and barley. This is the season of reaping, we are not allowed to go to the area and do our job." He entreated me to help him for that, and I arranged that with all pleasure as anything in opposition to that effect would have been greatly unacceptable by the Peshmerga Policy.

I had been in the habit of paying continual visits to (Ali Khalil Khoshevi and Issa Swar Barzani). On one of these visits I mentioned to them the problem of the tribal chieftain. They gently approved the request and agreed to the reaping of the harvests. The Chieftain delighted extremely and showed his

real gratitude. He had a combined reaping machine left in the area which he could also retrieve. A week later he came to my house with his wife bringing with them a precious present. I paid him great respect but I was unhappy to be offered a present for the duties of my works. I told them, "If you want our friendship to stay long, please take back the present with you, because I have done nothing. What I did was in accordance with the Kurdish morals, culture and traits." They tried earnestly to make me change my mind but I was adamant.

On Thursday 6 July, I went to (Amadiyah) and from there I went to (Kani Massi) village taking with me the Assistant Governor, Assistant Police Manager and a few officials. The following day we passed by (Dootaza) village. I held a meeting at the village of (Bibo) with the residents of the surrounding villages.

Monarchy Flourished the School of Bibo Village

On Saturday 8 July I visited (Bibo) village for work. I became a guest in a house looking on fields and forests, verdant with trees and surrounded with hills in all directions. At a distance an old ruined building could be seen. My host said, "The late Said Qazaz, who was the Governor of Mosul, had visited our village. We asked him to build a school for our children. The debris of this ruined building is the remnant of the school. At that happy old time, when blizzard brought snows and the weather turned into severe cold, the Government brought food and all the life necessities to the school, so that the pupils could stay inside the school, eat and sleep.

Barzani's Representative in Mosul is to Make it a Kurdish Town

During the period of staying in Mosul I used to receive tens of tribal chieftains, Arabs and Kurds. I was in constant attempts to let them change their attitudes towards the Movement. (Hameed Bilal), whom I formerly had mentioned, was an Arab tribal chieftain, sent me a warning that a group of Arab National officers had contrived a conspiracy for my assassination. The officers belonged to the Fourth Division. He even had mentioned the name of one of the officers. When I investigated the validity of this mischievous plan, I knew that a representative of the city residents had shown their apprehensions to the Government that, "The Kurdish representative in Mosul, is to make Mosul a Kurdish town. This representative must leave the city!" Latterly, in a semi-formal manner I was informed to leave Mosul. I was obliged to pack my baggages and leave for (Haji Homeran).

Relations between us and the Government have been lately in deterioration for a long period of time.

On Saturday night I was at home. I hear the sound of a jeep motorcar, pulling up at the gate of our house. Following this car, another one stopped, with its torn exhaust pipe making a

terrible noise, and releasing backfire shots. The people riding in the cars stepped out and started banging on the door with violent blows. They had left the car engine working.

Previously I had informed the Army Leaders of Dihok, Zakhô and the others that they should not come to my house for work during the night. This was a precaution because of the insecure city state. I understood that all the harsh honkings and banging on the door with the car's engine working, must have involved an evil intention.

I took my automatic gun and climbed the stairs up to the roof of the house. The threshold and the entrance to the house was light because of the electric bulbs under the ceiling over the door.

I called upon the men, "Come on, what you want?" "Is Shawkat at home?" "No, he is at his HQ in the hotel," I replied. They said, "We went there, he had returned home." Then they said, "Then who are you?" I said, "I am a guard." They were wearing Kurdish clothes and talking in Kurdish. They stayed for a while looking about, then they left. The next day I reported to the Fourth Division barracks and related the incident to the Lieutenant Commander. They appointed sentinels for my house.

In Kirkuk, a group of armed men attempted killing Barzani's representative (Shaffiq Agha). He escaped the assassination attempt while two of his guards were killed.

Lately our relations with the regimes are deteriorating. Barzani decided to call back all his representatives from the Governments of Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk, Erbil and Mosul. I have to leave Mosul and go back to the Barzani HQ.

Cyphering with Multi Keys

The special cyphering systems of the Kurdistan Army and those of the KDP Headquarters, the numbers of the ciphers columns were fixed, impossible to be altered. Nevertheless in the month of July of 1967, a clever, discreet and skilful Peshmerga had joined our wireless station. I appointed him to look after the works of recopying our messages. One day, while he was working with us, he submitted a proposition which I admired and accepted. The suggestion was to design the system of cyphering in such a way to make them flexible, so that we may change them daily according to our requirements. This young man was called (Faraidun Hussain Affandi). He stayed working with the wireless station until the end of the September Revolution.

The Northern Kurdistan

Barzani avoided interference in the political affairs of the other parts of the Greater Kurdistan. For instance, when misunderstanding broke among the KDP of Northern Kurdistan, about the question of (Sa'id Elchi's) faithfulness, whether he had connections with the Turkish sources. He was convicted and murdered on the spot. It was also rumoured that the execution was consummated by the decision taken by (Sa'id Qirmzi Toprakh) known as Doctor Shwan. The latter had been in charge of a hospital of ours in (Nawpirdan). Following a request by the KDP of Northern Kurdistan (Turkey) he went to the (Hakari area) in Turkey wherein he was also martyred for the Kurdish Question.

The Revolution is for the People Not for Us

A member of the Political Bureau had asked Barzani, during every negotiation, for the distribution of high posts, before mentioning our names, “Why do you submit the names of the Kurds living in Baghdad and the names of those who are living outside the country?” Barzani said, “I have initiated this movement for the sake of the Kurds. Our sacrifices are not for gaining Personal benefits. We struggle for all those Kurds who feel the Kurdish patriotic sense. Those who have supported us are from all the parties and factions of Kurdistan. What is important is if the man feels he is a Kurd and has a share in the peoples’ plight, in their sorrow and happiness.”

A Peshmerga had captured a piece of arms in fighting. He was unwilling to deliver it to the Army depot. He said, “Its mine. I’ll give it to nobody.” Barzani heard of this story. He said, “All the spoils of the war are the Revolution’s possessions. They will be distributed according to the necessity of war, among all the Peshmerga who are fighting.” He also said, “If there were no Revolution, could this fellow have attacked an enemy stronghold or a fortress single handed, no doubt he could not have done that.”

A Tour by Barzani around Sulaimaniyah

On Tuesday 26 December 1967, the Leader Barzani is in (Mawat) a town North of Sulaimaniyah) now preparing himself for a tour throughout the area of the Government of Sulaimaniyah. For collecting more information about the area and for meeting in close quarters the party members, the citizens, Peshmerga and the representatives of all the strata of people in Sulaimaniyah, I travelled to Mawat where the Barzani's moving HQ is. The following day I travelled with him towards the Iran frontiers. Late in the evening we reached (Awakurte) village and stayed at (Ali Aghai Awakurte's) house as his guests.

In the year of 1967 when the Leader Barzani was on a tour in the areas of (Shler and Nawkhwan) our moving HQ was at the village of (Gokhlan). One evening when the animals of the village were returning after their grazing in the fields, I noticed a mule with a red-grey colour, which was short and tiny, and its ears were turned up erectly, running very actively and fast. The size of its body was a little bigger than a donkey.

I described this to my host in his house. He said, "A villager here had let a he-ass couple with a hot cow. It conceived and gave birth to the freak you have seen." He related this strange

and abnormal act of nature, telling me that it was regarded as a blasphemy against all the human morals and consciences. He said, "The milk and flesh of the cow must be forbidden for eating with regard to the religion faith."

On Sunday 7 January 1968, Barzani accompanied by (Sheikh Jalal Aldin Brifkani) left the village of (Issauê) for (Kanilan) village. The following day we started from (Dargall) village in the area of (Mangur) toward (Asterok) village opposite to (Bolé). A day after we went to (Lêwjha) village. On the road we encountered a blizzard of a severe snowstorm.

On Thursday 11 January 1968, we left the village of (Lêwjha), and before the noon we arrived at (Dilman) village.

Today (Abduljabbar Al-Saadi) was appointed in the post of Governor for the Kirkuk Province.

On Saturday 13 January, six ministers submitted their resignation. Another six ministers were appointed in their posts, under the premiership of (Tahir Yahia). The ministers are: Taha Haj Alias for the Portfolio of Education, Abdulkereem Hani for Social Affairs, Jamal Ahmed Hamdi for the Health, Abdulkereem Kamuna for Economy, Yassin Khalil, for the Youth Affairs, Faissal Shrhan Alaris for the State Affairs, Issmail Khairulla for the Foreign Affairs, Malik Dohan Alhassan for the Culture and Guidance, Shamel Al-Sameraé for the Interior, Abdulhameed Aljumaili for the Communication, Abdulrahman Alhabib for the Finance.

It has been snowing since the morning until now, in the late evening.

On Wednesday 31 January, Baba Ali Sheikh Mahmoud and Fuad Arif had come here from Baghdad to meet Barzani at

(Dilman), for the initiation of new negotiations. In the area of (Khormal, Halabja and Derbendi Khan). The followers of Jalal Talabani attack the strongholds of the Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan. Casualties among both sides have been inflicted.

On Saturday 24 February 1968, I was appointed as the administrative director of the Periodical (Al Taàkhi) = Friendship, in Baghdad, in addition to other important careers in connection with the Party and the Revolution works assigned to me in a particular way by the Leader Barzani himself.

I rented a house in the district of (Iwazia). The number of the house is 36T2/2/1. The owner's name is (Muhamed Al-Desugi).

On Sunday 25 February, four Shiat Mullahs had come to visit (Salih Yussfi) because he is the representative of (The School of Al-Imam Al-Sheikhh Ali Kashif Alghita). The Mullahs are the residents of the holy city of (Al-Najaf). They are: Ubaid Alyanaki, Adnan Al-Samarai, Abduljabar Al-Saidi, Al-Sheikh Kadhim Al-Janabi.

On Wednesday 17 July, the Ba'ath Party resumed authority and formed a new government. The President, Abdulrahman Arif was deposed and was exiled to Turkey. The Ba'ath Government is headed by the President Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakir.

The newspaper Al-Taàkhi is published in Baghdad. My duty there is to supervise the policy of the paper and follow up the admonitions of Barzani in directing the styles and contents of the articles to an impartial policy, supporting no side against other factions. It should enhance the ideas and principles of the Kurdish revolution and defend its ideals, and educate people in the knowledge in terms of the Kurdish Question.

A Private Letter

I had to go to the house of the late (Salih Yussifi) in Maàmun district to take a letter from him to Barzani. His house was at a new quarter at the time, with few houses built here and there. Both sides of the paved street were not built yet, without kerbstones to cover the mud sides.

I had a friend with me, at present he is a teacher in the University of Sulaimaniyah. We were walking together down town to catch a taxi in the dimly lit streets with electric lamps. All of a sudden a sedan car with its headlights had had been out, rushed with all the speed on us from behind. I saw my friend thrown away into a pool of the mud. I remained a few minutes on the top of the bonnet of the car. It shook me several times, and then threw me into the mires of the muddy ground. The car quickly moved from what was supposed to be a kerb down to the pitched street, speeding up and escaped. After a while I became conscious enough to look for my friend, worrying greatly I moved with a great pain in my stomach and my back. He complained as well of his aching limbs and his neck which had been severely damaged. My overcoat and jackets sleeves were torn apart.

My friend asked me “What do you think that might be?” I replied, “Certainly it was not an accident. Its clear this is the destiny of the Kurds!”

I used to perform multilateral duty works in Baghdad at the time.

I had to follow up the business and official works of the people who had come to Baghdad to report to the different government departments pursuing their delayed procedures in the government offices. I had to take with me letters written by (Salih Al-Yusif) who was a Kurdish Peshmerga leader, or from the editor of (Al Ta-akhi) newspaper for the officials, superintendents or the managers of those departments at which the works had been neglected, hampered or slowed down. I used to report to many important places such as the hospitals, especially (Iben Sina Hospital) to look after our patients or wounded Peshmerga. I went as well to the Directorate General Department of the Personal Affairs Registration to follow up the problems of the Kurds whose majority were citizens from Kirkuk and (Khanagin). The Regime avoided to register these Kurds as Iraqis since the Government had the intention to deport a great deal of people to Iran on the pretext that they had formerly emigrated from this neighbouring country.

I was busy one day to complete a pupil's work in the Department of Personal Affairs. It needed translation into English from Arabic as the young boy wanted to resume his education abroad. It had also to be signed by the Department Director General before being endorsed by the Notary Office.

When the file was brought up for checking, it was found that the pupil had a brother two months older than himself. One of

the officials said, "This procedure is fraudulent. Come to the Director and speak to him."

When I entered I recognised the man at the table who was the Director General. He had been my colleague in the Academy of Police. He looked at the file and said, "Why are you following up a deceitful procedure?" "How a woman gives birth to a child today and in two months later she will conceive another child?" In reply I said, "I am not deceiving, I have not fraudulent work to follow." "If you carefully check the file you will see that the two young boy's mothers' names are different." Their father had married two women. The Director was exasperated, he hurriedly called up the official railing at him, "Why don't you check the files carefully?"

In addition to these errands I had many other works to do. I had been reporting constantly to the Directorate General of Traffic for pursuing the works of the automobiles which entered the country unofficially through smuggling roads. Furthermore I had to refer to works in the Customs and Excise Head Office, Central Bank, the Department of Passports and Nationality and the General Department of Security.

I had also to attend the formal parties held by the Embassies of Foreign Countries in Baghdad, as they sent an invitation to our daily newspaper Al-Taàkhi.

Sometimes several cards of invitation were received by the newspaper, therefore we distributed the lot among us. I went to one which I preferred, there we could speak about our case, the Kurdish Question in whispering around the nooks and niches of the large buildings.

On many occasions, people contacted us through the telephone complaining about certain problems, asking for help or financial assistance. Many others told us to visit them for finding solutions for their problems.

The late (Salih Yussifi) called me to answer a telephone call. The man was in an hotel in Baghdad. He said, "I am a retired officer. I have a great problem. I want to see one of your responsible employees in your newspaper. I am sorry, I ask your favour. For some reasons related to my own condition, I am not able to visit you myself, furthermore, I cannot speak about my problems by telephone."

When relating this conversation to Al-Yussifi he told me to go and visit the caller.

I arrived at the hotel and asked for his name. I was told the number of his room. I knocked at the door. A pale, disturbed man opened it. He told me politely to enter the room. I entered and sat at a chair, but he stayed on his feet. He asked, "What is your work in Al-Taàkhi?" I replied, "I am the administrative official." "I would like you to come with me to Kasra and Attasha? On the road I will speak about the problem for you" the man said. Immediately I became sceptical and told him that I had no time to go out of Baghdad. He could tell me his problem there in the room. He drew a deep sigh; whether true or not I cannot tell. His colour turned paler. He said, "I had only one brother; he was younger than myself by a few years. The Kurds imprisoned him in the war, they killed him." I said, "I assure you that the Kurds never kill the war prisoners." At the same time I noticed the man was moving slowly backward, while he was

speaking, in an attempt to reach the bedstead. I saw the butt of a revolver under his pillow. I understood that the man wanted to kill a Kurd, any Kurd in retaliation for his brother's blood. I was under his mercy. I stood up abruptly and said, "Let us go to Kasra and Attasha, there explain the matter in detail for me." He said, "No, its not necessary. " He insisted to make me sit down again. I realised if I could not save my skin the man had an evil intention. He would kill me.

I said to him, "All right, I shall sit down but I have got two other friends with me downstairs waiting for me. Let us go down and tell them to go back to the newspaper office, and then I shall come back to you." In this way I was out of the room and hurried out of the hotel.

In the newspaper office I was always busy with many works which were extremely complicated to be solved. The newspaper office had changed into a headquarter of the Revolution. The residents of Kurdish areas brought letters from the Army Units and the Party Sections. They contained multifarious subjects. Whenever I realised that I could help expediting any works I felt very happy, but when the work required me to go to the Directorate General of Security I had felt tremendously upset and reluctant to proceed forward despite all the troubles I had to proceed with the matters though unhappily.

My reporting to the notorious Directorate General Department of Security was for the following purposes:

1. Problems of the prisoners
2. Identity cards
3. Automobile formalities for the vehicles entered Kurdistan

illegally.

I had a few friends working in the said department who were the cadets of the Police Academy at training with me.

The names I list below are the officials of the Directorate General of Security whom I had reported to for the completion of the Kurdish peoples' works. I had dealt with tens of many difficult problems and satisfied the people who had submitted supplication and petitions for the achievements of their demands.

They are: Ghalib Ali Al-Alussi, who was Manager of Economical Affairs. Manager of the North Affairs, Qahtan Ahmed Al-Azawi, Assist Director General, Qassim Ahmed Al-Dawd, Manager of the Border Guards, Hadi Abdulwahid.

In addition to those Abdulkhaliq Abdulaziz. He was Assistance to the Battalion Commander of the Mobile Police Forces. He was taken prisoner with a group of other police officers at (Zawita). They were freed later. When I was reporting to his office he was Manager of the Security Bureau. Later on he was promoted to become Director General of the same department.

(Mullah Hassan Barzani) was one of the bodyguards of the Leader Barzani. He had no Identity Card. His birthplace was shown to be in the village of (Jindian). This is a remote village, far away from Barzan. To amend this mistake or blunder a hard work of interwoven communications and correspondence was needed between many departments until it was finally settled.

Many a time, I was obliged to resort to indirect rather unacceptable styles to enhance the achievement of works in these offices. As they were almost all corrupt I had to purchase presents for the responsible officials in the important posts.

The time was opportune for making a push to finish the jobs quickly as the fightings had been stopped and the Government had the desire of showing a little lenient tendency for co-operation. Hence, I expedited my daily efforts to make these needy villagers, peasants, schoolboys and people of all walks of life satisfied and when I was successful in the fulfilment of a problem for a Person I felt the happiness and great triumph.

Ringling of Bells Continually

As I was tremendously busy so was (Salih Yussiffi) in the editorial office, especially when he was emerged in thinking for writing the daily feature of the paper. Then he would forget all the things and Persons around him.

One day, a few acquaintancies were sitting in his office as guests. He greeted them and started writing as he did before. While emerged in thinking thus, he rang the bell on his desk. The man at his service came to the room in answer to the bell and stopped standing, waiting for him to say something. A minute later he rang the bell again. The accountant was alerted. He came to the room, was obliged to speak firmly, "Your honour, what do you need, please?" Without lifting his head he said, "Bring tea for the guests." The guest burst out laughing and said, "Your honour, we drank tea a long time ago, but your cup of tea is getting cold."

One of these days while I was in my office of the newspaper building busy making a list for the students who had applied for a course of training as cadets to be appointed as police sub-officers following their graduation and appointment. They were commonly called 'Chicken sub-officers' as they had to take a

very short course for only six months. A young chap came to my office and asked me to put his name on the list. I told him the list had been completed; there was no space for writing another name. The young man was upset, he said, "I swear by God I'll go to Mam Jalal's (Jalal Talabani's)". I told him that would be fine because both sides want to snatch spoils from the Regime. If you get what you wish, it would be wonderful, I'll congratulate you.

A man who happened to be sitting there said, when the young man went out, "I really admired your answer. I hope that we will have many other men as clever and frank as you are."

In 1968 when I was working with the (Al Taàkhi) newspaper, (Shawkat Agrawi) paid me a visit to tell me that the Regime had decided to detain me for deportation to (Basrah). Therefore he said it was necessary for me to leave Baghdad soon and to return to Kurdistan. When we informed (Yussifi) he was upset. He provided me with a special identity card, which was forged including another name, instead of my real name. At that time I used to study in the University of Al-Mustanssaria, in the evenings with the Faculty of Political Sciences. A comrade called (Nawrôz Shawes) was studying in the same Department. He told me that a squadron of security guards had come to the college asking for you. The security wanted to arrest me outside the newspaper office. I was convinced now that staying in Baghdad would end either with my apprehension or assassination.

My brother-in-law assisted in collecting my house articles and furniture taking a great deal of them to an auction house

where he could sell them for a trivial amount of money since it was prohibited to transfer house furniture and necessary articles from Baghdad to the Kurdistan areas.

I travelled to Mosul in a bus for twenty-eight passengers, expecting calamity, not being able to reach my destination safely. After a warrant had been issued for my arrest I was convinced that the (Maàmun) district car was an attempt for my assassination.

Inside the bus I had put dark eyeglasses on my eyes holding a newspaper in my hands taking care not to be recognised by the security men. I was fortunate in the check points, though they were numerous on the road, my identity card, a forged document, could not be recognised, although it was a real counterfeit piece of cardboard.

In Mosul I went to (Hameed Bilal) the man to whom I gave back the wheat and barley crops with a harvesting combined machine. He received me very cordially. Then I related to him my problems. I told him that I had come to him for helping me to get safely out of the areas controlled by the Regime. As a stately, gallant knight he displayed all the respect and courage promptly putting me in a jeep motorcar, driving round all the Government's control points until we arrived at the HQ of (Zakho) battalion forces. I exhibited heartfelt gratefulness and obligations for his courage and generosity. He returned to Mosul and I stayed that night in the Headquarters of the Kurdish Guirrillas Battalion.

The following day I set out, walking on foot climbing the hillsides and the summits of the Kurdistan mountains until

eventually I arrived at (Barzan) village. It was the mourning day of (Sheikh Ahmed Barzani's) death in which I had to take part for two days, then departed towards (Gelala) arriving there two weeks after I had left (Barzan).

A Letter to Jalal Talabani

It was in the summer of 1969, Ibrahim Ahmed, the outstanding member and ex-Secretary of KDP, had sent a letter to Jalal Talabani who was in London at the time. We were in the courtroom of the Kurdistan Supreme Judge of Judicature for Georgis Fathulla Shamas. Ibrahim Ahmed told us the gist of the letter he had scribed. He said I have written to Talabani, "while I am writing to you I am at 'Nawprdan'. No one is watching me or standing behind my back. What I am writing to you is purely my own points of view which I hold for the interests of the Kurdish people, and its destiny. I greatly urge upon you to return to Kurdistan. Let us put the past aside, bygone is bygone and let us turn new pages."

Attacking the Oil Wells

In the evening of the 1 March 1969 a special unit of the Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan had been able to launch an attack at the oil wells of the Iraqi Petroleum Company installations, inflicting heavy damages on a wide scale. The objectives of this offensive were not for destruction, but in order to alert the world's conscience and to make our voices heard all over the world.

Before the beginning of the action Barzani had notified

most of the Great Powers. None of these countries had shown approval. They said the attack would have adverse effects on the interests of Kurds inside Iraq.

Kurdish War starts again

In the month of April 1969, the Regime's forces started aggressions against the liberated parts of Kurdistan and soon the Iranian artillery appeared in the areas of new conflicts taking part in the offensives by shelling the troubled areas inside the territorial regions of Iraq which are populated by the Kurds. The Shah of Iran's intention was to put pressure upon the Iraqi Government for their own interests and for the realisation of their own objectives, and also the application of the political plans designed by America.

The Iranian Army resumed heavy bombardment of the regions in the surroundings of Rewandiz where the Iraqi forces had stationed, but the efforts were futile and ineffective since the shells and explosives fell on the fields and the empty mountain footsides. It became the common subject of ridicule as the people called the shelling chick-pea boiling.

The slavery overcoat

In order to apply the conditions of the articles stipulated in the March Agreement which included maintenance of the Kurdistan Revolutionary Army and the demarcation of the boundary of the Kurdish autonomy regions, the Vice President Saddam Hussain had arrived at (Nawpirdan) on 11 March 1970. He visited the Leader Barzani, indulging soon in conversations. After they had

signed the Agreement of 11 March, 1970, Barzani presented Saddam with an elegant great coat, telling him, “Now I have also made you wear the overcoat of slavery!” while he was pulling the coat over Saddam’s shoulders. Formerly during the past years a cartoon picture of Barzani had been in display constantly in which an overcoat was placed over Barzani’s shoulders, with a subsequent comment, ‘The Overcoat of Slavery’.

On 10-11 March after signing the agreement Saddam Hussain asked Barzani to order the Peshmerga to fire rejoicing shots, but Barzani told him that it was late and the people were asleep. It was not proper to frighten the people.

Barzani never consented to firing guns for jubilation. He wanted Peshmerga to avoid the wastage of rounds and killing people by accident i.e.by astray gun-shot.

Barzani used to say , “A round cartridge owned by a Peshmerga has two advantages. The first is that he defends himself with, the second is that he will kill an enemy with the round – in both cases he will serve his own country and people.”

Proclamation of Autonomy

The 11 March Agreement consisted of a type of self-rule within the framework of the country and people of Iraq. If it were continued to survive it would have developed into an overwhelming style of rule which had benefited Iraq as a whole particularly for the Kurds who would have enjoyed liberty under an Iraqi Authority. Whether it had been accepted or not by the neighbouring countries and the western powers the rights of the Kurds would have been secured in the context of the Agreement.

However, this important political, historic document in which the rights of a mistreated old nation have been recognised was the outcome of a long, honourable struggle of the people who have offered innumerable sacrifices to turn the dream into actual reality, in addition to the courage, the morale, sense and Periseverance of Mullah Mustafa Barzani.

In accordance to a report carried by a significant delegate with the Kurdish convoy to Baghdad Saddam Hussain had stated in his words, “Any defects in this Agreement can be attributed to both sides of the delegations. Today I am not able to sign anything more than what I have done since our neighbours, the Arabs and the West will stand to revolt, and place obstacles before your national rights. Now, you must try to consolidate your lines and unite together. Don’t ally with foreign countries. We shall give complete authority and power to your ministers in order to use them and gradually, step by step you will guarantee your rights and will confirm them. I will never say nay to that!”

A Pair of black and white bears cubs

In 1973 a hunter seized two bear cubs, both of them were black, and white same as panda. The hunter usually frequented the area of (Haji Homeran) where the mountain of (Chiai Kani Khwa) is situated. This mountain is the habitat of many species of wild beasts. The man had brought them as a present to Barzani. They had grown into plump nice domestic bears; roaming about the guest hall in the Barzani HQ. This is an indication that proves that there are many species of wild

beasts in the cold mountains of the various parts of Kurdistan, which need protection from being exposed to annihilation and utter extinction. There are many other kinds of beast in the wilderness of the high lands such as: tigers, leopards (found in the Qaradagh Mountain south of Sulaimaniyah), wild goats and rams, foxes and deer, also many types of bird species which we have mentioned in previous chapters that exist abundantly all over the parts of Kurdistan.

