

Cem says his party will be EU driving force

AP ANKARA / 19 July 2002
by Suzan Fraser

Turkey's former foreign minister said Friday he was rushing to organize his new party before elections and added that he was not optimistic that Turkey would achieve crucial European Union (news - web sites) reforms before the balloting.

In an exclusive interview with The Associated Press, Ismail Cem, who defected from Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit's party earlier this month along with some 60 other legislators, said his party would be a driving force for EU reforms.

"As a party, I think that we will be the leading force in (the EU) venture," said Cem, looking relaxed but tired a day after setting off on his first campaign trip to his electoral district in Kayseri, central Turkey.

"We will try to achieve (the reforms) though I am not very optimistic for the next two or three months prior to the elections," Cem said. Cem, with graying hair, but looking more youthful than his 62 years, has been Turkey's foreign minister since 1997. His term in office will be best remembered for forging closer ties with traditional rival Greece and overseeing Turkey being made a formal candidate for EU membership in 1999.

Turkey is now struggling to push through crucial democratic reforms for EU membership. The nationalist party, a member of Ecevit's coalition government, is opposed to steps such as abolishing the death penalty and legalizing education and broadcasts in Kurdish.

Turkey needs to pass some of the reforms before October, when the EU is due to issue a report on Turkey's progress and before December when a EU summit could set a date to open membership talks with Turkey.

"I don't believe that everything will be lost if we don't manage (to pass reforms) within the next two or three months ... but it will cause us a delay," he said.



Ismail Cem

Cem is scrambling to put together his party before elections likely to be held in November. The grouping will almost certainly include the more than 60 defectors as well as Kemal Dervis, the popular economy minister who is the architect of Turkey's economic recovery program.

Parliament is due to meet next week to vote on elections for November, though it was not clear the two parties who called for the session would get a minimum quorum. That leaves Cem and his colleagues very little time to prepare. "It is a race against time," he said. The defections from Ecevit's party have stripped the government of its absolute majority and have called into question whether the government can last for much longer.

Cem said he did not know if more defections would follow and lead to the collapse of the government.

"We don't insist, we don't call, we don't even ask," he said. Cem indicated that the party would be respectful of religious beliefs but remain loyal to Turkey's secular principles. "We have a formula: we say a secularism which is respectful of religious sensitivities. That is exactly what we will do," he said.

Turkey has strict secular laws that sometimes lead to social tensions. Islamic head scarves, for example, are barred for university students and public sector workers. The ban has created intense political controversy.

"HADEP gives a conditional 'yes':"

HADEP General Chairman Murat Bozak stated that in case that laws on political parties and elections were amended and adjustment laws were passed they would approve the date November. Bozak first of all commended on their insistence on October 6 as the date of elections, saying that the reason of it was their opinion that the existing government could eliminate the block before the European Union. Stressing that they were not convinced that the parliament could take serious steps towards democratisation, Bozak mentioned that they wanted to save time for the new parliament. "Therefore the Assembly should convene not at September 1 but at an earlier date. However we have expressed that before the elections laws on political parties and elections should be amended," said the HADEP Chairman, "If the parliament convenes at the beginning of August, it is possible to amend the laws on political parties and elections and adjustment laws. Alliances should be made possible and the impediment of 10% representation which is the biggest obstacle before the public will should be eliminated."

Making a call to political parties represented in the parliament, Bozak said the following: "We wish legal adjustments which will secure justice in representation, realization of public will in the parliament and a just election."

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خاوندی: جمیل بیترس

US keen to overthrow Saddam: Kurdish chief



Jalal Talabani

Agence France-Presse Doha, July 20
An Iraqi Kurdish leader, Jalal Talabani, said on Friday the United States was "determined" to overthrow Iraq's President Saddam Hussein but military action was not imminent.

"There is definitely a US determination to overthrow the Iraqi regime. But I don't think the moment is close," Talabani, head of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), told Qatar's satellite television Al-Jazeera.

"The Iraqi people need democracy, a radical change. But we are not in favour of just any change," said Talabani, whose PUK has controlled northern Iraq together with another Kurdish faction in defiance of Baghdad since 1991.

Talabani, who held talks in Saudi Arabia this week, called for "comprehensive democratic change" to be carried out by "nationalist and independent Iraqis".

"We must not replace the current regime with another dictatorial regime. This change requires an understanding between Arabs, Kurds, Sunnis, Shiites, the secular camp and Islamists," cautioned Talabani.

US President George W Bush has vowed to use all tools at his disposal to oust Saddam, whom he accuses of developing weapons of mass destruction.

The leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), the other main faction in northern Iraq, said earlier this month that the KDP would not take part in a US offensive "unless it is sure of the alternative".

"Unless we are sure of the alternative, we cannot take part in any operation to change the regime," Massoud Barzani told the Saudi-owned pan-Arab daily Al-Hayat.

"ECHR condemned Turkey":



The European Court of Human Rights

MIA / 17 July 2002 / by Huseyin Elmali

The European Court of Human Rights condemned Turkey for 4 cases. In the most important of the cases the court ruled that the Turkish state violated the article 13 for killing of lawyer Yusuf Ekinci, one of the outstanding Kurdish intellectuals

The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) condemned Turkey to pay 100 thousand euro damages to the applicants. The court declared its decisions on four cases of killings with unknown perpetrators, torture and freedom of expression the other day. One of the important cases is related with the Kurdish intellectual and lawyer Yusuf Ekinci. The court ruled that Turkey had violated article 13 of the European Accord of Human Rights (EACH) and other two articles which guarantee the right to live. The court condemned Turkey to pay 15 thousand 590 euro moral damages and 5 thousand 200 euro for the legal expenses. Ekinci was abducted on February 24, 1994 and then found dead on February 25, 1994. That he was found at E-90 highway like Kurdish businessman Behcet Canturk was considered a making of Ciller "list". The case is one of the most evident killings with unknown perpetrators in Kurdistan after 1990. The rule of the ECHR is an important document of the dirty war in Kurdistan.

Freedom of expression

The other three cases vs Turkey there are friendly solutions. On "Haberde Yorumda Gerek" case Turkey will pay 18,700 euro to the applicant to lawyer Kamil Tekin Surek who is the owner of the magazine. The magazine was condemned to pay heavy fines for "propaganda for separationism" and the copies of the magazine were confiscated.

Torture case

And Turkey will pay damages in value of 32,014 euro to Kurdish Mehmet Aydin who has been tortured. Mehmet Aydin was taken under detention on December 30, 1993 on the grounds of being a member of PKK and had been tortured for 7 days. Then he has carried his case to ECHR.

Ozgur Yildiz who was detained on April 19, 1993 on the grounds of being a member of illegal DEV-SOL revolutionary movement will get 30,489 euro damages from Turkey. Yildiz has carried his case to ECHR showing maltreatment under detention as ground.

Letter from Kurdistan

National Congress

to Mr Anan



17/07/2002 KNC

Dear Mr. Kofi Annan
General Secretary of the United Nations

You are well aware about the history of the Kurds and their forty million strong nation, especially after their subjection to a cruel division in the aftermath of World War One, furthermore, how the occupiers of Kurdistan committed dozens of crimes of genocide, such as the Anfal and Halabja operations, and mass displacement.

Based on the fact that laws and principles of the UN state the right of all nations without exception and attempt to protect all nationalities, religion minorities and ethnicities threatened by extermination on the hands of their occupiers, we would like to draw your attention once again to the complicated and difficult circumstances of the Kurdish nation.

It is clear to us and to all freedom loving people, as well as to all occupied and oppressed peoples in the world that you are doing your best for elimination of all kinds of despotism, persecution and inequality throughout the world. This fact is subject of our admiration and gives us ever-increasing hope, more than ever to fulfil our aspiration in liberty and humanly accepted life. In the light of the above, we representatives of national institutions, political parties, non-political, religious and cultural organisations, and political, cultural and social personalities from all over Kurdistan and the Kurdish nation friends from all around the world, in the name of forty million Kurds deprived of their own state and rights, ask your Excellency to allow the Kurds to have a monitoring representative in the General Assembly of the UN.

