
FIRST DRAFT REPORT OF THE MISSION TO IRAQ, 2-10 JANUARY 2007

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SUMMARY

Members of the European Parliament (MEP) André Brie and Paulo Casaca have been following closely the situation in Iraq in the last few years; MEP André Brie has recently travelled eight times and MEP Paulo Casaca three times to this country. Paulo Casaca sponsored several public events and travelling of Iraqi politicians and civil society leaders to the European Parliament and has been very keen on the promotion of close relations between the European Parliament and the Iraqi Parliament.

Doctor Abdullah Aljubori is a British dental surgeon of Iraqi origin, country that he left in 1990, and to which he returned in 2003. He was elected first mayor of Al-Mughdadia and then Governor of Diyala province, function he left in 2005, without ever losing the contacts with the country.

Professor Tomaz Dentinho is managing a Masters degree in Sustainable Development in the University of the Azores and is trying to develop close contacts between the University of the Azores and Iraqi higher education institutions.

During the first part of our mission in Kurdistan and Diyala, we were accompanied by Mohamed Kader, a British citizen born Iraqi in Baghdad and an ethnic Kurd. He could not stay to the end due to business engagements, but broadly shares the views here expressed.

Although the European Parliament initiated the formal steps aiming at the establishment of a joint parliamentary committee with its Iraqi counterpart already in July 2006, and although some NGOs tried to develop these contacts as well, these initiatives were not successful yet, hence, the idea of promoting an informal joint dialogue platform "IF - Iraq with A Future", that can gather those that feel they can not remain indifferent to the on-going massacre of the Iraqi civil population, and the dashing of their hopes for a free, fair, peaceful, secular and democratic society.

The mission to Iraq took place from the 2nd till the 10th of January 2007. The programme included meetings with Iraqi people and their representatives and was held in three different locations. In the City of Erbil, located in Kurdistan, in Camp Ahsraf, located in the Diyala Province, over one hundred kilometres northeast of Baghdad, and in Amman, Jordan.

From what was heard, seen and read it is possible to make a picture of the evolution of the Iraqi situation from 2003 to the present.

First, the security situation deteriorated steadily. We were provided with estimates of the total death toll since 2003 ranging from 600.000 to 1.3 million people. At present, the daily death toll estimations were in the range of 150-200.

Whereas in the past the vast majority of the killings was a consequence of direct arm fire and suicide bomb attacks, at present they are the direct result of massacres, abductions and arbitrary

arrests by death squads, militia and criminal gangs (actually, these three types of groups do coincide most of the times, and the same people perform these three types of activities) often infiltrated in the security forces.

Whereas the main culprit of the first type of actions are organizations like Al-Qaeda, the second type of actions, according to the overwhelming majority of those who expressed their opinion to us, are very well co-ordinated and organised and are ultimately the responsibility of the large contingent of Iranian Revolutionary Guards that oversee, manage, supply and financial assist Iraqi militia.

According to some of the higher Iraqi political responsible figures that testify before us (see, namely, point 63), Al-Qaeda and the militia are working in tandem, by pushing for sectarian violence and eliminating Iraqi elites because they are accused of being former Baathists or Sunis.

Some Iranian PMOI militants that lived through the mass terror times of the so-called "Islamic Revolution" in Iran described the present events in Iraq as a second Islamic revolution, with the same type of organised militia, murder, torture and other terror tactics, however, in a much wider scale.

The United Nations estimates that 1.6 million are displaced within Iraq, and up to 1.8 million Iraqis have fled the country. Estimates of the total figure for internal and external refugees are difficult to make, but direct information and diplomatic contacts led us to believe that the present figures may be considerably higher. The estimation of the eviction of professionals under the "de-baathification" campaign reaches two million individuals, the gross majority, professionals with no particular political agenda.

In the socio-economic sphere, there is a lack of food, medicine, fuel, education, health and jobs in many provinces. Very often this situation has been caused or worsened by targeted road blockades raised by the militias. In Diyala schools did not open yet after the summer break and shortages of essentials are acute.

The three Kurdish provinces managed to reach an enviable situation of reasonable security, and are considerably better than the rest of the country in economic terms. Due to both the internal flux of Iraqi refugees and to foreign presence, there is a boom in the property market in Erbil. However, the situation regarding electricity, for instance, is not yet much better than in the rest of the country.

Although the Kurdish authorities are concerned by the past as well as by present delicate political issues such as the statute of Kirkuk and the share of oil revenue, this delegation was very impressed by the priority they give to development issues, from education to health, education, foreign investment, environment and agriculture.

Finally there is a clear absence of an European policy and action towards Iraq although a clear demand for support is stressed by all Iraqis we have been in touch with.

It is our conviction that if the United States abandon Iraq through a precipitate withdrawal the most likely resulting scenario is of increased violence and cumulative socio-economic and humanitarian problems. On the other hand, any division of Iraq will most probably lead to increased ethnic cleansing, to an effective occupation of parts of the country by the Iranian Regime, extremely severe regional conflicts and to reinforced obstacles in the implementation of democratic regimes in the region. Finally, a democratic outcome can occur with national reconciliation, with curbing the Iranian interference, with a clear agreement on the distribution of oil revenues, with a wise connection with Tribal Leaders and within religious sensibilities, with a fully autonomous and Iraqi integrated statute for Kurdistan and with a strong support from the international community namely the United States, the Arab nations and the European Union.

