







## The Future of the Kurds

International Conference University of Sulaimani and the Polytechnic University of Sulaimani \$700 00006er 2008

Conference Contributions

Edited by Ferdinand Hennerbichler

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# The Future of the Kurd

2021







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International Conference University of Sulaimani and the Polytechnic University of Sulaimani

2018 October 9/10

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## The Future of the Kurds

داهاتووی کورد مستقبل الأکر اد

First joint international Forum University of Sulaimani and Polytechnic University of Sulaimani

İsmail Beşikçi Hall – The New Campus of the Sulaimani University 9th and 10th of October 2018

#### **CONFERENCE CONTRIBUTIONS**

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#### International Conference "The Future of the Kurds"



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#### International Conference "The Future of the Kurds"







The international conference "The Future of the Kurds" was jointly hosted by the Presidents of the University of Sulaimani UoS, Ass. Prof. Dr. Ridha H. Hussein (left), and of the Sulaimani Polytechnic University SPU, Ass. Prof. Dr. Alan F. Ali (right). © UoS/SPU



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### Welcome



#### Ridha Hassan Hussein, UoS President

The University of Sulaimani (UoS) as the oldest university in Kurdistan region hosted the first joint international Forum on "THE FUTURE OF THE KURDS" organized jointly with the Sulaimani Polytechnic University (SPU) on the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of October 2018 in the new UoS Campus. These two major higher education institutions in the city of Sulaimani, the Kurdistan capital of culture and the center of Kurdish struggle for rights and identity, deemed it necessary to assess and provide an



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understanding about the future of the Kurds academically through scientific research and academic discussions.

This international Forum aimed at further opening up the thriving academic life and research in Iraqi Kurdistan to the outside world, in particular to the neighboring countries in the Middle East, Eurasia and Europe, and enhances simultaneously opportunities for international scientists to intensify research into Kurdish culture, language, society, civilization and humanitarian values. We intentionally combine forces between the UoS, established 1968 by the later first Kurdish Iraqi President Jalal Talabani (1933-2017), with a new Campus and some 25,000 students and 20 colleges one of the biggest universities in the Kurdistan region, and the younger SPU, constituted in 1996, with around 14,000 students. The topics of this joint international Forum were unique as the agenda touched upon a variety of issues who had not been elaborated on before in a similar comprehensive and advanced way. To mention but a few highlights: The future of Kirkuk and the other "disputed territories", which seems only feasibly through direct negotiations between the Kurdistan Regional Government and the Federal Central Government in Baghdad. The big challenge remains to achieve a fair and sustainable compromise for all sides involved. Then: vital security issues and the fight against ISIS, where Kurdish "Peshmergas" gained international credit in the recent past as able and effective fighters and also as reliable partners of alliances enforcing humanitarian values. Moreover, the escalating international refugee crisis which brought excessive burden on the EU, and an increasing deterioration of global humanitarian values. Further: key word genocide: the Kurds are the only one in contemporary history who suffered within a few decades twice a genocide: in the 1980s in chemical attack on Halabja and during the Anfal extermination



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campaign, and in 2014 in the Sinjar (Shingal) where a new genocide still threatens the very existence and survival of the Yezidi.

We urge in this regard a new form of questioning and scientific research aiming at convincing answers both why all that barbarism happened to the Kurds piled up in a few decades and how it could be prevented happening ever again in the future. A final thought: we also initiate for the first time in recent history a dialogue of intellectuals and elites of both Kurds and Arabs and indeed all the other peoples of Iraq boosting a process of a sustainable national reconciliation in the future.

Last but not least, we want to emphasize the role of intellectuals, scholars and scientists in these processes of transformation of our societies to the better. In this respect we see this first Sulaimani joint Forum UoS-SPU as significant. We also see both of our universities in the forefront of these efforts. The results are progressively positive. Research in the Kurdistan Region has been enhanced compared to previous years, and publications in international academic journals have been increased significantly. And all this could be achieved despite the fact that our universities and their employees are still faced with severe financial problems. Yet, it confirms that even in difficult times the decisive propellant for advancing our societies is education. And the driving force and great hope for educated societies is their youth, above all the academically trained one.

Assistant Professor Dr. Ridha Hassan Hussein UoS President



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## **Opening**



#### Yousif S. Goran, frm. KRG MHE Minister



كمركوك لمروانكمى كوردبوه

کیشه ی کمرکوك بو کورد چهند رمعه ندی سیخس هه په تمومتدمش رمهدندي سوميولي تمتموضي هديه لمروی میژوویییمود بو سمرمتای دروست بونی دمولهتى عجراق دمكمريتموه كالنيك ناسيوناليرمي تنازه دفركموتوي عمرضى لمناوفراستي سمدفي رايردودا به عمريب کرين و سرينموني تاستامه ي کوردي ونك يرؤرههكي فكرى وسياسي لهنيو فكرى سياسي سونه عدرسى دبركدوت لمسدردهن بمعسيشدا نمم بجرؤكميه كميشته لوتكم ليره ناتوانين باس له كيشه ي كه ركوك بن له باسكر دني مەسەلەي تەغرىب بكەبن لهم روانگەيەوە چارصەرى سىغىيانەي كورد بۇ نهم كيشه يه به هه لگرتني ته عربب و ناسهوار بكه ي دمست بيدمكات . ياشان داناني ميكانيزميكي گونجاو بو بهزیوبردنی شارنکه و پاریزگاکه به ييى واقفى ديموكرافي راستهقيندي بيكهاتهكاني نهم ميكاندرمه ديكري خوي لهماديي 140 دستورى عيراق ببينيت بیان هدر ریگه چاردیه کی تر مظی سه رجهم بيكهاتهكاني تردسته بهر بكات و بياريزيت لهم رووه دمكريت جهندين ميكاليزم بو بمريوبردني هغوبهشي ياريزگاكه و شدربكه بخريته روو

#### Kirkuk from the perspective of the Kurds

The question of Kirkuk contains several political and also symbolic and national aspects. From the historical point of view this question dates back to the beginnings of the foundation of the Iraqi state in the past century at a time when the Arab nationalism was on the upswing. At the middle of the past century (both) the Arabization and the erasure of the Kurdish identity (of Kirkuk) had begun. Sunni Arabs had raised this idea. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about the Kirkuk question without mentioning the problem of the Arabization.

Thus, a political solution of this (Kirkuk) question has to start from the point of view of the Kurds with the rescission of the Arabization and its ramifications. Consecutively, an applicable mechanism should be implemented based on the factual real demographic data of the different nationalities. This mechanism can be realized according to Article 140 of the (2005) Iraqi constitution. Or, another solution can be found where on the one hand the Kurdish identity of the town will be acknowledged and on the other the rights of all other nationalities recognized. Against this background it should be possible to find different mechanisms for a common administration for the town and province of Kirkuk.

Dr. Yousif S. Goran



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🗅 Kosar Othman Amin

## Future Options of the Kurds.<sup>1</sup> Part I: The Current Situation.



#### Ferdinand Hennerbichler

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The following analysis in two parts is an extended new English version of a German text of the author in "Europa Ethnica", 1/2 2018, pp. 2-30, "Facultas" publishers, University of Vienna. It was compiled and edited by the author together with its chief editor Max Doppelbauer, linguist at the Vienna University. It also contains contributions of the following academic experts which are recommended for further reading: Europa Ethnica, 1/2 2018, Vienna: Facultas: Rubin, M. (U.S.A.-Kurds): 31-39; Jongerden, J. (Turkey-Kurds): 40-48; Schmidinger, T. (Syria-Kurds): 49-54; Ahmed, K.M. (Arabs-Kurds): 55-63; Dorsey, J.M. (Whither the Kurds?): 64-67; Six-Hohenbalken, M.-A. (Europe-Kurds): 68-74. The extended new English version was published in Advances in Anthropology, 2018, 8, 175-234 (Part I), https://doi.org/10.4236/aa.2018.83009 & 2018, 8, 235-272 (Part II), https://doi.org/10.4236/aa.2018.83010, and is reprinted here in English courtesy scirp.org, Scientific Research Publishing Inc. USA, and translated into Sorani by Hersh Rauf Abdullah in the KRI.



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#### **Abstract**

The Iraqi Kurdistan independence referendum on September, 25, 2017, initiated by Masoud Barzani, former elected President of the Kurdistan Region Iraq (KRI) [in office June, 13, 2005, to August, 19, 2015] was not intended as the basis for a declaration of an independent Kurdish state in Northern Iraq in the foreseeable future. It was, rather, aimed at strengthening his own domestic political position as well as that of other leading politicians of the Barzani family and of the Kurdistan Democratic Party Iraq, currently leading the Kurdish Regional Government (KRG). The referendum aggravated the persisting constitutional crisis in Iraq since 2005 over as-yet unresolved crucial questions, above all regarding the status of Kirkuk and other "disputed territories". The Iraqi Kurds lost to a great extent their influence over Kirkuk and about 40% of other "disputed territories" they were controlling before. On the regional domestic front, it polarized antagonisms among rivalling Kurdish parties, threatened to split the KRI again into two separate administrations and also deepened the ongoing severe economic KRG crisis. In geostrategic terms it enabled the Islamic Republic of Iran to further extend its influence on Iraq and beyond effectively towards the eastern Mediterranean via pro-Iranian Shia-proxy-militias and, last but not least, it also intensified various crises in the Middle East and Eurasia<sup>2</sup>.

#### Keywords

Kurds; Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Gulf States, Egypt, Russia, UN, USA, EU, NATO; future options.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Kurdistan Region Iraq is a geostrategic neighbor of the European Union in the remote Southeast in Eurasia, adjoins the official EU accession candidate country Turkey and is also part of the *EU-Iraq Partnership and Cooperation Agreement* signed on 11 May 2012 (L204/20 of 31 July 2012).



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Iraqi Kurds are now deeply insecure, divided between haves and have-nots, their society estranged and fragmented, consigned to a "twilight", "divided future?" (Joost Hiltermann 2016 & 2018). They are victims of shock, frustration, disappointment, of being let down again by the rest of the world, and they also blame each other for dangerous miscalculations and acts of treachery. Once again there are protests and riots by unyielding young activists demanding democracy and social justice. As in 2011, young people are getting killed.<sup>3</sup> There are urgent warnings of a new civil war. Hope is fading for the vision of an independent Kurdistan, fears are growing for escalating tensions, division and new armed conflicts.

The Independence referendum of September 25, 2017, initiated by Masoud Barzani, triggered aftershocks in the entire Middle East. The Iraqi Kurds themselves ended up losing almost 40% of the territory they held in northern Iraq before the referendum. They were de facto partly thrown back to where they had started in the early 1990s, a good quarter of a century earlier: limited federal, regional autonomy and freedom (Hiltermann & Fantappie 2018: "a setback of historic proportions"). Iran managed not only to control large parts of Iraq via Shia proxy militias, but for the first time to establish a direct land bridge across Syria and Lebanon all the way to Israel and towards the eastern Mediterranean. Unbridgeable differences between leading Iraqi Kurdish parties are threatening to divide the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hennerbichler 2011: *Autonome Region Kurdistan Irak: vom Demokratie-Labor zum Mini-Polizeistaat:* http://hennerbichler.info/aufstaende 2011.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Territories under control that the KRG lost since October 2017 account for ca. 40% of those before 2014. However, some elements indicate a pre-2003 (Saddam Hussein's regime) situation like the loss of own regional income and its distribution independent from Baghdad. Beyond that, the process of democratization suffered severe setbacks and brought again conflicting elements to the surface which were common in the 1990s, like: renewed claims to one party-camp hegemony, incapability to democratic majority rule, renewed marginalization of the regional parliament, extra-parliamentary power deals beyond democratic control, deteriorating corruption, new warnings about a civil war or calls (in media) to execute opponents, to name but a few elements.



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Kurdistan Region again in two. This time, under Iran's influence the governorates of Halabja and Sulaimaniyah, as well as parts of Kirkuk and other "disputed territories" could be formed into a second Kurdistan region. This would mean a renewed partition of Iraqi Kurdistan into a northern autonomous region under the leadership of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (KDP) and with dominant Turkish influence, and a southern region under the control of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), the Reform Party "Gorran" ("Change"), Barham Salih's new "Coalition for Democracy and Justice" set up in 2017, as well as smaller parties dominated by the Islamic Republic of Iran. If this really comes about, there would be unpredictable consequences, and all the grave problems that brought about this development, including dangerously unresolved issues relating to the 2005 Iraqi constitution, would remain as explosive as before.

#### Iran dumps Kurds

Iran emerged as the clear winner from the recent confrontation over an independent Kurdistan (Spyer 2018<sup>5</sup>; IRIS 2017: 8<sup>6</sup>; ICG 2017: 12-13). Turkey was pushed back to the position of junior partner. Russia is trying to take on a new role as a world leader as President Donald Trump's U.S. administration withdraws from the Middle East and Eurasia. Currently, Iran (now the "Islamic Republic of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Spyer, Jonathan (2017). *Tehran Is Winning the War for Control of the Middle East*. Foreign Policy, 21.11.2017: http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/11/21/tehran-is-winning-the-war-for-control-of-the-middle-east-saudi-arabia; idem (2017). *The Fall of Kirkuk: Made in Iran*. The American Interest, 18.10.2017: https://www.the-american-interest.com/2017/10/18/fall-kirkuk-made-iran (both accessed 21 Nov.2017). Katz-man, Kenneth (2018). *Iran's Foreign and Defense Policies*. Congressional Research Service, 19. 01.2018: Iraq: 32-34; 32: "*Iranian involvement in Iraq might complicate the longer-term effort to stabilize Iraq*": https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R44017.pdf (acc. 19.01.2 018). 
<sup>6</sup> IRIS l.c.: "*Iranian political and military influence has expanded dramatically since the 2014 formation of Shia militias to command a yest mercenary force moving between* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> IRIS 1.c.: "Iranian political and military influence has expanded dramatically since the 2014 formation of Shia militias to command a vast mercenary force moving between Iraq and Syria, today exerting varying degrees of control over many of the politicians and parties across sectarian divides."



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*Iran"*) has once again left the Iraqi Kurds at a geostrategic disadvantage and thus achieved, for the first time in history, two important goals. Iran wields broad control over northern Iraq, thus gaining influence over the north's oil and gas resources, and over vital trade routes west of the Zagros.

The other key gain is a direct land bridge from Iran across Iraqi Kurdistan, (mainly south of) the mountain chain Jabal Sinjar<sup>7</sup> northwest of Mosul, and further, via military and political allies in Syria and Lebanon, as far as the border of Israel and the Mediterranean - the so called "Shiite Crescent" stretching from the Gulf to the Levant.<sup>8</sup>

#### Turkey's geostrategic poker-game for control of Kirkuk

Turkey continues its military occupation of parts of northern Iraq and the Kurdistan region, and is expanding its influence via newly-established, Turkish-dominated "Turkmen" paramilitaries too, set up by Ankara in 2014. It also claimed it wanted to protect and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The Sinjar Ridge is also of strategic importance. During the Gulf War in 1991, it was used by the then Saddam Hussein regime for rocket attacks, including a number against Israel. For military backgrounds see: Rosenau, William (2002). III: *Coalition Scud-Hunting in Iraq*, 1991, 29-44: https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/ monograph\_reports/MR1408/MR1408.ch3.pdf (accessed 20 January 2017). However, as of end July 2018 neither Iranian nor pro-Iranian Iraqi proxy militias managed to establish a military base on Jabal Sinjar (communication KRG security forces).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. Spyer 2017: "So, the long-developed, mostly unseen influence that Iran exerts on both Iraqi and Kurdish political and military life is powerful indeed. [...] Iran ... wants to control Iraq from Baghdad and maintain its unfettered access to the Levant and the Mediterranean Sea.": https://www.the-american-interest.com/2017/10/18 /fall-kirkuk-made-iran (accessed 18 Oct. 2017). Example for an Arabic analysis: Alavi, Heshmat (2017). "The [Popular Mobilization Forces] PMF is specifically seeking to occupy certain areas to facilitate the land bridge sought by the Quds Force between Tehran and Damascus, stretching to Lebanon and the shores of the Mediterranean. With such means the Quds Force would enjoy the ease of providing necessary arms and equipment for the Lebanese Hezbollah, and beyond.": Al Arabiya English, 23.10. 2017: http://english.alarabiya.net/en/features/2017/10/23/ How-the-tide-turned-against-Iran-in-Iraqi-Kurdistan-.html (accessed 23 Oct. 2017).



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support the legitimate rights of the Turkish minority in northern Iraq. Turkey has two main geostrategic objectives: First, to recover the upper hand in the historic struggle for Kirkuk and its oil-rich province, which the Ottoman Empire had lost during the First World War, initially to Great Britain, and second to use military incursions, air-strikes, and invasions to force the creation of Turkish-controlled buffer zones of up to some 30 km from the Mediterranean to the Zagros, the Turkey-Iraq-Iran triangle and down to PKK strongholds in the Qandil mountains in border areas of its southern neighbors in northern Syria and Iraq. Ankara's (or rather incumbent President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's) aims are to underpin claims to inter-regional supremacy and to secure his increasingly autocratic rule. What happens next is still unclear, but the situation is evidently becoming more and more explosive.

#### Turkey's recent military influence in northern Iraq<sup>10</sup>

1986: The Turkish Army has maintained a military base in the Amadiye area (37°05'33"N, 43°29'14"E) in Dohuk governorate near the Turkish border since 1986. This Turkish garrison on foreign soil dates back to several agreements and has been extended several times by the then Saddam Hussein regime. This enabled Turkish forces to fight against armed Kurds (especially those of the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK), and also to carry out attacks up to around 30 km into Iraqi territory. After the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, virtually all Shiite-led coalition governments in Baghdad have, at least on paper, urged Turkey to withdraw its troops from Iraq. Ankara has yet to comply at the time of writing. Baghdad sees these Turkish units on Iraqi soil as prima face illegal,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> IRIS 2017: 7: "Turkey will maintain its foothold."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The stated details are based on current data provided by the competent Security Agencies of the Kurdistan Region Iraq as of end February 2018. We tried to list in our text the most important Turkish bases in northern Iraq and in the KRI but could not mention all of them.



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arguing that their presence was based on historical and no-longer-valid agreements with the former Saddam Hussein regime, as well as condemned under international law as illicit and infringing human right. The Turkish Army's garrison at Amadiye currently has about 10 tanks, some cannons, and about 1000 men under arms.

## 1992: Since July 1992, Turkey has also established a secret service center in Amadiye

1997-2003: "Peace Monitoring Force": At the end of the Iraqi Kurdish civil war 1994-1997 a peacekeeping mission was established called "Peace Monitoring Force". Its main task was to enforce a cease-fire between rival Kurdish forces in northern Iraq (mainly KDP-I and PUK). These blue berets were 400 peacekeepers strong, formally led by Turkish officers and sergeants, but the rank and file were local Turkmen and Assyrians. Roughly 85 percent of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Kurds regard UN Security Council resolution 688 of 5 April 1991as key in discussions regarding the international legitimacy of the use of military means against the own population (in co-operation with neighboring states). It condemns both in introductory sentences as well as in points 1. and 2. "repression" of "Iraq's" own civil population "including most recently in Kurdish-populated areas" as threat to international peace and security in the region and as grave violation of Art. 2.7 of the UN-Charta, "which led to a massive flow of refugees towards and across international frontiers and to cross-border incursions"; decrees to "immediately end this repression" (or otherwise face international consequences), "deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering involved"; reaffirms "the commitment of all Member States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Iraq and of all States in the region" and expresses the hope "that an open dialogue will take place to ensure that the human and political rights of all Iraqi citizens are respected". According to considered opinion of Kurdish analysts it would not be possible to deduce from such global sentencing and binding international legal wording a so called "hot pursuit"-right of Turkey against Iraqi Kurds included in a bilateral treaty of 1989 with the condemned former Saddam-Hussein-Regime and claim that it would be valid until today (2007). Sources: UN-Security Council: http://unscr.com/ en/resolutions/ 688; USA: The White House interpreted "UNSCR 688 (April 5, 1991)" as worldwide condemnation of "Saddam Hussein's repression of the Iraqi civilian population": https://georgewbush-white house.archives.gov/infocus/iraq/decade/sect4.html (note: "historical material", "frozen in time" (accessed 2nd March 2018).



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the force were Turkmen. The mission of the "Peace Monitoring Force" was evaluated rather contradictory. Turkey appraised their mission as success that would have contributed decisively ending inner-Kurdish fighting. In contrast, Kurdish political leaders accused the peacekeepers of training ethnic Turkmen militias, of preparing to assist a Turkish incursion, and of spying. Kurds also expressed fears that the Turkmen minority in Iraq (ca. 5 percent of the population), supported by Turkey, would make political and land claims against the Kurds in the cities of Mosul and Kirkuk.<sup>12</sup>

2014: Since 2014 Turkey has increased its garrison at Amadiye by a further 1000 soldiers and also brought in heavy weapons. Ankara's justification is that it needs to protect both its border with Iraq and its foreign forces at Amadiye against possible attacks (by the terrorist militia "Islamic State" (IS).

2014: With Turkey's help, "Turkmen Brigades" were formed in northern Iraq in 2014. They see themselves as "Iraqi Turkmen militias" and are part of the Iraqi Shiite "People's Mobilization Forces" (PMF). Its current troop strength is estimated by KRG security forces<sup>13</sup> at about 3000 men. The "Turkmen Brigades" claim to be defending the interests of the Turkish minority, above all in Kirkuk - if necessary, by force.

2015-2016: Turkey established another military base in the hill country of Bashik, near Mosul. This was officially agreed after negotiations between Turkey and both with the KRG government in Erbil and the Iraqi Ministry of Defense in Baghdad. Turkey sought to secure its trans-national influence over Bashik at a time

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Cf. Chivers, C.J. (2003). Threats and Responses: The Peacekeepers; Iraqi Kurds are wary of a Turkish-Led Force. NYT, Febr. 23, 2003, online: https://www.ny-times.com/2003/02/23/world/threats-responses-peacekeepers-iraqi-kurds-are-wary-turkish-led-force.html (accessed 25 July 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Personal communication 1st and 5th February 2018.



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when bitter fighting against terrorist militias of the "Islamic State" (IS) was at its height. Kurdish "Peshmerga" 14 played an important role in the reconquest of Mosul and the defense of Kirkuk. The hill country of Bashik is of strategic importance. On the one hand, IS militia supplied fighters there, and infiltrated them via Turkey to Europe. But they were expelled by Kurdish "Peshmerga", before they in turn retreated from invading Turkish troops. On the other hand, the Bashik hills are also strategically important communication routes to Kurds in northern Syria, which the Turkish military are also trying to bring under their control. Most recently, in 2016 Turkey was formally granted two temporary military training camps at Dubardan and Bashik, near Mosul. This has been approved by both the KRG government in Erbil and the Iraqi Defense Ministry in Baghdad. A further ca.1000 men have been assigned to these bases. Officially, they have the status of military advisers and are supposed to train local Iraqi security forces in the fight against ISIS. At the same time, Turkey's declared goal is to provide military protection to the Turkish minority of Kirkuk too and to bolster Turkey's a commanding strategic influence in the area. Reactions to this remain controversial and emotionally explosive. Kurds, who are fighting Turkey's growing influence in the KRG and northern Iraq, accuse Ankara of being less interested in training anti-terrorism in Iraq than, above all, military intelligence and reinforcing the defense of Kirkuk's Turkish minority with paramilitaries. Turkey denies this. Following IS defeats in the Mosul area, there have recently been calls from Baghdad for the Turkish troops to withdraw immediately. Ankara has not so far complied, arguing the need to protect Turkey's military advisers in Iraq.

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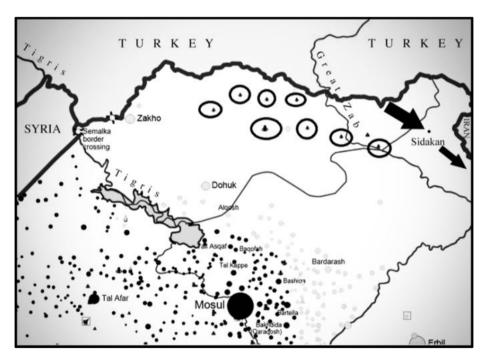
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Kurdish "Pêşmerge", literally: "pesh" = confront/face & "merg"=death > "one/those who face(s) death" (Chyet 2003: 452, 453; Lortz 2005: VI, 1), in general terms: Kurdish soldiers (freedom fighters), Iraq: Kurdish soldiers of the autonomous Kurdistan Region Iraq.



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2017: At the end of 2017, the Turkish Army began construction work on a strategic base for around 1500 soldiers, tanks, heavy artillery, and warplanes at Siro Hill in the Bradost area in the border region of Iraq-Iran. The headquarters of the "Kurdish Worker's Party" (PKK) is not far away, in the Qandil mountains. Alongside local Bradost Kurds, PKK has been fighting Turkey's latest foreign military project. This tribe traditionally pursues an independent stance from the regionally dominant KDP and the Barzanis, who come from neighboring Barzan. Recent developments: in mid-January 2018, after prolonged battles with PKK units, Turkish military forces have apparently largely withdrawn from the Bradost area.



*Illustration 1:* Military bases of the Turkish army in northern Iraq and in the Kurdistan Region as of July 2018. → Ongoing Turkish military operation against PKK strongholds in the KRI. - © fhe 2018, data courtesy KRG security forces Kurdistan Region Iraq.



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The Turkish secret service has recently built a base in Erbil from where it is trying to gain an overview of military, political, and social developments in the Kurdistan region of Iraq.

Description of map: According to current KRG security forces information, Turkey currently maintains around 50 different military bases in northern Iraq and in the Kurdistan Region. As the graphic shows, most are located in the south between Mosul and the border with Syria up to the Semalka border crossing on the upper reaches of the Tigris. The Turkish Army's military bases in the north - circled in the graphic -, were established in Iraq's Kurdistan territories, all of them in the vicinity of Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) bases. These in turn are located from their strongholds in the Qandil mountains south of Sidakan near the Iraqi-Iranian border up to northern areas of the KRI around Amadiye and Zakho. Turkish forces began at the end of March 2018 a large-scale, still ongoing military operation in V-formation along vast border areas, difficult to access mountainous, from the Anadağ massif in the Turkish province of Hakkâri down to Sidakan in the KRG district Soran and further south to PKK bases in the Qandil mountains, which are located at the Iraqi border with Iran south of the strategically important Hamilton Road<sup>15</sup>, that ran from Erbil through Rawanduz to the border town Haji Omeran and Piranshahr in Iran. Turkish forces are also currently trying to gain a foothold in stra-tegically important mountain areas around Sidakan and north of it near the Iraqi-Iranian border, and to establish new military bases there.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Named after Archibald Milne Hamilton (1898-1972), a New Zealand born British civil engineer who constructed and built the road 1928-1932. It helped British forces decisively to control Kurdistan and Northern Iraq but has been fought over many times. Hamilton had hoped the road would unite peoples and regions.



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The extent of these Turkish military bases is considerable and includes, for example, more than four hectares (40,000 m²) in the area around Sidakan. Military parts were also flown over from Turkey into these Iraqi Kurdish mountains with transport helicopters (such as "Sikorsky"). Turkish soldiers were also parachuted into the area. In latest moves the Turkish invasion forces were trying to encircle PKK strong-holds in the Qandil mountains and destroy their military bases. Heavy fighting is reported. Both sides claim success. The outcome of this latest military struggle remains unclear. The local Iraqi Kurdish mountain farmers are increasingly concerned about being caught up in fresh fighting. There is also fiercely escalating dispute about who has tolerated or encouraged Turkey's military presence in in northern Iraq and the Kurdistan Region.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Legally, the Parliament of the autonomous Kurdistan Region of Iraq in Erbil already took a clear position on December 5, 2003, and by resolution no. 37 called on Turkey to immediately withdraw its troops from Iraqi Kurdistan. The position of the Iraqi Parliament and the federal government in Baghdad does not seem so clear. Although the Iraqi government has repeatedly called on Ankara for years to withdraw Turkish forces, especially from areas around Mosul, and it also appealed to the UN Security Council to intervene because Turkey refuses to withdraw (cf. https://www.theguardian. com/world/2015/dec/12/iraq-appeals-to-un-and-de-mands-turkey-withdraw-troopsfrom-its-north; https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis -iraq-turkey/iraqi -pmsays-turkey-not-respecting-agreement-to-with-draw-troops-idUSKBN0UD1GJ201512 30, accessed 4 February 2018). However, the former prime ministers of both countries, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Nuri al-Maliki, signed a "Memorandum of Understanding" at a meeting in Ankara in August 2007, in which they also discussed all important agreements of the past on the settlement of neighborhood conflicts, list three in total from 1926, 1946 and 1989, and declare them valid: "are in force between the two states": http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/DISPOLITIKA/Bolgeler/MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING IRAQ.pdf). The last listed is a bilateral agreement "on Legal and Judicial Matters signed on 19 September 1989" with the then Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq. It apparently contains a clause under international law called "hot pursuit" that allowed Turkey to chase armed Kurds on Iraqi territory, albeit only on a geographically limited scale. According to the law of the autonomous Kurdistan Region from 2003, such a clause would in any case be legally obsolete. Even then, should it be (tacitly) tolerated by the federal government in Baghdad for territories of the KRG, but simultaneously condemned for the rest of the country as a violation of Iraq's international so-vereignty. From the point of view of (most of) the Iraqi Kurds, the presence of Turkish troops in northern Iraq is not only symbolic, but also massive,



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#### The battle for Kirkuk

Kirkuk also continued to play a - perhaps the - pivotal role in the Iraqi Kurds' referendum of 2017 on independence and ethnic self-determination<sup>17</sup>; they continued to see this as the key totheir future. A multi-ethno-linguistic city with ancient Mesopotamian roots ("Arrapha")<sup>18</sup> and Kurdish, Arab, Turkish, and Christian population groups, as well as other minorities, Kirkuk had in 2014 been brought largely under control by Kurdish "Peshmerga" units (mostly from the PUK) in successful battles against the terrorist militia Islamic State IS; Iraqi forces retreated without a fight. In mid-October 2017, Kurdish forces were ousted from the city by a military blitz, apparently planned, conducted, and executed by senior commanders of the Islamic Republic of Iran, regular Iraqi forces, pro-Iranian Iraqi Shia militias, and Turkmen Brigades, the latter set up in 2014 with the help of Turkey, and armed by Ankara to reinforce Turkish influence on Kirkuk.<sup>19</sup>

military, strategic, imposed and against national interests of Iraq. Cf. e.g. the RFERL-analysis: https://www.rferl.org/a/ 1078921.html; see to key questions under international law i.a.: Bowers 2008: http://works.bepress.com/charlesbowers/2/and Skeikhmous 1992: 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Invoking the Charter of the United Nations, October, 24, 1945, Article 1 ("The Purposes of the United Nations are:"), 2: "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;": http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/index.html, acc. 14 Jan. 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Hennerbichler 2010: 174-182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Note: The task was here to describe correctly which proxy militias were involved in the "*Blitz*" for Kirkuk and not to give a breakdown on all of them in Iraq, which would have been a different story altogether. We emphasize from own observation and information that Iran is currently in a commanding position to practically control all military in Iraq decisively (communication KRG security forces as of end July 2018).



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Current developments can be traced to unresolved issues in the Federal Republic of Iraq's 2005 Constitution<sup>20</sup>. This remains neither finalized nor implemented. Thus, Kirkuk is still without a final constitutional status and is regarded as "disputed territory", a fiercely contested zone stuck between the Kurdistan Region and the federal government in Baghdad. But both the background and the exact course of events of the latest concerted military operation by Iran-Iraq-Turkey remain to a degree obscure. The Kurds were bluntly threatened to be "crushed" (Iranian Colonel Eghbalpour)<sup>21</sup>, including the use of heavy US weapons, if they did not surrender Kirkuk immediately. The "blitz" was then executed in a mere 48 hours, in mid-October 2017.

#### The "Blitz"-operation to recapture Kirkuk in October 2017

Details of this concerted military operation so far are scarce, not immediately verifiable independently, and are mainly based on contradictory information that comes from rival actors. A final

<sup>20</sup> English: https://web.archive.org/web/20161128152712/http://www.iraqinationality.gov.iq/attach/iraqiconstitution.pdf (accessed 15 January 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Quoted by Fazel Hawramy: http://www.barcelonaradical.net/info/9929/how-iran-helped-baghdad-seize-back-kirkuk (accessed Oct. 17, 2017).



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assessment is currently impossible. We had access to numerous eyewitness accounts by practically all sides, were able to immediately check decisions of the PUK and their "Peshmerga" commanders on various front lines, were also kept informed by leaders of "Gorran" but could not get verifiable direct access for example to decisions of former regional President Masoud Barzani or acting KDP-Iraq (military) leaders in the struggle for Kirkuk. However, we are not aware of any other published comparable comprehensive description of the Kirkuk events in October 2017. Overview of available information: The operation was apparently initiated and directed by Iran, coordinated with Turkey, and executed by Iraqi forces together with "Iraq's Second Army"<sup>22</sup> of Iraqi Shia militias who cooperated closely with Iranian Revolu-tionary Guards and with "Turkmen Brigades", which acted as proxies for Turkey.<sup>23</sup>

Chronology:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. e.o.: Nijjar, Farah (2017): *Iraq's second army: Who are they, what do they want?* Aljazeera, 31 Oct. 2017: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/iraq-army-1710 31063012795.html (assessed 31 Oct. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Dorsey 2017: "*Tranian-backed Iraqi blitzkrieg*": https://mideastsoccer.blogspot. hu/2017/10/kurdish-battle-positions-kurds-as-us.html (accessed 18 Oct. 2017). Sound overview on various "*Proxy*"-Para-Militias of Iran and Turkey in Iraq also in: Gaston, Erica & Derzsi-Horváth, András & Toorn, Christine van den & Mathieu-Comtois, Sarah (2017): *Literature Review of Local, Regional or Sub-State Defense Forces in Iraq.* GPPi & American University of Iraq, Sulaimani; 06 August 2017: http://www.gppi.net/publications/peace-security/article/literature-review-local-regio nal-or-sub-state-defense-forces-in-iraq; Gaston, Erica & Derzsi-Horváth, András (2017): *Iraq after ISIL: An Analysis of Local, Hybrid, and Sub-State Security Forces.* GPPi, 21 August 2017: http://www.gppi.net/publications/iraq-after-isil-an-analysis-of-local-regional-and-sub-state-security-forces; Derzsi-Horváth, András (2017): *Iraq after ISIL: Kirkuk:* GPPi, 30 Aug. 2017: http://www.gppi. net/pub-lications/iraq-after-isil-kirkuk/ (all accessed 1st Sept. 2017). Further reading: Katzman 2018: 32-34.



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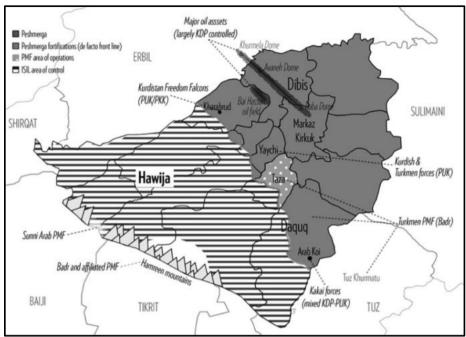


Illustration 2: Map of Kirkuk prior to the reconquest of previously dominant Kurdish "Peshmerga" units in the north and in the center at a time when southern parts of "Hawija" were still under the control of IS terrorist groups, subsequently evicted. - © Erica Gaston / Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin.

14 September 2017: At a meeting in Dohuk on September 25, 2017, UN, US and UK representatives made a (final) joint diplomatic move and presented the KRG leadership under Masoud Barzani with a compromise alternative to holding the referendum. They essentially proposed to postpone the referendum for two years to allow for a last-minute, peaceful settlement with Baghdad. The following participated at the meeting: Jan Kubiš, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, the British Ambassador to Iraq Frank Baker, US Ambassador Douglas Silliman, and US Special Representative in the "Anti-ISIS Coalition", Brett McGurk. The Iraqi-Kurdish leadership had this international alternative plan officially checked by the grand-



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sounding but politically weak "High Elections and Referendum Commission", which rejected the appeal. Details of the rejection are absent from the Commission website.<sup>24</sup> Kurdish media cite a statement of "The media office of the High Referendum Council" dated September 14, 2017: "that 'on September 25, the vote of the people of Kurdistan would be 'Yes' to found the state of Kurdistan."<sup>25</sup> Masoud Barzani said at a subsequent referendum campaign rally in Zakho that a postponement without guarantees for the establishment of an independent Kurdish state would be unacceptable. In an interview for the British "The Guardian" (September 22, 2017) Barzani demanded as precondition for a postponement of the referendum "only the offer of a UN mandated solution, with a prescribed agenda and timeline".<sup>26</sup> Talking to journalists in Erbil as early as September, 14, 2017, Brett McGurk reaffirmed that the referendum had been rejected, calling it "ill-advised" and "ill-timed".<sup>27</sup>

22 September 2017: Three days<sup>28</sup> before the Iraqi Kurds' independence referendum (both in the Kurdistan Region and in "disputed areas" such as Kirkuk), Iranian Brigadier General Qassem Soleimani, commander of the al-Quds (Jerusalem) Brigades, the elite units of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran) IRGC, launched a series of tough meetings with the leaders of the Iraqi Kurds. They were issued with an ultimatum from Baghdad, either bow to Iraqi government demands or risk devastating military

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> http://www.khec.krd/blawkrawakan en.aspx (accessed 30 September 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Cf.: http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/140920173 (accessed 15 Sept. 2017).

https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/22/masoud-barzani-on-the-kurdish-referendum-iraq-we-refuse-to-be-subordinates (accessed 22 September 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> https://www.state.gov/s/seci/2017remarks/274148.htm (accessed 14 Sept. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> As early as September 4, 2017, the pro-Iranian, Iraqi Shia-politician and commander of the "Badr" militia, Hadi Al-Ameri, in an interview with "Rudaw Arabic TV" threatened the Iraqi Kurds with "armed confrontation", should they perform the referendum on 25th of September 2017, and should it lead to a "regional Entity": https://www.memri.org/tv/iraqi-shiite-militia-leader-referendum-kurdistan-indepen-dence-armed-confrontation/ transcript (accessed 10 September 2017).



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strikes (by pro-Iranian Iraqi Shia militia forces too), and lose everything, including Iran as a partner. The latter phrasing of "losing everything" (in Kirkuk since 2014) has been a leitmotif in (pro-) Iranian statements. The first meeting with the high-ranking Iran general Soleimani was held on September 22, 2017, taking place at the headquarters of Masoud Barzani in Massif Salahaddin, near Erbil. All leading KDP and PUK representatives were assembled, including Masoud Barzani, Hero Ibrahim Ahmed, Pavel Talabani, Nechirvan Barzani, Kosrat Rasul, and Mala Bakhtiyar. Soleimani warned that Iraq, Iran, and Turkey would under no circumstances tolerate the independence referendum scheduled for 25 September 2017. The Iraqi Kurds would still have time to cancel the referendum or lose everything that they would have gained from independence, especially in 2014-2017.

26 September 2017: Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi called on Iraqi Kurds to cancel the previous day's referendum and its results or take tough measures, including military ones. A day later, al-Abadi ensured a majority vote supporting the parliament in Baghdad to authorize his bringing Kirkuk and its oilfields back under Iraqi control. Kurdish MPs reacted by temporarily boycotting parliamentary sessions.

13 October 2017: US President Donald Trump categorized Iran's Revolutionary Guards as a terrorist organization and sanctioned them for "supporting the IRGC Quds Force (IRGC-QF)".<sup>29</sup> As a

nated under Executive Order 13382": https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ prs/ps/2007/oct/94193.htm. Saad Hadithi, spokesperson of the Iraqi government in Baghdad, on 16

https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumps-new-strategy-iran; https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/sm0177.aspx; https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions /OFAC-Enforcement/Pa-ges/20171 013.aspx (accessed 14 Oct. 2016). The "Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC)-Qods Force as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT)" was put as early as 25th of October 2007 under "Executive Order 13224", and Brigadier General Qasem Soleimani as "commander of the Ouds Force, as Individual associated with IRGC, designation of the Ouds Force, as Individual associated with IRGC, designation of the Ouds Force, as Individual associated with IRGC, designation of the Ouds Force, as Individual associated with IRGC, designation of the Ouds Force, as Individual associated with IRGC, designation of the Ouds Force, as Individual associated with IRGC, designation of the Ouds Force, as Individual associated with IRGC, designation of the Ouds Force, as Individual associated with IRGC, designation of the Ouds Force of the Ouds Force, as Individual associated with IRGC, designation of the Ouds Force of the Ouds



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result, the situation in Iraq (and beyond) heated up sharply, most of all in the struggle for Kirkuk.<sup>30</sup>

October 2017 termed Oassem Soleimani, commander of "Iran's Ouds Force", a "military advisor" of the Iraqi Al-Hashd al-Scha'bī militia: http://www. rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/151020176 (accessed 16 Oct. 2017). Al-Hashd al-Scha'bī is the umbrella organization of ca. 40 Shia militias in Irak (so called "Popular Mobilization Units, PMU"), who were incorporated 2014 in order to fight and defeat IS. The PMU's are also denoted "Iraq's second army" und "Irans oldest proxy in Iraq", and are accused of committing atrocities: cf.: Dehghanpisheh, Babak (2014): The fighters of Iraq who answer to Iran. Reuters, 12.11. 2014: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisismilitias-specialreport/special-re-port-the-fighters-of-iraq-who-answer-to-iran-idUSK CN0IW0ZA20141112; George, Susannah (2014): Breaking Badr. Foreign Policy, 06.11.2014: http://fo-reignpolicy.com/ 2014/11/06/breaking-badr; Sowell, Kirk H. (2015): The political rise of the Badr Organization and its leader, Hadi al-Ameri, is paving the way for a garrison state in Iraq. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 13.08.2015: http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=61016&lang=ar; idem (2015): The Rise of Iraq's Militia State, 23.04.2015: http://carnegieendowment.org /sada/59888; Stanford University, n.n. (2016): Mapping Militant Organizations: Badr Organization of Reconstruction and Development, last updated 13.11.2106: http://web. stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/435; Nijiar, Farah (2017): Iraa's second army: Who are they, what do they want? Aljazeera, 31.10.2017: http://www. aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/iraq-army-171031063012795. html (all accessed 13 October 2017).

<sup>30</sup> Iran interpreted the statement of US President Donald Trump of 16 Oct. 2017: "we're not taking sides in that battle ... but we don't like the fact that they're clashing" (https:// www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/ remarks-president-trump-senate-majorityleader-mitch-mcconnell-joint-press-conference, acc. 16 Oct. 2017) as indication, that the USA would tolerate the continued ascendency of Iranian influence over Iraq; cf. e.o.: Spyer 2017: "This is in effect to accede to the Iranian ascendency in Iran" (https://www.the-american-interest.com/ 2017/10/18/fall-kirkuk-made-iran, accessed 18 Oct. 2017). Gunter 2018: 29: "After the Iraqi forces retook Kirkuk with considerable Iranian aid on October 16, 2017, a U.S. Pentagon spokesman claimed that U.S. commanders in the region were actively trying to mediate between the two sides in the city but did not allude to the ironic situation that both the U.S. and Iran were on the same side." Other experts criticize, that the Kurds were only supplied with light arms (as of end November 2017) to fight IS; weapons that the US Congress authorized for Iraqi Kurds would ultimately have ended up with militant Shia militias who in turn would have used these weapons against Kurds, especially in Kirkuk: "To date, the Kurds were given only light arms to fight Islamic State (ISIS). All of the arms the US Congress authorized to go to the Kurds were diverted to the Iraqi central government, which gave those arms to the Shi'ite militias. These militias in turn utilized those weapons to attack the Kurds in Kirkuk and elsewhere.": Avraham (2017): The Jerusalem



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13 October 2017: Premier Haider al-Abadi enacted a 48-hour ultimatum for Iraqi Kurds to annul the referendum or face military consequences.

13 October 2017: in an urgent report<sup>31</sup> Kirkuk's PUK commanders<sup>32</sup> informed the formal commander-in-chief of the Iraqi-Kurdish "Peshmerga" forces, Masoud Barzani, that they had neither the necessary sophisticated weapons nor adequate ammunition, nor sufficient food, to defend Kirkuk, and requested immediate deliveries. Barzani then pledged (according to these PUK commanders) to promptly send all the necessary supplies for the defense of Kirkuk. The PUK commanders affirmed that the promised weapons never arrived.

14 October 2017: The PUK politburo agreed on a 4-point plan for the peaceful defusing of the Kirkuk crisis. The wording:<sup>33</sup> "Given the current difficult situation in disputed areas outside the Kurdistan Region and especially in Kirkuk, on the one hand, and in view of disputes between the Iraqi government and the KRG on the other; and in order to prevent war between the Iraqi army and Kurdish forces, the (PUK) Leadership Committee has decided: "1: A joint military leadership is to be formed of American, Iraqi and 'Peshmerga' forces. 2: No military forces are allowed to enter the city center (of Kirkuk). 3: Open problems between the KRG and the Iraqi government are to be resolved through dialogue and on basis of the Iraqi constitution. 4: UN and USA are called upon to support the implementation of these points."

Post, 27.11.2017: http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Israel-should-arm-the-Kurds-515340 (accessed 28 November 2017).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Verbal communication 15 October 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The center of Kirkuk has been controlled since 2014 mainly by PUK "Peshmerga", KDP units there were until recently only a few represented.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Courtesy PUK, 14 October 2017.



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15 October 2017: Decision day in several places: Dukan: The Iranian Brigadier General Qassem Soleimani again negotiates with the Iraqi-Kurdish leadership, this time in Dukan,<sup>34</sup> northwest of Sulaimaniyah. As on 22 September 2017 in Massif Salahaddin, Masoud Barzani, Hero Ibrahim Ahmed, Pavel Talabani, Nechirvan Barzani, Kosrat Rasoul and Mala Bakhtiyar were present. These negotiations dragged on throughout the day. In conclusion, KDP and PUK agreed on a 5-point program whereby they would jointly defend Kirkuk. At 9 pm local time, Nechirvan Barzani, KDP, and Mala Bakhtiyar, PUK, held a press conference in Dukan. The incumbent KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani said the Iraqi Kurds would resolutely defend Kirkuk and would be confident of winning as they had against the Saddam Hussein regime and the IS. Mala Bakhtiyar spoke of a successful, historic session.

Kirkuk: General Soleimani had already left Dukan before this press conference of the Kurdish representatives and had gone to Kirkuk with his entourage. There he negotiated for the last time in Talabanis' house (opposite the governor's building) in Kirkuk with Aras Talabani, a nephew and close confidant of the late Iraqi President Jalal Talabani (1933-2017), as well as with regional PUK commanders. At the last minute, Aras Talabani negotiated for an extension of the Abadi ultimatum to 72 hours and received a pledge that the Iraqi army and pro-Iranian Shia militia would not advance into Kirkuk city center and would neither cause a humanitarian catastrophe for the civilian population nor destroy the city. Soleimani insisted that the Iraqi Kurds had to accept Baghdad's conditions or face military strikes. Hardened fronts.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> See also: Masrour Barzani (2018). *Despite losses, Kurds have 'promising future' if united: Masrour Barzani*, Interview Rûdaw, 10 Jan. 2018: http://www.rudaw.net/english/interview/10012018 (accessed 10 January 2018).



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Kirkuk: After negotiations lasting most of 15 October 2017, Pavel Talabani, elder son of Jalal Talabani, claimed<sup>35</sup> that an agreement with Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi had been reached. Abadi "asked us to leave," explained Pavel Talabani, in return, "regular troops" of the Iraqi army would "not unilaterally" take Kirkuk. Rather, the strategically important military airport base "K1" would be transformed and expanded into a major "hub" in the fight against the IS and should be jointly managed by American, British "and other" soldiers along with Kurdish "Peshmerga". He finally submitted this "honorable compromise" to the PUK leadership for approval. Of the 50 PUK politburo leaders, 37 had finally approved and signed this deal, but the "leadership of the Iraqi Kurds" rejected the agreement.<sup>36</sup> In the face of a "vastly superior firepo-wer" and to prevent "massive loss of Peshmerga lives, civilian casualties and collateral damage", competent PUK regional commanders ultimately decided on a "strategic retreat" from Kirkuk.

*Kirkuk:* It finally came to a military showdown at PUK headquarters in Kirkuk on the evening of 15 October 2017. At around 8 pm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Cf. interviews of Pavel Talabani for BBC (http://www.bbc.co.uk/pro-grammes/p05kj6wv?ocid=socialflow\_twitter) and France 24 TV (http://www.france24.com/en/20171020-interview-bafel-talabani-kirkuk-barzani-sulaymaniyah-puk-abadi-bagh-dad-referendum-turkey, both accessed 20 October 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Pavel Talabani: "a shortsited Kurdish leadership made a historical mistake, a colossal mistake" (quoted ibidem). The minority of 12 of the 50 PUK Politbureau members included Kosrat Rasoul Ali, first deputy SG of the PUK, veteran "Peshmerga" leader and (formerly elected) Vice President of the Kurdistan region of Iraq. Rasoul (similar to Masrour Barzani) accused unnamed "PUK elements" of "betrayal" abandoning Kirkuk and spoke of an "Iranian invasion". Pavel Talabani announced several PUK-internal investigations: "into accusations of treachery, one for Kirkuk [and another one] for the Kurdish leaders that led us to this situation today, thoroughly to see if they are fit to lead the Kurdish people" (quoted ibidem).



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local time<sup>37</sup> Qassem Soleimani's deputy, Colonel Eghbalpour<sup>38</sup>, commanding "Quds" (Jerusalem) militias officer of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards (IRGC) in Iraq fighting for Kirkuk, delivered a final ultimatum to local PUK "Peshmerga" commanders. Eghbalpour confronted the Iraqi Kurds with the option of either surrendering Kirkuk without a fight or face crushing defeated and "losing everything". The PUK commanders immediately consulted "the top Kurdish leadership" and then told Eghbalpour they would not give up on Kirkuk. The Iranian task force commander then spread out a map of Kirkuk in front of the PUK officers, announcing an imminent, devastating three-front attack with the words: "This is our military plan. We want to hit you tonight from three points: here, here and here". Eqhbalpour left the meeting immediately afterwards, with his delegation, which also included the two chiefs of pro-Iranian Shia militias in Iraq: Hadi al-Amiri<sup>39</sup> and Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Cf. Fazel Hawramy: *How Iran helped Baghdad seize back Kirkuk*, Al Monitor, Iran Pulse, Oct. 17, 2017: https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/iran -kirkuk-recapture-soleimani-quds-force-eqbalpour.html (accessed 17 October 2017; source available now under: http://www.barcelonaradical.net/info/9929/how-iran-hel pedbaghdad-sei ze-back-kirkuk, accessed 25 July 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> His brother Ali Eghbalpour is Iranian Vice Consul General (and security administrator) in Sulaimaniyah.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Hadi Al-Amiri, former Iraqi transport minister, leader and SG of the "Badr Organization", a political party and one of the most influential pro-Iranian Shia-Paramilitaries ("Badr Brigade") in Iraq. Among other things, Al-Amiri was blamed by the US for a bomb attack in June 1996, in which 19 "US Air Force servicemen" were killed (see the Stanford documentation: http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/435, accessed 20 October 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis (Jamal Jafaar Mohammed Ali Ebrahimi), Iraqi military commander who heads the Shia-dominated "Al-Hashd Al-Sha'abī" "Popular Mobilization Forces PMF". Al-Muhandis is accused of terrorism and was convicted to death in absentia by a court in Kuwait for involvement in 1983 Kuwait bombings: cf. NYT 07.02.2007: http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/07/world/middleeast/07bomber.html?r=0 (accessed 20 October 2017).



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16 October 2017: Around 2:30 am local time, Iraqi army forces and pro-Iranian Iraqi Shia militia, led by officers of the "Quds" brigades of the Revolutionary Guards of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and "Turkmen" paramilitaries, backed by Turkey, began to attack Kirkuk in concerted military "blitz", with operations on several fronts from the northwest and the south. The detailed course of these battles is still largely unclear, with divergent accounts by the fighting parties completely contrary. A final assessment does not seem possible based on currently available sources. From independent information however, the following seems relatively clear:

The much-needed adequate weapons to defend Kirkuk demanded from Masoud Barzani and promised by him, never arrived with PUK "Peshmerga" commanders. 41 Moreover, Kirkuk was generally not abandoned by PUK "Peshmerga" without a fight. Lack of ammunition and notorious rivalry between "Peshmerga" leaders of PUK and KDP did, however, contribute significantly to the Iraqi Kurds being militarily ousted from Kirkuk within a few hours.

Which "Peshmerga" units ultimately withdrew and when, from certain front sections in and around Kirkuk is still highly controversial. Available information is utterly contradictory. According to independent<sup>42</sup> sources KDP-"Peshmerga" withdrew from the oilfields Bai Hasan and Avana northwest of Kirkuk, held

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Verbal communication of leading PUK commanders in Kirkuk from Oct.17, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Reuters, 17.10.2017: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-kurds-oil/iraqi-forces-take-control-of-all-oil-fields-operated-by-state-owned-north-oil-in-kirkuk-idUSKBN1CM0 KN?ref=hvper.com (both accessed 24 Jan. 2018). Similar as well: Spyer 2017: "The demoralized KRG has abandoned positions further west. In Sinjar, Khanaqin, Makhmur, Gwer and other sites on the Ninawah Plain, the Iraqis are pushing forward. The intention appears to be to take back the entirety of the Plain, where the peshmerga of the ruling KDP, not the PUK, were dominant. Yet they too have so far retreated without resistance." (https://www.the-american-interest.com/2017/10/18/fall-kirkuk-made-iran, accessed 18 Oct. 2017).



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by them since 2014, "without firing a shot". These two oil fields produced almost half of the Kurdish regional government's oil, 295,000 barrels of crude oil per day. The "KDP-Peshmerga" would then have left areas in the northwest, such as Sinjar, Bashiqa and from mainly Christians inhabited areas northeast of Mosul. Following this, Iraqi army troops, along with Shia fighters of the "Al-Hashd al-Sha'abī" and "Turkmen" militia, had advanced from the north towards Kirkuk and occupied the key oilfields.

As for military engagements south of Kirkuk and around the city center, so far only contradictory inconclusive information is available about these. A chronology published by the KDP-related media house "Rûdaw", in which numerous eyewitnesses are quoted, 43 says this: Battles: "Fierce fighting" by PUK "Peshmerga" units confirmed especially in the south of Kirkuk, from Tuz Khurmatu via Daquq to about Taza. This is confirmed by other sources, quoting a young PUK commander (Major Nihad), who said he and his corps Taza had resisted advancing Shia militia for four hours, but then had to give up because his unit run out of ammunition.<sup>44</sup> Lack of ammunition, disunity and rivalries among "Peshmerga" leaders (PUK and KDP alike) are also generally cited as major internal reasons for Iraqi Kurds ultimately quickly losing military control of Kirkuk. How many PUK commanders ultimately defended Kirkuk to their last bullet, and how many left the city without a fight, cannot be finally determined on the basis of available information. Statements by eyewitnesses are striking, including that pro-Iranian Iraqi-Shiite "Hashd al-Sha bī" militias committed atrocities. "Rûdaw" journalist Hevidar Ahmed reported that he had seen the bodies of ten "Peshmerga" killed in Kirkuk

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Kurdistan. Iraqi forces take Kirkuk, lower Kurdistan flag, Rûdaw, 16.10.2017: http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/151020177 (accessed 16 Oct. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Fazel Hawramy: *How Iran helped Baghdad seize back Kirkuk*, Al Monitor, Iran Pulse, Oct. 17, 2017, l.c.



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battles against "Hashd al-Sha'bī" being piled on an open flatbed truck. All had been beheaded. The "Peshmerga" had fiercely resisted at first, but then gave up after increasing losses and lack of ammunition. "Hashd al-Sha'bī" had also engaged in burning and looting Kurdish houses in Tuz Khurmatu. The PUK High Command has recently put the number of its "Peschmerga" killed in fighting around Kirkuk at around one hundred. "Dozens of PUK Peshmerga" were wounded or missing. 46

#### Iraq "Iranian-controlled satrapy"

The direct involvement of officers of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the fighting for Kirkuk is also confirmed by European and American witnesses. The "blitz"-operation to recapture Kirkuk under Iran's obvious guidance and critically co-executed by pro-Iranian Shia "proxy" militias in Iraq is currently compared with the conquest of West Beirut by the "Hezbollah" in May-June 2008 Lebanon (Jonathan Spyer: 2018).<sup>47</sup> As in Lebanon and Beirut, Iran has exploited a vulnerable, fragmented political system in Iraq and Kirkuk, suddenly putting the screws on, and creating new facts, he writes.<sup>48</sup> This was "a black day for the Kurds". The "fall of Kirkuk"

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> According to eyewitnesses, these "Peshmerga" were not supposed to have been decapitated alive, their bodies had rather been defiled. Responsible for this are (according to Hevidar Ahmed) "Hashd al-Scha bī" militias, who had previously been trained in the fight for Mosul against IS terrorist groups.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Pavel Talabani, elder son of Jalal Talabani and Hero Ibrahim Ahmed, in an interview with BBC Newshour, 20th Oct. 2017: http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/ p05kj6wv? ocid=socialflow\_twitter; likewise, with France 24 TV, the same day: http://www.france24.com/en/20171020-interview-bafel-talabani-kirkuk-barzani-sulaymaniyah-puk-abadi-baghdad-referendum-turkey (both accessed 20 October 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Spyer, Jonathan (2018): *The Fall of Kirkuk: Made in Iran.* The American Interest, 18.10.2017: "the sudden application of force ... Perhaps the closest parallel might be the Hezbollah takeover of west Beirut in May-June 2008": https://www.the-american-interest.com/2017/10/18/fall-kirkuk-made-iran (accessed 18 Oct. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> "Indeed, the fractured nature of Kurdish politics, the absence of a single, united military force, and the differing international alliances and orientations of the two main



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showed how far Iraq has already become an "Iranian-controlled satrapy", demonstrating how "unrivaled efficient" Iran has become in using "methods of revolutionary and political warfare", as Iranian Revolutionary Guards have practiced it throughout the Arab world. 49

# Warnings of a new civil war

The rapid and dramatic military loss of Kirkuk and (other) "disputed territories" triggered a highly emotional war of words among Iraqi Kurdish leaders, primarily between KDP and PUK. Both accused each other of "high treason", "failure" and "cooperation with the enemy". For example, in a TV interview with "Rûdaw", Masrour Barzani, the elder son of Masoud Barzani and head of the KRG "Security Council" in Erbil, accused unnamed "people from the PUK" of committing "the biggest treason ever in modern Kurdish history", surrendering Kirkuk to "the government of Iraq and the Hashd al-Scha'bī" militia and "selling out ... the territory of Kurdistan". "A national court" should decide "the fate of such people who committed treason", he said, and pass

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parties in the KRG - namely the Kurdish Democratic Party of President Masoud Barzani and the PUK - have long constituted a central vulnerability of the Kurdish system in northern Iraq. We appear to have witnessed a masterful exploitation of this vulnerability, a sudden and decisive turning of the screw." (Spyer 2018, 1.c.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> "It is a black day for the Kurds, from every point of view. The fall of Kirkuk confirms the extent to which Iraq today is an Iranian-controlled satrapy. And it vividly demonstrates the currently unrivaled efficacy of the Iranian methods of revolutionary and political warfare, as practiced by IRGC throughout the Arab world." (Spyer 2018, ibidem). See also: Idem (2017): Tehran Is Winning the War for Control of the Middle East. Foreign Policy, 21.11.2017: http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/11/21/teh ran-is-winning-the-war-for-control-of-the-middle-east-saudi-arabia (accessed 21st Nov. 2017). Jonathan Spyer is "director of the Rubin Center for Research in International Affairs at the Interdisciplinary Center IDC, Herzliya, Israel, and a fellow at the Middle East Forum."



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judgement on them. 50 Anonymous postings appeared in KDPrelated media calling for top PUK politicians to be tried and, if convicted, to be shot by "a firing squad". 51 These allegations were rebuffed by Pavel Talabani as "baseless and disgusting accusations". 52 Oubat Talabani, younger son of Jalal Talabani and acting KRG vice-premier, warned that the PUK's existence was threatened at both "foreign and domestic" levels, which could also have a direct impact on the survival of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq as a whole.<sup>53</sup> Mala Bakhtiyar, a member of the PUK politburo, deplored an increasing "atmosphere of hatred" and openly warned against "dangers of a new civil war". 54 At the end of 2017, widespread protests and riots broke out in large parts of Iraq's Kurdistan Region, particularly in December. According to various sources, about ten young people were killed by Kurdish security forces and another hundred were temporarily arrested. 55 The demonstrations were similar to those of February-April 2011,<sup>56</sup> but once again had the character of political and social unrest rather than militant uprisings. Protesters demanded political reform, democracy, and this time the resignation of the entire KRG

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Rûdaw Interview, 10.01.2018: *Despite losses, Kurds have 'promising future' if united: Masrour Barzani*: http://www.rudaw.net/english/interview/10012018 (accessed 10 January 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Anonym-posting under "Comments" "rudaw.net" (http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/201120175, accessed 14 February 2018): Excerpt: "They must be tried and, if convicted, face a firing squad. That is the demand of the Nation and also fair." (got 21 Likes and 7 Dislikes).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Interviews with BBC and France 24 TV, l.c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Source: http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/201120175 (acc. 20 Nov. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Source: http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/181020174 (acc. 18 Oct. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Sources, selection: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-kurds-protests/kurdish-protesters-set-fire-to-party-offices-in-northern-iraq-idUSKBN1EC 1N8; http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-41804717; http://ekurd.net/demon strations-iraqi-kurdistan-2018-01-05; http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/1812 20173 (all accessed 5th January 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> In greater detail: Hennerbichler (2011): http://hennerbichler.info/aufstaende-2011.html; idem (2012): http://hennerbichler.info/verbesserte-lage-2012.html.



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leadership as well. They were accused of failure, corruption, nepotism, mismanagement, and human rights violations. Above all, the recent protests had been inflamed by years of unpaid or only partially-paid salaries and a growing gulf between rich and poor in the Kurdistan Region. The riots of 2011 could not change the status quo, the newly-rebellious wanted a fresh start. Outcome uncertain.

#### **Mutual accusations**

The recent Iran-dominated geostrategic struggle for a future solution for Kirkuk and (other) "disputed territories" in Iraq has also dramatically worsened intra-Kurdish power conflicts and once again brought Iraq's Kurdistan Region to the brink of civil war. The main point is that the two traditional political partners, the KDP and PUK, who have been leading Iraqi Kurdistan since the beginning of the 1990s under a continuous powersharing arrangement, accuse each other of depriving each other (again) of power with the help of neighboring foreign countries (Iran and Turkey). The PUK suspects that their "Peshmerga" units, which have essentially controlled Kirkuk since 2014, were deliberately denied adequate weapons for the defense of the city, in order to ensure that the PUK ultimately would not only be displaced from Kirkuk by the vast military superiority of Iraqi and pro-Iranian/Turkish Iraqi Shia-militias, but also be physically eliminated and at last be removed from power. The KDP, in turn, fears that Iran-orientated future options, advocated by the PUK, would ultimately result in a systematic demise both of the KDP and the Barzani family and therefore endanger their decades-long de facto political domination over the Kurdistan Region. This conflict came at a new peak when media reported that, following the fall of Kirkuk, Pavel Talabani reached agreement on October 18, 2017, with Hadi al-Ameri on a ninepoint program for a future solution both for Kirkuk and other "disputed areas" as well as for the Iraq's Kurdistan Region.



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## Pavel Talabani - Al-Amiri plan

There is currently no official written text available of this plan signed by the persons who agreed it. So far, it is being called an "oral agreement". The content was discussed in urgent meetings, in which in particular politicians from parties in the Sulaimanivah area participated, and whose goal was to reach speedy, last-minute compromise solution with Baghdad to prevent an impending war for Kirkuk and other "disputed areas". However, the interlocutors were ultimately unable to agree on a common text in a timely manner. As a result, Pavel Talabani and al-Amiri presented agreed goals as "oral agreements". A deputy from the "Gorran" (change) movement in the Baghdad parliament, Masoud Haidar, summarized nine points from the talks in English and had them published on October 18, 2017, on a web portal in Germany.<sup>57</sup> This version contains the following key points: (2) 17 administrative districts of Kirkuk, including the city center, which have been managed "by Kurdistan" since 2014, will be handed over to the central government in Baghdad. (3) In the "next six months", Kirkuk's city center to be jointly administered, 15 city districts by Kurds, the remaining 25 "by others". (4) The Iraqi central government to control strategic facilities such as the K1 (military) base and oilfields. (6) The central government also to pay the salaries of Kirkuk and Sulaimaniyah employees. (8) The "Halabja-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> "AWDNEWS", 18.10.2017: http://www.awdnews.com/index/bafel-talabani-hadi-al-ameri-reach-agreement (accessed 18 Oct. 2017). "AWDNEWS" has no imprint and does not disclose who is behind it. As seat is "Germany" stated (http://www.awdnews.com/index/contact/). The "Gorran" MP Masoud Haidar himself is considered a very serious parliamentarian. So far, the PUK has not officially issued an opinion as to whether the quoted plan by Pavel Talabani with Al-Amiri could be an agreement between two private persons only or one authorized by the PUK. Pavel Talabani currently has no function in the leadership of the PUK, does not hold a ministerial office in the KRG government, but is vice-chairman of the KRG "Asayish" security/secret services.



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Sulaimaniyah-Kirkuk Province" to be formed. (9) A new (regional) government to be established for this new province.

If confirmed, a new variant would be attempting to negotiate a special status for Kirkuk, in which 15 out of 40 urban districts would be administered by Kurds, 25 by other population groups, along with the federal central government in Baghdad, and where Baghdad would also be responsible for strategic military facilities, oilfields (promotion and sales), and salary payments (in the quoted wording from the text, only for Kirkuk and Sulaimaniyah). At the same time, 15 Kurdish-led Kirkuk city districts would join forces with the governorates Sulaimaniyah and Halabia<sup>58</sup> to form a new province of the Federal Republic of Iraq, establishing together the "Halabja-Sulaimaniyah-Kirkuk Province" with its own autonomous regional government. An internationally-mediated negotiation process (for example, involving the UN and intermediaries such as the USA or France) is expressly not mentioned. The implementation of a 15:25 ethnic proportional control regime for Kirkuk is, according to the text, to be implemented within six months. Up to now no Kirkuk solution has ever met with success in decades. The two partners, Pavel Talabani and al-Amiri, are primarily military men but not government members. According to the "Gorran" MP Masoud Haidar their joint agreement came about "under supervision" of the Iraqi-Shiite Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi, and was mediated by the Iranian Brigadier General Qassem Soleimani, the commander of al-Quds (Jerusalem) Brigades, the elite units of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Pasdaran (IRGC). How much support or chances of success this plan may have is therefore largely unclear, as are essential details; so far, reactions have been highly controversial. At its core, it seeks an Iran-dominated Kirkuk settlement based on a 15:25 ethnic proportional representation of

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 $<sup>^{58}</sup>$  Halabja has only been a governorate since 2014 and was previously part of Sulaimaniyah.



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Kurds: Turkmen/Arabs/other minority groups that could split the existing Iraqi Kurdistan Region into two: a northern, Turkish-influenced KDP/Barzani dominated one, based in Erbil, but without integrating parts of Kirkuk and also without direct access (control) of regional oilfields (production); and a second, new area largely influenced by Iran under PUK/"Gorran" (and others') leadership presumably based in Sulaimaniyah, but with crucial partial integration into a future, geostrategic, oil and power center, namely Kirkuk. If this were to happen, the existing powersharing arrangement of the KDP and PUK in the leadership of the Kurdistan Region would be replaced by their division into two autonomous Kurdistan regions of Iraq. A de facto two-part Kurdish administration, KDP/Erbil and PUK/Sulaimaniyah, has already existed,<sup>59</sup> though only temporarily, following fresh civil conflicts in 1994-1997, but in each case within territories of the Kurdistan Region. This had been established in 1992 and was then formally recognized by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Iraq 2005 (Article 117.1). Yet, for the first time, Iraqi Kurdistan would, should the plan be implemented, be politically and territorially divided with a multi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> At that time, in August 1996, Masoud Barzani had also asked Saddam Hussein (in writing) for military assistance to drive the PUK out of Erbil and defeat it in order to avert his own downfall: cf. i.a.: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle east/coun try pro files/2893067.stm; http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/9609/12/iraq.barzani/in-dex.ht ml; https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/09/10/kurds-alli ed-with-saddamdrive-rivals-toward-border/6d3b4185-ab7a-4bbb-ba03-74ada5a7b14b/?utmterm=. f43cfb 687e2f; http://www.merip. org/mero/mero01240; Teimourian, Hazhir (1996): Letter: Independent, 6 September 1996: http://www. independent.co.uk/voices/letter-a-historic-betrayal-of-the-kurds-why-barzani-threw-in-his-lot-with-saddam-5601503.html; http://ww w.nytimes.com/1998/07/25/world/us-wel-comes-kurdish-leader-who-betra yed-cia-iniraq.html (all accessed 16 February 2018); Riedel 2017: "Masoud [Barzani] was capable of his own deception. In August 1996, he colluded with Hussein to let the Iraqi army enter Erbil to massacre Iraqi oppositionists to gain strength against his lifelong Kurdish rival Jalal Talabani. Dozens of Hussein opponents were brutally killed. [US operation] Provide Comfort watched and did nothing to stop the slaughter.": https:// www.brookings.edu/blog/ markaz/ 2017/11/02/masoud-barzani-and-the-roots-of-kurdish-distrust-of-the-united -states (acc. 2 November 2017); further reading: Cockburn 2002: XX; Galbraith 2006: 156.



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ethno-cultural Kirkuk solution under the auspices of Iran, with an administrative reorganization into two equal Kurdistan regions. The result would no doubt be that both eventually go their own separate political, economic, and social ways. Preliminary reactions are predictably controversial, reflecting conflicting interests. The Barzanis and the KDP have been particularly critical. They see threats to their own vital, and common Kurdish interests.

Recent development as of April 2018: The leadership of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan decided by a clear majority not to adopt the Talabani-Amiri plan regarding the future of Kirkuk and other "disputed territories" as an official negotiating position of the party.<sup>60</sup>

#### Rudiments of a solution for Kirkuk

Prospects: While there is no prospect of a convergence of such entrenched positions, still there now exist basic concepts about a framework of possible compromise, especially on the future of Kirkuk and other "disputed areas". Such ideas command a certain respect, such as the approaches to preliminary solutions which were worked out by the "United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI)" established in 2003.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, from the Kurdish side there is also a proposal of then Iraqi President Jalal Talabani. This continues to meet with considerable approval: it involves first giving Kirkuk a special federal interim status, as is the case for the Belgian capital, Brussels. This could then be finalized by mutual negotiations based on Article 140 of the 2005 Iraqi Constitution

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Verbal communication 26 April 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> UNAMI has not completed preliminary work on a possible Kirkuk solution and published in April 2009 a discussion paper entitled "Possible Options for the Future Administrative Status of Kirkuk Within the Iraqi Federation," "discussion paper", April 2009, (see especially pp. 7–10). Yet, this text is currently not available online.



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(Kane 2011: 27, 52).<sup>62</sup> UNAMI suggested several future options for Kirkuk in a preliminary study worked out in 2007-2009 (parts of which were published in April 2009). Among these ideas were either according a special partly-autonomous status to the region, this to be confirmed by a final referendum of those entitled to vote, and a so called "dual nexus" model, whereby both the federal government in Baghdad as well as the regional KRI government would jointly exercise jurisdiction over Kirkuk and its administration. Since then, all major players have reaffirmed their own partial claims, but with no ultimate willingness to compromise. 63 Most recently, a position paper by the incumbent KRG government led by Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani, released on 24 September 2017 - the day before the Iraqi Kurdish independence referendum - clearly hardened fronts of an "irreparably damaged" Iraqi constitution of 2005. 64 Future options for Kirkuk continue to appear open and uncertain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Talabani quoted by Kane 2011: 52, ftn. 70 (cited original-source not available online): "President Talabani: 'Kirkuk Is an Iraqi Issue'", Al-Ittihad (PUK sponsored), May 31, 2010. The Brussels capital region includes both French and Flemish communities. It is a distinct federal region of Belgium, alongside Flanders (Flemish-speaking) and Wallonia (French-speaking), and although it is geographically surrounded by Flanders, it is institutionally separate from it and specific measures are taken to protect the cultural and language rights of both communities within it."

<sup>63</sup> Examples, cited by Kane 2011: 52, ftn. 69: "Maliki: Kirkuk Belongs to the Iraqi Government, Zaman, October 15, 2008, where Maliki says that 'Kirkuk is a city that belongs to the federal government ... the only suitable solution, at this time, is to treat it as a special case, like being an independent region.' Sam Dagher, 'Iraq Election May Leave Kirkuk Status Uncertain,' New York Times, March 12, 2010, reports Allawi as having called for a 'special situation' for Kirkuk that would keep it under Baghdad's control, but give extra powers to a local government equally divided among all groups; see also 'Nechirvan Barzani Expresses Readiness to Share Urban Administration in Kirkuk,' TurkishPress.com, October 19, 2008, http://www.tur-kishpress.com/news .asp? id=254359 (accessed December 16, 2010), where the former KRG prime minister says that all ethnic groups should administer Kirkuk together "in a fair way as a Kurdish region."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> The Constitutional Case for Kurdistan's Independence & A Record of the Violation of Iraq's Constitution by Successive Iraqi Prime Ministers and Ministers, the Council of Representatives, the Shura Council, the Judiciary and the Army (2017):



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### Recent youth protests with numerous deaths

The defeat by the Iran-Iraq-Turkey forces' blitz offensive in and around Kirkuk in mid-October 2017, also played a crucial part in contributing to renewed protests, especially by young people in the Kurdistan Region. These continued for weeks, and about 10 young people were killed. Unrest repeatedly broke out. Already conflict-laden, polarized, divided and fractured multi-ethno-cultural Iraqi-Kurdish society drifted once again to the brink of a new internal civil war.

#### Russia

Russia sees itself as a rising geostrategic world-power in a post-colonial reorganization of the evolving Middle East, 65 a region

http://cabinet.gov.krd/uploads/documents/2017/Constitutional viola-

stitution of 2005, which has been irreparably damaged."

tions\_Sept\_24\_2017. pdf: key statements (Executive Summary, pp. 1-3): "As this text demonstrates, Iraq's violations of the Constitution are extensive. No less than 55 of its 144 Articles have been violated, and a further twelve have not been fulfilled or implemented [...]. Therefore, just less than half of the articles have either been violated or are unfulfilled. These failures are persistent and deliberate; they cannot be excused by the presence of insurgencies. ... The democratic as well as the federal principles of the Constitution have been systematically violated. ... The operation of electoral laws and of coalition agreements have simply confirmed Kurdistan's judgment that neither pluralist democracy nor federalism can be expected from any Baghdad government. This referendum [25 September 2017] will enable the people of Kurdistan and those in Kirkuk and the disputed territories to express their democratic right to dissolve the Con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Yefremenko 2017: "The goals of Russian Policy [are] in a greater Middle East. ... a foreign policy priority is to consolidate Russian positions as one of the centers of power in the region ... and have a foothold in different parts of the region." Russia expects from a "greater Middle East" engagement clearly "economic dividends" too: "Russia's long-term presence in the region will require considerable resources. Clearly, Russia should offset those costs by gaining serious economic preferences in Syria and other parts of the Greater Middle East, including participation in post-war reconstruction and development of natural resources. Political and military-strategic achievements should be converted into economic dividends.": http://eng. globalaffairs.ru/number/Bythe-Rivers-of-Babylon-19037 (accessed 1st Dec. 2017).



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increasingly engaged in an explosive upheaval with no clear eventual outcome.

Latest development: Middle East/Eurasia in general: Russia wants "to guarantee equal rights" for "the Kurds" "within the countries in which they live". Any other strategy "in the Kurdish matter" would mean "playing with fire" from Moscow's point of view, would be "dangerous" and could "disturb the whole region". This latest strategy of the Russian government regarding the Kurds was clarified by Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov in February 2018 in a guideline interview with "Euronews TV". 66 According to this, Russia's current Kurdish policy basically consists in helping to secure "equal rights" for Kurds in countries in which they live, and primarily through contacts with the capital powers of these states.

*Iraq:* In Iraq, however, Russia set significantly more nuanced accents: A few days before the independence referendum of the Iraqi Kurds, the stock exchange listed Russian oil and gas concern "Rosneft" concluded a cooperation agreement with the KRG government in Erbil on September 18, 2017, which was also internationally noted. According to this "Rosneft" wants to supply Europe from 2020 onwards, to a large extent with natural gas from the Kurdistan Region Iraq. Gas deliveries from Iraqi Kurdistan should then represent around six percent of total European demand and account for one sixth of Russia's gas exports. A new pipeline is to be built

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Euronews, 16.02.2018: http://de.euronews.com/2018/02/16/sergej-lawrow-wirsind-keine-geiseln-irgendwelcher-erwartungen (accessed 16 February 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Zhdannikov, Dmitry (2017): Russia's Rosneft clinches gas pipeline deal with Iraq's Kurdistan, Reuters, 18.09.2018: https://www.reuters.com/article/kurdistan-rosneft/ rus sias-rosneft-clinches-gas-pipeline-deal-with-iraqs-kurdistan-idUSL5N1LY0TS (acces sed 18 September 2017). Barmin 2017: "Since Kirkuk came under Kurdish control in 2014, Russian energy giants have shown great interest in developing oil and gas fields in Iraqi Kurdistan; in fact, Russia's priorities visibly shifted from Iran to Iraq.": http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/Kurdish-referendum-a-double-edged-sword-for-Russia-19026 (accessed 1st Dec. 2017).



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by 2019/2020 and will be routed via Turkey to Europe. For the time being, the inner-Kurdish KRG requirement will be covered by 2019, and by 2020 major gas exports to Europe are planned. According to Reuter's, the value of these investments is estimated at more than \$ 1 billion, and the "Rosneft" project in Iraqi Kurdistan, which has been announced for the next two years, at some \$ 4 billion. 68 In addition, "Rosneft" has granted the KRG government in Erbil financial support, aimed primarily at improving infrastructure, in the form of "hundreds of millions of dollars in loans" ("Reuters"), which should also enable Iraqi Kurdistan to endure the severe financial crisis in ongoing disputes with Baghdad, which have escalated since 2014, when the KRG began to export its own regional oil without Baghdad's formal approval. With its new projects in Iraqi Kurdistan "Rosneft" is also rivaling the Russian competitor "Gazprom", which is also a leading gas supplier to Europe and is drilling for oil in the Kurdistan Region.<sup>69</sup> Iraqi Kurdistan has some of the largest oil and gas reserves in the world at its command. 70 About two months after finalization of the gas deal with the KRG Regional Government in Erbil, Russian Energy Minister Alexander Novak said after a meeting with Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi in Baghdad: "The Iraqi government has no complaints about our projects in the Kurdistan territory". 71 So far: Russia is currently especially concerned with a regionally emphasized cooperation with the Iraqi Kurds, that pursues economic priorities, as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Mamedov, Ruslan (2017): *Is it time for Moscow's "Kurdish Policy" in Iraq?* RIAC, 06.10.2017: http://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-andcomments/analytics/is-it-time-for-moscow-skurdish-policy-in-iraq (accessed 6 Oct. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Cf. on the current status of the KRG-GAZPROM cooperation: http://www.gaz-prom-neft.com/press-center/lib/1159674/ (accessed 24 February 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Mills 2016: 17-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Citing Rûdaw, 07.12.2017: http://www.rudaw.net/english/business/071220171 (accessed 18 Dec. 2017).



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Moscow stresses, and is implemented in political-diplomatic agreement with the central government in Baghdad.<sup>72</sup>

Svria: The future of territorial integrity and state sovereignty of both Iraq and Syria cannot be fully assessed at present. As far as the Syrian Kurds are concerned, however, there is a limited geostrategic constant of an otherwise open and unpredictable development: the regime of Bashar Hafez al-Assad on its own accord not only offered the Syrian Kurds limited regional autonomy in March 2013, but also decreed it within the framework of an administrative reform-process in the area around Kamishli/Qamishlo in the northeast.<sup>73</sup> At first, the Syrian Kurds did not win this form of autonomy in a military struggle. It has now culminated in the "Democratic Federation of Northern Syria". Even though, the future of this "Federation" appears to be open and undetermined, Syria's Foreign Minister Walid al-Moualem recently reaffirmed in an interview with "Russia Today" on the occasion of the independence referendum of the Iraqi Kurds on September 25, 2017, that the government in Damascus is "open to negotiations with Kurds over their demand

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Yefremenko 2017: "Russia ... should be vitally interested in strengthening political, economic, and military-technical cooperation with the government in Iraq as well as with South Kurdistan, whether autonomous (for the time being) or independent. Russia does not want to get directly involved in processes that may lead to the emergence of 'Sunnistan' in Iraq.": http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/By-the-Rivers-of-Babylon-19037 (accessed 1st Dec. 2017). Barmin 2017: "the key reason Russia shied away from supporting the Kurdish referendum was the timing.": http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/Kurdish-referendum-a-double-edged-sword-for-Russia-19026 (acc. 1 Dec. 2017).

<sup>73</sup> Cf.: Ibrahim 2013: 274, ftn. 34: "Syrian President Bashar al-Assad declared Kamishli/Qamishlo a Muhafaza/ District in March 2013 as a result of the reorganization of the district administration system in Syria. This has created a district in northern Syria with almost 85 percent of Kurdish citizens." (translated from German by the author of this analysis). Further reading: Araabi, Samer (2017): Syria's Decentralization Roadmap. SADA, 23.03.2017: http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/ 68372 (accessed 23rd March 2017).



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for autonomy within Syria's borders". Since then, the regular Syrian army has been supporting Syrian Kurds at least temporarily (although luke-warmly) in the fight for Afrin in the north-west, which was recently lost (for the time being) to Turkish invasion forces and its Islamist proxies. Predominantly positive reactions about autonomy for Syrian Kurds were also expressed by Russian authors. Accordingly, it would not be unfounded to suppose that Bashar al-Assad's regime would be finally prepared too to grant the Syrian Kurds limited regional self-government, provided a comprehensive future solution could preserve Syria's territorial integrity (and confirm Bashar al-Assad in power), and that Syria would then intend to further use the Kurdish minority as a kind of "soldier peasants" along the northern border to Turkey.

#### Israel

In the 1960s and 1970s, "Mullah"<sup>76</sup> Mustafa Barzani pursued geostrategic, sometimes completely contradictory, multiple tactics at the same time in the struggle of the Iraqi Kurds for self-determination: On the one hand, he tried to achieve self-government for the Kurds in Iraq with the support of the former Soviet Union, but at the same time he also continued his own contacts with Baghdad for an autonomy solution. Firstly, because he did not trust the Soviets because of his experiences of more than ten years in exile (which was based on reciprocity); secondly, because he had seen that the Kremlin had ultimately opted for Baghdad and against the Kurds

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Quoting Reuters, 26.09.2017: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-kurds/damascus-says-syrian-kurdish-autonomy-negotiable-report-idUSKCN1 C10TJ (accessed 26 Sept. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Barmin 2017: "Moscow has accepted the idea of Kurdish autonomy in Syria": http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/Kurdish-referendum-a-double-edged-sword-for-Rus sia-19026 (accessed 1st Dec. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> "Mullah" was used as honorary title for Mustafa Barzani (from Arab. "maulāja" for "Sir", cf. Lokotsch 1927: 115, 1448: Arab. maulā) and not for an Islamic theologian with an academic diploma.



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in the struggle for influence in Iraq; and, last but not least, because he did not want to promote a unilateral supremacy of Moscow over Baghdad. Mustafa Barzani therefore began to co-operate in parallel and then predominantly with Israel, US and Iran. His main objectives were as follows:

First, he saw in a growing cooperation with (pro-) Western states a power-political balance to the formerly dominant influence of the ex-USSR in Iraq (and the Middle East) and was convinced that this tactic could improve future options of the Kurds to achieve regional self-government in Iraq. Secondly, he wanted to weaken the Iraqi army, especially under Saddam Hussein, both in attacks against Kurds and at the height of the 1967 and 1973 Middle East wars against Israel, but without ever burning bridges to Baghdad for good, and indeed continued efforts of the Kurds for a modus vivendi in Iraq. Thirdly, he also hoped to prevent a common, threatening, devastating action by the Saddam Hussein regime and Iran against (Iraqi) Kurds. And fourthly: he also wanted to persuade the US to put decisive pressure on Saddam Hussein to grant Iraqi Kurds autonomy, specifically in the expectation that US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger would honor a pro-Western stance on the part of the Iraqi Kurds. This would greatly enhance his US Middle East doctrine of undermining the Saddam Hussein regime, to undermine its claim to leadership in the Arab world and would help to get the Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat (1918-1981) out of Soviet influence and push him through as Israel's upcoming future peace partner. Kissinger, however, showed no interest in involving the (Iraqi) Kurds in building an Israel-Egypt Middle East peace process, and finally brutally dumped the Kurds down in 1975 in their struggle for regional self-government.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Hennerbichler 2004: 571-576.



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# "New Middle East-Alliance Israel - Saudi Arabia - Gulf States-(France) - Kurds"

Latest development: Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. as the first and so far, only acting head of government on the world stage, recognized both the referendum of the Iraqi Kurds of September 25, 2017, and the establishment of an independent Kurdish State (in northern Iraq) as legitimate, and endorsed them. A few days before the referendum, Netanyahu had his office send a statement out to foreign correspondents on September 13, 2017, which consisted of two sentences and ended with the statement: "[Israel] supports the legitimate efforts of the Kurdish people to achieve their own state". 78 Netanyahu hereby reiterated his appeal on June 29, 2014, before the annual conference of the Institute for National Security (INSS) in Tel Aviv "to support the Kurds' aspiration for independence ... They are a fighting people that have proven political commitment and political moderation but they're also worthy of their own political independence." This would strengthen moderate forces in the Middle East and avert the advance of radical Islamists. Netanyahu also announced the foundation of a new "axis" for regional collaboration" between Israel, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States and Egypt, which should also include Kurds. <sup>79</sup> About a year and a half later, Israeli Justice Minister Ayelet Shaked, at an INSS conference in Tel Aviv on January 19, 2016, openly called for "the establishment of a Kurdish state that separates Iran from Turkey, one which will be friendly towards Israel ... The Kurds are an

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-kurds-israel/israel-endorses-inde pendent-kurdish-state-idUSKCN1BO0QZ; https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/ net-anyahu-supports-establishment-of-independent-kurdistan-1.5450316 (both accessed 14 September 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> https://www.timesofisrael.com/kurds-in-iraq-deserve-independence-netanyahu-says (acc. 1st Febr. 2018).



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ancient, democratic, peace-loving people that have never attacked any country ... It is time to help them."80

#### **Controversial Reactions**

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's support September 13, 2017 for the independence referendum of Iraqi Kurds and an independent state of Kurdistan has received very different international responses. Harsh rejection was expressed above all by the Shiite leadership of Iraq. "We will not allow the creation of a second Israel in northern Iraq", Iraqi Vice-President Nuri al-Maliki warned at a meeting with US-ambassador Douglas Sliman on 17th September 2017 in Baghdad.<sup>81</sup> In sharp contrast came resolute appeals from Israel to swiftly equip the (Iraqi) Kurds with modern, heavy Israeli weapons in order to help them thus ultimately to achieve a state of their own: "Therefore, we should supply the Kurds with the heavy arms that they need to fight for independence", wrote for example Rachel Avraham in an oped article in "The Jerusalem Post". 82 The Kurds should also be included in a new strategic alliance of improved Israeli relations with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), possibly also including France, to stem Iran's hegemony efforts over the Middle East. The Israeli government should formally form a strategic alliance (Iraqi) Kurdistan-GCC-France-Israel, "to stop Iran".83 At the same

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Cf.: https://www.timesofisrael.com/shaked-calls-for-an-independent-kurdistan (acc. 1st Febr. 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Cf.: http://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/iraq/17092017; http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Iraqi-VP-warns-against-creation-of-second-Israelfor-Kurds-505332 (both accessed 19 Sept. 2017).

<sup>82</sup> http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Israel-should-arm-the-Kurds-515340 (acc. 27. 11.2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> "We should utilize the improved relations between Israel and Saudi Arabia to build a strategic alliance between the Gulf Cooperation Council, Israel, the Kurds and perhaps also France, which has a vested interest in putting a halt to Iranian aggression in Lebanon. [...] Therefore, it is time for the Israeli government to be proactive in the fight against Iran by enabling the Kurds to establish an independent state, which will be at the



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time, other analysts warn that Israel cannot really afford to take on an upswing Iran even in close cooperation with Kurds (Amir 2017<sup>84</sup>). Particularly critical comments have been published by the American Middle East and Kurdish expert Michael Rubin. 85 He accuses Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of playing "a cynical and inconsistent" "game" with the Kurds. Israel neither seems prepared to help the Kurds militarily if "Turkish troops. Iran's Oods Force, or Iraq's Hashd al-Sha'abi militias enter the region", nor "does it appear that Israel is willing to give weaponry to the Kurds", Rubin pointed out. Rather, "Israeli authorities" would be "guilty of inciting the Kurds toward disaster", he criticizes and fears Kurdish history could repeat itself with different actors: "In the early 1970s, the Iraqi Kurds became a Cold War proxy in the battle for influence between the United States and the Soviet Union. [...] Today, however, Israeli leaders treat the Kurds as pawns in a new Cold War between Jerusalem and Tehran."

forefront in the struggle against Iran and will significantly help Israel defend its security. We should put our money where our mouth is and give the Kurds the weapons that they so badly need to defend themselves. Time is running out. The Israeli government should act now and form a Kurdish, GCC, French, Israeli alliance to stop Iran" (Avraham l.c.). Halbfinger 2017, citing former "US National Security Council" analyst Kenneth M. Pollack: "A breakaway Kurdistan could prove valuable to Israel against Iran, which has oppressed its own Kurdish population. [...] and that an independent Kurdistan will be a base for Israeli operations against Iran, via Iran's Kurdish population.": https://www. nytimes.com/2017/09/22/world/middleeast/kurds-independence-israel.html (acc. 23.09. 2017).

84 Amir, Daniel (2017): "But Jerusalem can't afford the real cost of a reborn Kurdistan: an empowered Iran": Why Israel Can't Support an Independent Kurdish State. Haaretz, 12.09.2017: https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-why-israel-can-t-support-an-independent-kurdish-state-1.5449891 (accessed 12 Sept. 2017).

<sup>85</sup> Quotes: Rubin, Michael (2017): Israel's Benjamin Netanyahu is playing a cynical game on the Kurdish referendum. AEI, 25.09.2017: http://www.aei.org/publication/israels-benjamin-netanyahu-is-playing-a-cynical-game-on-the-kurdish-referen-dum/ (accessed 25 Sept. 2017). Similar: Hassani, Ramyar (2018): What the Kurds of Iran and Iraq should learn from Kurds in Syria. The Jerusalem Post, 04.02. 2018: "The Kurds of Syria have not been waiting for the support of the West and will not expect it in the future either. They have followed a better path: believing in themselves and ignoring the empty promises called politics and diplomacy.": http://www.jpost.com/printarticle.aspx?id=540680 (accessed 10 February 2018).



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Evidently, "Israel is not going to be able to give Iraqi Kurdistan what it needs." Either "Israel is willing to support the Kurds where and how it counts" or "they would do better if Israel simply remained silent", Michael Rubin advised. The inconsistency of the Israeli Prime Minister is also diagnosed by Rhys Dubin: After all, Netanyahu has finally come to a "two-state solution", Dubin ambivalently records, but only in Iraq, where he advocates an independent Kurdistan as a buffer state against Arabs and Iranians, which is traditionally called "periphery policy" in Israel, while he denies Palestinians their own independent state in coexistence with Israel. 86

# Motive search - misjudgments

Setbacks<sup>87</sup> for the Iraqi Kurds as a result of the independence referendum on 25 September 2017 are attributed primarily to Masoud Barzani,<sup>88</sup> who initiated it against international warnings.<sup>89</sup> This is

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Dubin, Rhys (2017): *Netanyahu Finally Supports a Two-State Solution - In Iraq*. Foreign Policy, 13.09.2017: http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/09/13/netanyahu-finally-supports-a-two-state-solution-in-iraq (accessed 13 Sept. 2017). Similar too: Cohen 2017: "The Kurdish people must have a state of their own, and the sooner the better. The international community should support the independence of Kurdistan, not only the establishment of a Palestinian state. Self-determination and independence should be the prerogative of all peoples, not a principle selectively applied.": BESA Center Perspectives Paper No. 507, June 24, 2017: https://besacenter.org/ perspectives-papers/kurdistan-referendum/ (accessed 2nd Oct. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Gunter 2018: 26-27: "disastrous failed referendum"; 29: "probably the most important reason for the referendum disaster was KRG disunity"; 40: "the Kurds have been victims of leaders guilty of selfish partisanship and greed." 41: "some unity in the guise of the KRG, it shockingly collapsed following the failed advisory referendum on independence held on September 25, 2017. So far, no Kurdish leader has proven able to make the transition from tribal or provincial warlord to a true national statesman."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Riedel 2017: "His leadership has set back Kurdish hopes just when they seemed on the cusp of victory. [...] Iran engineered the whirlwind against Barzani. The White House was slow to react and outmaneuvered by Tehran. The first test of Trump's new tough Iran strategy is a blowout for the Ayatollahs and the Iranian Revolutionary Guards. The most pro-American segment of the Iraqi population was kneecapped."

<sup>89</sup> Engecially pricinal Michael Rybin 2017: AEL 2017: "Paggraphi called the reference of the Iraqi population was kneecapped."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Especially critical Michael Rubin 2017: AEI, 20.12.2017: "Barzani called the referendum not only for nationalist reasons, but as a distraction from the ruin which has



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explained differently, but the main points are that Barzani wanted to enforce the date of the referendum against worldwide rejection (with the exception of Israel) for (KRG) internal domestic reasons, 90 hoping to emerge stronger; 91 that he had been ill-advised, 92

resulted from a quarter century of his rule. [...] Barzani refused to step down at the end of his presidential term. Like many autocrats, he clamped down on the free press. Iraqi Kurdistan became a dangerous place for independent reporters as the intelligence service run by Barzani's eldest son reportedly murdered several who criticized the de facto president's nepotism and corruption. As so often happens among dictatorships, he unleashed a cycle in which nepotism bred mismanagement, mismanagement encouraged corruption, and corruption which directed the region to economic ruin. Today, Iraqi Kurdistan is more than \$20 billion in debt, investors are fleeing, and the situation is getting worse.": http://www.aei.org/publication/is-the-kurdish-spring-here (accessed 25 February 2018).

<sup>90</sup> Cf. IRIS 2017: 10: "To deflect attention [from] KRG's undemocratic government"; 14: "distracting from the economic and political context"; Collin, Katy (2017): The Kurdish referendum won't deliver independence - here's why it matters anyway. Brookings, 19.09.2017: https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/09/19/the-kur dish-referendum-wont-deliver-independence-heres-why-it-matters-anyway (accessed 19 Sept. 2017);

<sup>91</sup> Mamedov 2017: RIAC, 10.06.2017: "Barzani [...] deflecting attention from existing problems linked to Kurdistan's grave socioeconomic situation. In addition, [...] to draw the population's attention away from his legitimacy as a president; [...] and to ensure popular support for his clan."

<sup>92</sup> Cf. i.a.: "The Economist", Feb. 19th 2015, saw "Kurdistan ever closer to independence": https://www.economist.com/news/international/21644167-iraqs-kurds-are-independent-all-name-they-must-play-their-cards-cleverly-if-they: "Never before has Turkey been so friendly to Iraq's Kurds. Never before has the government in Baghdad needed the co-operation of the Kurds in Erbil so badly. Now, surely, is the Kurdish moment." - Zaman 2016: 1: "[...] Iraqi Kurdistan on the Cusp of Statehood"; 26: "the Iraqi Kurds are closer than ever to realizing their dream. It is up to their leaders..."; A RAND-study of Nader et al. 2016: IX predicted: an independent state of "Iraqi Kurdistan" would no longer be a "someday" issue, but "a very real possibility", even though, the authors didn't want to be pinpointed down to a specific date when such an independent Iraqi Kurdistan would be established. See in sharp contrast to such (questionable) presumption i.a.: Natali, Denise (2017): Iraqi Kurdistan was never ready for Statehood. Foreign Policy: 31.10.2017: http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/10/31/iraqikurdistan-was-never-ready-for-statehood; similar: Dziadoz, Alex (2017): The Economic Case Against an Independent Kurdistan. The costs will be large and exacting. The Atlantic: 26.09.2017: https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/ 09/kurdistan-barzani-iraq-turkey-blockade-oil/541149 (all accessed 1 Nov. 2017). See



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but also proved to be resistant to counseling again; that he misjudged the international, geostrategic situation, 93 that he relied on lip service from ex-politicians, risked too much, 94 gambled too high, 95, backed the wrong horse 96 and ultimately lost, which would accelerate his political departure. 97 Masrour Barzani defended his father by saying that there had been "negotiations" with the US and Europe, letters had been exchanged, but the staff of the contacted countries had changed, with the result that none of the "promises"

for older assessments for example MEPC 2004: vol. XI, no. 1, spring 2004, online: https://www.mepc.org/journal/kurds-iraq-0 (papers presented: Michael M. Gunter: Why Kurdish statehood is unlikely; Denise Natali: Transnational Networks: New Opportunities and Constraints for Kurdish Statehood; Robert Olson: Turkey and Kurdistan-Iraq, 2003; Nihat Ali Özan: Culd a Kurdish State Be Set Up in Iraq?; Khaled Salih: Kurdish Reality in an Emerging Iraq; M. Hakan Yavuz: *Provincial* NOT *Ethnic* Federalism in Iraq).

<sup>93</sup> Hiltermann & Fantappie 2018: Masoud Barzani "made two miscalculations": "The first was Barzani's expectation that the United States would support him as he moved toward statehood, [...] the second source of Barzani's miscalculation ... lies much closer to home. The inconvenient fact is that Kurdish leaders like to boast that they built a thriving democratic bastion in the largely autocratic Middle East - but they never actually did. After Saddam Hussein's fall, the two main Kurdish parties - Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Jalal Talabani's PUK - did not pour their energies into creating functional rule-of-law institutions or diversifying the economy. Instead, they used oil money to enrich themselves, their families, and their party cadres." - Bruce Riedel, Brookings, November 2, 2017, explains "the roots of" Masoud Barzani's "Kurdish distrust of the United States" with "bearing the legacy of" the "pattern of American betrayal" and concludes: "But Americans have been consistent for decades. Masoud was right": https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/ 2017/11/02/masoud-barzani-and-the-roots-of-kurdish-distrust-of-the-united-states (acc. 2 Nov. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Cf. Taylor, Adam (2017): "the Kurds' gamble did not pay off", The Washington Post, 17.10.2017:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/10/17/a-new-battle-in-iraq-gives-iran-the-upper-hand/?utm\_term=.e219984de781 (accessed 17 Oct. 2017). <sup>96</sup> Dziadoz 2017 l.c.: "Barzani gamble".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> The Guardian (Martin Chulov, Erbil, Julian Borger, Washington, Saeed Kamali Dehghan, London), 16.10.2017: "devastating blow to the Kurdish region's de facto president, Masoud Barzani": https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/16/iraq-kurdish-forces-army-us-military (accessed 16 Oct. 2017).



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had been met and ultimately only "we" (the Iraqi Kurds) had to pay the price that (alleged) undertakings were broken.<sup>98</sup>

## Democratic leadership vacuum

The political future of Iraq's long-standing Iraqi Kurdish regional president Masoud Barzani does not seem ultimately determined.<sup>99</sup> Currently there is conflicting information available. Masoud Barzani was elected KRI President for four years by the Kurdish Regional Parliament in Erbil on 13 June 2005 by a large majority. On July 25, 2009, he was confirmed by direct election with about 70% for another four years in office. His term expired in the summer of 2013. The terms of office of regional Iraqi Kurdish Presidents are not regulated by a KRI Constitution, because that does not yet exist today. There is still only one draft, but so far, the parties represented in the regional parliament of Erbil have not been able to agree on it with the necessary constitutional majority (latest draft: Kelly 2010: 774-808). Therefore, the relevant term of Iraqi head of states according to the 2005 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Iraq (Article 72.1) is also used for the maximum term of office of KRI Regional Presidents, and it provides for four years, with the possibility of being re-elected once. Nevertheless, the Iraqi-Kurdish Regional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Rûdaw-Interview, 10.01.2018: Despite losses, Kurds have 'promising future' if united: Masrour Barzani: "there were negotiations before, promises made, letters were written and handed down to the Kurdistan Region by the United States itself and Europe, but the staff [working for these countries] had changed, and therefore as a result none of the promises were honored, nor were owned up by anyone, neither did anyone pay the price for [breaking them] except us.": http://www.rudaw.net/english/interview/10012018 (acc. 10 Jan. 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Riedel 2017: "Masoud [Barzani] now is apparently ending his political career although retirement has never really been an option for Middle East politicians. After carrying out a referendum to endorse Kurdish independence against the advice of nearly everyone, he has seen the Baghdad regime recapture the crucial city of Kirkuk and the oil fields essential to Kurdish self-sufficiency. His leadership has set back Kurdish hopes just when they seemed on the cusp of victory. He is widely discredited although his base remains violently faithful."



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Parliament passed a resolution in 2013 that allowed Barzani to remain in office for another two years. This was justified by a special crisis situation. As a result, its democratically legitimized regional presidency ended on 19 August 2015. But since then Masoud Barzani seems to have continued in office without a democratic mandate. He is also addressed by diplomats as "president". Most recently, Barzani himself announced that he will no longer run for (KRI) office and resign as Regional President of the Iraqi Kurds. 100 The latter has not yet happened. Barzani had previously initiated a new institution, "a self-declared High Political Council" (Rubin 2017), for whose role there exists no consensus among Iraqi-Kurdish parties and whose future democratic legitimacy is currently unclear. Masrour Barzani has recently indicated that his father had to be regarded a "national symbol" who made history, and will continue to hold power as "president" of the Iraqi Kurds "made by history" because they would continue to "need him" in the future too. 101 This claim to power is interpreted in such a way that Masoud Barzani could finally use the non-binding referendum of 25 September 2017 as a kind of voter mandate for him personally to remain in power as head of his self-declared "High Political Council" (Rubin 2017: 1.c.: "In other words, he and his family remain in control"; Riedel 2017: "violently faithful"), until he himself could someday in the uncertain future proclaim an independent Kurdistan and become its first president. Whether such a presidential power claim could be realized in reality after heavy setbacks from the devastating

 $<sup>^{100}</sup>$  BBC, 29 Oct. 2017: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-41794083 (accessed the same day).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Rûdaw-interview, 10.01.2018: Despite losses, Kurds have 'promising future' if united: Masrour Barzani: "the history of Mr. President, the struggle of Mr. President, the past of Mr. President, the achievements of Mr. President have made the president a national symbol. It is not like a government position for him to assume power for four, eight, twelve years, and then when post is over, then his role will be diminished. The role of Mr. President will not be over with this, as it did not begin with this. He is a president made by history. We need him ...": http://www.rudaw.net /english/interview/10012018 (accessed 10 January 2018).



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consequences of the referendum initiated by him seems entirely open and not assessable. 102

## Democracy deficits - consecutive power sharing

Since the first free elections on 19 May 1992, Iraqi Kurdistan has been governed by power sharing between KDP and PUK. 103 During the civil war of 1994-1997 there were already two separate regional Kurdish administrations, each run by the KDP and PUK. 104

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Interestingly, to launch a claim to high power from an unfavorable position was in family tradition already before not seen as unbridgeable contrast. By way of example: In the 1980s Masoud Barzani together with his half-brother Idris and a close relative, the later Iraqi Foreign Secretary Hoshiar Zebari, had three French technicians abducted and kept for months in KDP-I custody who were ordered to modernize for the then Saddam Hussein regime the radar observation system Mosul-Kirkuk-Sulaimaniyah. The President of France at the time, François Mitterrand (1916-1996), campaigned personally for their immediate and unconditional release together with the late Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky (1911-1990). Zebari communicated as "gestures" that might help to speed up the rescue letters by the Pope, French communist leader Georges Marchais (1920-1997) and Bruno Kreisky addressed to Masoud Barzani and kindly asking him to release the three technicians. This could be achieved but did not noticeably lead to a breakthrough of his international recognition and reputation. Masoud Barzani then lived with his family in refugee houses in Karaj and was granted by the Shah-Iran in the 1980s also a small KDP power base in exile in Rajan, a village on Zagros east slopes at the triangle Iran-Iraq-Turkey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Michael Rubin 2017: AEI, 20.12.2017, blames for the historical development equally the two major political parties KDP and PUK led by the families Barzani and Talabani: "Neither the Barzanis nor the Talabanis have a birthright claim to the region's leadership. Rather than set Kurdistan down a path to prosperity, they have become the region's Mubaraks and Ben Alis. Rather than pull Iraq forward, the Iraqi Kurdish leadership for both cynical and corrupt reasons seeks to push it back. [...] Increasingly, it is becoming clear that the real threat to Iraqi Kurds and Kurdistan lies not in Baghdad, Najaf, or Karbala, but with two families in Erbil.": http://www.aei.org/ publication/is-the-kurdish-spring-here (acc. 25th February 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Source of quoted data: KRG-government Erbil: First free elections 19 May 1992. First democratically elected Regional-PM: Fuad Masum, PUK, first Vice-Premier: Rowsch Shaways, KDP-I. Kurdish civil war: May 1994 - 24 November 1997. Two separate regional administrations Erbil (KDP-I) & Sulaimaniyah (PUK): In PUK controlled areas: 1992-2005, in KDP dominated: 1996-2005. The PUK administration in Sulaimaniyah had 4 Regional-PMs: 1: Fuad Masum: 4 July 1992 - 26 April 1993; 2:



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A parliamentary democracy of changing political majorities has not evolved until now. 105 In short: The first free Iraqi Kurdish regional elections of 19 May 1992 ended with 51:49 for the PUK against the KDP, but were then converted into a 50:50 power sharing. In the second election on January 30, 2005, KDP and PUK entered a joint list called the "Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan". In the third election of July 25, 2009, the KDP/PUK alliance was renamed "Kurdistani List". In the fourth round of voting on 21 September 2013, KDP and PUK ran for the first time since 1992 as individual parties, but at the same time continued their political power sharing cooperation and after protracted negotiations with the 2009 founded reform movement "Gorran" (change) finally agreed to an all-party collaboration in the Regional Parliament in Erbil. The latter was the first attempt to execute regional parliamentarian rule virtually without an opposition, but ultimately failed because of that. Since the renewed civil war of

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Kosrat Rasul Ali: 26 April 1993 - 21 January 2001; 3: Barham Salih: 21 January 2001 - 4 July 2004; 4: Omer Fattah Hussain: 4 July 2004 - 14 June 2005. KDP/Erbil-administration: 3 Regional-PMs: 1: Rowsch Shaways: 26 September 1996: 2: Nechirvan Barzani: 20 December 1999 - 14 June 2005. Second regional election (after reconciliation KDP-PUK and formation of the joint party list "Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan": 30 January 2005: mutual consent to two KDP/PUK half-time-PMs: 1: Nechirvan Barzani, KDP: 1st of March 2006 - 31st of August 2009; 2: Barham Salih, PUK: 1st September 2009 - 17 January 2012. Third election: 25 July 2009: Joint "Kurdistani List" (KDP/PUK): Newly founded "Gorran" (change movement) attains big success with 22% of the electoral votes and 25 out of 111 seats in the KRG Regional Parliament and emerges right from the start as second-strongest political force after the first-ranking KDP/PUK electoral alliance "Kurdistani List" alliance with 53% and 59 seats (-19). Again, two KDP/PUK half-time-PMs: 1: Barham Salih: 28 October 2009 - 5 April 2012; Nechirvan Barzani: since 17 January 2012. Fourth election: 21st September 2013: KDP & PUK compete for the first time in recent history as single parties; results: KDP: 37,79% & 38 seats; Gorran (defends position as second strongest party): 24,21% & 24 seats; PUK drops back to rank three: 17,80% & 18 seats. Incumbent KRG-government Nechirvan Barzani, KDP-I (Premier), and Qubat Talabani, PUK (Vice-Premier): in office currently as 8th KRG-cabinet since 8 June 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Cf. the guideline-interview 2013 with Nawshirwan Mustafa (1944-2017): https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=a7bOReG8WJ4 (accessed 15 February 2018).



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1994-1997, Iraqi Kurdistan has been split into two administrations of the KDP in Erbil and the PUK in Sulaimaniyah, each of varying lengths, both claiming to represent of all of Iraqi Kurdistan. So far, there have been four regional, Kurdish-Iraqi, free democratic elections: 1992, 2005, 2009 and 2013. The fifth is scheduled for 2018. At the end of each election political opponents accused each other of electoral fraud. To some extent international observers had been able to monitor KRI elections. Democratic structures of a powersharing between parliament, government, independent judiciary and administration have been rudimentary ever since.

A parliamentary democracy in which power originates from the people as the sovereign and where political decisions are made by (ever changing) majorities so far could not prevail in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (Rubin 2017: l.c. criticizes a "democracy charade"). Ramifications in the wake of the September 2017 independence referendum threaten to divide Iraqi Kurdistan once again and to aggravate political differences, up to further dangers of a new civil war. Moreover, there are also growing fears that the geo-strategically escalating struggle for Kirkuk and other "disputed territories" in Iraq could possibly trigger new military conflicts in the Middle East and Eurasia. Polarization and escalation are dominating widely, relaxation is not in sight, and sustainable compromise solutions not immediately apparent.

