



## "Iraq reverses Australian wheat ban"

By Grant Holloway  
CNN

SYDNEY, Australia (CNN) -- Iraq has reversed a decision to ban imports of Australian wheat after personal intervention by a trade delegation.

The delegation persuaded Iraqi officials that the aggressive view of the Australian government towards military action against Iraq was not necessarily shared by the majority of Australians and should not be a factor in determining trade relations.

While Australian Prime Minister John Howard had stated that he wishes to see a "regime change" in Iraq and that he considers military action by the U.S. as likely, recent opinion polls show a clear majority of Australians oppose an invasion of Iraq.

The Australian Wheat Board delegation, which met Iraqi Regime Trade Minister Dr. Mohammed Mehdi Saleh in Baghdad at the weekend, secured the release of 130,000 tonnes of wheat stranded in ships off the Iraqi coast.

Another 500,000 tonnes of wheat will also be purchased by Iraq as previously contracted, and the wheat board is cautiously confident it can maintain a healthy trading environment with Iraq.

Iraq imports approximately 2 million tonnes of wheat a year from Australia, worth about \$450 million (Aust. \$830 million) a year.

But that trade had been threatened by Iraq's reaction to aggressive statements by the Australian government, particularly by Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer.

The official Iraqi News Agency reported that the attitude of the Australian government was hindering trade relations but that the stance of the Australian Wheat Board was "a positive and constructive one and reflects a desire to develop co-operation with Iraq."

The INA reports Dr Saleh has confirmed that all the current wheat imports have been regained but warns that situation could again change.

Australian Grains Board chairman Keith Perrett told the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Monday the concessions gained at the weekend were a positive sign, but did not guarantee future exports to Iraq.

"But we are hopeful that the positive signs and the positive statements that are coming out of the Iraqis will lead to further sales and continue the longstanding trade that we have with Iraq," he said.

Howard on Sunday tried to downplay the political implications of the wheat deal while acknowledging the breakthrough had been a "good outcome."

Saying the Iraqi ban had been a "quality issue," Howard said he

was glad the situation had been resolved.

"I think it's probably better if we don't try and put what's happened in relation to wheat in any kind of political context," Howard said.

### 'Diplomatic solutions'

But the statement from the Iraqi News Agency says the earlier decision to halve the amount of wheat imported from Australia was due to the "hostile position" of the Australian government -- particularly Howard and a number of his government members -- who supported "aggressive threats against Iraq."

A statement released by the Australian Wheat Board Sunday said Dr Saleh "made it clear the Iraqi government and people highly value the relationship, not only with the AWB and Australian wheat growers, but with the Australian nation as a whole."

"Dr Saleh stated he took no pleasure in seeking to reduce future wheat commitments in response to the Australian Government's perceived hostile position towards Iraq," delegation leader Andrew Lindberg said.

The Iraqi government had not forgotten that AWB was the first company to recommence supply of wheat following the cessation of hostilities during the Gulf War, he said.

"The minister made it clear that Iraq wishes to resume and increase future business with AWB on the basis that the Australian government supports diplomatic solutions to the current situation in Iraq," Lindberg is quoted as saying.

### 'Blackmail'

The wheat board is expecting to meet with officials from the prime minister's office later this week to discuss the outcomes of the Baghdad meeting.

Senior Australian government figures, including Downer and Defense Minister Senator Robert Hill, have said Australia will not be "blackmailed" by Iraqi trade threats to change its stance on political issues.

Howard told radio listeners last week the issue of Iraqi non-compliance on U.N. Security Council resolutions was coming to a head.

"We put ourselves in a position to be aware and abreast of American thinking and developments in America on this issue ... we are not out in front of America. We have not made any commitment (on military action in Iraq)," the prime minister said.

While Australia would prefer that no military action be required, "we have to deal in reality. And the reality is that so far Iraq has, with great impudence, ignored the resolutions of the Security Council," Howard said.

Australia sells about 17 million tonnes of wheat to overseas markets each year, worth \$2.35 billion (A\$4.33 billion) in 2001.

## Turkish Chief of Staff denied news about Northern Iraq

Source: Turkish Daily News

The Chief of Staff denied news about Turkish troops invading an airport in Northern Iraq and that there are 5,000 troops in the region. In a written statement the Chief of Staff stated: "There is news about Turkish troops being in Northern Iraq, electronic equipment and machines have been sent to the region as well and has a military power of 5,000 troops. This news is not accurate." It is also stated, "The Bamami airport was destroyed during the Gulf war and it cannot serve as an airport."

The leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) Jalal Talabani declared that

Turkish troops are protecting an airport in Northern Iraq and also have tanks during an interview with NTV television.

The following day main Turkish dailies Hurriyet and Sabah repeated claims and indicated details about Turkish troops as well as the airport's situation. The Following news on CNN Turk stated that there was a report handed to Prime minister Bulent Ecevit telling of the details about Turkish troops in Northern Iraq as well as scenarios about a probable U.S. military strike in Iraq. The news indicated that there are 5,000 troops. Turkish dailies once more stated similar details about the airport and troops serving in the region.

The possible U.S. military strike to topple Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein causes strong concerns in Turkey with the fear that an operation may give start to a Kurdish state in the region. The fears concentrate on the future of the Iraqi Turcomans future. It has been stated many times that Mesoud Barzani the leader of Kurdistan Democratic party (KDP) may want to seize Kirkuk where there is an important number of Turcomen as well as rich oil beds. While the U.S. sets up meetings in Washington in order to solve problems among Iraqi opposition Turkey warns sides that it will not allow a Kurdish state to be established and not let Kirkuk to be controlled by Kurds.

## "U.S. Plans to Ignore New Iraqi Offer on Inspectors"

U.S. Plans to Ignore New Iraqi Offer on Inspectors The United States, which holds this month's U.N. Security Council presidency, said on Monday the 15-member body had no plans to discuss the latest Iraqi offer to resume discussions with the United Nations on weapons inspections.

But diplomats said some council members might bring it up anyway, even if parts of the letter reiterated Iraq's previous position that U.N. arms experts would have to discuss in advance what they were looking for before searches for weapons of mass destruction could resume.

However, there is virtually no chance the council, divided for years on Iraqi policy, could take a position on the letter. A previous invitation for chief U.N. weapons inspector Hans Blix to come to Baghdad was rejected two weeks ago by U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan because it placed similar conditions on the arms experts.

"Currently there is no plan to discuss the letter," a U.S. spokesman said of the six-page document from Iraqi Regime Foreign Minister Naji Sabri.

Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction are the main reason President Bush has given for a "regime change" in Baghdad, a euphemism for overthrowing Saddam Hussein.

At issue is Iraq's insistence that talks with Blix focus on a U.N. evaluation of what remains to be done in the investigation of Baghdad's alleged nuclear, chemical, biological and ballistic weapons programs.

Source: Reuters

## New Islamic extremist group in Iraq has loose links to al-Qaida

Ansar al-Islam ("Supporters of Islam") was formed in December 2001, one of numerous small splinter factions in the region of northern Iraq that is controlled by ethnic Kurds, according to U.S. officials.

It has several hundred members and broke away from another group, Jun al-Islam, which itself was formed in September 2001. It is composed primarily of Kurds -- and some Arabs -- who follow an extremist brand of Sunni Islam, but their focus is primarily opposing the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, one of two large secular Kurdish groups that oppose Saddam Hussein with U.S. support.

Led by Mullah Najm al-Din Faraj Ahmad, Ansar al-Islam operates in PUK territory around Halabjah, Iraq, which is close to the border with Iran. It has some presence in the village of Biyara.

Some U.S. officials say the group also opposes Saddam Hussein's government, which killed thousands of Kurds with chemical weapons in that region in the 1980s.

The group operates well outside of Saddam's sphere of influence, although other U.S. officials believe Saddam also tacitly or directly supports the group to make trouble for the PUK.

About a dozen members of Ansar al-Islam trained in camps in Afghanistan in 1999 and 2000 and had contact with members of Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida organization. As Arab members of al-Qaida have been fleeing overland from Afghanistan through Iraq, some have been given shelter by Ansar al-Islam members.