During the years of 1970-1974, following the Barzani's instructions a great number of lambs, goats, oxen and cows with a number of horses of high pedigree quality had been brought from the hot part of southern Iraq to Haji Homeran and Gelala areas for the sake of propagating essential genres and for the sake of general good of the animals. They had become the assets of the villagers and peasants who had preserved and looked after them.

In the area of (Shler and Nawkhwan) north-east of Sulaimaniyah city, people eat bear's meat. They make (Qawrma) = (fried meat kept in pots for winter) out of it. The oil extracted from bear's flesh remains liquid. It is used as medicine for curing rheumatism.

I was with the Leader's special force in the village of (Mishaw) where we were served for our breakfast with eggs and bear meat fried in the oil of bears. For our dinner we had rice and the gruel of rhubarb. The meat had been preserved for winter exactly as ochra exposed to the sun to dry.

Your Justice Extends as long as your Shadow on the Ground

A man called (Haji Kereem Shemsa) from (Khidre) village near (Sangaw) in the far east of Kirkuk, visited Barzani to make complaints because a piece of his land had been confiscated. Before submitting his case Barzani asked him, "Haji, how is Justice in the area of Kirkuk?" The man replied, "My Lord, go out and stand in the sun, look at the length of your shadow on the ground, your justice, in the area of authority in Kirkuk extends as long as your shadow on the ground."

Haji Kereem stayed at (Dilman) more than a few days. On every night Barzani would ask him the same question, "Haji how is the justice in the area of Kirkuk?" Barzani was so much amused by his answer that he repeated it every time in the same words.

In 1971, when I became the Commander of the Fifth Regiment of the Borders in (Sangaw) and the Commander of Kirkuk Army (Haji Kereem), had regained that piece of land through the Court of Justice.

I had been blacklisted

In accordance to the 11 March Agreement, the Government official's years of their joining to the Peshmerga ranks had to be accounted as actual service with the Government Departments. A few months later, the Directorate General of Police in Baghdad told the police officers who had joined Peshmerga to report to Baghdad. They must prepare themselves for examinations, as a result of their success they will be promoted, indicated the letter by which we were summoned. My comrades and I passed the test successfully.

The Minister of Interiors had the intention of appointing me, and my friend (Hamai Said Ali) in one of the Southern Provinces, as he did with the other ex-officials who were sent to the central provinces. We were informed by the Minister at his office Personally, but he said, "You had to go to the South" and he wanted to know our feelings about that. We said, "We should go back to (Barzani's H.Q.). We can inform you whether we can go or not, after we come back." At (Gelala) Idris Barzani, who was the Head of our Military Bureau at the time, said, "We should not accept any responsibility in the Middle or South of Iraq."

Barzani's views were similar, therefore we stayed at (Gelala) and we did not go back to Baghdad.

I realised that my name with the Regime had been inserted in a blacklist, because of many evidences which I shall mention here:

After the Agreement on 11 March, Barzani forwarded my name and the names of some other people to the Government to appoint us as ambassadors. Also when (Murtadha Al-Hadisi) had visited (Nawpirdan), Barzani held my hand and (Murtadha's) hand, requesting him earnestly to consummate the question of my appointment as ambassador promptly. The names of all the other nominees appeared. They all were appointed, but my name had been excluded by the Regime. On another occasion my name was submitted again for appointment as the Minister of State. This also was neglected. Then I was nominated for the post of Deputy Governor in (Sulaimaniyah), then to the same post in (Mosul). The Regime refused all these nominations.

Eventually, (Sami Abdulrahman) our Minister for the Northern Affairs, wrote to the Director General of the Police, on behalf of the Revolution Authority, as a result of which I was appointed as the Commander of the Borders' Guards at (Sangaw), which means that I stayed a Peshmerga as I had used to be in the old days about which I feel forever pleased and greatly proud all the time.

Catering for the Martyred Families

Between the years of 1970 and 1974, whenever the allocated food consignments for the Army had exceeded the requirements of the soldiers, when I was commanding the Fifth Regiment at (Sangaw) and after the Commander of the Border

Guards Regiment, I used to send all the extra items of food to the families of the Peshmerga who had sacrificed their lives for the sake of promoting the Question of the Kurdish people.

An instigated thief

I had imported a transistor and FM receiver Radio Set from Europe. A burglar who had been instigated pinched it from my house, which was on the hillock called (Al Agari) in Sulaimaniyah. The Police Colonel Abdulmajid Shaswar found the robber but, unfortunately the resumption of fighting in Kurdistan at that critical moment could save the criminal from punishment and deprived me from the enjoyment and benefits of the precious radio set.

Errands

At the end of 1974, the 11 March Agreement had endured impediments and disruptions. Our ministers had abandoned Baghdad. A friend telephoned from Baghdad telling me that the Government was aware that you could speak to Barzani face to face and frankly. "There is an important errand which the Government requires to be entrusted to you, we have nominated you, could you please come to Baghdad?" my friend said.

I was not sure of any decision as I had no confidence, whatsoever in the aggressive Regime. I collected all the courage, and went to a garage. There was a car with a passenger who happened to be an acquaintance. I felt uncomfortable on the whole and expected to be arrested at one of the several controlling points.

In Baghdad I contacted my friend. He came after a short time accompanied by a man who appeared to be a significant responsible Government Official. They told me of the important message. A day after I arrived at (Haji Homeran) I had reported to the Political Bureau of the Party. There were two outstanding party members in the office. I told them of the issue for which I had travelled to Baghdad. Then I related the question in detail to Barzani. At the same time (Salih Yussifi) who had returned from abroad had come with another errand which he had to deliver to Barzani. Thus I felt I had an important duty, though in fact it was obscure, enmeshed and tangled in secrecy.

I felt that the Question had fallen out of the Iraqi boundary of powers and authorities. The neighbouring countries and the world's great powers had already designed strategic plans for the destruction of the Agreement. Furthermore, I became sure of this fact when Barzani said, "Our friends have turned into enemies and, when a friend becomes an enemy he is more dangerous and will inflict greater damages than the real enemy."

Barzani's Wisdom of War

Barzani said, "A hungry and thirsty Peshmerga at the war, when he defeats an enemy he is not able to follow him to direct the final death blow upon him when he is defeated, because he cannot run to save his life."

Re-establishment of the Old Secretariats

When the war started again, the offices which had been organised, run and headed by the Kurdish Personnel in Baghdad

were closed finally and most of their officials and employees fled to the liberated Kurdistan areas. The Head Offices specialised in a particular branch of activities and services were called 'Secretariats', such as the Health Secretariat, the Media Secretariat, the Peshmerga Secretariat...etc. The newcomers when joining the Revolution, were distributed among the secretariats to work, according to their qualifications, specialisations and capabilities. No party membership or official status were taken into consideration in the process of appointment for the positions which were lower than the status of secretariats mostly headed by the old veterans, although there were Secretariats at the Head of Departments, among the educated men who had not been previously with the ranks of Peshmerga. Among the groups of the old Peshmerga were people who considered the late comers as Persons who had acquired privileges easily without exertion of any efforts, while the old veterans among the uneducated villagers and peasants were appreciated, and highly esteemed and relied upon. Whereupon, they were placed in the employment which required no particular skill or highly professional qualifications. Therefore, most of the servants, cooks and sentinels were engaged from among the group of the old Peshmerga.

The Government officials who had joined the Revolution were assigned monthly wages or salaries in addition to food subsidies which were allocated, paid and provided regularly generously with no deliance. The best buildings of the area were allowed to be occupied by the people who had been working in the significant sections of work activities such as the

media Secretariat and the Health Secretariat.

One Sample Indicates the Product Quality

On two separate occasions it happened that I visited a newly appointed Secretary General and another of the September Revolution in the same status and position.

The new secretary's residence was a modern summer resort house newly built and luxuriously furnished with valuable Perisian carpets, chairs, sofas and drawers of highly modern quality illuminated fantastically by the power of an electric generator. In the house store-room, in addition to rice, oil and all sorts of dried necessary food, there were sacks of pistachio of all types, sour, salty, broiled and natural and in the same manner were soya-beans and all kinds of nuts. For breakfast other than eggs and different qualities of cheese there was caviar reserved in five kilogram tins, with sausages of Tsarian high quality.

A friend who was also a Secretary General from the old timers of September Revolution had a house in the depth of an obscure valley, containing two rooms and a balcony, situated inside a series of buildings which had been constructed as barrack cottages. On a table in my friend's room were placed three dishes containing lentil soup with three loaves of bread, for him and his assistant and the guest who was myself at the time. I found an opportunity to visit the chef, who was a cook for all the Secretariat, in the cottage which was used as a kitchen. In his store-room there were rice, oil and dried vegetables for cooking gruels, with onions and potatoes, eggs and mineral

water. The luxury of the new Secretary General had no trace in the whole places and manners of the old veteran secretary.

A great number of the newly joined people were ardent patriots and the Regime was generally aware of this fact, that is why they were all deported from Kurdistan to the mid or southern parts of Iraq, after the fall of the Revolution in the wake of the Algerian Convention.

Barzani is detained in Tehran

When the Algerian and Iranian governments had been secretly engaged in conspiracy for concocting a malicious pact for the destruction of National Kurdish Movement the Leader Barzani had been detained in Tehran by the orders of the Shah for about a month. When the Algerian Agreement was promulgated he was released and freed to return to Kurdistan.

When I met him a short time thereafter and noticed the grave lines of profound grief on his pale face, sorrow ingrained deeply down my heart, and soul to such an extent that I will never forget it all my life. He looked at me and said, "Let the people go home courageously in high spirit and morale and let them not surrender to the will of the relentless enemy." He said, "Kurds cannot fight Turkey, Iran, Algeria and Iraq together. If these notorious powers enter Kurdistan they shall plunder, burn and destroy our towns and villages and annihilate our people. If their soldiers find a pregnant woman they will bet on her for a pack of cigarettes. One soldier says she is pregnant with a boy, the other says with a girl. They would stab the woman's womb with a bayonet to find out. The soldier who won would put the cigarette pack in his pocket, choked with laughter and shouts.

Then they would look for another opportunity for betting, in order to have another amusing game. Then he continued, "Despite the gravity of the plight, I am sure that the Kurds will rise up again. The young man of the Kurds is akin to a fruit tree that yields. However, long he may stay in the cold weather he will endure and will revive for yielding fruit again."

Nevertheless the catastrophe of the dejections and forlornness of those ominous days will never be forgotten in the days to come.

A False Passport

After the failure of the Agreement of 11 March and the promulgation of the Pact of Algeria, Barzani had to leave the Iraqi Kurdistan areas and live in Tehran as a refugee who had no alternative but to take asylum in a country whose Monarch had recently betrayed him. In Tehran Barzani was never allowed to exercise the rights of diplomatic and political activities.

To get rid of this cumbersome situation, devious methods had to be followed. He and a few number of his guards, secretly without Iran's knowledge they travelled to America, with sham passports and documents cleverly forged by the Iranian smugglers.

In America they were detained and hidden for two weeks away from friends and relatives and from the Kurdish nationalists as well. Following active searches and good offices of the enthusiastic Kurds they were found and helped to be recognised formally as political asylum seekers. As a result of which they were allowed freedom by the Government of the

United States of America. Barzani as usual had never been tired of his constant struggling for procuring the just rights of his people. His strife continued in America as actively as it was in the past.

Barzani's Delegate Forever

It was common knowledge among the Peshmerga that Barzani had entrusted in me the honour of being his own Personal delegate for performing many important errands in his name.

Besides being interested in performing works related to diverse problems of which Peshmerga had been complaining I had to concentrate upon other issues of greater importance for the majority of Kurdistan people. One of these great issues was the 'Question of Kirkuk' which is still the most controversial outstanding political problem with respect to the 'National prestige and morale' of our nation.

Kirkuk is a renowned city for its huge areas abundant in reservoirs of crude oil which had been long disputed by the Great Powers since the First World War and being exploited since by (IPC) Iraq Petroleum Company, a consortium of capital states: United States of America, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands. However, it had been nationalised by the Iraq Authority of that time, most probably with the consent of the United Kingdom of Britain.

Kirkuk lies in the centre of the southern part of Kurdistan

and is called by the Kurds 'The Heart of Kurdistan, The Soul of Kurdistan'.... etc. The town itself contains ethnic groups other than the majority of Kurds. However the dominant population of the surrounding villages and townships are the Kurdish people who have been living there since the time immemorial.

Nevertheless, when I was an Army Commander stationed in the close proximity to the Kirkuk province, Barzani instructed me, "The Kirkuk province is as dear to us as both our eyes." Looking at me directly he said, "You have to apply justice and offer useful services to its people so that you may keep cordial relationships. I am convinced you will do your utmost; but even if you were unable to remove injustice, I know, you will not at least disappoint the people."

Auctions

At the end of 1974 when fighting started again we were obliged to distribute our belongings, house furniture and Personal effects among a number of neighbours so that they may keep them to be away from plunder and the ravenous hands of the Regime's security agents.

When we left the house, a month later, the agents had raided it and extended their investigations to my neighbours' houses as well. They had taken all our belongings, Personal effects and everything they could lay their hands on. They were not satisfied with this inhuman treatment however but went further to harass my father-in-law confiscating most of his treasures, goods and properties.

All these Personal belongings had been put up to auction and

sold for trivial sums which had been collected by the security Personnel. My house was given to a man who used to work for them – a model of the Kurdish Quisling.

Returning of People to Agricultural Lands

After the Agreement of 11 March, when I was the Commander of Kirkuk Army at (Sangaw) the residents of the areas (Jamchamal, Kalar, Kfri, Lailan, Zangana) returned without difficulty to their lands, cornfields and orchards, to start their usual works of farming, forestry and cultivation.

These were mostly peasants who had faithfully supported the revolution, but, the higher strata of the Kurdish society were the Chieftains, proprietors and Aghas 'the powerful tribal heads' who had mostly no equivalent honourable past to safeguard them as the countrymen and allow them freedom of action, therefore, they were in need of encouragement and pacification. With this end in view I embarked on the long, tedious works of writing private letters to these notable Personages ensuring their safety and normal living at their homes with attendance to their properties and lands.

The most vital aim of our works was to guarantee the 11 March Agreement's success.

The Communist Party Project for Co-operation with Baàth

Relations between Barzani and the Communist Party, (Marxists and Leninists), for the duration of the war was normal and cordial. Barzani's progressive ideas, modernised methods of conceptions and his real insistence upon the achievement of the Kurdish Movement interests, on one hand and the genuine desire and will of the Communist party Secretary Aziz Muhamed on the other hand, had greatly effected in strengthening the bonds of the relations and enhancing the momentum of friendly co-operations. Aziz Mohamed in fact is a respectable politician worthy of praise and commending.

Prior to their intention to hold 'The Pact of National Works' with the Baàth, the communists sought Barzani's standpoint. Barzani said, "Baàth desires to alienate you, abandon you from us and weaken us in many aspects. Then after it had gained the end, you will get none of your just rights. In fact Baàth will massacre and annihilate you. While with us you will get stronger, the farther you go from us the weaker you will get. This bond is a devious conspiracy for exposing you to danger, and also for finding excuses to annul many promises stipulated

in the articles of the 11 March Agreement.”

At the same time (Shirwan Ali Amin) an outstanding member of the Communist Party in (Sulaimaniyah) had come to visit me informing me of his Party's desire to leave their underground struggles and come out to the open for practising their political works with the people in society. He said they wanted to take advantage of the opportune time, especially when Russia was in good relationships with the Baàth.

The Communist Party member's purpose of this ardent communication was for seeking my mediation to inform Barzani of the Communist Party's new proposal.

On 17 July 1972 the Pact of National Works between the Russian Communist Party and the Baàth Party was signed, before which the 'Agreement of Co-operation and Friendship' between Iraq and the USSR was proclaimed, three months previously.

The goal of these conventions was to press Iran, America and the West not to aid the Kurds in their struggles for their national cause. Iraq threatened the West that it would take a leftist trend in case the Kurds were supported for attaining their rights.

Nazim Gizar's Coup d'etat and his Associate Culprits

The 11 March Agreement had exasperated and provoked Nadhim Gizar (The Director General of Security at the time), thereupon, he contacted with the Governments of the countries who had been opposing an Agreement which might promote the question of Kurdish Movement. Nazim Gizar had a strong relationship with the world influential sources in the East and the West Governments, especially with the Shah of Iran who had abused the 11 March Agreement and used to mention the Ba'ath Party as the pestilence and cancer of the Middle East.

According to an agreement between the Shah and Nazim Gizar, four Iranian Commandos had hijacked a Boeing aircraft 747 and landed at the Basrah Airport, south of Iraq.

The commandos were sent by the Shah Regime to join General Bakhtiari who was a member of the opposition group of Iranians who had taken asylum in Iraq.

A short time later, General Bakhtiari was taken to (Rostamia) on the pretext of an outing for hunting in the fields. Bakhtiari was assassinated and the commandos were deported to Iran by land, so they came by air and returned by road.

Coup d'etat ends in Failure

Nadhim Gizar had designed a plan to assassinate the President Ahmed Hassan Al-Baker when he returned to Baghdad from a visit to Bulgaria. Every necessary step had been taken at Baghdad Airport for this purpose, but inadvertently, by a request from the President, his plane had to land at the Bulgarian summer resort Varna for two hours for taking a rest. This created chaos, disturbing the assigned zero hour for the commencement of the Coup d'etat at the airport.

The armed men stationed at the airport by Nadhim Gizar supposed that the delay was due to the plan being discovered, therefore they left their positions, creating a fiasco.

In the tumult of that confused situation Gizar arrested Hamad Shihab, Minister of Defence and Sadon Ghidan, Minister of Interiors at a private dwelling of (Tal Mehamed) a village in the surroundings of Baghdad. Hamad Shihab was killed there and Ghidan was wounded as a result of the volley of shooting at random.

When Gizar was informed of the news of his armed men's withdrawal from the airport, he also fled as well as his men, taking the roadway towards the Iranian borders. He was captured on the road and killed at the point. A group of other conspirators who had taken part in the design of the Coup d'etat had taken two cars and driven towards the Syrian borders. They were successful and reached a safe haven there.

The conspiracy had failed but, what is noteworthy is that at all the Iraqi foreign embassies of the world, Nadhim Gizar's

agents, their wirelesses and coded messages were stationed actively working away from the Ambassador's attention, who had never been informed of the secret correspondences exchanged between the Embassy and Gizar himself.

Before being killed Nadhim Gizar had designed an infernal conspiracy to assassinate Barzani. He had sent a number of (Mullahs) to Haji Homeran, providing them with transistor sets in which time bombs had been secretly hidden. Moreover, rockets had been inserted in the rears of their cars to be fired at Barzani's HQ. The Mullahs were instructed to push the bottoms of the radio sets while Barzani starts to talk, in order to record his conversations as they were told and bring the record back to Baghdad. When they did push the infernal bottoms the bombs exploded in a series of blasts. The Mullahs were all killed while Mullah Mustafa Barzani came out healthy, intact and sound except for a tiny bruise on his cheek.

I visited him for graduations, of his safety and coming out unscathed in the hell of fires and explosions. He was calm, never perturbed as great as all times. He told the audience, "The March Agreement is much more important than myself. Nobody should disturb himself. This is a conspiracy designed against me and the Kurds' achievements and also against those who had signed the Agreement with me. It is a conspiracy in opposition to the peace and security which had been prevalent through Iraq."

Shah of Iran's Demands to Aid Nadhim Gizar

The Shah of Iran demanded the following conditions from Nadhim Gizar to help him in his attempts to initiate Coup d'etat against the ruling Iraqi Regime:

1. Assassination of the Leader Barzani in addition to his sons Mas'ud Barzani and Idris Barzani.

As we have already related, for the sake of effecting this criminal action on 29 September 1971, the notorious Mullahs were sent to Haji Homeran carrying with them hidden mined radio sets.

The same evening (Abdulkereem Shekhly) held a great party. He had invited to this party the four Persons who had participated in the concoction of the conspiracy, in addition to another two guests. He told them that they would hear happy news at the night. They sat listening to the radio programmes and watching the TV. When they heard the failure of the plan, they were disturbed and grieved extremely. Abdulkereem Sheikhhly was the principal accomplice of Gizar in the designing of the criminal act.

2. Assassination of the Kurdish Nationalist of Iran who had taken refuge with the Iraqi Authority such as (Ahmed Towfiq)

and all his comrades and the encouragement of other members outside Iraq to apply for refuge in Iraq so that they might be assassinated when they are inside the country. However, (Ahmed Towfiq) and his comrades were eventually murdered by Nadhim Gizar in Iraq.

3. Annihilation of the men in Barzan, young and old especially those who belong to the Barzani tribe and their posterity.

4. The murder of (Qadir Tagarani) was the condition number four which had to be consummated before Gizar started any act of Coup d'etat.

Qadir Tagarani

(Qadir Tagarani) was a patriotic man who had been fighting another enemy of the Kurds, the Shah of Iran, using the Regime's arms. He did all he could to avoid passing through the liberated parts of Kurdistan while attacking the Shah's military forces. When it was necessary for him to pass through the liberated areas, he notified Barzani beforehand, to avoid inflicting damages on the Movement's interests. He had direct relationships with Barzani himself. Following orders by the Shah he was shot dead by a rocket fired at him while crossing the (Shat Al-Arab) river between Iraq and Iran with his group of armed men.

5. Enticing General Bakhtiari to take refuge in Iraq and assassinate him thereafter.

Digging under the foundations

The Shah of Iran under the pretext of annual medical examinations travelled to Switzerland. There he convened a

meeting with the Iraq representatives by the mediation of Jordan and Algeria under the supervision of the United States' Minister of State, Henry Kissinger who acted as a supervisor. During all the time Barzani had been delayed in Tehran in waiting for the Shah's return to Iran.

Shah's wife Farah Diba was busily engaged in a shuttle service, to and fro, carrying messages between the Shah and the King Hussain containing viewpoints as regards the Iranian and Iraqi stands and conditions.

The principal role in the destruction of the Kurdish Movement was taken by Henry Kissinger.

Negative Factors Affecting 11 March Agreement

The failure of 11 March Agreement is largely due to the international plans and the adverse atmosphere created by Nadhim Gizar and his criminal clique who worked in alliance with the Shah of Iran who had been conspiring constantly out of his ingrained hatred and inherent hostility with the Kurdish people and their aspirations.

All this in addition to the internal problems of the Kurds themselves who comprised a faction containing mercenaries, tribal chieftains and the great proprietors to whom nationalism, freedom and democracy did not appeal since their political and Personal interests would have been endangered.

Agha, Beg and Peasants

(Agha) in Kurdistan is supposed to be a tribe chieftain and (Beg) is a notable Personage, though both titles can be inherited

with no significant implication or substantial authority, property or powers.

Those who were real landowners and proprietors mostly remained under the Shed of Revolution and its protection. Generously they changed their own homes into guest houses in which Peshmerga lived, dined and made themselves comfortable.

The villagers and peasants stayed as they were, ploughing their lands, cultivating, reaping their crops and harvests, and attending the plentiful orchards at the foot of the bountiful farmlands and fruit gardens. Nevertheless, the inhuman, Iraqi pilots carried on their bombardments indiscriminately, burning everything all around the villages and the vicinity of the towns. Still the brave peasants carried on doing their honourable errands mindless of fear and danger, so effectively that, during all the periods of the Revolution, Kurdistan lived never complaining of famine or drastic need of the necessary articles for living.

The sons of Kurds are sons of Barzani

Any Kurd of any social class or division was regarded by Barzani as the son of the Kurds and as Barzani's son as well. He said, "If an (Agha), a chieftain were angry for a certain reason and left us to join the Regime's side, he would at least take 200-300 Kurds with himself, while if he stayed with us he would be able to look after and feed 300-400 Peshmerga and their families, for us." For instance, the chieftain (Abdula Agha Peshderi) joined the rank of Peshmerga with 30-40 of his men, in 1962. He had been nominated by the Polit Bureau

of the Party. His followers were courageous who were trained latterly to become competent, agile Peshmerga. The tribesmen of Peshder, the chieftain's ancestors were very proud of him. They used to call him (Abdul Agha Dakhon) our dear Abdula Agha. Eventually he was assigned the rank of Commander in the Revolutionary Army of Kurdistan.

Significant Tasks

Throughout the time of Revolution, I had been constant by advising Barzani of everyday occurrences and views of Peshmerga and the fightings. For important tasks, of course, he was the boss, who gave me instructions to do the works of follow up and to find out the work consequences. On many occasions he would say, "Will you become my representative to be at the peoples' service all the time."

A Fruitful Revolution

Although I had gone through extremely hard times and greatly suffered, nevertheless I felt I had always felt happiness since I thought that I had been serving my own people and my fatherland, a path I have taken for the achievement of our aspirations, freedom, justice and democracy all over Kurdistan. We knew that this was a garden which wouldn't bloom unless it was fed by the blood of our martyred sons.

What is important is that our Revolution was in bloom, nay it was growing to the stage of yielding fruits, to an extent, I can even today confirm that whatever outcomes were gained, they are all obtained by virtue of the sacrifices during those

graceful old days. Nowadays, social, political and economical developments were all staged in the era when the September Revolution of 1961-1975 had broken out with the sacrifices of the old veterans who had been led by the great noble Leader of Kurdistan Mustafa Barzani.

Symbols of Patriotism

The Commanders of the various army units of Peshmerga were numerous and were all self-sacrificing men. The names of the group I mention here are the most widely known among the Peshmerga and through Kurdistan. Commander of Zakho Army Issa Swar Barzani, Commander of Dihok Army Ali Khalil Shoshawi, Commander of Sheikhhan Army Hasso Mirkhan Dolameri, Commander in Chief Is'ad Khoshavi, the Commander of Kurdish Guerrillas in the area of Barzan were: Mullah Shini, Nabi Serasin, Haji Bairokhi, Hama Saleh Nirwayi, 'Areef Yassin, Hassu Mirkhan Jhajhoki, Ghezali Jhajhoki, Keko Dolameri, Abdula Aghai Pishderi, Hameed Afendi ,Sheikh Kawkas Said Taha, Ahmed Tofiq Khoi.