In any case, Iraqi Kurdistan should immediately become the focal point of an active development cooperation policy in Iraq, arguably, with the whole of the Greater-Middle East. This effort should be opened to the full participation of Iraqis from other regions, should strengthen the cooperation between the different parts of the country and should aim at constituting an example to the whole of Iraq. The top political priority is to dismantle the operational capacity of those who are organizing and promoting the violence against Iraqis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The participants of this mission want to express their gratitude to all of those who contributed to its success. First of all to the PMOI leadership and members in Camp Ashraf for the very warm welcome and full logistical support they provided us as well as to the thousands of Iraqis that came to meet us. This was a remarkable achievement, specially bearing in mind the very hard circumstances under which camp Ashraf and the whole of the province of Diyala find themselves right now. To the Kurdish Regional Government for the magnificent reception and cooperation with our mission. To Cornet Chamal and his team of sixteen armed men that provided security during travelling through Diyala, without which the mission would not be possibly accomplished. To the US forces that guarantee security to Ashraf camp, and therefore to the whole set of events. Last but not least, to the courageous thousands of Iraqis that had to overcome enormous risks travelling for hundreds of miles, from the far West in Ambar, to the far South in Basra to the far North in Mossul to let us have first rate evidence on the situation.

MAIN ISSUES

From what was heard, seen and read it is possible to get a picture of the Iraqi situation in the beginning of January 2007. This picture has many aspects from which four seems to be the more relevant: 1) Security issues; 2) The socio-economic situation; 3) The Iranian questions; and 4) The absence of a European Policy towards Iraq.

Security issues

In purely factual terms, our findings are broadly in line with findings from others, such as the Hamilton-Baker Report (HBR). However, we have the impression that the picture is darker than the one presented in this report. For instance, 150-200 killings per day mean 4.500-6.000 civilians killed every month, compared to the 3.000 reported by the HBR. Especially the numerous daily target killings of individuals have not been considered by the HBR.

As regarding the causes of this situation, HBR do not stress sufficiently the Allied forces errors such as:

1. Allowing fanatic forces such as the Badr Brigades - organisation created, funded and managed by the Iranian Revolutionary Guards - to be in the core of the Iraqi coalition organised by the US to occupy the power after the fall of Saddam;
2. Allowing the destruction of the Iraqi Armed forces, police, administration, the health and education systems and the forced eviction of up to two million Iraqis from their posts under the disastrous "de-Baathification policy";
3. Allowing the creation of armed militia counting tens of thousands of armed men responsible for most of the murders;
4. Allowing the massive presence of Iranian Revolutionary Guards in Iraq.

From these facts, we may perhaps understand that the main proposal of the above mentioned report (to continue the massive engagement with the Iranian regime and its proxies in Iraq) is presented as something different from the present policy and as a solution, rather than as the main problem.

The handling of Saddam Hussein from the US forces to fanatic militias through the Iraqi Prime Minister in less than two hours is an obvious evidence of his complete subordination to the militias. As long as the Iraqi main bodies of Government are dependent on the main culprits of the ethnic cleansing and mass murder prevailing in this country, there will be no possible peaceful future for Iraq.

One of the most symbolic points in this mission was the joint Muslim prayers in Ashraf's Mosque by Shia and Sunni. This reflected one of the most stressed contention addressed to us by our interlocutors: there is no tradition of sectarianism in Iraq. Notwithstanding, this sectarianism has been allowed by the coalition forces, widely stimulated by Al-Qaeda and the militias and reported without any critical comments by the international press. As pointed out by Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), Iraq's ethno-religious diversity has never before led to sectarianism, civil war or attempts at partition, and if this is the case now, one has to understand that this is due to an organised plan to this end.

We also perceived that there is an escalate of revenge and violence which is possible because the only jobs that are available are related to violence.

The only area that has consistently presented some security is Kurdistan, although that is guaranteed through strong policing measures.

The socio-economic situation



Most of the people we spoke with reported the lack of food, medicine and fuel in many provinces. It was also pointed out that there are no jobs and prices are increasing continuously.

Focusing on the public services apparently most universities are closed, schools are experiencing a major change in programmes, books and teachers, and hospitals treat the populations according to their connections with the clerics.

The refugee flow has created enormous pressures in the safer areas and countries, like Kurdistan, Egypt and Jordan. At the same time there is lack of specialized personnel in many parts of the country.



Due to the security situation transportation is quite difficult and expensive. Beyond that there are problems of electricity supply.

The Iranian question

It is quite clear that there is an Iranian interference in Iraq. Arguably that interference is not recent and exists for more than twenty years.

As pointed out by the Baker-Hamilton report the Iranian border with Iraq is porous, and millions of Iranians travel to Iraq each year to visit Shiite holy sites. Nowadays many Shiite militias are controlled by Iran and the same happens with some Ministries.

Notice that, as pointed out by Laurie King-Irani (2007) although nearly sixty per cent of Iraqis are Shiite - this figure however is highly disputed, several of our interlocutors think Shiite in effects are less than fifty per cent of the population - they have never attempted to affiliate politically with Iran. Furthermore, significant philosophical and theological differences concerning the role of Shiite clergy in politics divide most Iraqi Shiites from Iranian Shiite communities

Absence of the European Policy

Two things were related to the European Policy towards Iraq.

On the one hand, apart from one representative in the Green Zone of Baghdad without any real capacity to intervene, there is an absence of European Policy in Iraq, although some countries such as Austria, Sweden, France, Turkey, Italy, Check Republic and obviously the United Kingdom begin to have effective presence in Iraq, mainly through Kurdistan.