## RESTAURANTS ARE POPULAR NEW BUSINESSES



For years, almost everyone in Iraqi Kurdistan has been primarily concerned with surviving. However, things are starting to change. Hard work is beginning to pay off and improvements are visible. Still jobs remain scarce and wages are very low -- often less than US \$25 a month. Some have taken action to create their own opportunities by starting businesses. Returnees from Europe, North America and neighboring countries are bringing back ideas and finances to try out their luck with their own businesses. Restaurants are one of the most popular new business ventures that are being opened.

One example, in Ain Kawa, is the Italiano Restaurant run by a group of partners, one who had experience in Europe. It is so popular, it is hard to find a place to sit. They report booming sales of pizzas and hamburgers at lunch and dinner. In the evening, tables are full with people enjoying the food and holding lively conversations.

This is just one of scores of new businesses being established. The KRG is very pleased at the trend and encourages others to get involved in these profitable enterprises that are creating new job opportunities.







# Letter from the PSK General Secretary Kemal Burkay To the Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit



**Let us build a free society on the basis of equality.  
Peace and freedom should exist in our country.."**

PSK General Secretary Kemal Burkay has written a letter to the Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit. Burkay states the reasons for the problems which have pushed Turkey into depression. He expresses his views and recommendations for solving these problems, the main one being the Kurdish question.

Copies of the letter from 10.06.2002 were sent to Turkey's President of State, the Parliamentary President and the leaders of the parliamentary political parties.

Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit

Dear Prime Minister, Turkey is currently going through a critical period. On the one hand she is trying to overcome the deep seated economic crisis, and on the other she has important work to do which is necessary for entry to the EU.

Overcoming the economic crisis and acquiring EU membership depend directly on solving Turkey's fundamental problems - or at least taking serious steps towards achieving this. These are essentially questions of peace and democracy.

Turkey has for years had the problem of not being able to keep the peace within and outside its territory and of having to fight at home and abroad. This has wasted the country's resources. Turkey has not attempted to use reason and common sense to solve its home and foreign problems, but instead has resorted to the politics of power and repression.

This has been the case with the Kurdish question. Turkey tries to ignore the Kurds and to put an end to them through pressure, terrorism and assimilation.

Their threats and aggression extend even to Kurds beyond their borders. Instead of following UN Resolutions and international law in the Cypriot and Aegean issues, Turkey allows itself to govern through stubbornness, threats and the politics of power.

This is why Turkey cannot bring about the peace. It invests its resources in arms for the war. Permanent states of emergency prevail within its own territory and it is on constant high alert against its neighboring countries. Turkey continually bombs within its own territory.

Alone over the past 15 years, losses in the conflict with the Kurds have amounted to hundreds of billions of dollars, not to mention the incalculable loss of human life.

This is the main reason for the failure of attempts to bring about a recovery, for the low standard of living, and for poverty. This is the main reason for Turkey's economic crisis. This situation is why Turkey is now dependent on foreign powers and international funding institutions.

This situation is also the main reason why Turkey does not manage to democratize. The regime, which denies freedom for the Kurdish people, denies democracy for the Turkish people. Policies of oppression result in violence. Freedom

does not have a chance in a society which is constantly confronted with violence. This situation is also the main hurdle to Turkey's EU ambitions. Those that govern Turkey want to get Turkey into the EU without solving the country's problems and without acknowledging democratic rights and freedom. This is not a very practical attitude.

As long as Turkey sticks to such erroneous policies, the situation will not change. The economic crisis will not be overcome and EU membership will not become a reality.

Dear Prime Minister, It would not have happened if the politics of power had not been pursued. The Kurdish question could have been solved peacefully, through the recognition of the rights of the Kurdish people. This would have given Turkey peace at home. The Cyprus question could have been solved by following UN resolutions, international law and through arbitration. Turkey could have followed a foreign policy towards its neighbors which had peaceful relations as its basis. Turkey would then have become acquainted with peace and the country's resources would have been invested in production instead of war and arms. Such a Turkey would not have required increasingly repressive structures of oppression. The barriers to human rights and freedom would have been lifted and the country would have become democratic.

Such a country would have had no problems entering the EU before all the others.

Could the Kurdish question not have been solved through the recognition of the rights of the Kurds, dear Prime Minister? Why are you, the government, the former prime ministers and governments, so against recognition of the rights of the Kurdish people? What do the Kurdish people demand which apparently seems so impossible?

You and your predecessors and those currently in your government, have always portrayed the demands of the Kurdish people as separatist and destructive and as treasonable towards the people and the nation.

Have the Kurds occupied your country or have they attempted to occupy it? You also know that one thousand years ago the Turks arrived in Anatolia and that the Kurds were already there. The Kurds have lived here, on the land which is called Kurdistan, for thousands of years.

The Kurds have their own language, one which differs completely from Turkish. Just as the Turks have their own nation, so to do the Kurds with their own language and culture.

The Kurds are not trying to partition the country of others. On the contrary, it is their country which is has been partitioned. The Kurds want to live in freedom on

their own land. They would like to freely govern themselves, to determine their own future, to freely use and develop their language and culture and to utilize for themselves their country's resources.

Just as the Turks have the right to do so, so do the Kurds. Prime Minister, you consider as inadequate a federation for the 150,000 Turks in Cyprus, representing just a fifth of Cyprus's population, and have called for a confederal solution. What then do you demand for the Kurdish nation with 40 million population whose country, the size of France, has been partitioned? Couldn't you demand the same for the 20 million Kurds within the Turkish borders as you do for the Turkish Cypriots?

Dear Prime Minister, If Turkish is an official language then why not Kurdish? If Turks can be taught in their mother tongue in schools, why can't Kurds? Why is radio and TV in Turkish permitted but not in Kurdish? Why can't Kurds be governed by their own elected parliamentary members and government? Why does Ankara's parliament and government belong only to the Turks? Why do courts only pass judgments in the Name of the Turkish People? Why are political parties not permitted which have the name "Kurdish" or "Kurdistan"?

From where do you get the right to occupy Kurdistan, to rob the Kurdish people of all their rights and to ban their language, names and even their songs? Who gives you that right? The United Nation's Universal Declaration on Human Rights or God - Almighty?

It is not us Kurds who are the separatists and offenders. Quite the reverse, we have been offended against. Our homeland was partitioned and are people were put in chains. Whether this happened a few hundred years ago or 80 years ago doesn't change the fact. Our people's oppression and suffering continues unabated today.

Is it not the typical reasoning of a tyranny to oppress us on the one hand and to portray us as the offenders on the other? You may have managed to explain this insanity away to a section of your people, who you have blinded with your racist and chauvinistic prejudices and have made them enemies of the Kurds, and who have participated in your policies of oppression and exploitation. But how do you intend explaining it away to the world?

Dear Prime Minister, A new way of thinking is required to solve all these problems. Those who govern Turkey have to let go of the erroneous policies which have been pursued over the centuries, and to accept a completely new way of thinking. This will of course be difficult for those whose soul and reasoning is inseparably linked to such primitive policies. But there is no other

way.

Be realistic, please. The Kurdish question is not a question of any kind of a minority but a question of a nation of 40 million people. Twenty million of these people is living in the North Kurdistan, the region controlled by Turkey. To date the question has not been solved by oppression, deportation or massacres and will not be solved using such primitive methods. Many states such as Switzerland, Belgium and Canada have already solved such a question. We could do it as well. It is the federal or confederal solution. We could apply the solution which you have in mind for Cyprus, to the Kurdish question.

The procedure for commencing a phase for resolution is to enter into dialogue. Do not be stubborn - start talks with the Kurdish side as soon as possible. Stop making it easy for yourselves by accusing the Kurds of being terrorists. If a section of the Kurdish movement has chosen the way of terrorism then this is a product of your boundless policies of oppression and your systematic terrorization of the Kurdish question. If we look at your centuries-old terrorism against the Kurds, then Kurdish terrorism is, in this context, ridiculously insignificant. And do not forget that resistance to oppression is an inalienable right in any of the world's religions as well as in being a United Nation standard.

