



## Kurds say Iran is rooting for Saddam ouster

SALAHUDDIN, Iraq — Iran would never say publicly that it is rooting for the United States to topple the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein, even though the two nations share a status as part of President Bush's "axis of evil."

But a group of Iraqi Kurds, just back from a visit to Iran, say their hosts appeared to relish the prospect of an end to Saddam, who initiated a bloody eight-year war with Iran more than two decades ago.

"The Iranians have some concerns about the post-Saddam Iraq, what kind of Iraq there would be, and the legality of removing a sovereign regime," said Hosyar Zebari, a top level Kurdish official whose delegation met top Iranian officials last week.

"But deep down, they really want a change of regime in Iraq. They want to see the back of Saddam Hussein," Mr. Zebari said in summing up his meetings with powerful former Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani as well as the head of Iran's Revolutionary Guards, its minister of defense and its minister of intelligence.

U.S. troop deployments in the region and Mr. Bush's vow to replace the government of Saddam have placed this region on edge.

Governments and political groups in the region have been in a flurry of diplomatic haggling and military planning.

Here in northern Iraq — a semi-autonomous U.S.- and U.N.-protected area — fears of war and instability loom especially large.

This mountaintop town just north of the major city of Erbil is where Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), one of the two major groups governing Iraqi Kurdistan, had been busy preparing for a parliamentary meeting yesterday and wrestling with the implications of a post-Saddam Iraq. The Kurds were once fierce guerrilla warriors.

But they've lately laid down their arms, put on suits and ties, and engaged in low-key political maneuvers to ease fears in neighboring Iran about a new Iraqi government.

Relations between Turkey and the two political camps governing northern Iraq nearly collapsed after two members of the Ankara government publicly suggested annexing Northern Iraq. Mr. Zebari says he's heading to Turkey next.

"We're trying cool down the atmosphere and tone done the media threats," he said.

Mr. Bush's Sept. 12 speech at the United Nations, in which he identified the Iranians as victims of Saddam Hussein four times, did much to ease Iranian fears that America plans to attack Iran following an elimination of the Baghdad regime, Mr. Zebari said.

In the recent meetings, Iranian leaders welcomed Mr. Bush's remarks as a conciliatory gesture, he said. British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw is due in Iran to discuss the Iraqi question the second week in October.

Iran and the United States cut ties following the 1979 seizure of the American Embassy in Tehran.

But the clerical regime of Iran is also no friend of the Baghdad government, which used chemical weapons against its soldiers at the end of a long war in the 1980s.

Iran quietly sat out the 1991 U.S.-led campaign to push Iraq out of Kuwait.

But just as its border and ethnic ties with Afghans have complicated the U.S. drive to create a post-Taliban peace in Afghanistan, Iran can throw wrenches in any plan to create a new Iraq.

Ninety percent of Iranians are Shi'ite Muslims, giving them strong ties to Iraq's Shi'ites, who make up 60 percent of Iraq. Saddam is from the rival Sunni sect.

The 3.5 million Iraqi Kurds and majority Shi'ites of Iraq will likely make up important component.

## Turks fear Kurd insurgency

By Karl Vick ISTANBUL: Turkey's prime minister has issued a warning to Iraqi Kurdish groups who this week approved a constitution that envisions replacing the dictatorship of President Saddam Hussein with a "federal Iraq." The prospect alarms Turkish leaders, who fear a US military campaign in Iraq will unleash ethnic Kurds' ambitions to create an independent state.

"Even though they say, 'We are against founding a Kurdish state,' a de facto state is already on the way to being formed," Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit complained on Wednesday night, hours after the draft constitution was approved. "If this becomes official, there will be serious problems."

Iraqi Kurdish officials said Ecevit overreacted to what they characterized as a tentative move in an open process intended to avoid chaos in the aftermath of Saddam's ouster. The constitution, agreed to by the two rival Kurdish political parties that have controlled an autonomous section of northern Iraq since 1991, still must be submitted to other Iraqi opposition groups that the United States is trying to mobilize against the Iraqi leader.

The flap pointed up the fragile nature of the coalition the Bush administration aims to bring together to remove a despot it accuses of producing chemical and biological weapons. In recent weeks, Turkish officials have obliquely

threatened to send troops into northern Iraq to thwart Kurdish ambitions there; a Kurdish leader replied that northern Iraq would then become a "graveyard" for Turkish troops.

Administration officials say no decision has been made on what action to take against Saddam, and the UN Security Council is mulling proposals that might sanction the use of force.

Turkey, as a longtime strategic US ally that borders northern Iraq, would be a crucial base for US ground troops and warplanes in almost any military scenario. But its leadership is wary of the Iraqi Kurds, whom the Pentagon is preparing to train to work alongside US forces inside Iraq. Turkey, which is home to 13 million ethnic Kurds, has spent much of the last two decades fighting Turkish Kurd separatists. The draft constitution, which calls for a "federated zone" encompassing Kurdish areas inside Iraq, was viewed as an expression of Kurdish ambitions for full independence, an outcome Turkey has repeatedly said it would move to prevent with the use of troops.

"It only becomes official when all Iraqi people make it official," said Saeen Dizayee of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, which approved the document along with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. Dawn/The Washington Post News Service.

## Iraq Rejects Proposed UN Resolution on Inspections

By Hassan Hafidh

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - Iraq said on Saturday it will not accept tough new rules for U.N. weapons inspections proposed in a U.S.-drafted Security Council resolution requiring Baghdad's compliance under threat of military action.

Vice President Taha Yassin Ramadan declared Iraq rejected any extra procedures for weapons inspections as contained in the draft U.N. resolution envisaging a 30-day deadline for Baghdad to declare all its weapons of mass destruction programs.

"The stance from the inspectors has been decided and any additional procedure that aims at harming Iraq won't be accepted," Ramadan told reporters.

Deputy Prime Minister Tareq Aziz warned that the United States would sustain huge losses if it attacked Iraq and that his country would fight a "fierce war."

Ramadan dismissed as "lies" U.S. accusations of links between his country and Osama bin Laden (news - web sites)'s al Qaeda, blamed by Washington for the September 11 attacks by suicide hijackers last year on U.S. cities that killed more than 3,000 people.

Under threat of force, Washington wants radically to change the ground rules for U.N. weapons inspectors in Iraq, demanding access to any site and protecting inspectors with a security force, according to those familiar with the U.N. draft.

The proposed U.N. Security Council resolution, backed by Britain, would declare Iraq has already violated current U.N. demands and authorize military action if Baghdad fails to comply by accounting for its weapons of mass destruction.

The document, to be introduced early next week, has been submitted to Russia, China and France which, along with Britain and the United States, have veto power in the 15-nation Security Council. The other 10 elected council members have been told some of the main points.

France, Russia and China have severe reservations about what they regard as an almost inevitable slide into war, prompting a flurry of diplomatic activity.

## Bush: Give Iraq 7 days to open up everything

By Colum Lynch

NEW YORK — The Bush administration is proposing a fundamental redrawing of rules that govern U.N. weapons inspections in Iraq, seeking guarantees that inspectors be protected by armed U.N. security forces and granted immediate access to all Iraqi territory. The demands, in a draft Security Council resolution the administration is circulating among key council members, implicitly threatens military action if Baghdad fails to comply. In Washington, Democratic critics of President Bush's Iraq policy, led by Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., stepped up their campaign for more diplomacy before military action is launched. The United States' new resolution reflects a consensus in the administration that the Iraqis have exploited prior agreements to deny arms experts access to a broad category of locations where Saddam Hussein may have concealed evidence of banned weapons, U.S. officials said. But the proposal, which spells out the broad objectives set forward by Bush in his U.N. address Sept. 12, continued to encounter stiff resistance from France, Russia and China, three permanent members of the Security Council with veto power. Only Britain among the permanent five members is backing the U.S. position. Administration officials said the draft, expected to be introduced formally to the Security Council next week, represented a starting point for what they envision will be tough bargaining over the next couple of weeks. Bush discussed the matter by telephone yesterday with French President Jacques Chirac, while a State Department envoy held talks with French officials in Paris before flying to Moscow for meetings there today. One U.S. official said the draft, the product of intense discussions within the administration and with the British government, for the first time would require Saddam to open political, national-security and religious buildings to no-notice challenge inspections. "All presidential palaces and mosques are fair game for inspections," the official said. "We will put down new requirements that force the Iraqi regime to comply with the spirit of their obligations to the weapons inspectors." If Iraq failed to accept the council's terms within seven days of being notified by U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, officials said, the resolution would authorize "all means necessary" to force Iraqi compliance — effectively granting the administration permission to use military force. The resolution would require that Iraq provide a "full, final and complete declaration" on the status of its banned-weapons program within 30 days of the measure's adoption. U.S. officials said the provision would enable them to determine if Iraq is lying. The U.S. proposal to conduct inspections backed by armed force was first proposed in a report by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and endorsed by Rolf

Ekeus, the former executive chairman of the U.N. Special Commission, which was charged with ridding Iraq of its deadliest weapons. It provoked alarm among U.N. diplomats who fear it is not feasible and never would be accepted by Iraq. One council member said the U.S. draft was "designed to be rejected." Bush told an audience in Denver yesterday that the United Nations should be given the chance to force Saddam to give up his weapons of mass destruction. Otherwise, he said, the United States and its allies will force him to do so. "He can either get rid of his weapons and the United Nations can act, or the United States will lead a coalition to disarm this man," Bush said. "I want to give peace a chance to work. I want the United Nations to work. I want him to do what he's said he would do. But, for the sake of our future, now's the time." While Bush's comments appeared designed to appease Democrats who have called for caution in the past week, Kennedy led a spirited attack on the president's perceived drive toward military confrontation with Saddam.

In a nationally televised speech at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, Kennedy said Bush "has not made a convincing case that we face such an imminent threat to our national security that a unilateral, pre-emptive American strike and an immediate war are necessary." Conceding that the Iraqi president is a "tyrant" and his regime presents "a serious danger," the Massachusetts Democrat nonetheless argued that Bush should give U.N. weapons inspectors a chance to disarm Iraq before resorting to war. He commended Bush for inviting the United Nations to act, but argued that the president must give it time to do so. He said the U.N. Security Council should authorize force if inspections failed, at which point the United States would be prepared to act. Kennedy's speech, carried live on cable TV networks, was the most comprehensive argument leveled against Bush's policy by a top Democratic lawmaker since the administration began rattling sabers this summer. Yet while Kennedy's views are strongly shared among many Democrats, they are not likely to prevail in Congress, where election-year politics and dread of another Sept. 11-like attack have forged bipartisan support behind Bush's aggressive stance. Former President Clinton also weighed in yesterday, echoing Kennedy's call for the United Nations to take the lead in confronting Iraq. "We ought to go to the United Nations," Clinton said on ABC. "We ought to get a tough resolution which basically says, 'OK, we'll take Saddam Hussein up on his commitment to free and open and unfettered inspections, and ultimately to disarmament of these weapons of mass destruction.' " If Saddam fails to comply, Clinton said, "then the international community is authorized to use force."

## What about the Kurds?

Karim Abdullah, New York, USA

The plight of the Palestinian resonates loudly with the Muslim world, but what of the Kurds? They, too, are a landless and stateless people who are being oppressed and are equally deserving of a country of their own yet there is little or no attention paid to them. Why is that? Is it because these Kurds occupy lands that are under the control of Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran—the fellow Muslim countries whom we dare not criticise for the sake of Islamic unity?

The Kurds are treated far worse than the Palestinians, in my opinion. Because they are neither Turks, Arabs, or Persians, but a distinct ethnic group with their own culture and language.

Until recently, Turkey denied the Kurds to speak their own language. Iraq has long mistreated the Kurds, even using them as human guinea pigs to test chemical weapons. Where was the OIC and the Ummah then? It is a shame that we accuse the West of humiliating and mistreating Muslims, when we ourselves do it so well.

# "Biz Kürdüz" yan ji "Em Türk in"

Ev sernivis xulasaya siyaseta Tırkiyeyê ye ku ew di derbarê berendambûna. Yekitiya Ewrûpayê de, di PN(Programma neteweyî) de eşkere kir. Mahneya vî tiştî ew e ku em dikarin di jiyana rojane de bêjin "Biz Kürdüz" yan ji "Em Türk in." Ew dixwazin di vê pêvajoyê de, di warî pirsa kurdî de konsepteke nû peyda bikin û li ser vê konsepta nû stratejiya xwe ya pêşerojê ava bikin. Lî ew ê heta kuderê karibin vê siyaseta xwe ya şoveniyê bimeşîn. Edî dinya ne dinyaya berê ye; ew bi xwe ji dizanin ku pirsa kurdî bingeha problemen Tırkiyeyê teşkil dike, divê ev pirs bê çareskerin.

Gelo cîma Tırkiye naxwaze di çerçeweya "Pivanen Kopengahê" de hebûna kurdan bi resmî nas bike û mafê zimên bide wan? Di esîe xwe de ne hewcaye ku meriv li ser vê pirsê dûr û dirêj rawest e. Ji ber ku bersiv pirr besit e. Ku meriv bi zimaneki vekirî û gelêri bêje bersiva vê pirsê weha ye: Berpirsiyaren dewlet û hikûmeta Tırkiyeyê ji bi xwe dizanin ku wexta ew bi fermî kurdan nas bikin û mafê zimên bidin wan, dê miletbûna kurdan bîhêzîr bibe, miletbûn dezgehbûnê, dezgehbûn ji dê dewletbûnê bi xwe re bine.

Ew ji baş dizanin kurd mileteliq qewim in, li ser axa xwe dijin, welatê wan hatiye perçekirin, di dewleten ku ew tê de hatine parçekirin de rîxistin, parti û dezgehîn wan hene, di programa partîyen wan de daxwaz û steratiya wan hatine diyarkirin, azadiya parçeyekî di tavilê de tesîrî li ser parçeyen din dike; ev 75 sal in ew nehatine asimlekîrin, nifusa wan roj bi roj zedetir, şlûra wan ya dîroki û siyasi ber bi kamilbûnê ve dije, yanî bi kurtayî ew bi naskirina daxwazeke me yê asgarî, dê pêşiyê lê vekin ku em ber bi daxwazên xwe yê azamîyê ve biçin. Ji bo vê yekê ye ku berdevkîn dewlet û hikûmeta Tırkiyeyê hergav "hesassiyetîn" xwe tînin zimên û naxwazin di pêvajoya berendambûna xwe ya Yekitiya Ewrûpayê de pêwistîyen "Pivanen Kopengahê" bi ci binin. Di BH B(Belgeya Hevpar ya Beşdariyê) de him ji di PN(Programma Neteweyî) de ew eşkere didin diyarkirin ku, bêyi ku

navê kurdi bi lêv bikin ew bahsa zimaneki ji derveyî zimanê tirkî dîkin ku hevwelatiyên wan dîkarin vî zimanî di jiyana xwe ya şexsi de biaxivin, lê bi şertî ku ew vê yekê nekin hacetê cudaxwaziyê. Tırkiye û "Pivanen Kopenhangê" Ewrûpi ji xwe re li ser berjewendiyen muşterek yekitiyekê ava kirine û navê wê danîne. Yekitiya Ewrûpayê û ji bona ku dewletekê bibe endama wê ji hin pivanan danîne û ev pivan li welatên xwe tatbiq kirine. Ew dewleta ku dixwaze bibe endama wan, divê ew ji ev kriteran bi cî bînîn. Ev kriter bi navê "Kriteren Kopenhangê" tê bi navâkirin û ji izaheta wê ji weha ye.

Di 22ê Hezîrana 1993an de li serbajarê Danîmarkayê, Kopenhangê Konseyâ Yekitiya Ewrûpayê gîhaşt wê bawerîyê ku ew ê Yekitiya xwe fireh bikin û dewleten Ewrûpaya Rohilat bigirin nav yekitiya xwe. Beriya ku ew bigirin nav xwe û endametiya wan qebûl bikin ji bonê wan hinek krîteran tespit kîrin; ev kriter siyasi, aborî û ji mewzûatên hiqûqi pêk tê.

Kriteren siyasi ew kriter in ku ji demokrasi, serdestiya huqûqi, mafê mirovi, parastina mafe eqâliyetan pêk tê, divê her berendamên vê yekitiye van şertan bi cî bîne. Wexta Tırkiye bixwaze bibe endama Yekitiya Ewrûpayê divê ew ji van kriteran bi cî bîne. Yani divê Tırkiye xwe "chek up" bike, ci nexweşiyen wê hene tedawî bike. Lî ew nexweşiyeye xwe, bêyi ku bi lêv bike, wê dixe nexweşiyâ "hessas" û ji Ewrûpiyan re dibêje divê hûn tedaxulê vê nexweşiyâ min a hessas nebin. Nexweşiyâ ku ew bi xwe telafuz naake, lê edî ne tenê Ewrûpi dinya alem ji pê dizane nexweşiyâ wan ya kurdan e; ku edî ev nexweşî büye "kunêr" û di her warê siyaseta Tırkiyeyê de xwe nişan dide û heta ku ew çareser nebe ji, Tırkiye ji vê nexweşiyê xelas nabe.