Interpreter for Barzani

Throughout the Revolution stages none of the following well-known Personages had ever been working as interpreters for Barzani when the newspapermen and journalists had visited Kurdistan: Ibrahim Ahmed, Jalal Talabani or Habib Muhamed.

Barzani had never given written speeches. He addressed the people mostly in the Kurdish Sorani Dialect. His Arabic language was perfect and faultless. Dr Ferhad Amin (who is the graduate of a Russian University) says that the Leader Barzani was speaking Armenian language fluently. The Russian ladies who had come to Kurdistan after they had married the Kurdish refugees told us that Barzani's Russian language was spoken with academic accent. An Iranian journalist had written that Barzani's Persian was pure and that he hardly used Arabic Vocabularies, which is a matter nearly impossible as regards this language which depends extensively on the Arabic words and expressions.

The same journalist wrote, Barzani is very polite in speaking to others, he is sociable and he follows moral codes and rules. He is never irritated even when he is asked, nasty, hard questions. He constantly asks his statements not to be

distorted or misinterpreted. That is, he says is for the benefit of the journalist's country and people, in addition to the interests of the Kurdish people.

In 1964 he blamed the representative of the Egyptian magazine Rose El Yussif, who had come to (Sengeser) to visit Barzani. Barzani was upset because the account of his answers to the journalist's questions had been misrepresented.

I had been in the room when this incident had taken place and I still remember the conversations between Barzani and the newspaperman:

Journalist: What is your viewpoint about Abul Nassir, the President of Egypt who advocates the Arab Union?

Barzani: Since Nassir is the President of an Arabian country i.e. Egypt it is natural for him to encourage the unity of Arabs.

Journalist: What is your opinion about the Arab Unity?

Barzani: If the Kings, Princes and Presidents of the Arabs would leave their posts and elect one Arab President to lead a United Arab Country, that would be a great historic achievement.

Journalist: What do you think about the question of burning (Masjid Al-Agssa) by the Jews of Israel?

Barzani: If I had been there I would have gone before everybody else to extinguish the fire.

Journalist: What do you think about the Shah of Iran?

Barzani: The people of Iran with all its ethnic groups, factions and sectors know their Shah perfectly well. They have estimated his worth.

During all the years between 1961 and 1967 tens of journalists of the leading newspapers, magazines, the bookwrights, the

world's well-known writers and publishers had been visiting Barzani. During all the time and for all these interviews I had been the sole translator since there was nobody else to perform the task at the time.

During 1966 and later on the following Persons have been doing parts of translation: Mahmud Ali Uthman, Sami Abdulrahman, and for the French language (Yunan Hurmiz), who used to go out with the journalist for visits to the front lines of the conflicts.

Forty Peshmerga

Sediq Afandi was assistant Commander of the Balack Army and in 1971 he became in charge of the Second Division of KDP. He related the following story to me: He said, "One day I noticed François Hariri, a prominent Christian Kurdish Peshmerga, busily occupied and in panic in the centre of the market place searching for Peshmerga to gather them. The Peshmerga who were dispersed in the centre of Gelala Bazaar had come from the fighting fronts to get rest for a few days. Sediq Afandi said, "I called François and asked him what was the matter?" He replied, "(Haji Bairokhi) had sent a letter to the HQ of Balack Army asking for fourteen sacks of flour and forty Peshmerga. We have to send him food supplies with forty or fifty Peshmerga." Sediq Afandi asked him to let him see the letter. He saw the letter and realised the authenticity of the request. Sediq gave the subject a second thought, maybe there was a blunder, probably he had asked for forty ready suits (complete outer garments for Peshmerga). He said, "Let us

send him the flour and forty suits with a messenger and see what would happen.”

When the messenger returned he said “Haji Bairokhi was grateful to get the flour and the suits. He never mentioned the question of the forty Peshmerga.

François Hariri was one of the Christians of Kurdistan. He is regarded as the symbol of Religion Fraternity which was one of Barzani’s principles. Barzani believed that the right of being allowed to live in happiness must be shared by all people without discrimination, in the shadow of the Kurdish Revolution.

Unfortunately on 18 February 2001 François Hariri fell in a trap laid by a group of terrorist gunmen. He was martyred with another Peshmerga. He was a gentle, amiable, educated man who had devoted all his life for the service of people and Barzani, especially as he was mostly trusted by the Leader who regarded him as a member in his own household.

Decisions of the Revolutionary Governing Council

On 3 April 1974 the Borders of Guards Battalions were released and I returned to the Peshmerga HQ in (Nawpirdan) where Barzani and his forces were stationed. Two weeks later the Revolution Commanding Council’s resolution was issued for my discharge, in accordance to the decision No. 402.

A Few Significant Dates

- On 23 March 1974, negotiations between the Kurds and the Baàth Regime were stopped. The entire Border's Guards Battalions were discharged.
- On 26 March, the Baàth Regime initiated an overwhelming offensive from Mosul against (Zakho) area.
- On 24 April 1974, the town of (Qaladiza) has been bombarded. Three days later (Halabja) and the surrounding villages were bombed.
- On 26 April, Gelala, Haji Homeran and Rewandiz were bombarded by war aircrafts and shelled by artillery. At the same time the Army forces launched fierce wild attacks at the cities and towns of Kurdistan. The Iraqi Regime forces started their offensives from Kirkuk to Sulaimaniyah, Rania and Qallediza. Again from Kirkuk on other fronts towards Koia, Ranya, Qaladiza; and from Mosul and Kirkuk towards Erbil and Rewandiz. Then from Zakho towards Akre, Rewandiz, from there to Gelala where the HQ of Barzani is situated.
- In September 1974, the Shah of Iran has opened the Iranian borders for all the Kurds on flee from the Baàth oppressions to enter Iran. The total of half a million Kurds, as a result, escaped

to Iran and Turkey, while the caravans of escaping people are still continuous for the people to save their lives from the inhuman terrorism of the aggressive Regime.

- On 10 September 1974, the major offensive of the Baàth Regime on Gelala area has begun
- On 29 September, the mountain of Zozik has been captured by the Iraqi armed-forces.

The Numbers of the Regime's Secret Codes and Messages Decoded until Now

Through the September Revolution I have successfully found the Iraqi authorities' cipher code keys and I do not remember any incidence which I have ever failed to reach the right conclusions for discovering the exact contents of any Iraqi's significant message contexts. Therefore, for me, to reach the core of reality with regard to the malicious, hostile intentions of the Baàth was the matter of time. Some of the code key's solutions were on the tip of my fingers, while others needed relatively more time. None had ever puzzled me to the limit of irritation. For me they were lenient, intimate friends who yielded serenely.

The number of my code keys discoveries exceeded (5000) five thousand cases. These were included in the formal, consequential correspondences of many Governmental high offices and institutions such as: The Ministry of Interiors, the DG of Police, the DG of Security, the Ministry of Defence and DG of Intelligence. I had compiled (120) one hundred and twenty portfolios of (300), three hundred pages each, containing the

secrets of strategies, plans, the exact times of aeroplanes raids, artillery shellings, mercenaries' offensives, Regime's military movements....etc.

Decyphering the Iraqi authorities' messages resulted in the rescue of many precious lives. Many a time Barzani's own life and the lives of his sons, Mas'ud Barzani and Idris Barzani and those of his family members were saved from imminent death.

When the Regime's plans for attacking were discovered, Barzani would design the tactical counter plans for their failure, rendering the outcome of the Iraqi Army plans fruitless and many times resulting in diverse consequences for the Iraqi Regime.

Love of the Native Land

In the aftermath of the widely known conspiracy which had been contrived for the destruction of the September Revolution, I decided, with a group of friends, to return to Iraq through (Qesri Shireen) as we have been informed that the road was safer and many Kurdish Revolution Leaders had travelled through this outlet to arrive at Kurdistan.

On 29 March I arrived at (Munthria) an Iraqi township containing the Customs Department and a control post. Tens of the Kurdish Revolution Leaders and Peshmerga had been in the act of surrendering to the Regime. There with a prepared questionnaire they investigated with everyone and checked his identity card. Then a few men were transported by helicopters, others by cars to an army station which looked like a regiment HQ. At the inquiry and the registration of names, I said I was a Major of the Police and the Commander of Borders Guards

Battalion. A warrant officer and a few others had been doing the work. The strange warrant officer looked at me with hatred and sparkling eyes. He said, "Yes, a traitor major who had betrayed his countryland." I was taken, after the completion of the previous tedious humiliating formalities, with four other men, in a jeep truck to an enormous military station, and again we were separated.

Another file was brought out and my name was rewritten and I was taken to a separate room. I was told to take off all my garments, but the underclothes. They started to take my photographs, while sitting, standing, in the front and in my back, from the right side and the left side...etc. Whatever spots happened, that I had on my body were registered in a list, and they took my fingerprints, too. We were united again, with the friend who was in my company and sent in an Army truck to Baghdad, the capital. In Baghdad I was sent to the Security Department where I was detained for four days, at the end of which I was told to go back to Sulaimaniyah, my native city, to wait for instructions as the other people who were similarly in the same situation.

Bait on a Hook Laid by Angler

On 22 April 1975, Naim Haddad, who was Ahmed Hassan Baker's representative in the preparation of the Algiers Agreement had sent particular instructions concerning me, through the Sulaimaniyah Governor, in which he had ordered that I should be attached to the Head Office of Sulaimaniyah Borders Affairs Department. My approval had not been taken

into consideration. I was told that the final decisions would be sent to me in the near future. In fact I understood that was the normal procedure. I thought that it was a decision for all the officers, soldiers and policemen. Shortly after a few days I understood that I had been an example as a bait for the other army and police officers. During the time administrative orders had not been issued in regard to my reinstation, whatsoever, neither by the Revolution Commanding Council, nor by a Republican Formula, by a Ministry order or any simple administration decision.

For issuing an order regarding my reinstation in a post, the following procedures were essential to have been followed:

1. The publication of the order in the Iraqi Gazette. A Person who had been dismissed by the orders of the Revolutionary Commanding Council must be reinstated by the order of the same Authority.

The order must be published in the Iraqi Gazette as well.

2. Copies should be sent to the Ministry of Interiors, the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Finance.

3. Copies are to be forwarded to the Personnel file. The DG of Police. The DG of borders and to the DG of Pension. During all this time, five months and seven days, I had been reinstated neither in the police services nor in the Border Guards, while still I had to display myself in a uniform of the Major of Police. It seems I had been set as an example to be followed by the officers of the Army and the Police, who had stayed behind in Iran, and also for the sake of degradation and revenge as I was a well-known member of the Revolution. The comrades who had

come back in accordance to the Amnesty Proclamation were offered duty entitlements and asked to be put on the pension list willingly. Their requests were accepted promptly. Nevertheless, I was treated in a special way, no period of absence was counted for me, for service or promotion. This clearly appears in the Revolutionary Commanding Council decision No 1218 dated 28 September 1970 signed by Saib Abdu Majid, Head of Civil Service and the DG of Technical Affairs.

During the five months of my stay in the Directorate of Borders I have constantly been under observations by the security agents until, an order was issued by the Revolutionary Commanding Council, No. 24.6.4309 dated 14 September 1975 and published in the Iraq Gazette. Accordingly I was assigned a Civil Service occupation in the Muthana Province precisely, in the town of (Samawa)south of Iraq.

As a cat carrying its kitten about the house, the Regime (during one year) had transferred me from one department to another one shortly after I had been taken out from the former department.

Therefore, for allowing me no respite I was continually transferred and had to work during a single year in all the following factories and departments.

1. Supervisor in the Tile Factory of Samawa.
2. Supervisor in the Plaster Factory of Nugrat Al-Salman.
3. Supervisor in the Passenger Transport Directorate in Samawa.
4. Supervisor in the Directorate of Education in Samawa.

One year later the Government started to transfer the Kurds

back to their towns and cities in Kurdistan. I wrote a petition with a group of other Kurds asking to be transferred to Sulaimaniyah. Consequently I was allowed to return to my house and family who had been waiting for me to return. There I was appointed as a Supervisor in the Department of Local Administration.

The Kurds' Enemies are more conscious than the Kurds

The Kurdish Leaders with their intellect and talent can achieve autonomy and liberty for the Kurdish people without the support of the Great Powers. When the Kurdish people have established themselves on a firm ground, the Great Powers then will be greatly willing to come to the Kurds' rescue.

There must be designed a well thought of strategy for staging struggles in careful steps towards the main goal. For attaining this sublime aspiration unity of the main Kurdish Parties is essential. Egotism and self-interests must be avoided and unified ideology and principles should be adopted and employed. Kurdish nationalism and patriotism must take priority over the party-politics the Parties must be in the service of nationalism.

Barzani said, "Our neighbours have always been cleverer than us throughout the history of the area. They work for their own interests. They are always in possession of their prepared plans and ready for implementing them against the Kurds. That is why they had prevailed in their objectives continually."

Thinking of Death Disturbs the Mind

In Washington Barzani had been conversing with his son Mas'ud Barzani in this philosophical manner about death, "Death is not an uncomfortable, disturbing occurrence. To think about it makes a man indisposed and out of harmony with his surroundings. Then, it is convenient not to think of death, in order that you may avoid worry and depression. Perhaps only few breaths prior to death are worrying, when a man is conscious of death approaching him, but when a dying man takes his last breath, even the little troubles there will fade away and vanish. The secrets of life after death, is in the Doomsday, a mystery known only to Almighty God."

Political and Diplomatic Contests

In the aftermath of the Algiers Agreement between Iraq and Iran, resulting in the collapse of the September Revolution, Barzani said, "From now on the time is now for diplomatic and political contests. The Kurdish young men who live in the foreign countries must take the role of the Ambassadors. They should never keep quiet. The adverse Kurdish conditions of today must be known to all the world abroad, and to the global political institutions and the parties. I for myself will make all efforts, as long as I live, to make our just question widely known to the conscience of humanity all around the world."

Between the Years 1976 – 1980

The Governor of Sulaimaniyah Province popped in my office while he was on a periodic investigation tour. Looking at my empty desk, he asked his assistant for my name.

Half-an-hour later he called me to his office, he said, “I would like to put those who have had military ranks with the army or the police, in active posts because they are competent administrators.”

A short time later, following this conversation, I was appointed in the post of management for the factories which are run by the Local Administration.

No sooner had I started the work than the usual Regime’s harassments started. Various official sources of the Government had launched attacks of sending summonses and warrants to present myself before the courts and tribunals.

I received summonses from the following sources:

1. Special Investigations Committee of Kirkuk, demanding arms, assets and all the belongings of the 5th Battalion of Border Guards, as I was the Commander of the Battalion at (Sangaw) which belongs to the Governorate of Kirkuk..

2. Special Investigations Committee of Khaliss ,(Goverorate of Diyala), as I spent some time in Bamo) while I was the Commander of the First Battalion of the Border Guards. I was demanded for all the belongings of the Battalion, as I stated before.

3. Special Investigation Committee of Duhok: I had been in the Barzani's HQ. I was requested to compensate for all the belongings.

4. Chamchamal Court of Justice: the defenders of the trials held in the Revolution Era considered themselves unfairly treated. They requested their trials to be renewed.

The Governor of Sulaimaniyah Province Arshed Ahmed Agha Zebari sent a letter to the High Committee of the North Affairs confirming the time of my return which lay within the Amnesty Proclamation, therefore I should not have been liable to the judicial conviction for charges in connection with the crimes, felonies or misdemeanours occurred in the Kurdish Revolution time.

Nevertheless, I presented myself before the court in (Baàguba) and to the court of Kirkuk.

In both courts I was demanded to compensate for the arms and ammunitions of the Battalions I had commanded. Furthermore compensation for all other belongings such as the Peshmerga clothings and beddings, cars, trucks...etc. My answers to these charges was that every Peshmerga had been carrying his own belongings with himself, rifles and ammunitions, while the trucks had their own drivers who had to look after them. The Dihok Court of Justice which has opened a case convicting me for the

same unfounded accusation was notified by the Government. Thus, legally nothing was possible to proceed against me in the courts, therefore the procedures were ended in the legitimate style.

Until 15 November 1980 when I had retired from the Government work, no important post was assigned to me. As regards the period of my service when I had been exploited as a sample to allure other Peshmerga to return from Iran, the service of five months and seven days had not been taken into account for the purposes of civil services.

The letter by which I was put on pension is Local Administration No 17312 dated 29 November 1980.

In 1977 I travelled to London to get an opportunity for contacting the Leader Barzani. From London, unfortunately I failed to travel to America to meet him because of the passport and visa difficulties. Therefore I sent him a letter by means of (Sardari Hamagha). When receiving the letter, Barzani had two guests sitting with him. The guests are living in Sulaimaniyah now. One of them, when returned back to Sulamaniya (who is called Shehreyar Ahmed Shukri), related to me that when Barzani had completed reading the letter, he said, "Didn't I tell you Shawkat is faithful and grateful and loves Kurdistan truly."

Beehives

Around the year 1980, I visited (Akré), entering a shop to buy some fruit. The owner of the shop happened to have been one of the Peshmerga who were in my company during the Revolution days. We soon knew each other and memorised

the old days. He related this incident, “Do you remember when I visited you at (Khwakôrk) valley(north of Erbil), telling you that there was a beehive inside the trunk of a nearby tree. We asked you permission for taking out the hive and you told us to go, but please leave a quantity of honey-comb for the bees themselves and their offspring.” Then the comrade resumed, “We never forget that we had been speaking about it among us a lot and said, despite all the hunger in Kurdistan and its great need for food, you have been thinking about the life of bees in Kurdistan.”

I had been Pursued Even when Retired

After being retired for one year I registered my name with an Employment Bureau in the hope of finding a job. Through the Bureau in 1983 I was appointed as a translator with the Belgian Fabricum Company. The company was a contractor for building cold stores in Sulaimaniyah. Hardly had I completed two months of working when the Security Department of Sulaimaniyah wrote a letter to the Bureau for my discharge as it was not allowed for me to work in places which are vitally connected with the Government interests. The Bureau informed me of the decision by a letter which I will put in the end of this book.

From a Poultry Farm to a Human Organisation to a Major General in the Army

I found a job in a poultry company which was formerly owned by the State and lately sold to a group of the residents in Sulaimaniyah and Erbil. I worked there for about two years.

After the blessed General Outbreak of the Popular Kurdish Movement of 1991 I worked for six months with the British Christian Outreach organisation which is working in the humanitarian fields. During six months of the organisation activities we had completed establishment of tens of dispensaries, primary and secondary schools and buildings for housing teachers and the school officials. In addition to that several kindergartens were built in Halabja, Tawéla, Biara, Kalar and the area of Piramagroon, Said Sadiq, and Sharazur. Furniture and necessary articles were provided to all the newly established institutions. Aids were extended to the people congregations who had been displaced by Saddam from their original villages and places of living and gathered on the sides of the main highways between Sulaimaniyah and Derbendi Khan.

In 1992 in accordance to the Regional Government of Kurdistan decree No 977 dated 18.8.1992 I was reinstated within the list forwarded by KDP for rehabilitation in public esteem. I was ranked in the Army of Kurdistan as a Major General to work in the capacity of Counsellor for all the liberated areas of Kirkuk, Derbendikhan, Kalar, Chamchamal.

Following a formal request I submitted myself. I was put on the list for retirement, from my position.

In the wake of all these tedious changes of works I devoted all my time for writing a dictionary of words and idioms in English-Kurdish and Kurdish-English.

Mullah Hassan Barzani

Mullah Hassan Barzani was one of the Kurdish Barzani young men who fled to Russia with the Leader Barzani's famous Expedition, after the collapse of Mahabad Republic. He was one of the Leader's bodyguards for a long time until he settled in Baghdad with his Russian wife and his very young daughter in a house east of Baghdad. While Mullah Hassan was in Kurdistan two Kurdish traitors working for the Regime's Security Office occupied the house without his consent. After the 11 March Agreement he returned to Baghdad and reoccupied the house, but before he had evacuated the house, the two security agents set hidden microphones in the secret nooks and niches for recording the conversations of the people who visited the family and everything which was spoken by themselves. After the plight of the Revolution, Mullah Hassan Barzani was murdered by the Regime. His remains were taken to Barzan, his wife and daughter left Baghdad for Russia.

During the Kurdish popular uprising of 1991, the angry demonstrating people found one of the two traitors who was an ex-police officer being assigned as the director of a Governmental Department Store in Sulaimaniyah the angry demonstrating people had beheaded him on the spot.

Refugees' Return from Iran to Kurdistan

In the years 1991 and 1992 I had been working for the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) which is one of the United Nations. We used to travel to Iran from (Sulaimaniyah)

with a commission belonging to the UN, in order to visit the Kurdish refugee camps inside the Iranian territory. We urged them to return home. We had been transferring groups daily composed of forty to fifty refugees in special trucks to Kurdistan, for the cities of Sulaimaniyah, Erbil and Kirkuk. They were provided with tents and food, while others who possessed houses returned to live in them.

Kurds, Wheels and Mule in the History

Herbert George Wells (1866-1946) English writer of sociological novels, science fiction and short stories in his book *The Outline of History* mentions that:

1. The Kurds from the time immemorial were three tribes: Median or Medish and Casso or Cassites. The third tribes migrated from the Median area towards Europe and had settled in today's (Rohr) area in Germany. The name of this tribe is not known in history.
2. This writer, who was acquainted with archaeology, says that the Kurds were the first people who produced mule, by coupling a donkey with a mare (female horse), or vice versa. Mules were used by the Kurds as pack-animals or for riding during the wars.
3. The Kurds were the first who designed the wheel for use in carriages to be pulled by the mule. The carriages were used as transport means in the war and peace times.
4. An orientalist who had written about the history of the Sasanids (Sassanians rulers of the Perisian Empire AD 211-651) in Arabic, says, "When the Kurds accepted Islam as their own religion they had destroyed and annihilated the traces of six

monarchies of their own, in the areas of Qaradagh and Derbendi Khan. They had ruined monuments, monasteries and statues. Until the present time when an armed man passed through a gorge known by (Derbendi Kafer) = the infidels passage he must have looted the remains of the old treasures of that archaeological period.

Old Names of the Kurds and Settlements in History and Kuran

A journalist asked Barzani, "Who are the Kurds in history?" he replied, "Kurds are Adam's posterity."

The old names of the Kurds in history are: Gôti, Gutî Kossi, Kassi, Kasso, Kashi, Kardokh, Kardoshia, Krdak, Kawrokh, Kako, Kaka, Kurdokh, Kurti, Goto, Kuti, Sobari, Lolo, Mad, Med, Mirian, Choomar, Hori.

The name of the Kurds in the Old Testament are: Chomar, Kardokh, Goti and in the Holy Quran (Kuran) the word Judi is mentioned. The people who lived at the foot of Mountain (Juddi) which is at the frontiers between the northern Kurdistan and the southern parts of Kurdistan in Turkey. This mount is clearly seen from (Zakho), the Kurdish northern town on the borders of Iraq and Turkey.

In the Kuran Juddi is mentioned in the Hud Chapter, the (Aya) sentence 44: "Then the word went forth, O, earth Swallow up the water, and Osky withhold the rain. And the water abated and the matter was ended. The ark rested on Mount Juddi, and the word went forth: away with those who do wrong."

If Adam could be regarded as a prophet, Noah (Patriarch

represented as 10th in descent from Adam) would be the Second Prophet according to the Kuran. The chapter of Kuran indicates the fact that, since Noah's time, the Kurds had been living on their own land in the area lying over the plateau below the Mount Juddi.

In the archaeological remains of the Sumerians (native inhabitants of Sumer, an ancient district of Babylonia) the Kurds are mentioned as Juddies, therefore, we can confirm that the Kurds (the Adam's descendants) are a separate people who had been living in the Middle East since the time of the Second Prophet Noah among them the ancient ethnic groups of the world at that time, such as the Assyrians, Babylonians, Chaldeans and Sumerians.

Juddies or (Gutties) had lived in the present Kurdistan of Turkey, while the (Kassis or Kashis) lived in the mountainous high lands of Irani Kurdistan of today. The boundary of their land extended as far as the city of Iraq (Kut) at present. The (Lulu) lived in the Kurdistan of today as well.

All these human genes of people with different names in history are regarded as one ethnic group who is identical with the Medians who are the genuine ancestors of the Kurds of the present time. The Medians lived in the area of (Hamadan) and the eastern parts of this city over which they had sovereignty.

At the Noah Inundation time, the Great Deluge, the Kurds' ancestors were not drowned, since these pious God worshippers in the Juddi mountain area, as we find in the Kuran, chapter 42, were bestowed with arks identical with the Noah's Ark (and we have created for them similar vessels on which they ride).

The Faith of the Kurds

The Pen came into use for the First Time in Kurdistan

The Kurdish Zoroastrians are God worshippers. Zoroaster also (Zarathustra) believed to have lived in the 6th BC who was the founder of dualistic religious system of (Magi) and ancient Perisia which survives among the Parsees; its scriptures, the Zend-Avesta, teach that (Ormazd) Lord of Goodness and Light and Creator of Mankind is ceaselessly at war with (Ahriman) and the evil spirits of darkness (Mithras) God of Light is worshipped by Mithraics whose religion is called (Mithraism). The religion introduced among the Romans under the Empire and spread over most of north and west Europe during the first three centuries AD becoming the principal rival at that time of Christianity.

The Kurds (Yazidis or Yezeedees) and Islam believe in evil spirits and his Almighty God the methodological concepts identical with the ancient Kurds faith in the evil spirits and goodness and light and the creator.

The Kurdish Yazidies have learned from their forefathers that Prophet Noah had built his ark in the town of (Ain Sefni); there a mount is in existence whose shape is similar to the structure of an ark. The Yazidis believe that the hillock was the mould of frame on which the ark had been built. People pilgrim to this sacred area frequently from other parts of the region.

In accordance to the Holy Kuran, Noah is the First Prophet after Adam. His father's name is (Idris), and he is said to have been the first man who had used a pen for writing. However,

the Shrine of Idris, who is considered to have been another Prophet, is now in Mosul, the well known city inside Kurdistan.

The Regime will be unsteady without the Kurdish Supports

The history of Iraq's neighbouring countries shows that they have constantly been hostile and in opposition to the interests, well being and prosperity of the Kurdish people, especially when there was an opportunity for the Kurds to achieve part of their national rights of freedom and self-government. With the support of Great Powers like Russia, Britain and America and other Arab countries such as Egypt and Jordan they have designed mischievous plans to hamper any attempts taken by the oppressed Kurd to struggle for throwing away their shackles.