EU membership candidacy and the Copenhagen Criteria provide a valuable opportunity to peacefully solve the Kurdish question. Even if the rights in the Criteria are limited in view of the extent of the Kurdish question, the guarantee of working within a peaceful framework would still be important in taking specific steps towards a solution.

Dear Prime Minister, Despite promises to fulfill the Copenhagen Criteria, your government has not made any serious progress over the past two years. In contrast, they do everything to water down and avoid the criteria. Some proposals currently being talked about, which supposedly fulfill the criteria, are simply pathetic.

For example, the daily half hour news programme in local TV which you want to portray as press freedom for native languages. For native language tuition you do not make schools available, only extracurricular courses. This is not just pathetic but also insulting.

Dear Prime Minister, You and all the others who offer such proposals must become aware that we are not beggars. Such proposals are a disgrace and do not contribute anything to solving our problems. Whoever has thought out these proposals and made them public just wants to mislead and hold off the Kurdish people and the international community.

Kurdish, like Turkish, is a modern independent language. It is also an older language than Turkish. It is the language of 40 million people.

Hundreds, thousands of works of art and literature have been created with this language. There is no element of truth in the prejudices of the racists and chauvinists.

Rights to language and culture cannot be achieved through solutions which are underhand and only for show. For a solution, priority must be given to the following within the framework of the Copenhagen Criteria:

The racist constitution of September 12th, which hardly differs from that of a police statute, must be replaced with a democratic constitution. Kurdish identity must be acknowledged. Kurdish must be made an official language with Turkish because it is the language of a third of the country's population. Just as there are public broadcasters which transmit in Turkish 24 hours a day there should also be broadcasters which transmit in Kurdish all day long. We also pay tax. Just as private radio and TV stations are allowed to broadcast in Turkish so should the Kurdish language have the same right.

The recommendation to provide Kurdish as a courses or as a subject choice in order to meet the demand for education in Kurdish, is pathetic and makes no sense. Education in Kurdish must be made available from primary school through to university. The Kurdish people must be able to have basic education in Kurdish. In short, there has to be equal rights in the areas of the media and education for both peoples.

Kurdish political parties must be permitted and allowed to freely make public their views and policies, including those concerning solutions to the Kurdish question.

These are the first important steps towards solving the question. A fundamental solution can only be possible on the basis of equality and - in our opinion - through a federal structure.

We are convinced that both peoples could live in peace on the basis of equality and within a federal structure. There is no reason why it should not be possible. Whoever wants to coexist must internalize notions of equality.

Isn't the European Union such a federation - or at least a confederation? Why shouldn't those who are considering joining a confederation of many nations not consider the same kind of relation with their thousand year old neighbors? If there are obstacles to this, then it is the racist, chauvinist and colonialist prejudices of the country's government as well as their hostility towards the Kurds.

Dear Prime Minister, I call on you to end the policies of oppression! Do not deny us the rights and freedom which you see as valid for yourselves.

Recognize the rights of the Kurdish people!

Let us honestly negotiate the aims and standards which Mustafa Kemal expressed in the war of liberation with the National Pact: the country to be defended is the country where Turks and Kurds are in the majority.

We defended this country together but do not enjoy freedom together. We were there in the war but afterwards we have been denied. We Kurds are the ones who have been wronged and who have been cheated.

Let us realize what Ismet Pasha said at the Conference of Lausanne: just as this country belongs to the Turks, so does it also belong to the Kurds. Kurds and Turks are the foundations of this country and minority rights for them will not suffice.

Let us build a free society on the basis of equality. Peace and freedom should exist in our country.

Let us find the remedy against this centuries-old festering wound and to clear away the obstacles before the Kurdish and Turkish people.

The Kurdish people will not accept any other solution than this one. You can keep to your politics of power but it will not bring any results and valuable time will again be wasted. Such policies are also not in the interests of the Turkish people.

Dear Prime Minister, I ask you and all the others responsible for the current poor situation, to become modern, sensible and just.

If we Kurds and Turks are brothers and sisters, then we should live together as equals and not like masters and slaves!

Friends and enemies should know that we Kurds will never accept a status of slavery or inequality, and that we will, sooner or later, acquire the rights and freedom due to us. It is possible to achieve this quickly and with benefits to both peoples. Any attempt to prevent this will just mean a further delay in reaching this end and further suffering for both peoples.

You can not carry such responsibility for much longer. Whoever overestimates himself and perhaps finds a few wretched Claqueurs who have no idea of what the future might bring, will certainly not make a name for himself in the books of history. The next generation will not forgive those who blocked the way for both peoples through erroneous policies, and who ruined their futures. With Best Regards and Wishing You Better Health,

Kemal Burkay  
General Secretary  
Socialist Party of Kurdistan

Part 1-2

by Khaled Sallih -Grtteborgs Universitet

# Anfal: The Kurdish Genocide in Iraq

## Iraq and the Kurds: a bibliographic essay (1)

In October 1988, while the destruction of Kurdistan and the mass killing of the Kurds by the Iraqi regime was a well-known fact, though understandably not documented, at least in the West, Milton Viorst published a peculiar article in the International Herald Tribune (2) under the title: 'Iraq and the Kurds: Where is the Proof of Poison Gas?'

Viorst felt that it was unjust to punish the Iraqi government 'for a particular crime that, according to some authorities, may never have taken place.' To do the Iraqi government some good he then spent a week in Iraq 'looking into the question.' Since those who alleged that Iraq had used chemical weapons against the Kurds were not able to prove it, Viorst's visit to Iraq was presented in the article as a proof of the opposite.

After confirming that Iraq sent its army 'to crush a rebellion of the Kurds who fought at Iran's side,' as Iraq aimed 'to stamp out the insurgency,' Viorst tells his readers what he saw from an Iraqi helicopter: 'the ruins of hundreds of Kurdish mountain villages that the Iraqi army destroyed to deny the rebels sanctuary.' From what he saw, he could though conclude that 'if lethal gas was used, it was not used genocidally - that is, for mass killing.' Since the Kurdish population in Iraq constitute a tightly knit community, 'if there had been large-scale killing, it is likely they would know and tell the world. But neither I nor any Westerner I encountered heard such allegations.'

During his visit, Viorst could not see that the Kurdish society showed 'discernible signs of tension.' In his eyes, everything seemed to take its normal course. 'The northern cities, where the men wear Kurdish turbans and baggy pants, were as bustling as I had ever seen them.' To convince his readers about the 'normality' of life in the Kurdish areas, he tells us that he talked to armed Kurds, members of Iraqi military units mobilised against the rebels.

Even if Iraq used chemical weapons, Viorst says doubtfully, it 'probably used gas of some kind in air attacks on rebel positions,' but not against the civilians, since the symptoms the refugees showed to doctors sent by France, the UN and the Red cross to the Turkish camps, 'could have been produced by a powerful, but nonlethal, tear gas.' Stop then annoying Iraq and harm the relationship between Iraq and the United States, was Mr Viorst's clear message.

Less than two years later we came to realise how prophetically Viorst spoke in October 1988, when he self-confidently reminded the US officials and decision-makers that, 'Iraq, having put down the Kurdish rebellion, has no wars on its agenda, and it has pledged to abide by the Geneva convention on chemical warfare.' In August 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait, an event that led to the Gulf war.

**A Second Voice**  
During the war over Kuwait, the Iraqi regime's repression of 'its own' people, in particular the use of chemical weapons against the Kurds, became an important part of the ideological justification in

the 'just war' to restore Kuwait. The anti-war camp was no doubt irritated and upset by this rather cynical strategy. They pointed out many inconsistencies in the Allies' policies, being in the Middle East, world-wide, historically or contemporary.