Lî hin beriya "Pivanen Kopengahê" li gelek welatên Ewrûpayê mafê her aqîlyetek yan ji grubêk multecîyan heye ku ew bi zimanê xwe, xwe ifade bikin. Ji bo xwe ifade bikin ji dewlet imkan ji wan re pêşkêş dike, da ku ew bi zimanê xwe perwerde bibin, weşan derxînîn, pêlweşaniya radio û televizyonê bikin û

hwd. Heta herkes mafê wan heye ku bi zimanê xwe tercuman daxwaz bikin û organen dewletê, sazgeh, muessese yan ji dezgehîn aleqedar mecbûr in ev mafê wan ê tabii bi cih bînîn. Wek minak yekî kurd li Swêdê yan ji li Almanyayê wexta bixwaze bi zimanê xwe bikeve imtîxana ehliyete, dezgeha aleqedar mecbûr e jê re tercumanekî bi zimanê wî peyde bike; ev tişt li welatên din yê Ewrûpayê ji derbas dibe. Yani mewzûatên weha ne dikevin rojave raya giştî ya wan û ne ji kes alaqeya xwe pêtine. Berevajiya wê, wexta ev bikevin rojevê, dibe komik-trajedi.

Kurd divê ci bikin? Kurd ji divê bêyi ku nok û nîskan tevlihev bikin bi asgarî dest pê bikin û ber bi azamîyê ve biçin. Ji bo wê ji pêvajoya berendambûna Tırkiyeyê ya Yekitiya Ewrûpayê keyseke baş e ku divê kurd Tırkiyeyê bikin tengasiyê. Bi taybeti ji divê ew "Pivanen Kopenhangê" ji xwe re bikin pêlik û zorê bidin Tırkiyeyê. Tırkiye di vî warî de xelegeyeke lawaz e û neheqîyeke berbiçav li kurdan dike.

Di vi warî de barê giran dikeve ser milê parti, rîxistin û dezgehîn legal yê kurdan û li ser van kesen ku iro di nav hewildanen nû de ne. Ew diviyabûn di dema amadekirina BHB û PN de reaksiyoneke xurt nişan bidana, û di filiyatê de gavê berbiçav bavêtana. Bi taybeti ji HADEV bi xwepêşandinên girseyî dikaribû ji raya giştî re bida diyarkirin ku ew bi zimanê xwe perwerdeyê, mafê radiyo û tv yê dixwazin û divê ev mafê wan di van belgeyana de ci bigre. Lî hin ne dereng e. Ew dikarin dest pê bikin ku di her warê jiyanê de zimanê xwe bi kar binin. Yani hemû aksiyonên(civîn, kongre, şev, şahi, meş, xwepêşandin û hwd) xwe bi kurdî bikin û bi vî awayi rojever tayin bikin. Wexta ew ketin nav hewildanen weha û bîn girtin ji dê ev girtina wan olan bide û dewleta Tırkiyeyê di vê pêvajoya xwe ya "hessas" de, bikeve tengasiyê. Ji xwe isal ji aliye Yekitiya Ewrûpayê ve sala zimanî hatiye îlankirin, di vî warî de cirûskeke heri piçük, dê di tavilê de gurribibe û rojeva dînyayê germ bike.

<http://www.kurdinfo.com/helim/bel9.htm>

## DEHAP ji benda hilbijartînê derbas dibe

Ji bo DEHAP'ê ku li ser reya hilbijartînê 3'ê Sermawezê hemû astengiyen qanûni çareser kîrin, benda ji sedi 10 ji nabe kelem. Tarhan Erdem, anketçekerî ku li Tırkiye heri zêde bawerî pê tê, di anketa xwe ya dawi a der barê rîjeya dengen partîyan de, diyar dike ku DEHAP partîya çaremîn e. Tê gotin, rîjeya dengen DEHAP'ê ku hin neketîye atmosfera hilbijartînê, bi destpêkrina pêvajoya propagandayê re wê bilindir bibe. Ji bo hilbijartînan 5 hefta mane û ji niha ve çav zivirin ser ankêtan. Anketa lêkoliner Tarhan Erdem ku ji bo Doyce Bank lêkolinerke ku bawerî pê tê, encamên balkêp efkere kîrin. Li gorî anketa dawî, tenê DEHAP'ê dengen xwe pir bilind kîrin û bû partîya 4. emîn a Tırkiye. Di anketê de tê gotin, niha DEHAP dikare ji sedi 9'ê dengen bi dest bixe. Heman anket destnîban dike ku iro hilbijartînec çêbe, MHP, ANAP, DSP û YTP wê di bin bin benda hilbijartînê de diminin. Pisporan

anketa ku tê de AKP CHP û DYP ji ji benda hilbijartînê ya ji 10 derbas dibin, dibejin, bi pêvajoya propandayê DEHAP'ê rîjeya dengen xwe zêde bike.

Disa di pîroveya ankêtê de, DEHAP bi taybeti li metropolan, hem dengen nû bi dest dixe, hem ji yê xwe yê berê dîpareze. Noxteyeke din a anketê partîya Genç. Li gorî anketê, Partîya Genç ya di bin serokatiya Cem Uzan de ku rojê diçe serdana sê bajaran, dikare ji sedi 8'ê dengen bi dest bixe.

Encamên ankêtê wiha ne:  
 Partîya Ak... ... ... % 30  
 CHP... ... ... ... % 19  
 DYP... ... ... ... % 11  
 DEHAP... ... ... ... % 9  
 Partîya Genç... ... ... % 8  
 MHP... ... ... ... % 7  
 ANAP... ... ... ... % 3.5  
 YTP... ... ... ... % 3.5  
 SP... ... ... ... % 2  
 DSP... ... ... ... % 1.5  
 Partîyen din... ... ... ... % 5

## Bang Bo Meşa Kolnê

Hevwelatiyen hêja!  
 Dostino!  
 Hevaino!

Wek ku hûn ji jê agahdar in endambûna YE ye di nav xwe de hin pirensib u hejayan we hene. Dewleten ku endamê YE ne, berî her tiştî pirs u pirsgirekên xwe yên aborî, siyasi û demokrasiye çareser dike. Ew dewleten ku endamê YE ne, hurmetê nişanî mafê mîrovân didin. Divê di wan welatan de pirsa azadî, demokrasiye û aqîlyetê tune bin.

Gelo wexta iro mîrov li rewşa dewleta Tırkiyeyê mêze dike ji pîvan u normen YE kîjan bi cih tînin.

Hevwelatiyen hêja,  
 Dewleta Tırkiyeye li gorî "Kîteren Kopenhangê" sozan da YE. Peymana ji sedema politika wan yên nijadperest û inkarê sozen xwe bi cih nanîne. Herdem YE xapandine. Ji bo vê yekê ji, raydarê Tırkiyeye piştî demekî ji bo endametiya YE mecbûr man hin guhertîn pêk binin. Bi nave "Paketa Ahengê" ji parlementoya xwe hin zagonan derxist. Guhertînê wek "Rakirina cezaya idamê", "serbestîya ziman" u weşanen din bi zor u daxwazîyen YE pêk hatin. Lî wan ji ne guhertîn hewqas giring in û qime geleki ji 20 milyonan nakin. Gelê kurd ji dixwaze wek gelên din yê dînyayê biji. Bi kurtayî divê dewleta Tirk va gavê jérin yên pêşpêş bîn avêtin:

\* Divê Qanuna Esasi ya ku cunta 12 ilonê çekiribû, bê rakirin û yekî demokratik bê çekirin û di serî da hebûna netewa Kurd û hemû eqâliyetan bê naskirin. Divê maf û heqen wan yên netewi û demokratik bê parastin.

\* Divê mafê bi serbestî karkirin ji bo partîyen Kurdan bê dayin.

\* Saziyen ku cunta 12 ilonê avakiriye, divê bîn belavkirin.

\* Divê rî û olax bê peydakirin, ku Kurdên koçber yê di dema şerî qirêj da ji axen bav û kalan hatine dûrxistin, gund û bajaren wan hatine şewitandin û wêrankirin, bikarîn wegerin warê xwe. Divê hemû zirarên wan bê dayin.

\* Divê zordarîya li ser zman û çanda Kurd bê rakirin; di radyo û televizyonê da bi Kurdi weşan

ev maf, berê her tiştî di Qanuna Esasi da û her weha zagonen di cih bigire. Ew guhertîn nû di mijara perwerdekirinê da ji bi rastî tenê xapandin e. Divê sistema perwerdeyî ji hemû rengên njadperest û şovîn bê paqîjîrin û demokratik be.

\* Divê cezaya idamê bê şert û surten wek "Dema herba nez" û "Dema herbê" ji holê were rakirin.

\* Divê hemû zagonen ku naven kurdî qedexekirine, bê rakirin. Naven ku di coxrafîye Kurdistanî da hatine guhartin, divê paşve bê dayin.

\* Ev 24 sal in ku Kurdistan bi rewsa awarte tê idare kîrin. Divê ev rews bê guhartin, saziya cehşîti bê rakirin. Hevwelatiyen hêja, Dosten giranbihâ,

Heger em dixwazin di pêvajoya endametiya Tırkiyeye de li daxwazên xwe yên jorîn xwedî derkevin, divê em dest bi hevildanen û çalekiyan bikin.

Ji sala par u vir de hêzên kurdan yên neteweyî û demokratik dest bi hewildanen kirine. Heyetan avakirine, wek paket daxwazîyen Kurdan pêşkeşî YE kîrin e. Îsal ji ali daxwaz û temsiliya kurdan ve gavê xwe hin pêş de birin. Bi piştgirîya (18 hêzên Kurdistanî) Hevkari yê dengê xwe ewe hin bilintir bikin.

Ji bo vê yekê banga me ji YE ye re heye. Divê YE daxwaz û armanca kurdan ji bide ber çavên xwe. Ji vê pêvajoye şunde kurdan ji wek teref qebûl bikin. Divê YE pîrsa kurd u Kurdistan bi insaf u daxwaza dewleta Tırkiyeye de bernede. Di pîrsa kurd u di statuya Kurdistanî de kurd xwedî desthilat be.

Em bo daxwazên xwe meş û xwepêşandinek çedîkin û bangî hemû Kurd û mîrovîn humanist dikevin, werin piştgirîya xwe bidin me û em tehvî dengê xwe bilind bikin!

Dem: 12.10.2002,  
 Destpêk: saat 12.00 li Köln-Ebertplatz Kombûn: saat 14.00 li Roncalliplatz HEVKARI-Platforma Rexistinen Kurdistan / Elmania

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کورد) کرد یو به چا پکه یاندنی ژماره (۲۲) که نیستا له  
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بز دستیشان کردنی چوارچیه کی گشتی بز اخوازیه کانی گهلو کوره له عین اقی دوای سدام خویستندا و تاشا گردنس بد و رای گشتین عداقی داده و بز دستیشان بدر اخوازیه و بز تاره کندگیکی پیک پیتن له نیوان پارت و ریکخواری سیاسی و کمایدیش روزبهیه و سیامه قدار و بو تاره هیچ لایه تیک بز نیمن نه جهانی بدر اخوازیه بدان و سان له گهله هیته کانی توییز سیزی عایقی و ریضی داهاتری عیاق و دونه تانی داوره پدر و زلپهیه کاندا بکا، به باشه دارم نه دودویه ته چوارچیه بدان و سان له گهله هیته کانی توییز سیزی عایقی و ریضی داهاتری عیاق و دونه تانی داوره پدر و زلپهیه کاندا بکا، به باشه دارم نه کانه ناسکه که دازی گله که مسان نم بنشی کوره ستانه بیدا تندیه بز و ششیان و سیامه قداران و پاره سانه کانی کوره ستان له سار هنله سه رکه کانی بز نگرام سیاسی کوره ریک سکون و به یه داک پیغامه له گهله دوروی خیاندا تو و بیز و دان و سان بکن، نم چند خاله لیتزا داده بده بینه بیش تیوهی بعریز سرتین له دید و بجهوی سده خانی لهم بازده و بز دستیشان کردنی چارچیه که دید و بجهوی خیانی داده بده بینه بیش تیوهی بعریز سرتین بجهوی خیانی دید و بجهوی ساده ساده و بیالیه (ریال پولیستکه) مسامه له له گهله اخوازیه کانی کوره ده کهین ته داک له گهله شاره زرد و خونه کان و مافی روای گلهان لان بدامه زاندنی دوخته ته ته خوبان.

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# THE KURDS OUGHT TO BE CONGRATULATED

Shahin Bekir Sorekli

Since 1991 most of the Kurdish regions in southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan) have been under Kurdish administration. I have read and written many articles regarding issues relevant to the politics and events in the area. The crisis between the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) has generated a negative outlook amongst many Kurdish intellectuals. Despite the presence of two Kurdish governments, however, many foreigners who visited the area in the last three years have come out with positive remarks and praise for the way Kurds were running their affairs. I went to southern Kurdistan with a positive attitude but what I witnessed there was far beyond my expectations. As a Kurd I felt pride, as a Middle Easterner I felt sorry that the Kurdish people were unjustly treated and as an Australian I found it ridiculous that countries with a population less than half a million were members of the UN while millions of Kurds were not even represented; that countries with no civilized regimes were independent while the Kurds did not even have a recognized government within a federal system.

Sulaimani did not look to me like a town in one of the "third world" countries. It was clean, the traffic was more orderly than many Middle Eastern cities and people on the streets were polite and well mannered. The city had many well kept restaurants with excellent food and service and hotels such as Sulaimani Palace and Ashti had a high standard not less than well known hotels in the western world. Unlike many Middle Eastern cities, in both Sulaimani and Hewlér (Erbil) there were no pictures of Mr Jalal Talabani, the leader of PUK, or Mr Masoud Barzani, the leader of KDP on the streets, although present in many offices. The peshmergas (Kurdish soldiers) on the roads did not hassle people. They were polite and friendly while the police went about their work directing traffic with diligence and friendliness.

The University of Sulaimani impressed me the most. This is the only university in the Middle East where the number of female students is higher than male students. Here you feel like being outside the Middle East. You do not see covered faces and only few females cover their hair. Unlike many Middle Eastern universities here you see students of both sexes working together, walking together and sitting together in the cafeteria. Dr Kamal Khoshnaw, the president of Sulaimani University, has been working very hard to improve standards. He refuses to comprise in matters regarding the quality of education and tries very hard to present his university as an academic venue in the civilized world. He has even managed to replace armed soldiers with unarmed female officers standing at the gate of the university.

Both in areas under PUK and KDP democracy is well in place. No doubt it is unfair and unrealistic to

expect the standard of democracy to be as high as places like Australia or Sweden, for instance, as circumstances are extremely different, taking into consideration the attempts by some neighbouring countries to sabotage the situation and the fact that democracy is a new experience in the region. In the areas run by both parties press is free and there are newspapers, radio stations and TV channels run by other organizations, including Turkmen and Assyrians. People are free to watch any channel in the world. Those who have satellite dishes can get hundreds of channels from CNN and BBC to Arabic, Persian and Turkish channels. Furthermore, people can talk freely and there are no secret police listening or watching in public places.

KurdSat TV is another impressive institution. It is run from an attractive building and is continuously improving. The diligence and dedication of officials is obvious in many places. Some work six or seven days a week. For instance, I visited Mr Sadi Ahmad Peera, Director of PUK's International Relations Bureau, twice, once around midnight and once at 8.30 am. On both occasions he had people on official visits. He usually fits those he knows into these kind of hours. Some may accuse me of trying to portray a land of milk and honey here. Of course there are some negative aspects but they are mainly the results of three sources, one resulting from the embargo on Iraq and Kurdistan and the uncertainty regarding the future, one from the plots and malicious policies by some of the neighbouring countries and another from the rivalry between PUK and KDP. Most Kurds believe many problems would have not existed (eg: those with the fundamental Islamic groups, with some Turkmen organizations and even the bullying attitude from Turkey) if both parties were united in one Kurdish government. Since the aim of this article is relevant to the impression I had during my visit I will not go into details regarding these matters.

The people of Sulaimani are certainly concerned about the future and are closely monitoring US threats in regard to ending Saddam Hussein's rule in Iraq, however, they give you the impression of being happy and they certainly know how to enjoy life. On Fridays thousands of families head towards mountains surrounding the city. In the shade of trees, mountain sides and in the open they BBQ, eat, listen to music, sing and dance. The city has many restaurants in the open air with high standards where you can enjoy beautiful food from all sorts of Kebabs and salads to cooked meals. Almost all drinks from Heineken beer to Coca Cola are available. And the good news for visitors from abroad is that everything is rather cheap compared with prices in Europe and countries such as the USA, Australia and Canada.

One of the matters I was worried about

prior to my visit was how to visit both Sulaimani and Hewlér. Some friends did not recommend this but I was determined to visit both cities. Contrary to recommendations made by some I insisted on going as an ordinary visitor without formally arranging any protocol or program with either of both parties. Despite this I was warmly received by both PUK and KDP and the officials of both governments. I was happy to see Mr Adnan Mofti, the Deputy Prime Minister (Dr Barham Salih was abroad), whom I met more than ten years ago in Europe again. His position has not changed him a bit. He remains humble and most obliging as ever.