The lack of unity among the Kurds themselves and jealousy of the tribal chieftains which made them fight among themselves have always been one of the most dangerous reasons, inserting a stake in the wheel of any development in start to better the stagnant adverse conditions in any certain aspects; this is besides the groups of the mercenaries who have been ready to help the despotic enemies for their own Personal benefits.

The Kurdish people have been the sole designer of their own risings and revolts. In the initiation of their Revolutions they did not resort to the help of a foreign power. They relied upon their iron will, Periseverance and bravery.

There is one stark fact and reality that, the series of the despotic Regimes who had ruled for tens of years had suffered defeat, humiliation and heavy losses hardly possible to regain,

not as a result of any malignant desire of the Kurds, but to the unwise stubbornness of the dictators who lacked all the decent characters and leadership qualities. As a result of these injurious policies not only Kurds have suffered but the greatest damages were the share of the Regimes themselves.

These facts are sufficient proof that any stable Authority ruling the country in Baghdad cannot hold on unless it gets the full support of the nationalist Kurds who are to be regarded as the pillars that bear the weight and keep the structure of the Government in place.

Prisoners' Torturing

Barzani had not allowed prisoners to be tortured or kept for a long time as prisoners of war. They were soon released in a very short time, especially the soldiers and policemen. Barzani ordered to settle the prisoners in places far from the Army stations and barracks and all attempts should be made to provide them with comfortable surroundings, with suitable rooms for sleeping and enough food for every day meals. Guards should have been assigned to protect them and prevent attempts for escape. This would be a great additional duty and burden for Peshmerga and the people of the liberated areas. For all these reasons the prisoners were freed promptly after they had been captured. No ransoms had ever been taken for setting any prisoners free, and no exchange has ever taken place since the Regime had put a captured Peshmerga fighter immediately to death, thus defying all rules and morals of the human race and the legal code of the UN.

On a day in 1963 when The Regime's forces had launched their fierce attacks towards the mount of (Spilk and Harir), (Golack) village fell under the volleys of bullets and barrages of heavy guns, and the armoured vehicles. The village huts were on fire. A woman had a baby child in her hand and a cradle on her shoulder. She came out of her cottage to run for her life and the life of the baby. The soldiers forced the woman to run back to the shelter of the huts under the dense fires of the soldiers. The woman, her small crawling baby and the cradle were all burnt out.

At the same night ten to fifteen of the Regime's soldiers were taken prisoner. One of the Peshmerga commanders was filled with anger because of this savage, inhumane crime. He shot a prisoner. Barzani heard of this undesirable, abnormal behaviour, drastically harmful for the prestige of Peshmerga. Barzani felt anxious, and uneasiness of conscience. He withdrew the commander from the front of the fighting and berated him sharply and inflicting other penalty on the Peshmerga despite all the savagery enacted by Abdulsalam's barbarous men.

Little Unforgettable History

From the seventh of May, 1975 on the Leader Barzani had been living in America.

In the second of February he had prepared to travel to Kurdistan secretly through Iran in order to resume the continuation of the September Revolution. Undoubtedly this had been initiated without the consent and knowledge of the United States. At the same time all of a sudden he fell ill for which he was entrusted to the medical care of physicians. He had been injected with a certain kind of medicine, the ampoule of which was thrown daily in a dustbin. Nevertheless, on the last day the nurse did not throw the empty ampoule away, but took it back with her.

On the first March 1979 the Leader Barzani passed away in Washington in a heartbreaking way as a refugee following the endless caravan of martyrs.

Later on shortly after his death the nurse, who had been treating him and took away the ampoule, was assassinated as well.

1. In May 1975, Barzani left Iran for America.
2. In February 1979, Barzani prepared to return to Kurdistan

through Iran, secretly, in order that he may resume the September Revolution, undoubtedly with no permission or any knowledge by the United States of America.

3. On the first of March 1979, the Great Leader Barzani passed away in Washington, the capital of the United States of America a trembling accident that bereaved all the honourable people of Kurdistan and the courageous Peshmerga who lamented his death with heartbreaking grief.

Mediators between Iraq and Iran

The mediators between Iraq and Iran were many countries, among the most significant were: Egypt, Jordan, Russia and other Eastern and Western States. Every side tried to gain its own interests and secure profitable relationships in the course of its efforts, and also to inflict, when possible, deadly blows at the process of the Kurdish resurrection and its widespread principles of the September Revolution. Iraq with all the might of its army forces, the support of the Russians and the weaponry of the West, deadly traditional arms and chemical poisonous rounds, shells and heavy bombs, in addition to the conspiracies concocted locally and internationally, failure and dissolution were constantly the inevitable outcomes of agony and horrible consequences waiting the bands of Coup d'etat juntas who had taken hold of illegal authorities in Baghdad.

Unable to realise any factual effective consequence, Saddam Hussain, the butcher of the Kurdish innocent people, resorted to self-humiliation with his arch-enemy the Shah of Iran. Saddam acquiesced in obedience to all the Shah's political and territorial, authentic or unjustifiable demands in silent subjugation. This all had come to the stage while Barzani had been continually

declaring that the Kurdish objective is not to undermine the Regimes or to interfere in the general welfare of the Iraqi nation. The Kurdish Revolutionary Army's main task was to defend Kurdistan from the aggressive Regime's inhuman treatments of the Kurds in their native land.

Uplift me to the Heavens!

One of the Peshmerga had been carrying his little son on his shoulders at (Derbendi Rayat) village(north of Erbil), while the war aeroplanes had been in the actions of bombarding the villages and their surroundings. The man was running with his other children behind him for finding a shelter to protect them from the horrors of the deadly blasts of explosions. At this terrible moment the child on his shoulders cries out, "Father, don't run away; lift me up enough to reach the heavens, so that God may hear my voice. I'll tell him to shoot down the planes."

The Terrible Plight of the September Revolution

On 20 March 1975, the news of ending fightings and the Army activities were announced from the radio station of the Voice of Kurdistan. The Peshmerga and the civilians were advised that they were free either to surrender to Iraq or to enter into the Iranian territory. Nobody was asked to lay down arms, and I myself, being at the head of the General Department for Communications was not informed to order my subordinates for the delivery of our wireless sets, apparatus and equipment to the Iraqi Regime's due sources. This was a precaution for, in case another political group snatched this opportunity and

resumed the Revolution or extended it in any other way, it would have ready assets in hand for the usage promptly.

However, this announcement had never been in any air of finality, giving the impression that there was nothing else to be done. The Movement momentum had subsided, dwindling a little but, the peoples' willpower still had the impetus, desire and enthusiasm to continue the path courageously. Barzani's political rule in addition to his noble family's unconquerable stamina had continued to sustain the efforts to keep the torch of the Revolution brightly lit, this time not by virtue of arms but by keeping the political and diplomatic agility constantly at work all over the world from the east to the west.

While Idris Barzani had been listening to the Voice of Kurdistan announcing the end of fighting, he said, "If a man or any other political faction is desirous to continue the struggles, they are at liberty to do so. They will have all my support and complete approbation."

In May 1975 while Barzani had been in Tehran great numbers of journalists had been continually writing to confirm the proper health condition of the Leader and that he had never complained of any sort of ailment. His physical condition was perfectly satisfactory with a highly sustained sense of will and morality. However, he had never been thinking of surrendering to the Iraqi Regime under any adverse circumstances. He had been fully in communication with the outside world in order to send the voice of Kurdistan to the world's conscience.

It is essential to mention in this context that Barzani had been constantly struggling for the achievement of the

Kurds' aspirations, and for this objective he had worked hard requesting the World Powers for support, which he said he had never attained. What he obtained was nothing other than the humanitarian aids and no country had ever recognised the legitimate political rights of the Kurds.

Resurrection of the Revolution

On 16 March 1975 a group of sixteen significant leaders of the Revolution signed a cable and sent it by means of the Peshmerga wireless to the main wireless station of one of the Iraqi Army garrisons in (Rewandiz). We delivered the cable (Saleh Yusifi) with a copy to take it with him to Baghdad. The cable was directed to the President of Iraq and the Ba'ath Party requesting them to solve the problems between the Revolution and the Iraq Government by means of peaceful direct negotiations.

The following day two Russian made war aeroplanes appeared in the sky of (Nawpirdan) the nave of the Kurdish Movement with their turbo-engines they exhaled a white vapour drawing two cross marks (XX) in the sky. Then they withdrew, flying back to disappear.

I told the comrades around me, "The Iraqi Regime had put cross marks on us."

On 19 March 1975 a decision was taken for abandoning armed struggles and the start of peaceful means. The Leader Barzani, other members of the Movement and his sons Idris Barzani and Mas'ud Barzani tried to reach the heads of the Great Democratic Powers of the world in order to explain the Kurdish Question and to plead their assistance and intervention.

By orders of Idris Barzani I delivered a wireless set of the type (9), a generator, two batteries and necessary accessories to the Leading Members of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, at their HO of (Nawkelakan) near Gelala. Idris Barzani assisted them with financial donations in the hope that they may stay in the mountainous districts to establish a core for the gathering volunteers, so that the Revolution would protect the momentum for the revival of the Movement again.

This news spread out quickly among the Peshmerga, heightening the degree of nationalism and its hopes anew, but unfortunately the communist gallant members could not stay alone by themselves in the wilderness of the high mountains of Kurdistan in the expectation of infernal bombardments.

The importance of decoding Cyphered Texts

I would like to enlist the evidence and comments on the importance of the work I was performing during my attachment to the Kurdish National Movement, in the books and writing of the outstanding publications in many parts of the world.

1. *Kurdistan or Death* by René Morris, translated into Arabic by Georges Fathulla Shamas, (Kurdologia Press House No 3, 1986), p.63. The writer has expressed his impressions as follows: The Headquarters of the Military Activities of the Revolution is the central nerve system which catches hold of the Army Front pulses by means of direct communications. The virtue is due to a communication station which lets no Iraqi Regimes' messages pass without being decoded and known to the responsible departments of the Revolution.

2. *My Days with the Kurdistan Revolution* by Yunan Hurmis, First Edition, (Detroit Michigan US of America, 1999), p.56. There was another instrument which was not known publically as it was enmeshed in secrecy, that was the communication system whose headquarters lay in a deep valley called (Qimassan). This had been operated by a young man who had occupied

many posts in the Police Service Departments. He is Captain Shawkat Issmail. He is in direct connection with Barzani's HQ. The Centre of Communication is so adequate in its professional qualities that it dismantles all the secrets in the coded letters sent by the Iraqi Army Units although the code keys are changed according to their types. Certain types were changed daily, other types weekly and some were changed every month. This critical situation had put the Iraqi Government in great embarrassment as all the Army movement had been discovered. Once an Army unit cabled a message to a certain Army Station as regards the Revolution's coding system, it was very complicated in addition to the original context which was in the Kurdish language. The Government Army Security tried frequently to corrupt anyone of the employees who worked with the Kurdish Communication Department, but all attempts failed and nobody showed the least desire to betray his native land. The communications apparatus is so competent that they connect all the areas of liberated Kurdistan to become firmly attached together as a solid entity, from (Zakho) to Khanagin. There is in every army unit a wireless set of the type 9 or 12 and there are also communication stations attached to the Party bureaus and offices. Yonan Hormoz, *My Days in Kurdistan Revolution*, (Joe Marogen, 12 East Bancroft, Toledo Ohio 43620 USA).

The Revolution affected the Kurds Widely

The September Revolution had awakened the Kurds' nationalism sense to a large extent, not only in the Iraqi Kurdistan but all over the greater Kurdistan parts, in Turkey,

Iran and Syria, Azerbaijan and Armenia. A great number of the patriots of these parts had joined the Revolution and worked seriously and heartfully to learn the military arts for defending their homelands. Through taking part practically in the defence methods of military arts they developed to become authentic, experienced men capable for taking over the leading roles in the future national uprising that may occur in their fatherlands.

Out of the Kurds of the Greater Kurdistan who had joined the Revolution were certain patriots from the northern parts of Kurdistan, i.e. the Kurdistan of Turkey. They were stationed in (Nawpirdan), the main HQ. A few of the Syrian patriotic Kurds were in (Dilman), among them were the most outstanding personalities such as, Professor Jegar Khwen. (Mullah Hamdy) was in (Behdinan). Their sincerity and faithfulness could never have been surpassed.

The Kurdish Movement News in the World Media

The news of the Kurdish Movement was the daily programmes in the foreign publication of newspapers and TV shows, all over the world, in Europe, America and even in Australia. The readers of the daily newspapers and the TV watchers had paid great attention to follow up the trend of the war and the dramatic changes of events affecting the political status of the Kurds in general which in turn had great impetus to agitate the social, economic and political situation in the Middle East.

We had been constantly aware and greatly interested to know the impressions of the people in the countries around the world, therefore we had installed special wirelesses and radio

sets to listen to the world news and daily comments as regards our Revolution. Special Peshmerga were employed for this particular job, as permanent listeners to the broadcasting of the world radio stations in Arabic, Kurdish, English and Persian. Then, the subject had been printed on papers and copied in numbers to be sent to the leaders and responsible officials who were concerned with the subject.

In the Caravan of Patriotism

After the temporary calmdown of the Kurdish Movement and my return to Iraq, in Kirkuk the official of the North Affairs Department involved me in cross-examinations and tedious interrogations under the pretext of my identity. They did not question me anything concerning deciphering, but one of the officials who seemed to be in a prominent position said, "The Kurdish uprising has ended. We don't have anything to do with this topic." He meant the subject of cyphers and deciphering of course. Another official spoke roughly, he said, "The father of a Peshmerga in the Rizgari Guerrilla Unit had been providing us constantly with the cypher keys which were used in his son's battalion."

Of course every Kurdish battalion was having its own cypher-booklet different from the cypher-booklets of other Kurdish armed units .

This was a baseless statement said for the sake of provocation, by an angry man. I am convinced and feel certain to confirm honestly that until the end of all conflicts, in the wake of the Revolution, no secret clues in connection with the cypher

keys whatsoever had ever fallen in the Regimes' hands. The official's statement was a mere fabrication said for the sake of provocation, otherwise why the secrets of the so-called agent should ever be divulged? This would have endangered the life of the betrayer.

Nowadays, the technique of ciphering is conducted by electronic instruments; the defect of the system is that the secret would be known to the manufacturers who are apt to sell them for an alluring amount of money.

I had been using the rudimentary elements that worked astonishingly. The King David killed Goliath with the pebble of a catapult. Later on, as is related in the Holy Kuran, God Almighty taught David how to use iron. While he was fighting the enemy with throwing stones, he now used arrows, swords and spears for fighting his opponents.

The UN Reluctance to Support Strikers

After the great uprising of the Kurdish people in the Kurdish area in Iraq and the establishment of UN Office in Sulaimaniyah a score of young men went on strike. They settled themselves in front of the main gate of the UN office refraining from taking food and drinking.

They had presented a number of demands in connection with the recognition of the Kurdish national rights. They had been waiting a long time for a response.

An official of the Assembly had sent a letter to me through the Christian Outreach organisation requesting me to take it Personally to Jalal Talabani who was at (Qalla Chwalan) at the

time. I went to meet Talabani with my boss in Christian Outreach Mr. Philppes who was the Manager of the said organisation, and Sheikh Dara Hafid. There I learned that there was nothing the UN could do by means of strikes, to enhance the Kurdish national demands especially, a style as such would be a sample followed by other countries for the attainment of their requirements. The UN was cautious that the Kurd's hostile group might take this opportunity to concoct a plan for attacking the UN office building. The letter further maintained, if the strikers do not leave the area in 24 hours, the UN and all the humanitarian organisations will leave (Sulaimaniyah). When Talabani read this ultimatum; the strikers were informed of the dire situation. They were discreet sufficiently to break the strike and leave the area. The problem was over.

A Farm with no owner

After the calmdown of the Kurdish Revolution, Iraqi Government issued a decree for the lands in Barzan area to be distributed for individual ownership, in accordance to the State Agricultural Development Law. The Government desired to build a tourist hotel, restaurants and a public park on the lands. A special commission headed by Dr Hassan Fahmi Juma, Minister of Agriculture Development arrived at a place beyond the village of Barzan.

The pilot had been told to fly at high elevations above (Shander) village (north of Barzan village) because there was probability for a Barzani Peshmerga hidden in the valleys and the wilderness of the mountains. The Committee had brought

with them the necessary maps showing the lands situation. In all Barzan no landlord was found in possession of two thousand (Donims) of unirrigated lands or one thousand (Donims) of irrigated land. One (Donim) is equal to (2500) square metres. Around the village of Barzan a deserted farm was appointed to have been a Barzani's property. When measured it was less than two donims. The Commission members stared at each other, they said Dr Mukaram Talabani (one of Saddam's ministers) was right; Barzani is not a feudal chieftain. Looking at all the agricultural maps and charts the Committee members did not find any piece of land or water resources, streams or fountains registered under the name of Mullah Mustafa Barzani. The farm with no owner was not registered in his name as well. There, the head and Commission members decided that the area of Barzan is not liable to the law of Agricultural Development.

When they were back in Baghdad, the Commission members investigated all the files of the Survey Department and Mortgage lists to find any patch of land or real property, all these efforts were in vain. Nothing was registered whatsoever under the names of Sheikh Ahmed Barzani or Mustafa Barzani. They own nothing of all the lands of Barzan.

In a general conference of the Ministry of Agriculture Development, Dr Mukarram Talabani stood up and said, "As an expert connected firmly with Kurdistan I can confirm to you that Mullah Mustafa Barzani has never been a feudal chieftain. He has never owned property and lands."

The Feudal Lords

In the middle and southern parts of Iraq a landlord who owns twenty five thousand up to thirty thousand donims of land is not liable to the Law of Agricultural Development, while, in order that this law can be applicable in Kurdistan the Government has ratified the law in this way. Any Person in possession of two thousand donims of land irrigated by rains with one thousand donim of land irrigated by water is liable to the Law of Agricultural Development. Despite all these restrictions there is no landlord in Kurdistan who could be considered a feudal Lord. In Kurdistan the word (Darabag = feudal lord) is used as a common word but in actual fact the term is not applicable to any one chieftain or a proprietor of lands. This is a fact which had always been discussed and affirmed by the Leader Barzani.

Relations between the Chieftains and Peasants

The countryman or a peasant who lives in a village, asks for a piece of land from the (Agha) chieftain, or he has inherited lands from his ancestors which he utilises for cultivation. The moral code of society among the villagers is to grant twenty percent of the crops to the (Agha) and keep the rest for sale and Personal consumption and the family needs. Problems between the (Agha's) and the peasants had taken place only at the farm lands surrounding Erbil. This happened in 1958-1959, a mild misunderstanding abated quickly. The accepted system of distributing the land outcomes is an old tradition which is followed nearly all over Kurdistan until the present time.

The Kurds can live with loaves of bread, while they don't live without freedom

On 18 April 1992, I went with the BBC Representative, Rosemary Clark for a visit to the President Mas'ud Barzani as an interpreter. His Excellency said to the representative, "Kurds don't ask for food; they require national rights. Our struggles are to obtain our justifiable rights, same as all the other people who had attained freedom and their identity had been recognised by the United Nations. The Kurdish people can live with only a piece of bread, but without liberty and self-rule is impossible for him to live in peace. The Kurds did not revolt because of hunger; Kurdistan is quite prosperous. The only thing we require earnestly is liberty and independence."

The Arts of Lexicon

I was a young student in the last year of secondary school in Kurdistan when I wrote a booklet to help the advance students of the English language who were supposed to sit for the State Examinations which is equivalent to the British GCE examination levels. Jamal Nabaz, a well-known Kurdologist nowadays, told me that the English speaking people had a lot of people to serve their language, I had to include the Kurdish language in my works. The learned man's advice had urged me to work for producing a dictionary of the English Kurdish and the Kurdish English languages which I hope will be a useful reference used by the people and kept in the Kurdistan libraries all over the country.

Recently, with the help and good offices of the late Musslih Jalali, Manager of the Kurdish Cultural Publications Organisation, the first section of the dictionary was completed. It is composed of 374 pages, available now in the markets.

There are many philologists, even among the Kurds whose working never thought to have been without efforts, but the tasks of compiling a dictionary is tremendously irksome and tedious which is in need of great concentration and a very long span of

time. The dictionary should have been completed and offered to the Kurdish libraries a long time ago, but my attachment to the sublime duties with Peshmerga for defending our freedom for 15 years did not put me at liberty to work without years of interruptions.

Consequently after 1976 I had devoted most of my time until I could achieve the long awaited for success and completed the dictionary but, unfortunately until the present time I had not been able to find a publishing house which would take upon itself the task of printing all the volumes.



**The writer with the Kurdish Leader
Mas'ud Mullah Mustafa Barzani**

Barzani's Family Tree

- * Zubair Pasha Amêdiy the First.
- * Meer Mas'ud
- * Meer Sa'eed
- * Mullah Ebdul-reheem
- * Mullah Ahmed Beeresh
- * Sheikh Muhammad
- * Mullah Sa'eed
- * Abdul-Salam
- * Mullah Taj-eddin
- * Mullah Ebdul-Rehman
- * Sheikh Muhammad
- * Sheikh Abdullah
- * Sheikh Abdul-Salam Barzani
- * Sheikh Muhammad Barzani
- * Mullah Mustafa Barzani

Postscript

The Social, Economic and Political Situation in Southern Kurdistan

The Social, Economic and Political Situations in Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan), like other parts of Kurdistan, is largely dependent on the situation within countries that occupy Kurdistan. Whenever a regime change takes place in any of these countries, the situation in that specific part of Kurdistan will be affected accordingly, with potential detrimental knock-on effects into other neighbouring Kurdish regions.

In 1958, when the Iraqi royal family was deposed and the Republic of Iraq was born and with the departure of the British, deep social, economic and political changes took place throughout Iraq. Arab Nationalism took a hold of the country with attempts to unite all Iraqi minorities in one so called Crucible of Arab Nationalism.

Since then, every subsequent Iraqi regime used the same political model with varying intensities with perhaps

the exception of General Qasim's which only lasted for four years, eventually being overthrown by the Ba'athists by military coupe. In order to achieve that aim they actively undermined the social and economic relationships in Kurdistan. For example; under the pretext of Land Reform, the Iraqi Government abolished the feudal system which had existed for many centuries. This singular reform destroyed the harmony between the peasant class and land-owners. Consequently, most peasants were left with no income.

These deliberately aggressive policies resulted in many years of war in Kurdistan, undermining the local economy with thousands of small villages ruined or completely destroyed never to be rebuilt.

The government's policy was to force the Kurds to move towards the capital, Baghdad, or other large cities in the south where they had a better chance of finding employment. At the same time the government was arming Arab tribes and lavishly supplying them with money and other incentives to move onto Kurdish lands. This policy was called Arabisation of Kurdistan and applied aggressively to the provinces of Kirkuk and parts of Irbil and Mosul and especially all territories that had oil.

Immediately after the downfall of Saddam's regime in 2003, the Kurdish region experienced a significant increase in cultural, commercial and construction activities. Substantial capital was attracted into the region's economy and many large international companies

participated in various activities, including large oil companies such as Chevron, Exxon Mobil and Gazprom. Comparing today's Southern Kurdistan with what it was back in 1990, immediately after the expulsion Saddam's army and his administration and the consequent liberation of the region, we will see that, step by step, enormous changes for the better have been taking place including but not limited to:

§ The formation of a Kurdish Regional Government and an elected Parliament.

§ The development and implementation of a new democratic constitution for a new democratic Federal Iraq, had been drafted with active participation of the Kurds, which was consequently ratified by the Federal Parliament of Iraq.

§ Discovery and extraction of oil in the region independent of the Federal Government.

§ Establishment of mutually beneficial economic and commercial ties with many countries, including neighbours such as Turkey and Iran. Now there are more than thirty foreign consulates in the capital of the Iraqi Kurdistan, Erbil. This can be considered as a significant political and diplomatic success.

§ The construction of a number of a high standard hospitals and hundreds of schools where the pupils are taught in their own Kurdish language: The construction of a number of hundreds of schools where the pupils are taught in their own Kurdish language.

Governmental Universities

- 1- Salahaddin University-Erbil 1968
- 2- University of Sulaimani 1992
- 3- University of Duhok 1992
- 4- Koya University 2003
- 5- Hawler Medical University 2005
- 6- Soran University 2009
- 7- Erbil Polytechnic University 1996
- 8- Sulaimani Polytechnic University 1996
- 9- Duhok Polytechnic University 2012
- 10- University of Garmian 2010
- 11- Halabja University 2011
- 12- Zaxho University 2010
- 13- University of Raparin 2011
- 14- University of Charmo 2014

Private University

- 1- Cihan University Campus/ Erbil 2007
- 2- Ishik University 2008
- 3- Lebanese French university 2007
- 4- Knowledge 2009
- 5- Arbil University 2007
- 6- Bayan University 2014
- 7- Catholic University 2015
- 8- University of Human Development 2008
- 9- Cihan University Campus/ Sulaimaniya 2011
- 10- American University of Iraq /Sulaimani 2007,found by

H.E.Dr.Berhem A.Salih

- 11- Komar University of Science & Technology 2010
- 12- Ishik University Branch/ Sulaimaniya 2015
- 13- Nawroz University 2005
- 14- Cihan University Campus/ Duhok 2013
- 15- American University of Duhok/ Iraq 2015,found by H.E.Mesrur Barzani
- 16- Noble Private Institute 2014
- 17- Rawanduz Private Technical Institute 2014
- 18- (Akre) Technical Institute 2015
- 19- Paitaxt Technical Institute 2015
- 20- Ainda Technical Institute 2015
- 21- Gasha Private Institute 2016
- 22- Haibat Sultan Technical Institute 2015
- 23- Private Technical Institute/ Kalar 2015
- 24- Kurdistan Technical Institute/ Sulaimani 2015
- 25- Duhok Private Technical Institute 2015
- 26- Ararat Private Institute 2017

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§ The construction of a number of a high standard hospitals.

§ The construction of infrastructure such as roads and bridges all over the region as well as many parks and recreation centres.