We have great expectations from your Excellency that this demand of the Kurdish people would not be neglected, and we are sure that your Excellency would give this matter the attention and importance.

Jawad Mella
President of KNC
With best wishes and regards

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Kurdish Lover Sent Packing

ROME — A Belgian woman packed her Kurdish lover into her suitcase in an attempt to smuggle him into Italy, police said on Saturday.

Customs officials at the southern port of Brindisi stopped 23-year old Cindy Q. on Friday after seeing her struggling with her suitcase as she disembarked from a ferry from Greece, Reuters reported.

When they opened the bag, they were amazed to see 26-year old Ismail Kilic stuffed inside. "There is almost certainly a love story going on between the two," said the deputy Chief of the Brindisi Customs Office, Alberto D'Alessandro. Kilic was deported from Italy and put on the next ferry back to Greece. The Belgian woman was arrested and faces charges of organizing illegal immigration.

Thousands of illegal immigrants pour into Italy every year in search of a better life in the West. In a bid to stem the flow, Italian lawmakers passed tough new restrictions this week, including measures to fingerprint new arrivals and boost patrols to keep undesirables away from Italy's shores.



مدهایی از شهرهای ایران

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یادهومري و فنه يهك

شم رېتىدې. له ۋۇنى ۱۹۱۸۱۱-۱۲۵
گیارا، ئامېشى ناڭا خەلکىدەن ئېنگلىزىه كان
يىشان دەدات له شارى كەركەتكە.

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لاپەرىدى بىن بىناغەيان له رۈتىماش كان
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بەھەمان شەۋىش كۆنە وينى
كەركووكىيان كەركەزتەدە و يەلۈسان
كەزىتەنەدە.

لامېرىدى سەر ئەنەن دەھەنەدە و شارى

دەھەنەدە و مەھەنەدە خەلکى
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Kurds, Secure in North Iraq, Are Cool to a U.S. Offensive

By JOHN F. BURNS
The New York Times

As the United States considers ways of accomplishing President Bush's call for an end to Saddam Hussein's rule in Iraq, Washington's goal of a "regime change" in Baghdad is running into strong reservations from Iraqi Kurdish leaders who would be crucial allies in any military campaign. These leaders, interviewed in their strongholds in northern Iraq in the last week, say flatly that they would be reluctant to join American military

operations that put Kurds at risk of an onslaught by Iraqi troops of the kind they suffered after the Persian Gulf war in 1991. A Kurdish uprising then that was encouraged by the first President Bush was brutally suppressed by Mr. Hussein, and American forces failed to intervene as thousands of Kurds were killed.

No group has suffered more from Mr. Hussein's 23-year-old rule than the Kurds, who lost tens of thousands of lives to Iraqi offensives in the 1980's and 90's. The most brutal attacks, cited by the present President Bush recently as part of the justification for toppling the Iraqi ruler, involved Iraqi use of poison gas at Halabja and dozens of other towns and villages in the northern Kurdish districts during the eight-year Iran-Iraq war that ended in 1988.

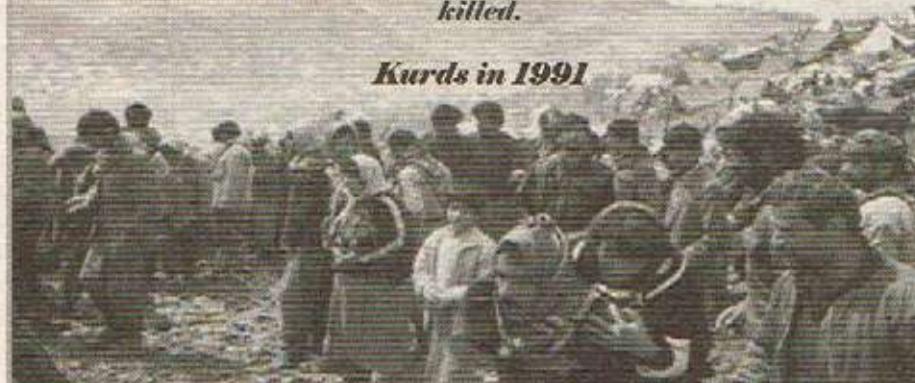
Still, no Iraqis have benefited more from Western support in the last decade than the Kurds. Protected by a "safe haven" declared by the United Nations and a "no-flight zone" patrolled by American and British warplanes, the Kurds, with barely 40,000 troops and only light weapons, have built a 17,000-square-mile mini-state that arcs across a 500-mile stretch of Iraqi territory bordering Syria, Turkey and Iran.

The threat of Western airstrikes has kept Iraqi armored battalions immobilized to the south, often within artillery range of Kurdish strongholds like Erbil, a sprawling city of 750,000 people 250 miles north of Baghdad. In this "liberated area" of soaring mountains, fertile foothills and semi-desert, the Kurds have built a society with freedoms denied to the rest of Iraq's population.

The Kurdish-controlled area has opposition parties and newspapers, satellite television and international telephone calls, and an absence of the repressive apparatus that has prompted international human rights organizations to brand Mr. Hussein's Iraq a terror state.

In 1991, a Kurdish uprising then that was encouraged by the first President Bush was brutally suppressed by Mr. Hussein, and American forces failed to intervene as thousands of Kurds were killed.

Kurds in 1991



No group has suffered more from Mr. Hussein's 23-year-old rule than the Kurds, who lost tens of thousands of lives to Iraqi offensives in the 1980's and 90's. The most brutal attacks, cited by the present President Bush

The drawback is that all this exists outside international law, and could be made permanent only by a new government in Baghdad that embraced freedoms for all of Iraq. But while an American-led military campaign to topple Mr. Hussein holds out the possibility of making their freedoms more secure, the Kurdish leaders, backed by almost every Kurd who discussed the issue, said Washington would be asking them to put all they have gained from their decade of autonomy at risk of a fresh Iraqi offensive.

"We are not ready to take any risks, and if we are not sure of the outcome of any step, then we are not ready to take that step, because we are not sure of improving our circumstances,"

Massoud Barzani, leader of one of the two main Kurdish political groups, the Kurdistan Democratic Party, said at his mountaintop headquarters outside Salahuddin, north of Erbil.

He added, alluding to the centuries of oppression Kurds suffered from Turks, Arabs and Persians, "This is a golden era for Iraqi Kurds." Their concerns are so deep that the Kurds have set aside political differences among themselves to speak with a common voice on the possibility of American action against Mr. Hussein.

After a history of internecine strife, including a brief civil war in 1996, Mr. Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party and Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan have divided the northern territory into two separate areas, each with its own government and army. But at their respective headquarter cities, Erbil and Sulaimaniya, the reluctance of the Kurds to support American moves against Mr. Hussein is expressed in virtually identical terms.

Leaders in both cities said officials from the Pentagon, the State Department, the National Security Council

and the Central Intelligence Agency visited the Kurdish territory this year to discuss American options, and had also met with Kurds in Washington and Europe. At one meeting in Europe this spring, Kurdish officials in Sulaimaniya said, Mr. Barzani and Mr. Talabani, bitter rivals for years, sat down together to meet with American officials. Their main message, the Kurdish officials said, was that Washington should not expect Kurds to subordinate their own safety to American priorities.

"Nobody has suffered more from Saddam than the Kurds," one senior official said. "We told the Americans, 'This time, the Kurds will put their own interests first, and last.' Although the Kurds' fear of again being abandoned by the United States seemed real, the greater fear seemed to be of Mr. Hussein. An official in Erbil acknowledged that the Kurdish leaders, in publicly discouraging American military action, were signaling to the Iraqi leader that the Americans, not the Kurds, were his adversaries. "Saddam is our shadow," the official said. "He's always there, right behind us, and we don't want him to think that we're drawing the Americans in to overthrow him."

Concern among the Kurds seems certain to increase with the failure in Vienna on Friday of the latest talks between the United Nations secretary general, Kofi Annan, and Iraqi officials aimed at resuming United Nations weapons inspections in Iraq. The inspections are to determine whether Baghdad is continuing efforts toward building nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as Washington has charged, and to destroy any programs that are found.