I used a taxi service to travel from Sulaimani to Hewlér. The trip lasted about 2.5 hours. Crossing the border between PUK and KDP areas was extremely easy and the stop at the check point lasted less than 5 minutes. Indeed one wonders why use these check points at all since passenger don't leave their cars and the whole procedure is rather informal and casual. Unlike Sulaimani Hewlér is a large city located on a plain. While Sulaimani is a young city with a history of about 200 years, inhabited almost entirely by Sorani Kurds, Hewlér has a history of 4000 years and while most of inhabitants are Kurds there are also Turkmen and Assyrians communities. The town has an ancient castle, interesting bazaars and the parliament building. Most recently Franso Hariri's Stadium was added to the features. The parliament and the way the offices are run are efficient and impressive. In Sulaimani the green flag of PUK can be found on official buildings while in Hewlér the yellow flag of KDP but the flag of Kurdistan, the flag used by the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad (Red White and Green with yellow sun in the middle) can be sighted in many places in Hewlér. Many taxis in the town have this flag attached to the boot. The centre of the city is rather crowded and the traffic is heavy. The town is clean, the roads are well looked after and there is a lot of construction in progress.

The university of Salahaddin, in Hewlér, unlike the university of Sulaimani, does not have all the faculties on one spot. They are scattered around. Dr Sadi Barzani, the Head of the University, welcomed me so warmly and organized a program for me to visit some of the faculties. Here too one becomes impressed by the organization. The Kurds who were described by their enemies, even by some journalists, as rebels and uneducated lot prove exactly the opposite. Within a few years, and despite all the obstacles, they did not only establish institutions, colleges and universities but have proven themselves capable of running them efficiently, indeed much more efficiently than those in many independent countries. Ebdeleziz Tayyeh, the Minister for Education, also assisted me and arranged a meeting with two journalists from Asoy Perwerde, an educational journal. Both Salahaddin University and Sulaimani University are in

need of specialists and people with PhD degrees in some areas. They also are eager for new ideas in regard to the education of teachers and the curriculum in both primary and high schools. Officials and people in charge of institutions, in both cities, are open minded people eager to receive specialists and assistance from abroad (There is another university in Dahok but unfortunately my time was limited and I was not able to visit that part of the country).

Kurdistan TV (KTV) has made a lot of progress in the last couple of years. It is run from a large building in Salahaddin summer resort, not far from the residence of Mr Masoud Barzani. The building has impressive studios and is run by enthusiastic and dedicated people. You can find almost everything in Hewlér and Sulaimani. Internet Cafes and mobile phones are available in both cities. There are good quality hotels and restaurants in Hewlér as well. I was impressed by the standard of Chwar Chera, a 4 star hotel (The Chevron hotel is being restored and there are other good hotels in the town). Transport by taxi is extremely cheap. Indeed with some organization and advertisement, provided one of the neighbouring countries officially opens the border, and with some peace and stability southern Kurdistan could become a paradise for tourists.

The only pain that remains unhealed, despite improvement in relations, is the traces of animosity within some quarters of KDP and PUK resulting from old wounds, rivalry and in some cases self-interest of individuals and groups. I believe this can be overcome by designing a federal model within Kurdistan itself that gives both sides some sort of autonomy with one government that takes care of matters such as foreign affairs, defence and economy. An educational campaign aimed at reconciliation is also recommended.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the officials and friends in both Hewlér and Sulaimani who welcomed me so warmly and made me feel at home. It is a fact that both Kurdish governments and those running institutions are doing their best to improve the situation and the standards. I would like to congratulate them and the Kurdish people who have proved that Kurds given the opportunity can not only govern themselves but can do it in a civilized manner with respect for democracy.

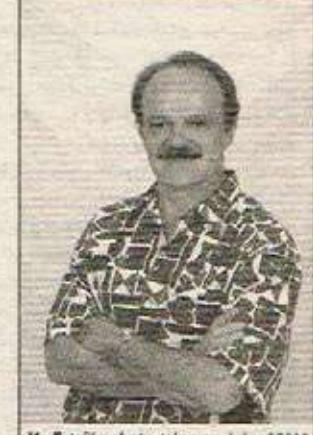
(Sydney, 1/07/2002)

Note: Both governments and the people heavily depend on the UN assistance (13% of the total price for Iraqi oil sold according to the "Oil for Food Program" is allocated to the region under Kurdish control). While the assistance of UN organizations is very much appreciated there are complaints and dissatisfaction with some aspects, including the UN bureaucracy and the high salaries paid for non Kurdish UN workers.

Tataii received 14,065 votes in 2002 elections Congressional seat from Hawaii

London  
(KurdishMedia.com) 23 September 2002:  
KurdishMedia.com has asked Mr Steve Raza Tataii several questions regarding the progress in his election.

Mr Steve Raza Tataii is a Democratic Candidate for U.S. Congress in 2002 elections Congressional seat from Hawaii. The text of the interview is published here.



Mr. Tataii's photo, taken on July of 2002

Question: How did you do at the first stage of the election, the Primary, on 21 September 2002?

Answer: First of all I want to thank you for your patience and continued support in covering the news of my Candidacy. I have a unique situation in the first stage of the 2002 elections, and it will last till November 5, 2002.

Question: Can you explain in more details?

Answer: Although I received 14,065 votes on yesterday's Primary, the final confirmation of my victory will not be known for a while, since they imposed an incapacitated Incumbent to challenge me on the same Democratic ballots, even though due to her serious illness I did not get a single public debate with her, which would have most likely caused her to lose the Primary "BIG TIME", therefore she obtained more votes in this unfairly set up election, but not to worry, because I have a strong case to gain back my Victory.

Question: And how is that?

Answer: My opponent became very ill from chicken pox, and has remained in the intensive care unit to recover from pneumonia caused by the disease since August 30, 2002, which was reported to the voters 10 days later, and she has remained in that condition to this day. By rights, the Hawaii Democratic party should have declared me the only qualified candidate immediately after the news of her serious illness in an age, becoming permanently incapacitated, so that I could continue to the general election on November 5, 2002, and win easily, because my Incumbent opponent did not voluntarily withdraw from the race pursuant to Section 11-117(b) of Hawaii election laws, leaving my Candidacy in limbo until the general election.

Question: What are your plans to correct the injustice?

Answer: I have talked to a couple of attorneys to help me establish my automatic winning position, being robbed from me by a few corrupt insider politicians. I really prefer to find an honest, and expert attorney from outside of Hawaii, without any possibility of conflict of interest in the

matter, and wish to hire one of our experts, to officially represent me on contingency basis, since the funds to hire an attorney is not available in my "WAR CHEST", but attorney's fees may be obtained after the case has prevailed, and I'm quite

certain it will prevail.

Question: What are your chances to win the Primary's contest in Court?

Answer: I stand an excellent chance of prevailing, but can't just sit idle and hope it'll happen by itself, as I am a man of action, and must keep moving on this issue, since time is of the essence with the deadline to file a "complaint on contest for cause in Primary Election with Hawaii State Supreme Court (HRS section 11-173.5)" is on September 27, 2002.

Question: What can Kurds and other supporters do to help you?

Answer: I'm glad you asked that question, because contributions, to maintain my campaigning and also pay for the initial legal fees and costs of my election contest are absolutely necessary. I hate to ask for contributions, but it is a must in my God Given chance to become a U.S. Congressman by November 5, 2002, and am determined not to let this chance be lost. So far, only received about \$350 contribution alone, and getting 14,065 votes with no paid campaign ads was a great achievement, and it could have been much better with ads on TV, Radio, and local press. Each TV ad could cost up to \$6000, and my opponent had a few TV ads, having raised over \$160,000 in her campaign "war chest".

I like to take this opportunity to thank many of our Kurdish brothers and sisters, posting the news of my Candidacy on their Websites, especially KurdishMedia.com. I promise you to do the utmost to win by November 5, 2002 upon the said reinstatement of my Candidacy.

Contacts  
Contribution checks can be written and mailed to:  
Friends of Steve Tataii  
P O BOX 11042  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96828

**Part 2-2**

by Khaled Salih -Goteborgs Universitet

**Anfal: The Kurdish Genocide in Iraq****Iraq and the Kurds: a bibliographic essay (1)**

KDP revived its alliance with Tehran after the Iranian revolution of 1978; in 1983 they had a joint action to capture a border town, an event that led immediately to retribution by the regime in Baghdad: in an operation against the complexes where the Barzani Kurds were relocated, Iraqi troops abducted five to eight thousand males aged twelve or over. None of them have ever been seen again. In September 1983, Saddam Hussein gave the clearest indication regarding the fate of the Barzani:

"They betrayed the country and they betrayed the covenant," he said, "and we meted out a stern punishment to them and they went to hell." In many respects, the 1983 Barzani operation anticipated the techniques that would be used on a much larger scale during the Anfal campaign. No doubt, the absence of any international outcry encouraged Baghdad to believe that it could get away with an even larger operation without any hostile reaction. In this respect the Ba'th Party seems to have been correct in its calculations and judgement of the international inaction.

Since 1975, over 4,000 Kurdish villages had been destroyed; by a conservative estimate more than 100,000 rural Kurds had died in Anfal alone; half of Iraq's productive farmland is believed to have been laid waste.

The destruction campaigns of April 1987 - April 1989, which MEW rightly calls the Kurdish genocide, had the Anfal campaign as its centrepiece. The Anfal campaign should by no means be regarded as a function or by-product of the Iraq-Iran war, since it was a rational, pre-planned enterprise in which modern techniques of management and expertise were effectively co-ordinated. The Iran-Iraq war provided the crucial element with which Baghdad could cover-up its opportunity to bring to a climax its long-standing efforts to bring the Kurds to heel. The Iraqi regime's anti-Kurdish drive dates back to more than fifteen years, well before the outbreak of that war.

**Another Holocaust**

Theoretically, Genocide in Iraq attempts to locate the Kurdish genocide of 1987-1989 within a paradigm presented by Raul Hilberg in his book on the history of Holocaust (12). The reasoning presented in Genocide in Iraq is both complex and subtle, a fact that does not allow for a short synopsis to do the book and the victims of Anfal justice.

Despite that, the basic argument can be summarised fairly briefly. The Kurdish genocide 'fits' Hilberg's paradigm to perfection,' which is summarised in the following key concepts: "definition - concentration (or seizure) - annihilation."

The process of defining those who would be targeted by Anfal began shortly after Ali Hassan al-Majid, one of Saddam Hussein's cousin, was granted 'special powers' as the secretary general of the Northern Bureau of Iraq's ruling Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, in March 1987. At the first stage, al-Majid decreed that 'saboteurs' would lose their property rights, suspended the legal rights of all the residents of prohibited villages, to be followed by the

execution of first-degree relatives of 'saboteurs' and of wounded civilians whose hostility to the regime had been determined by the intelligence services.

In June 1987, the process of drawing irreversible boundaries - the red line between 'us' and 'them' - was legalised by issuing two sets of standing orders, which were based on a simple axiom with a result few, if any, of the Kurds could comprehend: in the 'prohibited' rural areas, all Kurdish residents were coterminous with the peshmerga insurgents (Kurdish guerrilla), and they would be dealt with accordingly.

Through a policy of shoot-to-kill, the first of al-Majid's directives was to ban all human existence in the 'prohibited areas.' The second constitutes an unmistakable inducement to mass murder, spelled out in the chilling clear language. In clause 4, army commander are ordered "to carry out random bombardments, using artillery, helicopters and aircraft, at all times of the day or night, in order to kill the largest number of persons present in these prohibited zones. (13)"

In clause 5, al-Majid ordered that, "All persons captured in those villages shall be detained and interrogated by the security services and those between the ages of 15 to 70 shall be executed after any useful information has been obtained from them, of which we should be duly notified." (14)

While still engaged in this phase of definition, the Iraqi authorities did not hesitate to test their chemical capacity. Within the range of at least forty documented chemical attacks on Kurdish targets over a period of eighteen months, Iraqi aircraft dropped its first poison gas on the undefended civilian villagers in mid-April 1987, killing more than a hundred people, most of them women and children. These attacks were the first signs of the degree to which the regime was prepared in killing large numbers of Kurdish civilians without discrimination.

In order to create a buffer zone between 'us' and 'them', between the government and the peshmerga-controlled areas, a three-stage programme of village clearances or 'collectivisation' was embarked on in mid-April 1987. During this programme's first two phases, between 21 April-20 May and 21 May-20 June, more than 700 villages were burned and bulldozed, most of them along the main highways in government-controlled areas. Due to the war efforts on the Iranian frontiers, the third phase was to be postponed, but accomplished by Anfal.

In terms of defining the target group for annihilation, the national census of 17 October 1987, was the most important single administrative step of the Iraqi regime in the desired direction. Having created a virtual buffer strip between the government and the peshmerga-controlled zones by the village clearances, the Ba'th Party offered the inhabitants of the prohibited areas an ultimatum: either you 'return to the national ranks' - that is, abandon your home and livelihood and accept compulsory relocation in a sordid camp under the eye of the security forces; or you lose your Iraqi citizenship and

be regarded as military deserter. This second option was subject to an August 1987 decree of the ruling Revolutionary Command Council, imposing the death penalty on deserters. Not choosing the 'national ranks' was, in effect, tantamount to a death sentence, to be carried out by Party organisations. Prior to the census date, proper measures were taken by security and intelligence agencies to prevent any contact or movement between the two sides, other than on the regime's terms.

**'Definition'**

In the period leading up to the census, al-Majid encircled the target group further. He ordered intelligence officials to prepare detailed case-by-case dossiers of 'saboteurs' families who were still living in the government-controlled areas, on which countless women, children and elderly people were forcibly transferred to the rural areas to share the fate of their peshmerga relatives. This technique of sieving of the population was also crucial to the decisions made during the Anfal on the question of who should live and who should die.

Concomitant with this phase of definition was also the military operations to destroy the habitat of the rural population that roughly followed the same pattern. These operations started characteristically with chemical attacks from the air on both civilian and peshmerga targets, accompanied by a military blitz against the Kurdish military bases. After this initial assault, ground troops and jash (pro-government Kurdish militias) enveloped the target areas from all sides, destroying all human habitation in their path, looting household possessions and farm animals and setting fire to homes, before calling in demolition crews.

In areas of greater peshmerga resistance brutal government harassment in all the forms familiar in the rest of Iraqi Kurdistan was followed - punitive jash incursions, burning and looting, shelling from artillery, rocketing and occasional bombing from the air.

As the definition processes proceeded, so did the phase of the concentration or seizure of the target group. By now, convoys of army trucks stood by to transport the villagers to holding centres and transit camps. To prevent anyone from escaping, the jash had to comb the hillsides at the first stage, while the secret police had to search the towns, cities and complexes to hunt fugitives at a later stage. In several cases those who still managed to hide had to be lured out with false offers of amnesty and 'return to the national ranks'.

The processing of the detainees took place in a network of camps and prisons that followed a standard pattern. Men and women were segregated on the spot. The process was brutal and did not spare the elderly. A little later, the men were further divided by age - small children kept with their mothers, the elderly and weak sidelined to separate quarters, and men and teenage boys considered to be able to carry a weapon herded together, without rigorous check of identity documents. The women and children were also suffering grievously in their own ways. After a short

time the guards dragged the older women away violently from their daughters and grandchildren and bundled them away to yet another unknown destination. In at least two cases, soldiers and guards burst into the women's quarters during their first night at a camp and removed their small children, even infants at the breast. All night long the women could hear the cries and screams of their children in another room. But above all the women and children in one camp endured the torment of seeing their husbands, brothers and fathers suffer, beaten routinely in front of their female relatives, and, in the end, disappear.

**Concentration**

The first temporary holding centres were in operation, under the control of military intelligence as early as mid-March 1988; peaking in mid-April and early May, the mass disappearances had begun in earnest shortly thereafter. At this stage most of the detainees were transferred to a place called Topzawa, a Popular Army camp on the outskirts of Kirkuk; others were trucked to another Popular Army barracks in Tikrit. Women and children were trucked on from Topzawa to a separate camp in the town of Dibis; between 6,000 and 8,000 elderly detainees were taken to an abandoned prison called Nugra Salman in the southern desert, where hundreds of them died as a result of neglect, starvation and disease.

During the last stage of Anfal villagers from Badinan were detained in a huge army fort at Dohuk. The women and children were transferred later from Dohuk to a prison camp in Salamiyah close to Mosul. Although the majority of the women, children and elderly released after an official amnesty to mark the end of Anfal on 6 September 1988, none of the Anfal men were never released. Only six people, all from the Third and the bloodies Anfal - aged between 12 and 38, have managed to escape in order to tell the true story of what happened to tens of thousands of Kurds who were driven away in convoys of sealed vehicles from the camps to southern Iraq.

The process of defining those who were actually to be killed, if they managed to survive indiscriminate chemical attacks, harsh conditions of the transit camps and occasionally torture, was under way long before the actual killing by the firing squads. Two days before the national census, that is to say 15 October, 1987, army and intelligence agencies were ordered to compile lists of the Kurds from the 'prohibited areas' and the case-by-case of 'saboteurs' families. During Anfal, the captives were registered by name, sex, age, place of birth and place of residence. Accordingly, men between ages 15 and 50 years old from the 'prohibited areas' and families of 'saboteurs' were sent to death in the south.

**Annihilation**

The method of executing the Kurdish men by firing squads is, according to the MEW, 'uncannily reminiscent of another', that of the Einsatzkommandos, or mobile killing units, in Eastern Europe occupied by the Nazis.

"Some groups of prisoners were lined up, shot from the front and dragged into pre-dug mass graves; others were shoved roughly into trenches and machine gunned where they stood; others were made to lie down in pairs, sardine-style, next to mouths of fresh corpses, before being killed; others were tied together, made to stand on the lip of the pit, and shot in the back so that they would fall forward into it - a method that was presumably more efficient from the point of view of the killers. Bulldozers then pushed earth or sand loosely over the heaps of corpses. Some of the gravesites contained dozens of separate pits, and obviously contained the bodies of thousands of victims. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the executioners were uniformed members of the Ba'th Party, or perhaps of Iraq's General Security Directorate (Amn)."