On the other hand there is an explicit appeal for help to the European Union not only in economic terms through foreign investment in Kurdistan but also in political and humanitarian terms. In political terms the main requests are to put pressure in the Iranian regime to stop meddling into Iraqi affairs, to prepare an International Conference on Iraqi issues and to send special envoys to report outside what is happening in Iraq. In humanitarian terms there are explicit requests by the Christian communities to migrate to Europe and an immense request for food, fuel and medicine logistics.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN POLICY

1. Iraqi Kurdistan should immediately become the focal point of an active development cooperation policy in Iraq and arguably in the whole of the Greater Middle East, taking advantage of the democratic achievements and the will of its leaders to overcome the tremendous development problems existing;
2. This effort should be open to the full participation of Iraqis from other regions and should aim at constituting an example to the whole of the country, possibly for the whole of the region;
3. The extreme level of criminal violence observed in Iraq cannot be understood mainly as a consequence of a rooted hatred between different ethnic and religious communities but as a consequence of a planned effort aiming at destroying the country by assassinating or persecuting its elites, fomenting intolerance and violence among different communities and destroying the conditions for economic life;
4. The top priority for Iraq, therefore, is to dismantle the operational capacity of those who are promoting and organizing the violence against Iraqis, and to disable its tools, mainly the organized militia and criminal gangs within or external to the Iraqi security forces.

OVERVIEW

Meetings in Erbil

In the 3rd of January 2007, Wednesday, in the city of Erbil, there was a meeting at the Ministry of Science and Higher Education for the Autonomous Region. The Minister, Idris Hadi Salih, informed the mission about the situation of higher education in Kurdistan. There are five universities, fifteen institutes and three technical colleges involving 60.000 students, 3.000 lecturers and 300 departments. The number of students and lecturers has been increasing due to the difficulties in other Iraqi universities. Most of the higher education system of Kurdistan has been detached from the outside world but there are many Kurdish academics strongly connected with British universities that are helping the development of Kurdish high education. The main Kurdish problems that can be subject to research projects are: weather forecasting, seismic engineering, deforestation, energy production and distribution, waste management and water management.



From left to right, André Brie (MEP) and Idris Hadi Salih, Minister of Science and High Education of Kurdistan

In the afternoon there was meeting with the Governor of Erbil followed by a guided tour to the historic centre of Erbil, the oldest continuous city in the world.

In the 4th of January 2007, Thursday, there was a meeting with the Deputy Speaker Chief of the Kurdish Parliament, Mahtab Seyed Tahir, who pointed out that the Kurdish are against the solutions proposed in the recent James Baker Report, namely those that limit the autonomy of the Kurdish Region within Iraq. He pointed out that Kurdistan is not independent and that political – administrative solutions must be found within Iraq, like the agreement that was achieved recently allocating 17% of oil revenues for Kurdistan. He also stressed that Iraqis must respect all religions and ethnicities, and explained that, even during Saddam’s regime, when 4.000 villages were depopulated and some others bombarded with chemical weapons, the Kurdish people did not break out with the Iraqi Arabs. Finally, Mr. Mahtab Seyed Tahir welcomed all the support that could come from the European Union.

In the 4th of January there was a working lunch at Erbil University with the director and leading professors of the University.

After returning from Diyala Province, on January the 8th, Monday, there was a meeting with the Minister of Planning for the Kurdish Region, Osman Ismail Hassan, proposed previously by Jamal Ameen, Senior Advisor Ministry of Planning. The conversation focused the organization of a Conference on Planning Issues for the Kurdistan Region. This project is to be presented for the support of the European Union. The aim is to bring together distinguished planners from international centres of excellence in a conference to present their latest findings on various issues of planning with a special focus on agriculture, energy, industry, tourism, information technologies, transport, urban development, education and health. The conference will run for a period of one week and will include special lectures to local candidates who are involved or interested in planning. The conference profits from the political and social stability and security in the Kurdistan Region. It is envisaged that this exercise will act as a first move for capacity building in planning and creating the necessary links with international experts to help establish a complete development plan in the Kurdistan Region also to function as a model for the rest of Iraq once conditions



Adnan Mufti, second left, Paulo Casaca, second right and Adbulla Aljuboni, former governor of Diyala Province, first right.



Paulo Casaca, second left, Jamal Ameen, fourth left, Osman Ismail Hassan, third right, and Falah Mustafa Bakir, second right.



Paulo Casaca, first left, Andre Brie, second left and Abdul Karim Sultan Sinjazi, first right.

improve.

Also on January the 8th, Monday, it was possible to meet Abdul Karim Sultan Sinjari, Minister of the Interior of the Kurdistan Region. He detailed the main problems of Kurdistan: the lack of infrastructures, electricity, water, food industries and education. He stressed that Europeans are already investing in Kurdistan, with the new airport financed by the UK and Turkey, with direct flights to Vienna, with technical support from the Check Republic but there is a need for more. The European Union can use Kurdistan as a gate to the whole Iraq. There is a good legal framework for foreign investment and there are many refugees from Iraq that need jobs. It was also discussed the infiltration of Iranian interests in the national government and the increase in drugs coming from Afghanistan through Iran. Finally the Interior Minister of Kurdistan Region explained how security was organized in Erbil, by creating a wall around the city with just one entrance point.

The meeting was followed by a discussion with Fala Mustafal Bakir, Minister and Director of the Foreign Relations of the KRG.

Meetings in Diyala

The meetings in Diyala Province where held in Camp Ashraf, managed by the People's Mujahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI) and, since 2003, guarded by the American military forces.