One person who could not leave this major event unmentioned was of course Edward Said. Several aspects of the event could encourage him to get involved, such as the question of imperialism, Arab nationalism, and human rights violation, to name but a few. On 7 March 1991, Said wrote:

The claim that Iraq gassed its own citizens has often been repeated. At best, this is uncertain. There is at least one War College report,

done while Iraq was a US ally claims that the gassing of the Kurds in

Halabja was done by Iran. Few people mention such reports in the

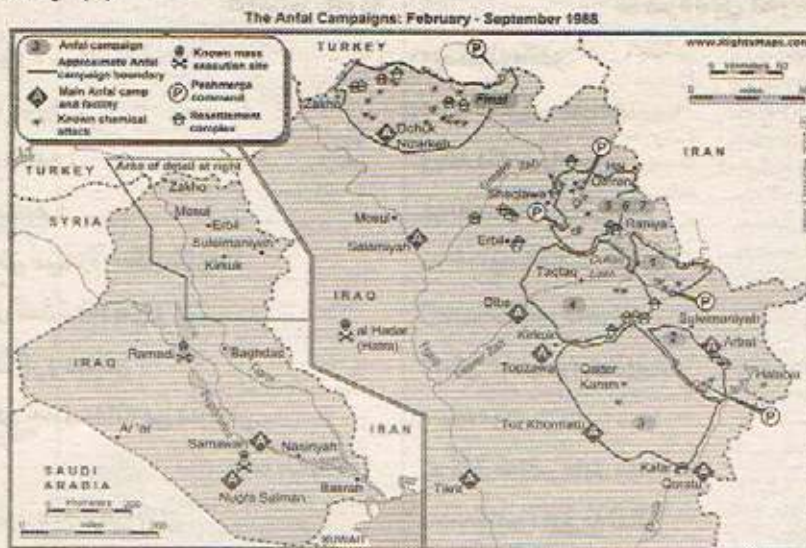
media today (3).

Given his public image of being among the critical intellectuals, Said's attempt to cast doubt on Iraq's use of chemical weapons against the Kurds was not only surprising but shocking, since it came from a 'secular oppositional intellectual' who belonged to a 'class of informed,' who did not allow himself 'the luxury of playing the identity game', who desired to 'more compassionately press the interests of the unheard, the unrepresented, the unconnected people of our world,' and who wanted to do that 'with the accents of personal restraint, historical scepticism and committed intellect.'(4)

**Detailed Documents**  
Although, at that time, no one would have been able to quote an Iraqi document to help Edward Said to overcome his uncertainty, the events after the war had at least one unimaginable dimension: it provided an unprecedented opportunity to give sufficient proofs that the Iraqi regime was using chemical weapons against the Kurds, and to do so by using the regime's own detailed documents.

In her introduction to a documentary book, Saddam speaks on the Gulf Crisis: a collection of documents, (5) an Israeli specialist on modern Iraq, Ofra Bengio, indicated that the invasion of Kuwait could best be understood against the background of Iraq's internal political development since July 1979, i.e. after Saddam Hussein's rise to power. By August 1990, Saddam Hussein's 'megalomania led him to apply his domestic style of rule to foreign policy.' But what do we exactly know about the characteristics of this 'domestic style of rule'? Is it possible to understand and comprehend the scale of violence inflicted upon the Kuwaitis, without having a proper picture of this domestic style of rule applied to foreign policy?

During the unsuccessful Kurdish uprising of March 1991, huge quantities of Iraqi government records were captured by the Kurds in the



secret police buildings in the major towns and cities. Although much of the documents was burned or destroyed during the confusing days of the uprising, more than 18 tones of documents, contained in 847 boxes with a total number of pages estimated as over four million, are now in the USA for safe-keeping, under the auspices of the Middle East Watch (MEW). Genocide in Iraq (6) and Bureaucracy of Repression (7) are the latest to be published by Middle East Watch in order to reconstruct, document, and demonstrate the Iraqi regime's policy against the Kurds, particularly during the years of 1987 through 1989. Their conclusion is that the organisation 'believes it can demonstrate convincingly a deliberate intent on the part of the government of President Saddam Hussein to destroy, through mass murder, part of Iraq's Kurdish minority. [the Kurds] were targeted during the Anfal as Kurds. [and that] Saddam Hussein's regime committed a panoply of war crimes, together with crimes against humanity and genocide.' This is not a hasty conclusion; but rather one based on a unique combination of three painstaking research projects lasted over eighteen months:

1. oral testimony from over 350 eyewitnesses or survivors;
2. forensic evidence from areas of mass graves; and
3. huge amount of captured Iraqi documents.

Bureaucracy of Repression is published in order to give a general picture about the Iraqi documents currently being analysed by Middle East Watch. It is 'a Holy Grail for researchers: to have opportunity to speak to survivors of human rights violations, dig up bones of those who did not survive, and then read the official account of what took place - all while the regime that carried out these outrages was still in power - was unique in the annals of human rights research.' The sample of 38 Arabic documents with English translation that the book contains serves as a very good introduction to that huge amount of documents.

The samples are organised around several important categories, such as Arabization of the Kurdish areas, a policy with many roots in the 1960s; policy towards prohibited areas created prior to the major operations of 1987-1989; destruction of thousands of Kurdish villages and a dozen

of towns; chemical attacks against the Kurdish civilians; the administrative framework of the most important campaign called Anfal by the regime itself, from March 1987 to April 1989; the Anfal campaign, lasted officially from 23 February to 6 September, 1988; the war over Kuwait and the subsequent domestic uprisings; and last category as other documents of interests.

**Procedural Language**  
All together, the documents 'display a remarkable consistency in style. The language is dry and formal, indicating rigid bureaucratic procedures. [They] highlights, as well as show the methodology and routine character of a bureaucracy of repression in action. [they] offer a unique vista on the inner workings of a sophisticated one-party police state. [The completeness and sophistication of the Iraqi archive] emphasize that the documents constitute a credible, authentic expression of the state's action against the Kurds.' This report offers a clear introduction to the unique discourse of repression the Ba'thi regime developed in an enclosed, isolated and concealed Iraq from which little was escaping the machinery of state censorship, prior to March 1991.

Scholars writing on authoritarian and totalitarian regimes admit the difficulties of obtaining reliable documentary information on most of the subjects, but more so when it comes to the question of 'sensitive' issues such as violation of human rights, ideology-related projects of relocation, displacing part of the country's inhabitants and re-shaping the social composition of the entire population, often referred to as 'modernisation'. This is also true in the case of Iraq.

**Scholarly Circumspection**  
Two kinds of scholarly publications on the Ba'thi rule in Iraq is dominant. One of them is at its best exemplified by Frederick Axelgard's (8) book published in 1988. His main theme is that, during the Iraq-Iran war in Iraq a 'coherent national identity' emerged, thanks duly to the leadership of Saddam Hussein and the Ba'thi Party. The war and the 'modernisation' policies embarked on by the regime of Saddam Hussein, although it appeared to be harsh in outsiders' eyes, created a 'new nation' characterised by loyalty to the Iraqi state and the leadership of Saddam Hussein. The main evidence of this successful enterprise is that the Shi'is in

the South, despite all the Iranian attempts, never attempted to rise against the Ba'thi regime. The Kurds were also brought under control, and were in 1988 mainly loyal to the regime.

Characteristic of this kind of literature is the absence of any discussion regarding the conditions of 'stability' and 'cohesion' they praise the Ba'thi regime has brought about in such a highly 'unstable', 'unruly' and 'fragmented' society like that in Iraq. There is no account of the kind and extent of the suffering inflicted on the population by such policies.

The other kind of literature, which is highly critical, is of course best exemplified by Marion Farouk-Sluglett and Peter Sluglett's publications (9) and by Samir al-Khalil's book (10). Despite their critical account of the events and their distaste for the Ba'thist methods of conducting politics, their attempts to document the political events were limited by the politics of secrecy and the suppression of information, characteristic of the Ba'thi in Iraq since 1968.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the subsequent war and the March 1991 uprisings of the Shi'is in the South and the Kurds in the North radically changed that. The vicious circle of fear and apathy was broken by the new conditions emerged gradually during the Gulf war and the Iraqi army's final defeat by the Allied forces. The uprisings did not only show how superficial the image of stability and cohesion was; they suddenly made it possible to report on its internal conditions, the methods and the procedures used, and the level of the suffering of the entire population, particularly that of the Kurdish civilians in northern Iraq (11).