Many United Nations members, including important American allies, see a resumption of

during the Iraqi onslaught against the Kurdish uprising in 1991. Mr. Barzani and other leaders also referred bitterly to events in 1975, when the United States encouraged Iraqi Kurds to ally themselves with Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran in a territorial dispute with Iraq, only to back a reconciliation between Iran and Iraq that left the Kurds exposed to a military crackdown by Baghdad.

Mr. Barzani coupled this bitterness with a reminder that Washington's hawkishness on Iraq is led by a president whose father, many Iraqi Kurds contend, let them down in 1991.

After American troops liberated Kuwait, then stopped at Iraq's southern border, the first President Bush encouraged Kurds in northern Iraq and Shiite Muslims in the south to "take matters into their own hands." He then withheld American military support when their uprisings drew savage retribution from Baghdad.

When they discuss American plans, the Kurdish leaders reserve their harshest condemnation for any attempt to topple Mr. Hussein by C.I.A.-led covert action, possibly by fomenting a military coup.

Reports from Washington have said Mr. Bush this year strengthened a presidential directive authorizing the C.I.A. to mount covert operations inside Iraq with the aim of toppling Mr. Hussein, and authorized American agents to kill him if necessary in self-defense.

But Barham Salih, who heads the government in the eastern half of the Kurdish territory under the authority of Mr. Talabani, said American officials had been told bluntly that the Kurds would oppose any attempt to topple Mr. Hussein by a coup.

"We are not interested in exchanging one dictator for another," Mr. Salih said. "We want a democratic, pluralistic, responsible government in Iraq, and that cannot come from a coup."

"Turkey's outgoing FM forms party of 'renewal' to rival embattled PM":

AFP - ANKARA / 12 July Ismail Cem, Turkey's outgoing foreign minister, announced Friday he was forming a new social-democrat party of "renewal" aimed at pulling the country out of political and economic turmoil and advancing its bid to join the European Union. Cem told a press conference that he and two other heavyweights, Economy Minister Kemal Dervis and Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit's former deputy, Huseyin Ozkan, had decided to launch the party with the support of some 40 MPs who have abandoned the embattled Ecevit. The three-way ruling coalition ran into severe turmoil in early May when the 77-year-old Ecevit fell ill and a government rift over key democracy reforms required under Turkey's struggling bid to join the EU deadlocked the government.

"One very important element of our party's program will be the achievement of Turkey's EU membership and the fulfillment of economic and political reforms required for this," Cem said. Cem, a staunch EU proponent who enjoys solid domestic and international credibility, made no secret of the new party's aim to govern the country when he said that its aims would be also "government" principles. Cem, who has relentlessly worked to bring Turkey closer to the EU during his five-year term as foreign minister, and Dervis, the driving force of an IMF-backed economic recovery program, have been dubbed the "Dream Team" of Turkey's pro-EU urban elite.

The union between Cem, Dervis and Ozkan has received widespread support from a public that has grown increasingly exasperated in recent years by weak and fractured governments, which have pushed the country into political and

economic turmoil. With his resignation on Thursday, Cem dealt a possibly fatal blow to Ecevit's coalition, which is teetering on the brink of collapse after mass defections since Monday.

"The government has become a structure unable to take the steps that Turkey needs and produce compromise and solution," Cem said. "We are forming our new party in a bid to embrace whole Turkey in a renewal process that will be achieved by uniting and harmonizing all contemporary principles and bringing the contribution of social democracy," he said.

The Warpath: Pressures Build on Iraq

By PATRICK E. TYLER
The New York Times

The pressure on the Pentagon to produce a plan for President Bush to make war on Iraq underscores the failure of either diplomacy or covert operations to dislodge Saddam Hussein or force him to open up to United Nations inspectors hunting for weapons of mass destruction.

The emergence of a detailed concept for a military attack on Iraq also suggests that Mr. Bush's new approach to solving the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians may be part of a shift in focus toward preparations for an Iraq campaign.

Mr. Bush was briefed on the state of war planning on June 19 by the top general in the American central command, Tommy R. Franks. Five days later, the president delivered his long awaited Middle East policy address, calling on Palestinians to jettison their leader, Yasir Arafat, and warning that otherwise they can expect little in the way of support or assistance from the United States.

Effectively, that stalled the American mediation effort in the Middle East, a state of affairs reflecting the broad view of Mr. Bush's more conservative advisers, among them Vice President Dick Cheney and Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict does not present a strategic threat to American interests in the Middle East — but Iraq's interest in developing weapons of mass destruction does.

For now, Kurdish leaders appear reluctant to sign on to American war planning unless they get strong guarantees that the Bush administration plans to go all the way to Baghdad

The evidence that Mr. Hussein still possesses such weapons remains murky — particularly in the view of America's European allies, most of whom have argued strongly against a new war on Iraq.

In the United States and its principal Middle East ally, Israel, however, a number of senior officials — including Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and former Prime Minister Ehud Barak — believe that a post-Saddam Hussein Iraq could be fashioned into some form of democracy.

In this view, an Iraq under new governance could become a new Western ally, helping to reduce American dependency on bases in Saudi Arabia, to secure Israel's eastern flank and act as a wedge between Iran and Syria, two of the most active sponsors of terrorism.

The obstacles, risks and costs to such a strategy remain largely unaddressed by the Bush administration, and its planning for any eventual war is tightly wrapped in secrecy.

Deputy Defense Secretary Paul D. Wolfowitz, the administration's leading advocate for the centrality of Iraq in American strategic planning in the Middle East, was host this week to Iraqi opposition leaders, according to opposition officials, and received a bleak report from them on the chaotic state of opposition forces in Iraq.

Nonetheless, the Pentagon is pursuing efforts to unite the Iraqi opposition so that it

might play the same kind of adjunct role of intelligence collection, target identification and combat that anti-Taliban partisans played in the Afghan campaign.

According to the opposition officials, the meeting was attended by representatives from the State Department's and C.I.A.'s task forces on Iraq, along with American military officials.

Kurdish leaders in Northern Iraq are riven by internal disputes and have yet to come to any agreement with the C.I.A. to allow American intelligence officers, Special Forces trainers or diplomats to set up camp there and begin preparations for a new campaign against Mr. Hussein.

In April, Kurdish and other Iraqi opposition officials said that Massoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani, the principal Kurdish leaders, traveled to Frankfurt, and then to a C.I.A. training base in southern Virginia.

There, the opposition officials said, their leaders were told that the United States had decided to overthrow Saddam Hussein and was seeking to send C.I.A. teams to train Kurdish fighters in how to work with United States forces much as Afghan fighters helped United States forces against the Taliban.

A spokesman for the C.I.A. declined comment.

For now, Kurdish leaders appear reluctant to sign on

to American war planning unless they get strong guarantees that the Bush administration plans to go all the way to Baghdad.

They also want Kurdish cities protected from the kind of onslaught that Mr. Hussein unleashed during the Clinton administration's failed attempt to dislodge Mr. Hussein, a failure that forced the C.I.A. to evacuate thousands of partisans from Iraq at a cost of more than \$100 million, according to administration officials.