5th January 2007, Friday

9H00 Meeting with the Congress of the Iraqis

The members of the Congress spoke one by one:

- 1) “Welcome. Oppression has been imposed on Iraqis. My daughter was kidnapped by the militias. She is a deputy and she represents part of the society. She is now in the Green Zone in Baghdad. What we ask is to cut the hands of Iran inside Iraq. No peace and security can be achieved since the Iranian regime is interfering in Iraq.”
- 2) “In the name of God. Thanks you for the PMOI for arranging this meeting. Thank you for coming. There are many topics I would like to refer: a) the occupation is the root cause of many problems. The dissolving of the Iraqi armed forces created a security gap. To improved security they begin to create military gangs based on sectarian criteria. These policies are supported by the Iranian regime. There are political leaders that are leading the death squads. Killings are supported by the government. Furthermore the lack of public law created a lack of services. The government is doing this against the Iraqi patriots. Even the members of the Parliament are living in neighbour countries. We have to unite our forces against two occupations: the American and the Iranian.”
- 3) “In the name of God. I do not repeat what the others have said. I am the witness of a daily practice of terror allowed by a sectarian government in Baghdad. I have the opinion that the American will leave the Iraq slowly but the major threat is Iran. And if your country is occupied you have the legitimacy to defend your country. They are now changing what has being thought in schools. They are using weapons coming from Iran. We are feeling the threat of the Iranian Regime directly.”
- 4) “I am happy to meet you. Iraqis are peaceful and obedient to their rulers. The violence is not between Shiites and Sunnis. The violence is a by-product of the Iranian regime. They are trying to divide Iraq into two parts. Regarding the PMOI they know that it is an organization against sectarianism. PMOI has done an exceptional work. This is the only place we can come and say what needs to be said. PMOI has the right of Asylum in Iraq.

Regarding the execution of Saddam Hussein it must be said that it is illegal to kill someone in a Feast Day. ”

- 5) “I have been in prison before the elections jointly with 300 others. They pick us all on one day based on fabricated intelligence to defeat our party. They broke our doors, they enter our rooms, and steel everything. Most of the persons arrested were released in the third day. The others were arrested by more than six months, and tortured. Those who tortured were Iranians. I was released only when my wife paid them, 60000 US\$. I was released during five hours but they kidnapped me again. They asked for more 5000 US\$. After six days they put me in the back of a car and threw me away in the road. I was released because my family had money.”
- 6) “We thank the city of Ashraf and the European Union. You have already heard what is going on in Iraq. This is the result of the gangs that are ruling the country. I would like that you convey our opinion to the European Union. Please put some pressure in the militia gangs. Expedite new elections because the good forces of this country can be elected.”
- 7) “We have principles in common. We would like to convey the following: a) the sectarian squads are ruling the country; b) We are asking for support from the European Union; c) Expedite the election in Diyala with the supervision of the European Union.”
- 8) “A few words. Thank you PMOI for hosting us. Due to bad governance many families do not receive food for six months. There are poor families that are in agonising situation. There is also a lack of fuel although the Iraqi fuel has been stolen and sold abroad. And the revenue goes to the militias. Also, most of the universities are closed for two years. There is also a very high inflation.”
- 9) “Thank you for coming to Iraq in the present situation. It demonstrates your courage. There is a need for an international conference on Iraq to make progress in the political situation. To seek a solution with the support of the European Parliament. Nowadays Iraq is controlled by the militias.”



Members of the Iraqi Congress.

11H00 Meeting with the National Dialogue Front

- 10) “Welcome and thank you. We know how difficult your trip to Iraq is. We are already award for seeking a solution for Iraq and Iran. We are in a crossroad in Iraq. An enormous quantity of innocent Iraqis had already died. They brought Iraq to the state of poverty. Iraq before was not a sectarian state. We do not use that vocabulary on Sunnis, Shiites or Kurds. Killings are forcing migration. This is the by product of mock elections. This has brought us to a sectarian government. Probably 1300000 have already died but the true number must be much higher. The patriotic nationalistic forces are reacting but it does not lead to any use. The government has formed security agents that are the militias. We know the initiative of the Members of the European Parliament. We would like to take this opportunity. There are many people interested in a unified front. The payment

of the militias is based on robbery and the result is 150 deaths per day. This is the documented deaths we are able to proof to you. Our proposal is an International Conference because Iraq cannot be solved from within. If you go to Baghdad you will see bodies killed by militias. The Iraqis have lost the minimum base for human rights. This has been imposed upon them. This is an imported fight. They stimulate those who can sell themselves. We have a document that contains some of the violations of human rights that we will give you. NGOs and the Red Cross have been attacked by the militias. They kill all except those they know. They pick up 220 staff of the university and killed the majority of them. Those who they are not able to kill are intimidated to leave the place of residence. Government employees are leaving their jobs. Life has become impossible. They are attacking Sunnis and Christians. Even Shiites clerics have protested but they are threatened and pushed to go into exile in Jordan. This is the list of 219 clerics that have been killed during two months (*see attached*). I appeal to you to help us. Our country is falling apart. Please help us in our difficult situation.”



Members of the National Dialogue Front.

- 11) “Regarding the Iraqi Government there are some patriots but the main decisions are made outside Iraq. The headquarters are in Tehran. Hezbollah in Lebanon is also controlled by Tehran. Tehran is controlling the country through the militias. The good people have been persecuted. Iran should be cut off from our country. This has evolved into an international crisis. Help us. There is a brotherhood between Shiites and Sunnis that lived in peace for centuries. There are nowadays 28.000 political prisoners. They only decrease because they are murdered, 150 per day. We appeal to you to provide an invitation for political personalities. In Iraq there is a tribal composition. The same tribe can have Shiites and Sunnis. If Iraq is divided it will become part of Iran.