In this sense Genocide in Iraq is most well come to fill this gap. It demonstrates with cold precision, though forcefully and above all honestly, how the crime of genocide was committed by the present Ba'thi regime in Iraq against the Kurdish population. It does not give an account of the events from an Iraqi helicopter, nor does it quote a War College source to denounce allegations. Rather, it is based on the experience and testimony of the those who were affected by the horror of chemical weapons, brutal army attacks, terror of security services and collaboration of Kurdish militia men rounding up villagers. To substantiate the testimonies Genocide in Iraq quotes instead Iraqi documents never meant to see daylight, in written forms, on recorded audio tapes and on video tapes, as well as forensic evidence from identified sites of mass graves.

**Anfal Operations**  
Despite all public denial of using chemical weapons against the Kurdish civilians in 1988, the Iraqi regime did not deny a campaign it called Anfal. In a reply to a petition by a former Kurdish POW,

Chief of the Bureau of the Presidency informed the man that his 'wife and children were lost during the Anfal Operations that took place in the Northern Region in 1988.' Anfal, a name of a sura in the Koran, is thus the official military codename used by the Iraqi government in its public pronouncements and internal memoranda. It was a name given to a concerted series of military offensives, eight in all, conducted in six distinct Kurdish geographic areas between late February and early September 1988.

It is important to note that in reality Anfal corresponded to something more than military offensives against the Kurdish villages and Kurdish resistance. Anfal meant co-ordination of many measures starting with destruction of thousands of villages; gathering rural population after multiple chemical attacks; transporting them to the camps; processing the captives through isolating them and determine who should be sent to death; transporting different groups to different destinies - women and children to particular camps, elderly people to southern Iraq and the men aged between 15 and 50 to gravesites - under extreme secrecy; using fire squads to kill large groups of men near pre-dug mass graves and then covering the mass graves as well as denying to know anything about their fates.

Iraqi authorities did nothing to hide the Anfal campaign from public view. 'On the contrary, as each phase of the operation triumphed, its successes were trumpeted with the same propaganda fanfare that attended the victorious battles in the Iran-Iraq War.' As such, Anfal was a logical extension of nearly two decades of government Arabization of the Kurdish areas. For all its horror, Anfal was not entirely unprecedented, because terrible atrocities had been visited on the Kurds by the Ba'thi Party on many occasions particularly since 1968. In the wake of an official autonomy granted to the Kurds in the first half of the 70's, the Ba'thi Party embarked on the Arabization of the oil-producing areas in Kurdistan, evicting Kurdish farmers and replacing them with poor Arab tribesmen from the south, guarded by government troops. After the the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) fled into Iran after the collapse of the Kurdish revolt in March 1975, tens of thousands of villagers from the Barzani tribes forcibly removed from their homes and relocated to barren sites in the desert south of Iraq, where they had to rebuild their lives by themselves, without any form of assistance.

Evacuation, Punishment, and Waste In the mid- and late 1970s, the regime again moved against the Kurds, forcibly evacuating at least a quarter of a million people from Iraq's borders with Iraq and Turkey, destroying their villages to create a cordon sanitaire along these sensitive frontiers. Most of the displaced Kurds were relocated into mujamma'at, crude new settlements located on the main highways in army-controlled areas of Iraqi Kurdistan.

To be continued

# هه‌وری رهش خۆشم ده‌ویی لی‌بوردن نهم کورنه شیعرانه رۆله‌ی تاراوگهن

## په‌شیو مه‌ریوانی

له‌ ناسۆی به‌رز ...  
 له‌ سه‌ر چیا ...  
 په‌له‌ هه‌وریکی چلکن ...  
 ره‌شتر له‌ دلی داگیرکه‌ر ...  
 له‌ داوینی ناسمانی شین ...  
 رۆی گرتنه‌ به‌ر ...  
 به‌ده‌م باوه‌ نه‌رۆی ... نه‌رۆی ...  
 له‌سه‌ر خاکی نیشتمانم ...  
 له‌ سه‌ر هه‌وارگه‌ی ژیانم ...  
 ریگای نه‌به‌ری ...  
 به‌ گرمه‌ گرم و ناله‌ نان ...  
 له‌ کاتیگ دا اره‌ش داگه‌رابوو ...  
 وه‌ک زوخال ...  
 وه‌ک دنیوی شه‌ر ...  
 شه‌ریغانی و خوروشا ...  
 له‌ سه‌ر خاکی ولاته‌که‌م ...  
 له‌ سه‌ر کاتگه‌ی ناواته‌که‌م ...  
 رۆژی پۆشا ...  
 کاتیگ که‌ تیشکی ...  
 رۆژی گه‌ش ...  
 شاراوه‌ به‌ هه‌وری ره‌ش ...  
 کاتیگ خه‌کی ولاتی من ...  
 تیشکی رۆژیان ...  
 ئی کرا و ن ...  
 هه‌موو رۆانه‌ که‌ که‌نگ و بان ...  
 مشی په‌ سراو ...  
 به‌ره‌و ناسمان ...  
 دل پر له‌ قین ...  
 شینی دوژمن ...  
 به‌یه‌ک زمان ده‌یان ترکان ...  
 هه‌ی هه‌وری ره‌ش ...  
 هه‌ی هه‌وری ره‌ش ...  
 هه‌ی دوژمنی ...  
 گه‌لی بی په‌ش ...  
 واده‌زانی ... هه‌تا که‌نگی ...  
 تۆ ده‌توانی ...  
 له‌ چاوان ون که‌ی ...  
 رۆژی گه‌ش؟ ...  
 هه‌ی هه‌وری ره‌ش ...  
 هه‌ی هه‌وری ره‌ش ...  
 نه‌گه‌ر خه‌کی ...  
 ولاتی من ...  
 پیکه‌وه‌ ناھێ هه‌لپه‌ن ...  
 مه‌رجه‌ هه‌لکه‌ن ...  
 گژه‌ بایه‌ک ...  
 نیه‌ه‌ی چلکنت دادپن ...  
 ده‌رخه‌نه‌وه ...  
 رۆژیاری گه‌ش ...  
 هه‌ی هه‌وری ره‌ش ...  
 هه‌ی هه‌وری ره‌ش ...

## خه‌بات عه‌زیز

له‌ دوروه ...  
 له‌ پشت شوورا ...  
 به‌ دیت ده‌که‌م ...  
 خۆشه‌ویستم ...  
 له‌ نیوانی سیبه‌ره‌ خنکاوه‌کان دا ...  
 لا په‌ره‌ی گه‌شت نه‌ده‌می ...  
 خه‌م و نازار و دیلیتی ...  
 فرمیسکی چاوی مناله‌ بی نازه‌کان ...  
 ده‌سه‌مه‌وه ...  
 گشت سنووره‌ ده‌ستکرده‌کان ...  
 تیکه‌شکینم ...  
 له‌سه‌ر سینه‌ی نه‌خه‌شی جیهان ...  
 به‌ خونی گه‌ش ...  
 نازادی بۆ کوردستانم ...  
 ده‌نه‌خشینم ...

## شه‌هید ئه‌لی

### ی . وه‌رزیز

من له‌ زریان راناکه‌م و ...  
 سووتانیش من ناترسینی ...  
 نه‌و شه‌هیدم ...  
 له‌ چاخی برسیتی و خه‌ما ...  
 له‌ تۆفانی کاره‌ساتا ...  
 ته‌نگم به‌ نازار هه‌له‌ چنی ...  
 نه‌و شه‌هیدم ...  
 له‌ سه‌رده‌می بن ده‌ستیا ...  
 له‌ به‌رده‌می سێداره‌دا ...  
 به‌ دوژمن و مه‌رگ و زیندان ...  
 بی نه‌که‌نی ...  
 من له‌ زریان راناکه‌م و ...  
 سێداره‌تان نامترسینی ...  
 گه‌ری ره‌شی بۆمیاکانتان ...  
 نامسووتینی ...  
 منالینه‌ ، نیوه‌ش و مرن ...  
 به‌ په‌شکۆی به‌ سه‌ره‌اته‌کان ...  
 یاری بکه‌ن ...  
 و مرن و مرن ...  
 میژووی سه‌ختی هه‌زاریتان ...  
 له‌ به‌ر بکه‌ن ...  
 ریگای سه‌بی ...  
 له‌ ته‌می نهم به‌یانی په‌دا بدۆزته‌وه ...  
 نه‌که‌ن وه‌کو دایه‌ و باببه‌ ...  
 له‌ نیوه‌ی ری بکشینه‌وه ...