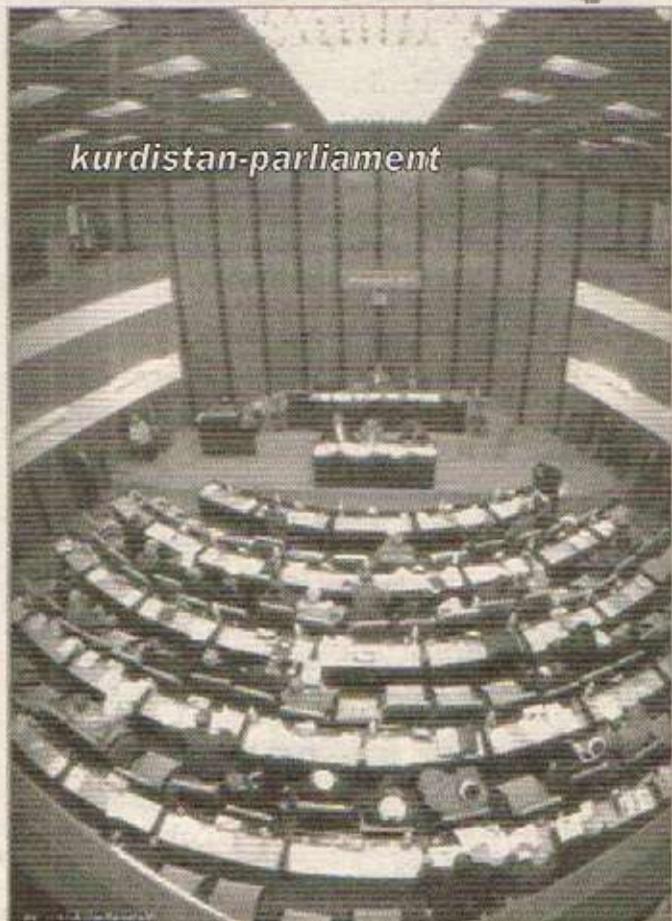
On the diplomatic front, a number of moderate Arab leaders have advised the White House in recent months that if

President Bush hopes to build a consensus for removing Mr. Hussein by force, the best way to achieve that goal is to first achieve an Israeli-Palestinian breakthrough.

These leaders said that any peace agreement must address Palestinian aspirations for statehood, which in turn would undermine Arab radicals who have stoked anti-Americanism in the region and threatened the stability of moderate Arab governments that are America's allies.

At their March summit meeting in Beirut, Arab leaders offered Israel recognition and peace in return for withdrawal from lands it seized in 1967. They

kurdistan-parliament



also took a strong position on Iraq, calling on Mr. Hussein to open his borders to inspections, but — in a pointed warning to Washington — stated that an attack on Iraq would threaten the national security interests of all Arab states.

Many of the moderate Arab states have expressed a willingness to assist in Mr. Hussein's removal if he does not accept the kind of intrusive inspections needed to reassure the world that he does not possess nuclear, chemical or biological weapons or the means to produce or deliver them, nor will he ever have them.

But when Mr. Cheney toured Middle East capitals in March to discuss

American plans to topple Mr. Hussein, his efforts made little headway in light of Mr. Sharon's military campaign in the West Bank. Still, Mr. Bush can count on some support from other allies — like Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain — whose positions have shifted over the last year.

Even Russia, with its longstanding military relationship with Iraq during Soviet times and its heavy investment in Iraq's oil sector, has signed on to the notion that Mr. Hussein has just one final chance to live up to the obligations given at the end of the Persian Gulf war to disarm and submit to long-term monitoring.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF THE KURDS (2-2)

creation of a Kurdish state on part of the territory of Kurdistan. This treaty was to go unheeded, however, the balance of power on the terrain preventing its application.

For its part, the traditional wing of the Kurdish movement, which was well-established in Kurdish society and which was mainly dominated by religious leaders, tried to "avoid Christian peril in the East and West" and to create "a state of Turks and Kurds" in the muslim territories liberated from foreign occupation. The idea was generous and fraternal. An alliance was concluded with the Turkish nationalist leader, Mustafa Kemal, who came to Kurdistan to seek the help of the Kurdish leaders to liberate occupied Anatolia and the sultan-caliph, who was a virtual prisoner of the Christians. The first forces of Turkey's war of independence were in fact recruited from the Kurdish provinces.

Up until his definitive victory over the Greeks in 1922, Mustafa

Kemal continued to promise the creation of a muslim state of Turks and Kurds. He was openly supported by the Soviets, and more discreetly by the French and Italians, displeased with the excessive appetites of British colonialism in the region. After the victory, the Turkish delegates were to affirm, at the peace conference at Lausanne, that they spoke in the name of the Kurdish and Turkish sister nations. On 24th July 1923, a new treaty was signed in this context between the Kemalist government of Ankara and the allied powers. It invalidated the Treaty of Sèvres and, without giving any guarantee, with regard to the respect of the Kurds' rights, gave the annexation of the major part of Kurdistan over to the new Turkish state. Beforehand, in accordance with the Franco-Turkish agreement of October 20, 1921, France had annexed the Kurdish provinces of Jazira and Kurd-Dagh to Syria, which were placed under its mandate. Iranian

Kurdistan, a large part of which was controlled by the Kurdish leader Simko, lived in a state of near dissidence with regard to the Persian central government.

The fate of the Kurdish province of Mossul, very rich in petrol remained undecided. The Turks and the British claimed it, whilst its population, during a consultation organized by the Society of Nations, reached a decision, in a proportion of 718, in favour of an independent Kurdish state. Protesting that the Iraqi state wouldn't be able to survive without the agricultural and petroleum wealth of this province, Great Britain ended up obtaining the annexation of these Kurdish territories with Iraq placed under its mandate, from the League of Nations Council on December 16th, 1925. It nevertheless promised the setting up of an autonomous Kurdish government, a promise kept neither by the British, nor the Iraqi regime, which succeeded the British administration in 1932.

Thus at the end of 1925, the country of the Kurds, known since the XIIth century by the name "Kurdistan", found itself divided between four states: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. And for the first time in its long history, it was even to be deprived of its cultural autonomy.

The former conquerors and empires contented themselves with certain economic, political and military advantages and privileges. None of them set about preventing the population from expressing its cultural identity or hindering the free practice of its spiritual life. None of them devised a plan to destroy the Kurdish personality or to depersonalize an entire race by cutting it off from its ancient cultural roots. This was the project of the Turkish nationalists, who wanted to make Turkey, an eminently multicultural, multiracial and multinational society, into a uniform nation; this was later

BY Kandal Nezan

taken up again by Iraq and Iran. We can join Nehru in his surprise "that a defensive nationalism turns into an aggressive nationalism and that a struggle for freedom becomes a struggle to dominate others". Indeed, since these lines were written by Nehru from the depths of prison, the nationalist or messianic ideologies have caused other ravages under other skies, often in the name of progress, modernity, mission of civilization, even freedom. Victim of its geography, of history and also, undoubtedly of its own leaders' lack of clear-sightedness, the Kurdish people have undoubtedly been the population who have paid the heaviest tribute and who have suffered the most from the remodeling of the Near-Eastern map. To paraphrase a formula formerly used for Poland, I'll say that since the dividing up of Kurdistan, the Near-East has been a sinner against itself and this sin hasn't finished poisoning its relations.

BÊRIYA BOTAN

(Celadet Eli Bedirxan)

(Ji giyanê Şêx Evdirehmanê Garis)



Kanî Derwêş, ka Herekol, ka Kepir
Ka zozanê bavê-Têli ka kê bir
Dibêjin ko Burca-Belek hilwesi
Text û bextê botian de ka geşî
Seyrangeha Banûwa Zin ma ci bû
Naxuyin qet xişr û xemlên wê li kû
Ka Westanî ka Qesara ka kanî
Kanî zozan, cihêñ bilind kebanî
Awan jî bit kanî Beko, ka nêreng
Kanî ew bezm, kanî bade, kanî beng
Basiret kû, meqşibendi, teriqet
Ka şêxen me, kanî rêzik şeriet
Kanî Seqlan, Seqnefis kû Nêrgizî
Gul û rihan zeriyane, tev rizi
Ka Azîzan, şêx û seyda û axa
Kanî ew qesr, tev bilind û tev ava
Kanî Sîti, kanî jînmîr û cêri
Kanî ew rim, ka huwêzi, şesperi
Mîr Mihemê ê néçîrvan kanî kû
Çeber li kû, kovî, hevor, nêri kû
Ka gêra wi, Gera-Xani, gejgering
Ka salêñ me, bekirbegi, xweş devling
Kanî mirek, ka misirdi, kanî beng
Kanî lolo, lê lê li kû, kanî deng
Kanî çeber, betî li kû, ka celab
Nêrekew kû, pêjn û dengen qeb û qab
Bor-mirişkan tenik biye kete ba
Ez bott me diştexilim her bî pa
Ka banê me, yê Azîzan, kanî war
Kepirê de ne kozik in, ne jî dar
Pa ez bêjim, pa dizanim ci bêjim
Pa bi Xwedê wek nexwes im û gêj im
Kanî diwan, ne diwar e xafa mîr
Ka çirokbêj, dengbêj li kû kanî pîr
Teter li kû, Axayê-Sor û ew reng
Tenbûr û ney, kemençe û zirne deng
Kanî dawet, qelîsel û medfûni
Tîrîk, parêv, arok, mehîr, hêkrûnî
Kanî civat, fil û setrene, ka zindan
Ko tê de mir, sahê mexribi, Mîr-Alan
Dotmîr li kû, ka mîr Şeref, mîr Ezîn
Kanî bavê sitiya Zin, mîr Zengin
Beg û axa kanî tovrind, kanî dot
Ne mîr mane, ne mîriti, ne jî cot
Ne Gurgel e, ne Finik e, ne Cizîr
Ne risipi, ne kefxwê ye, ne kizîr
Ne Buhar e, ne Havîna mîr Şeref
Zivistan e, dwanzde hêv tev her û herf