These positive changes contributed to the resilience of the Kurdish fighters, Peshmerga, driving out Daish (ISIS/IGIL) from Northern parts of Iraq and therefore successfully liberating all the Kurdish territories from the terrorist organisation and welcoming more than one million refugees from Mosul and other parts of Iraq and Syria occupied by the so the called Islamic State (Daish).

Unfortunately, agriculture, the traditional backbone of the Kurdish economy, was completely ignored. This oversight made the market almost fully dependant on supplies from our neighbours, Turkey and Iran. We hope that the Kurdish authorities will be more attentive to the needs of the agricultural economy, without which Kurdistan cannot be completely independent.

Obviously, in general, the overall situation in Kurdistan has improved substantially, if compared to the situation in 1991. Unfortunately, with progress there has been a rise in the level of corruption and mismanagement of public funds, especially amongst the ruling elite. If the issue of corruption or mismanagement in Kurdistan is not actively tackled very soon, it could lead to instability, threatening the peace with potentially disastrous consequence of the eruption of civil unrest in the near future.

Political parties in Iraqi Kurdistan

A

Action Party for the Independence of Kurdistan

Assyrian Democratic Movement

Assyrian Patriotic Party

Assyrian Socialist Party

B

Bet-Nahrain Democratic Party

C

Chaldean Democratic Party

Chaldean Syriac Assyrian Popular Council

D

Democratic National Union of Kurdistan

Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan

I

Iraqi Turkmen Brotherhood Party

Ishtar Patriotic List

K

Komala Party of Iranian Kurdistan

Kurd Hamas

Kurdish Revolutionary Hezbollah

Kurdish Tribal Association

Communist Party of Kurdistan – Iraq

Kurdistan Conservative Party

Kurdistan Democratic Party

Kurdistan Democratic Party – Progressive Front

Kurdistan Democratic Solution Party

Kurdistan Islamic Group

Kurdistan Islamic Movement

Kurdistan Islamic Union

Kurdistan List

Kurdistan Revolutionary Party

Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party

Kurdistan Toilers' Party

M

Movement for Change

P

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

S

Service and Reform List

Shursh

T

Turkmen Democratic Movement

W

Worker-communist Party of Kurdistan

History of the Kurds

The Kurds also the Kurdish people are an ethnic group in the Middle East. They have historically inhabited the mountainous areas to the South of Lake Van and Lake Urmia, a geographical area collectively referred to as Kurdistan. Most Kurds speak Northern Kurdish Kurmanji or Sorani, which both belong to the Kurdish languages.

The Battle of Chaldiran of 1514 is an important turning point in Kurdish history, marking the alliance of Kurds with the Ottomans. The *Sharafnameh* of 1597 is the first account of Kurdish history. Kurdish history in the 20th century is marked by a rising sense of Kurdish nationhood focused on the goal of an independent Kurdistan as scheduled by the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920. Partial autonomy was reached by Kurdistan Uyezid (1923–1926) and by Iraqi Kurdistan (since 1991), while notably in Turkish Kurdistan, an armed conflict between the Kurdish armed groups and Turkish Armed Forces is ongoing from 1984, and the region continues to be unstable with renewed violence flaring up in the 2000s.

Sherefxan Bidlisi in the 16th century states that there are four divisions of “Kurds”: *Kurmanj*, *Lur*, *Kalhor* and *Guran*, each of which speaks a different dialect or language variation.

Around 1150, Ahmad Sanjar, the last of the great Seljuq monarchs, created a province called it Kurdistan. The province of Kurdistan, formed by Sanjar, had as its capital the village Bahar (which means spring), near ancient Ecbatana (Hamadan). It included the vilayets of Sinjar and Shahrzur to the west of the Zagros mountain range and those of Hamadan, Dinawar and Kermanshah to the east of this range. An autochthonous civilization developed around the town of Dinawar (today ruined), located 75 km North-East of Kermanshah, whose radiance was later on partially replaced by that of Sinna, 90 km further North.

Marco Polo (1254–1324) met Kurds in Mosul on his way to China, and he wrote what he had learned about Kurdistan and the Kurds to enlighten his European contemporaries. The Italian Kurdologist Mirella Galetti sorted these writings which were translated into Kurdish.

Ayyubid period

The Middle East, c. 1190. **Salah ad-Din Yusuf Ayyubi**'a empire and its vassals shown in red; territory taken from the Crusader states 1187–1189 shown in pink. Light green indicates Crusader territories surviving **Salah ad-Din's** death.

Salah ad-Din Yusuf Ayyubi (Kurdish) (was born 1138), died in March 4th. 1193 in Damascus, and had been buried in Damascus in a mausoleum adjacent to the Umayyad Mosque.

The most flourishing period of Kurdish power was probably during the 12th century, when the great **Salah ad-Din**, who belonged to the Rawendi branch of the Adiabene tribe, founded the Ayyubite (1171–1250) dynasty of Syria, and Kurdish

chieftainships were established, not only to the west of the Kurdistan mountains in Syria, but as far away as Egypt and Yemen.

Kurdish principalities after the Mongol period

After the Mongol period, Kurds established several independent states or principalities such as Ardalan, Badinan, Baban, Soran, Hakkari and Badlis. A comprehensive history of these states and their relationship with their neighbours is given in the famous textbook of *Sharafnama* written by Prince Sharaf al-Din Biltisi in 1597. The most prominent among these was Ardalan which was established in the early 14th century. The state of Ardalan controlled the territories of Zardiawa (Karadagh), Khanaqin, Kirkuk, Kifri, and Hawraman.

The capital city of this state of Ardalan was first in Sharazour in Iraqi Kurdistan, but was moved to Sinne (in Iran) later on. The Ardalan Dynasty was allowed to rule the region by many of the sovereign rulers over the wider territory, until the Qajar monarch Nasser-al-Din Shah (1848–1896) ended their rule in 1867.

Safavid period

For many centuries, starting in the early modern period with Ismail I, Shah of Safavid Persia, and Ottoman Sultan Selim I, the Kurds came under the suzerainty of the two most powerful empires of the Near East and staunch arch rivals, the Sunni Ottoman Empire and the various Shi'a Empires. It started off with the rule of Ismail I, who ruled over all regions that encompass native Kurdish living areas, and far beyond.

Displacement of the Kurds

Removal of the population from along their borders with the Ottomans in Kurdistan and the Caucasus was of strategic importance to the Safavids. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds were moved to other regions in the Safavid empire. Hundreds of thousands of other ethnic groups living in the Safavid empire such as the Armenians, Assyrians, Georgians, Circassians, Azeris, were also removed from the border regions and resettled in the interior of Persia, but mainly for other reasons such as socio-economic, and bureaucratic ones. During several periods, as the borders moved progressively eastward, with the Ottomans pushing deeper into the Persian domains, entire Kurdish regions of Anatolia were at one point or another exposed to horrific acts of despoliation and deportation. These began under the reign of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp I (ruled 1524–1576). Between 1534 and 1535, Tahmasp, using a policy of scorched earth against his Ottoman arch rivals, began the systematic destruction of the old Kurdish cities and the countryside. When retreating before the Ottoman army, Tahmasp ordered the destruction of crops and settlements of all sizes, driving the inhabitants before him into Azerbaijan, from where they were later transferred permanently, nearly 1,600 km (1,000 miles) east, into Khurasan.

Shah Abbas inherited a state threatened by the Ottomans in the west and the Uzbeks in the northeast. He bought off the former, in order to gain time to defeat the latter, after which he selectively depopulated the Zagros and Caucasus approaches, deporting Kurds, Armenians, Georgians, North Caucasians and

others who might, willingly or not, supply, support or be any use in an Ottoman campaign in the region.

On one occasion Abbas I is said to have intended to transplant 40,000 Kurds to northern Khorasan but to have succeeded in deporting only 15,000 before his troops were defeated. While the deported Kurds became the nucleus of the modern central Anatolian Kurdish enclave, the Turkmen tribes in Kurdistan eventually assimilated.

Battle of Dimdim

There is a well documented historical account of a long battle in 1609–1610 between Kurds and the Safavid Empire. The battle took place around a fortress called “Dimdim” (DimDim) around Lake Urmia in northwestern Iran. In 1609, the ruined structure was rebuilt by “Emîr Xan Lepzêrîn” (Golden Hand Khan), ruler of Beradost, who sought to maintain the independence of his expanding principality in the face of both Ottoman and Safavid penetration into the region. Rebuilding Dimdim was considered a move toward independence that could threaten Safavid power in the northwest. Many Kurds, including the rulers of Mukriyan (Mahabad), rallied around Amir Khan. After a long and bloody siege led by the Safavid grand vizier Hatem Beg, which lasted from November 1609 to the summer of 1610, Dimdim was captured. All the defenders were massacred. Shah Abbas ordered a general massacre in Beradost and Mukriyan (reported by Eskandar Beg Turkoman, Safavid Historian in the Book *Alam Aray-e Abbasi*) and resettled the Turkish Afshar tribe in the region while deporting many Kurdish tribes to Khorasan.

Although Persian historians (like Eskandar Beg) depicted the first battle of Dimdim as a result of Kurdish mutiny or treason, in Kurdish oral traditions (Beytî dimdim), literary works (Dzhalilov, pp. 67–72), and histories, it was treated as a struggle of the Kurdish people against foreign domination. In fact, Beytî dimdim is considered a national epic second only to Mem û Zîn by Ahmadi Khani. The first literary account of this battle is written by Faqi Tayran.

Ottoman period

When Sultan Selim I, after defeating Shah Ismail I in 1514, annexed Western Armenia and Kurdistan, he entrusted the organisation of the conquered territories to Idris, the historian, who was a Kurd of Bitlis. He divided the territory into *sanjaks* or districts, and, making no attempt to interfere with the principle of heredity, installed the local chiefs as governors. He also resettled the rich pastoral country between Erzerum and Yerevan, which had lain in waste since the passage of Timur, with Kurds from the Hakkari and Bohtan districts.

Janpulat Revolt

Janpulat (Turkish: Canpulatoğlu, Arabic: Junblat) clan were local Kurdish feudal lords in the Jabal al-Akrad and Aleppo region for almost a century before the Ottoman conquest of Syria. Their leader, Hussein Janpulatoğlu , was appointed as governor of Aleppo in 1604, but he was executed by Çiğalzade Sinan Pasha allegedly for his late arrival at the Battle of Urmia. According to Abul Wafa Al-Urdi, Janpulat had been murdered

because of Kurdish origins. His nephew, Ali Pasha, revolted in revenge and declared sovereignty in 1606 and was supported by the Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand I. He conquered a region stretching from Hama to Adana with 30,000 troops. Grand Vizier, Murad Pasha, marched against him with a large army in 1607. Ali Pasha managed to escape and was later pardoned and appointed governor of province of Temesvár in Hungary. He was eventually executed by Murad Pasha in Belgrade in 1610.

Battle against Yazidis

In 1640, Ottoman forces under the command of *Firari Mustafa Pasha* attacked the Yazidis an ethno-religious group of Mount *Sinjar*. According to Evliya Çelebi, the Ottoman force was around 40,000 strong. The battle lasted for seven hours and at the end 3,060 Yazidis were slain. The day after the battle, the Ottoman army raided and set fire to 300 Yazidi villages. Between 1000 to 2000 Yazidis had taken refuge in some caves around Sinjar. They were also massacred after the Ottoman army attacked the caves with cannons and hand grenades.

Abdal Khan Revolt

In 1655, *Abdal Khan* the Kurdish ruler of Bidlis, formed a private army and fought a full scale war against the Ottoman troops. Evliya Çelebi noted the presence of many Yazidis in his army. The main reason for this armed insurrection was the discord between Abdal Khan and *Melek Ahmad Pasha* the Ottoman governor of Van and Abdal Khan. The Ottoman troops marched onto Bidlis and committed atrocities against civilians

as they passed through *Rozhiki* territory. Abdal Khan had built great stone redoubts around Bitlis, and also old city walls were defended by a large army of Kurdish infantry armed with muskets. Ottomans attacked the outer defensive perimeter and defeated Rozhiki soldiers, then they rushed to loot Bidlis and attacked the civilians. Once the Ottoman force established its camp in Bidlis, in an act of revenge, Abdal Khan made a failed attempt to assassinate Melek Ahmad Pasha. A unit of twenty Kurdish soldiers rode into the tent of Yusuf Kethuda, the second-in-command and fought a ferocious battle with his guards. After the fall of Bidlis, 1,400 Kurds continued to resist from the city's old citadel. While most of these surrendered and were given amnesty, 300 of them were massacred by Melek Ahmad with 70 of them dismembered by sword and cut into pieces.

Bedir Khan of Botan

Kurdish autonomous states in Khurasani Kurdish exclave circa 1835.

Except for the short Iranian recapture under Nader Shah in the first half of the 18th century, the system of administration introduced by Idris remained unchanged until the close of the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–29. But the Kurds, owing to the remoteness of their country from the capital and the decline of Turkey, had greatly increased in influence and power, and had spread westwards over the country as far as Angora.

After the war the Kurds tried to free themselves from Ottoman control, and in 1834, after the Bedr Khan clan uprising, it became necessary to reduce them to subjection. This was

done by Reshid Pasha, also a Kurd. The principal towns were strongly garrisoned, and many of the Kurd Beys were replaced by Turkish governors. A rising under Bedr Khan Bey in 1843 was firmly repressed, and after the Crimean War the Turks strengthened their hold on the country.

The modernizing and centralizing efforts of Sultan Mahmud II antagonized Kurdish feudal chiefs. As a result two powerful Kurdish families rebelled against the Ottomans in 1830. *Bedr Khan* of Botan rose up in the west of Kurdistan, around Diyarbakır, and *Muhammad Pasha* of Rawanduz rebelled in the east and established his authority in Mosul and Erbil. At this time, Turkish troops were preoccupied with invading Egyptian troops in Syria and were unable to suppress the revolt. As a result, *Bedr Khan* extended his authority to *Diyarbakır*, *Siverik* (Siverek), *Veransher* (Viranşehir), *Sairt* (Siirt), *Sulaimania* (Sulaymaniyah) and *Sauj Bulaq* (Mahabad). He established a Kurdish principality in these regions until 1845. He struck his own coins, and his name was included in Friday sermons. In 1847, the Turkish forces turned their attention toward this area, and defeated Bedir Khan and exiled him to Crete. He was later allowed to return to Damascus, where he lived until his death in 1868.

Bedr Khan became king when his brother died. His brother's son became very upset over this and finally the Turks tricked him in fighting his uncle. They told him that they would make him king if he killed Bedr Khan. So he brought many Kurdish warriors with him and attacked his uncle's forces. Finally, he won over him, but instead of becoming a king like the Turks said,

he was executed. There are two famous Kurdish songs about this battle, called “Ezdin Shêr” and “Ez Xelef im” (both can be found on <http://www.kurdishmusic.eu/siwanperwerm.html>)

After him, there were further revolts in 1850 and 1852.

Kurdistan as an administrative entity had a brief and shaky existence of 17 years between 13 December 1847 (following Bedirhan Bey’s revolt) and 1864, under the initiative of Koca Mustafa Reşit Pasha during the Tanzimat period (1839–1876) of the Ottoman Empire. The capital of the province was, at first, Ahlat, and covered Diyarbakir, Muş, Van, Hakkari, Botan (Cizre) and Mardin. In the following years, the capital was transferred several times, first from Ahlat to Van, then to Muş and finally to Diyarbakır. Its area was reduced in 1856 and the province of Kurdistan within the Ottoman Empire was abolished in 1864. Instead, the former provinces of Diyarbakir and Van have been re-constituted. Around 1880, Shaikh Ubaidullah led a revolt aiming at bringing the areas between Lakes Van and Urmia under his own rule, however Ottoman and Qajar forces succeeded in defeating the revolt.

Shaikh Ubaidullah’s Revolt and Armenians

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 was followed by the attempt of Sheikh Obaidullah in 1880–1881 to found an independent Kurd principality under the protection of Turkey. The attempt, at first encouraged by the Porte, as a reply to the projected creation of an Armenian state under the suzerainty of Russia, collapsed after Obaidullah’s raid into Persia, when various circumstances led the central government to reassert its

supreme authority. Until the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829 there had been little hostile feeling between the Kurds and the Armenians, and as late as 1877–1878 the mountaineers of both races had co-existed fairly well together.

20th century history:

Kurdish nationalism emerged after World War I with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire which had historically successfully integrated (but not assimilated) the Kurds, through use of forced repression of Kurdish movements to gain independence. Revolts did occur sporadically but only in 1880 with the uprising led by Sheik Ubeydullah were demands as an ethnic group or nation made. Ottoman sultan Abdulhamid responded by a campaign of integration by co-opting prominent Kurdish opponents to strong Ottoman power with prestigious positions in his government. This strategy appears successful given the loyalty displayed by the Kurdish Hamidiye regiments during World War I.

The Kurdish ethnonationalist movement that emerged following World War I and end of the Ottoman empire was largely reactionary to the changes taking place in mainstream Turkey, primarily radical secularization which the strongly Muslim Kurds abhorred, centralization of authority which threatened the power of local chieftains and Kurdish autonomy, and rampant Turkish nationalism in the new Turkish Republic which obviously threatened to marginalize them.

Western powers (particularly the United Kingdom) fighting the Turks also promised the Kurds they would act as guarantors

for Kurdish freedom, a promise they subsequently broke. One particular organization, the Kurdish Teali Cemiyet (Society for the Rise of Kurdistan, or SAK) was central to the forging of a distinct Kurdish identity. It took advantage of period of political liberalization in during the Second Constitutional Era (1908–1920) of Turkey to transform a renewed interest in Kurdish culture and language into a political nationalist movement based on ethnicity.

During the relatively open government of the 1950s, Kurds gained political office and started working within the framework of the Turkish Republic to further their interests but this move towards integration was halted with the 1960 Turkish coup d'état. The 1970s saw an evolution in Kurdish nationalism as Marxist political thought influenced a new generation of Kurdish nationalists opposed to the local feudal authorities who had been a traditional source of opposition to authority, eventually they would form the militant separatist PKK – listed as a terrorist group by the United Nations, European Union, NATO and many states that includes United States), or Kurdistan Workers Party in English.

Kingdom of Kurdistan in 1923.

Republic of Mahabad, 1945-1946.

Some Kurdish groups sought self-determination and the championing in the Treaty of Sèvres of Kurdish autonomy in the aftermath of World War I, Kemal Atatürk prevented such a result. Kurds backed by the United Kingdom declared independence in 1927 and established so-called Republic of Ararat. Turkey

suppressed Kurdist revolts in 1925, 1930, and 1937–1938, while Iran did the same in the 1920s to Simko Shikak at Lake Urmia and Jaafar Sultan of Hewraman region who controlled the region between Marivan and north of Halabja. A short-lived Soviet-sponsored Kurdish Republic of Mahabad in Iran did not long outlast World War II.

From 1922 to 1924 in Iraq, a Kingdom of Kurdistan existed. When Ba'athist administrators thwarted Kurdish nationalist ambitions in Iraq, war broke out in the 1960s. In 1970 the Kurds rejected limited territorial self-rule within Iraq, demanding larger areas including the oil-rich Kirkuk region.

In 1922, an investigation was initiated for Nihad Pasha, the commander of El-Cezire front, by *Adliye Encümeni* (Council of Justice) of Grand National Assembly of Turkey with allegations of fraud. During a confidential convention on the issue on 22 July, a letter of introductions by the Cabinet of Ministers and signed by Mustafa Kemal was read. The text was referring to the region as “Kurdistan” three times and providing Nihad Pasha with full authorities to support the local Kurdish administrations (*idare-i mahallîyeye dair teşkilâtlar*) as per the principle of self-determination (*Milletlerin kendi mukadderatlarını bizzat idare etme hakkı*), in order to gradually establish a local government in the regions inhabited by Kurds (*Kürtlerle meskûn menatık*).

In 1931, Iraqi Kurdish statesman Mihemed Emîn Zekî, while serving as the Minister of Economy in the first Nuri as-Said government, drew the boundaries of Turkish Kurdistan as: “With mountains of Ararat and the Georgian border (including the region of Kars, where Kurds and Georgians live side by

side) to the north, Iranian border to the east, Iraqi border to the south, and to the west, a line drawn from the west of Sivas to İskenderun. These boundaries are also in accord with those drawn by the Ottomans.”

In 1932, Garo Sassouni, formerly a prominent figure of Dashnak Armenia, defined the borders of “Kurdistan proper” (excluding whole territory of Wilsonian Armenia) as: “...with a line from the south of Erzincan to Kharput, incorporating Dersim, Çarsancak, and Malatya, including the mountains of Cebel-i Bereket and reaching the Syrian border”, also adding, “these are the broadest boundaries of Kurdistan that can be claimed by Kurds.

During the 1920s and 1930s, several large-scale Kurdish revolts took place in this region. The most important ones were 1.) Shaikh Said Rebellion in 1925, 2.) Ararat Revolt in 1930 and 3.) Dersim Revolt in 1938 . Following these rebellions, the area of Turkish Kurdistan was put under martial law and many Kurds were displaced. Government also encouraged resettlement of Albanians from Kosovo and Assyrians in the region to change the population makeup. These events and measures led to a long-lasting mutual distrust between Ankara and the Kurds .

Current situation

Turkey

Main articles: Kurds in Turkey, Turkish Kurdistan, Human rights in Turkey, and Kurdistan Workers Party

About half of all Kurds live in Turkey. According to the CIA Factbook they account for 18 percent of the Turkish population.

They are predominantly distributed in the southeastern corner of the country.

The best available estimate of the number of persons in Turkey speaking the Kurdish language is about five million (1980). About 3,950,000 others speak Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji) (1980). While population increase suggests that the number of speakers has grown, it is also true that the ban on the use of the language in Turkey was only lifted in 1991 and still exists in most official settings (including schools), and that many fewer ethnic Kurds live in the countryside where the language has traditionally been used. The number of speakers is clearly less than the 15 million or so persons who identify themselves as ethnic Kurds.

From 1915 to 1918, Kurds struggled to end Ottoman rule over their region. They were encouraged by Woodrow Wilson's support for non-Turkish nationalities of the empire and submitted their claim for independence to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. The Treaty of Sèvres stipulated the creation of an autonomous Kurdish state in 1920, but the subsequent Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 failed to mention Kurds. In 1925 and 1930, Kurdish revolts were forcibly suppressed.

Following these events, the existence of distinct ethnic groups like Kurds in Turkey was officially denied and any expression by the Kurds of their ethnic identity was harshly repressed. Until 1991, the use of the Kurdish language – although widespread – was illegal. As a result of reforms inspired by the EU, music, radio and television broadcasts in Kurdish are now allowed albeit with severe time restrictions (for example, radio broadcasts can

be no longer than sixty minutes per day nor can they constitute more than five hours per week while television broadcasts are subject to even greater restrictions). Additionally, education in Kurdish is now permitted though only in private institutions.

As late as 1994, however, Leyla Zana, the first female Kurdish representative in Turkey's Parliament, was charged with making "separatist speeches" and sentenced to 15 years in prison. At her inauguration as an MP, she reportedly identified herself as a Kurd. Amnesty International reported that "She took the oath of loyalty in Turkish, as required by law, then added in Kurdish, 'I shall struggle so that the Kurdish and Turkish peoples may live together in a democratic framework.' Parliament erupted with shouts of 'Separatist!', 'Terrorist!', and 'Arrest her!'"

The *Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan* (PKK), also known as *KADEK* and *Kongra-Gel* is Kurdish militant organization which has waged an armed struggle against the Turkish state for cultural and political rights and self-determination for the Kurds. Turkey's military allies the US, the EU, and NATO see the PKK as a terrorist organization while the UN, Switzerland, Russia, China and India have refused to add the PKK to their terrorist list. Some of them have even supported the PKK.

From 1984 to 1999, the PKK and the Turkish military engaged in open war, and much of the countryside in the southeast was depopulated, with Kurdish civilians moving to local defensible centers such as Diyarbakır, Van, and Şırnak, as well as to the cities of western Turkey and even to western Europe. The causes of the depopulation included PKK atrocities against Kurdish clans who they could not control, the poverty

of the southeast, and the Turkish state's military operations. Human Rights Watch has documented many instances where the Turkish military forcibly destroyed houses and villages. An estimated 3,000 Kurdish villages in Turkey were virtually wiped off the map, representing the displacement of more than 378,000 people.

Nelson Mandela refused to accept the *Atatürk Peace Award* in 1992 because of the oppression of the Kurds.

Iraq

Kurds make up around 17% of Iraq's population. They are the majority in at least three provinces in Northern Iraq which are known as Iraqi Kurdistan. Kurds also have a presence in Kirkuk, Mosul, Khanaqin, and Baghdad. There are around 300,000 Kurds living in the Iraqi capital Baghdad, 50,000 in the city of Mosul and around 100,000 Kurds living elsewhere in Southern Iraq. Kurds led by Mustafa Barzani were engaged in heavy fighting against successive Iraqi regimes from 1960 to 1975. In March 1970, Iraq announced a peace plan providing for Kurdish autonomy. The plan was to be implemented in four years. However, at the same time, the Iraqi regime started an Arabization program in the oil rich regions of Kirkuk and Khanaqin. The peace agreement did not last long, and in 1974, the Iraqi government began a new offensive against the Kurds. Moreover, in March 1975, Iraq and Iran signed the Algiers Accord, according to which Iran cut supplies to Iraqi Kurds. Iraq started another wave of Arabization by moving Arabs to the oil fields in Kurdistan, particularly those around Kirkuk. Between 1975 and 1978, two-hundred thousand Kurds were deported to

other parts of Iraq.

During the Iran–Iraq War in the 1980s, the regime implemented anti-Kurdish policies and a *de facto* civil war broke out. Iraq was widely condemned by the international community, but was never seriously punished for oppressive measures such as the mass murder of hundreds of thousands of civilians, the wholesale destruction of thousands of villages and the deportation of thousands of Kurds to southern and central Iraq. The campaign of Iraqi government against Kurds in 1988 was called *Anfal* (“Spoils of War”). The Anfal attacks led to destruction of two thousand villages and death of between fifty and one-hundred thousand Kurds.