Rigid bureaucratic norms were governing this annihilation process. Those who were executed were not murdered because they were condemned for committing a specific crime; rather their only crime was to be born in a place declared by a central government as 'prohibited,' that is to say, Kurds in areas outside government control. The locations of at least three mass gravesites have been pinpointed through the testimony of survivors. Ramadi, al-Hadar and Samawah. (see map) Genocide in Iraq quotes Raul Hilberg saying, 'There are not so many ways in which a modern society can, in short order, kill a large number of people living in its midst. This is an efficiency problem of the greatest dimensions...' The captured Iraqi documents demonstrate 'in astonishing breadth and detail how the Iraqi state bureaucracy organised the Kurdish genocide.'

**Modern Genocide**

The book demonstrates convincingly that the Kurdish genocide of 1987-1989 had a distinct modern flavour, to paraphrase Zygmunt Bauman (15). Although mass murder is not a modern invention, contemporary mass murder within the perimeters of the modern territorial state is. It is 'distinguished by a virtual absence of all spontaneity on the one hand, and the prominence of rational, carefully calculated design on the other. It is marked by an almost complete elimination of contingency and chance, and independence from group emotions and personal motives.'

(16) Modern genocide is thus a genocide with a purpose. It has initiators and the managers with a particular view of the society.

The purpose of the modern genocide is 'a grand vision of a better, and radically different, society.' Here a 'gardener's vision', projected upon a society is involved. As in the case of the gardeners, the designers of the perfect society hate the weeds that spoil their design. The weeds surrounding the desired society must be exterminated, it is a problem that have to be solved; the 'weeds must die not so much because of what they are, as because of that the beautiful, orderly garden ought to be.' (17) The Ba'thist rulers in Iraq have always desired to create a harmonious, conflict-free

society, orderly, controlled and docile in their hands. The Kurds have constituted the main challenge to this vision based on the rhetoric of pan-Arabism. The Kurds have been viewed as the weeds disturbing the Ba'thist vision of the Arab Iraq. But the Ba'thists have been patient in materialising their vision. They have advanced their position by consolidating their power step by step, under more than twenty years. They have never given up their dream. When the modernist dream is embraced by an absolute power able to monopolise modern vehicle of rational action, and when that power attains freedom from effective social control, genocide follows.' (18)

That is exactly what happened in the case of Iraq under the Ba'th Party. Five factor identified by Sarah Gordon are important in producing a modern genocide, which is also true in the case of Kurdish genocide of 1987-1989.

1. There was a radical anti-Kurdish drive.
2. The drive was transformed into the policy of a powerful, centralised state.
3. The state was in command of a huge, efficient bureaucratic apparatus.
4. A 'state of emergency' was called - an extraordinary, wartime condition, which allowed government and bureaucracy to get away with things which could, possibly, face more serious obstacles in time of peace. (19)

5. The population and the international community (20) at large, (21) reacted with non-interference and passive acceptance of those things.

Given the circumstances, the mass killing of the Kurds was presented as a bureaucratic task to be implemented by different state organisations. The violence was turned into a technique of solving this bureaucratic mission. The bureaucrats within the Party, the army, numerous intelligence agencies, and civilian administration were presented with meticulous functional division of labour without any moral responsibility. Having presented with a definition of the task, the bureaucracy in Iraq carried out the task to its end with a remarkable degree of rationality and efficiency. At the end of its task, only the bureaucracy's ability to refine its methods and efficiency could sufficiently explain why not even a single soul managed to escape from the Final Anfal's firing squads.

Once set in motion, refined and honoured and glorified, the machinery of murder developed its own impetus: after accomplishing its task faithfully in Kurdistan, it sought new territories where it could exercise its newly acquired skills. (22) Is it not possible to view the invasion of Kuwait, and the killing of the civilians there as the externalisation of the Iraqi bureaucracy's 'domestic style of rule to foreign policy', a modern skill, efficiency and capacity seeking by now territories outside Iraq? A close examination of the language, symbols and circumlocutions used in Iraq's propaganda war to justify the occupation of Kuwait might reveal that the Kuwaits were presented as yet another kind of weed to be removed from the Ba'thist vision of a united Arab world under that particular leadership.

## جا پہک بگرین

ن  
له حمه دهشتی  
دبور خمینیه و  
رهایی برون و ددهست بیشین  
کونده بزیگان له ناو بهرین  
هیشتان تارماهی کان هدر تریکن  
ترس زوره بز نه گبهشی  
هدستی هدمو کوردیه روان دهرویشن  
لهم دیو پدرده  
گلمی تعلیمی مهرگاوه رمان  
بز چشندراوه  
به ته ماهانه ترسکه کان گشت خاموش کمن  
به نهیشی له سمنگردان  
دز به تیمه خود نهیشن  
هدمری رهشی ناسانه کان  
لهدام که لهدو وا گرمی دی  
تزویاتیکی به شدیق و  
خنکیمیری له گه لذابه  
داگیرکمران وا به ته مان  
که می و تز هدر بهک نه بین  
بینهده نار نه صعلیمه نده  
تریکه کان داگیریکن  
دیسان سهادن سالی نه عامتی  
بوق من و تز تزمار ده کمن  
دهوره تز بز کوئی دهربی  
به سه بتوچی لمیک دبور بین  
بیچیجی نار لیلک جایین  
دل و ده رون با بکمین بهک  
دل نیا به نه ساتانه کی کموا به کمین  
نیتر حم و بیزنه کان دهبریشه و  
پویا کامان و ددی دین و  
چی نهیاره و چی قددره  
له زیر سایدی هستی با کی کوردابهشی  
هرگیز جیان ناییتمو  
ده تز و هر دلیام که  
که راجیت دز به خاک و  
نامحمد کان تیوان ناگرین

ختی سوری نیشتنی تا بهزین  
به یدکوهه دوزستانان دره تیشین  
به سه برزگار زامی گملی قوله  
هیشتان برینان سارپیه ندوووه  
زندی ماوه یگمین بهوی  
به تاوازی سمره هنری خاکی نهوى  
بز کوئی دهربی؟ بز کوئی دهربی؟  
و هر نه فرین له دژایهشی یدکه بکمین  
با پیشکوهه دهست له ملن  
بالای بهزی هوش ویستی خاکمان بکمین  
ما چیزیکه و دهشده کان نه ورنینه  
فریو نه حقین بز دوزستان  
له بتو معزگی روله کاغان  
دز به یدکه سعفر نه کدین  
لمسه سفره دوزستانان یدک سوک نه کدین  
قلای سهختی به کگرستان  
دز به دوزمن پتلو بکمین  
تف له چاره داگیر که ری خاکمان بکمین  
هدرجی گورگه له سمنگردان  
کلسان هدر تیو ماوه بتو دهستان  
نیدار زتین له هدر چوار لا  
گهر یدک نه گزین  
لهد ده فرده همروهه جاران  
له زیر چنگی درنده کان ده تیشه و  
له هرمه هدهله بتو نیمه کورد  
با دیزه کی زامه کاغان سارپیه بکمین  
شمش و دک هدمو گه لان  
با خاکی خو رزگار بکمین  
به سه و هر دهست له دهست بین  
دوزستانان له ناو بهرین  
کور دوزستانان برزگار بکمین  
سمره هنری و دلاتیکی کوردهواری  
بتو همه میشه دابن بکمین

\*\*

پیشکمده بدو کسانه که همه میشه لا ره  
ده بته هرگاهه کانی سهادن کاره سات و شمری  
و دژایهشی کوردابهشی راسته قیمه.

نەگەر پاک و گشت بىٰ گرد بىٰ  
زور دەگىيئە تەمە مەلېمەندە خۆش بەختىه  
تۇش دەزانى زۇرى لە مىـزە  
وا خەلتاوى خۇيىنى سورىن  
مىدرىگ بۇچان زەھىلىدە و  
ھەمۇر ساتى دادەبارى  
زۇر دەمىكىكە دەپرىتىدە  
لە خەلۇقەتى نەزانى دا  
سەدان سالە بىٰ ۋىيان دەخولىتىدە  
ھەرچىن كەدىي بىز تىيمىدى كورد  
تەنبايى مەدەغان نىشان دەدا  
لەو دەپىرە بىٰ بەزەپىن  
شىممايى مەرگمان بىٰ وەرەكەو  
ئەنفالەكان دابىن دەكەن  
دەتىز وەرە با پىشكەرە  
شاحنى پەش رۈون كەپىتىدە  
ھەتاوارىكى تازادە نۇنى  
لەو مەلبەندە وەدى يىشىن  
با رۈزىانى تەلە سەوارى و  
مەرغىي ياران دۆر خەيدىتەدە  
بىٰ كۆي دەرەقى ؟ بىٰ كۆي دەرەقى ؟  
قەت خۆت مەنەخە دەستى قەدەر  
با يەھەرىزى تازا مايىھە كان لىنك دا بەھىن  
با پىشكەرە بىٰ يەكتىرى  
ھەر كۈلانىدى خۆرەتاوارى بەخت وەرى و  
پەھابۇرىنى ئىلە دىيارە  
سەرىمەزانە والا بىكەين  
ئەم بۆزىڭارە سەدان سالە  
دەرگاچى رۇپۇنى لىٰ داخستۇرىنى  
بىٰ تىگەتى و نەھامەتى كوردەوارى  
سەدان دەرەقى لە سەر پاشتە  
با پىشكەرە لىيان دۆر بىن  
گۈشىيان داخستۇرى  
زۇرۇ دەرەقى  
ھەمۇر دۇپۇنى تازارەكان

# ئەم كورتە شىعرانە رۆلەي تارا و گەن

حکایت حمید رسول

۶۰

نار نه سو و قنی ...  
کلپهی گر یش شمیزیل نهدا  
دربیا و ناگر  
بز یدک مهد بست .  
بوروه و دورو نار استهی پیچه دوانه  
له خالنکدا سره دلندادا ...؟؟

۷. زیست‌ویژگی

غوره‌تیم ؛ دارتکنی نهسته‌روده د  
بیوم ناشکیته‌وه ..  
رده‌گنی ندم داره کوزنه له  
بدرهو نامهان هد لکشاده ..  
کسی تماری نسم یاخچه سروتاواره  
داره ...؟؟

۱۰۔ بندھنگ میں

دیورمه گیشون :  
سهری بروتی بناریکی له میخهود هد لگرتوره  
دیورمه ناگر ، وله نده هر یمن  
به نیو شاده ماری درختا پوچووه ... !!  
نه من نه تز .. نه ماند دیوره  
ماری برسی پاسی و نیواریکی

۸. دروشهای من

ندو ده رگایدم لینیکه ندهو ..  
که بزقی ولات و عازیزانی لیندی  
ندو په تجهزه دیده شم له سه درداخن،  
که باي غور به دستي لینه دهی ...؟

لڑکی یا خی بُو دایکم

وای لی داین وای لی داین  
لهم خزم بین که س و غریب و کدنس نه ماین  
تیستا بزتو پدر شتم  
روک زاره کیلک  
له مده مکی دایلک براین  
وای لی داین  
له چاره روانی چاره کزیدوم  
پهر شام  
بوزچی دنگ ر هداش ناین  
بانادهت بین ر  
دودیازم کا له تازارو گیانه لاین  
کیچی داین  
تدویندهم عهد لمددوریت خواره  
غشم لمدر سر دلم زور بوده  
به قدم فورسایی چیانی  
وای لی داین وای لی داین  
له من و له تو هن اس سارد  
زوزل لیکری  
چون له یاد کم توحخوا داین  
نه کاتانه  
وقل بوبین به دوای مدنز لیگای  
نه مانند تو ای بسردیون  
له زئید یواری، به ناین  
لدوسردهمه می سی روز جاریک سک تدوینی  
سالی جاری  
دانیشتن کمبار چه ای  
بیعت داین  
کوتیره و دری و دریه و دری  
بعش سهبو له دویانی  
هدولساندا، تیمانکوزشا  
هدولیوره مجنان  
وهک خدرمان بیو له بهرباین  
هدنگا کارمانتا بنزگه یشتن به هیرا کان  
هدنگا و کان  
بید باشد، تاقه دیه سویا، داده ای  
وای لی داین، وای لی داین، وای لی داین  
یارانه و دیک ترازی  
بدنکو رزگارم لمدوای  
هدر دهن و چه قار به لاین  
وای لی داین، وای لی داین، وای لی داین  
وای لی داین، وای لی داین، وای لی داین

**RENAS**  
 تصليح جميع أنواع الكمبيوتر  
 تصميم صفحات الانترنت  
 برامج عربية، تعليم، أسعار مناسبة  
 نروركم أينما كنت  
**040 2568 280**

The logo for The Kurd newspaper features a stylized globe in the background. In the foreground, the word "KURD" is written in large, bold, black letters. To the right of "KURD" is the Arabic word "الكرد" (al-Kurd) in a traditional calligraphic style. Below the globe, there is a graphic element consisting of two interlocking shapes resembling the letters "K" and "R". Below this graphic, the text "Voice of Australian Kurdish People" is written in a serif font. At the bottom right, the ABN number "ABN No: 78142825380" is displayed. The overall design is professional and具有民族特色.

**مخبز الرافدين**  
مستعدون لتجهيز المطاعم والمناسبات  
الخاصة بأجود خبز التنور العراقي  
بأدارة جديدة

Issue: (23) October 2002

**الطالباني يدعوا  
العرب إلى الرحيل عن  
مدينة كركوك**

دعا رئيس الاتحاد الوطني الكردستاني حلال الطالباني العرب للتقييم في المناطق الكردية التي ما زالت خاضعة لسيطرة الحكومة العراقية الى لرحيل عن هذه المناطق. وقال مصدر كردي من مركز ابناء كردستان في ليليانية ان الطالباني أكد خلال جتماع مع عدد من ضباط القوات الكردية» يبشره «أن الأول ان تكركوك» مدبة كردية، وان التركمان والاشورين اهوا للإكراد . وكذلك الاخوة العرب الذين كانوا يسكنون في المنطقة قبل انتهاج سياسة التعرّب البغيضة لهم اخوة لنا ومن حقهم القتا . في رامـ» .

دعا الطالباني قادة القوات الكردية الى طور قدراتهم القتالية من خلال الاهتمام بالتدريبات العسكرية على لأسلحة الحديثة . مؤكداً أهمية المرحلة الحالية من تاريخ الأكراد والتطورات التي تتوقع حدوثها على الساحة العراقية التي تتطلب» إعادة ترتيب البيت الكردي». «هذه أول مرة يدمر فيها عيّم كردي مباشرة العرب الذين أعادت الحكومة العراقية توطينهم في المناطق الكردية الى الرحيل .