Ne dêmîr in, ne şahînet, ne hevîn
Kanî mîr Şem, kanî Tacîn û Gurgûn
Kanî ew bext, kanî bextî, ka koçer
Sadon li kû, ew serekê şevînger
Kanî mîrxas, ka xulam û misirdi
Ka li kû man ew gernasen nedîti
Ka zirtxane, gurz û cidi, kanî hesp
Xencer û rim, kanî şûrîn rast û çep
Pira Bafet belê ev e, kevane
Kevin bûne, ne tirine, sorane
Ji delavê qitikan ve naye deng
Kew û kevok di şînê de ne man ceng
Şeylo bûne kaniyên me ka rejû
Mazîyan de ne pel mane ne gezû
Kanî Xani, Feqeh-Teyran û Mela
E Cizerî, ne jî Batê, kes nema
Şax li kû ma ka Berwarî, ka Dêrgul
Tu tîst nema, wemirîne deng û gul
Kanî Xêrkan, Harûnan û Jêliyan
Şûvi li ku, Welat-Kelhok û Goyan
Batûyan kû, Welat-Kilîs, Sipêrti
Ne Soran in, ne Müsereş, Silopî
Kiçan, Teyan, Dûdêran kû ka Mîran
Hacibêra, kanî Şernex, Garisan
Ne Hesinî, ne Elikî, ne Memî
Eruh li kû, ne Aliyan, Gergerî
Ji garisan ne koçer in, ne dêman
Kanî Zêwkî, Welat-Kêver, Ebasan
Dawûdiyan, Omerkan jî, ka Kheran
Ma kher bûne, tu deng naye ji tuwan
Kanî Xaltan, bira Zerdeş, Hewherî
Şûrkêşen me, filehîn me Hevîrkî
Ka şikefta mîr Miheme, ka perî
Kanî Dasnî, kanî keçen surperî
Kanî Şingar, ka xwalen me, yezîdi
Belav bûne, bê rêzik in bê seri
Dêra-Reben weke berê vala ye
Hejale jî diyar niye raza ye
Misiryan kû, kanî lavij, lajebêj
Tîr û kevan, sur û mîrtal û destrej
Ne eşîr in, ne bajari, ne fileh
Burc û kelat, ne segman in, ne şergh
Kevnar ne man û nayîn pê tu nûjen
Tari her der, ne kulek in ne rojen
Di Tanzê de ne feqeh in ne mela
Medresa-sor xerabe ye ji nû va
Kela Ewrex her bi ba ye, kela kevn
Tê de iro pîrhevok in û çend tevn
Kanî Şêx im, Evdirehman garisî
Ew ji kuştin sorgula me cîlîsi
Herê lawo tev de çûne nînîn nin
Destê me de ne hesp mane ne jî zin
Kurdistanê tu abadin, her heyf
Iro, sibe û hergav jîbî dê hebî

Kurdish Music



by Christian Poche



PART I
Kurdish music belongs to the same family as Persian music, but its main characteristic, as in Indian music, is the exploration of the octave. the basic structure is a model development of which the elements are elaborated and organized by improvisation is such a way as always to result in a melodic rhythmic conclusion. In the musical construction the improvisation at the outset is balanced by means of a measured concluding part. Kurdish music is neither learned music nor folk music, but all in one. Like Persian music, it is passionate, sensuous music, very often tinged with a profound melancholy. Although close to each other, these two words are very different and cannot be confused when heard, Persian music being more refined and that of the Kurds being more instinctive and more impulsive.

At first sight, the way Kurdish musician considers his art may appear disconcerting to a westerner, for there exists no terminology indispensable in defining the phenomenon of sound. There are no precise terms relating to the art of making music; the rules, the forms, the musical scales are in Kurdish language all associated with concrete phenomena. the basic notation are expressed by simple terms taken from daily life and generalized. In Kurdish the word "music" is conveyed by term "saz", a word of Persian origin which signifies both music and any musical instrument or a particular musical instrument. Another term employed in the same way is "tanbur", which likewise designates music and particular stringed instrument. This term has long been the subject of a sharp controversy: is origin of long-necked lute found in India and attested in ninth-century Poland by Arabic writers to be sought in Sanskrit and does it mean the instrument which gives the "tone"? Does it come from Sumer, as some authorities maintain? Or is it a legacy of the Scytho-Sarmatians and thus of the Caucasian civilization? When Kurdish musician talks about music he never refers to concept with which we are familiar on account of the formal or expressive connotations. To convey the idea of improvisation he uses a term which means "work", in the sense of "working" an instrument. A musician gifted with great inspiration is

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by Nozad Karim

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KURD BÊKES NIYE

(Hejar)



Roji xoşit hate aso, ey geli xembarî kurd
Roj helat, roşin deke şewarî talarî kurd

Kotri "Pikaso" ke mujdey hêminî hêna goş:
Mird, be ser çû rojî istî'bad û istîşmarî kurd

Kewte lerze, tenbeli xayîn be gel mîsk û dili
Tund e rişey dakuta, hezî prolêtârî kurd

Hezî istî'smar ke hêndek mistexorî zik zil in
Çermî mîlyan xoş deke zor zû, tenaf û dârî kurd

Nayîlin faşîstî wehşî Amrikay daxwazi ceng
Bîydene ber bom mînal û mal û ladê w şarî kurd

Kê delê kurd bê kes c? Gişt aşîfxwazanî cihan
Xêrxwahî mulki Kurdistan in û xemxwari kurd

Hind û Çin û Korya bo kurdevari ceng ekin
Krêmlîne w hezî Çin pişt û pena û dajdarî kurd

Lawekan her katî cêwnî rojî azadî deken
Bênenewe birtan Hêjarek şâ'irekî zarî kurd

Dawetekî reşbetek bigrin le dewrî goreken
Yektîri maç ken be yadim, dilber û dildarî kurd.

هزاری شیوآندن یا لهکه دارگردان!