### New generation of leaders

At the time of going to press, Kurdistan's current Iraqi political parties were in the process of changing leadership generations and repositioning. In KDP-Iraq, incumbent KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani has provisionally taken on from his uncle Masoud Barzani political and diplomatic settlement negotiations with the central government in Baghdad on the basis of the 2005 Iraqi



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constitution. The KDP security services are still headed by Masrour Barzani, the elder son of Masoud Barzani. This is interpreted as a possible, future new leadership order within KDP and the Barzani family. Nechirvan Barzani is considered capable of compromising, while Masrour is described as autocratic. However, it seems unclear whether Nechirvan could prevail finally against Masrour Barzani in the long run. 106 The Patriotic Union wants to elect a new leadership at a future congress after the death of Jalal Talabani. The PUK is still fragmented in about half a dozen partly rival wings and also split in crucial questions who should lead the PUK into the future and with what program. The outcome is undefined. But it is clear that women will again play a leading role in future PUK leadership positions. Long-standing PUK Regional (Deputy) Prime Minister and Iraqi Vice-PM Barham Salih has left the Patriotic Union in 2017 to form the new "Coalition for Democracy and Justice" party. It presents itself as a modern reform party of the future on the basis of a western, democratic value system. Finally, the "Gorran" (change) party founded by Nawshirwan Mustafa in 2009, is also about to regroup, following his death in May 2017. Mustafa emerged from the PUK like Salih. So far "Gorran" had been successful above all as an opposition movement. The party fights against endemic corruption, for democracy, human rights, equal treatment of women, press freedom and for a functioning constitutional state.

### **Economy: Kurdistan Region Iraq insolvent**

Because key data is lacking, it is still not possible to describe seriously the economic situation of the Kurdistan Region Iraq according to scientific principles and also administrative rules as they are

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Masoud Barzani *"has raised" "his children" "to believe they are superior"*: Rubin, AEI, 27.07.2017: http://www.aei.org/publication/will-masrour-barzanibe-the-cias-latest-embarrassment (acc. 25 Sept. 2017).



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regulated by law for instance in member states of the European Union, which is associated with Iraq (and the Kurdistan Region) on the basis of a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement signed May 11, 2012. By contrast, the government of the Kurdistan Region Iraq, for example, does not publish (current) budget data modeled on the EU, nor does it provide detailed, published and verifiable evidence of the use of public funds. 107 The "Kurdistan Region" Statistics Office" in Erbil is a construction site, <sup>108</sup> not an independent authority guaranteed by law such as "Eurostat" in Luxembourg, but belongs to the KRG Planning Ministry and is a subordinate office, subject to directives. 109 Moreover, principles such as how the unemployment rate is calculated according to international standards, cannot be compared with those of "Eurostat". Currently, for example, the KRG unemployment rate as of the second half of 2015 is given as a total of 13.52%. But it is in reality much higher. The reason is that in KRG labor market calculations a significant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> DeWeaver 2017: 10: "The current situation in Kurdistan is difficult to quantify because almost none of the statistics commonly published for most other economies are available. There is, for example, no monthly or quarterly time series data covering GDP, industrial production, capacity utilization, fixed asset investment, or em-ployment. Indicators based on firm and household-level surveys, often among the most widely followed economic time series, are similarly unavailable." Mark DeWeaver, like other employees of the "IRIS: Institute of Regional and International Studies", which is docked at the "AUIS: American University of Iraq Sulaimani", strives through painstaking detail work, mostly based on survey methods, to paint a serious, correct up-to-date picture of the actual KRI economic situation. Recent publications (selection): DeWeaver, Mark (2017): Economic Issues in Iraq & the Kurdistan Region. IRIS (Institute of Regional and International Studies) Booklets: The State of the Economy, March 2017: https://auis.edu. krd/iris/sites/default/files/ECONOMY%20IRIS%20BOOKLET%20March17.pdf; Tabaqc hali, Ahmed (2017): Iraq's Economy after ISIS: An Investor's Perspective, IRIS, November 2017: https://auis.edu.krd/iris/sites/default/files/IRIS Iraq%20Post-ISIS%20Economy%20 ATFIN AL.pdf; Bartnik, Aaron (2017): Obstacles and Opportunities for Entrepreneurship in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region, IRIS, July 2017: https://auis.edu.krd/iris/sites/de-fault/ files/IRIS Entrepreneuship%20in%20Iraq%20and%20KRI%20 report.pdf.

<sup>108</sup> http://www.krso.net/Default.aspx?page=article&id=1166&l=1 (acc. 28.02.2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Cf. the self-portrait of the "Kurdistan Region Statistics Office": http://www.krso. net/Default.aspx?page= article&id=975&l=1 (acc. 28 Febr. 2018).



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proportion of persons are listed as employed, even though they have no jobs and also do not provide employment/services, and therefore, would be rather classified as social benefits recipients in accordance with "Eurostat" guidelines (although KRI does not have an analogous social security system with proper health care insurance and pension fund institutions). The reasons for this are that the Kurdistan Region Iraq has a so-called "rentier economy" (De-Weaver 2017: 2). These are mainly understood as regional/national economies that derive revenues largely unilaterally (in most cases) from oil (such as the African states of Nigeria, Angola, Uganda or South Sudan) and distribute from that to a largely statedependent population a kind of a minimum income (often below poverty level). However, the term "rentier" interpreted as "pensioner" does not apply to Iraqi Kurdistan precisely because the populations concerned are mainly not "retirees" (like former "Peshmerga" without pension rights and social security protection), but mainly young people without jobs. Iraqi Kurdistan currently has a very young society. Of the more than 5 million people, 36% are aged up to 14 and only 4% over 63. The average age is just over 20. Thus, more than half of the population is under 20. 110 Yet, among these young people, unemployment is estimated at between 40% and 60%. 111 Among them are still about 30,000 trained young Iraqi Kurds holding academic diplomas who continue to find no jobs and receive financial help from the KRG administration. And in this sense only, they are officially considered "employed by the state" (DeWeaver 2017: 2-3). In total, around 1.2 million KRG citizens of working age are currently receiving funds from the Iraqi-Kurdish regional administration. On average, these amounted to

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<sup>110</sup> Cf.: http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/page.aspx?l=12&s=050000&r=304&p=214; main source for that is the UNDP Iraq Human Development Report 2014: http://www.iq. undp.org/content/dam/iraq/img/Publications/UNDP-IQ\_IraqNHDR2014English.pdf (both accessed 28th February 2018).

Synopsis by the author: http://hennerbichler.info/aufstande\_2011.html and http://hennerbichler.info/verbesserte-lage-2012.html as of 2012.



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between about \$ 300 and \$ 600 per month (depending on the segment of society). In total, these funds make up around 70% of all current KRG budget expenditures. The KRG thus needs at least about \$ 750 million per month to pay these salaries. At the same time, there is no viable economic structure in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Above all, there exist no vital small and medium-sized enterprises as the backbone of any viable economy. The private industry in general is only rudimentary in being, with the exception of a few branches of industry such as cement or agriculture.

## From boom to crisis into bankruptcy

Since 2014, the economic situation of the Kurdistan Region Iraq has deteriorated dramatically. The KRI slid into the biggest recession in its history, with catastrophic implications. The reasons are partly homemade and are also due to still dangerously unresolved constitutional issues such as rights for production and export of oil and gas between Iraqi Kurds and the federal central government in Baghdad. Most recently, a dramatic decline in oil prices since about 2014 has had a major effect, though this was beyond the influences of Iraq and the Kurds, but whose consequences were not always assessed as factually-correct by the Kurdish regional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> DeWeaver 2017: 2: "Kurdistan's Great Recession. From boom to bust in the rentier economy. [...] The impact on the private sector has been little short of catastrophic. Consumer spending has collapsed, property prices have crashed, occupancy rates at four and five star hotels have plummeted, and work on many projects has come to a virtual standstill. Capacity utilization at cement plants is falling, car dealerships are struggling, income at banks and insurance companies is down sharply, and sales of big-ticket electronics items are slumping. Businesses that only two years ago were making record profits are now fighting for survival."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Hassani 2018: "On the one hand, despite domestic corruption the hope of greater assistance from the West has pushed the Kurds in Iraq further back. Though it is worth noting that lust for wealth and power has thrown the leadership of KRG (Kurdistan Regional Government) into the peril of Iranian and Turkish control.": The Jerusalem Post, 04.02. 2018: http://www.jpost.com/printarticle.aspx?id=540680 (accessed 4 February 2018).



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administration. For example, the KRG government in Erbil assumed that it could export enough quantities of oil from Iraqi Kurdistan via Turkey in 2014, so that it would be in a winning position to both stabilize and further develop Iraqi Kurdistan on its own. And in all likelihood, as the KRI leadership calculated, they could do this better than before, since the Iraqi Kurds accuse Baghdad for years of having continuously withheld from them substantial shares of 17% due to them of the annual federal Iraqi budget (less expenses for general government state services). 114 However, this calculation did not work out. As early as 2014, international reliable calculations were already available to all sides involved of how much revenue an independent Iraqi Kurdistan would need in order to survive independently from its own economic power. Such calculations had been done i.a. by the US administration under President Barack Obama and were recently also confirmed in June 2017 by the former CIA Director David Petraeus:115 "We calculated at one point - the CIA - that they needed to export about 800,000 barrels of oil at US\$105 per barrel", Petraeus explained and came to the pessimistic conclusion: "But I literally don't think they can afford to be independent. [...] They are only producing 800,000 barrels on a really good day and exporting a subset of that now in the forties per barrel. So, they still need some of what they get from Baghdad." A recent analysis, conducted by the international consulting firm "Deloitte" on behalf of the KRG government in Erbil published on 13 January 2018, essentially confirms the information provided by Petraeus. 116 Following therefore, the US analyses that the Kurdistan Region Iraq would have had to produce and sell more than double as much crude oil as it did in order to survive economically independent from Baghdad, and on top of that, even then, the

<sup>114</sup> KRG GOV. 2017: 17-18: http://cabinet.gov.krd/uploads/documents/2017.

<sup>115</sup> Rûdaw, 26.06.2017: http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/260620171 (acc. 02. 02.2018). 116 http://cabinet.gov.krd/uploads/documents/2018/*Deloitte\_Report\_on\_KRG\_Oil\_Export\_Consumption\_and\_Revenues\_for\_First\_Half\_of\_2017\_ENG\_KU\_AR*.pdf (accessed 13 January 2018).



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KRI could have only survived independently if it would have been able to sell crude oil to world market prices "at US\$105 per barrel" which, since 2014 had fallen dramatically to less than half of estimated values. When then finally, the government of Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi froze all payments to the KRG because the Iraqi Kurds exported KRI oil without approval of Baghdad, the Kurdistan Region slid dramatically into the biggest economic crisis of her young history. The consequences are partly catastrophic and continue: about 70%, or about 1.2 million Kurds, who depend on the income of the regional government in Erbil, including about 126,000 teachers, have received for years only about 50% of their salaries, and for some months none at all. This sharply widened the gap between rich and poor and brought hundreds of thousands to the poverty line. 117 Many families continue to rely on last savings or borrow money from relatives who still have reserves. Private loans are currently hard to come by. Many thousands of employees on KRG payrolls continue to stay out of office for days or, if at all, show themselves occasionally for a few hours. 118

## Insolvency without Baghdad "rescue umbrella"

Further research aspects worked out by Mark DeWeaver 2017: 2-18, 37-44 (selection): Private consumption declined exceptionally sharply. Meat consumption per capita dropped in the KRI from 45 kg before the current "big recession" to 23 kg in 2015. The poverty rate escalated from 3% in 2013 to 12% at present (estimates of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Rubin 2017 stresses a particularly sharp contrast, according to which Masoud Barzani earns more each month than US presidents in a whole year: "[Masoud] Barzani receives more per month than the US president does in a year": AEI, 20.12.2017: http://www.aei.org/publication/is-the-kurdish-spring-here (acc. 25.02.2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> DeWeaver 2017: 44: "The bureaucracy is corrupt and poorly managed, lacks competent staff, and is so underfunded as a result of the salary crisis that employees are coming in as infrequently as only once a week. Under these circumstances, there is bound to be a considerable gap between how policies are supposed to work in theory and how they actually turn out in practice."



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"Kurdistan Region Statistics Office"),<sup>119</sup> which above all hit the more than two million refugees who are receiving humanitarian aid from the KRG since 2011.<sup>120</sup> The KRG administration deplores a continued lack of adequate international funds for refugees hosted by the Iraqi Kurds and sees no options that the majority of them could return to their homes in the near future.<sup>121</sup> Car dealers hardly grant loans for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Current figures provided by the KRG Ministry of Interior on 26 April 2018 online (http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?s=040000&l=12&a=56760) are: "the unemployment rate has increased by threefold from 3% in 2013 to 14% in 2016 and poverty rate dramatically augmented from 6% to 14%."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> KRI has absorbed more than two million inland Iraq & Syria refugees since 2011, an increase of about 28% of the KRG population of about 5.2 million 2014-2015: Data quoted by PM Nechirvan Barzani at a KRG-World bank conference in Erbil in February 2015: http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?s=040000&l=12&a=52985 (accessed 2nd February 2018). Latest available figures published by the KRG Ministry of Interior's Joint Crisis Coordination Centre, JCC, in Erbil on 26 April 2018 are as follows (http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?s=040000&l=12&a=56760): "Today, the Kurdistan Region hosts more than 1.4 million displaced individuals of which 250,000 are refugees. Overall, our region is host to 97% of the Syrian refugees in Iraq and 40% of the internally displaced Iraqis. [...] Today, 37% reside in nine refugee camps in Erbil, Duhok and Slemani governorates of the KRI and the rest are hosted within local communities." - KRI Refugee Situation - Statistical Overview: "A total of 274,931 persons of concern (refugees) are in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq; 248,382 Individuals (81,000 families) Syrian refugees are registered in Iraq; 37% live in 9 camps in Erbil, Duhok and Slemani and 63% living in out of camps; 47% Syrian refugees are female and 53% are male; 34% of Syrian refugees are children aged 0 -11 years; 70% of Syrian refugees in Kurdistan Region of Iraq are either women or children; 35% Families do not have proper shelter and live in difficult conditions; 32% Families have member/s with a serious medical condition who need special support and care; 70% Children aged 6 to 12 years enrolled in formal and informal schooling." "We must also draw attention to the fact that the KRI is also hosting 20,700 Turkish, 13,120 Iranian and 697 Palestinian formally registered refugees. This brings the total number of refugees in our region to 274,931 individuals who are in need of different types of support and assistance." The KRG statement also emphasizes a "KRG's rights-based policy that granted freedom of movement, residency and work permits and free access to the region's healthcare and education services."

<sup>121</sup> KRG Ministry of Interior JCC statement 26 April 2018 (http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?s=040000&l=12&a=56760): "The nature of the crisis in Syria and Iraq has turned displacement protracted, preventing the majority of the refugees and IDPs from returning to their homes."



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new purchases. KRG's debts to oil companies currently exceed \$ 3 billion. Infrastructure projects came largely to a standstill. Approved projects dropped from \$ 12.4 billion in 2013 to \$ 793 million a year ago. Hundreds of project partners and their sub-contractors went bankrupt this year alone, many are financially ruined for years to come. Some investors committed suicide (DeWeaver 2017: 9). Particularly hard hit is the construction industry (largely dominated by Turkish companies), hotels and tourism. According to the latest estimates, Turkey could face up to around \$ 30 billions of unpaid bills in the Kurdistan Region Iraq. Many banks are insolvent. The KRG government continues to issue (currently) uncovered checks (bad or "blocked checks"), hoping that one day they might be worth something again. These papers are traded in a similar way as debt securities issued by bankrupt municipalities in Europe between the wars. As far as tax revenues are concerned, so far, the KRG administration was only able to collect about 5% or \$-600 millions of all regional levies due annually (so called "presumptive tax system": DeWeaver 2017: 42).

### Gloomy economic outlook

The incumbent KRG government is currently trying to tackle the severe recession with an austerity program similar to Greece's financial crisis in the EU but with no bailout "rescue umbrella" from Baghdad. As the Kurdistan Region does not have its own currency, the KRG also ultimately relies on Baghdad to rescue insolvent banks. Although, the Iraqi central bank has regional branches in Erbil and Sulaimaniyah, it has recently shown no interest in saving insolvent banks from impending collapse by injecting money. The KRG government has admittedly (again) announced a major program to invest the region out of the current crisis and to diversify its unilateral dependency on oil. However, experts do not see the outlook for private investment encouraging in the foreseeable future, given the ongoing, severe economic difficulties. Private investment



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and consumption is also hampered by the fact that more than one million Kurds who remain on KRG's payrolls are continuously experiencing delays in their salaries as well as cuts to benefits and pensions up to 50% (as of June 2018). This could aggravate social tensions, widen the rich-poor gap, further worsen the jobless rate, and force up both prices and inflation. Analysts assume different scenarios. Michael Rubin fears, as explained, that everything threatens to get worse because of a resistance to reform and democracy by a leading, corrupt elite. Mark DeWeaver, on the other hand, sees massive pressure from an on-going crisis as an at least temporary increase in readiness to reforms, not least due to an unrelenting rebellious, dynamic youth fighting for democracy and a socially just society. Options could kick off in two directions: either into viable, drastic, and painful reforms, or into a relapse of old habits "and generate the same powerful incentives for rent seeking and corruption as it always has", so DeWeaver. Results are open, but cautiously optimistic. In any case, the Kurdistan region will remain dependent on crude oil and its fever curves on the world markets for the foreseeable future.

### War damage to national health

New research<sup>122</sup> proves that the population of vast territories of Iraq and the Kurdistan Region are faced with drastically limited

<sup>122</sup> New studies are published since 2011 on a variety of topics commissioned mainly by the Iraqi ministries of health, environment and science in Baghdad. Some of them were already introduced at an international conference 2011 at the Luleå Univsersity of Technology in Sweden, including: Al-Ansari et al. 2011: "radioactive military wastes"; Al-Muqdadi & Al-Ansari 2011: "contaminated areas"; Al-Taii et al. 2011: "DU south Iraq"; later also: A-Hadithi et al. 2012: 1-7: "Birth defects" or Al-Azzawi 2017: "Depleted Uranium and Radioactive Contamination in Iraq: An Overview"). Since 2011 relevant scientific studies are coordinated by an Iraqi NGO in Baghdad, the so called "Coordination Committee for Iraq (NCCI)". Further reading (selection): Galbraith & Hollen 1988; Cook-Deegan et al. 1989; Ahtisaari (UN) Report 1991; EIR 1991; HST Harvard Study Team 1991; Lee & Haines 1991; Roberts 1996; Garfield 1999; McDiarmid et al. 2000; Nordhaus 2002; Salih et al. 2015; Janulewicz et al. 2017; Parrish et al. 2017.



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future health options. They are continued threatened by a deadly mix of still untreated sediments of chemical and nuclear (contamination from Depleted Uranium DU) Gulf war agents which cause to date a number of illnesses up to a magnitude never detected in contemporary Iraq before, like: a "sharp rise in congenital birth defects and cancer cases in Iraq", further "illnesses in the kidney, lungs, and liver, as well as a total collapse of the immune system", and eye and skin diseases, as well as DNA (mutations who can be demised from parents to children) damages (synoptic summaries: Croddy et al. 2002: 1-266; NCCI Brief 2011: 1-27). Final comprehensive results are still not available for the whole of Iraq and the Kurdistan Region.<sup>123</sup> According to UN estimates, more than 1,730 km<sup>2</sup> of Iraq are contaminated and about 1,6 million people in 1,600 towns affected. The main consequence is that the "communities" ability to develop livelihoods" is continuously inhibited (IAU 2012 and Zwijnenburg & Ghalaieny/ NCCI 2013: 49). Until now only a small part of all contaminated areas in Iraq and the Kurdistan region could be identified. 300 of them had been cataloged and listed in urgent need of redevelopment. 42 out of the 300 were declared most contaminated areas of Iraq. One of them is Halabja, a KRI governorate (since 2014) and border town to Iran, who's population was gassed in 1988 by the then Saddam Hussein regime. 124 In

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Pioneering research is currently done in the KRI notably by scientists of the Kurdistan Institution for Strategic Studies and Scientific Research (KISSR) and the Sulaimani Universty (UoS), Sulaimaniyah, Kurdistan Region Iraq.

<sup>124</sup> The Saddam Hussein regime had gassed the population of Halabja on March 16, 1988, at the end of the Iran-Iraq War. Between 3,500 and 5,000 Kurds were killed and another 7,000 to 10,000 injured, most of them civilians (HRW 1991, 1993, 3006; Hiltermann 2007: 160-166, 170-172, 195–197). A United Nations medical investigation concluded that mustard gas was used in the attack, along with unidentified nerve agents (HRW 1993). Saddam Hussein's cousin Ali Hassan al-Majid (1941-2010), nicknamed "Chemical Ali", commander of Iraqi forces in northern Iraq at the time, was convicted in June 2007 by an Iraqi court in Baghdad for orchestrating the 1988 gassing of Halabja's Kurds, sentenced to death for crimes of "genocide" (HRW 2006) and later hanged on 25 January 2010. On March 8, 2010 an Iraqi supreme court reversed an earlier decision by recognizing chemical weapons attacks on the Kurdish city of Halabja in 1988



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surveys by local and regional Kurdish doctors a higher percentage of medical disorders (miscarriages, colon and other cancers, heart diseases, respiratory ailments, skin and eye problems, fertility and reproductive disorders) could be found in the area of Halabja. Increased rates of birth defects are also raising concerns that the chemical attacks in 1988 may have lasting genetic impacts on the Kurdish population. Reports also indicate that "survivors of this particular attack have permanent injuries, including burns, and some exhibit symptoms of neurological damage, although this cannot yet be adequately confirmed" (Croddy et al. 2002: 164).

Both the Iraqi government in Baghdad and the KRG regional administration in Erbil affirm that they don't have the necessary financial resources available to clean up all repercussions of chemical and nuclear Gulf warfare in time. They appealed already several times for increased international help, which, however, is still not forthcoming in a sufficient amount. If it remains absent, the implication would be that a vast part of the Iraqi population, notably in the Kurdistan Region, could be faced with drastically limited health options in the future too including incalculable consequences.

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as an act of genocide (UPI, Erbil, March 8, 2010: https://www.upi.com/Top\_News/Special/2010/03/08/1988-Kurdish-massacre-labeled-genocide/UPI-93471268062566/(accessed 02 June 2018).



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# Conclusions<sup>125</sup> on future options of Kurds in Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran:

# Turkey and the Kurds:

Future options for the Kurds in Turkey currently depend almost exclusive on the one-man, autocratic agenda of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. As long as he will be in power, Kurds can expect more or less the same treatment of his autocratic rule as to date, namely of confrontation, suppression, persecution, expulsion, invasion and inter-regional power mingling. His past moves for dialogue with representatives of the Kurds proved to be not genuine, highly suspicious and aimed at buying him time on his long way to a one-man-autocracy. EU, NATO and the U.S. will continue to tacitly tolerate his one-man-rule and will not take decisive action against him. However, even within this framework of an ongoing power-struggle in Turkey some crucial parameters appear to be stable and largely unalterable by all sides involved: Firstly, the Kurds emerged as an important democratic force in contemporary Turkey. They are here to stay, have to be reckoned with, will prevail as an integral part of a future Turkey and (as such,) cannot be suppressed any longer. Second, both autonomy and an independent state, remain unfeasibly unrealistic future options for the Kurds in Turkey, due to fact that any central power in Ankara will continue to deny them both. Also, the Kurds themselves, including the PKK,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> The following conclusions were drawn up by the author in close cooperation and agreement with two valuably contributing scholars and dear friends: Omar Sheikhmous M.A., veteran Kurdish Syrian scientist from Amude, who has been living in Sweden for decades now and who in the 1980s started, together with the author, to record the oral history of leading Kurdish personalities in their exile in England; Abdol-Hamid Hosseini M.A., veteran Kurdish expert on Iran from Mahabad, who acts as scientific assistant of the author at the Sulaimani University UoS, since his research assignment in 2012.



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will not be able to enforce either aims through armed struggle. Thirdly, in reverse, no central power of Turkey, including Erdoğan's autocracy, will, in the foreseeable future, be able to either crush the PKK or its affiliates militarily once and for all. Rather, the PKK network will continue to critically influence future options of the Kurds in Turkey, Syria and Iraq, as well as a marginal part in Iran to a varying extend in each of these countries.

# **EU-Turkey integration of majority of the Kurds**

Based on these parameters, Kurds seem to have only one realistic future option, although only feasible for a new post-Erdoğan era in Turkey: the continuation of Turkey's integration process into EU-Europe. This option exists already and remain on the negotiating table for all the people of the Turkish Republic, including notably the Kurds, since the vast majority of them live in Turkey. However, its outcome continues to be an open and highly disputed question. At the moment, full EU membership for Turkey seems unlikely, because some Union states threaten to veto it. Still, a special contracted status solution seems attainable. One of the most crucial unresolved topics in this regard is currently the international refugee crisis, which brought both sides already to their limits and the EU to the brink of collapse. In the case of any future EU-Turkey agreement, both sides would then be faced with the evermore difficult task of dealing with millions of refugees, this time inside and not, as to date, outside the EU's southeastern borders. Moreover, Europe as a union of sovereign national states, would inevitably have to be more closely involved in international efforts to stabilize Eurasia and work actively for a sustainable post-colonial order for the Middle East. As for national aspirations of Kurds, Europe would be, on the one hand, challenged to help finding a sustainable solution for the vast majority of the biggest non-state-nation of our times, the Kurds, and, on the other hand, they would also inherit



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another national independence movement in the southeast. Even so, terms like "Kurds" or "Kurdistan" are hardly ever mentioned in available official papers of the EU-Turkey negotiation process, which started in 2005, but will not close crucial chapters provisionally "until Turkey agrees to apply the Additional Protocol of the Ankara Association Agreement to Cyprus". <sup>126</sup> It is also worth mentioning, that currently the European Parliament indicates greater interest in the Kurdish question compared to the European Commission's attitude, which acts explicitly restrained, and that both have so far seemingly not developed any clear geostrategic vision for an intended EU-Eurasian national identity of the Kurds (in Turkey).

While, consequently, a huge gap still exists between future option and reality, the evolvement of a viable Eurasian EU-solution for the majority of the Kurds would undoubtedly be seen as a breakthrough that would also have important democratic impacts on Kurds in Syria, Iraq and Iran. To recall but a few targeted common aims: even if it is not yet the case, the democratically elected and legitimized representatives of the Kurds in Turkey, who continue fighting like other oppositional groups for their political survival and very existence, could at least in the future play an important role in the stagnant EU negotiation process and could directly bring in own Kurdish objectives.

Moreover, the majority of Kurds too could become citizens of the European Union. Their regional interests would be safeguarded by a special advisory Assembly of European Regions. Their constitutional legal binding value system would be that one of the EU with the European Court of Justice in Luxemburg as its highest

May, 20, 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/coun-tries/detailed-country-information/turkey\_en; Additional Protocol, EUR-Lex: https://eurlex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:21970A1123(01), both accessed



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independent legal authority. A separate, parallel (Turkish) Islamic version of the EU constitution would not be possible. Kurds would also have access to the biggest available funds for reconstruction of backyard regions like Anatolia, which could decisively improve their chances for a better live in a foreseeable future.

# Stumbling block Erdoğan's autocracy $^{127}$ – not necessarily the Turkish Republic as such

Right now, the EU-Turkey accession negotiations came to a (temporary) hold, mainly because the autocratic agenda of President Erdoğan proved to be incompatible with European democratic constitutional fundamentals. Additionally, Brussels's methods and procedures guarantee that they are calling the shots for future common relations and not the leaders of candidate countries. Furthermore, as the negotiations are dragging on, clear limits, or rather red lines, also emerged for Erdoğan's autocratic ambitions. Firstly, should he try to reintroduce capital punishment, which he threatened, but avoided repeatedly, Brussels would be obliged to break off the negotiations altogether, because the death penalty is incompatible with the "Community acquis" (or "acquis communautaire"). 128 Also, the EU (together with other leading powers) will resume their policy of sitting the Erdoğan-regime out, hoping for a limitation of damages caused by it, bow to "services" to stop flows of refugees towards Europa, continue to pay royal financial contributions for that, as well as continuing to largely tolerate the ongoing oppression of the Kurds. Second, should Erdoğan introduce Islamic Sharia law, he would openly break with the secular constitutional pillar of Mustafa Kemal's modern Turkish Republic, which

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 <sup>127</sup> Cf. for instance interviews of Hamit Bozarslan with Walter Friedl, Kurier,
 13.01.2017: https://kurier.at/politik/ausland/tuerkei-steht-nahe-am-buergerkrieg/240.
 847.283 or Noura Maan, Der Standard,
 14.01.2017: http://derstandard.at/200005070
 5670/In-der-Tuerkei-wird-Oesterreichs-Aussenminister-gehasst (both acc. 14.01. 2017).

<sup>128</sup> Defin.: http://eurovoc.europa.eu/drupal/?q=request&uri=http://eurovoc.europa.eu/5411.



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could also lead to civil war and trigger an open rebellion of the armed forces, who still consider themselves as custodian of Atatürk's secular Republican legacy. Thirdly, since the survival of Erdoğan's autocracy will also mainly depend on Turkey's economic future performance, red lines for its viability are emerging in this regard to the following: The last available economic data<sup>129</sup> indicates a negative outlook of a currently downgraded status as a "non-investment grade speculative" country (Moody's, S&P, Fitch) and affirmed warnings of a "hard landing" in the future. The key assessment being that the longer Erdoğan's autocracy lasts and it progressively interferes into the economy and the independent monetary system, the more foreign investors shy away, capital flight increases and Turkey is faced with ever growing problems of mounting government debts, which are increasingly (expensive foreign) credit financed.

# Mustafa Kemal's historic promises to Kurds

The aim to grant Kurds equal treatment and some form of regional autonomy has also important original Turkish republican roots, even if such efforts were finally never implemented and failed for reasons accountable to all sides (details are explained elsewhere: Hennerbichler 2004: 424-425, 480-481). Both, at the congresses of Erzerum (July, 23, to August, 6, 1919) and at Sivas (September 4-13, 1919), the pioneering Turkish Republicans promised Kurds selfdetermination within the new common Turkish state, indicating some form of decentralization and cultural autonomy. Moreover, at the opening ceremony of the newly founded Turkish Grand National Assembly on April 23, 1920, in Ankara, a number of Kurdish

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Cf.: Fitch Rating's: Turkey – Rating Report (2018), published London on 13 July 2018; REUTERS, Istanbul, May 1, 2018: S&P cuts Turkey's rating deeper into 'junk'; Çetinkaya, M. (2018). Macroeconomic Outlook and Monetary Policy in Turkey. Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey Governor's report, 2018 Spring Meeting of the IMF and the World Bank Group, April 2018 Washington DC.



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representatives participated and were welcomed as "deputies Kurdistan's". Mustafa Kamal was elected as its chairman and spoke in his inaugural address of two people of the new Turkish Republic, Turks and Kurds. He promised all people, including notably the Kurds, a new, modern Turkish Republican state, where Kurds would also be granted equal rights and treatment. The Kurds would be equally respected, like brothers. Therefore, it can be argued, with solid historical reasoning, that Kurds too represented an integral part of Mustafa Kemal's republican heritage, notably in its early founding years and stages, even though Kurds were later brutally suppressed, persecuted and stripped of legitimate rights in Turkey. Kurds not only helped Mustafa Kemal and his Republican movement decisively reconquering the fading Ottoman Empire from the East, they also participated in the foundation of the new Republic, addressed as equal partners. For that reason, any feasible future EU-Turkey agreement could be also soundly seen within the pioneering beginnings of Mustafa Kemal's multi-ethnic Republican heritage, and certainly not against it altogether, as repeatedly claimed by President Erdoğan and others.

# Syria and Kurds: PKK & PYD

Success or failure of an intended Eurasian EU-Turkey solution for the vast majority of Kurds will in the future mainly depend, as already indicated, on the credible involvement of their democratically elected representatives, and last but not least, on the interregional Kurdish independence movement "Kurdistan Worker's Party" PKK and its affiliates like the "Democratic Union Party" PYD in Syria. Although, it would not be possible within the limited space of this study to outline a contemporary history of the PKK and the PYD, we will briefly come to the point that both continue to play a significant role in influencing future options of the Kurds,



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not only in Turkey, but also in Syria. In a nutshell: After the implosion of the Soviet communist model at the beginning of the 1990s, the PKK repositioned itself as far-left movement. Previously, they adhered to some form of muddled Marxism-Leninism (Akkaya & Jongerden 2012; Sheikhmous 2013; Zisser 2014; Bonsey 2017; Leezenberg 2017; Černy 2018). Then under the influence of a little known American political theorist, Murray Bookchin, <sup>130</sup> the PKK adapted his theory of a so called "libertarian municipalism" to their own version of local and decentralized governance among different peoples and ethnic groups in specific regions, which they called "radical democracy", "autonomous democracy" or "democratic confederalism". Since then they are attempting for some years now to implement this theoretical model in Kurdish dominated areas of northern Syria, called "Rojava" which they have turned it into an experiment of a political left laboratory embattled region. "Rojava" (Kurdish: Rojavayê Kurdistanê) stands for "Western Kurdistan", and is administered by de facto autonomous "Democratic Federation of Northern Syria (DFNS)", consisting of three self-governing cantons. This civil authority is politically and militarily dominated by two Kurdish formations, namely its (unilateral) armed forces of Kurdish "Peshmergas", aka "People's Protection Units (YPG)", who control much of northern Syria. Their political wing is known as "Democratic Union Party (PYD)". Their regional achievements are highly controversially rated. Ahmed Hamdi Akkaya (ex-PKK), scientifically supported by Joost Jongerden, explains the somewhat ideologically transformed PKK out of the so called "Jacobin paradox", suggesting that

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Murray Bookchin (1921-2006), American left political theorist and pioneer in the ecology movement, who developed the concept of social ecology and urban planning within anarchist, libertarian socialist and ecological ideas. Bookchin was originally a communist, then an anarchist. He became disillusioned with that as well and developed his own theory of regional grassroot democracy by replacing the failed idea of class struggle with "*libertarian municipalism*", which could never be imposed from above or would cease to exist the moment it tried to do so.



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out of the "reign of terror" executed by the French "Jacobin" revolutionaries finally evolved Western style democracy in Europe (Akkaya & Jongerden 2012: 5). Similarly, out of a "reinvented" former militant PKK would have emerged "Rojava" as a "truly" regional "radical democracy" and as a pioneering future political Kurdish model (Akkaya & Jongerden 2102: 5-8). While elements of a "paradox" could be accepted, we disagree with the attempt to portrait the "Rojava" political laboratory experiment as a definitely successful transformation of a militant PKK past to a modern Kurdish Western style democratic model. We argue that neither the PKK nor the "Rojava" PYD experiment can be applied to a "Jacobin paradox," 131 mainly for the following reasons:

Firstly, the "Jacobins", as (the most influential) political club, directly never got hold of central power and did not rule France. Also, it would be historically problematic to compare the networks of political clubs (mainly) of deputies during the French Revolution

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> The term "Jacobins" is multi-layered used in historiography: formally, "Jacobins" were members of political club (the most famous one out of some 8,000 around 1793) during the French Revolution. But this club as such had never got hold of power and did not rule France directly. Rather, the club was heterogenous, and only some of its prominent members who otherwise belonged to different dominant loosely knit parliamentarian factions, notably the "Mountains" and the "Girondins", who eventually emerged as the most influential one, and who perpetrated a reign of terror 1792/93-1794. It ended on July 28, 1794, when the leader of the "Mountains", Maximilien de Robespierre, was guillotined without trial in the Place de la Révolution, aged 36. In this sense the term "Jacobins" was used as mixed label under the temporarily prevailing banner of the "Mountains". In other terminological use, which cannot be explained here in further detail, "Jacobins" are used for instance in a pejorative sense for radical, left-wing revolutionary politics in general, and also as supporters of a strong centralized state advocating massive government intervention to transform society. Further reading (selection): Soboul 1975 & 1977: 87-92; Bosher 1988: 191-202 (8.II: The Jacobin Dictatorship); Kennedy 2000: 53 et seqq. (constitutional questions); Tackett, T. in Kates G., Ed. 2006<sup>2</sup>: The French Revolution: recent debates and new controversies (Jacobins: pp. 149-150, union of three orders: p. 139); see also in: The American Historical Review, vol. 94, no. 2 (April 1989): 271-301.



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with the Kurdish urban and mountain guerilla movement PKK of our times. Second, the three cantons of "Rojava" were not liberated by military struggle but were a result of an agreement with the Assad regime and were simply turned over to the Syrian Kurds. Continued governmental presence was obvious in some areas like Oamichlie and Hassakah. Thirdly, because the outcome of "Rojava's" de facto regional autonomy is not a Western style democracy and can therefore not be interpreted as "paradox" from terror to true democratic majority rule. Rather, the real "paradox" was/is that in contrast of claims to the contrary the PKK leadership never accepted Syrian Kurdish "Rojava" grassroot democracy like the Swiss model, where majority decisions from local to national levels are automatically binding for the ruling political elites as well, but in reality constantly intervened and made sure that the cantonal DFNS administration was/is obeying its instructions and not the other way round, as numerous eyewitness accounts available to the authors of these findings confirm. According to Omar Sheikhmous, "it has failed miserably, despite the infatuation of some leftist and Green groups with their movement." "PKK and PYD are neither communist organizations nor Democratic Socialists", he notes and recognizes that they show "some elements of democracy, egalitarianism, gender equality and secularism", but concludes that "their thinking and methods are still Stalinist and totalitarian" and that "they are definitely not a Western Style Democracy". "There is a lot of dissatisfaction with PYD rule among the Kurds in Syria", Sheikhmous explains, "but what has helped them is that they have protected the Kurds from DA'ESH". All in all, he interprets the "Rojava" laboratory experiment as a renewed example for the historically endemic paradox among Kurds which he labels as "united in disunity".



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As a result, the future options for Syrian Kurds seem limited and certainly not optimized. Although, they could prove that they are outstandingly able fighters against ISIS and credible as well as reliable partners of the West in stabilizing Syria, they (PYD, YPG and PKK alike) could not (yet) demonstrate that they would be capable of Western style democracy. Their Stalinist and totalitarian thinking and methods will not be internationally accepted and will not be seen as breakthrough future options, but rather as autocratic political retro-backlash for the Syrian Kurds. Still, some hopes could be pinned on continued promises by the Assad regime and Russia to grant Syrian Kurds some form of ultimate autonomy in an intended new post-war order for Syria. And also, the ongoing international negotiations for a new sustainable Syrian constitution

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Cf.: Bonsey, N. (2017). Will the Americans Abandon Us? International Crisis Group Commentary, Middle East & North Africa.



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indicate to some degree readiness to incorporate elements of federalism and some forms of regional self-government for minorities like the Kurds. However, if the Kurds continue to fail to convince international partners that they are indeed capable of Western style democracy and committed to democratic majority rule they will risk in an ever-changing future to be again used as military proxies, just like they were in the past, but not effectively supported as reliable political partner for the democratization of Eurasia and the Middle East. Their outlook in Syria therefore continues difficult to predict, but mainly doubtful and uncertain. As far as an intended EU-Turkey-integration of the majority of the Kurds is concerned, both future options appear feasible: a non-violent democratic reaction of the PKK similar to European independence movements, such as the Catalans, Scots, Irish or the Basques, respectively like previous militant ones as the Basque ETA or the Irish IRA. Yet, their ultimate attitude towards Eurasian EU-Turkey integration is not predictable. Finally, and in any case, the PKK and their affiliates too will continue like all other Kurdish movements of our time to follow a political agenda by democratically legitimate means, both of an independent Kurdish state and a greater Kurdistan comprising majority habitats of Kurds in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria in some indefinite future.

# Ghassemlou - Kreisky

One of the first Kurdish leaders who believed in a European promoted EU-Turkey integration solution for the Kurds as the most feasible and realistic one for them in the near future was the late chairman of the KDP-Iran, Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou (1930-1989). He developed a long-standing personal relationship with Austria's Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky (1911-1990) since the early 1980s. One day in 1981-1982 he telephoned Kreisky in Vienna, Ghassemlou told some twenty KDP-Iran representatives in



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Europe at a leadership meeting in Paris<sup>133</sup> in July 1982. Kreisky invited him to come to Vienna and attend a traditional birthday party at his residence in the Armbrustergasse in the 19<sup>th</sup> district of the Austrian capital. There Kreisky encouraged him to declare an independent Kurdish state in Iran and informed him that he had already several talks with Western politicians like Philippe Gonzales in Spain or Olof Palme in Sweden and that they would be ready to recognize an Iranian Kurdish state. Austria too would acknowledge it and also the Socialist International movement whose Vice-President Kreisky was 1967-1989. He further indicated that Bulgaria and some Arab states like Iraq and Jordan would as well be prepared to recognize a Kurdish state in NW Iran. All in all, Bruno Kreisky told Ghassemlou that in 1981-1982 some six countries and the Socialist International showed readiness to acknowledge an independent Iranian Kurdistan. Ghassemlou answered Kreisky, although he and the Kurdish people would deeply appreciate his diplomatic initiative but regretted to decline it because such an Iranian Kurdish state would be too small to survive, completely isolated and would lack vital economic and military basics. Even so, Ghassemlou added, he would fully agree with Kreisky that a democratic European backed future national solution for the Kurds had good prospects. Later, Ghassemlou used to validate efforts of KDP-Iran representatives for closer Kurdish-European cooperation on a regular basis. At another leadership meeting in June 1985 again in Paris he said he felt himself vindicated by numerous encounters with Western statesmen that the EU integration process of Turkey meant in "Realpolitik" that in this regard the Kurds had practically arrived at the doorsteps of Europe. Thus, the European member states would be in a commanding position to get Turkey finally consenting to concede the Kurds equal status and treatment, Ghassemlou pointed out. He expressed optimism that the Kurds could be granted legitimate rights in way of such a

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 133}$  Eyewitness account Abdol-Hamid Hosseini 1982-1985.



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European dominated solution and would also be ultimately recognized diplomatically by the West. He specifically instructed the KDP-Iran representatives to intensify their work for such a European future option for the (Iranian) Kurds.

#### **Iran and Kurds:**

In Iran are currently some eight Kurdish liberation movements active. 134 The traditional KDP-Iran split into two groups, one is closer to the KDP-Iraq led by the Barzanis and the other by the PUK. The "Komala" (Society/Community) developed three different organizations: one under the leadership of Ibrahim Alizadeh forms part of the Iranian communists and is regarded as their Kurdish wing. A second one is headed by Abdolla Mohtady and a third by Omar Elkhanizadeh. All three "Komala" groups are close to the PUK and have military bases in Sulaimaniyah and surroundings in the KRI. Two more Iranian Kurdish movements are near to the PKK: "Kodar" ("Komalgay Demukrat w Azadi Rojhalaty Kurdistan", Democratic and Free Society of Eastern Kurdistan) and "PJAK" ("Parti Jianawey Kurd", Kurdistan Free Life Party). "Kodar" is regarded as main ally of the PKK. Both "Kodar" and "PJAK" published recently a joint statement that they follow the political line of PKK. In addition exists "Sazmany Khabat" (Revolutionary Organization), an armed organization founded already in 1979 by Sheikh Jalal Hosseini, the brother of Sheikh Ezzedin Hosseini (1922-2011), the late Sunni spiritual leader of the Iranian Kurds. There is also another group who calls itself "PAK" ("Parti Azadi Kurdistan", Party Freedom for Kurdistan), headed by Hossein Yazdanpanah. "PAK" is under the influence of the Barzani led KDP-Iraq and aims at an independent Kurdistan. All of these Iranian Kurdish groups command some estimated 15,000 "Peshmerga". Three of them (KDP-Iran close to the Barzani KDP-Iraq,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Compiled by Abdol-Hamid Hosseini as of 24 July 2018.



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the "Komala" Iranian communists under Ibrahim Alizadeh and the "Komala" led by Omar Elkhanizadeh close to the PUK) have good contacts to Iranian opposition groups abroad (People's Mujahedin and Monarchists), mainly in the U.S and France, meet on a regular basis and hope for help from the administration of President Donald Trump. All in all, the fractured Iranian Kurdish opposition continues neither to be in any position to endanger the Shiite regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Teheran nor to overthrow it. Future options of the Iranian Kurds are therefore, more or less a continuation of the status quo, where neither meaningful political autonomy nor an independent state will be feasible.

However, there are currently renewed and increasing protest movements in Iran. They have rather the character of social unrests than of an open rebellion and will not present the clerical Shia autocracy with any grave danger of falling in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, they are mountingly showing a common denominator in which broad layers of societies see themselves as future generation of losers, ideologically overlapping from ultra-conservative mullahs in the pilgrimage site of Mashad in the north-east, to traditional pro-western liberal reform strongholds in Teheran, and to nationally shaped freedom movements, especially of the Kurds in the northwest. They express growing determination to fight against what is viewed by them as ever deteriorating living conditions at their expense. First and foremost, they want to thwart Shia clerical elites in Iran from continuing to invest primarily in massive military rearmament (including a nuclear option) and in the export of militant Shia missions abroad, and thus depriving millions of Iranians of opportunities to significantly improve their living standards.



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#### **Current trends**

Global Power Vacuum: Middle East rifts are widening amid a global power vacuum (Bremmer 2017). The lack of clear uncontested international leadership has a destabilizing impact most evident in Middle East: more uncertainty, more assertive behavior, more lines crossed, rising fears that no one has the power to contain the risk of new forms of Middle East conflict. Multiple Middle Eastern disputes are threatening to spill out of control.

USA: The U.S. politics towards the Kurds remain largely consistent. This is also true for the administration of President Donald Trump. Washington is against a Kurdish state (in Iraq), supports regional Kurdish autonomy within the existing borders of sovereign states, promotes Kurdish democracy, recognizes their effective fight against IS terror groups and did (so far) not dump the Syrian Kurds either in their struggle for legitimate rights. However, the Trump administration continues to thin out U.S. engagement in the Middle East up to an extent, that, on the one hand, it appears to grant Middle Eastern partners near carte-blanche (Dorsey 2018) but diminishes their ability to rely on the U.S. and raise to question whether a newly emerging alliance of Israel, Saudi Arabia and the UAE would be capable of stabilizing the Middle East and forcing upon a sustainable post-colonial future order. President Trump's mercurial unpredictability makes him, on the other hand, equally unreliable in the eyes of Middle East partners raising doubts whether the U.S. would continue to honor for instance commitments of substantially helping to clear up still immense Gulf war destruction particularly in Iraq and in the Kurdistan Region.

**Russia**: The Kremlin leadership under President Vladimir Putin continues to try to step in and fill a kind of a vacuum where no regional power manages to dominate the region and force upon his



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version of a new order. Russia is currently pursuing an intensified Middle East engagement, which primarily relies on cooperation with central powers such as Baghdad and Damascus and at the same time promises to secure autonomy for the Kurds both in Iraq and in Syria. In the Kurdistan Region Iraq, Russia is currently pursuing an emphatically accommodating stance based on massive regional economic investment. Whether this could for the first time also lead to the formation of a separate Kurdish policy by the Kremlin seems to be open. According to Ruslan Mamedov, Moscow is in the process of "shaping its 'Kurdish policy'. This includes the possibility of forming a new Kurdish state, but only "in agreement with all parties concerned" (Mamedov 2017: RIAC, 6 Oct. 2017).

*Iran*: The Islamic Republic of Iran will continue undeterred its efforts to expand its strategic network of pro-Iranian Shia militias across the Middle East and expand territorial spheres of influence all over Iraq, including the Kurdistan Region, and in Syria and Lebanon, not only up to the borders of Israel, but also into (Eastern) Mediterranean areas.

Israel: In geostrategic terms, Israel will not be able for the foresee-able future to seriously endanger and strategically undermine the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran without the help and military aid of United States (which seems not immediately forthcoming). This holds true also for the announced plans to severely destabilize Iran by massively arming the Kurds with state-of-the-art modern weapons, which basically remains to be seen, at any rate for the time being. Efforts to build a new, geostrategic power alliance Israel, Saudi Arabia, GCR Gulf States, (France?), Egypt and Kurds to check the unabated growing influence of the Iran over the Middle East and Eurasia are currently largely vague and cannot be judged conclusively.



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# Iraq:

Constitutional Crisis: The 2005 federal constitution of Iraq de facto provides the one and only peaceful and democratic solution for a sustainable compromise regarding the final status of Kirkuk and other "disputed territories": 135 via direct negotiations between Kurds and Bagdhad. Both sides should also accept international mediators. UNAMI should be given a new mandate and be able to continue its already successful mission with final recommendations. 136 The options remain that either the Kurds and Baghdad will find a final, sustainable compromise on this basis, or the confrontation will continue to be prolonged and threaten to push Iraq and the Kurdistan Region back to war at any time. The outcome is still open and unpredictable.

Latest elections on May, 12, 2018: Kurds interpret the outcome of this latest elections cautiously positive. The "Sairoon" (Forward) movement headed by prominent Shi'ite cleric nationalist leader, Muqtada al-Sadr, in cooperation with the Iraqi Communist Party, emerged as the strongest single Iraqi political alliance. This is seen as indication for an improved dialogue of Iraqi national reconciliation. It was also noted with interest that Muqtada al-Sadr spoke in favor of the return of the Jews who were evicted from the country half a century ago. "If their loyalty was to Iraq, they are welcome", Sadr said. 137

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> IRIS 2017: 14: "Kirkuk will be the catalyst for conflict between the Kurds and the central government".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> See too: ICG 2017: 1: "the only sensible way forward is a return to UN-led negotiations, supported by the U.S., EU, Iran and Turkey"; 15: "The objective should be to reach a deal on the disputed territories and oil revenue-sharing, while also supporting improved governance and political participation in both Baghdad and Erbil. Such an outcome would provide the two sides with a face-saving solution."

https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/iraqi-jewish-muqtada-sadr. html (acc. 11 June 2018).



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Kurdistan Region Iraq: The KRI is not a democracy and will not become one in the foreseeable future. Despite endemic corruption, nepotism, mismanagement and notorious reform jams, the Kurdistan region of Iraq remains one of the most stable regions in the Middle East and Eurasia, even in times of crisis and war. It has at least begun a democratization process, although not completed. Above all, her emphatically reform-oriented youth has been fighting for years for genuine democracy, a functioning constitutional state, an independent judiciary and administration, a socially just society, and women's rights and press freedom modeled on Europe and the West. Furthermore, new parties have also emerged in Iraqi Kurdistan, which are pursuing political programs with social and value systems comparable to those in Europe. Ultimately, the great goal for the vast majority of Kurds is to one day lead a life such as the people of Europe.

IS: Terrorist groups of the so-called IS (Islamic State) are neither dead nor close to it. They will continue to act in a constantly waxing and waning network alliances of various proxy-militias. They will be continuously used both by dominant international and regional powers forcing upon a post-colonial reorganization of the Middle East. Therefore, proxy-wars will further on determine the future of battered states fighting for their very survival like Iraq and Syria. Until now, Kurds have played a credible and efficient role in fighting IS terrorist groups in Iraq as well as in Syria, even with limited weaponry. If the Iraqi Kurds continue their impoverishment, it would be sound to assume that Kurds could also join proxy-militias again. Ultimately, a policy to humiliate and impoverish Kurds could radicalize them too and trigger new refugee flows towards Europe. 139

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Cf. IRIS 2017: 12, 15, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Avraham 2017: "the only way to prevent an additional flow of refugees to Europe is to grant them a safe haven in the Middle East located in Syrian and Iraqi Kurdistan."



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# Post-colonial reorganization of the Middle East:

A breakthrough to such a reorganization is still not in sight. Supremacy interests continue to be primarily argued nationally and, at least in the cases of Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia, they are also justified on religious grounds. Essentially, however, all are within existing historical framework conditions. For example, most of the protagonists insist on the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs of other countries, introduced in 1648 in the Westphalian Peace of Münster and Osnabrück, which ended the Thirty Years War and established a new order for Europe, wherefrom the priesthood (Pope) turned out as loser and the secular politicians (princes) emerged as winners. The colonial rearrangement of the Middle East by British, French and later also Americans, which was based on segmentation initiated by the so-called Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 between London and Paris, now shows increasingly eroding borders, but not yet their final total collapse. In the case of Iraq and Syria, neither their territorial integrity nor national sovereignty seems to be finally guaranteed. The development oscillates between principles (such as autonomy, state formation, plebiscites), as agreed in the never-entered peace of Sèvres in 1920, and a move away from the borders that were established in the Sykes-Picot agreement but are still far from a possible consensus on a future, sustainable, post-colonial reorganization of the Middle East. Religion continues to be widely misused for power-maximization, however, seems not capable of winning a majority in already epic efforts for a post-colonial rearrangement of Eurasia and the Middle East. The future looks dramatically indefinite.

**Role of Turkey and Iran**: As far as the continuously dominating northern and northeastern neighbors of the Kurdistan Region Iraq are concerned, it seems sound to assess that in geostrategic terms,



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"Realpolitik" effectuated into conflicting proxy-systems on the ground and guided from abroad would also continue in the Kurdistan Region Iraq. Whereby Iran would further intensify supremacy advances in Iraq and the Middle East as far as the Mediterranean and risk undeterred anew global confrontation with western and eastern powers alike. In this regard, Israel will intensify military actions to draw "red lines" for Iran's influence in Syria. Turkey would try to make up for its role as a junior partner of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Middle East. Turkish policy would seem to be: on the one hand banking on a continuation of the battered central powers in Baghdad and in Damascus and further trying to influence their power composition by steadily destabilizing them, and on the other to raise the stakes beyond single-state control by pushing for comprehensive military incursions into territories of its southern neighbors Syria and Iraq, and systematically attempt to occupy foreign border areas from the Mediterranean to the Zagros, even against mounting international condemnation and growing warnings of hazardously escalating Middle East tensions.

*Values System:* In the future, the fight for the reorganization of the Middle East will ultimately not be decided by weapons, but in the minds of the people. Kurds play an important role in the long-term struggle for value systems of future generations in the Middle East and Eurasia. At the moment, all Kurdish societies have a clear loss of confidence in leading Western powers and their values system. Kurds are accusing them of tolerating and passively watching as Kurds are brutally crushed by their weapons, and where fighting in northern Syria also show evidence of a new genocide. They also see fundamental global humanitarian rights like the international

<sup>140</sup> Hiltermann & Fantappie 2018: "To make matters worse, the combination of Western abandonment and internal political dysfunction has left the Kurds in a more precarious position than ever."



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law to seek asylum systematically eroded, questioned and challenged. If this loss of value and confidence continues, this could also drastically aggravate the Kurdish question and escalate consequences for the entire Middle East further. <sup>141</sup> If, on the other hand, it were possible to keep the Kurds on the path of values and democracy, this could make an important contribution to stabilizing the Middle East and Eurasia.

*War & Peace:* Finally, analysts expect either a continuation of the status quo on the Kurdish issue, a pessimistic horror scenario with new wars, <sup>142</sup> or, in the optimistic case, negotiation and compromise solutions. The outcome is open but leans infinitely more in the direction of renewed military confrontation than peace.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Avraham 2017: "If the enemies of the Kurds succeed in this, it will be a major blow not only to Kurdish national aspirations but also to the struggle against Iranian aggression in the Middle East, the war against radical Islam and anyone who supports democracy, human rights, women's rights and minority rights."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Kane 2011: 3: "The greatest potential threat to Iraq's stability is not extremist groups but the prospect of Arab Kurdish conflict over oil-rich Kirkuk and other disputed territories." Cafarella & Kassim & Malik 2017: "The attack against Kurdish forces in Kirkuk could lead to full-sale war between the KRG and government of Iraq.": The "War After Isis" Begins in Iraq. Institute for the Study of War, 15.10.2017: http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/war-after-isis-begins-iraq (acc. 28.02.2018).



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#### Abbreviations:

AUIS American University of Iraq Sulaimani DA'ESH State Islamic of Iraq and the Levant

GCC Gulf Cooperation Council

ICG International Crisis Group Middle East

IDP Internally Displaced Person

INSS Institute for National Security Studies
IPCC Iraq Property Claims Commission
IRGC Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps

IRIS Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques IRIS Institute of Regional and International Studies

IS Islamic State

ISF Iragi Security Forces

ISIL Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISIS Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KDP-I Kurdistan Democratic Party Iraq
KDP-Ir Kurdistan Democratic Party Iran

KGB Committee for State Security (Ex-USSR, 1954-1991)

KRG Kurdistan Regional Government

KRI Kurdistan Region Iraq

MERI Middle East Research Institute NGO Non-Government Organization

NKVD People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs

PKK Kurdistan Workers' Party

PM Prime Minister

PMF Popular Mobilization Forces
PUK Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
PYD Democratic Union Party

RAND Corporation (Research and Development)

RIAC Russian International Affairs Council

SSR Soviet Socialist Republic

TAL Transitional Administrative Law
UCDP Uppsala Conflict Data Program
USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

UNDP United Nations Development Programme
UNAMI United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq
UNSC United Nations Digital Library System
UNTC United Nations Treaty Collection

UNTC United Nations Treaty Collection



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UoS University of Sulaimani

WWI World War One WWII World War Two

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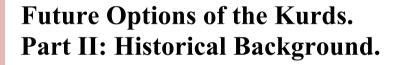
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#### **Abstract**

The following second part of our analysis provides historical background information in order to better understand future options of the Kurds. We explain here in some detail why so far in contemporary history virtually all efforts failed to achieve legitimate national rights for the Kurds and why they could and should not be repeated in the future. We basically show in sketched small historical chapters that Kurds to date could only win limited national rights like some forms of autonomous regional self-rule. The reasons for that are manyfold: Firstly, because they were used over centuries both by dominant central as well as foreign powers as proxies for their interests and also cooperated with them for own split aims. Second, because Kurds are chronically divided, constantly at loggerheads, disunited (Sheikhmous 2013: "united in disunity") and fragmented. Thirdly, although they remain a considerable force of stability in Eurasia and the Middle East and are indeed underway to democracy, they are still unable to true majority rule of Western democracies. And last but not least, because they lack experience governing themselves and diplomacy to secure their own national rights with one strong united voice.

## **Keywords**

Kurds; Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Gulf States, Egypt, Russia, UN, USA, EU, NATO; future options.



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### I. Proclamations of an independent Kurdish state

Until now no Kurdish leader proclaimed an independent greater Kurdish state for all Kurds and their extensive inter-regional habitat in Eurasia and the Middle East.

# Historical Background: Keywords: Proclamation of an independent Kurdish state:

Since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the course of the First World War, only a few Kurdish leaders proclaimed an independent Kurdistan to this day: Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji (Mehmûd Berzincî, 1878-1956) during the then British UN Mesopotamian Mandate and the later Iraq, and Qazi Mohammed (1893-1947) in 1946 in northern Iran which was at the time occupied and dominated by Soviet troops. Barzanji declared in May 1919 a "United Free Kurdistan", that was crushed in the same year by the British and Barzanji was exiled to India. From there he returned 1922 in triumph well ahead of time and proclaimed on 10th October 1922 in Sulaimaniyah the "Kingdom of Kurdistan" with the aspiration to represent all Kurds. This "Kingdom of Kurdistan" survived in the shadow of the British until 1924 and was subdued in July 1924 by vastly superior British colonial forces (Hennerbichler 2004: 437-454). Qazi Mohammed founded the pro-Soviet "People's Republic of Mahabad" on January 22, 1946, which lasted eleven months until December 16, 1946, and was overthrown by the then reinvigorated Iranian army (Eagleton 1963: 62-118; Ramazani 1971: 401-427; Hennerbichler 2004: 512-517; Nerwiy 2012: 135-190).

Already in 1930, a "Republic of Ararat" emerged, named after Mount Ararat, in the wake of the so-called "Ararat uprising" in the north-east of the then newly formed "Republic of Turkey". The areas



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which it claimed came under Turkish control in 1931. The "Ararat uprising" was carried out by the Kurdish "Khoybun" (independence) movement, which was founded in Lebanon in 1927 and worked towards a free Kurdistan. Chairmen of the "Khoybun" were the brothers Celadet Ali and Kamuran Bedirkhan. The commanding General was Ihsan Nuri Pasha, who played a leading role in the "Ararat Uprising". The "Khoybun" finally appointed General Ibrahim Heski governor of the "Republic of Ararat". This Kurdish "Republic" was not recognized internationally. The foundation of a separate Kurdish Ararat "state" is still not conclusively validated (Hennerbichler 2004: 490-491).

As a result, since the suppression of the "(People's) Republic of Mahabad" no Kurdish leader has proclaimed an independent state of Kurdistan. So far, neither has Masoud Barzani. His father Mustafa Barzani had repeatedly rejected the proclamation of an independent Kurdish state on the grounds that it was hopelessly surrounded by neighboring countries and not viable because it would lack essentials to survive like adequate weaponry, necessary financial resources and vital uninterrupted contacts to the outside world. Neighboring states just needed to close their borders to bring such a land-locked Kurdistan down. He further feared that Iraqi Kurdistan could decay into an international aid care case similar to encircled Berlin in the 1960s, which could overcome isolation and imminent collapse only with the help of Western allies and was ultimately saved by an extensive airlift over territories of a divided Germany at the time (Hennerbichler 2004: 586). In Iran, the chairman of the "Democratic Party of Kurdistan - Iran (KDP-Ir)", Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, who was tragically murdered in Vienna in 1989, repeatedly refused to proclaim an independent Kurdistan in north-western Iran. Ghassemlou had been encouraged several times by former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein at the beginning of the first Gulf War in the early 1980s to declare an own Kurdish



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state with the aim of weakening the rule of the "Islamic Republic of Iran". Saddam Hussein's regime would have taken over all costs for an independent Iranian Kurdistan beyond the Zagros. Ghassemlou, however, refused several times. His main reasons were that such a small separate Kurdish state on Iranian territory would not be viable and also against common Kurdish interests<sup>1</sup>.

#### II. Russia and the Kurds

Historical relations of Russia with the Kurds show extreme ups and downs. During WWI they culminated in massacres. At the end of WWII the Soviet Union indicated readiness to support a greater Kurdistan, but dropped the idea soon after and in 1946 backed a short lived "Kurdistan Republic of Mahabad" in NW Iran. In the Cold War period after WWII the Kremlin used Kurds mainly as proxies for their interests in Eurasia and the Middle East. Currently Russia holds out the prospect of treating Kurds even-handed with central powers, promote some forms of regional autonomy for them and announce significant investments in Iraqi Kurdistan.

## Historical Background: Keywords: Kurds and Russia:

Kurds play a not insignificant role for Russia's world power interests in Eurasia and the Middle East, although Kurds had developed in the past particularly since the 19th century a deep traditional distrust "of the power that for a century had been rolling back the frontiers of Islam in the Caucasus and posing a protector of native Christians against the Kurds of Turkey and Azerbaijan". Later Russian troops committed "excesses and brutality" during the First World War "extending to the border of Kurdistan" (Eagleton 1946: 16). Since then relations changed gradually. During the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hennerbichler 2013: 318; sources: verbal communication by Ghassemlou in the 1980s, personally confirmed also by former Iraqi President Jalal Talabani.



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First World War and after, both the abdicating Tsarist Russia, and the aspiring communist Bolsheviks, who threw themselves into world politics at the end of 1917, have used Kurds as proxies to extend their geostrategic spheres of influence southward all over (northern) Iran and also in Iraq. In Iran Russia utilized Kurds pressuring Teheran to grant Moscow oil concessions but failed several times until today.<sup>2</sup> In Iraq the Kremlin used Kurds to gain control of oil- and gas-rich areas of Mesopotamia west of the Zagros, and to manipulate waxing and waning central powers in Baghdad. Russia was also keen to gain access to vital trade roots in the north to the Mediterranean, and in the south towards the Gulf. Recently, leading Russian companies managed to secure lucrative oil and gas contracts in Iraq, noteworthy in the Kurdistan Region.<sup>3</sup> This is currently interpreted that Russia would be resolved to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See for details: Mamedova 2009: EIr: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/rus-sia-iiiranian-soviet-relations-1917-1991; Kuniholm 2011: EIr: http://www.iranica-online.org/articles/azerbaijan-v (both accessed 20 June 2018). In brief (quoting mainly Nina Mikhaĭlovna Mamedova): In 1916 Russian industrialist A. M. Khoshtariya received the right to the concession for oil extraction in the northern regions of Persia. The Soviet government in 1925 bought out his allotted shares (65%) in the Kavir-e Kuriān Company that owned several low-powered wells in the Semnān region. However, the government (later) did not recognize the legitimacy of the deal, which was part of the conditions for the withdrawal of Soviet troops during the Second World War. On 26 February 1921 the Soviet-Iranian Treaty was officially signed in Moscow. The issue of the oil concession was not settled definitively from a legal point of view. In 1946 the Iranian side, through their prime minister, Ahmad Qawām (Qawām-al-Saltana), who visited Moscow in February 1946, was trying to speed up the withdrawal of the troops and agreed to the proposal of the Soviet side to grant the USSR a concession for exploiting oil in the Northern regions of Iran. On 4 April 1946, the Agreement on Oil was signed in Tehran. Upon signing the provisional communiqué, the USSR announced the withdrawal of the troops (from Iran). Finally, the 1946 Agreement on Oil was rejected by the (Iranian) parliament (majles), which declared it null and void, and in 1956 the Soviet side officially abandoned its claims to oil explorations by the Kavir-e Kuriān company.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Zhdannikov, Dmitry (2018). The great Russian oil game in Iraqi Kurdistan. Reuters, London, April 19, 2018: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-rosneft-iraq-insight /the-great-russian-oil-game-in-iraqi-kurdistan-idUSKBN1HQ1R3 (accessed 19.04. 2018).



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enhance both its influence on Baghdad and the Iraqi Kurds alike, whether even handed remains to be seen.

In geostrategic terms, both Iran and the later Iraq (former Ottoman Mesopotamia) emerged since the end of the 19th century as most important regions for rising Great Powers like Russia and Great Britain<sup>4</sup> who were particularly keen to intensify their expansionist political strategies all over Eurasia and the Middle East. They had one basic highly controversial interest in common, both needed oil and gas as decisive fuel to world power. Russia, for its part, is since then continuously trying to extend geostrategic spheres of influence southward, first over northern Iran, later all over Iran and beyond, most notably to oil and gas rich areas in the North and South of Iraq, and on top of that Russia also wanted to secure access to warm water ports, to the Gulf in the South-East and the Mediterranean in the South-West, as well as to vital international trade roots. Kurds are viewed by Russia in this regard both as usable "proxies" and as potential partners alike. However, each and every time (in recent history) when Russia felt it could not uphold anymore an equal handed policy towards central powers (in Teheran, Baghdad, Ankara or Damascus) and the Kurds, and that it had to opt either way, Moscow decided on a regular basis against Kurds. The contemporary development in short:

Even on her world-political death-bed, the Russian monarchy tried in 1916-1917 to establish, in the north-west of Iran, regional minority regimes, dependent on Moscow; however, these efforts were not successful. Later, in the middle of the 20th century, Soviet Russia

the readiness on the part of Britain to manipulate the Kurds in order to secure her imperial interests in the region."

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See for Britain's policy in Kurdistan for example Ali 1992: 464: "This continued policy, which dates back to the nineteenth century has the following distinct features: 1) persistent support of the regional powers in the Middle East in their efforts to suppress the Kurdish revolts which Britain viewed as a threat to the stability in the area; and 2)



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managed to conjure up - temporarily - two minority republics, Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. But here again it failed in the long run to create a belt of minority states to secure its geostrategic interests towards the South and Iran.

At the end of WWI, a mainly tribal, conservative Kurdish society in the northwest of Iran, broadly based on a single products economy like tobacco, vigorously resisted spreading Russian advances into north-western Iran continuing to fight for regional selfrule and as much independent as possible from the central powers. Their regional seat of power was then the city of Mahabad in the northwest of Iran.<sup>5</sup> Conversely, tsarist Russian occupying forces (more precisely: mainly marauding, disoriented, undisciplined, often unpaid units of the then disintegrating tsarist army) intensified forays into the greater Mahabad area, crushing what were assumed to be regional pockets of resistance, and in 1915-1917 also perpetrated massacres in and around Mahabad, above all killing and displacing thousands of Kurds.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The first national census of Iran was taken in November 1956, ten years after the fall of the Mahabad Republic. No census data in Iran are available before 1956 (Mojab 2001: 78, Vali 2011: 159). Estimates indicate for Mahabad a population of ca. 16,000 in 1945: Eagleton 1963: 27: "population was 16,000 in 1945 and 22,000 in 1961"; Mojab 2001: 78, quoting in ftn. 6 the Iranian "Ketāb-e Asāmi-ye Dehāt-e Keshvar [The Registry of the Country's Villages [" (1950: 26). For end of 1948 Mahabad city population figures were given with about 16,455 of which 8,189 were women and 8,266 men. According to Ghassemlou 1988: 15 ca. 95 percent of the Iranian Kurdish population in 1945 were illiterate. Mojab 2001: 78 cites similar figures for 1946 and 1956. <sup>6</sup> Fossum 1918, 10:7, 5-6 (quoting Fossum l.c.: Mojab 2005, II: 362: "In 1915, the Russian army massacred the male population of Sauj Bulaq (Mahabad) and took away about two hundred women for abuse"). See also: Nikitin, Basil (1941). La Perse que j'ai connue, 1909-1919, typed memoir, Paris: Bibliothèque INALCO, (Persian translation 1947), mentions pp. 234-238 atrocities and massacres; p. 312: In WWI military operations of Russians, Turks, Armenians, Assyrians and Kurds approximately 700,000 people were killed and countless cities razed to the ground. Further reading: Jawaideh 2006: 258. Farrokh 2011: 293: "Memories of past Russian atrocities by Tsarist troops in northwest Iran, most recently during the First World War, were very much alive among local Kurds. [...] the Soviets trying to keep a low profile in the Mahabad



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## **Anglo-Soviet invasion of Iran 1941**

Soon after Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, two Allied powers, Britain and the USSR, invaded Iran without a declaration of war in order to pre-empt a German occupation of the country. Though, Iran was formally neutral, Reza Shah Pahlavi (1878-1944) was leaning towards Germany. Soviet forces occupied northern Iran, British took over the south, separated by a small buffer zone (Mojab 2001: 74). Reza Shah was accused of being sympathetic to Nazi-Germany, was forced to abdicate and replaced by his young son Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919-1980), who reigned Iran from 16 September 1941 to 11 February 1979. The Soviets secured from the North of Iran supply lines to and from the Gulf, the British managed to obtain crucial oil concessions mainly from SW to NW of Iran, which the former failed to get for good after decades of unsuccessful negotiations. Subsequently, the Soviet Union tried to extend and consolidate its influence over the north of Iran by initiating and supporting the formation of pro-Moscow regional satellite "Republics" in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. In this connection the Kremlin promised for the first time known in

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modern history to support the establish-ment of a Kurdish (Soviet dominated satellite) state and a greater Kurdistan.

### Soviets promise greater Kurdistan state

Between 1941 and 1945 the geostrategic situation of the Soviet Union in Eurasia and the Middle East changed significantly. In 1941 the USSR was a beleaguered victim of Nazi-Germany aggression trying to extend its influence from Kurdish regions behind the WWII lines but was largely unprepared for active work among the Kurds (Roosevelt 1947: 250-251; Eagleton 1963: 16-23, 41-42). In 1945 it acted as a buoyant victor of WWII taking full advantage of a fluid post-war situation and using the Kurds as "proxies" mainly to get oil-concessions and influence over Iran and beyond. Accordingly, the Kremlin adapted its attitude towards the Kurds from reluctant and vague promises for regional autonomy in 1941 to an active, even though only temporary and shortlived, cooperation in 1945-1946, establishing a Kurdish "Republic" in Mahabad in the northwest of Iran modelled on Soviet-style SSR satellites in the south of the USSR. The Soviet government acted in the person of Jafar Baghirov (1896-1956), the communist leader of the Azerbaijan SSR from 1932 to 1953, who executed the instructions of Georgian born USSR dictator Joseph Stalin (1878-1953). Baghirov first invited in 1941 (Eagleton 1963: 16: "late 1941"; Roosevelt 1947: 251: "in 1942") some thirty Kurdish leaders, mainly rival tribal chiefs, feudal and conservative, who represented the Iranian Kurdish societies, to Baku, the capital of the Azerbaijani SSR. Among them were contrasting personalities like Sheikh Abdullah Effendi Gilani, the most respected Sufi religious leader in northern Iranian Kurdistan at the time, whose influence extended into Iraq and Turkey (Eagleton 1963: 19-20), a son of Sayyid Taha of Shemdinan in Hakkari, Turkey, other representatives of more than sixty Iranian Kurdish tribes at the time, and also



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Qazi Mohammed (1893-1947), a bourgeois Mahabad intellectual, lawyer, judge of an Islamic court, a socially minded resolute personality of small stature and a dynamic speaker. The members of the group were carried by car to Tabriz, the capital of Iranian Azerbaijan, and from there by train to Baku and back again. Their first visit in Baku lasted two weeks. The Soviets replied ambiguous to Kurdish demands but showed already in 1941in Baku special respect for Oazi Mohammed, who later in 1946 became "President" of the "Kurdish Republic of Mahabad". A further, largely identical group travelled to Baku on the invitation of Baghirov in the second half of September 1945. This time, its Kurdish composition was already entirely selected by Qazi Mohammed and under his leadership. The Soviets had already picked Qazi Mohammed in the summer of 1945 as "their man" (Eagleton 1963: 42) to run a future Kurdish "Republic" in Mahabad and the "Komala" movement as their political instrument. "Komala" was founded on September 16, 1942, as a clandestine party organization by a small group of some 15 middle-class merchants and local petty officials near Mahabad. The youngest was a nineteen-year-old student, the oldest at about fifty, a tobacco commissioner. They called themselves "Komala", "Committee" (in full: "Komala-i-Zhian-i-Kurd", or "Committee of Kurdish Youth"). At the beginning no leader was chosen. "Komala" acted like a "democratically ordered grouping", with no "dominant clique" emerging within the party (Eagleton 1963: 39). The movement had also Iraqi Kurdish roots. The "Hîwa" (Hope) party, founded in 1938 by the Iraqi Kurdish historian and writer Rafiq Hilmi (1898-1960), sent two members, the officers Mustafa Kushnaw and Mir Hadj Ahmed, as delegates and advisers to the founding ceremony of "Komala JK" in September 1942. The Iraqi Kurdish "Hîwa" maintained close links with the Iranian Kurdish movements until the downfall of the "Mahabad Republic" at the end of 1946. The influence of "Komala" spread rapidly and it soon became the political backbone of the nationalist



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independence aspirations of the Iranian Kurds (Roosevelt 1947: 250-251). In October 1944, a group of about twenty-four party members offered the leadership of "Komala" to Qazi Mohammed. He accepted and swore the oath but was "never elected to the Central Committee" (Eagleton 1963: 39; Roosevelt 1947: 253 explains the delayed acceptance of Qazi Mohammed as leader with fears of founding party members that he "would eventually dominate the party and end its democratic character". "Komala" "did finally admit him" "at Soviet insistence", Roosevelt wrote and found that the result was a "one-man rule of the party").

In the meantime, the Soviets had altered their position between 1941 and 1945 towards the (Iranian) Kurds decisively. At the first meeting in Baku in late 1941 Jafar Baghirov, the PM of the Azerbaijan SSR at the time and acting on behalf of the Kremlin, was rather cautious when discussing Kurdish demands, speaking largely in general terms and communicating mainly the impression that the Soviet Union was with the (Iranian) Kurds. National Kurdish aspirations were only vaguely touched upon (Eagleton 1963: 23-24). Soon after in May 1942, Kurdish tribal leaders already in claimed frank terms in discussions with Russian officials in Tabriz and Rezaieh demanded freedom in national affairs (Eagleton 1963: 24). During the year 1944 both Azerbaijan and Kurdistan in Iran were already filled with Soviet political officers and other agents (Roosevelt 1947: 251). In the summer of 1945, the demand for Kurdish autonomy was openly discussed with the Russians on a regular basis.

At the second meeting in Baku in September 1945 the Kurdish delegation entered into negotiations with written demands for a separate Kurdish state and comprehensive assistance from the Soviet Union, in particular for arms, supply and money. Their draft proposals were slowly written down by Qasim Ilkhanizadeh from



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Bukan, chosen "because of his fine hand" (Eagleton 1963: 44). Baghirov indicated in a keynote speech the readiness of the Soviet Union to grant the Kurds a greater Kurdistan state comprising the Kurdish areas of Turkey, Iraq and Iran. However, as he literally said, there was no need for the Kurds to hurry the formation of their own state. Kurdish freedom must be based not in Iran alone but also in Iraq and Turkey. A separate state was only desirable in the future when the entire Kurdish "nation" could be united. In the meantime, Kurdish aspirations should be achieved by autonomy of the Kurds within a greater "Republic" of Azerbaijan. In his answer speech Qazi Mohammed made it once again clear that the Kurds of Iran wanted autonomy and independence separate from that of Azerbaijan. Banging his fist on the table, he proclaimed that "as long as the Soviet Union exists the Kurds will have their independence" and concluded that since the Kurds had been promised their own state by the Soviets they would also expect to receive all necessary means to defend it and make it prosper (Eagleton 1963: 43-45). Baghirov finally urged the Iranian Kurds to dissolve "Komala" and transform it into the "Democratic Party of Kurdistan" ("Hizb i Demokrat i Kurdistan") in line with the "Democratic Party of Azerbaijan", which was publicly announced in Tabriz on September 3, 1945. Baghirov also referred to the armed revolt of Mulla Mustafa Barzani in northern Iraq and warned that he "was a British spy", which, however, did not concern the Iranian Kurdish delegation in Baku much (Eagleton 1963: 45-46).

## Formation of the "Democrat Party of Kurdistan" Iran 1945

The "Democratic Party of Azerbaijan" evolved in September 1945 as an independence party to replace the "Tudeh" of Azerbaidjan. The "Tudeh Party" ("Hezb-e Tūdeh-e Īrān", Party of the masses [the people] of Iran) was a popular front of Marxist left-wing movements that had been used by the Soviet Union as political



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instrument to penetrate Iran. Although it was successful in other parts of Iran, it had never taken root in Kurdistan. "Tudeh" abolished itself, reformed as the "Democrat Party of Azerbaijan", used Azeri Turkish as its official language and demanded separation from Iran (Roosevelt 1947: 253; Lenczowski 1947: 29-45). In contrast, the "Democrat Party of Kurdistan" was formed out of the Kurdish nationalist "Komala" independence movement which neither had communist party nor Soviet inspired Marxist ideological roots. The formation of the "Democrat Party of Kurdistan" was formally announced by Qazi Mohammed after his return from the second trip to Baku at the end of September 1945. He called a foundation meeting in Mahabad and urged all Kurds to join (Roosevelt 1947: 254). A "Manifesto" was issued, signed by Qazi Mohammed and 105 leading Kurds. It invoked the "Atlantic Charter" of August 14, 1941, agreed upon by U.S.-President Franklin D. Roosevelt and UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill, indicating as the goal of the party "democracy on the American model". The "Atlantic Charter" summarized in eight fundamental points sketches for a new peaceful and stable post WWII world order: point 2: "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned"; point 3: "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". The foundation of the new party resulted in the dissolution of the "Komala JK" and the absorption of its members by the Kurdish Iranian "Democrats" (Roosevelt 1947: 254). It "took twenty days to get everything ready" (Eagleton 1963: 56).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Issued as joint declaration and statement (no formal legal document) at Naval Station Argentia, a former U.S. Navy base 1941-1994, which later became the tenth province of Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador; cited online-version: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp (accessed 03 March 2018).



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In November 1945, Qazi Mohammed called together some sixty tribal and town leaders at the newly opened Soviet cultural relations center in Mahabad. Russian officials stayed away. Qazi delivered a speech, reviewed the (second) Baku trip and recalled Baghirov's advice that the until then clandestine "Komala JK" should dissolve, change its name and come into the open under the banner of democracy. Questions or comments? he asked. "None. The issue was decided" (Eagleton 1963: 57). The change in name was not accompanied by fundamental alterations in the party organization. The composition of the Central Committee was not immediately modified. Qazi Mohammed had not been a member in the old party, nor did he become one in the new one. He "merely continued to dominate the Kurdish movement, with Russian advice from behind the scenes" (Eagleton 1963: 57).

The "new" party also had a program<sup>8</sup> which was in essence similar to the "Manifesto" declaration. Neither called for separation from Iran nor for a Kurdish Iranian break-away state. Instead, it proclaimed the following goals (quoting from the eight-point "Manifesto"): in short: self-government in local affairs and autonomy within the limits of the Iranian state: (1): "The Kurdish people of Iran should have freedom and self-government in the administration of their local affairs and obtain autonomy within the limits of the Iranian State." (2): Kurdish should be the official language. (3): "The provincial council<sup>9</sup> of Kurdistan should be immediately elected according to constitutional law and should supervise state and social matters." (4): "All state officials must be of local origin." (5): "A single law for both peasants and notables should be adopted …" (6): "[...] make a special effort to establish unity

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Roosevelt 1947: 255 published an eight-point "Manifesto", Eagleton 1963: 57 "one version" of a party program which is composed of seven points but is in its content similar to the "Manifesto" declaration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> A (freely elected) "Parliament" was not mentioned.



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and complete fraternity with the Azerbaijani people and the other peoples that live in Azerbaijan (Assyrians, Armenians, etc.) in their struggle. "(7): "[] will strive for the improvement of the moral and economic state of the Kurdish people through the exploration of Kurdistan's many natural resources, the progress of agriculture and commerce, and the development of hygiene and education." (8): "We desire that the peoples living in Iran be able to strive freely for the happiness and progress of their country." The KDP-Ir program consisted in a full length version of four main parts and twenty-two articles (see Nerwiy 2012: 130-131).

## Inauguration of the "Kurdish People's Government" and "Provincial Council"

On December 15, 1945, five days after all eastern Azerbaijan fell under the control of the newly formed "Azerbaijan People's Government" in Tabriz, the Iranian Kurds inaugurated their own regional government in Mahabad. At a meeting in Mahabad, called for by Qazi Mohammed, the "Kurdish People's Government" was established and a "provincial council" formed. The meeting was attended by tribal chiefs, members of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, and three Soviet officers in a jeep armed with Tommy guns (sub-machineguns). The Iraqi tribal leader Mullah Mustafa Barzani (1903-1979) was also present (Roosevelt 1947: 257; cf. also: Eagleton 1963: 61; Blake 2009: 33, referring to Roosevelt & Eagleton; further: Nerwiy 2012: 127-131).

## Aftermath of the failed pro-Nazi-German coup in Iraq

Mustafa Barzani played a decisive and leading role as the self-exiled Iraqi Kurdish leader in the short-lived "Republic" of Mahabad



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in Iran.<sup>10</sup> After a failed rebellion against the Iraqi government he fled Iraqi Kurdistan to Iran in October 1945 with "Peshmerga" and family tribe members.<sup>11</sup> They defected to Iran after Barzanis had tried to use a severe internal crisis in Baghdad to gain national rights for the Kurds in Iraq but failed. The crisis was triggered by a pro-Nazi-German military coup d'état in Baghdad under the Iraqi Prime Minister at the time, Rashid Ali al-Gaylani (1892-1965), who attempted to negotiate deals with Axis powers in order to counter British influence in Iraq. Subsequently, British forces intervened in the so-called Anglo-Iraq War (April-May 1941), quelled the coup and reoccupied the Hashemite kingdom of Iraq until 26 October 1947.

## Proclamation of the "Kurdistan Republic of Mahabad"

In the mid-morning of January 22, 1946, a sunny and mild winter day, the "Republic" of Mahabad<sup>12</sup> was formally proclaimed at "Chwar Chira" or "Four Lamp/Candle Square" (Eagleton 1963: 62-63; Roosevelt 1947: 257). Qazi Mohammed held a short fifteen minutes proclamation speech on a wooden platform, wearing a Soviet-style army uniform that had just been made for him in Tabriz, and the white turban of a religious dignitary. He said the Kurds were a people apart, proclaimed at "Chwar Chira" or "Four Lamp/Candle Square" (Eagleton 1963: 62-63; Roosevelt 1947: 257). Qazi Mohammed held a short fifteen minutes proclamation speech on a wooden platform, wearing a Soviet-style army uniform that had just been made for him in Tabriz, and the white turban of a religious dignitary. He said the Kurds were a people apart,

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 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  Laqueur 1956: 230: "[...] Qadi Muhammad used the Barazani tribe as his main military force [... and] antagonized other tribes."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Farrokh 2011: 287: "along with 1,000–3,000 of his warriors and their families"; Arfa 1966: 79 cites 3,000; Ward 2009: 182: "one thousand experienced Iraqi Kurdish fighters". <sup>12</sup> Officially "Republic Kurdistan" (Kurdish: "Komara Kurdistan" or "Komara Mehabadê"), also called "People's Republic".



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occupying their own land and sharing with other nations the right to self-determination. Amid cheers he thanked the Central Committee of the party and the people of Kurdistan for heaving chosen him to lead the new nation, and the Soviet Union for moral and material support. Eagleton 1963: 63: "An autonomous Kurdish Republic was from that moment established". It was the first Kurdish experiment in forming a modern-style autonomous government (Mojab 2001: 77-79), was in practice independent of the Iranian state even months before the proclamation of a "Republic" but acted de facto always within the borders of the then Iranian Kingdom. The founder of the "Republic" was not a tribal or feudal leader but rather a new party which demanded the creation of a greater Kurdistan, though its territory (influence area) was limited to the northern parts of Iranian Kurdistan. The "President" of the "Republic", Qazi Mohammed, was chosen by leading KDP-Ir party members. He also was empowered as supreme commander of a "National Army". This replaced the former Iranian army and gendarmerie structures and was mostly led by Kurdish officers who had deserted the Iraqi and Iranian armed forces. The Iraqi Kurdish tribe leader Mustafa Barzani emerged as the most powerful and dynamic military leader of the Iranian Kurdish armed forces. Barzani "Peshmerga" formed the decisive backbone of the Mahabad republican army. 13 The party was the legislative, executive and judiciary power altogether. A parliamentary democracy did not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The most reliable figures about the strength of Kurdish "*Peshmerga*" at the time of the Mahabad "*Republic*" are still provided by Eagleton 1963: 91-93. Additional figures are given among others by Lortz 2005: 27-30 and Nerwiy 2012: 151-153. Therefore, the estimated hypothetical military strength of all involved Kurdish tribes at the time was around 10,000 to 15,000 soldiers. Barzanis from Iraq contributed the by far strongest and dominant Kurdish military forces which formed the backbone of the Mahabad "*National Army*". Of these, 1,200 were under the superior command of Mustafa Barzani, and 900 under Sheikh Ahmad, an older brother, but not at the front, and both were infantry.



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evolve, and a democratically elected parliament not exist. <sup>14</sup> The party neither created a mechanism for free elections nor did it hold a congress as promised in its constitution. A cabinet and a council were formed. The cabinet was composed of thirteen "Ministers". Haji Baba Sheikh was Prime Minister and Chief of the Supreme Court, Mohammed Hosein Khan Saif i Qazi, a cousin of Qazi Mohammed, was Minister of War and Assistant President of the "Republic". He had a reputation as merchant and a loose military one with a former honorary rank in the Iranian gendarmerie.

Mustafa Barzani was not a Minister and did not belong to the Mahabad republican government. In its historical context, the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad can be seen as a modern example of the world's largest "stateless" or non-state nation with a long history of sovereign rule (Mojab 2001: 3). Shahrzad Mojab is distinguishing "this state from its pre-modern predecessors not only by its republican form, which was administered by a political party and a cabinet, but also by its modern educational system, modern media, national army, tax system, national anthem, national flag, national language, and mobilization of women into educational, cultural and political life." The exercise of state power was, however, in all cases of Kurdish history male gendered (Mojab 2001: 3, 77-79).

## Downfall of the "Kurdish Republic"

The Mahabad "Republic" survived with transitory and rather limited support by the Soviets approximately 11 months until December 16, 1946. Following mounting pressure after WWII by Western allied powers, notably the USA, to immediately withdraw from Iran, the Soviets eventually pulled their occupying forces back

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Therefore, remarks like Roosevelt 1947: 257: "A national parliament of thirteen members was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi elected president of the new Republic" are both not entirely correct.



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from Iran and ultimately also dropped their support for the shortlived "Kurdish Republic of Mahabad". Iranian forces, resurgent under the then young Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, reoccupied Mahabad in December 1946 and quelled the "Kurdish Republic". Its President Quazi Mohammed (1900/1901-1947) was sentenced to death along with his ministers for "sedition", "secession" and "treason". They were executed<sup>15</sup> on March 31, 1947, with the exception of one who was given immunity according to his high religious status. The short-lived "Kurdish Republic of Mahabad" collapsed above all because the Soviet Union dropped them after it became clear to the Stalin regime that it could neither use the Kurds to get oil concessions from Iran nor improved influence over the central power in Teheran under Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. Additional factors included the absence of promised military, financial and geo-strategic support by the Soviet Union, 16 endemic inter-Kurdish (tribal) rivalry, fragmentation and disunity, and last but not least its inexperience in running government institutions (Ghassemlou 1988: 135-136; Nerwiy 2012: 182). However, the Kurdish "Republic" of Mahabad was not a Soviet "puppet" state. 17

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> On March 31, 1947, 3 a.m., Ghazi Mohammad, Seif Ghazi and Sadr Ghazi, were hanged on three separate gibbets at the Chwar Chira circle night (3 a.m.) at the same place where fourteen months earlier the Republic of Kurdistan had been proclaimed (Nerwiy 2012: 190; Eagleton 1963: 122).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Laqueur 1956: 224: "But the Soviet government apparently did not consider at all their political potentialities, and did not want to appear as a 'Kurdlsh power' in Middle Eastern politics." 231: "The Russians, who had promised much help, did not provide any, and in the end Qadi Muhammad was betrayed by all."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The term "puppet" would indicate a totally submissive Iranian Kurdish existence to Soviets which was evidently not the case. Kurdish scientists like Amir Hassanpour (1943-2017) and his widow Sharzad Mojab are publishing since decades evidence disproving "puppet" labels for the Mahabad "Republic" (cf. forinstance Jim Hooglund's obituary 2018: MEC 27, 95-98: "Amir was quite passionate about the Mahabad Republic, insisting that it never was a Soviel-created puppet regime, as the Iranian government and US scholars claimed, but an effort by Kurds, who genuinely wanted local autonomy for administering their towns and villages and to obtain recognition of their right to teach Kurdish in the public schools.") Similar views are also expressed by



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## No break-away Kurdish state from Iran

The Kurdish "Republic" of Mahabad was a short-lived independent (self-ruled) "state" but never broke away from the territory of the then Iranian monarchy. It developed its own regional administration and issued official documents such as birth certificates, but had no clear, final and secured border, and therefore no own fixed territory. Also, its administrative and political terminology was ambiguous. For example, it used different words for Ministries and changed terms for Ministers (from "wazir" to "rais"). Its leaders did not have a precise clear-cut vision of the term "Republic" either. They neither interpreted, understood nor used the terms "republic" or "state" exclusively in the sense of creating a break-away state from Iran. Rather, they insisted several times that they acted intentionally within the Iranian constitution by merely invoking the global right of (all peoples) to self-determination 19 and

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younger Iranian scholars like Najleh Khandagh 2013: 4: "Western writers are mistaken in assuming the party to be a Soviet puppet [.,,]. The true cause of the revolution was not communist-inspired by the USSR, but due to the abject poverty within Kurdistan, a situation ignored by the central government. The movement was purely a nationalist movement that sought to establish Kurdish as the official language in schools and local government, and, quite independent from the Soviet Union. The USSR became involved only through the Kurds' need for material support that was not forthcoming from the Iranian government." Examples for dissenting views: Coene 2009: 102, 136; Farrokh 2012: 283, 288, 293: "Many Kurds realized that theirs was not a truly independent Kurdish state but a Soviet puppet state."; Wilber 2014: 136; Encyclopaedia Britannica [2018]: "short-lived Republic of Mahābād, with a Soviet-backed puppet government", online: https://www.britannica.com/place/Mahabad (accessed 20 June 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Nerwiy 2012: 139: "the term republic implies a sovereign country with clearly defined borders. Although the Kurdish government enjoyed a certain level of sovereignty within the geographical areas that it controlled, it was certainly not fully sovereign and it had border conflicts [...]." Ftn. 471: "the use of the term 'Republic' by the Kurdish leaders is highly indicative of their ignorance regarding political science, diplomacy, and governance."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Eagleton 1963: 63. Laqueur 1956: 229: "Several interesting differences between the programme of the Mahabad Republic and those of the Kurdish Democratic Party in



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establishing local/regional self-rule similar to models that already existed at the time. These models included the national minority "states" (SSRs) within the "Soviet Union" (of states), or like a federal member-state of the United States of America, and to quote but one example from Europe, the "Freistaat Bayern" ("Free State of Bavaria") in Germany. That is why it may be assumed that they followed primarily oscillating tactics between the option of becoming another Soviet dominated state, which a clear majority of (Iranian) Kurds at the time did not want, 20 and meaningful regional self-rule within the Imperial Iranian monarchy, which did not materialize.<sup>21</sup> At the end the attempt failed to secure a self-determined future for (Iranian) Kurds in an emerging post-WWII-order, by way of an intermediate existence between a Soviet- or Iraniandominated option. However, the majority of Kurdish leaders at the time felt themselves closer to the Iranian culture (inter alia because Kurds speak since millennia northwestern languages of Iranian) than to Russian ones.<sup>22</sup> In the secret military "Court Martial" against Qazi Mohammed in January 1947 in Mahabad, the prosecution cited an indictment containing 22 points (Nerwiy 2012: 188-190; Eagleton 1963: 123-124). Basically, he was accused of

Persia and its sister party In Iraq should be noted. Qadi Muhammad was in favour of Kurdish autonomy within the Persian state. The Iraqi Kurdish Party, on the other hand, demanded a federative Iraqi state, but freedom for the Kurds in their foreign policy, too. They also demanded the nationalization of all natural resources - while preserving ownership of the land - economic development, and an increase in the standard of living, as well as separation of the 'Church' from the 'State'."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ghassemlou 1988: 50-51; Nerwiy 2012: 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Westermann 1946: 686: "no experience of self-rule"; Ghassemlou 1988: 135-136: Inexperience in running government institutions was one course of the fall of the Republic of Kurdistan. Their leaders had no experience in politics and were ignorant in establishing and administering a civil government. Cf. also: Nerwiy 2012: 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Farrokh 2011: 293: "The Soviets hoped to merge all Kurds into Soviet Azarbaijan, but the Kurds felt that if they should join a larger state, they had far more affinity with Iran. When the Iranian army arrived in December 1946, the vast majority of Kurds (like the Azaris) showed little desire to die on behalf of Moscow." See also: Arfa 1966: 86, 101.



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violating the Iranian constitution, armed rebellion and treason.<sup>23</sup> Qazi Mohammed pleaded not guilty invoking the international right to take up arms against "political despotism" in self-defense of the Kurdish people<sup>24</sup> and to self-determination ("indigenous self-rule"). A specific indictment was made against his cousin Saif Oazi, a merchant with an honorary lower rank in the Iranian gendarmerie, for wearing a general's uniform and participating in fighting (Kurdish resistance against the Iranian military). However, the procedure of the military prosecutor to base a death-sentence indictment against one defendant specifically on the wearing of "a general's uniform" appears unusual and is not entirely clear. First, the Kurdish "Republic" of Mahabad had all in all four "generals" (since the end of March 1946), but neither had its own "general's" uniforms nor did it use official and original ones of the Imperial Iranian army or Soviet "Red Army". Secondly, in use were Russian-style uniforms, but manufactured in March and April 1946 by local tailors from Mahabad to Rezaieh and Tabriz, that "nearly all persons connected with the Kurdish Government or army could" wear "looking like Soviet officers in khaki with boots, riding breeches, and caps", as Eagleton explained (Eagleton 1963: 79). The first to wear such a local Kurdish-designed-version of Russianstyle uniforms was Oazi Mohammed at the proclamation ceremony of the "Republic" on 22 January 1946. Subsequently, many Kurdish tribal chiefs wanted such a new Russian-style uniforms too, because they made them look like commanding Soviet officers, as Eagleton noted and later Ghassemlou 1988: 75 confirmed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Nerwiy 2012: 188: "The first indictment referred to the establishment of the Republic of Kurdistan, attempts to secede and fracture Iranian territorial integrity, the formation of the National Army and award military ranks, to bring down the flag of Iranian government and replace it with the Kurdish flag, relations with outsiders (Soviets)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The Kurds see the right to armed resistance against political despots inter alia in contemporary history confirmed by UNSCR Resolution 688 (1991) of April 5, 1991, against the Saddam Hussein Regime in Iraq: http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/688 (accessed 20 April 2018).



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Ghassemlou recalls "tribal leaders who asked Ghazi Mohammad to acquire for him another military rank, which when he returned to his village, would create more respect for him" (Nerwiy 2012: 153). As for awarding higher military ranks, Roosevelt 1947: 257 noted that in the course of the "Republic" proclamation on January 22, 1946, leading Kurdish tribal leaders like Zêro Beg Herki received the (honorary) rank of "marshal" and were "provided with Soviet uniforms, complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps." The motive was to secure their support for the "Republic" under Qazi Mohammed. The rank of a "marshal" was also awarded to the Iraqi Kurdish tribal chief Mustafa Barzani (Lortz 2005: 28 citing Roosevelt 1947: 257). In the second half of February 1946 commanders of the newly formed "National Army" announced sweeping military reforms. On 31 March 1946 the Mahabad government appointed four generals, one of whom was Mullah Mustafa Barzani (Eagleton 1963: 136; O'Ballance 1996: 30; Nerwiy 2012: 148-150). "He proudly retained his rank and used it for the rest of his life", the British military historian Edgar O'Balance wrote.<sup>25</sup> However, neither Mustafa Barzani nor any other Kurdish military commander in the army of the Mahabad "Republic" was ever given the rank or the uniform of the Soviet Army.<sup>26</sup> – To sum up: out of four "National Army" "generals" of the Mahabad "Republic" only one was specifically indicted after its downfall for "wearing a general's uniform" and was finally hanged after his conviction inter alia because of that. The incriminated uniforms were locally Iranian Kurdish designed and manufactured, modelled on Soviet-style uniforms and had mainly an honorary character.

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<sup>26</sup> This is also confirmed by Masoud Barzani 2003:140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> O'Ballance 1996: 30 concluded: "Barzani was secretly lobbying the Soviet authorities to appoint him president in place of Qazi Mohammed, who seemed at times to lose control of events. However, the Soviets refused as they did not trust Barzani, and in any case they no longer cared as they were in the process of withdrawing."



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#### Mustafa Barzani in the USSR 1947-1958

Mustafa Barzani together with "more than 500 Peshmerga" (Barzani 2003: 361; Lortz 2005: 34; Koohi-Kamali 2003: 122: "about 500-800 men") and their families left Iran for the Soviet Union. They crossed the Araxes river into the USSR on 18 June 1947. Their fate there was described from the Soviet point of view, notably by Pawel Anatoljewitsch Sudoplatov<sup>27</sup> and Vasili Nikitich Mitrokhin <sup>28</sup>. Sudoplatov, a lieutenant-general of the Soviet domestic intelligence service (NKVD) and head of "Administration for Special Tasks" of the KGB, the Soviet secret service, described the attitude of the Soviets towards Mustafa Barzani and the Kurds in very blunt detail. In short (quoting Sudoplatov: 1994-1995: 259 et segg.): Barzani and his entourage "broke through the lranian border and entered Azerbaijan", he writes. They "had been ambushed by the shah's forces and abandoned by British and American supporters." Barzani's "task force contained two thousand men with small arms and artillery, accompanied by a thousand family members." The Soviet government "first interned them in a camp", where Sudoplatov met him for the first time in 1947, after having been sent by a superior, Viktor Abakumov<sup>29</sup>, to Baku "with instructions to offer Barzani political asylum for both troops and families, with temporary settlement in rural Uzbekistan not far

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Pawel Anatoljewitsch Sudoplatov (1907-1996), Lieutenant-General of the Soviet domestic intelligence service NKVD, head "Administration for Special Tasks" of the Soviet secret service KGB; Sudoplatov, Pawel & Anatoli (1994-1995): 259-64, 294, 415.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Vasili Nikitich Mitrokhin (1922-2004), leading keeper of the archives of the Soviet foreign security service; defected 1992 to the British intelligence service MI6 with a large collection of KGB files known as the "Mitrokhin Archive", exposing numerous Russian agents; Andrew & Mitrokhin (2005): 175-176, 536.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Viktor Abakumov (1908-1954), high level Soviet security official, from 1946 to 1951 Minister of State Security or MGB (former NKGB). He was notoriously brutal and known to torture prisoners personally.



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from Tashkent", Sudoplatov noted. He managed to get Barzani to enter into a contractually determined "political alliance with the Soviet government", whereby the Soviet Union (only) promised "fully support" for a "Kurdish Republic" (headed by Mustafa Barzani) in border areas of Turkey, Iraq and Iran, but ultimately in rather more realistic terms - as Sudoplatov put it - merely composed of a (pro-Soviet) "Kurdish Republic" in territories of northern Iraq only, further accompanied by autonomous Kurdish regions in Turkey and Iran (Sudoplatov 1994-1995: 261). In return, however, Moscow agreed only to the formation of a Kurdish government in exile and proposed that the "Democratic Party of Kurdistan KDP" should get an office on a collective farm ("kolkhoz") near the Uzbek capital Tashkent, and that Mustafa Barzani become chairman of its Central Committee. Moscow also advocated training a brigade of about 1,500 KDP "Peshmerga" in sabotage techniques. The intention was to overthrow the then government in Baghdad of veteran Prime Minister Nuri as-Said (1888-1958), undermine Britain's dominant influence in Iraq, and enable the Soviet Union to influence and control vital European and US strategic oil supplies, ultimately including the option of destroying pipelines in Iran and Iraq. When Barzani invited Sudoplatov to meet with his staff of thirty "Peshmerga" officers, they first stood at attention, but then "all of them fell to their knees and crawled toward Barzani, begging his permission to touch and kiss the hem of his gown and his boots". Sudoplatov reacted with a mixture of shock and disillusionment and noted: "All illusions of democratic Kurdistan evaporated from my mind", concluding: "it was clear to me that the plan [creation of a democratic Kurdistan under Mustafa Barzani] was one of the ideological fantasies created [by the then Kremlin party apparatus] in the Central Committee offices on Staraya Ploshchad [in Moscow]" (Sudoplatov 1994-1995: 261). Afterwards, in April 1952, "Barzani settled down near Tashkent, surrounded by his family and his countrymen in a large collective farm", Sudoplatov



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wrote. The Soviet Union finally supported Kurds in the 1950s and 1960s but dumped them again in the early 1970s (Sudoplatov 1994-1995: 263-264). In the 1950s "the Kurds were Russia's only allies in the area, but later our strategic alliances with Iraq and Syria became the dominant factor in Middle East politics", Sudoplatov explained. During Sudoplatov's involvement in Kurdish affairs the 1950s the main purpose was "to take advantage of the Kurdish movement in the confrontation of the Cold War." Playing with the option of setting up a "republic of Kurdistan" for the Kremlin was "an attractive instrument for pursuing our policy in the Middle East", and "a way of undermining British and American interests and positions there" at a time when the balance of power was rapidly drifting away from Moscow. In the 1960s Mikhail Suslov<sup>30</sup> succeeded Sudoplatov in working with Barzani. Suslov "promised all-out support for Kurdish autonomy for overthrowing Nuri Said in lraq". After Nuri Said's government was overthrown in a military coup with the support of the Soviet Union, the latter "acquired allies in the area who were far more important for [Moscow's] geopolitical considerations than the Kurds." In consequence, in the 1970s the Soviet Union "abandoned the Kurds in their struggle." Sudoplatov's sobering conclusion: The Soviet Union had been aiming "to turn the Kurds into our strategic ally to control who ruled lraq" but failed. Kurds were used by the Kremlin to undermine the interests and positions of British and Americans during the Cold

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Mikhail Suslov (1902-1982), leading Soviet Communist ideologue and power broker from the 1950s until his death. The Americans followed Soviet-Barzani contacts closely in the 1960s, see for example the CIA cable 50X1, E.O.13526, dated 21 August 1965, excerpts: "1. About 1 August 1963 four Soviet military officers arrived at Barzani headquarters. The Soviets talked with Barzani at Mastan, a small village between Rawanduz and the Iranian border, and told Barzani and several of his men that they should 'be patient a little longer because soon someone else will come and fight for you. [...]' 2. Barzani has been receiving small arms, ammunition, and foodstuffs by air from the Soviets. 3. There are 19 Soviet wives of Barzani Kurds with their 20 to 25 children in Barzani headquarters." (https://www.archives.gov/files/declassification/iscap/pdf/2012-029-doc2.pdf, accessed 20 May 2018).



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War in the Middle East but were "tragically manipulated" over and over. In retrospect, for Sudoplatov it is "clear that the superpowers had no interest in a just solution of the Kurdish problem. The fate of Kurdistan was never regarded in the Kremlin - or in London or Washington - to be a humanitarian issue; access to the oil fields in Kurdistan appeared to be the decisive motive in the cynical policy of both the East and the West." The tragedy of Barzani and the Kurdish people is "that the interests of the East and the West - and to a certain extent of the Arab States and Iran - are to preserve the Kurds as a deterrent force in the region, a pawn in the interregional struggle among Turkey, Iraq, and Iran." As a "reasonable solution for the Kurds" Sudoplatov envisaged "international guarantees of limited autonomy", but "no one in the West or the Arabic states wants the Kurds to control the Mosul oil fields in an independent Kurdish republic", he concluded as long as a quarter of a century ago. Mustafa Barzani was characterized by the late Soviet spymaster as "real feudal lord" and as "shrewd politician and military commander". Barzani was "intelligent enough to understand that the future of the Kurds depended on their capacity to manipulate the interests of the superpowers in the Middle East" (Sudoplatov 1994-1995: 259-260, 263-264). His final balance sheet was as plain and unsentimental as his other observations: He had, he said, successfully "contracted" Mustafa Barzani, but Moscow failed "to turn the *Kurds into our strategic ally to control who ruled lraq*" (Sudoplatov 1994-1995: 264).31

After Sudoplatov the late KGB archivist Vasili Nikitich Mitrokhin, who defected to the UK in 1992, published a few additional remarks

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Entire quote l.c.: "When I was in jail, I wrote proposals for contacting Barzani when the situation in the Middle East was aggravated in 1963. I was informed that my proposals were accepted, and the Kurds were supplied with ammunition and weapons to defend their areas against punishment expeditions by the lraqi army. However, our attempts to turn the Kurds into our strategic ally to control who ruled lraq ended in failure."



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on Mustafa Barzani. Mitrokhin summarized: "the KGB maintained covert contact in northern Iraq with the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), Mullah Mustafa Barzani (codenamed RAIS), who had spent over a decade in exile in the Soviet Union after the Second World War. From 1968 to 1972 the KGB carried out twenty-three operations to pass funds to Barzani. In 1973, after a series of clashes with Iraqi forces, Barzani publicly accused the Baghdad government of duplicity and double-dealing. Forced to choose between the Ba'th regime and the Kurds, Moscow opted for the Ba'th." (Mitrokhin 2005: II, 175).<sup>32</sup>

## Mustafa Barzani no "spy"

The former Soviet foreign security archivist Vasili Nikitich Mitrokhin uses in his collection of KGB files the term "RAIS" for Mustafa Barzani only once. His source also remains the only one known that documents "RAIS" as a "codename" for the late Iraqi Kurdish leader. No other available Soviet sources have so far come to light that provide codenames for contacts of the Kremlin to Barzani (or indeed to any other Kurdish leader). Pawel Sudoplatov, the former head of KGB special task operations, does not mention any codename for Barzani in his publications, and it is unlikely that he would have had no knowledge of one. Yet, both confirm accordingly that Mustafa Barzani had cooperated with the Soviets, that he maintained covert contacts, who were obviously in some form contracted, that each side pursued different, finally incompatible goals, and that Barzani also accepted financial support in cash, but they did never call him a "spy". That is why from the single short onetime description alone of the Soviet archivist Vasili Mitrokhin, it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Cf. recently: Mirsky 2003: "Incidentally, many Iraqi Kurds, although disappointed with Moscow's pro-Saddam policy, still remember with gratitude those Soviet specialists who provided assistance to the Kurdish regions in the 1970s and the early 1980s.": http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/n 636 (accessed 1st Dec. 2017).