الكرديمة الى الرحيل .  
وقع الطالباني مع زعيم الحزب  
الديمقراطي الكردستاني مسعود  
بارزاني في دوكان شالي السليمانية  
سلسلة اتفاقيات لتنحيف العلاقات بينهما  
قبل اجتماع تلرستان الموحد بعد يوم  
لجمعية المقربين في اربيل .  
واضفت الطالباني والبارزاني على  
الاتفاقات التي توصلوا اليها خلال  
الاسبوعين الاخرين . وقال مزولون  
كرهان ان الاتفاقات ستدخل إلى حيز  
التنفيذ >>> فورا . <<< وهذا اول لقاء بين  
زعيمين الكردتين منذ توقيع اتفاق  
يهما في ٨ ايلول في مدينة صلاح الدين  
لوالقعة تحت سيطرة الحزب الديمقراطي  
الكردستاني ، من اجل تسوية النزاعات  
بينهما ، ولا سيما عبد الله البشان  
لوجود . آف بـ ، يوري ابي

المجلس العسكري العراقي  
يدعو العسكريين العراقيين  
المهادئ الى انة نضمام الـ

**بعثة التعميل في الأجهزة على  
النظام الدكتاتوري الحاكم في العراق**  
**أعادة بناء، السوق الديمقراطي**  
**لـ فيديرالي الآمن المستقر، وتوحيد**  
**تجهيزه على هذا السبيل أصدر المجلس**  
**ال العسكري العراقي نداء إلى كافة**  
**العسكريين العراقيين في المنافي**  
**للأتضامن فيه، وقد كلف المجلس**  
**السيد راضي التربى في استراليا والذي**  
**سكن سيدني بهمة تسجيل الأخيرة**  
**العسكريين العراقيين المهاجرين إلى هذه**  
**البلاد وينجزنـدة من تنظيم**  
**المجلس العسكري العراقي، لمرصد من**  
**معلومات الاتصال بالسيد راضي**

توبیس : موسایل ۴۰۳۶۱۵۲۴۳

ماذا دار في الاجتماع؟  
ولماذا خرج خاتمي  
والحدیثی متجمهین؟

ذكرت مصادر ايرانية مطلعة أن خاتمي  
بلغ وزیر الخارجیة العراقي ناجی صبیری الخدیشی  
ان طهران تأمل أن تتحمّل بغداد خطوات عاجلة  
قطع الطريق على هجوم عسكري أمريكي  
تتمیل، مضیفۃ أن خاتمي كان قد تلقی من  
خدیشی رسالة من الرئيس العراق صدام حسين  
ما تضمنته دعوة إيران التي يبذل كل جهودها لمنع  
الخطط الأمريكية التي لا يستهدف العراق  
حسب بل دولاً عربية وإسلامية. في مقدمتها  
إيران.(ونفت المصادر التي أن خاتمي واخدیشی  
يتبادلا القبلات والتغییة عند تلقیها في أحد  
القصور الامیراطورية السابعة في شمال طهران، وأن  
خاتمي سأل الخدیشی أثنا، وفرھما لالتقاط الصور  
اکیف حال السيد صدام؟، فأجاب الخدیشی  
ببسم (غير شکرا لك)، وبعیب المصادر فإن  
خاتمي (اراد من اختیاره قصر امیراطوريه سابقاً  
للإجتاع مع الخدیشی. إيصال رسالة غير مباشرة،  
رسماً وأن الأنظار تتجه حالياً إلى التصور  
إن إیرانیة العراقية كررتها سرعاً لعمليات تثییر  
أولى أو هدفاً لهجوم عسكري أمريكي. (وتعزز  
المصادر وجهة نظرها هذه، بأن (خاتمي والخدیشی  
اللذین دخلوا الاجتماع متین، خرجا منه بعد  
ساعة بوجهين متوجهین، وبينما دخلوا الاجتماع  
بعد أن أطاحت بهم المصورون والمراقبین، خرجا غير  
مابینهم، بل إن المزولین الإیرانیین منعوا  
المصورون الصحفین من التصویر،

**بلير يهدد صدام بتدخل عسكري في حال رفض نزع الأسلحة**



**مؤتمر مستقبل الديمقراطية في العراق يدرس وضع العرقيات  
تركيا تحفظ!) على المطالبة باقامة دولة فيدرالية**

وطهير (تركيا): عادل درويش

دخل متزعم "مستقبل الديموقراطية في العراق" الذي يعتقد مهدى الدراسات العراقية في توسيعه منحوب تركيا يومه الثاني حيث تغير بدراسات عن وصعية طرائق والمعيقات العربية المختلفة. وتركزت أوراق العمل المطروحة على انتقاض التأريخ بين الحكومات المتعاقبة التي فرضت "العرب" في العراق. على طرائق غير العربية مثل الأكراد التركمان والأشوريين، حيث كان هناك انتقاض بين الباحثين على أن هذا انتقاض بيه الأول غاب الديموقراطية من معهج الحكومات المختلفة، ومواصلة تهلك الديموقراطية تحت مظلة نظام البغدادي الآن. وقد طرح الدكتور حسن سوامي من مجلس الأمن القومي التركي سلسلة مهمة بشأن خارف تركيا من طالب المعارضة العراقية - خاصة الاقليات مثل التركمان والأكراد - باتحاد. يدركالي عراقي وتركى متزعم خارف تركيا على القتل من أهاد الأكراد تأسيس بلد مستقل عن العراق، الأمر الذي قد يؤدي إلى تدخل عسكري تركي، وهو ما لا يريد أنقرة لأنه "سيعقد علاقتها مع العرب، واستغلله إسرائيل لتفعيلها لوقفة". وبينما أعزب التركمان الأشوريون عن أهلهم بضرورة العمل على تأسيس نوع من الحكم الذاتي، في

## **نائب مذكرة الموصلي متهم بمحاربة العنصرية**

صرح ناطق باسم الاعتداد الشعبي الكردي السوري في بيان له حول اتهام النائب السوري منذر الموصلي بمارسة العنصرية وقد استنطت هريتنا نسخة من التصريح، نشر هنا نصه:  
على أثر مطالبة مجموعة من المثقفين السوريين "السلطان المختصة" في دمشق باسقاط - عضوية مجلس الشعب- عن "النائب منذر الموصلي" تعبيداً لرفع دعاوى قضائية ضدة لاتهام وجة "تهمة المياغية" إلى الكاتب السياسي د.عبدالرازق عبد غير صحفة "النهار" اللبنانية كما لاحظ بيان المثقفين حول "الموصلي" إلى (رجل أمن وحاكم عربى وأصولى مذكر).

في الوقت الذى تزيد هذا البيان تعن وتنؤكد من جديد أن وزير السيد "النائب" منذر الموصلى - الاممى" لم يتوقف بعد، فقد كانا ضابطا في الامن بربطة (مقدم) مكلفا بالتفكرى، في إطار التعريب والتهجير حسب المرفق الرسمى لبيان واحد العناصر الاساسية الذى اشرف ( مسنان) على

استبعاد الانضمام إلى هجوم  
تقدمة الولايات المتحدة ضد العراق إذا ما فشل ذلك، وإذا ما رفضت  
الأمم المتحدة إقرار إجراء عسكري. وقال بنجy: "أمام صدام والنظام  
العربي خيار واحد، إما الموافقة على نزع الأسلحة أو مواجهة إجراء".  
وأضاف: ليس هناك خلاف على هذين الأمرين الأساسيين، الأول أن صدام  
يُقتل تهديداً، والثاني أنه يجب نزع أسلحته. المسؤول الوحيد هو ما هو  
أفضل سبيل لذلك. أتفى أن قبض الضغوط الدولية، ولكن إذا لم تفلح  
فيسبع أن تكون متعددين مجتمع دولي لإجهاض على فعل ذلك بطريقة  
أخرى".

وهو يتبع بليور احتلال إصدار قرارات منفصلين في مجلس الأمن حول  
العراق، وهذه الرئيس العراقي صدام حسين في الوقت نفسه بتدخل  
عسكري في حال لم يوافق على نزع أسلحته سريعاً. وأوضح بلو في بلاكيلون  
(شمال - غرب إنجلترا) حيث شارك في المؤتمر السنوي لحزب العمال أن  
"الهدف هو الحصول على تصميم حازم جداً من مجلس الأمن يقول إن هذه  
الأسلحة الكيميائية والبيولوجية وهذه الأسلحة النووية المحتملة تشكل  
خطراً تعلي على العالم".

إلى ذلك، قال مصدر في وزارة الخارجية البريطانية إن مبعوثاً بريطانياً  
وصل إلى الصين أمس لمحاولة إقناع بكين بتأييد إصدار قرار صادر في  
مجلس الأمن ضد العراق.

من جهة أخرى اعتبر وزير الدفاع الأميركي روبرت هيل أنه ما زال في  
الإمكان تمرير قرار صادر ضد العراق في مجلس الأمن على الرغم من  
اللامنة المعروفة بهدف المس بوحدة الجبهة الوطنية الكروية

**معروفة "تقسيم العراق" .. ام حقد عنصري ضد الشعب الكردي !!**

كلاً أثير حديث حول مستقبل العراق بعد اخلاص من الحكم الدكتاتوري الحالي طلعت علينا مهات عربة من رؤسـاـ وملوكـ (عـدا الرئيس القـانـقـيـ او بعضـ الكـاتـبـ وـ الصـحفـينـ وـ الـساـيـنـ وـ حتىـ بعضـ الـاحـزـابـ وـ التـكـلـاتـ وـ ..ـ حـصـرـ مـوـسىـ اـمـنـ عـامـ جـامـعـةـ (ـالـاـنـظـمـةـ)ـ (ـالـعـرـبـيـةـ)ـ وـ كـلـ النـظـمـ الـذـكـيـ وـ النـظـامـ الـاـيـارـيـ وـ الـغـرـبـ الرـسـيـ بـطـلـعـونـ عـلـىـ بـالـاسـطـوـانـةـ المـشـرـوـخـةـ الـفـائـلـةـ بـخـسـانـ (ـعـدـمـ تـقـيـمـ الـعـرـاقـ)ـ وـ خـصـرـهـ المـزـعـرـمـ عـلـىـ وـحدـةـ الـعـرـاقـ اوـهاـ وـ شـعـبـاـ)ـ طـبـعاـ هـذـاـ الـكـلـامـ موـجـهـ بـالـدـرـجـةـ الـاـولـىـ اـلـىـ طـفـرـاتـ الـقـضـيـةـ الـكـرـدـيـةـ وـ هـذـوـ زـوـرـ منـ التـصـبـ الـاـسـيـ المـشـقـ الـذـيـ لاـ يـعـنـيـ سـوـيـ الـاـسـتـهـانـةـ بـطـلـعـاتـ الشـعـبـ الـكـرـدـيـ فـيـ الـتـحـرـرـ وـ حقـهـ فـيـ مـارـسـةـ تـقـرـيرـ مـصـبـهـ بـيـنـهـ مـشـلـ كلـ شـعـوبـ الـأـرـضـ وـ آتـيـاهـهـ كـذـلـكـ وـ قـرـيـضـ الـخـاصـيـرـ الـعـرـبـيـةـ وـ الـتـرـكـيـةـ وـ الـاـرـبـاطـةـ هـذـهـ)ـ

وـ مـنـ اـجـلـ انـ نـكـونـ دـيـقـيـنـ اـكـثـرـ فـيـ اـنـظـمـةـ الـعـرـاقـيـةـ

الـمـتـعـاـقـيـةـ وـ مـنـذـ تـأـسـيـسـ الدـوـلـةـ الـعـرـاقـيـةـ حـارـيـتـ الشـعـبـ الـكـرـدـيـ وـ وـصـدـتـ لـثـرـاهـ بـسـلـعـةـ الـذـبـحـ وـ الـقـتـلـ وـ دـمـرـتـ قـرـىـ وـ مـدنـ كـرـدـسـانـ هـنـىـ وـ حـلـ الـأـمـرـ اـخـيـاـ بـالـنـظـمـ الـعـرـاقـيـ الـاـخـالـيـ اـلـىـ اـسـتـعـالـ السـلـاحـ الـكـيـمـيـاـيـ وـ الـقـتـلـ الجـمـاعـيـ لـلـمـوـطـنـيـنـ الـكـرـدـيـ بـأـسـمـ عـلـيـاتـ الـأـنـقـالـ السـيـنـيـةـ الصـيـتـ وـ تـمـرـضـ الشـعـبـ الـكـرـدـيـ فـيـ بـيـقـيـةـ اـجـزاـءـ وـ طـنـهـ الـوـاقـعـةـ حـتـ الـاـحـتـالـلـ اـلـىـ السـيـاسـاتـ نـفـسـهاـ وـ جـرـيـ كلـ هـذـاـ حـتـ مـظـلـةـ حـيـاةـ تـلـكـ الدـوـلـ منـ التـقـيـمـ الـزـعـومـ ،ـ ايـ وـعـنـيـ اـخـرـ تـقـعـ الشـعـبـ الـكـرـدـيـ وـ غـمـطـ مـقـدـمـهـ فـيـ اـغـرـيـةـ ،ـ هـذـاـ فـيـ وـقـتـ لمـ يـعـنـيـ فـيـ ايـ طـرـفـ كـرـدـيـ عـنـ هـذـ تـشـكـيلـ دـوـلـةـ كـرـدـيـةـ ،ـ وـمـ تـمـدـ اـطـالـيـبـ الـكـرـدـيـةـ حدـدـ الـقـيـدـرـالـيـةـ كـنـظـامـ اـدـارـيـ وـ سـيـاسـيـ لـلـدـوـلـ الـتـيـ تـقـتـمـ الـوـطـنـ الـكـرـدـسـانـيـ معـ اـتـاـكـيـدـ عـلـىـ اـنـ لـشـعـبـ كـرـدـسـانـ كـامـلـ الـحقـ اـسـوةـ بـكـلـ شـعـوبـ الـأـرـضـ تـأـسـيـسـ دـوـلـةـ الـقـومـيـةـ عـلـىـ اـرـجـعـهـ الـو~طنـيـةـ)

وهكذا أصبحت أدعاءات "الحفاظ على وحدة البلاد ورفق التقييم" ! فبعض عشان الذي شفف الأنظمة الرسمية العربية والأيرانية والتركية به المهاجر العربي والتراكية والأيرانية ، وتحت يافطة تلنت هذه الأنظمة سمات الآف من أبناء الشعب الكردي ولا بد أن تذكر هنا بأعتزاز المواقف المبدية المتفهمة للأبعاد الإنسانية والمديمقراطية للقضية الكردية لأحزاب عرقية مثل الحزب الشيوعي العراقي وقوى وشخصيات ومقتنين عراقيين وعرب حيث تبنوا مواقف مؤيدة ومساندة لنهضال الشعب الكردي .

وفيما يغتصب الظروف العراقية الراهنة ، والأحداث القرية بتدخل أميركي لأزاحة النظام العراقي القاشي ، فأثناء نساعي ونرى الان تزويجاً ممكناً لهذه الأدعاءات حيث اصبح اي ذكر لكلمة كردستان مرادفاً لعبارة تأييس آسرائيل ثانية عند بعض الأنظمة العربية . حتى وصل الأمر بمسؤول يازار في منظمة عربية ان يقول لأحد الزملاء الصحفيين : ليست القضية الفلسطينية هي الأهم في اجدد تناول هناك المخاطر الخدية الآتية من شمال العراق (١) ومن منوب السوهان .. !

تصوروا حالة الأنسان الكردي الذي يصطبه ويعتمد ويقتل منذ تأسيس الدولة العراقية وإلى الان عندما يسع هكذا تحريرات .. كيف يكون رد فعله ، وكيف له ان يطمئن الى مستقبله في ظل ظروف يكون فيه مثل ذلك التمودج واشباحه على رأس القرار العربي او العراقي ، خصوصاً وعند نرى مثل العين ونسمع مثل ، الأذن المواتق المناهضة لنظام فيدرالي في العراق .. ومن احزاب وقوى سياسية تزيد ان يكون لها دور فاعل في عراق ما بعد النظام الدكتاتوري الحالي ؟

في اعتقادى ان الوعي الإنساني والتقدمى والفهم المفهومى للديمقراطية ما زال بعيداً عن منطقة الشرق الأوسط ، وفي بعض الحالات العراقية كذلك ، وهذا ليس تذير خير ، بل تذير شؤم ، لأنه اذا اصبح الحكم فى ايدي من لا يستوعب ماضى ٧٠ سنة من السياسات التعميمية والعنصرية الموجهة ضد شعب كردستان سوف يواصل طريق سفك الدماء . وأخواب ، لأن الشعب الكردي بقيادة فداء الوطنية والمجربة ومحاميه التي اعطت الكثير على مذهب حرية كردستان سوف لن تقبل بتبرير المشاريع العنصرية و إعادة عقارب الساعة الى الوراء ، والشعب الكردي في كردستان الجزرية هو جزء من امة يقدر عدد نفوسها الان بحوالى ٤٠ مليون انسان . ومن المستحيل ان يتم القضاء عليها وفي زمن اصبحت الديمقراطية وحماية حقوق الإنسان ان اهم متطلبات الحياة المعاصرة . لذلك ليس هناك حل ، ولا معالجة وطنية ، الا باختزان تعليمات الشعب الكردي بكل وضوح . ونبذ الغطرسة والتلاصب بالالغاظ ، وفهم كامل غير منقوص لمبدأ الديمقراطية ، والتخلي نهاياً عن عبارات وشعارات مفخومة وردتها كل الأنظمة الفاشية التي حكمت العراق ، والتي حفرت ذكريات غير طيبة فيذاكرة الكردستانية والمنطقة بكثير من الدمار .



## طلب بافتخاره

## باللغة الكردية لغة وطنية في سوريا

طالب متى جلدت بدرخان الشفاف "المجد" في مدينة القامشلي (شمال شرق) بالاعتراض باللغة الكردية كلها وطبية في سوريا من خلال تعديل الدستور السوري الذي يعتد اللغة العربية اللغة الوطنية الوحيدة في البلاد. كما دعا المتى السلطات إلى "وقف ملاحة الكلمة المرة السورية" عموماً، "الكلمة الكردية" خصوصاً.

ودعاه يان أصدره المتى في مناسبة "يوم الصحافة الكردية" ، وأرسل إلى أخبار الشرق. إلى أن "يكون سوريا الديمقراطية أهلاً وطناً لهايا كل

أيامها. لتكون سوريا دولة مواطنين لا دولة للقطيع من الرعايا". وذكر

بيان أن يوم الصحافة الكردية يصادف ٢٢ نيسان من كل عام، تيساً

بتاريخ صدور العدد الأول من جريدة "كوردستان" في عام ١٩٩٨، ووصفها بأنها "ساعمت بشكل كبير في بلورة

الفكر القومي الكردي، وفي تلك

الطرق التاريخي عن الشعب الكردي، وعن جبال الشاه، راحمت جداره في

انتقام الشعب الكردي على الماء واقتاح الماء عليه، رغم أنها مذ

تاسيها وحى حتى الآن لم تقت بظروف

وأحوال اجتماعية المطر والمعن والملاحة المستمرة لها ولكنها كان السمة الأعم التي طبعتها طبعها ولكنها استمرت وقد قدمت العبرات من

خرجاً كباراً قرائباً لاستمرارها، واستطاعت أن توسع معرصتها

والاعلام الكروبي وأن تتوسع للشعب الكردي المثل. "الجرا" بكل مفردات

حياة السياسية والاجتماعية والثقافية وأن تكون صوتاً ونافذاً لشعبها، رغم كل ما يحيط بها وما تصرع له من مصاعب وقع وتكليل

ومن طرف استثنائية". وأشار البيان إلى المعرفات التي

تعاليمها الصحفية الناطقة بالكردية، وقال إنها رغم عيشها أجراً، الحرية والديمقراطية في بعض أجزاء، كردستان، وخاصة في المناطق المحررة من كردستان العراق، الأسر الذي انعكش عليهم إعياً فقد استمر

وضعها على ما هو عليه في المطابق الأخرى، مع استثناءات محدودة "كبار" مثل حيث بدأت متوجه بصوره بعض الصحف الكردية

العلنية". وقال "لا أن الصحافة الكردية في

الأجزاء الأخرى، وخاصة في سوريا، استمرت تعيث أمراً في المجتمع والطبع، وما زالت اللغة الكردية

مبنوعة من التداول، وما زال الكتاب

الكردي في سوريا يلاقيون سبب كتابتهم وارائهم ولاحقون أيضاً، مجرد أنه يتم يكتوب باللغة الكردية،

وما زال الكتاب والمطبوعة الكردية يهدان من المحظوظات التي تستوجب الملاحة والتوفيق العربي لأجل غير معروفة".