اسین بانی خیلائی

له چنگیده کی تردا ناگری داشت. (بهشیور له پالتنزی گزموسینیز من ساتالینی هاتزتسه دردو، رانگه خوینده کهای له شوروووی کاریگه ری لرم مسنه له یهدا همه بوبیت. تا لیریده بیتانتستی ناگری لمصر بیرو بیچوون و نایدزلویزیه تی په شیودا درادکه دیت، که بهشیور بس کومونیزیز من ساتالینی ناو دهبات، له کاتینیکدا گلوردرین هنلهو کفرش تهدودیه په شیور وان چینیت ناو بوبیت، چونکه هدرک سینیک سره رخنی پسجد بیچوون و قسه کانی په شیور بدت سه رای تیگه یشت له شیعره، کانی هیچ تینه گات، نهونده تینه گات، که په شیور مرؤقینکی نهاده دیه و همه مهور بدرؤونده دیه نهاده دیه کان لای نهوده کهونه پیش همرو شتینکه و، نیتر سازام لرم بیواره خوینده واره چون تینگه یشتووه؟ رانگه په پیتره اانگه تینگه یشتیت، که (گا به گوندا دنایسته) نه مسنه بشه مانا یادی هدرک سینک له روپسما خوینده و لمونی زیا تینت کومونیسته. تا خراز زنون تدو که سانده له برآمیسر گردد و نایدزلویزی هیساوازده نیازی گلاوسان همیده، بدلام تدو نیازیسان له رینگای خلک و شیوانزی شردو و به شیوانزیکی شدمانه ناراسته و خوده دره بین، تدو نویسته ناگریشدا، که په شیور بروه به نیشانه تدو نیازه نا خارینه نی گری برآمیده به بیی کومونیست به گشته و ساتالین بتدامسته زدرو به زاقی دیاره، بدلام ته ووی چینگاگی برسیار لای من، چون ته نیازه بیسیدت تینکل به جوانی شیعر کرد؟ تبلهه ته و شان له بیر نه چیت، که له کوتایی مهدهستیتی به خوینده بگه میستی. هرروهه له گافر خوینه لدم شیعره پهشیور بروایت، هم است به شاکرکی دایسه لونگه ده کات، چونکه نممه شیازنکه لدم شیازه نزیانه، ندمبی نوی پیشته پیند، به است. به لام ناگری دیاره به هوشیاریه و ویستویه ای شیعره که ده هزی په شیور بشیزیت، پیشه و شهی قده بیه به (خانی) درده گیتری، نه لیته قده بیه لش چندمکن پردهه لاییدا تندنا بو تارهه به کارهه دیه وان هه لکری شهروف و پوشنی بندماله و خیزان، هدر بیشه بدم بونده شه و پهشی به عه قلی بندماله و خیل و نیزایه تی تاواتیار ده کات، به لام له راستیدا قدجه زارهه یه که له کاتینکدا به کارهه دیه مرؤف له حاله تیکی دروونی نهاده ساتلزو دنواردا دهی هم است ده کات نیتر هیچ چه مک و زارا و پیک ساتوان مانانکانی خویان بینکن! له روپسها کی تریشده پیتراداشت داشت: (له گهر شافرات داکه دوت، نهاده دیه است به قده بیه، نه گهر بیار داکه دیه است به پولیس) که اوته که شکولیش مدبل (معجب) است. جاریک پیشنه همرو شتیک راخنه بیویستی به ناسی زمان پاکی و بزریه، له گلد نهاده داشت، دیه بین به لگه ناجیته خانه داشته، بیانفرشیت، داشت و شهی قده بیه بزم درکه دیده که کار پهیزیت، کاتینک ده مور به ها نه خلاقي و مرؤفایه تیکی کاتی گلدنک بفرشیت، وانک ته تو فراته تی هه مور به هایه که نه خلاقي و مرؤفانه تی خوی دافروشیت، نیتر هزکاره، کان چین؟ تهوا ناگری ده تاریخت و لامان بدانه دهه دستی شانکردنی قزنانه و میزروه کانیان.

پلارون کردزدنه و بو سرجاوه که دی
 دستینیشان نه کرد دودو، که میتزووی
 نویسی ندو شیره له گهنه دیوانی
 بر اکوی جیاوازیان هدید، وانه له گه
 منزق له روانگاهی دفنه تهدیدیشده
 نهروانیتله ددق و له روانگاهیه که
 سیاستیه و داک ناگری تمداشای
 بکات، نهوا گرزنگرین خال
 دستینیشانکره میزروی ندو
 قوتانشه به، که ندو دقتی تی لدایک
 بوره، بز نم مدیدسته هیچ کمیت
 ناتوانیت هویتندنه و دیده که رخنه بیانی
 لهسر رزمانی (بر اکوی) آنیکوس
 نیکوس
 کازانتساکی (Kazantzakis) هدیت به بس
 خویشندنه و دیده کی ندو قوزناغه شهربی
 ناسارخ له نیسان کومونیست و
 مدیعیه کانی بیاناندا همبوب. بدلا
 ناگری به شاردنده و دیده نه ماشه له نیمه
 دایسه ویوت ندو پدایامه هه بیانی و
 مدیدستیتی به خویشندی بگذشت
 هدرده رها نه گهه خویشندی ندو شیره
 به شیو پرداخت، هدست به شاگرکی
 دایسه از لوگ ده کات، چونکه نهد
 شیوازیکه لدو شیوازه نریانه، نهد بی
 نوی پیشی پیده دیده است. بدلا ناگری
 دیاره به هشیاریه و پستوپیش
 شیره، که هزی پهشیو شیوریتیت
 بزیه و شهی قجهه به (خانیان)
 و دره گیتری، تله به قدهبدهش لد
 چدمکی روزهه تا خیده تدناهه بز ناقرات
 به کاردیت داک له لگری شده ده
 راوشتی بندماله خیزان، هدر بزیه
 بسم بزندش، پهشتو به عدالی
 بندماله و خیل و نیزایه تی توانابار
 ده کات. بدلا نم دراستیدا قجهب
 زاراویه که له کاتیکدا به کاردیت، که
 منزق له حالمتیکی هدروونی ندوهند
 نالیزو دژواردا دهی هدست ده کات
 نیز هیچ چه مک و زاراویه داک ساتوان
 سانان کانی خیان بیینکن له روویه کی
 تریشه و پیت دنادشت دلی: «له گهه
 ناقرات داکه دوت، نهوا دیبیت به
 قه حیده، نه گهه ریبار داکه دوت دیبیت به
 پولیس) که وانه چه مکی قدهب
 چه مکیکه بز هدیه کیک بز نیزج صی
 بیت ندو مانایه ده که دیبیت، که لد
 سرجم مانس نهه خلاقی
 منزقایه تیه کانی خوی داده که دیبیت
 تا ندو تاسته دی یانغروشیت، داشته
 و شهی قجهه بز سرگردیده داک به کار
 بهتریست، کاتیکه هدمو بمهه
 نه خلاقی و منزقایه تیه کانی گذلیان
 بفریشت، داک ندو تافه که هدمو
 به هایده که نه خلاقی و منزقایه خوی
 ده فرشیت، تیت هوكاره کان چین؟ ندو
 ناگری ده توانیت ولا میان بداتدوه.
 ناگری و کاتیان.

کسانی ناسایی نایین
و زیوه همیشه گوتراوه (روخته گور
نوسردی دروسمه). داشت له و دیو
در دلکنکه کور، چه تند دلکیکه تر خونی
دمشارادایت، بزیه رخنه گور دیست به
واوی دوزینه و دیو دوقاندا بگاریت
ملک نوسره. تا خر له گور منزقیکش
نم نامندا هیته لازم بیست
هیواتیت خونده و دیمه کی
هیغه عریفانه سو دلکیک بکات، پو
لینه نگ ناییت و وا له پله اماره ای
کسانیت توسر ناهشت.

لهم ياربِّہ بیویں .
ما ویسے کی زورہ لہ سدر سایتہ
کورہ یسے کان نورسراوی چڑوا
بلاؤد کر تونہو، کہ دشت هدیہ کنیک
له نورس او انہ جیگھی خرندشہ وو
قہ لیکردن بیت، سلام تھوڑی من
لیں دا میدھستہ هندیک قسیدی
سادھ روزانیہ، کہ ناویسان ناوارہ
(نووین) !۔ بویہ دلتیم: قسدو نالیم
نووین: جونکه حلولن لہ سادھارنیں
پرسنیبیہ کانی نووین، جگہ لمدھش
لہ بروی دارست و پرمانہ وو، کہ

لند نهاده بدانی را خداو داری
بشبیه به له جیهاتی را گه باند و
الا که سه ولد کوره سدا دیا و دست
اید و لذتی سواره ته تلبدی به ترخنکی
دری ید نیمه بفرشنهده سا و اک همر
ایمید کی خلمسه قاره دارای
نه توستان لیکن، بو تدوی بتو باو
تممه دزراوه کانی خیسان رامان
کیم، له کاتیکدا نمک خارونی
سمه ایچوونیکی سوی نین، به لکو
نه کسانیک دجن پاش خه و نیکی قول و
ریز خابن به تاگا هائن!