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cannot be conclusively concluded that Mustafa Barzani would indeed have been a Kremlin "spy". There are a number of good reasons that make such an assumption unconvincing. For one, the term "Rais" was in the past commonly used for all kinds of leading personalities at that times. For example, when Mustafa Barzani served as dominant Iraqi Kurdish military commander in the Soviet-supported "Kurdish Republic of Mahabad", its leader, Qazi Mohammad, started in May 1946 efforts to change the titles of his regional government members from "wazir" (minister) to "rais", translated by Archie Roosevelt Jr. 1947: 261 in good Persian (Iranian) tradition simply as "chief". The reason for that subtle differentiation was that Qazi Mohmmad wanted to calm down escalating tensions with the central power in Teheran and confirm readiness to keep his selfgoverned autonomous "Republic" within the constitutional sovereignty and boundaries of the then Iranian monarchy. This indicates that the term "rais" had a long-standing tradition of a general usage and was not tailored to one specific person only like Mustafa Barzani. Secondly, Mustafa Barzani accepted also financial help from various foreign countries he cooperated with (including Israel) in order to achieve national Kurdish rights, but numerous eyewitnesses confirm that he used that money as a rule chiefly for the KDP-I movement, did not enrich himself and lived a fairly simple life. Three, there exists furthermore a broad consensus among scholars that Mustafa Barzani was ideologically never a communist and that even some ten years of exile in the USSR did not convert him to one. Four, as already explained in this short analysis, Barzani evidently maintained throughout his life numerous contacts to virtually all neighboring states and also to the superpowers of his time in order to achieve national Kurdish rights (and maintain tribal influence). And in this regard, it was common practice as early as in the 1940s when Mustafa Barzani started his international career to discredit political and military opponents as "spys". Roosevelt and Eagleton described for instance in detail



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how the Soviets back then used the term "spy" to discredit unwanted rivals of their chosen political leader Oazi Mohammed for the Mahabad Republic, such as the respected Sufi Sheikh Abdullah Effendi Gilani or Mustafa Barzani as "British spies". Conversely, the Americans distrusted Barzani for quite a long time after WWII. regarded him as a communist, called him "Red Mullah" and painted him as an enemy of the US.<sup>33</sup> American scientists are only recently correcting this impression, notably: Gibson 2015: 9, 11: "Washington had failed to recognize that Barzani was not a Soviet agent or that Soviet attempts at indoctrinating him in communist ideology had failed", "[he] did not actually threaten American interests and could have been a powerful ally." However, the most credible explanation why the Kurdish leaders had already dismissed by the end of WWII Soviet accusations, expressed by the Azerbaijan communist leader Baghierov, that Mustafa Barzani was "a British spy", was already offered by William Eagleton Jr. in 1963. He summed up conclusively (Eagleton 1963: 46): The Kurdish leaders "were firmly convinced that a Kurd could only be a Kurd and that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See for example the collection of U.S. State Department documents: United States Department of State / Foreign relations of the United States, 1948. The Near East, South Asia, and Africa (in two parts), (1948), Iran pp. 88-201, online: http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=div&did=FRUS.FRUS1948v05p1.i00 09&isize=text (accessed 10 March 2018): pp. 104, 130, 148. Ame- rican scholars labeled also the pan-Kurdish nationalist movement "Khoyboun", which was founded in the 1920s by the Bedir Khan's in Lebanon as "the most dangerous" because of USSR support: Westermann 1946: 686: "the Kurdish movement for Khoiboun is the most dangerous of all the troubles which now beset the Middle East - because of the support which it has from Soviet Russia". However, the prevailing post-WWII American view of a Soviet supported Kurdish nationalism was not necessarily shared by Europeans at the time. One example: The Scottish born British army Colonel William Graham Elphinston (1886-1952) wrote also in 1946 in sharp contrast: "the statesmen of the *United Nations are unlikely to give high priority to the Kurdish problem. Nevertheless,* if the principles of the Atlantic Charter are to be applied, the Kurds have as much right as any other people to share in the Four Freedoms. [...] The Kurdish Nationalists are not unreasonable. They simply desire to be allowed to live as Kurds, speak the Kurdish language, read and publish books and newspapers in that language and not to be assimilated as Arabs, Persians or Turks" (Elphinston 1946: 91).



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outside connexions or commitments would melt away once Kurdish goals were attained."

#### **Conclusions Soviet-Kurd-Relations**

The Soviet Union had offered the Kurds for the first time in the 1940s to support the formation of a greater Kurdistan comprising Kurdish areas in Turkey, Iraq and Iran. The proposal was later downsized to a Kurdish independent state in Iraq in close cooperation with Kurdish autonomous regions in Turkey and Iran. These plans were obviously authorized by Soviet leader Joseph Stalin personally and introduced and followed up by the communist chief of the Azerbaijan SSR, 1932-1953, Jafar Baghirov. The decision to create a greater Soviet "democratic" Kurdistan was taken by the "Central Committee" in its offices on Staraya Ploshchad in Moscow (Sudoplatov 1994-1995: 261). No timeframe is given, no original source is published. Given the cited description of the so-called Baku process by Roosevelt, Eagleton and Sudoplatov, it can be assumed that such plans had been worked out in the Kremlin after Nazi-Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, and attitudes changed among Soviet contacts between 1944-1945 to grant (Iranian) Kurds not only autonomy but selfrule as a (SSR) "Republic". The Kremlin had connected both statehood ("SSR Republic") and non-state (regional autonomy) concepts specifically to two equally dynamic Kurdish leaders of completely different backgrounds: to the bourgeois urban intellectual religious judge Qazi Mohammed from Mahabad, Iran, and the rural conservative feudal Iraqi tribal leader Mustafa Barzani from Barzan in Iraq. In both cases, the Soviets finally withdrew their initiated support, mainly because they could not use them as Kurdish proxies to achieve geostrategic goals (like oil-concessions and influence over central powers in Teheran and Baghdad). And in the specific case of Mustafa Barzani,



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because the Soviets came to the conclusion that he would not be able and willing to implement "Democracy" and share power.

#### III. Israel – Shah-Iran – USA – Kurds

The United States supported the Iranian Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi (1919-1980) end of the 1960s and in the 1970s against policies of the emerging Ba'ath regime in Iraq under the leadership at the time of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr (1914-1982) and Saddam Hussein (1937-2006). Both the U.S. and the Shah-Iran used Kurds temporarily as proxies to weaken the Ba'athist regime in Iraq. They dumped the Iraqi Kurds harshly after Iraq had conceded Iran half of the Shatt al-Arab (Arvand Rud) free waterway to the Gulf. Israel backed both U.S. and Shah-Iranian policies and also supported the Iraqi Kurds in their struggle for autonomy from bases in Iranian but followed an own pro-Kurdish geostrategic agenda. Details of this so-called "Israel Kurds Connection" via Shah Iran in key words:

## Historical Background: Keywords: Israel and the Kurds:

Israel actively supported the Iraqi Kurds<sup>34</sup> in the 1960s and 1970s through the then Shah-Iran.<sup>35</sup> Main motives of Israel were: "Israeli

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Minasian 2007: 23 quotes a former Mossad employee, according to which Israel has always supported Kurds in Iraq only (from NW Iranian territories), but never those in Iran itself or in Turkey: "According to a former senior Mossad official Eliezer Tsafrir, Israel had military advisers at the headquarters of Mulla Mustafa Barzani in 1963-1975, trained and supplied the Kurdish units with fire arms, field and anti-aircraft artillery. The US also participated in this campaign [29]. Israel spent tens of millions of dollars on the support of the Kurds, supplying them via Iran, which pursued its own goals in Iraq and had close ties with Israel up until 1979. However, according to Eliezer Tsafrir's testimony, Israel never supported the Turkish Kurds in their war against Turkey or the Iranian Kurds under the Shah [29]." (Ftn. 29 = Reuters, 21.02.1999).

Anderson 1972: p. B7; Morris 1980: 11; Ghareeb 1981: 61; Jawad 1981: 287-288;
 Raviv & Melman 1990: 21 & 82; Black & Morris 1991: 184-185 & 327-330; Cockburn A&L 1991: 104-105; Gunter 1994: 470-471; Katz 199): 175; Nakdimon 1996; Bengio



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military advisers trained Kurdish guerrillas as a way to reduce the potential military threat Iraq presented to the Jewish state and also to help Iraqi Jews escape to Israel" (Gunter 1994: 470). The Iraqi army, especially in the 1967 Six-Day War, was "tied to a 'second front' in Kurdish areas" (Orland 1997: FAZ, 07.04.1997, p. 9: "im Kurdengebiet an eine 'zweite Front' gebunden''). Contacts with Israel Kurds go back to the 1950s, were intensified in 1963 and in 1965-1975 ended in an operation that was codenamed "Marvad" (carpet) (Gunter 1994: 470). In the mid-1960s, these contacts from Israel were established by Arie (Aryeh) "Lowa" Eliav (1921-2010), born in Moscow, who emigrated in 1924 with his family in the British Mandate Palestine (granted by the Treaty of San Remo 1920: Hennerbichler 2004: 410-420), later distinguished himself as leading social-democratically oriented politician and Middle East peace pioneer, who was a member of the Knesset from 1965-1969 and 1988-1992 and also held ministerial posts on several occasions (Hennerbichler 2004: 577 et seqq.). Among other things, Eliav contributed significantly to the fact that in the mid-1960s Israel set up a field hospital for Kurds in northwestern Iran near the Iraqi border and also operated it with a (changing) staff of doctors. After the Six-Day War in 1967 Yaakov Nimrodi (b. 1926 in Baghdad) played another leading role. Nimrodi then served as influential military attaché in Israel's unofficial embassy in Tehran. All in all, Israel provided the Kurds with humanitarian aid as well as "money, arms, and instructors", as former conservative Prime Minister Menachem Begin (1913-1992) disclosed in 1980.<sup>36</sup> Israel sent

<sup>1998&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>: 32-41; idem 1998<sup>b</sup>: 115-116, 120, 233 n. 32 & 33; Hennerbichler 2004: 577-586; Minasian 2007: 15-32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Citing Jason Morris, Begin Airs Secret Israeli Aid to Kurds as Reminder for Iraqis, The Christian Science Monitor, 6 October 1980, p. 11. Menachem Begin's longtime chief of press, Schlomo Nakdimon, published in 1996 a historical review of this Israeli military mission for the Kurds under the title: "A hope that broke, the Israeli-Kurdish cooperation 1963-1975" (published in Hebrew by Jediot Acharonot and Chemed, Tel Aviv 1996. According to the American reporter Jack Anderson in 1972, who referred



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"sophisticated weapons through Iran, particularly anti-tank and anti-aircraft equipment, accompanied by instructors" (Jawad 1981: 303). The Israeli "Mossad" and the Iranian "Savak" also helped Mustafa Barzani to set up the (KDP) security apparatus "Parastin", which was founded in 1966.<sup>37</sup> Some (Barzani) Kurds also received military training in Israel (Jawad 1981: l.c.). Mustafa Barzani visited Israel twice after the Six-Day War in September 1967 and a few weeks before the outbreak of the Yom Kipur War in 1973 (Gunter 1994: 470-471). Strategically, two military successes are attributed to the Iraqi Kurds by military aid from Israel from the northwest of Shah Iran: the victory of Kurdish "Peshmerga" against Iraqi forces at Hindarin mountain in May 1966 and the effective grenade launcher attack on the Kirkuk oil refineries in March 1969.<sup>38</sup> In both cases Israeli military advisers were apparently directly involved. The attacks on Kirkuk ultimately contributed significantly to the fact that Iraqi Kurds were granted in 1970 a first autonomy agreement by the then Baath regime in Baghdad. This agreement still forms the basis for the current self-government of the autonomous Kurdistan Region of Iraq (Gunter 1994: 470-471; 2011<sup>2</sup>: 147-148; Hennerbichler 2004: 552-553). The Israelis ceased military cooperation with the (Iraqi) Kurds when they could no longer operate out of Shah Iran.

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to CIA sources, Mustafa Barzani also received \$50,000 a month from an Israeli secret messenger: "Every month ... a secret Israeli envoy slips into the mountains in northern Iraq to deliver \$50,000 to Mulla Mustafa al-Barzani. ... The subsidy ensures Kurdish hostility against Iraq, whose government is militantly anti-Israel." (Israelis Infiltrate Arab Regimes. The Washington Post, 17 September 1972, p. B7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ghareeb 1981: 133: "Both the Israeli Mossad and the Iranian Savak helped Barzani establish a sophisticated intelligence apparatus, Parastin [Security] ... to gather information on the Iraqi government and its armed forces." The KDP "Parastin" security apparatus is currently headed by the elder son of Masoud Barzani, Masrour.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Riedel 2017: "Against great odds, the Kurds drove the Iraqi army out of much of Kurdistan.": https://www. brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/11/02/masoud-barzani-and-the-roots-of-kurdish-distrust-of-the-united-states. (accessed 2nd Nov. 2017).



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This commitment of Israel to selfdetermination of the (Iraqi) Kurds in the 1960s and 1970s is judged differently in Israel today, although distinctly positively, but in details also rather skeptical. For the latter exampli gratia: Nachum Orland accused Israel in an analysis in 1997: "Even Israel was one of those states that exploited the Kurdish problem and had no interest in a satisfactory solution within the framework of the Iraqi state."39 Furthermore, in Israel was never really understood that Mustafa Barzani in no way wanted to tear down the last bridges "to the Iraqi people" and that he had tried to the last, "to arrive [even] with Baghdad to a mode vivendi", Orland added. He also credited Barzani indirectly with not having implemented "ludicrous plans" ("haarsträubende Pläne") by Israeli military advisors to "destroy dams in Iraq with Kurdish aid and cause the deaths of thousands upon thousands of people or paralyze Iraq's oil industry". Even "the use of non-conventional weapons" had been considered. These plans would have been concocted by Israeli military advisors who later represented parties and movements in the Knesset that propagated "the displacements of Arabs out of Israel as [political] aim", Nachum Orland (l.c.) concluded.

#### IV. Iran Shia Crescent

The so-called "Shiite/Shia Crescent" is briefly mentioned here because it illustrates historical interests of Iran to extend its geostrategic influence from the Gulf to the Mediterranean. Currently, Israel is struggling in close cooperation with the U.S. administration of President Donald Trump and in ongoing negotiations with Russia to make sure that in the course of the war in Syria pro-Iranian proxy-militias will stay away from the Israeli borders particularly

talisierten und an einer befriedigenden Lösung im Rahmen des irakischen Staates kein Interesse hatten" (Orland, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 07.04.1997, no. 80, p. 9).

<sup>39</sup> In German: "Auch Israel gehörte zu jenen Staaten, die das Kurdenproblem instrumentalisierten und an einer befriedigenden Lösung im Rahmen des irakischen Staates kein



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at the Golan frontlines an infinite deal more than one hundred kilometer. <sup>40</sup> The outcome is open and undetermined.

# Historical Background: Keywords: "Shiite Crescent" ("Shia Crescent"):

In the 16th century for the first time in its history, Iran's sphere of influence to its south was fundamentally constrained. In 1514, the Persian Safavids lost the decisive battle of Chaldiran, in today's NW Iran, against the Ottomans. Shah Ismail I (1487-1524), the founder of the Safavid dynasty, leader of the Shiite Safawiyya Order, and ancestor of Shia-Iran, was defeated by Sultan Selim I (1470-1520), the first caliph of the Ottomans, mainly thanks to superior artillery. Since then, Iran's areas of influence to the south have essentially been delimited by the Zagros mountains and the adjoining border river Shatt al-Arab as far as the Gulf. At the same time, Iranian rulers have up to the present day repeatedly proclaimed that territories west of the Zagros, including the Euphrates

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> REUTERS: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-israel/israel-to-rus-sia-assads-safe-from-us-but-iran-must-quit-syria-idUSKBN1K11RX; CNN: https:// edition.cnn.com/2018/05/09/middleeast/israel-rockets-syria/index.html; INDEPEN-DENT: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/israel-iran-crisis-live-updates-war-golan-heights-syria-air-strikes-nuclear-deal-netanyahu-rouhani-a83445 01.html; JE-RUSALEM POST: https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/ Netanyahu-tells-Putin-Israel-will-continue-to-act-against-Iran-in-Syria-563022 (all acc. 28 July 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Hennerbichler 2004: 373 et seq.; Agreement at foreign minister level 13 June 1975: UCDP: online: http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/fullpeace/Iran-Iraq%201975 0613a.pdf; Border agreements chronologically: Exchange of letters Selim-Ismail 1514, online: http://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/hist/eia/documents\_archive/selim.php; Peace- and border-agreement Zuhab/Qasr-e Shirin 1639, confirmed 1746, 1823 and 1847, online: http://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/hist/eia/documents\_archive/zuhab.php; Protocols of Teheran 1911 and Constantinople 1913: see: McLachlan, Keith 2013: EIr online: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/boundaries-i; Iran-Iraq border treaties 1937, 1969 and 1975: cf. Kechichian, Joseph A., n.y.: EIr online: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/boundaries-iv; lately Gulf War 1990: Letters Saddam Hussein to Presidents of Iran: UNSC: online: http://digitallibrary.un.org/record96182/ files/ S 21528-EN.pdf?version=1 [all quoted online-sources accessed 20 January 2018].



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and Tigris, down to Yemen at the Gulf of Aden, are legitimate areas of Iranian interest and influence and have used the Kurds as proxies to expand their hegemony in Iraq and beyond. Most recently, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1919-1980) dumped the Kurds, then led by Mustafa Barzani (1903-1979), in their struggle for autonomy in Iraq in 1975. In return, Iran had been granted from Iraq then under Vice-President Saddam Hussein (1937-2006) - half of the Shatt Al Arab river, a key waterway to the Gulf. Up to then the border had for many years run along the Iranian north shore. The Iraqi Kurds had previously, from 1970 to 1974, attained limited regional autonomy mainly thanks to temporary aid from the USA, Iran when it was ruled by the Shah, and Israel, which backed them in launching military attacks on the Kirkuk oil center, thus increasing pressure on the then Ba'ath regime in Baghdad to grant Iraqi Kurds self-government.

## V. Leadership claim of Barzanis

The Barzani family is for the most part dominating Iraqi Kurdish politics since 1946, temporarily halfway in power-sharing arrangements with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan PUK. A truly Western model of democratic majority rule never evolved in Iraqi Kurdistan until today. In the following chapter it is intended to explain why this is the case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Mustafa 2016: Iran's Role in the Kurdistan Region. Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, online: http://studies. aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/04/160420105055207.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Treaty 1975, UN-Registration-no. 14905, IRAN and IRAQ, Agreement concerning the rules governing navigation on the Shatt al'Arab (with exchanges of letters). Signed at Baghdad on 26 December 1975, online: https://treaties.un.org/ doc/Publi-cation/UNTS/Volume%201017/volume-1017-I-14905-English.pdf (acc. 05.01.2018).



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## Historical Background: Leadership claim of Barzanis:

The KDP-Iraq has been led since its foundation<sup>44</sup> in 1946 by the Barzani family. Mullah Mustafa Barzani was elected President of the "Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iraq" (KDP-Iraq) at its formal foundation on August, 16, 1946 in Baghdad in absence during Barzani's exile in Iran. Mustafa Barzani was KDP-Iraq President until his death (he died March 1, 1979 in Washington, D.C., USA). However, the "Democratic Party of Kurdistan Iraq" was established

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The formation of modern Kurdish parties in Iraq, Iran and Turkey was a long process. They evolved since the 1920s over decades out of inter-communal consultations between leading Kurdish tribal chiefs and intellectuals of their time. None of these modern parties was exclusively founded by one specific single Kurdish personality alone (Hennerbichler 2004: 477-479, 510-511, 520-522). Efforts to unite various Kurdish movements reached a peak in 1944-1946 in the course of the Mahabad "Republic's" foundation (cf. the following description by Eagleton 1963: 36). In March 1944 the Iranian "Komala" sent a delegate (Mohammed Amin Shafari) to Kirkuk in Iraq to discuss mutual aid and future plans with representatives of the "Hiwa" (hope) Party. "Hiwa" was established in 1938 mainly by Rafiq Hilmi (1898-1960), a Kurdish historian, writer and politicican from Sulaimaniyah, in the private house in Kirkuk of Amin Rawenduzy, a colonel in the Iraqi army (verbal conversation by his son Wiriya Rawenduzy. 1929-2011, the late doyen of the Kurds in Austria). They agreed on a pact. "Hiwa" was clandestine and had no specific party program. In early summer 1944 members of the Sulaimaniya branch of the "Hiwa" party paid a return visit to "Komala" and confirmed their pact. During the next year and a half Hamza Abdullah from Iraq, Qadri Beg from Syria, and Qazi Mullah Wahab from Turkey met Kurdish leaders in Mahabad and talked about autonomy options. In August 1944 Kurdish leaders from Turkey, Iraq and Iran met at Mount Dalanpar at the three-angel frontier of their countries and signed the pact "Peman I Se Senur" ("Pact of the Three Borders") for mutual support of a greater Kurdistan. Iranian Kurds were represented by Qasim Qaderi of the "Komala" from Mahabad. From Iraq came Skeikh Obaidullah of Zero. Turkey was represented by Qazi Mulla Wahab. The Kurdish Society in Beirut, dominated by the Bedr Khan family, contributed a map which defined geographically a greater Kurdistan. The Society consulted a number of international experts on the Kurdish question at the time and wanted to show the geographically largest possible Kurdistan, as Eagleton noted. Its extent comprised Kurdish inhabited areas from south-eastern Anatolia to the Gulf. Further reading (selection): Laqueur 1956: 221-232; Arfa 1966: 124; Stansfield 2003: 65-66; Sluglet & Sluglet 2003: 29; Jawaideh 2006: 230-242; Aziz 2011: 67; Amarilyo 2014: 77.



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only after two attempts. 45 As early as mid-February 1946 Mustafa Barzani, together with Hamza Abdullah, launched a "Democratic Party of Kurdistan Iraq" in Oshnaviyeh, close to the Iranian border with Iraq. Hamza Abdullah was "a pliant leftist" (Anderson & Stansfield 2004: 165) lawyer from Zakho in northern Iraqi Kurdistan, who had studied in Baghdad. The reason for forming this party was that Hamza Abdullah operated at the time as Barzani's contact man with Soviet representatives in Mahabad. They put mounting pressure on them to launch in Iran an Iraqi version of a Kurdish Democratic Party as well, modelled on the KDP-Iran headed by Qazi Mohammed. Hamza Abdullah yielded to the Soviet demands and told Barzani he agreed and subsequently proclaimed a KDP-Iraq in Oshnaviyeh, Iran. Qazi Mohammed denounced outright the foundation of a separate KDP-Iraq in Iran as an effort to weaken and split the Mahabad Republican movement, and called on Barzani, appealing to him to act only in concert and urged him to cancel a KDP-Iraq in exile in Iran. Barzani complied and sent Hamza Abdullah, at the end of March 1946, back to Iraq. Abdulla left Barzani disappointed. A few months later, the KDP-Iraq was successfully and sustainably launched in Baghdad on 16 August 1946, this time chiefly with the cooperation between Mustafa Barzani and Ibrahim Ahmed (1914-2000).<sup>46</sup> the father of the political left in Iraqi Kurdistan. He was born in Sulaimaniyah, the traditional stronghold of leftist groups in the south-east. Ahmed, a lawyer, poet, and politician, was a veteran member of the Iranian "Komala" movement "JK", which had established a Sulaimaniya branch under a version of the "KJ" party label. Simultaneously, Ahmed also acted as representative of the KDP-Iran in Iraq and had met Qazi Mohammed in Mahabad.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Research by Abdol-Hamid Hosseini, based on eyewitness accounts at the time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Eyewitness account by Ibrahim Ahmed in his house in British exile in Surrey, UK, 1982-1983. He was talking to the author of this brief analysis in the presence of Omar Sheikhmous, veteran Kurdish intellectual and co-founder of the PUK, who also translated.



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Both Ibrahim Ahmed and Qazi Mohammed wanted an urban, left-dominated political Kurdish International striving for a greater Kurdistan within the borders of existing states. Its center was supposed to between cities in the most highly developed parts of Kurdistan, and regular meetings should foster national cohesion. Mustafa Barzani opposed this idea. Ahmed suggested Barzani should join the KDP-Iran and become the president of its Iraqi branch. Barzani rejected this too. He was determined to found a Barzani tribal dominant, a rural conservative national Iraqi Kurdish party incorporating a subordinate political left wing.

When Hamza Abdulla left Oshnavieh and Mahabad for Baghdad in February 1946, Mustafa Barzani instructed him to bring a letter to Ibrahim Ahmed in Sulaimaniyah, Iraq. It contained proposals for the foundation of the KDP-Iraq in Iraq. Barzani insisted on establishing a separate KDP Iraq and claimed to be elected as its president. Ibrahim Ahmed declined both demands but agreed to accompany Hamza Abdullah to Baghdad and participate in the establishment of the KDP Iraq as an observer, representing also the KDP Iran. Finally, the founder members<sup>47</sup> met secretly on August 16, 1946 at the Baghdad home of the Kurdish poet Ali Hamdi, performed the act of foundation, and elected Mustafa Barzani in absentia despite his exile in Iran as party president and Hamza Abdulla as first Secretary General. Ibrahim Ahmed and his followers joined the KDP-Iraq in May 1947 after the collapse of the Mahabad "Republic" and the hanging of President Qazi Mohammed, arguing that Iraqi Kurdistan emerged subsequently as the new center of the Kurdish national movement.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Indications about their number vary from around 10 to 30. Hamza Abdullah was wanted by the police at the time.



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Months before, presumably between December 1946 and the beginning of 1947, Barzani ordered Hamza Abdullah to take another letter to Ibrahim Ahmed to Sulaimaniyah. In this letter Barzani asked the then Iraqi government to grant him and his tribal members in exile in Iran to return to Iraq freely and to receive amnesty. Baghdad refused. Barzani had hoped that his chances to be allowed to return to Iraqi Kurdistan would improve if Baghdad could be convinced that he was not only an influential tribal leader to be reckoned with but also an arising influential Iraqi Kurdish party chief with a broad backing by the population. After he was turned down, he and close tribal members battled their way into the Soviet Union where they arrived in June 1947.

From 1947, Mustafa Barzani lived for some 11 years with family tribe members in exile in the Soviet Union, returning in 1958 to Iraq. During that time, Barzani's closest associates lost control of the party to Ibrahim Ahmed, who exerted a major influence on the Kurdish movement in Iraq. Ibrahim Ahmed was elected as Secretary General at the second party congress in the summer of 1951. He had just been released from prison. The faction loyal to Barzani over several years existed as a separate organization; it had closer contacts with the Iraqi communists than the "official" KDP (Martin Van Bruinessen 1986, MER 141). In 1957 the two factions reunited. At KDP-I's third congress in January I953 the party was substantially reorganized. Its name was changed from "Kurdish Democratic Party" to "Kurdistan Democratic Party". This indicated an opening up of the party to all people in Iraqi Kurdistan regardless of ethnic identity and was seen a gesture towards civic

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Bruinessen, Martin Van (1986). Major Kurdish Organizations in Iraq, MER (Middle East Research and Information Project) 141 - Hidden Wars, vol. 16, July/August 1986, quoted online: https://www.merip.org/mer/mer141/major-kurdish-organizations-iran (accessed 02 June 2018). Similar assessment by the Kurdish Institute in Paris: Fondation-Institut kurde de Paris, Timeline: Iraqi Kurdistan, 1951 online: https:// www.institutkurde.org/info/timeline-iraqi-kurdistan-1172069593.html.



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nationalism. Hamza Abdulla was formally expelled for divisive tactics within the party. He temporarily formed the alternative "Kurdistan Democratic Party - Progressive Front" but return to the KDP in 1956.

Following his return from the Soviet Union in 1958, Mulla Mustafa Barzani took over the party leadership. Soon after the KDP-I decisively split in 1964. Barzani expelled the entire left. He accused them of rebellion, they in turn denounced him for being incapable of accepting democratic majority rule.<sup>49</sup> As a result, leftist party politburo members, headed by Ibrahim Ahmed and Jalal Talabani, held an alternative party congress in Ranya northwest of Sulaimaniyah. In early 1965 Jalal Talabani fled to Iran with some 700 followers. They were provided with settlements near Hamadan. At the beginning of 1966 all of them returned to Iraq. The motive for this was that Iraq's President Abdul Rahman Arif (1916-2007, in office 16 April 1966 to 17 July 1968) had initiated a law of administrative decentralization in Iraq which took effect on 28 June 1966. Jalal Talabani, together with Ibrahim Ahmed, accepted cooperation with Baghdad and were authorized to run a regional self-rule administration in Sulaimaniyah. Its headquarter was in Bakrajo, then a suburb, now a municipal district of Sulaimaniyah. Their collaboration was heavily criticized at the time by opponents. Its main achievement was the foundation of the Sulaimani University UoS in 1968, now with about 25.000 students, eight faculties, and two colleges, one of the greatest universities in Iraqi Kurdistan. This local Kurdish self-governed administration in Sulaimaniyah lasted from 1966 to 1970. When the regional autonomy manifest for the Iraqi Kurds was proclaimed on 11 March 1970 by the new Iraqi Ba'ath Regime under President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr (1914-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Terms such as "chauvinist", "fascist", "reactionist" or "fanatic" were current at that time with both sides when referring to the other (Bengio 1998<sup>b</sup>: 115-116, 120, 233 n. 32 & 33).



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1982) and Saddam Hussein (1979-2003), then Vice-President, Jalal Talabani went into exile in Damascus from 1970-1975. Ibrahim Ahmed returned to the leadership of the KDP-I under Mustafa Barzani, resumed his post as Secretary General,<sup>50</sup> and had his headquarter in Haji Omeran, near the border with Iran.

In 1967-1968 the Barzanis and Mullah Mustafa had been personally accused of having helped the Iranian army to track down and slay "Peshmerga" of the KDP-Iran.<sup>51</sup> The latter had launched a two-year armed struggle for Kurdish autonomy rights in Iran against the Shah regime, achieved temporary local success, and could not be crushed by the Iranian army. Eventually, special commandos of the so-called Iranian border gendarmerie managed to surround and kill them. Their corpses were allegedly mutilated and exhibited for days in the streets of Iranian border towns. Mustafa Barzani was blamed for ordering his own "Peshmerga" to prevent the resurgent Iranian Kurdish fighters from escaping to Iraq and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> KDP-I party President Mustafa Barzani did not talk with him for a year or so, Ibrahim Ahmed recalled in 1982 (personal communication).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ghassemlou & Hessami 1971: 88-89 contains a list of 25 KDP-Iran "Peshmerga" who were killed, among them more than ten of whom Mustafa Barzani and his followers are accused that they had them either personally slayed or extradited to Iranian authorities. - A very critical assessment is also published by Pelletiere 2016: 22 and 34 ftn. 77 about the role of the Barzanis at the time: "the Barzanis [...] were accorded more or less permanent asylum in Iran. Barzani and his peshmergas remained there and were in residence when four years later the Shah was overthrown by Khomeini. And the tribe's course of action after Khomeini's coming to power is interesting. [...] Here it's worth noting (because it bears on the claim that the Barzani tribe formed the vanguard of Kurdish nationalism) that in the 1980s, right after the Islamic Revolution took place in Iran, the Barzanis, who were resident in Iran at the time—having been driven into exile after the 1975 Barzani revolt—aligned themselves with the Khomeiniists. Their first duty was to crush a movement of Iranian Kurdish autonomy led by the Iranian Kurdish Democratic Party (IKDP) under the leadership of Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, which the Barzanis did (crushed it, that is). Ghassemlou was later assassinated by Iran's Revolutionary Guard, which sought him out in Europe where he had sought refuge."



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had also had some of them killed. All in all, more than 100 KDP-Iran "Peshmerga" lost their lives.

Following the suppression of the Iraqi Kurdish struggle for autonomy in 1975, Masoud Barzani, along with his half-brother Idris, temporarily led the KDP Iraq out of exile in Iran until the death of their father Mustafa Barzani in 1979. In the wake of the so-called Algiers Agreement of March 6, 1975, between Shah Reza Pahlevi and Iraq's Vice President Saddam Hussein, the Shah-Iran had abandoned the Iraqi Kurds in collusion with the USA, who at the time were guided by a hard-liner "Realpolitik" of Foreign Secretary Henry Kissinger against Kurds, and when the Iraqi army soon after had crushed their military struggle for regional self-rule, hundreds of thousands Iraqi Kurds fled to Iran and were granted transitional refuge there. Mustafa Barzani and his family were allowed special exile accommodations in Karaj northwest of the capital Tehran. He later emigrated to the US for cancer treatment and died on March 1, 1979 at a hospital in Washington. The body was then flown to Iran, first buried in Oshnovieh in the northwest, and then entombed in 1993 in his native Barzan, Iraqi Kurdistan. In November 1979, the KDP elected a new leadership at the first party congress following the death of Mustafa Barzani, in Zewa. It came to an éclat and a breakup.<sup>52</sup> The then influential party secretary-general, Mohammed Mahmood Abdul "Sami" Rahman, tried to take over the KDP and push back the duo leadership of Masoud and Idris Barzani. "Sami" Rahman was the first leading Iraqi Kurdish politician who did not come from the Barzani family (or from the closely related Zebaris) and who intended to break with the tradition that the Barzanis led the KDP-Iraq continuously since foundation. Rahman failed, was handed over to Iranian security authorities, detained for about half a year in Evin Prison in Tehran, and released

<sup>52</sup> Hennerbichler 2004: 587-590.



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only after months of international interventions. Among the international personalities, who campaigned for his release, was the later Austrian Federal President Dr. Heinz Fischer, Soon after he was freed "Sami" Rahman initially went to Damascus into exile, founded smaller, social-democratic oriented parties following European models, but achieved no breakthrough, eventually returned to the KDP-Iraq, served most recently as deputy party chairman and since 2003 also as vice-premier in the fourth KRG Regional government<sup>53</sup> in Erbil under Nechirvan Idris Barzani, and was finally killed in early February 2004 in a devastating suicide bombing attack in Erbil attributed to militant Islamists.<sup>54</sup> Idris Barzani, the half-brother of Masoud, had already died in late January 1987 at the age of 43 at his home in exile in Karaj in Iran, under odd circumstances that have not yet been clarified completely. As cause of death doctors diagnosed heart failure. An autopsy was not performed. Since then, Masoud Barzani has led the KDP Iraq as party president. Therefore, the KDP-Iraq was from 1975-1979 under his co-leadership and is managed since 1987 by him single-handedly. A son of Idris Barzani, Nechirvan, is currently acting KRG Regional Premier.

## VI. Constitutional crisis Iraq

While the Federal Constitution of Iraq provides since 2005 a roadmap for an urgent solution of still dangerously unresolved open and disputed questions, both sides failed so far to mutually agree on lasting future compromises and implement them. There remains only one option on the negotiating table: either the legitimate representatives of the Iraqi Kurds and of the federal government in Baghdad resolve open disputed constitutional questions in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Hennerbichler 2004: 73 et segg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Obituary, The Times, 26.02.2004: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/sami-abdulrahman-sz6jqn5xrrr (login necessary).



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direct negotiations or an atmosphere of confrontation will continue and could result in renewed military clashes any time in the future.

# Historical Background: Keywords: Continued constitutional dilemma Iraq:

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Iraq of 2005 is very vaguely formulated as regards the borders of the Kurdistan region, as well as on Kirkuk and other "disputed areas". The official border of the Kurdistan region is still the socalled "Green Line", which was unilaterally established by the Iraqi army in 1991 as a truceline after fighting against insurgent Kurds. This "Green Line" was defined in Article 53 (A) of the 2004 "Transitional Administrative Law (TAL)" as follows: "The Kurdistan Regional Government is recognized as the official government of the territories that were administered on 19 March 2003 in the jurisidictions of Dohuk, Arbil, Sulaimaniya, Kirkuk, Diyala, and Neneveh."55 Thus it was legally decreed that the administrative boundaries of the Kurdistan Regional Government extend beyond the (then) three jurisdictions of Dohuk, Erbil, and Sulaimaniyah. However, TAL fails to identify which areas of the Kirkuk, Diyala, and Ninewa governorates, to which reference is also made, are included in this extended demarcation. There is no authoritative definition of the "Green Line" itself. Of vital significance is the fact that Kirkuk, qua city and governorate (along with the districts of Hawija, Dibis, Kirkuk and Dagug), is the only province defined in the 2005 constitution as "disputed" between the KRG and the federal government of Iraq in Baghdad. In the federal Iraqi legislation (for example, in the electoral law for the provincial elections in 2009, as well as in the national suffrage of 2010), several specific regulations were decreed for Kirkuk. By contrast, the draft of a Constitution of the Kurdistan

http://web.archive.org/web/20090423064920/http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/TAL.html (accessed 15 January 2018); cf. Kane 2011: 6 et seqq.



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Region (quoted in Kelly 2010: 774 et seq.) in Article 2.1 of the June 23, 2009 version, "Kirkuk" (in its constitutional entirety) is specifically designated as part of "Iraqi Kurdistan", but without naming specific (sub-) districts, although these were specified in the cases of Nineveh and Divala. This is interpreted by the Iraqi Kurds as a claim on Kirkuk (see Kane 2011: 24-25). The opposing position of the Iraqi federal government was formulated by former Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki in 2008: Kirkuk is a city that belongs to the federal government of Iraq, should be treated as a special case, and could become an independent region.<sup>56</sup> In addition, the so-called Autonomy Agreement of March 1970 between the then leadership of the Iraqi Kurds under Mustafa Barzani (1903-1979) and the "Revolutionary Command Council" (Bassireh 2003: 58 et segg.) under President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr (1914-1982) and then Vice-President Saddam Hussein (1937-2006) in Baghdad, published on March 12 1970, as a 15-article "Manifesto" (Hennerbichler 2004: 554), remains legally valid in Iraq to this day. It promised the Iraqi Kurds autonomy and administrative control in areas where they - de facto from 1970-1975 - made up the majority of the population (cf. article 1 of the Manifesto). The 2005 Constitution contains, in the crucial Article 140, the essentially ambiguous wording "Kirkuk and other disputed territories", but also provides for a three-stage plan. Crucially this calls for the eventual status of Kirkuk, and its incorporation into the final administrative internal Iraqi borders to be determined by a process of normalization, a census and a conclusive referendum. A deadline was set for December 31, 2007, for its implementation.<sup>57</sup> However, the 2005 constitution

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> "Maliki: Kirkuk Belongs to the Iraqi Government," Zaman, 15 October 2008: "Kirkuk is a city that belongs to the federal government ... the only suitable solution, at this time, is to treat it as a special case, like being an independent region" (citing Kane 2011: 52, ftn. 69).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> "Article 140: First: The executive authority shall undertake the necessary steps to complete the implementation of the requirements of all subparagraphs of Article 58 of the Transitional Administrative Law. Second: The responsibility placed upon the



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leaves key issues unresolved, including voter eligibility, jurisdiction boundaries, and referendum questions. Thus, to date, there remain considerable problems in implementing it, thanks to wording in the current 2005 constitution<sup>58</sup> which is susceptible to different interpretations. Moreover, because of irreconcilable conflicts of interest and objectives, as well as lack of willingness to compromise, all those involved and affected have been unable to agree on (still available) options for resolving them (see comments in the final section of this analysis). So, deadlines have not been met, nor have specific indications for dealing with these differences, set out in the constitution itself, been followed.<sup>59</sup> In keywords:

Guidelines for the three-step plan are not specifically set out in Article 140 of the 2005 Constitution. Rather, this refers to Article 58 of the interim legal status of the "Transitional Administrative Law (TAL)", which was adopted in 2004 by the then Iraqi transitional government ("Iraqi Transitional Government" of the "Coalition Provisional Authority"). 60 However, neither TAL 58 nor Article 140 of the 2005 Constitution provides detailed guidelines on how to implement the stipulated three-step solution. Both are ambiguously phrased in such a way as to ensure that disunity and tensions among Kirkuk's ethnic groups are repeatedly inflamed. Paragraph

executive branch of the Iraqi Transitional Government stipulated in Article 58 of the Transitional Administrative Law shall extend and continue to the executive authority elected in accordance with this Constitution, provided that it accomplishes completely (normalization and census and concludes with a referendum in Kirkuk and other disputed territories to determine the will of their citizens), by a date not to exceed the 31st of December 2007." Source: https://web.archive.org/web/20161128 152712; http://www.iraqinationality.gov.iq/attach/iraqi\_constitution.pdf (acc. 15 Jan. 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Cf. MERI 2015: 17-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Iraqi-Kurdish position: "The constitution set a December 31, 2007 deadline to complete all these steps. Nearly ten years later, no steps have been substantively executed." (KRG GOV. 2017: 8).

http://web.archive.org/web/20090423064920/http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/TAL.html (accessed 15 January 2018).



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(A) in TAL Article 58 refers to the "injustice" of politically-motivated forced ethnic relocation by the former Saddam Hussein regime and calls for this to be reversed and the original demographic nature of affected regions, notably that of Kirkuk, restored. The task of implementation was mainly assigned to the "Iraqi Property Claims Commission". For resettlement, a "reasonable period of time" was granted (A.1.). Resettlers were promised financial compensation from the state, and alternative land "nearby" (A.2), along with jobs (A.3). Those affected were guaranteed by A.4 the right to freely choose "national identity and ethnic affiliation". Article TAL 58 (B) provided for recommendations of the then Transitional Government to the Iraqi Parliament to reverse the former regime's "manipulated and changed administrative boundaries for political ends". If there should be no agreement, there was a provision for intermediaries, in the last instance the UN Security Council, TAL 58 (C) determined a final "fair and transparent census" in the disputed areas, including Kirkuk. This solution should be based on the principle of justice and take in consideration "the will of the people of those territories". Partial solutions up to now: Financial compensation for Arabs resettled from other areas of Iraq under the Saddam Hussein regime to leave Kirkuk voluntarily:<sup>61</sup> Baghdad decided on March 29, 2007, to pay every Arab family 20 million Dinar (then around US \$ 15,000) and give those who volunteered to return to their original homes a piece of land. This regulation came into force immediately, a further decision of the Iraqi

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> So-called "wafideen", Arabic for "newcomer", cf.: Human Rights Watch (Middle East): Genocide in Iraq, The Anfal Campaign against the Kurds, A Middle East Watch Report, Human Rights Watch, 1 July 1993: 1: Ba'this and Kurds [Kurdish Autonomy and Arabization]: https://www.hrw.org/reports/ 1993/iraqanfal/ANFAL1. htm (accessed 20 January 2018); Talabany 1999: 11 et seqq. (III. Attempts to Arabize the Kirkuk Region): https://www.kurdipedia.org/files/books/2013/87924. PDF?ver=1302863 43280814632 (accessed 20 Jan. 2018).



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Parliament was not required.<sup>62</sup> It is not known how many Arabs have accepted this compensation offer so far. According to MERI 2015: 17-18, a total of 120,320 compensation applications were filed by families subjected to forced displacement in 2007-2014; of these 61,466 would not receive any financial compensation. Of newly-settled Arabs, a total of 28,384 compensation applications are thought to have been submitted. Of these, only 5,774 files could expect financial compensation. For Kirkuk alone, around 600 billion Iraqi Dinar would be required to complete all requested land restitution file cases. At the current slow pace, financial compensation alone would take more than 20 years to complete. The fact that Arabs had accepted compensation money, received funding but then did not leave for good but used the money to renovate their homes in Kirkuk has also been the subject of criticism. How many Arabs might have acted like this is unclear. Their claim to retain a right to vote in Kirkuk remains highly controversial too.<sup>63</sup>

Land Restitution: The "Iraq Property Claims Commission (IPCC)" is currently processing applications from expropriated farmers demanding the return of some 1,200,000 Dunam (2,500 m²) of agricultural land. As of 2015, IPCC's Kirkuk office audited around 8,800 such controversial cases (MERI 2015: 18). The number who received a positive response, or were turned down, is not available. The authorities are also accused of being dilatory and of imposing excessive conditions. As of 2015, IPCC's Kirkuk office audited around 8,800 such controversial cases (MERI 2015: 18).

*Census:* The Federal Constitution of Iraq of 2005 mentions the term "census" only twice: in Art. 110 in the enumeration of the "exclusive

<sup>63</sup> MERI 2015: 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Reuters (Baghdad), 31st January 2007: Iraq to compensate Arabs o leave Kirkuk: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-kirkuk/iraq-to-compensate-arabs-to-leave-kirkuk-idUSKAR15688920070331 (accessed 17 January 2018).



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remit" of the federal government in Baghdad to conduct "general population statistics" and to hold a "census" (Art 110, 9). Article 140.2 instructs the federal government to conclude a three-stage plan (normalization, census, conclusive referendum in Kirkuk and other "disputed areas") by 31 December 2007 which has not happened (Kane 2011: 13: "normalization has not been completed, the long-delayed national census has been postponed four times, and no concrete steps have been taken to organize the referendum"; MERI 2015: 20 et seq.) A credible and widely-accepted census has not taken place in Iraq since 1957 (Kane 2011: 15, Stansfield & Anderson 2009: 43 et seq.). The census of 1957 is accepted by all sections of the population of Iraq as in practice the only common statistical/democratic basis. As of 2011, "it appears that the [Kirkuk] governorate currently has a Kurdish and possibly a minor Kurdish majority" (Kane 2011: 27).

*Elections:* Kirkuk was to a large extent politically dominated by Kurds in 1991-2017.<sup>64</sup> After the 1991 uprising, Kirkuk was directly administered by Kurds for nine days, from 19-28 March. Then US Special Forces asked representatives of the Kurds (notably the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan PUK) to withdraw from Kirkuk. US forces sought to control Kirkuk and build up a multi-ethnic administration there.<sup>65</sup> This scenario was repeated after 2003, when Kirkuk was captured by the "Peshmerga" and PUK police units, along

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> The assessment by Kane 2011: 23 seems somewhat exaggerated: "Despite being a recurrent arena of conflict, with the exception of nine days - March 19 to 28 - during the 1991 uprising, Kirkuk has never been Kurdish administered in modern Iraqi history. This remained nominally true after 2003, when after the fall of Kirkuk to Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) peshmerga, PUK police units, and a small number of U.S. special forces in April 2003, the U.S. military took control of the city and asked its Kurdish allies to withdraw." Cf. also Derzsi-Horváth 2017: ftn. 7: http://www.gppi.net/publications/iraq-after-isil-kirkuk (accessed 1st Sept. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Verbal communication 2003 by Jalal Talabani and "Mam" Rostam (Rostam Hamid Rahim), PUK-"Peshmerga" commander, successful most notably in fierce fighting for control of Kirkuk 2003.



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with US special forces, in April 2003. The US military took control of the city center and once again asked the Kurdish allies to withdraw from Kirkuk (Anderson & Stansfield 2009: 92-93). In the December 2005 elections, the Kurdistan Alliance scored 53% of the valid votes cast and, together with smaller pro-Kurdish parties, gained a slim 55% majority (Kane 2011: 25). The national parliamentary elections of March 2010 brought a more nuanced result: the Kurdish vote was spread among the "Kurdistan Alliance" (36%), the (then new) opposition party "Gorran" (6%) and two other smaller Kurdish Islamic parties (6%). Kurds remained the largest political group in the Kirkuk jurisdiction, but their overall majority fell compared to 2005, from 55% to 48%. On March 29, 2011, Kirkuk-born Kurdish physician and (PUK) politician Najmaddin Kareem was elected governor of Kirkuk. Kareem held office from 2011-2017, and in the national parliamentary elections in 2014 also secured clear voter approval, tried to maneuver for Kurdish presence in Kirkuk but failed, was then dismissed on 14 October 2017 by the parliament in Baghdad for holding a unilateral Kurdish referendum in the "disputed area" of Kirkuk. He left Kirkuk soon afterwards (and later died in October 2020 in Washington D.C., U.S.A.).

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#### **Abbreviations:**

AUIS American University of Iraq Sulaimani DA'ESH State Islamic of Iraq and the Levant

GCC Gulf Cooperation Council

ICG International Crisis Group Middle East



#### International Conference "The Future of the Kurds"



IDP Internally Displaced Person

INSS Institute for National Security Studies IPCC Iraq Property Claims Commission IRGC Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps

IRIS Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques IRIS Institute of Regional and International Studies

IS Islamic State

ISF Iraqi Security Forces

ISIL Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISIS Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KDP-I Kurdistan Democratic Party Iraq
KDP-Ir Kurdistan Democratic Party Iran

KGB Committee for State Security (Ex-USSR, 1954-1991)

KRG Kurdistan Regional Government

KRI Kurdistan Region Iraq

MERI Middle East Research Institute NGO Non-Government Organization

NKVD People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs

PKK Kurdistan Workers' Party

PM Prime Minister

PMF Popular Mobilization Forces
PUK Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
PYD Democratic Union Party

RAND Corporation (Research and Development)

RIAC Russian International Affairs Council

SSR Soviet Socialist Republic

TAL Transitional Administrative Law
UCDP Uppsala Conflict Data Program
USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UNDP United Nations Development Programme
UNAMI United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq

UNSC United Nations Digital Library System
UNTC United Nations Treaty Collection

UoS University of Sulaimani

WWI World War One WWII World War Two



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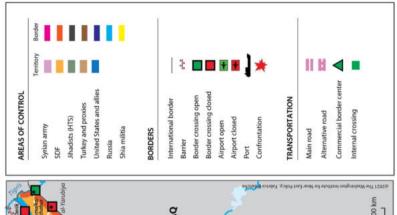
#### Dr. Ferdinand St. Hennerbichler

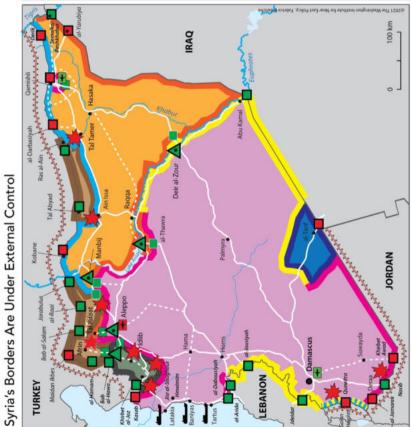
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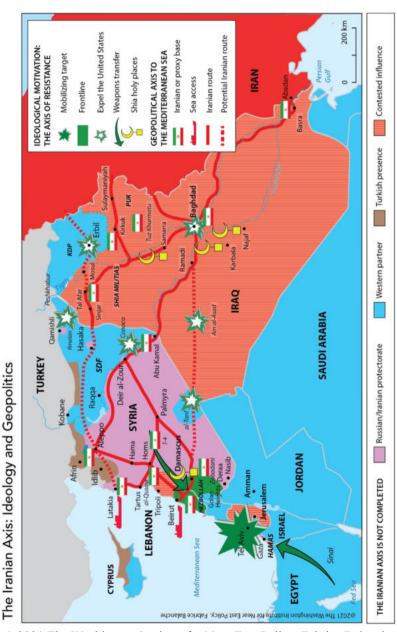


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## The Economic Future of the Kurds<sup>1</sup>



Ahmed Tabaqchali

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The information in this report is based on publicly available web sites, publications, presentations, and research reports as will be seen from the many footnote references through the paper, however, all errors, omissions and mistakes are my own. Moreover, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Ferdinand Hennerbichler at the History Department of the University of Sulaimani for his support.



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The future options, politically and economically, for the Kurds are now discussed within the context of the September 25th, 2017 referendum and its aftermath. For the most part these are variations of the doom and gloom scenarios following the losses of Kirkuk and the disputed territories - in particular the loss of the Kirkuk related fields, i.e. Bai Hassan, the Avanah & Baba Domes of the Kirkuk supergiant field, Jambur and Khabaz with their then combined 330,000-350,000 bbl/d² of oil production or over 50% of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) oil production at the time. These losses are thought to have ended a decade's quest to develop the financial wherewithal of securing political independence from Iraq.

These arguments have a degree of merit if one accepts the widely held view that political or formal independence is still equivalent to the concept of the right of self-determination. However, it is my belief that, a paradigm shift is needed in the understanding of self-determination as given by Article 1³ in both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) which states: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." In that "self-determination" and the "free pursuit of economic, social and cultural development" are no longer consistent, or possible, within the narrow confines of the traditional thinking of political independence or sovereignty in the modern economically inter-connected and inter-dependent world.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ahmed Tabaqchali, "Statehood in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq through an Economic Lens", March 2018, Institute of Regional and international Studies, http://auis.edu.krd/iris/iraq-report/statehood-kurdistan-region-iraq-through-economic-lens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, UN Human Rights office of the high commissioner, https://www.ohchr.org/en/professional-interest/pages/cescr.aspx.



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This is particularly evident in the case of the UK's Brexit process, where the UK is discovering that seeking traditional sovereignty by breaking up from the European Union (EU) is an illusion. In that to ensure the economic well-being of the UK, it has to adhere to the EU's rules while outside the EU, but without having a voice in shaping these rules if it was still a member of the EU. So, by achieving narrow sovereignty through Brexit, the UK effectively loses a wider sovereignty.

I argued in my recent research paper for the Institute of Regional and International Studies (IRIS)<sup>4</sup> "Statehood in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq through an Economic Lens" that the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) "did not have the economic capacity to become an independent state" by analysing the region's "Oil assets and exports, the creation of a central bank and a currency, trade, debt and a balanced budget are all essential features of a future independent Kurdish state, without which no amount of political will, nationalistic messaging or international support could lead to a viable, let alone a successful, secession from Iraq."

In the paper, my thesis was that the Kurdistan Regional Government's (KRG) route to financial independence depended on the continued exports of about 550,000 bbl/d5 which were anchored by the control of the Kirkuk related fields<sup>6</sup>. The extra revenues

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ahmed Tabaqchali, "Statehood in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq through an Economic Lens", March 2018, Institute of Regional and international Studies, http://auis.edu.krd/iris/iraq-report/statehood-kurdistan-region-iraq-through-economic-lens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The KRG's exports averaged 550,000 bbl/d (barrels per day) for most of 2017 as shown in the paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The phrase "the Kirkuk related fields" is used to describe the fields originally under the control of the Government of Iraq (GoI), that came under the KRG's authority following the loss of Mosul in June 2014, and that returned to GoI's authority in October 2017. These fields are Bai Hassan, the Avanah & Baba Domes of the Kirkuk supergiant field. Jambur and Khabaz.



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from these fields provided the flexibility to secure deals with international counter parties such as oil companies and oil traders who bought the oil and provided financing in the form of forward oil sales. However, that control was tenuous at best as illustrated by the quick and easy loss of the fields in October 2017. Moreover, that even without that loss, that flexibility was extremely sensitive to external factors outside the control of the KRG such as changes in the amounts exported or the global price of oil, which meant that that particular route was precarious at best.

The establishment of a Central Bank and a currency, while theoretically possible, would have led within a year and half to a currency crisis leading to an economic crisis. However, should an independent Kurdistan include the city of Kirkuk and the disputed territories then that currency crisis would happen much sooner, most likely in well under a year as this inclusion would increase expenditures by about 40% but that revenues would not change.

The KRI's trade and tourism are depended on the rest of Iraq. In 2014, the KRI trade routes accounted for over 27% of all in-bound goods to Iraq, which generated meaningful revenues for the transit trade and the associated industries of retail and hospitality, driving demand for other local industries and a providing a meaningful source of employment. Similarly, the tourism industry is highly dependent on tourists from the rest of Iraq who accounted for 67% of all tourist in 2015 and probably the same or higher since then.

The considerable debts accumulated over the years, estimated in the report at about \$25bn, would make it almost impossible for a future independent Kurdistan to access the debt markets to take on new debt to refinance its current debt or to fund much needed and overdue investment spending on its infrastructure.



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Finally, in the paper I argued that the KRG needed oil prices for the international benchmark Brent crude at around \$65/bbl for a break-even budget. But that was based on an austerity budget with severe cuts in salaries and almost zero spending on infrastructure. Therefore, a more normalized budget similar to that of 2015, would have required \$85/bbl, and about \$95/bbl without the help of financing in the form of forward oil sales. However, this would not cover the repayment of arrears (including salary arrears) or service the KRG's debts. In fact, the KRG would need Brent prices to remain, for a multi-year period, around \$100/bbl for a sufficient surplus to accumulate for both the repayment of debt and to assume capital expenditure. The inclusion of Kirkuk and the disputed territories would raise these figures to at least \$125/bbl.

Had the KRG persisted in the pursuit of formal independence it would have found itself in a similar position to that of the UK government which, almost two years after triggering Brexit, is finding itself having to choose the least economically damaging form of Brexit for the UK economy<sup>7</sup>. The KRI's case is no different from that of the UK which over the Brexit process have demonstrated how simple sovereignty, in the current interconnected and interdependent world, is far from consistent with the people's right for the "free pursuit of economic, social and cultural development".

I believe that the aftermath of the September 25th referendum, instead of narrowing the options of the Kurds, it has freed them from pursuing an outdated quest for formal independence, and instead to seek an achievable goal of securing the rights of the Kurds "to freely

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Chris Giles, "Official Brexit forecasts show Britain getting poorer", Financial Times, November 28, 2018, https://www.ft.com/content/136fc202-f330-11e8-9623-d7f9881e729f; idem, "Chancellor suggests Brexit is a price worth paying", Financial Times, December 5, 2018, https://www.ft.com/content/0ea57450-f890-11e8-8b7c-



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pursue their economic, social and cultural development" and ensure that the peoples of Iraqi Kurdistan enjoy economic prosperity in their homeland.

The paradigm shift in seeking self-determination and the pursuit of economic, social and cultural development for the Kurds is the same that I argued for in my IRIS paper, that "the very same economic realities that would prohibit political independence become economic advantages within a federal Iraq. These advantages would amplify the KRI's economic prosperity as a gateway to the rest of Iraq benefiting from the economic boost as an access to a much larger market." Provided that the Kurds take a full active role in the development of federal Iraq in much the same way that they did in the writing of the 2005 constitution. This would be along the same lines followed by the UK in the past: by integrating with Europe in taking an active part in the evolution of the EU, and in the process magnifying its economic prosperity as a gateway to the rest of Europe.

A follow-up IRIS paper to the "Statehood in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq through an Economic Lens" will focus on exploring the economic advantage for the KRI within a federal Iraq, of which two will be discussed here. The first advantage is the potential for the KRG to be a key supplier of fuel for Iraq's energy sector and in the process enhance both its economic security and its value to the country. The development of the KRI's gas sector was used, in addition to that of the oil sector, to further the KRG's quest for establishing its financial wherewithal to enable its securing political independence from Iraq.

Most of the KRI's gas<sup>8</sup> reserves are of the non-associated gas type, i.e. not a by-product of oil production unlike most of Iraq's gas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Much of the work on the KRG's using the KRI's gas reserves to integrate itself within federal Iraq owes the concept to Robin Mill's "A New Hope: Iraq Oil's Way Forward",



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production. This means that their development can be pursed independently of that of oil, with its own economics<sup>9</sup> of development, production and marketing. The Khor Mor field in the Sulaimani governorate, is the country's largest, and until early 2018<sup>10</sup>, the only producing non-associated gas field, with all of its about 4 BCMA (billion cubic meters per annum) going to supply local power plants<sup>11</sup>. The KRG's gas production plans were initially to develop the Chemchal field, and subsequently develop the promising fields of Miran and Bina Bawi – which were expected in time to export about 30 BCMA to Europe through Turkey to meet about 6% of European gas demand. The involvement by Rosneft in September 2017 <sup>12</sup> to construct the pipeline for shipping the gas seemed<sup>13</sup> then as a crucial step on the quest to independence. The significant logistical, financing, and political challenges in pursing these plans, face a further substantial obstacle of marketing the gas

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Al Bayan Centre, February 15<sup>th</sup>, 2018, http://www.bayancenter.org/en/2018/02/1435/. The same source was used for the data on the needs of Iraq's power stations for gas and for the challenges in the KRG's plan to export its gas to Europe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://petrowiki.org/Associated\_and\_nonassociated\_gas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The first non-associated gas production in the rest of Iraq, began at the southern Siba field in April with an annual production of 0.25 BCM rising to 1 BCM by end of 2018. Aref Mohammed, "Kuwait Energy starts producing natural gas from field in southern Iraq", Reuters, April 25, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-energy-gas/kuwait-energy-starts-producing-natural-gas-from-field-in-southern-iraq-idUSKBN1HW 0WU.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> "30% Gas Production Increase at Khor Mor Field", Iraq Business News, November 22, 2018, http://www.iraq-businessnews.com/2018/11/22/30-gas-producti-on-increase -at-khor-mor-field/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Dmitry Zhdannikov, "Russia's Rosneft clinches gas pipeline deal with Iraq's Kurdistan", Reuters, September 18, 2017, https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-kurdistan-rosneft/russias-rosneft-clinches-gas-pipeline-deal-with-iraqs-kurdistan-idUKKCN1BT1G8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ahmed Tabaqchali, "Rosneft in the Kurdish Region: Moscow's Balancing Act", Iraq in Context, November 3, 2017, https://www.iraqincontext.com/single-post/ 2017/11/ 03/Rosneft-in-the-Kurdish-Region-Moscows-Balancing-Act.



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in the extremely competitive European gas market<sup>14</sup> – which would have huge effects on the economics of the KRG's gas exporting plans.

However, the scale of these challenges changes significantly if these fields were to be developed to satisfy the fuel needs of the power plants for the rest of Iraq. The construction of the required pipelines is much easier, shorter and thus much more economical to construct and operate, while the competition in the intended markets is very expensive imported Iranian gas and an insufficient amount of captured flared gas – in fact gas demand in Iraq outstrips supply. The KRI's gas, after satisfying local demand, would initially be to fill the current demand gap for Iraq's power stations. Subsequently, as the KRI's fields ramp up to full production, the gas would be able to meet the growing electricity generating needs of Iraq, which could not be met by future captured flared gas and thus a high growing demand for the KRI's gas. Obtaining financing for the huge development costs, estimated at \$3-4 bn<sup>15</sup> for Miran and Bina Bawi, would be relatively straightforward given the favourable demand dynamics.

Development of the Kirkuk related fields, by building upon the recent Government of Iraq (GoI)-KRG agreement to resume partial exports from these fields<sup>16</sup>, provides the second advantage for the KRI within a federal Iraq. The first stage would increase the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Alex Barnes, "Competitive European gas markets are a reality", EURACTIV Network, September 11, 2018, https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/opinion/competitive-european-gas-markets-are-a-reality/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The figure of \$3-4 bn is inclusive of mid-stream (i.e. concentrates on the processing, transportation, and storage) and is obtained from research reports by analysts at Pareto Securities, November 9, 2018, http://www.paretosec.com.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> David Sheppard, Chloe Cornish and Anjli Raval, "*Iraq resumes oil exports from Kirkuk*", November 16, 2018, https://www.ft.com/content/1b3347de-e99e-11e8-885 c-e64da4c0f981.



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utilization rate of the KRG export pipeline to 45-50%<sup>17</sup> by increasing exports to 450,000-500,000 bbl/d<sup>18</sup>. The next stage would be to combine the expansion plans of GoI's to double the capacity of the Kirkuk related fields<sup>19</sup> to 750,000 bbl/b, with the increased production capacity of the KRG controlled Khurmala Dome<sup>20</sup>, to take the potential output of the Kirkuk fields to about 1,000,000 bbl/d<sup>21</sup> from about 450,000 bbl/d in 2017. These would dramatically increase the profitability of the pipeline and importantly increase the value of these exports to Turkey through the increased fees collected for the oil that is shipped through Turkey's Cihan port. This would meaningfully enhance Iraq's bargaining power with Turkey over many issues, particularly the water flow of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The positives of the gas and oil advantages, while significant, would be in addition to the many other KRI advantages which together would provide the economic wherewithal for the peoples of the KRI "to freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" and live in prosperity in their homeland.

However, their realization would require a level of political maturity, that is currently lacking, by both the KRG and the GoI, but would be achievable if the KRG were to seek the economic well-being of the Kurds outside the myopic narrow confines of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The KRG increased the capacity of the pipleline form 700,000 bbl/d to 1,000,000 bbl/d. Nayla Razzouk and Abbas Al Lawati, "*Iraq's Kurds Add Pipeline Capacity to Export Kirkuk Oil*", November 4, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-11-04/iraq-s-kurds-add-capacity-to-oil-pipeline-to-export-kirkuk-crude.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The KRG's exports were 400,000 bbl/d, while the partial resumed exports from Kirkuk related exports would be 50,000-100,000 bbl/d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Huda Majeed & Ahmed Rasheed, "UPDATE 2-Iraq and BP sign deal to boost Kirkuk crude output - oil ministry", Reuters, January 18, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/iraq-oil-kirkuk/update-2-iraq-and-bp-sign-deal-to-boost-kirkuk-crude-output-oil-ministry-idUSL8N1PD28U.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "Khurmala Dome", Wood McKenzie report, November 28, 2018, https://www.woodmac.com/reports/upstream-oil-and-gas-khurmala-dome-11916490.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "Iraq oil: Upstream ambitions undimmed, infrastructure remains key", APICORP Energy Report, December 2018, http://www.apicorp.org/Research/Ener-gyReseach/2018/APICORP\_Energy\_Research\_V03\_N15\_2018.pdf.



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traditional notions of sovereignty, and for the GoI to accept that the Kurds and other Iraqi minorities are full members of federal Iraq, in both the spirit and letter of the constitution.



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# **Exodus of the Youth and the Future of the Kurds**





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The backbone that provides stability and prosperity for any society is its middle class. They have the intellectual capacities and the financial reserves to overcome crises and push an entire national towards a better future. A nation without a middle class has little potential to advance.

In a number of regions in the Middle East and Africa we currently see an exodus of middle-class youth who do not believe that their own country can offer them a life adequate to their skills and ambitions. Northern Iraq is one such region. When young people leave, it is usually the best educated and most dynamic and ambitious segment of their generation. Their loss has a detrimental effect on the society. The society is haemorrhaging its future intellectual, political and economic elite.

What is even more tragic, is that these young talents are losing out as well. If they survive the dangerous journey to Europe, the do not end up in the paradise they expected. Their chances of getting legal residence in Europe are small. In the worst case, they might be sent back home, after years of trying and losing their best years. If they are allowed to stay, the vast majority will do menial, badly paid jobs, that no European wants. Those who have left their home country in search of careers, happiness and wealth will end up defeated and without either. Sensitisation of the youth about the real consequences of migration is a matter of survival for any nation, including the Kurdish.

## **Kurds – Statistically invisible**

Even though this article attempts to shed light on migratory movements of Kurdish people to Europe, we will not be able to provide exact figures but will use circumstantial evidence. Data available



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make it impossible to distinguish between Kurds and other nationalities in the region at any stage of the journey.

- **Prior to departure:** Smugglers cater to language groups. As Kurds usually speak Arabic or Farsi in addition to Kurdish languages, they are able to contract the services of different smuggling networks and it is impossible to quantify how many of their potential clients are ethnic Kurds.
- *En route:* Migration studies look at migratory flows along geographic routes and provide summary figures. As Kurds migrate together with other ethnic groups, they are not discernible as a separate entity and it is not possible to disaggregate the data.
- *Upon arrival:* Asylum statistics in Europe register citizenship only. Thus, Kurds do not represent a statistical category, they are registered as Iraqis, Iranians, Turks etc. and blend in.

For these reasons, the article presents facts and trends, but cannot provide exact figures. If not indicated differently, the information in this article is based on numerous interviews with refugees and migrants as well as the author's own research of smuggling patterns. The article aims as explaining what is waiting for the young Kurdish men and few women who leave their home countries expecting to find a better life in Europe. Unfortunately, their hope is often based on illusions and the self-serving propaganda of smugglers.

# Part I — Departure and Journey

Though illegal, people smuggling is a voluntary transaction between consenting parties, a service provider and a client. (It should not be confused with "trafficking in humans". Trafficking involves

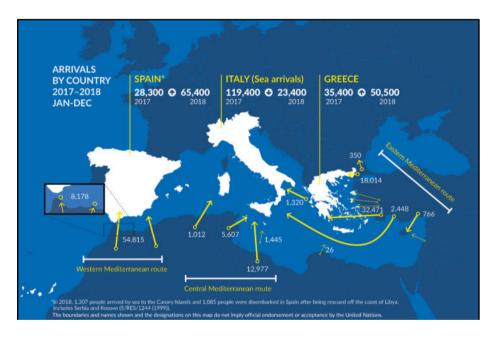


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deceit, coercion and exploitation. The person is trafficked against his/her will.)

The smuggling business is demand-driven and profitable and – according to Europol – the fastest growing branch of international organized crime. In regions where the need arises, transnational criminal networks move in quickly.



*Illustration 1:* There are three major routes of irregular migration to Europe: the Western, Central and Eastern Mediterranean Route.<sup>1</sup>

It is often (former) drug and arms dealer rings which "diversify" their business and start transporting people. For the smugglers, it is

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> © UNHCR, data 2018; further reading: Belinda Robinson, "Mapped: The new back door route migrants are taking to reach Europe", Daily Express, 18 August 2017. Available at: https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/841925/migrants-EU-back-door-smugglers-peo ple-traffickers-black-sea-new-route (accessed: 6 September 2018).



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by far less dangerous to transport people across borders compared to running arms or drugs. Moreover, it is socially less stigmatised – at least in countries of origin and transit of Kurdisgh migrants. Moving in an irregular manner across international borders is obviously illegal and dangerous. This is why people use the services of smugglers which are easily available at all stages of the trip.



Illustration 2: East Mediterranean Route, Oct. 2014. © Asylum-Europe <sup>2</sup>

## The modus operandi of smugglers

Providers and clients get in touch through direct interaction at popular departure points or via Social Media. Offers on Social Media are in Dari/Farsi, Arabic and – increasingly – in Sorani language. Sorani speaking smugglers use mainly Facebook to reach the community,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> © Asylum-Europe, data 2014; further reading: Mixed Migration Centre, *Monthly Trend Analysis MMC Middle East & Eastern Mediterranean*, July 2018. Available at http://www.mixedmigration.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/MTA-me-1807.pdf (accessed 6 September 2018).



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Instagram being not so common for the time being, but the use of digital tools is changing fast. There are dozens of active Sorani Facebook accounts. It is quite common for smugglers to have more than 4000 friends on Facebook and each post generates numerous reactions.

On their advertisements, smugglers use quite sophisticated tools such as visual signs and audio messages for the illiterate as well as Google Earth, Google Maps, flags of EU countries, and photos of important personalities (for instance Angela Merkel's picture) and they post success stories of people they have transported to boost their credibility and attract new customers.



Illustration 3: NOTE: This and following images in Part II are screenshots of smuggler accounts on Social media in Sorani language dating from August 2016. Some of them are no longer online at the time of writing. For security reasons the sources cannot be revealed. Names and faces are concealed.



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Sorani speaking smugglers promote trips from Erbil to Turkey as well as onward trips from Turkey to Italy, Greece, Germany, France and the UK. They use Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary as transit countries. In August/September 2017, they widely promoted trips via the Black Sea from Turkey to Romania and then to Germany by truck which is a relatively new route.



Illustration 4: A 40-minute car trip from Turkey to Greece cost USD 2,500 in summer 2018 and journeys on trucks from Turkey to Germany were offered for USD 11,000. Children under the age of nine pay half price.

The prices of Sorani speaking smugglers are slightly higher than those of Farsi and Arabic speaking smugglers, and they prefer US-Dollars to Euro. For example: In August 2018 the average price of a boat trip from Turkey to Italy was EUR 2,700 on offers in Farsi, EUR 6,000 in Arabic offers and USD 7,500 by a Sorani speaking smuggler.



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Apparently, the smuggling business is largely unencumbered by border controls, as several smugglers are able to offer regular weekly trips between Northern Iraq and Turkey for USD 900.

In the following Facebook post the smuggler offers boat trips from Turkey to Greece calling them euphemistically "weekend rides". Potential clients are provided a number to call via "WhatsApp", "Messenger", "imo" or "Viber", to seal the deal:



Illustration 5: A smuggler offers boat trips from Turkey to Greece.



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The nice boats shown on Facebook however are very different from the overcrowded dangerous ones used in reality. As smugglers want to minimise risks and maximise their profits, they use cheap vessels, often rubber boats. Also, they never board those ships themselves so as not to be caught by law enforcement.

Illustration 6: This is apparently an offer for people who are not fully literate and is therefore using pictograms. It describes the trip from Greece to Italy (by truck embarked on a cargo ships), Turkey to Greece (by taxi) and from France to the UK (by truck). This particular account has been closed down by the time this article was written.





Illustration 7: Smugglers are offering international trips and use modern technology to promote them which indicates that the trips are being organized by far-reaching crime syndicates and not isolated actors.

At the beginning of August, a smuggler account presented the entire journey from Turkey to Hungary via Bulgaria and Romania on Google Maps. There were photos of the cities and distances to cross, the location of bus stops at each border where potential migrants and



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smugglers meet as well as means of public transport such as buses, trains and taxis. This page has been closed down since.

More evidence of the activities of international networks is provided by the fact that smugglers also sell fake and stolen ID documents on Social Media and must have access to corrupt officials in embassies as they can provide visas for multiple countries.



*Illustration 8*: This is a Facebook post in Sorani language as of end August 2018 offering French visa for EUR 12,000.

Recently, numerous closures of smuggler accounts have been observed, possibly due to a crackdown by law enforcement agencies. This might also be why we see a rise in the number of accounts in Sorani. Many law enforcement agencies use computer translation programs when searching smuggler pages. However, Sorani is not



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part of Google Translate and cannot be detected unless the agency employs Sorani speakers.

## Refugee or Migrant?

Smugglers could not conduct their business if there was no demand for irregular migration and if there were no people trying to get Europe in search of a better life. More often than not their customers are unaware of the crucial legal distinction between refugees and migrants until they arrive in Europe and lodge an asylum claim.

A <u>refugee</u> is person who has been forced to flee his or her country because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. The most common causes for flight are political, ethnic, tribal or religious violence. The refugee definition is stipulated in the 1951 Geneva Convention and legally binding for all signatory states. One of the most fundamental principles laid down in international law is that refugees must not be expelled or returned to situations where their life and freedom would be under threat. When they lodge an asylum claim they will receive international protection, be it asylum or humanitarian status.

<u>Migrants</u> are persons who take a voluntary decision to leave home in search of economic security, education and better opportunities or for family reasons. Unlike refugees, migrants are not under a direct threat of persecution or death in their home country and can therefore be sent back. In view of increasingly restrictive migration policy in Europe, migrants who arrive by irregular routes will most likely not get the chance to stay or obtain legal residence. So, they run a high risk of being deported home and lose all the money they invested to get to Europe.



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## Part II — Situation upon Arrival<sup>3</sup>

Most young Kurds who set out for Europe are aware that the trip might be dangerous, but they think it is worth it. Experience shows that there are many more dangers than expected and that in many cases the suffering and the financial loss is not rewarded by a good life in Europe or the possibility to take care of families back home financially. The situation differs from one transit country to another.

## **Turkey**

Turkey is the last transit country before Europe. There are reports of police violence, detention, fines that have to be paid. People get stuck for many months because they have to work to pay for onwards smuggling. Some individuals are intercepted at land or sea borders and brought back to Turkey. A small number or irregular migrants is returned from Greece to Turkey under the EU-Turkey agreement<sup>4</sup> (390 Syrians and 63 Iraqis between April 2016 and August 2018).

At sea, 99 died in 5 incidents in the first semester of 2018 which is twice as many as in 2017. On land routes, at least 17 people drowned in the Evros River between Turkey and Greece, including young children. An additional 13 persons were killed in car and train accidents. En route to Greece, at least 140 persons reported incidents of sexual abuse in the first semester of 2018, but it is safe to assume that many more incidents go unreported due to a reluctance of irregular migrants to get in touch with authorities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> All figures for this chapter cover the period from January to July 2018 if not indicated otherwise. Source: UNHCR Operational Portal Refugee Situations, Available at: https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations (accessed 6 September 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, 'Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Turkey on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation', March 2016. Available at https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex:22014A0507(01) (accessed 6 September 2018).



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Illustration 9: UNHCR map<sup>5</sup>

#### Greece

As of July 2018, 61,000 asylum-seekers were staying in Greece, roughly 16,000 on the islands and 45,000 on the mainland. 40% of the asylum seekers in Greece are men, 24% women and 36% children (600 of them travelling without an adult). 26,000 new arrivals were registered between January and June. Of those, 16,000 came by sea and 10,000 by land. 35.3% came from Syria and 21.2% from Iraq. There is no way to know how many of them are Kurds. Reception and Identification Centres in Greece are seriously overcrowded, housing three times their capacity and the situation is worsening. Hygienic conditions are abominable, and riots and violence among refugees are a common occurrence. UNHCR only has accommodation for one third of the people (21,000)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> UNHCR, 'Desperate Journey January 2017 – March 2018', March 2018. Available at https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/63039 (acc. 11 Sept. 2018).



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apartment places in 22 cities). Some vulnerable individuals receive cash assistance. Many migrants and refugees are homeless, including families and unaccompanied minors. The EU has a plan to relocate asylum seekers from Greece to other Member States, but the process is slower than the rate of new arrivals. In the first half of 2018, 22,000 people left Greece while in the same period 26,000 new arrivals were registered.

#### Balkans

Crossing the Balkans is a long and difficult journey. Many borders are tightly controlled or closed off by fences. So, people keep listening to rumours about openings here and there and move back and forth between different countries. On the Balkans Route, the scale of abuses by smugglers is lower than in the Central Mediterranean, but they exist nonetheless. There are reports of migrants being held captive to extort more money, being left without food and water. Robberies by local gangs have been observed as well. At least 26 people were killed in 22 separate incidents while travelling irregularly through the Balkans. Of these, 12 drowned, most of them at the Croatian-Slovenian border. Push backs are recorded from Bulgaria, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, FYROM, Hungary, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Slovenia. People are denied access to asylum procedures. Sometimes they are even forcibly sent to countries they have not even crossed previously (e.g. from Croatia to Serbia).

#### Serbia

Irregular migrants on average spend 18 months in Serbia while trying to find a way forward into an EU country. Just under 4,000 are officially registered and assisted, but no one knows the actual number.



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## Hungary

Hungary is completely closed off by a fence with two transit zones left where asylum-seekers can submit their claim. Fewer and fewer persons are admitted each week. Currently, 10 persons per week are allowed to enter. Once in Hungary, they are automatically detained. New legislation restricts assistance to refugees by NGOs or private individuals. People trying to cross the fence are immediately turned back to Serbia (19,000 in the first semester of 2018). Those who make it into Hungary illegally are not given access to the asylum procedure when intercepted but detained and often returned to Serbia (280 persons in 2018).

## Bosnia and Herzegovina

Over 10,000 arrivals have been recorded in Bosnia and Herzegovina by end July 2018. The government has reception capacities for no more than 400 people. The rest live in hard conditions in improvised tented camps and dilapidated buildings or in the streets.

#### **Old EU Member States**

Migrants who pass the ordeal of the Balkans route and make it to Central Europe and onward, only to find out the hard way what the smugglers did not tell them. They often are surprised that they are not allowed to choose their destination country but have to stay where their fingerprints were first registered (Dublin II Regulation). If they leave on their own, they will be sent back forcibly. And even if they manage to get to the country of their dreams, they will soon see that they are not welcome.

## Mass accommodation and no access to jobs

Asylum-seekers are placed in crowded mass accommodation centres, often in remote areas, where they receive only basic food, primary health care and primary education. In several European



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countries their movement is restricted to certain regions. They usually do not get cash assistance but very little pocket money at best. In most countries, asylum-seekers have to wait up to two years for the first asylum interview, and it may take many more years until they obtain a final decision about their future status. So, they live in limbo for a long time, not knowing if they will have the right to stay or be sent back. Access to employment and higher education is restricted during that time in most countries.

## Recognised refugees struggle with integration

Some do make it. In the EU+ region (including Norway and Switzerland) 94% of Syrian citizens and 56% of Iraqi citizens obtained asylum or humanitarian status in 2017, which includes an unknown number of ethnic Kurds.

Then integration starts in earnest. Refugees need to leave their reception centre and find a place to live on a continent where affordable accommodation is scarce. Moreover, many landlords do not want to rent out to refugees.

When looking for jobs, they discover that they cannot get a job in their previous field of work without language skills and diplomas recognized in the EU. Often, advanced language and computer skills are required even for blue collar jobs.

Many refugees are not aware that will not be allowed to travel to their home country with their refugee travel documents. If they do they will immediately lose their protection status. So, going home for Eid or visiting the family for marriages or funerals is out of the question.

Adaptation to the new societies reaches very personal levels: Family structures change. Children will want to behave differently from



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home. They want to dress as they like, go out with friends of both genders, even smoke and drink. Wives will also change their attitude and demand more freedom for themselves and support in the household. The number of refugee wives filing for divorce in Europe is increasing and has become a constant topic of discussion on Social Media. No wonder that some people decide to return.

## Voluntary and forced returns

Not all returns are voluntary, and EU Member States are stepping up their efforts to forcibly return rejected asylum seekers. Such return pogrammes also involve Kurds from Iraq. In 2016, at least 26 Kurdish asylum-seekers have been deported from Britain and – at the time – over 70 more were imprisoned awaiting return.<sup>6</sup>

In February 2018, the German authorities expressed their hope of repatriating 10,000 Iraqi refugees to Iraq through the establishment of migration advisory centres in the Kurdistan Region and in Baghdad.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Rudaw Media Network, 'Britain deports 26 Kurdish asylum seekers, imprisons 70: monitor', 29 March 2018. Available at http://www.rudaw.net/english/world/290320 181 (accessed 8 September 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Nadia Riva, 'Germany to repatriate thousands of Iraqis to Kurdistan, Baghdad', Kurdistan 24, 29 March 2018. Available at http://www.kurdistan24.net/en/news/058c2408-dd80-48c0-b7af-d08fa1185a80 (accessed 8 September 2018).



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Illustration 10: In 2016 Rassul, a young Iraqi Kurd, could not stand it after a year in Austria. He had wanted to go to Sweden, but was not allowed because his fingerprints were registered in Austria. Then his mother fell sick and he asked IOM to be brought back to Iraq. By the time he finally made it, his mother had died.8

## Part III – EU Internal & External Refugee Policy

Since 2015, when a million asylum-seekers arrived in Europe, the attitude towards migrants and asylum-seekers in the European population as well as the responses of governments to the influx have become increasingly negative. The 27 EU Member States have proved incapable of finding a common solution. Instead, each government is driving its national policy which in most cases aims at shifting responsibilities for those who are already in Europe and closing the borders and externalizing asylum for those who wish to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Heidi Huber, , Ticket ohne Rückflug – Irakischer Flüchtling verlässt Salzburg', Salzburger Nachrichten, 1. Februar 2016. Available at http://www.sn.at/salzburg/chronik/ ticket-ohne-rueckflug-irakischer-fluechtling-verlaesst-salzburg-1777510 (accessed 6 September 2018).



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come. The growing influence of far-right parties in complicity with tabloid media have created a feeling of panic about a seemingly unmanageable onslaught of refugees.

A sober assessment of the data reveals that the problem is mainly one of distribution and management within the EU. In absolute numbers, Germany, Italy and France host the most refugees. Per capita, Greece and Cyprus are on top of the list with over 5,000 per 1 million inhabitants. This is still by far lower than in countries such as Jordan with 173,000 or Lebanon with 89,000 refugees per 1 million inhabitants.9

In all, a minority of countries, at the EU external borders as well as Germany, Sweden and Austria are processing the vast majority asylum claims and there is no consensus on responsibility sharing. In fact, the countries that have the fewest asylum-seekers and refugees, the so called Visegrad Group (V4), are the ones most afraid of new arrivals, and they are vigorously pushing an anti-refugee agenda in the EU. The V4 is composed of Slovakia (27 asylumseekers per 1 million citizens), Poland (79 / 1 million) Czech Republic (108 / 1 million) Hungary (318 / 1 million). Their strategy is echoed by Austria, Italy and the German Federal State of Bavaria who all have far right parties in the governments.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Niall McCarthy, 'Lebanon Still Has Hosts The Most Refugees Per Capita By Far', Forbes, 3 April 2017. Available at https://www.forbes.com/sites/niallmccarthy/2017 /04/03/lebanon-still-has-hosts-the-most-refugees-per-capita-by-far-infographic/#4af fa8083970 (accessed 9 September 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Das Statistik-Portal, 'Europäische Union: Anzahl der erstmaligen Asylbewerber je eine Million Einwohner\* in den Mitgliedsstaaten im Jahr 2017', Statista, 2019. Available at https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/156549/umfrage/asylbe-wer-ber-ineuropa-2010/ (accessed 17 January 2019).



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## No common asylum standards

Since 1999 the EU has been working on the creation of a Common European Asylum System. What has been achieved until 2015 is now rapidly falling apart.

Below is a selection of headlines illustrating the developments of a recent weeks only. This information was collected by the Asylum Information Data base (AIDA) which is managed by the European Council on Refugees and Exiles:<sup>11</sup>

- *Portugal:* Persisting detention of children at the airport (4 September 2018)
- *Germany:* Measures restricting "*Church Asylum*" contradict case law (31 August 2018)
- Austria: Plans to abolish asylum seeker apprenticeships (30 August 2018)
- *Hungary:* Asylum seekers denied food following inadmissibility decisions (17 August 2018)
- *Italy:* Ministry circular urges restriction of humanitarian protection status (11 July 2018)

## Panic in Europe

What caused this panic in Europe? There are many reasons, but cultural fears are on top.

Egged on by right wing parties and tabloid media, Europeans are afraid of losing their identity to newcomers who have different ways of living, speaking and dressing, different views on democra-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> News and Updates from ADIA and our Partners. Available at http://www.asylum-ineurope.org/news (accessed 17 January 2019).



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cy, religion, morals and gender roles and who have a tendency of creating segregated ethnic and cultural bubbles.

NOTE: The following screenshots from news and updates on social media in July 2018 illustrating situations in France and Romania are not traceable since then any more:



Illustration 11: France, 6 July 2018

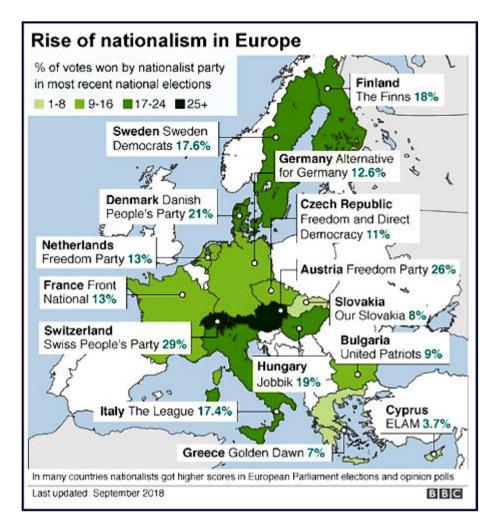


Illustration 12: Romania, 2 July 2018



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*Illustration 13:* Nationalist parties in Europe successfully use an antiforeigner rhetoric to gain votes<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> BBC News, 'Europe and nationalism: A country-by-country guide' [infographic], 10 September 2018. Available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-361300 06 (accessed 10 September 2018).



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The European working class is afraid that all these newcomers are burdening the social system, including education and health care and are they are competing with them on the labour market.

Also, there have been incidents of large and small-scale Islamist terrorism which scare the population. Consequently, any transgression or crime committed by a migrant or refugee is blown out of proportion by tabloids and right-wing politicians, reinforcing resentment. In addition, public discourse does not distinguish between irregular migrants and real refugees, between honest people and criminals, but stigmatizes all foreigners.

## Preventing access to EU territory

As a consequence, many European governments are rallying to tighten the external borders to prevent irregular migrants from accessing EU territory. Recently, there are more and more calls by European politicians for reducing or even stopping rescue operations at sea.

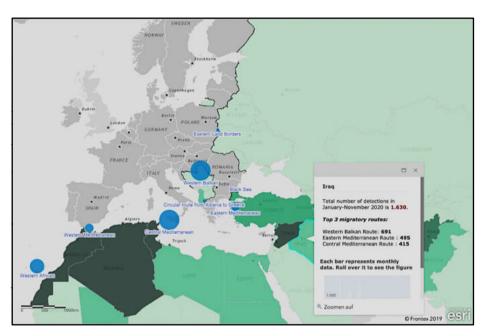
Several Member states such as Greece, Bulgaria, Hungary and Austria built fences at their southern borders. The European Union is massively reinforcing its common external border controls. The European Border and Coast Guard Agency Frontex plans to triple its budget und boost its personnel by a factor of 10 in the coming years.

In some cases, Kurds are directly affected by access restrictions. In April 2018, Greece started fearing a massive influx of Kurds fleeing Syria and, in collaboration with Frontex, took preventive measures to restrict their entry.



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*Illustration 14*: © FRONTEX: This map of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency documents new arrivals with emphasis on Iraq between January and November 2020 trying to enter the European Union.<sup>13</sup>

So, if the EU does not want refugees to move on to their territory, the logical step would be to help them in the crisis region, by supporting the neighbouring countries. That would be cheaper for Europe and less dangerous for the refugees. But it is not happening. As of early September 2018, the UN inter-agency Syrian Regional Response Plan was underfunded by 60%<sup>14</sup> (see graph below):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Further reading: Sputnik News, 'Greece Tightens Border as Kurds Flee Syria Following Turkish Invasion', Online Photograph, [Marko Djurica, Reuters], 30 April 2018. Available at: https://sputniknews.com/europe/201804301064022394-greece-border-turkey-mi-grants/ (accessed 7 September 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> UNHCR, '3RP 2018-19 Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan –Quarterly Update – Achievements' June 2018. Available at https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/ download/65425 (accessed 7 September 2018).



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Illustration 15: © UNHCR graph.

There is one other anti-refugee strategy gaining popularity in the European Union, the externalization of asylum procedures to third countries. The idea of instituting refugee reception centres outside EU territory has been discussed off and on over many years, but no concrete steps were ever taken.

These days, this concept is in the cards again. On 28 June 2018, the European Council endorsed the plan for "regional disembarkation platforms", meaning that migrants rescued at sea would not automatically be brought to EU territory but to a centre in a non-EU country, preferably in North Africa where their asylum claims would be processed.

There is a major practical obstacle though: No state outside the EU is prepared to open such a centre on its territory. The alternative, processing centres on EU soil, has been tried already in Greece and has not been working so far as discussed earlier in this text.

So, what is the conclusion? Refugees and migrants keep trying to get to Europe. In the absence of a comprehensive strategy to deal with irregular migration the EU is somewhat randomly taking steps for barring irregular entry. Many migrants are losing their lives or at least their money and hopes on the way to a good life in Europe.



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The only ones constantly benefitting from this development are international criminal smuggling networks making "a killing" both in the figurative and literal sense of the phrase.



Illustration 16: © Wikipedia, back-view: "Greece 2010 refugees/immigrants in Fylakiodetention center Thrace Evros, Greece."

## Dr. Melita H. Šunjić

Born 1955 Rijeka, Croat family former Jugoslavia; came 1957 as refugee-child to Austria; lived with parents in UNHCR refugee-camps there. 1986 Ph.D. Communication Sciences, Univ. of Vienna, since 1988 lecturer. Worked as journalist and 25 years for UNHCR as spokesperson and researcher in Africa, Asia, the Balkans and also Iraq. Executive Director of Transcultural Campaigning, a communication agency specializing in migration and refugee information. Latest publication available in German: Šunjić, M. H. (2021). Those who dream of Europe - Modalities of flight and migragration. Vienna: Picus.



© Kosar Othman Amin; Eskandari private

# Iran and the Kurds



Ahmad Eskandari

Forty years ago, exactly at these days, I was among those millions of demonstrators who participated in the revolution against the Shah's regime in Iran. In Kurdistan, we never repeated the religious slogan "Independence, Freedom, an Islamic Republic"! We demanded instead Equality, Fraternity and a democratic republic. The Kurds were very hopeful to get their national rights recognised in the way of the revolution and after only 10 days, took part in the first negotiation with representatives of the new regime. Kurdistan did not participate in the referendum for Islamic Republic in April 1979 due to ambiguities about the content of the eventual constitution, and the rest of the story is well-known.

The huge demonstration in Tehran 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1979, on the occasion of the International women's day, less than one month after the revolution and then the bloody Newroz [New Year is 21<sup>st</sup> of March], in Sanandaj, the capital city of Kurdistan, was warning indications to be aware of the route that the new rulers would take.

However, not many intellectuals and political analysts could foresee the political, economic and social developments that followed. Forty years later, the women's issue and the Kurdish question along with many other democratic freedoms, for workers, students, teachers, journalists, writers, artists and so on are still unresolved, alongside with deep economic and political crisis which has made life very difficult for the majority Iranians. Added to this is the fact the regime in Tehran is on a collision course with many countries in the region.

## Safavid dynasty 1501-1736

In order to understand the core of the current Islamic regime in Iran, we need to go back to the Safavid dynasty. It was Shah Ismail



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I the founder of the Safavid dynasty who at the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century, to confront the rival Ottoman empire, transformed the country into a Shia majority kingdom and proclaimed Twelver Shi'ism to be the official and compulsory religion of Iran. When some commanders reminded him of eventual dangerous consequences, the King replied, as Roger M Savory, indicates in 'Safavid Persia': "In this job, God and Imams will support us, and if people want to make the slightest resistance, we will answer with the sword!" Subsequently they dissolved Sunni Brotherhoods and executed anyone who refused to comply to the newly implemented Shi'ism.<sup>2</sup>

The Othoman Sunni Muslims were following the progress of the Safavids and were apprehensive about a growing Shiite power that might put their authority in danger in the eastern part of their empire. After a series of wars in which Shah Ismail achieved considerable victories, the Safavid king suffered a major defeat by the army of Sultan Selim I in the battle of Chaldiran in 1514. For the Kurds, this date is considered to be the first division of Kurdistan between the two empires. For the rulers of the Safavid dynasty, two factors were important: Shi'ism and greatness of their empire. When allocating main roles and responsibilities in the administration and the army, it was important to choose people with Shi'it allegiance. This is true even in today's Iran and is still very evident in Kurdistan.

The Safavids reigned for more than two hundred years until 1736. However, their political and cultural impact persisted throughout the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Savory, R. M. (1970). *'Safavid Persia'* in Cambridge History of Islam, vol. 1, P.M. Holt, A.K.S. Lambton, & B. Lewis (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; p.p. 50 cf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cleveland, W. L. and Bunton, M. P. (2013). "A History of the Modern Middle East". Boulder: Westview Press, p. 52.



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dynasties that followed them until 1979 revolution in Iran in which the Islamic Republic of Iran came to power. The new regime transformed the Shi'ism and greatness of Safavid, into Shi'ism and an expansionist Iranian nationalism.

## The Sykes - Picot agreement

The Sykes – Picot agreement of 1916 did not have any effect on territories of Iranian Kurdistan since it was aimed at dividing the spoils of the Ottoman empire. However, fragmentation of that empire was good news for Iran since it resulted among other things in the dissolution of a powerful and aggressive adversary neighbour, creation of a weak government in neighbouring Iraq and partition of Kurdistan. Even if at that time, the ruling Qajar dynasty was disappearing, the way was paved for a new strong man, Reza Shah who founded the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925 and ruled the country with iron hands until his forced abdication in 1941 following the occupation of Iran by allied powers Great Britain & Soviet Union. His son Mohamad Reza replaced him.

With the exception of the short period of the Kurdish Republic of 1946 in Mahabad, the situation did not change for the Kurds under the Shah. The Kurdish people participated actively in the revolution of 1979 hoping to embrace democracy and an end to national oppression.

## Iranian revolution and expectations

The establishing of Islamic Republic in Iran proved definitely that the Kurds could not expect a better situation under the new rulers. Encounters erupted very soon between a people who had just participated in bringing down the brutal regime of the Shah, and a new authoritarian regime which proved to be even more brutal than the



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former one. However, the new rulers came into conflict even with other social groups of Iranian society. The freedom loving people and organisations were severely crushed among others through mass executions in the 1980s. The Iran–Iraq war with all its catastrophic and devastating consequences for the human resources, infrastructure and whole political life and economy of the country, had also severe impact on the democratic movement. The war was used as an excuse to exterminate all potential opposition forces and show that no alternative to this regime had a chance.

## Kurdistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran

Despite very early peaceful political initiatives, meeting with delegations of the provisional Iranian government in Kurdistan as well as in Tehran, clashes erupted very soon and just about one month after the revolution. Even negotiating with the person of Ayatollah Khomeini, the prime minister Mehdi Bazargan and other officials – by the spiritual leader of the Kurds, Sheikh Ezzedin Hosseini and KDPI leader Dr. A. R. Ghassemlou, did not lead to any settlement.

On 19 August 1979, Khomeini ordered a holy war (Jihad) against the people of Kurdistan and a full-scale war was launched. The Kurdish movement resisted and after three months Khomeini asked for negotiated settlement; all Kurdish political parties answered positively, a cease-fire was declared and the 'Delegation of the Representatives of Kurdish People' was formed.<sup>3</sup> Neither this body nor other forms of peace-seeking efforts were fruitful. The aggressive operations of the Iranian armed forces restarted in April 1980 and with the Iran–Iraq war, Kurdistan became the theatre of two

<sup>3</sup> The 'Delegation of the Representatives of Kurdish People' was formed in which Sheikh Ezzedin was chief, the late Dr. Ghasemlou from KDPI was spokesman, with Komala and

the Kurdistan branch of the Fedaiyn as members of this negotiating body.



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destructive wars. Up to this day, no cease-fire has been announced in Iranian Kurdistan.

Political parties and leaders of Kurdistan were accused of being warmongering and having tried to breakdown the negotiation process. There are a lot of evidences that prove the opposite, but I made a simple search on Khomeini's official internet site called "Sahife-ye Imam Khomeini" and picked up just three passages. This is relevant even with regards to the recent rocket attacks on the KDP & KDPI headquarters as well as an Iranian Kurdish refugee camp in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region's Koya town.

- 1. On 19 August 1979: "I have just received the news stating that. [...] The army and its organisations have been surrounded and if no help arrives, all weapons will be confiscated. Besides, our women have been kidnapped and taken to the main Mosque of Sanandaj, [...] I order all forces to move towards Kurdistan immediately."<sup>4</sup>
- 2. On 17 November 1979: "I ask the special good-will delegation [of the provisional government] to go on with the negotiation with religious and political and national personalities [...] in order to remove all cultural, economic and political discrimination on the layers of the nation. (Sic!)"<sup>5</sup>
- 3. On 20<sup>th</sup> July 1980: "The day they wanted to go to Kurdistan for negotiations, I warned them if you want to negotiate, you have to do it from a position of power. First, let the armed forces surround them, encircle them, then you go and talk to them. But negligence prevailed."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Sahife-ye Imam, Volume 13, pp 46-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sahife-ye Imam, Volume 9, pp 306. http://en.imam-khomeini.ir/en/c5\_3240/Book/English/SAHIFEH-YE IMAM Volume 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sahife-ye Imam, Volume 11, pp 55.



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Needless to say, both the governor of Kurdistan province appointed by the interior minister and the representative of Khomeini there, had at the time sent telegrams denying any unusual armed activities or kidnapping in Sanandaj.

Well, we had to wait until 2004 to read the version of Iranian officials and Khomeini's representatives who participated in the negotiations, reciting the events of those years, to understand that we were right! A special number of a publication in Tehran, "Cheshmandaz-e Iran, special number on Kurdistan" interviews those officials and they tell very interesting stories unheard from authorised sources in Iran. Among others, these persons say explicitly that they never wanted to negotiate with the Kurdish political parties, they intended to take Sheikh Ezzedin to Qom in order to put him under house arrest. An army general says that Iranian army started the war in Kurdistan and one of the main negotiators states that he would rather have his fingers cut than sign a document that would give the Kurds autonomy!<sup>8</sup>

According to their standpoint, no national oppression of the Kurds exists and therefore they do not deserve any rights related to something that is non-existence. Any efforts or demands for democratic changes by the Kurdish women, students, workers, writers and so on is alleged to be secessionist. At the same time the authorities and official media – and even nationalistic tendencies abroad – try to influence the Iranian public opinion by stating the country will be partitioned if the Kurds get any national rights. They warned about the catastrophic consequences of the failed revolutions of the

<sup>7</sup> Cheshmandaz-e Iran special nr on Kurdistan 2004. http://www.meisami.net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> A detailed article analysing these interviews in Persian by Ahmad Eskandari, August 2018; http://www.hellwest.com/fa/home-2-2.



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Arab spring countries. Even religion in Kurdistan is under pressure since the majority are Sunni Muslims.

Khomeini used to say that all Muslims are equal in Iran and the oppression of the past has affected everybody in the same way. What he said in the name of Islam, is now repeated by officials and even by nationalists inside and outside Iran who claim that the Kurds need no more rights than other Iranian citizen. Hence, they deny national rights for the Kurds and other nationalities and ethnic groups in Iran. This idea implies that everybody in Iran is freely opting for a secondary position regarding language, culture, religion and so on. They do not see the collectives and deny any wrong doing by present and previous regimes. Following the tradition of the Safavid dynasty, the high positions in the administration and the army in Iran are not accessible to non-Shi'ite and in many cases ethnic affiliation is a negative aspect for a qualified person. Obviously, this attitude is harmful to the peaceful coexistence of different peoples in a country that is multi-linguistic, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural.

Amir Hassanpour observed that: "criminalization of Kurdish culture created antagonism between Turkish and Kurdish peoples and their cultures." The question of territorial integrity and unity of the country is taken to school classes. Evidence of such an attitude is what Mohammad Bathaei, Iranian education minister, stated in a visit to Fars province, last July. "In some areas, we have seen teaching in local languages, which is a very dangerous matter. Schools are the only place that can promote the Persian language as a red line of the

<sup>9</sup> Wanderings in *Adalar Sahilinde by Amir Hassanpour*: https://books.openedition.org/ifeagd/2220?lang=en.

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*unity of Iran*", the minister said. <sup>10</sup> The comical here is that the minister happens to contradict Article 15<sup>th</sup> of Iranian Constitution. <sup>11</sup>

## Armed struggle: a choice or a compulsion?

The question of recourse to weapon has always been a controversial one, not for the Kurds, but for those who support the indoctrination of the Iranian authorities. Ever since the first armed clashes in Kurdistan, there are abundant evidence to show that the Iranian armed forces have provoked and initiated the hostilities. Yes, there were many arms in the hands of young people in Kurdistan just after the revolution, but this was a phenomenon that could be seen in the capital Tehran and many other cities throughout Iran.

Military activities started very early against the Kurds. Only one month after the revolution, the phantom jets of the new regime flew over Kurdistan and broke the sound barrier causing a sonic boom that frightened the population over a very large area. Indeed, what happened was that the Kurdish militants had just resisted that aggression and due to the atrocities of the security and armed forces, they had to be on the defensive and thus take up weapon.

## Iran, a new regional power

The downfall of Saddam Hussein in Iraq and Taliban in Afghanistan created a golden opportunity for the Islamic Regime in Iran. The leaders of the country who had been very careful not to provoke the US and its allies, observed and benefited from the chaos

 $^{\rm 10}$  https://www.farsnews.com: Persian language is our red line in our school education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Article 15: Persian is the official and common language and script of the people of Iran. However, use of regional and ethnic languages in the press, the mass media, and the teaching of their literature at schools, alongside the Persian language, is freely permitted. http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/ir/ir001en.pdf.



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generated in Iraq. Progressively and with help from its allies in Baghdad and elsewhere in the adjacent countries, Iran became a powerful player in the region. In addition, they used all means they had to put pressure on Kurdistan Regional Government and in this respect, they had to take even Turkey into consideration.

The regional ambitions of the Iranian rulers have come to a great cost for the people. While they provided political, military and economic assistance in Syria, Yemen, Lebanon and Iraq, the economy of the country could not afford that ambition and the population ended up in misery. The controversial presidential election of 2009 and the Green Movement that followed shook the country and at the same time it revealed internal weakness of the political system in Iran. A lot of activists throughout Iran asked why the movement had no repercussion in Kurdistan. The reason was clear. While the Kurds welcomed all engagements aiming to promote democracy in Iran, they could not support the Green Movement when its leaders and representatives had never mentioned Kurdistan and the Kurdish issue. Besides, when the democratic movement was active in Kurdistan and the activists were persecuted and executed, these so-called leaders then in position of power, chose to be silent.

The Nuclear Deal of July 2015 in Vienna between 5+1 and Iran was supposed to change the situation radically. The reformists tried to persuade the people that this would generate hope for change in Iran and optimism for the future. The result however, even before the withdrawal of Trump administration was not encouraging for the Iranian people and the Deal did not change anything in their daily life. In order to dissuade people from taking action against the regime, the complimentary media and intellectuals try to intimidate Iranians by presenting the chaotic and catastrophic situation in Syria, Yemen, Libya, Iraq and so on. In other words, the difficulties and shortages are accepted, but they claim that no one can



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do the job better, and if this regime disappears then chaos and partition of Iran is what the dissident people can expect to get.

# Civil disobedience in Kurdistan; mass strike

The consequences of national oppression in Kurdistan appear in different areas of political, social, economic and cultural life. Politically the recent mass strike throughout Kurdistan on 12<sup>th</sup> September 2018, showed that the people triggered by national repression, executions of political activists and stand by the Kurdish opposition parties. Civil disobedience has been the answer of the Kurds to terrorising political activists, rockets shelling against civil targets including headquarters of KDP and KDPI in Koye [Iraqi Kurdistan], putting pressure and killing environmental campaigners who resist among others, destruction of forests.

The enmity of this regime and economic difficulties it has created in Kurdistan is displayed very harshly in the border areas where cross-border porters known as Kolbar have systematically been under fire, shot dead and wounded in the border areas between Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan. These are young and elder people, sometimes with university degrees, from villages and towns in the border areas having no source of income, often the only bread-winners of their families.

Women are considered as the driving force in the future of Iran and Kurdistan. They have been very present in the society appearing as gender equality activists, students, teachers, writers, artist and organisers of events promoting democratic values for the whole society. In Kurdistan the women are on occasion presented just as Peshmarga or guerrilla fighters where they have been very active and have played important roles. However, sometimes Kurdish women's activities look like crawling through a minefield to rescue



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victims of violence, since they have to be very careful not to take a single wrong step that might provoke a patriarchal system, and religious or traditional norms.

# What Prospects for political parties in Kurdistan and Iran?

The recent mass strike had a very important message for the Kurdish political parties too, that the civil society is ready to participate in the struggle and asks for a common political platform with defined goals. At the same time the Iranian state acts to destroy any eventual alternative force or anyone that might pave the way for an eventual alternative to the regime. To the regime, the Kurdish political organisations are considered as a great obstacle that need to be undermined. The authorities use both Islamic rhetoric and Iranian nationalism to challenge the Kurdish movement. They would like to provoke military confrontation and as a result any peaceful and demo-cratic attempt by the Kurdish activists, let it be environmental, egalitarian concerning women or workers will be stopped.

The same is not true for Iran, where no political party is represented the way we see in Kurdistan. Despite the fact that conservative – reformist camps continue to play on the political stage in Iran, clear signs indicate that the people are fed up with their promises and claims to change. Corruption and repression are present more than ever.

# Never happened before in Iran

The events of December 2017 during which demonstrators chanted "Reformist Conservative! The game is up", pointing an accusing finger at the entire political system. Unrest expanded to more than 100 cities and towns where people asked for radical political changes. Challenging the expansionist aspirations of the regime,



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slogans like "Leave Syria alone, think about us!" and "No Gaza, no Lebanon, my life for Iran" were very popular.

Not only demonstrators, but even people like the former mayor of Tehran, who in a speech delivered in Isfahan to support the second term for president Rohani last April, said: "Yes, I also wish that in Syria, Lebanon and Yemen, peace is established, the oppressed protected and the Shia Muslims there strengthened. But can all these goals only be achieved through cash payments, delivery of arms, killings and beatings?"12 And at almost the same time, a brave student at Tabriz University challenged the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps' theoretician Hassan Abbasi and said: "Your ideology is the ideology of terrorism and fear, of sending weapons to the bloodthirsty dictator Bashar al-Assad, and of supporting him. Your ideology is to play with the nationalistic and religious beliefs of the people, defending non-existent shrines in Homs and Idlib. Your ideology places the budget of Iran in the bank account of Hezbollah in Lebanon. By Hasan Nasrallah's own admission, their weapons, their daily livelihood, their food, and even their underwear are provided through the budget of the Iranian people. My final word is that we shall never forgive or forget your treachery and your crimes."13

While the renewed sanctions by US is accelerating the crisis, corruption is on the rise, strikes among workers and many sectors of society is increasing, the flow of information reaches everybody in Iran and the social media networks have made it almost impossible for the regime to hide the problems.

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<sup>12</sup> http://www.bbc.com/persian/iran-39777618.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> http://www.mei.edu/content/io/iranian-student-rare-video-blasts-regime-repression-home-and-foreign-wars.



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In such a situation, any single incident in Kurdistan is amplified and attention is paid to the territorial integrity and danger to the unity of Iran. A woman activist working for gender equality in Kurdistan, unlike her equivalent in Tehran who puts forward the same arguments, is considered as a separatist affiliated to a Kurdish political organisation. As if demanding independence is not the right of the Kurdish nation. In the case of shelling KDP and KDPI head-quarters in Koye, the repercussions among nationalistic tendencies inside and outside Iran was very meagre.

# What prospect for Iran and Kurds?

Due to the geopolitical importance of the country and the latest developments in the Middle East, Iran has been demanding more and more of the cake while challenging not only US and its allies, but also Russian and Turkish interests in the region. From this viewpoint, the Iranian leaders assess their policies vis-à-vis the Kurds. The Kurds on the other hand have to take a conciliatory attitude and a balanced policy in order to be able to face the realities on the ground and have control over their country.

The KRG has a large border with Iran, just as it has with Turkey, and especially in the present political sphere of Iraq where Islamic Republic of Iran is omnipresent, a policy of pacific coexistence is essential. It is irresponsible and unrealistic to ask for unconditional support by KRG to other parties of Kurdistan. At the same time, demanding the parties of Iranian Kurdistan, to support unconditionally the political establishment of southern Kurdistan and KRG will lead all parts towards a weak and vulnerable position vis-à-vis Iran, and is detrimental to the Kurdish nation's cause in the region. While Iran is defending Shia Muslims wherever in the world, it is more than natural for the KRG to defend human rights of the Kurds in general regardless of geography. This is completely different



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from the armed struggle of this or that organisation using or not using the borders with KRG territories. This issue can be discussed separately.

Iran has its own policies towards Rojava and the PKK or its affiliated organisations. In the case of Rojava where the West considers them only as good fighters against Daesh, neglecting the political aspects of their struggle, Iran is putting pressure on them in order to make conciliatory actions towards Damascus, ignoring national repression of the Kurds and atrocities perpetuated by the Assad regime.