15H00 General Assembly

- 12) “We come from the South of the country. We are away from what has being happened in the North and in the Centre of the country. We are suffering from the neighbour countries. There is a meddling of neighbours into our own affairs. They took advantage of the situation. The people of Iraq are paying a lot for all this. Before all the people of Iraq were united. Today is a lot worse than what happened in the previous government. Stop the meddling of Iran into Iraq with the help of PMOI and the European Parliament. Change the government in order to expel the Iranian mercenaries. They brought poverty and death to my country to get advantage. I hope that very soon there will be another election.”
- 13) “The Iraqi Government is just a name. The power has been given to the militias. Those who don’t have militias do not have power. They are controlling everywhere. I would like to ask the European Parliament to put pressure on my country to dissolve the militias. There is a meddling of the Iranian Regime in my country. This is something that even the Iranians are acknowledging. The Iranian regime is the main problem.”
- 14) “We have never had a problem between different religions. All this is because of the occupation. What must be done is: a) Dissolve the rule put by Paul Bremer; b) Form a

unity government, c) Dissolve the militias, d) Form the army, e) Punish all who have killed the Iraqis.”

15) “It is the militias that are killing people. Europeans and Americans made this situation. They blame the previous government for everything. When people go to hospital they ask if they have relations with any of the clerics and they are not treated if that is not secured. We cannot wait any more”.

16) “I would like to point that the government is not Iraqi. I would like to ask you where is the European Union Representative in Iraq? There has been a representative in Amman and in Damascus.”



Partial View of the General Assembly.

17) “I was part of the Ministry of Oil in Iraq. They put me off. The ministry sign an agreement to supply the uniform for the militias, to support the robbery of the Iraqi Oil. The minister received 50% and the rest went to the militias. Their job is to kill those who are in the Ministry that refuse to accept what has been done. Three professors have been killed and they were the best professors of Iraq on oil. Iraqi people are suffering due to those who are paid by stolen Iraqi oil. Shiites populated areas receive fuel at low prices but Sunnis populated areas have very high fuel prices. We sent this report to the third floor of the Ministry by that floor was put in fire. The minister is not Iraqi but Palestinian.”

18) “I come from the Kurdish Press Office. a) Why was Saddam executed in a Feast Day? b) This government should be dissolved because they have injured Iraq unity. There were never sectarian problems in Iraq. I would like you to convey our voice to the European Parliament.

19) “I would like you to ‘cut the hands’ of the Iranian Regime into Iraq. They have killed professors. They are going to destroy all the country. I ask democratic European countries to help democracy in Iraq. Also dissolve the Iraqi Parliament, put an international pressure on Iran. Take them to the International Court. Help Iraq to expel the occupation that has caused the problems to my dear country.”



View of the Table of the General Assembly.

20) “To solve the problems of Iraq there is a need to form a National Salvation Government, to close the borders with Iran, to expel the Iranian ambassador. We saw that after the invasion of Iraq by the Americans the power was given to the Iranians.”

21) “My colleagues talked about the others. There is an internal conflict that put us in the third world. The agenda for Iraq has been prepared before. We know that the problem is not only with the former Iraqi Regime but also with Iran. It is the Iraqis that are paying the price. Where were the European Countries when they supported the invasion? It is late now! This does not prevent us to

unite to do something for Iraq. We are paying the price for this mistake. We ask the European Parliament not to leave Iraq alone.”

- 22) “I belong to the secretariat of the Christian Democratic Press. There are no differences between Iraqis but after the fall of the previous regime we have been involved in sectarian disputes. That has endangered the future of our country. We are appealing to the European Union. We thought that the American occupation will lead us to a better way of life but it has been the opposite. Militias shot people in front of my eyes. Who do we trust? Furthermore I don't know if we have a government. I would like that the European press will be here.”



Partial View of the General Assembly.

- 23) “I belong to the Turkish community. I am an Iraqi before being a Turkish. Two points: a) My request is that the European Union will protect the unity of the Iraqi people and territory; b) I ask the European Union to force the Iraqi entities to make the articulation that is needed to guarantee the Iraqi unity and sovereignty.”

- 24) “I come from the University of Suleimania. This is a government that was imposed upon us. I ask the formation of a committee inside the European Parliament to deal with the situation. I think that the political situation is the main cause for the economic situation. There is lack of electricity and fuel. This situation has been used by the Iranian Regime. The European Union has not been active in Iraq.”

- 25) “There are thousands of prisoners detained based on false allegations. I would like to hold you responsible. The UN Security Council allowed the coalition forces to detain Iraqi citizens. That must be reviewed. There was a visit to the prisoners by an International Committee. They were only concerned with the prison conditions and they did not look at the reasons to have those prisoners. Furthermore food staple have not reach our province. We ask for an International Conference in order to study the situation in Iraq.”

- 26) “The Arab World has witnessed the work of PMOI. The influence of the Iranian Regime may force them to the out of the exile statute within Iraq. We must find a solution to avoid that. We have something in common. We fight for democracy. The problem is Islamic fundamentalism.”



Partial View of the General Assembly.

- 27) “I came from Kerbala. Our problems are enormous. The solutions are too little. Today it is not only Sunnis that have problems. The majority of the Shiites population is also having many problems. Iran is meddling into Iraq. Please raise our voice to the UN Security Council. The opposition in Iraq is against the Iranian Assault.”