After the Kurdish uprising in 1991 (Kurdish: Raperîn) led by the PUK and KDP, Iraqi troops recaptured the Kurdish areas and hundreds of thousands of Kurds fled to the borders. To alleviate the situation, a “safe haven” was established by the Security Council. The autonomous Kurdish area was mainly controlled by the rival parties KDP and PUK. The Kurdish population welcomed the American troops in 2003 by holding celebrations and dancing in the streets. The area controlled by peshmerga was expanded, and Kurds now have effective control in Kirkuk and parts of Mosul. By the beginning of 2006, the two Kurdish areas were merged into one unified region. A series of referendums were scheduled to be held in 2007, to determine the final borders of the Kurdish region.

In early June 2010, following a visit to Turkey, by one of the PKK leaders, the PKK announced an end to the cease fire, followed by an air attack on several border villages and rebel

positions by the Turkish air force.

On 1 July 2014, Massud Barzani announced that “Iraq’s Kurds will hold an independence referendum within months.” After previously opposing the independence for Iraqi Kurdistan, Turkey has later given signs that it could recognize an independent Kurdish state. On 11 July 2014 KRG forces seized control of the Bai Hassan and Kirkuk oilfields, prompting a condemnation from Baghdad and a threat of “dire consequences,” if the oilfields were not relinquished back to Iraq’s control.

Iran

Main article: Iranian Kurdistan

The Kurdish region of Iran has been a part of the country since ancient times. Nearly all of Kurdistan was part of the Iranian Empire until its Western part was lost during wars against the Ottoman Empire. Following dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, at Paris Conferences of 1919, Tehran has demanded all lost territories including Turkish Kurdistan, Mosul, and even Diyarbakır, but demands were quickly rejected by Western powers. This area has been divided by modern Turkey, Syria and Iraq. Today, the Kurds inhabit mostly north western territories known as Iranian Kurdistan but also the north eastern region of Khorasan, and constitute approximately 7–10% of Iran’s overall population (6.5–7.9 million), comparing to 10.6% (2 million) in 1956 or 8% (800 thousand) in 1850.

Ethnicities and religions in Iran

Unlike in other Kurdish-populated countries, there are strong ethnolinguistical and cultural ties between Kurds, Persians and

others as Iranian peoples. Some of modern Iranian dynasties like Safavids and Zands are considered to be partly of Kurdish origin. Kurdish literature in all of its forms (Kurmanji, Sorani and Gorani) has been developed within historical Iranian boundaries under strong influence of Persian language. . Kurds share much of their history with the rest of Iran is seen as a reason why Kurdish leaders in Iran do not want a separate Kurdish state:

The government of Iran has always been implacably opposed to any sign of freedom for the Iranian Kurds. During and shortly after the First World War, the government of Iran was ineffective and had very little control over events in the country and several Kurdish tribal chiefs gained local political power, and established large confederations. In the same time, a wave of nationalism from the disintegrating Ottoman Empire has partly influenced some Kurdish chiefs in border region, and they posed as Kurdish nationalist leaders. Prior to this, identity in both countries largely relied upon religion i.e. Shia Islam in the particular case of Iran. In 19th century Iran, Shia–Sunni animosity and describing Sunni Kurds as Ottoman fifth column was quite frequent.

During the late 1910s and early 1920s, tribal revolt led by Kurdish chieftain Simko Shikak swept across Iranian Kurdistan. Although elements of Kurdish nationalism were present in the movement, historians agree they were hardly articulate enough to justify a claim that recognition of Kurdish identity was a major issue in Simko's movement, and he had to rely heavily on conventional tribal motives. Government forces and non-Kurds were not the only ones to have allegedly been attacked;

the Kurdish population was also robbed and assaulted. The fighters do not appear to have felt any sense of unity or solidarity with fellow Kurds. Kurdish insurgency and seasonal migrations in the late 1920s, along with long-running tensions between Tehran and Ankara, resulted in border clashes and even military penetrations in both Iranian and Turkish territory. Two regional powers have used Kurdish tribes as tool for own political benefits: Turkey has provided military help and refuge for anti-Iranian Turcophone Shikak rebels in 1918-1922, while Iran did the same during Ararat rebellion against Turkey in 1930. Reza Shah's military victory over Kurdish and Turkic tribal leaders initiated with a brutally repressive era toward non-Iranian minorities. Government's forced detribalization and sedentarization in the 1920s and 1930s resulted with many other tribal revolts in Iranian regions of Azerbaijan, Luristan and Kurdistan. In particular case of the Kurds, this repressive policies partly contributed to developing nationalism among some tribes.

As a response to growing Pan-Turkism and Pan-Arabism in region which were seen as potential threats to the territorial integrity of Iran, Pan-Iranist ideology has been developed in the early 1920s. Some of such groups and journals openly advocated Iranian support to the Kurdish opposition against Turkey. Pahlavi dynasty has endorsed Iranian ethnic nationalism which allegedly seen the Kurds as integral part of the Iranian nation. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi has supposedly praised the Kurds himself as "pure Iranians" or "one of the most noble Iranian peoples". Another significant ideology during this

period was Marxism which arose among Kurds under influence of the USSR. It culminated in the Iran crisis of 1946 which included a bold attempt KDP-I and communist groups to try and gain autonomy to establish the Soviet puppet government called Republic of Mahabad. It arose along with Azerbaijan People's Government, another Soviet puppet state. The state itself encompassed a very small territory, including Mahabad and the adjacent cities, unable to incorporate the southern Iranian Kurdistan which fell inside the Anglo-American zone, and unable to attract the tribes outside Mahabad itself to the nationalist cause. As a result, when the Soviets withdrew from Iran in December 1946, government forces were able to enter Mahabad unopposed when the tribes betrayed the republic.

Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf, Mayor of Tehran

Several Marxist insurgencies continued for decades (1967, 1979, 1989–96) led by KDP-I and Komalah, but those two organization have never advocated a Kurdish country as did the PKK in Turkey. Still, many dissident leaders, among others Qazi Muhammad and Abdulrahman Ghassemlou, were executed or assassinated. During Iran–Iraq War, Tehran has provided support for Iraqi-based Kurdish groups like KDP or PUK, along with asylum for 1,400,000 Iraqi refugees, mostly Kurds. Although Kurdish Marxist groups have been marginalized in Iran since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, in 2004 new insurrection has been started by PJAK, separatist organization affiliated with the Turkey-based PKK and designated as terrorist by Iran, Turkey and the United States. Some analysts claim that the PJAK does not pose any serious threat to the government of Iran. Cease-

fire has been established on September 2011 following the Iranian offensive on PJAK bases, but several clashes between PJAK and IRGC took place after it. Since the Iranian Revolution of 1979, accusations of discrimination by Western organizations and of foreign involvement by the Iranian side have become very frequent.

Kurds have been well integrated in Iranian political life during the reign of various governments. Kurdish liberal political Karim Sanjabi has served as minister of education under Mohammad Mossadegh in 1952. During the reign of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi some members of parliament and high army officers were Kurds, and there was even a Kurdish Cabinet Minister. During Pahlavi reign Kurds allegedly received many favours from the authorities, for instance to keep their land after the land reforms of 1962. In the early 2000s, the supposed presence of thirty Kurdish deputies in the 290-strong parliament has allegedly shown that Kurds have a say in Iranian politics. Some of influential Kurdish politicians during recent years include former first vice president Mohammad Reza Rahimi and Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf, Mayor of Tehran and second-placed presidential candidate in 2013. Kurdish language is today used more than at any other time since the Revolution, including in several newspapers and among schoolchildren. Large number of Kurds in Iran show no interest in Kurdish nationalism, especially Shia Kurds who even vigorously reject idea of autonomy, preferring direct rule from Tehran. Iranian national identity is questioned only in the peripheral Kurdish Sunni regions.

Syria

Main article: Kurds in Syria

Kurds and other Non-Arabs account for ten percent of Syria's population, a total of around 1.9 million people. This makes them the largest ethnic minority in the country. They are mostly concentrated in the northeast and the north, but there are also significant Kurdish populations in Aleppo and Damascus. Kurds often speak Kurdish in public, unless all those present do not. Kurdish human rights activists are mistreated and persecuted. No political parties are allowed for any group, Kurdish or otherwise.

Techniques used to suppress the ethnic identity of Kurds in Syria include various bans on the use of the Kurdish language, refusal to register children with Kurdish names, the replacement of Kurdish place names with new names in Arabic, the prohibition of businesses that do not have Arabic names, the prohibition of Kurdish private schools, and the prohibition of books and other materials written in Kurdish. Having been denied the right to Syrian nationality, around three-hundred thousand Kurds have been deprived of any social rights, in violation of international law. As a consequence, these Kurds are in effect trapped within Syria. In February 2006, however, sources reported that Syria was now planning to grant these Kurds citizenship.

On 12 March 2004, beginning at a stadium in Qamishli (a city in northeastern Syria where many Kurds live), clashes between Kurds and Syrians broke out and continued over a number of days. At least thirty people were killed and more than 160

injured. The unrest spread to other Kurdish inhabited towns along the northern border with Turkey, and then to Damascus and Aleppo.

Between the 1920s and 1990s, Armenia was a part of the Soviet Union, within which Kurds, like other ethnic groups, had the status of a protected minority. Armenian Kurds were permitted their own state-sponsored newspaper, radio broadcasts and cultural events. During the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, many non-Yazidis and Kurds were forced to leave their homes. Following the end of the Soviet Union, Kurds in Armenia were stripped of their cultural privileges and most fled to Russia or Western Europe.

Azerbaijan

Main article: **Kurdistan Autonomous Oblast**

In 1920, two Kurdish-inhabited areas of Jewanshir (capital Kalbajar) and eastern Zangazur (capital Lachin) were combined to form the Kurdistan Okrug (or “Red Kurdistan”). The period of existence of the Kurdish administration was brief and did not last beyond 1929. Kurds subsequently faced many repressive measures, including deportations. As a result of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, many Kurdish areas have been destroyed and more than 150,000 Kurds have been deported since 1988.

Kurds in Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Lebanon

Main article: Ayyubid dynasty

The Kurdish leader Saladin along with his uncles Ameer Adil and Ameer Sherko, were joined by Kurdish fighters from the cities of Tigris, Mosul, Arbil and Sharazur in a drive towards ‘Sham’ (today’s Syria and Lebanon) in order to protect Islamic

lands against crusader attack. The Kurdish King and his uncles ruled north Iraq, Jordan, Syria and Egypt for a short period. Salah El Din in Syria, Ameer Sherko in Egypt and Ameer Adil in Jordan, with family members ruling most of the cities of today's Iraq. The Kurds built many monumental castles in the lands which they ruled, especially in what was called 'Kurdistan of Syria' and in Damascus, the capital of Syria. A tall building, called 'Qalha', is still standing, in the mid south-west quarter of Damascus. The Ayubian dynasty continued there for many years, all from Kurdish descent.

Genetics

Further information: Archaeogenetics of the Near East

Although the Kurds came under the successive dominion of various conquerors, including the Armenians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Ottoman Turks, Sassanid Persians, and Achaemenid Persians they may have remained relatively unmixed by the influx of invaders, because of their protected and inhospitable mountainous homeland.

Genetic testing amongst randomly chosen Kurdish populations has begun to shed light into the disparate origins of the Kurds. The results reveal a variety of connections amongst the Kurds, when assessing paternal and maternal lineages. Overall the Kurds share some genetic ties to other speakers of Iranian languages as well as with various peoples from the Caucasus such as the Armenians which suggests that the Kurds have ancient ethnic ties that connect them to both the early inhabitants of the Kurdistan area, such as the Hurrians.

Similarity to Europeans and peoples of the Caucasus

A study by Richards and colleagues of mitochondrial DNA in the Near East found that Kurds, Azeris, Ossetians and Armenians show a high incidence of mtDNA U5 lineages, which are common among Europeans, although rare elsewhere in the Near East. The sample of Kurds in this study came from northwest Iran and northeast Iraq, where Kurds usually predominate.

A geographically broad study of the Southwest and Central Asian Corridor found that populations located west of the Indus Valley mainly harbor mtDNAs of Western Eurasian origin.^[141]

When Ivan Nasidze and his colleagues examined both mitochondrial and Y chromosome DNA, they found Kurdish groups most similar genetically to other West Asian groups, and most distant from Central Asian groups, for both mtDNA and the Y chromosome. However, Kurdish groups show a closer relationship with European groups than with Caucasian groups based on mtDNA, but the opposite based on the Y chromosome, indicating some differences in their maternal and paternal histories.

Similarity to Azeris of Iran

According to DRB1, DQA1 and DQB1 allele frequencies showed a strong genetic tie between Kurds and Azeris of Iran. According to the current results, present-day Kurds and Azeris of Iran seem to belong to a common genetic pool.

Similarity to Georgian people

David Comas and colleagues found that mitochondrial sequence pools in Georgians and Kurds are very similar, despite their different linguistic and prehistoric backgrounds.

Both populations present mtDNA lineages that clearly belong to the Western Eurasian gene pool.

Similarity to Jewish people

There also appear to be some links to northern Semitic peoples such as the Syrians and possibly ancient Hebrews, but fewer links to southern Semites in the Arabian peninsula in spite of the region having been conquered very early by Muslim Arabs. In 2001 Nebel et al. compared three Jewish and three non-Jewish groups from the Middle East: Ashkenazim, Sephardim, and Kurdish Jews from Israel; Muslim Arabs from Israel and the Palestinian Authority Area; Bedouin from the Negev; and Muslim Kurds. They concluded that Kurdish and Sephardic Jews were indistinguishable from one another, whereas both differed slightly, yet noticeably, from Ashkenazi Jews. Nebel et al. had earlier (2000) found a large genetic relationship between Jews and Palestinian Arabs, but in this study found an even higher relationship of Jews with Iraqi Kurds. They conclude that the common genetic background shared by Jews and other Middle Eastern groups predates the division of Middle Easterners into different ethnic groups.}

Interestingly, Nebel et al. (2001) also found that the Cohen Modal Haplotype (CMH), considered the most definitive Jewish haplotype, was found among 10.1% of Kurdish Jews, 7.6% of Ashkenazim, 6.4% of Sephardim, 2.1% of Palestinian Arabs, and 11% of Kurds. The CMH and the most frequent Kurdish haplotype (MKH) were the same on five markers (out of six) and very close on the other marker. The MKH was shared by

9.5% of Kurds, 2.6% of Sephardim, 2.0% of Kurdish Jews, 1.4% of Palestinian Arabs, and 1.3% of Ashkenazim. The general conclusion is that these similarities result mostly from the sharing of ancient genetic patterns, and not from more recent admixture between the groups.

Iraq

Kurds make up around 17% of Iraq's population. They are the majority in at least three provinces in Northern Iraq which are known as Iraqi Kurdistan. Kurds also have a presence in Kirkuk, Mosul, Khanaqin, and Baghdad. There are around 300,000 Kurds living in the Iraqi capital Baghdad, 50,000 in the city of Mosul and around 100,000 Kurds living elsewhere in Southern Iraq. Kurds led by Mustafa Barzani were engaged in heavy fighting against successive Iraqi regimes from 1960 to 1975. In March 1970, Iraq announced a peace plan providing for Kurdish autonomy. The plan was to be implemented in four years. However, at the same time, the Iraqi regime started an Arabization program in the oil rich regions of Kirkuk and Khanaqin. The peace agreement did not last long, and in 1974, the Iraqi government began a new offensive against the Kurds. Moreover, in March 1975, Iraq and Iran signed the Algiers Accord, according to which Iran cut supplies to Iraqi Kurds. Iraq started another wave of Arabization by moving Arabs to the oil fields in Kurdistan, particularly those around Kirkuk. Between 1975 and 1978, two-hundred thousand Kurds were deported to other parts of Iraq.

During the Iran–Iraq War in the 1980s, the regime implemented anti-Kurdish policies and a *de facto* civil war broke out. Iraq was widely condemned by the international community, but was never seriously punished for oppressive measures such as the mass murder of hundreds of thousands of civilians, the wholesale destruction of thousands of villages and the deportation of thousands of Kurds to southern and central Iraq. The campaign of Iraqi government against Kurds in 1988 was called *Anfal* (“Spoils of War”). The Anfal attacks led to destruction of two thousand villages and death of between fifty and one-hundred thousand Kurds.

After the Kurdish uprising in 1991 (Kurdish: Raperîn) led by the PUK and KDP, Iraqi troops recaptured the Kurdish areas and hundreds of thousands of Kurds fled to the borders. To alleviate the situation, a “safe haven” was established by the Security Council. The autonomous Kurdish area was mainly controlled by the rival parties KDP and PUK. The Kurdish population welcomed the American troops in 2003 by holding celebrations and dancing in the streets. The area controlled by peshmerga was expanded, and Kurds now have effective control in Kirkuk and parts of Mosul. By the beginning of 2006, the two Kurdish areas were merged into one unified region. A series of referendums were scheduled to be held in 2007, to determine the final borders of the Kurdish region.

In early June 2010, following a visit to Turkey, by one of the PKK leaders, the PKK announced an end to the cease fire, followed by an air attack on several border villages and rebel positions by the Turkish air force.

On 1 July 2014, Massud Barzani announced that “Iraq’s Kurds will hold an independence referendum within months.” After previously opposing the independence for Iraqi Kurdistan, Turkey has later given signs that it could recognize an independent Kurdish state. On 11 July 2014 KRG forces seized control of the Bai Hassan and Kirkuk oilfields, prompting a condemnation from Baghdad and a threat of “dire consequences,” if the oilfields were not relinquished back to Iraq’s control.

The New Politics of Iraqi Kurdistan

A recent agreement between two of Iraqi Kurdistan’s main political parties -- the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Movement for Change (Gorran) -- is likely to set the stage for Kurdish politics in the years to come. The agreement is also expected to aggravate tensions with the dominant Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) who perceives this new alliance as functioning to undermine them. But if treated with more flexibility by the KDP, the deal could, in the long run, stabilize politics in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The PUK and Gorran signed a deal on May 17 whereby they agreed on a joint action platform that will bring the two parties together in the Kurdish and Iraqi political arenas.

The agreement between the two parties is not only important because it ends nearly seven years of hostile relationships between the two sides, but is likely to present a counterweight to the KDP, which is led by Iraqi Kurdistan’s acting President Masoud Barzani. It will also mean the effective termination of

a so-called “strategic agreement” that turned the former foes, KDP and PUK, into allies for a number of years.

The PUK-Gorran deal came about after a dramatic collapse of Gorran’s relations with the KDP.

WHAT’S IN THE DEAL?

The deal contains a number of provisions that if actively pursued by the PUK and Gorran will only deepen the political crisis and fragmentation in Kurdistan, given KDP’s opposition to the agreement.

Given that the coalition now has more seats than the KDP in the Kurdish parliament

Gorran hope they can maintain this advantage and form the largest Kurdish political bloc in the future. Its alliance with the PUK may cost Gorran a portion of its votes in future elections, especially among the young, educated demographic, given that they consider the PUK to be just as corrupt and nepotistic as the KDP.

The PUK-Gorran deal calls for an unconditional re-activation of the Kurdish parliament that has been crippled since KDP banned its speaker from entering Erbil last year.

The deal also calls for establishing a parliamentary system where the president of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq will be elected in parliament, but not through a direct vote. Given that Barzani is likely to retain the office of presidency in any future scenario, the KDP fears that if the president is elected by the parliament he will be beholden to coalition agreements, thus hampering his ability to advance KDP’s policies.

KDP AND PUK: A LOVE-HATE RELATIONSHIP

Kurdish politics has been fraught with internal armed fighting. The PUK emerged as a reaction to certain KDP policies and practices. In 1964, the nucleus for the PUK took form when Jalal Talabani and his future father-in-law, Ibrahim Ahmed, parted ways with KDP's Mustafa Barzani, father of the current leader Masoud Barzani. They objected to senior Barzani's monopolization of power within the party's ranks. Talabani returned to the KDP in early 1970s, only to leave again when the Barzani-led Kurdish revolt against the Iraqi government collapsed in 1975. That same year, Talabani established the PUK with a group of other young leaders trying to set a new path in Iraqi Kurdish politics. Despite periods of cooperation, the relationship between the PUK and the KDP has been largely characterized by deep mistrust and armed clashes since the very beginning.

When a civil war broke out between the KDP and PUK in 1994, Iraqi Kurdistan's territory was split into two zones, with the northern part dominated by the KDP and the southern part by the PUK. Following a Washington-mediated peace process in 1998, the two parties started to gradually mend fences. They joined the U.S.-led coalition against Saddam Hussein in 2003 and managed to largely transcend partisan politics for almost a decade. During that period the parties shared power in both Kurdistan and Baghdad, later formalized through a strategic agreement in 2007 resulting in a period of unprecedented Kurdish stability and economic development.

THE GORRAN-PUK DEAL: AN ALLIANCE OR MERGER?

The PUK's primary motive behind allying with Gorran serves

to counterbalance the KDP. As two senior PUK officials put it, their party's aim is to restore the balance of power in Kurdistan -- not to undermine the KDP.

The deal with the PUK is a sign that Gorran leaders, in particular General Coordinator Nawshirwan Mustafa, have realized they cannot achieve much in the long run if they are not part of a larger political structure.

The deal could create a win-win situation for both parties and as such might render it durable.

The two parties have now formed a joint leadership committee that includes the most powerful figures on both sides.

The mere fact that Gorran chose such a strategic alliance with the PUK is an admission of failure in bringing about change through conventionally democratic means in Kurdistan.

"If Gorran could have been successful on their own, they would not have entered into this agreement." The PUK-Gorran accord might also cause deep disappointment among many young Kurds who pinned their hopes on Gorran to shake up Kurdistan's stagnant politics and bring about more social justice and equal opportunity in a system dominated by the Barzani and Talabani families and their immediate circles.

The Gorran-PUK deal -- or possible merger -- demonstrates the limited capacity of Kurdish politics to accommodate processes of democratic change.

RELATIONS WITH BAGHDAD: MAKE OR BREAK

KDP's rhetoric in the last couple of years has been focused on either a peaceful separation from Iraq or reorganizing Baghdad-KRG relations on a confederal basis. As the major

component of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), the KDP has advocated for more KRG autonomy vis-a-vis Baghdad when it comes to such crucial issues as control of energy resources and the extent of Kurdish self-rule. The party has been the major driver behind the independent oil export policy that the KRG recently implemented and which eventually led to Baghdad cutting off Kurdistan's share of the Iraqi budget in early 2014. A strong PUK-Gorran alliance might deepen the divide in Iraqi Kurdistan regarding the Iraqi government, as the PUK and Gorran have both largely supported better relations with Baghdad.

As Gorran's Rahim argues, "no matter what your long-term thinking is, you need to have normal relations with Baghdad. Bad relations with Baghdad will be in Baghdad's interests and to our detriment." Rahim, like many KDP opponents, considers KDP's independence rhetoric to be "propaganda aimed at misleading people."

Although in their recent deal the PUK and Gorran have voiced support for a long-term goal of Kurdish independence, their leaders often appear more reserved about the issue. The PUK in particular has been more vocal in pushing for a rapprochement with Baghdad and postponing plans for separation. PUK's veteran politician Adil Murad believes Kurdish independence "is not realistic" at the moment due to a hard-hitting economic crisis in Kurdistan and the possible threat of military confrontation with Baghdad or Shia paramilitary groups supported by both Baghdad and Iran. Given that the zone dominated by the PUK and Gorran only has borders with Iran and Iraq, the two parties

might find it harder, in practice, to support secession from Iraq, hence their more conciliatory tone toward Baghdad. Many among PUK and Gorran also fear that independence will further strengthen the KDP's grip on power in Kurdistan.

PUK-GORRAN INTERNAL CONDITIONS

The deal between the PUK and Gorran might have different ramifications for the internal dynamics of each party. Whereas the PUK is seen as a deeply divided party, the deal has brought together different party factions in a show of unity. Given that personal and factional power struggles within the party run deep, it remains to be seen whether the current unity will last. The dominant faction within the PUK, consisting of Talabani's wife and her allies, is trying to use the deal with Gorran as a means of introducing some internal order and reenergizing the party's base, which has been deeply disappointed with its leadership's performance in recent years.

The deal might have different implications for Gorran, as the party has a mixed composition of people who split from the PUK and many idealistic young Kurds who saw in Gorran an opportunity to reform the corrupt and ailing Kurdish political system. While the former PUK elements within Gorran appear mostly excited about an alliance with the PUK, some of the younger officials and cadets worry that their roles will be compromised, and the ideals for which they joined Gorran might lose their priority. At the end of the day, the PUK has not undergone any significant change from the days when Gorran campaigned so ferociously against it. Some would argue the PUK has actually turned even more towards nepotism in

recent years. It remains to be seen whether Gorran and the PUK will drift closer together or possibly merge, and if that were to happen, how the younger, more idealistic elements within Gorran will react.

THE WAY FORWARD

After a few years of KDP domination over Iraqi Kurdish politics, a new reality is emerging. The new Gorran-PUK bloc will, through its size and resources, pose a challenge to KDP's hegemony over Iraqi Kurdistan. Nevertheless, the new PUK-Gorran front, will not be homogenous and the two sides may differ on some key issues depending on their perception of their interests and priorities.

While the KDP has reacted in a defensive and hostile manner to the PUK-Gorran pact, it's important that it comes to terms with this dynamic. It should realize that it cannot maintain the offices of President, Prime Minister and National Security Chancellor for as long as it wishes and hence must be prepared for some realistic compromises. In the interest of Kurdistan's long-term stability and progress, a new power-sharing agreement has to be negotiated. PUK and Gorran officials are quick to mention that this is the goal they are seeking. The KDP should take them at their word and enter into negotiations with the Gorran-PUK alliance. Decades of experience have shown that neither of these two blocs can subjugate nor eliminate the other side, not even through armed conflict or reliance on powerful regional states such as Iran, Turkey, and Iraq. Since each of these Kurdish blocs has a separate geographic sphere of influence, none of them can rule Kurdistan without cooperation from the

other side.

The onus is on the KDP to show flexibility and actually consider the PUK-Gorran deal an opportunity for re-establishing a new balanced order and lasting equilibrium that ensures stability and long-term gains for all sides. Zero-sum games will be detrimental to the strength and stability of Kurdistan and its parties.