وأشار البيان إلى أن "الاحتضان والطبع" ليس حكراً على الأكراد في

سوريا لأن الشعب السوري بكل شرائحه رفاته حروم من أسط معروفة

الإنسانية تناهى عن حقه في حرية التعبير، ولكن الاحتفاظ بالآباء على

الشعب الكردي في سوريا احتضانه مزدوج: احتضان لكرد سوريا يعاني

من كل مساعده وتأثر الحكم الشمالي في البلاد كسائر الشعب

السوري، واحتضانه لكرد سوريا يعاني من التعبير بحقه الأم ومن كل حقوقه

القومية ومن ممارسات استثنائية ينهجها.

وأوضح البيان أن متى جلدت

بدرخان الثاني على يكن "جرا" بين الشعب الكردي في سوريا وبين كل

المكون الشمالي السوري، على اعتبار سوريا وهذا يعني لكل ابنائها، بعض

النظر عن الأصول القومية أو الدينية أو الطائفية أو الاتساعات السياسية

والغربية، وإن الشفاعة والإعلام خنان إسانيان لكل البشر".

وأستردى على أن يكون هناك في هذا

العامي صوت كهذا، لما يدوروا إلى إعلان مقر متداول في السنة الماجنة.

بعد توقيعه في زمانها وضم إعلان سراحها إلا بعد ضربها راهتها".

# البركان الشائر والسلالة الكردية في الشرق الأوسط

دكتور أحمد رسول - العانيا

يتخذوا كل الإجراءات القانونية

والشرعية وغير الشرعية، لمنعهم من

القيام باعتماد هذه المشاريع لخلع

كردستان من هذا المأذق.

الاستفادة منها واستغلالها لصالح

وخدمة القضية الكردية.

إن الحكومة التركية التي تمارس سياسة

الابادة والتشريد والتخليل ضد الشعب

الكردي كما شاءوا وفي كل مكان وفي

جميع أجزء كردستان، تزيد أن تستغل

وتقعها بالطرق السليمة، ثم العمل

وتصفيتها بالإضراف الدولي بها حيث

بالتحول الأبيض مقابل التحول الذهريالية

الأخوة، وبذلك تفرض سياساتها على

الدول الجماعية والإقليمية ودول العالم

وهي بذلك تفرض سياساتها على

الشعوب الكردي غرباً وشرقها

وأمريكا الشمالية والجنوبية.

ويتحقق ذلك بـ ٢٠٠٠ مليون

أكراد يعيشون في العالم.

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# دھرکہ و تشوی راستی مدرسہ لہ پڑک

ھدیاں کا وہ

له روزگاری تهراندا ، بدیدکشنه  
ترنادی کیشندی کوره له هممه  
ارجع کانی داویه های ای  
کتوفهاتن لایهه چالاکه کانی  
بدیداش خبانتی کورهستان . گویندی  
که کنیهه کیشندی پهیاکرده ، نهاد  
نه که کیشندی مسنه لهی هممه  
شندی کورهستان دگل همل و سه ج  
گیوه گرفتیکی تایبهه پهیاکرده رویه  
پنهه سیاسی به پربررسه کان  
تریسته به وشیاری دگه لئی رویه  
روین . بلام کس گونانی لهودا نهیه  
ده درود رفع و پن سافیک که دگل  
مانی کوره تیکه لار بول . پنه ساکنی  
لیک داندراوه ، همر بزیسنه شنگنر  
پیش ، یان بییعن کومملانی شنگنر  
رچهه یهک له کورهستان قازاخی  
ویان فیضای قازاخ و برویه مدنی  
شیتیکی دیکه دگن ، توروشی  
دهیه مان ناین .

هد لئو پیووندیه دار یز پهار استنی  
از ایچ و برویه دندی له برهه شنگنر  
ورهه ستانیشه که نهاده چند ساله له  
کش کورهستان زیر دسه لانی  
بنزادسا خه باشی که داری راگنارو  
ایتی پیشمدرگه که دادنی به جدرگی  
لیک داگرتهه ، لست و روسه کوادنده  
لکن کورهستان له هریضی  
ورههستان دلیان بدو بازاده و رزگانی  
خه شهه بیشی همیون و تغفلادان .  
که لکن تهودی پیشیوره همیون ایان له  
لدا هکری بیوی پیمزتن ، نهان و  
ردکندوه که لم . هکری نا تم بعده

نامه قساندی و وزیری سویا  
پاسدارانی نیزیان و هدلویشی سهیجی  
سام جلال نیشانه‌وری راستی به کن که  
لائی کمک بود من لنه میزید درگاه و توه  
لدریش نهاده که کوساری نیسلامس  
بے گشتی دری تسویه کارهای تویی  
زیزادی همانین و چن دیکه دا خی دل  
به خون و لنه وزیر حکومک زالماسا  
ناتالین و ج دینی که نهوان شادین  
و شادی نهادیش هم ری نیمه‌یه  
زوزگه همه‌مور لایسک ناماگان بید  
دیابده.

سُرِّه را کانی تسم مانگه  
تیچه‌را و زیری پاسدازی سویا  
روان دریچه شاری سه و هیندلیک  
دک دریچه، نساور او که باش له  
ست خلکی گوردستان به رامبر  
خونی و رویمه کنی تاگ ادارو چنان  
زالیها رسانی شجیر گردید  
ندی رویمه که توایرسیه کنی  
گردن، نه چارش کورس فویشال  
زکرکه و نهاده نهاده تاواریکردن  
سردار راهیمه سفده‌ی ده و سه ما  
لا بر نرخه کانی دا هیرشکنی توندی  
ده سریسانی دندوق هوسی  
در روزستان ره به تایمه‌ش ش خسی به پنهان  
ام جه لعل تائیه‌یانی و تاوانیاری کرده  
گویا به بیانوی مهتریسی هیچی  
ند الاسلام" و "تمسار لیسلام  
دیسری پیش ولاشه به کگرکه کانی  
هر کما بکیشته نازجه و نازاره  
تند، پاشان هادر بز شهروی خلک  
ده کانده، بمهیز کردن و ده گز خملک  
سردانی تاگه نیصلامی به توئند  
روزی کانیش هدر له بویتوهندی یدادیه،  
هدودو پالی گوردستان عباریش له  
و مسنه له یه چالک تاگ اذان و ده گذر  
هتنا نیسته داهایان به چورگن خزیاندا  
گردن، له سه پاراستنی پارسه‌نگی  
کانیان بور، بولام و دیدار نیستا  
هیندیکه نال و گزی سوی به تازه‌یانی  
پیروزه‌یانی گشتکه گورد خارکه  
پیکان دین. بیکرگان نژوی زلایی  
نه من کانه لاه ناویده ده متوجه سه کی  
راسه‌تارخ یز سره داهه لاندارانی  
تیزه‌انه و هدر بزیه زنده‌یان لس چهوا،  
له لایه کی دیگه، خلکی گوردستان  
و هیزه، داهه لاندارانی نه محار خوبیان  
به تدبیه بایسن و نیتله له رازیزیستی  
هیزی ولاتانی توزک و نیزانی له نیز  
حکه که کاندا چی دیکه زاله یان نایه.

حکومتی هر چند کوہستان  
 به دیده ل شدی سرا کردی ، به  
 پشتولی هیزی و لاتانی به هیزی به ل  
 بر چارگوشی قازاقی گشتنی کوردان  
 ایمه بیانوریه کی دستین هم تا  
 پیش خداونی خبایکارانی کورستانی  
 نیان بگیر و نهادنی نداشی دلکشی  
 داین کردی ماف و تازادی به کاراندا  
 سن ، حسام رایه تدار پده دریه  
 که کراوهندرو رو ساکن سدا به همه مسو  
 کوردو گشت لا یابد که بیدری بخدمت ده  
 ناداید  
 ۱۹۰۱

# ده رفڑه کهی هه ولیرم ..

شیرزاد هدیتی - سوید

کابراتی سویلی تازه په شیمان ده بینتهوه.. (۴)

نه وعده هنات و قی، نه ممشهود است...!!! لئے ته لئے فریزیتی یہ گکھرو، بینیت... یہاں دیسیوت و تسمویت تسر دیلوزیت سیور ماشنه لایہ کی گکھرو، شیشی دنار، کمس نمیرو نمشهود بدرنامہ کمی ندیسی، بدرنامہ کمی به زمانی سریدی بینیو، کم لے لایہن لک، لکی۔ سیستین لہ شاری نویسالی سریدی چاپ و پلاکراویت، لئے کسے ش لئے ته فریزیت کاناو لے بزنے نایپیه کاندا حورمهتی نایپیتی نیسلام دیگریت و ریزی مسلمانان هدیه، به هیچ شیزیویک تائشو ناتوری در حق تارتیت، بزنے تایپیتیه کان به تایپیتی یادیان دیگریت، لوانو شد، کانی توحد و سدر خوندیتیه، لوانو دخالکن تزو له داهاتریشدا که دبته مسلمان و نویت فیز دهن و زمانی زحمدت و گرانی هدییش لہ بدر کسلامیویان فیریدن، به لام نقدیش هسن و دلین و گلکی میان لہ نزد فرمودو شد، کانی نیسلام هدیه قدمش دن، دیوار زیزیشان لہ بدر تدویه، که کم لئم تایپیه دزانی و کشمیان دیسو، یان هدنه حالی زندو و بدر چاریان کو دیتے قسمی سرزیان واک، کانی تیکی تیاریو سالی بینیان به ناین راده گئین، لئم مسالہ بیش له لای نزدیکیان کون بوا و باوی نهمار، لئے هممو بونیه کدا دجه کدیسے کان، لئے ڈیکی تیاریو سالی خوندنا، یہ کم کانیان نہ بدر رونکانی جراجی کانیسے کان خلالات دیکری، لئے بونے تایپیه کانی تریشدا بذ کنیسے کان دوا ناکوں، بذ تویتو خودا یہ رستیان و بول پارانو له خودا کھمت دین، بد تایپیتی گفہ کانیان...!!

لئم جیاوے نہ گور له بدر جاوی که ڈیکی میانیا دلیم، خیزانه کوره کان و تسلامه کان و هنر هنر موری یان واک مسلمانی راستگو خودا پرست روزانہ دھریتیه بو شو و کیڑش بتو دلسوی بز نیسلام دم پیاری نیسلام کردورو.

نم نملکیت، لئے فرایسری ۲۰۰۱ نومساپو، لئے گوشاری گولانیش پالانہ کرایہو!

گور، کانا من گکوتو، گوره هدیه و نویتی به جماعه تیش تیدا دیگریت و هنر موری نریتیه نیسلامیه کان و دنر، کان پوخت و نازاداسه و بسے تیزیه و جیزیتیه دیگریت.

لوانو ش نور، ناگه پیتیت خالکن ندم و لیکانه دسته دسته دمہ موسلمان و دویارا بولایان به ناین نوی دیکه، لہ نہ وش نور، ناگه پیتیت نام بدر قیانه دایشتن، ورد رور قورناییان خوندیتیه، لہ هممو لہ رموده کانی پیغمبری گھر و مسلمانان هدیه، به نیمامی شاعری و حدنه فی نام ده گن و شیان نہ سر شد، کانی توحد و سدر خوندیتیه، لوانو دخالکن تزو له داهاتریشدا که سوتاری و عاشقان تایپیت که بن، یان نیماندارین و لہ بدر دشائی دیندیان بینیت...!! بله لکر خیزان، یعنیخوانه کمی راسته...!!

لے کان نیماندار یان کامو بول پاریان به ناین نمایا و نیازدانو بذ تذیش سدا بینیان به ناین راده گئین، لئم مسالہ بیش له لای نزدیکیان کون بوا و باوی نهمار، لئے هممو بونیه کدا دجه کدیسے کان، لئے ڈیکی تیاریو سالی خوندنا، یہ کم کانیان نہ بدر رونکانی جراجی کانیسے کان خلالات دیکری، لئے بونے تایپیه کانی تریشدا بذ کنیسے کان دوا ناکوں، بذ تویتو خودا یہ رستیان و بول پارانو له خودا کھمت دین، بد تایپیتی گفہ کانیان...!!

لئم جیاوے نہ گور له بدر جاوی که ڈیکی میانیا دلیم، خیزانه کوره کان و تسلامه کان و هنر هنر موری یان واک مسلمانی راستگو خودا پرست روزانہ دھریتیه بو شو و کیڑش بتو دلسوی بز نیسلام دم پیاری نیسلام کردورو.

نم نملکیت، لئے فرایسری ۲۰۰۱ نومساپو، لئے گوشاری گولانیش پالانہ کرایہو!

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## **Outdoor Cafe**

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# چهند وشهیه ک دهربارهی کۆمەلگای کوردى له ئوسترالیا

بـه خـزـی سـیـاـسـتـی  
فـاشـیـانـه و رـاهـگـاهـه دـرـسـتـی  
دـاـگـرـکـارـیـه کـوـرـدـسـتـانـ و بـارـیـ تـابـورـیـ  
و کـوـمـلـهـایـه شـیـخـهـدـهـیـ کـوـرـدـهـ بـهـ سـدانـ  
هـهـزـارـ رـوـلـهـ کـوـرـهـ تـاوـارـهـ و دـوـرـهـ دـرـهـ  
و لـاـشـهـ جـزـرـچـوزـهـ کـانـیـ جـیـهـانـ سـوـونـ،  
بـهـ هـقـیـ پـادـهـ تـدـنـیـ کـوـچـکـرـدـنـ و  
سـانـهـهـ دـهـ جـارـهـنـوـسـیـ نـهـدـهـ کـهـ مـانـ  
هـهـرـوـهـ کـهـ خـزـیـ لـهـ نـسـرـ باـزـیـهـ کـیـ  
دـاـخـراـوـاـدـ رـوـلـهـ دـوـایـ رـوـزـ ۷ـمـارـهـ  
کـوـرـهـدـهـ کـانـیـ هـنـدـهـانـ لـهـ زـیـادـکـرـدـنـ دـایـهـ،  
بـنـغـوـنـهـ لـهـ وـلـاـتـیـ تـهـلـیـاـیـ فـیدـرـانـ  
سـازـنـدـیـ ۷۵ـ هـهـزـارـ کـوـرـهـ هـهـرـ چـوـهـ  
پـارـجـهـیـ کـوـرـدـسـتـانـ دـکـرـیـتـ وـ هـهـرـوـهـاـ  
زـمـارـهـیـ کـیـ نـزـدـیـشـ لـهـ وـلـاـتـیـ کـانـیـ  
دـکـنـدـهـنـدـاـتـاـ جـتـکـیرـ بـوـیـتـ گـهـ لـهـ  
وـلـاـتـیـ کـانـیـ دـیـکـنـهـ رـهـبـرـیـ وـ نـمـدـرـکـاـ و  
دـهـنـدـهـ کـانـیـ وـ تـوـزـتـالـیـ، بـهـ مـهـمـتـ منـ لـهـ  
بـاسـهـ کـوـرـهـدـهـ دـهـنـهاـ تـشـکـلـ خـستـهـ سـرـ  
کـوـرـهـدـهـ کـانـیـ بـیـشـتـجـیـ تـوـزـتـالـیـاـهـ تـهـ  
پـیـانـهـ وـهـدـهـوـیـ سـوـدـرـمـیـتـ کـوـنـیـ  
کـوـرـهـدـهـ کـانـیـ هـهـدـهـانـ.