- 28) “In the name of the Iraqi women thank you for standing in what is right. There is an occupation of Iraq by Iran. 75% of our ministers are pro - Iran. Our constitution has been written by Iranians and is strongly against women rights.”
- 29) “The US occupied Iraq so that it can be invaded by Iran. The Americans are supervising the Iranian invasion. Is it not the responsibility of the Americans to put the Iranians out of Iraq? If so, expel these people because they are an insult to the Iraqis. Patriotic Iraqis are now considered terrorists. But the name of terrorist has not yet been defined.”
- 30) “There are a few points I would like to talk. The killings of more than 200 persons per day and the abductions that are going on. The Iranian Regime has made Iraq as its battle field. They are pursuing this at the cost of innocent lives. There is a need to end this for the Future of Iraq. At this precise moment there is lack of fuel, food and medicine in many parts of Iraq. The time has come to stop the Iranian agenda in Iraq.”
- 31) “People came here from all over Iraq. We have no sectarian approach. Shiites and Sunnis are brothers. In Kerbala there are no problems between Shiites and Sunnis. Those who do not think like that are corrupt or Iranian rulers. We agree among ourselves, the educated people of Iraq and the Tribal leaders. All the Tribal Leaders should meet here. Our enemy is the same. They are the rulers of Iran. If they have another revolution the situation in Iraq will be much better.”
- 32) “We want that the European Union condemns the interference of Iran in Iraq. Did the European Union took part in the illegal occupation of Iraq?. We are paying compensations because we occupied Kuwait. Who is compensating our damages if the European Union also contributed to the occupation of Iraq?”

14H00 Lunch with the Christians

- 33) “There were three million Christians in Iraq. Now they are 500.000. Many migrated to outside de country and some of them went to Kurdistan. Erbil just received 7.500 Christian families. I run a community of 2.000 families. They don’t know what to do. They don’t know if, in order to survive, they should become Sunni or Shiite. We try to migrate to the European Union but nobody accept us. Please invite some of us to visit your country in order to plan the migration of, at least, those who have been more persecuted. Christians in Iraq are usually very skilled people and I am sure that they can be easily integrated in Europe.



Tomaz Dentinho with the members of the Christian Communities that visited Ashraf.

16H30 Meeting with the Iraqi Lawyers

- 34) “They are trying to justify terrorism in the name of justice. They have thrown the blood in the streets. Because of the militias they do whatever they want to do in the name of a sectarian conflict. They want to create a war between Shiites and Sunnis. 2.000 factories have been



Meeting with Iraqi Lawyers

destroyed by the militias. The health system is very bad. Even the Minister of the Interior confessed that they are backing the militias. All should be justified by law. Ask the United Nations to investigate the crimes.”

- 35) “Security in Iraq is in the hands of the Iranians. They put all the general and consultants out of the Ministry of the Interior. From where did they bring all the new consultants and generals? 300 Academics were abducted. The same happened in the power station. In same places they detained the employees and the customers. The solution to this is to send the Government to the North of Iraq or send the Kurdish to Baghdad. In which regards the presence of PMOI in Iraq it has been accepted by the existing Iraqi government coming out from France. The only request was that they should not interfere with the internal affairs of Iraq. They had the right to buy and sell, to rent and to give rent and to import without paying taxes.”
- 36) “I am the elected Member of the Board of the Lawyers Association. It must be said that the occupying power must respect the rights of the occupied people. The US must take this into account. Democracy was a total failure in Iraq because the government was formed based on sectarianism. It is no surprise that the government is made by militias. They are mining the principles of democracy. In the Lawyers Association there was elections but the basis for the elections were not sectarian. We oppose both occupations: the Iranian and the American. A study of the Iraqi situation must be done by the European Union. I hope that the European Union can have an active engagement. There is an enormous amount of interest.”
- 37) “There is a false idea that the present government is of conciliation. In fact what they have been doing is against the people of Iraq. We would like to request the European Union to support the relief from the atrocities that are being committed. We want a National Salvation Government. There is no place for the militias. We also request the formation of an International Committee to analyse the crimes and the forced migration. I have many children. They need the support of honourable people.”
- 38) “2.000.000 people have been removed from their jobs. I am one of them. I was a general director. Now I am without a job. I saw myself the killings and the abductions of employees by the militias. The list of those who have to be executed come from Iran. The rest has escaped to foreign countries. PMOI lived in Iraq for 20 years. PMOI are Shiites and we are Sunnis. The Parliament is not working. They are in Sulimania, or in Amman or in Dubai.”
- 39) “There is a meddling of the Iranian government inside Iran. Iraq is paying high prices. They are sending drugs to corrupt Iraqis. They send books, newspapers that try to instigate sectarianism. They armed the militias that terrorise the Iraqis.”

18H00 Meeting with Arab Shiites

- 40) “We have no problem with the Shiites. We are the majority. The educated Shiites perfectly understand the interference of Iran. Only 5% are truly in favour of the Iranian militias. 95% are Iraqis. It will be a major mistake to mix Shiites with the disturbances in the country. The two nations have lived together and must



Meeting with the Shiites

continue. I hope that this possibility to talk can continue.”