Meanwhile, the PUK and Gorran should stop their demonizing propaganda campaign against the KDP that has been going on for years. They need to assure the KDP of their good intentions. The PUK-Gorran propaganda machine has created such a negative mentality toward the KDP in Sulaymaniyah that any lasting cooperation with the KDP seems quite unlikely. The outcome of this intensive anti-KDP and anti-Barzani propaganda campaign has been the birth of what could be termed a “Sulaimaniyah consensus” whereby the KDP is the fixed villain in the political narrative coming out of Sulaimaniyah even though the party has a minimal role in governing that area. This anti-KDP consensus has become the common wisdom shared not only by Gorran and the PUK but even Islamist parties, the bulk of the media establishment, and many independent figures there. This rhetorical trap has played an important role in the PUK’s and Gorran’s failure to build a viable relationship with the KDP, fearing backlash from their base.

If Iraqi Kurdistan is to survive as one stable entity, all sides should manifest a spirit of compromise and genuine willingness to work together. Falling victim to personal ambitions, populist impulses and conducting vilifying propaganda campaigns will

only further corrode the situation and drive Kurdistan to the verge of a dangerous cliff. The PUK and Gorran should cease enlisting the support of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in their power struggle with the KDP. Providing an opportunity for the PKK to establish a foothold in PUK-dominated territories and the Yazidi-dominated Sinjar area will be detrimental to Iraqi Kurdistan's stability by exacerbating tensions, planting seeds of ongoing conflict, and inviting further undesirable outside intervention, namely from Turkey, in Kurdistan's affairs.

The immediate impact of the deal has been a dangerous escalation of tensions among the KDP, on one side, and PUK and Gorran, on the other. The KDP's strategy so far has been to drive a wedge between the PUK and Gorran by adopting a highly hostile rhetoric and course of action toward Gorran, although in recent weeks it has, to some extent, softened up its attitude. In the KDP-controlled Erbil, judicial authorities recently issued an arrest warrant for Gorran's leader Nawshirwan Mustafa. The party's senior officials have said they are not ready to negotiate with the Gorran-PUK joint bloc under any circumstances. The aim of such tactics appears to be forcing the PUK to reconsider its alliance with Gorran as the KDP and PUK still have major strategic interests tying them together in the form of energy cooperation and the fact that they are the backbone of the Kurdish government and armed forces.

There is an important role here for the United States to play by exerting leverage on Kurdish parties to negotiate a viable deal. The issues are mostly about personal elitist rivalries and not core strategic conflicts. While Washington has invested heavily

in Baghdad's political process and democratic development, it has not shown much interest over the past decade or so to engage in Kurdistan's political development. But given that the United States has been acting as the main guarantor of Kurdish security for the past couple of decades, it wields considerable influence and leverage that it can use for an excellent cause. This leverage is even greater now that the Kurds heavily rely on the United States to counter ISIS's grave threat.

Kurdistan has been an island of relative stability and economic progress for the past 18 years and the long-term survival of this stability requires continued commitment to political deal-making and power sharing. Pragmatist politicians on all sides should be able to transcend narrow personal and political gains and see the benefit in long-term cooperation. Washington's engagement is even more imperative given the interferences by regional countries such as Iran and Turkey, who each seek to prop up their local allies: Iran backs up the PUK-Gorran bloc, while Turkey supports the KDP. Otherwise, the stakes are too high and undesirable scenarios, such as a partition of Iraqi Kurdistan into two separately-administered zones and perhaps even armed conflict, loom on the horizon.

Mohammed Salih is a journalist from Iraqi Kurdistan. For more than a decade, he has reported on Kurdish and Iraqi affairs for numerous international media outlets. This article was originally published on the Fikra Forum website.

Iraqi Kurdistan's Economic Crisis Could Inflamm Political Tensions

During a visit to Washington in April, Qubad Talabani, the deputy prime minister of Iraq's semiautonomous Kurdistan Regional Government, or KRG, declared that "the real existential threat facing Kurdistan today is the state of [its] economy." The KRG's monthly deficit had risen above \$100 million, adding more strains on an already-teetering economy. Four months later, the KRG continues to face a financial crisis as oil production slows amid attacks from the Islamic State, refineries fall offline, and export quality drops. Kurdish leaders consider their region's oil fields to be the foundation for an envisaged state. But falling oil revenue leaves them with few economic options. The current mess also exacerbates widening political divisions between the KRG's main political parties. If left unaddressed, these interrelated issues threaten

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***Writer and Compiler of Kurdish-English Dictionary-** Volume I (A) reviewed by M.J.Minty (Oriental Institute Library-Oxford), ADS Roberts, Bodleian Library-Oxford and the Orientalist Martin Van Bruinessen Utrecht-Holland.

***2006 Translated**(from English to Arabic) Yezedees are the Remnants of Mithraism, By Tawfiq Wehbee. Printed 2006 by Sulaimaniyah Municipality Printing House.

***Writer and Compiler** of Mamosta Synonymous Kurdish-English Dictionary(1679 A4 pages ,about 80.000 synonymous Kurdish-English entries),First Edition 2009 printed by Mega

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The Translator



Salah A. Irfan was born on 18.8.1927 in the city of Sulaimaniyah which is regarded as the cultural centre of Iraqi Kurdistan. He completed the primary and secondary schools in the same city and continued higher education in Baghdad in the preparatory College and the College of Arts and Sciences, Baghdad University, learning in Arabic and English and in French as a supplementary language.

Salah A. Irfan is a Kurd, started writing in Kurdish in the local periodicals while he was young. He published several articles in the weekly literary paper (Zheen) in Sulaimaniyah and gave regular speeches in the Kurdish programmes of the Iraq Radio Station in Baghdad.

While working as a civil servant in the Government Offices and the Iraq Petroleum Company he was sent for training courses in the UK in London, Oxford and Glasgow

In Baghdad he was a writer in the Al Taakhi newspaper published by the Kurdistan Democratic party.

He translated many literary and cultural articles besides several books into Arabic about the Kurdish Question in order to make the Arab people acquainted with the Kurdish culture and political cause.

He is now living in the Netherlands as a refugee.

Photoes Album

Mullah Mustefa Barzani



Idris Barzani



**Ali Sha'ban Barzani
Betwata Area Leader**

**Aras Wireless Station in
the Kurdistan mountains**





**General Mustafa Barzani and the Writer
close to Aras Wireless station(1964)**



Aras Wireless Station-Koya



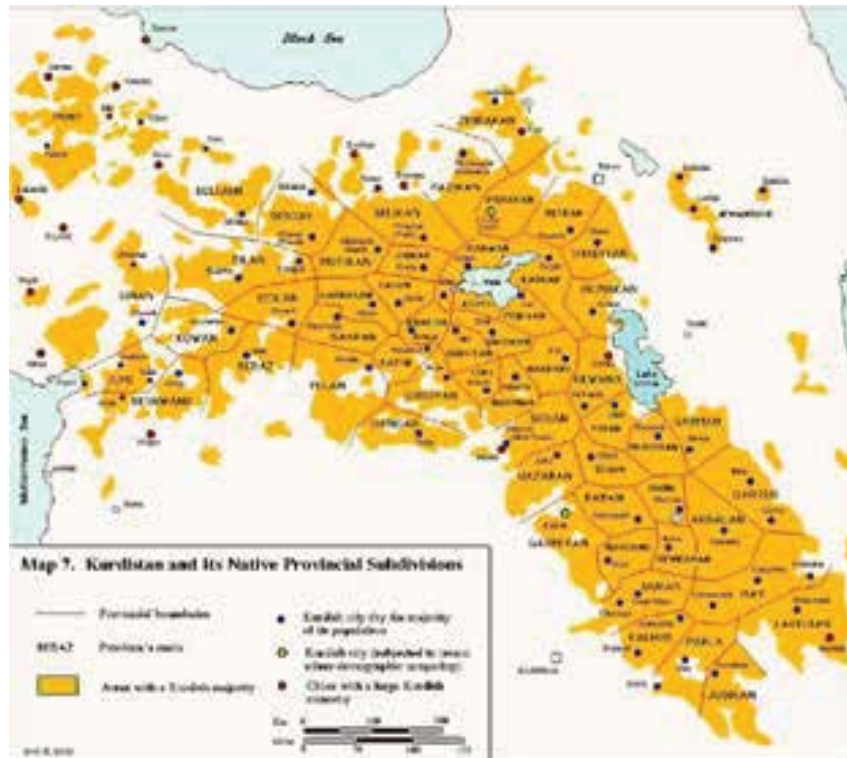
As'ad Xoshawi Barzani
Leader of Behdinan Area



Saleem As'ad Xoshewi Barzani with Mas'ud Barzani



**Saleem As'ad Khoshawi Barzani, was Mullah Mustafa Barzani's bodyguard 1963, then
Chief of Peshmerga Battalion in Behdinan Area, from 1971-1975**



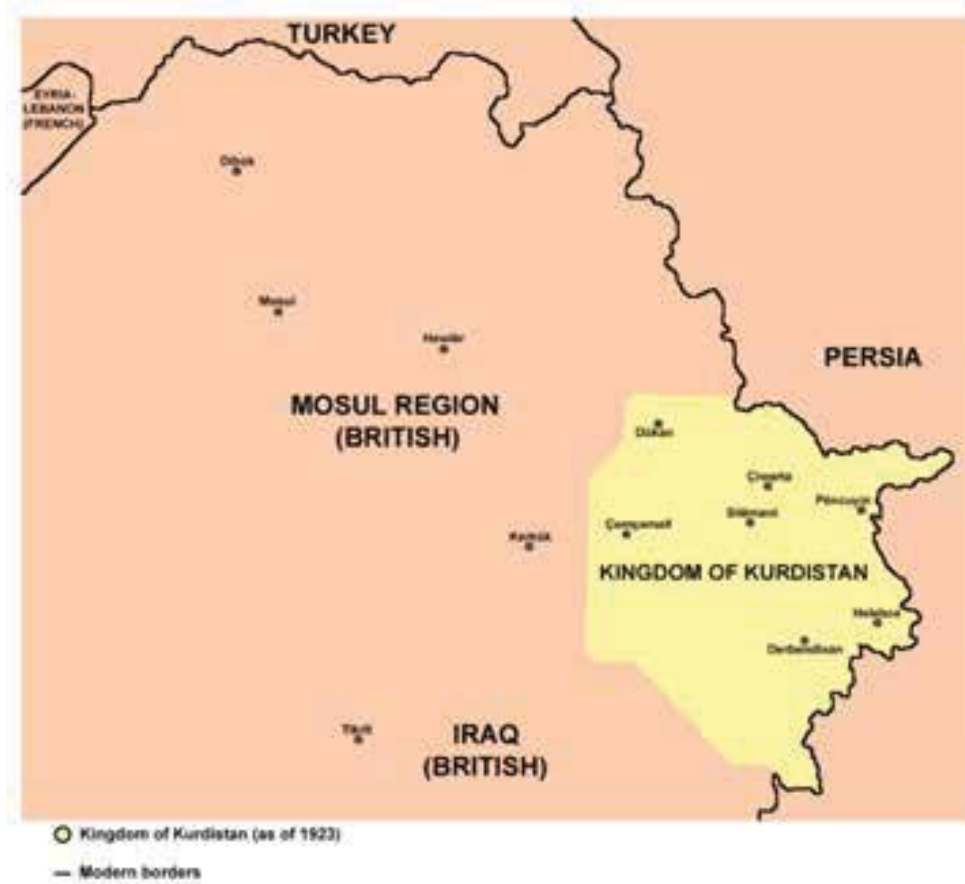
Kurdistan Map



Provisions of the Treaty of Sévres for an independent Kurdistan (in 1920):

- - Proposed boundaries of independent Kurdistan
- - Boundaries of Kurdish-inhabited areas to have been given the choice to join the independent Kurdistan after August 1922

Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)



Daily Registration





Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)



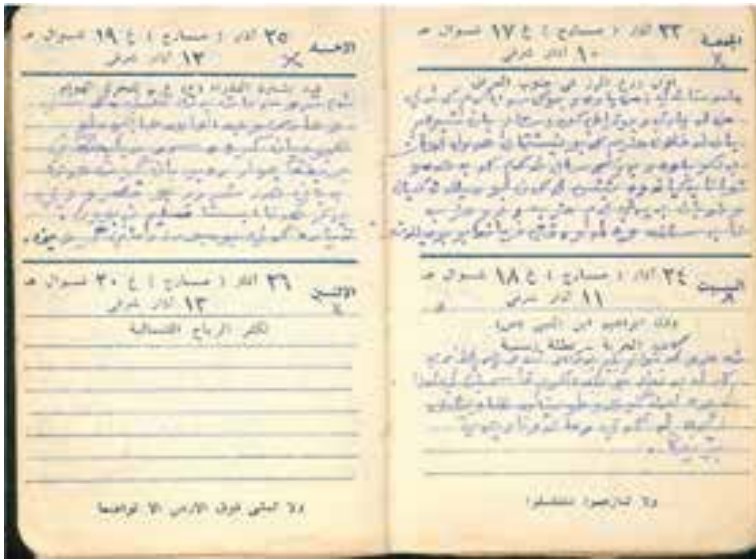


Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)



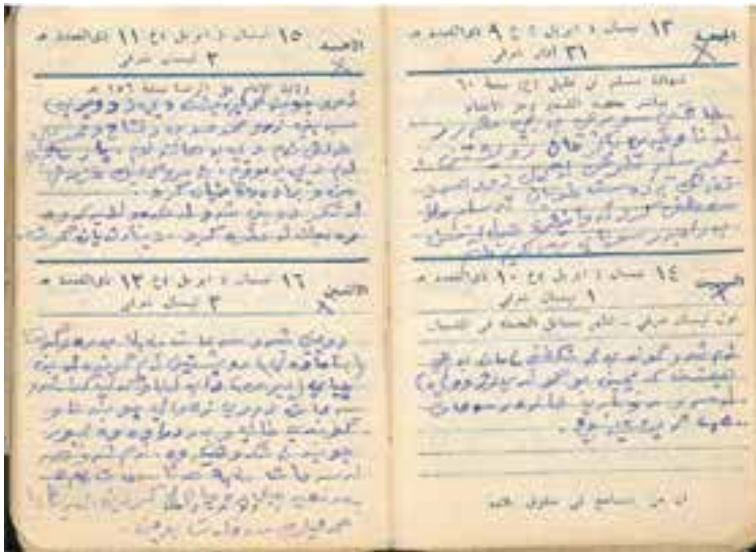


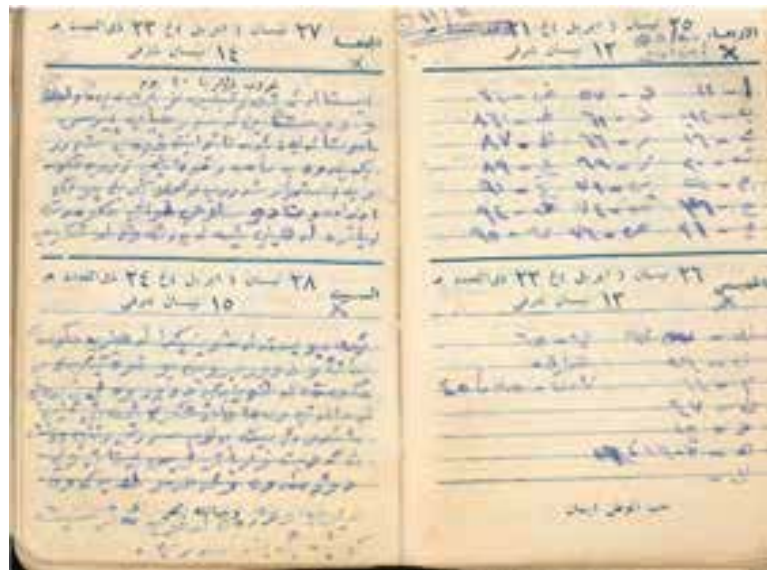
Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)





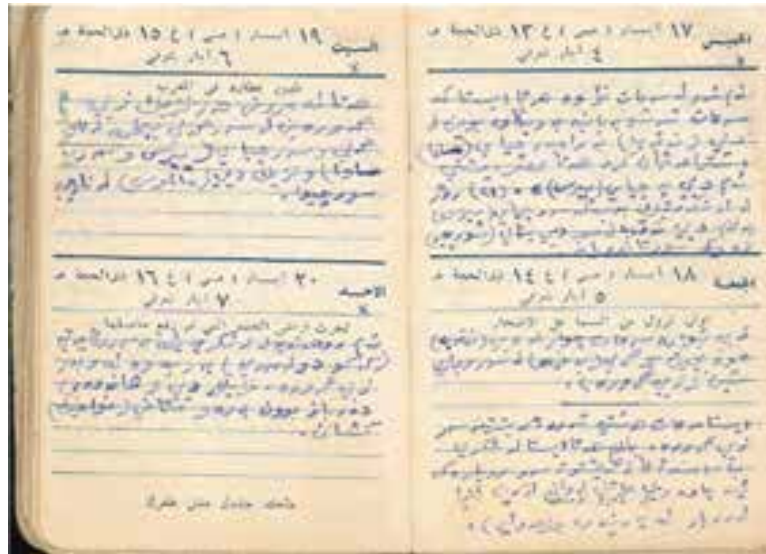
Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)





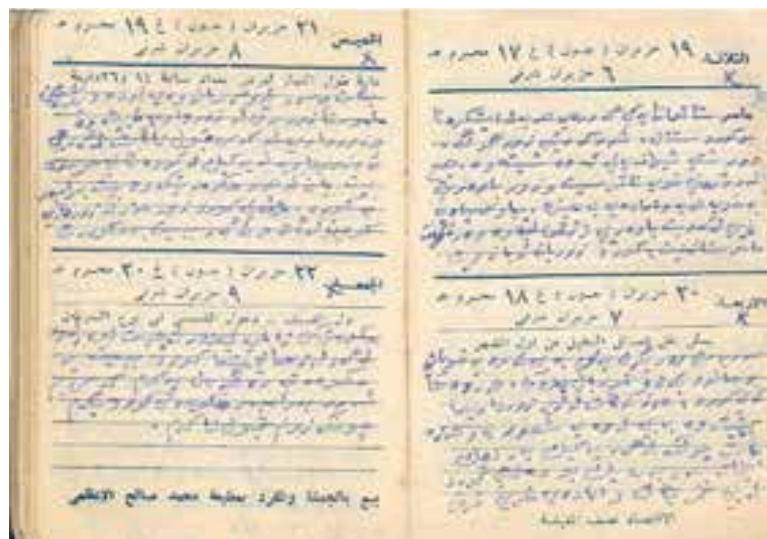
Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)



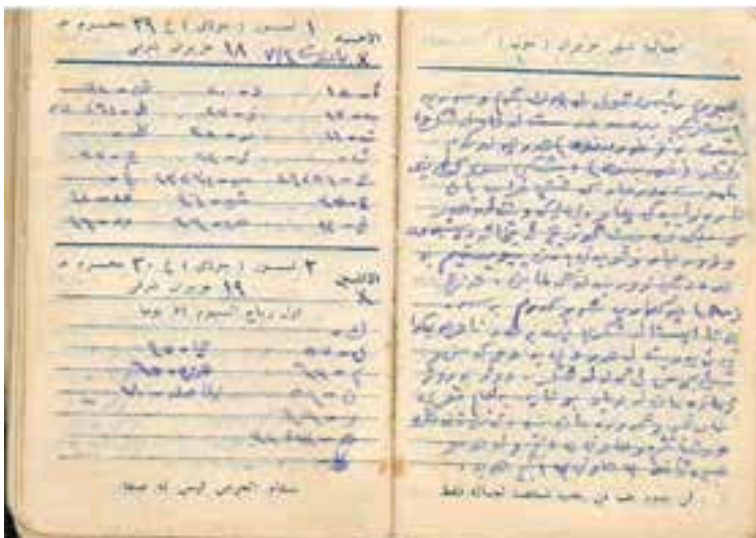
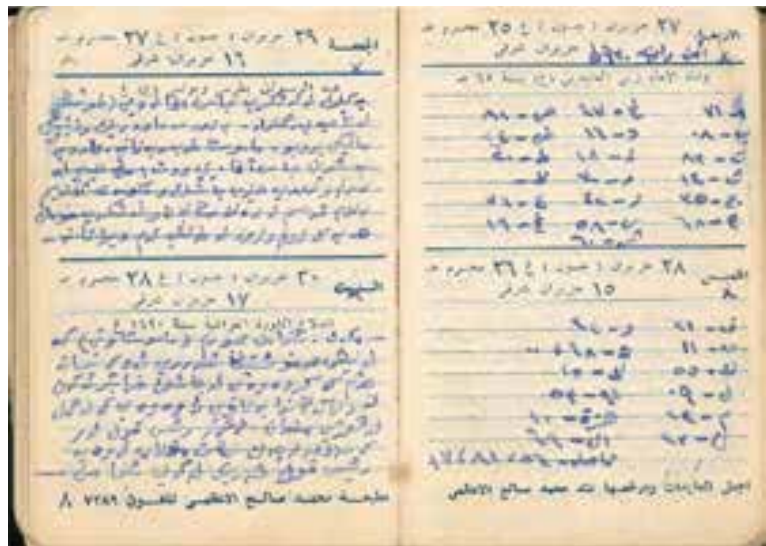
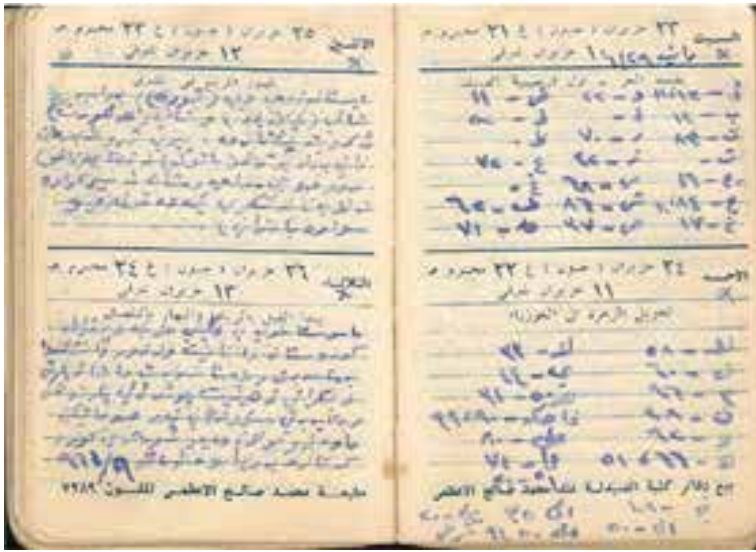


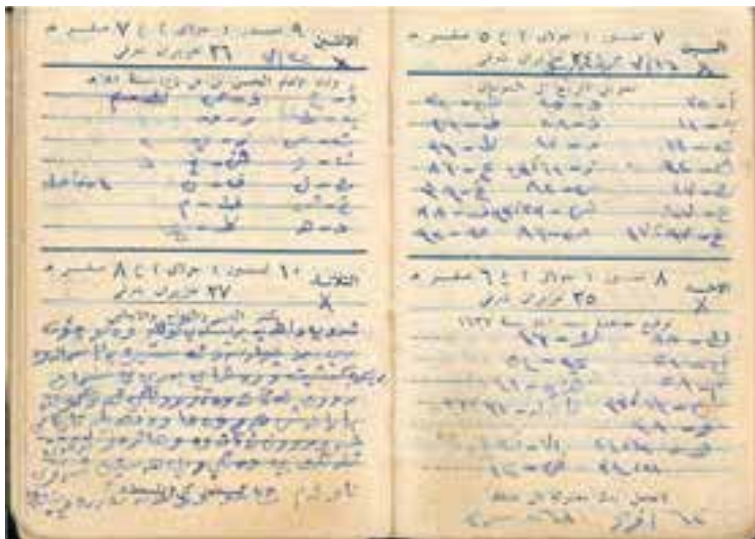
Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)



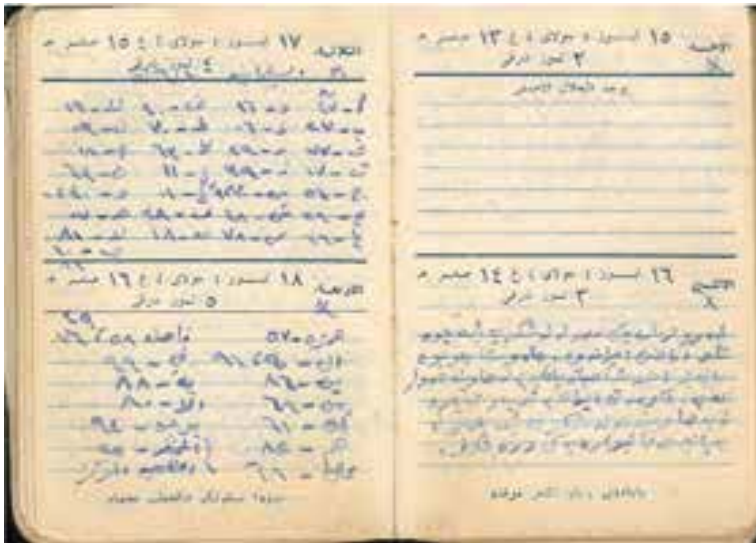


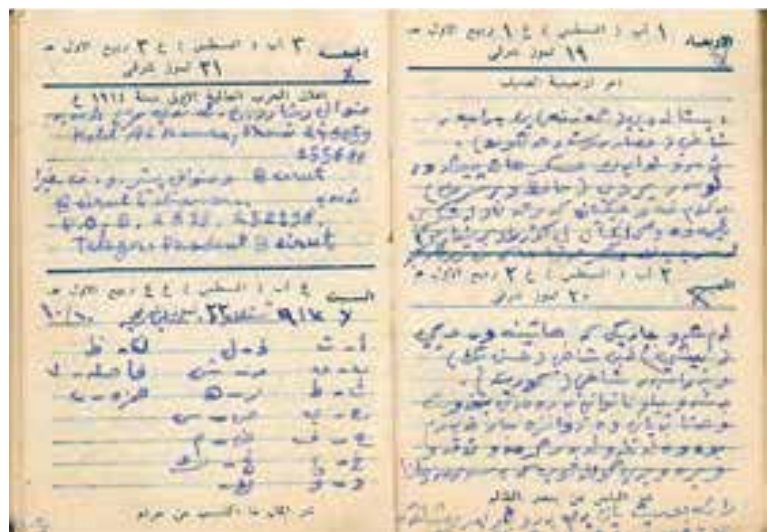
Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)