به روزشنبگی یکمین، داشت به
شیوه یکان له شیوه کان له و جزو
مرغ فانه و دلک (ازارو) تا بینین، چونکه
له سر خوش که سایر دلخیز رع
له گوسی پندت دع له لیخندنا ماله
خوبیان ده یکم، بدلاهم تهدیه چینگاهی
نه بود، دلک همه ته خلاتنگی

Naturalismus ناچاریزیم
Neuklassizismus نئوکلاسیزم
Expressionismus اکسپریسیونیزم
Moderne مودرنیت
(Postmoderne) پست مودرنیت
 شارازای همراهیست قدمت بابستیکی
 لتو شیوه‌ی تاگری نمک و دل و تاریکی
 په خنده‌ی گرنگ، به لکر و دل
 نوسینیتیکی بابستیش تمثاشا
 نهاد کرد، به لام دیاره که شکولیش
 هاواری ای تاگریده و دیانه ویت له پیگاهی
 نهاد بدو ورق و کیمی خویان به سر
 په شنیدا قلبه کهنده، یا دانگی خویان
 بهار چنگی مهدهسته بگدیدن.
 تاگری وره خنده نهاد بدهی
 به راستی نهاد بابستی تاگری هینده.

20.6.2002 سایت www.amude.de و
 باشان لدایم (حمدیه
 عکشکولی)، یهود کوا به کوره‌ی و برقی
 25.6.2002 سایت www.kurdistant.net.org و
 25.6.2002 سایت www.nuserikurd.com
 لالد کاریمه، که گرمانم نیمه بزو
 شوینی تریش نهیدرا بینت و بیلاش
 هه کرته‌ده.
 باباته کهندی تزار تاگری له زیرناوی
 اف اخلنگه الایدیولوچیه. هل یصعح
 لشتر شنیده؟، که که شکولی وای
 درگی راوه: (لە نیتو هه رای
 دیرونوژد استمیر دهسته جنتر؟).

مساف و کرامه‌ست خدکی تر
برو شنیت و هیرشی بینناخود به لگه
بکدیته سه ر کسانی تر یا هدر
نه تاری تازاده یه و ماف و شازادی
کسانی تر زدوت بکدیت، بد لکو له
ساده‌ترین بیناسه‌ی تازاده بیدا ریزگرتند
لـ هـمـوـ مـاـلـ وـ
به هامزی یاد تیبه کانی یه کتر، که
راه درین به کنکه له، آنه.

درین گرگورو، که پاشتر دینمه و سه ریان
زده خنگ گر کاتیک دیده ویت ده قیکی
له دینه بخوبیتیه و، پیروسته همه مور
لهو لا یاد و خدسله تانهی پینکهاتسانی
شمره داده من به تاییه تیش شیر
فراموش نه کات، به هدمو و نه
چوان داشتیه کانیسه، هدر له
فروزه دره بگره نه موزیکار و نه، پلام
هدوهی تدو (بندار و خنه) تاگری
بخوبیتیه و هه است به ناتاماده ای و
پینده سه لانی تاگری لهو بواره ده کات،
که زونک تے کردن و خریندن و
له هوره بکیک لهو پینکهاتانه پیرویستی
بعد غوره گه لینکن له نار خودی ده قه که و
تمدشم لهو تو روییه تاگری دا بز
دومایش بد رجاو تاکه دن، مجگه له
که اگر که که که که که که که که که

معرفتیه دنکات لئک سندی بازار
 چایخانه. گوتاری رونخنه تدو گوتساره
 نیه لمسفر جاسته نووسهار
 کاریکات و بدهشین خوندنهه وی
 کسایدته نووسهاره و تیل بیت، به لکو
 گوتاری رونخه له دواز مردنی
 نووسهاره له دایک بورونی داقمهه، خونی بیز
 ناو قوالیه داهمی نسدو داقتنه
 شترود کاتنه، تا مانا نادیارو
 شاراوه کاتان بیز بدوزتنهه، راخنه
 بریتیبهه نیبهه له هیرشکردهه سر
 نووسهاره گهربان سده دوای نهینی
 کسایدته دیجور بذچورونی تایلههه
 نووسهاره، به لکو گهربانیکی بیهودهه
 بدو دوای ندو مانا نادیارانه، که

ناظهی که رکووک و
هموله کانی
کفرینی واقعه
نه ته و هیه کهی

نواچه کانی دهرباره ری دواوده هد
له سرده می خوکم مهله کیمه و
تا سرده می رئیس بیم عس ، له
کوتایی کتبه کشدا چهند
نه کتابه کی بلاد روزبه ره که
بریتین له ناوده کی چهند بد لگه
نامه نهیتی که له لایه نی
بسرگردایه تی فرقه هی دروی
تیستخارتی کدر کوک له
کوتایه کانی سالی ۱۹۵۸ و
سده ز تا کانی سالی ۱۹۵۹ ناراستی
بدربوره راهه تی پیستخارتی
سه زیارتی و حاکم کشتی سه زیارتی
و سرگرد نه رکابی سویا کسان و
تم بد لگه نامه لمایدن (الزعیم
السرکن) (نظام الطبقات)
فرمانگه هی فرقه هی دروی
پیستخارتی کدر کوک و نهیز
کران .
و پاشکنی کیشی له سدر
رووده ده کانی سالی ۱۹۵۹
کارکوک نویسیده .
تم کتبه دکتر نوری تاله بانی
به سره اهادیه کی زور گرنگی
بنیادی نیسان کسوده نور کمان
لیکولینه دویسه کی زور گرنگی
نویسیده له بشی سیمه مدا دکتر
تاله بانی به دروده ریمی له
هد، له کار نده، و نک دن، که، که،

سر جیسابی گله کدی خزی و
جاسوس و سیف تانه سنور دیدزینی
دیست: (لدم باوره شاعیر
در قنیکی له گدن دوزمنی شهدار دا
م).

دوبی پیشنهادی دوڑمن له لای تاگرگی
جی بیت ؟ تایا تاگرگی ویستو یه تی
بیزکردنی نه و همرو ناهه تایا
هابسبر به شتیری شاعیر و بیزی
نه تاویس کوردی، جی سه خویشیدی
عمر در بیلت ؟ تو باینی ریستیتی به
نه فالجید کان بلسن نیشو دوڑمنی
جاواناتن هن ؟.

نه گهر چی سه میدا نزار تمدنی
مندالی تینه را دندو، به لام خوزگه
کشینک شعره کانی پدشتوی به جوانی
بر خونتند ایده دو، به تایسته ۱۲۰
راته بز مندانان، ندوکاته به
لایمه، پدشیان همروهه، لدو
بوختانه که بهدم شیعره کانی
باشه شنیو هدالیمه ستون و
بیده گه بشت که خولنی کرد زته و چاری
خوبته زی عذردهی، کورد شناس و
خوشیده حامید کمشکلیش که
هیله عمده ای راهنی گرگه هفت
پیاتر خونی ماندریکات بز دزیشده و دی
وختنی ندادهی، له مهتری
نایسدز خیاره هر شتیک بسوی
کوردا یسته لبیست نه دیده به مر
وهنلی بوختانی ٹههاروی دهنا والک
کاک " یاسین بایحیلائی " دلیست:
" دیاره کمشکلزی هارویی ناگیره و
دیانه و نیت له ویکان نه داده و بق و
کینه خزیان به سره په شنیدا
تلپکه نهوده، با دنگی خزیان بسو
بنیگه مدهسته بگدیدن "
منیش " دلنم " بهلامدارانی مامزست
به شیوه بس و شیوه ناشیرینه،
" بهلامدارانی جوانترین و راستگترین
شده کوردیده ".