## فه‌خره‌دین که‌رمیانی

ویستم نه‌مشه‌و ...  
 وه‌کو خه‌میکی چارانم ...  
 ووشه‌ بکه‌مه‌ رابه‌رو ...  
 هه‌له‌م بیته‌ زمانم ...  
 له‌ خه‌نه‌تاخانه‌ی شیعره‌وه ...  
 زامه‌کانم بنووسه‌وه ...  
 ده‌نگی خه‌می دووری توینم ...  
 بییسه‌وه ...  
 له‌ گه‌ل نه‌لشی ناوی تۆدا ...  
 ده‌نگه‌کانی ناوی نه‌نفال ...  
 له‌ ناخه‌دا ، راست بوونه‌وه ...  
 ه‌زو ...  
 شیعو ...  
 خودو ...  
 نه‌تۆ ... هه‌موو له‌بیرم چوونه‌وه ...  
 ئیم بیوره ... به‌ چ روویه‌ک ...  
 چاریکی که‌ ، داوا بکه‌م له‌ پینووسم ...  
 پشتم بگری و شیعیکی جوان ...  
 بۆ به‌رزی بالات بنووسم !!

## سه‌فه‌ر و خه‌میکی دیش

### نیازی هه‌مه‌ عه‌زیز

سه‌ه‌رۆ ...  
 ره‌شه‌یای نهم مه‌رگه‌ ...  
 خه‌سه‌رتی نهم تۆانه‌وه‌یه‌ ...  
 نه‌شکی شوربه‌تم پی ده‌په‌ژن ...  
 نه‌مه‌ گۆرانییه‌که‌ ...  
 نه‌وینیکی شیتی ئی ده‌چۆری ...  
 نزارو نووزی نهم خه‌مه‌ ...  
 نه‌فه‌رت له‌ په‌ نه‌جهره‌ ده‌کات ...  
 دروود بۆ چه‌ر په‌کانی ژوان ده‌نیری ...  
 \* \* \*  
 له‌گه‌ل هه‌ر پی هه‌لپه‌نیکت ...  
 تر په‌یه‌که‌م زیاد ده‌کات ...  
 له‌ گه‌ل هه‌ر ناوپیکت ...  
 مردوو شۆرنیک ...  
 گۆر هه‌له‌نیک ...  
 په‌ پوه‌له‌ی نیو نامه‌یه‌که‌م ده‌نیزن ...  
 خه‌می سه‌فه‌رو ... خه‌می نان !!  
 یادی به‌ خیر ، سه‌ریکم هه‌بوو ؟  
 \* \* \*  
 سه‌ه‌رۆ ...  
 باته‌نیا نه‌بیم ...  
 بامنیش نه‌رۆووم ...

## هه‌می نه‌حه‌مه‌ ده‌سه‌وول

1. گه‌وره‌ شه‌هید ...  
 له‌ هه‌له‌ بجه‌ ، هه‌ر خه‌رده‌نه‌ و ...  
 بووه‌ به‌ شه‌وه‌ مۆته‌که‌ ...  
 وا ده‌ستی ناوه‌ته‌ بینی منال و ژن و ...  
 په‌که‌وته ...  
 بالآ نیو و عه‌نه‌ب و گولان ...  
 باخچه‌ی دم رۆخی زه‌لی تابووته ...  
 2. چ هه‌سه‌ره‌یه‌ک ...  
 به‌سه‌ر بووخساری جیهانا دادی ...  
 بیان چی روو نه‌دا ...  
 له‌ بری نه‌وه‌ی ته‌سنگی مندا ...  
 زیکه‌ی گولله‌یی / شه‌شیری رقی ...  
 هه‌ناسه‌م بیبری ...  
 با له‌ دله‌دا ، داری - گۆل - برۆی ...  
 3. به‌دایه‌ هختی نیتسه‌ ...  
 ناگه‌بارانه‌ و زه‌رده‌شت به‌یداخی ...  
 سپی هه‌نگرتووه ...  
 وه‌رزی گه‌یانه‌ و خواوند نووستووه ...  
 4. شه‌بات ...  
 بیان سه‌رمایه‌ ، چاوه‌ نه‌یه‌ستی ...  
 بیان گه‌رمایه‌ و دل نه‌ته‌قی ...  
 + بۆ شه‌هیدی کاروانی بی ...  
 نازاری من .. سووتانی تۆ ...  
 نیوچه‌وانی ماندووی ولاتی ...  
 نه‌گۆری ...  
 5. په‌که‌رتن ...  
 نازیزمکانم : ...  
 گه‌ر ده‌رگای راز و هه‌تاوی ژیان ...  
 نیستا داخراپی به‌ رووی نیمه‌دا ...  
 گه‌ر نه‌و ده‌رگایه‌ش ...  
 نه‌ په‌ک بی و .. نه‌ دووان ...  
 نه‌ دووبی و .. نه‌ سییان ...  
 هیچ نه‌بی یه‌کی له‌و ده‌رگایانه‌ ...  
 ... با بکریته‌وه ...  
 + بۆ نه‌کریته‌وه ...  
 ده‌رگا له‌ شووشه‌ زۆر ناسکتره‌ ...  
 بویه‌ دنیام : ...  
 گه‌ر ده‌ستی نیوه‌ی ماندووی نه‌گاتی ...  
 ده‌روازی هیوا ، قه‌ت ناگریته‌وه ...  
 ... قه‌ت ناگریته‌وه ...



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# ده‌ رۆژه‌که‌ی هه‌ولێرم ..

نوسینی: شێرزاد هه‌ینی - سوید

ژماره‌نی شار .. (2)

تنداییه و ژماره‌ی کۆلان و خانووه‌که‌ی له‌سه‌ره. ئهم پرۆسه‌یه‌ خه‌ونی له‌ میژینه‌ی شاره‌، خۆشه‌ختانی ئهم جاره‌ له‌ گه‌ره‌کی نازادی ئهم تابلۆیه‌ شینینه‌ نه‌لێمه‌وه‌ کوردییانه‌م بیه‌تی. بیه‌تی هه‌ولێر ئهم ده‌سته‌ی شارستانییه‌ی گه‌یه‌شتیه‌تی، یه‌که‌م هه‌نگامه‌ی له‌ گه‌ره‌کی نازادی جیه‌جیه‌کراوه‌، به‌لام سوار نه‌بوو به‌رسم، چۆن کراوه‌ و به‌رنامه‌که‌ چه‌ندی جیه‌جیه‌کراوه‌ و ته‌سته‌مه‌کانی چی بون و کیشه‌کان چۆن چاره‌سەر کران. دانیام که‌وا کاره‌که‌ بو گه‌ره‌که‌ کانیتر ناسان بووه. ئه‌گه‌ر ئێسه‌ ئێسه‌ هه‌موو کوچه‌ و کۆلانه‌کان، ده‌رگا سه‌ره‌ کۆلانه‌کان و شه‌قامه‌ سه‌ره‌ که‌یه‌کان بۆیان نه‌کراوی، ته‌وا له‌ داهاستووه‌ ده‌بی، وا به‌ بناوه‌و به‌رنامه‌ی ژماره‌ن ناشابوینه‌وه‌ ده‌ستیان لێ راهاستووه‌، رۆژی دێ، پۆست به‌ ژماره‌ ده‌گاته‌ ده‌ستی خاوه‌نه‌که‌ی، رۆژی دێ، باوکسی قوتایی به‌ پۆست بۆ کۆبوونه‌وی بارکان به‌سانگ ده‌کرێت و هه‌مان رۆژ داوه‌ته‌که‌ی ده‌گاته‌ ده‌ست. رۆژی دێ شوفیری تاکسی به‌ ژماره‌ی خانوو ده‌گاته‌ پێش ده‌رگا. رۆژی دێ شه‌رزی عه‌قاری و ته‌لفون و باج به‌ ژماره‌ی خانوو ده‌گاته‌ خاوه‌نه‌که‌ی و دوا ناگه‌وێت و که‌م مانه‌وه‌ تانیته‌.