داموده‌زگاکان ناساروون جمکه نموده که  
لدوانده‌هه ژماری کوره‌ه کان لدم ریزه به  
زیارات بینت به لام بو تهودی خزانمان توپوش  
هدله ته کهین تیشه دشنه باسی نتم  
ژمارایه ده کهین کوره‌ه کانی توستالیا  
له ۹۵% هساوهنی ناسامادی  
توستالیان، وابدشی چهند گمورد  
شارتکن لدانشی «سیدنی، ملبورن،  
برزین، پترسون، لندن‌لاید، و هالندیک  
شاروچکی دیکه»، شاری سیدنی  
ژمارایه که نزدی کوره‌ه ایته و به  
نیکه ۴۰۰-۶۰۰ کوره میزند  
ده کرین و زیارت له ۹ کوئده له و  
ریکخواری جوزاچوزی ایته و جمکه له  
چهند ریکخوار و کوتمه‌یه چیزه کان،  
گهه‌رواتن کوئده له کوئده له  
کوره‌ه کانی باکوره، که به ۶۰۰-۴۰۰  
کس میزند ده کرین، به شیوه‌یکی  
گشت کووه‌ه دن و بیشکی که میش  
خدیریکی خویندن، نزرسیه هدر نزدی  
کوره‌ه کانی شاری سیدنی نامه  
نیشه‌جتن و دک: (لشپرول-کالولا-  
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تاون - تزین- پیده‌فانا - کیتسی-  
بانکس تاون) و هالندیک تارچه‌ی  
دیکه، له شاری ملبورن دابشی چهند  
ناوجه‌ی جیوازن و هرودها له شاری  
ندل‌لاید له چهند ناوچه‌یه و دک:  
پروزیستک- موزدیری- بوراکا- گیلس  
پلاتس- تورانس- فیل- هدره‌ها له  
شاره کانی پیرس- و بیزین دابهشی  
جهند ناوچه‌یک کراون.  
نیستا و خدیریکه کوره‌ه کان ورد، ورد  
له شاری سیدنی دوکان و یازار ده کهنه  
و ژمارایه‌یک سپهوره‌مارکت و دوکانیان  
هدید، جمکه لدمه چهند دکستور و  
کارمندی حکومیش هدن.  
له شاری سیدنی می‌بزnamادی  
راد بیزی کوره‌ه هدن که هفتاهه بیز  
صادر بدلک کایشتم، بـنامه‌ه که شاهد به  
نمایه‌گردان، سـه، سـه، سـه لـه لـامـنـ

فِرْقَةُ شَكَّارِيَّةٍ

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## سالیک دوای ۱۱ می سینتیومپدر

و نهروها بورا، ۱۱ سیستمیه رگزیده ای  
شده، که می بود راه را کرد و  
نه من رکیه کان خوشیان راسته و خن  
تینه، گلدن، نه له سرمه دهی شدی سار  
و نه پیش نداش نه من ریکا و کو نیست  
هدیه شی جددی لینته کرد، زنگ هر  
ندره شی پیست که نامه ریکای و  
لینکد بیت به هر شنیده بکی پیست  
دیانه بیت پریشیکی شدی، که له مالی  
خوشیان دورو غله اه، ده علی کوتایی  
نه من ریکا به دلی تجذیزیم و بسراه  
درست کردن پر ندویه که که نامه دیکای  
سیاستی خوشیان به مر جهاندا  
بسپیتن و هیچ تر.  
لهم گیزان سیاست دا زنگ تندی  
کورد له داده قازانچ یکنی که دولتی  
عذریه علیاقی هله داشته، له گه بزی  
دروستورونی دولتیکی کوردی عال  
بیه، که گر رابه رانی سیاستی  
کورد زیر، کاسه ماهله له گه  
روهه ای کاردا بکند له گه مل ده مور  
که ندادیه کاتی سیاستی نامه دیکای  
شدمه کورد لایه دری علیزاده خوشی  
بیسته، له همانکاتا ده بیت  
که راتی له نامه دیکای دریگریت به  
دیکرمیتوده که کورد ناده دهست  
رژیکیش فاشیتی عده دیکای  
نایندگا، نهده بجهکه لعلی که تاییت به  
هیچ شیوه دلکه هم در جهانی  
پارچه کاتی تری کوردستان به تاییه شی  
با کوری کوردستان سیاست بکریت  
که پندت چیت نه من ریکا با راگرسن دلی  
تور کیا کاریکی وابکات.  
له کوتاییدا دمه دوت به قصده کی  
لیکور اسراوری سلسله قانی ۱ سلاقوی  
زینیکا، کوتای بدم چند دیر، بهینم که  
دلیت: "دایی چزوج دبلو بوش سه بی  
ردوای ۱۱ سیستمیه رجی برایه آ"

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دیت گومان و دو دلی دخانه دیت کاهنده، به تایه‌تی مسیحی نیسلام، همانکات جوله ک لایه‌نگاری له خودنارا ده‌گدن، ده‌گنه

نه قیمت‌بندی کار و چه ندین کنم  
کوچکان ر بیندار بون.

(Samuel Huntington) له  
تیزیک خودا به نایی (کیشی نیوان  
شارستانیه کان)، که سدر له روادی  
ی سیاست‌بندیه ردا نیوسی بوری، باسی  
نه دید کرده، که دژیه ریه کانی نیوان  
شارستانیه کان "سان" کلتووره کان"  
جینگی شری ساری جازانی گرفته و،  
مه به سنتی سه ریکی له بندره، کانیتی  
کلتوری مسیحیت و نیسلام برو  
به قاییه تیش هن عرب (۱۱)  
بداتایه کن ترا ناییه کان و کلتوره کان  
جیاواریان ززو و درنگ یان ززو دست  
ددنه ید خدی ید کتر و درنگ یان ززو  
شدنیک بردا ده کن.

له بور هر دسته‌جن دواز روادا که  
جزع دبلسو بوش دستی کرد به  
کاریکه دندوهی نه و قسانه و به تاییه  
کاتیک باسی خاچه لگر، کان هیتاشه،  
گزی، نهمه به پیچه‌رانی سایه‌تی  
جازانی نه مدریکاره، که همیشه له  
خاوریه یانیه کی سرتاییه ای سو له  
گلله ریه دیکاتوره نیسلام و  
تائمه ترندزه، کاندا جگه له که کمزاری  
نیسلامی تیزی دیکاتور، شوش  
زیاتر به میدستی لاوازکره نی  
سزیقیتی جازان، تاخر هر تمصریکا  
برو که تالیانه کان تیبارکه و  
هاکاری کردن بر گرتشه دستی  
دهستلات، بن لادن خونه کاریکی  
زیوه کی دستگای (CIA) ای برو، که  
له کوشن و سردنگ کمرکده سر کرده  
جهیه کانی لایتنی نه مدیریکا و شوتانی  
تردا دستی بالایان هدبور، نام بده  
یدزیزی نه مدریکا به کوتایی هاتی  
سرتیهت و رمانی کزمیزیم گرنگی له  
دست دا.

تیستاش که دریای روزگارها به  
وشاپه، دیانه دیت رق و گئیه که  
لزر علهه نیو کلتوری خیزان و  
کلتوره کانی جیهانی سینهه مده،  
هدلانه دندی لایهه دکانی میتزو که تا

روادی ۱۱ سیپیتیمبه به یه کینک له  
رواد، هسر گرنگه کانی جیهان  
دایمیه درست، هسر بزیه به دیان و  
سه دان پیشنهادی جیزاوچنی بت کساو و  
هدر گروب لایهه دنکن له دیده و بچونون د  
هدرا وندی خیزه ره ویستوریه می بخانه  
چوارچینیه که، هسر له سرتاوه  
سه زکی نهمه ریکی جوز دبلیون بوش  
رایگی یاند که نه دیدی لهم شیوه‌اندا له  
گه‌لماه نه بیت دزمانه، نه دیوو که  
ذرزیه ولسانی جیهان به  
نیسلامیه کانیشده له سه رتادا روادی  
سیاستی نه مدریکا که دون، کوره  
و تسلی "گزورگ" و مهاره بیده که  
تاویانه خواره دهه" له ماهیه کی کوره  
ریعنی تالیان له گزیزه چوو و ملا  
عمودر و پاره ای خیزان بزرگد لهم  
هدمو دستگا سیخوریانه جیهان  
دستی پاچه‌میون و دشادام، له گهر  
پیاویک بتواتشت بروایان پیکات،  
چونکه له ماروه نه مسالدا دهیان جار  
هدوالی کوشش و راویانی بن لادن و  
ملا عورده به گلیک دنیادا دا.  
درست کانی نه مدریکا تادیت له  
که میورونه دن، به تاییه ته دولته  
نیسلامیه کان، له همروزان گرنگه  
تمدریکا بکات به تاییه له نیدانی  
ریعنی غیراقدا.

ید کینک له نیشانه کانی بارگزی نیوان  
تهدو دوو دولته که تهودیه که  
سرمایه‌داری سعدی به شنید له  
سرمایه‌داریانه ده گزیزه دن، بچ توپریه،  
دزگانی سیخوری (CIA) بانگاشه‌ی  
نه، دکات که سعدویه له سالی  
۱۹۹۸ دا نیسو ملیارد دلاری دکو  
برتیل داو به بن لادن یه نه دیدی کاری  
تیوزرسیتی له سدر خاکی شه و لاثه  
نه کهن به دیزی سه زیان، کانی نه مدریکا،  
و دک دزادریست له سالی ۱۹۹۵ و  
۱۹۹۶ دا به دیزی بکه سه ریازیه کانی  
تمدریکا له سعدویه چهند

**بەھەشەشتى زىيىدان .!!**  
**گەرانەوە ..**

لله سویلدهو، شیرزاد ههیسی، دهیتوسیت.

لدو به هشته زور تدریج سوزده،  
لندنار ملرنسه لایپزگی نهشیدا،  
تماراد و بعویری رفاقتی تال و ناخوشی و  
سرگردانی زدن!! تالی و ناسری  
و زانه زیمان کوتیش مین توسراده،  
هدر پاسی تندیزده گرین، له سرتانگان و  
ناوندی و تا گوتایله کاتی سدهی  
توزده هم و پاش شدری به کسی  
جهایش، بمسد سالیک له میزوی  
لاتی سیدا، له کنی شمش حمودت  
ملیتوس سمرزه میزی نسروکاتی ولاتسی  
جوانی سیدا یدک ملینون و نیو، بسدو  
دمیرکا ولاتسی تازه رویشتن، آهوان و  
ملیونه ها شوروری باسی تر بدر در شاد  
کیشوره خامه رویشتن، خوبیان زیربیان  
ترسیر تندو و پاسی د کمن و رویسانی  
دریزه فلیسی سینایان نمسه نسدو  
کوچه د ووره بد ادانه تومارک دروده،  
تماراده ماوا، بزجه و پس لیشاو به  
لافا رویشتوون!!!!!!  
رویشتن، خوبیان لسو تو قیاقیوسه به  
ترسی نتلنتی دا، چونکه برسی بورن  
!!!  
رویشتن و پارویان قهزر گرد، تا له  
مخوشی و بیکاری رزگاریان بینت !!!  
رویشتن و مال و حال و سرماید و زموی  
و الاتیان دستاو دهست، به مسزاد  
هدر اغفاریش کره، تا سرگن قورسی  
کنی دو سرمایز پاشاگانیان

هیئت و نیمارام و دووره شمر پس از  
سرمهایه و زایباریه کاتیان به گز خست.  
لشمهن دویسراه تمادنوه نده، کاتیان  
کوتهه کارگردن و دامهزاراندی ولاشکی  
تر، بیانشی تابلوبرویه کی پتکویان دانا،  
لذشمره ساکوکی هردو که رهه رهه، تا  
ولاتکه کاتیان له هدره و شمری گهه رهه  
گوشندیه جیهانی خربان پاراست.  
ولاتیان بدمارستی گرده بدههشت، لمناو  
پهایو روونسی دویجاشه کاتان، لمناو  
دارستانه سوزره کاتان گاریانکرد. له تاو  
شاخی زویسدا ناسینیان دوییننا،  
کارگهه بیان دروستکرد و بدرهه بیان  
نزندرکرد، کسایی پوخت و خوابیان  
نه چامدرا. له تاو بدستله کی ساردا،  
لمناو و دزیزی درتی زستانی نزن ساردا.

فرشگای پرند  
خزمه تکونزای تایبەت، بۆ کورد  
خاوه‌نی، کاک نەهنام

**Ph & Fax: (02)9676 1633  
5/115 Main St, Blacktown**

سیروان کاروانی

شہزادی (خان) ہ عوسمانی ح محقیقیان پے سورہ وہ ہبے؟

"عبدالخان" خانی پایه بهزیری "بتلیس" بسو و خوشبخته که روزگاری - یا نیز گوتوونه. "خان" خوی پیاویکی دریا و چایوک بوده له همه مور بوار کاندا، چه که له سرگرد و توریوی له رووی هد لسوکوتوی کومه لایه تیپیه و مامنه که کوردن له گل خالکه که خوی که ساده که تا رادیه که بمنزه توانیویه به گیانیکی خوش و میستی و لازم نه ده به روزه دیان بکات. که له ناویاندا هد یورونه به گیان و به دل له پیتاری خاندا یورونه و سر د مالیان له رسی سه لامه کی خان نیوانی له گل سه لیلک (کاتیک خان نیوانی له گل سه لیلک) نه محمد پاشای عوسنی تیک دیجی، پاشای عوسنی هریش شنیک بسریلار و هد زن د کاهن سر خان و هریز که بیه به مدهست تلفوتونا کردن. له نه خاصی هریش کادا، پاشای عرسنی دستور دداده دوری نه تو ایوانه بکن که سر به خان-ن و دوایه دوای نهود شمر دست پیش دکات. له سر دریش کیشانی شون، که خالکه که خان که زنگی هنوز چیزیان به کادا، پاشای عرسنی دستور دداده دوری نه تو ایوانه بکن که سر گیواره، ورده ورده بین نازقه و پیشان دهن و نه مدهش دیسته خوی توریویون و زیارات گرسانندی خالکه که بدرانیار به هریش کادا، پاشای عرسنی. له رکات دا، یدک له سرگردی هد فروزه کانی خان به سر سواره به شیوه که پیشنهاد که بیه و لسه خوبیور دیس سردار و ناچار گشی هریش کاسی عوسنی میل دادنیش و دیانه کی خار لریده دا لیک له خد پاشا بکری و خانی پایه دار سه بلندتر پاشا کشی. تسو دم سواره کان ده گانه دورویه ری چهارده که مه لیک نه حسد پاشا و له سریزدگانی پیسیاری ده کن. که سیستیکی تریان سی نیشان دادن و له زن دیسته شدیز کی دستوریه خد و کوشاناریکی نزد دکشن و سواره کانی خانیش هد مو تیا ده چن). کاتیک شهرب داسه پاریه ره محمد پاشا پسر "خان" دی پایه بهزیری بتلیس - دا، له نه خاصی خوشیشی هنندیک له سه ده هزون کورده کان، به سارگرد و توری کوتایی دی، قلای تهدیه بتلیس هشتاده نه زن فله دهار و ایسی پیاویان "خان" دا دستینه و دستینه، و به چه لندنگی پاریگاری لسی ده که ن. که هنندیک له سه لیشیز ازان و سه ده هزون خذفریشی نزد کورده خن ده ختنیه پال له شکری دوسته و، نه محمد پاشای عرسانیش لشکریکی نزد و پر جمل دستینه سر پیاوی ناو قله لای بتلیس و دواوی بدهسته و دانی قله لایان لسی ده که ن سه مدهستی تالان کردن و کیشانه و خوارده نیمه کانی ناری و دابه شکردن بد مر لشکری ده که خوارده عرسانیدا، له دمهش پیاو تازا کانی نار قله بدم شریه و دامان ددهسته: "تل دا ته لای خان" دی عرسانی ج هد تیکان بس دروده هد بیده؟" هد تیکان ته میش هدر له سر خوارده شان نزدی نه خایاند ر تقدا و همه مور که درسته و خوارده منی و ته اوی سامانه کانی ناری به پیش فرمائی پاشای عرسانی حلال کسر و دبله کانیش به که یه که سربران. له ته اوی شد، که لمشکری پاشای عرسانی له تقدیم "خان" دی بتلیس له ۱۵۰-۱۶۰. سر جدم زیانه کانی سریا خانی بتلیس ۱۵۰ کس بس بورو و لشکری عرسانیش گواره ۹۰۰ که میان لی کوره اواه. ۲۰ دستی پیاوی نار قله لای بتلیس - سرچهاره (۱۱) ته دلنا چهلمی، کورده له متزودی درواست کاندا. "عبدالخان" دست لادر تیکی که دواهیانش دست لادر تیکی که



سده دهی هدایت کوردن

نه‌گه ر هدر په ندی په ندیکمان باتی  
نیمه‌ش نه چینه ریزه‌ی ولاتی  
( پیغمبر میرزا ۱۸۶۷ - ۱۹۵۰ )