The political parties in Iranian Kurdistan are in a precarious situation. Even if they can count on support from inside Kurdistan, as we saw in the case of the recent mass strike, they had no other choice than to stay in areas under KRG protection. This has created difficulties for their organisation, members, families and their daily activities. Using persuasion and intimidation, the Islamic Republic of Iran wants to silence them and/or expel them from their present headquarters and looks forward to see them disappear! This will never happen as the history of at least the last 100 years of Kurdistan tells us. There is no military solution to the Kurdish issue. Nonetheless, regional conflicts with other states in the region and the big powers can have a bad influence on Iranian Kurdish parties present in the KRG areas.

But one thing should be clear. As long as these parties are not demanding independence for Kurdistan, and not one part of an overall organisation for all Iran, then they might enter into negotiation for a settlement with whoever in power in Tehran. No Kurdish political organisation can topple the central government in Iran alone. Just as no regime can ever eradicate the Kurdish movement. This might sound like a dilemma. On the one hand this regime is not ready to accept any rights for the Kurdish people, not even those very small



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details mentioned in the Constitution. On the other hand, the security apparatus and military machinery of the regime cannot be ignored.

As far as the Iranian trends are concerned, different reformists, nationalists and even some tendencies on the left, in Iran or abroad, are against a revolution! The question then is how such an ideological, authoritarian and military power can be deprived from its capabilities and be changed through peaceful demonstration?

Apart from the well-known political parties in Kurdistan, there are groups and trends who represent political Islam, forces that should not to be neglected. In some periods in the past they could carry out activities inside Iranian Kurdistan without being interfered with. They were tolerated to some extent by the regime hoping this can deter young people from joining the political parties of Kurdistan.

Taking into consideration the political map of Kurdistan and the diversity of the people surrounding it, the alternative of HDP in Bakur [Turkey] and the experience of Rojava might be very useful to follow even if not agreeing with them totally.

# Internal conflict and civil society

Considering the very sad history of armed conflicts among Kurdish organisations in all parts of Kurdistan, it is of great importance for them to ban any resort to arms in any challenging situation. All sides should abide by the principle of dialog and peaceful settlement.

No democratic progress would be possible if there is no active civil society which is kept outside the influence of political parties. Civil society should not be considered as political territories to be conquered by rival organisations.



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This would be possible only if the political parties cooperate on a minimum common platform and abandon any eventual hostility which can be easily used by unfriendly powers. It is obvious that respecting democratic rules within the Kurdish society is of great importance. Fighting against tyranny does not automatically mean that dictatorship is replaced by democracy. Abolition of national repression has to bring about transparency, prosperity, equal rights for all citizens, gender equality, tolerance, and freedom of speech. As Kamran Matin rightly observed: "Kurdistan is the weakest link of Iranian state's semi-fascistic rule. The same circumstance marks other parts of Kurdistan vis-à-vis their ruling states: Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. This is also why Kurdistan and Kurds are, and remain, the most determined and progressive force in the struggle for radical democracy, social justice and gender equality in the region."14 The Kurds who expect achieving their national rights in this turbulent part of the world, have to keep in mind that: A - live democratically side by side with other nations in a region saturated by different kinds of conflicts and, B - cooperate with parties in other parts of Kurdistan based on mutual interests and respect.

#### **Conclusion**

People in Iran are disappointed with Rohani and disillusioned with reformists who cannot bring about any considerable change. Angry people are present everywhere in Iranian society: they have access to social media and are no longer dependent on mainstream propaganda mechanism.

Internationally, US puts pressure more and more on Iran even if they do not articulate regime change! A regime change in Iran will

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Kamran Matin, senior lecturer at university of Sussex, https://theregion.org/ article/13107-rojhelat-rises-reflections-on-general-strike-iranian-kurdistan.



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bring about a very strong political earthquake in the whole West Asia with unpredictable consequences not only for Iran, but for the whole region with important repercussion in Kurdistan. The question is if the international community and the regional actors are ready for such a change? Given the chaotic political theatre of the region and the severe position of Russia and China as well as reluctance of EU to operate as Trump administration wishes, the future is by no means certain. The Kurdish political organisations should be aware of these realities, be very careful to keep their own independent political agenda. Alignments in political cooperation should only be made if it is clear that one is not becoming a card in the game of other powers.



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# Future Options of the Kurds in Syria – Rojava





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#### **Preamble:**

For the last few years, I have made it a conditional habit of mine, when addressing a Kurdish audience, to remind them of and state some basic facts of life that should never be forgotten, namely:

- 1- The primary objective premise or reason for the Kurdish human being's willingness in making huge sacrifices in life and precious belongings, like family and properties, is for achieving Freedom and Liberation. It is also for preserving their integrity, pride, honor and the security of self, family, children and property.
- 2- The history of the Kurdish people shows that they will never tolerate a dictatorship or authoritarian and/or totalitarian rule by a party or a familial dynasty, even if/or just because it is Kurdish or by Kurds.
- 3- History also shows that an ideology, a system of beliefs or a specific societal model can never be imposed on a people by force of arms or repressive methods. It will have to come as a result of dialogue and personal conviction. The collapse of all such Authoritarian and undemocratic systems, in recent history, should be a sufficient reminder to all Kurdish movements.
- 4- Another historical fact is that: When Kurds are united, they cannot be defeated and they will have a greater possibility in being victorious and achieving their aspirations. But, when they are divided, they are easily run over and crushed.
- 5- Kurdish Society has suffered immensely from numerous tragedies and traumas in its history for liberation. But, living in a continuous state of war and glorification of martyrdom is not the answer. Instead, it should follow the path of civil peace, dialogue, openness, inclusion, democratic institutions and proper rule of law. 6- It is universally established, that respect of basic Human Rights, Freedom of Opinion, Meeting and Organization and the establishment of democratic states ruled by law lead to the building of ad-



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vanced civilized and peaceful states that prosper and advance socially, economically and culturally.

7- Finally, Kurdistan Society is exhausted from fruitless and extremely destructive fratricidal war and internal conflict. Let us pity our own nation and give it a real chance for Peace and tranquility for a prosperous and developed future society.

# **Future Options for the Kurds in Syria:**

#### Forward:

In my paper (keynote speech), I shall discuss some basic facts and present some historical background on Syria- Kurdish relations and the status of the Kurds in Syria until the uprising for democratic change in March, 2011. Then, it is planned to cover the changes that have taken place in the Kurdish regions of Syria in confronting the threat of IS in Kobani and Sinjar. The establishment of KNC and the self-administered Cantons in Afrin, Kobani and Aljazeera and their difficult subsequent relations. The expansion of Kurdish controlled areas in a contiguous geographical area that provoked and aroused Turkish strategic sensitivities. Consequently, the establishment of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and the Federation of Northern Syria as means of gaining legitimacy and calming Turkish fears.

Then, relations with Syrian opposition forces and the Syrian regime will be analyzed briefly. To be followed by the complex foreign interventions in the Syrian Arena by Russia, Iran, Hizbollah, USA, Israel, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

The fight against ISIS and the bilateral cooperation between US/Allied forces and YPG/SDF with its consequences on relations



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with Turkey and the Syrian Regime of Assad and Russia will be scrutinized.

The main body of the paper will deal with the very difficult future options facing the Kurds of Syria after the fall of Afrin to Turkey, the ascendance of the Assad regime with Iranian and Russian support, the negotiations with the Syrian Government and the most important question of whether the US forces will stay or withdraw from Syria after the "defeat of DAESH". The future of the Geneva negotiations by the UN mediator, Stefan De Mistura, for a diplomatic and political solution to the Syria conflict, as well as secret US-Russia bilateral talks on the future of Syria.

# **Background:**

The Kurds in Syria are estimated to be around 10-11% of the Syrian population of ca. 19 million, which is around two million. Until 1922, the Kurds of Syria were part of the ottoman state. After the establishment of the French mandate over the State of Syria, that was establishment by the League of Nations, three geographical areas populated by Kurds were attached or integrated into the newly formed state. Namely, "Kurdagh or Kurdish Mountain" later called Afrin Region - Northwest of Aleppo - which was overwhelmingly Kurdish; and Kobani or "Ain Al-Arab", adjacent to Jarablus and the Euphrates River, which was also dominantly Kurdish, and the region of "Aljazeera", later on called "Al-Hasakah". This region is populated by Kurds, Arameans (Syriacs), Assyrians, Armenians and Arabs. The main cities in these regions are "Afrin", "Kobani", Qamishli (Qamishlo in Kurdish) and Al-Hasaka. There are also large Kurdish communities, both historically and more recently as a result of internal migration, in Damascus, Hama, Homs, Aleppo (Sheikh Maqsoud and Ashrafiyeh), Raqqa, Latakia, Tell Abyad in Jarablus and Tel Rifaat in the region



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of Izaz. Most of the refugees from Afrin Region that fled after the occupation of the area by Turkish forces, in March 2018, have settled in camps in the area of Al-Shahba north of Aleppo.

The main reason that these three ethnically Kurdish enclaves ended up within Syrian territory is based on the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Peace Treaty of 1920 in Paris after The First World War, that resulted in the delimitation of borders, in some sectors, between the newly formed States of Syria and Turkey based on the stretch of the Orient Express Railway Line, rather than ethnic or natural geographic borders. The wishes of the people were never consulted in these arrangements.

The existence of Kurds in these territories goes long back in history. Thus, undermining the myth advanced by Arab and other nationalists: "that the Kurds of Syria are not indigenous but have mainly fled or migrated from Turkey". The number of Kurds that fled Turkey, after the rebellions of Sheikh Said (1925), Agri-Ararat (1926-1930) and Dersim (1937) as refugees or as migrant or seasonal workers to Syria has never exceeded one third of the population of Syrian Kurdistan.

The Afrin region is a mountainous area that is famous for its production of olives, olive oil, soap, pomegranates and iron ore. Kobani is a flatland that is well known for its agricultural products, especially cotton, wheat and vegetables. The Aljazeera region, apart from being very rich in oil and natural gas. It is also considered the breadbasket of Syria for its wheat, cotton and other cereal production. The three Kurdish regions were very rich in water resources as well, including rivers like The Euphrates, Tigris, Khabour, and Afrin. Many minor rivers have dried up due to big dam projects in adjacent Turkey, which has led to some conflict with neighboring Syria and Iraq.



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In July 2012, the Syrian Government withdrew its troops from the Kurdish regions, except for some security pockets in Qamishli and Al-Hasakah, and overturned them to PYD. No details of any covert or public agreement between both parties have been mentioned. In January 2014, PYD and allied smaller Kurdish, Arab and Christian Syriac parties declared a one-sided self-governing system on the basis of decentralized Cantons in Afrin, Kobani and Aljazeera, with the city of Amouda as the seat of the self-governing entity which it called "Rojava", i.e. "Rojava yê Kurdistan" or "Western Kurdistan". This was later changed, in March 2016, to the "Democratic Federation of Northern Syria" which is led by the "Syrian Democratic Council" and its military forces are called "Syrian Democratic Forces", although YPG and YPJ are still the backbone of the military force. TEV-Dem and PYD are still the umbrella organizations in the region, but after the takeover of Ragga and Deir Alzor from DAESH in early 2018, a new Party "Syrian Future Party" has been formed by their affiliates with some representatives from these areas.

# The Recent historical Kurdish Political scene in Syria:

The main feature of Kurdish politics in Syria, in recent decades, has been one of low profile and repeated divisions within the ranks of its major and minor political parties. Apart from the late 1940's and 1950's, it has been overshadowed by events in Iraqi, Iranian or Turkish Kurdistan. The first post-Second World War nationalist party, namely Kurdish Democratic Party of Syria-KDPS, was established in 1957. This party experienced its first division in 1965 and its second in 1970. This process of splits and divisions has continued until recent times, except for short periods in the 1990's and in the aftermath of the Qamishli uprising in March 2004, in a manner that has led to the formation of at least sixteen (16) different political parties and movements.



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Initially, the causes for this development were political and ideological but for later periods they can be contributed to personal conflicts and Syrian State Security infiltration. Another factor can be attributed to divisions within the movement in Iraqi Kurdistan after 1964 (during the split between the Political Bureau of KDP and its leader Barzani) and 1975 after the formation of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan-PUK, where some of the parties in Syria allied themselves with either side of the divide in that part.

Until the 1990's, the political scene in Syrian Kurdistan was dominated by the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria (Al-Parti) and the Progressive Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria. Both later experienced two splinter groups from their main organizations. In 1993, a new party emerged that was called The Kurdish Union Party in Syria "Yekity". It took the initiative from both older parties by concentrating on more daring methods of defying the Syrian regime, like public demonstrations and memorandums to international human rights bodies concerning Kurdish rights. This party, too, experienced a new split within its ranks in 1997 by a fraction calling itself "The Kurdish Democratic Union Party". During the 1990's and later, a number of alliances and semi-fronts were established between some of the above parties that lasted few years and faltered at a later stage.

In the beginning of this century, two new movements emerged in Syrian Kurdistan. One was "The Democratic Union Party-PYD" that was founded in 2003 by PKK affiliated members in Syria, after many years of difficult relations with the Assad regime in the aftermath of Abdulla Öcalan's expulsion from Syria in 1998. The other was "The Kurdish Future Movement in Syria" that was established in 2005.



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The uprising for democratic change in Syria, in March 2011 in Deraa, introduced a new and a very dynamic actor onto the political scene in Syrian Kurdistan and that was the Youth Coordinating Committees in most of the cities and towns of the Kurdish regions in Syria, including in the Kurdish suburbs of Aleppo and Damascus. Amouda followed Deraa in toppling and dismantling the Assad statue in the city for the second time after the March uprising in 2004.

These youth coordinating committees surpassed the traditional political parties in their mass following and coordinated their activities, slogans, and demonstrations with the rest of the revolutionary movement for change in Syria. This was followed by a significant increase in the formation of civil society organizations and grass root movements. However, when the Kurdish National Council of Syria (KNC) was established in October 2011, between thirteen political parties and independents, they reduced the influence of the Youth Coordinating Committees by establishing their own affiliated Coordinating Committees. Consequently, it split the new grass root movement.

During the talks for the establishment of the Kurdish National Council, in 2011, PYD participated in them until the final day of its announcement and then decided to join instead the loyal opposition of the "Coordinating Committee of Opposition Forces" and gained a vice chairman position in that body.

The Kurdish Future Movement of Mishaal Temo, on the other hand, decided to withdraw from KNC and joined the Syrian National Council (SNC) because of the reluctant stance of KNC in joining SNC. It also supported the Free Syrian Army-FSA and taking up arms against the Assad regime, while KNC preferred the peaceful mode of opposition. PYD declared a so-called "third line" of neither with the regime nor with the opposition, but



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preserving and defending the Kurdish populated regions. This in effect suited the aims of the regime.

In July 2012, the Syrian Government withdrew most of its forces, except for some security and administrative organs in Qamishly and Hassakah, from the Kurdish areas and overturned them to PYD control with arms, munitions and other infrastructure. This was considered that PYD was in collusion with the Syrian Government for hindering the influx of Syrian opposition forces into these regions and for the regime to use its forces in other areas of Syria. The unofficial agreement of avoiding military clashes between PYD and the Syrian military forces has continued until, now. Some minor clashes occurred between both sides took place in Qamishly and Hassakah, but were short lived and controlled very quickly.

Until then, PYD had a very small following compared to the mass support of KNC, the Kurdish Future Movement and the Youth Coordinating Committees. After that and especially after Iran allowed more than fifteen hundred guerrilla men of PKK, mainly of Syrian Kurdish origin, from Qandil Mountains to join and boost PYD forces in Syria. Consequently, PYD became in effective military and administrative control of the Kurdish regions.

In July 2012 also, President of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq, Mr. Masoud Barzani mediated between KNC and PYD to form a common "High Council" to coordinate matters and build common institutions, but this never materialized because PYD refused to share power on the ground and differences in policies towards the Syrian Regime and the Coalition of Opposition Forces. Two agreements were reached in Arbil and Dohuk for such cooperation, but were never implemented.



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Due to the totalitarian and anti-democratic nature of PYD, there is a lot of resentment and dissatisfaction with them among the main-stream Kurdish population in Syria. But the later fighting with the Islamic Jihadist forces like Jabhat Alnasra and the Islamic State in Iraq and Sham (ISIS), has turned their fortunes and the average Kurd looks to them as a protector against greater dangers, despite their dislike of them. Furthermore, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have on numerous occasions criticized the PYD and its administration for serious violations of Human Rights in its de-facto administered regions, especially the arrest and torture of political opponents from KNC affiliated parties and others.

PYD claims to represent the Kurds in Syria as a result of its control of the area, but this is contested strongly by the parties within KNC and civil society organizations. Therefore, KNC does not recognize the one-sided self-ruling administration that was declared in January 2014 and later. It also questions their legitimacy. Therefore, it refuses to seek permission for its activities and demonstrations. Consequently, the PYD administration takes "legal" steps against them for not respecting their authority and laws.

The largest and strongest Parties within KNC that have some mass following are four. These are: The Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria headed by Dr. Abdulhakim Bashar; The Progressive Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria headed by Abdulhamid Darweesh (has now left KNC since few years); The Yekiti Party headed by Ibrahim Biro; and the Democratic Union Party headed by Moyeddin Sheikh Ali (who do not approve of KNC's close ties with Turkey). In late 2013, KNC formally joined the National Coalition of Syrian Opposition Forces and gained representation in its main leading institutions. Hence, becoming allies with Turkey and other states supporting the opposition to the regime of Assad. This, of-course, has led to further deterioration of relations between both parties.



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# Difficult Options Facing the Kurds in Syria:

Despite the favorable conditions created for the Kurds of Syria, at the start of the uprising for democratic change in Syria in 2011, they failed to capitalize on a number of possibilities that opened up to them due to hesitancy, lack of common vision, disunity and inexperience. Furthermore, they always looked for guidance and advice to their brothers in Iraqi Kurdistan and Turkey instead of adopting an independent strategy for themselves. The Kurdish movements in Iraq and Turkey had their own political agendas that did not necessarily coincide with their own.

They did not respond or refused to accept the invitation (in late March 2011), by President of Syria Bashar Al-Assad, to send a joint Kurdish delegation to Damascus for negotiations on Kurdish demands (linguistic, cultural and political) and the return of citizenship to people who had lost it in the infamous census of 1962. The main reason for non-acceptance being disagreements on the possibility of the future survival of the regime. Thus by, avoiding an agreement with a losing horse. This reluctance can be related to the long historical record of denial, non-recognition, repression and discrimination by different Syrian regimes against the Kurds, since independence of Syria in 1946. But Assad has remained in power, after seven years of a very cruel war, with the support of Iran and Russia, forcing the Kurds to choose whether to negotiate with the regime or not?

Recently, the Syrian regime has showed some willingness to negotiate with the Kurds for recognizing some cultural, linguistic rights and some form of decentralized self-governing institutions, according to Syria's Foreign Minister, Walid Al-Moallim, in reaction to



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statements by US representatives at the UN General Assembly sideline meetings.

Relations with the National Coalition of Opposition forces in Syria have not been easy either. The initial secular and democratic opposition were very reluctant in recognizing Kurdish rights to political autonomy, but were only accepting equal rights to citizenship and granting some linguistic and cultural rights. The Kurdish movements belonging to KNC were also hesitant in joining the ranks of the opposition before getting full recognition. But by the time they joined the opposition, on 11 November 2013, the opposition had been militarized and kidnapped by different Islamist groups, like the Al-Qaeda affiliated Jabhat Al-Nusra (Now called Hay'at Tahrir Al-Sham – HTS), the pro-Turkish and pro-Qatari Moslem Brotherhood, the pro-Saudi Jaish Al-Islam and, since the summer of 2014, the Islamic States in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL or DAESH as it is called by its opponents). The secular and democratic opposition with its military wing, the Free Syrian Army-FSA, became weak and marginalized with little influence inside Syria. They were also infiltrated by the Islamist groups. In all practical purposes, they have become an exile organization resident in Turkey and manipulated by Turkey, Qatar and Saudi Arabia. A weakened and reduced KNC is still part of the National Coalition of Opposition Forces, but they have had serious disagreements with the coalition concerning representation in the Geneva negotiations and the occupation of Afrin by Turkey in March 2018. While PYD chose a "Third Way" of "neither with the regime nor with the opposition". They had some dialogue with the coalition in 2014 but never joined their ranks. Instead, they joined for some years the so-called "loyal opposition" named "the Coordination Committee for Syrian Opposition Forces", and they gained a vice-chairman post. That ended later (in 2014) and they have instead concentrated on negotiating with the Assad regime.



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Historically, Turkey has suffered from "A Sêvres Complex" as expressed by a former foreign minister of Turkey, Prof. Mümtaz Soysal, in 1994. That means fear of losing territories claimed by Kurds, Armenians, Greeks, Russia and later Syria. It has always strategically feared and opposed any form of Kurdish self-government structures in Iraq, Iran or Syria out fear of the effect of contagion on its own Kurds. Therefore, it opposed the formation of a federal region in Iraqi Kurdistan for many years until it accommodated the facts on the ground and established cordial economic and diplomatic ties with KRG. It has the same sensitivities towards the Kurds in Syria for establishing a self-ruling entity, especially that it is founded by PYD, an affiliate of PKK that has been in armed conflict with the Turkish state since 1984. But, ironically, when AKP first came to power in 2003, it adopted a much more conciliatory approach to the Kurdish question by finally acknowledging the Kurds as a distinct culture and language. Kurdish schools, radio and TV stations were opened. And peace negotiations took place with PKK between 2013-2015. During this period, Turkey developed good relations with Syrian Kurdish representatives of KNC and PYD. Salih Muslim, then President of PYD, was twice invited to Turkey for talks. Turkey even established a historical precedence by allowing Iraqi Kurdish Pesh Merga forces to transit through Turkey to aid the YPG forces in Kobani against the onslaught by ISIS against the city, in September 2014. Unfortunately, this ended when the peace talks collapsed and the Kurdish party HDP won a big electoral victory in gaining 80 seats in the Turkish parliament, in June 2015. This was conceived by Erdoğan as a threat to his ambitions in establishing a strong presidency. He started to play the Turkish nationalist card to strengthen his domestic political position. The PKK miscalculated, too, and resumed its insurgency operations inside the main cities of Turkish Kurdistan. This strengthened Erdoğan's authoritarian hold over the country and has encou-



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raged him to take very harsh steps against the Kurds in Turkey and Syria. The occupation of the Jerablus and Albab enclave inside Syrian territory was mainly aimed at hindering the PYD from establishing a contiguous geographical connection between the Cantons of Aljazeera, Kobani and Afrin. The occupation of Afrin, in March 2018, was a further step in hindering the Kurds of Syria from being able to establish a united de-facto autonomous region along the southern border of Turkey. President Erdoğan continues to threaten the SDF controlled areas in the Eastern Euphrates Regions. The latest such threat was issued at a meeting of a Turkish think tank, on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly session. But Turkey has and is being hindered from any such moves by the presence of the Allied and US forces in Manbij and the Eastern Euphrates Region in their commitment in finishing the fight against DAESH and ending the presence of Iranian forces with their proxies in Syria. The Russian-Turkish deal over Idlib seems to have complicated matters further for Turkey, rather than achieving some of its aims. The future of the whole region is still under question whether it will be attacked by Russia and Syrian forces or not?

The US engagement with Kurdish movements in Syria, from both KNC and PYD, started during the initial stages of the uprising in Syria, but more specifically in 2012, during different dialogue meetings of the Syrian Opposition in Istanbul and Cairo. KNC delegations were received by the State Department on a number of occasions, but PYD was never received because of its affiliation with PKK that is labelled a terrorist organization by the United States.

The first military engagement by US with YPG forces took place on September 23, 2014 during the IS onslaught on Kobani. Since then, this cooperation between both sides has continued during the extensive campaign in defeating DAESH in Raqqa and Deir Al-Zor and driving them out of Syrian territory, especially in the areas



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East of the Euphrates. Despite heavy protests and threats by Turkey, the US and other Allied forces have continued their cooperation and coordination with YPG (later named Syrian Democratic Forces –SDF after inclusion of some Arab and Syriac forces) because of their discipline and competent fighting abilities in the fight against DAESH. Some military training, logistical aid and administrative advice were also to the local councils in Manbij, Raqqa and Deir Al-Zor. The US has also built around 15 different military bases in the area that includes the majority of Syrian Oil and Natural Gas resources.

This close cooperation, however, could not prevent Turkish forces from invading and occupying Afrin Region, in March 2018. The US has also exerted further pressure on SDF to abandon some of its control in Manbij area in order to accommodate some of the demands of its NATO ally, Turkey.

Further complications, in their bilateral relations, appeared when President Trump declared the possibility of US forces from Syria. Although, Pentagon and the commanders on the ground recommended a longer stay for US forces. This opened the possibility for the Kurds of SDF to start negotiations with the Assad regime about normalization of relations in a post-American withdrawal from the region.

The US has after withdrawing from the Iran Nuclear Deal and the worsening of relations with Iran, decided to stay in Syria, based on statements made by President Trump, National Security Advisor John Bolton and Amb. James Jeffrey during the UN General Assembly meetings.

According to a report by Laurie Mylroie for Kurdistan24 TV Channel:



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On Thursday (Sep.27-2018), Amb. James Jeffrey, US Special Representative for Syria Engagement, described the Trump administration's thinking about the future of Syria, including Syrian Kurdistan. Jeffrey, speaking to reporters in New York on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly, laid out three well-known US objectives: 1) "enduring defeat" of the Islamic State (IS); 2) "reinvigoration of the political process;" and 3) "removal of all Iranian-commanded forces from the entirety of Syria."

Questioned as to whether President Donald Trump had formally approved the idea that "a condition for US withdrawal from Syria will be the removal of Iranian forces and their proxies", Jeffrey replied, "The President wants us in Syria until that, and the other conditions are met." "But I want to be clear here," Jeffrey continued, as he revealed a new dimension to US thinking, particularly relevant to the Kurdish position in Syria.

"Us [remaining] in Syria is not necessarily American boots on the ground," he explained. "Boots on the ground have the current mission of the enduring defeat of [IS.]" But "there are many ways we can be on the ground," Jeffrey continued, giving several examples, including, "for many years" the US "had local allies on the ground in northern Iraq, and we provided air support."

Jeffrey also affirmed that Syria's Kurds "should participate" in the UN-led political process to determine Syria's future. Asked whether Kurds would be part of the talks led by Staffan de Mistura, the Secretary General's Special Envoy on Syria, Jeffrey replied, "The SDF [Syrian Democratic Forces], which involves both Kurdish and Arab forces, are our allies in the fight against [IS.]" "There is a position that we take, and that everyone else takes," Jeffrey continued, "that all of the people in Syria, including the



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people in the northeast, should participate in the political process."

Also, on Thursday, six countries — Egypt, France, Germany, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Great Britain — joined with the US to issue a statement calling on de Mistura "to convene, as quickly as possible, a credible, inclusive constitutional committee" to start "drafting a new Syrian constitution" to lay "the groundwork for free and fair UN-supervised elections." Jeffrey, further stated: that Assad is "sitting on a cadaver state with almost no economy, no access to his fuel and gas resources," and "no hope" of reconstruction aid, because the US, "supported by a very strong majority in the European Union, is blocking that."

Russia's main aim in Syria has been to save Assad's regime from being overthrown, protect its military and future economic interests in the region and force the Western countries to treat it as an equal in regional and international affairs. Its military involvement started in September 2015, but its diplomatic efforts in support of the regime were apparent from the start of the uprising in 2011. Numerous Russian diplomats have pointed the fact that "Western countries had changed a number of regimes in the Middle East without consulting them or taking their interests into consideration".

Their relations with the Kurds in Syria were cordial and supportive at times. They (both KNC and PYD) were also invited to a number of dialogue meetings in Moscow, Astana and Sochi but were never at the cost of their support for the Assad regime. In their proposal for a new Syrian Constitution, they have accepted Kurdish demands to decentralization of power and cultural rights. The Russian official position has always insisted that the Kurds should be represented in the Geneva and other talks concerning Syria's future. At the same time, acquiesced to the Turkish invasion of Afrin



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and advised the PYD delegation to their military base in Latakia (Hmeemim) to overturn the area to Syrian control instead.

Iranian relations with the Kurdish forces in Syria have fluctuated between dialogue and enmity from the perspective of its staunch support for the survival and empowerment of the Assad regime. They invited a delegation of KNC and PYD for dialogue and discussions, but these were terminated later on.



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# **Future Options for the Kurds in Syria:**

In the light of the above analysis and narrative, the following alternative future options could be conceived for the Kurdish movements in Syria:



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- 1- *Option One:* Maintain the current status quo, despite loss of Afrin in order to keep control of Kobani and Aljazeera and stave off Turkish threats of invading those areas that are rich in oil, natural gas, agricultural products and water resources. Especially, if Raqqa and Deir Al-Zor regions are kept in the "Federation of Northern Syria".
- 2- *Option Two:* Due to uncertainty whether US and Allied forces will remain in the region or not and for how long. Continue negotiating with the Assad regime to reach an agreement on political decentralization and recognition of Kurdish cultural and linguistic rights. Accept integration of its armed forces with the Syrian army and disband its security force "Asayish".
- 3- *Option Three:* Play for time and wait for the outcome of the battle for Idlib. Then start negotiating with a weakened Assad regime to get more concessions and recognition of their rights to autonomy and Federation.
- 4- *Option Four:* Putting the Kurdish House in order in Syria, i.e. Improve relations with the Kurdish National Council and other main Kurdish political parties in forming a common administration and elected legislative, similar to the process of 1992 in Iraqi Kurdistan. This would strengthen the position of the Kurds vis-à-vis Syrian regime and Turkey. This will get strong support from KRG and Kurdish public opinion all over Kurdistan. In such a situation, a joint Kurdish delegation could be formed for common demands in future negotiations with the Syrian Government and the renewed process for a political and diplomatic process for the Syrian conflict in Geneva.



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- 5- *Option Five:* Hope and work for resumption of peace talks between PKK and the Turkish Government that reflect on their relations with Turkey and distance the threat of Turkish invasion against other areas of Syrian Kurdistan. This would involve a more neutral and a more diplomatic rhetoric towards Turkey.
- 6- *Option Six:* Throw its weight behind the latest US strategy in staying in Syria and checking Iranian presence and influence in the country, and await a bilateral Russian-United States agreement on a political and diplomatic solution through the UN process in Geneva, that might lead to a more decentralized and a more representative regime in Syria which might recognize Kurdish political, cultural, and linguistic rights.
- 7- *Option Seven:* The Suicide Option Continuing the current stubborn and irreconcilable policy of monopolizing power by PYD and its affiliates, in a very undemocratic manner and insisting on being hostile to all political and military forces in the region and attempt to implement their undeveloped ideological model by force, despite all consequences, e.g. near total destruction of Kobani and loss of Afrin.
- 8- *Option Eight:* The wisdom and maturity option Becoming more realistic and lower their ambitions by starting a process of openness, reconciliation and dialogue with all ethnic, religious and societal groups, especially non-Kurds, e.g. Arabs, Arameans (Syriacs), Armenians, Chechens, and Turkmens and others.



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# **Constitutional Options for Kurdish Issue Resolution in Syria**





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Although the experience suggest that the constitutional solution may not necessarily lead to a political solution, particularly in some complicated situations, such as Syrian case, it ultimately appears to be the indispensable prerequisite for the final solution and to establish the political and legal legitimacy of the state.

Indeed, not-implementing the constitution and suspending to activate its terms create one of the political tyranny aspects which dominate over Syrian life for some half a century of tyranny. However, the ignorance of the authoritarian regimes toward Syrian constitutions does not explain the reality, history and behavior of this totalitarianism. The precise reading of most of the constitutions that Syria has ever known since the independence proves the absence of political plurality and cultural and national diversity recognition. On the other hand, it justifies the dominance of a linguistic and national identity and confirms its superiority over the rest of other identities.

# The Kurdish rights don't hurt anyone

Recently, Syrian Kurds look forward to a political and constitutional situation in which they can play their own political role directly on an equal base with the others. It requires having the legitimate constitutional and political capacity, by which they can freely have the right of selfdetermination. At the same time, they look for compatible conditions for genuine equality in a country whose diversity and openness truly allows them to coexist with the others. Hence, they wish for real guarantees (constitutional, political, cultural) that prevent returning of every form of whether present or inherited discrimination against them or some other marginalized ethnic minorities. In this way, the Syrian Kurdish, who till this moment, are discriminated and marginalized can discover



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concretely the logical and ethical structure of a new political regime insures the equality and freedom for all.

The Kurdish presence in western Kurdistan (Northern Syria) is a solid historical and geographical reality. The deserved Kurds' rights to this existence are not an ideological heresy or a political invention. This fact is much prior to the realty of existing the Syrian state and more legitimated historically, despite to the cultural, social and political distortion forms that have taken place. From here, the central and axiomatic principle of the Kurdish political discourse comes out; namely, the Kurdish right to self-determination in Syria (West Kurdistan). The Kurdish history is enrooted in antiquity, and they do not follow the shadow of anyone's history or their political legitimacy. Any talk about the real coexistence or citizenship without considering this principle is merely meaningless.

The legitimacy of the Kurdish rights emanates exactly from this central principle not any other source. From the principle of right to self-determination and to be Syrians by their own free will. They are the ones who should make decision to be Syrians by their own free will, not forcibly or under the others' tutelage. Neither anybody can oblige you to abominate for the happiness or compel you to enter the paradise, nor can anyone force you to be free. Those who do not believe in the right of all individuals and groups to justice, equality and freedom, can very simply deny this principle.

# The story of diversity and pluralism in the Syrian constitutions

The cultural and national diversity in Syria has not been at all a precarious or contingent at any time. Only during the epoch, in which a central nationalistic tendency has overwhelmed and led into the absolute denial of the other and gradually led to practices of systematic subjugation against the other (the different) on the political and



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constitutional levels. Here, the Syrian state failed to create a holistic and patriotic identity to be shared and free for all Syrians. In the meantime, capable to represent this diversity without exclusion or denial, and express it in a constitutional and legal frame.

In light of this challenge, the absence of a collective Syrian identity, the significance and role of the constitutions determining the relationship between the identity of the state and its political frame emerges, on one hand, and the reality of diversity inside the state or society, on the other hand. Therefore, any prospective constitution should reflect the demands of diversity and has to be compatible with the fact of multi-national background, as well as reflects the cultural and linguistic pluralities.

In general, the Syrian constitutions, before and after the independence period has rejected the firm cultural diversity alongside the country, revoked some original identities, particularly the Kurdish national identity, and dislodged some others, such as Syriac. On the other side, a monocular and totalitarian identity has been imposed on the basis of linguistic, cultural and ideological centrality. The historical diversity and national pluralism have been forcibly reduced to a minimum limit. Under an excuse that a typical cultural and linguistic unity would perpetuate the social and economic solidarity and enhance some greater internal integration and shared life.

Similarly, this cultural and linguistic centrality has been justified by a claim that the ethnic/national or linguistic majority has the historical and ideological legitimacy to occupy a central and dominant position over lesser and less significant linguistic groups and cultures. The emphasis on the primacy and centrality of the national and linguistic majority should have led to denial, exclusion and marginalization process not only at the level of civil society, but also at political and power participation level.



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Perhaps the most important and moderate constitution ever in Syria was the first one known "King Faisal Constitution" (1920). In spite of considering the identity of the Syrian state as an Arab kingdom and its only official language is Arabic; 'anyway, it has raised a perception of state-structure based on self-administration for counties and internal decentralization, which has been the closest thing to a federal state.

It is also noted the constitution has never mentioned any source of religious or sectarian identity for the state except of the king religion, which must be compulsorily Muslim. On the other hand, the constitution has assured the freedom of belief and worship.

After this date, the French in 1922 announced the basic Law for the Syrian Union in conformity with federal constitution of the three Syrian provinces of Damascus, Aleppo and Lattakia. It should be indicated here that backing to this date most of the Syrian Kurdistan territories were not part of the Syria borders or its territories except Afrin.



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The constitution promulgated by the French High Commissioner in 1930 was the first constitution to implicitly recognize the sectarian, religious and linguistic diversity in Syria. Article-6 of the Constitution has affirmed the equal rights for all Syrians regardless of their differences and pluralities. As well as, article-28 has ensured the right of juveniles to receive learning in their mother tongue.

Regarding the "Constitution of Independence" in 1950, the exclusionary Arabist inclination has obviously overtaken the Syrian constitutions with deliberate ignoring other identities and discarding the recognition of any other non-Arab nationalism or culture.

Moreover, this later constitution has affirmed, for the first time, the Islamic dimension as a religious identity and fundamental source for Syrian legislation. It has been the beginning of abridging the political and legislative system in a religious and sectarian source, which has later on created an inequality situation among citizens on the basis of beliefs or doctrines. Therefore, everyone who does not belong to the religion of legislation or its doctrine has become out of the judicial justice requirements and guarantees. It has been the first time we clearly read what confirms Syrian people as a part of the Arab nation. We also read that Islamic jurisprudence is the main source of legislation, according to Article 1 of the constitution.

The 1953 constitution, the most radical in terms of identifying the state identity in a national or religious reference, and devoting the superiority of a national and religious element over another. The Syrian state identity has been curtailed nationally in Arabism and religiously in Islam; as a result, all Syrian people with their different nationalities and religions have become part of Arab/ Islamic nation. Since then, this country has no more historical legitimacy or justification except achieving the unity of the Arab-nation, which was conspired by the global colonialism in rupturing it out. The Arabic, as a



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Koran language, in this way has become the only supreme language that deserves to be the official language of state.

Under the consecutive nationalist governments, extremely Arabist-oriented that took power in Syria after this date; the name of Syrian state has been confiscated for the first time in the provisional constitutions. The state was defined and attributed to a certain ethnic element, especially the following period of Al-Ba'ath coup on 8 March 1963. In this way, the exclusionary and ideological Arabism dominates the Syrian state work and its institutions and acquires a systematic dimension coupled with bureaucratic practices, in accordance with the theory of Al-Ba'ath Party and nationalistic marbles, principally after Al-Ba'ath devoted its political domination over the Syrians' life constitutionally.

Thus, the Syrian constitutions have acquired ideological/national connotations which contain specific national linguistic meanings that emphasize superiority of certain identity, culture and language over the rest and grant it a legal legitimacy. In contrast, the potential of a national identity has shrunk to a minimum extent. It has become an ideological concept, ruthless and worn out as the authority of one-party began to monopolize and occupy the public sphere and marginalize the political participation of various and different parts to a minimum. From this perspective, the Authority considered the Arab element in Syria as an elected one, the social incumbent of the national utopia and its historical matter and bloc, which would embody objectives of the ruling national authority. Wherefore, it should have dominated over all the national components inside Syrian society with its language and culture as they are most eligible to be legitimated.

In face of the Syrian power propensity towards hegemony and imposing its ideological character on western Kurdistan areas,



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whether through physical coercion or presidential decrees or exceptional decisions, the Kurdish national consciousness of repudiation was growing and seeking to assert itself and identity. The political national movement has become more organized in face of the denial and Arabization policies, which have systematically targeted Kurdish identity and existence through series of practical actions and political, economic and social laws.

The Assad constitution (the father) was adopted in 1973 by a referendum, which was a modified version of the 1969 constitution. This constitution has been composed to suit exactly with Ba'athist thought; Moreover, it could be considered, in a certain sense, as a margin on a central board, which is the Ba'athist theory and its articles may be counted merely footnotes on its ideological board.

The 1973 constitution has strengthened only the superiority of Arab nationalism and sovereignty and stamped the state identity with its own aspects. On the other hand, the constitution has ignored any indication to some other non-Arab national component or identity. In the meantime, the concept of Syrian citizenship has been reduced to ideological Arabist demands. The Syrian citizen, or who deserves to be Syrian citizen, is the only Arab who believes in the unity of Arab nation and works to achieve this historic goal. In the preface of constitution, which is permeated with concepts derived from the Al-Ba'ath discourse, the ideological and racist confiscations acquire their deepest exclusionary dimensions, as with usage of Arabic/Arab adjectives more than thirty times in the constitution introduction.

It is worth mentioning here that the constitution does not consider the Syrian state borders, as sovereign borders of a final political entity for the Syrians. But rather these borders are the product of a divisional and colonial conspiracy, according to Al-Baath point of



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view. The 2nd paragraph of 1st articles describes Syrian state; "Syrian Arab republic is a part of Arab Nation". Every Syrian individual citizen eligible of citizenship must commit him/herself to work for the Arab unification, and follow by the moral values and ideals of the Arab nation.

Based on those expropriations, for half a century, Al-Ba'ath has constitutionally imposed a system of privileges as an alternative of all citizens' equality and firmed a hierarchical division among the people by depending on the political loyalty devotion for the Ruler Chief, ideology and One-Party at the expense of allegiance to the homeland. The citizens and their rights have been classified according to that thought. On the other way, the life became impossible for those who are opposing the regime, whether they are opposition figures or members of the other identities, especially Kurds, who were suspicious and dangerous on the national harmony and the national Arab identity of the state. Hence, a societal unit has been imposed basing on coercion and obedience. In order to prove his Syrian citizenship and eligibility to be citizen under such a regime, the Kurdish citizen had only to disintegrate from his own social and national affiliation, to concede his consciousness to the One-Leader and ruling party, and then to relinquish his dignity for the security bodies. Then he deserves to be citizen who enjoys the confidence of the regime. Similarly, members of other national and religious minorities have to renounce forcibly or disown their affiliations and identities, and completely conform to the dominant national and ideological identity obliged by the Al-Ba'ath Party on the state and society constitutionally.

Assad (the son) has sought to comprehend the escalating protests that swept through Syria, making some visible reformations which will not affect the essence and nature of the ruling regime and its legislation. In this sense, he announced a new constitution in 2012.



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However, the latter maintained the majority of principles and articles of the previous one, and likewise kept its exclusionary nationalism spirit. He remained faithful to the ideological, national and religious confiscations that had previously defined the state and reduced its political nature, without recognizing any other cultural or linguistic identity in the country. Despite to his claims about the plurality and diversity, we never have found any reference to the presence or identity of Kurds, or any other indication to any national minority in Syria.

## Over constitutional guarantees for resolution

There are a collection of constitutional values and principles in related to the rights and interests of groups and individuals and their future, gaining exceptional value in every constitution, which the legislator usually refers to as principles and measures directing to the articles of constitution in light of the changes or developments that may come out. These are the main criteria for validity of the constitution articles with special statues toward change and amendment, which exceeds the immunity of other articles, so that it cannot be easily touched or changed, nor can it be underestimated. They are rules or values, the most eminent among all the other. Usually, they are either on the preamble or on the crux of constitution. Sometimes, these principles are attached to the constitution as independent texts or declarations that have legislative priority and supreme value to be directed to the constitutional work and its texts in order to avoid prejudice to any stable rights of individuals and groups and to maintain the political system settlement for a long-term period.

Commitment to these rules or principles (above constitutionality) keeps the contract valid and compulsory for all contractors, and this is a prerequisite for the validity of constitution and the legitimacy of its survival. These principles are usually classified into two basic



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bundles. First one, based on the international regulations, values and norms, which the international community has unanimously agreed upon as necessary and inclusive, like the International Declaration of Human Rights. Second one is being come out in response to the political and practical needs of the national experiences of each certain country. Each country or community has its specificity and questions regarding the reality and challenges.

In this sense, the constitutional solution for Kurdish issue in Syria requires a set of guarantees, "above constitutional" that cannot be changed or modified except by a referendum of Kurdish will alone, without any other Syrians components in the future due to the geopolitical and demographic challenges that threaten the entire of Kurdish presence in Syria.

In addition, there is a legitimate fear from a future tyranny of a national or religious majority, which poses a serious threat to both equality and freedom, especially when a majority is elected and polarized over a racist, religious or extremist national ideology.

The tyranny of any kind of majority will reproduce new forms of oppression and inequality accompanied with new patterns of national discrimination and superiority policies fueled with political violence and coercion. In fact, when the majority is retained to the power, it becomes a source of legislation. Constitution and laws undergo its overriding will. Undoubtedly, it will deviate under a seduction of the power monopolism to exclude the minority, marginalize its will and thus deny its existence.

Hence, the necessity of establishing principle of the national equality on supra-constitutional guarantees that guarantee pluralism, protect the rights of minority and respect its legitimate aspirations. Any possible political regime in the future of Syria derives its legitimacy



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from a national or religious / sectarian hegemony of a majority; it will create a real menace to the democracy and undermine any tendency towards equality among Syrians. In this case, there will be reproduction of the ideological and national totalitarianism policies and reestablishing the racist practices and abolish the other.

In brief, the Kurds in Western Kurdistan with all the national minorities in Syria look forward to a constitutional status that enables them to exercise their political role directly and on an equal base with the Arab majority. This legitimate aspiration is to be ensured by having the constitutionally legitimate political capability, through which they can decide their self-determination freely without coercion within the Syrian State. They look to achieve the constitutional conditions that guarantee their actual equality with the Arab majority in a very diverse and open country. They also warble for that to obtain some real guarantees (constitutional, political, cultural) that prevent returning all the present and inherited forms of discrimination against them and the other national minorities, which have been marginalized over the past decades.

## Foundational principles for the constitutional resolution

The first and most important principle, Syrian constitution likely to be based on is to recognize that the Syrian state identity is not only Arab, and should not be of course Arabic, but rather to be pluralistic. Any upcoming political system should originate its legitimacy from the Syrian society and its national, cultural, social and historical present diversity, not from an ideological example or any other political utopia. It has to find its factual basis in this historical diversity, reflect and embody it in its general principles. Therefore, perfectly fair that the next Syrian constitution states clearly that the Syrian state is multi-national, in which Arabs and



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Kurds are the two main nationalities, as well as recognize the rights of historical national identities, such as Syriac and others.

**Second,** any prospective constitution of Syria should explicitly declare a full equality between Arabs and Kurds in terms of status, role, rights and duties, as a fair and main entry to resolve the national issue of Syrian Kurdish. It shall further declare also that the Parliament, or any other authority, has no right to prejudice this principle or to limit its inclusion and should be available in every aspect of the political, social and cultural life .Any law could violate or diminish this principle merit, thrust in the legitimacy and constitutionality of the law and will be contradicted to the foundational and partnership contract.

The achievement of this equality is not only aiming to the future by its effects and consequences, but should be addressing to the past and reflecting in the attitude of racist decisions and practices which made by the regime that have been accumulated for more than half a century. The Kurdish dilemma in western Kurdistan is not only with the despotic national regime, but also with the political and social legacy of the regime that has been left behind some decades of slavery, distortion and Arabization of Kurdish geographical identity. Before the advent of Al-Ba'ath in early sixties of last century, there were infrastructures, regions and geographical sectors all in Syrian Kurdistan has a special cultural or national character; as a reason of the systematic racist policies, later all was distorted and arabized.

To remove, in some way, the social, demographic and cultural deadly impacts of those policies and ensure the justice for those affected by them. That is the criterion for any alternative regime that is likely to prove its democratic worth and its inclusive national legitimacy. What seems fundamental to any new transformation or attempt to reestablish a common Syrian identity and accomplish



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justice is eliminating this racist legacy and exclusionary practices, which have been intended to obscure the historical cultural diversity of Syria, in a way, guarantees ethno-cultural justice among the various historical components of the Syrian society and establishes the equality.

Ensuring the recognition of difference and diversity in right to express it freely is achieved through a pluralistic democratic system based on equality among individuals and groups. It is important for the next constitution to affirm this desired equality is not only directed toward demands of the future only to ensure Kurdish and other nationalities have their legitimate and equal rights, but should also be realized retroactively. By eliminating the effects of national injustice and oppression accumulated during some long decades of Arabization and Ba'athification policies, so that, the Syrian state should be completely cleansing of its authoritarian and racist past and get riding of the heritage of arbitrariness against Kurds and other nationalities through a range of political, legislative and symbolic arrangements to be a state encompassing all its citizens.

Third, the required equality requests enrolment of all in political participation, without any physical or symbolic obstacles that diminish the status or role of any identity in the sovereign right. Any future political regime that tackles the change may have to prove on the ground, and practically, on the cultural and symbolic level. Syria's identity is as Kurdish as it is Arab, and it is Arab as if it will be Kurdish. Non-accepting this obviousness, politically and culturally, will lead the society and state once again to succumb to the tyranny of a class/national group and enslave the rest. This aspiration for equality is not merely an ideological or political invention. It is a political and historical condition for the totality and maturity of the Syrian state and an introduction to its legitimacy as a state of freedom and equality for all its citizens.



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Accordingly, in order to overcome the cultural and linguistic inequalities among the groups and to eliminate the distinction among cultural identities. Every national minority should enjoy the same cultural and symbolic rights as the majority. Furthermore, there should be an exactly equal recognition between the two main nationalities culture in terms of representing the state-sovereignty. In this case, it's necessary the Syrian constitution explicitly recognizes full equality of the historical languages of Arabic, Kurdish and Syriac languages, and considers Arabic and Kurdish as official languages of state to be liberated of the hegemony of one language, one national and one culture.

Fourth, when cultural and political distinctions between individuals and groups are eliminated within a single State, their ideological and national feature striped and their identity based on diversity and national pluralism regained, at that moment, the citizenship comprises the state unity; distinctions and forms of discrimination are decimated by citizenship. The liberation of the state from its taking over of a national or ethnic ideology, in this way, means the liberation of citizen from his/her pre-civil affiliation. In this context, Syrian state liberation of Al-Ba'ath ideology means it does not recognize any more the privileges or distinction for any certain nationality and identity over the other, and the state self-proving as a purely patriotic state for all. It will not mind then about the national and ideological privacy of individuals. This establishes a new concept or perspective of the identity and citizenship based on full equality in terms of rights and duties.

Hence, it is important to emphasize constitutionally that the Syrian society, with its historical cultural diversity and its nationalistic plurality, should be the direct reference for the concept of Syrian citizenship and thus, for any inclusive Syrian identity, rather than



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the concept of ethnic-nationality. This national or religious identity concept has been continuing to represent itself the patriotic public illusion, which has greatly damaged common life and equality.

Fifth, The legitimate fear of seeing democracy being vanquished at the hands of a national or religious/sectarian majority, and thus slipping back into the abyss of new forms of excessive national or central religious tyranny, requires a new political model of governance that ensures justice and balance among all in sharing sovereignty and contributing to political decisionmaking preventing any possible return to another central tyranny. The experience of political history and the ruling regimes demonstrate the effectiveness of individualistic totalitarianism or of a majority tyranny disappear once the state ends the monopolism of political and legislative decision to the favor of civil and local communities' participation in self-affairs administration and direction. The inevitable advent for the democratic system and achievement of equality among the Syrians, and therefore between Kurds and Arabs assumes, in this context, a political framework for the solution relies on federation system, which is the best buffer against any possible central despotism and to overcome the inequalities. It gives free and equal political participation chance to all and strengthens the ability to confront the delinquency of power or the center towards totalitarianism.

#### Dr. Sarbast M. S. Nabi

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## The Future of the Minorities in the Contested Territories





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Early in the twenty-first century, the ethnic and sectarian minorities living in the so-called "disputed territories" in Northern Iraq, or Iraqi Kurdistan, are in as precarious a position as ever. These groups include the Yezidis, who live concentrated in Sinjar and Shaykhan regions; the (largely Shi'ite) Turcomans in Tell 'Afar; the Christians of different denominations, mostly living in Ninewa plain, the Badinan region and the Ainkawa suburb of Erbil; the Shabak living to the East of Mosul; and the Kakais or Ahl-e Haqq living in the rural areas near Kirkuk. They have been particularly badly hit by the violent rise and fall of the so-called Islamic State (IS) between 2014 and 2017; but, as I will argue, the root causes of their predicament lie rather deeper. In this contribution, I will discuss the present condition and possible future prospects of these ethnic minorities, focusing on the three axes of politics, religion, and sexuality.

Needless to say, I cannot claim to speak on behalf of any of these groups. I can only hope to have done justice to the different experiences and grievances. I consider it my task as a scholar to look with a critical eye at all claims, and in particular the claims made by those in power; but my aim is to analyze, not to accuse.

#### **Politics**

Confucian philosophers in ancient China argued that a government is legitimate if it provides food, a livelihood, and security to the population; the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has shown serious failures in all three of these respects. Accordingly, it currently faces a deep crisis of legitimacy, especially but not exclusively with respect to its treatment of the minorities living in the region. The setbacks suffered in the wake of the 2017 referendum on independence have not only undone much of the political and other gains made since the official recognition of an autonomous Kurdistan region in Iraq in 2005, if not the establishment of a de



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facto independent Kurdish-held region in 1991; but they have also exposed the vulnerability of the Kurdish-nationalist discourse with which the regional elites legitimize their authority, especially in its attitudes towards minorities.

The region was almost completely dependent on foreign imports for its food supplies; instead of developing a productive economy, the KRG used the funds at its disposal to import foodstuffs from neighboring countries and from further away. The rationale behind this policy, of course, was the assumption that a steady cash flow from Baghdad, based on the agreement that 17% of Iraq's oil revenues were earmarked for the Kurdistan region, would not only continue but increase.

The fragility of KRG policies became painfully clear in three dramatic developments that occurred from 2014 on. The first setback, in January of that year, was that the Baghdad administration abruptly stopped sending cash to Erbil as a result of disagreements regarding the KRG's oil policies. Both sides have blamed each other for this crisis; but whoever is ultimately responsible for this escalation it immediately left the KRG unable to pay the salaries of its employees. As an estimated 60% of the regional work force is – or was – employed by the regional government, this caused serious hardship for the bulk of the population. Overnight, salaries were slashed by 70% to 90%, causing acute cash shortages in many households.

But there are indications that a similar – if less dramatic – financial crisis would have developed anyway. For years, KRG policies had been built on the assumption that its revenues would continue to increase, with both local and national oil production slowly but steadily growing, and oil prices remaining stable. In the course of 2013 and 2014, however, oil prices in the international market plummeted; so even if the political crisis between Baghdad and Erbil had never occurred, regional revenues would have dropped dramatically. The KRG does not appear ever to have made contingency plans for such



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developments, for example by creating a financial buffer for difficult times. Instead, it kept on accumulating debts. At present, these are variously estimated at between 20 and 30 billion dollar – a staggering amount for a small landlocked region with no productive economy worth mentioning apart from its oil sector.

The second major political disruption was, of course, the onslaught of the so-called Islamic State (IS) in the summer of the same year. In June, IS, in an alliance with local tribal leaders, conquered the city of Mosul; then, in August, it launched an offensive against, among others, Sinjar and Ninawa plain, both inhabited by significant numbers of smaller minorities, like the Yezidis, the Shabak, and Christians of different denominations. In fact, one of IS's tactics in its 2014 offensive appears to have been the specific and deliberate targeting of minorities. Its strategists were well aware that there was no love lost between the KRG and the minorities of Sinjar and Ninewa plain. In specifically attacking, and in fact largely restricting its offensive to, the minority-rich regions under tenuous and contested KRG rule, it seems, IS has tried to test the latter's resolve to protect the minorities under its control. And, in all honesty, it must be said that the KRG has tragically failed in this responsibility.

The results of these developments for the different ethnic and sectarian groups in the disputed territories have been dramatic. Not only have large numbers of civilians been driven from their homes and deprived of their livelihood; many, in particular Yezidis, have been killed, enslaved, or disappeared. In the aftermath of the 2014 IS offensive and the 2017 referendum, moreover, new sectarian militias have been formed, or existing ones strengthened, leading to a further militarization of society, and further jeopardizing the chances for peaceful negotiated solutions to outstanding political conflicts.



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The third plot twist in the region's history, as unexpected as it was dramatic, was, of course, the 2017 referendum on independence; here, too, the disputed territories and their inhabitants were a key factor. Article 140 of the 2005 Iraqi constitution had acknowledged the contested status of these territories, and called for a referendum asking the population living there what future status they wanted to have within Iraq. No such referendum was ever held, however. Instead, the competing actors claiming these territories (most importantly, the successive administrations in Baghdad and the Kurdistan Regional Government [KRG]) have sought to impose their will by military means, largely in disregard of the wishes of the local population.

Faced with objections about the timing of the referendum, Kurdish leaders would rhetorically ask why it should not be held, if not then. It cannot be denied, however, that this was the wrong referendum at the wrong time. Specifically, it would have had a far greater legitimacy if it had been preceded by the consultation of the people living in the disputed territories, as called for in the 2005 constitution, and by the ratification of the regional constitution.

It was the blatant disregard for article 140 of the constitution, in particular, that may have fatally undermined the legitimacy of the referendum, and gave Baghdad the perfect pretext for military intervention. By simply including all disputed territories under its control in the referendum on independence, the KRG appeared to assume the constitutional dispute about these territories as settled in its favor. Subsequently, Iraqi army troops, and, perhaps even more importantly, government-backed militias gathered under the umbrella of the Hash al-Sha'bi or "Popular Mobilization Units," brought virtually all the disputed territories back under the (nominal) control of Baghdad again. In the process, much of the political, diplomatic, and other gains the Iraqi Kurds had made since 2003 if



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not 1991 was undone. At the time of writing, the disputed territories are still under – precarious – control of anti-Kurdish militias and central government troops; the status of their population (only part of which has returned following the ousting of IS) is no nearer a political solution than before.

## Religion

The experience of the IS offensive has also had dramatic religious consequences for the region and its minorities. Here, too, it can be argued that this episode exacerbated tendencies that were already present, and visible, well before 2014. Undoubtedly, the most important of these tendencies is the violent sectarianization of social and political antagonisms. Soon after the 2003 takeover, Sunni Arabs, who had had a de facto privileged position in Saddam's (originally secular) Arab-nationalist Baathist Iraq, found themselves increasingly marginalized by the new political self-assertion of the Shi'ites, who constituted a numerical majority of Iraq's population. Soon, the Sunni Arab insurgency came to be articulated in Salafi-Jihadi rather than Arab nationalist terms. In fact, however, there are important continuities in ideology, tactics, and even personnel between Saddam's Iraq and IS.

I will discuss these continuities in more detail below; but there is also an important difference: under IS, violence was both more visible and less centralized than it was under Saddam. In part, its exercise has shifted in part from the state apparatus to society at large. Much like the warring factions in the 1990s war in ex-Yugoslavia, IS has quite deliberately tried to destroy the existing social fabric of the region under its control, in particular the neighborly relations between Sunnis and others. In turning villagers against each other, it attempted to create a homogeneous social and political space, while making members of the local civilian population complicit in their crimes. Moreover, and equally like some of the warring ex-



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Yugoslav factions, IS has also resorted to the systematic use of ethnic rape as a weapon of war. I will return to this point as well.

The religious legitimation of IS's murderous (and indeed genocidal) policies has had profound consequences for the region's population at large. In the wake of the horrors perpetrated by IS in the name of Islam, some locals have started openly expressing doubts about the justice and even existence of God; others equally openly state that they have become, or always were, atheists. Most remarkable perhaps has been the rise of a new form of Zoroastrianism, which seems entirely unrelated to the known Zoroastrian communities in Iran and India.<sup>1</sup> A number of Kurds have shown themselves willing to distance themselves from Islam (a faith they explicitly call "Arab"), but reluctant to proclaim themselves atheist; hence a certain vogue has emerged to claim adherence to the ancient Iranian religion of Zoroastrianism. In Sulaimaniyah, a Zoroastrian temple has opened, where fire rituals are performed on a regular basis; and local bookstores display various books on Zoroastrianism, mostly translated from Persian, ranging from academic studies to small catechism-like collections of verses from the Gathas, the most ancient texts of Zoroastrianism

In the absence of reliable qualitative data, it is impossible to establish on what scale these developments have taken place; but conversations with representatives of various segments of the local population suggest that the impact of the IS offensive on local religious consciousness has been considerable.<sup>2</sup> All of these activities are tolerated, and indeed actively encouraged, by the KRG,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For more details, cf. Edith Szanto, "Zoroaster was a Kurd!" Neo-Zoroastrianism among the Iraqi Kurds. Iran & the Caucasus 22 (2018): 96-110; in fairness, it should be noted that local self-proclaimed Zoroastrian spokespersons fiercely contest Szanto's findings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Interviews, Sulaimaniya, Erbil, Duhok, October 2018.



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which passed law no. 5 in 2015, the so-called "Minority Rights Law," in support of religious diversity. It is probably no coincidence that this law was passed in 2015: in its apparent embrace of societal pluralism, the KRG clearly indicated its distance from IS, and from Sunni political Islam more generally; but simultaneously, it reaffirmed its own hegemony, in passing a law allowing for greater societal diversity rather than broadening real political participation.

## **Gender and Sexuality**

The third dimension in which the region's society has been profoundly affected by the recent upheavals is that of sexuality. As the courageous work of 2018 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Nadiya Murad has made abundantly clear, sexuality has become a major instrument of war during the IS onslaught. This applies particularly dramatically to the Yezidis. During the 2014 assault on Sinjar, thousands of Yezidi women were captured and sold into (sexual) slavery. IS propagandists openly, indeed defiantly, posted video footage of auctions of Yezidi women on the internet, to the horror of liberal sensibilities.

Behind these propaganda efforts or techniques of self-advertisement, however, a very specific and deliberate ethnopolitical strategy seems to hide. The IS leadership appears to have been very well aware that the Yezidis' sense of collective honor, and indeed identity, is located in their women, and to have acted on this knowledge. In 2007, a Yezidi girl had been lapidated to death for allegedly eloping with a Sunni Muslim boy. This episode was recorded on mobile phone by several of those present; on the internet, it went viral, and gave rise to a serious escalation of local jihadi actions specifically targeting Yezidis, most importantly the August 2007 truck bombing in Qahtaniya, which left some 500 Yezidis dead.



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Clearly, the jihadists from among whom IS also emerged quickly realized that women's sexuality was not only an object for Yezidi collective identity, but also a powerful instrument for Sunni political mobilization. IS's genocidal policies towards Yezidis, and in particular towards Yezidi women, that is, have been driven by well-informed political calculations rather than by any premodern or irrational religious zeal.

These and other tactics of war and techniques of rule suggest that organizationally, IS owes rather more to Baathism than to Islam. Much has been made of IS's real or alleged roots in Wahhabism, and of its alleged inspiration by medieval theologians like Ibn Taymiyya; on closer inspection, however, its differences with both jump to the fore. Unlike Wahhabism, IS embodies a revolutionary Islam that is unwilling to compromise with existing powers; and unlike Ibn Taymiyya, IS has shown itself merciless towards POWs and noncombatants, especially women and children. Its successes were less the result of the zeal and invincibility of its warriors, as their propaganda would have it, than of the systematic use of intelligence and information as a weapon (as Saddam's Mukhabarat and other government and party agencies had done). Simply put: whereas Baathism was Stalinism with an Arab face, IS is Baathism with an Islamic face.

There have also been some unexpected consequences of IS's (and others) using sexuality as a weapon, however. Wars tend to reinforce dominant views of masculinity, femininity, and sexuality; but this has not necessarily happened in the case of the various conflicts in which the Kurdistan Region has been involved in recent years. Among local youths, the traditional role model of the peshmerga, as embodying the ideal of Kurdish masculinity and a willingness to die for the fatherland, appears to have lost much of its former appeal. Today's peshmerga are no longer mountain



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warriors fighting for a sacred national cause, but an urban-based professional militia.

To some extent, this declining prestige of the traditional Iraqi Kurdish peshmerga is compensated by a (tacit or openly professed) sympathy for PKK-oriented guerrillas, like those of the YPG in Rojava. Particularly following their spectacular defeat of IS at Kobani, one may hear (at times grudging) expressions of admiration for their ideologically driven heroism, and for their open challenges to existing societal norms. Among these, famously, are norms of gender and sexuality, witness the proud publicizing of female guerrillas and even of a "gay battalion" in Rojava.

More importantly, however, and perhaps more surprisingly, one may observe a massive demilitarization among youngest generation of Kurds in Iraq. Thus, in the runup to the 2017 referendum, among the thousands of (mostly male) youngsters cheering president Barzani, few if any had done anything like military service, or even basic military training; and few if any would have been willing or able to actually defend the fatherland in combat. Instead, one may witness the development of what has been called "protest masculinity," in which existing ideals of masculinity (notably, as embodied in the figure of the peshmerga) are replaced, or contested, by new ones. The most visible symbol of this protest masculinity is undoubtedly the much-publicized phenomenon of the "Kurdish dandy." who in the midst of economic crisis, political and religious conflict, and protracted war, has sought refuge in the depoliticized cultivation of personal aesthetics. One may brush off this phenomenon as bourgeois or marginal; but the fact that it has occurred at this stage, I think, points to broader societal changes. Likewise, the fact that women like Nadia Murad openly speak of their plight, and speak out against sexual violence, may be an indication that existing norms of gender and sexuality are changing. Although these



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changes are and will be fiercely contested, there are reasons for a cautious optimism in this respect. One indication of these changes may be the recent statement by the supreme spiritual council of the Yezidis, issued in April 2019, which declared that victims and children of ethnic rape would be welcomed by the Yezidi community.

#### **Conclusion**

Although none of the underlying problems have been resolved by the ousting of IS and the gradual warming of relations between Baghdad and Erbil, the regional and national elections held in the autumn of 2018 gave rise to some moderate hopes for a renewal of the country's political process. Iraq's new president, former PUK member Barham Salih, had more clout in Baghdad than did his predecessor Fuad Massum, and had good relations both with Ali Abdul Mahdi, Iraq's new prime minister designate, and with the influential Shi'ite parties. In the Kurdistan Region, elections were held for the regional parliament, though not for a new regional president. Following widespread accusations of massive fraud, the results were rejected by all parties except the KDP and PUK; but the regional elections do seem to have had the positive effect that the KRG appears to have developed a more accommodating stance towards the Baghdad government. At the time of writing, however, it remains to be seen whether this new dynamic will lead to any real improvement. There is a serious risk, of course, that both in the region and in the country as a whole, patterns of corruption and inefficiency that have developed over the past decade and a half will remain in place. Relations between neighbors have been negatively, and possibly durably, affected by IS rule; and the strengthening of partisan militias with a winner-takes-all mentality in the disputed territories further reduced the prospect of a civilian political process to solve their outstanding problems. It is this militarization of political claims, exacerbated by the more recent rise of smaller local militias, that poses the biggest threat to a civilian



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political settlement, reached in a spirit of compromise and mutual accommodation, not to say trust. But pessimism and quietism do not seem viable options in the present context.





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## Dr. Michiel M. Leezenberg

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# The Yezidi genocide and the UNSC genocide investigative mission Iraq



Hakim Qasim Osman



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Since the beginning of my life I was introduced both to the Yezidi and Sinjar societies as an active person and a public figure when it comes to solving and taking care of my people issues, despite my work as a lawyer and later a judge and many other social and professional works. I always tried to provide time for my people and their issues. When catastrophe struck in Shingal on August 3rd 2014, I tried to stay in touch with the people who fled to the mountain Sinjar and also those who took refuge in the Kurdistan Region.

#### Genocide evidence recorded

I tried to take care of their issues and requirements, worked to identify what happened in Shingal as a genocide, recorded evidence, started with friends to apply for an NGO of Yezidi Human Rights Lawyers in order to be able to further enhance our help for Yezidi genocide victims and make the world know what happened to us. Our humanitarian and legal assistance is increasingly supported by international organizations like the Global Justice Center in New York or a good number of human rights professors in Europe to name but a few. We are grateful for any help we can get in order bring the perpetrators of this horrible genocide crime against the Yezidi to international justice.

## **UNSC** testimony Nadia Murad

A turning point for better worldwide understanding and sympathy for the plight of the Yezidi people was reached when Nadia Murad, a kidnapped, abused, raped and tortured student of Cocho (Koço) in Sinjar, could brief the UN Security Council on 16 December 2015 on the issue of human trafficking and conflict. It was the first time in history that the Security Council was ever briefed on human trafficking. Nadia Murad was one of more than 6,700 Yezidi women taken prisoner by the Islamic State Iraq, was held as a slave in the



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city of Mosul, beaten, burned with cigarettes, and raped when trying to escape, and was finally able to flee after three years in captivity. In September 2016 Nadia Murad was appointed the first Goodwill Ambassador for the Dignity of Survivors of Human Trafficking of the United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention (UNODC). The US Attorney Amal Clooney characterized before the UNODC the genocide, rape, and trafficking by ISIL as a "bureaucracy of evil on an industrial scale", and described it as a slave market that is still active today.

## **UNSC** investigative team

One year later, on 21 September 2017, the Security Council requested under Resolution 2379 (2017) unanimously the creation of an independent team to help in holding ISIL (Da'esh) accountable for its crimes in Iraq. The Secretary-General was asked to establish an independent investigative team to support domestic Iraqi efforts to hold IISIL (Da'esh) accountable.

## Karim Asad Ahmad Khan appointed head of team

United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres on 31 May 2018 announced the appointment (SG/A/1806-BIO/ 5091) of Karim Asad Ahmad Khan of the United Kingdom as the Special Adviser and Head of the Investigative Team. His instructions are to support Iraqi efforts to bring ISIL (Da'esh) to justice by collecting, preserving, and storing evidence in Iraq of acts that may amount to war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide committed by the terrorist group.

In the meantime, Mr. Khan was with his entourage already in (northern) Iraq for some 20 days in September 2018, had contacts



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to Iraqi authorities and of the KRG/KRI but not with representatives of Yezidis.

## Requests of the Yezidi to UNSC investigative mission

In order to assist this important UN Security Council genocide investigation mission Iraq, we request the following:

- 1) Representatives of the Yezidi are to be consulted directly by that UN genocide fact-finding mission and their voice has to be heard accordingly.
- 2) Yezidi have to be granted the right to submit criminal evidence in this regard, which we have already started to collect up to a substantial amount.
- 3) A number of ca. 3,700 Yezidis who are still taken hostage by ISIL (Da'esh) groups and held as slaves are to be released without any condition and immediately.
- 4) The crimes committed against Yezidi shall be internationally and formally recognized as genocide.
- 5) The perpetrators shall also and finally be indicted at the International Criminal Court ICC in The Hague.
- 6) More than 40 Yezidi mass graves in the Sinjar (Shingal) should be excavated as soon as possible and the victims analyzed for DNA profiles and relationships.
- 7) Thousands of Yezidi refugees who are currently in camps like Dohuk in the Kurdistan Region Iraq should be given the possibility to give evidence freely and independently.



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## Addressing international legal problems

Moreover, special legal problems bringing persons who are accused of having committed or contributed to genocide against the Yezidi should be dealt with by the Un Security Council investigative team in a special way. While the "full sovereignty" of Iraq has to be respected, as determined in the mentioned UN Security Council Resolutions, a more comprehensive mechanism with the mandate of the UNSC mission seems appropriate and necessary to hold all perpetrators of crimes against Yezidi accountable. The main reason for that is, that Iraq does not have legislation to try war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide and is not a member to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), adopted 1998 and entered into force on 1 July 2002. So far, current trials and prosecutions of ISIL (Da'esh) fighters have been conducted solely under Iraq's counter-terrorism law and the proceedings have been characterized by human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings, torture and a lack of due process for the accused. Whereas, we agree with numerous international legal experts, that the accused will have to be tried explicitly for genocide too conducted in line with international human rights standards. For these future trials will be viewed as legitimate and credible according to international law of the world community.

## Sexual violence to be recognized as genocide

Furthermore, we agree with international appeals of human rights activists for a binding UN resolution which fully acknowledges rape and other forms of sexual violence as an act of genocide. It is important not to treat the sexual violence crimes against Yazidi women and girls separate from the genocide, rather, they are an integral part.

Finally, ISIL (Da'esh) has employed all five prohibited acts



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detailed in the 1948 UN General Assembly Genocide Convention, entered into force on 12 January 1951. In particular crimes against a people, its religion, culture and civilization, and above all against weakest victims in a society like women, children and the elderly.

## 72 cases of Yezidi genocide in Ottoman past

Yezidi hat been already victims of genocide 72 times in past Ottoman history. They survived. Now they are threatened with extinction again under fake pretexts that they would be infidels and have no holy book. Which is both utterly untrue. They were singled out for slavery, torture and mass-execution by barbarians who picked intentionally an innocent, defenseless, peaceful small people as a fatal warning to others either to submit to their barbarism or to face death. In this regard the Yezidis remain a symbol of humanitarian survival of a small people. I am confident, that the Yezidi will recover again, as they do since hundreds of years, and that they will survive. Yet, only with international help.

## Right of return into ancient Shingal habitat

Currently, the Yezidi are still threatened with extinction. They have a strong unbroken will and the determination to overcome. However, the Yezidi refugees must be allowed to return to the Sinjar (Shingal) in the future and continue their culture and civilization there. It would be a disaster for them if the majority of them would have to go into exile and into diaspora for instance in Europe. If that would happen, the Yezidi would lose their roots. These historic roots are in their ancient habitat. And there, the culture and civilization of the Yezidi shall survive.

Thank you.



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## Minimum requirements reconciliation Kurds and Arabs of Iraq



Kozad M. Ahmed



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## **Oppressed minorities**

Iraq, as a multi ethnic country ruled by despotic regimes, since its foundation in 1921 has always been faced with the opposition of the oppressed minorities, the most prominent of which was the Kurdish opposition that often developed into armed conflicts.

## Arab "Iraqism"

The regimes that ruled Iraq were fundamentally formed by Sunni Arab elites with nationalist ideologies, even in the time of the monarchy, although less harsh. The regimes have always tried to create and impose a common consciousness of "Iraqism," i.e. a unified Iraqi identity among the Iraqi's, however, due to the Arab nationalist background of the regimes; by this Iraqi identity an Arab identity was meant. Thus, being an Iraqi meant being an Arab, which was reflected in education, politics, culture and all other important aspects of the Iraqi State. Instead of tighten the ties; this enlarged the gap between the components of the society. Naturally, such policies resulted in counter-effects.

## Rewriting history of "Iraq"

The approaches by which the regimes tried to reach its goals were diverse, but had in common negligence of the history and culture of the "others," rewriting – actually changing – the history of "Iraq," and emphasizing on the past glories of only the Arab-Muslim nation as the only nation of Iraq in past and present.

#### **Territorial claims**

The significant point here is that as a fruit of these policies, the regimes were successful in creating the concept of one Iraqi soil along history among the Arab communities of modern Iraq. Since Iraq is an Arab country in the state ideology, thus the whole soil of Iraq also belongs to the Arab nation. The problem starts here; as long as the Arabs of Iraq think that the whole territories of modern



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Iraq belong to this Arabian Iraq, no territorial claims by the Kurds will be tolerated or understood. Accordingly, no compromise can be reached.

## Cultural and territorial rights of the Kurds

In the western democratic models, the countries have reached better agreements with the minorities by acknowledging their cultural and territorial rights. Thanks to the concepts of equality, freedom and rule of law the dangers of separatism and territorial collapse have been disappeared.



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#### Dr. Kozad M. Ahmed

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## Iraqi Kurdistan independence referendum

Much has been written about the crisis in Iraqi Kurdistan and the independence referendum conducted by the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in September 2017, with most discussion focused on the structural element without highlighting its nature as a systemic crisis, and not simply a crisis of one or several elements of the system. The structural element is certainly one of the aspects of today's crisis. However, the crisis has intensified in all its aspects, and as such sustaining the system requires serious structural reform.

#### 2005 Constitution

The relationship between the Federal Government in Baghdad and the KRG is set forth by the Iraqi Constitution of 2005, but without a common understanding or clear formula, each party making do with an implicit and undeclared understanding.

## Transitional phase to independence

Enjoying a special status since 1991, the Kurds have continued in a transitional phase towards the establishment of the foundations of an independent Kurdish state.

The Arabs (and the Shiite political elite in particular) believe that this formula was hastily drawn up under US pressure, despite an incomplete vision of how the political system was to take shape. As a result, the strategy of the Shiite political elite has been to modify this system was working.



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#### Centralism with specific region (Kurdistan)

Specifically, the Shiite elite sought for the federal system in Iraq not to involve an integrated federal state as in the United States or Germany, but rather a centralized state with a specific region (Kurdistan) given a special status. They also wished to narrow down what they considered to be "gains" won by the Kurds in a rushed moment.

#### Considered a failed 2005 formula

Consequently, any departure from this formula, and any attempt to modify it, likely will entail its collapse. Any Arab attempt to narrow what is considered a failed 2005 formula of the Constitution, advanced by Kurdish politicians, will provide an excuse for a Kurdish call for independence.

#### Transitional versus permanent

On the other hand, if independence seemed natural to Kurdish politicians, who considered the 2005 Constitution to be transitional, the Arabs saw in this endeavor a reversal of a contract that they considered to be permanent (albeit allowing for modification), however transitional in the short term.

#### Contract of 2005 not sustainable

Here, exactly, is the systemic crisis that I am talking about: the contract formed in 2005 was not sustainable. It could not be continued because both parties sought to move beyond its framework, and the end result has been the absence of common understanding, a package of unified mutual assurances, and public confidence.



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#### Need for formula change

This paper argues that it is no longer possible to maintain this same formula for governing the relationship between Baghdad and Kurdistan, in light of the Kurdish effort over the past year and after the referendum, attempting to return to the moment before the referendum, the status quo ante, as if nothing happened. Such a path would only reproduce the crisis.

#### Kurds and Arabs to rethink Iraq as framework

I think that all Iraqis, Kurds and Arabs, need to rethink adherence to Iraq as a framework, not just at the level of political arrangements, which are certainly important, but also at the level of "trans-political nexuses". One could possibly say here: "national nexuses", but I am afraid that this might be understood as intending the dissolution of the Kurdish national feeling, and diminution of their nationhood within a supposed Iraqi nationalism. My intentions are here to build cultural nexuses and shared narratives for Kurds and Arabs, as Iraqis.

#### Kurdish referendum crisis

The referendum crisis has revealed the depth of Kurdish division regarding the idea of the Kurdish State; the debate is not so much on the principle of establishing a Kurdish State, but it is all about details (leadership, uniting the security forces and bureaucracy, authorities and its distribution, etc).



#### International Conference "The Future of the Kurds"



#### New debate looking into foundations of entire system

In my estimation, there was a public Kurdish feeling that what happened was not a failure in a step, but rather a failure of the whole package of policies and power relations. Therefore, I trust that it is necessary to launch a public Kurdish debate, not solely confined to politicians, but including intellectuals, academics, civil activists and others. Debate must review what has happened in a spirit of radical critical inquiry, and look into the foundations of the entire system.

As an Arab intellectual, it is difficult to know beforehand the outcome of Kurdish public debate about the referendum crisis. One of the chronic problems in Arab-Kurdish relations is a perception that Arabs are not interested to learning about the internal Kurdish debate.

This explains the paucity of translation of material from Kurdish culture to Arabic, aggravated by a culture of Arab-centrism that has dominated Iraq, and informed the cognition of its elites.

Given that Arab-Kurd relations are devoid of public dialogue between intellectuals and elites, whereby both might review the foundations of modern Iraq, to then build together a common if not unified discourse, allowing for differences, it is normal that both sides entertain contradictory narratives of their common history. Instead, Kurdish-Arab dialogue is limited to political negotiations — largely informed by politicians and their interests and ambitions.



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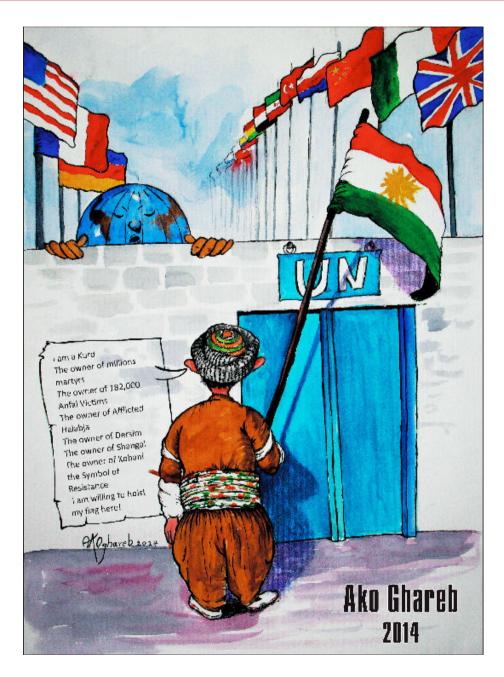
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# The Future of the Kurds

داهاتووی کورد مستقبل الأکر اد

First joint international Forum University of Sulaimani and Polytechnic University of Sulaimani

İsmail Beşikçi Hall – The New Campus of the Sulaimani University 9th and 10th of October 2018

#### **CONFERENCE CONTRIBUTIONS**

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PREFACE (Sorani, Arabic)

پرۆفىسۆرى بارىدەدەر دكتۆر رضا حسن حسين سەرۆكى زائكۆي سليمائى





#### PREFACE Sorani

له سوزگهی به رپر سیاریتی نهکادیمییه و و و ک زانکؤی دایک، زانکؤی ملیمانی یهکهمین دیداری نیودهولمتی پیکهمین دیداری نیودهولمتی پیکهمین به هاوبه شی لهگال زانکؤی پولیتهکنیکی سلیمانی و له ژیر چاودیری به پیز (دکتور یوسف گوران) و مزیری خویندنی بالا و توییرینه وی کورد" له پروژانی (۱۰-۱ تشرینی یهکهمی ۲۰۱۸) له هولی نیسماعیل بیشکهی که پی نوتی زانکوی سلیمانی. نه م دوو زانکویه - و مک دوو ده رگای پروشنبیری پیشکهو توو له شاری سلیمانی پایته ختی پروشنبیری پیشکهو توو له شاری سلیمانی پایته ختی پروفیسوری باریده دم دکتور رضا حمن حسین (سهروکی زانکوی سلیمانی) و پروفیسوری باریده دم دکتور با استروکی زانکوی سلیمانی) و پروفیسوری باریده دم دکتور رضا حمن حسین (سهروکی زانکوی سلیمانی) و پروفیسوری باریده دم قوناغادا که له پروانگهی نهکادیمی و لهریگای تویژینه وی رانستییه وه تیشک بخریته سهر چونیاتی دیاریکردنی ناینده یه که ش بو

دیاره نهمرق زانکوکان پیویسته روّلی خویان بگیرن بو کوکردنه وی خاومن قالمه و کهسانی پسپور و شارهزا له بواری دوزی نعته و کهسایه یه به نمادیسی و شارهزا له بواری دوزی نعته و کهسایه تی نمادیسی و شارهزای بواری سیاسه تی و لاتانی روژ هه لاتی ناوم است بانگهیشتکراون و سیمیناری زانستیان پیشکه شکردووه و مک به ریزان د. فیردیناند هینه ر بیشلم ، نهمهد ته به خوای ، دکتوره میایتا، نهمه نهسکه نمور ، میشیل لیزنبیرگ و چهدین پسپور و کهسایه تی و تورد دارد به دهره و و ناوه وی کوردستان.

نهم وتوویز و تویزینه و انستیانه دخوانیت رونی گرنگیان همینت له هوشیارکردنه و نهوی نیستا و داهاتووی میلامته کهمان و هاندهر بینت بو داهاتووی میلامته کهمان و هاندهر بینت بو دروستکردنی نهخشه بر گایه که بو گهیشتن به سهرجهم مافه ر برواکانی میلامته کهمان. یه کیک له تمویره گرنگه کان باسی کیتیه کهرکوک بوو له لایمن به بریز دکتور یوسف گزرانه و ، که چهند ر مهمندی سیاسی همیه نه مونده شده برده مهندی سومبولی نه تمویی همیه و له روی میژووییه و کیشه که بو سهر متای دروستیوونی دموله تی عیرای دمگه بریته و ، نام کاته ی نامیزودا به عمره کردن و میرینه وی نامینامه ی کرددی و مک پروژویه کی فکری سیاسی پهروییدا و له سهردمی به عسیشدا گمیشته لوتکه.

> پر قفیسؤری یاریدهدمر دکتور رضا حسن حسین مسعر قرکی زانکوی سلیمانی





#### PREFACE Arabic

قامت جامعة السليمانية (UoS) وهي أقدم جامعة في إقليم كوردستان بالاشتراك مع جامعة السليمانية التقنية (SPU)، بتنظيم المنتدى الدولي الأول تحت عنوان (مستقبل الكورد)، بإشراف السيد وزير التعليم العالمي والبحث العلمي الدكتور يوسف گوران، في يومي 9 و 10 أكتوبر 2018، في قاعة (اسماعيل بشكجي) في الحرم الجامعي الجديد لجامعة السليمانية.

تعتبر هاتان الجامعتان مؤسستان أكاديميتان وثقافيتان متقدمتان في مدينة السليمانية، عاصمة الثقافة في إقليم كوردستان ومدينة النضال الكوردي من أجل الحقوق والهوية الوطنية.

وتحت الاشراف المباشر للمبيد رئيس جامعة السليمانية الأستاذ المساعد الدكتور رضا حسن حسين والسيد رئيس جامعة السليمانية التقنية الأستاذ المساعد الدكتور ثالان فريدون، اللذان أوليا اهتماما بالغا بهذا الموضوع الحساس في هذه المرحلة، من المنظور الاكاديمي والبحث العلمي، وأن يُلقى الضوء على كيفية تحديد مستقبل باهر لأمتنا، واليوم يجب على الجامعات أن تقوم باداء دورها الفعال في تجميع الكتاب والمختصين والخبراء في مجال المسألة القومية.

ولهذا الغرض نجد اليوم العديد من الشخصيات الأكاديمية والثقافية وخبراء السياسة الدولية لمنطقة الشرق الأوسط شاركوا في هذا المنتدى الدولي وقدّموا محاضراتهم وحواراتهم البناءة، ومنهم: دفير ديناند هينر بشلر، أحمد طبقچلى، د. ميليتا، أحمد أسكندر، ميشيل ليزنبيرگ والعديد من المختصين والشخصيات الأخرى من خارج كوردستان، والخبراء في مجال القضية الكوردية وآخرين من الباحثين والمختصين من داخل كوردستان.

تستطيع هذه الحوارات والبحوث العلمية أن تلعب دورًا مهمًا في توعية الجيل الحاضر والأجيال القادمة الأمتنا وأن تكون دافعًا لوضع خارطة طريق لتحقيق جميع الحقوق القومية لأمتنا، ومن المحاور المهمة للمنتدى، الحديث عن مسألة كركوك الذي تطرق إليه الدكتور يوسف گوران والذي يتضمن إضافة الى بعده السياسي بُعدًا رمزيًا قوميًّا، وتعود جذور القضية من الناحية التاريخية الى بدايات تأسيس الدولة العراقية حين ظهور النزعة القومية العربية الحديثة في أواسط القرن الماضي وعمليات التعريب وطمس الهوية الكوردية، وظهور ها كمشروع فكري سياسي، ووصولها الى القمة في منوات حكم البعث في العراق.

وفي الختام نقدم شكرنا الجزيل الى جميع المشاركين في هذا المنتدى الدولي وإلى منظمي المنتدى، متمنين للجميع دوام التقدم والازدهار.



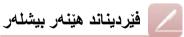




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# كورد لهبهردهم بژاردهكاني داهاتوودا ن

بهشی یهکهم: بار و دوّخی ئیستا







#### کور تعبهک:

ريفراندومي سـ مربهخويي كوردستاني عيراق له ٢٥ ي ئميلولي ٢٠١٧ دا له لابهن مهسعو د بار ز انبیهو ه (سهر و کی بیشو و ی هه نیز پر در او بو ههریمی کور دستانی عبر اق که ماوه ی سهر و کابهتبیه کهی له ۲۰۰۵ / ۲۰۰۰ وه یو ۱۹ / ۸ / ۲۰۱۰ بوو) ر اگهبهندر ۱، که ئامانج لهم ریفر اندو مه بناغهبهک نهبو و یو بانگهشده دنی دهو لهتيکي ســـهر بهخوي کور د له باکوري عير اق له داهاتو و پهکي ديار پکر او دا. به لکو ئامانج لیّے به هیّز کر دنی بیّگهی ر امیار ہے ناو خوّیے خوّی و ههر و هها هے ئهو ســـهر کر ده ر امیار بیه دیار انهی بنهمالهی بار ز انبیه کان له ناو بار تی دیمو کر اتی كور دستاني عير اقدا بوو، كه له ئيستادا حكومهتي همريمي كور دستاني عير اق بهريوه دهبهن. ريفر اندومه که بوو به هوی قوو لبوونه و می کيشه دهستو و ربه کاني، عير اق و همر و مها ير سه گر نگه يهكلايينهكر او مكانيش؛ له سمر و و ي هممو و شيانهو ه بار و دۆ خى" كەر كووك " و " ناوچە كۆشە لەسەر ەكان" كە لە ٢٠٠٥ و ە بى ئەنجام ماونه ته و ، کور دهکانی عیر اق دهسه لاتیکی فر او انبان له " کهر کو و ک" و بهر بر هی له ٤٠٪ ئهو ناوجه كنشه لهسهر انهبان لهدهست دا، كه بنشتر كو نتر و لبان كر ديوو. له بهر می ناوخویی و ههر بمبیدا له نبوان لایمنه کور دبیهکاندا جهمســـهر گیر ہی و دو ژ منایه تیی سهر ی هه لدا و ههره شهی دووباره دووکه رتبوونه وی حکومه تی ههر بمي کور دســـتاني بو دو و بهر بو بهر ايهتيي و جيا جيا، همر و هما قو و لُيو و نهو مي قەيرانى دارايى بەر دەوامى حكومەتى ھەر يمى كور دستانى ليكەوتەوە. لەر ووى جيو ستر اتيجييهوه ريگه خوشکهر بوو، بو ئهوهي كوماري ئيسلامي ئيران له ريي میلیشیای شیعهی سهر بهئیر انهوه، ههر موونی خوی له عیر اق و مهودیوی عیر اق تا دهریای ناو هر استی روز هه لات زیاتر فراوان بکا، له کوتایشدا که بایه خی لهوانی تر كەمتر نىيە: ھەروەھا بوو بە ھۆي چربوونەوەي چەندىن قەيران لەرۆژھەلاتى ناو هر است و ئاسیای ناو هر است دا (۲).





#### سەر ەداو ەكان:

کوردهکان، ئیراق، تورکیا، سوریا، ئیسرائیل، عمرهبستانی سعوودیی، وو لاتانی کهنداو، میسر، رووسیا، نهتموه یه کگر تووهکان، ویلایه ته یه کگر تووهکانی ئهممریکا ، یه کیتی ئورویا، هاویه یمانیتی باکوری ئه تله سیی (ناتق)؛ ئهگمرهکانی داهاتوو:

کوردهکانی عیّراق لمئیستادا له نائارامییه کی قوولدان، دابه سبوون بو دوو بهره: بهره ی به لمی و بهره ی نهخیر، کومهلگه که بیان گوشه گیر بووه و دابه ش بووه، یان قایلبوون به "تارمایی"؛ "داهاتوویه کی پارچه پارچه بوو"؟ (جووست هیلته رمان قایلبوون به "مار ۲۰۱۸ و ۲۰۱۸). ئه وان قوربانیی زهبر، بی هیوایی و نا ئومیّدیی بوون، به وه یکه له لایمن جیهانه وه دووباره پشتیان تیّکرا، همروه ها که و تنه سهر سهرکونه کردنی یه کتر بو لیّکدانه وهی هه له مهترسیداره کانیان و ئه نجامدانی کرده وهی ناپاکیی. جاریّکی تر خوپیشاندان و ناپره زایه تیی له لایمن چالاکوانه خوبه دهسته وه ناپره رایمی کومه لایمی کومه لایمی ناپره و دادپه و و دادپه روه ربی کومه لایم تیبان ده کرد همان که داوای دیموکراسیی و دادپه روه ربی کومه لایم تیبان ده کرد همان که داوای دیموکراسی و دادپه روه ربی کومه لایمی ناپره و ایکی هیوای هاتن (۳). مهترسی هاتنه ئارای شهری ناوخو هاته کایموه. پرووناکی هیوای "کوردستانی سه ربه خو" پرووی له کزبوون کرد. ترسه کان ده رباره ی ئالوزبوونی گرژییه کان، دابه شبوون و پروودانی پیکدادانی چه کداری نوی زوربوون.

ریفراندو مهکهی ۲۰۱۷ نهیلولی ۲۰۱۷ بو سهربهخویی، که له لایهن مهسعود بارزانییه و راگهیهندرا، له روزهه لاتی ناوه راست چهندین ته نگرهی به دوای خویدا هینا. سهرئه نجام کورده کانی عیراقیش ۴۰٪ ی ئه و ناوچانه یان، که پیش ریفراندو م له باکوری عیراق کونترو لیان کر دبوو، له ده ست دا. ئه و ناوچانه ی وهک ئه مری واقیع که له سهره تای نه وه ده کانی سهده ی رابر دوودا تا راده یه کی دیاریکراو گهریندرابوونه و بو ژیر ده سه لاتی کوردیی، که نزیکه ی چاره که سهده یه پیشتر بوو؛ به شیوه ی فیدرالیده کی دیاریکراو، ئازادی خوبه ریوه بردنی ههریمایه تیی (هیلته می میرودا اله).





جیاوازییه گهورهکانی نیوان لایه کوردییهکانی عیراقیش ، ببووه ههرهشه بو دوباره دابه سبوونه وی ههریمی کوردستان . نهم جارهیان له ژیر کاریگهریی نیراندا رهنگه پاریزگاکانی "ههلهبجه و سلیمانی " و چهند به سیکی "کهرکووک" یان "ناوچه کیشه لهسهرهکان " دیاری بکات بو "ههریمیکی تری کوردستان ". نهمهش به مانای دو و باره دابه شکردنه و می کوردستان ی عیراق بو و بو .

ناوچهی باکورکه له ژیر دهسه آلاتی (پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان) که خاوهنی دهسه آلاتیکی خوبه پیر دهسه آلاتیکی خوبه پیر و به ژیر کاریگه ربی ته واوه تی تورکیا دایه و باشووری کوردستان که له ژیر دهسه آلاتی هه بیمکه له (یهکیتی نیشتیمانیی کوردستان ی.ن.ک) و جو آلنه وهی چاکساز پیخواز "گوران "دایه حیزبی نویی به به هم سال (هاوپهیمانی دیموکراسیی و دادپه روه ربی) که له ۱۹۰۷ دا دایمه زراند؛ هم وه ها الایه بچوکه کانی تریش که له الایهن کوماری ئیسلامی ئیرانه وه به پیوه دهبران و ئهم هه نگاوانه ئه نجام بدریت ئه وا چهندین سه رئه نجامی پیشبینی نه کراو دینه ئاراوه و هه موو ئه و کیشه سه ختانه یکه بوون به هو کاری ئهم گورانکارییانه، له نیویاندا کیشه مه ترسیداره چاره سه رنه کراو مکانی تاییه به دهستوری عیراقیی له که نیویاندا کیشه مه ترسیداره چاره سه رنه کراو مکانی تاییه به دهستوری عیراقیی له

ئيران كوردهكان يهراويز دمخات

ئیران وهک لایهنیکی براوهی رووبهرووبوونهوهکانی ئهم دوابیهی سهربهخوّیی کوردستان هه نمکهوت (سپایهر ۲۰۱۸)(۵)؛ (ئایریس ۲۰۱۷)(۱)؛ GC(یکخراوی نیودهو نمو هایرانه کانی روزهه ناوه راست ۲۰۱۷/ ۱۲/ ۱۳. تورکیا باشه کشه ی





پیکرا بز پیگهی هاوبه شدیکی بچووک. پرووسیا دهیه و پت پر و آنیکی جیاواز ببینیت، وهک سه و کی نویی جیهان له سونگهی کشانه وهی به ریوبه رایه تیی نهمه ریکا به سه مرکر دایه تیی دو نالد ترهم به هم ریه که له پروژهه آلاتی ناوه پر است و ئاسیای ناوه پر است. ئیرانی ئیستا (کوماری ئیسلامی ئیران) بو جاریکی ترکور ده کانی که له بارو دو خیکی ناهه مواری جیوستر اتیجیدا بوون به جیهیشت و لهم پیکه اتبوون له: یه که مجار له میژوودا دوو ئامانجی گهورهی به دهست هینا که پیکها تبوون له: جله و گیر کردنی به شدیکی گهوره ی باکوری عیراق و به دهست هینانی هه شرموون به سه سه سه چاه گازیی و نهوتییه کاندا له باکوری عیراق و به دهست هینانی هه شرموون پوژه هه آلاتی زاگروس. دهست که و تیکی دووه می بریتی بوو له بنیا تنانی پر دیکی پروژه مینی پر استه و خو له نیرانه و به ناو کور دستانی عیراق دا (به گشتی له باشووره وه) له زنجیره چیاکانی شاخی شه ناوی و پر امیار پیه کانیه و امیان به و دوریا و لوبنان ، نهودیویه وه، له پی هاو په پیمانه سه ربازی و پر امیار پیه کانیه وه له سوریا و لوبنان ، نهودیویه وه، له پیی هاو په پیمانه سه ربازی و پر امیار پیه کانیه وه له سوریا و لوبنان ، ته نانه تا سنوری ئیسرائیل و ده ریای ناوه پر استی سپی که ناوبر اوه به "هیلالی ته نانه تا سنوری ئیسرائیل و ده ریای ناوه پاستی سپی که ناوبر اوه به "هیلالی شیعی"، که له کهنداوه وه دریژده بیته وه تا پر و ژه ها آتی شام (۸) .

گەمەى بۆكەرى توركيا لەرووى جيۆستراتيجيەوە بۆجلەوگيركردنى - كەركووك

تورکیا بهردهوامه له داگیرکارییه سلمربازییهکانی له باکوری عیراق و ههریمی کوردستان و فراوانکردنی ههژموونی خوّی له ریّی هیزه هاوشیوه سلمربازییه تورکمانییهکانهوه، که لهم دواییانه دا دامهزراون و له ژیر ههیمهنهی تهواوی تورکهکاندایه، که ئهنقهره سالی ۲۰۱۶ بنایتی نا و بانگهشهی ئهوهی دهکرد، که مافه قانونییهکانی کهمینه تورکهکان له باکوری عیراق دهپاریزیت. تورکیا دوو ئامانجی جیوگرافی و ستراتیجی ههیه:

یه کهم به دهست هینانه وه ی بالادهستی له کیشمه کیشی میژوویی له سهر کهرکووک و ههریمه دهولهمه نده کهی به نهوت (۹) ، که ئیمیر اتوریه تی عوسمانی له جهنگی





جيهانيي يهكهمدا له دهستي دابوو، لهسهر متادا بق بهريتانياي مهزن، دو اتريش بهمهستی دهستیو ر مدانه سهر باز بیهکانی و هیر شه ئاسمانییهکانی و داگیر کاربیهکانی و به ناچاری در وستکردنی چهند ناوچهیه کی بهر بهست که تو رکیا دهسه لات، بهسهر باندا همینت به در پژ ایی ۳۰ کیلو مهتر له دوریای ناو ور استهو و تا ز اگر و س و سنيگوشهي توركيا، عيراق و ئيران و ليزييتهوه تا سهنگهرهكاني ب.ك.ك. (يارتي كر بكار انى كور دستان) ، لهجباكانى قەندىل له ناوجه سنوور ببهكانى در اوسبكانى له باشوور، له باکوری سوریا و عیراق. ئامانجه کانی ئەنقەره (یان سەرۆکی ئیستای نهخو ازر اوی؛ رمجهب تهیب نور دو غان) بریتین له یالیشتیکر دنیان له بانگهشهکانیان له بالادمستبو و نیان له نیو همر یمایه تبیه کانیان و بار استنی دمسه لاتی تهشه نهسه ندو و ه تاكر هوييانهكهي. پاشان چي روودهدات، هيشتا ناروونه، به لام وادهر دهكهويت كه بار و دو خهکه بهر مو و پر انکاریی زیاتر ههنگاو دهنیت.

دو این هه ژموونی سه ربازیی تورکیا له باکوری ئیراق: سه رهداوهکان:

توركيا له ١٩٨٦دا بنكهي سهربازيي خوّى له ناوچهي ئاميدي هيشتهوه (N 43°29'14", E"33'05°37) له ياريزگاي دهوک له نزيک سنووري توركياوه و يووني ئهم بهکه ســـهر باز بيانهي تور کيا له خاکي بنگانهدا دهگهر بتهوه يو جهند ريْكهوتنيْك و دريْرْه ييدانيان له لايهن رژيمي ئهو كاتهي سهدام حوسينهوه. ئەمەش رېگەي بە ھيز ، توركەكان دەدا تا درى ھيز ، جەكدار ، كوردەكان بجەنگن (بهتايبهتي هيزهكاني ب.ب.ك. يارتي ديموكراتي كوردستان) همروهها دريزه به هير شهكاني بدات به قو لايي ۳۰ كيلومهتر له ناو سنووري عير اقدا. له دواي لابر دنی سهدام حوسین ، به نزیکهیی سهرجهم شیعهکان و حکومهته یهکگرتو و هکانی به غدا به لایهنی کهمهوه به نو و سر او داوایان له تورکیا کر دووه تا سر پاکهی له عير اق بكشينيتهوه و ئهنقهره تا كاتي نوسيني ئهم رايورته بيباك بووه. ههر ومك به غدا بوونی ئهم پهکه ســهر بازپیه تورکیانه لهسـهر خاکی عیراق به ناقانوونی له





قه له دهدات، که به بیانووی ئه و ریکه و تنه میژووییه به به بینی قانوونی نیوده و له تبی به سهدام حوسین دا کردوویانه، سهره رای ئه وه ی که به پیی قانوونی نیوده و له تبی به ناقانوونی له قه له مدراوه، به پیش یلکردنی مافه کانی مروّف تومه باریان کردووه (۱۱). بنکه ی سهربازیی تورکیی له ئامیدی له ئیستادا نزیکه ی ۱۰ تانک و چهند توپهاویژیک و نزیکی ۱۰۰۰ سهربازی ئاماده له خوّی ده گری له مانگی تهموزی ۱۹۹۲ شهروه ها بنکه ی ده زگای نهینی له ئامیدی دامه در ادووه .

۲۰۰۳/۱۹۷۷ : " هيزي جاو ديري ئاشتيي" له كوتايي شهري ناو خوي كور دهكاندا ۱۹۹۷/۱۹۹٤ و مفدیک بق بار استنی ئاشتی به ناوی" هیزی جاو دیری ئاشتیی" ينكهننرا ئمركى ســــمر مكى بريتيى بووله ســـمياندنى ئاگر بهســت له نبوان هبزه کور دبیه رکابهر مکانی باکوری عیّر اق(بهشیر میهکی سیمر مکی: بهکهم بارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان، دووهم یهکیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان). ئهم دهسته کلاو شــينانه بيكهاتبو و له ٠٠٤كســـ ئاشــتيى باريزى بههيز، كهبه فهر مى له لايهن ئەفسىمر و چاودىرە توركەكانەرە سىمرىمرشىتى دەكران، بەلام يلە و دۆسىپيەكان تايبهت بوون به توركمان و ئاشورييه ناوخوييهكان، كه به نزيكهيي له ٨٥ ٪ي هيزه توركمانييه كانيان بينك ده هينا. هه لسانگاندن بو ئهركي "هيزي چاو ديري ئاسایش" کر ا و دمر کموت تا ر ادمیهک در بهکه تو رکبا ئمر کهکمیانی به سمر کمو تو و دانا جو نکه دهو ریکی بالای همبو و ه له کو تابیه پنان به شهری ناو خوی کو ردهکاندا. له به رامبه دا سه کرده رامباربیه کوردهکان، وهفدهکهبان به وه تومه تومه کرد که راهیّنان به میلیشیای به نفر اد ئاشور پیمکان دهکمن، تا یار معتی تورکمکان بدهن له به لامار دانه کانیان و سیخور یکر دنه کانیان دا. ههر و مها کور ده کان نیگهر انی خویان دهربری که کهمینه تورکمانه کانی عیراق (به نزیکه ی له ٥ ٪ی دانیشتوانه که ی) به يشتيواني توركيا داواي سياسيي و خاوهنداريتيي زهوي، له دري كوردهكان له شارهکانی موسل و کهرکووک بهرزدهکهنهوه (۱۲).





له سالی ۲۰۱۶وه سه ربازگهکهی له نامیدی فراونتر کردووه بو ۱۰۰۰سه رباز زیاتر، ههروه ها چهکی قورسیشی هاورده کردووه. پاساوی نهنقه ره نهوه بووه، که پیویستی به پاراستنی ههریه که له سنووره کانی لهگه آل عیراق و هیزه کانی له دمره وهی نامیدی که نهگه ری هیرشی (میلیشیا تیروریسته کانی "دهو آله تی نیسلامیی" (داعش) دا هه یه.

له سللی ۲۰۱۶ دا به یارمهتی تورکیا له باکوری عیّراق "لیوا تورکمانییهکان" پیّکهیّنران که خوّیان وهک " میلیشیای تورکمانی عیّراقیی دهبینن" وه به شیّکیشن له (حه شدی شه عبی) سیعی. ژماره ی ئهندامانی هیّزهکانیان له ئیستادا و له لایهن هیّزهکانی ئاسایشی (۱۳) حکومهتی ههریّمی کوردستانه وه به ۲۰۰۰ پیاو بهراورد کراوه (قهبلّیندراوه). "لیوا تورکمانییهکان" بانگهشهی ئه وه دهکهن که پاریّزگاری له کهمینه تورکامنییهکان دهکهن بهتاییهتی له کهرکووک، تهنانهت ئهگهر پیّویستیش بوو هیّز به کار ده هیّنن.

ســــاللّــ ۲۰۱7/۲۰۱۵ دوای گفتوگوی نیوان تورکیا و همریهکه له حکومهتی همریّمی کوردســـتانی عیّراق له همولیّر و وهزارهتی بمرگری عیّراق له بهغدا، تورکیا له ناوچهی شاخاوی " باشیک" له نزیک موسلّ بنکهی سهربازی تری دامهزراندووه. تورکیا همولیّداوه بمرژهوهندییه نیّونهتموایه تییهکانی له " باشیک" بپاریّزیّت؛ له کاتیّکدا که له شمریّکی سهختدا بوون له دژی میلیشیا تیروّریستهکانی "دهوله نیونهتی بیسلامیی" که نموکاته له لو و تکهی دهسه لاتیدا بو و .

"پێشــمهرگه" (۱٤) ڕۅٚڵێکی یهکلاکهرهوهیان له گرتنهوهی موســڵ و پاراســتنی کهرکووک دا بینی. بهرزایی"باشیک" گرنگییهکی ستراتیجی ههیه، له و ڕوویهوه که میلیشــیاکانی داعش له و ێوه ئازوقهی بو چهکدارهکانی دابیندهکرد و ههروهها له تورکیاوه دزهی پێدهکردن بهرهو ئوروپا. به ڵام له لایمن هێزهکانی "پێشــمهرگه"ی کوردییهوه راوهدوونران و پێش ئهوهی بکشــێنهوه له داگیرکردنی هێزه تورکییهکان. له لایهکی ترهوه بهرزاییهکانی باشیک له پرووی ستراتیجیهوه و هک چهند پێگایهکی گرنگی پهیوهندییکردن به کوردهکانهوه له باکوری ســوریا ههژمار دهکرا، که



سوياي تورکبا دهيهو بت دهستي بهسهر دا بگر بت له م دو ايبانهدا، له سالي ۲۰۱٦ دا تورکیا به شیر میه کی فهر می ر مزامه ندیی بنیه خشیر اتا دو و خیو متگای را هینانی سـهر بازی به شیو هیهکی کاتی له "دو بهر دان" و " باشیک" له نزیک موسل جیّگیر بكات. ئەمەش لە لايەن ھەر يەكە لە حكومەتى ھەر يمى كوردستان لە ھەولير و و هز ار متی بهر گری عیّر اق له بهغداو ه ریّگهی بیّدر ابو و . زیاتر له ۱۰۰۰ بیاوی تر لهم بنكانه دا دانر ان بهشيو هيه كي فهر مي بينگه و نازناوي راوير كاريي سهر بازييان ههیه و دمینت ر اهنان به هنزه ناوخو بیهکانی عیر اق بکس له شهر مکانیاندا له دری داعش. له هممان کاتیشدا ئامانجی راگهاندر اوی تورکیا بریتیه له: دابینکر دنی یار پز گاری سامر بازیی بق کهمینه تو رکهکان له کامر کو وک و هامر و مها بالیشتیکر دنی هه رضو وني سيتر اتيجي توركيا له ناو جهكهدا. كار دانه و مكان بق ئهم هه و لهي توركيا بهشیو هیمکی و و ر و ژینمر و له ر و و ی سوز هو ه به ههستیاری ماونه ته و ر دمکان که شــهری دهسـت نیّو مر دانه گهشــهســهندو و مکانی تو رکیا له حکو مهتی همریّمی كوردستان له باكورى عيراق دهكهن، ئەنقەرە بەرە تۆمەتبار دەكەن كە كەمتر گرنگی به راهینانی هیزهکانی دری تیروریزم له عیراق دهدات، به بهراورد به وی که زیاتر گرنگی به دوزگا هه والگربیه سه بازییهکان و به هیز کردنی بهر گریی کهمینه تورکییهکان له کهر کووک دهدات له ریگهی میلیشیاکانی خویهوه، توركياش ئهمه روتدهكاتهوه. له ياش رووخاني دوولهتي ئيسلامي له ناوچهي موسل، به غدا ههر زوو جهندین جار داوای له تورکیا کرد، تا دهستیه چن هیز مکانی بكشينيتهوه. تا ئيستا ئهنقهره بهم داو إيانهوه يابهند نهبووه، مشتومري ئهوه دهكات كه پێوپسته ر اوێڙکاره سهربازپيهکاني له عێراق بيارێزێت. له کوتايي ساڵي ۲۰۱۷ دا سـو بای تور کیا دهستیکر د به بنیاتنانی بنکهیه کی سـتر اتیجی له "سـیر و " ، که بهنز يكهيي له ١٥٠٠ ســـهر باز و تانك و توبخانهي قورس بيْكهاتبوو و فروّكهي جمنگی له بهرزایی سیرو له ناوچهی "برادوست " له ناوچه سنوربیه کانی نیوان عیراق و ئیران و بارهگای ســـهرکردایه تیی (پ.ک.ک.) که له چیاکانی قهندیله و زور لییانه وه دوور نییه یارتی کریکارانی کوردستان شانبه شانی کوردهکانی





ناوخوی بر ادوّست له در ی نویترین پرور هی سهربازی تورکیا له دهره وهی خاکی خویدا دهجه نگن. ئهم هوّزه به شیّوه یه کی باو له بهر امبهر پارتی دیموکرتی کوردستان پیّگهیه کی سهربه خویان همیه، که بالادهستن به سهر سنوری همریمایه تیی و بارزانییه کاندا که له و لاتانی در او سیّی بارزانه و هاتوون. گوران کاربیه کانی ئهم دو ایبیانه:

له ناوه راستی مانگی کانوونی دووهمی ۲۰۱۸ هیزهکانی تورکیا له دوای چهند شهریّکی دریژخایه نه گهل بنکهکانی پارتی کریّکارانی کوردستاندا به شیّوهیهکی فراوان له ناوچهکانی برادوّست کشاونه ته و ا دهرده کهویّت که لهم دواییانه دا دهریگا نهیّنییه کانی تورکیا دهستی به بنیاتنانی بنکهیه که هموایّر کردبی و له پیگهیه و همولی داوه بهرچاو پوونییه کی بهسه هموو پیشکهوتنه سهربازیی و رامیاریی و کوّمه لایه تییه کان له همریّمی کوردستانی عیراقدا همییّت.