په‌ڕه‌ ئهم تابلۆ جوانانه‌، هه‌ر سه‌ره‌رۆو ره‌وش مینیت و تابلۆکان نه‌شیتین و ژماره‌کان به‌ نوسینی تر ره‌ش نه‌کرێسه‌وه‌ نه‌لێمه‌وه‌ که‌م نه‌به‌رینه‌وه‌ و ئاره‌و نه‌کرین و هه‌موو گه‌ره‌کانیش ته‌واو بکریته‌. ... ماریته‌ی ...

کۆمه‌ل گه‌شی کردو په‌یوه‌ندییه‌کان و خزمه‌تگوزارییه‌کان زۆر بون و سه‌رژمیری شار خۆی له‌ یه‌که‌ ملیون که‌مه‌دا، شاره‌که‌ ژماره‌نی ده‌وێت. سه‌ره‌ کۆلان ژماره‌ و ناری ده‌وێت، شه‌قام ژماره‌ و خانوو ژماره‌ و بالاخانه ژماره‌و ناری نوسراوی جوانی له‌سه‌ر تابلۆی ده‌وێت .. له‌وه‌ش ده‌زێنه‌وه‌ی شوری زۆر ناسان ده‌کات، گه‌ران ده‌کاته‌ ناو خواره‌وه‌، که‌م و مانه‌وه‌ ناگه‌یت ..

له‌ سه‌ر ده‌رگا بلنده‌ گه‌وره‌کان و له‌ ته‌نیشت ده‌رگا بچوک و ته‌سه‌رکه‌کان و له‌ سه‌رچی کۆلانه‌کان، چه‌ندین ژماره‌ی یه‌که‌ له‌سه‌ر یه‌که‌ و به‌ چه‌ندین ره‌نگ و بۆیه‌ و شه‌یره‌، ژماره‌ نوسراون. له‌ شاره‌که‌مه‌دا، چه‌ندین کۆنه‌ ژماره‌ و ژماره‌ی تازه‌ و گۆن هه‌ن ژماره‌ی خاتووی تاپۆ، دوو ژماره‌یه‌وه‌ وارشیکسی له‌ ته‌نیشت. ژماره‌ی سه‌ره‌ژمیره‌ کۆنه‌کان. ژماره‌ی به‌شدارێ ناو و ژماره‌ی ..... ته‌وانه‌ و ژماره‌ی تر هه‌یچیان نه‌ده‌تیس نین و پۆست ناگه‌یتینیت و میوان ناباته‌وه‌ ماله‌وه‌ .. هه‌یچیان له‌ سه‌ر بناغه‌ی ژماره‌نی شار نین، که‌سی زۆر په‌سۆر شاره‌زا نه‌بێ سه‌ری ئێیان ده‌ره‌ناچیت. ژماره‌نی شار ستانده‌وه‌ به‌ کورتی ده‌نوسریت و خۆینده‌سه‌وه‌ تینگه‌بشنی له‌ لایه‌ن که‌سه‌کان و ده‌رگاکان و دانه‌ی پۆست و نه‌اردنی قه‌ره‌زه‌ حکومه‌یه‌کان و ئه‌ستیماره‌کان و سانیکی تاکسییه‌کان و به‌س میوانه‌کان ناسانه‌. ژماره‌نی شار به‌ ژماره‌ و ناوه‌، ناری شه‌قام و کۆلانی

هه‌ولمه‌ندیکسی گه‌وره‌ی شاره‌که‌م، له‌ پێشانه‌گه‌یه‌که‌ی نێونه‌ته‌وه‌ییدا دیداری زۆری له‌ گه‌ل ناماده‌بووان و هه‌ولمه‌ندانی به‌شدار کردبوو. له‌سه‌ر ته‌وه‌ی حه‌قی خۆی بوو بۆ له‌وه‌ش چووبو، تابلۆکانی نیشان بدات و قسه‌ بکات و هه‌ولمه‌ری کسوه‌ی نیشان بدات، له‌ گه‌ل ته‌وه‌شدا دیداری هه‌بی. له‌ گه‌رمی رازو هه‌سوار قسه‌کانی و گه‌وره‌یی هه‌مه‌وه‌ تابلۆکانی، ده‌وێت و هه‌ولمه‌ری زۆری په‌یدا کردبوو. له‌سه‌ر یه‌که‌دایه‌ن گوم ده‌بن و نامینین، بۆیه‌ داوای ئه‌ده‌رینی نه‌ته‌رنیت و ژماره‌ی ته‌لفون و نه‌ده‌رسی ماله‌وه‌ شوفیری کارو ژماره‌ی بالاخانه‌ و پێشانه‌گایان لێی کردبوو... به‌سته‌زمانه‌ش و ته‌سو، ته‌مانه‌ هه‌یچیان له‌ وڵاتی ئێمه‌دا نین !!... زه‌جه‌ته‌ به‌م زووانه‌ ده‌ستان یانگانی، جیروا ده‌کهن ئێمه‌ کاره‌باو ئارمان که‌م و لا‌رازو په‌چه‌چه‌ .....



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### سوپاس و پیرانیان کومپانیای گیلانی

#### ۱۰۰۰ دۆلار پيشکش به رۇژنامهی کورد دهکات

به ریز د. سلیمان گیلانی خاوهی کومپانیای گیلانی خزمهتگوزاری بؤ پالپشتی کردنی رهوتی رۇشنبیری کوردی و رای گشتی کوردگانی دهرودی ولات و بایه خدان به گرنگی زمان و وشهی کوردی رهسهن له تاراوگهکان (۱۰۰۰) دۆلاری کرده دیاری بؤ چا پکردنی ژماره (۲۲) ی رۇژنامهی کورد که نیستا له بهرهستانه .

نیبه به ناوی کارمندانان دستهی راگه یاندانی کوردی له نوسترالیا و رۇژنامهکمان و هه موو خوینهرانی رۇژنامهی کورد سوپاسی بی پایانی به ریز د. سلیمان گیلانی خاوهی کومپانیای گیلانی خزمهتگوزاری دهکین و نومهیندهوارین که نموونه و مروقی دلسوزی وک لهو زورین بؤ خزمهتکردنی وشهی کوردی و پرسسی نهتهواپه تیمان "کورد"



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## سه ره نوی نووسینه وهی میژوو

د. عبدالستار تاهیر شریف - نیوزیلندها

بشینمهوه دهریاری نووسینه کام لهسه ره رووداوه که تگهر میژووناسه کان تهم قسانهی تهم سپوزانه بهملتنن. منبیش له نامه یکدا که بؤ کاک مستهفا صالح کهریم له ۷۱۲۰ بؤ الاتهام تاره داوام لیکره تها چاو به نووسینه کانی دا بگیزیتتهوه به قسه پرورچه کانی تهم سپوزانه بهشیمانیتتهوه که قسه کانیان دور تبه عه رب وتهنی " لغرض فی نفس یعقوب " وترا بیتن. بهلن ، بهم جزوه به پیتی وته کانی سپوزانه کان ستالین ناچاروو هیزه کانی بکشیتتهوه له نیران، که واته به پیتی تهم مه معلوماته تازه به و گومانلیکراوانه که نیستا دوی تتههروونی زیاتر له نیو سه ده بهسه رووخانی ههردوو کوماری تازهریایان و کوردستان وک کف کورتوته سه تار و زور لهوه لاوازترو پرورچرتن که راستیه کانی میژوو بدهسه ژیر لیرهوه یان سه به رهو ژیری بکه نهوه به هه هیزه ک بی .