شیو اندھی وانہ کانی عبدوالا پے شیو، بُو؟



کیو دام که کشکلیش، چونک لے
و رگیرانہ کے یہا نہ تیبیسیہ کی

ردنگه زیاد رویی نهیت نه گذر بلنم ،
شیعری کورودی له هدمو براره
له ده دیمه کانی تر زیارت نهیس خنی
تا واده و ، له درگای هدمو باس و
خواستیکی کورودی ، له دلداری و
نه لند و میاسه و کاربریاری
کومندلا یادیده ، یگه ، تا پیاهه لدانی
زینگه و دین و خواه برستی داده ،
عهد دللا پهشیون به کیکه له شاعری
نه ته و میاسه کوره ایستی و ولا تهاریزی
بیدیا و دیزی کوره ایستی و ولا تهاریزی
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یه که نه منزه له پیشنهادیه کی
عده دیم و به پیشنهادی کوره ایک
شیعره کانی پهشیونه ، به هدر
مه بدستیک بیت ، که له خزماتی
کلتوری داگی که سرمدست زیارت ،
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ناکری" له پیشنهادی (المقتصدی
عیاری قی مازه (۳۰۷) دا کومند لکه
نه ماشیت بن ناویدزکی له سدر
شیعره کانی پهشیون نویسیووه ، که به
ناشکرا رق و قیش لتدبارت به امادر
شاعیر خنی و بجه کوره دستانته که دی
له دهوش سایر تر ، "حد مید
که شکولی" وک تمهودی هندنگی
له کلوره داردا دوزیسته و ، بروسه که
تاسا کرد و یه که کورودی و به تاری
وتاریکی رهنه کرانهی زقر گزینگ و به
چه ندین مالیه ری کوره یاده
به خشیوته و ، که پاش ماهیه کی کم
نویسنه که گزشه گزکه ، له بدر
نه و دی من عده دیمه کم دوکنل ده کات
زیمه خوم دیدار یزه له رهنه گزین له
و در گزنه که که شکولی ، نزار ناگری
پیشاجتیت به چاکی له کوره دی که دی
پهشیو گدیشتین ، هدر بیمه ندو
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مروی بهترین که سرمه دارد، هیئت‌نامه که
نهایتی شود بسازمانی خزانی
بدونی و له بیدان گردوده، که جنی
پیره توستالایه بز چی نای
خزانی واقعیتی زمانی کوردی
بکدن که جنی شانازی بنده مالی
خزانی بین، من و تی "تی‌ساعیل
پیشکشی" که خود برگز نور که
و له سفر کورد که قوته زیندانی
تورکیا هسته ویر که دلی: (کورد
به گزینی پیوست و لاتی خنز
خوش نه بسته و).

راستی مسله کش هر واشه،
نه گز و لاتی خزان و نهندوانی
خزان خوش بیوت نهین زمانی
خزان بینی و پارچه‌نی.

لوجه‌ند روزی را بردو و دله گه
هاوریه که مسلاه کش کورد، کانی
با کوره‌مان کرده، رس بشدادری
کردنسی پیوسته‌نیکان، زیره‌ی
هره روزی ریور سه که بیان سه
زمانی تورکی به پیوه برد، دیاره
له نیو بشدارندانه که سانی بیانی و
توستالی همدون، من ترس نهود
هه بیه نه گز ریه کیان له
بشدادریه بیگانه کان شتیک له
سر کوردی پاکور بتوسون که
کورد کان بروخان پیشان خوش
لیه به زمانی کوردی قسیدکن،
لیه به زمانی چی یکه بین؟

تیمه دین چی یکه بین؟

هار نه و شده خاتونیک له پشت
کنی و چادان داشتبو چایی
داده بیشداریه بیگانه کان، منیش
چورمه لای روم دروچایم بددی،
به جزیلک سه بیری کردم که تراسم
روم نه کا خراب لیم حالی بیو
بیست!، هدربیش زد دستم
هه ایهنا و دو په خدم بز لای
کنی و چادانه که دریز کرده و سه
دنگیکی بدرز روم: دوچایم
دق چا..، بیشک شکر کمر
و لاپیش بواهه لیم تینه گیشت،
که چین بونگکتی نهدم خاتونه
کورد!! تیمه نه گه یشت و
هدنیه یت چاری زدق گرده،
هاوریکه کم گوئی لی بیو هاتور
بسازمانی سورکی پیش ووت و
لدویش به رو خوشی و بینکه نینه و
پیشی ووت: "پاشن سدن"
که دلین: مانای (بزیت تزیه)،
منش زد بنازاره‌حاته و جایه کدم
ورگرت و روم سپاهان، و لک
ندوی بدارانک له سری بیدی
وابر، چونکه هم رینه گیشت.
له لای من تمه سنه ناجسی
دگه یتیش نه گدار نا چون دیست
کورد بین و نه زانی (سوپاس)
مانی چیه؟

ده دوازده کستیک پاوستابون و
به سورکی قسه یان ده کرد،
هاوریکم روتی: وا دزمم لـ
نهستبورلم، دلیتم بجم لیشان
پهرس تهی بجهه‌ند دهانکه یته
بیوان؟

هڻي ههڙار له ڀاد ههڪهن

کومندک" کومندکهایی که خوبی خشنه، بی داین کردنی یارمده‌تی و پاشزدزی‌نکی گذش و شارام بتواند الله بین کمس و کاره کاتی کوردستان کاره‌کات. له زیارت له بیست شاره شاروچکه‌کی نوره‌ستان و چندنین شاری نوره‌پادا ده فتیه‌ری چالاکن همه‌یه، هه‌تا تیستا یارمده‌تی تیزکه‌ی نهزار مندانی بین دایلک و باولک و بین کسوسکاری کوردستانی داوه و سرمه‌ریشیان ده کات و شمه‌هه به‌غایه که سه پیشترانی کدم مندان‌الله ده کان به برینه‌ویه مانگان‌یاه کم که "کومندک" دیاری تردد و بی دایستکردنی خویندند و جنگا و سره‌پرشتی سه‌م مندان‌الله که به هنر شهد و پیاسه‌تی ته‌نقال و کیسیاباران‌کردنی هنده‌یه له نازی دایلک و خوش‌بیست باولک بین بدشکارون.

و نه‌دویی کورده‌کانی توسته‌الیا لهم تدرکه مزقانه و نه‌تمودیسه ناگاهه‌ارین و ندوایش تدرکی سرخانه و کورده‌انه خربیان بدراهمه به مندانه بینکه‌من و کاره کاتی کوردستان به جی بکه بینی و زانن له ج رنگه‌ید که وه هروان یارمده‌تی و پالیشیت خوبیان بگته سه مندان‌الله روزان‌امدی کوره "نم پیزیزتازه‌تی تاما‌د کرده و بروه، که نزدیه زانیاریه کاتی له ته‌تدریسته‌ده و در گرگوشه‌و سوده‌مان له پیشانه و نامادی "کومندک" و پیش سه‌میرانی مندان‌الله کان و در گرگوشه.

و هیوایه‌ین که کوره‌کانی توستاییا شابه‌شانی کوره‌کانی تمه‌پوریا و للاهانی تر سلزو تنشیه‌ویستی خوبیان بز سه مندانه لیتکه‌ومارو بینکه‌سانه داریسن و به تدرکی راسته‌قیمه و قیانه خوبیان هلتن و همندک له سوزد خوش‌بیست، دایلک و باولکان بشکشكه ش بکدن.

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سه تندری ناشتی - له شاری
سلیمانی، مامرستا و کارمندی
تاییهت و کارمه له سه تندری
ناشی بزداهنه له خدمت مندانلنه
شاره که دان . فیتر کاری و پروردید به
شیکی چالاکی سه تندرده که یه ، مندانل
له پرسی شهودی غرفته بدر کار و
لشیازاردا سرگردان بیت، لسم
سه تندره، فیتر ھونه در و زانست دهین
و گوزه روانیکی نهدم و شاد دهیاته

A collage of three black and white photographs. The top photograph shows a large crowd of people gathered in an open field. The middle photograph shows a group of people standing near a body of water, with trees and a building visible in the background. The bottom photograph shows a group of people standing in a row, some holding items.

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زمرده و دکو هدغیر	من واز ما هیتم دیسان
سپیمه و دک پهندیز	رازه هاترو ومه نیزه
که تو خشیدی درو کمودت هدر کات	وم مامه کلدشتله
شوه بزانه بدھار هات	بیلک تددم هم رو و بالم
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ANSWER The answer is 1000. The first two digits of the number are 10, so the answer is 1000.