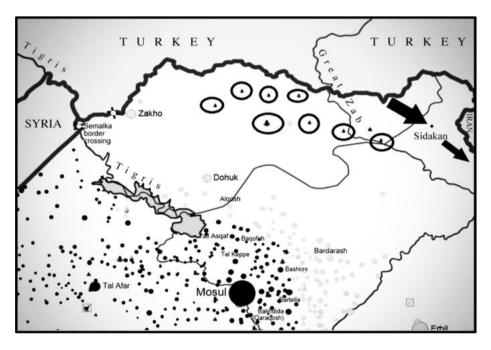
هه للسمه ته سسه ربازییه به رده و امه کانی تورکیا له به رامبه سه نگه ره کانی پارتی کریکار انی کور دستان ۲۰۱۸ به پشتبه ستن به نامار و داتاکانی هیزه کانی ناسایش و حکومه تی هم یمسی کور دستانی عیراق.

ر و و نکر د نه و هی نه خشه که: به پنی زانیار بیه بهر دهسته کانی ئیستای هیزه کانی ئاسایشی ههریمی کور دستانی، له ئیستادا تورکیا نزیکهی (۰۰) په نجا بنکهی سهربازیی له چهند شوینیکی جیاواز له باکوری عیراق و ههریمی کور دستان دا ههیه، ههر وه ک به ر وونی دیاره له هیلکارییه که دا، که زور بهیان ده کهونه باشوره وه، له نیوان موسل و سنوری سوریا هه تا ریره وی سنوری سیمالکا له پیره وه به به به ر ووباری دیجله. بنکه سهربازییه کانی تورکیا همروه ک له وینه کادا بازنه یه کی به دهور دا هاتووه له باکور له خاکی کور دستانی عیراق دامه زراون و همه مووشیان ده کهونه نزیک سیمنگهره کانی پارتی کریکارانی کور دستانه وه که نهمانیش بنکه کانیان ده کهونه چیاکانی قهندیله وه له باشوری کور دستانی باکوری کور دستانی باکوری کور دستانه وی که نهمانیش بنکه کانیان ده که ونه چیاکانی ناو چه کانی باکوری





حکومهتی ههریمی کوردستانی عیراق له چوارچیوهی ئامهدییه و زاخو. له کوتای مانگی ئاداری ۲۰۱۸ هیزهکانی تورکیا دهستیان کرد به شالاویکی سهربازی فراوان که هیشتا به شیوهی پیتی ئینگلیزی ( (۷ به دریژایی ئه و ناوچه سنوورییه فراوانانهی که ئهستهمه بگهنه شاخهکان بهردهوامه ، له ناوچهی بهردینی (ئانادا) له پاریزگای ههکاری له تورکیا ههتا سیدهکان له ناوچهی سیوران له ههریمی کورستان و دوورتر تا باشور و قهندیل که بنکهکانی پهکهکهی لیبه، دهکهویته سهر سنووری عیراق و ئیرانهوه له باشوری پیگای "هامیلتونی" (۱۵)ستراتیجی ، که له همولیرهوه دریژ دهبیتهوه به 'پهواندز'دا تا شاروچکهی سنووری حاجی عومهران و پیرانشهه له نیران . مهودای هیزه سهربازییهکانی تورکیا فراوانه و پیکهاتووه له (۲۰۰۰) مهتری دووجا نزیکهی زیاتر له ۶ هیکتار .



نموونهی روونکردنهوهیهک بو بنکه سهربازییهکانی سوپای تورکیای له باکوری عیراق و له مانگی ۷ ی ۲۰۱۸ له ههریمی کوردستان.





ههروهها هیزه سسه ربازییه کانی تورکیا ده یانه و پت شسوین پیی خویان له ناوچه شاخاوییه ستر اتیجیه کانی سیده کان که ده که و پته سنوری نیران و عیر اقه وه قایم بکه ن ههروه ک چون یه که سسه ربازییه کانی له ریگه ی هه لیکو پته ره وه ک سیم رسیکو رسیکی " ره وانه ی شاخه کانی کور دستانی عیر اق کر دووه ". هه روه ها سیم ربازه تورکه کان بو نه و ناوچه یه هینز اون .له نویترین جموجو لیاندا ، هیزه داگیر که ره کانی تورکای ده یویست له چیاکانی قهندیل چوار ده وه ری سه نگه ره کانی بارتی کریکار انی کور دستان بگرن و بنکه سه ربازییه کانیان بروخینن. ئاماژه به شهری سه خت کر اوه . هم دو اییانه هیشتا دیار نبیه و جو تیاره کور ده عیر اقبیه کانی نام و دانی بیکدادانه سه ربازییه کان هه ست به نیگه رانییه کی به رده و ام ده که نسم به روودانی شهری نوی له نیوانیاندا و به رکه و تنیان . هم وه ها مشتوم یکی توند و هه لکشاو هه یه سه باره ت به وه ی کی ریگه ی هاتن و بوونی سوپای تورکی له باکوری عیر اق هه یه سه باره تا داوه (۱۳) .

#### جهنگ له پيناو كهركووك دا

کهرکووک بهردهوام روّلیّکی گهوهری بینیوه، له ریفراندوّمی کوردهکان دا بوّ سلمربهخوّیی نه ادین و خوّ به ریوهبردن (۱۷) له ۲۰۱۷دا بهردهوام وایان لیّده روانی، که بوّ داهاتوویان کلیلیّک بیّت. شاریّکی فره نه اد/ زمان و خاوهن رهگ وریشه ی وولاتی نیّوان دوو رووباره که (ئهرها "Arrapha") (۱۸) و کوّمه دانیشتوانه کانی کورد، عهرهب، تورک و دانیشتوانه مهسیحییه کان و ههروهها کهمینه کانی تریش.

کەرکووک له ۲۰۱۶دا بهشینوهیه کی فراوان کهوته ژیر رکیفی هیزهکانی پیشمه رگهوه (که زورینهیان سهر به ی. ن. ک. بوون) له دوای زنجیره شهریکی سهرکهوتوودا له دژی میلیشیای تیروریستی دهولهتی ئیسلامیی، که هیزهکانی





عیراق بعبی به رگریگرکردن کشانه وه. له ناوه راستی مانگی تشرینی یه که م (نوکتوبه ری) ۲۰۱۷دا، له رئی هیرشیکی سه ربازیی له ناکاودا که له لایه ن چهند گهوره به رپرسیکی سوپای کوماری ئیران و هیزه نیزامییه کانی عیراق، و میلیشیا شیعه کانی سه ربه ئیران و گروپه تورکمانییه کان که لهم دو اییانه دا به یارمه تی تورکیا له ۲۰۱۶ پیکهینراون و له لایه نهنقه ره وه پرچه ک کرابوون تا له م پیگهیه وه هم شرموونی تورکیا له که رکووک فروانتر بیت، نه خشهیان بیکرا.

## كاريگەرى توركيا لەسەر كەركووك(١٩)

وورده کارییه کانی ئهم چالاکییه سهربازییه پیکخراوه تا ئیستا زور کهمن و له سهربنه مای زانیاری دژبهیه کی لایه چیاوازه کان پیکهاتوون، له ئیستادا





ناتوانریّت به شیوه یمکی سیمربه خو لیّکو لینه وه ی له سیمر بکریّت. له ئیستادا هملسیه گاندنی کوتایی ئه سیمه. توانیمان چهند لیّدوانیّکی ئه و شیایه تحالانه مان و هده سیم به گشت لایه نمان بوون و توانیمان خیرا لیّکولینه و لیّکولینه و لیّکولینه و توانیمان خیرا لیّکولینه و لیّکولینه و لیّکولینه و توانیمان خیرا پیّشه وه ی پیّشه وه ی " پیّشه مهرگه " بکهین. سیمرکره ده کانی به ره کانی پیّشه وه ، بو نموونه سیمرور کی پیّشه ووی همریّم " مه سیمود بارزانی " (یان هملویسته ی سیمرکرده سیمرکرده سیمربازییه کانی پیّشووی له له لایه نی سیمرکرده سیمرکرده سیمرکرده کی پیّشووی ی یی بیراق له تیّکوشان بو و ، به لام نمیانتوانی له گهیشتن به سیمرکرده کان سیمرکه و تووین. له گهل ئه وه شدارییان پیّدرا بوو ، به لام نمیانتوانی له گهیشتن به بریاره کان سیمرکه و تووین. له گهل ئه و هر ابیّته و ه.

روانینیکی گشتی بو ئمو زانیارییانهی که له بمردهست دان:

وا دەردەكەونىت چالاكىيەكە لە ئىرانەوە، لە گەل توركىادا بە ھاوبەشكى دەستى پىنكردېنىت و ئاراستە كرابىت، لە ھەمان كاتىشداھىزەكانى عىراق لەگەل "سوپاى دووەمى عىراق (٢٢) سوپاى "مىلىشياى شىعە عىراقىيەكانى كەلەنزىكەوە لەگەل سوپاى شىوپاى شىوپاى شەرۋەھا لەگەل "ھىزە توركمانىيەكان "كە وەك پاشكۆى توركىا كاريان دەكرد رىكەوتبوون .(٢٣)

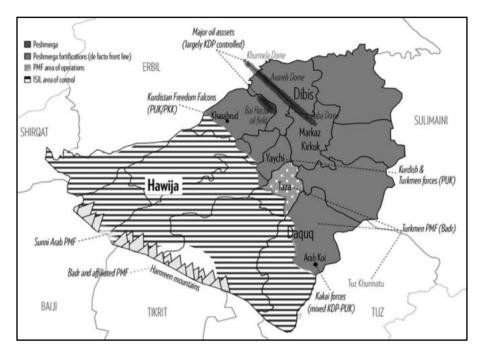
ریزبهندیی کاتی رووداوهکان:

۱٤ / ۹ / ۲۰۱۷ : له کوبونهو میه که دهو که ۲۰۱۷ /۹/ ۲۰۱۷ نوینه ره کانی نه مهریکا و شانشینی نهه و میکگر تووه کانی نهه مهریکا و شانشینی یه کگر توو (ی بریتانیا) هه نگاویکی دیبلو ماسیی هاوبه شی (کوتاییان) بو چار مسامریکی مامناوه دیی و ئاشتخواز انه وه، له بری ئه نجامدانی پیفر اندو م به سامرکر دایه تی حکومه تی هه ریمی کور دستان له و پر فه رمانره و ایی مهسعود





بارزانی پیشکهش کرد. به شیوهیه کی بنه ره تی پیشنیاریان کرد که ریفراند و م بو ماوه ی دو و سیل دوا بخریت تا بتوانن له کوتاییدا له گهل به غدا به ریکه و تنیکی ناشتیی بگهن.



ویّنه ی روونکاری دووهم: نهخشه ی کهرکووک پیّش نهوه ی دووباره لهلایه ن هیّزهکانی پیشمه رگه وه بهدهست بهیّنریّته وه، کهییّشتر تیّدا له ناوچهکانی باکور و ناوهندی شارهکه دا (له کاتیّک ناوچهکانی باشوری حهویجه هیّشتا له ژیّر دهستی گروپه تیروّریستییه کانی داعش بوون، که لهم دواییانه دا چولیان کردبوو)، دهسه لات داربوون. ئیریکاگهستن ئینستیتیوتی رامیاری گشتیی جیهانی.

همر یمکیک له "جاک کوبیس " و هک نوینه ری تایبه تی سکر تارییه تی گشتی " نهته و ه یمکگر تو و هکان و "بالیوزی به ریتانی له عیراق" فرانک به یکه ر"، و



بالْيَةِ زى ئەمەرىكى "دۆگلاس سىلىمان Douglas Silliman "، و نوينەرى تايبەتى ئەمەر بكى له " هاو بەيمانى در ى داعش " له دانېشتنى دو و ممدا بەشدار بان كر د. بریت مهکگورک، سے مرکر دایمتی عیراقی کور دی له لایمن" لیژنهی هملبژ اردنی نيودهو لتييه كرد، دەركهوت كه له رووى راميارييهوه لاواز بوو، به لام داواكهيان ر متدمکر دمو ه. و و ر دمکار بیهکانی ر متکر دنه و مکه له بیگهی ئلیکتر و نی کو میسیو نه و ه بوونی نعبوو (۲٤) . میدیای کور دی بهیاننامهیه کی " نوسینگهی راگهیاندنی ئەنجومەنى بالاى ريفراندۆم "يان لە ١٤ / ٩ / ٢٠١٧ دا بلاو كر دەو ە كە ر ابگەباند : "له ٢٥ى ٩دا دهنگى خهلكى كوردستان بو دامهزراندنى دهولهتى كوردستان به لميّ دهبيّت "(٢٥). مهسعود بارزاني له سهرجهم كوّبونه و مكاني بيّشووي له زاخق و و تو یه تی که ههر دو اخستنیکی پیکهینانی دهو لهتیکی کوردی سه بهخو به بی بوونی دانیایی جیدگهی قبولکردن نییه. له چاویدکهوتنیکیدا لهگهل روزنامهی بەرىتانى " زېّ گاردېپان The Guardian" ٢٢ى ئەيلوولى ٢٠١٧ بارزانى بۆ دو اخستنی ریفر اندو م، مهر جیکی بیشو هختهی همبو و ، ئهویش بریتیبو و لهو می که" نەتەرە يەكگرتورەكان چارەيەكى نيوەندىي لە گەل نەخشسەي كارىك لەكاتېكى، ديابكر او دا دابين بكات " (٢٦). بريت مهككورك له گفتو كويهكي بيشو هختهدا له گهل روز نامه و انه کانی همولیر له ۱۶ ی ئمیلوولی ۲۰۱۷ دا دو و بار ه جهختیکر ده وه، كه ريفراندوم روتكراو وتهوه، رووني كردووه كه "نا مهنتيقييه" و له كاتى خويدا نىيە.(۲۷)

۲۲ی مانگی ۹ ی ۲۰۱۷: سے پروّژ پیش (۲۸) پریفراندوّمی سے بربهخوّیی کوردستانی عیّراق (له همریهک له همریّمی کوردستان و ناوچه کیشه لهسهرهکان وهک کهرکووک. سوپاسالاری ئیرانی ژهنه پرال قاسم سولهیمانی، فهرهماندهی سے برجهم دهسته و تاقمهکانی (قودس)، یهکینه هملّبژیّردراوهکانی سوپای شورشگیّری ئیرانی (پاسداران)، زنجیرهیهک چاوپیّکهوتنی سهختی له گهل سے برکرده کوردهکانی عیراقدا ئهنجام دا. له لایهن بهغداوه کوّتا ئاگادار کردنهوهیان





۲۲/ ۱۰ / ۲۰۱۷: ســهروّک وهزیرانی عیّراق حهیدهر عهبادی روّژیک پاشــتر داوای له کوردهکانی عیّراق کرد یان ئهوه تا له ریفراندوّم و ئهنجامهکانی پاشــگهر دهبنهوه، یان ریّو شـویّنی توند دهگریّته بهر، له نیّویاندا لیّپرسـینهوهی سـهربازیی. عمبادی روّژیّک دواتر زوّرینهی دهنگی پهرلهمانی به غدای بوّ پشــگیریکردن له گهراندنهوهی کهرکووک و بیره نهوتهکانی بوّ ژیّر دهسه لاتی عیّراق بهدهست هیّنا. وهزیره کوردهکانیش له کاردانهوه یاندا به شــیوه یه کی کاتی دانشــتنی پهرلهمانیان بهجیّه بیّشت.

۱۳/ ۱۰ / / / ۲۰۱۷: دۆنالد تر ممپی ســمر ۆکی ئەمەرىكا، سـوپای شــۆرشــگنړی ئىرانى به رىخدراو نىکى تىر ۆرىســتى لە قەللەمدا، لە بەر " پالپشــتىيان بۆ ھىزى قودس لە سوپاى شۆرشگنړى ئىرانى " (۲۹) سزاى دان، لە ئەنجام دا گر ژبيەكانى





عیراق و (گرژییه کانی تریش) به شیوه یه کی فراون تهشه نهیان سهند، له سهرووی ههمووشیانه وه ناکوکییه کانی له سهر کهرکووک (۳۰)

۳/۱۰/۱ تسمر ق ک و هزیر انی عیر اقی موّله تیکی ٤٨ سمه عاتی به خشییه کور ده کانی عیر اق بو باشگه زبوونه وه له پیفر اندوّندوّ مه که یان ئه وه تا پرووبه پرووی سز ا سه بازییه کان ده بنه وه.

۱۱ / ۱۰ / ۲۰ ۱۷ : له راپورتنکی خیرادا (۳۱) سهرکردهکانی یهکنتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان به سهرکردهی یهکهمی هیزهکانی پیشمهرگهی کوردستانی (۳۲) عیراقیان راگهیاند که چهکی پیشکهوتوو و تهقهمهنی پیویست و خواردنی تهواو یان نییه تا بهرگری له کهرکووک بکهن و داوایان کرد به زووترین کات پییان بگات. دواتر بارزانی بهلینی دا (به پیی ووتهکانی سهرکردهکانی یهکیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان) تا چالاکانه سهرجمم ئازوقه و تهقهمهنییهکانیان بو بنیریت. سهرکردهکانی دا (ی.ن.ک) دووپاتیان کردهوه که چهکه بهلیندراوهکان ههرگیز نه گهیشتن .

3 // ۲۰۱۷ /۱۰: مەكتەب سىياسىي ى.ن.ك. لەسسەر نەخشسەيەكى چوار خالى رۆيكەوتن تا بەشسىيوەيەكى ئاشسىتى بارودۆخى قەيراناويى ئاسسايى بكەنەوە . چوار چىرەى دەقەكە(۳۳):

بهتیروانین له و بارودوّخه ناههموارهی ئیستای ناوچه جیناکوّکهکانی دهرهوهی ههریمی کوردستان و بهتایبهتی کهرکووک، له گوشهنیگای ناکوّکییهکانی نیوان حکومهتی عیراقیی له لایهکهوه و حکومهتی ههریمی کوردستان له لایهکی ترهوه، له پیناو ریگه گرتن لهروودانی جهنگ له نیوان سوپای عیراقیی و هیزهکانی کورددا، لیژنهی سهرکردایهتی یهکیتی نیشتیمانیی ئهم بریارانهی دا:

۱: پێکهێنانی ســـمرکردایهتییهکی ســـمربازیی هاوبهش له همریهکه له هێزهکانی ائهمهریکی، عێراقی، و پێشمهرگه"

۲: رێگه به هێزه سهربازييهكان نادرێت بچنه ناوهندى شارى كهركووكهوه.





۳: پیویسته کیشه کراوهکانی نیوان حکومهتی همریمی کوردستان و حکومهتی عیراقیی له پیی ئمو گفتوگویانه لهسه ر بنهمایه کی دهستووری عیراقیی چارهسم بکرین.

٤: نەتەو ، يەكگرتوو ، كان و ويلايەتە يەكگرتوو ، كانى ئەمەر يكا بانگهێشت بكرێن
 بۆ جێيهجێكردنى ئەم خالانە.

٥ //١٠/١٠ : روّرْ ي دهر چووني بريارهكه له چهند شويننيك؛ دوكان:

ر منه رانی نیرانی قاسم سلیمانی جاریکی تر له دوکان (۴۳) له باکوری روز اوی سلیمانی دانوستانی له گهل سه کرده کورده عیر اقبیه کان ده کات ، همر وه که له سه کرده کورده عیر اقبیه کان ده کات ، همر وه که له براهیم نه حمه د، بافیل تاله بانی، نیچیر قان بارزانی ، کوسر مت ره سول و مه لا به ختیار ناماده ی بوون، نهم دانوستانانه به دریز ایی روز هکه بهر ده وام بوو ، له کوتاییدا ههر یه که له پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان و یه کیتی نیشتیمانیی له سهر به رنامه پینج خالییه که که له پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان و یه کیتی نیشتیمانیی له سهر به که له پارتی دیموکراتی که ده که له پیر گهیه وه ده یا تنویز قان بارزانی له پارتی له کاتر میر هی کوردستان، مه لا به ختیار له یه کیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان، له دوکان کونگره یه کی روز نامه و انبیان ساز کرد، سه روک و هزیرانی نیستای حکومه تی کونگره یه کی کوردستان نیچیر قان بارزانی و وتی "کورده کانی عیراق نه به دانه به ریزگاری له که رکووک ده که نو و بوون . مه لا به ختیاریش ده رباره ی دانیشتنیکی به رامبه رسه دام حوسین سه رکه و تووبون . مه لا به ختیاریش ده رباره ی دانیشتنیکی میر و و نی سه رکه و تووبون دانی دانیشتنیکی دیرانی سه سه که و تووبون دا".

کهرکووک: ژهنه رال سلیمانی پیش نهم کونگره روزنامه وانییه ی نوینه ره کورده کان، له گهل دهست و پیوهنده که ی دو کانی به ره و کهرکووک به جیهیشت. له وی له مالی تاله بانی (به رامبه ربینای پاریزگار) له کهرکووک له گهل ئاراس تاله بانی برازای نزیکی کوچکردوو "جه لال تاله بانی" (۱۹۳۳-۲۰۱۷)، هه روه ها له گهل فه راده هم ریمییه کانی یه کیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان بو جاری کوتایی





دانوستانی ئهنجام دا، له ساته کانی کوتاییدا ئاراس تاله بانی هه ولّی در پرژکر دنه و هی مولّه مولّه که که که که و میلیشیا مولّه ته که که که که که و میلیشیا شیعه کانی سه به ئیران پیشره وی نه که نو ناوه ندی شاری که که کووک و ری له پروودانی کارهساتی مروّبی به سه دانیشتوانه مه ده نییه کان و ویران کردنی شاره که بگرن. سایمانی جه ختی له سه به که و کرده و ه که کورده کان ده بیت ملکه چی مهرجه کانی به غدا بن، ده نا دو و چاری لیّدانی سه ربازیی ده بنه و و سه تگهره کان تووند بوونه و .

کهرکووک: دوای ئه و دانوستانانه ی که تیکرای روّژی ۱۰/ ۱۰/ ۲۰۱۷ ی خایاند، کوره گهوره ی جهلال تالمهانی "باقیل تالمهانی" رایگهیاند(۳۵) له گهل سهروّک و مزیرانی عیراق گهیشتوون بهریّکه و تنیّک. باقیّل تالمهانی روونیکرده وه:

حهیده رعهبادی "داوی لیّکردووین بچینه ده ره وه له به رامبه ردا" هیّزه نیز امییه کان "ی سوپای عیّراق تاک لایه نه ده ده ده تا گریّت به سه سه "که رکووک " دا، به لمکوو بنکه ی فر و که وانی سه ربازیی "ک ۱" که له رووی ستر اتیجییه وه گرنگییه کی زوّری ههیه، وبه شیّوه یه کی هاوبه ش له لایه نسم ربازه به ربتانییه کان و نه مه ریکییه کان و نه نیّویشی اله نیّویشی اله نیّویشی اله نیّویشی اله نیویشی اله نیّویشی اله نیّویشی اله نیویشی اله کوت ایدا نه می اله کوت ایدا نه می اله کوردسی الله می کرد تا له سه ری که که ون سه رکردایه تی یه کیّتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان ۳۷ سه ری ده کوردستان ۳۷ سه ری که و تا یه می کوردستان ۳۷ که سه ری که و تا یه که و زیان کرد، به نام ه می کوردستان، له پی و و به رووبونه و می اله نی پیشی سه ربازی گه و زیانه مه ده نییه کان و زیانه ناوه کییه کان له به هم ده رچوونی گیانی پیشیمه و زیانه مه ده نییه کان و زیانه ناوه کییه کان بیریاریان به "کشانه و هی پیشیمه ستر اتیجی" نه که کورکو که دا .

کەرکووک: له کوتاییدا بارودو خهکه به بهریهککهوتنی سیمربازی گهیشت، ئیوارهی روزی ۱۰/ ۲۰۱۷ نزیکی کاتژمیر ۸ی ئیواره به کاتی ناوخو

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(۳۷)، له بارهگای سهازی بهکتنی نبشتیمانی کور دستانی له کهر کووک جيْگر هکهي قاسم سليمان " عهقيد ئيقباليور " (٣٨)سهر کر دهي ميليشياي "قودس" ئەفسەرى سوپاى شۆر شگيرى ئيرانى "قودس" كەلەبيناو كەركووك لە عيراق دا دهجهنگا، دو ا مو لهتی ناگادار کر دنهو هی به سهر کر دهکانی" بیشمهر گه " له بهکیتی نیشتیمانی کور دستان بهخشی. ئیقبال پور کور دهکانی خسته بهر دهم دو و بژار دهوه: يان بهدهسته و ه داني كه ركووك به بئ شهر ، يان دور اندنيكي سهرتا سهري و "له دەست دانى ھەموو شتیک " سەر كر ادبەتى بەكیتى نیشتیمانىي كور دستان خیر اله گهل "سهر کر دایهتی بالای کور دهکانی عیر اق" دانوستانیان کر د و به ئیقبال بوریان ر اگهباند که نه وان دهستبه داری که رکووک نابن. باشان سهر کردهی هیزی چالاکیپهکانی ئیر ان نهخشهههکی کهر کو و کی بق سهر کر دهکانی پهکیتی نیشتیمانی کور دستانی بلاو کر دهوه ، ر ایگهاند که هنر شهکه و نر انکهر دهنت و له سن قوله و م دەبىت، بەو دەر برينەى: " ئەمە نەخشە سەر باز بيەكەمانە "، دەمانەو بت ئەمشەو لە سے خالمو م ایتان بدمین: "ایر م و لیر م و لیر م". ئیقبال بور راستموخو دوای كۆ يو و نەو كە لە گەل دەست و بېو ەندەكەي كە لەنبو باندا " ھادى ئەلعامر ي (٣٩) "و " ئەبو ئەلمەھدى ئەلموھەندىس" (٤٠) سەركردەي مىلىشىا شىعەكانى سەر بەئىرانى له عبر اق له خو گرتبو و دانو ستانهکه ی به جبهبشت.

۱۲ /۱۰۱۷/۱۰ : نزیکی کاتژمیّر ۲۳۰ خوله کی به یانی به کاتی ناوخوّیی، هیزه کانی سوپای عیّراق و میلیشیا شیعه ی عیّراقی سهر به ئیّران، به سهر کردایه تی مه نه نهسه مکانی لیواکانی "قودس" له سوپای شوّرشگیری کوّماری ئیسلامی ئیّران، وه "هیّزه نیمچه سهربازییه تورکمانییه کان" که تورکیا پالپشتی ده کرد، له "هیّرشیّکی پیّکخراو"ی سهربازی له ناکاودا له ریّی چهند چالاکییه که و له چهندین لاوه و له باکوری روّژئاوا و باشور دهستیان به هیّرشکردنه سهر کهرکووک کرد. سنوور و مهودای نهم جهنگانه به شیّره یه کی فراون ناروونه. به هیّی نهو لیّدوانه جوّراو جوّره در به به مهردای نهم جهنگانه به شیّره مکان، وا ده رناکه و یّت بتوانریّت هه لسانگاندنیّکی کوّتایی بکریّت به رهچاو کردنی نه و سهر چاوانه ی که ئیّستا له به رده سهردان.





ههر جو نیک بیت لهم ز انیار بیه بیلایه ناهی خو از دو ه بهشیو میه کی ریژ میی روون دهر دهکهون:

حهکی ته واو که پنو بست یو و یو یار نز گار پکر دن له کهر کو وک، که له مهسعو د بار زانی داو اکر ابو و و به لینی دابو و بگات ، نهگهیشته سهر کر دهکانی "بیشمهر گهی "(٤١) بهكنتي نبشتيماني كور دستان. همر وهها بهشيّو هيهكي بهكجاري كهر كووك له لايهن هيزهكاني (بي.ي.ن.ك.) وه به بي شهر كردن به جي نه هيلدرا. نهبووني ئاز ووقه و كيبركي خرابي نيوان سهركردهكاني "ييشهمرگه" له همريمكه يارتي دیمو کر اتی کو ر دستانی عیر اق و یه کیتی نیشتمانی کو ر دستان، که به شیو میه کی فر او ان بو و به هو ی ئه و می له ر و و ی سهر بازییه و کور ده عیر اقبیه کان له ماو می چەند كاتر مير يكدا و له كەر كووك و مدمر بنرين.

كن و كهى " بيشممر گه" له كۆتابىدا له بهر مكانى بيشمومى كهر كووك و دهور و بهریدا کشانه وه، هیشتا جیگای مشت و مره زانیارییه بهدهستهاتو و مکانیش به ته او ی دژ به یه کن به ینی سه رجاوه بیلایه نه کان (۲۲) بیت، رهنگه "بیشه مهرگهی "بارتی دیمو کر اتی کو ر دستان بهیی تهقاندنی فیشهکیک له دو و کیلگه نهوتی " بای حمسهن " و " هاڤانا" له باکوري عبّر اق که له سالّي ۲۰۱۶ دا دمستبان بهسهر دا گرتبوو کشابیّتنهوه. نهم دوو بیره نهوته به نزیکهی له سامدا یهنجای نهوتی حكومهتى همريمي كوردستان بهرههم دينيت واته روز انه ۲۹۵۰۰۰ بهرميل نهوتي خاو بهر ههم دینیت . " بیشــمهر گهی" بارتی دیمو کر اتی کو ر دســتان به و کاته ناوچه کانی باکوری روز ئاوای و مک شهنگار، باشیک و ناوچه کانی باکوری ر و ژباو ای موسل که زورینهی دانیشتو انه کانیان مهسیحی بوون به جیهیشت. دو ای ئەوەي ھێزەكانى سوياي عێراقى شان به شانى چەكدارە شىيعەكانى ميليشىياي " حەشــدى شــهعبى " و تور كمانەكان بەر ەو بېش ھەنگاو يان نا، لە باكور ەو ە بەر ەو کهر کو و ک و دهستیان بهسهر بیره نهوته سهر هکییهکان داگرت.

ههتا ئیستاش ئهوز انیارپیانهی سهبارهت به بیکدادانه سهربازپیهکانی باشوور و ناوهندی کهرکووک، یهکلاکهرهوه نین و دژبهیهکن. به ینی زنجیرهی کاتیی





رووداوهکان له پیگهی راگهیاندنی " رووداو" که سسه ر به پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانه و بلاوی کردوه ته وه که له ژمارهیه کی شایه تحالیان (٤٣) و هرگر تووه، ئهم زانیارییانه له خو دهگریت:

جهنگهکان: "شهری سهخت" له لایهن یهکهکانی پیشهمرگهی" ی.ن.ک" پشتراست کراوه ته وه به تایبه تی له باشوری کهرکووک له " دوزخور ماتوو" له سنووری داقوق تا "تازه" و ئهمهش سهرچاوهی تر پشتراستی دهکاته وه، له زاری فهر منده ی گهنجی یهکیتی نیشتیمانی کور دستانه وه "رائید نیهاد" ووتویه تی خوی و هیزه کانی له "تازه" له بهرده م بهره و پیشچونی میلیشیا شیعهکاندا بو ماوه ی چوار کاتژمیر و هستاون و بهرگریان کردووه. به لام له دوای ئه وه به ناچاریی و له بهرئموه ی یهکهکهی ئازووقه ی لیبرراوه خویان به دهسته وه داوه (٤٤)

به ئه و هۆكاره ناوخۆييه سەرەكىيانەى وەكوو كەم و كورتى ئازووقە و دابەشبوون و كۆيركۆي نيوان سەركردەكانى "پيشمەرگە" (يەكىتى نيشتىمانى كوردستان و پارتى دىموكراتى كوردستان به يەكسانى)، بوون بە ھۆى ئەوەى كوردە عيراقىيەكان لە كۆتايىدا لە رووى سەربازىيەوە كۆنترۆللى كەركووك لە دەست بدەن. سەركردەكانى يەكىتى نيشتىمانى كوردستان تا دوا فىشمەك پارىز گارىيان لە كەركووك كرد و ژمارەى ئەوانەى لە شارەكان بەبى شەر ھەلھاتن چەندن؟، ناتوانرىت بەشيوەيەكى يەكلاكەرەو ، بە پشت بەستن بەو زانيارىيانەى لە بەردەستان، دارا ى كىرىزى .

لندوانه کانی شایه تحاله کان جنبی سامرنجن، به شیوه یه که میلیشیاکانی "حه شدی شه عبی" سامر به ئیران چهندین کاری قیزه و نیان ئه نجام داوه .په یامنیری که نالی " پوو داو" (هیقیدار ئه حمه د) پرایگه یاند ، که به چاوی خوّی له به شه دواوه ی سه یاره یه کی باره الم الم گردا جه سته ی ۱۰ " پیشم مرگهی " که له دوای ئه وهی له کمر کو و که له شه پرهکانی در ی "حه شدی شه عبی" کو رز را بوون و هم مووشیان سه ریان په پیندر ا بوون بینیوه (٤٥). پیشم مرگه له سامره تادا سامرسه ختانه به کری کرد، به لام دوای زیانی کی گیانی زوّر و نه مانی ئازوقه خوّی به ده سته وه دا.





ههروهها "حهشدی شهعبی" دهستی ههبووه له پرووخاندن و تالانکردنی ماله کوردهکانی دوزخورماتوو. سهرکرده بالاکانی یهکیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان لهم دواییانه دا ژمارهی ئه و "پیشمهرگانهی " که له شهری کهرکووکدا کوژرا بوون به نزیکهی سهد پیشمهرگه" راگهیاند و نهوهی دهیان " پیشمهرگهی ی.ن.ک " بریندار بوون یان دیارنهماون (٤٦).

عيراق: "ساتراپ" \* ى ژير دەستى ئيران"

ههروهک شایه تحاله ئهمهریکی و ئوروپییه کان ئهوه پشتراست ده که نهوه، که ئه فسه مکانی کوماری ئیسلامی ئیران راسته و خو له شهری که کووکدا به شدارییان کردووه. هه لمه متی "هیرشی له ناکاو" بو گرتنه و ی که کووک که به سهرپهرشتی و ئاراسته کاری روونی ئیران و جیبه جیکردنی له لایه نمیلیشیا شیعه کانی سهر به ئیران له عیراقه وه، که له ئیستادا به داگیر کردنی روز ئاوای بهیروت له لایه نادر به الله (مانگی ئایار و حوزه یرانی ۲۰۰۸ی لوبنان) به راورد ده کریت،

جۆناتان سـپایهر ۲۰۱۸ (٤٧)، هاوشـیّوهی بارودوّخی لوبنان و بهیروت، ئیران سیسته سیاسی لاوازو پهرتهوازه بووی عیراق و کهرکووکی قوّاسته وه، یهکسه فشاری خسته سهر و گوّرانکاری نویّی له ناوچهکادا بهر ههم هیّنا، ههر وهک خوّی نووسیویه تی (٤٨). "ئهمه روّژیّکی رهش بوو بوّ کوردهکان ". "کهوتنی کهرکووک" پیشانیدا تا چ رادهیه کی عیراق به کردهوه، بووه به " ساتراپی ژیّر دهستی ئیران"، ههروه ها ئاماژه به و لیّهاتوویه بیّویّنهیهی ئیران دهکات که له بهکارهیّنانی شیّوازهکانی جهنگی "شوّرشگیّریی و رامیاریی"دا پیّی گهیشتووه، ههروهک چوّن سـوپای شـوپای شـوپای شـوپای شـوپای شـوپای شـوپای شـوپای میرهبیهکاندا پهیرهوی کردووه (٤٩).

## <mark>FOR ACADEMIC AND PRIVATE USE ONLY!</mark> کونفرانسی نیّو دەوللەتى (داھاتووى کورد)





\* تنبینی : ساتر آپ : ساتر آپه کان دهسه لاتداری ههریمه کانی سه ر به ئیم راتوری میدبیه کان و ئه خهمینبیه کان بوون و به همبوونی جوریک له سهربه خویی و هکوالی و پاشاکان خزمه تیان ده کرد.

## هۆشدارييەكان لە جەنگيكى ناوخۆيى نوى

شکستی خیر ا و سمیری سمر بازی له کمر کووک و ناوجه کیشه لمسمر مکانی تریش بو و به هو ی در و ستبو و نی جهنگیکی زار هکیی سوز دار له نیوان سهر کر ده کور دییه عبر اقبیه کاندا، به بلهی یه کهم له نیوان یارتی دیمو کراتی کور دستان و یه کیتی نیشتیمانی کور دستان دا، که ههریهکهیان ئهوی تری به "نایاکیی گهوره" و " شـــكســـت " و "ربّككهوتن له گهڵ دو ژمن" توّمهتبار دهكرد، بو نموونه له چاوپنکهوتننکی تعلیفزیونیدا له "رووداو" ههریهکه له "مهسرور بارزانی" کوره گهور وی مهسعود بار زانی و سهر و کی "ئهنجومهنی ئاسایش"ی حکومهنی ههریمی كور دستان له ههولير چهندكهسيكي له "پهكيتي نيشتيماني كور دستان" كه ناوي نه هينان به " گهور مترين ناياكيي له سهردهمي ميزووي هاوچهر خي كور ديدا "، "بهخشینی کهرکووک" به حکومهتی عیراق و میلیشیای حهشدی شهعبی و ...فروشتنی خاکی کوردستان " تومهرتبار کردووه. همروهها ووتی دهبیت دادگای نهتهو هیی" ئهو کهسسانهی که ناپاکیپان ئهنجام داوه دادگایی بکات و بر پار لهسهر چار هنو و سیان بدات ". بلاو کر او می نادیار له میدیای ب د ک و ه بلاو دهکر انهو ه که تنیاندا داو ای دادگاییکر دنی کهسایه تبیه ر امیار بیه بالاکانی ناو ی ن ک ی دهکر د، ئەگەر تاوانبار دەر جو ون ئەوا دەبىت لە لايەن "سوباو ە"(٥١) بدرىنە بەر فىشـەك. باقیّل تالْمبانی ئەم دەنگۆپانەي رەتكردەوە و ووتى "دەنگۆ ي بى بنەما و قيّز مونن"(٥٢). قوباد تاللهباني كوره بجووكي جهلال تاللهباني و جيّگري ســـهر و كي حکومهتی همریمی کوردستان به بریکاریی، هوشداری دا، که مانهوهی"ینک" له ئاستهكاني " دەر ەو ە و ناوخو دا" له بەر دەم مەتر سىدايە، كە ر ەنگە كار يگەر يى لە 





"ئەندامى مەكتەب سىاسى يەكىتى نىيشتىمانى كوردستان" ئىدانەى "ژىنگەيەكى رق و كىنە" پەرەسەندووى كرد و بە ئاشكرا ھۆشدارى لە "مەترسىيەكانى جەنگىكى ناوخۆيى نوێ" دا(٤٥).

له کوتایی سالی ۱۹۰۷دا و بهتایبهتی له مانگی کانونی یهکهم دا خوپیشاندانی گهوره و پشیدی له مهودایه فراوانی ناوچه گهورهکانی ههریمی کوردستان سهریانههادا. به پنی سهرچاوه جیاوازهکان نزیکهی ۱۰گهنج له لایهن دهستهی هیزهکانی ئاسایشه کوردهکانهوه کوژران و سهدان کهسیشیان بوّماوهیهک هیزهکانی ئاسایشه کوردهکانهوه کوژران و سهدان کهسیشیان بوّماوهیهک دهستگیرکران(۵۰). خوّبیشاندانهکان هاوشیّوهی خوّبیشاندانهکانی مانگی شوبات و ئازاری ۲۰۱۱ بوون(۵۱)، به لام جاریّکی تر به شیوهی پهشیوییهکی رامیاریی و کومه لایهتیی بوو، نهک راپهرینیکی چهکداریی. خوّپیشاندهران داوای چاکسازیی رامیاریی و دیموکراسییان دهکرد و ئهم جاره داوای دهست له کار کیشانهوهی سهرجهم سهرجهم سهرکردایه نیی حکومه تی ههریّمی کوردستانیان دهکرد، که به شکشتخواردوو و گهنده لیی و پاوانخوازیی و خراب بهریّوه بردن و پیشینلکردنی مافه کانی مروّقیان له قهلّهم دهدا. لهسهر مانادا نارهزایه تیبهکان بهبوّنهی نهدان یان بهخشینی مووچه به ناتهواویی بوّ ماوهی چهند سالیک و بوونی جیاوازییه کی زوّر له بهخشینی مووچه به ناتهواویی بوّ ماوهی چهند سالیک و بوونی جیاوازییه کی زوّر له بهخشینی مووچه به ناتهواویی بوّ ماوهی خوند سالیک و بوونی جیاوازییه کی زوّر له چالاکیه یاخیبووه کانی سالی ۲۰۱۱ گورینی بارودوّخی نیستا بوو، یاخیبووه نویّیان سه متایه کی نویّیان ده ویست، نه خامه که نادیاره.

#### تاوانبار كردنى يەكترى

به هۆی ئەوململانىيە جيۆستراتيجىيانەی ئەم دوابيانە كە ئيران براوەی سەرەكى بوو، بۆ گەيشتن بە چارەسسەرىك لە داھاتوودا بۆ كەركووك و ناوچە كىشسە لەسسەرەكانى تر لە عيراق، كە بە شسيوەيەكى فراوان، بوو بە ھۆی گر ژبوونى زياترى ناكۆكىيەكان لە نيوخۆى كوردەكاندا و جارىكى تر ھەرىمى كوردستانى عيراقى تا رۆخى جەنگى ناوخۆيى برد. ھۆكارى سەرەكى ئەوەبوو كە ھاوبەشسە





سیاسیه باوهکان، پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان و یهکیّتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان، که پیّکهوه لهسه متای نهوهدهکانهوه له سایهی ریّککهوتنیّکی بهردهوامی هاوبهشی کردنی دهسه لاّت، فهرمانره وای کوردستانی عیّراقیان دهکرد، (جاریّکی تر) یهکترییان بهوهی که به یارمهتی وو لاتانی دهرهوه و دراوسیّی وهک (ئیران و تورکیا)همولّی لاوازکردنی دهسه لاتی نهوی تر دهدهن توّمهتبار دهکرد. یهکیّتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان گومان لهوه دهکات، که یهکهکانی "پیشمهرگه" ی شویّنکهوتوی خوّیان که بهشیره نیوههی سهرهکی له ۲۰۱۶ وه کونتروّلی کهرکووکیان کردبوو، بهمهبهست چهک و تهقهمهنی پیّوویستیان بو نهوهی پاریّزگاری له شارهکه بکات، تاوهکوو ریّگه نهدهن یهکیّتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان له کهرکووک وهدهر بنریّت، بو تاوهکوو ریّگه نهدهن یهکیّتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان له کهرکووک وهدهر بنریّت، بو دابین نهکرا و نهوهی له نهنجام دا وله بهرامبهر بالادهستیی سوپای میلیشیاغیراقییهکان و میلیشیاکانی سهربه نیّران/ تورکیا و میلیشیا شیعهکان میلیشیاکانی دوربخریّنهوه.

له لایه کی تر موه پارتی دیمو کراتی کور دستان هه آبر ارده کانی داهاتووی تایبه تبه پر پوشو پنه کانی نیران که ی.ن.ک پشتگیریان ده کات و هک مهتر سبیه ک دهبینیت و له کوتاییدا ده بنه هوی له ناوچونی کی پیشه یی ههریه که له پارتی دیمو کراتی کور دستان و بنه ماله ی بارزانییه کان، وه له دو اییشدا و هکوو هه پره شهیه که بوسه ههیمه نهی پر امیار بیان، که ماوه ی سهده یه که در پر هی کیشاوه ده بینیت. نهم نالوزییه گهیشته لوتکه، کاتیک ده زگاکانی پراگهیاندن. پر ایان گهیاند، که باقیل تاله بای له ۱۸ی مانگی تشسرینی یه که می ۱۸ که له گهل هادئ نه اعماریدا گهیشتووه ته پیکه و تنیک سه باره تبه به رنامه یه کی نو خالی بو چاره سه ی داهاتووی که رکووک و ناوچه کیشه له سه ره کانی تر و هه روه ها هه ریمی کور دستانی عیر اقیش.

پلانی باقیل تالمبانی و عامری

له ئيستادا نوسر اويكى فهرمى تايبهت بهم پلانهى، كه لهلايهن ئهو كهسانهى و هزامهنديان لهسهر داوه، بهردهست نييه، تا ئيشتاش به " ريككهوتننامهى زارهكى"





ناو دەبر نت، كە ناو ەر ۆكەكەى لە كۆبونەو ە بە پەلەكاندا باسكر او ە، بە شىنو ەيەكى تايبەتى سىياسىييەتمەدار ەكانى لايەن و پار تەكانى سىنورى ناوچەى سىلىمانى بەشدارىيان تىدا كر دوو ە. ئامانجيان بريتى بوو ە لە گەيشىتى بە پلانىدى خىرا بۆچار ەيەكى ناو ەندىي لەگەل بەغدا بۆ رىنگەگرتن لە سىمر ھەلدانى جەنگ لە سىمر كەر كووك و "ناوچە كىشە لەسەر ەكانى تريش". لە گەل ئەو ەشدا گفتوگۆكەر ەكان نەيان توانى لە كۆتايىدا و لە كاتى گونجاودا لەسسەر دەقىدى ھاوبەش بىگەن بەرىكەوتن، دەرئەنجامى ئەوەش باقىل تالەبانى و ئەلعامرى ئەم خالانەى كە لەسەرى رىدىكەتبوون ناونا "رىدىكەوتنە زار ەكىمكان".

مهسعود حهیده ری، یه کیک له نوینه رانی جو لانه وهی "گوران" له ۱۸ی تشرینی یه که می ۲۰۱۷ له په په له مانی "به غدا" ناوه رو کی گفتو گوکانی له نوخالدا و به زمانی ئینگلیزی کورتکرده وه و له پیکهیه کی ئهله کتر و نیه وه له ئه لمانیا بلاویکرده وه (۵۷). ئه م بلاو کر اوه په ش ئه م خاله "سه مکییانه ی خواره وه له خود ده گریت:

۱- ۱۷ ناوچهی بهریو مبردن له کهرکووک پرادهست حکومه تی ناوه ندی له به غداد بکرینه وه، له نیویاندا ناوهندی شاره که که "کوردستان " له ۲۰۱۶ وه به پیوهی دهبرد.

۲ - له "شهش مانگی داهاتوودا" ناوهندی شاری کهرکووک به شیوه یه کی هاوبه ش به ریّوه دهبریّت، ۱۰ ناوچه ی شاره که له لایمن کورده کان به ریّوه دهبریّت، ۲۰ ناوچه که ی تریش له لایمن ئه وانی ترهوه.

۳ - حکومه تی ناوهندیی به غدا دهست ده گریّت به سه ناوهنده ستر اتیجییه کانی وه ک بنکه ی سه ربازی (ک۱) و بیره نه و ته کان.

- ٤ حكومهتى ناوهنديى عيراق موچهى فهرمانبهرانى كهركووك و سليمانى دهدات.
  - ٥ همر يميک له "هه لمبجه/ سليماني ياريز گاي كمركووک" ييک ديت.
    - ٦ يێکهێناني حکومهتێکي همرێميي نوێ بۆ ئهم همرێمه نوێيه.

ئەگەر دانیایی له سەرئەمه بدریّت، ئەوا سەبارەت به بارودۆخی تایبهتی كەركووك هەولّی جارەی نوی و و و تو ویژ دەدریّت، به شیّوهیهک كه له ئیستادا له ٤٠ ناوچه





۱۰ یان له لایمن کوردهکانهوه بهریوه دهبرین و ۲۰ یان له لایمن کومه له دانیشتوانهکانی ترهوه و به هاوشانی حکومه قیدرالی ناوه ندیی له به غدا، به غدا بهرپرسیاریش دهبیت له دامه زراوه سهربازییه ستراتیجییه کان و بیره نهوته کان (به بازار کردن و فروشتن )وله یه کیک له ده قه کاندا، (ته نها که رکووک و سلیمانی و پیدانی مووچه هاتووه).

له هممان کات دا ۱۰ ناوچهی پاریزگای کهرکووک که لهژیر دهستی کوردهکاندایه و بۆ پیکهینانی پاریزگایهکی نوی له کوماری عیراقی فیدرالی، هیزهکانی دهچنه پال ههردوو پاریزگای سلیمانی و ههلهبجه(۸۰)، و پیکهینانی حکومهتیکی ههریمیی خوبهریوه بهر بو ههریهکیک له پاریزگاکانی ههلهبجه و کهرکووک و سلیمانی. گفتوگویه کی نیودهلهتی راست و رهوان (بو نموونه، بهشداریکردنی نهتهوه یهکگرتووهکان یان نیوهندگیرییهکانی وهک ویلایهته یهکگرتووهکانی ئهمهریکا و فهرهنسا) ئاماژهی پینهکراوه. سیستهمی چاودیریکردنی نهژادیی ریژهیی ۲۰:۱۰ له کهرکووک به پیی دهقهکان له ماوهی شهش مانگدا کاری پیدهکریت. له سهدهکانی رابردووهوه و همتا نیستاش کهرکووک به چارسهریک نه گهیشتووه.

همردوو هاوبهشده بافیّل تالمبانی و نامعامری به شدیوه هیمکی پیشده پیاوی سدر بازین ناموه ک نامندامی حکومه ت. به پنی و و تامکانی نامندام پامرلهمانی "گوران مسمود حمیده ریدکه و تنه هاوبه شده کمیان " له ژیر سامر پامرشتیاری سامروک و هزیرانی عیراقی شدیعه حمیده رعمبادی و همروه ها له لایمن سوپای ئیرانی قاسم سوله پمانییه و (سامرکرده یی پهکه کانی (قودس)، یامکه هملیژیر در اوه کانی سوپای شورشگیری پاسدارانی ئیران، سوپای شورشگیری ئیرانیی) گلوپی ساموزی بو هملکرابوو. بری نامو پالپشتیه پالپشتیه یان ده رفه ته کانی سامرکه و تنی نام نامخشه په شهروه یا دور و هم و و رده کاربیه سامره تاییه کان:

تا ئیستا کاردانه و مکان جیگای مشت و مړن و ړوون نین. له ناوه و پروکدا ئامانجی یهکلا کردنه وه ی دوخی که رکووکه، که ئیران دهستی بهسه ردا گرتووه، لهسه





بنهمای نو پنهر ایهتی نه ادیی ریز میی ۱۵:۲۰ بو کور دهکان: تورکمان - عهر مب كهمه نهته وايهتييهكاني تركه دهتو انن ههريمي كور دستاني عير اق له ئيستادا بو دو ناو چه دايهش يکهن:

ناوچهی باکور بارهگاکهی له ههولیره و بارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی عیراق -بار زانی له ژبر کاربگهری تورکیادا کونتروّنی کر دووه، به لام بهبی به کگرتنی له گهل بهشه کانی کهر کو وک و ههر و مها همیو و نی تو انای دهست بینگهیشتن بان كۆنترۆلكردنى بىرە نەوتىيە ھەرىمىيەكان (و بەرھننان ). دووەمىيان ناوچەيەكى نو پیه که له ژیر کونتر و لی ی ن ک دایه که به شیو میهکی فر او ان له ژیر کاریگهری ئير اندايه، به لام له گهل په کگر تنيکي پار جهيي و په کلاکهر هوه له ناو هندنيکي داهاتوویی جوگرافی وستراتیجی تایبهت به نهوت و و زه که ئهویش "کهر کو وکه" ئهگهر ئهمه رووبدات ئهوا ئهو ریزبهندییهی که له سهر کر دایه تیکر دنی ههریمی کور دستاندا و له دابه شکر دنی دهسه لاتی ئیستادا له نیوان بارتی دیمو کراتی کور دستان و پهکیتی نیشتیمانی دا همیه گور انکاری بهسهر دا دیت و دمییت به هوی دابهشکردنی همریمه بو دو همریمی کوردستانی که خاوهن دهسه لاتی خۆبەر يو مېردنن له عيراق. بهكردهيي بهريوبهرايهتييهكي كوردى هميه كه لمدوو بهش بیکهاتووه، یارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان/ههولیر و یهکیتی نیشتیمانی کور دستان/ سلیمانی؛ سهر مرای همبوونی به شیوهیه کی کاتبی (۹۰)له دوای چهند ناكو كبيهكي ناوخويي له ١٩٩٤/ ١٩٩٧دا، به لام له همر دوو حالهتهكمدا له ناو جهکانی سنو ری کو ر دستاندا یو و ن، که ئهمهش له ساڵی ۱۹۹۲ دا دامهز ر او ه و به شيو ديه کي فهر مي له ۲۰۰۵ دا و لهبرگهي اي مادهي ۱۱۷ي دهستوري کو ماري فيدر اللي عيراقدا، داني بيدا هينراوه

ئەگەر نەخشسەكە لەروى راميارىي و ھەرىمىيەوە، بۆ چارەسسەرىي كىشسەي که رکووکی تایبهت به فرهکه لتووری/ نه ژادیی له ژیر سه ریم شتی ئیران دا و لهگهل ریکخستنهوهی بهریوبهرایه تیی همردوو ناوچهی کوردستان بهیه کسانی جنِبهجيّ بكريّت، ئەوا بۆ يەكەمجار، كوردستانى عنراق بۆ دوو ھەريّم

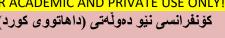




دابه شده کرنیت و له نه نه نجامدا هم ریه که یان پنگای پر امیاریی و نابوریی و کومه لایه تیی تاییه تاییه به به به کاردانه و هکان له سه ره تادا پنشبینی ده کرنی و و روژنینه به به تاییه تی له به به یه که که وه ندیه کانیان. بارزانییه کان و پارتی دیمو کراتی کور دستان له م پر و و هو ه نیگه رانن ، که و ه ک هه پره شهی که له سه به رووه و تاییه به خویانی ده بینن.

#### چار مسمریی سمر متاییه کانی کمر کووک

ئاسۆكان: سەرەپراى نەبوونى دەرفەتى نزيكبوونەوەى ئەم بارودۆخانە لەيەكترى
، بەلام لە ئىستادا چەند بىرۆكەيەكى سىسەرەكىيى دەربارەى ئەگەرى چارەيەكى
ناوەندىيى ھەيە، بەتايبەتى دەربارەى كەركووك و "ناوچە جى ناكۆكەكان". ئەم
بىرۆكانە تا رادەيەكى رىزيان لىنرا، بۆ نموونە ئەو ھەنگاوانەى بۆ چارەسسەرىي
سىسەرەتايى كە لە لايەن "يونامى UNAMI"، "كۆمەللەى نەتەوە يەكگرتووەكان بۆ
پىشسكەشسكردنى يارمەتى بۆ عيراق" پەيرەو دەكرا، كە لە سىسالى ٢٠٠٣ دا
دامەزرا(٢١)، ھەروەھا لە لايەن كوردەكانەوە و سەرۆكى ئەو كاتەى عيراق "جەلال
تالمبانى" پىشسىنىدى خراوەتە روو، كە بەردوام دەبىت تا رەزامەندىيەكى باش
بەدەسست دەھىنىت، ھاوشسى دەكرا ئە سىسەرەتادا و دەبىت بەشسىيوەيمكى كاتى پىگەيەكى
فىدرالىي تايبەت، ھاوشسى دەكرا ئەو كاتە لەرىپى دانوسىتانىكى ھاو بەشسەرە لە سەس
ببەخشىرىت. كە ئەمەش دەكرا ئەو كاتە لەرىپى دانوسىتانىكى ھاو بەشسەرە لە سەس
بنەماى بەندى ١٤٠ ى دەسستورى عيراقىي كۆتايى پىبەھنىراوە (كانە (Капе)).





بو نامی له تو بر بنه وههکی سهر وتابیدا که له سالی ۲۰۰۷/ ۲۰۰۹ ناماده کر ا بو و (جهند بهشینکی له مانگی ئازاری ۲۰۰۹دا)چهند پیشینیاریکی ده ربارهی داهاتو و ی کهر کو و ک خسته روو . پهک لهم بو چو و نانه نهوه بو و ، له سهر بار ی حوکمی خویی بهشی ناوچهکه ریکبکهون، ئهمهش له ریی ئهنجام دانی ريفر اندو ميک بو ئمو کسانهي مافي دهندانگدانيان همبوو بمريوه دهچوو، نموونهي " دەسىتەى دو و لايەنە " كە ھەر بەكە لە حكومەتى فېدر الّى لە بەغدا و ھەر وەھا حکو مهتی همر نمی کور دستان که بنکهوه به هاو بهشی قانو و نهکان ر ادمیمر ننن و کهر کو و ک بهریّو ه دهبهن. لهو کاتهو ه پاریکهر ه گهور مکان جهختیپان لهسیهر داو اکانیان له بهشی تاییهتی خویان کر دو و متهوه، به لام بهبی بو و نی ناماده باشبیه کی گونجاو و كۆتايى بۆ رۆككەوتن(٦٣) . لەم دواييانەدا لە ٢٤ ى مانگى ئەيلولى ۲۰۱۷ نو سر او پکی تاییهت به بیگهی حکو مهتی ئیستای ههریمی کور دستان بەسمەر كردايەتى سمرۆك وەزيران ننچيرقان بارزانى بلاو بووەوە (رۆژنك ينش ریفراندۆمی کوردستانی عیراق، رووبهرهکانی دهستوری عیراقی له ۲۰۰۵ " بهشنو دوخی بیشتر)، ئهگهر مکانی به نهگهرینه و دوخی بیشتر)، ئهگهر مکانی كهركووك (٢٤) له داهاتوودا كراوهن و به نهز انراوي دهميننهوه.

نار مز ایمتییه نو پیهکانی گهنجهکان و ریژ میهکی زور ی قور بانیان

ئه و شکستهی که له ئهنجامی هیرشه کتویر مکهی هیز مکانی ئیرانی، عیراقی و توركيا له كهركووك و دهوروبهري له ناوهراستي ۲۰۱۷/۱۰ دا روويدا، روّليّكي كاريگەرىي له هملگيرساندنەوەي سەرلەنوپى نارەزايەتيەكان بەتايبەتى لە لايەن گەنجەكانى ھەر يىمى كوردستانەوە ھەبوو. ئەم نارەزايەتىيانە چەند ھەفتەيەكى خایاند، نزیکهی ده گهنج کو ژران. گر ژبیهکان به شیر هیهکی بهردهوام بهرهی دەسسەند. كۆمەلگەى عيراقىيى و كوردىيى فرە كەلتوور، كە دوچارى ركابەرىيى و ناکوکیی و جهمسه گیریی و دابهشکاریی و تیکشکان بووبوو، تا لیواری جهنگێکي ناوخو يي نوێ روٚپشت.





ر ووسییا: رووسییا له ریکخستنه وهی دوای کولونیالیزمی روژهه لاتی ناوه راستی گهشه سید: رووسییا له ریکخستنه وهی دوای کولونیالیزمی روژهه لاتی هالکشاو دهبینیت، که ناوچه یه که به شیوه یه کمی پهره سهندوو شورشی ویرانکه ری بی نامانج و ناروون تیدا روو ده دات.

کوتا گورانکارییهکان: روژهه لاتی ناوه راست/ ئوروپا به گشتی: رووسییا ده یه ویت "ده سته به ری مافی یه کسانی" کورده کان" بکات له چوارچیوه ی ئه و وو لاتانه ی که نتیدا ده ژین. له دیدی موسکو وه هم ستراتیجییه تیکی تر له "دوزی کورد" دا مانای "یاریکردنه به ئاگر" و "مه ترسیدار" ده بیت و ره نگه "سهرتاسه ری ناوچه که ئالوز بکات". " وه زیری ده رهوه ی رووسییا "سیرگی لافروف" له به رنامه یه کی چاوپیکه و تندا له مانگی ۱۸/۲ دا (۲٦) له گه آن تویرو نیوز تیفی" ئه مستراتیجیه ی دو ایی حکومه تی رووسییای "له باره ی دوزی کورده وه "روونکردووه ته وه.

عيراق : رووسييا چهند ده ربرينيکي روونتري دياريکرد :

پیش چهند رو ژیک له ریفراندو می سسم بهخویی کوردهکان له عیراق، کومپانیای ئالموگوری رووسی تایبه به نهوت و گاز "روزنهفت" له ۱۰/۱۸ / ۲۰۱۷ رووسی تایبه به نهوت و گاز "روزنهفت" له ۱۰/۱۸ / ۲۰۱۷ مگه لمی که به شیوه یه کی نیو دهوله تی ناماژه ی پیکرا(۲۷)) له گه لمی حکومه تی هه و به شین یو دهولی و در کومپانیای "روزنهفت" له مهودوا و له سالی ۲۰۲۰ وه ده یه و یت به شینوه یه کی فراوان گازی کوردستان بو نوروپا دابین بکات، پیویسته بری گازی دابینکراو له ههریمی کوردستانی عیراقه وه نزیکه ی له سهدا شه شی پیویستی گشتی گازی نوروپا که بری یه که له سهر شه شی گازی نیر دراوی رووسیا پیک ده هینیت، دابین بکات. له سالی ۲۰۲۰/۲۰۱۹ هیلی نویی بورییه کان بو نوروپا داده مه زیری که به تورکیادا تیده په ریمی کوردستان بو سالی ۲۰۲۰/۲۰۱۹ دابینده کریت خمر جییه کانی ناوخوی حکومه تی هه ریمی کوردستان بو سالی ۲۰۱۹ دابینده کریت و له سالی ۲۰۱۹ دانراوه. به پی و له سالی ۲۰۱۹ دانراوه. به پی و پی زیات در له یه که ملیارد دولار





دهخهماً نیزریت و پروژهی "روژ نهفت" له کوردستانی عیراق که بو دوو سالی داهاتوو راگهیمندراوه به بری ۶ ملیارد دهبیت (۲۸). همروه ها "روژنهفت" یارمهتی دارایی حکومهتی همریمی کوردستانی له همولیر داوه، به نیازی ئموهی لمسمره تادا گمشه بمژیرخانی ئابووری بدات له شیوهی "سمده ها ملیون دولار به شیوهی قمرز" (روزیتمرز)، تا کوردستانی عیراق بتوانیت بمرگهی ئمو قمیرانه داراییه بگریت که له له سالی ۱۶۰۶وه و له ئمنجانی ناکوکییه بمرده وامهکانی لهگه فل به غدا کاتیک حکومهتی همریمی کوردستان بهبی ره زامهندی فهرمی به غدا، دهستی به ناردنه دروه ی نهوتی تایبه به همریمی خوی کرد، بمرده وامه.

ســـهره رای پر و ره نو ییه کانی، " رو زنه فت" همروه ها به رانبه ری رکابه ره رووسیه که ی کاره رووسیه که ی کان ده که که که ویش دابینکه ریکی ســه که وتوی گازه بخ کوروپا و همروه ها بیری نهوتیش له همریدمی کوردستاندا لیده دات (۲۹). کوردستانی عیراق لهسـم کاستی جیهان چهندین یه ده گی گهوره ی نهوت و گازی ههیه (۷۰). وه زیری سهر چاوه سروشتییه کانی رووسیا "که لیکسانده رنو قاک" دوای دوو ســــال له ریک که و تنی تاییه تاییه به گاز له گه کومه تی همریمی کوردستان له هه ولیر، دوای چاوپیک که و تنیک له گه که سهر و ک وه زیرانی عیراق له گه که حمیده رعمیادی له عیراق و و تی:

" ههتا ئيســـتا حكومهتى عيراقى هيچ نارهزايهتييهكى له بهرامبهر پروژهكانمان له ههريمى كوردستاندا نييه "(٧١).

له ئیستادا بهتایبه می رووسیا له باره ی ئه و هاوکارییه ههریمییه ی که له لاین کور ده کانه و دلنییای در اوه تی. همست به نیگه رانییه که ده کات ، که ئامانج لیی دابین کردنی پیویستییه ئابورییه کانیه تی و پیککه و تنیکی پر امیاریی و دیپلوماسیی لهگه کل حکومه تی ناوه ندیی له به غدا جیبه جیکردووه. (۷۲)

ســورییا: له ئیســتادا ناتواننریت به ته واوی هم نســه نگاندن بو ئارامی ناوچه که و ســورییا: له ئیســتادا ناتواننریت عیراقیی و ســوریای بو بکریت ده رباره ی





کور دهکانی سور باش، ههر حهنده سهقامگیر بیهکی جیو ستر اتیجی سنور دار ههیه، بو بهر هو بیشجوونی کراوه و نادیاره:

ر ژیمی بهشار حافز ئەلئەسەد له لای خۆپەو ، نەک دەسەلاتتکی خۆپی ھەر بمبکی سنور داری به کور دهکانی سوریا له سالی ۲۰۱۳ دا بهخشی ، بهلکو به نوسر اویک دەر بار ەي جاكساز بى لە بەر بو ەبر دن دەر بار ەي ناو جەي قامىشلۇ لە باكور ي روز هه لات بریار یکی دور کرد (۷۳). له سهر هتادا کور دهکانی سور یا ئهم جوره ئو تو نو مييميان له ريبي خمباتي جهكداربيهو ه نهبيني. له ئيستادا گهيشتو و نهته " كو مهلهى ديمو كر اتبى له باكورى سوريا". ههر جهنده داهاتو وى ئهم "كو مهله"يه کر اوه و دیار یکر او نبیه و مزیری دمر مو می سوریه" و ملید نهامو عملیم" لهم دو اییانه دا له چاوپیککهوتنیکی لهگهل "روسیا تودهی" دا سهار هت به ریفر اندومی حکو مهتی دیمه شق دهرگای دانو ستانه کانی به رامیه کور ده کان و دهر بارهی داو اکهیان بو دهسـه لاتی خو بهریو هبر دن له ناو سـو ریا"دا کر او هیه (۷٤). به لایهنی كهمهوه لهو كاتهوه سوياي نيز إمى سوريا بهشيوهيهكي كاتي بالبشتي كوردهكاني دهکرد، همر چهند به شيوه پهکي (سار د و گهرم) بوو، له شمر کردن له سمر عهفرين له باکوری روزئاوا، که لهم دواییانه و له ئیستادا بق هیزه داگیرکهری تورک و نو ينهره ئيسلامييه کان له دهستي دا. نووسه ره رووسييه کان سهبارهت به دهسه لاتي خۆبەر يو مبردنى كوردمكان له سوريا كاردانهوى ئەرينيان همبوو(٧٥).

لمسلم بنهمایه نهوه دهخهملّنزریت که رژیمی بهشار نهسد له کوتاییدا به به خشینی دهسه لاتیکی خوبه ریوه بردنی هه ریمیی کاتیی به کوردهکانی سوریا رازی دمینت، به و مهر جهی که چار میه کی گشتگیر له داهاتو دا ههبیت که تبیدا به کیار چهیی خاکی سوریا بیاریزریت(دلنیایی له مانه و می بهشار نهسه دله تهختی دهسه لات) و دو اتر سوریا نیازی زیاتر به کار هینانی کهمینه کور ده کانی له شیوهی" سهربازه جو تیار مکان" دا همیه به در پژ اپنی سنو و ر مکانی باکو ر ی تو ر کیا.





ئیسرائیل: "مهلا مستهفای بارزانی"(۷٦) له شهستهکان و حهفتاکان دا له خهباتی کوردهکانی عیراق بو بریاردان لهسهر چارهی خویان چهند تاکتیکیکی جیوستراتیجی و ههندیک کاتیش تهواو دژیه کی پهیره وکرد:

له لایهکهوه دهیویست به پالپشتی یهکیتی سۆڤیهت حکومهتیکی خو بهریوهبهر بو کور دهکانی عیراق بهدهست بینیت، به لام له ههمان کاتیشدا له باره ی چارهسه هکانی تایبهت به نوتونومییهوه پهیوهندی به به غداوه دهکرد. لهسه متانه لهبهر ئهوه متمانه ی به سۆڤییهت نهدهکرد:

یه که م له بهر ئه و ئه زمونه ی خوی، که ۱۰سال زیاتر له تاراوگه بووه (که له سهر مامه له ی دوو سهره بوو).

دووهم لهبهرئهوهی دهیزانی، که کریملین بو بهدهست هیّنانی دهسه لات له عیّراق هانی به غدای داوه لهدری کوردهکان بوهستیته و و لهکوّتاییشدا لهبهر ئهوهی نهیده و پست، کار بو ئه وه بکات که موّسکوّ تاکلایه نه له به غدا بالادهست بیّت.

لهبهرئهوه مستهفا بارزانی به شیوه یه کی یه کسان دهستیکرد به پهیوه ندیکردن به همریه که نیسرائیل و ئهمهریکا و ئیران. ئامانجه سهرهکییه کانی بریتی بوون له: یه کهم: لهم هاو کاریکردنه دریژه کیشاوه ی له گه فی و فاته کانی پروژئاوادا، هاوسه نگییه کی له نیوان هیزه پرامیارییه کان به دی ده کرد به رامبه به بالاده ستی پیشووی یه کیتی سوقیه که عیراق و (پروژه فلاتی ناوه پراست) و له و بروایه دا بوو، که ئهمه ده بیته هوی باشتر کردنی برارده کانی داهاتووی کورده کان بو به ده ست هینانی ده سه فری به به ده بردنی هم یمی له عیراقدا.

دووهم: دهیویست سوپای عیراقی بهتایبهتی لهسهردهمی سهدام حوسیندا له هیرشهکانی بو سهر کوردهکان له تروپکی جهنگی روژهه لاتی ناوه راست له بهرامبهر ئیسرائیل سالی ۱۹۲۷ و سالی ۱۹۷۳ لاواز بکات، به لام بی ئهوهی پردی دوستایه تی لهگه ل به غدادا برمینیت، چونکه له راستیدا، کوردهکان له ههو له کانیاندا به ردهوام بوون لهسهر ریگه ی "پیکه وه ژیان vivendy" له عیراق.





و پر انکهری رژ پمی سهدام حوسین و ئیر ان له دژی کور دمکان (ی عیر اق) بکات. جو ار هم: همر و هها دهیویست و پلایهته یهکگر تو هکانی ئهمهریکا به فشار خستنه سهر سمدام حسین ر از ی بکات تا سمر بهخویی به کور دهکانی عیر اق ببهخشیت، همر و مها بهو ئومنده بوو، که وهزیری دهرهوهی ئهمهریک هندری کیسینجهر ریز له هملّو يستى كوردهكانى عيراق بگريّت، له يهيوهندىكردنيان به دهولهته روزئاوابيهكانهوه. ئەمەش دەبىتە ھۆي جالاكبوونى بىرو باوەرى ئەمەرىكا لە روز هه لاتي ناوهراست و له لاواز كردني رژيمي سهدام حوسين، همروهها لاو از کر دنی همو نی سے دام حوسین بق ر ابهر بهتیکر دنی جیهانی عمر مبیی، که یار مهتیدهر دهبیّت بو دو رخستنه و هی سهر و کی میسر "نُهنو مر سادات" (۱۹۱۸-١٩٨١) له ژ پر کاریگهریی پهکیتی سو ڤیپهت و بالی بیّوه بنیّن، تا له داهاتوو دا ببیّته هاو بهشک ئاشکتی ئیسر ائیل لهوه دهجو و که کیسینجه رهیچ گر نگییه کی به بهشدار یکر دنی کور دهکان له دامهزر اندنی بناغهی ئاشتی له نیّو آن ئیسر ائیل و میسر له روز هه لاتی ناو مراست دا نه دابیت و له کوتایشدا به شیوازیکی درندانه كوردهكانيان له سالي ١٩٧٥ له خهاتهكهياندا بۆر حكومهنيكي خور بهريوهبهري ههر يميي يهر او يز خست (۷۷).

رِ وْ رْ هَهْ لَاتَى ناو هْرِ استَى نوى - هاو پهيمانيى ئيسرائيل - عمر هبستانى سعوديى - دولْهَ انى كهنداو - (فهر هنسه)/ كور دهكان، گۆر انكار بيهكانى ئەم دو اييانه:

سهر قک و هزیر انی ئیسر ائیل بینیامین ناتانیا هۆ (و هک یهکهمین سهر ق کی به و هکالهت و تا ئیستا له سهر ئاستی جیهان) ههریهک له پیفر اندق می کور دهکانی له ۲۰/۰۱ رود دامه زر اندنی دهو له تیکی کور دی سهر به خق (له باکوری عیراق) به قانوونی ناساند و هاو پرایان بوو. چهند پرقر ی یکی کهم پیش پیفر اندق مهکه، نوسینگهی



ناتانياهۆ له ١٣ي ئەبلوولى ٢٠١٧ دا بەياننامەيەكى بۆ بەيامنېر مكانى وو لاتانى دەر ەو ە نار د، كە لە دو و رستە بنكهاتبو و. "(ئىسر ائيل) بشكىرى لە ھەولنى کور دهکان بق بهدهستهننانی ئامانجهکانیان به مهبهستی بیکهننانی دهو لهتیکی سالانهی بهیمانگای ئاسایشی نهته و هیی له تهل ئهبیب ئه داو ایهی دو و بار ه کر ده و ه که بریتی یوو له: "بشــتگیری یو کور دهکان له و مدی هینانی خهونه کهیان یو دەر بر بو ە، ميانر ەوپى خۆپان ساماندو و ە، بەلام ھەر و ەھا ئەوانىش شاپەنى میانر دو مکانی رو ژهه لاتی ناو در است و بهر به بیشر دو ی ئیسلامییه تو ندر دو مکان دهگریت. همر و مها ناتانیاهو هموالی دامه رراندنی "تمو مر میمکی نویی همریمایه تیی هاوبه ش" له نيوان ئيسرائيل، عمر مبستاني سعوديي و ميسر "دا راگهياند (٧٩) . دوای نزیکهی سال و نیویک وهزیری دادی ئیسرائیل"ئایلید شاکلید" له ۱۹/ نه ته وهییه کان و سهر ژمیرییه کاندا ریک خرابوو، به ناشکر ا داوای "دامه زرادنی، دەوللەتتىكى كوردى كرد كه ئيران له توركيا جيا بكاتموه و دەوللەتتىكى ھاوريى ئیسے رائیل دوبیّت، کور دوکان گامیّکی روسیانن، دیموکر اتن، ئاشتیخو ازن، همرگیز ينشتر هنرشيان نهكر دو هنه سهر هيچ و و لاتنك، ئنستا كاتى ئهو هيه يار مهتييان بدمین (۸۰)

#### کار دانهو ه بر مشت و مر مکان:

پالپشتیکردنی سمر و ک و هزیرانی ئیسرائیل بنیامین ناتانیاهو له ۱۱/۱۰/۱۰ دا به ۲۰۱۷ دا بو پیفراندو می سمربهخویی کوردهکان و دهو لمتیکی کوردستانی سمربهخو له سمرانسهری جیهاندا چهندین کاردانهوه و و ه لامی جوراو جوری بهدوای خویدا هینا. له لایهن سمرکردایه می شیعهی عیراقییه و ه به توندی ر ه تکرایه و ه ، نوری ئهلمالیکی





جیّگری ســـمروّکی عیّراق له ۲۰۱۷/۱۰/۱۷ له کوّبوونهو میهکدا لهگهل بالْیوّزی ئهمه ریکی "دوّگلاس سلیمان "له به غدا هوّشداری ئهوهی دا که " "ههرگیز ریّگه به پیّکهیّنانی ئیسرائیلی دووهم له باکوری عیّراقدا نادهین"(۸۱).

به پیچهوانهی نهم لیدوانهوه، ئیسرائیل به شیوه میه کی فراون بی دوود للی پالپشتی خویان بو کورده کانی عیراق له به دهستهینانی چه کی ئیسرائیلی قورس و پیشکه و توو، تا یار مه تبیان بدهن و له کو تاییدا بگهن به دهو له تی تاییه ته خویان دوو پاتکردهوه. پاشی ئیبراهیم له و و تاریکی کراوه دا له گه ل " ئورشه لیم پوست" (۸۲) و و تی:

له هممان کاتدا شیکه رموه کانی تر هو شدارییان دا که ئیسرائیل تهنانه به مهبه ستنی هاو پهیانی نزیکیش له گه کور ده کان (ئهمیر ۲۰۱۷)، ناتوانیت به ته واوی ریکه له ئیرانی هم که که و بگریت. له لایمن مایک ل رو بینی (۸۵) شاره زا له باره ی کور ده کانه و چهندین لیدوانی ره خنه ئامیزانه با کور ده کانه و به تیدا سهر و ک و زیرانی ئیسرائیل "ناتانیاه و" به وه تومه تبار ده کات که "یارییه کی گالته جارانه و پهرته و از ه که گه کور ده کان ئهنجام ده دات. و ادم ناکه و یت که ئیسرائیل ئاماده بیت هاو کاری کور ده کان له رووی سه ربازییه و هیزی قودسی ئیرانیی و هیزه کانی حه شدی شه عبیی "بچنه ناو چه که و هیزی قودسی ئیرانیی و هیزه کانی حه شدی شه عبیی "بچنه ناو چه که و "هم و هیزی قوده داوی اله کور ده کان ".





به پێچهوانهوه " دهسـه ڵاتداره کانی ئیسـرائیل تومه تبار دهبن به وهی که کورده کان راپێچی کارهسات بکهن "، روّبین رهخنه دهگرێت و لهوهد ه ترسـێت که مێژووی کورد به نوینه ری جیاوازهوه خوّی دووباره ده کاته وه:

" له ســـهراتاكانى حهفتاكانى ســـهدهى بيســتهمدا، كوردهكانى عيراق له شـــهرى بهرژهوهنديى نيوان ئهمهريكا و يهكيتى ســــقييهتدا بوون به هيزى بهكار هاتوو له جهنگى سارددا ".

ههروهها سهرکردهکانی ئیسرائیل له جهنگی ساردی نویّی نیّوان قودس و تاراندا کوردهکان وهک ئامرازیّک بهکاردیّنن. "روون دیاره, که ئیسرائیل ناتوانیّت ئهو شته به کوردستانی عیّراق ببهخشیّت که پیّویستییهتی " .مایکل روّبین هوّشداری دا یان ئهوهتا " ئیسرائیل ئامادهبیّت له یارمهتیدانی کوردهکان له ههر کاتیّک و به ههر شدیّوهیهک بیّت " یان " ئهگهر ئیسرائیل بیّدهنگی هه لبریّریّت ئهوا کاریّکی باشتر ئهنجام دهدهن ".

"ريس دوبين" له هملويستى ناتانياهو دربهيهكييهكى بهديكرد:

له كۆتاييدا ناتانياهو گهيشت بهدەر ئەنجامى " چارەى – دوو دەوللەتنى"، روبين لەبدارەى ئەم دژيەكىيەوە دەنوستىت، كە ناتانياهو تەنها لە عيراق پالپشتى لە كوردستانىكى سەربەخۇ دەكات وەك دەوللەتىكى بەربەست لە دژى عەرەبەكان وئيرانىيەكاندا، كە بەشيوەيەكى باو پنى دەوترا " راميارى دەرەكىي" لەئىسرائىل، لە ھەمان كاتىشدا رازى نابىت تا فەلمستىنىيەكان سەربەخۇيى خۇيان بەدەست بىنىن و لەگەل ئىسرائىلىيەكاندا پىكەوە برين.(٨٦)

گەران بەدواى بالنەر و بريارە ھەللەكاندا:

نسكۆكانى(۸۷) تايبەت بە كوردەكانى عيراق، كە ريفراندۆمى سەربەخۆيى دەخەنە پال مەسعود بارزانى(۸۸)، كە سەرەراى ئاگاداركرنەوەى جيھانىيەكان(۸۹) لە ٥٧ى ئەيلوولى ٢٠١٧دا رايگەياند، بە شيوەيەكى سەرەكى كە ئەمەش بەشيوەيەكى جياواز ماناكەى ليكدراوەتەوە، بەلام خالە سەرەكىيەكانى ئەوە بوون كە بارزانى

## <mark>FOR ACADEMIC AND PRIVATE USE ONLY!</mark> کونفرانسی نیّو دەوللەتى (داھاتووى کورد)





له بهر چهند هرٚکاریّکی ناوخوّیی حکومهتی ههریّمی کوردستانی عیّراق(۹۰)، ویستی میّژوو و واده ی پیفراندوّم (بیّجگه له ئیسرائیل) بهسهر جیهاندا که پرهتیان کردبوه وه بسهپیّنیّت، تا به به هیّزیی خوّی بنویّنیّت(۹۱). بارزانی ژیرانه ههلسوکه و تی نه کرد و خراپ پراویّژکاری لهگه ل کرابوو (۹۲)، به لام خوّپاگر بوو له داواکردنی دوباره دانوستان، خراپ ههلسه نگاندنی بو بارودوّخی نیّوده و لهتی جیوّست تراتیجی کرد(۹۳)، که پشتی به لایه نگیریی دروّ و زاره کیی حیرست دوّزه که نیاد دو و به سیاسه تمهداره کانی پرابردو و به ستبوو، که زیاد له پیّویست دوّزه کهی خسته مهترسییه وه (۹۶)، قوماریّکی بی سنوور بوو (۹۰)، گره وی لهسهر ئهسیّکی هه له کردبوو (۹۲) و له ئه نه خامیشدا دوّپا، که بوو به هوّی نه و می خوّری ژیانی پرامیاریی زوو تر ئاوا ببیّت (۹۷)

مهسرور بارزانی پاریزگاری له باوکی کرد و گوتی که "دانوستان" له گهل ویلایه ته یمکگر تووهکان و ئوروپادا همبووه و نامهیان ئالوگورکردووه، به لام همر یهکه له و فهرمانبه رانه ی ئه و وو لاتانه ی پهیوه ندییان پیوهکر دبوون گورابوون و له ئهنجامیشد دا هیچ کام له به لیننیه کان جیبه جینه کران و تهنیا "ئیمه" (کورده کانی عیراق) باجه کهمان دا و به ووته ی خوی تیکشکاین (۹۸)

كملين له سمر كردايه تيى كردنى ديمو كرسييانه دا:

له کوتابیدا، داهاتووی پرامیاریی سـ مروّکی له میژنه ی ههریمی کوردستانی عیراق سمسـ عود بارزانی به ناپروونی دهمینیته وه (۹۹). له ئیسـتادا و لهم پروویه وه زانیاری در بهیه که ئارادا ههیه. بارزانی له لایه پهپرلهمانی ههریمی کوردستانی عیراقه و به دهنگی زورینه له ۱۳ ی کانونی دووهمی ۲۰۰۵ دا له ههولیر وه کسمروّکی حکومه ی ههریمی کوردستان بو ماوه ی چوار سال هه لبر یردرا. له ۲۰/ ۲ به مواید در در ایا که مهریمی پراسته وخوّدا دو وباره به نزیکه ی لهسـ دا حهفتای دهنگه کانی به دهسـ هارید و ماوه ی چوار سالی تر له دهسـ هارتدا متمانه ی پیه خشرایه وه . له هاوینی ۲۰۱۳ دا ماوه ی سهروّکایه تییه که ی بهسه رچووبوو.





ماوهی سهر و کایه تییه کانی ههریمی کور دستانی عیراق به پیی ده ستوری ههریمی کور دستانی عیراق به پیی ده ستوری ههریمی کور دستانی عیراق دیاری ناکریت ، چونکه له ئیستادا شتیکی ئه و تو بوونی نییه. ههر چهنده تاکه پرهشنو و سیک بوونی ههیه، به لام نوینه رانی حیز به کان له پهرلهمانی ههریمی کور دستان له ههولیر، تا ئیستا نهیان توانیوه، به شیوه یه کی ده ستوریی و به ده نگی زورینه وه مه برگهیه تیبه و پینن.

(كۆتا رەشنووس: كۆللى ٢٠١٠: ٨٠٨-٧٧٤).

ماو دی سے در و کابہتی و پلایہته کانی عیر اق به بینی دهستوری کو ماری فیدر الیہ عير اق له ۲۰۰۵ (برگهي ۷۲.۱) ديار پکر او ه، که ماو دي جو ار سال دهبهخشيت بو همر خوانیک و لهگه ل ئهگمری دو و باره هه آلیز ار دنموهی سه و کهکه، همر و هها بق ماوهی ته واوه تی سه و کایه تبیه هم یمییه کانی هم یمی کور دستانی عبر اقبش به کار هینر اوه. سهر مرای ئهمهش بهر لهمانی ههریمی کور دستانی عیر اق له ۲۰۱۳ دا به بر پار پکی ناقانو و نی سهبار هت به مانهو هی مهسعو د بار ز انی له بو ستهکهی بو ماو می دو و سالی تر در پر کر ایهو ه؛ ئهویش به بیانو و ی همبو و نی بار و دو خیکی قەير اناوپى تايبەت كە بۆ ئەم كار ەيان ھێناو ەتەرە، كە لە ئەنجامدا مارەي قانو ونى و ســـ مر و کایه تیبی ههریمی له ۱۹ی ئابی ۲۰۱۵ دا کوتایی بیهات. به لام له دوای ته و او بو و ني ماو هکهشـــي و اديار ه مهسـعو د بار زاني له يوسـتهکهي خو ي و بهبي فهر مانبِّكي ديموكر اسببانه ماو هتهوه، ههر و هها له لايهن كهسابتبيه دبيلو ماسببهكانهوه به "ســه و ک" ناوز هد کر اوه. لهم دو ایبانهدا بار زانی رایگهاند که جبتر بو سلمرة كايمتيي همريمي كوردستاني عيراق خوى ناياليويت و ومك سلمرة كي ههریمی کور دستانی عیراق دهست له کار دهکیشیته وه (۱۰۰). به لام نهمه رووی نه دا بار زانی بیشو مخته دامه زر او میمکی به ناوی " ئه نجومه نی سیاسی بالای خۆر اگەياندنى" بېكهينابوو (رۆبين ٢٠١٧) كه يشت به كۆدەنگىي له نيون لايەنه كوردىيه عيراقييهكان نابهستيت و قانووني بووون و ديموكراسيي بووني له ئيستا دا به روونی دیار نییه.





مهسر ور بارز انی لهم دو ایبانه دا ئاماژهی به وه کر دبو و ، که دهبیت و اله باوکی بر و انین که" سو نبو لیّکی نهته و هیی "ناو میّر و و په و بو ستهکهی و هک "سهر و ک " دەيار يزيت، كه له ييش ميروو وهو هاتوو وتهبوون" و ئهوانيش له داهاتوودا ييويستيان ینی دەبنیت (۱۰۱). ئەم شىنوازى بانگەشسەيەي مەسىعود بارزانى بۆ دەسلەلات وا ليُكدانهوي بق دهكريت لهم دو إبيانهدا كه ريفر اندو مييكي ناقانووني ئهنجام داوه، تا خوّى لهدهسـه لاتدا بسـه يننيت و و و مک سـه روّکي "ئه نجو مه ني بالاي رامياريي، که خيّز انهكهي لهدمسه لات دمميّننهو ه؛ ريدلّ: ٢٠١٧ : "دلْسوّ زي تاكوّ تايي: "ههتا و مكو خوّی له داهاتو و پهکی نادبار دا بانگهشهی کور دستانیکی سهر بهخو بکات و بیبت به یه کهم سهر و کی دهو له ته که ده کرا نهم داوای سهر کر دایه تبیه ببیت به راست، ئەگەر ئەو نسكۆ قورسانەي كەلەئەنجامى سزا سەختەكانى سەر ريفراندۆمى نە بوایه، که له سهر متا دا بهربلاو بوو، بواری هملسهنگاندنی نهبوو". (۱۰۲)

ناکامیی دیمو کر اسیی و دابه شکر دنه بهک له دو ای بهکهکانی دهسه لات

له یهکهم ههڵبژ ار دنی ئاز ادانهی ۱۹ی ئایار ی ۹۹۲دا ، کو ر دستانی عیّر اق لهسهر بنهمای دابهشکر دنی دهسه لات له نیّو ان ههر پهکه له بار تی دیمو کر اتی کو ر دستان و يهكێتي نيشتيمانيي كورستان بهريّوه دهبر ا(١٠٣). له ماوهي شهري ناوخوّدا له ١٩٩٥/١٩٩٤ دا، به كردهيي دوو بهريوبهرايهتيي كورديي جياله ناوچهكهدا بووني همبووه، که له لایمن پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان و یمکنتی نیشتیمانیی کوردستانهوه بهریّوه دهبران(۱۰٤). تا ئهم کاتهش له هیّنانه ئارای زوّرینهی يهر لهمانيي ديمو كر اسيي سهر كهوتوو نهبوون (١٠٥)

به کورتی: یه کهم هه نبر اردنی ئازادی ههریمی کوردستانی عیراق له ۱۹/۹/ ۱۹۹۲ به ریزهی ٤٩: ٥١ بو یه کیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان له به رامبه ریارتی ديموكراتي كوردستان ، به لام له ياش ئهوه گور درا به دابه شكردني دهسه لاتي 0.:0.





له دووهم هم فبر اردندا له ۳۰ /۱/ ۲۰۰۰دا پارتی دیموکراتی کور دستان ویمکنتی نیشتیمانی کور دستان پیکهوه به هاوبه شسی و به ناوی " هاوپهیمانی نیشتیمانی دیموکراتیی کور دستان " به شداری هم فبر اردنه که بیان کرد.

له سنیهم هه نبر اردندا له ۲/۲۰ ، ۲۰۰۹، ناوی هاوپهیمانیتییه که ی پ.د.ک و ین ک. بر "ایستی کوردستانی" گوردرا.

له خولی چوارهمی دهنگداندا له ۲۱٬۰۱۱ ۲۱ ۱۲ ۱۹ بۆ یهکهم جار و له سالی ۱۹۹۲ وه ههریهکه له پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان و یهکیتی نیشتیمانیی کوردستان به ۱۹۹۲ به جیا بهشداری هه لمبرز اردنه کهیان کرد، به لام له ههمان کاتیشدا در پرژهیان به دابه شکردنی ده سالته سیاسییه کانی نیو خویان دا و له دوای دانوستانیکی در پرژخایه نه گه ل جو لانه وهی چاکسازییی "گوران" دا که له سالی ۲۰۰۹ دا دامه زرا بوو، له کوتاییدا رازیی بوون که ههموو لایه نه کان به هاوبه شکی له پهرلهمانه همریمیه کهی ههولیر به شداریی بکهن .

همولّی پیشووی دابهشکردنی دهسه آلات بهسهر دووبهرهدا بو نهوه بوو، تا پهرلهمانیّکی بی ئوپوّزسیوّن بهرهم بیّت، له کوّتایشدا سهرکهوتوو نهبوون. له دوای سهرهالدانی شهری ناوخوّی ۱۹۹۲-۱۹۹۷ ادا کوردستانی عیّراق بوّ دوو بهریّوبهرایه تیی دابهشبوو، یه کیّکیان (پ.د.ک.) له همولیّر، ئهوهی تریشیان (ی.ن.ک) له سایّمانی؛ همریه کهیان پیّگهی تاییه تی خوّی ههیه و بانگهشهی نویّنهرایه تیکردنی راسته قینه ی کوردستانی عیّراق بو خوّیان ده کهن. تا ئیّستا چوار هملّبرژاردنی ئازادانه له همریّمی کورستانی عیّراق بوخویان ده کهن. تا ئیستا چوار ۱۹۹۲ و ۲۰۱۹. واده ی پینجهم هملّبرژاردنیش له سالّی ۱۱۸ دا دیاریکراوه له کوّتایی همر هملّبرژاردنیکدا همر لایه نیّک نهوی تری به توّمه تی ساخته کاری له دهنگدان دا توّمه تبار کردووه. تا راده یه کوردستان بکهن .





پهرلهمانیکی دیموکراسی که تنیدا دهسه لاته که که خه لکه وه به شیّوه یه کی سهربه خوّ و هرگرتووه و بریاره سیاسییه کانی له ریّگهی "زوّرینه ی بهرده وام گوّراوه" و سیمرچاوه ی گرتبیّت، تا ئیستا نه ی توانیوه له ههریّمی کوردستانی عیّراق دا بیّته ئاراوه (روّبن ۲۰۱۷: ۱.ت رهخنه له دیموکراسییه کی دروّبینه دهگریّت) . ئالوّزییه کانی که له ئه نهنجامی سیزاکانی سیمر ریفراندوّمی نهیلوولی ۲۰۱۷ دا درووستبوون، مهترسین بو دووباره دابه شبوونی کورستانی عیّراق و سیمرلهنوی سیمر ههلدانه و می ناکوّکییه سیاسییه کان و له کوّتایشدا روودانی شهریّکی ناوخوّیی نویّ. سیمره رای نهوه ش نیگهرانی زوّریش دهرباره ی کیبرکیّی جوگرافی و سیراتیجی ههلکشاوی سیمر به کهرکووک و "ناوچه دابراوه کان" له عیّراقدا همیه، نویّ بینه هوّی دروسیتبوونی پیّکدادانی سیمربازیی نویّ له روّژهه لاتی که رهنگه بینه هوّی دروسیتیوونی پیّکدادانی سیمربازیی نویّ له روّژهه لاتی ناوه راست و ئاسیای نوروپایی دا. جهمسمرگیری و هملکشانه کان به شیّکی فراوانی ناوچه که با داره می بهریّت و چاره ی ناوچه که بیان تهنیوه و ئاسوّیه نییه تا ئارامی و ئاسایشی تیا به دی بکریّت و چاره هاوبه شاوبه شیی بهرده و ام نیستادا و له به روود اروون نییه.

نه و هيه كى نو ينى سهر كرده

له کاتی فشاردا لایمنه سیاسییهکانی کوردستانی عیراق خمریکی گورین و جیگورکی پیکردنی نموهکانی سیمرکردایه وی بوون. له ناو پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی عیراق دا سمروک وهزیرانی ئیستا "نیچیرقان بارزانی " به شیوهیه کی کاتی لمبری مامی ممسعود بارزانی" دانوستانه سیاسیی و ریخکهوتنه دیبلوماسییهکانی له گهل به غدا له سمر بنهمای دهستوری عیراقیی پهسمندکراوی دیبلوماسییهکانی له گهل به غدا له سمر بنهمای دهستوری عیراقیی پهسمندکراوی ۴۰۰۵ گرتووه ته نهستوی خوی. دهستگای ناسایشی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان هیشتا به لای کوره گهوره ی مهسعود بارزانی، مهسرور بارزانییه وه بهریوه دهبریت. نهمه وه و هیک شیوازی پیشینیکراوی سیمرکردایه تیکردنی بنهماله ی بارزانی له داهاتوودا، لیکدانه وه یوگراوه.

وا دادهنریت، که نیچیر قان بارزانی توانای چارهسه و ریککهوتنی همبیت، به لام وا له مهسرور بارزانی دهروانریت، که تاکرهوانه هه لسوکهوت بکات. همرچونیک





بنت هنشت اروون نیه، که ئایا ننجیر قان بارز انی له داهاتوویه کی دوور مهودادا له بهر امبهر مهسر و ر بار ز انی دا سهر که و تن به دهست دیننیت (۱۰۱). یه کیتی نیشتیمانی كور دستان دەيهو يت له دواى كۆچى دوايى "جهلال تالهبانى"، له كۆنفر انسيكدا وله داهاتوودا ســـهر کردهیه کی تر هه نبر نیرن. هیشــتا (ی.ن.ک.)یه رته او از میه و دابه ش یو و ه یو نز بکهی شهر و ها هاو دهنگ به ر کابهر ایهتی بهکتری دهکهن؛ ههر و هها هاو دهنگ نین له بر سـه گرنگه کانی و مک ئهومی کی له داهاتوودا و به چیه بهیر مو بر و گرامیک ئافر هتان له و هر گرتنی يوسته جياواز هكاندا و سهر كر دايهتيكر دني (ي.ن.ك.)دا ر و لَيْكي ديار ببينن.

"بهرههم صالح" که بو ماوهیه کی زور (جیگری) سامروک و هزیرانی ههریمی کور دستانی عیر اق بوو، همروه ها جیگری سهروک وهزیر انی عیر اق بووه، له سالِّي ۲۰۱۷ دا په کێتي نیشتیماني کور دستاني به جێهێشتووه و حیزبێکي نوێي به ناوی "هاویهیمانی دیموکراسیی و دادیهروهریی" بیکهینا، که خوی وهک حیزبیکی هاوچهرخی داهاتووی ریفورمخواز له سهربنهمای سیستهمی دیموکراسیی ر وِّ رِّ بَاو اپني بيشان دودا. له كو تاپيدا جو و لانهو وي "گور ان " كه له سالي ٢٠٠٩ دا له لايهن نهوشير وان مستهفاوه دامهزرا، ئهم جوو لانهوهيهش له دواي مهركي نهوشيروانهوه خهريكي خو ريكخستنهوهيه ، مستهفاش هاوشيوهي صالح له (ى.ن.ك.) جيا بووبوهوه. همتا ئيستا "گوران" سـمركموتوو بووه، بمتابيمتي ومك جو و لانهو هپه کې ئۆپۆز سېۆن، جو و لانهو هکه له دري گهنده لېي ته شهنهي سهندو و ه و له ينناو ديمو كر اسيى و مافى مروق و، مامه له كردنى يهكسان لهگه ل ئافر هاندا ، ئاز ادى رۆژ نامەو انىي ودەو لەتتىكى دەستوورىيى جالاكانە تىدەكۆشنىت.

ئابوریی: مایمیووچ بوونی همریمی کوردستان

لمبهر نمبووني ئاماريكي سهر مكيي، به يني بنهما سهركييه زانستييهكان و يمير موه ئيدار بيه کان که له ريني قانو و نهو و ريکخر او ه، ناتو انريت به شيو ميه کي ريک و بوخت





باسے بار و دو خے ئابور ہے ہمر ہمے کور دستانے عیر اق بکر بت، بو نمو و نه دمو لُهته ئەندامەكانى يەكىتى ئوروپا كەرىككەوتنيان لەگەلل عيراق (ھەرىمى كوردستان) ههیه لهسهر بنهمای هاو بهشیبی و هاو کاریی که له ۲۰۱۱ / ۲۰۱۲ و اژوکر او ه، به بنچه و انه شه وه بق نمو و نه حکو مهتی هم نمی کو ر دستانی عیر اق ناماری بو دجهی خۆى لەسسەر يەير ەوى يەكىتى ئوروپا بلاوناكاتەرە (١٠٧)، ئايا بەلگەيەكى بر ز انبار ی و بلاو کر او بهک که له ریگهبهوه بتو انریت لیبکو لینهوه سهبار هت به به کار هینانی سهر مایهیی گشتی بکریت، دهخریته و و ؟"نوسینگهی ناماره کانی ههریمی کور دستان" له ههوایر تعنها شوینیکه و بینایهکه (۱۰۸)، و دهسه لاتیک له خو ناگریت تا لهریی قانوونی "یوروستات" نوسینگهی ئاماریی ئورویا "له لهٔ کسمه ورگ" گهر هنتیی بکر بت؛ به لکو و سهر به و هزار هتی بلاندانانی حکومه ی ههریمی کورستانی عیراقه و بهردهستبیهتی ورینوینی ئاراسته کانی لی و هر دهگریدت (۱۰۹) سه ره رای ئه وهش ریزه ی بیکاریی تو مار کر او بهینی ییو ه ره جيهانييهكان ناتو انريت بهر و ار د بكريت بهو بيو هر انهى تايبهتن به يورو ستات. بۆ نموونه له ئیستادا ئاماری ریزهی بنکاریی که حکومهتی ههریمی کوردستانی بۆ نیوهی دو و همی سالمی ۲۰۱۵ خستو و پهتیپه روو، که بهنزیکهیی ۱۳۰۵٪ یه، به لام له راستیدا به رزتره. هو کارهکهی ئهوهیه که حکومهتی همریمی کورستان له ئامار مکانی باز اری کار دا ژ مار میه کی زوری له کهسه کان و مک دامه زر او ناونو و سکر دو و ه. همر جهنده کار بان نبیه و خز مهنگو زاری دامهز راندن دابین ناكەن، ھەرچەندە وەك وەرگرى سۆشىيال ھاوشىيوەى "يۆرۆسىتات"ناوبراون (همر چهنده حکومهتی همریمی کور دستان سیستهمیکی هاوشیوهی سیستهمی ئاسايشى كۆمەلايەتىي و ئاسايشى چاودىرى تەندروسىتىي گونجاو و سىندوقى دابینکر دنی موجهی نبییه). هو کار مکانی ئهمانهش ئه و میه که کور دستانی عیر اق ئابور پیمکی ناوبر اوی به "ئابوریی کریگرته" همیه (دی ویقهر ۲۰۱۷: ۲). ئەمەش

وا دەبننرنىت كە ئەو ئابورىيە ھەرنمىيى و نەتەوايەتىيەكان كە دەرامەتەكانيان بهشنوهیه کی فراوان له زوربهی بارو دوخه کاندا به شنوهیه کی یه کایدنانه له ریی





نموتموه بمدهست دینن و مکوو (دهو لمته ئمفمریقایه کانی نیجیریا، ئمنگولا، ئوگمندا و باشوری سودان) و ئمم داهاتمش بهسمر ژمارهیه کی زوری ئمو دانیشتوانانه ی که پشت به دهو لمت دهبهستن و مک کهمترین داهاتی تاک دابه شده کریت (له زوربه ی کاته کاندا له خوارووی همژاریی دایه). همرچهنده چهمکی "کریگرته" و مرگیر در اوه به "خانه نشین" ناتوانریت بهسمر همریمی کور دستان دا پهیره و بکریت، چونکه له بهرئموه ی به شیوه یمکی تاییمتی زورینه ی دانیشتوانه کهی "خانه نشین" نین، و مک پیشممرگه دیرینه کان به بی مافه کانی مووچه ی خانه شینی و پار استنی ئاسایشی کومه لایه تیی و پار استنی ئاسایشی کومه لایه تیی. له ئیستادا کومه لگهی کور دستانی عیراق کومه لگهیه کی گهنجه و به شیوه یه مهره کی گهنجه کی در ن

لهٔ نیستادا و بهگشتی نزیکه ی ۱.۱ ملیون هاو لاتی خاوهن کاری حکومه ی همریمی کور دستان مووچه له به پیوبه ریتی همریمی کور دستانی عیراق و هر دهگرن. به نیکرایی مووچه کانیان له مانگیکدا له نیوان ۳۰۰ دو لار بو ۲۰۰ دو لاره ( بهیی ئهوهی له چ به شیکی کومه لگه بن). له ئه نجامدا ئهم پارانه ۷۰٪ ی ههموو خمر جبیه کانی رو ژانه ی بوودجه ی حکومه تی همریمی کور دستان پیک ده هینن، حکومه تی همریمی کور دستان پیک ده هینن، حکومه تی همریمی کور دستان پیک ده هینن، پیویسته تا مانگانه مووچه کان بدات. له ههمان کاتیشدا کور دستانی عیراق





پنکاهاته یمکی ئابوریی کارکردووی نییه. لهسهرووی ههموشیانه وه هیچ پروژهیه کی گرنگ چ گهوره یان بچووک که بربره پشتی ههموو ئابورییه کی کارکردوون نییه. که رتی تاییه به تشیوه یمکی گشتی زور سهره تایین، تهنیا چهند لقیکی بازرگانی نهیت که تاییه تن به چیمه نتو و کشتوکال.

له بوژانموهی ئابوورييموه بۆ مايه پووچ بوون

دوّخی دار ایی همریّمی کوردستان له ساڵی ۱۰۲وه به شیوه بیه ترسناک سسمره وه لیژبوونه و میه کی به خوّیه و بینیوه، کوردستانی عیّراق بوّ یه که مجار له میّر ووی خوّیدا پرووبه پرووی گهوره ترین داپرمانی ئابووریی به لیّک که و ته مهترسیداره و مووه بووه بووه (۱۱۲). هو کاره کانیشی به شیّکی ناوخوّیی بوون و همروه ها به سیّکی تریشیان (۱۱۳) به هوّی چاره سیم نه کردنی کیشه ده ستوورییه مهترسیداره کانی نیّوان حکومه تی ناوه ندیی فید پرالی عیّراق له به غدا و له گهل کورده کاندابوو، و همی و مبهر هیّنانی نهوت و گاز و ناردنه ده ره و هیان.



عيراقى فيدرالنى (خەرجى كەمتر لە خزمەتگوزارىيە گشتىيەكانى حكومەت لە دەوللەت دا )(١١٤). ھەرچۆنتىك بىت ھەوللەكانى سەركردە كوردەكان سەركەوتوو نەبوون.

له سهر متاى سالي ١٤٠١دا جهندين ههلسهنگاندني نيو دهو لهتيي متمانه بيكر او خر انه ر وو، سهبار هت به و مي كه ئايا كور دستاني عير اقي سهر بهخو، بري چهند داهاتي يپويسته تا بهتمنيا پشت به هيزي ئابووريي خوي ببهستيت و بتوانيت له سهر بيي خوّى بو مستیّت مهم هه لسه نگاندنانه له لایهن ئیدار می سهر و کی مهمهر یکا"بار اک ئۆباما"و ە خر او نەتە روو و لەم دوابيانەشىدا لە مانگى ٦ ى ساڵى ٢٠١٧دا لە لايەن بهریوبهری بیشووی CIA و بیتروس(۱۱۵) دوویاتکراونه تهوه "ئیمه له لای خوّ مانه و ه CIA هه لسامنگاندنمان کرد که "کوردهکان بیویستیان به و هیه بری ، ۸۰۰،۰۰ بهر میل نهوت به نر خی ۱۰۰ دوّ لاری ئهمهریکی بنیّر نه دور ووه" يتروس رونيكردهوه و گهيشت به ئهنجاميكي ناخوش: (به لام دانيام و هيچ ئاسويهك نابينم تا كوردهكان بتوانن ســـهربهخو ببن) ئهوان تهنها له روزه ير بهر ههمهكاندا ده و انن ۸۰۰،۰۰۰ به رمیل ر هوانهی ده روه بکهن و له ئیستادا نرخی یه کبرمیل نهوت له دەوروبەرى چل دۆلاردايه، له بەر ئەوە ھێشـــتــا بۆ دابينكردنى خەر جىيەكانيان بنويستىان بە بەغدا دەبنىت. تونز بنەو ەي نوى لە لايەن ئەنجو مەنى نيّو دهو لُهتي" Deloitte" له ۲۰۱۸/۱/۱۳ له بري حكو مهتي همريّمي كور دســتان له همولير ئهنجام در اون ، که بهشيو ميهکي بنجينهيي ز انيار بيه پيشينيار کر او مکاني يتروّس دوويات دهكهنموه (١١٦). همروهها تويّرينه وهكاني ئهمهريكا جهخت لهوه دهکهنه و ، که بو ئه و هی ههریمی کوردستان له رووی ئابوورییه و سهربهخو بیت، دەبنت برى بەر ھەم ھننان و فرۆشتنى نەوتى خاو دوو ھنندە بكات لە سەرووى ئەمەشسەرە ھەرىمى كوردستانى عيراق تەنيا ئەر كاتە سەركەرتور دەبىت، كە بتوانيت نهوتي خاو به بازار مكاني جيهان و به برى ١٠٥ دو لاربفروشيت، له كاتبكدا و له سالمي ۲۰۱۶دا نرخي ههر بهر ميلېك نهوت دابهزيوهته سهر ۶۰ دو لارى ئەمەرىكى، كە ئەمەش دەكاتە نيوەي نرخە خواسىتراوەكە. ھەروەھا

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ئەوكاتىش سىمرۆك وەزىرانى حكومەتى عيراق حەيدەر عەبادى ھەموو ژمارە بانكىيەكانى حكومەتى ھەريمى كوردەكانى سىركردبوو، لە بەر ئەوەى كوردەكانى عيراق نەوتى كوردستانى عيراق بەبى بى دەزامەندى بەغدا دەناردە دەرەو.