- 41) “My wish is that our voice can be conveyed at the European Level. Please help us. Even those who vote for the present government did not vote for them but for renewal. Now the government is dividing us. It is a particular political party that is doing this.”
- 42) “In the name of God. Our hope is high in respect to the European Nations. Unfortunately people think that whoever is Shiite belongs to Iran. But even our clerics have different thoughts and schools from the Iranian ones. We have a General Director who does not speak Arabic. Nowadays the only way to be employed is to be known by the religious leader coming from Iran. We want a government that speaks in the name of everybody and respects all religions. A government that should be open to all countries and not only to Iran. Please convey our message to the European Union.”
- 43) “I speak on behalf of NGOs. Those who are sitting here come from the South. There are thousands that would like to come. Europe has culture but does not perceive dangers. Long before we have announced this danger. I am also a teacher in the high school. The contents of our teaching have been transformed. They distribute books that are not appropriate for Iraqi students and lecturers. They are trying to influence the youth and to disturb the teachers. It is important for us that this information passes to the European nations. After the war for three months there was no government and there were no problems. Problems began with the interference from Iran through the government.”
- 44) “There is no connection between Iran and Shiites. Before we could not say no. Nowadays we must say yes. One Ayatollah was murdered by Iranian agents and they also murdered 11 people in a television station in Baghdad. They were all Shiites. They gave their blood for the price of freedom. There are patriotic Shiites. This is the worse type of dictatorship. We cannot forget the role of PMOI as a balancing factor.”
- 45) “I came from Najaf Province. I have seen many people in the check points. They were looking for specific persons to abduct. Where is the rule of our government? A policeman was sent to Baghdad. He was attacked, escaped but two days later he was killed. Please help us.”
- 46) “In the name of God. I am from Divara. In my name and in the name of the Southern Tribes. We condemn sectarianism which has taken the advantage of our situation. In each one of our tribes there are the two religions. Also in suburban and urban areas. I am a tribal sheik but I am a supporter of women. Tribal sheiks of Iraq support the rights of women. We respect the freedom of religion. The problem is that there are doubts in parts of the country and interference from neighbour countries. We are not with the actual government. People in the South are genuine Arabs. Iraqi people are not prepared for any election. The observers of the election were also uncertified for the job. I hope that you confirm the support to PMOI.”



Meeting with the Shiites

19H30 Meeting with Kurds

- 47) “We are also suffering the interference of Iran. We are the victims of many wars. We are a peaceful nation that enjoys freedom. There are no differences between Shiites and Sunnis. Iran interferes in Iraq. We hope that the current turmoil will be taken seriously by the European Union.”
- 48) “Political change has benefited the Kurdish population but the politicians continue the same political path without any change. That has negative effects in the economic infrastructure. There is a need for change in the Kurdish region.”
- 49) “I become very optimistic when PMOI was lifted from the list of terrorist organizations by the European Court of Justice. I hope that the US will also take the same path. That will serve Iraq and PMOI. The US have problems because they allow Iran to come into Iraq. Who is the stronger in Iraq? Iran or the US? Our request is very simple: After eliminating PMOI from the terrorist list, please include the militias in that list.”



Meeting with the Kurdish

January, the 6th , Saturday

Visit to Camp Ashraf to visit the University and the Workshops. Meetings with PMOI.

January, the 7th , Sunday

9H00 Big meeting with 4.000 Iraqis followed by an interview by Washington Post and many contacts with the Iraqi population. The main ideas presented were: 1) The militias, controlled by the Iranian Regime are destroying Iraq; 2) There are no problems between Shiites and Sunnis. Problems have been created by the militias; 3) In 2006, many people have been killed and 1 million have left the country. 4) The economic and social situation is terrible, often we have no access to food, medicine or education to our children; 5) We ask US and the EU to condemn Iran for what they are doing in Iraq.



Photos from the Big Meeting on January, the 8th. Clockwise: Partial view of the participants; Paulo Casaca with an Iraqi Sheik and the translator. André Bzie with Iraqi women and translator; and Abdulah Aljubozi with the reporter from Washington Post.

The Iraqis attending the meeting represented diverse political parties, religious and ethnic groups in Iraq. The meeting was concluded by issuing a statement emphasizing that, “Since beginning of the year 2005, the extent of daily massacres, kidnapping and torturing innocent people by the governmental agencies and paramilitary forces affiliated with the Iranian regime, have escalated drastically” and “the Iranian regime and its agents in Iraq are trying to portray their war against Iraqi people as a fight between Sunnis and the Shiites.” The statement called on the European Parliament to “condemn the Iranian regime’s interferences in Iraq and compel it to leave Iraq”.

15H00 Meetings with Iraqi Sheiks

- 50) “The US occupied Iraq militarily. Iran invaded Iraq both in economic and security terms. Top military personnel are from Iran. Economic elements from the main market in Baghdad are kidnapped and killed. Businesses are being occupied by strangers. The Sunnis are forbidden to go to the hospital.”
- 51) “I am a Mad’am. There are no hospitals. We cannot get food or fuel.”
- 52) “The problems of Iraq are very great. Iraqi scientists were killed in the North and in the South. Infrastructures are destroyed. The government and the Americans know what is going on. Nobody is asking how people are living. We ask the European Parliament to help us.”
- 53) “I represent Faluja. Militias are supported by the Iranian regime. We ask you to help us.”
- 54) “There are many prisoners and no one is taking care of this problem. There are some secret prisons. There are also some prisons in the Ministry of Defence.”
- 55) “I am from Diyala. The security situation has deteriorated. The governor supports the militias and helps Iran to enter into the province.”
- 56) “There is censorship on what is going on in Iraq. I have 5 cousins killed by the militia. There is cooperation between the army and the militia through money.”
- 57) “To go from my town to Baghdad I have to carry three identity cards to pass all sorts of check points. In my Ministry there is a secret prison to arrest and torture the engineers of the Ministry. There is also an order to arrest me because I discovered the smuggling of oil from Iraq to Iran through Basra. The oil minister has Iranian origin. We want you to investigate these problems.”
- 58) “The militias attacked, invaded and stolen our houses and belongings.”
- 59) “We heard many things about what the militias are doing but the biggest problem is the occupation of Iraq by the Americans. It is illegitimate and it was not supported by some European countries. The Americans have duties to guarantee the security of the country. But they are allowing a second invasion of Iraq by the Iranian Regime. The Americans are thinking on their own interest. There is a destruction of the Iraqi economy. We have to look at two processes: a) the PMOI was removed from the terrorist list by the European Court of Justice. This represents a great hope also for the Iraqi people; b) President Bush told us that the strategy of the US towards Iraq is going to change. We



Meeting with the Iraqi Sheiks

hope that will not go in favour of Iran and that the European Union will take firm action if that would be the case. We haven't seen much of the European Union on the Iraq conflict."