لیزه ده به پیوستم زانی هه نهدن لایدنی راستو دروست روون بکه سهوه دهریاری تهم بؤ جوونه هه له پانهی تهم سسی سپوزانه . سهوش بهه دهستیشانکردهنی یه کن له دهه تهو نووسهرو میژوونوسانه که " ولیم نیگلتن " تهم میژوونوسه ناسراوه خاوهن کتیبی " کوماری مه هابا " که یه کن له شاره زاترین رووداوه کانی سالانی ۱۹۴۶-۱۹۴۷ بو به لکو له ناو رووداوه کان له ژیا و به حوکمی سهوهی سالیوزی سهه مریکاش بوو ناگسادی نهیتیه کانیسه بوو . تا ننتاش بهره دواوه له سهه نووسین و تۆیهوه دهریاری کورده کوردستان بهتاییهتی دوی راهه رینه که گئی کورد له کوردستانی عراق و سهردانی کوردستانیسه کورده دوی دامه زانندن حکومهتی فیدرالی ههریمی کوردستان. تا نیستا نیگلتن له هیچ نووسینیکیدا باسی تهم نیتزاره زهریهی سهه مریکای نه کرده . خن تگهر تهمه راست بوایا تایا یه کتیبی سؤقیات بؤ سههوهی لهسهه تهم کاری سهه مریکای لا ته داره یان دوی رووخانی سؤقیات بؤ روسیای هیچ باسی نه کرده و سههدها به لگه نامه نهیتی سههوهی ستالینان ناشکرا کردو خستیانه روو، تایا نهی بؤ تهم سهه له گرنگه بدهنه ژیر لیرهوه؟ یان بؤ شهید دوکتور قاسملو له کتیبه کهی "

کوردستان والا کرد " یان له سههوه نووسینه کانی تریشی باسی تهم هه ره شه زهریهی نه کرده که یه کتیکه له شاره زاترین که سهه دهریاری رووداوه کانی ۱۹۴۶ به لکو یه کتیکه بوو لهو شاهیدانی له ناو جهه رگی رووداوه کان له ژیا .

تایا تهم ز دوی تتههروونی زیاتر له نیو سه ده بهسه تهم هه ره شه زهریهی سهه مریکای دوی یه کتیبی سؤقیات ، بؤ هه ره شه کانی ستالین له پانهی تهم پاکانه یه بؤ بکن خن هه له سیاسیه کانی ستالین نهوهنده کم نیین بهم جزوه دروو ده له سانه یینه بکرتین .

بؤ زیاتر روونکردهوهی هیزه کانی کشانهوهی هیزه کانی یه کتیبی سؤقیات له تیران و رووخانی ههردوو کوماره سهه ره خیزه کانی تازهریایان و کوردستان ده گه رته سهه بؤ نویسه کانیان له کتیبی " انجمنیات والمنظمات الاحزاب الکوردیه فی نصف قرین ۱۹۰۸-۱۹۵۸ " تایا هاتوه :

" لهسه ره یه کن له دیاردی یه که می شیری ساردی جیهانی دوی شههوی جیهانی دووم ، تیران و عالسه می روژتاوا که پتیریت بوو بهره رتگاری بنهوه کیشه پر له سه ترسه که می بوونی هیزه کانی سؤقیات بوو له خاکی تیران ، ولاته روژتاوا یکان و سهه مریکای دهستیانکرده به هه له سه تی سهه هیزه بهره دواوهی دیپلوماسیهت که هه موو ترانسیان بؤ تهم سهه سهه تهرخانکرده بوو بهرامبهه رازی نه بوونی سؤقیات بؤ جیهه جیکردنی تهرکه دهریاری کانی بهرامبهه ران نهوه بوو ولاتانی روژتاوا یاده اشتیکان دایه نههوهنی تاشیش ، سههروهه سهه رۆکی سهه مریکای " هاری ترومان " چهند نامه ییکی توندی ناراسته می موسکو کره له مانگی بازار و تیار ی سالی ۱۹۴۶ . داوا ی لیبانکرده که پیوسته له نیران بکشیتتهوه ، ههروهه لتههراون بهرامبهه ره سهه ترسیته رویدا .

له لایکی تهره سهه ره وک ویزیرانی تیران " قوم سهه تهنه " بهره دواوهی له یاریکرده دلوما سهه که له گهل یه کتیبی سؤقیات به سهه سهه ت قایلکردنی به کشانهوه له تیران بهرامبهه به نیستیزی تهوتی باکوری تیران .

لهو کاته می شای تیران خه ریکی نهوه بو سوپای تیران نامه بکا بؤ

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سیستهما نافراندنی د نولا
زهرا دهشت ده

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دە هین هەفت فریشتاھن و نائی وان یسی گشتی
(تاشا سەپەندان) تەف فریشتاھانا ژێ هەریەک
ژ وان دویەدیییا (ازەواھێ) وی یا سەرشتی هەبە
، ناگۆ هەریەک ژوان سەرشتیەک وی یا جانەداری
(روحی) و ناسوتی (مادی) هەبە.



باشاوهی لایهردی (١) (به هەر شیوهیهک بێ بیروسته رژیمی سەدام بڕوا بۆ ئەوهێندێ (بازارو دوکانیش)) لەگەڵ لەناوچوونیدا (دایجری)

روسیا له سه عاتی (بیست و
پینجهمین) دا دهیوی ریکورتیتیکی
٤٠ ملیار دۆلاری له گەڵ سەدامدا
مۆز بکا ، واته له دوا چرکه کانی
له ناوچوونی رژیمه کەیدا ، روسیا
دهیوی ئه مریکا ناچار بکا
هه ره کانی جی به جی نه کا ، نیت
لای ئه م روسیا به کە گرنه
میلهتی عیراق بنائینی یان ماڵ
وێران و دهیوه دەر بێ به دهست
رژیمی دیکتاتۆری به عه سو ، تهی
هه ره ئه م روسیا به مارتگری ئه م
ستالینه نیسه که کۆماری
سه هابادی به چه ند به رمیله
نهریتیکی رژیمی شاهانشا فرۆشت ؟
هه ره ئه م روسیا به مارتگری
سوفیت نیسه که هه ره له به کەم
رژمی سه ره ئه دانی شۆرشکی
کوردستانه به سه ره کوردایه تی
بازرانی ئه م هه رچی چه ک و
جه خانه ی سوپای عیراق هه بو ئه م
ده یبارد بۆ رژیمه کانی عیراق ؟
راسته سوفیت نه ماره و نیتا
رژیتیکی لیبرالی حوکم به ریه ده با ،
به لām که ته ماشای سیاسه ته کانی
ده رووی ئه م رژیمی نیتا ده کە ی
هیچ جیاوازیه کی ته وتوی له گەڵ
رژیمی پینشوردا نیه .
هیکیایه تی ته لمانی و
حکومه ته کە شی به سه ره کایه تی
شڕیدەر ، که ژۆ به جه خت بی

جگەر گوشه گانمان



بۆژانهای کورد ژۆر پیتی خۆشه
لەم ژماره یه وه گوشه به کی تابه ت
بۆ مندالاتی کورد له تاروکه گاندا
ته رخان بکات و وێنه و خواست و
هه والی له دایکیوون و ئاھه نگیه کانی
سه ره کورتیان له خۆنێندن و
چالاکیه کانی تریاندا بلاویکاته وه ،
هیوادارین مندالاتن خۆیان یان کەس
و کاریان له م پواره دا هه رکارمان
بکەن ، له گەڵ رێسوو
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کورد هه به له ئوسترالیای هه موو
تاروکه گان و کوردستان .

فره ههنگی
ناوی
کوردی

Table with 2 columns: ناوی کچیان, ناوی کورپان. Lists various names in Kurdish.

مامه که له شیر

مامه که له شیر : فه خره دین گه رمیانی
بایته سه ره باسه که مان
مه ته لی نه مجاره مان
ته مه چییه ؟؟
"خانویه کم هه به ته نگ و
تاریک بیه له شتی مل باریک"
ماندوو نابیت هه یج له کار
هه ره له هه رین تا به هه ر
زه خیره ی گشت زستانی
خر ته کات ژۆر به جوانی
زیره کن بۆ کارکردن
هه ره مندای ژۆریش ورن
وه لām بۆ پیتی
برادەر که له شیری
منیش دیا به کی جوان
شه ره به بنیوم بۆتان