مایه پووچ بوون و "چهتری فریادرهسی " بهغدا

تویّژینهوی زیاتر بو چارهسی له لایهن (مارک دی ویقهرهوه نهنجام درا (۲۰۰۷: ۲/ ۱۸، ۳۷ – ۶۶ (دهسته بریّرهکان). بهرخوری تایبهتیی به شیّوهیه کی نموونهیی دابه زی ، بری گوشتی خوراو له لایهن تاکیّکهوه له پیش قهیرانه داراییه کهوه یه کسان بووه به ۶۵ کیلو به لام دواتر له سالی ۱۰۰دا بو ۳۲ کیلو کهمی کردووه. پیری همر اربی له سالی ۱۰۲ دا ۳ ٪ بوو به لام له ئیستادا زیادی کردووه بو پیری همراریی له سالی ۱۲۰۲ دا ۳ ٪ بوو به لام له ئیستادا زیادی کردووه بو ۱۲۰ ٪ (خهم لاندنه کانی نوسینگهی ئاماره کانی ههریمی کوردستان) (۱۱۹). له سیمرووی ئهمانه شیمو زیانی زوری به نزیکه ی دوو ملیون په نابه گهیاند که له





ساڵی ۲۰۱۱ و ه بار معتی مر و بی له همریمی کور دستان و در دهگرن(۱۲۰) بئیدار هی حکو مهتی هم نمی کور دستان ر متبده کاته وه که بار مهتی نبوده فهتی به سبو میه کی بيّو پست بو و ني هميّت، بو ئه و بهنابهر انهي که نيشتهجيّي ههريّمي کو ر دستانن و هیچ دهر فهنتیکی تری له بهر دهمدا نهماوه جگه لهوهی که زور پنهیان له داهاتو و پهکی نزیکدا بگهرینه و ه زید و خاکی خویان (۱۲۱). باز رگانانی فروشتنی ئوتومبیل، به دهگمەن ئوتومبنل بە قەرز دەدەن بە خەلك. لە ئنستادا قەرز مكانى كۆمبانبا نهو تبيهكان له ســـهر حكومهتي ههريمي كور دســـتان بري ٣ مليار دو لار زياتره. ير وّ ژ مكاني و مبەر هينان بەتەو او متى پەكىيان كەو تو و ە. لە ســــاڵي ٢٠١٣ داھاتى ئەو یر و ژ انهی که بریاریان لهسهر در ابوون تا ئهنجام بدرین بریتی بوون له ۲.۱۲ ملیار دو لار ، به لام له ساللي رابر دوودا كهميكر دبو تهنيا ٧٩٣ مليون دو لار. تهنها لهم سالْدا سهدان هاو بهشے بر و ژه یان بریکاره به و مکالهتهکان مایه بو و چ بو و ن و ز یانیکی ئابو و رییان بهر کهوت، که تا چهند سالی داهاتو و ش کاریگهریی لهسهریان دمبنت، همندنیکیشیان خویان کو و شتو و ه (دی و یقهر ۲۰۱۷:۹). بهشی بیکهینان و و مبصر هينان (كه له لايهن كو ميانيا توركبيهكانهو مبعريو ه دمبر إن) ئهو بهشهه، كه ز ور ترین زیانی به رکه و تووه، ئوتیله کان و پاشان گه شتیاریش که و تنه به ر زیانه که ؛ به بنی دو ابین خهملاندنهکان:

همریمی کورستانی عیراق به بری ۳۰ ملیار دولار قمرزداری تورکیا دهبیت و زوربهی کومیانیاکانی مایهیووچ بوون، حکومهتی همریمی کوردستان له ئیستادا بهر دهوامه له چاپکر دنی چهکی پار می پالیشتی نهکر او پان بلو ککر او بهو هیوایهی كه له داهاتوودا سوودي خويان همينت ئهم كاخمزانه و "ئاسايشيي قهر زوكاني" هاوشنوهی ئموانهی که له لایمن شارهوانیهکانی مایمیووچ بوونی ئورویاوه له کاتی جهنگه کاندا دهرده کران. سهبارهت به داهاتی باج تا ئیستا حکومهتی ههریمی کور دســـتان تو انیو پهتی تهنیا به ریز هی ۵۰٪ یان ۲۰۰۰ دو لار به نهغد یان دەستىي كۆبكاتەرە بۆ ھە موو كارە ھەر يمييەكانى (لەريى سىستەمەي ناوبراوي " سيستهمي گوماناوي باج"(دي ويڤهر ٢٠١٧:٤٢De Weaver ).



## دەرئەنجامنكى تاريك ولنلى ئابوريى

له ئيستادا ئه وحكومه ته یه هه ريمی کوردستان لهسه رکاره، ده یه ویت له ريی به به بنی نوروپادا، به بنی توکمه هاوشيوه ی ئه وه ی قه یرانی دارایی یونان له یه کیتی ئوروپادا، به بنی که فاله ته به به بنی اچه تری پرزگار به بنی که فاله ته به بنی اچه تری پرزگار بوون له به غذاوه ا، له به به نه وه ی هم یمی کوردستان پاره و در اوی تایبه تبه به خوی نییه و له کوتاییشدا ده بیت پشت به به غدا ببه ستیت، تا بانکه مایه پووچ بووه کانی له دارمان پرزگار بکات. هم چه نده بانکی ناوه ندیی عیراق چه ند لقیکی هم یمیی له سلیمانی و هه ولیر همیه، به لام له م دواییانه دا هیچ گرنگییه کی به پرزگار کردنی بانکه کانی هم ریم نه داوه، تا له پری ناردنی پاره وه له مایه پووچ بوون پرزگاریان بیت.

حکومهتی همریّمی کوردستان ( دووباره) پراشکاوانه بهرنامهیه کی بلاو کرده وه تا ههریّمی کوردستان لهم قهیرانه پرزگار بکات و بپیاری دا به ههمهجوّر کردنی ئابووربیه کهی، که تاکلایه نه پشت به نهوت دهبهستیت همرچوّنیّک بیّت شاره زایان به تیّروانین له کیّشه ئابووربیه بهرده و امه کانی ئیستا، دهرئه نجامیّکی ئهریّنی له و مبهر هیّنانی تایبه ت له داهاتو و دا نابینن همر یه که له و هبهر هیّنانی تایبه و و مبهر هیّنانی تایبه و موجه که زیاتر له ۱ ملیوّن کورد سهر بهلیستی مووجه کمومه تی همریّمی کوردستان، بهرده و ام پرووبه و و دواکه و تنی مووجه کانیان و همروه ها پاشهکه و تکردنیان به پریّرهی ۱۰۰ و هک له (حوز هیرانی ۱۹۸۸) پرووی دا، لاوازی به خویانه و همراره کان فراوانتر ده کات و پریّره ی بیکاریی زیاتر ده کات و همریه که له نرخ و همراره کان فراوانتر ده کات و پریّره ی بیکاریی زیاتر ده کات و همریه که له نرخ و همراره و همراری نابووریش زیاد ده کات و تویّره ده کان





مایکڵ روّبین لعبهر ریّگری چینی دهسه ڵاتداری گهنده ڵ له ئهنجامدانی چاکسازیی و دیموکراسیی، نیگهرانه لهوهی که شته کان بهرهو خراپی ههنگاو دهنیّن. له لایه کی ترهوه به لای مارک دی ویقهره وه فشاریّکی زوّر له ئارادایه، به هوّی زیاد بوونی قهیران و بوونی ههولّی چاکسازیی و یاخی بوونی توندی گهنجه کان و چالاکانه خهباتکردنیان بو به دهست هیّنانی دیموکراسیی و دادپهروهیی کوّمه لایه تیی له کومه لایه تیی له کومه لایه تیی له کومه لایه تی کانده و ناراسته دا ببیننه و دادپه دو داری همهره کان خوّیان له دو و ئاراسته دا ببیننه و دادپه دو د

یان بهره و چاکسازیی کرده یی سهختی ریشه یی یان گهرانه وه بو خووه کانی رابردو و همروه ها ئه و بوارانه بو داواکردنی قهرز و گهنده آلی که له میژووه بوونی هه بووه، ده رهخسینیت" (ئه نجامه کانی دی ویقه کراوه ن، به آلام تاراده یه کیش که شبینیان تیدایه). له همر بارو دو خیکدا بیت، همریمی کوردستان له به رئه وهی که پشت به نه وتی خاو ده به ستیت، له داها تو ویه کی نزیکدا له بازاره کانی جیهاندا رووبه رووری نه و هم لکشان و داکشانانه ده بیته وه.

## زياني جهنگ لهسهر تهندروستي هاونيشتيمانيان:



گشتگیر و کو تابی بو خه لکی عبر اق و همر بمی کور دستان هبشتا له بهر دهستدا نین (١٢٣). به بني خهم لاندنيكي نهته وه يهككر تو وهكان زياتر له ٧٣٠١ كم دو و جاله خاکی عیر اق بیسبووه که له ۲۰۰۱ شار و چکه دا نزیکهی ۲٫۱ ملیون کهس تو شبو و ن، ئەنجامەكەشىپ دەو ەستىتە سەر تو اناي كۆ مەلگەكان كە بەشىپو ەيەكى بهر دهوام دووچاری ئاستهنگ دهبنهوه له دابینکر دن و باشتر کردنی ژیان له ناوچه که دا (2012 and Zwijnenburg & Ghalaieny/ NCCI) 2013 ههتا ئيستا تهنيا چهند بهشيكي كهم له ناوچه بيسبو و مكاني عير اق و همريمي کور دستان دهتو انریت ئاماژهیان بیبکریت، ۳۰۰ شوینیان تو مارکر اون خراو نهتهته ناو ئەو ناوچانەي، كە دەبىت بە زووترىن كات بگەرىندرىنەو ، بارودۆخى ئاسايى و سر وشتيي بيشتربيان و له نيو سهرجهم ئهم شوينانهدا تهنيا ٤٢ شوين به مهتر سيدار ترينيان له عير اقدا دياريكر اون. يهكيكيان ههلهبجهيه كه سالي ٢٠١٤ بوو به پاریزگا و شاریکی کوردستانه و سنوری له گهل ئیراندایه و له سالی ۱۹۸۸ دا له لایمن رژیمی ئه کاتهی سهدام حوسینه و (۱۲۶)خه کمکهی کیمیا باران كرا. بهدوادا چوونى تايبهت له لايهن دكتوره ناوخويى و همريمييهكانهوه كراوه بعد گورانه پزیشکییه کانی و هک ( له بارچوون ، کوّلون و شیریه نجه کانی تر، نه خوشبیه کانی دل و کیشه کانی همناسه دان ، کیشه کانی چاو و بیست، تو انای منال بوون و كيشكاني بهرههم هيناني مندال، ريزهي زوري مندالي ناكام، ههروهها ئاماژه به و مهتر سیبانه دهکات، که هیر شده کیمیاییهکانی سالمی ۱۹۸۸ هیشتا كاريگهريي جينييان (بو ماوهييان) له سهر دانيشتوانه كوردهكان هميه. رايورتهكان ئاماژه بهوه دهکهن که (بهشیکی رزگار بووی ئهم هیرشه به ههمیشهیی تووش بوون ههندی نیشانهی و مک سووتاوی و چهند ر مفتاریک که بیشانی دهدات که زیان به دهماری میشکیان کهوتو و ه. ههر چهنده ئاماریکی ریک و بیک سهبار مت بهم بار و دۆخانه له ئارادا نېپه" (کروودی ۲۰۰۲: ۱٦٤).

ههریهکه له حکومهتی عیراقی له به غدا و ههریمی کور دستانی عیراق له ههولیر جمخت لهسم نهوه دهکهنهوه که توانای دارایی تهواویان نبیه، تا له داهاتوویهکی





نز بكدا ئه و ناوچانهى كه بههوى جهنگى كهنداو هو ه بيس بوون ياك بكهنهوه، له رابر دوودا بق چهند جاریک داوایان کر دووه یار مهتیبه نیو دهو لهتیبه کان فر او انتر بكرين، كه هيشتا و ادياره و مك بيويست بييان نه گهيشتو و ه و ئهگهر ئهم هه لمهتهى پاککر دنهو میه چالاکانه بهر دمو ام نهبیت، ئهو ا مهتر سی ئهو می لیدهکر بت، که ر منگه له داهاتوودا دانیشتوانی عیراق و کور دستان بهتایبهتی دووچاری بارودو خیکی ناههمواری تهندر و ستیی ببنه وه و همر و ها ئهگهری روو دانی کار هساتی مروّیی ينشبيني نهكر اويشي لندهكهونتهوه.

> ئەنجامەكان سەبار ەت بە ئەگەر ەكانى كور د لە: تورکیا، سوریا، عیراق و ئیران (۱۲۵)

## توركيا و كوردهكان:

له ئيستادا ئهگهر مكان و بزار دنهكاني داهاتووي كور د له توركيادا بهشيو ميهكي فر او إن بهنده به ئهجيندا و دهســـه لاتي تاكر هو إنهي رهجهب تهيب ئور دو غانهوه. تا ئەوكاتەي ئەو لە دەسكۆلتدا بميننيتەرە كوردەكان كەم و زۆر ھەمان مامەللەي ينشوويان لهگه لدا ده كرنت كهينكها تبووله: رووبه رووبونه و، چموساندنه وه، ئاز ار دان، راو هدوونان، داگیرگاریی و دهست تیوهردان له کاروباری ناو خوی ههريميي. دەركهوت، كه ههولهكاني ييشووي له دانوستانكردن لهگهل كوردهكان راستگویانه نهبووه، تهنیا ویستوویهتی بو دریژهدان به دهسه لاتی تاکرهوانهی خۆ ى، كات به دەست بننيت.

يهكيّتي ئوروپا و ئەمەريكا تەنيا بەشىيو ەيەكى تاكتيكى چاوپۆشىكى لە دەسكۆلتە تاکر هو بیهکهی دهکهن و له ئیستادا ههنگاوی یهکلاکهر هوه له بهر امیهر دا ناگر نه بهر همر چۆننیک بنت، سمر مرای بوونی کنشهی بمر دموامی تایبهت بعدمسه لات له تورکیا له چوارچنوهی سهر و کایه تیه که یدا، هنشتا چهند راستییه کی گرنگ و جنگیری تايبهت به همموو لايمنه بهشدار بوو مكانهوه هميه و گور انكاريان تيدا ناكريت:





یه کهم کور ده کان وه که هیزیکی دیموکر اسیی و بایه خدار له تورکیای هاوچهر خدا دهر که و تن می می می از که و تن ده داهاتو و شدا ده به به تنکی دیاری تورکیا و چیتر نابیت له وه زیاتر بچه و سینرینه وه.

دووهم همریه که له نیمچه سهربه خوّیی و دهو له تی سهربه خوّیی و هک دوو ئه گهری خمیالی وان له چوار چیوه ی تورکیا دا، چونکه همرده سه لاتیکی ناوه ندیی ئه نکمره له په تکردنه و همرده و کیان بهرده و ام دهبیت. همروه ها کورده کانیش له نیویاندا په که که ناتوانن ئامانجه کانیان له ریّی خهباتی چه کدارییه و مهده ست بینن.

یه کیتی ئورویا - تورکیا - تیکه لاو بوون و خو گونجاندنی زورینه ی کورده کان

لهسه بنه مای ئه و پیوه رانه ی که پیشتر ئاماژهیان پیکرابوو، کورد له داهاتوودا پرووبه پرووی ئهگهریکی پراسته قینه ده بیته وه و له بیریشمان نه چیت که ئهمه ش پهیوه سته به دوو ئهگهری ترهوه که تیکه لاو بوونی زورینه ی کورده کان به ئوروپا یهکلایی ده کاته وه.

یه کهم دهبیّت تورکیا هه نگاو بنیّته قوناغی دوای ئهردو غان، بهرده وام بوونی گفتوگوکان بو بوونی تورکیا به ئه ندام له یه کیّتییه کادا. ئه گهری دو وهم دهستیپیّکردوه و تائیستاش لهسه میّزی گفتوگوکان ئاماده یه تاییه به سهرجهم خهلکی تورکیا و له نیّویشیاندا گهلی کورد. ههرچه نده دهرئه نجامی ئهمه نه زانراوه و پرسیّکه که لهم کاته دا هه نگری چهندین وه لامی در بهیه که، چونکه ههریه که له وو لاتانی ئهندام همره شهریه که دوچه نکردنه وی همر ده نگدانیّک لهسه به بابه ته ده کهن. هیشتا

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بهدیهینانی ریککهوتنیکی تایبهت و چارهسهرخواز مهحال نییه. یهکیک لهو قهیران و دژوارییانهی که دهبیت یهکیتی ئوروپا و تورکیا رووبهروی ببنهوه، بریتیه له قهیرانی جیهانی پهنابهران بهشیوهیهک ههردوولای تووشی تهنگژهیهک کردووه، تهنانهت یهکیتییهکهی له لیورای ههرهسهینان نزیک کردووهتهوه. ئهگهر تورکیا و ئوروپا له داهاتوودا بگهنه ریککهوتنیک ئهوا ههردوولایان تووشی چهند ئهرکیکی قورستر دهبنهوه کهئهوانیش:

یه کهم بوونی ملیونان په نابه ر له ناوخوّی یه کینییه کدا، دووه هه ریه که له وو لاتانی ئه ندام له یه کینیی نوروپادا خاوه نی سیم به خوّیی خوّیان و ناچار ده بن له نزیکه و همو لی نیّوده و له نوروپا و هم وه ها به به ده وام کیار بکه نیّوده و له نوروپا و هم وه ها به به ده وام کیار بکه نیّ دابین کردنی سیم الله میریی به ده وامی روّژ هه لاتی ناوه راستی نیستا (دوای قوّناغی داگیر کاریی).

سسمباره ت به خهونه نهته وایه تبیه کانی کورده کانیش، له لایه کی تره وه نهرکنیک پرووبه پرووی نوروپا ده بنته وه، نه ویش هاوبه شیکردنه له به ده ستهاینانی چاره یه کی به ده وام برده وام دووباره ده بنه میراتگری جوو لانه و هیه کی سهربه خویی نه ته وایه به باشوری روژه ها لات.

ته انه ته مکه کانی وه ک کورد و کوردستان له په پاوه فه پرمییه کان و و توووی پرهکانی نیوان تورکیا و یه کیتی ئوروپادا، که له سالی ۲۰۰۵ وه دهستی پیکردووه، زوّر به ده گمه ن ئاماز هیان پیکراوه. به لام ئهم دوّزه در واره به یه کجاری وه لاوه نانریت، تاوه کوو ئه و کاته ی "تورکیا هه لاده ستیت به جیبه جیکردنی پر توکولی هاو به شی ئه نقه پره و قوب پرس" (۲۲۱)، شایه نی ئاماز ه پیکردنه، هم چه ند په پلهمانی یه کیتی ئوروپا زیاتر گرنگی به پرسی کورد ده دات وه ک له کوده سته ی کومیسیونی ئوروپا که به ئاشکرا له به رده م ئه م پرسادا به ربه سته ، به لام هیچ کامیان تا ئیستا سام باره ت به داها تووی کورد له ئوروپا و ئاسیای ئوروپادا خاوه نی تیروانین یکی روون نین.





له گه آل نهوه شدا، که جیاو از بیه کی زور له نیوان نه گهره کانی داهاتوو و بارودو خی نیستادا ههیه، به آلام به رموپیشچوون و به دیه آنی چاره سه ری ناسیای نوروپایی ده بیته و مرچه رخانی کی گهوره له دوزی کورد و کاریگه ربی به رچاوی ده بیت له سهر کورده کانی سوریا و نیراق و نیراندا. بویه به بیر هینانه و می چه ند نامانجی کی هاوبه شین و ینور ها و فرمی و قانوونییه کانی کورد له خهباتی مهده نی هاو شیوه ی گروپه نوپوزسیون و نارازییه کانی تر بو مانه و می سیاسی و پاراستنی پیگهیان له تورکیادا به رده و امن ، که ده کریت له داهاتو و دا نه و توانایه به کورد به خشین، تا خوی له گفتوگوکانی یه کورو بادا مافه کانی خوی به رده ست بکات.

فهرمان راویی تاکر هوانهی ئۆردۆغان وهک بهربهستیکی گهوره / بهدهر له کۆماری تورکیا (۱۲۷)

له ئيستادا گفتوگوكان سسبار هت به ئهندام بوونى توركيا له يهكيتى ئوروپادا به ئيستادا گفتوگوكان سسببار هت به ئهندام بوونى قراوان دهگهريتهوه بو سياسهتى دامركينهرى ئوردو غان كه له گهل دهستورى ديموكراتيى ئوروپادا يهك ناگريتهوه. ههروه ها پيوشسوينهكان و پيبازهكانى برۆكسل دلنيايى دهدهن، كه له داهاتوودا پهيوهندى هاوبهش ببيت نهك تهنيا پهيوهندى نيوان سسهركردهى وولاتهكان. ههروهكو گفتوگوكان بهرده و امييان ههيه، سنووره دياريكراوهكان ئاشكرابوون، يان به مانايهكى تر هيلهسوورهكانى تايبهت به بهرژه وهندييه نا ديموكراسييهكانى ئاردون:

یه کهم: نه گهر دو و باره هه و لّی هینانه و هی سزای له سیّدار هدان بداته و ه نه و ا به لجیکا یه ک لایه نه ناچار ده بیّت هه مو و گفتو گوّکانی له گهلّدا بیچریّنیّت، له به رئه و هی سزای له سیّدار هدان درّی (خواستی گهله) (۱۲۸). همروه ها یه کیّتی ئوروپا پیّکه و هه و لّی ده رکردنی پرژیّمی نوّردو غان ده ده ن، به و هیوایه ی سنوریّک بو زیانه کانی دابنیّن و خزمه ت گوزاریی باشتر دابین بکات، تا شالّاوی په نا به ران به ره و ئوروپا بو هستیت





و بمرده وامن له هاو کاری دار ایی و همروه ها سهبار ه به پیشیند کارییه یه که له دو ای یه که کانی به رامبه ر به کورده کان ئاگادارن.

دووهم: ئهگهر ئهردو غان قانوونی به پنی شهریعهتی ئیسلامی پراگهیاند، ئهوا به ئاشکرا پایهیه کی سیکیو لاریزمی مودیرنی دهستووریی کهمال ئهتاتورک تیک دهشکینیت و پرهنگه جهنگی ناوخویی یان یاخیی بوونی چهکداریی له لایهن سووپاوه پرووبدات، که خویان به پاریزهری میراتی عیلمانی ئهتاتورک دهزانن.

له دو این نامارو داتا نابوورییه کانی که به دهسته وه ن (۱۲۹) ناماژه ی نهرینی تاییه ت به دۆخی ئیستا له خوی دهگریت، که به شیوهیه کی فراوان نزمبوونه وهی دیاری نه کراوی به خویه و بینیوه (موّدیز و فیچ). تاکه هماسیه نگاندن بو ئهم دوّخه ش ئه وه یه که تا ئوردو غان له حوکمی تاکره وانه ی خوّی و دهست تیوه ردانه به ده وامه کانی له سیسته می سه ربه خوّی ئابوریی به رده وامه کانی له سیسته می سه ربه خوّی ئابوریی به رده وام بیّت، همتا وه به هینه ری بیانی زیاتر دور بکه و نه و ، پاره له وو الاتدا نامینیت، تورکیا رووبه روی کیشه ی کماه که به وونی قه رزه کانی حکومه ته که ی ده بیته وه (که قه رزی دارایی همانکشاوه).

به لننه منز وويه كانى كهمال ئهتاتورك به كوردهكان

ئامانجی بهخشینی مافی یهکسانی و جوریک له جورهکانی خوبه پیوهبردنی ههریمایه تبیی به کوردهکان پرهگ و ریشه کی له کوماری تورکیا وه رگرتووه، تهنانه تئهگه رهیچ کام لهم ههو لانه له داهاتوودا به هوکارهکانی تایبه به همردوولا وه جیبه جی نهکریت (پروونکردنه وهکان له به شینکی تردا ئاماژهیان پیکراوه: هینه بیشله بیشله کرید کرد: ۲۰۰۶: ۲۲۵/ ۲۸۵ ) وه له "سیقاس" (ئهیلوول ۱۹۱۳).





رابهره تورکه کومارییه کان له دهو لهتیکی نویی هاوبه شسی تورکیادا، به لینیان به محورده کان دابوو، له دیاریکردنی چاره نووسسی خوّیاندا ئاماژه یان به جوّریک له لامهرکه زییه و سهربه خوّیی که لتووری دابوو. ههروه ها له ریّوره سمی "دهسته ی نهته وهیی مهزن" بو راگه یاندنی دهو لهتی تورکیای تازه دامه زراو له ۲۳ی مانگی ۳ ی ۱۹۲۰ دا له ئه نکهره ژماره یه که نوینه ره کورده به شدار بووه کان پیشوازییان لیکرا و پیّیان دهوتن "نوینه رهکانی کوردستان". مسته فا ئه تاتورک وه که سهروکی تورکیا هه لیر پر درا و له ریّوره سمه که شدا به زمانی خوّی ده رباره ی دوو گهل دووا که ئه وانیش تورکه کان و کورده کان بوون، ده و له تیکی کوماری هاوچه رخی تورکیا داده مهزریت، ههروه ها داده مهزریت، که تیدا کورده کان مامه له ی یه کسانیان له گه له ایکریت، ههروه ها هه مان ریّزیان لیّده گیریّت و مکوو برا سهیریان ده کریّت.

#### سوریا و کوردهکان:

#### پهکهکه و پهپهده

سسر کهوتن یان شسکست له چارهسسر کردنی دۆزی کورد و له ئهگهری بوونی تورکیا به ئهندام له یهکیتی ئوروپا پهیوهسته بهوهی تا چ رادهیه نوینهره قانوونییه کان و فهرمییه کانی گهلی کورد پهیوهندییان به پهکه که و پهیه دهوه ههیه. همروه ها ئهم نوینه ره کورد و دیاریکراوانه ناتوانن میژووی (پ.ک.ک.) و (پ.ی.د) بخهنه روو، به کورتی ده توانین همر ئهوه نده بخهینه روو، که ئهم دووهیزه کاریگهرییان به سسهر کورده وه دهبیت، له رووداوه کانی داهاتوودا نه به به به تهنیا له تورکیا به لکوو له سوریاش.

#### بەكورتى:

دوای ههر هسهینانی یه کیتی سو قییه لهسه ره ای نهوه ده کانی سهده ی رابر دوودا، په که که وه که بزوتنه وهیه کی چهپ ریزه کانی خوّی یه کخسته وه، لهسه ره تادا



بزوتنه وه که جوو آلانه وه یه کی مار کسیستیی لینینیستیی بوو، پاشان له ژیر کاریگه ریی نوسه ری ئه مه ریکی (مورای بۆکچین) (۱۳۰) بزووتنه وه بیر دۆزی ئه م نووسه رهیان که ناوبرابوو به (شراه وانیتی لیب الیز میی) له گه آل ئیداره کردنی حکومه تیکی لامه رکه زیی له الایه خوند که سیک و چه ند نه ژادیکی جیاوازی سه ربه چه ند هه ریم یکی دیاریکر او دا گونجاند، که پییان ده وت "دیموکر اسیی بنچینهیی"، "دیموکر اسیی خوجییی"، یان "دیموکر اسیی کونفید الیز میی". له و کاته وه و بو ماوه ی چه ند سیا آلیک تائیستا هه و آلیان داوه ئه مشیوازه تیور بیه له ناوچه کانی ژیر ده ستی کور ده کان له باکوری سوریا که ناوبر اوه به "پوژئاڤا" په یره و بکه نه ماوچه یان کر دووه به تاقیگه یه بو تاقیکر دنه وه ی بیر و باوه په سیاسیه چه پره و مکانیان .

روژرئاڤا (روژرئاڤا (روژرئاڤای کوردستان) که به نیمچه سسهربهخوّیی له لایهن ئهنجومهنی دیموکراتی باکوری سسوریاوه بهریّوه دهبریّت، له سسی کانتونی خوّبهریّوهبردن پیّکهاتوون. دهسه لاته سهربازی و دهسه لاته ناوخوّییه کانیشی له رووی سهربازی و سیاسیه وه له لایان همریه که له دوو یه کینه ی سیربهخوّ له هیّزه کانی "پیّشمهرگه" که ناوبراون به یه پهگه "یه کینه کانی پاراستنی گهل" که کوّنتروّلی به شیّکی فراوانی باکوری سوریای کردووه و له گهل باله سیاسیه کهی که ناوبراوه به "پارتی یه کیّتی باکوری سوریای کردووه و له گهل باله سیاسیه کهی که ناوبراوه به "پارتی یه کیّتی دیموکرات "پهیهده". دهستکه و ته همریّمی پیشوی یه که که بووه، ئه وه ده خاته روو که به که که کاریگه ربه بیرو رای جوّستن جوّنگردن بووه و ئه وه ربوون ده کاته و که بیرو باوه ری په که که که له "پارادوّکسی جهیکوبین"ی (۱۳۱) تیدا به ده دهکریّت، که له ربیّی" دهسه لاتی ترساندنه وه" که له لایمن شوّرشخوازی فهره نسه یی ده دیموکراسی په که که شرو به به بیرو و دواتریش بوو به هوی پیشکه و تنی شسیوازی دیموکراسی په که که شرو باده نوروپادا (ئاکایا و جوّنگوردن ۱۲۰۱۳). به هممان شیوه په که که شریمه و ده به به بیره و به به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و بداریت که به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و به بیره و بینه بیمه که بیره بیره که به بیمه که به بیمه و ده بیمویّت نه م جوّره دیموکراسیه می تیدا په بیره و بریّت و ببیته سه و مهریّمه و ده بیمویّت نه م جوّره دیموکراسیه می تیدا په بیره و بریّت و ببیته سه ره مهریّمه و ده بیمویّت نه م جوّره دیموکراسیه که بیموره بیریّت و ببیته سه بیموی به که به دریّه و بیریّت و ببیته سه به مدیّه و ده کورده کان له داهاتو و دارد له داهاتو و دارد به بیموی کورده کان له داهاتو و دارد له دا که دورود کان که داهاتو و دارد که که بیمویت و ده کورده کان که داهاتو و دارد که که بیمویت و ده کورد ده کان که داهاتو و دارد که که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیش که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت کان که دو کورد کان که دو کورد که کورد که که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که بیمویت که ک





کاتێکدا دهکرێت هەندێک "ڕێبازی در بەيەکی جەيكۆبين "قبوڵکراوبێت، بهڵام زوّر ئەســـتەمە وێنای ئەوە بکرێت، که پەكەكە بتوانێت له بزوتنەوەيەکی چەكدارييەوە ببێت به مۆدێلێکی ديموکراســیی له ڕوٚڗ ئاڤای کوردســتان بههوٚی ئەم هوٚکارانەوە:

یه که م: "جهیکوبین" له فهر هنسادا و هک بزوتنه و هیه کی کاریگهر نه ی توانیوه ههرگیز جومگه گرنگه کانی دهسه آلات بگریته دهست و حوکمی فهر هنسا بکات. ههر و هها له رووی میژووییه و هه ناگریته و ناتوانریت به راورد له نیوان توری بزوتنه و هسیاسییه کانی "جهیکوبین"ی سهر دهمی شورشی فهر هنسیی لهگه ل بزوتنه و هی "په که که که سهر دهمه دا که خهباتی گهریلای و پارتیزانی ده کات، بکریت.

دووهم: ئەوەى كە كانتۆنەكانى بەھێزى سەربازىي و جەنگ ئازاد نەكراون، بەڵكو بە رێككەوتن لەگەڵ ئەسەد دا رادەستى كوردەكانى سوريا كراوه، تا ئێستاش لە بەرێوەبردنى چەند ناوچەيەكى وەك قامىشلوو و حەسەكە بەردەوامن.



به گویره ی "عومه شیخ موس"بیت، ئهم بزوتنه وه سه سهره رای هه بوونی چه ند گروپیکی میان ره و تیدا، به لام زوّر به خراپی شکستی هیناوه. (پ.ک.ک. و پ.ی.د.) نه ریکخراویکی کومونیستیی و نه بزوتنه وهیمکی "سوقسیالیستین" و هه روه ها ئاماژه ش به وه دهکات، ئه وان چه ند بنه مایه کی وه ک (دیموکر اسیی، دادپه روه ریی، یه کسانی ره گه زیی، سیکو لاریزم) پیشان ده ده ن به بلام بیر کردنه وهیان هیشتا ستالینیستیانه و توتالیتاریانه ه، بویه ئه وان هه رگیز نوینه رایه تی دیموکر اسیدتیکی هاوشیوه ی نوروپا ناکه ن کورده کانی سورییا له به رامبه ر (پهیه ده) ناره زایه تیه کی زوریان هه به به لام چاو پوشینی نیکردوون چونکه ئه وان له داعش ده یان پاریزن. هه موشتیک له شوینی خویدا ئه و تاقیگه ی چونکه ئه وان له داعش ده یان پاریزن. هه موشتیک له شوینی خویدا ئه و تاقیگه ی تازه بووه بو کورده کان که له میژوویه کی پر دریمکی ره که داکوتاوی نیوان کورده کان لیک ده داته وه و ناوی ده نیت "یه کگر توو بوون له ناو جه گه که داکوتاوی نیوان کورده کان لیک ده داته وه و ناوی ده نیت "یه کگر توو

له ئەنجام دا و له هەرئهگەریّک که له داهاتوودا پرووبهپرووی کوردهکان ببیتهوه، وا دەردهکهویّت ئەنجامی گهشبینانهی لینهکهویّتهوه(۱۳۲). لهکاتیّکدا کوردهکان شهپری در به داعشدا و له شه کوردهکان و دهکریّت پرژئاوا له شهریه در به داعشدا و له سهقامگیرکردنی باری سوریا پشتیان پیبهستیت، به لام ههریهکه له (ی.پ.گ. و پ. ی.د.) که دریّر کراوهی پهکهکهن تا ئیستا نهیانتوانیوه بیسهمیّنن، که دهتوانن ههلگری مودیلی دیموکراسیی ئوروپایی بن. بیرکردنهوه ستالین ئاساکانیان و توتالیتاریانهیان که وهک ههلبر ارده هاوچهرخهکان بو داهاتووی کورد نابینریّت، بهلکوو وهک دهسهلاتیکی توتالیتاریانهی دیّرینی سیاسه یی کوردهکان له سوریا بهلکوو وهک دهسه لایمن وو لاتانی جیهانهوه پهسهند ناکریّت. هیشتا کوردهکان دهبینریّت و ههرگیز له لایمن وو لاتانی جیهانهوه په بهردهوام له لایمن پرژیمی ئهسهد و پروسیاوه بو پیدانی ئوتونوّمی له هاوکیشه نوییهکانی پاش شهردا پیّیان دهدریّت. همروهها کوردهکان به هیوا و ئومیّدی ئهوهن که دهستور به جوّریّک دابرییّرریّتهوه، همروهها کوردهکان به هیوا و ئومیّدی ئهوهن که دهستور به جوّریّک دابرییّرریّتهوه، که ماهی که ماهی که کهمه نه نه دانی کهمه نه نه دوییه کانی به کهمه





نه تموه اتبیه کانی و مک کورد تیدا یاریز راو بیت. همر و مها ئهگهر کورد مکان له ر از بكر دني هاو بهيمانييه نيو دمو لمتييهكان له شكستهينانيان بمر دمو ام بن و نمتو انن بير كر دنهوه و ريباز مكهيان لهسهر موديليكي ئورويايي دابريژنهوه و بروايان به ز ورینهی دیمو کر اسیی نهبیت و کاری بینهکهن، ئهوا گهور مترین سهر کهشی دهکهن بهو دی که له داهاتو و دا کور دمکان نامتو انن دوز مکهیان بهر مو پیش بهرن و نامو کات تهنها و مک هیزیکی چهکدار سهیر دمکرین و تهنها و مک نوینه یکی شهر کهری روزئاوا شهر بو روزئاوا دەكەن، نەوەك لە لايەن روزئاواوە وەك ھاويەيمانىكى سیاسیی و ستر اتیجیی بق به دیمو کر اسیی کر دنی ئاسیای ئور ویایی و رقر هه لاتی ناو مر است سمير بكرين. له زور بهي ئهگمر مكاندا بيشبيني كردني هملويستهكانيان له سـوریادا زور گوماناویی و چاوهروان نهکراون. له گهل ئهمهشدا له بروسهی بوونی تورکیا به ئهندام و تیکه لاو بوونی زورینهی گهلّی کور د به یه کیتی ئورویاوه، جەندىن ئەگەرى دىكە دېتە ئار او ە، و ەك ئەو ئەگەر ەى كە بەكەكە ر ەنگە ھەلوپستېكى ئاشتیخو از انهی ههر و مک بز و تنهو ه ر زگار پخو از مکانی ئو ر و با و مک(کهتماو نبیهکان، سكوتله دبيه كان، ئير له دبيه كان) ههبيت ياخود هه لويستيكي توندر هوانه و چهکدار بیان دهبیت و مک گرویه چهکدار مکانی باسک له ئیسیانیا و سویای کو ماری ئير لهند IRA). هيشتا هه لويستي كور دهكان له بهر امبهر بووني توركيا به نهندام له يهكنتي ئورويدا ينشبيني كراو و روون نييه. له كوتاييدا و همرچونني بنت يهكه كه و بال و بزوتنهوه دریّژ کراوهکانی ناچار دهبن له ریّگهی دهرچه قانوونییهکانهوه بوّ ئه و ئەجىندايانەي كە لە ئار ادان، ملكەچى بكەن.

#### قاسملو و / كر ابسكى:

قاسملوو پهکهم سهر کردهی کورد بوو، که بروای وابوو، له داهاتوویه کی نزیکدا و له چوارچێوهي بووني توركيا به ئەندام له يەكێتى ئوروپادا چارەسەر كردنى دۆزى كورد ئهگهريكي راستهقينه و چاوهروانكراو دهبيت. قاسملوو لهسهرهتاي سالاني ههشتاکاندا پهرهي به پهيوهندييه کي هاور پيانهي در پر خايهني له ميزينهي له گهل





بر و نو کر ایسکی ر او پژ کار ی نهمسای فیدر الیی داوه. قاسملو و به گر و بیکی نو پنهری ئيراني که ۲۰ کهس بوون له کوبونه وهيه کي سهر کر دايه تيدا له باريس (۱۳۳) له تهمموزي ۱۹۸۲ دا ووتی له پهکێک له روزهکانی ساڵانی ۱۹۸۱ بر ۱۹۸۲ دا يه و هندييه كي تعلم فوني له گهل برونو له ڤييه نا كرد، كر ايسكي قاسماووي بو ئاهەنگى لە دايك بوونى خۆي كەبە شىپوازىكى فۆلكلۆرى بوو، لە شىوينى نیشته جیبوونی خوی، له نارم بروسته رگاسه (Armbrustergasse) که ناوچهیمکی دلگیری فییمنای پایتهخته بانگهیشت کرد. له میانهی ئه و ناههنگهدا كر ايسكى بۆ راگەياندنى دەوللەتى كوردى له ئيران هانى قاسملوو دەدات و پيى رادهگەيەننىت، كە بۆ ئەم مەبەستە ووتوونى ئىلى كەگەل چەند سىياسەتمەدارىكى ر و رُ بُاو ایم کر دو وه، له و انهش (شاز اده فیلیپ له ئیسیانیا و شاز اده ئو لوف له سوید) به لننيان داوه دان به دهو لهتي كوردي له ئيران دابينن همروهها كرايسكي ئاماره بهوه دمکات که بولگاریا و ههندیّک له دمولّهته عهر مبهکانیش پشتیوانی دمکهن و ئامادهن دان به دهو لهتی کور دی له ئیر ان دا بینن.

له كۆتايشدا كرايسكى به قاسملوو رادهگەيەننت شهش وولات و بزوتنهوهى سۆشياليستى نيودەولەتى ئامادەن بەفەرمى دان بە سەربەخۆيى كوردەكانى ئيران دا بننن. قاسملوو سهرهرای ئهوهی که سویاسگوزاری خوی و کوردهکانیش له به رامبه ههو له سیاسیی و دیبلو ماسییه کانی کر ایسکی ده ردبریت، به لام و ه لامه کهی نه خير دهبيت، له بهر ئه وهي دهو لهتي كور دهكاني له ئير ان زور بجووك و لاو از دهبي و ناتو انيت بهر دهو ام بيت، به هو ي نهو مي كه تهو او داير او ه و له رووي ئابورىي و ســمربازييموه لاوازه و كهم و كورتي زوري هميه. همرچهند قاسملوو بهته واوی لهگهل کر ایسکی هاور ایه که چار مسهری نیونه ته و میی کور دهکان له لایهن ديمو كر اتهكاني ئور وياوه له داهاتوودا به باشي پشتگيري ليدهكريت.

له کو تاییدا قاسملو و توانی ههو لهکانی نوینه رهکانی حیز بی دیمو کر اتی کو ر دستانی ئيران به ئامانج بگەيەننىت، بۆ زىاتر نزىككردنەرەي دامەزراندنى يەيوەندى 





تری سامرکردایه تی له مانگی حوزهیرانی ۱۹۸۰ دا له پاریس قاسملوو ئاماژه به وه دهکات، که ژمارهیه کی بیشومار کاربه دهستانی روّژ ئاوا پشتیوانی له وه دهکان تورکیا له یه کیّتی ئوروپادا ببیّته ئهندام که ئهمه به شدیوه یه کی کرده یی کورده کان ده گهیه نیّته به رده و ازه ی یه کیّتی ئوروپا.

بهم شیوهیه قاسملوو ئاماژه بهوه دهدات که نهم نهگهره، وو لاتانی یهکنتی ئوروپا دهخاته ئهو پیگهیهی که تورکیا ناچاربکهن تا دان به مافهکانی کورددا بنیّت و به شیوهیه کی یهکسان مامهلهیان له گهلدا بکات.

قاسملوو گهشبینه به وه ی که کورده کان ده تو انن مافه قانوونییه کانیان به دهست بینن. به و شیر وه یه که له چاره سیمری یه کیتی ئوروپا و همروه ها به ته واوی مافه دیبل وماسییه کانیان له لایمن پر و ژ ئاواوه به فه رمی دانی پیدا بنریت قاسملوو به تاییه تی نوینه ره کانی حزبی دیموکراتی کوردستان له ئیران ئاراسته ده کات بو چرکردنه و هه و له کانیان بو قواستنه و هم نه گهریکی ئوروپایی له دا ها تو و دا بو کورده کان.

#### کوردهکان و ئیران

له ئیستادا له ئیران ههشست بزوتنهی پرزگاری خوازی چالاکی کورد ههن(۱۳۴). حزبی دیموکراتی جاران بهسهر دوو بهرهدا دابهش بووه، بهرهیکیان نزیکه له پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی عیراقهوه، که له لایهن بارزانییهکانهوه بهریوه دهبریت و بهرهکهی تریان له یهکیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستانهوه نزیکه. بروتنهوهی کومهلهش دابهش بووه بهسهر سی بهرهی جیاوازدا:

بهر هیهکیان له لایهن ئیبر اهیم عملی زاده سهر کردایه تی دهکریّت، که به شیکه له بزوتنه وهی چهیی ئیرانیی و به بالی کوردی ئه و حیز به ناسر اوه. به رهی دووهم له لایهن عهدوللا مو هته دی سهر کردایه تی ده کریّت ، به رهی سییهمیش له لایه عومه ری نیلخانیز اده وه سهر کردایه تی ده کریّت.





ههر سی بالهکهی کومهله، له یهکیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستانه وه نزیکن و له شاری سلیمانی بنکهی سهبازییان ههیه. بزوتنه وهی تری کوردی همن که له پهکهکه وه نزیکن:

یه کهمیان کو مه لگای دیمو کر اتبی و ناز ادبی روز هه لاتی کور دستان که به "کو دار" ناسر اوه، دو وهمیان یارتی ژیانهوهی کورده که به "پژاک" ناسر اوه، همردو بز و تنهو ه که، به شبو هبه کی فهر می سهر به هبلی سیاسی به که کهن له بال ئهمانه شدا ر پکخر او ی جهکدار ی "ساز مانی خهبات" (ر پکخر او پکی شو ر شکیر ه که سالی ١٩٧٩ دامهزرابوو) له لايهن شيخ جهلال حوسيني كه براي شيخ عيزهدين حوسيني ر ابهری روّ حی کور ده سونیپهکان بوو له ئیر ان پهکیکی تر له گرویه کور دیپهکان که خوّیان به" باک"(بار تی ئاز ادی کور دستان )ناو دهبهن، له لایهن حوسیّن یهز دان بهناو ه سهر کر دایهتی دهکریت "یاک" بیلایهن نین و کهوتونهته ژیر کاریگمریی بارتی دیمو کر اتی کو ر دستانی عیر اقهوه، نامانجیبان سهر بهخویی کو ر دستانه. سهر جهم ئهم بز و تنهو ه کو ر دیبانه به نز یکهیی خاو هنی "یانز ه ههز ار بیشمهر گهن". يهكيتي نيشتيماني كوردستانهوه نزيكن له لايهن ئيبراهيم عملي زاده و عومهر ئەلخانزادە و بەربوە دەبرىن. لەگەل ئۆيۆزسىيۆنى ئىرانىدا (موجاھىدىن و مۆناركىستەكان/ ياشاييەكان) يەيوەندىيەكى بەھىزىان ھەيە، كە زۆرىنەي ئەندامەكانيان لە فەر ەنسا و ئەمەر يكان و كۆبونەوەي بەر دەوام ئەنجام دەدەن، هيو ادارن له لايهن بهريوبهر ايتييه کهي سهروک تر هميهوه يشتگيري بکرين.

سسر نه نجام ئۆپۆزسسيۆنى پهرتهواز مبووى كوردهكانى ئيران ههر وهك خۆى دەميننيته وه، به شيوه يهك كه هيچ كاريگهرييه كى ئهوتۆيان له دروستكردنى فشار و مهترسى پرووخاندن بۆسهر پرژيمى شيعى كۆمارى ئيسلامى ئيران له تاران نابيت، و بژارده و ئهگهرهكانى كوردهكان له داهاتوودا كهم تا زۆر ههمان دۆخى سياسسة تيكى ناپروون و ناديارى دەبيت. ههروه هائهگهرى پيكهينانى دەوللەتيكى كورديى له ئارادا نييه. ههرچۆنيك بيت، له ئيستادا جوولانه وكانى ناپرهزايهتى و





خو بيشان- دانهكان سهر بان هه لداو مته وه و له هه لكشاندان، كه زباتر خوبان له ناسے قامگیر ہے کو مہ لابہ تبیدا دوبیننہ و ہ و وک لہ باخے۔ یو و نبکی سے رتاسے رہے و هیچ مهتر سیبه کی گهوره ناخهنه سهر حوکمی تاکرهوانهی ئیمامه شیعه کان و له داهاتو و یه کی نزیکدا نابنه هوی ر و خاندنی ر ژیمه که، لهگه ل به و شدا دیار ه که خالی هاو بهشـــے جبنه دیار مکانی کو مهلگاکان بر بتبیه لهو می که له داهاتو و دا دمینه هو ی در و ستبو و نے نهو ميه کے دو اکه و تو و و سهر گهر دان مه لا خو بار بز کار هکان (conservative) به سيّو ميه كي ئايد و لوّجي له باكوري روّر هه لات دهستيان و هر داو هنه شـو نِن حهجي مهشـههد و تا بنکه چاکسـاز يي خو از هکاني پاشـکو ي ليبر البيز مي روز ناوايي له تاران و جوولانهوه نازاديخواز مكان له ناستي نهته وايهتبيدا به تاییه تی کور ده کان له باکوری روزئاوادا، که ئه وان بهرده و ام رای دهگهیهنین که ر فر رانه هاو و لاتیبان باجی خراب بوونی زیان و گوز در انیان دهدهن و هاو و لاتیبان له سهر و و ههمو و شتيكهو ه همولدهدهن تا دهسه لاتى دينييي چينى بالاى شيعهكان له بوار مکانی باز رگانی کر دندا لاواز بکهن، و مک بواری بهر ههم هیّنانی سهر بازیی (له نيويشياندا چهکي ئەتۆمى) وله جنيهجيكردني يلانه سهربازييهكانيان له ريخ ميليشــياكاني دەر ەو ەي ئير انەوە، چونكه ئەم چالاكېيانه بوونەتە ھۆي ئەوەي كە بە مليۆنان هاوو لاتى ئيرانى له تواناكانى باشتركردنى بارودۆخى ژيانيان بيبەش بن.

#### ئار استهكان له ئيستادا

بۆشاپى لە ھۆزى جىھانىيدا:

بو شایی و کهلینهکانی روّ ژ هه لاتی ناو هر است له نهبو و نی هیّز بِکی جیهانبیدا فر او انتر دهبن (بریمهر ۲۰۱۷). نهبوونی سمرکردایه تبیه کی روون و بن رکابهری جیهانیی، بووه به هوی ناسه قامگیریی له جیهان به گشتیی و روز هه لاتی ناو مر استدا به تايبەتىي:





زوربوونی نادلنیایی، زور بوونی پرهفتاری چاو نهترسانه، هیله بهزیندراوه زورمکان، ترسه سه هملهاتووهکانی سهبارهت بهوهی که کهس توانای جلهوگیریی مهترسییه جوّراو جوّرهکانی له سهرتاسه ی پوژهه لاتی ناوه پستدا نییه و پیکدادان و ناکوکییه زورهکان هه پهشه ی سهرهه لادانی ناسه قامگیریی دریژخایه دهکه ن ویلایه ته یه کرتووهکانی ئهمه ریکا:

به شیو هیه کی فراوان سیاسه تی نه مهریکا به رامبه ربه کور ده کان و هک خوّی و به جیّگیریی ده مینیته و ، هه مان شتیش سه باره ته به به ریّوبه رایتییه کهی سه روّک دوّنالّد ترهمپیش راسته. و اشنگتون درّی ده ولّه تی کور دبیه له عیّراق و پشتگیری نوّتونو مییه ک له نیّو سنووره کانی ده ولّه ته سه ربه خوّکاندا ده کات ، بانگه شه بوّ دیمو کر اسیی بوونی کور ده کان ده کان و له جه نگه کهیاندا له درّی گرویه تیروّریستیه کانی داعش ستایشی کور ده کانی کردوه ، همروه ها پشتیشی نه کردووه تیروّریستیه کانی داعش ستایشی کور ده کانی کردوه ، همروه ها پشتیشی نه کردووه تیروّریستیه کانی سوریا له خه باته کهیاندا له پیناو مافه قانوونیی کانیاندا. همر چوّنیک بین به ریّوبه رایه تیرو به رایه کهی ترمه با راده به کهون بو که مکردنه و می به شدارییه کانی نه مهریکا له روّر هه لاتی ناوه راست ده دات. له لایه که و و ده رده که ده و این که میرو و سیاره و بدات (دوروسی ده بیته و ای که تروه که تا چه ند پهیوه ندی ده مه رز اوه یی نه م دو اییانه له نیّوان نیسرائیل و عهر مبستانی سعود یی و نیماراتی یه کگر تووه کانی نه م دو اییانه له نیّوان نیسرائیل و عهر مبستانی سعود یی و نیماراتی یه کگر توو له به رقه را ربی و نیماراتی یه کگر تو و له به رقه را به و به دیه به رونی ناسایش له روّر هه لاتی ناوه راست و به دیه بیّنانی ریّک خستنه و میه کی به رده و ام ده و میرد ده و ایکی که کارییه که ی سه رکه و تو و ده بیّت.

له لایه کی ترموه پرمفتاره نا جیّگیر و چاوه پروان نه کراوه کانی دو نالد تپرهمپیش و ا ده که نامه لایه که و ببنه جیّی گومانی هاو - پهیپه مانه کانی پروژهه لاتی ناوه پراست و ئه و پرسیاره دیّته ئاراوه، که ئایا ئهمه بریکا له دلسوز بوون و پابه ند بوون به دابین کردنی یارمه تییه بنچینه بیه کان له نه هیّشتنی پاشماوه ی ویّران که بری شهری که نداو له عیّراق و کوردستان به تاییه تی به به ده وام ده بیت؟.





#### ر و و سبیا:

بمريّوبمر ايمتيي كريملين بمسمر كردايمتي يوتين بمردهوامه له هملمه مكاني، له دەست تيوور دان و جور يک له ير كر دنهو دى ئهو بوشاپيهى كه لهئه نجامي نهبووني هنز یکی ههر یمبیدا، تا ناو چهکه سهقامگیر بکات و سیستهمیک بسهیننیت رووسییا له ئيستادا همولمي بهشداريكردنيكي چر و ير له روز هه لاتي ناو مراست دهدات، كه بهشبو مبه کی سر مکی بشت دهبهستیت به و هاویهیمانیتییانه ی که له گهل هيز مناو مندبيه كاني ناو چهكه دا و مك (بهغدا و ديمه شق) بيكيهيناوه ، له ههمان كاتيشدا به لنِّني دهسه لاتي خو بهريو هبريني به كوريه كاني عيراق و سوريا دهدات. له ئيستادا رووسييا نيازيكي دياريكر اوى له ههريمي كور دستاندا ههيه، كه يشت به ئابوورى همريميى فراوان دەبەستىت. رەنگە ئەگەرى ئەوەى كە كوردەكان بە بالنشتي كريملين سياسهتيكي سهر بهخو بعدمست بهينن تا رادهيهك ئهگهريكي كراوه بنت. به بني ووته كاني روسال مامي دوف بنت؛ موسكو له نيوهي ريگادايه له دامەز راندنى سىياسەتىكى تايبەت بە كوردەكان و ئەمەش ئەگەرى بىكھىنانى دەوللەتتىكى كوردى سەربەخۇ لەخۇ دەگرنىت، بەلام "تەنيا لەرنىگەي رىككەوتن و سازش لهگهل لايهنه ديار هكاني تردا" (مامي دوقا RIAC۲۰۱۷، تشريني يهكهم) (7.17:

#### ئير ان: كو مارى ئيسلاميى ئير ان:

به بهر دهو امي و بهبي و مستان له ههو له كاني بهر دهو ام دمييت تا بهشيو ميهكي ستر اتیجیانه توری هاویهیمانیتییهکانی له میلیشیا شیعهکانی ژیر دهستی خوی به در پژ ای رو ژ هه لاتی ناو در است فر او آن بکات و ههر و هها باز نهی بهر ژ دو مندبیه کانی به دریزایی عیراق و نیدا به کوردستان و له سوریا و لوبنان و نهک همر بمر مو سنور مکانی ئیسر ائیل بملکوو بمر مو روز هه لاتی دهریای ناو مراستیش پهره پی بدات.





#### ئيسر ائيل:

له داهاتوودا ئیسرائیل له رووی جیوستراتیجییه وه بهبی یارمهتی سسهربازیی ئهمهریکا(که له ئیستادا ئهم یارمهتییه له ئاراد نییه) له ههولی لاوازکردن و بچوکردنه وی پیگهی کوماری ئیسلامیی ئیران له ناوچه که دا سهرکه و توو نابیت. ههروه ک چون پلانیکی ئاشکرای ئیسرائیل ههیه سهباره ت به ناسه قامگیرکردنی ئیران له ریی پرچه ک کردنی کورده کان و به خشینی چه کی پیشکه و توو پییان به شیران له ریی پرچه ک کردنی کورده کان و به خشینی چه کی پیشکه و تو و پییان به شیروه یه کی فراوان (که هیشتا ئهم چه کانه ده رنه که و تو ون تا کاتی گونجاو دین ). ههوله کانی پیکه پینانی هاو پهمانییه تیکی نوی (که له ئیستادا روون نین و نه گهیشتوون به نه نیوان ئیسرائیل و عهره بستانی سعودیی و (وو لاتانی گهیشتوون به ئه نیوان ئیسرائیل و عهره بستانی سعودی و کورده کان بو که نداو)، (به شداریکردنی فه پره نسایه کلایی نه بووه ته وه) و میسپر و کورده کان بو چاودیریکردنی هم شرموونی به رده و امیی ئیران له سهر پر و شه هلاتی ناوه پراست و ئاسیای ئوروپایی.

#### عيراق:

قەيرانە دەستورىيەكان: دەستورى ٢٠٠٥ى عيراقى فيدرالىي بەشىيوەيەكى دى فاكتۆى(ئەمرى واقىع) بۆ ئاشتبوونەوەى ھەموو لايەك سەبارەت بە كەركووك و "ناوچە جى ناكۆكەكان"(١٣٥) تاكە چارەسلىرى ئاشلىتىي و دىموكراسلىيانەي دابىنكردووە:

له ریگهی دانوستانی راستهوخوّی نیوان کوردهکان و بهغدا، ههردوولا دهبیت نیوهندگیریی جیهانیی قبولْبکهن، نهتهوه یهکگرتووهکان UN پیویسته فهرمانیکی نوی دهرکات و له ههوله سهرکهوتووهکانی و بو دابینکردنی ریگه چارهی کوّتایی سهبارهت بهم دوّخه (۱۳۱) بهردهوام بیّت. ئهگهرهکانیش بریتین لهوهی که ئایا کوردهکان و بهغدا دهگهنه ریّککهوتنیّکی بهردهوام وکوّتایی، یان ناکوّکییهکانیان دریژه دهکیشن و دووباره دهبن، به ههرهشهی ههلگیرساندنهوهی جهنگ له نیوان



عيراق و همريمي كوردستان دا؟ تائيستا دهرئه نجامه كانيش كراوه و پيشبيني نهكراون.

له دواین هم نبر اردنه کانی ۱۲ / ۰/ ۱۸ / ۱۰ از راده یه کوره دکان ئه نجامه کانی نهم هم نبر اردنه یان به نهرینی لیکدایه وه. جوو نانه وهی (سائیرون) "بهرهو پیشچوون "که له لایه نه ریاری شیعه کانه وه موقته دا سه دره وه پابه رایه تیی ده کرا، به هاو پهیمانی له گه ن لایه نی کوم فر نیستی عیراقی پیکه وه وه ک گهوره ترین هاو پهیمانی عیراقیی ده رکه وتن، که نهمه شوه ک نه نجامی ک له بهره و پیشچوونی گفتو گوکانی ده رباره ی چاکسازیی نه ته وه می نه نانه ده این که نامه وهی نه و ده به نامه و هم نویسته نه و نامه و می نانه و می نانه و می نانه و می نانه و می نانه و می کورونه که ده این ایم و نانه و می نانه و می کورونه که ماوه ی نیو سهده که مه پیش چوونه ته ده ره وه ی وو نات " جووله کانه ی کردووه که ماوه ی نیو سهده که مه پیش چوونه ته ده ره وه ی و نانه نامه کورونه ای کوروه یه نانه که نانه و می نیو سهد ده که کورونه این کوروه یه این که کورونه که کورونه که کورونه که کورونه که کورونه کوروه یه نانه کوروه که که کورونه که که کورونه که کورونه کوروه که که کورونه که کورونه کوروه که کورونه کوروه که کورونه کوروه که که کورونه که کورونه کاروه که که کورونه کورونه کوروه کوروه که که کورونه کورونه کوروه کوروه کوروه کوروه کوروه کوروه کوروه کورونه کورونه کوروه کوروه کوروه کوروه که کورونه کورونه کوروه

#### ههريمي كوردستاني عيراق:

ههریمی کوردستانی عیراق نه ههریمیکی دیموکراسییه و نه له داهاتوویه نزیکیشدا دیموکراسیی بهخویه و دهبینی. سهره پرای تهشهه سهندنی گهنده لیی، قورخکاریی و خراپ به پیوه بردن و کیشه ئالوزه ئابوورریی و چاکساز پیهکانی، تهنانه که کاتی قهیران و جهنگه کانیشدا هیشتا ههریمی کورستانی عیراق یه کیکه له ههره ناوچه سهقامگیره کانی پوژهه لاتی ناوه پاست و ئاسیای ئوروپا، ههرچه نه بهشینوه یه کی پیک نییه، به لام به لایمنی کهمهوه به مو دیموکراسیی همنگاوی ناوه. له سهروو ئهمانه شهوه گهنجه کانیان له بواری چاکساز پیدا و له خمباتکردن به رده و ام بوون بی به دهستهینانی دیموکراسیی پراسته قینه و دهوله تیک به کرده وه دهستوریی بیت، به پیوه به رایمتییه کی دادوه ریی سه بهخو، کومهلگهیه کی کومه لایمتیی و دادپه روه ره مافی ئافره تان و ئازادی پر وژنامه وانیی هاوشیوه یوه کومه لایمتیی و دادپه روه ره مافی ئافره تان و ئازادی پر وژنامه وانیی هاوشیوه یوه کوروپا.





ههروهها چهند لایهنیکی سیاسیی نوی له کوردستانی عیراق دا هاتنه کایهوه، که خاوهن پروّگرامی تایبهت به سیستهمی کوّمه لایهتیی و به هاکانی هاوشیوهی ئوروپا بوون. له کوّتایشدا خهونی زوّرینهی کوردهکان ئهوهیه، له داهاتوودا بتوانن وهک ئوروپا برژین .

# دەوللەتى ئىسلامىي :

گروپه تیر وّریستیدکانی دمولّهتی ئیسلامیی هیشت با بنبرنهکراون و ماون و به بهردموامی له گهل همردمرکهوتن و نهمانی توّری میلیشیا بهکریّگیراوهکان دمرده کهونه و به بهردموامیی له لایهن همریه که له هیّزه بالادهسته جیهانییهکان و همریّمییه کانه و به بهردموامیی له لایهن همریه که له هیّزه بالادهستی نویّی دوای همریّمییه کانه و بو دووباره پیّکهیّنانه و می روّژهه لاّتی ناوه راستی نویّی دوای کولّونیالیزم به کارده هیّنریّن. له بهرئه وه جهنگه کان له لایهن بریکاره به کریّگیراوه کان (میلیشیا پاشکوّکان) بو زامنکردنی داهاتووی وولاته ناسه قامگیرهکان و مک (له عیراق و سوریادا) که ههولّی مانه و می خویان دهدمن بهردموام دهبن. تائیستا کورده کان له جهنگ له دری گروپه تیروّریستیه کانی داعش دموریّکی کارا و متمانه پیّکراویان ههووه و نهگهر ئهم شالاوی همژارییه ی کورده کان بهردموام بیّت نهوا پیّشینی دهکریّت کورده کان دووباره بچنه ناو پیزی گرووپه میلیشیا به کریّگیراوه کان (۱۳۸). له کوّتایشدا نهگهری همیه کاریگهریی گهمهی پرامیاریی، کورده کان همژار و بیّچاره بکات و له نهنجامیشدا توندر موی بکهن و ببنه هوّی کورده کان همژار و بیّچاره بکات و له نهنجامیشدا توندر موی بکهن و ببنه هوّی دروست بوونی لیّشاوی پهنابه ران بو نوروپا. (۱۳۹)

# رێکخستنهوهی ڕۅٚڗۿهڵاتی ناوهڕاست

تا نیستا هیچ به ره و پیشه و مچوونیک له سه قامگیر کردنی روز هه لاتی ناو ه راستدا به دی ناکریت. هیشتا به رژه و مندیی و و لاته بالا دهسته کان له سه رئاستی نه ته و هی جیگای مشتو مریکی زوره، به تایبه تی له نیوان ناوچه کانی و ه ک (ئیران و تورکیا و شانشین به سعودیی) که نهم به رژه و مندیبانه به هو کاری دینی به هانه یان بو





هنِنر او متهوم مهر حو نبّ ک بنت له نبستادا ههمو و بان له حوار حبّو می حهند بار و دو خیّکی سیاسییدان. بو نمو و نه زور بهی لایهنه سهر کهو تو و مکان جهخت لهو ه دهکهنهوه، که دهست تیو مر دان له کار و باری ناو خوی و و لاتانی تر دا ناکهن و هك ئه وي له بهيماني ئاشتيي ئۆزنابروك مونستهر ويستفاليا له ١٦٤٨ Westphalian Peace of Münster و Osnabrück خراوهته روو، که جهنگی ٣٠ سالهي كوتايي بي هينا، سيستهميكي نويي له ئورويا دامهزر اند، بهرهي كهشيشه كان شكشتيان هينا و بهرهي سياسه تمهداره عيلمانيي و (شاز ادهكان) سـ مركموتنيان بهدهست هينا. به يني برگميهكي تايبهت به يهيماني سايكس ييكوي سالي ١٩١٦ له نيوان لهندهن و ياريس ريكخستنهوهي كولونياليي روز هه لاتي ناو مراست له لايمن بمريّتانيا و فمر منسا و دواتريش ئهممريكا بوو، كه له ئيستادا ســنوره دياريكراوهكاني ئهوكاته ليكترازاون وكالبوونهوه به خويانهوه دهبينيت؛ به لام بهیه کجاری دا نهر ماون . سهبارهت به دوزی عیراق و سوریاش هیچ کامیان سهر و در يي ناو چهيي و سهر بهخو يي نهته و مييان به يهكجاري تا ئيستاش بو فهر اههم نه کر اوه. گور انکار پیه کان له سهر چهندین دوزی وهک (خو بهریوهبردن، پیکهاتهی دەوللەت، رايرسىيەكان) دان، وەك ئەوەي لە يەيمانى سىقەرى ٩٢٠دا رىككەوتن و دوورکهوتنهوه لهو سنوورانهی که پیشتر له پهیمانی سایکس پیکودا دياريكرابوون. به لام هيشتا له ئهنجامداني ريككه وتنيكي گونجاو و بهرده ام سهبارهت به ريكخستنهوهي روزهه لاتي ناوهراست له قوناغي دواي كولونولياليزم ز ور دوورن. هیشتا 'دین' به خرابیی به مهبهستی فراوانکر دنی دهسه لاته کان به كارده هننرنيت، همر جوننيك بنيت له قوناغي دواي داگيركاريي و دوباره ريدكخستنهوهي ئاسياي ئوروپايي و روزهه لاتي ناوهراست، وا ديارنييه كه بهشنو ميهكي فراوان له دو خيكي بيوينه دا دمنگي زورينه بهدمست بهينيت . داهاتو وش هاوشنوهی بومبنکی شار در او هیه.

رۆ لئى توركيا و ئيران:

# (c) FOR A

# FOR ACADEMIC AND PRIVATE USE ONLY! كۆنفرانسى نيو دەوللەتى (داھاتووى كورد)



سمبارهت به وو لاته در اوسيكاني باكور و باكوري روز هه لاتي همريمي كوردستان و ا باشه که له رووی چیوستر اتبجیبه و هه لسه نگاندنیک یکهین، که " سیاسهتی ر استیے یا واقعیی" بووه به هوی ئهوهی که هیز در کابهر مکان به بهر دهوامیی ر و و بهر و و ی پهکتر ببنه و ه و له دهر هو ه ئار استه بکرین و له ههریمی کور دستان دا بهردهوام دهبيت. ههروه ک ئيران بهشيوه په کي چرتر له عيراق و روژهه لاتي ناو در است به در پر ایی دهریای ناو در است همولی بهر دو بیشچو و نی داوه ، که ر منگه ر و و بهر و و ی مهتر سیبیه کی جیهانی نوی لهگه ل ههریه که له هیز هکانی رو ژ ئاو او ر و ژ هه لات ببیته و ه لهم ر و و هیه شه و ه ئیسر ائیل به شیر و هیه کی جر تر جالاکییه سمر باز بیه کانی له کیشانی "هیلی سو و ر " له بمر دهم بیشر هویی و هه ژمو و نی ئیر ان له سبور يادا ئەنجام دەدات. توركىيەش وەك ھاوكاريكى بچووكى ئيران ھەولى قەر مبو و كر نەو مى رۆلى خۆى دەبىنىت لەر ۆ ۋەلاتى ناو مراستدا، وادبار مسياساتى به غدا و دیمه شقه و له ریخ تیکدانی سهامگیر بیان به بهر ده وامیی همولی سهیاندنی هه ره و نه خوی بهسه و هنز مکانیان دهدات و له لایه کی تریشه و به فراوان کردنی مهتر سیبه کانی دور دو دی دور لهته کان له ربی بلاو کردنه و دی هیزی سهر بازیی له خاکی در او سیکانی له باشور دا له (سورپیه و عیراق) و همولدانیکی بنجینهیی و ر یکخر او میی بق داگیر کر دنی ناوچه سنور پیهبیانبیهکان لهدمریای سنیی و ناو مر استه و ه تا زاگر و س دهدا، تهنانه ت ر و و بهر و ی تانه نبو دهو لهتی و همر هشیه ز وربو و مكان (كه له نيگر انبيه هه لكشاو و مهتر سيدار مكاني روز هه لاتي ناو مراسته و م سهر چاو میان گرتو و ه) بو و متهو ه

#### سیستهمی بههاکان:

له داهاتوودا خهباتی پیکهینانهوهی روز هه لاتی ناوه راست له ریبی چهکهوه نابیت، به لکو له ریبی هزری خه لکه کانهوه به نه نخیام دهگات. کوردهکان له خهباتی دریز خایه نیانو سیستهمی به هاکان بو نهوه کانی داهاتوو له روز هه لاتی ناوه راست و ناسیای نوروپاییدا دهوریکی بالا دهبینن. له نیستادا هیچ پیکهاته یه کی





کوردیی متمانه ی به دهسه آلات و سیسته می بایه خدانی روّژ ئاوا نهماوه، کورده کان به وه تومه تباریان ده کهن، کاتیک کورده کان به هوّی چه که کانی ئه وانه وه دووچاری له ناوبردن و کوّمه آلکوژی بوونه ته وه نه وان زوّر به آلیبورده یی و همروه ها بیبا کانه له دووره وه ته ماشایان ده کرد، همروه کی چوّن شهری ناوچه ی با کوری سوریا به آلکه یه له سهر به کوّمه آلکوشتنیان بو جاریکی تر (۱۶۰). همروه ها له روانگه ی کورده کانه وه مافه بنچینه یه مروّبیه کانی وه ک قانوونی نیوده و آلمتی بوّ دابین کردنی په ناگه له بنچینه دا لاوازن و پرسیار و گومانیان له سهره، نه گهر نه بوونی ئه به بین متمانه یه برواپینیوون و نرخ به رده و آم بیت، نهمه ش ره نگه له نه نجام دا به شدی و میه کی فراوان بینته هوّی زیاتر قوو آبوونه و می پرسی کورد له روّژ هه آلاتی ناوه راست دا (۱۶۱) و له لایه کی تره وه نه گهر بتوانریت کورده کان بخرینه سهر سه می به هاکان و دیموکر اسی ی، ره نگه به شیوه یه کی به رچاو بین به هوّی سه قام گیکردنی روّژ هه آلاتی ناوه راست و ناسیای نوروپایی.

# جهنگ و ئاشتى:

تویژ مرهکان له دهرئهنجام دا به هؤی بهردهوام بوونی دو خی کورد بهم شیوهیه، پیشبینی نهرینیانه و دروست بوونی سیناریؤی جهنگیکی نویی (۱٤۲)خراپ دهکهن یان له دیدی پههمندیکی ئهرینییهوه پهنگه دانوستان و پیککهوتن پووبدات. دهرئهنجامهکه گشتگیره، به لام زیاتر به لای بهریه ککهوتنی چهکدارییدا ده شکیتهوه، وهک له ناشتی.

#### سوپاس نامه:

نووسسر ئارەزوو دەكات سوپاسى زانستخوازە كوردەكان (عەبدولحەمىد حوسەينى و عومەر شىنىخ موس) بكات بۆ ھاوبەشىيكردنيان بە توێژينەوە بەنرخەكانيان، ھەروەھا سوپاسىمەندە بۆ (ئێدوارد جو ستين و ويڵ يۆنگ) بۆ راستكردنەوەى دەستنوسە ئىنگلىزىيەكەى ئەم لێكۆڵينەوەيە و زاناى كوردى گەنج (زين خانەقا)بۆ ھەلەچنى و پوختەكردن.



#### كورتكراوهكان:

زانكۆى ئەمەرىكى سلێمانى –عێراق: AUIS دەو لەتى ئېسلامى عێراق و رۆژھەلات: DAE'SH

ئەنجو مەنى ھار يكار ى كەنداو:

كۆمەللەي قەيرانە نيودەوللەتىيەكانى رۆژھەلاتى ناوەراست:

كەسە ئاوار ەبو وەكانى ناوخۆ: IDP

نینیستیتیوتی زانسته کانی ئاسایشی نهته و میی:

IPCC کۆمیته ی بانگه شه ی خاوهنداریتی عیراق

IRGC بیسلامی:

ئىنىستىتىوتى پەيوەندىيە ستراتىجىيە نيو دەوللەتىيەكان: IRIS

ئىنىستىتىوتى زانستە ھەرىمى وننودەوللەتىيەكان: IRIS

دەوللەتى ئىسلامىي: IS

هێز مکانی ئاسایشی عێراقی: ISF:

دەوللەتى ئىسلامى عيراق و رۆژھەلات: ISIL

دەوللەتى ئىسلامى عيراق و سورى: ISIS

پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی عیّراقی: KDP/IR پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی نیّران

كۆمىتەى ئاسايشى دەوللەت (يەكىتى سۆۋيەتى سۆشىالى كۆمارى) KGB

حکومهتی ههریّمی کردستان KRG همریّمی کوردستانی عیّراق:

ئىنستىتيوتى تويْرْينەوكانى رۆر ھەلاتى ناوەراست: MERI

ریکخراوه نا حکومییهکان: NGO

و هزار هتى گەل بۇ كاروبار ، ناوخۆييەكان : NKVD

پارتی کریکارانی کوردستان PKK

سەرۆك وەزىران PM

هیزه ناودارهکانی ریکخستن هیزه ناودارهکانی کیکنتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان PUK

PYD : (پەيەدە) : يەكنتى پارتى دىموكراتى (پەيەدە) : RAND رۆكخراوى تونىژىنەوە و گەشە پېدان:

ئەنجومەنى پەيوەندىيە ناوخۆبيەكانى روسيا: RIAC





كۆمارى سۆڤيەتى سۆشيالىستى: SSR

قانوونی رِ اگوز هری ئیدار : TAL

پرۆگرامى داتاى گرژىيەكانى ئەپسالا: UCDP بەكىتى، سۆ قيەتى سۆشىللىستى كۆمارى:

پرِ و گرامی گهشمپیدانی نهتموه یه کگرتووهکان: UNDP

سپاردهی هاریکاری نه تموه یه کگر توهکان بن عیراق: UNAMI

كتيبخانهى سيستهمى ديجيتالى نهتموه يهكگرتووهكان: UNSC

پەيمان نامەى يەكىتى نەتەو ، يەكگر توەكان :UNTC

زانكۆى سليّمانى: UOS جەنگى جيھانى يەكەم: WW1 جەنگى جيھانى دووەم: ww2

#### پەر او يز ەكانى بەشى يەكەم:

۱ - " لهم تو نیز ینه وه دو و به شدید که نموونه یه کی در نیز کر اوه یه به زمانی ئینگلیزی بو ده نیز کی نه آمانیی به ناوی Europa Ethnica (نه ادی ئوروپا) ، که له لایمن نووسس و سمر نووسس مکهی (ماکس د فیلیور) که له زانکوی فییمننا زمانه وانه. همروه ها سوودی له همریه که لهم شار مزا ئه کادیمییانه و مرگر تووه که پیشنیار دمکرین بو خویندنه و می زیاتر:

Europa Ethnica, 1/2 2018, Vienna: Facultas: Rubin, M. (U.S.A./Kurds): 31/39; Jongerden, J. (Turkey/Kurds): 40/48; Schmidinger, T. (Syria/Kurds): 49/54; Ahmed, K.M. (Arabs/Kurds): 55/63; Dorsey, J.M. (Whither the Kurds?): 64/67; Anthropology نموونه ئينگليزييه پيشتر له Six/Hohenbalken, M./A. (Europe/Kurds): 68/74 له مانگی ۸ی ۲۰۱۸ دا بلاو کر ایه و ۵٬۲۳۴/۱۷۰، بهشی یه کهم

https://doi.org/10.4236/aa.2018.83009 & 2018, 8, 235/272 (Part II), https://doi.org/ وه دووباره له 10.4236/aa.2018.83010

English courtesy scirp.org, USA, and translated into Sorani by Hersh Rauf Abdullah .in the KRI

۲ - هەر يمى كوردســـتان ناوچەيەكى جيۆســـتراتيجى ودراوســـنى يەكتنى ئووروپايە لە باشـــورى رۆژ هەلاتى ئاسىياى ئوروپاى دوور، هاوشــانى توركيا كانديدكراو، بۆ چوونە ناو يەكتنى ئوروپا، هەروەها بەشــنكىشــه لە رىكەرتن نامەى هاوبەشــــــــــى و هاوكاريى نيوان عيراق و يەكتنى ئوروپا كە لە ۲۰۱۲/۵/۱۱ دا واژ ۆكراوه (L204/20 of 31 July 2012).

٣ - هێنەربىشلەر ٢٠١١: ناوچەي ھەرىمى كوردستانى عيراق:





Vom Demokratie-Labor zum Mini/Polizeistaat: http://hennerbichler.info/aufstande . 2011.html

سپایهر جوناتان ۲۰۱۷: تاران جهنگی کونترولکردنی روژههلاتی ناوهراست دهباتهوه سیاسهتی
 دهرهوه

(2017).، " روخاني كەركووك لەئيرانەو، بريارى لەسەر درا"،

https://www.the/american/interest.com/2017/10/18/fall/kirkuk/made/iran (both accessed 21 Nov. 2017

(کاتزام کننیس) ۲۰۱۸ "سیاسه تی به گری و دهروه ی نیّران " دهسته ی تویّر ینه و مکانی تاییه ت به کونگره ۱۰ / ۲۰۱۸ ۲۰۱۸ عیّراق ۲۰۱۸ ۳۶ "دهستیو مردانی ئیّران له عیّراق پرهنگه پروّسه ی دریّر خایه نی سه قامگیر کردنه و می عیّراق په ک دمخات ":

.https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R44017.pdf (accessed 19 January 2018)

۲ - ناوهندی پهیوهندییه ستر اتیجییه نیودهو لمخییه کان IRIS: "له سالی ۲۰۱۶ و کاریگهریی سیاسیی و سسر بازیی ئیران به شیوهیه کی به رچاو زیادی کر دووه به تایبه تی له دوای دامه زرادنی میلیشیا شیعه کان بو ئار استه کردنی گروپه چه کداره گهوره کانی نیوان عیراق و سورییه بکات ، که لهمرو دا دهسه لانتیکی جله و گیر کردنیان به سه جهندین که سایه تیبه کی سیاسه تمه دار له ناوجه دابه شیو و مکاندا به بره و ده کهن ".

۷ - بهرزایی شمنگار گرنگیی و بایهخیّکی جیوّستراتیجیی همیه ، له ماوه ی جمنگی کهنداوی ۱۹۹۱ له لایان ســهدام حوســیّنهوه بهکار هیّنراوه بوّ هیرشــی مووشــهکی، له و نیّوهدا چهند موشــهکیّکی بهرهو ئیســرائیل هاویشتبوو. بوّ زانیاری سهربازیی بروانه :روّزیّناو ویلیام (۲۰۰۲) III:

:Coalition Scud/Hunting in Iraq, 1991, 29/44

https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph\_reports/MR1408/MR 1408.ch3.pdf (acc. 20 January 2017)





۸ - بالادهستی در نیژ خایمن و گهشهسهسهندوو و تا رادهیه کنهننی نیران، که ئیران بهسه همریه که له سیاسهنمه داره کورده کان و عیراقبیه کان دا همیه تی همروه ها له رووی سهربازبیشهوه تا رادهیه کی زور فراونه " ئیران دهیه و یسمی نیراق کونترول بکات و دهروازه ی پهیوهندبیه کانی به کراوه یی له گهل ده ریای ناوه راست و روز هه لات دا به یلینیه وه:

المونهی شیکردنموهی: عملموی، حیشیمهت ۲۰۱۷ ... هیزه کوکر او مکانی حهشدی شیمیی المانجی (2017) ... هیزه کوکر او مکانی حهشدی شیمیی تکه نامانجی نمونهی شیمی دیاریکر اوه، که لم ینگهیانهوه هیزی (قودس) چهندین پردی زهمینی سیم مکییان داگیر کردنی چهند ناو چهیمکی دیاریکر اوه، که لم ینگهیانهوه هیزی (قودس) چهندین پردی زهمینی له نیوان تاران و دیمهشی دابمهزریننت و دریژدهبیتهوه بو لوبنان و کهنار او مکانی دهریای ناو در است، بهم شیو هیه نیران و سوپای قودس به ناسانی و بی گرفت یار مهتی سیمربازی دهگهیهننه (حیزب الله )ی لوبنان و دهور و بهری.

Al Arabiya English, 23.10. 2017: http://english.alarabiya.net/en/features/2017/10/23 ./How/the/tide/turned/against/Iran/in/Iraqi/Kurdistan/.html (accessed 23 Oct. 2017) ومناني يعيو مندييه نيو دمو لُعتييه كان ٧/ ٢٠١٧ : " توركيا هيزى سعربازيي خوّى لعدمره وه ده مناليته وه" .

۱۰ ـ پر و و نکر دنه وه ناماژ مپنکر او مکان له ســـهر بنه مای ئه و زانبار بیانه ن، که له لایهن دهزگاکانی ئاســـایشـــی بر و اپنکر اوی ههریمی کور دستانی عیراق دهستکه و توون. له کوتایی مانگی حوز میرانی ۲۰۱۸ دا، هه و آماندا ناماژه به گرنگر ترین بنکه ســهر بازییه کانی تورکیا له باکوری عیراق و ههریمی کور دســتانی عیراق بکهین، نهمان توانی ئاماژه به هموویان بکهین .

11- کوردهکان بریاری ژماره ۲۸۸۰ ی ه/ ۱۹۹۱ و هک خالّیکی گرنگ سهبارهت به قانوونی نیودهولّه تی له بهکار هینانی هیزی سهربازیی له در ی هاوولاتیبان (به هاوبهشی اله گملّ وولاتانی در اوسیدا) دهبین، له بهکار هینانی هیزی سهرمازیی له در ی هاوولاتیبان (به هاوبهشی اله چهوساندنه و ی خهلکهکهی لهم دو اییانه شدا لهو ناوچانه ی که دانیشتوانی کوردی تیدایه " و هک ههرهشهیه یکی گهوره دهبینیت له سهر ئاشتیی و سهقاه گیریی نیودهولّه تیی له ناوچهکه او پیشیلاردنی برگهی ۲- ۷ ی "پهیمانی نه تهوهه کرتووهکان" که بو به هوی لیکهوتنه و می شالاوی پهنابهران بهدریژای سنوره نیودهولمتیبهکاندا. بریاری دهرکردووه، تا " بهزووترین کات ئهم چهوساندنه و می کوتایی پی بیت" (یان پرووبه پرووی سرزا نیودهولّه تیبهکان ببیته و ) که جمهور نیودهولّه تیبهکان ببیته و ) که جیهان نیگهرانه له و باره ناهمهواره ی مروقهکان و جهخت لهسه "پابهند بوونی سهرجهم و ولاتانی ئهندام تری ناوچهکه بگرن " و نهو هیوایه دمرده بریت که "گفتوگوی کراوه ببیته دمرفه تیک بو دابینکردنی مافی مرویی و سیاسی عیراق و همهوو پیکهاتهکانی مرویی و ایبیکردنی مافی مرویی و سیاسی همهوو دانیشتوانی عیراق". به پیی پوانینه خویندراوهکانی تویژهره کوردهکان ناکریت مرویی و سیاسی همهوو دانیشتوانی عیراق". به پیی پروانینه خویندراوهکانی تویژهره کوردهکان ناکریت مرویی به مهوو دانیشته و دوباره دارشتنه وی قانوونی نیودهولّه تیودهوله تیودونی "شوینکهوتنی گهرم" تورکییه له دری کورده عیراقیبهکانی ناو پهیماننامهی دووهمی سالی ۱۹۸۹ له گهل پرژیمی پیشووی سهدام حوسین بهستبووی که دهیووت تا سالی ۷۰۰۷ بهردهوام و قانوونی دهبیت، سهرچاوه: نه نه خومهی ناسایشی ناسه می دوهمی هداگر تووهکان:

http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/ 688; USA: The White House interpreted "UNSCR": 688 (April 5, 1991)





ومک نار هزایه تی و تاوانبار کردنی چهوساندنه و مکانی سامدام حسین له به رامبه رخه نمکی عیراق دا: https://georgewbush/whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/iraq/decade/sect4.html. (note: "historical material", "frozen in time", accessed 2nd March 2018).

۱۲ - بروانه شیفهرس (س.ج) ۲۰۰۳ : همرشه و وه لامدانهوهکان :ناشتیخوازهکان :کوردهکان نیگهرانن له پیشرهوییهکانی سوپای تورکیا .(نیۆرک تایمز ۲۳، ۲، ۲۰۰۳ ):

https://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/23/world/threats/responses/peacekeepers/iraqi/ku.rds/are/wary/turkish/led/force.html (accessed 25 July 2018)

۱۳ ـ پهيو هندي كهسيى له يهكهم ړ و ژ و پينجهم ړ و ژي مانگى ٢ي ٢٠١٨ .

٤١- ماناي دەستەواۋەي " بېشمەرگە":

پیّش: واته بهر مو یان بهر مو روو، "مهرگه" : واته مردن : واته کهسیّک که رووبهرووی مردن ببیّته وه (چیت ۲۰۰۳ : ۷۲ ، ۷۱) به زار اوهی گشتی سلمربازه کوردهکان (جهنگاو مری ئاز ادی )عیّراق : سهربازه کوردهکان (جهنگاو مری ئاز ادی )عیّراق : سهربازه کوردهکانی ههریّمی نیمچه سهربه خوّی کوردستانی عیّراق .

۱۰ - به ناوی (Archibald Milne Hamilton) هامیلَتون ناونر اوه که ئهندازیاریّکی مهدهنیی به پریتانییه، له نیوزلهند له دایک بووه، که نهخشه و پیگاکه ی له ۱۹۳۲/۱۹۲۸ بنیات ناوه، که به شه یوهکی یه کلا که رهوه یار مهنیی به پریتانییه کانی داوه، له دهستگرتن به سهر کوردستانی عیراق و باکوری عیراق دا ، ههرچهنده ئهم پیگهیه چهندین شهری تیدا ئهنجامدراوه، هامیلتون هیوای وابوو ئهم پیگهیه گهل و نه تهموه کان پیکه وه ئاشنا بکات.

۱۹ ـ له رووی قانوونییه و پهرلهمانی کوردستانی عیراق له ههولیر که خاوهن دهسه لاتی خوبه ریوه بردن بوو، هه آویستیکی روونی پیشاندا له ۱۰ ۲۰ ۱۲/۱۲ که به پنی بریاری ژماره ۳۷، که داوای له تورکیا کرد تا به بخروترین کات هیزمکانی بکیشینیته وه، به لام هملویستی پهرلهمانی حکومه تی فیدرالیی عیراق زور روون نم به به به به به به به دوه وامی بو ماوه ی چهند سالیکیش داوای له نهنقه وه دمکرد تا هیز مکانی بکشینیته وه، به تاییه تله ده وروبه ری ناوچه ی موسل ، تعنانه تله به رئه وهی تورکیا ملکه چی داواکه با که نفوه ی تورکیا ملکه پی داواکه با که نفوه وی به که نیوده و نیوه نگیریی بکهن.

cf. e.g.: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/12/iraq/appeals/to/un/) and/demands/turkey/withdraw/troops/from/its/north;

https://www.reuters.com/article/us/mideast/crisis/iraq/turkey/iraqi/pm/says/turkey/n ot/respecting/agreement/to/withdraw/troops/idUSKBN0UD1GJ20151230, accessed 4 February 2018.

همر چوّنیّک بیّت له کوّبوونهو میهک له نهنقهره له مانگی ۸ ی ۲۰۱۷دا ، همریهکه له سـمروّک و مزیرانی همر دوو و و لاّت "رِمجهب تهیب نوّر دوّ غان " و "نوری مالیکی" و اژوّیان لهسـم یاداشـتنامهی له یهکتری تیّکهیشــتن کر د. که تیّیدا باســی ســمرجهمهم ریّککهوتنه گرنگهکانی ر ابر دوویان کرد، که له داوای ناکوّکییهکانیان دوو و و لاّتی در و اسـیّ پیّکهاتن ، که بریتی بوو، لهم سـیّ ریّکهوتنهی سالانی: ۱۹۲۱، ۱۹۲۱ و ریّککهوتنی در و اسـیّ پیّکهاتن ، که بریتی بوو، لهم سـیّ ریّکهوتنهی سالانی: ۱۹۸۹ که بریّکهوتنی کو ریّککهوتنی که ریّککهوتنی کو ایان گهیاند که هیشــتا ریکهوتنهکان کاریان بیّدهکریّنت و بهردهوامه و ریککهوتنی کوتایی که ریّککهوتنیکی دوو لایمنهی قانوونیی و دادومریی بوو له ۱۱ ی ۹ یا ۱۹۸۹ لهگهل رژیّمی نموکاتهی ســمدام حوســیّن و اژوّ کرا، و ادمردهکهویّت که برگهیهکی له خوّ گرتووه، که به پیّی قانوونی نیّودهوله تنی ده و ترکیا داوه تا له سـنوریّکی دیاریکراو له نیّودهوله تنی پیّی دمووتریّت" شـویّنیکی دیاریکراو له





عیراقدا شوینی چهکداره کوردهکانی بکهویت. به پنی قانوونی ههریمی کوردستانی خوبهریوهبهر له سالی ۲۰۰۳ اناوهروکی نهم قانوونه، له ر ووی قانوونییهوه لیکدانهوهی اباطل / پووچلکراوای بو کراوه. ههرچهند که لایهن حکومهتی فیدر الیی عیراقهوه له سنوری ناوچهکانی ههریمی کوردستان چاوپورشی لیکراوه، به لام له لایهن زوربهی هاوو لاتیانی وو لاتهکهوه وهک پیش نیلکردنی سهروهری وولاتهکهیان له قملم دراوه. به پنی تیروانینی به شیک له کوردهکانی عیراق، بوونی سووپای تورکیا له ههریمی کوردستانی عیراق به پیویست و قانوونیی نابینن، به لکو به همولیکی فراوانی سهربازیی و ستراتیجیی له دری بهرژهوهندیبه نهتهوهیبهکانی عیراق دهبینن ، بروانه شیکردنهوهی:

https://www.rferl.org/a/ 1078921.html; see to key questions under international law i.a.: .Bowers 2008: http://works.bepress.com/ charles\_bowers/2/ and Skeikhmous 1992: 141 . ... كالا ـ ســكالا كردن له رتبى "دەســتورى نەتەوە يەكىگرتووەكان " ٢٤ / ١٠ / ١٩٤٥ بەندى ١ " ئامانجەكانى نەتەوە يەكىگرتووەكان " ٢ " دروسـتكردنى پەيوەندى ئاشـتىيانە لە نيوان وولاتان لەسـەر بنەماى ريزگرتن لەمافى يەكسـانيى و مافى چارەنووس لە لايەن گەلەوە ، ئەنجامدانى چەند كاريكى ترى گونجاو بۆ بەھنىز كردنى ئاشتىيى جيهانيى "

http://www.un.org/en/sections/un/charter/chapter/i/index.html, acc. 14 Jan. 2018. مراح هنام بیشلم ۱۸- هنام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم از در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم از در منام بیشلم از در منام بیشلم ۱۸- در منام بیشلم از در منا

۱۹ از تیبینی : همو له که ایر مدا بریتییه له باسکر دنیکی و و رد و در شت سمبار مت بموه ی که چ میلیش بایه کی پاشکق به دیاریکر اوی به شداری له هملمه تی "هیرشی له ناکاو "ی کمر کووک کر دووه نه ک سمر جممیان، چونکه ئه وکاته چیر و کی پر رو داوه کان جیاواز تر دهبوو، نیمه له عیراق به پشت به ستن به و زانیارییه و ردبینیانه ی خومانه وه، جه ختمان له سمر ئهوه کر دووه ته وه، نیران له نیستادا له پیگهیه کدایه، که بتوانیت به شیو و یه کلاییکم و موه میلیشیاکانی عیراق ئار استه بکات (دوزگای پهیو و ندییه کان، ئاسایشی حکومه تی هم یهی کور دستان) و ه ک له کوتابی مانگی ۷ی ۱۹۰۷دا

English: https://web.archive.org/web/20161128152712/http://www.ira / 20 .qinatioality.gov.iq/attach/iraqi\_ constitution.pdf (accessed 15 January 2018)

Quoted by Fazel Hawramy: http://www.barcelonaradical.net/info /21 ./9929/how/iran/helped/baghdad/seize/back/kirkuk (accessed Oct. 17, 2017)

Cf. e.o.: Nijjar, Farah (2017): Iraq's second army: Who are they, what do they /22 want? Aljazeera, 31 Oct. 2017: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/iraq/army/...171031063012795.html (assessed 31 Oct. 2017)

": "Iranian/backed Iraqi blitzkrieg": پشتیوانی نیران بو هیرشه لمناکاو مکمی عیراق 23/ Iranian/backed!": 2017:

https://mideastsoccer.blogspot.hu/2017/10/kurdish/battle/positions/kurds/as/us.html .(accessed 18 Oct. 2017)

ليْكوْلْينەوەي وورد لەسەر ژمارەيەكى زۆرى مىلىشىيا پاشكۆكانى ئېران و توركىيا لە عيراق:

Gaston, Erica & Derzsi/Horváth, András & Toorn, Christine van den & (2017) Mathieu/Comtois, Sarah





Literature Review of Local, Regional or Sub/State Defense Forces in Iraq. GPPi & : American University of Iraq, Sulaimani; 06 August 2017: http://www.gppi.net/publications/peace/security/article/literature/review/local/regional/or/sub/st ate/defense/forces/in/iraq; Gaston, Erica & Derzsi/Horváth, András (2017): Iraq after ISIL: An Analysis of Local, Hybrid, and Sub/State Security Forces. GPPi, 21 August 2017:

http://www.gppi.net/publications/iraq/after/isil/an/analysis/of/local/regional/and/sub/state/security/forces; Derzsi/Horváth, András (2017): Iraq after ISIL: Kirkuk: GPPi, 30 Aug. 2017: http://www.gppi. net/publications/iraq/after/isil/kirkuk/ (all accessed .1st Sept. 2017). Further reading: Katzman 2018: 32/34

.http://www.khec.krd/blawkrawakan\_en.aspx (accessed 30 September 2017) 24 .Cf.: http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/140920173 (acc. 15 Sept. 2017) 25 .c//www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/22/masoud/barzani/on/the/kur

https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/22/masoud/barzani/on/the/kur 26 .dish/referendum/iraq/we/refuse/to/be/subordinates (accessed 22 September 2017) .https://www.state.gov/s/seci/2017remarks/274148.htm (acc. 14 September 2017) 27 حمد له سمر متای ٤/ ٩/ ٢٠١٧ "هادی نامعامری "سیاسهتمادار و فهرماندهیه کی میلیشیا شیعه می سهر به نقر اق کرد نیران (بهدر) له چاوپیدکهوننیکدا له گهل که نالی پرووداوی(عهر هبیی) ههر هشیه ی له کورده کانی عیراق کرد نیران (بهدر) له چاوپیدکهوننیکدا له گهل که نالی پرووداوی (عهر هبیی) ههر همریمی همریمی، نهوا "روبه رو و بونه و هه ۹/۲ بکریت و بینه هنری در و سیست بوونی قهوار میه کی همریمی، نهوا "روبه رو و بونه و هی سهر بازیی رو و دهدات ":

https://www.memri.org/tv/iraqi/shiite/militia/leader/referendum/kurdistan/independe nce/armed/confrontation/ transcript (accessed 10 September 2017)

https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings/statements/president/donald/j/trumps /29 /new/strategy/iran; https://www.treasury.gov/press/center/press/releases/Pages /sm0177.aspx; https://www.treasury.gov/resource/center/sanctions /OFAC/Enforce ment/Pages/20171013.aspx (accessed 14 Oct. 2016)

۲۹- "سوپای پاسدارانی شورشگیری ئیسلامیی ئیرانن -سوپای قودس" سوپایهکی جیهانیی دامهزراوه ی تیروروه تیروریستییه لهست منادا له ۱۳۲۲۶ له ژیر فهرمانیکی جیبه جیبه جیکردندا به ژماره ی ۱۳۲۲۶ و فهرمانده ی بالا" قاسم سلیمانی" فهرمانده ی هیزی قودس و یهکیک له نهندامانی حکومه تی کوماری ئیران بیکهات.

": https://2001/2009. state. gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2007/oct/94193.htm. Saad Hadithi الم ووته بنیژی حکومه تی عیراق له به غدا ( سه عید حه دیسی ) له ۱۲ ی ۱۰ ی ۱۰ دا قاسم ساییمانی که فهر مانده ی سوپای قودسه به " ر اویژکاری سه ربازیی " بنو میلیشیاکانی حه شدی شه عیی ناوبرد. حه شدی شه عیبی زیکخر اویکه که ۴۰ میلیشیای ناو عیراقی کوکردوه ته وه، که به (هیزه کوکراوه کان) ناوبراون، که له ۱۰ دا به مه به ستی ر ووبه ر وبو و به و و هیزه کانی دا ۲۰ دا به مه به ستی ر و وبه ر و بو و به و هیزه کانی دا حه شدی شه عیبی " هم و ها پیشیان ده و تریت "سوپای دووه می عیراق" به کونترین هیزی میلیشیای سه ربه سه به





نیر آن له عیر آق دادمنرین و به نمخجامدانی کاری نامرؤیی تومهتبار کراون. بروانه دیهقانپیشه، باباک ۲۰۱۶: چهکدارهکانی عیراق وه لامی نیرانیان داوه تمهوه (رؤیتهرز ۲۲/ ۱۱/ ۲۰۱۶:

https://www.reuters.com/article/

سابيه ر" دەرئەنجامى ھەلكشانى ئيران له عيراق"

us/mideast/crisis/militias/specialreport/special/report/the/fighters/of/iraq/who/answe r/to/iran/idUSKCN0IW 0ZA20141112; George, Susannah (2014): Breaking Badr. Foreign Policy, 06.11.2014: http://foreignpolicy.com/ 2014/11/06/breaking/badr; :(2015) .Sowell, Kirk H

هه نکشانی سیاسیی "بهدر" و سیمرکردهکهی هادی نهاهامری پیگاخؤشگهربوون، بؤ دروست بوونی ۲۰۱۰/۸/۱۳ دمولهتیکی سهربازیی له عیّراق . کارنیگی Carnegie Endowment ، ئاشتی جیهانی ۲۰۱۰/۸/۱۳ دمولهتیکی سهربازیی له عیّراق . کارنیگی http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=61016&lang=ar; idem (2015): The Rise of : Iraq's Militia State, 23.04.2015: http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/59888; Stanford University, n.n. (2016): Mapping Militant Organizations: Badr Organization of Reconstruction and Development, last updated 13.11.2016: http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi/bin/groups/view/435; Nijjar, Farah (2017): Iraq's second army: Who are they, what do they want? Aljazeera, 31.10.2017: http://www.aljazeera ..com/news/2017/10/iraq/army/171031063012795.html (all acc. 13 October 2017) در نیران لیّدوانه کهی ترمه پی که ووتی: "نیّمه سهر به هیچ لایه نیّشر دا، به لام نیگمران دهبین؛ میرونه که نهمهریکا لاری نیبه له پیّشر دوربیه کانی نیّران له عیّراقدا، بروانه نیّمگهر بهریه که بکهون"، والیّکدایه وه که نهمهریکا لاری نیبه له پیّشر دوربیه کانی نیّران له عیّراقدا، بروانه

https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings/statements/remarks/president/trump/senate/majority/leader/mitch/mcconnell/joint/press/conference, acc. 16 Oct. 2017 https://www.the/american/interest.com/ 2017/10/18/fall/kirkuk/made/iran, accessed (18 Oct. 2017)

http://www.jpost.com/ Opinion/Israel/should/arm/the/Kurds/515340 (accessed 28 .November 2017)





۳۱ ـ بهیو مندی ز ار مکیی ۱۰ / ۱۰ / ۲۰۱۷ .

۳۲ – ناوهندی کهرکووک سالّی ۲۰۱۶ لهلایهن هنزهکانی پنیشمهرگهی ی.ن.ک. وه دهستی بهسهردا گیرابوو و تا ننیستا ژمارهیهکی کهمی پنیشمهرگهی پ.د.ک. ی لنی بوو.

٣٣ ـ بەر يزيان .ى.ن.ک. ١٤/ ١٠/ ٢٠١٧.

۳۴ ـ همروهها بروانه مهسـرور بارزانی ۲۰۱۸ :"ســهر مرای ئهم شــکسـته گهور میهمان ، کورد ئایندمیه کی پرشنگداری دمبیّت ئهگهر یهکگرتوو بن، مهسرور بارزانی و چاوپیّکهوتنی لهگهلّ رووداو ۱۰ / ۱/ ۱۸ ۸۰۸ .http://www.rudaw.net/english/interview/10012018 (accessed 10 January 2018)

٣٥ همروه ها تهماشاي چاوپێکهوتني باڤێڵ تاڵهباني له گهڵ BBC بکه

http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p05kj6wv?ocid=socialflow\_twitter (http://www.france24.com/en/20171020/interview/bafel/talabani/kirkuk/barzani/sulaymaniyah/p.uk/abadi/baghdad/referendum/turkey, both accessed 20 October 2017)

۳۷- بروانه: فاز ل همور امى: " ئيران به چ شيوميه ك يارمه تى به غداى دا تا كهكمركووك بگريته وه". (چاو دير (Almonitor) ۱۷/۱۰ /۱۷.

https://www.al/monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/iran/kirkuk/recapture/soleimani/quds/force/eqbalpour.html (accessed 17 October 2017; source available now under: http://www.barcelonaradical.net/info/9929/how/iran/helped/baghdad/seize/back/kirkuk, accessed 25 July 2018)

۳۸- براکهی عالمی نیقبالپور، نوینه می کونسو آخانه ی گشتی نیران (وه بهرپرسی سیاسییه) له سلیمانی. ۳۹- هادی عامری: وهزیری راگواستن و گامیاندنی پیشووی عیراق بوو، سهرکرده ی لایهنی "بهدر"ه، که لایمنیکی سیاسییه و یمکیکه له همره گروپه نیمچه سهربازییه کانی سمر به نیران (لیوای بهدر) له عیراق و له نیویشیاندا هادی عامری له لایمن نهمامریکاوه به ئانجامدانی دانی تاقینه و مکانی مانگی ۱ ی ۱۹۹۲ تومه تبارکراوه، براونه به ناهمامکانی ستانفورد:

http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi/bin/groups/view/ 435, accesced 20 October 2017





http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/07/world/middleeast/07bomber.html?r=0 .(accessed 20 October 2017)

٤١ ـ پهيو هندي زار مکيي له گه ل سهر کرده ديار مکاني ي.ن.ک. له ١١٧ / ١٠ ٢٠١٧ .

Reuters, 17.10.2017: https://www.reuters.com/article/us/mideast/crisis/iraq/42/kurds/oil /iraqi/forces/take/control/of/ all/oil/fields/operated/by/state/owned/north/oil/in/kirkuk/idUSKBN1CM0 KN?ref=hvper.com (both accessed 24 Jan. 2018) بمهمان شنوه: سپایمر: "حکومهتی همریمی کوردستان، وورهی رووخا و له ناوچهکانی تریش بمرهو روژئاوا کثر المهمان شنوه: سپایمر: "له شام کند مهخمور ، گوند و له ناوچهکانی تریش مهخمور ، گوند و له ناوچهکانی تریش مهخمور ، گوند و له ناوچهکانی تریش مهخمور ، گوند و له ناوچهکانی تریش و کوردستان به ناوچه ا

. کشایه وه "له شدنگار، خانه قین، مهخمور، گویر و له ناوچه کانی تری وه ک ده شدت اییه کانی نه بینه وا؟ پیشمه رگه کانی پارتی دیمو کراتی کور دستان ناوچه کانیان له ژیر دهستدا بوو، نه ک پیشمه رگه کانی ی، ن، ک. به لام له گه ل نه وه شدا به بی به رگری کشانه وه.

https://www.the/american/interest.com/2017/10/18/fall/kirkuk/made/iran, accessed ) .(18 Oct. 2017

۳۶ ـ کور دســتان، هێزمکانـی عێراق کهرکووک دمگرن و ئاڵای کوردســتان دادمگرن و لێـی دمکهنـهوه؛ ڕووداو ۲۰۱۷/۱۰/۱

.http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/151020177 (accessed 16 Oct. 2017)

٤٤ - فازل همور امي: "چۆن ئير ان يارمەتى بەغداى دا تا كەركووك بگريتموه"(چاودير Almonitor) ١٧ ( - فازل همور امي: "چۆن ئير ان يارمەتى بەغداى دا تا كەركووك بگريتموه"(چاودير ١٠١٧/١٠ .

٥٤- به پێی لێدوانی پێشمهرگهکان بێت، ئهم پێشمهرگانه نهک نهده بوو به زیندووی سهریان له لاشهیان جێبابکرێتهوه، تعنانهت جهستهشیان شێوێندر ابوون، به پێی (هێڤیدار ئهحمهد) ئهوانهی بهرپرسن لهم کاره (میلیشیاکانی حهشدی شهعبین، که له موسل بۆ شهرکردن له گهل داعش مهشقیان پێبکردبوون.

۲۵ - باقل تالعبانی گهور مترین کو ری تالعبانی و هنیر ق ئیبر اهیم ئه حمه د له چاو پذکه و تنذیکیاندا له گهل (بی بی سی BBC نیوز ئاوم ) له ۲۰ / ۲۰۱۷ / ۲۰۱۷)

http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p05kj6wv?ocid=socialflow\_twitter; likewise, with France 24 TV, the same day: http://www.france24.com/en/20171020/interview/bafel/talabani/kirkuk/barzani/sulaymaniyah/puk/abadi/baghdad/referendum/turkey. (both accessed 20 October 2017)

۷۶ - سپایمر : جوناتان: "شکستی کمرکووک له ئیران پلانی بو دانرا بوو" بمرژهوهندی ئهممریکی ۱۰/۱۸ / ۱۰
 ۲۰۱۷ "چالاکی هیرشی سمربازیی له پر" لموانعیه هاوشنیوهی ئهمهش داگیرکردنی روزئاوای بهیروت بیت له لایمن (حیزب الله )له مانگی ٥ و ٦ی ۲۰۰۸دا.

https://www.the/american/interest.com/2017/10/18/fall/kirkuk/made/iran (accessed: .18 Oct. 2017)

۸۶ - به دلنیاییه وه هو کاری زیانگهیشتن و ناوز ران به "سیاسه تی کور دیی"، نه بوونی هنز یکی سهربازیی یمکگرتوو بوو، همریه که له (ی.ن.ک.) و (پ .د.ک.) هاوپهیمانیتییه کی جودایان له یهکتری همبووه، و سهر وکی پ.د.ک.، مهسعود بارزانی و ی.ن. ک. له سهر متاوه له رو بهرووبوونه وهی بارودو خهکه به خیرایی و به شیرویه کی یهکلاکه ر موه ناشار مزییان بیوه دیاربووه (سپایه ۲۰۱۸).





93- "له ههموو پروویهکهوه پرۆژیکی پرمش بوو بۆ کوردهکان "، شکشتی کهرکووک دهریدهخات که تاچهند ئهمرۆ عیراق له ژیر ههر موونی ئیراندایه. ههروهها بهپروونی پیشانمان دهدات، که پریبازه شغپرشگیپربیهکانی ئیران و ههروهها سیاسهتهکانی له بواری سهربازیدا تاچه ند فراوان بوون و له ناوچه عهرهبیبهکاندا پهیپرهویان دهکات، بپروانه(سپایهر ۲۰۱۸ گایدیم)، بروانه: (ئائیدیم ۲۰۱۷): " تاران جهنگی کونترولکردنی روّ ههلاتی ناوهراست دهباته و سیاسهتی دهرهوه" ۲۰۱۷ / ۲۰۱۷

http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/11/21/tehran/is/winning/the/war/for/control/of/the/mi .ddle/east/saudi/arabia (accessed 21st Nov. 2017)

جۆناتان سىپايەر: بەر يوبەر يى رۆبىن، سەنتەر ە بۆ ئويژىنەومكان لەپەيومندىيە نتودموللەتىيەكاندا لەسەنتەرى بوارە جۆراو جۆرەكاندا ، ھىزليا، ئىسرائىل و ھاورىيەكى كۆنى رۆژھەلاتى ناوەرست.

۰۰- چاو پیکهوتن له گهڵ ړووداو :۱۰ / ۲۰۱۸ " ســـهر مړای شـــکســـتهکان ، کور دهکان داهاتوویکی پړشنگداریان دهبیت ئهگهر یهکگرتوو بن :مهسرور بارزانی "

http://www.rudaw.net/english/interview/10012018 (accessed 10 January 2018) : اه- بڵو کر او ی نادیار له ژ بّر ناونیشانی "لنّیدو انهکان"

rudaw.net" (http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/201120175, accessed 14 :February 2018

.Interviews with BBC and France 24 TV, l.c /52

Source: http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/201120175 (accessed 20 /53 .November 2017)

Source: http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/181020174 (accessed 18 /54 .October 2017)

Sources, selection: https://www.reuters.com/article/us/mideast/crisis/iraq/kurds /55 /protests/kurdish/protesters/set/fire/to/party/offices/in/northern/iraq/idUSKBN1EC1 N8; http://www.bbc.com/news/world/middle/east/41804717; http://ekurd.net/ demon strations/iraqi/kurdistan/2018/01/05; http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/181 .220173 (all acc. 5th January 2018)

٥٦ به وردهکاری زورترهوه :هێنهربیشلمر (۲۰۱۱)

http://hennerbichler.info/aufstande\_2011.html; idem (2012): http://hennerbich.ler.info/verbesserte lage 2012.html

AWDNEWS", 18.10.2017: http://www.awdnews.com/index/bafel/talabani "/57 "/hadi /al/ameri/reach/agreement (accessed 18 Oct. 2017). "AWDNEWS

هيچي زانياريمكي لهسهر ئهوه نييه كه كيّ له پشتي ئهم كارهوهيه و ئهم كاره زوّر ئالوّزه.