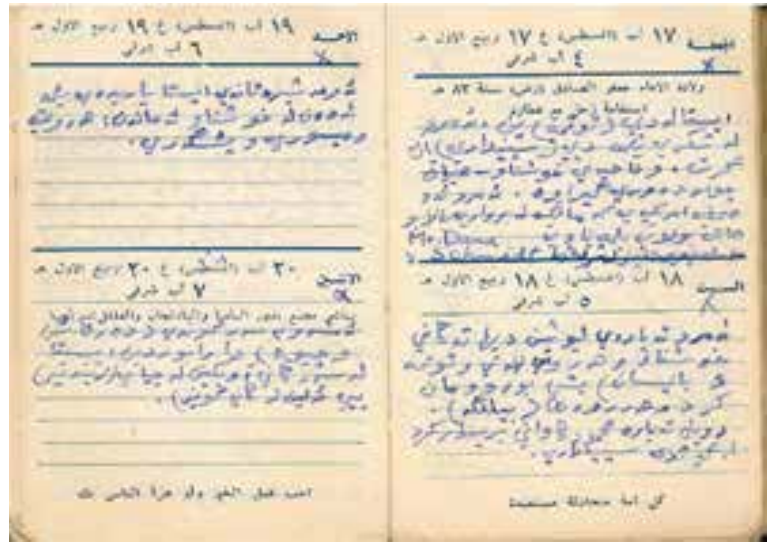
Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)





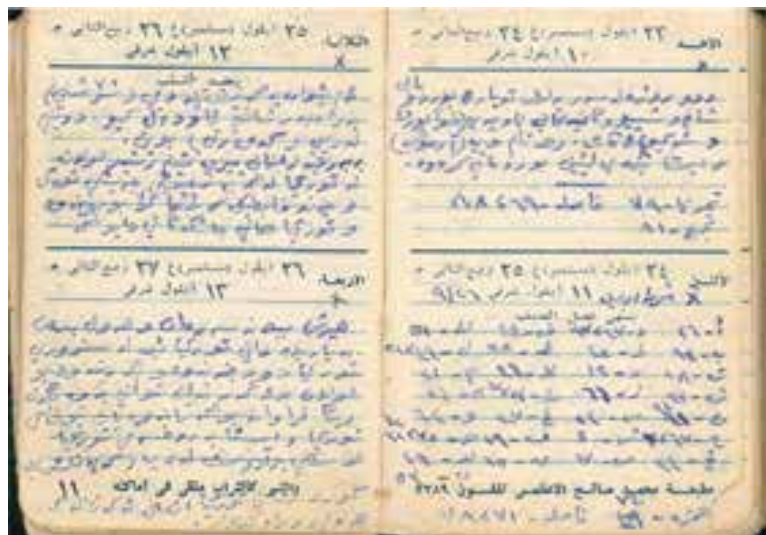
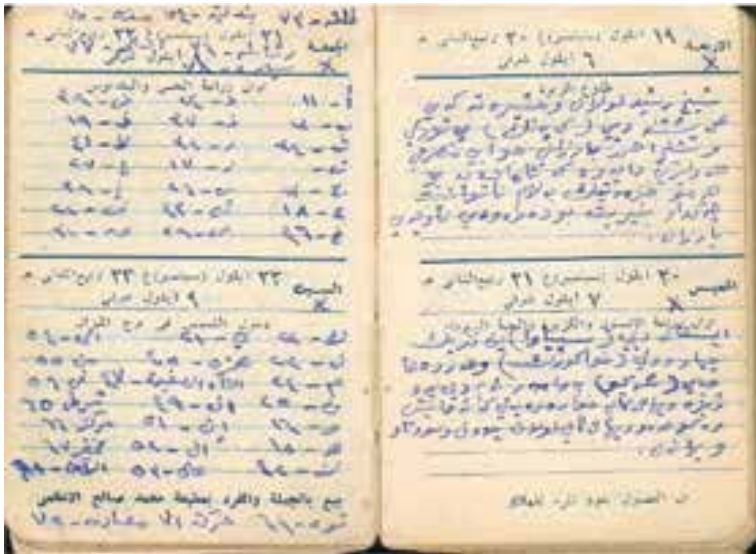
Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)



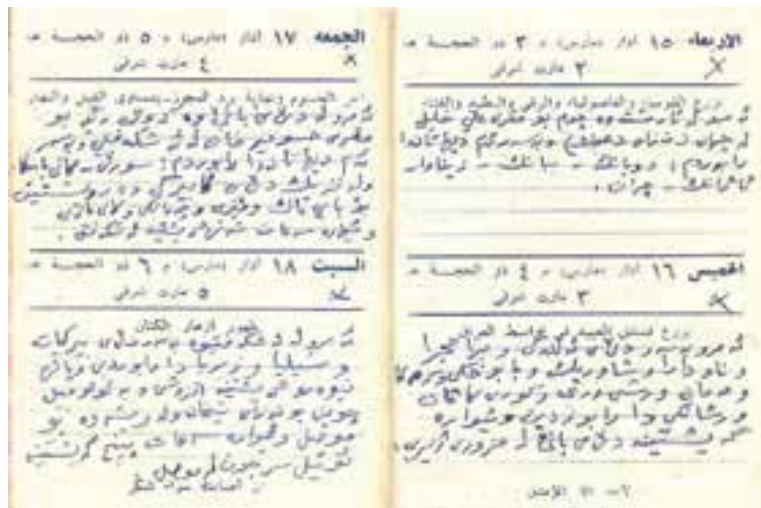
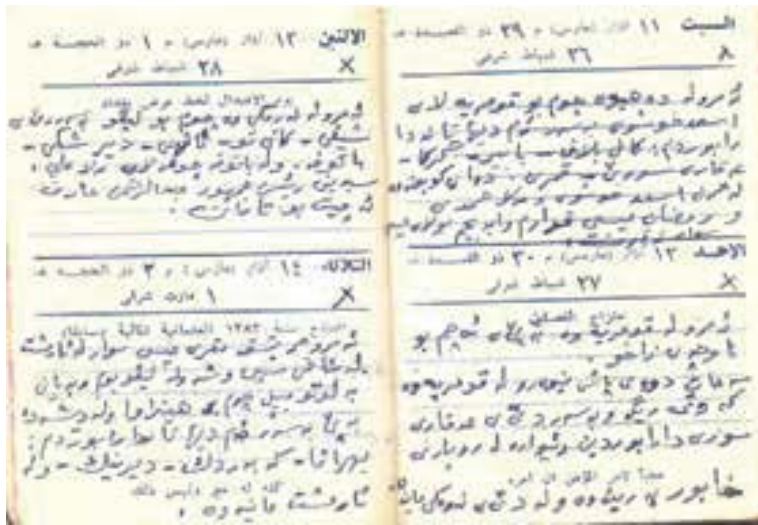




Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)



Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)



الاحد ٤ حزيران (جون) م ٢٥
٢٢ مايس شرقى X

بياتر بقراس الحنطة والشعير
كه مرو له موصله وه جوم بو باصرين
ويواره حكه را مه وه بو موصل
استه حوكه دن بو تداون و حاله
چوو بو بهندان له كان حاسيه وه

السبت ١ تموز (جولاي) م ٢٣ ربيع الاول
١٨ حزيران شرقى X

كه مرو له موصله وه جوم بو نراخو و باه
نيه من له مرو له تا نراخو و موضفنه مان
ناخو دا جوين بو با توفه و با نشن شه و
سه عاتيه وه و بو له شه با نشن وه شه با نشن وه
نراخو.

الاثنين ٣ تموز (جولاي) م ٢٥ ربيع الاول
٢٠ حزيران شرقى X

ميوه و باح السوم ٢٠ بونا
كه م ميوه يه له نراخو وه حكه را مه وه بو
موصل.

الأربعاء ٣١ كانون الثاني (جنوري) غ ١ ذو القعدة
١٨ كانون الثاني شمسي

آخر اربعينية الشتاء
لمرور بابا علي وفتوح عامر له بمقداره
هاتين بولارته بامنه له ديلان

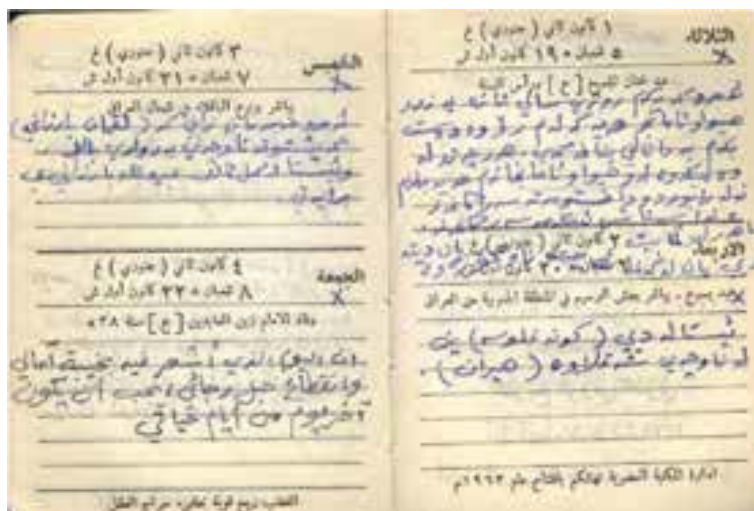
السبت ٢٤ شباط (فيروزي) غ ٢٥ ذو القعدة
١١ شباط شمسي

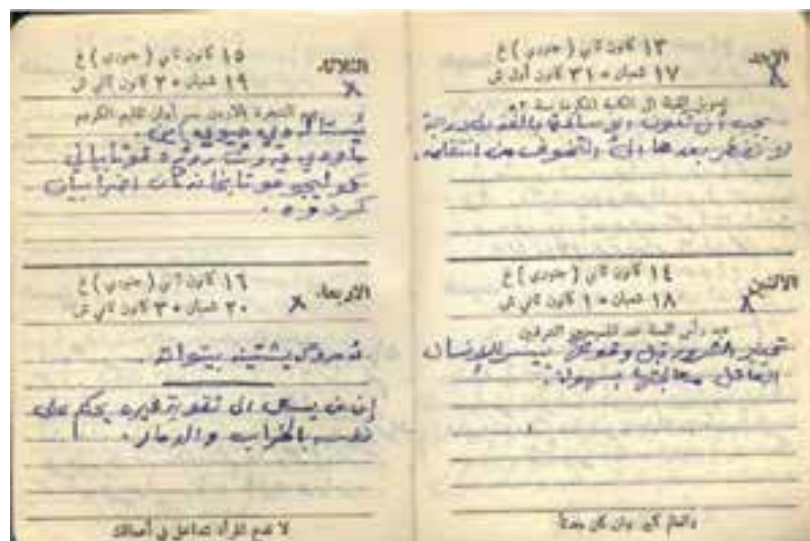
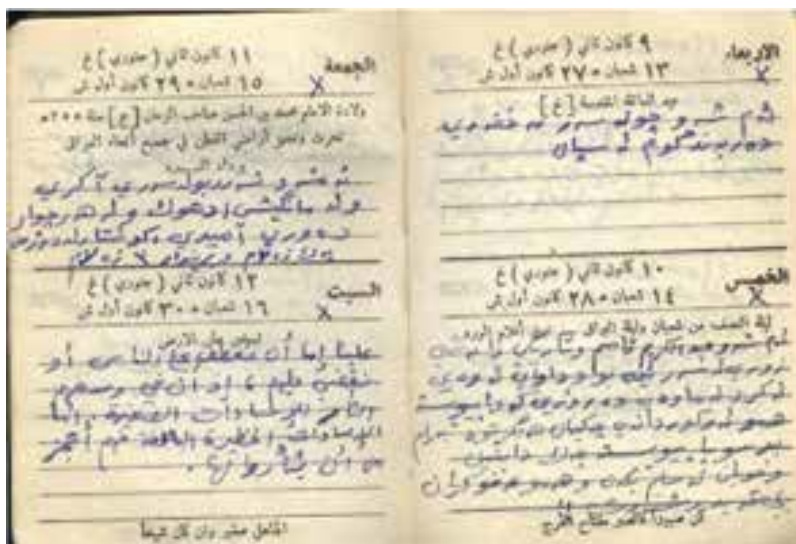
خروج النبي (ص) لحجة الوداع سنة ١٠ هـ
(زوية) تقليد حدائق الورد
له مرور له كمال حلال حلال
له به غدار شمس وداره شوشا
له به به ريدوه وله بوتيل عنار
كواسته به بو ستاوين
قتله الاسف ، وان عرض له

الأربعاء ١٧ تموز (جولاي) غ ٢١ ربيع الثاني
٤ تموز شمسي

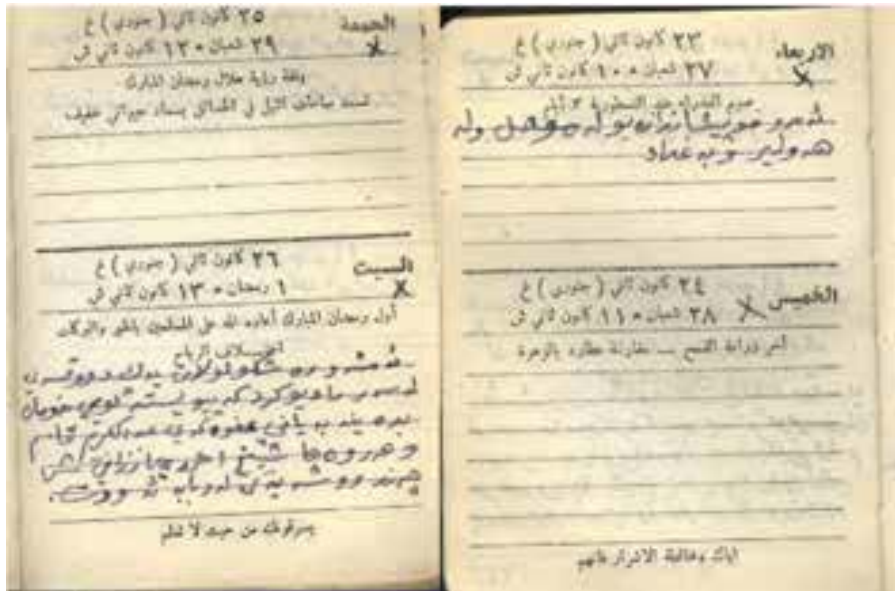
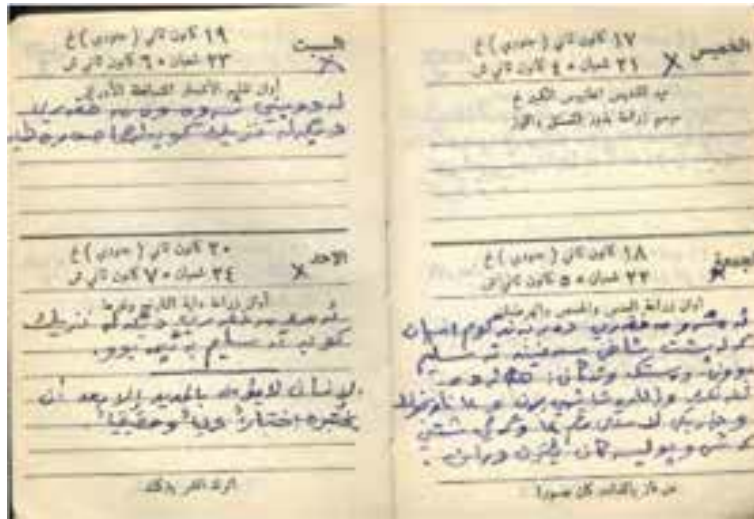
يصفى الخلال في النخيل

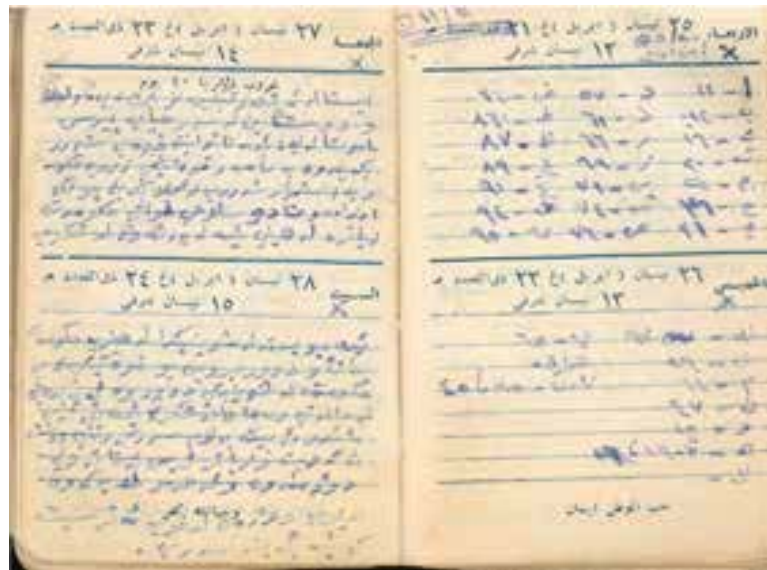
بمنه كماله
عبد الرحمن عارف حيدر بو
تواليا وكن امانت حوسن
ي كرايه ونا سدا احمد حيدر



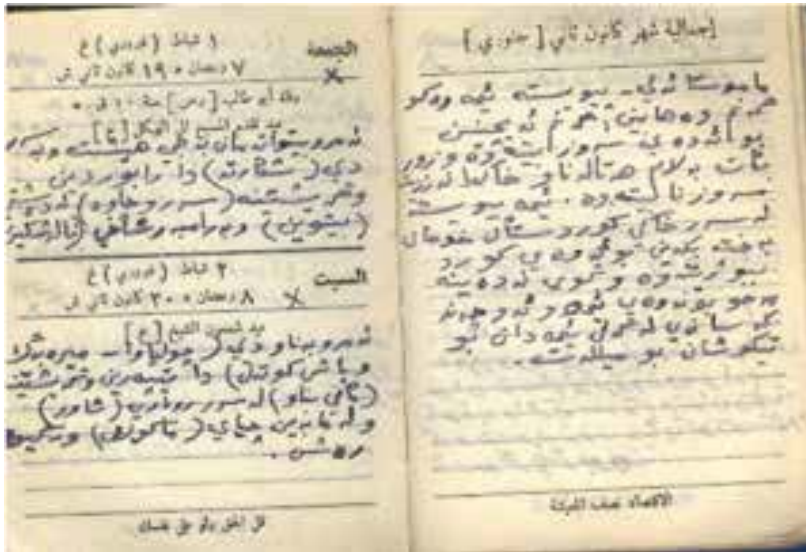


Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)

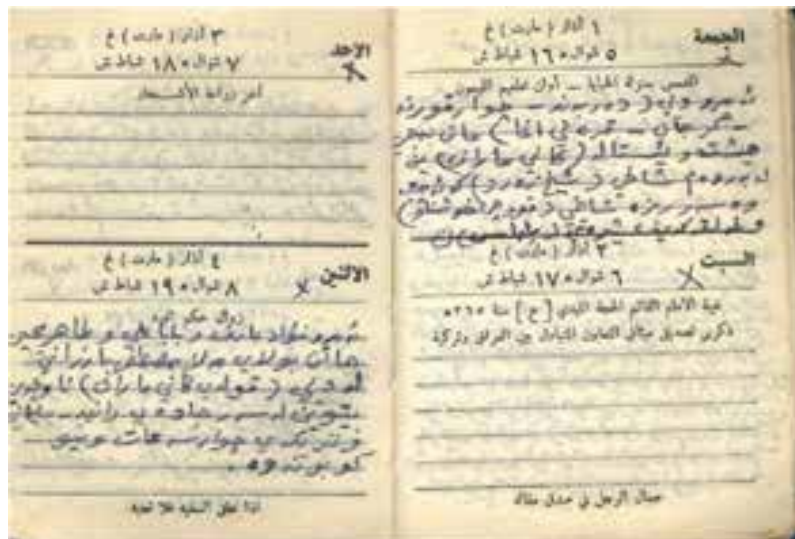
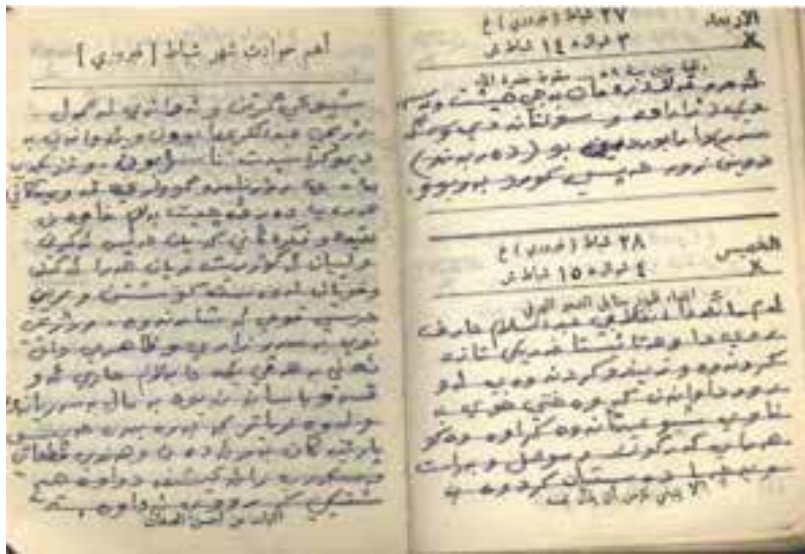


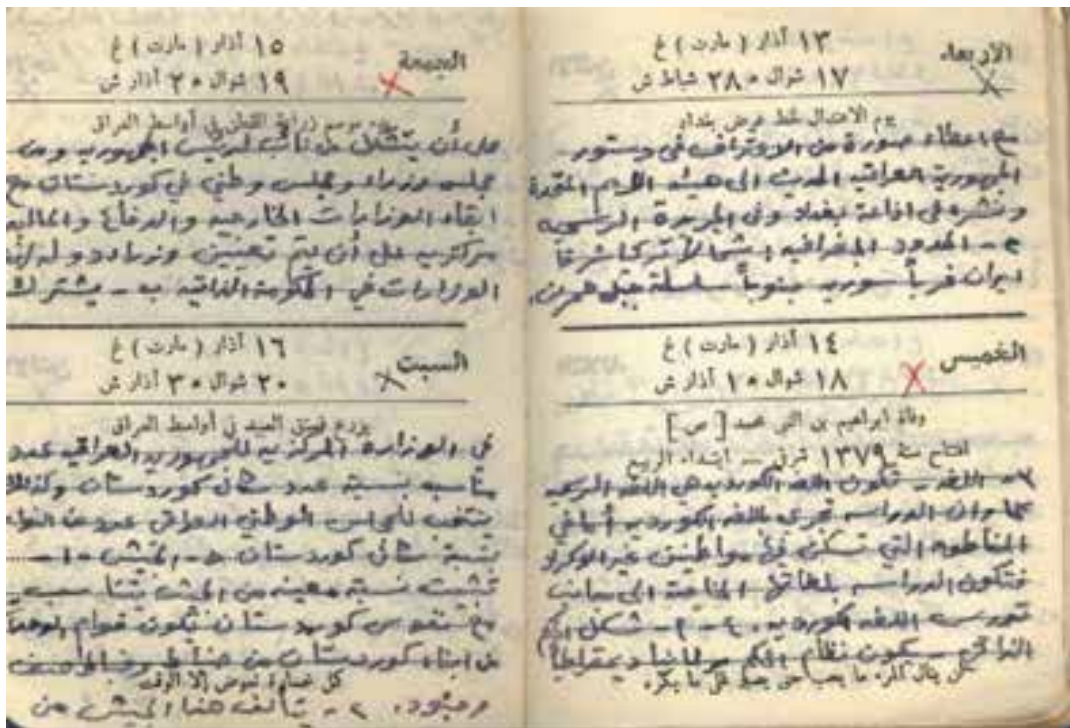
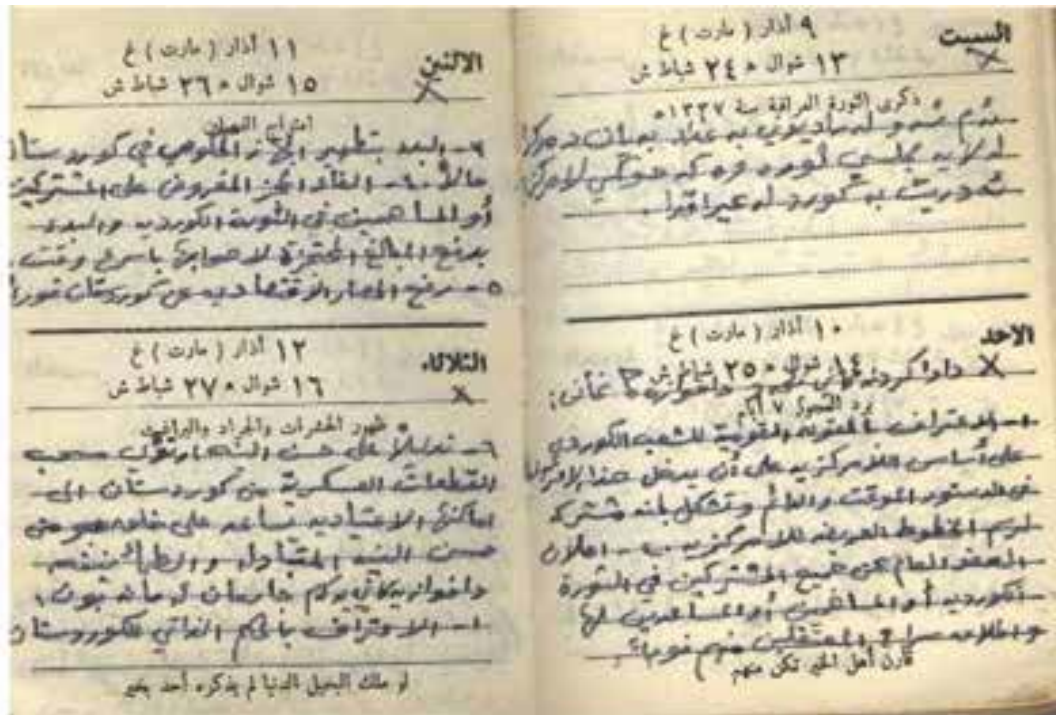


Days From The Kurdish Movement (1961-1975)









The End

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