خالکه کمی بگذن، به لاتی کم همنداند  
له شورشکردن سارده بان بگذرند. هدر  
له سرمه‌هدانی تمسویره، خان پاشای  
بایان له سالی ۱۸۰۶ - ۱۸۰۷ ز.  
سرمه‌هدانی ته‌حمد پاشای بایان  
۱۸۱۲. سرمه‌هدانی کوره‌های کانی  
با یزید و دان که پاتی دا به کوره‌های  
روزه‌های تیشه، ۱۸۱۵ - ۱۸۱۶ و  
سرمه‌هدانی زایان کوره له سیواس  
۱۸۲۰ ز. یه و ناسیم دوروبه‌را  
پختنی کوره هدر رو له نیزی بود.  
نهادی کوچه‌لگاکه‌مان پیش قیمه  
پیشویه، نیش همان شنان به  
چاری خزان بینی و کم دالی پاش  
نیمه‌یش نایین?  
خرشیه ختنان له سایه‌ی همندان  
تالار گزی سرتاسری کوسمه‌لکانی  
مرقاویه‌تی نه مردا، کوره‌یش زیارت  
خونی کریمه، و دا به تأسی سرگوت  
ناکری. نهمه تنهای شنیک که پتوانی  
جیش سرچ و خوشحالیان.  
له گذر مزون سره رغیبک بد، دابینی  
لایه و خوشنواریه کانی منی‌شندی  
تیمه‌لزونه‌تی شکسته‌تخاره‌دوی  
هرچانی بهله‌یه که روشه به هنینی  
پیه ویوانی نه و لایه‌نامی بیه و داگز  
په‌رسیمه‌یه به شهیال پلاریمه، تا  
نیستا دریلیه بیه «».  
ردنگی میزوری کم له گله‌لاتی جیهان  
همینی به نهند ازی میزی‌زوی تورکان به  
خوشنی نهسه و کانی دی چنگ سورو  
بوریم و هدر بدر شیوه‌یدش کم گهله  
همینی به نهند ازی تورکان که شاثانی  
به رایوره‌دوی لمدست چووی خویانده  
پکن.  
سرمه‌کوئی تورکان و دال بونیان  
به سرمه‌هایه کانی میسویزتمایا و  
دوروبه‌را کمی، پیچگه له پیه زایی د  
همستی دایلزیمه‌رانه‌یان که داگری به  
هیزی دار، هیزی شاگر و هیزی ناسن  
نایروه بکری، به شیوه‌یه کم داره کمی  
دگه‌ریته، یز دو هوکار و ناین ندوش  
له یاد بکری، که لایه‌یه تریش هنن  
هدر له روزه‌لاتی نایروه‌است، لدم  
که ش و هدایه پیبه‌ش نه بوره و له  
سایه‌ی قبرس‌را سویس خیان له  
مه پادیه بدرنگاریه‌وداد سملندنده.  
خونکاری یه کم دو دندیه تورکان له  
ناست گله‌لاتی تری ناوچه‌که و هونکاری  
دووه‌هم شانتی سایه‌ی نیسلام و  
قزسته‌ردی له لایدین تورکه کانه و بوره.  
تاروی یه پوره‌ندیه به گه‌لی کوره‌دوه  
هه په و یکشکه که دو وریتیه، تارویه که  
تورکه کان همیشه له میال هیزی  
جهه که و هیزی نایینیان بواهیه ده  
بزوره‌تنه و کوره‌یه کان به کار هیتنهاره و  
هدر بدر شیوه‌یه تواریه‌یان خیان  
بگایدنه هممه لی دیواره هدره  
پسده‌های تاره بزوره‌تنه‌انه. بز تام  
بز جونه و سه‌بارات سه گهله کوره  
دگری غونه‌یه مه‌لای حمچن سر  
هله‌له کائستنی پاشایه‌تیه که کمی  
میزه‌مددی رفواندزه پاشایه کوره و  
دیانی تری له ده شوته به باکوره‌ی  
کوره‌ستان بهتیه.  
۹۳۷ سال له مدريش، ته‌حمد پاشای  
عوسمانی به خونی و لاهشکره که کمی و  
هیندیله کوره خوشتره، خونی خزانده  
ولاتیه «تلیس» و فرماتره‌وایه کمی  
عده‌مال خانه ای پایه‌بدری تلیس-ی

چهند بسے را برداری  
شکسته‌ردوی بزونته و کوره‌یه کانی  
پیک له دوای یه کم کوره ده سویتیه و  
له ناخدا و کوره شام ده تیمه‌هه،  
نوره‌دش به مدسته ده شیخ زانه و  
چه له‌نگی و چاپکیه کی به شادربویانی  
حلکه کوره لهوه ره‌هدانانه به  
مدسته سازگار و دلخواهی خویانده،  
خوشحال. من نیزه ده سرچنچ بتو تدر  
کومله خلکانه راهه کیم که به  
گایاتکه لخو سروره‌رسی و مدسته کی  
من سروره خارشته و به تاره‌زیوی  
خیان بوره به سرمه‌هایه کمیم گدم  
کردی شوزش ساخه‌خواهی کانی کوره و  
له پیتاییه برویشدا خوش‌ویستین  
سامانی خیان له زیان که سری  
خویانه. بز سرفرانی به رویگاهه  
به خشوه.  
هرچنده گله کوره نکز له دوای  
نکوکی ییمه و نزیتک له ترقیکی  
سرمه‌لدانه کانی به تانیه دست  
دو زمن که توونه و دوزن میايش به  
هدویس خیان مامله‌یان له گهله  
کرده‌ون و دایده‌ش له قشاده‌یان داون  
به لام تا نیتا هیچ کام له دوانه بوره  
به پهندنکه و رسته‌یله دو رسته له  
لایه‌زه کانی به ندی پیشانه پر یکه‌نده و  
واهه له را بایرون دهه دوزن‌روره‌ریه و کانی  
هدترس هه لومه‌یده بکری.  
کامنکه له بزونته، کوره‌یه کان نه بوره،  
که به ماده‌یه کم پاچ شاکرکاربون  
و کرته سارکزی خداباره.  
جدماره‌یکی لذیز کوره له ده دریده کوره  
نه بوره‌یه و به گیان و به دل تهیان  
پاره‌نی، کده‌چن له کانی هیز و  
دهه اتفاق همراه نزدیان و گرمه‌ندی  
نافری بزونته‌هه کان و له کاتانه‌شاده که  
داگه که‌ران مون کوره‌ی جهسته خیان  
کرد و ده. تواییه‌انه به مدسته  
گسترن و لسته‌ناره‌دن تزیه کی  
سرمه‌لدانه کان، ساگری شوزه کان  
دایه کننده، دیاره ته‌مه‌ش چه‌ندین  
هزکاری خونی هدیه و نه‌روشی له  
هدموان زدقه، بروابویی گله کوره  
تیکرا به دوزنی، و کوتولن نه که‌دنی  
جلدی شورش و بزونته‌هه کان له لایسن  
ترزیکن سرمه‌لدانه کانه و بیده.

له سرمه‌دانه، که سرمه‌لدانه و بزونته و  
کوره‌یه کان و داک خونجه دیشکوتیه و  
و دکو و لایه‌زه پیل ده‌هاوین، دوزن میان  
کوره گوننگیه کی ته‌نوتیه‌یان بیه شاهد و  
خیانی لسی گیل ده‌گهله تانیه شوزش  
سرمه‌لدانه کان ده‌گهله تانیه شوزش  
کرده و ترسن ده‌خنه تاره لسی  
نه باره‌ده، دوزن‌مان خونی لیه مهله‌ده کهن  
له ماده‌یه که که کوره کله‌یه نه شاگر  
داده‌م رکننده، دمده‌ش زیانه  
گه کوره که‌یه سه‌نهایه بیو کومسنه  
کوره‌و دوزن کوره ده دیه.  
جاوارتسه / چاراکسکون، سیم هیوا و به  
جزریک له زیان دوروه، گه‌ویته، بیهی  
داخه، هم کاتیکیش داگیه که کوره داون  
دانه‌وسان و گفتکوکیان له سرمه‌گدیه  
خورشه کوره‌ده کان کرده‌یه، کم دزد  
سدرکه‌وتیهان و دهسته میانه، هدر هیچ  
نه‌یی. لسه ماده‌یه دانوه سانده که داده  
تواییه‌انه له نهاده بیش‌مده‌گه و ناخی  
شورش کان بگهن، هدر له و ماده‌هه شد،  
تواییه‌انه و ایه بیش‌مده‌گه و

# **RENAS GRAPHIC DESIGN**



By Dr. Kamal Berzenji  
Vienna-Austria

Genocide, War Crimes, Crimes against Humanity, Aggression and Violations of Laws and Customs of War are all parts of the so called Crimes under International Law. They are also sometimes referred to as International Crimes. The Main Characteristics of such Crimes are:

1. They are being defined and prohibited by International Law, like relevant International Agreements, Human Rights Conventions and International Customary Law.

2. Universality: Universality of these crimes means here that it is duty of every state to exercise its criminal jurisdiction over those responsible for international crimes.

3. Non-Applicability of statutory limitations to such crimes. This means that the individual responsibility of perpetrators of such crimes ends only with the death of these persons, contrary to ordinary crimes, where, depending on the type of the crime, the individual responsibility of the perpetrator ends after a certain period of time.

4. Such crimes could be only committed by a state or a state like politically organised entity.

5. Prohibition and punishment of such crimes constitute the so called *jus cogens*. This is the binding law, which has to be observed, by any state, regardless, whether the state is a party to relevant International Agreement or not.

Such crimes are nothing new in the history of the man kind although the methods to commit them change from time to time. The history of man kind is the history of atrocities, committed under various pretexts. Religion, race, nationality, territory and etc were some of the pretexts to commit crimes of these type. But what is really new, is the universal prohibition and punishment of these crimes by the international law. It began after the Second World War, as the first International Military Tribunal was established to prosecute the Nazi war criminals in 1945. The crimes defined in the Art 6 of the statute of this tribunal constitute also nowadays the basis for definition of crimes against international humanitarian law.

After the Second World War there was a long silence in connection with the punishment of perpetrators of crimes under international law, mainly due to the cold war. Many grave crime under international law were committed since the Second World War and the beginning of the nineties of the last century, without being punished. The Kurds are only one example thereof, against whom all kinds of crimes prohibited by international law were committed. Genocide, Crimes against Humanity, War Crimes and grave breaches of Laws and Customs of War were routinely committed against this defenceless people at the front of the eyes of the international community and with the help of many of the so

called civilised nations. Even in our days such crimes are continuing against the Kurds in the form of deportation, persecution and other practises defined by International law as international crimes and remain until today unpunished.

The end of the cold war gave a great push to the efforts to bring perpetrators of crimes under international law to justice. Several ad-hoc and permanent national and International criminal courts were established, or are about to be established to prosecute the perpetrators of such crimes.

The currently existing or planned Tribunals of this type are:

International Criminal Court (hereinafter the "ICC")

International Criminal Court for former Yugoslavia (hereinafter the "ICTY")

International Criminal Court for Rwanda (hereinafter the "ICTR")

Special Court for Sierra Leone (hereinafter the "Special Court")

Indonesian Human Rights Tribunal

Cambodian Special Court

The current International Criminal Courts have jurisdiction over five main categories of crimes under International Law:

a) Genocide; b)

Throughout mankind's history the ugly crime of Genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity. This history has been marked by cases where national, ethnic, racial or religious groups were destroyed. The word Genocide has been for the first time used by the Polish scientist Raphael LEMKIN during the Second World War to denote an old practice in its modern development. This word is made from the ancient Greek word "genos" (race, tribe) and the Latin word "cide" (killing). Sometimes the word "Ethnocide" is used, which means the same like Genocide. The crime of Genocide is intended to signify "a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion and the economic existence of the national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups. Genocide is directed against the national groups as an entity, and the actions involved, are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group.

In connection with the Kurds it is very important here to mention, that the Genocide has two phases: The first Phase is the destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group, and the second phase is the imposition of the national pattern of the

oppressor. The last Phase include also wide scale deportation of the oppressed group and the settlement of the members of the oppressor in the territories of the first group. This is exactly what is happening now in South-Kurdistan (Iraq), which is a further proof that the crime of Genocide against the Kurds is continuing by the Iraqi regime. The Iraqi regime will be in any case the winner, even if it loses the war, because its main objective, namely to strengthen the position of the Arab group on the costs of the Kurdish group, would have been realised by the arabisisation of wider Kurdish areas.

In legal Terms, Genocide, as it stays in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (art II-III), the Statute of the ICC (art 6), the Statute of the ICTY (art 4), the Statute of the ICTR (art 2), means any of the following acts with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

Killing members of the group;

Causing serious bodily harm or mental harm to members of the group;

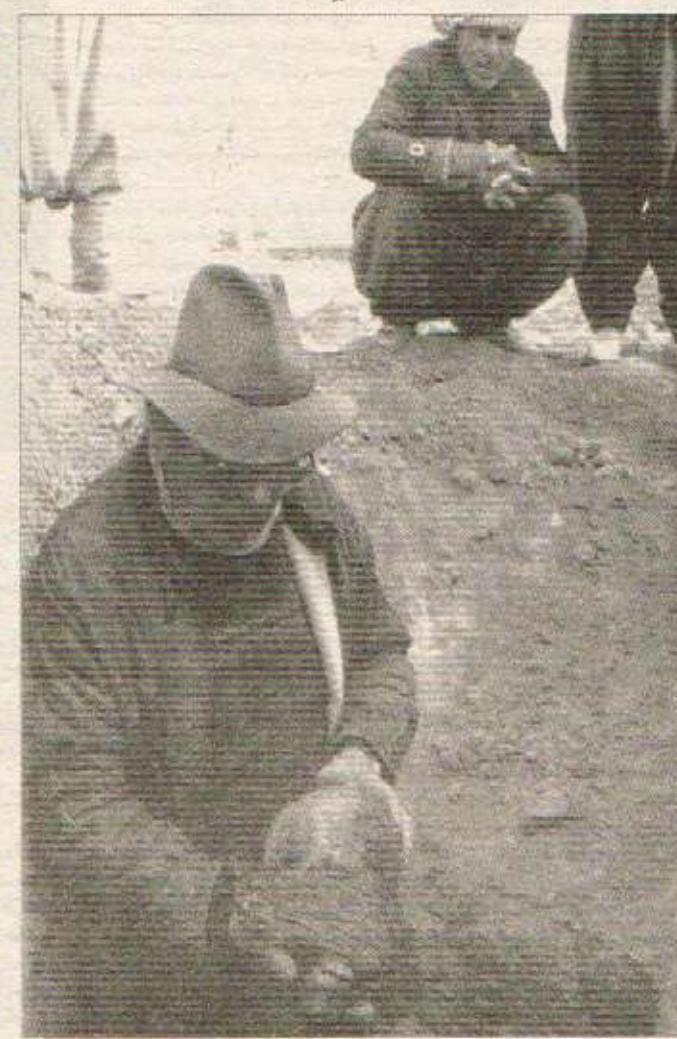
Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The crime of Genocide could be committed in peace and war times. The war time means international and internal wars. The most important element of this crime is the intention to wipe out a certain group, or at least to try it, only because of the affiliation of such individuals with the certain group. Applying these definition on the Kurds in Iraq, the Genocide is continuing on Kurds in Iraq. Since deportation of the Kurds from Kurdish inhabited areas, imposing of economic embargo and hampering the works of the Security Council Resolution 986 (oil for food program) are acts aiming to deliberately inflicting on Kurds conditions of life calculated to bring about their physical destruction as a whole or in part. The other acts of Genocide committed against the Kurds, like Al anfal campaign are well documented.

Crimes against humanity: The crimes against humanity were first recognised in the Charter and judgement of the Nuremberg Tribunal, as well as in Law No. 10 of the Control Council for Germany 1945. Crimes against Humanity, according to art 7 of the Statute of the ICC, art 2 of the



Statute of the Sierra Leone Special Court, art 5 of the Statute of the ICTY, art 3 of the Statute of the ICTR, are:

Acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population with knowledge of the attack. Those acts are mainly violations of common Art 3 of the Geneva Conventions and of Art 4 of Additional Protocol II thereto committed in an armed conflict not of an international character, which have long been considered customary international law. They are serious acts of violence which harm human beings by striking what most essential to them: their life, liberty, physical welfare, health and dignity. This category of crimes is recognised as one of the so-called core crimes under International Law. All states have the right and the duty to investigate, prosecute and punish crimes against humanity, irrespective of the location of their commission and the nationality of the perpetrator or the victim (universal jurisdiction). There is a long list of crimes of this kind, like: murder, extermination, persecution, discrimination, enslavement, arbitrary and/or unlawful deportation, unlawful imprisonment, torture, rape and gender crimes, enforced disappearance of persons and inhuman acts of a similar nature.

The main characteristics of these crimes are:

They are directed against any civilians and not a specific group, otherwise it can be considered as an act of Genocide;

They are universal crimes. They can be committed in peace and war times. War times mean, international wars, as well as internal wars;

They could only be committed by a state or political organisation;

8 of the Statute of the ICC, art 3-4 of the statute of the Sierra Leone Special Court, art 4 of the Statute of ICTR and in art 2-3 of the Statute of the ICTY. These crimes include mainly:

a) Violence to life, health and physical or mental well-being of persons, in particular murder as well as cruel treatment such as torture, mutilation or any form of corporal punishment;

Collective punishment;

c) Taking of hostages;

d) Acts of terrorism;

e) Outrage upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, rape, enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault;

f) Pillage;

The passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgement pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognised as indispensable by civilised peoples;

Threats to commit any of the foregoing acts;

Intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities;

Intentionally directing attacks against personnel, installations, material, units or vehicles involved in a humanitarian assistance or peacekeeping mission in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, as long as they are entitled to the protection given to civilian or civilian objects under the international law of armed conflict;

Abduction and forced recruitment of children under the age of 15 years into armed forces or groups for the purpose of using them to participate actively in hostilities.

Crimes under international law in Iraq and its punishment

Since the creation of Iraq 1921, successive Iraqi governments have committed all possible crimes under the International law. Especially after current Baath-regime took power 17 July 1968, these crimes have become more systematic and widespread. The current regime has started to wars of aggression, one in September 1980 against Iran, and the other in August 1990 against Kuwait. War crimes and crimes against humanity are systematically committed by the regime. Chemical weapons and other prohibited weapons were used against Iranian troops and against Kurdish civilians inside Iraq. The regime has started a campaign of Genocide against the Kurdish people inside Iraq and tens of thousands of the Kurdish population have been wiped out or are still unaccounted for. Iraqi regime has conducted a policy of forced mass deportation of the Kurds from their territories and settled Arabs in their areas and houses, as a part of the Genocide campaign. All these crimes are well documented in documents, film-

To be continue Issue 24

# Punishing the Iraqi Crimes

Part 1-2