Germany" stated (http://www.awdnews.com/index/contact/)"

نویّنه ری گوران "مهسعود حهیده ری" که به په رلممانتاریّکی لیّهاتوو ناو دهبریّت: تا ئیّستا یهکیّتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان هیچ لیّدوانیّکی فهرمی سـهبارهت بهوهی که پلانهکهی باقیّل و عامری وهک رِیّککهوتنیّتی تاییهتی





نیّوان ئه و دو کهسه به سهر پهرشتی ی.ن.ک. نهداوه. لهئیستادا پاقیّل تالهبانی هیچ کاریّکی فهرمی له ناو ی.ن.ک. دا نییه و نوسینگهی وزار متیی له حکومهتی ههریّمی کوردستان دا نییه ، به لام جیّگری سهروّکی دهرگای ئاسایشی کوردستانه.

٥٨- هه لم بجه تعنيا له سالمي ٢٠١٤ وه بووه به پاريزگا و پيشتر به شيک بووه له سليماني .

٥٩- لمو كاتعدا له مانگى ٨ ى ١٩٩٦ دا، مەسعود بارزانى به نوسينيك پرسيارى له سەدام حوسين كرد بۆ پالېشتى سسربازيى تا هيزهكانى ى.ن.ك. له هەولير دەربكات و تيكيان بشكينيت، تا خۆى له لەناوچوون بياريزيت.

cf. i.a.: http://news.bbc. co.uk/2/hi/middle\_east/country\_profiles/2893067.stm; http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/9609/12/iraq.barzani/ index.html

https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/09/10/kurds/allied/with/sadd am/drive/rivals/toward/border/6d3b4185/ab7a/4bbb/ba03/74ada5a7b14b/?utm\_term :=.f43cfb687e2f

http://www.merip. org/mero/mero01240; Teimourian, Hazhir (1996): Letter: Indepen dent, 6

September 1996: http://www. independent.co.uk/voices/letter/a/historic/betrayal/of/the/kurds/why/barzani/threw/in/his/lot/with/saddam/5601503.html; http://www./nytimes.com/1998/07/25/world/us

welcomes/kurdish/leader/who/betrayed/cia/in/iraq.html (all accessed 16 February :2018); Riedel 2017

tps://www.brookings. edu/blog/markaz/2017/11/02/masoud/barzani/ and/the:"./roots/of/kurdish/distrust/of/the/united/states (accessed 2nd November 2017); further .reading: Cockburn 2002: XX; Galbraith 2006: 156

مهسعود بارزانی سهرکهوتوو بوو له فیلهکهیدا، له ۸مانگی ۱۹۹۱ دا له گهل سهدام حوسین ریکهوت و پریگهی به سهوپای عیراق دا تا بینه ناو ههولیرهوه و تا ئوپۆزسیونهکانی عیراق له ناو ببهن و تا هیزیک بهدهست بینیت له دری دو رمنه ئهزملیهکانی جهلال تالابانی ، دمیان کهسی در به حوسین به توندرین شیوه کورران. (چالاکیی ئهمهریکی) ئاسانکاری کرد، چونکه تهنیا بینهریک بوووه و هیچی بو وهستانی کوشتار مکه نهکرد.

۲۰ ۱۸ پهيوهندي زارهکي ۲۱ / ۲۰۱۸ .

۱۱- یونامی (هه لمه متی هاو کاری نه ته و هی یه کگر تووه کان بن عیر اق UNAMI): کاره سیم متاییه کانی بن داین کردنی چاره یه که کوکوک هیشتا ته واو نه کردوه و له مانگی ۳ی ۲۰۰۹ دا "نوسراوی گفتوگن " پیگه چاره ی دا ها توویه، سیم باره ت به پیگه ی ئیداری که رکووک له ناوخوی عیر اقی فیدر آلدا "نوسراوی گفتوگن " ۲۰۰۹ ( بروانه به تاییه تی په ره کانی ۷ – ۱۰) . به لام نه د دقه له ئینته رنیت نییه.

۲۲- کەين له تالەبانىيە دەيگنرىتە دە دەلىت: ۲۰: ۲۰۱۱ پەر اوپىزى ۷۰ (سەرچارە سەركىيەكە لەئىنتەرنىت نىيە): "سەرۆك تالەبانى: كەركورك كىشەيەكى عىراقىيە"، (رۆژنامەى يەكىتى بەسەرپەرشتى ى.ن.ك)
 ۳۱، ۲۰۱۰ : برۆكسل كە پايتەختى بەلجىكايە، ناوچەيەكە، كە دور پىكھاتەى فەرەنسى وفلىمش لەخۆ





دهگریت. ناوچهیمکی فیدر آنی تایبهته که به فلاندهرز دهوره دراوه. به لام له رووی کاربه ریکردنه وه لیبان جودایه و ریو شرینی دیاریکراو دهگریته به بو بو پاراستنی زمان و کهلتوور و مافی لایه مکانی ناوه وهی . ۱۳- نموونه کانی کمین ۱۵- ۱۹ تا ۱۸۰۱ "مالیکی: کهرکووک تایبهته به حکومهتی عیراقبیهوه ، زهمان ۱۰/ ۱۸۰۷ نموهیه ۲۰۰۸/۱ کانتیک مالیکی ده آنیت کهرکووک شاریکی سه به عیراقی فیدر آلیبه.... "تاکه چارهسه ئهوهیه که و ا مامه آنه له که آنیک مالیکی ده آنیت که بارود و خیری تایبهتیی همیه و وه ک ناوچهیه کی سه بربه خو و ایه. " که و ا مامه آنه له که آن کهرکووک به بارود و خیری تایبهتیی همیه و وه ک ناوچهیه کی سه بربه خو و ایه. " سام داگهر "بر اردنه کانی کهرکووک به و ایمانی کهرکووک به نادیاری به یُلیته و ۱۲/۳/۳ بریت به حکومه تی تایبه تی له که آن به که ده سه آنی له و بخریته ژیر کونترو آنی به غداوه " به آن مدسل می کهرکووک به ناماده یه به شداریی به شاری کهرکووک به ناماده یه به شداریی به شاری کهرکووک به ناماده ایمان "

TurkishPress.com, October 19, 2008, http://www.turkishpress.com/news.asp? . id=254359 (accessed December 16, 2010), where the former KRG prime minister says that all ethnic groups should administer Kirkuk together "in a fair way as a ".Kurdish region".

http://cabinet.gov.krd/uploads/documents/2017/Constitutional\_violations\_Sept\_24\_ 2017. pdf: key statements (Executive Summary, pp. 1/3)

-1- یمفر ممینکو ۲۰۱۷: ئامانجهکانی پرووسیا له پروژ هه لاتی ناوم پراستی گهوره .. و مک بریاره یهکممینهکانی دمبنیت؛ پرووسیا جهخت لهسهر ئهوه دمکاته وه که دمسه لاتیکی سهنگین و به هیزی ناوچهکه و پیّویسته له چهند ناوچهیه کی جیاواز دا سـوپای سـهربازیی ههبیّت. "رووسیا پیّشبینی پروژ هه لاّتی ناوم پراسـتی گهوره دمکات، بهشداریی پریّککهوتنی گهورهی ئابووریی دمکات". مانهوهی پرووسیا بق ماوهیه کی زوّر له ناوچهکه دا پیّویستی به سـهرمایهیه، که واته پرووسیا بق قهرمووکردنه و می داهاتانه ی که سـهر فی دمکات، چهندین سـهرچاوه ی ئابووریی گرنگی له سوریا و ناوچهکانی تردا دمبیّت.





Euronews, 16.02.2018: /66

http://de.euronews.com/2018/02/16/sergej/lawrow/wir/sind/keine/geiseln/irgend .welcher/ erwartungen (accessed 16 February 2018)

۲۲- ژدانیکوق، دیمیتری ۲۰۰۱۷: "کومپانیای روزنهفتی رووسی ریککهوتنی گاز له گهل کوردستانی عیراقدا کردووه" رویتهرز ۱۸، ۹، ۲۰۱۸

:18.09.2018

https://www.reuters.com/article/kurdistan/rosneft/russias/rosneft/clinches/gas/pipeli ne/deal/with/iraqs/kurdistan/idUSL5N1LY0TS (accessed 18 September 2017) المون ۲۰۱۷: "المع کاتموه که کمرکووک له ۲۰۱۶دا کموته ژیردهستی کوردمکان، کومپانیا ز مبهلاحمکانی ووزه ی رووسیی گرنگیان به دامهزر اندنی کیّله گهی گاز و نموت له کوردستانی عیّراق دا؛ له رِاستیدا پیّویستییه یمکمییه کانی رووسیا له ئیرانموه بو عیّراق لای دا

http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/

http://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics/andcomments/analytics/is/it/time/for/moscow/s .kurdish/policy/in/iraq (accessed 6 Oct. 2017)

٦٩- بروانه "بارودو خي ئيستاي "هاوكاريي نيوان حكومهتي همريمي كوردستان گازيروم "

. http://www.gazprom/neft.com/press/center/lib/1159674/ (acc. 24 February 2018) : ۲۱ – ۲۱ : ۲۱ – ۲۱ : ۲۱ میلز

٧١/ له رووداو هو ه ١٧/ ١٢/ ٢٠١٧, ٥٦.12.2017:

.http://www.rudaw.net/english/business/071220171 (accessed 18 Dec. 2017)

۷۲- یهفره میمینکو ۲۰۱۷: " رووسیا دهبیّت به باشی پهیوهندییه سیاسیی، ئابوریی، سیمربازیی و تهکنیکییهکانی لهگفل حکومهتی بهغدا و همروهها باشوری کوردستان (همرچهنده نیمچه سهربهخو بیّت) له نیّستادا یان سهربهخو له داهاتوودا پهره پیّبدات. روسیا نایهویّت راستهوخوّ بچیته سهر ئهم کاره، چونکه رونگه له داهاتوودا ئهم پروّسهه ببیّته هوی سهره هلّدانی "سوننیستان" له عیّراق:

http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/By/the/Rivers/of/Babylon/19037 (accessed 1st Dec. 2017). Barmin 2017: "the key reason Russia shied away from supporting the Kurdish referendum was the timing.": http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/Kurdish/referendum/a/double/edged/sword/for/Russi .a/19026 (accessed 1st Dec. 2017)

۷۷- بروانه ئیبراهیم ۲۰۱۳: ۲۷۶ و ۳۶: "به شار ئه سه د سه رو ککوماری سوریا له مانگی ۳ ی ۲۰۱۳ دا قامیشاقی و هک پاریزگایه ک ناساند، و هک ئه نجامیک له دان پیدا هینانیك به سیسته می به ریو مبردنی ناو چه که له سووریا. ئه مه شوریا، که ریژهی ۸۵٪ دانیشتوانه که ی کورده "( له ئه نامانییه و و مرگیر در او ه له لایمن نووسی سری ئه م تویژینه و هوه). خویندنه و هی داها تو و عمر هبی سامه ر (۲۰۱۷): نه خشه ی لامه رکه ری سوریا". سادا ۲۳، ۳، ۲۰۱۷:



.http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/68372 (accessed 23rd March 2017)

Quoting Reuters, 26.09.2017: /Y£

https://www.reuters.com/article/us/mideast/crisis/syria/kurds/damascus/says/syrian/.kurdish/autonomy/negotiable/report/idUSKCN1C10TJ (accessed 26 Sept. 2017)

٧٥- بارمين ٢٠١٧: " موسكو به نيمچه سهربهخويي كوردهكان له سوريا رازييه "

http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/

Kurdish/referendum/a/double/edged/sword/for/Russia/19026 (accessed 1st Dec. .2017)

۷۱- ووشـــهی"مهلا" بهکار هاتووه و نازناویِک بق رِیْزگرتن له "مســتهفا بارزانی "(له عهرهبییهکهیهوه "مهولای" بق "بهریّز"، بروانه لوّکوچ ۱۹۲۷: ۱۱۰، ۱۶۶۸: " مهلای عهرهبیی نهک بق ئـاین نـاســـیّکی ئیسلامیی و خاوهن دراونامهیمکی ئاکادیمی.

۷۷ـ هینهربیشلهر ۲۰۰۶: ۷۱۱/ ۷۷۵.

https://www.reuters.com/article/us/mideast/crisis/kurds/israel/israel/endorses/ind/78 ependent/kurdish/state/idUSKCN1BO0QZ;

https://www.haaretz.com/israel/news/netanyahu/supports/establishment/of/independ .ent/kurdistan/1.5450316 (both acc. 14 Sept. 2017)

٧٩ - وهك له تايمزي ئيسر ائيلي ريكهوتي ١ي سوبات / فيوربيهي ١٨٠١٨ هاتووه.

https://www.timesofisrael.com/kurds/in/iraq/deserve/independence/netanyahu/sa//79 .ys/ (acc. 1st Febr. 2018)

Cf.: https://www.timesofisrael.com/shaked/calls/for/an/independent/kurdistan/ /80 .(acc. 1st Febr. 2018)

Cf.: http://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/iraq/17092017; /81

http://www.jpost.com/Arab/Israeli/Conflict/

Iraqi/VP/warns/against/creation/of/second/Israelfor/Kurds/505332 (both acc. 19 .Sept. 2017)

http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Israel/should/arm/the/Kurds/515340 (accessed /82 .27 Nov. 2017)

۸۳- "بپنویسته له سهرمان سوود له پهیو مندییه گهشهسهندو و مکانی نیوان ئیسر ائیل و عهر مبساتنی سعودیی و مربگرین و بق پیکهینانی هاو پهیمانییه تیکی سنر اتیجیی له نیوان ئهنجومه هاو کار یی کهنداو، ئیسر ائیل، کور دمکان، ر منگه فهر منساش (که ز قر گرنگی دهدات به ریگریکردن له کاره توندر موهکانی ئیران له لوبنان). کهواته کاتی ئهوه که حکومه نیسر ائیلی چالاکانه له بهرامبهر ئیران بو هستیته وه به یارمه تی دانی کورده کان له پیکهینانی دهو لهتیکی سهربه خودا، که پشکی شیری بهرده کهویت، له رووبه رووونه وهی کورده کان له پیکهینانی دهو لهتیکی سهربه خودا، که پشکی شیری بهرده کهویت، له رووبه و و و نهو منه کی نیراند و پیرویسته پارهکهمان له و شوینه دابنین که خومانی تیپداین و نهو چهکانه بدهین به کورده کان، که له میژه چاوه روانن تا خویانی پی بیاریزن. کات و ا تیپه ردمین به کورده کان، فهر منسا، نه نجومه نی کهنداو تیپه ردمین " تویژهر کینیس م. یونی ک دردستانیکی ئازاد ره نگه بایه خی زوری بو ئیسر ائیل ههینت له پیکهینیت " تویژهر کینیس م. یونیک : " کوردستانیکی ئازاد ره نگه بایه خی زوری بو ئیسر ائیل ههینت له





ر ووبه رووبونه وهی نیر اندا، که هاو و لاتییه کور دهکانی خوّی دهچه و سینته وه" و کور دستانیکی سسر بهخوّ بنکه یه کی سهر بازیی دهبیّت تا ئیسر ائیل له ویّوه چالاکی سهر بازیی دژی ئیر ان له ریّی کور دهکانی ئیر انه وه ئه خام بدات:

https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/22/world/middleeast/kurds/independence/israel.h .tml (accessed 23 Sept. 2017)

۸۶- ئەمىر دانيال (۲۰۷۱): " بەلام قودس ناتواننىت تىچوى ژيانەوەى كوردسىتان بىگرىنتە ئەسىتىقى خۆى :ئىرانى بە ھىز ": بۆچى ئىسىرائىل ناتواننىت ھاوكارى پىكھىنانى دەوللەتتىكى كوردى سەربەخۇ بكات، ھارىتىز / ۲۱۰۷ / ۲۱۰۷ :

https://www.haaretz.com/opinion

/premium/why/israel/can/t/support/an/independent/kurdish/state/1.5449891 .(accessed 12 Sept. 2017)

۸۰- به ووتهی مایکل رؤبین ۲۰۱۷: ئیسرائیلی بنیامین ناتانیاهن له راستییدا یارییه کی به دبینای قیزه وهن به رفعر اندن ی کور دهکان له ۲۰۱۷/۹/۲۰ دا دهکا.

AEI. 25.09.2017:

http://www.aei.org/publication/israels/benjamin/netanyahu/is/playing/a/cynical/game/on/the/kurdish/referendum/ (accessed 25 Sept. 2017)

هاوشنیوهی ئهمهش :حهسهنی، رامیار (۲۰۱۸): "دهبیّت کوردهکانی نیّران و عیّراق له کوردهکانی سووریاوه فیّربین. ئورشهلیم پوّست، ۶/ ۲/ ۲۰۱۸: "کوردهکانی سووریا قهت چاوهراونی پشتگیرییهکانی روّژئاوایان نهکردووه و له داهاتوشدا چاوهریّی ناکهن" .ئهوان ریّوشویّنیّکی باشتریان گرتووهٔ بهر : که باوهربوون به خوّیانه و به نیّننه پووچهکانی به ناوی سیاسیی و دیبلوماسیییان پشتگوی خستووه ؛ له ئورشهایّم پوست ریکهوتی ۱۰/شوبات/فیورییهی ۲۰۱۷ و مرگیراوه:

http://www.jpost.com/printarticle.aspx?id=540680 (accessed 10 February 2018). ^^- دوبین، رایس (۲۰۱۷): " سهر منجام ناتانیاهو بو چار مسهریی (کیشهکان) له نیراق، پشتیوانی له بوونی دوو دهو لهت له عیراقدا دمکا .سیاسهتی دمر مو ۱۸/۳ / ۲۰۱۷ :

http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/09/13/netanyahu/finally/supports/a/two/state/solution/in/iraq (accessed 13 Sept. 2017)

https://besacenter.org/ perspectives/papers/kurdistan/referendum/ (accessed 2nd .Oct. 2017)

۸۷- گونته (۲۰۱۸: ۲۲ – ۲۷: "پیفراندو می شکشتخوار دووی کار مساتبار"، ۲۹: "پرمنگه گرینگترین هوکار بو کار مساتی پیفراندوم پهرتهواز میی حکومه تی ههریمی کور دستان بووبیت"، ۶۰: "کور دمکان قوربانی سهرکر دمکانیان بوون، که تاوانبار بوون به هاوبه شیکردنی خوپهرستانه و چاوبرسیتی" ۴۱: ههندی یمکگرتووی پرووکه شله حکومه تی ههریمی کور دستان، که به شیو میه کی کار مساتبار دارما، له دوای





ر او پَرْکاری شـکسـتخوار دووی ریفر اندۆم که له ۲۰ ۱۷/۱۰ ۲بهریّوه چوو تا ئیسـتا هیچ ســهرکر دمیهکی کور د ســهرکهوتوو نهبووه، تا له ســهرکر دمیهکی خیّلهکی بان فهر ماندمیهکی همریّمی ببیّت به دمولّهتمهداریّکی نیشتیمانیهروه ری راسته تهیّنه ".

نیران نهندازیاری هیرشه سهربازییه له ناکاوهکهی دری بارزانی بوو. کوشکی سپی کاردانه و میه کی خاوی هم بوو، تاران زیره کانه این برده وه. یه کهم تاقیکردنه وهی سه ختی تر ممپ له ستراتیجییه تاییه ته کانی دانیشتوانی به رامبه ربه نیران و نایه تووللاکان و پاداره کانی شورشگیری ئیران شکستی هینا و زورترین دانیشتوانی هاوریی ئهمه ریکا به چوک داکه و تن. "

https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/09/19/the/kurdish/referendum/wont/d;eliver/independence/heres/why/it/matters/, anyway (accessed 19 Sept. 2017)

۹۱ ـ مامیدوقا ۲۰۱۷: RIAC, 10.06.2017"بارزانی سمرنجه کان له سمر کیشه دیاره کان و هک کیشه ی کیشه کی نابوریی کومه لایه تیی به لار یّدا دمیات ، همروه ها بغ هملخامتاندنی جهماوه ر سهباره ت به به سمر چوونی ماوه ی سهر و کایه تییه که ی و بغ به دست هیّنانی پالپشتی له لایمن خیّله که یهوه ."

٩٢ ـ "ئيكۆنۆمىست"، ١٩/ ٢/ ٢٠١٥ ، بينرا "كوردستان نزيكترينه له سهربهخۆيى":

https://www.economist.com/news/international/21644167/iraqs/kurds/are/independent/all/name/they/must/play/their/cards/cleverly/if/they

"که ههرگیز تورکیا لهگه فی کوردهکان لهمه و پیش ناوا نهرم و نیان نه بووه ، هه گیز حکومه تی به غدا وا به جوش نهبووه بو هاوکاریی و هاوبه شیمی لهگه فی کوردهکان له هه ولیّر. نیستا به دانیاییه وه کاتی کوردستانه ".زممان ۲۱:۱۳کوردهکان له ههموو ایرزممان ۲۲:۱۳کوردهکان له ههموو کاتیک له و دیهی نازاند و نادرو کاتیک که و دیهی نازاند و نادرو





ئال. ۲۰۱۱ : XI پېشىبىنىكرا: " ھاتنەكايەى دەوللەتتىكى سەربەخۇ لەكوردستانى عيراق چېتر وەك كېشىميەك نىيە، بەلكو "ئەگەرىدىكى زۆر راسىتە "، ھەرچەندە نووسسەرەكان نەيان ويسىت ئەو رۆژ ديارىيدىكەن، كە ئەم سسەربەخۇبيەى كوردسىتانى عيراق ھىچكاتى ئەوەندەى ئىستا بۆ بە دەوللەت بوون ئامادە نەيوون؛ دەولمەتمەدارى سياسەتى دەرەوە: ۳۱/ ۱۰/ ۲۰۱۷:

http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/10/31/iraqi/kurdistan/was/never/ready/for/statehood المجتوب الم

https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/09/kurdistan/barzani/iraq : ./turkey/blockade/oil/541149 (all accessed 1st November 2017) بر و انه هه لسه نگاندنی کو نتر بو نموونه:

MEPC 2004: vol. XI, no. 1, spring 2004, online: https://www.mepc.org/journal ./kurds /iraq/0 (papers presented: Michael M

گونته ر: بۆچى دەوللەتى كوردىيى لە ئارادا نابنىت؛ دننىس ناتالى: تۆرى ومرگنران: دەرفەتە نونىيەكان و رىگرىيەكان بۆ رىگرىيەكان بۆ دەوللەتى كوردى؛ رۆبەرت ئۆلسن: توركيا و كوردستانى عنراق، ٢٠٠٣، نىھات عالى ئۆزان: ئايا دەتوانرىت دەوللەتىكى كوردىيى لە عنراق دابمەزرىنىزىت؟؛خالىد سالىخ: واقىعى كوردستان لە عنراقى گەشەىسەندو؛ م.ھاكان ياقوز: ناوچەيى نەومك فىدرالىزمىكى نەۋادىيى لە عنراق.

https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/11/02/masoud/barzani/and/the/.roots/ of/ kurdish/distrust/of/the/united/states (accessed 2nd Nov. 2017)

۹۶- بارزانی زیده رهویی کرد.

9 - بر وانه تايلهر ئادەم ۲۰۱۷ : " قومار هکهی کور د سهر کهوتو و نهبو و "واشنگتون پوست ۲۰۱۷ / ۲۰۱۷ . https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/10/17/a/new/battle/in/i .raq/gives/iran/the/upper/hand/?utm\_term=.e219984de781 (accessed 17 Oct. 2017) . "قو مار هکهی بار ز انتی "





۹۷- رۆژنامەى گارديان (مارتن چولۆڤ، ھەولێر جوليان بۆرگەر، واشـــينگتۆن، ســــەعيد كەمالى دێهقان،
 لەندەن) ۱، ۱، ۱، ۱، ۲۰۱۷: "لێدانێكى كوشندە لەناوچەى سەرۆك مەسعود بارزانى "

https://www. theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/16/iraq/kurdish/forces/army/us/military .(accessed 16 Oct. 2017)

۹۸- چاوپنیکهوتنی رووداو ۱۰/ ۱/۱۰: سسر مرای زیانه کان کورد دا هاتوویه کی پر شنگداری دهبنت، ئهگم یه کگرتوو بن. مهسرور بارزانی: "پیشتر دانوستان همبوو، چهند به آیننیک دران، نامه کان نووسران وله لایمن ویلایه ته یه کگرتوو مکان و ئوروپاوه دران به همریمی کوردستان، به لام ئهندامه کانی (ئهوانه ی بو ئمم وو لاتانه کارده کمن) گوردران، له بهرئه وه له ئهنجامدا هیچ کام لهم به آینیانه بهرز رانه گیران، یان که سختی نهکرده خاوه نیان و که سی تریش جگه له ئیمه باجی پیشنیل کردنیانی نهدا"

.http://www.rudaw.net/english/interview/10012018 (acc. 10 Jan. 2018)

۹۹- ریدیل ۲۰۱۷: ئیستا لموانمیه مهسعود بارزانی کوتایی به ژیانی سیاسیی خو بهینیت، همر چهنده خانه نشین بوون یه کیک نمبووه له تاییه تمهندییه کانی سیاسه تمهداره کانی روز هه لاتی ناو هر است، دوای ئه نجامدانی ریفر اندو می سمر به خویی کورده کان، که به نزیکه یی در ی ئاموژگارییه کانی هممووان و هستایه و ه، بینی که پیفر اندو می سمر به خویی کورده کان، که به سمر شماریکی پر بایه خی وه ک کمر کووک گرته وه و همروه ها نموته پیویسته که ی بو خو به بریو میردنی کورده کانی دو و باره گهر انده وه دو اوه، له کاتیک دا کورده کان له سمر که و تنه وه زور نزیک بوون. به شیوه یکی فراون متمانه ی له ده ست دا، همر چهنده ده سته و تاقمه که ی زور دلسوزی ئه ون.

BBC, 29 Oct. 2017: http://www.bbc.com/news/world/middle/east/41794083 // ... (accessed the same day)

۱۰۱ - چاوپنکموتن لهگمل پرووداو ۱۰/ / ۲۰۱۸ : سسمر مرای زیانه کان، کورد داهاتوویه کی پرشنگداری همیه ئهگمر یه کگرتوو بن. مهسور ور بارزانی : " میزووی سسمر و کی بهریز، خمپاته کانی سسمر و کی بهریز، و پاریز، خمپاته کانی سسمر و کی بهریز، بهریز، خمپاته کانی سسمروکی بهریز، سسمروکی بهریز، سسمروکی بهریز، سسمروکی بهریز، سسمروکی بهریز، مسمروکی بهریز، سسال یان دوانزه سسالی سسیمبولی نه تعوایه تیی، ئهری می دوانزه سسالی پیبه خشیت و کاتیک ماوه ی پوسته کهی تمواو بوو، ئهرکی ئهویش تمواو بیت. ئهرک و پرولی پریزدار بارزانی بهم شیوه یه دهستی پینه کردووه. ئه و سسمروکی که میزووی دروست کرد. . نیمه بیو بستمانه .."

.http://www.rudaw.net/english/interview/10012018 (accessed 10 January 2018)

Yُ ۱- سـمُرنج راکیشه، لاف ایدان به دەسـه لاتیکی بالاوه له کاتیکدا پیگیهکی نهخواز راوت همبیت، یهکیکیه له نمریتهکانی بنهماله پیش نهوهی جیاواز بیه بی کوتاییهکه ببینیت. بو نموونه: له ۱۹۸۰ کاندا مهسـعود بارزانی لهگهل زربراکهی ئیدریس و ناسـراویکی نزیکی، وهزیری دهرهوهی پیشـووی عیراق "هوشـیار زیباری" سـی نمندازیاری فهرهنسـییان فراند و بو ماوهی چهند مانگیک به دیلیانگرتن؛ که له لایهن رژیمی سـیسـتهمی راداری چاودیری کردنی موسـل/کهرکووک/ سلیمانی. سهروکی نهو کاتهی فهرانسه، فرانسوا میتهران (۱۹۱۱-۱۹۹۱)، لهگهل راویژکاری نهمساویی، کوچکردوو برونو کرایسـکی فهرانسه، فرانسوا میتهران (۱۹۱۳-۱۹۹۱)، لهگهل راویژکاری نهمساویی، کوچکردوو برونو کرایسـکی (۱۹۱۱-۱۹۹۱)، بو دهسـت بهجی و به بی مهرج ئازادکردنیان . کهمپینیکیان که له کرد. زیباری و مک ههلویسـتهیکی باش، گهیاندنی نهو نامانهی رزگارکردنی هاویلاتییه فهرانسـیهکان که له





لایهن پاپا، جۆرج مارکیس(۱۹۲۰-۱۹۹۷) و برونق کر ایســکییهوه بۆ مهســعود بارزانی نوســرابوو، وه ئەستۆی خۆی گرت.

دهکر ا ئهمه جیّبهجیّ بکر ایه و به لام به شیّو دیه کی باش بهر هو دان پیّدانانی نیّودهو لَهتی و ناوبانگی باش ههنگاوی نه الله باشان مهسعود بارز انی لهگهل خیّز انه کهی له کهره ج که له ماله ئاوار هکاندا ده ژیا، که له سالی ۱۹۸۰ دا له لایهن شای نیّر انهوه پیّیان به خشر ابوو و بنکهیه کی سامربازیی بچووکی پ.د.ک. له را ژان (لادیّیه ک له خوار ووی روّژ هه لاتی زاگروّس له سنوری سیّگوشهیی ئیّران – عیّراق - تورکیا همهوو.

۱۰۳ مایکل رؤبین ۸EL:۲۰۱۷ ، ۲۰/ ۲۰-/ ۲۰۰۱ له رووی منز ووبیه و به یه یه یه یه یه دوو لایه نیم و به یه یه یه یه یه یه یه دوو لایه نی سیاسیی دیاری کوردستان پ.د.ک. و ی.ن.ک. واته همردوو بنه ماله ی بارزانی و تألمبانی گرت: " هنچ کام له بارزانییه کان و تألمبانیه کان له کاتی له دایک بوونه و مورکی ســمرکردایه ی کردنی ناوچه که یان پی نه به خشــراوه. له جیاتی نه وی کوردستان به رمو ناوه دانیی و خوشــگوزه رانیی بیه ن، بوون به حوسـنی موباره ک و بن عملیه کان. له جیاتی به رموه و پنشــبردنی عنراق ســمرکرده کورده عنراقیبه کمان به هنری خراپه کاریی و گهنده آییانه و مهنرات و کورده کانی عنراق نه له به غدا، نه جه فن، یان که ربه لاوه سه رچاوه ی گرتووه بر کروو له دو و بنه ماله که ی همولین و سلم کورده ی گرتووه به به غدا، نه جه فن یان که ربه لاوه سه رچاوه ی گرتووه به به غرو له دو و بنه ماله که ی همولین و سلیمانیه موهه ".

.http://www.aei.org/publication/is/the/kurdish/spring/here (acc. 25th February 2018): ۱۰۶ - ســهر چاوهی زانیارییه و مرگیر او مکان: حکومه نی ههریمی کور دســتان له ههولیّر: یه کهم هه نبر ار دنی ئاز ادانه له ۹۹۲/٥/۱۹ ایه کهم سهر و ک و وزیر انی هه نیز پر در او به شیو میه کی دیمو کر اسیی: فوئاد مه عسوم: ی. ن. ک. باشترین یه کهم جیگر: روز شاوهیس، ب.د.ک. شهری ناوخویی کوردهکان: ٥-١٩٩٤ – ٢٤/ ۱۱ /۱۹۹۷ دوو بهریوبهرایهتی ههریمی جودا ههولیر (بدک) و سلیمانی (ی.ن.ک). ناوچه کانی ژیر كۆنترۆڭى ي.ن.ك : ۱۹۹۲-۲۰۰۵ ، ناوچەكانى ژێر دەستى پ.د.ك :۱۹۹۱-۲۰۰۵. بەرێوبەر ايەتىي يەكێتى نیشتیمانی کوردستان چوار سهروک و مزیرانی همبووه :۱: فوئاد مهعسوم: ۶/ ۷/ ۱۹۹۲ – ۲۱/ ۳/ ۱۹۹۳: ۲- كۆسىرەت رەسول: ۲۱/ ۱۹۹۳/۳ – ۱۹۹۱ - ۲۰۰۱ / ۲۰۰۱ : ۳- بەر ھەم ساڵح: ۲۱/ ۱/ ۲۰۰۱ – ۶/ ۷/ ۲۰۰۶ :٤: عومهر فهتاح حسين: ٤/ ٧/ ٢٠٠٤ \_ ١٤/ ٦ /٢٠٠٥. بهريوبهرايهتي يارتي ديموكراتي كوردستان /همولێر: ٣ سمروٚک و مزيراني همرێمي همبووه: ١- روٚژ شاوهيس ٢٦/ ١٠ / ١٩٩٦ ٢- نێچيرڨان بارزاني: ۲۰/ ۱۲/ ۱۹۹ /۱۶/ ٥/ ۲۰۰۰. دووهم هه لبر اردنی همریمایه تبی (له پاش نهوه ی پ.د.ک و ی.ن.ک. هاو بهیمانی نیشتمانیی و دیمو کر اسپیان بیکهینا ) ۳۰/ ۲۰۰۵ : همر دو و لا ر از پیو و ن به بهخشینی نیو خول به دوو سهروک و مزیرانی پ.د.ک و ی.ن.ک ۱- نیچیر ثان بارزانی پ.د.ک: ۱/ ۳ /۲۰۰۱ /۳۱/ ۸/ ۲۰۰۹ ؛ ۲- بهر ههم سالِّح: ی.ن.ک : ۱/ ۱۰/ ۲۰۰۹ -۱/ ۲۰۱۲/۱ . ههنبر اردنی سنیهم ۲۰ / ۷/ ۲۰۰۹ لیستی کوردستانی هاوبه شی (پ.د.ک/ی.ن.ک)، (گوران)ی تازه دامه راو که سهرکه و تنیکی گهوره به دست ده هنِننِت؛ 22% دمنگه کانی هم نبر اردن و ۲۰ کورسی له ۱۱۱ کورسی په راهمان به دهست دنننِت و له سمره تاوه و مک دووهم لایمنی به هنز له دوای هاویه یمانی (پ.د.ک ۹۵۰ و ی.ن.ک ۹۳۰) ایستی کور دستانی دهر دهکهویت % 22 . دو و باره دو و سهر وک و مزیر انهکهی ب دک/ی ن ک (نیو خوول): ۱- بهر ههم سالّح :۲۸/ ۱۰/ ۲۰۰۹ - ۰/۳/ ۲۰۱۲؛ نتجيّر ڤان بار زاني: له ۱۷/ ۱/ ۲۰۱۲ وه. جوارهم ههڵبرُ اردن ۲۰/۲۱/ ۲۰۱۳: ب. د.ک و ی.ن.ک بق یهکهم جار وهک دو لایعنی جیاواز رکابهری یهکتریان کرد؛ ئعنجامهکانیش پ.د.ک ۳۷،۷۹٪ و ۳۸ کورسی (گۆران پیگهی خوی ومک دوومم لایهن دمیاریزیت): ۲۱،۲٤٪ و ۲۶ کورسی، ی ن ک دینه خوار موه بو یلهی سیپهم ۱۷،۸٪ و ۱۸ کورسی . حکومه تی همریمی کوردستانی





ناچارى: ننچير قان بارزانى پ.د.ک سەرۆک وەزىران و قوباد تالەبانى (ى.ن.ک) جنگرى سەرۆک وەزىران: لە نوسىنگەكەي لەئىستادا وەک لەكابىنەي ھەشتەمى لە ٨/ ٥/ ٢٠١٤ وه.

١٠٥- بروانه چاوپێکهوتن، بهرچاوړووني٣٠١٠ له گهڵ نهوشيروان موستهفا (٢٠١٢-٢٠١٧):

.https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=a7bOReG8WJ4 (accessed 15 February 2018)

۱۰۲ - مهسعود بارزانی " وا منداله کانی به خنو کردووه " تا " بروا بکهن له سهروو کهسانی تر موهن ": روبین AEL,

7.17/7/

http://www.aei.org/publication/will/masrour/barzanibe/the/cias/latest/embarrassment .(acc. 25 Sept. 2017)

۱۰۷ دی ویقس ۲۰۱۷: ۱۰: "ئەستەمە ھەلسەنگاندن بۆ بارودۆخی ئیستای كوردستان بكریت ، چونكه هیچ لموئامار و زانیارییانهی، كه دەربارهی باری ئابوریی ههیه، به شیوهیهکی ئاسایی و گشتی بلاو ناكریتهوه، لموئامار و زانیارییانهی، كه دەربارهی باری ئابوریی ههیه، به شیوهیهکی ئاسایی و گشتی بلاو ناكریتهوه، هیچ زنجیره داتایهکی مانگانه یاخود و هرزیی سسمبارهت به تیكرای بهر ههمی ناوخویی ، بهر ههمی ناوخویی بهكارهینان، سسمرمایهیی و مبهر هاتووی جیگیر ، یان دامهزراندن، بوونی نبیه. ئاماژه كانی تاییهت به سسمر ژمیری وورد و ناوخویی كه له نیو كاته جیاوازهكاندا و له بواری ئابوورییدا بوونیان نبیه". مارك دی ویقهر، ومک ههر كارمهندیكی تری "پهمانگای تویژینهوه ههریمیی و نیوده ولمتیهكان "یه كه دریژكراوهی" AUIS :زانكوی ئهمهریكی له عیراق/سایمانی "یه به لهریخی كاریكی سمختی پر ووردهكارییهوه كه زوربهی له سهربیردوزی لیكولینهوه بهنده، تیدهكوشی، تا وینهیهكی دمقاودهی بارو دوخی ئابوریی ئهمروی حكومهتی ههریمی كوردستانمان بو بكیشیت .(بلاوكراوه نوییهكان)(دهسته بریر ومکورهان یوده مارک (۲۰۱۷): كیشه ئابورییهكانی عیراق و ههریمی كوردستان . IRIS(تویژینهوه ههریمی كوردستان) دی ویقهر، مارک (۲۰۱۷): كیشه ئابوریی، مانگی سیپی ۲۰۱۷ :

https://auis.edu.krd/iris/sites/default/files/ECONOMY%

20IRIS%20BOOKLET%20March17.pdf; Tabaqchali, Ahmed (2017): Iraq's :Economy after ISIS: An Investor's Perspective, IRIS, November 2017

https://auis.edu.krd/iris/sites/default/files/IRIS Iraq%20Post/ISIS%20

Economy%20AT\_FINAL.pdf; Bartnik, Aaron (2017): Obstacles and Opportunities for Entrepreneurship in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region, IRIS, July 2017: https://auis.edu.krd/iris/sites/default/files/ IRIS\_Entrepreneurship%

.20in%20Iraq%20and%20KRI%20report.pdf

http://www.krso.net/Default.aspx?page=article&id=1166&l=1 (accessed 28 /108 .February 2018)

Cf. the self/portrait of the "Kurdistan Region Statistics Office": /109 http://www.krso.net/Default.aspx?page= article&id=975&l=1 (accessed 28 February .2018)

Cf.: http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/page.aspx?l=12&s=050000&r=304&p=214; main /110 source for that is the UNDP Iraq Human Development Report 2014:





http://www.iq.undp.org/content/dam/iraq/img/Publications/UNDP/IQ\_IraqNHDR20 .14/English.pdf (both accessed 28th February 2018)

Synopsis by the author: http://hennerbichler.info/aufstande\_2011.html und /111 .http://hennerbichler.info/verbesserte lage 2012.html as of 2012

۱۱۳ - حسسانی ۲۰۱۸: لهلایهکهوه و یّرای گهنده آلیی ناوخوّیی ، هیوای یارمهتیی گهور متر له لایهن روّژ ناواوه ، کوردهکانی زیاتر بهر موپاشیوه برد". سسهر مرای نهومش حهز کردن به دارایی و دهسه لاتی سهر کرده کوردهکان له حکومهتی ههریّمی کوردستان دا، مهترسی نهوه ی لیکهوتهوه، که ههریّمی کوردستان، بکهویّته ژیر کونتروّلی نیّران و تورکیاوه ". جیروسهلیم یوست، ۴/ ۲/ ۲۰۱۸:

.http://www.jpost.com/printarticle.aspx?id=540680 (accessed 4 February 2018)

.KRG GOV. 2017: 17/18: http://cabinet.gov.krd/uploads/documents/2017 /114

Rûdaw, 26.06.2017: http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/260620171 115 (accessed 2nd February 2018)

http://cabinet.gov.krd/uploads/documents/2018/Deloitte\_Report\_on\_KRG\_Oil\_.116
Export\_\_Consumption\_ and\_Revenues\_for\_First\_Half\_of\_2017\_ENG\_KU\_AR.pdf
.(accessed 13 January 2018)

۱۱۷- روبین ۲۰۱۷ : ئاماژه به دژ بهیهک بوونیک دهکا، سسهبارهت بهوهی، که چۆنه داهاتی مانگانهی مهسعود بارزانی له داهاتی سالیکی سهروکی ئهمهریکا زیاتره: " مووچهی یهک مانگی مهسعود بارزانی، له مووچهی سالیکی سهروکی ئهمهریکا زیاتره: ۸EL : ۲۰۱۷ /۱۲ :

http://www.aei.org/publication/is/the/kurdish/spring/here (accessed 25 February : .2018)

۱۱۸ - دی ویقهر ۲۰۱۷ : ٤٤ : " سیستهمی بیر و کراسیی گهنده ل پیوشوینه کانیشی لاوازن ، دهستهی کارمهندانی شلوره نییه و له نهنجامی قهیرانی مووچه دا کهمترین کاریان پی دهدریت، که له ههفتهیمکدا تهنیا یهک پروّژ دینه شوینی کارمکانیان. له ژیر نهم چهند و چونییدا کهلینیکی یهکجار فراون دیته ناراوه سهبار مت به وی که ریکارمکان له تیوّریدا چوّن بهکار دین و له کاتی کارکردنیشدا چوّن بهکار دین".

۱۱۹ - ئامنر مكانى ئنستا كه لهلايهن و هزارهتى ناوخزى حكومهتى ههريمى كوردستانهوه دابينكراوه له ٣/٢٦/

Current figures provided by the KRG Ministry of Interior on 26 April 2018 online :(http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?s=040000&l=12&a=56760) are





۱۲۰ههریمی کوردستانی عیراق له سالی ۲۰۱۱ و ه زیاتر له دوو ملیّون ناواره ی ناوخوّی عیراق و سوریای گرتوو مته خوّی، که ریزه ی دانیشتوانی ههریّمی کوردستانی به بری له ۲۸٪ زیادی کردووه، بووه به ۲۰ ملیوّن که ۲۰۱ زیادی کردووه، نووه به ۲۰ ملیوّن که س ۲۰۱۶: ئامار مکه لایمن سلمروّک و مزیران نیّچیر شان بارزانبیه و گیردراو متهوه له کو نفر انسیّکی بانکی جبهانیی له ههو لیّر له ۲/ ۱۰۱۰ دا :

http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?s=040000&l=12&a=52985 (acc. 2nd February 2018). دوایین ئاماری به ردست که لهلایهن و مزار متی ناوختری ههریمی کور دستان به هاوشانی سامنتهری دوایین ئاماری به ردستان به هاوشانی سامنتهری ایکخستنی قمیرانه کان JCC له ۲۲/ ۱۸ دا له ههولیر بلاو کرایه وه، بهم شیو میه خوار مومیه: (http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?s=040000&l=12&a=56760):

" ئەمرۆ ھەرىمى كوردستان نزىكەي ١.٤ مليۆن كەسىيان لە جنگەي خۆيان دەركراون، كە لەم نيوەدا ۲۰۰.۰۰ كەسىيان يەنابەرن. بە شىيوەيەكى گشىتى ھەر يەمكەمان ۹۷٪ ئاوارەكانى سىوريا و ٤٠٪ ئه و کهسانه ی ناو خو ی عیر اق، که له شوینه کانیان دمر کر اون له خوی دهگری نهمر و ۳۷٪ بان له نو خیو هنگه ی به ابه رانه کان له ههولیر و دهوک و باریزگای ساتیمانی سه به حکومه ی همریمی کور دستان نیشـــتهجج یو و ن، ئه وانهی تر پشــــیان له لایهن کو مهلّگه ناو خو بیهکانه و ه دالّده در او ن. " کو ر تعیهکی ئاماریی بار و دوّ خی بهنابهر انی همریمی کور دستانی عیّر اق": سمر جهمی ۲۷٤٬۹۳۱ همز از بهنابهری "گو مانلیّکر او" له همريمي كوردستاني عيراقدان؛ ٢٤٨. ٣٨٢. تاكه كهسي (١٠٠٠ ٨يان خيزان) يهنابهره سورييهكان له عيراق ناونووس كراون، له ۷۳٪ له نو خيوه تگه له ههولير، دهوك و سليمانين و ۱۷٪ يان لهدهرهوهى خيّو متكه كان ژيان بهسهر دميهن؛ ٤٧٪ي يهنابهره سورييه كان ئافر متن و ٥٣٪ يان بياون، ٣٤٪ يان منالّن له نێوان ٠ بۆ١١ ساڵن؛ ٧٠٪ يەنابەر ەكانى سورىيى لەكوردستانى عێراق منداڵ و ئافرەتن؛ ٣٥٪ى خێزانەكان شويني گونجاوي نيشته جيبوونيان نيپه له بارو دوخيكي نه گونجاودا ده رين؛ ٣٢٪ خيز انهكانيان ئهنداميكيان بارودو خي تهندروستي سهختي ههيه و پپويستي به چاوديري تايبهت ههيه ؛ له ٧٠٪ ي مندالهكان تهمهنيان له نيّوان ٦ بق ١٢ ساله، كه خراونه ته قوتابخانه رمسمي و نار مسمييه كانهوه. همروه ها پيّويسته سمرنج بخهينه سەر ئەو راستېپەي كە ھەرىمى كورسستانى عيراق ٢٠٧٠٠ ھاوو لاتى توركىي و ١٣١٢٩ ھاوو لاتى ئېرانىي و ۲۰۹۷ فهڵهستینیی له خوی گرتووه، که بهفهرمی وهک پهنابهر ناونووسکراون. ئهمهش ژمارهی پهنابهران له ناو جهکهماندا دهگهیهنبیته ۲۷۶۹۳۱ کهس که بیو پستیان به هاو کاریی و بار مهتی تابیعت ههیه." لیّدو انهکهی هم يمي كوردستاني عيراق جهخت لهسهر ريوشويني بشت بهستوو به مافهكاني همريمي كوردستان دمكاتهوه، كه بريتييه له ئـازادي جموجوّل، شــوێنگورين و موّلهتي كـاركردن و چوونه نـاو خێوهتگهكـان و و هر گرتنی خز مهتگوز اربیه کانی خویندن بهبی به رامبه ر".

KRG Ministry of Interior JCC statement 26 April 2018 (http://cabinet.gov.krd /121 :/a/d.aspx?s=040000&l=12&a=56760)

سروشتی قەیرانەکانی سوریا و عیراق بووەتە هۆی زیاتر خایاندنی بیّجیّگەیی و بیێشویّن بوون ، ړیّگری له زوّرینهی پهنابەران و دەرکراومکان له ناوخوّی وولاتەکەیاندا دەکات، تا زووتر بۆ وولات و زیّدی خوّیان بگەریّنهوه.

۱۲۲- له ۲۰۱۱ وه تویژینه وهی نوی ده ربارهی بابه ته جیاوازه کان بلاو کرانه تموه، که لیژنه که له لایه ن و در یره کانی تعدروستی، ژینگه و زانستی عیراق له به غدا به ریوه دهبران، ههندیکیان خیرا له کونفرانسیکی





نیّودهو لمّنیدا خرانه روو له ۲۰۱۱ له زانکوی تمکنطوّجی لولیا له سوید، له ناویدا: ئطئهنساری ۲۰۱۱: "پاشماوه سربازیی مهتر سیدار "؛ ئهلموقدادی و نهلئهنساری ۲۰۱۱: "ناوچه ژههراوی بووهکان "؛ ئهلتای و ئال ۲۰۱۱: "پاشسمروّی یوّرانیوّمیی له باشسوری عیّراق" نهلحهدیسسی و ئال ۲۰۱۲: ۱/۷: اناکامی له دایکبووهکان "یان نهلعهزاوی ۲۰۱۷: "پاشسهروّی یوّرانیوّمیی و ژههراویی بوونی مهتر سیدار له دایکبووهکان "یان نهلعهزاوی ۲۰۱۷: پیشسهروّی یوّرانیوّمیی و ژههراویی بوونی مهتر سیدار له عیّراق" کورتهیهک"). له ۲۰۱۱ تویّرینهوهی زانستی هاوشیوه له لایمن ریّکخراوه ناحکومییهکانهوه له بهغدا نهنجامدراون، که به "دهستهی ریکخستن له عیّراق "ناوبراوه ، زیاتر خویّندنهوه (هملّبرُ ارده):گالبریّس و هوّلن ۱۹۸۸، کورهگر تووهکان ۱۹۹۱: مهک دیار مید

۱۲۳ ـ له ئيستادا، له لايهن زاناياني (دمستهي كور دستانيي بق تويّر ينهوهي ستر اتيجيي و ليكوّلينهوهي زانستيي) و زانكوي سليماني له همريمي كور دستاني عيّر اق، تويّرينهوهي بيشكهوتو وانه و ريّنيشاندهر كراوه.

۱۲۶- رژیمی سهدام حوسین هیرشی کیمیایی کرده سهر خه آکی هه آمبجه له ۱۹۸۱ / ۱۹۸۸ که له کوتایی جه نگی نیران و عیراقدا بوو . ۲۰۰۰ بی ۲۰۰۰ که رود کو ژران و ۲۰۰۰ و بی ۱۹۹۱ ، ۲۰۰۱ که سیش بریندار بوون، که زوربه یان دانیشتوانی ئاسایی بوون (چاو دیری مافه کانی مروّق:۱۹۹۱ ، ۱۹۹۳ ، ۱۹۹۳ ، ۲۰۰۲ ؛ هیلته رمان که زوربه یان دانیشتوانی ئاسایی بوون (چاو دیری مافه کانی مروّق:۱۹۹۱ ، ۱۹۹۳ ، ۱۷۲۱ ، ۱۷۲۰ / ۱۹۹۳ ). ایکو آینه و میه کی ته ندر و ستی نه ته وه یه کگر تووه کان ده ری خست، که گازی مهستار د (خهرده ل) له گه آزی مهان که گازی مهان ده داری مروّق (چاو دیری مافه کانی مروّق ۱۹۹۳) . ناموّز ای سهدام، عملی حه سه مهجید میشک و دهماری مروّق (چاو دیری مافه کانی مروّق ۱۹۹۳) . ناموّز ای سهدام، عملی حه سه مهجید (۱۹۶۱ / ۲۰۱۷) که نازناوی "عملی کیمیایی"لینر ابوو، له و کاته دا سه رکرده ی هیزه کانی عیراق بوو، له باکوری عیراق له دادگایه کی عیراق له به غذا له مانگی ۵ / ۲۰۰۷ دادگایی کرا، به نه نجامدان و ریک خستنی هیرشه کیمیایی میمیایی مروّق ۲۰۰۱ (ده دانی در مرکر (چاو دیری مافه کانی مروّق ۲۰۰۱)

UPI, Erbil, March 8, 2010: https://www.upi.com/Top\_News/Special/2010/03/08) (1988/Kurdish/massacre/labeled/genocide/UPI/93471268062566/ (acc. 02 June 2018) (1988/Kurdish/massacre/labeled/genocide/UPI/93471268062566/ (acc. 02 June 2018) مناجع بالموده المحاديمي و هاو رئ عومهر شيخ موس M.A، شهر كمريكي كوردي سوريا و زانايمكي له دوو كهسي نمكاديمي و هاو رئ عومهر شيخ موس M.A، شهر كمريكي كوردي سوريا و زانايمكي له عاموده عاموده المسلم)). كه بق دميان سال له سويد ژياوه وه له سالي ۱۹۸۹ له گهل نووسهردا پيكهوه دهستيان كرد، به تومار كردني دهنگيي ميژووي كهسياتييه رابهره كوردهكان له ناواره بوونيان له بهريتانيا . عهيدولحهميد حوسيني . M.A، كورديكي شارهزا و خاوهن نهزموون، سهبارهت به نيران له مههاباد له دايك بووه، و مك ياريدهدمريكي زانستيي وايه بق نووسه له زانكؤي سايماني ، له سهرهتاي دهستكردن تويژهنهوهكهي له دايك.

European Commission: /126

https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood/enlargement/countries/detailed/country/information/turkey\_en; Additional Protocol, EUR/Lex: https://eur/lex.europa.eu/legal/content ./EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:21970A1123(01), both accessed May, 20, 2018

Cf. for instance interviews of Hamit Bozarslan with Walter Friedl, Kurier, /127 13.01.2017: https://kurier.at/politik/ausland/tuerkei/steht/nahe/am/buergerkrieg/ 240. 847.283 or Noura Maan, Der Standard, 14.01.2017: http://derstandard.at/ 20000





50705670 qq/In/der/Tuerkei/wird/Oesterreichs/Aussenminister/gehasst (both accessed 14 January 2017)

۱۲۹- پله بهندییهکهی فیچ :تورکیا/ر اپورتی پله بهندی (۲۰۱۸)، له لهندهن له ۱۲/ ۲/ ۲۰۱۸ بلاوکر او متهوه؛ رقیته رز، ئهستهمول(۲۰۱۸) .تیروانینی ئابووری و ریوشتوینی دارایی تورکیا. بانکی ناوهندی کوّماری تورکیا: راپورتی دادوهر، له ۲۰۱۸، چاوپیکهوتن له به هاردا لهگهل قهرزی دارایی نیودهولّتی و گروپی بانکی جیهانیی، ئاوریلی ۲۰۱۸ واشنگتون دی سی.

۱۳۰ - مورای بوکچین (۱۹۲۱ - ۲۰۰۱) ، سیاسهتمهدار و تیوریناسی چهیی ئهمهریکیی و رابهری

جوو لانهوهی ژینگه ناسیی، که پهرهی به چهمکی ژینگهی کومهلایهتیی و پلاندانانی شاریی له نیّو بیر و را ياخيبو و مكان دا ، ئاز اديخو ازيى سـ قشـياليسـته ژينگهيهكان . بوكچين لهسـه رتادا شـيوعيى بووه ، ياشـان یاخیبووه، که نائومید بوو به و بیرور ایهوه نیور پیهکی تایبهت بهخوی سهبارهت بهدیمو کر اسیبی بنچینهیی هم نمیی دامهز ر اند به ئالْو گور کر دنی به بیر و ر ای شکستخو ار دو و ی "خهباتی جینهکان" به "ئاز ادی خو از پی شار مو انبتی"، که همر گیز نه بو و ، لهسمر مو ه بسمینز بت بان لمو ساتهی جبیه جبیی دمکر د بو جهل دمیو مو ه . ۱۳۱ ـ زاراوهي "جهيكوبيان" كه فره رههنده و له زانستي ميّر وو بهكار هاتووه :بهفهر مي : " جهيكو بهكان " ئەندامى يانەيەكى سىياسىي بوون (بەناوبانگترينيان لە٠٠٠، يانە لە دەوروبەرى سالى ١٧٩٣) لە ماوەي شۆرسى فەرەنسى، بەلام ئەم يانەميە بەر ئەندامە زۆرانەيەرە ھەرگىز دەسەلاتى نەگرتە دەست و راستەرخق حوكمي فهر هنسهي نهكرد. به لام يانه كه جياواز بوو و تهنها چهند ئهندامنكي دهريمرين، كه سهر به گرويه كاني يعر لممان بوون ، ناودار ترينيان "شاخهكان" و " گير و ندينسامكان"ن، كه له كوتاييدا و مك كاريگهر تريتيان دهر کهوت که دهستی همبوو له ئهنجامدای حوکمی توقاندن ۱۷۹۲/ ۹۳/ ۱۷۹۶، که له ۲۸/ ۷/ ۱۷۹۶ دا كۆتايى بيهات، كاتيك سەركردەي "شاخەكان"ماگزيميليان دى رۆبسىيىر بەبى دادگايى كردن لە تەمەنى ٣٦ سالّي و له شويّني شورشهكه به گيوتين سهري يهريندر اللهم رووهوه وشهي "جهيكوبييهنس" وهك نيشانهيهكي نتِكه أن له ژير ئالای سهر كهونتی كاتپی "جهيكوبييه نهكان" كه بهكار ده هنِنر ابو نموونه بهسٽو ميهكي نار ازيي بوون، بق توندر موی سیاسه ته شور شگیره کانی بالی چهپ به گشتی و ههروه ها بق پشتگیریکردنی دموله تیکی ناوهندیی، که هانی تهواوهتی حکومهتی دهدا تا کومهلکه به دیویکی تردا بگوریت، خویندنهوهی زياتر (هملّيرُ ارده): ســو بوّل ١٩٧٥ و ١٩٧٧ : ٨٧- ٩٢ ، بو شــمر ١٩٨٨ : ١٩١١ - ٢٠٠٢ وديكتاتوريهتي جهيكو ببيهكان)؛كەنەدى ٢٠٠٠: ٥٣ و (يرسىپارە دەستوربيهكان)، تاكيت له كەپتس جى بۆي زيادكراوه

۱۳۲ - بۆنەسىـــيم(۲۰۱۷). ئايا ئەمەرىكىيەكان بەجنىمان دىلىن؟ گروپى چاودىرى قەيرانە ننودەوللەتىيەكان ، رۆژ ھەلاتى ناوەراست، باكورى ئەفەرىقا .

۱۳۳- لنِداوانی شایه تحال (عمبدولحهمید حوسنِنی) ۱۹۸۲- ۱۹۸۵

(بههاری ۱۹۸۹): ۲۷۱-۲۷۱.

١٣٤- له لايمن عمبدولحميد حوسيّني له ٢٤/ ٦/ ١١٨ دا ليكدر او هتموه.

۱۳۵ ـ پهیمانگای تویزینه و ههریمیی و جیهانبیه کان ۲۰۱۷ : ۱٤: "کهرکووک دهبیته هاندهری گرژی و ناکوکییه کانی نیوان کور د و حکومه تی ناکوکییه کانی نیوان کور د و حکومه تی ناوهندیی"

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IRIS 2017: 14: "Kirkuk will be the catalyst for conflict between the Kurds and the ."central government

۱۳۱- بروانه گروپی قمیرانه نیودهو لمعتبیه کان/ روز هه لاتی ناوه راست ۲۰۱۷: ۱: تاکه ریگه ی گونجاو بو بهرده و ام بو نوی تاکه بریگه ی گونجاو بو بهرده و ام برون بریتیه له گمرانه وه بو دانوستانه کان به سه رپه رشتی نمته وه یه کگرتوه مکان، پشتگیری کرابوو له لایمن نهمه ریکا ، یه کنیت که بگهن به ریکه و تنیک لایمن نهمه ریکا ، یه کنیت که بگهن به ریکه و تنیک له ناوچه جی ناکوکه کان و هاو به شست کردنی داهاتی نهوت ، له ههمان کاتدا پشتگیریکردنی پیشکه که تنیک با ناوچه جی ناکوکه کان و هاو به شست کردنی داهاتی نهوت ، له ههمان کاتدا پشتگیریکردنی پیشکه دهست " بالادهست بوونی به غدا و عیراق . نه نام ام نام نیوه به ده بیت له لایمن همردو و لاوه به ناشنی بیته دهست " https://www.al/monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/iraqi/jewish/muqtada / Sadr.html (acc. 11 June 2018)

.Cf. IRIS 2017: 12, 15, 27 /138

Avraham 2017: "the only way to prevent an additional flow of refugees to /139 Europe is to grant them a safe haven in the Middle East located in Syrian and Iraqi ".Kurdistan

Hiltermann & Fantappie 2018: "To make matters worse, the combination of /140 Western abandonment and internal political dysfunction has left the Kurds in a more ".precarious position than ever

Avraham 2017: "If the enemies of the Kurds succeed in this, it will be a major /141 blow not only to Kurdish national aspirations but also to the struggle against Iranian aggression in the Middle East, the war against

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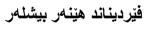




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# كورد لهبهردهم ئهگهرهكانى داهاتوودا

بهشی دووهم: پیشینهی میژوویی





### FOR ACADEMIC AND PRIVATE USE ONLY! کۆنفرانسی نێو دەوڵەتی (داھاتووی کورد)





### پێشەكىي:

یه که م: له به رئه وه ی له لایه ن وو لاتانی ده ره وه جا چ له لایه ن هیزی ناوه ندیی بالاده ست یان له لایه نهیزه بیانییه کانه وه بووبیت، وه ک ئام رازیک بو به ده ست هینانی به رژه وه ندییه کانیان به کار هینراون، هه روه ها له پیناو ئامانجه تاییه تییه کانی خویاندا ها و به شیبان له گه ل کردوون.

دووهم: لمبهر ئهوه کوردهکان ههر له میژهوه دابه سبوون و به بهردهوامیی له ناکوکیی و دووبه مکییدا بوون (شیخموس ۲۰۱۳ یه کگرتن له ناور استی دووبه مکییدا) ههروه ها پهرته و از هش بوون.

سنیه م: ههرچهنده و ه که هنزیکی دیاری سه نگین له ئۆرئاسیا (ئه و هروپای ئاسیایی) و روز هه لاتی ناو هراست ماونه ته و هه نگاوی جدییان به ره و دیموکر اسیی ناوه، به لام هیشتا نه یانتوانیوه، به حوکمی راسته قینه ی دیموکر اسی زورینه ی روز ئاوایی بگه ن و کوتا هوکاری یه کجار گرنگ ئه وه بوو: کورده کان هه نده به ئه زموون نه بوون تا خویان به ریوو تا به ده نگیکی نه به وی توانای دیپلوماسییان نه بوو تا به ده نگیکی یه کگرتووی به هیز مافه نه ته وایه تیپه کانیان بیاریزن.





سهره داوهکان:

کور دهکان، عیر اق، ئیر ان، تور کیا، سوریا، ئیسر ائیل، عمر هبستانی سعودیی، وولاتاني كهنداو، ميسر، رووسييا، نهنهوه يهككرتووهكان، ويلايهنه يهكگرتووهكاني ئەمەرىكا، يەكىتى ئوروپا، ناتۆ، ئەگەرەكانى داھاتوو.

۱ - بانگهشهی دهو لهتبکی کور دبی سهر بهخو

تا ئنستا هیچ سهر کر دهیه کی کور د بانگهشه ی دامه زر اندنی دهو لهتنکی گهور هتری بو ههمو و کور دهکان و له مهو دایه کی سه تاسه تاسه ی له همریمه هاو به شهکان لهسهر تاسهري ئور اسيا و روز هه لاتي ناو مر است دا نه کر دووه.

بنِشینهی منِرْ و و یی : بانگهشهی دهو لهتیکی کور دیی سهر بهخو

له ساته و مختی هه ر مسهینانی ئیمبر اتو ر بیهتی عو سمانییه کان له ز نجیر ه ر و و داو مکانی جەنگى جيھانىي يەكەممەرە تائەم رۆژە، ھىچ سىمركردەيەكى كورد بانگەشسەي دهو لهنتیکی کو ر دیی سهر بهخو ی نهکر دو و ه:

شيخ مه حمو د بهر زنجي (۱۸۷۸-۱۹۵۱) به در پژاپي حوکمي هاو به شي ئهو کاتهي بهريتانيا و نهتهوه يهكگرتووهكان له ميز ويوتاميا و دواتريش عيراق. قازى محممه (۱۸۹۳-۱۹۶۷) له سالني ۱۹۶۱ له باکوري ئيران که ئه و کاته له لايهن هێز مکانی سۆ ڤپهتهو ه داگير کر ايو و پانگهشهي پۆکر دو و ه. پهر ز نجي له ساڵي ۹۱۹ دا بانگهشهی (کور دستانیکی یه کگر تووی ئاز اد)ی راگهیاند، که له ههمان سالدا له لابهن هيز مكاني بهر بتانباوه بانگهشمه له لهبار برا و بهر زنجیش بق هیندستان دو رخر ایهوه ، باشان لهوی بهسهر کهوتووی گهر ایهوه و به خیر ایی له ۱۹۲۲/۲/۱۰ له سلیمانی به و هیوایهی که نوینه رایهتی ههموو کوردهکان بکات، بانگهشهی (شانشینی کوردستان)ی راگمیاند، ئهم شانشینه له ژیر تارمایی بمریتانیهکان خوراگر بوو تا سالی ۱۹۲۶ به لام یاشان له لایهن هیزه زهبه لاح وبالادهسته كۆ ڵۆنياڵىيەكانى بەريتانياوە دامركايەوە (ھێنەربيشلەر ٤٥٤-٤٣٧: ٢٠٠٤). قازى محهمه د به بالبشتني سية ڤيهت له٢٦/١/٢٦ ١ دا(كۆ مارى گهليي مههاباد)ي



دامه زراند، که یانزده مانگ دریزه می کیشیا تا نموه می له ۱۹۴۷/۱۲/۱۹۱۱ له لایه نهیزه دوباره ریخ خراوه که می نموکاته می نیرانه وه شکستیان پیهینا (ئیگلتن ۱۱۸،۲۲۱: ۱۹۲۳، رهمه فرانیی ۱۹۲۱: ۲۰۰۱؛ ۱۹۷۱، هینه سربیشه له وی ۱۹۲۳، ۱۹۰۱؛ ۲۰۰۱؛ ۲۰۰۱، نهروی ۱۳۰-۹۱: ۲۰۱۲.

لمسالم، ٩٣٠ دا (كۆمارى ئارارات) كه بهناوى شاخى ئاراراتهوه ناونرابوو، دو ابهدو اي "شـــور شــــي ئار ار ات" كه له باكوري روز هه لاتي "كوماري توركباي " تازه دامهز ر اوی ئه و کاته هاتبو وه کایه وه. له سالی ۱۹۳۱ دا ئه و ناو جانهی که ئامانجيان بو و ن كهو تنه ژ پر كۆنتر و للى تو ركياو ه. "شــــۆ ر شــــى بو و نـى ئار ار ات" له لایهن جو و لانهوی (خویی بوون)ی کور دهکانهوه رابهرایهتی دهکرا، که به ئامانجی گهشتن به کور دستانی ئاز اد" له سالی ۱۹۲۷ له "لوبنان" بیکهینرابوو. سهروکی ليژنهي جو و لانه و مي "خويي يو ون" دو و بر ايو ون په ناوي (جهلادهت عملي و کاممران بهدرخان) و سمرکردهی فهرمانده (ئیحسان نوری یاشا) بوو، که روّلیّکی كاريگهريي له رابه رايه تيكردني جوو لانهوهي (شــورشــي ئارارات)دا ههبوو، له كۆتابىدا "خۆپى بوون" ژەنەرال ئىبراھىم ھەسكىيان بە دادوەرى "كۆمارى ئارارات" دانا. ئەم كۆمارە كوردېپە بە شىنوەكى جيھانىي دانى بندا نەزرا. دامەزراندنى "دەوللەتى كوردىيى ئارارات"ى جيابووە، ھێشـــتا بناغەيەكى قانوونى نه و و (هێنه ربیشلهر: ۶۹۰ ـ ۶۹۱ ـ ۲۰۰۶). سلم ئه نجام له دوای کیکر دنه و می" كۆمارى گەلىي مەھاباد" ، ھەتا ئىستاش ھىچ سىمركردەيەكى كورد بەخودى "مەسىعو د بەر ز ان"بشەو ە بانگەشەى دەو لەتتكى سەر بەخۆ ى بۆ كور دستان نه کر دو وه، "موست مفا به رزانی"باو کی چهند جاریک روتی کر دو و وته وه، که بانگەشىدى دەو لەتتىكى كور دسىتانى سەر بەخۆ بكات، بە ھۆ ى ئەو بنەمايانەي، كە كور دستان به وو لاته در اوسييكاني بنشومارانه چوار دهور در اوه و بمرله همموو شــتیک دابینکردنی، بیویستییه بنچینهیهکانی بو رزگار بوون و مک جبهخانهی گونجاو، سمرچاوهی سامان و دارایی بنویست و یمیوهندی گرنگی بمردهوام لمگهل جيهاني دهر هو مدا در پر خايهن نه دهبوو. دهو لهتاني در اوسيي دهيانتو اني همر له ريي

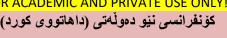




داخستنی سنورهکانیانه وه چۆک به کوردستاندا بدهن. ههروه ها له و مهترسییه دهسلهمییه، کوردستان ببیّته دوّزیّکی جیهانیی هاوشیّوهی بهرلینی چوارده ور دراوی سالی ۹۲۰کان، که وو لاتانی هاو پهیمانانی ئوروپایی له وکاته دا تهنها له ریّگه ی گواستنه وه ی ئاسمانی فراوانی سهر ناوچه دابه شبو وه کانی ئه لمانیاوه دهیان توانی همو لی پرزگار کردنی له گوشه گیری و دارمانی نزیکی بده ن. (هینه ربیشله ۷۷۰:

### ۲ - رووسییا و کوردهکان

پهیوهندی میر وویی رووسییا و کوردهکان ئهوپهری خوشی و ناخوشی له خود دهگریت، به شیر وه به که له جهنگی یه که می جیهانییدا کیشه کان گهیشتنه لووتکه و پوودانی چهندین پهشه کوژی. له کوتایی جهنگی جیهانیی دووهمدا یه کیتی سو قییه تاماده بوونی خوی پیشاندا له پشتگیریکردنی پیکهینانی کوردستانیکی گهوره، به لام همر زوو، پاش کورت خایه نیی "کوماری کوردستان له مه هاباد "له باکوری پوژ اوای ئیران، له به لیننه کهی خوی پاشگه زیووه. له دوای جهنگی جیهانی دووهم و له ماوه ی شهری سارددا "کریملین" کورده کانی وه ک ئامرازیک له پیناو به دهست





هینانی بهرژهو مندییه کانی خوی له ئوراسیا (ئاسیای ئورویایی) و روژهه لاتی ناو مر استدا به کار هیّنا. له ئیستادا روو سبیا لهسه کور د جاو مروانی و دیدیّکی هاو شنو مى دەسەلاتە ناو ەندىيەكانى ھەيە. يالىشتى فۆرمىكى "ھەرىمىكى ئۆتۆنۆمىيى " بق کور دمکان دمکات و بانگهشهی جهند و میمر هینانیکی بایهخدار له کور دستانی عبر اق دمكات.

پیشینهی میژوویی: سهر مداومکان: کور دمکان و رووسیا

کور دهکان له جیهانی هیز و بهر ژهو هندییهکانی رووسی له ئور اسیا و روژهه لاتی ناو مراست روّلْیکی کهم بایهخیان نبیه، ههر چهنده کو ردهکان لهر ابر دو و دا به تابیه تی به در پُژ اپی سهدهی نو ز دهیهم بهشیو هیهکی نهر بتیی قو و ڵ، بیّمتمانهیی بو و ن تبّیاندا گهشهیکر دو و ه، بهر امبهر به و هیز دی که بهدر بر ایی سهدهیهک بشتی کر ده موسو لمانه کانی قه و قاز و و مک به رگر بکاری دانیشتو انه ر مسهنه مهسیحییه کان له دژی کور د و تورکیا و ئاز مربیجان خوی ناساند. دو اتر هیز مکانی رو و سیا له ماو می جهنگی جیهانیی پهکهمدا زیادهر هو پیان کرد و کاری در ندانهیان ئهنجام دا و در پژهیان كيْشَا بِوْ سَنُورِ مِكَانِي كُورِ دِسْتَانَ (ئِيكُلْتَن ١٦: ١٩٤٦). لَهُ كَاتُهُو مِ يَهْيُو مِنْدِيبِهُكَانَ بِهُ هيّو اشي، گور انكار بيان بهسهر دا هات. له ماوهي جهنگي بهكهمي جيهانيي و دو اتر دا همريهكه له "تزاري" قميسمري رووسيا كه وازي له تهختي باشابهتي هينابوو لهگهل بِوَ لْشُهْفِيسِتُه كُوْ مُو نِيسِتُه دەسِهُلاتخو از مكان، كه له كو تابي سالّي ١٩٢٧ خو بان خز انده ناو ســـباســـهتی جبهانبیه وه و کور دیان وهک نامر از بک بهکار هننا بو در بر هدان به کاریگهریی جیوستر اتیجییهکهیان بهرهو باشوور و بهدریژایی باکوری ئیران و همر و مها عير اق.

ر و سیا کو ر دهکانی ئیر انی به کار ههینا بو فشار خستنه سهر تار ان تاو هکو و موسکو (٢) نهوتي دەستېكهويت، به لام تائيستاش جهندين جار شكستى هيناوه. له عيراق کر پملین کو ر دهکانی به کار هینا تا بالا دهست بیت بهسه ناو جه کانی میز و بو تامیای



روّژئاوای زاگروّس، که به نهوت و گاز دهولهمهندن، و بوّ ئهوهی به ئارهزوی خوّی دهسه لاته ناوهندییه کانی به غدا به هیّز یا لاواز بکات.

همروهها پرووسییا له باکوری دهریای ناوه پاست و له پروژئاواوه بهرهو کهنداو به بایه خهوه همولی بهدهست هینانی هیله بازرگانییه گرنگهکانی دهدا. لهم دواییه جهند کومپانیایه کی پیشکهوتووی پرووسی توانییان چهند پیکهوتنیکی سهرکهوتوانه ی گاز و نهوت له عیراق، همروه ها له همریمی کور دستانیش ئهنجام بدهن (۳) له ئیستادا ئهمهش وا پروون ده کپیتهوه، که پرووسییا سوور دهبیت، له فراوانکردنی کاریگهرییه کانی له سسم همریه که له به غدا و کور دستانی عیراق بهبی جیاوازی ، ئهگهر بتوانین لیکهوته کانی ببینین.

بهپیّی دهسته واژه جیوستراتیجییه کان هه ریه که له نیّران و دواتر عیّراق (دهوله تی عوسمانی میزوّپوتامیای پیشوو) له کوّتایی سهده ی نوّزده یه دهرکه وتن و به رهو بوون به دوو هیّزی بالادهست، وهک ههریه که له پرووسیا و به پیتانیا(٤) هه نگاویان نا، که به جوّش و خروّش بوون بوّ جه ختکردنه وه لهسه بلاوه پیّکردنی سیاسه ته ستراتیجیه کانیان له سه رانسه ری نوّراسیا (ئاسیای ئه وروپایی) و پروّژه لاتی ناوه پاستدا، که همردووکیان هه مان به رژه وه ندی سه مکیی و وورووژینه ریان همه بوو له پیّویستیان به گاز و نهوت، وه ک سه چاوه یه کی سووته مهنیی یه کلاکه ره وه بوّ به دهسته یّنانی هیّزیکی جیهانیی.





کوردهکان ده روانی. همرچونیک بیت هم کات و ساتیک (له میژووی هاوچه خ) که روووسیا همستی کردبیت، که نمیتوانیبیت پهیره وی سیاسه تیکی هاوشانی دهسه لاته ناوهندییه کان (له تاران، به غدا، ئهنقه ره، یان دیمه شق) و کورده کان بکات و سسم ئهنجام ده بوایه به سوودی لایه که بریاربدات، موسکو چهندین جار به به به بریاری داوه.

### كورتەيەك دەربارەي گۆرانكارىيە ھاوچەرخەكان:

تهنانه که دوا ساته کانی جیهانی سیاسیی و سهر پیخه فی مهرگی ده سه لاتی شاهانه ی پرووسیا له سالی ۱۹۱۲-۱۹۱۷، به پالپشتی موسکو له ناوچه ههریمییه کاند ههولی دامه زر اندنی پرژیمه ههریمییه کهمه نه ته وایه تییه کانی ده دا، به لام ئهم هه نگاوانه سهر که و تو و نه بوون. دواتر له ناوه پراستی سهده ی بیسته م دا پرووسیای سوقیه سهر که و تو و بوو، له هینانه کایه ی ههر دو و کوماری کهمه نه ته وایه تی اناز هربیجان و اکور دستان ، به لام لیره شدا دو و باره له دامه زر اندنی زنجیره یه که ده و له تیران کهمه نه ته و ایم تیه کان به پار استنی به پرژه و هندییه جیو ستر اتیجییه کان تا باشوری ئیران شکستیه یا ا

له كۆتايى جەنگى يەكەمى جيهانيى، بەشسيو ەيەكى سسەر ەكى ھۆزيكى كۆنەپاريزى كۆمەڭگەى كورديى لە باكورى رۆژئاواى ئيران، كە ئابورىيەكى تاك رەھەندىيان ھەبوو، كە سسەرچاو ەكەى تەنيا يەك بەر ھەمى وەك تووتن بوو، سسەر سسەختانە بەرگرىيان كرد لە بەر ەو پيشچوونەكانى رووسىيا بەر ەو باكورى رۆژئاواى ئيران. بەردەوام بوون لە خەباتكردن لەپنناو پيكهننانى ھەريمىكى خۆ بەريوەبەر و وەك پيويست سەربەخۆ بيت لەدەسە لاتە ناوەندىيەكان. تەختى دەسەلاتى ھەريمىيان لەو كاتەدا شسارى ماھاباد لە باكورى رۆژئاواى ئيران(٥) بوو بەپيچەوانەو، ھيزە داگيركەر ەكانى تزارى رووسىيا (سەريان لى شيوابوو، رانەھينرابوون، خەريكى تالانكارى بوون و زۆربەي ئەو سەربازانەي كە لە سوپاى تزارەكان جياببوونەو، خەر جىر خەر جىر خىر جىردى يەر خىر جىردى دەردەرە بى نەدەدرا) بەلاماردانەكانيان چرتر دەكردەو، بى ناوچەيەكى فراونترى





مههاباد و ویرانکردنی ئه و ناوچه هه ریمییانه ی که به رگرییان دهکرد و له سالی ۱۹۱۵ ۱۹۱۷ الله ده و رو و به ری مههاباد کومه لکو ژبیان ئه نجامدا، سه ره رای کوشتن و راوه دونانی هه زاران که س. (٦)

داگیر کردنی ئیران لهلایمن ئینگلیز/سوڤییمت ۱۹۶۱:

خبر ا دو ای بالامار دانی ئەلمان بۆسلەر بەكېتى سىز قېبەت لەسلىلى ١٩٤١ ، ھەر دو هاو بهیمانی به بتانیا و دمو لمتی سو قیمت به بی راگهباندنی جهنگ بو ریگر بکر دن له دەست بیشخهری ئه الله داگیر کر دنی ئیر آن، ئیر آنیان داگیر کر د. ههر جهنده ئيران به روالهت بيلايهن بوو، به لام رهزا شا يه هلهوي (۱۸۷۸-۱۹٤٤)، به لاي ئەڵمانىيەكانداداھەســتى دەجو و ڵا. ھێز ەكانى ســـۆ ڤىيەت باكو رى ئێر انيان داگېر كر د و به ریتانیاش باشوور، که له ریی در وستکردنی به ربهست لهیه کیان جياكر دنه و (مو جاب٤٧: ٢٠٠١) روز اشايان بهدلسوز يي بو ئهلمانياي نازي تومه تبار کرد، ناچار کرا و از له تهخت بننیت و دهسه لاته کهی به کوره گهنجه کهی محمله ر مزا به هله وی (۱۹۱۹-۱۹۸۰) ببه خشینت، که له ۱۹٤۱/۹/۱۲ تا ۱۹۷۹/۲/۱۱ فهرمانر موای ئیران بوو. پهکیتی سے قیبهت ریکاکانی بو دابینکر دنی ئاز و وقه و تعقعمهنی له باکوری ئبر انهوه تا کهنداو بار است بو و . بهر بتانبا تو انی دەسىت بەسسەر ناوچە نەرتېپە گرنگەكانى باشسورى رۆژئاوا و باكورى رۆژئاوادا بگر بت، که بنشتر له دو ای جهندین سال گفتو گو نهبتو انی یو و بهته و او متی به دهستی بنننت دو ایهدو ای ئه وه، به کنتی سے قبیهت هه و نی بنکهننانی کو مار نکی هه رنمی هاویه بهانی مؤسکوی له ناز مربیجان و کور دستان دا، لهم رووهوه کریملین بۆپەكەمجار له منز ووي هاوچەرخ دا پەيمانى بشتگير پكردنى بنكهننانى دەوللەتى کور دیے و کور دستانیکی گهور متری دا.

يەكىتى سۆ قىيەت و پەيمانى (كوردستانى گەورە):

له نیوانی سالانی ۱۹۶۱ بن ۱۹۶۰ بارودوخی جیوستراتیجی یه کیتی سوڤیهت له (ئۆرئاسیا)ئاسیای ئوروپایی و روژ هه لاتی ناوه راست گورانکاری گهورهی بهسهردا





هات. له سالی ۱۹۶۱ دەوللەتى سۆۋلەت ببووە قوربانى گەمارۆكان و رەشلىكىرىيەكانى ئەلمانىياى نازى، كاتتك كە دەيويسىت بەر ۋە وەندىيەكانى لە دواى سنورەكانى جەنگى جيھانى دوەەم فراوانتر بكات، بەلام باش خۆى ئامادە نەكردبوو، تا بەشلىيوەيەكى ھارمۆنى لە گەلل كوردەكان كاربكات. (رۆز قىلىت ١٩٢٥/٢٥٠: ١٩٤٧).

له سالّی ۱۹۶۰ یه کنتی سوّ قیه ت و هک بر او ه یه کی ئاسوده ی جه نگی دوه همی جیهانیی خوّی ده ناساند. سوودی له دهست که و ته کانی دوای جه نگ بینی، کورده کانی و هکو ئامر از یک به کار هینا تا دهست به سهر ناوچه نه و تیپه کان بگریّت و به سهر ئیران و ئه و دیوی ئیرانیشدا و بالادهست بیت. به م پیه کریملین له گه آل کورده کاندا به به آینیه دوود آل و نارونه کانیه و ه سهباره ت به نیمچه سهربه خوّیی کوردستان له ۱۹۶۱ دا، بو و به هاو پهیمانی کی چالاک، سهر ه رای کورتخایه نیه که که ۱۹۶۱ - ۱۹۶۱ له دامه زراندنی کوماری کی کوردیی له مه هاباد له باکوری روّ رئاوای ئیران ئه مسیاسه ته یه پهیره و ده کرد.

یه کنتی سے قیمت له ریخی جه عفه رباقر و ق (۱۹۵۱-۱۹۹۱) وه، سه رکرده ی کومونیستیی ئازه ربایجانی یه کنتی سے وقیمت له ۱۹۳۲ بو ۱۹۳۳ که فهر مانه کانی جو زیف سیتالینی دیکتاتوری یه کنتی سے وقیمت و له دایکبووی جو رجیا (۱۸۷۸ جو زیف سیتالینی دیکتاتوری یه کنتی سے وقیمت و له دایکبووی جو رجیا (۱۸۷۸ بعیب ۱۹۵۳) جنبه جی ده کرد. باقر و قسسه رمتا له سیالی ۱۹۶۱ (ئیگلتن ۱۱: ۱۹۳۳ لهیت ۱۹۶۱) جنبه جی ده کرد. باقر و قیل سالی ۱۹۶۱ (ئیگلتن ۱۹۶۱) دا بانگهیشت ی نزیکه ی سسی سیمر کرده ی کوردی بو "باکو" ی پایته ختی "ئازه ربایجان" کرد، که زوربه بان ده کرد، له سیمر و کونه پاریز بوون و نوینه رایه تی کورده کانی ئیرانیان ده کرد، له سیم کورده که نورد و که و نورکیا شه مزینان له همکاری له تورکیا، که زور ترین ریز له م سمر کرده سوفیه دینداره گیراوه له باکوری کوردستانی ئیران، که ناو و ناوبانگی تا عیراق و تورکیا بلاو بو ته و دا که نه و کاته بلاو بو ته و دا که نه و کاته بلاو بو ته و دا که نه و کاته زیات که سه سه روک خیل بوون.



ههر و مها قازی محهمهد (۱۸۹۳-۱۹۶۷) که خهلکی مههاباد و رو شنبیر بکی بور ژوا و بار بز مر و دادو مری دادگایه کی ئیسلامیی بووه، کهسیکی کومه لایه تبی و خاکیی بووه. به لام خاوهن دهنگیکی به هیزو کاریگهر بووه. ئهندامانی ئهم گروبه به ئوتومييل بو " تهوريز " و لهويوه به شهمهندهفهر بو باكويان بردن بهكهم سهر دانيان بق باكن نزيكهي دوو ههفتهي خاياند، يهكيتي سـقفيهت به نارووني وه لامي داواكاني كور دبان دايهوه، به لام ههر له سهر متاوه له ساللي ١٩٤١ له باكور ريز بكي زور بان به قازی محهمه د بهخشی، که دو اتر له سیالی ۱۹۶۱ بوو به سیهر کردهی" کوماری کو ر دستان له مههاباد"، گر و بیکی گهو ر می هاو شیبو می ئهمان له نیو می دو و ممی مانگی نو ی ساڵی ۱۹٤٥ لهسهر داوای باقر و ف گهشتیان بو باکو کر د. نهمجار میان بنِکهاته کو ر دبیهکان له لایهن خو دی قازی محهمهدهو ه له ژ بر سهر کر دایهتی ئهو دا هه لْنِرْ بْرِ دِرِ ان لِه سِالْي ١٩٤٥ سِوْ قُبِهِت "قازي محهمه البان و مكو بياوي خوّيان دەستنیشان کرد بوو، (ئیگلتن ٤٢: ١٩٦٣) بۆ فەرمانر دوایي كۆمارى داھاتووى مه هاباد و ههر وهما تا سهر كر دايه تبي جو و لانه و مي "كو مهله" بكات؛ و مكو و ئامر از يكى سياسي خويان به كاريان ده هينا. " كو مهله" كه حيزب و ريكخر او يكي نهننیی بوو له ۲ ۲/۹/۱۱ اله لایمن گروینکی بازرگانی بانزه کهسیی جینی مام ناو مندیی و چهند کارگیر یکی ناوخویی نهناسر او له نزیک مههاباد دامهز رابوو، گەنجترينيان خويندكاريكي نۆزده سال بوو، بەتەمەنترينيان نزيكەي يەنجا سال دهبو و ، که بهر بر سے تو تن و جگهر ه يو و ناو بان له خو بان نابو و "کو مهله" (کو مېته) كۆمەللە (كۆمەللەي ژیاني كورد) له سهر متادا هیچ سهر كردهیهك دیارینهكر ابوو. كۆمەللە وەك گروينكى دىموكراتى بەر يوە دەچوو ھىچ دەستەو تاقمنىكى بالا دەست تپیاندا دور نهدهکهوت.

جوو لانهوهکه پهگ و پیشه کوردی عیراقی همبوو. پارتی "هیوا" له لایه نمیر و نوسه و نوسه کوردی عیراقیه وه (پهفیق حیلمی۱۸۹۸-۱۹۲۰) له سالی ۱۹۳۸ دامه زرا. دوو ئهندامی خوی که ئهفسه ر بوون به ناوی مستهفا خوشناو" و امیر حاج ئه حمه د" و هکوو نیر در او و پاویژکار بو ئاهه نگی دامه زراندنی کومله ی





ژ ک له مانگی نو ی ۱۹۶۲ دا بو مههاباد نار در بارتی" هیو ای" کور دستانی عبر اق یمیوهندییه کانی بهنزیکی له گهل پارتی کومهلهی کور دستانی ئیر ان تا رووخانی كۆمارى مەھاباد له كۆتاپى ١٩٤٦دا ھێشــتەو ە. كار بگەر بى كۆمەڵە زۆر بەخێر اپى ته شهنی کرد و همر زوو بوو به بربرهی پشتی سیاسه تی خهونی سه ربهخویی نه ته و میلی کور دهکانی ئیران (روز قیلت ۲۵۱/۲۵۰/۱۹٤۷)

له ۱۰ ی و کتو پهرې ک ۹۶۶ دا گرو بېکې جو ار ده کهسي له ئهنداماني حبر پهکه قازې محهمهدیان و مک سهر و کی کو مهلهدهستنیشانکر د، قازی محهمهد ر ازی بو و سو بندی دلسوز بی خوار د. به لام بو کو میته ی سهر مکی هه لنه بر بر در ۱ (ئیگلتن ۳۹: ١٩٦٣، روز قلت ٢٥٣: ١٩٤٧) كه رووني دهكاتهوه هوكاري روز امهند نهبووني دامهز رینه رانی حیز بهکه به همانی ار دنی قازی محمه به سه و کی کومهانه، ترسيان بووه له وهي قازيمحهمه قورخي دهسه لات بكات و به مهش بنهما ديمو كر اسبيهكاني كو مهله له ناو بجيت له كو تابيدا و له ژير فشاري سو ڤيهت" كۆملىك" دانى بىداھىنا، وەك رۆز قىلت نووسىيوپەتى و بۆي دەركەت كه"ئهنجامهكهى فهر مانر هواى تاكه كهسيبانهى يارتهكه بوو".

لهههمان كاتدا له نبّو ان ســـالْاني ١٩٤١-٥٤٩ســو ڤيەت بېگەكانى خوّى يەر مو كوردهكاني ئيران به تهواومتي گوري. له يهكهم چاو پيكهوتن له باكو جهعفهر باقر وق سهر و ک و مزیر انی ناز مر بایجان که له و کاته دا به ناوی کریملنه و مرباری دمر دهکر د، تا ر ادهبهک به ناگا و بار نز ببهوه گونی له داو اکار ببهکانی کور د دهگرت و به ز ماننکی گشتی دودوا و نامازهی به نهوه دوکرد، که سو قبهت لهگه ل کوردهکانی ئير إندايه؛ كورده خاو من همسته نهتمو ايهتيهكان بهم ليدو إنانه زور گهشبين نهبوون. (ئيگڵتن ٢٣-٢٤: ١٩٦٣). كەمنىك دواتر له مانگى يننجى١٩٤٢ سىمرۆك ھۆزە كور دييهكان له گفتو كهياندا لهگهل كار بهدهستاني سو فيهت له "تهوريز ور هز ائبيه (ورمي)" به راشكاوى داواى مافهكانيان كرد و داواى ئازادييان له يهيوهندييه ناوخوییه کاندا کرد (ئیگلتن ۱۹۶۳:۲۶). بهدریزایی سالی ۱۹۶۶هم یه که له ئاز هربیجان و کور دستان سهرتایایان ببوون به ئه فسهری سۆڤییهت و لایهنه کانی





تر (روز قلت ۱۹٤۷:۲۵۷) له هاوینی سے آلی ۱۹۶۵ داو اکاربیه کان بو نوتونو می کور دستان لهگهڵ ســوٚ ڤيهت به بهر دهو امــ تاو و توي کر از دهستهي کور د له دو و مم كۆبونە وەدالەباكۆلەمانگى نۆي ١٩٤٥ بەنووسىراويك بەشىدارى گفتوگۆكەي كرد، كه تبيدا داواي دهو له تنكى كوردي جيا و ياليشتى روون و باوهر بيكراو له لايهن يهكيتي ســو فيهتهوه بهتاييهتي له دابينكر دني جبهخانه و ياره يان كرد. دهست نو و سمکه به و و ر د و در شتبیه و ه له بهر دهست ر هنگینی له نو و سیندا به قاسمی ئيلخانيز اده سبير در ابو و (ئيگڵتن ٤٤: ١٩٦٣).

باقر و ق بهشية ميه كي زار مكيي ئاماده بووني سو قبيهتي بيشان دا، تا كوردهكان بينه خاو ەن كور دســـتانى گەور ە بە ھەمو و ناوجە كور دىيەكانى تور كيا و عير اق و ئيرانهوه. همرچهنده به كرداريي ووت بووي، كه نا بيت كور دهكان بهله بكهن له ينكهنناني دوو لُهتيكي تابيهت بهخو بان، ئاز ادى كور دسيتان نابنت به تهنيا له ئير اندا كورتبكريتهوه، به لكوو دهبيت له عيراق و توركياش بهدهست بهينريت، دهو لهتيكي ســـه بهخو تهنها لهداهاتوودا بهدى دينت ئهو كاتهى ههموو نهتهوهى كورد يه کگرتووبن. قازی محهمه له وه لامی ئه مووتار و دا جاریکی تر رایگهیهند، که كوردهكان له كۆمارى ئاز دربيجان ئۆتۆنۆمى و سهربهخۆيى و جيابوونهوديان دەوپت، خەونى كوردەكان لەرپگەي بەدەست ھننانى سەربەخۆپى بە جيابو ونەو ملە كۆمارى ئاز ەر بايجانى گەور ە دېتە دى؛ باقر ۆف بە مشتەكۆلە دەپكېشا بە مېز ەكەدا دەبوت" ھەتا بەكۆتى سىن ۋېبەت بو و نى ھەبۆت كور دەكان سىلەر بەخۆبى بەدەسىت ديّنن" سهر ئەنجام دەيو وت كور دەكان بەلّىنيان يى در او ، كە دەو لْەتى خۆيان ھەبيّت و بۆ ياراستن و نرخاندنى ئەو دۆزە و چاوەريى ھە موو ھاوكارىيەك لە سۆۋىيەت دمكهن " (ئيگڵتن ٤٥-٤٣: ١٩٦٣).

سهر ئەنجام باقر و ف ھانى كور دەكانى دا تا چىز بى كۆمەللە ھەللبو ەشدىننەو ە، بىگۆر ن به "حیز بی دیمو کر اتی کو ر دستان" هاو - شانی بار تی دیمو کر اتی ناز در بییجان، که به ر اشكاويي لمسيِّي مانكي نوِّي 1945 له تهوريّز بانگهشهي بوّكر ا. باقروّ ف له ر ابهر بنی جهکداری مهلا مستهفای بار زانی له باکوری عبر اق دهدو او ههر هسهی



دهکرد که سیخوری به پیتانیایه و به لام کاریگه ربیه کی ئه و توی له سه نوینه ری کورده کانی ئیران له باکو نه بوو. (ئیگلتن ۲۰۱۵: ۱۹۲۳).

دامەز راندنى "پارتى دىموكراتى كوردستان لەئيران" ١٩٤٥:

له مانگی نوّی ۹۶۰ (پارتی دیموکراتی ئاز هربیبجان بوّ پارتیکی سهربهخوّ گهشه ی سسهند و بوو به جیّگرهوهی "توده"ی ئاز هربایجان (حیزبی توده)، حزبی تودهی ئیران وهک" جقاتیکی نه ته وه وی نیران"، که جوو لانه وهیه کی ناوداری چهپرهوی مارکسیستی بوو، له لایهن سوقیه ته وهکوو ئامر از یکی سیاسیی به کار هیّنران تا سنوره کانی ئیران ببرن و پهلبکیشن بو ناو ئیران. ههر چهنده ئه محیزبه له همندی ناوچه ی ئیران سهرکه و تووبوو، به لام ههرگیز نهیتوانی پیگه ی خوّی له کور دستاندا جیّگیر بکات.

" توده" له ئازهربایجان خوّی هملّوهشاندهوه و وهک نهوهی چاکسازییهکی له خوّیدا کردبیّت ناوی حیزبهکهی له غازهربایجان بوّ " دیموکراتی نازهربایجان" گوّری، زمانی تورکی" ئازهر "یی وهک زمانیّکی فهرمی به کارهیّنا و له نیّران داوای جیابونه وهی کرد(پوّزقیّلت ۲۹۳: ۱۹٤۷، لینچزوسکی ۴۰: ۲۹: ۱۹٤۷). به لام جیابونه وهی کرد(پوّزقیّلت ۲۵: ۱۹٤۷، لینچزوسکی ۴۰، لینچزوسکی ۱۹۶۰). به لام به پیّچه و انه وه حیزبی دیموکراتی کوردستان له جوو لانه وهی "کوّمهلّهی" سهربهخوّیی نیشتمانیی کورده وه هاته ئاراوه، که نه حیزبیّکی کوّمونیستی بان هیچ ئایدوّلوّجییه کی سسوقیه تی هملقوو لاو له فیکری مارکسیی له خوّ نهگرتبوو."حیزبی دیموکراتی کوردستان " به فهرمی له لایهن قازی محهمه ده وه پراگهیه ندرا، قازی محهمه دوای کوبرنه وهی که گهرانه وی که گهشتی و سهرتاسه کی له شاری مههاباد کرد، بوّ نهوهی سهرجهم کورده کان تیدا به شدار بین (پوّزقیّلت ۲۰۲: ۱۹۶۷). به پرهچاوکردنی "پهیمانی کورده کان تیدا به شدار دهی مانگی ههشتی سالی ۱۹۶۱، ادا، له لایهن ههریمکه له نهروکی نهمه ریکا "فرانکلین د. پوّزقیلت" و سهروّک وهزیرانی به پیتانیا "وینستن سهر وّکی نهمه ریکا "فرانکلین د. پوّزقیلت تهکه ا ناماژه کراوه به وهی که نامانجی نهم حیزبه "دیموکراسیی نهمریکیی" وهک نهوهی له حیزبیه دیربی دیموکراسیی نهمریکیی" وهک نهوهی له حیزبیه دیربیه که ده حیزبیه ادیموکراسیی نهمریکیی" وهک نهوهی له



پهیمانی ئه تلانتیکدا" هاتووه. پهیمانی ئه تلانتیک که له هه شـــت برگهی بناغهیدا کورتکرابووهوه و بو بهدیهینانی جیهانیکی ئاشـــتیی و ســـهقامگیری نوی له دوای جه نگی دووهمی جیهانیی داریی رابوو.

لەبرگەي دووەمى ئەم يەيمانەدا ھىچ گۆرانكارېپەكى ناوچەيى بەبى رەزامەندى و خو استى گەلەكە ناكر بت. ھەمو و كەسبىك مافى ھەلبىر اردنى ئەو جۆرە حكومەتەي هەبنت، كه ئار ەز و و دەكەن و له سابەبدا ژبان بكەن و بەدەست هننانى مافى سمر بهخو بیه کان و دهسه لاتی خو بهریوه بر دن بو نهو لایهن و میلله تانه ی که بیشتر به ز مبری هیز لیبان قده غه کرابوو. دامه زراندنی ئهم بارته (حیزبی دیموکراتی کور دستان) ہو و به هو ی هملو هشاندنه و می بارتی " کو ممله ی " رُ ک" و راکیشانی ئەندامەكانى لە لايەن كور دە دىموكراتەكانى ئيرانەو ە. (رۆز قىلت ٢٥٤: ١٩٤٧). لە ماو دی بیست و همشت روز دا، هموو شنتیک ناماده کر ارئیگلتن ۱۹۲۳ (۲۰). له مانگی نو قهمبهری سالی ۱۹٤٥ قازی محهمهد بانگهیشتی نزیکهی شهست سهروک هۆزو شار ۆ جكەي بۆ ناوەندى تازە دامەزراوى "بەيوەندىيە كلتوريەكان لە گەل سـ قبيهت له مههاباد " كرد. كاتيك كه قازي محهمه و وتار هكهي بيشكهش دهكرد، کاربهدهسته روسپیهکان له دوور وه و وستا بوون و نهو بهسهر هاتی دووهم گهشتی بق باكر گير ايموه و پيشنيار مكمى ئمو كاتمى باقر و قى سمباهر مت به تو و انمو مى كو مملمى ر یانه وی کور دستان و گورینی ناوهکهی گیرایهوه، تا له ژیر ئالای دیموکر اسپیدا به ئاشكر ا بلاو بكر يتهوه. قازى محهمه له خهلكهكهي برسيبي بوو: برسيار و ســـهر نجيان چبيه، هيچ کام له بر پار مکان پهکلايي نهبو و نهو ه(ئيگڵتن ٥٧: ١٩٦٣). گۆر انكارىپى لە ناوى پارتەكە ھاوشانى گۆر انكارىپى جەرھەرىپى نەبوو لە بىكھاتەي يارته که دا، ينكهاته ی كوميته ی سه وه کی يارته که چاکسازيي تندا نه کرا و قازی محهمه له كوميتهي بيشوودا ئهندام نهبوو و له كوميته نوييهكه شدا هيشتا نهبووه ئەندام ، بەلام بەرىنماييەكانى رووسىييا لەيشىت يەردەوە(ئيگلتن ٥٧: ١٩٦٣) جوو لانهوهی کوردهکانی سه پهرشتیدهکرد. پارته نویپهکه پهیره و پروگرامیکی راگهیاند که له جهو همر دا هاوشیوهی مانیفیسته راگهیاندر اوهکه بووه. (۸)





که نه داوای جیابونهوهی له ئیران و نه دامهزراندنی دهولهتیکی سهربهستی جیاله ئیران دهکرد، ته پیشتر له مانیفیسته ههشت برگهیه کهدا ئاماژهیان بیکرد، بهکورتیهکهی:

- (۱)- دەســــه لاتى خۆبەر يو ەبردن لەپەيو ەندىيە ناوخۆييەكان و بەدەســت هينانى ئۆتۆنۆمى لە ناو سنورى دەوللەتى ئىراندا.
- (۲)- كوردهكانى دانيشتووى ئيران پيويسته ئازاد بن له خو بهريوهبردن و له راپهراندنى پهيوهندييه ناوخوييهكان و ئوتونوميى له سنورى دهولهتى ئيران بهدهست بېنن.
  - (٣)- زمانی " کوردیی " دهبیت زمانی فه رمیی کوردهکان بیت.
- (٤)- ئەنجومەنى ھەر يىمايەتىي كوردستان دەبيت (٩) راستەوخى بەپيى قانوونە دەستوورىيەكان ھەلبىر يىردرىت و چاودىرى دەوللەت و كاروبار ەكانى كۆمەللگە بكات.
  - (٥) ههموو كاربهدهستهكاني دهو لهت دهبيت خهلكي رهسمني ناوچهكه بن.
- (٦)- پێويسته قانوون جياوازي له نێوان جووتيار و خانهدانه کان نه کات و ههموويان له ژێر سێيهري خوٚيدا کوبکاته وه.
- (۷)- همو لمی یه کلاکه رموه بدریّت، بو به دهست هیّنانی ههستی یه کگر توویی و برایه تنیی لمگه ل هاوو لاتیانی ئازه ربایجان و ئه و هاو لاتیانه ی که له ویّ ده رین (ئاشو و رییه کان، ئهرمه نییه کان... هند) له خهبات و تیکو شانیان دا.
- (۸)- همولدان بو برمو پیدان به ئاکار و ئابووریی له دمولهتی کوردییدا، له ریی دوزینموهی سمرچاوه سروشتییه زورهکانی کوردستانموه و گهشمی کشتوکالیی و بازرگانیی، همروه ها بمرمو بیشبردنی کهرتی ژینگه و بمروهرده.

ئیمه ئاواته خوازین که ئمو خملکه کورده ی که له ئیران ده ژین ئازادانه بتوانن همولی به دهست هینانی خوشگوز هرانی و گهشهسهندنی وو لاته کهیان بدهن. پر و گرامی "ح.د.ک" له چوار به شی سیمره کی و له گهل بیست و دوو به ند پیکهاتبوو (بروانه نمروی ۱۳۰-۱۳۱: ۲۰۱۲).



ناساندنی "حکومهتی گهلی کورد" و "ئهنجومهنی ههریمایهتیی"

کاتیک روّژ هه لاتی ئازهربایجان له پانزهی دوانزهی سالی ۹۶۰ دا کهوته ژیردهستی "حکومهتی گهلی ئازهربایجان "ی تازه بنیاتنراو له تهوریز، کورده کانی ئیران حکومهتی ههریمی تاییه تاییه خویان له مه هاباد راگهیاند. له کوبونه وهیه کدا له مههاباد قازی محهمه د بانگهیشتی "حکومهتی گهلی کوردی کرد و ئه نجومه نیکی ههریمایه تیی" پیکهات.

له کۆبونهوهکهدا سهرکردهی هۆزهکان و ئهندامانی حیزبی دیموکراتی تازه بنیاتنراو و سن کاربهدهستی سۆڤییهت به جیبیکی پرچهک کراو به چهکی رهشاس و نیمچه ئوتوماتیکهوه بهشدار بوون. سهرکردهی خیلیکی عیراقی "مهلا مستهفا بارزانیش" (۱۹۳۰-۱۹۷۹) ئامادهی کوبونهوهکه بوو (پوزڤیلت ۱۹۲۷:۲۵۷-، ههروهها ئیگلتن ۱۳: ۱۹۱۳، بلهیک۳۳: ۲۰۰۹ بو پووانینی زیاتر له پوزڤیلت و ئیگلتن بروانه: نهروی ۲۰۱۲-۱۳۱).

ئەنجامى كودەتا شكستخور دووەكەى عيراق بەسەر بەر شتى ئەلمانى نازىي:



ناو جهنگی ناوبراو به جهنگی"ئینگلیز و عیراق" له مانگی چوار و پینجی ۱۹٤۱، کودهتاکهیان سهرکوتکرد و دوباره تا ۱۹۲۱،۱۹٤۷ دهستیان بهسهر شانشینی "هاشمیی" عیراق دا گرتهوه.

بانگهشهی " كۆمارى مههاباد له كوردستان "

له بهیانی ڕ و رژی بیست و دووی مانگی یه کی ۱۹۶۱دا، له ڕ و رژیکی خوره تاو و رستانیکی مامناوه ند دا له "مهیدانی چوارچرا" کو ماری مه هاباد (۱۲) به فه پرمی بانگه شسه ی بو کرا (ئیگلتن ۲۲-۳۳: ۱۹۶۳، پر و زقیلت ۲۵۷:) ۱۹۶۷. قازی محمه د له سه پلاتفور مینکی دارین، به جلینکی سه ربازی هاو شیوه ی سو قییمت که له ته و ریز بوی ئاماده کرا بوو، میزه رینکی سیبی دینی و شکوداری پوشیبیوو. و و تارین کی کور د پارچه و و تارین کی کورتی پانزه خوله کیی پیشکه شکرد، پر ایگه یاند که میلله تی کور د پارچه پارچه کراون ده بیت و هک هم میلله تیکی تر مافی نیشت مجیبوونی خاکی خویان و هاو به شیبی پیکردنی چاره نووسی خویان ده هم بیت بین که کورد که میاند که میاند که میاند که میاند که میاند که میاند که میاند که میاند که میاند که میاند که میاند کورد بار به هم بیت و می که کورد کردنی چاره نووسی خویان دیاریکردنی چاره نووسی خویان



دیموکراتی کوردستان همآبر بردرا، همروهها پلهی سسمرکردهی بالای "سوپای نیشتیمانیی" پی بهخشرا، همروهها ئمو لمو ناوچانهی هیزهکانی جمندرمهی ئیرانی لیبوو به و هیزه کوردییانهی گوری که له سوپای ئیران و عیراق همآهاتبوون. بارزانی"پیشممرگه" بربرهی پشتی سوپای کوماری مههاباد بوو(۱۳) همرچمنده حیزبه که قانوون و جیبه جیکار و دادوهری بوو، به لام پمرلهمانیکی همآبر بردراوی دیموکراسییانه بوونی نمبوو، حیزبه که هیچ میکانزمیکی بو همابر اردنی دیموکراسییانه دانه رشتبوو(۱۲)، هیچ کونگرهیه کی نمبهست که له دهستووردا به لین در ابوون، کابینه یه کونگرهیه کی نمبهست که له دهستووردا به لین در ابوون، کابینه یه کونگرهیه کی نمبهست که له دهستووردا به این در ابوون، کابینه که و نمنجومه نیک پیک هاتن، کابینه که پیکهاتبوو له سیانزده





هەر ەسھينانى "كۆمارى مەھاباد"

كۆمارى مەھاياد يە بار مەتبيە كاتى و سنور دار انەي سۆ قبيەت توانى نزيكەي بانز ه مانگ و اته تا شانز دی دو انز دی سالی ۱۹۶۳ بمینیته و د. له دو ای به و بهستانه کهمهر شكينهي هيزه هاو بهيمانه كاني ئهوروبا به گشتى و ئهمهريكا به تابيه تى له دواي جەنگى جبھانى دو و ەم كە خستبانە سەر بەكىتى سۆ قېبەت تا لە ئېر ان بكشېتەو ە و لە كو تابيدا سية فبيهت هيزه داگير كهر مكاني له ئير ان كشياندهوه و بهتهواو متى و ازى له بالْبشــتي كر دني كو ماري مههابادي كورت خايهن هينا. هيز مكاني ئير ان له ژير دەسەلاتى شا "محەمەد رەزا بەھلەوى" گەنج سەريان ھەلدايەو ،، دووبار ، مەھاباديان گرته وه، له سالم ۱۹٤۷ دا كۆمارى مههاباديان سهركوتكرد. قازى محهمهد (۱۹۶۷/۱۹۰۱/۱۹۰۰) له گهل و هزیر مکانی و به تو مهتی هاندان بو پاخی بوون و خیانهت کر دن، بر باری له ســـبّدار هدانی بهســـهر دا در ۱، که له ۳۱ی مانگی بنگهیه کی بهر زی دینی جاوبوشی انکر ا کو ماری مههابادی کور دستانی کور تخایهن له ناوچوو بوو، لهبهر ئهوهي پهکيتي سو قبيهت پشتي تيکردن، ئهوهش دواي ئهوهي يۆي دەر كەوت جېتر ناتو انېت كور دەكان بۆ بەدەســت ھېنانى بېگە نەو تېپەكان و فر او نکر دنی دهسه لاتی به سهر هنزه ناوه ندیبه کانی تار آن له ماوه ی فهر مانره و ایی شا محممه ر وز ا به هله و بدا به كار به نبنت هو كار وكاني تربش بربتبو ون له نه و وني يالْيشتي ســهربازيي، دارايي و جيوستراتيجي له لايهن يهكيتي ســوڤييهتهوه(١٦)، گر ژ ی و ئاڵۆ ز ی نبوان هنز ه خبلهکبیه نیشتیمانبیهکانی ناو خو ی کور دستان، بار جه پارچه بوون و نمبوونی پهکریزیی و هوکاری کوتایی که قورسایی له هوکارهکانی تر كهمتر نمبوو: نمبووني ئهزموون له بهريوه بردني دام ودهزگا حكومييهكاندا بوو (قاســملوو ١٣٥-١٣٦ : ١٩٨٨ ، نهروي ١٨٢ : ٢٠١٢): ههر جونيّک بيّت كۆمارى مەھابادى كوردەكان بووكەللەي(١٧) دەستى دەوللەتى سۆۋىيەت نەبوو.