- 60) "Iraqis are suffering from a lot of problems. Also the Mad'am arabs in the South. For three months no food had come there. No schools, no governmental offices. We want you to arrange a committee to visit all parts of Iraq in order to see the facts. Please put pressure on Iran to finish their meddling inside Iraq. Thanks to PMOI."



Meeting with the Iraqi Sheikhs

- 61) "The Iranian regime sent strange people to kill Iraqis. They gathered in the same Mosque where they arrest and tortured Iraqis."
- 62) "I am a teacher. The Militias stopped us from working. In my area there are Sunnis and Shiites. Some people were killed and they threw the bodies in the road. The situation in the district is very bad. There is no hospital. There is no food. The Minister of Finance is Iranian. They don't allow us to go to Baghdad to receive our salaries. After receiving some money they stole the most part of it."

8th of January, Monday

Meetings in Amman

9th of January, Tuesday

18H00 Meeting with some Members of Iraqi Parliament in Amman

- 63) "We like very much to meet you. We would like you to understand our situation and our problems. Not by the perspective presented by the US and the Iraqi government. The idea is to reach a solution to Iraq. The situation is becoming really bad. There is an occupation by the US forces and another occupation by the Iranian Regime from Diyala to Fao. Faluja is surrounded by coalition forces. There is no food and there is no fuel. They did not create jobs. People cannot use wood. There are limitations on medicine as well. We hope that the European Union and the European Parliament will take this seriously. The press is very important. When the Americans invaded Iraq, dissolved the army and most of the civil services everybody went to their own places. When the Americans created the first council the Shiites and Kurds more in tune with Iran took places and all Sunnis and good Shiites were left outside. And they said that the Sunnis did not want to take part of the process. Those loyal to Iran gave the impression that they represent the majority of the population but it is not so. In which regards sectarianism. I have an Msc in History and heart about problems between Shiites and Sunnis within Iraq. I am not really in favour of Saddam. I was in prison during Saddam's time but I recognize that the worst days of Saddam's regime were better than today. Iran used some of the parties to take power inside Iraq. Sunnis and Shiites can live together inside Iraq. In the Government of Saddam 33 of the 55 Ministers were Shiites and Kurdish, 4 were Turks and Christians and 18 Sunnis. Regarding the visit to the European Parliament will be left to those who are inviting us. Regarding the Platform "Iraq with A Future", we think that there is a need to change the constitution. There is a commission from the Iraqi Parliament to deal with that but the Kurds refuse to take part. But there are many

provinces that said no to the Constitution. In which concerns the last elections there were more 300.000 votes. All the results are wrong. There are some terrorists coming from Al-Qaeda. But there is also the terrorism of the government sponsored by the Iranian Regime. They carried out a plan to put every Sunni out of Baghdad. That must be finished as soon as possible. Al-Qaeda and the Militias are sponsored by Iran. Al Qaeda is in charge of the killings. My son was killed through this system: - an arrest by the government militias and killings by Al-Qaeda. It is possible to use the heads of the families to get rid of Al-Qaeda. The problem is to create a government without the interference of Iran. This is in the interest of the Arab countries and also in the interest of the world.”

20H00 Meeting with Ayatollah Abdalqadir Hussain Abdallatif Almuaid in Amman

- 64) “Thank you for coming here. We had always looked at Europe. The Iraq problem is a Middle East problem and a World problem. After the Second World War and the fall of the Soviet Union there is an hegemony of the United States. The intervention in Iraq can be seen as the result of this hegemony. Iraq used to have a very good relationship with Europe but Europe is late in Iraqi issues. We do not want to lose this opportunity.

The situation in Iraq must be understood looking at causes and effects. Insecurity is an effect and not a cause. The first reason for insecurity is the occupation that took out the sovereignty of Iraq, divided the country, and constituted a government in the wrong way and the wrong time. The second reason is the creation of a government based on sectarian factions. The third reason for insecurity is the Iranian interference.



Meeting with an Iraqi Ayatollah in Amman

The creation of democracy in this part of the world must start by Iran and not by Iraq. We have to work together. The government that came out of the invasion was not created bottom up but top down, based on persons that come form outside. The real democrats must be created from the people. The government is not fitted because there was not a good opposition within Iraq in Saddam’s times and because the lack of opposition was occupied by external forces based on sectarian values. There is a need to educate the people in the right way and to create a real democracy in Iraq. There is a need to create a good environment for elections without sectarian forces. The actual government does not represent the will of the population. My suggestion is to establish an agreement around a governmental programme that will be run by technocrats. There are many people interested in an Iraqi National Accord and Egypt, Saudi Arabia and all the Arab Nations are also interested in this agreement.

22H00 Meeting with a representative of Iraqi Shiite Dafariah

- 65) “Shiites are not a people or a nation. There are many types of Shiites. The Americans made a great mistake because they did not select the right people to solve the problems. The Americans never distinguished between the different groups.”

10th of January, Wednesday.

7H00 Return to Europe.