كۆمارى مەھاباد وەك وو لات له وو لات له ئيران جيا نەببوو ەو ه

کوماری کوردیی مههابادی دهو آهتیکی کورتخایه نی خوبه پیوهبه ر (ئوتونومیی) بوو، به لام ههرگیز له سنوری ناوچه کانی ئه و کاته ی پر زیمی پاشایه تی ئیران جیانه کرده وه. ئهمه ش بوو به هوی دامه زراندنی به پیوبه رایه تبیه کی همریمایه تبیه تایبه تبه خویان و به آگه نامه قانو و نیبه کانی وه ک ناسنامه ی له دایک بوونی ده رکرد، به لام که رتیکی دار ایی پروون یان سنوری پاریز راوی نه بوو، هم وه ها ناوچه یه کی جیگیری تایبه تی به خوی نه بوون هم وه ها ده سته واژه حکومیی و سیاسییه کانی فره مانا و ناپروون بوون، زار اوه ی جیاوازی له وه زاره ته که یدا به کار ده هینا بو نموونه له جیاتی زار اوه ی "وه زیر" زار اوه ی "پره ئیس"ی به کار ده هینا، سیم کرده کانی دیدیکی روون و و ردیان بو زار اوه ی "کومار" (۱۸) نه بوو.

همرگیز مانای زار او مکانی "کوّمار" ، "دمو لمت"یان لیّکنهداو مته و و تینهگهیشتوون و له چوار چیّوه ی پیّکهیّنانی دمو لمتیّکی بهدمر له ئیّران بهکاریشیان نههیّناون، بهلّکو چهندین جار له چوار چیّوه ی دهستوری ئیّرانیدا به شیّوه ی نیّونه ته و هیی له سوّنگه ی مافی جیهانیی گهل و نه ته و مکان بوّ دیاریکردنی چار منووسی خوّیان و دامه ر راندنی همریّمیّکی خوّبه ریوه به ری (۱۹) هاو شیّوه ی موّدیّلی ئه و همریّمانه ی که ئه و کاته هموون، همولّیان داوه . ئه م موّدیّلانه ش پیّکهاتبوون له دمولّه تکهمه نه ته و ایه تیهکان له ناوخوّی یهکیّتی سوّقییه دا (یهکیّتی دمولّه تمکان) یان دمولّه تیکی فیدرالی ئهندام له ویلایه ته یهکیّر تووه کانی ئه میرویاش نه دموله ته کهمه نه و ویاش نه و ویلایه ته دا (یهکیّتی سم به کیّر و یایم نه له نموونه یه که که در ویاش نه و پیش "فر ایشتات بایرن" (دمولّه تی سم به خوّی بایم نه له نملّمانیا).

لـ موانـ میه مـ مزهنده ی ئـ موه بکریّت لـ ه نیّوان دوو هـ ملّبر ارده دا که تاکتیکی سمرنه که و توو یا له رزوّکیان پهیره و دهکرد:

یان ببن به دەوللەتنىکى ترى ژنر دەستەلاتى سۆڤىيەت كە زۆرىنەى كوردەكانى ئىران ئاواتەخوازى نەبوون(٢٠)، يان ھەرىمىنىكى خۆبەرىپومبەرى واتادار لە سىنورى ئىمپراتۆريەتى پاشسايەتىي ئىراندا، كە بەرجەستە نەبوو و بەدى نەھات(٢١). لەكۆتايىدا ھەوللى بەدەستەنىنانى دەسەلاتى خۆجىنى بۆكوردەكانى ئىران بە ھەبوونى





ئهگهریکی بالادهستیی ئیران یان سوقییهت به ههبوونی ریزبهندی و سهقامگیریی پاش جهنگی دووهمی جیهانیی لهداهاتووودا بیته ئاراوه. سهره رای ئهوهش زورینهی سسمرکرده کوردهکانی ئهوکاته خویان له کهلتووری ئیرانیی (چونکه کوردهکان ههزارهها ساله بهزمانهکانی باکوری ئیران دهدوین) له بری زمانه روسییهکان به نزیکتر دهبینیهوه (۲۲).

له دادگایه کی سه ربازی نه پنیدا به رامبه رقازی محهمه د که له مانگی یه کی ۱۹۶۷ له مههاباد کرا، جنیه جیکر دنه که ی بیست و دو و برگه ی تاوانبار کردنی له خو گرتبو و (نهروی ۱۸۸-۱۹۰). به شیوه یه کی بنه ره تی وازی محهمه د تاوانبار کرا به لادان له دهستو و ری ئیرانیی، یاخی بوونی چه کداریی و قازی محهمه د تاوانبار کرا به لادان له دهستو و ری گیرانیی، یاخی بوونی چه کداریی و خیانه تکردن (۲۳)، قازی محهمه بنیتاوانی خوی راگه یاند، داوای له دهسته ی مافه نیونه ته و این یه کار بینن له در ی ئیستیبدادی سیاسیی و له پیناو خوپار استنی کورده کان (۲۶) و به دهست هینانی مافی خوبه ریوه بردن (خو به ریوه بردن گهل). بریار یکی تاوانبار کردنی ئاموز اکه ی قازی محهم د "سیفی به ریوه بردنی گهل). بریار یکی تاوانبار کردنی فهخری نزمتر له ژینرالی جهندر مهی قازی "دهر کرا که بازرگان بو و و پله یه کی فه خری نزمتر له ژینرالی جهندر مهی کی نیرانی هم بو و ، به له به کردنی پوشساکی ژه نه رال و به شداریی کردن له شهری (به رگری کورده کان له در ی سوپای نیرانییدا). هم چهنده پروسه ی دادگایی کردنی که سیری که سیری به بریاری کوشتن له به رامبه ریاوانبار کراوی که به تایبه تی له سه که سیری پوشانی پوشاکی ژه نه رال ناروون و سه پر ده رده ده که ویت.

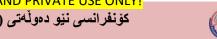
یه کهم: کوّماری کوردیی له مه هاباد چوار ژه نه پرالی هم بوو ( له کوّتایی مانگی سیّی ۱۹۶۳)، به لاّم هیچ یه کیّکیان پوشاکی تاییه تنیی ژه نه پرالیان نه بوو. نه پوشاکی فهرمیی و بنه رتبی سه ربازیی ئیمپراتوری ئیران یان سوّقییه (سوپای سوور) یان به کار نه هیناوه.





بهیو هندیبان به حکو مهتی کور دیی بان سهو و باوه ههیو و ه، دهیان تو انی و هکو و ئەفسىلەر ەكانى سىلۇ قىيەت جلى خاكىيان ھەبئ و بۆتىن لەبئ بكەن، لە گەل بانتۆلى ســو ار جاکیی و کلاو دا. ههر و مک ئیگلتن ئاماژ می بیکر دو و ه (ئیگلتن ۷۹: ۱۹۳۳). یه کهم کهس که نهم دیز اینهی جله ناو خو پیه کور دبیهی هاو شیّو می بو شاکی سهر بازی رووسى لهبهركرد "قازى محهمهد" بوو، له ئاههنگى راگهياندنى "كۆمار" له بيست و دووي مانگي پهکي سالي ۹٤٦ ادا.

دەر ئەنجام ژ مار ەيەكى ز ۆ ر ى سەر ۆ ك ھۆ ز ەكانى كو ر د ئەم شىپو از ەيان لە بۆ شاكە ر و سبيه كان دهو بست، له بهر ئهو مي و ايان ليكر دبو و ، هاو شيو مي بو شاكي ئه فسهر ه فهر مانده کانی سو ڤیپهت بیّت، و مک ئیگلتن تیّبینی کر دو و ه و قاسملو و ش بشتر استی کر دو و مته و ه. قاسملو و ده پگیر پته و ه که "سمر کر ده ی هو ز مکان داو ایان له قاز ی محهمه کر دو و ه که يو شاکي په چهند بلهيه کي سهر بازيي تريان يو بهيدابكات، جونکه کاتیک ئه و سـه رو ک هوزه دهگه پته وه بو لادیکه ی ریزیکی زور به دهست دینیت" (نموری ۱۵۳: ۲۰۱۱)، سهبارهت به بهخشینی پلهیه کی سهبازی بمرز (روز فَيْلْت ٢٤٧: ١٩٤٧) تنبيني كردووه، كه له كاتي بانگهشهي "كومار "دا له ۱۹٤٦/۱/۲۲ چەند رابەرىكى كوردى سىلەرۆك ھۆزەكان وەك "زېرۆ بەگى ههر كي" كه يوشاكيكي فهخر بيانهي به يلهي مارشال له گهل يوشاكي سوڤييهت له كُمْلُ بِهُ تِينِ و مِر كُرِ تُو و ه ، له كُمْلُ يِشْنَيْنِي رِهْتِي سُمِر شَانِهُ كَانَ و كُلْاوي سمر بازيي خەت سے ور، ، ھاندەر ەكەيان ئەرە بور كە يالْيشتى خۆيان " لە ژپر فەر مانر ەراپى قازى محهمه بق "كومار" دو ويات بكهنهوه. همر و ها يلهى مار شاليش بهخشرايه ســـهر وّک هوزی کوردی عیراقی "موســتهفا بارزانیی" (لوّتر ۲۸: ۲۰۰۰ یشتر استکردنه وهی، روز قیلت ۲۵۷: ۱۹٤۷). له نیوهی دو وهمی مانگی دووی ١٩٤٦ فهرمانده کانی "سویای نیشتیمانی" تازه ینکهاتوو، گورانکاریی ریشهی سهر بازیبان راگهیاند. له سی و یه کی مانگی سیّی ۱۹٤٦ حکومهتی مه هاباد چوار رُ منه الَّي ديار يكر د، يهكيِّك له وانه مه لا مستهفاي بار زاني بو و (ئيگلتن ١٣٦ : ١٩٦٣، ئۆبلانك ٣٠: ١٩٩٦، نەروى ١٤٨-١٥٠: ٢٠١٢). "ئەو بەسەربەرزىي





یله کهی یار است و به در پژایی ژیانی به کاری هینا" (میژوونووسی سه بازیی بهریتانیا ئیدگار ئۆبلانک نووسیویهتی) (۲۰).

همر چونیک بیت نه مه لا مستهفای بارزانی و نه هیچ فهرماندهیه کی سهربازیی کورد له سو باي مههاباد بله ياخو د بو شاكي سو فييهتيان بي نهبه خشر او ه. به كور تي؛ له چوار ژهنمرالی "سویای نیشتیمانی " تهنیا یهک دانهیان بهتایبهتی له دوای ههر مسهنناني كو مار دوري خستوه كه " بو شاكي ژونهر اللي لهيهر كر دووه " كه له بۆشاكه ناقانو و نېپهكه كه ديز ايني ناو خو ي كور دى ئېر ان بو و ن و هاو شيو مي ستايلي سوّ قیامت بو و ن (۲٦)بهشیو میه کی سامر مکی تاییه تمهندییه کی فهخر بیان هامیو و .

مستهفا بار زانی له به کنتی سو قبهتی سو شیالیستی کو ماریی:

:USSR 1947/1958

موسته فا بارزانی و زیاتر له بینج سه بیشه مهرگه (بارزانی ۲۰۰۳:۳۶۱ لو تز ۲۰۰۵: ۲۰۰۵، کو هی کهمالی ۲۰۰۳:۱۲۲ نز بکهی بننجسهد بو ههشت سهد بیاو) لهگهل خنز انهکانیان بهر مو بهکنتی سو قبیهت ئنر انیان بهجیهنشت. له ههر دهی شهشی ۱۹٤۷ له رووباري "ئاراس" بهرهو بهكنتي ســق ڤبيهت ســق شــبالبســتي كوماريي بهر بنهوه. جار هنو و سبان له گوشه نبگای سو ڤبهه نهکانه و ماسکر او ه، به شبو مبهکی ديار له لايمن" ياول ئەنتۆلۈروپچ سودۆپلاتۆف (٢٧)" له گەل "ڤاسىلى، نىكىتىچ ميترخن(٢٨)". سودق پلاتوف كه ژهنه راليكي پهكهي هموالگريي ناوخويي KGB) ، دەزگاى ئاسايشى سۆۋىيەت بوو" ، بە ووردەكارىي زۆر و شىپوازىكى قسه له رووانه باسی هملویستی سوفییهتی بمرامبه به مستهفا بارزانی و کوردهکانی كردووه. به كورتى (له زارى سودۆ پلاتۆڤەوه ٢٥٩: ١٩٩٤-١٩٩٥ هند)

"بارزانی و دهست و پیوهنده کانی له سنوره کانی ئیران دهرباز دهبن و دهچنه ناو ئاز دربایجانه وه" (پلاتوف نوسیویه نی) " کهوتنه بوسه ی هیزه کانی شا و له لایهن



هيز هيالبشتيكه وكانى به ريتانيا و ئهمه ريكاوه بهجيهيلران"، "هيزى چالاكييهكانى بارزانى كه له دوو همزار پياو پيكهاتبوو به چهك و تۆپخانهى بچووكه وه لهلايهن همزار ئهندامى خيزانهكانيانه وه يارمه دهدران".

"حكو مهكهتي سـو ڤييهت "سـهر هتا له كاميدا جيْگيري كر دن، كه سـو دو بلاتو ڤ بوّ پهکهم جار له ۱۹٤۷ چاوي به بار زاني کهوت، دواي ئهوهي له لايهن که سينکي بالاتر له خوی (فیکتور ئەباکومو(۲۹) بق باکق نیر درا به و رینمابیانهی که یهناگهی نیشته جنبی لادنبی ئۆز باکستان بن، که زور دوور نیه له تاشکهند" (سو دوبلاتو ف ئاماژهی بنکر د) سو دو بلاتو ف له راکنشانی بار زانی بو ناو بهیماننگی جهختکر اوی "هاو بەيمانى سياسى لەگەل حكو مەتى سۆ ۋېپەت" سەر كەر تو و بو و ، كە تېيدا يەكېتى سنة قبيمت به لنني "ياليشتى تمواوهتى "بق "كومارى كورديى (بمسمر كردايمتى مستهفا بارزاني له سنورهكاني عيراق، توركياو ئيرانموه) الدابوو، به لام له كو تاييدا له بار و دو خيكي و افيعي تردا، كه سو دو بلاتو ف ئامار مي بيكر دوه، كه ينِكهاتووه له "كومار يكي كور دي" به ياليشتي سوڤييهت تعنها له ناوچه سنور بيهكاني باکوری عیراق، کهمیک زیاتر به هاو دهمی همریمه نوتونو مبیه کانی کورد له تورکیا و ئير ان (سودق يلاتوف ٢٦١: ١٩٩٤ - ١٩٩٥) له بمرامبمردا موسكو تعنها به بنکهننانی حکومه تنکی کور دہی له تار او گهدا ر از ی بوو و بنشنبار ی کر د که "بار تی دېمو کر اتي کو ر دســتان" که ئو فېســي خو بان له کېلگهي همر مو مزي "کو لکو ز " له نز بكي"تاشكهند" بابتهختي ئوز بنكستان دايمهز رينن و موستهفا بار ز اني بينت به ســهر و کی کو میته ناو وندییه کهی . همر و هها ســو فییهت به مهبهســتی کهمکر دنهو وی کاریگهریی بهریتانیا لهسه عیراق، پشتیوانی راهینانی دهستهیه که نزیکهی ههزار و بینج سهد "بیشه مهرگه"ی بارتی دیموکراتی کور دستانی له سهر جهند تەكنىكىكى ويرانكەر دەكرد، تالە كۆتايىدا ئارەزووى تەقاندنەوەى بۆربىه نه وته کانی ئیران و عیراق به ردهست بکات، کهمه بهست لین روخاندنی حکومه ته کهی سهر وک و هزیر انی جهنگاوه ری دیرین "نوری ئهلسه عید" (۱۸۸۸ -



۱۹۵۸) و ئموهی یهکیتی سوقیه بتوانییت کاریگهریی ههبیت و کونتروّلی ناوچه ستر اتیجیه کانی دهولهمه ند به سهرچاوه ی نهوتی ژیر دهستی ئووروپا و ئهمهریکا بکات. کاتیک بارزانی سودوّپلاتوقی بانگهیشت کرد تاچاوی به سی ئهفسهری "پیشهمرگه" بکهویت، سهر متا به اگایی و به ریّکی و هستان "پاشان ههموویان کهویته سهر چوّک و لهسهر ئه زو بهره و بارزانی روّیشتن و لیّی دهپارانه و تا کهویته ماچکردنی که ناری عهباکهی و پوّیینه کانی و هربگرن" سودوّ پلاتوّف" له یهک کاتدا ههستی به شوّک و رزگار بوون له و ههم کرد، بلاویکرده وه: سهرئه نجام بوم پوم پوم پوم کوردستان به پرابهرایه مسته به مستی به شوّک و رزگار بوون له و ههم کرد، بلاویکرده وه: سهرئه نجام بوم پوم پوم پوم پوم کوردستان به پرابهرایه مسته به ناوه ندیی له ستاره با پلوشاد" (له موسکوّ)" که له لایمن "دام و دهزگاکانی ئهو کاته یارتی کریملینه و بریاری لهسه ر درا بوو (سودوّ پلاتوق ۲۲۱-۲۱۳ : ۱۹۹۶پارتی کوردان).



مۆسكۆ لاردەبوهوه، ريگايهك بوو بۆ "بچووك كردنهوهى رۆڵ و پێگهى بەرپتانىيەكان و ئەمەريكاييەكان له ناوچەكەدا". له ساللەكانى ١٩٦٠ دا" مىخايىل سۆسۆلۈڭ"(٣٠) بۆ كاركردن له گەل بارزانى دا جێى سودۆ پلاتۆڤى گرتەوه. سوسلۆڤ بەلنىنى پالپشتى تەواوى بۆ ئۆتۆنۆمى كوردەكان دا بەر مەرجەى" حكومەتەكەى نورى سەعىد له عێراق برووخێنن". دواى روخانى حكومەتەكەى نورى سەعىد له عێراق بركۆتتى سۆڤىيەت، ناوبراو له ناوچەكەدا چەند ھاوپەيمانىيٚكى بەدەست ھێنا، كە بايەخێكى جيۆپۆلەتىكى زۆرتريان ھەبوو بۆ "مۆسكۆ" وەك له "كوردەكان".

"له ئهنجام دا یهکیتی سو قبیهت له سالهکانی ۱۹۷۰ دا له تیکوشانی کوردهکان دهست به بهردار بوو "(ئهنجام گیربیه ژیرانه کهی سودو پلاتو ش)." یهکیتی سو قیهت بو بهرگریی کردن له وانه ی عیراق به ریوه دهبه ن " ویستی کورده کان پراده ستی هاو پهیمانه کانمان بکات، به لام شکستی هینا . کورده کان به دریز ایی جه نگی سارد له هاو پهیمانه کانمان بکات، به لام شکستی هینا . کورده کان به دریز ایی جه نگی سارد له پوژ هه لاتی ناوه پراست بو بچووک کردنه وهی پول و پیگهی به پریتانیی و ئه مهریکییه کان له لایه نکریملینه وه به کار هینران ، به لام " تراژیدییانه دوباره و سیخ باره له خشته بران". به ناو پردانه وه له ووته کانی سود پلاتو ش به پروونی بومان دهرده که وی پران و است مقینه بیان بو پراه سهرگیز نیاز یکی پراست مقینه بیان بو چاره سمر کردنی کیشه ی کورد نه بووه" . چاره نووسی کوردستان له لایه نکریملین/ لهنده ن به به ههند و هرگیراوه و نه و هکوو کیشه یه کی مرویی له به به به ههند و هرگیراوه و نه و هکوو کیشه یه کی مروی له به به به به نووه: له به دهند و مرکیی له سیاسه هم نظم نامی نین به به نووه: له به دهست هینانی کیلگه نه و تبیه کانی کوردستان".

تراژیدیای بارزانی و گملی کورد ئموه بوو" که پاوانخوازییه کانی روّژئاوا و روّژهه لات، تا رادهیه کیش دهو لمته عمرهبیه کان و ئیرانیش وای دهخواست، که کورد و هک هیزیکی بمردهست له ناوچه که دا، یان و هکو ئامرازیکی به کار هاتوو له تمنگژه نیّو همریمایه تینیده کان تورکییه و عیّراق و ئیّران دا بمیّنیته و هر سودو





پلاتوق مەزەندەى كرد) كە"چارەيەكى گونجاوبۆ كۆشەى كورد" ئەوەيە كەلەرووى نۆو دەوللەتىيەوە زامن بكرۆت كەكوردەكان ئۆتۈنۆمىيەكى سىنورداريان ھەبۆت" بەلام ھىچ يەكى لە رۆژئاوا و دەوللەت عەرەبىيەكان نايانەولات كوردەكان لەكۆمارلاكى كوردىى سەربەخۆ داكۆنترۆلى كۆلگە نەوتىيەكانى موسل بكەن" (سودۆپلاتۇق پۆش چارەكە سەدەيەك گەيشتووە بەم دەرئەنجامە).

مستهفا بارزانی له لایهن نهم سیخور هوه وا باسکراوه که "سهرکردهیهکی فیوداله، سیاسه تمهداریک و سهرکردهیه کی نه شاره زای سوپایه کی سهربازیی بوو". بارزانی ووشیاری نه وه ی بوو، که داهاتووی کورده کان به نده به وه ی که سیوود له بهرژه وهندییه کانی وو لاته زلهیزه کان له روّژهه لاتی ناوه پر اسبت ببینن و بیقوزنه و بهرژه وهندییه کانی و و لاته زلهیزه کان له روّژهه لاتی ناوه پر اسبت ببینن و بیقوزنه و (سیود قریب لاتوش ۲۶۰-۲۰۹؛ ۱۹۹۰، ۱۹۹۰، ۲۳۲-۲۱۴) (۳۱). کوتیا ده رئه نجامی (پلاتوش) هینده ی ده رئه نجامه کانی تری ساده و بیه هست بوو، که ووتی بارزانی "کونترو لکردووه"، به لام موسی کو سیمرکه و توو نه بوو تا کورده کان بکاته هاو پهیمانی سیتراتیجی خوّی تا کونترو لی نهوانه بکات که فهرمان وه وای عیراقیان ده کرد" (سیود و پلاتوش ۲۶۰؛ ۱۹۹۰ - ۱۹۹۰) له پاش سیود و پلاتوش نه بهریتانیا نووسی (ک. گ. ب. طحق)، "قاسیلی نیکیتیچ میتروخن"، که پره خنه ی له بهریتانیا ده گرت، له سالی ۱۹۹۲ چهند سیمرنج و تیپوانینیکی خوّی له سیمر مستهفا بارزانی بلاو کردوه ته وه. پوخته ی دیدی میتروخن:

"ک.گ. ب" به لیننامهیه کی روو که شسی له گه ل مه لا مسته فا (به نه ینی ) هه بوو، بارزانی که ده یان سالی له تاراوگه له یه کتی سو قییه ت له دوای جه نگی دووه می جیهانیی به سه برد. له سالی ۱۹۲۹ بق "۱۹۷۲" ک، گ، ب" بیست و سی چالاکی ئه نجامداوه تا پالپشتی دارایی بکات. له سالی ۱۹۷۳ له دوای زنجیرهیه ک پیکدادن له گه له فیزه کانی عیراق، بارزانی به غدای به سیاسه ته دوو رووه کان و په یوه ندیبیه دوو لایه نیوان پرژیمی به عس و دوو لایه نیوان پرژیمی به عس و کورده کاندا هم لیر از دنیک بکات، که به عسی هم لیر از د. (میتر قر خن ۱۱-۱۷۰ :



موستهفا بارزانی" سیخور" نییه:

جالاكمو انى دەر مو مى سۆ قيمتى بنشو و "فاسىلىس نىكىتىچ مىتر ۆ خن" لە دۆ سىيەيەك له دو ای یهکهکانی "ک ک ب (دوزگای ئاسایشی دوو لهت)" تهنها یهکجار زار او وی" ر مئيس"ى بو مستهفا بار ز انى بهكار هيناوه. لهو تاكه سهر جاوه ز انر او مدا ئاماره بهوه دهکات، که و و شهدی نهیننی "ر مئیس" تایبهته به سهر کر دهی کور دی عیر اقی، هیچ ســهر جاو مبه کی تری ســو قبهت له بار ادا نه يو و ، تا تيشــک بخاته ســهر به و مي که کریملین و و شهی نهینی بر بار زانی یا همر سهر کردهیمکی دیکمی کور د به کار هینا بنِت. باولْ سو دو بلاتو ف بهر يو بهر ي بنِشو و ي "ك. گ.ب"له جالاكبيه تايبهتيبه كاندا هیچ و و شمیه کی نهینی تاییه ت به بار زانی له بلاو کر او مکانی دا نه هاتو و ه و بن گو مان ئه و له هممو و سهر جاو مكان ئاگادار بوو، به لام همر دووكيان جهخت لمسهر ئموه دەكەنەو ە، كە مستەفا يار زانى ھاوكارىي و يەوەندى نهننى لە گەل سى ۋىيەت همبووه، زور روون و دياربووه، كه شيرويهك له ريكهوتنيان همبووه كه ههر بهکهیان ئامانجی جیاو از و بهکنهگر توویان ههیووه و بار زانی پار مهتی دار ایی به نهقد (كاش) و هر گرتووه و به لام ينيان نهووتووه "سيخور". له بهر ئه وهيه، كه تهنانهت له یهک سهر چاوهی کورتی دو و باره نهبوهوهی گوز ارشت کردنی، نهرشیف نو و سے سے قیمت نمتو انر او و بگاته، ئمو دەر ئمنجامهی که (بار زانی سیخوری " كريملينه"). چەند ھۆكار يكى سامىنەر ھەيە، كە وادەكەن ئەم خەملاندنە راست نەپنت:

یه که م: زار اوه ی "پرهئیس" به کار هاتبو و بق ئاماژه کردن به که سایه تیبه کورده پرابه ره کاته و کاته و ه، بق نمو و نه کاتیک بار زانی فه رمانده یه کی دیاری سوپای کور دستانی عیر اقی "کوماری مه هاباد" و له لایه ن سو قییه ته و پالپشتی کرا بوو، سسم رکرده که ی "قازی محمه د" له مانگی پینجی ۱۹۶۱ چه ند هه نگاویکی نا بق گورینی ناونیشانی فه رمانبه ره کانی حکومه ته هم یمییه که ی اوه زیر "ه وه بق "رهئیس" (له لایه نارشی جونیه و بقر میس (۱۹۶۷ : ۲۲۱ یه ۱۹۶۷ بق فارسیه کی ئیر انی پوخت به "رهئیس" (د. و دانه و که و دیه فاری نه م جیاکر دنه وه گه و دیه فارسیه کی ئیر انی پوخت به "رهئیس" (د. و دانه و که و دیم و دیم





ئموه بوو قازی محممه ویستی ئمو گر ژبیه فراون بووه ی له گه آل هیزهکانی ناوهندی تاران هیور بکات موه و قایل بوونی خوی جهخت کرده و به به وی که کوماره ئوتونومییه خوبه پیوه به به پیوه به چوار چیوه ی دهستوری سهربهخوی ئیران و سنوورهکانی شانشینی ئیراندا بهیٔ آیته وه، ئموه شده بسامینی زاراوه ی "په مئیس" له کونه وه به شیوه به کی نهریتی و به گشتی به کار هاتووه، نهلکینراوه به کهسیکی تاییه تموه وه که مه لا مسته فا بارزانی.

دووهم: مسته فا بارزانی پالپشتی دارایی له چه ند وو لاتیکی بیانییه وه (که ه نیویاندا ئیسرائیل) که به هاوبه شیبی کاری له گه ل کردوون، بو به دهست هینانی مافه نیشتیمانییه کانی کور دستان، قبول کردوه، به لام ژمارهیه کی زوری شایه تحال ده لین که به شیوه یکی سه رهکی بارزانی ئه و پارهیه ی بو حیزبی دیموکراتی کور دستان به کار هیناوه نه ک بوده و له مه ندکردنی خوی و به ساده یی و خاکیی ژیاوه.

چوارهم: همروهک ئاماژهی پذکراوه، بارزانی پهیوهندییهکانی له ماوهی ژیانی دا ولمگه ل چهندین وو لاتدا که دهو له تمکانی در اوسندی و همروهها زلهیزهکانیش بو بهدهستهینانی مافی نه ته وی کورد (و هیشتنه و می نهریتی خیله کی) باراستووه.

لهم روانگهیهوه به شیوهیه کی باو بارزانی له سهره تای ساله کانی ۹۶۰دا بی بایه خی خوی به رامبه روزه مقه : "سیاسی " و "سیم ربازیی" یه کانی رکابه ره کانی به " سیخور بوونی " پیشاندا. بو نموونه همریه که له روز قیلت و ئیگلتن به و ورده کارییه وه باسی ده که نکه سوقیه تی نه و کاته چون زاراوه ی "سیخور" ی به کار هیناوه بو زراندنی ناوی دو رمنی دو سیته کانی و هم لیژیر دراوی سیاسیان "قازی محهمه د" سیمروک کوماری مه هاباد، وه ک ریز دار" سوفی شیخ عبدو لا ئه فه ندی گهیلانی" یا مسته فا بارزانی که به "سیخوری به ریتانی" ناونرابوو (۳۳)





که مسته ابارزانی اسیخوری به پیتانیایه اکه ناماژه ی پیکراوه له لایه اویلیام نیگلتن جونیه از ۱۹۶۳. که به به پیراوپری پوخته ی کردبوو (ئیگلتن ٤٦:) اکه سهرکرده کوردهکان به توندی بروایان وابوو، که کورد هه به کوردی دهمینیته و هه کورد به نامانجه کانی خوی گهیشت، هه موو پابه ندبوون و پهیوه ندییه ده ره کییه کانیان نامینیت ا

دەرئەنجام: يەيوەندىيەكانى سۆڤىيەت و كورد

یه کنتی سو قییه ت بویه که مجار له سالی ۱۹۶۰ دا پالپشتی خوی بو پیکه پنانی کور دستانی گهوره به ههموو ناوچه کور دبیه کانی تورکییه، عیراق، و ئیران پاگهیاند. دواتر پیشنیاره که ی بو دهوله تیکی کور دی سهربه خوله عیراق و هه بوونی پهیوه ندیی نزیک له گه ل ناوچه کور دبیه ئوتونو مییه کانی سنوری تورکیا و ئیران کورت کر ایه وه. نهم پلانانه به ناشکرا له لایه خودی سهر کرده ی سو قییه تا جوزیف ستالینه وه اسه رپهرشتی ده کرا و به سهر کرده ی نازه ربایجانی کومونیسی اجوزیف ساقروف" ناسینراو پهیره وه ی ده کرد له سالی (۱۹۳۲-۱۹۵۳). بریاری پیکه پیکه پیکه پینانی دیموکر اتیکی گهوره له لایه ن سو قییه ته وه، له



بنكه كاني "ســـتار هيا"ي بلو شـــجاد له مو ســكو در ا (ســو دو بلاتو ف ٢٦١ ؛ ١٩٩٤-١٩٩٥). ســهر حاو مبه کی سـهر مکبی نبیه، که ئاماژه به دیار یکر دنی جو از حبّو میه کی ز ممهنی بکات. له ئه و رونکر دنه وانه ی له پروسه ی بهناو "باکو" دا که لایه ن "روز قبِّلْت و، ئيگلتن"، و " سودو بلاتو قهوه" در اون، دهتو انين بگهينه ئهو ئهنجامهي، که ئهم نهخشانه له لایهن "کریملین"هو ه جنبهجنگر اون لمباش ئهو می که "ئه لمانیای ناز بي" به كنتي سية ڤبيهتي داگير كر د، له ١٩٤١ و له سياله كاني (١٩٤٤ - ١٩٤٥) هه لو يسته كاني سو ڤييهت له بهيو مندييه ناو خو بيه كانيدا گور انيان بهسمر دا هات، تا نه ک خو بهر يو هبر دن به لکو اکو مار يکي سے ڤيهتي سے شـباليسـتي" به کو ر دهکاني ئير ان بيهخشــن" كريملين ههر دو و جهمكهكهي هاو شــيو ه دهو لهتهكاني "كو ماري سوّ ڤيپەتى سوّ شىيالىستى" و نادەو لەت(ئۆ تۆ نۆ مى ھەر پمايەتى) بېكەو ە بەستبو و ەو ە، به دو و سهم کر دهی لهبهر جاوی کور د و خاو من بیشه بنهی جیاو از ، که نه و انیش: "دادو مر بِکی دینی بو ر ژ و ای شار نشینی قازی محممد" بو "سام کر دمیمکی خیّلهکی عيراقي زهويدار مستهفا بارزاني" له بارزان له عيراق بوو. له همردوو بارهكمدا ســو ڤيپهت بوّ بهدهسـتهێناني ئامانجي جيوّ سـتر اتيجي و مک نهو ت، دهسـت تيّو مر دان و كاربگهريي لهسه هنزه ناو مندبيه كاني تاران و به غدا خوى له نو ننه مكاني كشاندهو ه. بهكنتي سوّ قبهت به تابيهتي له بار هي مستهفا بار ز انبهو ه بني و ابو و كه بار زانی مهبهستی پهیر هو کر دنی دیمو کر اسپی نبیه و هاو بهشیی له دهسه لات دا ناكات

III — ئیسرائیل - شا - ئیران - ویلایه یه کگر تووه کانی ئه مهریکا - کورده کان ویلایه ته به کگر تووه کانی ۱۹۲۰ - ۱۹۲۰ کاندا له در ی ویلایه ته به کگر تووه کانی ئه مهریکا له ساله کانی ۱۹۲۰ - ۱۹۲۰ کاندا له در ی سیاسه ته کانی پرژیمی هه لم که و تووی "به عس" به سیمر کردایه تی "ئه حمه حه سین" (۱۹۱۲ - ۲۰۰۱) پالپشتی شای ئیران، محمه د په وزا په هله وی (۱۹۱۹ - ۱۹۸۰) ده کرد. همریکه له ئه مهریکا و شای نیران به شیر و دیمکی کاتی کوردیان و هک ئامرازیک بو لاواز کردنی پرژیمی به عس





له عیراق به کار هینا. سهره رای ئهوه ش که پاش ئهوه ی عیراق ده ستییش خهری له ئیران کرد له گرتنی نیوه ی که ناله ئاوییه کانی شهتول عهره ب (پرووباری شهتول عمره ب) به رهو که نداو زوّر به خرابی کوردیان به جیهیشت. ئیسپرائیل پشتگیریی همریه که له ئه مهریکا و سیاسه ته کانی شای ئیران ده کرد، همروه ها له بنکه کانی ئیرانه وه، بو به ده ست هینانی ئوتونومی پشتگیریی کورده کانی عیراقیشی ده کرد، به لام له مه دا به برژه وه ندی و ئه جیندای جیوستراتیجی سهر به کورده کانی هه بوو. وورده کاری ئه مهم پهیمانه ی که ناوبرابوو به "پهیوندی ئیسرائیل و کورده کان "له دیدی شای ئیرانه وه:

سهرهداوهکانی: پیشینهی میزوویی: ووشه کلیلیهکان: ئیسرائیل و کوردهکان له سالهکانی: پیشینهی میزوویی: ووشه کلیلیهکان: ئیسرائیل و کوردهکان له سهردهمی نهو کاتهی شای ئیران دا(۳۰)پشتگیری کوردهکانی دهکرد. نیازه سهرهکییهکانی ئیسرائیل بریتی بوون له: پراویزکاره سهربازییه ئیسرائیلیهکان، پراهینانیان به پیشمهرگهی کورد دهکرد، وهک پیگهیهک بو کهمکردنهوهی مهترسییهکانی عیراق له سهر ئیسپرائیل، همروهها بو یارمهتی دانی جوولهکهکانی عیراق تا بو ئیسرائیل هملبین گونتهر ۷۶۰: ۱۹۹۶).

سـوپای عیراقی به تایبه تی له جه نگی شـه ش پ و ژه ی سـالمی ۱۹۹۷ دا " له قولیّکی ترموه له سـنوری ناوچه کور دییه کان دا له شـه ردا بوو ( ئور لاند ۱۹۹۷، فاز FAZ / ۷/۷ / ۱۹۹۷ لاپه پ می ۹)، المناوچه ی کور دییه کان به به رمیکی دووه مه وه گریدرابوو! ("im Kurdengebiet an eine 'zweite Front' gebunden")

پهیوهندییه کانی ئیسرائیل و کورد دهگهری ته وه بر ساله کانی ۱۹۰۰ که له ۱۹۳۳ گهیشته لووتکه و له سالی ۱۹۳۰ ۱۹۷۰ پهیوهندییه کان کوتایی پیهات، له ئوپهراسیونی کانیکدا له ژیر ناوی نهینی "مار قاد" (پاخهر) کوتایی پیهات (گونتهر ۲۷۰: ۱۹۹۶). ئهم پهیوندییانه له ناوه پراستی ۱۹۳۰ دا له لایمن ئاریه "ئارییه" لؤوا ئیلیا شاوه پهیوندییانه له ناوه پهیوندییانه که ناوه پهیوندییانه که ناوه پهیوندییانه که ناوه پهیوندییانه که ناوه پهیوندی کوتایی کوتایی کوتایی پیهات الوسال کوتایی پیهات الوسال کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پهیوندی کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی پیهات کوتایی کوتایی پیهات کوتایی کوتایی کوتایی پیهات کوتایی کوتایی کوتایی پیهات کوتایی کوتایی کوتایی پیهات کوتایی کوتایی کوتایی کوتایی کوتایی کوتایی کوتایی پیهات کوتایی کوتای





پهیماننامه ی سان پیمو پینی به خشر اوه ۱۹۲۰ (هینه ربیشله ر ۱۶-۲۱: ۲۰۰۲) پاشتر وه ک سهر کر ده یه کی سیاسیی سوشیال دیموکراتی پروّژهه لاتیی و پروّژهه لاتی ناوه راست خوی ناساند. له ساله کانی ۱۹۲۰ و ۱۹۲۰ و ۱۹۸۸-۱۹۹۲ ادا ئه ندامیکی کومه له ی اکینسیت (په په له مان) "بووه، ههروه ها چهند پو ستیکی وه زاره تیشی له چهند بو نه یه یه یه وه وا (هینه بربیشله ر ۷۷۰: ۲۰۰۶ هند)، له نیو ئه مانه شدا ئیلیا قد ده ست نیس ده می و موردی گهوره ی هه بوو له وه ی که له ناوه پاستی ساله کانی ۱۹۲۰ دا نیسر ائیل بنکه یه کی ته ندروستی له باکوری پروژئاوای ئیران و نزیک له سنوری عیراق بو کورده کان دامه زراند و ههروه ها له گه ل ستافی دکتوره کاندا چالاکی ئه ناوه.

همروهها یاکوق نیمرودی " (لمدایکبووی بهغدا ۱۹۲۱) له دوای جهنگی شهروهها یاکوق نیمرودی " (لمدایکبووی بهغدا ۱۹۲۱) له دوای جهنگی شهرودی و کوژه کی ۱۹۲۷" ، پو لَیْکی کاریگه و پرابه رانه کی دیت. دواتر نیمرودی و هک بالیوزیکی سهربازی کاریگه ر له بالیوزخانه ی ناپرهسمی ئیسپرائیل له تاران خزمه کی کردووه. به گشتی ئیسپرائیل یارمه تی مرویی هاوشانی یارمه تی ئابووریی ، چهک و پینماییه کانیشی ییشی پیشووی پیشووی خوپاریز "میناخن بهگین" (۱۹۱۳-۱۹۹۱) له سالی ۱۹۸۰ (۳۳) پرایگه یاندووه. ئیسرائیل له پی ئیرانه و چهکی پیشکه و تووی ناردووه به تاییه تی "ئامیره کانی دژه تاییه تی ایم اله پی پراویژکاره کانه وه" (جهواد ۳۰۳: ۱۹۸۰).

له سالّی ۱۹۲۱ (۳۷) "موساد"ی ئیسرائیلی و "ساواک"ی ئیرانی یارمهتی مستهفا بارزانییان دا تا "دهزگای پاراستنی"پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان دابمهزرینن، ههندی کوردی بارزانیش له ئیسرائیل راهیّنانیان پیّکرا بوو. (جهواد ۱۹۸۱) لمدوای جهنگی شهشش روّژه، له مانگی نوّی ۱۹۲۷ وه چهندههفتهیه پیّش بهرپابوونی جهنگی "یوم کهپور" له سالّی ۱۹۷۳ مستهفا بارزانی دوو جار سهردانی ئیسرائیلی کردووه (گونتهر ۴۷۱/٤۷۰ : ۴۷۱). هوّکاری دوو سهرکهوتنی سهربازیی سهربازیی سهرکهوتنی عیراق لهریّی یارمهتی سهربازیی ئیسرائیلهوه له باکوری روّژئاوای شانشینی ئیرانهوه؛ سهرکهوتنی



هیزهکانی "پیشمهرگه" له بهرامبهر هیزه عیراقبیهکان له چیای "ههندرین" له مانگی چواری سالی ۱۹۲۱ و هیرشی سیم سیم کهوتووی پروومانه بو سیمر پالاوگه نهوتییهکانی کهرکووک له مانگی سینی ۱۹۲۹دا (۳۸). له ههردوو پرووداوهکهدا، پراویزگاره ئیسرایلیهکان راستهوخو بهشداربوون. هیرشهکانی سهر کهرکووک له کوتاییدا بووه هوی ئهوهی له سیالی ۱۹۷۰کوردهکان بو یهکهمجارپیکهوتنی ئوتونومی له لایهن حزبی پرژیمی به عسیی ئهو کات له به غدا و مربگرن. ئهم پریکهوتنه له ئیستادا بناغهیهکه بو حکومهتی خو بهریوهبهری ئوتونومی ههریمی کوردستانی عیراق (گونتهر ۱۷۷-۲۷): ۱۹۲۱ / ۱۹۲۱، هینه سهربازییه هاوبهشهکانی لهگهل بیشلهر ۲۰۰۲-۵۰: ۲۰۱۱). ئیسرائیل چالاکییه سهربازییه هاوبهشهکانی لهگهل کوردهکانی عیراق پراگرت، له پاش ئهوهی نهیانده توانی لهدهرهوهی شانشینی ئیران چالاکی ئهنجام بدهن. ئهم پالپشتیه کی نیسرائیل بو کوردهکانی عیراق له سالهکانی ۱۹۲۰ و ۱۹۲۰کاندا پیشکهشی کرد، له ئیستا دا له ناو ئیسرائیل تیروانیننگی جیاوازی بو دهکریت، ههرچهند بهگشتی گهشبینانه بوو، به لام

راستیده کی تر نه و هیه ؛ "ناچوم نور لان" له تویژینه و هیه کدا له ۱۹۹۷ دا نیسرائیلی تومه تبار کرد به و هی: "ته ناست نیسرائیلیش یه کیک بو و له و ده و له تانه که کیشه کور دی قو استه و هیچ نیاز یکی و ای نه بو و له دو زینه و هی چار هیه کی د لخوش که کور دی قو استه و هیچ نیاز یکی و ای نه بو و له دو زینه و هی چار هیه کی د لخوش که له چوار چیوه ی ده و له تی ده و این به بی ده و این به بی ده و به بی ده و به بی ده و به بی ده و به بی ده و به بی ده و به بی ده و به بی ده و به بی ده و بی در ای در ای و بی ده و بی در ده و بی در ای در ای و بی در ده و بی در ای در ای در ای و بی در ای در ای در ای در ای در ای در ای در ای در ای در ای در ای در ای در ای در ای در ای در





#### هيلالي شيعي ئيران:

لیّر ۱۹۵۰ بهکورتی باسی "هیلالی شیعی" کراوه لهبهر ئهوهی بهرژهوهنیدیه میّژوویهکانی نیّران له فراوانکردنی کاریگهرییه جیوستراتیجییهکان له کهنداوهوه بوّ دهریای ناوه راست نیشاندهدات. له نیّستادا ئیسرائیل بههاوبهشی لهگهل سهروّکی ئیدارهی ئهمریکا''دوّنالد ترامپ" چالاکانه تیّدهکوّشیّت و لهگهل روسیا له گفتوگوی بهردهوامدایه تادلنیابیّت لهوهی لهمهودای جهنگی سورییهدا هیّزه ملیشیایه بهکریّگیراوهکانی سهربه ئیّران له سنوررهکانی ئیسرایل نزیك نهکهونهوه و بهتاییهتی له هیّله کانی پیشهودا کهزیاتر لهسد کیلوّمهتره(۴۰). ئهنجامهکه گشتگیر ودیاری نهکراوه.

پیشینهی میر وویی: سهره داوهکان ''هیلالی شیعی''

لهسهدهی شانزهیهم بق یهکهم جار له میر وودا ئیران بازنهی کاریگهریی بهرهوه و باشور لاوازبوو. لهسائی ۱۰۱۰ اشا ئیسماعیل ۱ (۱۶۸۷-۲۰۵۱)دامهزرینه ری شانسور لاوازبوو. لهسائی ۱۰۱۰ اشا ئیسماعیل ۲ (۱۶۸۷)دامهزرینه ری شانشدینی سه هفهوییه کان لهجه نگی یه کلاکه رهوه ی ''چالدیران' که له بهرامبه عوسمانیه کان سهر کردایه تی دهکرد، دهسته ی شیعه سهفه ویه کان و باپیرانی ئیرانییه شیعه کان له لایمن اسولتان سهلیمی یه کهم ((۲۷۰ ۱-۲۵۰)) به زینران. خهلیفه ی عوسمانیه کان خوشحالی خوی بق ههوونی توپخانه یه کی به هیز ده ربری (۲۱).

لموکاتموه کاریگمریی نیران لمسلم ناوچهکان تا با شلوور بههوی چیاکانی هاوسنوری روباری "شمتولعمرهب" و کهنداو به شیوهیمکی سمرهکیی سنودارکرا، لمهمان کاتدا تا نمم روژهش سلم کرده نیر انیمکان بانگهشده کمن بو خاوهنداریتی



ناو جه کانی روز ناوای "زاگروس" لهنیویاندا دیجله و فورات بو خوارهوه بهرهو يهمهن و كهنداوي عهدهن، كهنهمانه ناوجه قانوونيهكاني بهر ژهوهنديي و کار یگم بیهکانی ئیر انن و بو فر او انکر دنی دسته لاتی له عیر اق و ناوجه کانی چواردهوري (٤٢) كوردهكاني و هكو ئامرازيك بهكار هيناوه. نويترينيان "محهمهمد ر وزا شا به هله وی" (۱۹۱۹-۱۹۸۰) کور ده کانی به جنبه پشت، که نه و کاته ی له ١٩٧٥دا بهســهر كردايهتي مســتهفا بارزاني(١٩٠٣-١٩٧٧) بق بهدهســتهيّناني ئۆتۆنۆمىيى لە عيراق تىدەكۆشىلان. لەبەرانبەردا ئىران، لەلايەن جىگرى ســـهر و ککوماری ئهوکاتهی عیراق، ســهدام حســین (۲۰۰۱/۱۹۳۷)هوه، نیوهی شــهتو لْعهر مبی بنی بهخشــر ۱، که ریر مویکی ئاوی گرنگه بهر مو کهنداو (٤٣) تا ئهو کاته سنور مکه بو ماو می جهند سالنیك در پر می كیشا بهر موه کهنار ئاوهکانی باکوری ئير ان. كور دەكانى عير اق بيشــتر ســالّـي (١٩٧٠-١٩٧٤) به بشــتيو انى ســهر مكبى و بلایهته بهکگر تو و مکانی ئهمریکا و ئیر ان که لهژیر فهر مانر هو ای شهایی ئیر ان و ئيسر ائيلي دا همر يميّكي ئوتونو ميي سنور داريان به دهست هينا و بالبشتي دهكر ان تا هيرشي سهربازي بكهنه سهر چهقي نهوتي كهركووك و به بهردهوامي فشار خستنه ســهر رژێمي بهعســي ئهو كاته له بهغدا، تا حكومهتێكي خوٚجێيي بهكوردهكان ببەخشىت

# بانگهشهی رابهرایهتیی بارزانییهکان:

لهسالی ۱۹۶۳ و مه بنه ماله ی بارز انبیه کان له رووی سیاسییه و ه پانتاییه کی فراواندا کورده کانیان به ریّوه دهبرد، ته نانه تله م دواییانه شدا نه یانتوانی له گهل "یه کیّتی نیشتیمانی کور دستان" دا موّدیلیّکی راستگوی هاوشیّوه ی حوکمی زوّرینه ی دیمو کر اسیی و هک ئه وهی له ئه وروپادا همیه ئیستاشی له گهلدا بیّت له کور دستانی عیّراق همرگیز نه یتوانی پهره سهندو و بیّت. له برگه ی داها تو و دا هوّکاری ئهم کیشه یه رون ده که بنه و ،



پیشینهی میر وویی: بانگهشهی سمر کردایه تیی بارز انبیه کان

پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان له ساڵی ۲۶۱ موه له لایهن بنهماڵهی بارزانییهوه سهرکردایهتی دهکریّت(44). نهوکاته ی که "مه لا مسته فای بارزانی" له نیّران ناواره بوو، وهک سهروّکی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان هه ڵبرژیردرا، که به فه پر می له (7//7 ۲۹۱)دا له به غدا دامه زریّنرا. مسته فا بارزانی تا کوّتایی ژیانی سهروّکی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان بوو (له یه کی مانگی سیّی ۱۹۷۹ کوّچی دوایی کردووه له و اشنگتون نهم مریکا). همرچونیّك بیّت دامه زراندنی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان به دوو هه نگاو دا تیّیه ریوه (5):

لهسهر ه تا و ناوه پر استی مانگی دووی ۱۹۶۱ مسته فا بارزانی لهگه فی همزه عمیدوو لا پیکه وه له "شنو" نزیک سنوره کانی نیران و ئیراق 'پارتی دیموکراتی کور دستانی عیراقیان پراگهیاند". ههمزه عمیدو لا "چهپرهویکی سهرسهخت " بوو (ئهنده رسن ئاند ستانسفیلد (۱۹۰: ۲۰۰۶)، پاریزه ریکی خهلکی زاخق بوو له باکوری کور دستانی عیراق که له به غدا خویندبووی. ه کاری دامه زراندنی ئهم حیزبه ئه وه بوو، که "ههمزه عمیدوو لا" خالی هاوبه شی نیوان مه لا مسته فا و نوینه رهکانی سو قبیه ته له مههایاد بوو.

فشاریّکی زوریان خستنه ساس تا له ئیران و ئیراق نموونه ی حیزبیّکی دیموکراتی کورد ههر وه ک حیزبی دیموکراتی کوردستان له ئیران به سوقیبه ته قازی محهمه پهیره و بکه نهمه زه عهبدوو لا که و ته ژیر پرکیفی سوقیبه ته وه به بارزانی په بارزانی په بارزانی سوقیبه ته په دامه زراندن و پاگهیاندنی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان له "شنویه" له ئیران جیبه جی بکات. قازی محهمه در به وه بوو تا جیا له حیزبی دیموکراتی کوردستانی حیزبی کی تر ، به معبه ستی لاواز کردن و په رته وازه کردنی جوو لانه وه ی کوماری مه هاباد له ئیران بیته کایه وه نموه بوو په به وه بارزانییه وه کرد و داوای لیکرد به شیره به کی ها په مونی کاربکه ن و هانیدا پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی عیراق له ئیران هانبوه شیزه یه بارزانی بو نموه بوو و له کوتایی مانگی سینی ۱۹۶۳ همزه عهبدو لا"ی بارزانی بو نموه ملکه چه بو و و له کوتایی مانگی سینی ۱۹۶۳ همزه عهبدو لا"ی





نار دهو ه بق عیر اق، به لام ههمز ه عمیدو لا، بار ز انی نائو مید کر د. جهند مانگیک دو اتر له شهانز می مانگی ههشتی ۹۶۱ ایار تی دیمو کر اتی کور دستانی عبر اقی "ئيبر اهيم ئەحمەد (١٩١٣-٠٠٠٠ (٤٦)"له بهغدا راگەيەنرا، كه ئيبر اهيم ئەحمەد به باوکی سیاسهتی چهپ له کور دستانی عیراق ناونر ابوو، له سلیمانی که بیگهیهکی به هنزی گروپنکی چهروو له باشووری روزهه لات له دابیک بووه. ئه حمه د؛ بار يز در و شاعير و سياسه تمهدار و سهر بازيكي ديريني جو و لانه و دي "كو مهلهي" ئير ان "ژ ک"بو و ه، له ساێماني لقێکي هاو شـێو هي بێکهێنا به ناوي حيز بي" ک.ژ " که له مههاباد جاوی به قازی محهمه که و تبو و همر بهکه لهقازی محهمه و نبیر اهیم ئەحمەد و بستىان لەر ئى سىياسەتتىكى شار سىتانىي چەير ەوانەو ەي جيھانىي بۆ کور دستانیکی گهوره لهنیوان سنورری دهو لهتانی تردا تبیکوشن، که ناوهندهکهی و ا مهز هنده كرا بوو له نيوان شاره همره بيشكهوتووهكاني كوردستاندا بيت، و چاو بنِکهو تنهیهکانیان بنویسته به شنو هیه کی رنگ و بنك یهک له دو ای یهک ئه نجام بدرنت. مستهفا بار ز انی در ی نهم بیر و کهبه و مستابهو ه "نهحمهد" بنشنبار بکر د، که بار ز انی یه میو مندی به یارتی دیمو کر اتی کور دستان له ئیر آن بکات ببیته سهر کر دهی لقه که ی ترى ئەو حيز به له عير اق، بار زانى ئەمەشىكى رەتكر دەو ە. ئەو سوو ر بوو لەسلەر ئه وی بار تبکی نهته و مبی کور دبی عبر اقی به زور بنه خبله کی و دهشته کی و نهر بت باريز بنك بهيننت و له گهل بالي چهير موى ژيرده سته يهك بگريت.

كاتبك "ههمزه عهدوو لا" له مانگي دووي ١٩٤٦ دا بهرهو بهغدا مههاباد و شنوبهي بهجيّهيّشت، مستهفا بار ز اني پٽي ر اگهياند، كه نامهيهك بو ئيبر اهيم ئهجمهد ببات بوّ سلیمانی/عیراق. ناو مروّکی بانگیشتنامهیه کبوو بو دامهزراندنی پارتی دیموکراتی کور دستانی عیر اقی له عیر اق بار زانی جهختی له سهر دامه رر اندنی بارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی عیراقی به جوودایی دهکردهوه وه بانگهشهی نهوهی دهکرد خۆى بېيته ســـهر كردهى حيز بهكه. ئيبر اهيم ئهحمه د همردوو داواكهى بارزاني ر ه تکر دهوه ، به لام رازیبوو له گهل هممزه عمبدولا و هک بینمریك و نوینهری پ.د.

# FOR A

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ک. له ئیران بو به غدا بچیت به شداریی دامه زراندی پارتی دیمو کراتی کور دستانی عیراق بکات.

له کوتاییدا ئەندامانی دامەزریناس له شانزهی ههشتی ۱۹۶۳دا ( ۷۷)به نهینی له مالّی شاعیریکی کورد بهناوی (عملی حامدی) له بهغدا کوبووناموه و کاری دامهزراندنه کهیان جیبه جیکرد و ساس ه رای ئاواره بوونی مسته فا بارزانی، ئهویان به سامروکی حیزبه که هه لبر ارد و ههمزه عابدو لاش وه که ساکرتیری گشتی هه لبر یردرا.

له دوای ههرهسهینانی "کوماری مههاباد" و لهسیدارهدانی سهرکردهکهی "قازی محمهد" له سالی ۱۹٤۷ دا، ئیبراهیم ئهجمه له مانگی پینجی ۱۹٤۷ پهیوهندی به پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی عیراقهوه کرد، تاوتویی ئهوهیان کرد که کوردستانی عیراقه وی نهتهوه کورد دهرکهتووه.





كرده ســهر جوو لانهوهى كورديى له عيراق له ئيدارهكردنى حيزبهكهدا دهســه لاتيان لهدهست دا.

ئیبراهیم ئهحمهد که له هاوینی سالی ۱۹۰۱ تازه له زیندان ئازادکرا بوو؛ له دووهم کونگرهی حیزبهکهیدا وهک سکرتیری گشتی هه نیر درا. به هوی د نسوزییان بو بارزانی، کومه نه که چهند سالنیک به جودایی مایهوه. ئهم پیکخراوه پهیوه ندییه کی نزیکتری له گه ن کومونیسته کانی عیراق دا هه بوو، وهک له ئه ندامه کانی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی (مارتن قان برونسن ۱۹۸۱/ میر ۱۶۱) له سالی ۱۹۵۷ دیموکراتی کوردستانی (مارتن قان برونسن ۱۹۸۱/ میر ۱۶۱) له سالی ۱۹۵۷ شسیوه یه موو کومه نمه کونگرهی (پ.د.ک.) پارته که به شسیوه یه کی جهوه مربی دانی پیادا نرا. بو یه کهم حار پارتی دیموکراتی کوردیی ناوه که یه بووی هه موو خه نمی کوردستان به بی جیاوازی نه ته موه یی و دهک ده ستیشخه به پرووی هه موو خه نمی کوردستان به بی جیاوازی نه ته موه و می ده سیونی و دهک ده ستیشخه به پرووی هه موو خه نمی شارستانی بینرا.

ههمزه عهبدو لا له به ر تاکتیکه دابه شکارییه کانی به رهسمی له پارته که دوور خرایه وه، که به شیوه یه کی کاتی پارتیکی جیّگرهوه ی به ناوی 'پارتی دیموکراتی کور دستان – به رهی پیشکه و تن ) دامه زراند بوو. به لام له سالی ۱۹۵۳ دا بو ناو پ.د.ک. گهرایه وه.

"مه لا مسته فای بارزانی " له دوای گهرانه وهی له یه کنتی سو قیمت سه رکر دایمتی (پ.د.ک.)گرته ئهستق. بارزانی به خنرایی بریاری ده رکردنی ههموو چه په کانی دا و به یاخیبوون تومه تباری کرد و به خنرایی له حیزب و هده ری نان و ئه وانیش ره تیانکرده وه، که بتوانیت حوکمی دیموکراسیی زورینه قبول بکات (٤٩).

له ئەنجامدا ئەندامه چەپرەوەكانى مەكتەب سياسى پارتى ، بەسەركردايەتى ئيبراھيم ئەممەد وجەلال تاللەبانى له رانيه(باكورى رۆژئاواى سليمانى) كۆنگرەوەيەكى تريان بۆپارتەكايان بەست. لەسەرەتاى ساللى ١٩٦٥ جەلال تاللەبانى له گەل نزيكەى بىر ئىران ھەللەت، كە شوينى نىشتەجىيوونيان لە نزيك "ھەمەدان" بۆ دابىنكرا. لەسەرەتاى سالى ١٩٦٦ ھەموويان گەرانەوە بۆ عىراق.





کاتیك له ۱۹۷۰/۳/۱۱ لهلایهن ســمر کرده ی نویّی پرژیمی به عســی عیراقی ئه حمه د حهســهن به کر (۱۹۱۶-۱۹۸۲) و جیّگره که ی ســه دام حوســین (۱۹۷۹-۲۰۰۳) مانیفیّســتی ههریّمایه تیی بوّکورده کانی عیّراق پراگه بیاندرا، ســه روّک "جهلال تالمیانی" به رهو دیمه شــق پروّیی. له ســالّی ۱۹۷۰ بو ۱۹۷۰ ئاواره بوو. "ئیبراهیم ئه حمه د" گهرایه و دیمه شــق پروّیی. له ســالّی ۱۹۷۰ بو ۱۹۷۰ ئاواره بوو. "ئیبراهیم مســته فا بارزانی دا ، پرســته که ی و هرگرته و که ســکرتیّری گشــتی بوو (50) ، باره گای سهر کردایه تیه که ی نومه ران دامه زراند. باره گای سهر کردایه تیه که نزیک سنوری ئیران له حاجی ئومه ران دامه زراند. له سالّی ۱۹۲۷ ۱۹۷۸ بارزانیه کان و به تاییه تی مه لا مسته فا به یار مه تیدانی له شکری ئیرانی که و رووداوه ش بوو به هو کاری به رهنگار بوونه و ی پرژیمی شــا نوتمه تیار کران. ئه و پرووداوه ش بوو به هو کاری به رهنگار بوونه و ی پرژیمی شــا له پیگه کی هملگرتنی تفه نگر بو ماوه ی دوو ســـال بو به دهســت هینا و له شکری ئوتونوّمیی کورد له ئیراندا، سهر که و تنیکی ناوخوّیی کاتیان به دهست هینا و له شکری ئوتونوّمیی کورد له ئیراندا، سهر که و تنیکی ناوخوّیی کاتیان به دهست هینا و له شکری ئوتونوّمیی کورد له ئیراندا، سهر که و تنیکی ناوخوّیی کاتیان به دهست هینا و له شکری ئوتونوّمیی کورد نه نیراندا، سه که و تنیکی ناوخوّیی کاتیان به دهست هینا و له شکری





له كۆتابىدا كۆماندۆ تابىەتبەكانى بەناو جەندر مەكانى سىنورى ئۆران، توانبان بە سهر باندا زال بن و شکستیان بے بهننن بو ون به هو کاری جهوساندنه و و کو شتنی بنشمم گهکان. به قسمی خه لك لاشمه کانیان شيو پندر اون و بو چهند روژيك لهشار و چکهکانی سهر سنو و ر ی ئیر ان نیشاندر او ن.

خەتاى مستەفا بار زانيان ئەگرت لەبەر ھێنانى يێشمەرگەكانى (١٥)خۆى بۆ ناوچەكە تا ریگری له شهر که ره کور ده کانی ئیران بکهن و نه هیلن رابکهن به رهو ئیراق و ههندیکیشیان لی کو شتو و ن. بهته و او ی زیاتر له ۱۰۰۰ بیشمه رگهی (ب، د، ك/ ئیر ان) ژ پانی خو پان لهدهستدا. لهدو ای دامر کاندنهو هی ههو ڵ و تیکو شهانی کو ر دهکان بو بهدهست هینانی ئو تو نو میی لهسالی ۹۷۰ ادامهسعود بارزانی و زربراکهی بو ماو میه کی کهم سے مرکز دایمتی بیشے مهر گه کانی (پ. د. ك.) كر دو وه كه بهر دو نیر ان دو و رخر ابونه وه، تا كاتى مردنى باوكيان مستهفا بارزانى لهسالي ١٩٧٩ له سهر متای سهر هه لَدانی ریکهوتنی جهز ائیر له ۲ ئاداری سالی ۱۹۷۰، که لهنیوان شا ر هزا یه هلهوی و سهر وِّك و هزیرانی عیراق "سهدام حسیّن" هاته كایهوه. شای ئیران به بيلانگير بيهك لهگهل ويلايهته يهكگرتو هكاني ئهمريكا يشتى كور دهكاني بهر دابوو، كه له و كاته دا ئهمريكا له لايهن سكريتيري يهيو وندبيه نيو ده و لهتيه كان به ناوي الهينري كيسنجه " يلانه كانى دادمريز را، كه كهسيكي توندر هوى سياسيي دره كورد بوو. كاتئ لهشكري عيراق بهكر كوردهكاندا هاتهوه، كه داواي مافهكاني خويان له جوار جيوهي سينور مكانيي خوياندا دمكرد، بهههزاران كوردي عيراقي بهرمو ئيران رایان کرد، له وی مافی پهنابهریتی سیاسیان و درگرت.

"مستهفا بار زاني" و خيز انهكهي له "كهرهج" كه دهكهويته باكوري روز باواي "تاراني" پايتهخت، مافي مانهوهي تايبهتيان پيبهخشرا. مستهفا بارزاني بو وهرگرتني چار هساس ی نهخو شیهکهی که"شیریهنجه بوو" بهر هو ئهمریکا رویشت. به لام له ای ئاداري ساڵي ۱۹۷۹ لهنهخو شخانهيهك له و اشخگتون كو چې دوايي كر د. سهر متا تهر مهكهیان له شنو به لهباكورى ئير ان ناشت، باشان له سالّي ۱۹۹۳ دو و بار ه تهر مهكه بانگهر انده و م بو ده فهر ي بار ز ان له "ز بوه" له كور دستاني عير اق به خاكيان





سيار د ۲ ه. له تشر بني دو و ممي ۱۹۷۹ له كۆيونهو مي پهكهمي كۆنگر مي (ب د ك) له دواي مر دني بار زاني ســهر و کي نو پيان هه ڵبڙ ار د ، بو و به هو ي ئاڙ او ه و جیابو نه و ه سکر تیری گشتی ئه و حزبه ال محهمه مهجمود سامی عهیدول ر محمان ا لمريّگهي بچوككر دنموهي دهسـه لاتي همريهكه له (مهسعود و ئيدريس بارزاني) كه ههو لَّي داگير كر دنى ئه و حز بهى دهدا، ''ســامى رهحمان" تاكه سـهر كر دهى كوردبووه(له ناو يارتي دا) كه له خيراني بارزانيهكانهوه نههاتووه و هيچ به بو هندیه کی به خیز انی زیباریه کانیشه و ه نهبو و ه ، همو لی شکاندنی ئه و کلتو و ر هی داوه که بار ز انبهکان ههمیشه و هه ر لهسه و متای در و ستبونی ( ب. د. ك.) خویان سه کر ده ی نه و حیز به بو و ن له کاتی دامه زر اندنیه و ه محمان سه که و تو و نهبو و ، ر ادەستتى هێز مكانى ئێر ان كر ا بۆ ماو دى نيو ساڵ له بەندىخانەى ئەڤىن لە تار ان دەسىت بەسلەر كرا وله باش جەند مانگنگ بە ھۆي دەسىت تتو ەر دان و ھەوللە نتو دەو لْمتبيەكان ئاز اد كر الله ناو كەسسايەتبيە نيو دەو لْمتبيەكاندا كە كەمبىنيان بۆ ئاز ادکر دنی دهکر د سهر و کی دو اتری نهمسای فیدر الّبی "دکتو ر هاینز فیشهر " بو و ، همر زوو، دوای نموه نازاد بوو، "سامی رمحمان" بمرهو دیمه شق هم لهات، چهند پارتیکی بچووکی سۆشیال دیموکراتی روز هه لاتیی اهاوشیوهی مودیلی ئوروبایی، ا دامەز راند؛ بەلام ھېچ پېشـــكەوتتېكى بەدەســت نە ھێنا، لە كۆتاپىدا گەراپەرە بۆ ناو بار تی دیموکر اتی کو ر دســتانی عبر اق جبّگری ســهر و کی بار تی بو و تا ۲۰۰۳، لهم دو ابیانهدا و مکو و جنگری سهر و ک و مز بر انی کابینهی جو از ممی حکو مهتی ههر بمی کور دستان ۵۳ له ژپر سهر کر دایهتی "ننچیر قان ئیدریس بار زانی کاری دهکرد". لمكوّتاييشدا له ساللي ٢٠٠٤ به هوّى تهقينه وهيه كي خوّكو ژيي ويّر انكهر له هموليّر تيرور كرا، كه لايهنه ئيسللميهكانيان يي تومه تباردهكرد٥٥. ئيدريس بارزاني له کو تاہی مانگی پهکی سےالی ۱۹۸۷ له مالهکای خو ی له کهر هج له کاتی دهر بهدهر يو و ني له ئير ان له تهمهني ٤٣ ساليدا له بار و دو خيكي تهمو مر او بيدا گياني له دهست دا، همرچهنده تویزینه وهی جهستهیی بو ئهنجام نهدر ابو و به لام دکتورهکان هو کاری مردنه که ان بو له کارکه و تنی دلی گهرانده وه. مهسعود بارزانی که له





سالمی (۱۹۷۰ موه تا ۱۹۸۷ به هاوبه شی ئیدریس بارزانی سهرکردایه تی (پ. د. ک.) پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی عیّراقی کردووه، له وه به دواوه، واته له سالمی ۱۹۸۷ هوه به ته ته نیا خوّی سیمرکردایه تی (پ. د. ک.) ی کردوه. (نیّچیر قان بارزانی)کوری ئیدریس بارزانی ئیستا پوّستی سهروّک وهزیرانی ههیه.

#### ٥ - قەيرانە دەستورىيەكانى عيراق:

همرچهنده دهستوری عیراقی فیدرالیی له سالی ۲۰۰۰ وه نهخشه ریگایه کی چارهسه ری خیرای بو پرسه مهترسیدار و یه کلایی نه کراوه کان دارشتووه ، به لام همردو لا تا ئیستا له ریکهوتنیکی گشتی سهباره ت به داهاتوو و جیبه جی کردنی سهرکهوتوو نهبوون. ته نیایه به برارده لهسه میزی گفتوو گو ده مینیته وه ئه ویش بریتیه له: دانیشتنی نوینه ره قانوونییه کانی کورده کانی عیراق له گهل حکومه تی فیدرالیی له به غدا، تا کیشه دهستورییه کانیان لمریی دیالوگی راسته و خووه چاره سهر بکه ن بان نهوه تا بواری پیکدادان دیته کایه وه و له وانه یه پیکدادانی چه کداری له داهاتوودا روبدات.

پێشینهی مێژووی: سهره داوهکان:

كيشه بمرده وامه كانى عيراق لمرووى دهستووربيه وه:

دهستوری کوّماری فید الّیی عیّر اق سهباره تبه سنوره کانی کوردستان زوّر ناروون نووسراوه ته وه مهر وه که لهسه کهرکووک و (ناوچه جیّناکوّکه کان و کیّشه لهسه دوکان)، سنوری فهرمی کوردستان هیّشتا پیّی ده و تریّت "هیّلی سهوز" که تاک لایمنانه له لایمن سوپای عیّر اقه وه له سالّی ۱۹۹۱دا وه ک ناگر بهستیّک له کوتایی جمنگ له گهل کورده یاخیبووه کاندا دیاریکرا. هیّلی سهوز له بمندی ۵۰ کوتایی جمنگ له گهل کورده یاخیبووه کاندا دیاریکرا. هیّلی سهوز له بمندی ۵۰ برگه ی (A)دا دیاریکرا، له قانوونی پراگوز هریی سالی ۲۰۰۶ که ده لیت احکومه تیکی فهرمی نه و ناوچانه ی که له ۱۳ که ده له لایمن دهسه لاتی دادوه ربیه وه بهریّوه ده بریّن، که پیّکهاتبوون له





دهۆک، هەولێر، سلێمانى، كەركووک، دياله و نەينەوا٥٥، كە بەشىيوەيەكى قانوونى بريار درا كە سنورەكانى ئىدارەى ھەرێمى كوردستان لە سنورى دەسەڵاتى ھەرسىي پارێزگاى، دھۆک، ھەولێر، سلێمانى دەمێێتەوە؛ ھەرچۆنێک بێت سىمركەوتوو نەبوو لە دياريكردنى ناوچەكانى دياله، كەركووک و نەينەوا، وە بەھىچ شيوازێكىش لەم سنوربەندىيەدا ناويان نە ھێنراوە.

بۆ خودی "هێڵی ســهوز "یش هیچ پێناســهیمکی قانوونی نییه. یمکێک له ڕاســتییه گرنگمکان ئموهیه، که پارێزگای کمرکووک و (شاری قوه ( qua له گهڵ ناوچهکانی حمویجه و دوبز، کمرکووک، داقوق) تاکه همرێمه که له دهسـتوری ســاڵی ۲۰۰۰ به "ناوچه کێشــه لهســمرهکان" له نێوان حکومهتی همرێمی کوردسـتان و حکومهتی فیدڕاڵی عێراق پێناســـه کراوه. له قانوونی فیدڕاڵیی عێراقدا ( بۆ نموونه : له قانوونی مافی ههڵبرژاردن بۆ ههڵبرژاردنه همرێمایهتییهکان له ۲۰۰۹ دا، همروهک له مافی دهنگدانی نهتهوهیی ۱۰۲۰دا چهند قانوونێکی تایبهتی به کمرکووک دهرکرا. به پێچهوانهوه له پرهشنووسی دهستوری همرێمی کوردستان (کێلی ۲۰۱۰/۷۲ هتد) له بهندی 2:1 دا که بهتایبهتی وهک بهشـێک له "کوردســتانی عێراق " دیاریکراوه، به له بهندی تایبهتی له کهیسهکانی به به ناوهینانی ناوچهکانی تر، همرچهنده به شێوهیهکی تایبهتی له کهیسهکانی دیاله و نمینهوا ئاماژهیان پێدراوه. ئه مهش له لایمن کوردهکانی عێراقهوه ئاماژهیهک بوو بۆ خاوهندار بوونی کمرکووک (کهین ۲۰۱۱/۲٤/۲).

ئۆپۆزســنۆنى بەر ھەڵســتكارى حكومەتى فيدراڵيى عيراق، كە لە لايەن ســەرۆك وەزىرانى پيشوو "نورى ماليكى " لە ٢٠٠٨ دا پيكھات: كەركووك بەشاريكى سەر بە حكومـەتى فيدراڵيى عيراق دەزانيت وە دەبيت وەك دۆزيكى تــايبـەتى ليى بېروانريت٥ و رەنگە ببيت بە ھەريميكى ســـەربەخۆ. لەگەڵ ئەوەشــدا ريكەوتنى ئۆتۈنۆميى ناوبراوى مانگى سيى ١٩٧٠ى نيوان سـەركردەى ئەوكاتەى كوردەكانى عيراق مستەفا بارزانى (١٩٠٣-١٩٧٩) و " ئەنجومەنى راويژكارى شۆرشگيرانەى بەعس(بەسـيرە ٥٨ : ٢٠٠٣ هند) بەســەركردايەتى ئەحمەد حەسـەن بەكر (١٩١٤-١٩٨٩) و جيگرى سـەرۆكى ئەوكاتە سـەدام حوسين (١٩٨٧) لە بەغدا ، كە



له ۱۹۷۰/۳/۱۲ دا بلاو کر ایموه له ماده ی ۱۵ المانیفیسته کهدا البه اینی ئو تو نومیی و کونتروّلی ئیداریی ئمو ناوچه دیفاکتویانه ی ۱۹۷۰-۱۹۷۰ که زورینه ی دانیشتوانه کانی لهخو گرتبوو (ماده ی ۱ ی مانیفیسته که ) به کور ده کان دا. دهستوری سالی ۲۰۰۵ ماده ی گرنگی ۱۶ له خو ده گریت و پلانیکی ۳ برگهیی ده خاته روو، که ناوه روّکیکی فرهمانای سمباره تبه الکمرکووک و ناوچه کیشه له سمره کانی تر اله ههیه. به سیوه یه کی گرنگ داوای یه کلا کر دنه وه ی دوّخی الکمرکووک اله ده کات و داوای یه کگرتنی کمرکووک اله گفل سنووره ئیدارییه کانی ناوخوّی عیراق ده کات، تا له پروسه ی ناسایی کر دنه وه دا له پری سمرژ میری و پیفراندوّ میکی یه کلاکمره وه دیاری بکریّت.

دهستوری سالی ۲۰۰۷/۱۲/۳۱ و مک دوا و اده بو جیبه جیکر دنی دیاریکر اوه (۷۰). سهر مرای ئهوهش دهستوری سالی ۲۰۰۷-۶ چهند کیشه یه کی گرنگی به چارهسه ر نه کر اوی به جیبه یشتووه (وه مکوو شایسته یی بوونی دهنگده ر ، دهسه لاته مه ده نییه کان ، له گه ل پر سیار ه کانی پیفر اندوّم) که تا ئه م کاته ش ئه م کیشانه پیویستیان به بایه خپیدان و چارهسه ره چونکه ناوه پوده که تا ئه م کاته ش ئه م کیشانه پیویستیان به بایه خپیدان و چارهسه ره بوده کریت که تا ئه م کاته ش نه موره که و به خوند خوید نده و هیه که جیاو از یان بوده کریت ۸۰ همروه ها به هوی در به یه کبوونی ئاره و زه کان و ئامانجه کان له گه نه نه به رکه و توون یان تیوه گلابوون، تائیستاش نه یان نه و انبوه له سهر (نه گهره کانی که هیشت له ئار ادان) بو چارهسه رکردنی کیشه کان پیکه کوتا کات بو چارهسه رکردنی کیشه کان دانه نر اوه، ته نانه ت خالی یه کلاییکه رهوه ش له ناو ده ستوره که دا و به که اله گه که به می خون به می ده سوره داو انه دا ۹ کامار و به می دو خه کر اوه:

له بهندی  $\cdot$  3 اله دهستوری سالّی  $\cdot$   $\cdot$  7 ری و شوینه کان بو پلانه سی ههنگاوییه که تاییه تی دیاری نه کراوه ، به  $لام نهمه ناما ژه به ماده ی <math>\circ$  ده کات له دو خی قانوونی ناوخویید الله "قانوونی راگوزه ری به ریّوبه رایه تییه کان"، که له لایه ن حوکومه تی راگوزه ری نهوکاته ی عیّر اقه وه له سالّی  $\circ$   $\circ$  ۲ ناوه ته روو. حوکومه تی راگوزه ری





عێڕاقیی تایبهت به "حکومهتی هاوپهیمانی کاتی " سـهرهرای ئهوه(۲۰) هیچ کام له قانوونی راگوزهری بهرێوبهرایهتیهکان (۸۰) و بهندی ۱۶ له دهستوری سـاڵی ۲۰۰ هیچ رێنیشاندهرێکی روونی تیانهبووه، که چوٚن پلانه سـێ خاڵییهکه بخرێته بواری جێبهجێکردنهوه، ههردووکیان به شــێوهیه کی وا نووسراونه تهوه که بیێته هوٚکاری جیابونهوه و دروست بوونی ئاڵوزییهکان و سهر ههڵدانهوهیان له نێوان گروپه نه ژادیه کانی کهرکووکدا .

پهرهگرافی (أ) له ووتاری ''قانوونی پراگوزهری به پیوبه رایه تیه کان'' به ندی ۸۰ باس له و ناداد پهروه رییه ده کات، که به رامبه ربه نه ژاده جیاوه زه کانی ناو که رکووك کراوه، که له لایه ن پر بیمی سه دام حسینه وه بو ده ره وه ی که رکووك گواستر اونه ته و نهم و وتاره، داوای پیچه وانه کردنه و ی نهم پر وسیمیه و گه پر اندنه و ی ناوچه هم پیمیه کان ده کات، که سروشتی دیم و گرافیان شیوینر اوه، له سه روی هه مویانه و گه پر اندنه و هی که رکووك. جیبه جیکردنی نهم نه رکه به شیوه یه کی سه ره کیی خرابو وه نه ستوی ''کومسیونی بانگه شه کردنی خاوه نداریتی عیراق "بوشوینی نیشته جیبوون، 'چوار چیوه یه کی زهمه ی گونجاو دیاریکرابوو ا

- (أ: ١) نیشته جیبووه گهریندر او مکان له لایمن دمو لمتموه به لینی قمر مبووی دار اییان پیدر ابوو، همروه ها ز موی جیگر موهی نزیك خویان پیه خشر ا.
  - (أ: ٢) بریار در ا به دابینکر دنی هملی کار.
- (أ: ٣). نمو که سانه ی که که و تونه ته به رشالا وه که له ریگه ی برگه ی نی نموه ی پیبه خشر اوه به ئاز ادی ناسنامه ی نه ته وایه تیی و نه ژادیی خویان هه لبر یرین. (أ: ٤). ماده ی ۸ ه ب)، ئه و پیشنیار انه ی پیشکه شکه کرد حوکومه تی راگوزه ری ئه و کیاته ی عیراق تا په رله مانی عیراق هان بدات بو پیچه و انه کردنه وه ی ئه و ده ستیوه ردان و گورینی سنوره ئیداریه کانی، که رژیمی پیشو و له یه کلاکردنه و هی کیشه سیاسی میه کیشد و ایمتی و و کیستی و ایمتی و ریکه و تنیک، ئه و اباس له نیوه ندگیریی کراوه هم وه ک ئه نجومه نی ناسایشیی نه ته و هم کرد و وه ک





(ی،  $\zeta$ ، ی  $\delta$  /  $\delta$ ) ســووربوو لـهســه " ســهرژمێرييه کی دادپهروهرانه و يه کلاکهرهوه" لهسهر ناوچه کێشه لهسهره کان له نێوانیشیاندا کهرکووک بکرێت. ئهم چارهسهرییه دهبێت له سـهر بنه مای دادپهروهریی بێت و ههروه ها " ویستی خهڵکی ئهو ناوچانه " به ههند و مربگیرێت

#### چار ەسەرە كاتىيەكان تا ئىستا

قهر مبووی دار ایی نیشته جیّبووه عهر مبه کان له ناوچه کانی عیّر اق له ژیّپ ده سه لاتی پر ژیّمی سه دام حوسیّن: له ۱۹ی مانگی سیّی ۲۰۰۷ دا به غدا بریاری دا، که بری (۲۰ ملیوّن دینار/۱۰۰۰ دوّلار) به همر خیّزانیّکی عمر مب بدات، تا خوّویستانه (۲۱) کمرکووک به جیّبهیّلّن، همروه ها پارچه یه ک زموی ببه خشسیّته ئموانه ی خوّبه خشانه بریاریان داوه بگهرینه وه زیّدی خوّیان.

ئهم قانوونه چووه بواری جیبهجیکردنهوه، بریاریّکی تری پهرلهمانی عیراق چیتر پیویست نهبوو (۱۲). نهزانراوه تا نیستا چهند خیزانی عهرهب ئهم پیشسنیارهی قهر مبووکردنهوهیان قبولّکردووه. به پیّی میری۱۲۰ MERI ۲۰۱۰/۱۸ ۲۰۱ نزیکهی قهر مبووکردنهوه له لایمن ئهو خیزانانهی که به هیز دوچاری راگواستن بونه ته وه پرکراوه ته وه لایمن ئهو خیزانانهی که به هیز دوچاری پراگواستن بونه ته وه، پرکراوه ته وه. له ۲۰۰۷-۱۰۲ تیپیاندا ۲۰۱۱ خیزان به قهر مبوی داراییان پینه به خشر اوه. کومه لیّک له عهر مبه تازه نیشته جینیووه کان بری ۱۸۶۲ میری دو وه تهوه، که ته نیا ۱۷۷۶ خیزانیان بی ۱۸۶۲ میری تهر مبووی داراییان بو کراوه. بو جیبه جیکردنی کاری دوسیهی پیشبینی و مرگرتنی قهر مبووی داراییان بو کراوه. بو جیبه جیکردنی کاری دوسیهی داواکراوی و مرگرتنی قهر مبووی و زاره کان، بو کهرکووک ته نیا نزیکهی ۱۰۰ بیلیون دیناری عیراقی پیویسته. بهم پیوشوی که هه ندیک له نزیکهی ۲۰ سال ده خایه نیت بو ته و او کردنی و ئه و راستییهی که هه ندیک له عمر مبه کان که ئه و بیره پاره یان و مرگرتووه، به لام بو نویکردنه و ماله کانیان له کمرکووک به کاریان هینوو و کهوتوونه به لام بو نویکردنه و ماله کانیان له کمرکووک به کاریان هینوو و کهوتوونه به لام به سالاوی په خنه و راه و کهوتوونه به به سالاوی په خنه و راه و کهوتوونه به به راه ی در دراه و کهوتوونه به دیگردنه و مرگرتووه، به در شالاوی په خنه و راه و کهوتوونه به در شالاوی په خنه و راه و کهوتوونه به در شالاوی په خنه و راه و کهوتوونه به در شروی و راه و کهوتوونه به در شالاوی په خنه و راه و کهوتوونه به در شروی و راه و کهوتوونه به در شروی و کهوتوونه به در شروی و کهوتوونه به در شروی و کهوتوونه به در شروی و کهوتوونه به در شروی و کهوتوونه به در شروی و کهوتوونه به در شروی و کهوتوونه به در شروی و کهوتوونه به در شروی و کورنوی و کهوتوونه به در شروی و کورنوی و





ئه و عمر هبانه ی بهم شیوه یه مامه لمیانکر دووه نه زانر اوه، همروه ها بانگه شده کر دنیان بو همبوونی مافی ده نگدان له کهرکووک هیشتا مشت و مری لهسم ( ۱۳ ).

# گەر اندنەو ەى زەوى و زار بۆ خاو ەنەكانيان:

"کوّمیتهی مافی خاوهنداریّتی عیّراقیی " له نیّستادا خهریکی دوّسییهکانی تایبهت به بری به بره وی و زاره داگیرکراوهکانی جوتیارهکانه، تا بیانگهریّنیّتهوه، که بری ۱،۲۰۰۰۰ دوّنم (دوو ههزارو پیّنچسه مهتر دوجا) زهوی کشتوکالییه. "کوّمیتهی مافی خاوهنداریّتیی کهرکووک" پیّداچونهوهی بوّر، ۸۸۰۰ کهیسی گوماناوی کرد (میّری ۱۸: ۱۰) ژمارهی ئهوکهیسانهی که ئاوری لیّدرابیّتهوه بان رهت کرابیّتهوه دیارنیه. ئیدارهکان به وه توّمهتبار کران که زوّر خاو کاردهکهن بان مهرجی قورس و زیاده دهسه پیّنن و سهبارهت به" کوّمیتهی عیّراقی مافی خاوهنداریّتی تایبهت به کهرکووک " له ۲۰۱۵ پیّداچوونهوهی بو ۸٬۸۰۰ کهیسی گوماناوی کرد (میّری ۱۸۰۸ کهیسی).

#### سەرژمێريى

دهستوری فیدرالیی عیراق ته نیا دوو جار ناوی "سیمر ژمیریی" تیدا هاتووه: له ماده ی ۱۱۰ له ژماردنی "پاره ی نیردراو" بو حکومه تی فیدرالیی عیراق له به غدا بو ئاماده کردنی "ئاماری گشتیی دانیشتوان" و سیمر ژمیرییه ک بکات (ماده ی ۹: ۱۱۰). ماده ی (۲: ۱۶۰) رینمایی حکومه تی فیدرالیی ده کات بو جیبه جیکردنی پلانیکی سین برگهیی که بریتی بیت له (ئاسیایی کردنه وه، سیمر ژمیریی، پینزاندومی کی برواپیکراو له کهرکووک و ناوچه کیشه له سهره کانی تریش"). به لام تیا ۱۲۰۷/۱۲/۳۱ پروسیه ی ئاسیایی کردنه وه به تی به تا بیم دواخراوه به تیم وایی جیددی بو زهمینه سیاریی نه ته وه یی تا نیستا چوار جار دواخراوه و هیچ هه نگاویکی جیددی بو زهمینه سیازیی "پیفراندوّم" نه ندراوه (میری میدی).





له سالمی ۱۹۵۷ هو سهر ژمیرییه کی بروا پیکراو و دانپیانراو له مهودایه کی فراوان له عیراقدا ئه نجام نه دراوه، (کمین ۱:۱۰، ۲۰۰۸، ستانسفیلد و ئه نده رسن ۱:۹:۶۰ هند). سسهر ژمیریی ۱۹۵۷ له لایمن زوّربه ی دانیشتوانی ناوچه کانی عیراقه و پالپشتی ده کرا، همروه ها تاکه سهر ژمیرییه کی دیمو کر اسییانه یه، که به شیوه یه کی کرداری بنه مایه کی دیمو کراسیی همینت. همروه ک له ۱۱۰۱ دا ده رده که ویت که "پاریزگای کمرکووک له نیستادا به شیوه یه کی ناوه ندیی خاوه ن دانیشتوانیکی زوّرینه ی کورده" (کهین ۲۰۱۱:۲۷).

#### هه لبر اردنه کان:

له ساڵی ۱۹۹۱ وه تا ساڵی ۲۰۱۷ (۲۶) کهرکووک بهشیّوهیه کی سهره کیی له پرووی سیاسییه وه له لایهن کورده کانه وه کونتروّل کرا بوو. له دوای پراپهرینی ۱۹۹۱ بیّر ۲۸ی مانگی سیّی ۱۹۹۱ کهرکووک پراسته و خوّله لایهن کورده کانه وه به پریّوه برا. پاشان هیزه تاییه تبیه کانی ئه مهریکا داوایان له نویّنه ره کورده کان به تاییه تی له ایه کیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان (ی.ن.ک.) کرد، تا له کهرکووک بکشینه وه. هیّزه کانی ئه مهریکا بریاریان دا که کهرکووک کونتروّل بکهن، ئیدارهیه کی فره نه رادیی پیکه پیری بیناریویه له ساللی ۲۰۰۳ دا دوباره بووه، که اپیشی مهرگه و هیّزه کانی ئه مهریکا هیّزه کانی پولیسی (ی.ن.ک.) به هاوبه شدی هیّزه تاییه تبیه - کانی ئه مهریکا کهرکووک کونتروّل کرد. له مانگی سیّی ۲۰۰۳ دا سوپا کونتروّلی سینته ری که کهرکووک به جیّبه یّلیّن شاره که یان کرد و داوایان له کورده هاوپایمانه کانیان کرد، که کهرکووک به جیّبه یّلیّن (ئه نده رسن، ستانسفیل د ۱۹۷۹/۹۳ (۲۰۰۹/۹۲)).

له هه البر اردنی سالی ۲۰۰۰ دا هاو پهیمانی کوردیی به پیر تره می ۵۳٪ دهنگه فهر مبیه کانی به دهست هینا، ههر وه ها له گه آن پارته بچو و که هاو پهیمانه کانیدا ریژه که که مینک به رز بوه وه بق ۵۰٪ زورینه (کهین ۲۰۱۱:۲)، له هانبر اردنه کانی په په لهمانی نیشتیمانیی مانگی ۳ی ۲۰۱۰ دا نه نجامینکی نزیکی به دهست هینا: دهنگه کانی کور دینکه اتبوون له (هاو پهیمانی کور دستانی ۳۳٪، پارتی نویوز سیزنی





له ۲۰۱۷ مانگی سیّی ۲۰۱۱ "نهجمهدین کهریم"ی دکتورو سیاسه تمهداری (ی. ن. کریم ک.) و له دایک بووی کهرکووک وهک پاریزگاری کهرکووک هملّبژیر درا. کهریم له دایک بووی کهرکووک وهک پاریزگاری کهرکووک هملّبژار دنه کانی پهرلهمانی له ۲۰۱۱ تا ۲۰۱۷ له پوسته که که ماییه وه. له هملّبژار دنه کانی پهرلهمانی نیشتیمانییدا ده نگه رهزامه ندییه کانی خوّی پاراستوه، همولّی مانوریّکی دا بو پاراستنی پیّگه ی کور د له کهرکووک، به لام شکستی هیّنا و نموکاته له ۱۶ مانگی باراستنی پیّگه ی کور د له کهرکووک، به لام شکستی کور دیی "تاکلایه نانه له ناوچه جیّناکوّکان و کهرکووک له لایمن پهرلهمانی به غداوه دور خراوه ته وه و خیّرا دوای نموه که رکووکی به جیّ هیّشت.

## سوپاس نامه:

نووسه رئاره زوو ده کات سوپاسی زانستخوازه کورده کان عهبدولحهمید حوسهینی و عومه رشیخ موس بکات بو هاوبه شیکردن به تویزینه و به نرخه کانیان، هه روه ها سوپاسی مهنده بو ئیدوارد جو ستین و ویل یونگ بو راستکردنه وی دهستنوسه ئینگلیزییه که ی ئه م لیکولینه و هیه و زانای کوردی گهنج زین خانه قا بو هم لم چنی و پوخته کردن.

## كورتكراوهكان:

زانكۆى ئەمەرىكى سلێمانى –عێراق: DAE'SH دەوڵەت: پىسلامى عێراق و رۆژھەڵات:

ئەنجومەنى ھارىكارى كەنداو :

كۆمەڭلەي قىرانە نيودەوللەتىيەكانى رۆژھەلاتى ناوەراست: ICG

كەسىە ئاور ەبوو ەكانى ناوخۆ: P

IRIS

## FOR ACADEMIC AND PRIVATE USE ONLY! كۆنفرانسى نيو دەوللەتى (داھاتووى كورد)



**INSS** ئىنىستىتىو تى ز انستەكانى ئاسايشى نەتەو ەيى:

كۆ مېتەي بانگەشمى خاو ەندار بتى عير اق **IPCC** 

سوبای باسه وانی شور شکیری ئیسلامی: **IRGC** 

ئېنېستېتېو تى بەبو ەندېپە ستر اتېجېپە نېو دەو لەتىپەكان: IRIS ئينيستيتيوتي ز انسته ههريمي ونيودهو لهتييهكان:

دەو لەتى ئىسلامىي: IS

ISF: هيز مكاني ئاسايشي عير اقي

دەوللەتى ئىسلامى عيراق و رۆژھەلات: ISIL.

دەوللەتى ئىسلامى عيراق و سوريا: ISIS

بارتے دیمو کر آتے کو ردستانے عثر آقے: KDP/I

پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانی ئیران: KDP/IR

كۆ مېتەي ئاسايشىي دەو لەت (يەكۆتى سۆ قيەتى سۆ شيالى كۆ مارى) KGB

حکو مہتے ہور نمے کر دستان: KRG

KRI همريمي كوردستاني عيراق:

ئينستيتيوتي تويزينهوكاني روز هه لاتي ناوهراست: **MERI** 

NGO ر يكخر اوه نا حكو مييهكان:

و هز ار هتى گەل بۆ كار و بار ه ناو خۆ بېەكان : NKVD

PKK یار تی کر پکار انی کو ر دستان:

PM سەرۆك وەزىران:

هيز ه ناو دار مكاني ريكخستن: **PMF** 

به کنتی نیشتیمانی کور دستان: PUK یهکیتی یارتی دیموکراتی (یعیده): PYD

ریکخر اوی تویژینموه و گهشه بیدان: RAND

ئەنجومەنى يەيوەندىيە ناوخۆپيەكانى روسيا: RIAC

كۆ مارى سۆ قيەتى سۆ شيالىستى: SSR

پاسای ر اگو ز مر ی ئیدار ی : TAL

بر و گر امی داتای گر ژبیه کانی ئهسالا: UCDP

يەكىتى سۆ قىەتى سۆ شىبالىستى كۆ مارى: USSR

يرۆگرامى گەشەيپدانى نەتەرە يەكگرتورەكان: UNDP

سیار دهی هار یکاری نه ته وه یه کگر تو مکان بو عیراق: UNAMI کتیدخانهی سیستهمی دیجیتالی نهتهو ه پهکگر تو و هکان: UNSC:



پەيمان نامەى يەكىتى نەتەرە يەكگرتوەكان: UNTC:

زانکوی سلیّمانی: ناکوی سلیّمانی: WW1 جهنگی جیهانی یهکهم: ww2

#### پەراويزەكانى بەشى دووەم:

۱- هیّنه ربیشله ربیشاه ۳۱۸:۲۰۱۳:سه چاوهکان:پهیوهندی زارهکیی لهگه آل (قاسملوو)، که خودی سهروکی پیّشووی عیّراق (جه لال تالمبانی) جه ختی لهسه رکردووه ته وه.

۲- بۆ زانيارى زياترى بروانه (مامى دۆڤا):۲۰۰۹

۳- ژدانیکوڤ دیمیتری (یارییه گهورهکهی ړووسیا بۆ نهوت له ههریمی کوردستان). رۆیتهرز،
 لهندهن ۲۰۱۸/٤/۱۹:

 $https://www.reuters.com/article/us/rosneft/iraq/insight/the/great/russian/oil/g\\ (ame/in/iraqi/kurdistan/idUSKBN1HQ1R3)$ 

(سەردانى سەرچاوە كە كراوە لە ١٨/٤/١٩)

3- بروانه رامیاریی به ریتانیا له کوردستان بو نموونه ؛ عالی :۲۹:۱۹۹۲:" ئام رامیارییه به در ده وامه که میز و وه که ی دهگریت به رامیارییه به دخه میز و وه که ی دهگریت به روز ده به نورده به مینا به نورده و دهگریت از بیشتگیریی به رده و ام بو هیزه هم ریمییه کانی روز هه لاتی ناو هر است له هم و له کانیاندا بو کیکردنه و می یاخیبو و نمکانی کورده کان ؛ به ریتانیا و مک هه ره سایه که ده بینی بو سام ئاسایشیی ناو چه که . ۲ ناماده باشی به ریتانیی له یاریکردن به کورده کان تا به رژه و مندییه شاهه نشاییه کانی خوی له ناو چه که دا بیاریزیت .





٦- فاسـوّم١٩١٨، ٥-٦، ٧: ١٠(وهرگيراوه له فاسـوّم ١ت. ٣٦٢: ١١، ٢٠٠٥ له سـاڵي ١٩١٥ دا سویای رووسیا دانیشتووانه نیرینه کانی ساوج بو لاق (مه هاباد) یان کومه لکوژ کرد و دووسه ئافر متيان بق دهستدر پڙيي کر دنه سهريان لهگهل خقيان برد". همروهها بروانه زنيکيتين، بازیل(۱۹٤۱). ۱۹۱۹/۱۹۰۹ La perse j'ai connue بازیل(۱۹۶۱). بازیل ئينالكو INALCO (و مركير اني فارسيبي ١٩٤٥)له پهر مكاني ٢٣٨/٢٣٤ ئاماره به در مندهيي و كۆمەللكو ژبيەكان دەكات؛ لاپەرەي ٣١٦: له چالاكىيە سىمربازبيەكانى رووسىمكان، توركەكان، ئەرمىنىيەكان، ئاسىوورىيەكان و كوردەكان نزيكەي ٧٠٠٠٠٠ كەس بوونەتە قوربانى و ژ مار هیه کی زوری شاره کانیش خابور کر اون. بق خویندنه و هی زیاتر: جهوهیده ۲۵۷ Jawaideh: ۲۰۰۱. فهرروخ ۲۹۳: ۲۰۱۱ " پاداشته کانی کاره قیزه و نه کانی رابردووی رووسیا عمیدو للا سهمهدی (۲۰۰۱)، ا.د. و و در گیرانی : گو قاری مه هاباد، ژماره ۲۹، مانگی دو انزه ۲۰۰۱ (به زمانی کوردی) به رهکانی ۲-۹: شـالنیکو، کانونی دووهم: رایورتیک دهربارهی کوژرانی ئهندامیکی ئەنجومەنى رووسىك لەمەھاباد، عەقىد ئەلىكساندەر ئىۋانۇ ۋىچ ئەپاس (١٨٦٩-١٩١٤)، بەر دى: ۱۱۰-۱۱۱ يعرويزيان، ميرزا وههاب ، كعريمي ۱۹۲۰، يادداشتهكان (دوو يعرهي دهستنووسي فارسى ) قازى، حەسەن ، (٢٠٠٩)، آد . و و مركيران: يادداشـتهكانى لۆدۆڤيگ ئۆلسىن فاسـۆم (۱۹۲۰/۱۸۷۹)، و درگیر اوه له :ســپار دهی کور دی ژماره ۱۲ ر دزبهر سالمی ۱۹۱۱و ۲۰:۷، ۱۹۸۱، ٥-٦، له گوڤاري مههاباد، گوڤاري ژماره ۱ و ۲ مانگي ۹ ي ۲۰۰۹ (بهزماني کوردي) بهر مكانم، ٣-٥: "تهنها له ناوچهي مههاباد ٧٠٦٧٠ كهس كوژراون و ههزاران ئافرهت بو تهوريز را گويزر اون و تعنانه تفر و شتنيشيان به پينج دو لار "سهرچاوه ي تر له : گوڤاري مه هاباد، ژماره ١٠٥ ، كانونى دووهم ٢٠٠٩ ، بهرهي ٤: " رووسهكان بهدريّر ايي ســـيّ شـــهو و ســـيّ روّرْ خه لم که که بیان له ناوبرد و خانووه کانیان خایوور کردن " ، چهند باسید کی تری و هرگیردر اوی ر ابۆر تەكەي فاسۆم بۆ ئەحمەد قازى لە گۆۋارى مەھاباد بالو كر ايەو، ژمارە. ٧١ ، كانوونى دووەم ۲۰۰۱ ، بهر مکانی ٥-٦ . تتيبنی :توێژينهوه و ومگير در اومکان : عهدولحهميد حوسهيني .

٩- " پەرلەمانىكى "ھەلبرىردراوى ئازادە ئامارەى پىنەكرا بوو.

۱۰- لاکوێر ۲۳۰ Laqueur : ۱۹۰۱ "قازی محهمهد خیّلی بار زانبیهکانی وهک هیزیّکی سهرهکی خوّی و دوژ منی خیّلهکانی تر بهکار هیّنا".





۱۱- فهرروخ: ۲۸۷ : ۲۰۱۱ شان به شانی ۱۰۰۰-۳۰۰۰ جهنگاوهر لهگه ڵ خیز انه کانیان دا : ئارفه ۲۲: ۲۸۱ : ۱۹۶۹ ئاماژه به ۳۰۰۰ شـهرکهری کوردی عیراقیی شاره زا "دهکا .

۱۲- به شیر میه کی فهرمی "کو ماری کور دستان " ، "کو ماری مه هاباد " پیشی دهوترا " کو ماری گهل"

۱۳- ئیگلتن: ۹۱-۹۳: ۱۹۳۳ ژمارهی متمانه پنکراوی "هنزی پنشمه که "ی کوردستان له سلمردهمی کوماری مههاباد بهدهسته وه دهدا، که پاشان له لایهن لوتز: ۲۰۰۷: ۲۰۰۵ و ننیروی پهوه شنزه به شدیوه یکوی گریمانه یی ننیروی پهوه شنزه به شدیوه یکوی گریمانه یی و خهم لاندن بریتی بووه له، هنزی سه ربازیی خیله کورده به شدار بووه کان به نزیکه یی، ۱۰۰۰ بی بر ۱۰۰۰ پیشمه که بارزانییه کان له ناویان دا وه که به هنز ترین و گهوره ترین هنزی سهربازی بالادهست به شداریان کرد و بربره ی پشتی "سوپای نه ته و میی" کوماری مههابادیان پنک ده هنیا اله نیویاندا مه در ناویان اله و نیر نهرمانی پیشه وه نه بوون و موره بان له ژیر فهرمانی پیشه وه نه بوون و هم دوو کیان سه ربازی پیده بوون.

۱۶ـ له بهرئهوه ليدوانه کانی وه کې روز څيلت ۲۵۷: ۱۹۶۷ "پهرلهمانيکی نيشتيمانی له سيانزده ئه ندام پيکهينرا" له ۱۹٤۲/۱/۲۲ قازی وه کاسمر وکی کوّماری نوی هملّبرٌ يردرا" همردوو ليدوانه که به تمواوی راست نين .

۱۰- له ۱۹٤۷/۳/۳۱ له کاتژمیر سیّی بهیانی همریهکه له قازی محمه ، سهیف قازی ، و سهدر قازی ، له سهیف قازی ، و سهدر قازی ، له سن داری جیاوز ادا له ههمان شویندا، که چوارده مانگ پیشتر "کوّماری مههابادی" تیّدا پراگهییّندرا بوو، له مهیدانی " چوار چرا " له سیّداره در ان (نیّروی : ۱۹۰: ۲۰۱۱، ئیگلّتن ۱۲۲: ۱۹۶۳) .

۱۹- لاکور : ۲۲٤: ۱۹۰۱ لموانمیه حکومهتی سو قبیهت بیری لموه نمکر دبنتموه و نهشی ویست بی هیّا و دهسه لاتیکی کور دیی له نیّو هر است دا بیّته کایموه. سیاسه تی روّر هه لاتی رووسه کان همر و هك به لیّنبیه کی زوّریان دا، له کوّتایی دا له هموو لایه کموه خیانتیان له قازی محممه د کرد.





م بار میموه همبووه و مک نهجله خهنده ق: ٤: ۳،۱۳ " نووسه ره رو ژ ئاوابیه کان به هه آمدا چوون له وه ی که "حیزب" بو و که آمهیه کی سو قیمتی بنیت ". هو کاری سه ره کی شو رش نهوه نه بوو که به بیری شیو عییه تی یه کنتی سو قیمتی کاریگه بو وبنیتن، به آلکو هه آقو آلاوی هه ژ اربی ناو کور دستان بو وه و نهم بار و د و خه له الایمن حکومه تی ناوه نده وه فه رامو شکر ا بو و، هه روه ها به ته واوی سه ربه خو بو ون له یه کنیتی سو قبیه ت به کنیتی سو قبیه ت به سر قبیه ت به سر وه ها به ته وانده که کور ده کان له یه کنیتی سو قبیه ت به به به به به به به و به آلام حکومه تی نیر ان پنی نه به خشیون . "چه ند نمو و نهیه که تیر و انینه نار از پیه کان ": کوین : ۲۰۱، ۱۳۲، ۱۳۳، فارووق : ۲۰۱، ۲۸۳، ۲۸۸ " ژ مار میه کی زوری کور ده کان بویان ده رکه و ت که و و آنه که یان به ته و اوی سه به به خو نبیه و به آکو ماری مه هابادی کور تخایمن له گه آن حکومه تیکی بو و که آمی پا آپشتیکر او له الایمن سو قیمته و الله کنده که دو آنه الله کنا کور تخایمن له گه آن حکومه تیکی بو و که آمی پا آپشتیکر او له الایمن سو قیمته و الله که کان به به الله تا که کور تخایمن له گه آن حکومه تیکی بو و که آمی پا آپشتیکر او له الایمن سو قیمته و الله الله که کان کور تخایمن له گه آن کور تخایمن له گه آن کور مه تیکی به آنه که که کور تخایمن اله که آن کور تخایمن اله که آن کور تخایم الله که کان کور تخایم اله که که کور تخایمن اله که آن که کور تخایمن اله که که کور تخایمن اله که کان کور تخایم الله که کور تخایم اله که کور تخایم کور تخایم کور تخایم که کور تخایم ک

۱۸ - نیروی : ۱۳۹: ۲۰۱۲ زاراوه ی "کومار" ئاماژهیه بو وو لاتیکی سهربهخو و خاوهن سنووری دیاریکراو و ئاشسکرا، ههرچهنده حکومهتی کوردیی تا رادهیه کی دیاریکراو دلخوش بوو به ههبوونی سهربهخویی له و ناوچه جوگرافییانه ی که کونتروّلی کردبوون، به لام به تهواوی سهربهخو نعبووه و کیشه سی سنووری ههبووه . فتن ۴۲۱: ۱۷۱ " به کار هیّنانی زاراوه ی (کوماری) له لایمن سهر کرده کورده کوردهکانه وه ئاماژه به نه زانییان ده کات له همر یه که له: زانسته سیاسییه کان، دیبائو ماسیی و به ریّو هر دندا".

19 - ئیگلتن: ٦٣: ١٩٦٣ . لاکور: ١٢٩: ١٩٥٦ " چەند جیاواز بیه کی سے مرنج راکیش پیویسته تیبینی بکرین له نیوان بمرنامه کانی کوماری مه هاباد و بمرنامه کانی لایه نی دیموکراتیی له ئیران و لایه نمکه کی تری خوشکی له عیراق. قازی محهمه خوازیاری خوبه ریو مبربردنی کورده کان بوو له سنووری دهوله تیکی یه کگرتووی عیراقیی سنووری دهوله تیکی یه کگرتووی عیراقیی ده کرد، به لام کورده کان ده بیمیره و کردنی رامیاریه کانی دهره وی و لاتیان. همروه ها داوای نه ته وی کردنی کردنی هموو سے مرچاوه سروشتی کی کانیان ده کرد له گهل پاراستنی خاوه نداریتی زموی/پیشکه و تنی ئابووریی – باشکردنی پیوه ره کانی ژیان، همروه ها جیاکردنه و هی "دین له دهوله تا."

۲۰ قاسملوو: ۵۰-۵۱؛ ۱۹۸۸؛ نیروی: ۱۸۱: ۲۰۱۲

۲۱- و پسته رمان: ۱۸۲: ۱۹٤٦ " نه بوونی نه زموون له خوبه ریو هبر دن "؛ قاسملوو: ۱۳۵-۱۳۱: ۱۸۸۸ ؛ نه بوونی نه زموون له به ریوه بر دنی ده زگاکانی حکومه ت یه کیک بوو له نار استه کانی هم رهسه پنانی کوماری کور دستان سسم کرده کانی هیچ نه زموونی کیان له رامیار بیدا نه بوو و بی ناگابوون له دامه زر اندنی حکومه تیکی نیشتیمانیی. هم روه ها بروانه نیروی: ۱۸۲: ۲۰۱۲





گهیشت ، ژمارهیه کی زوری کورده کان وهک (ئازهرییه کان) ئاره زوویه کی زورکه میان پیشان دا تا له پنِناو موسکو ژبانیان ببه خشن". ههروه ها بروانه ئارفا: ۱۹۲۸ ۱۹۲۹.

۲۳- نیروی: ۱۸۸: ۲۰۱۲ " یه کهم بریاری به تاوان ناسینی پیکهینانی کوماری کوردستان ئاماژه به ههولّی جیابونه و و تیکدانی ئارامی ناوچه کانی ئیران، پیکهینانی سوپایه کی نهته وه یی و به خشین به خشینی پلهی سیمربازیی و داگرتنی ئالای حکومه تی ئیرانیی و ئال و گورکردنی به ئالای کوردیی، پهیوه ندیه کانیان له گهل بیگانه کاندا (سوشیه ت).

3۲- کوردهکان بز بهرگریی کردن له خزیان و بهر هنگاربوونهی سیاسهت و دهسه لاتی چهوسینه به به کسار هینان بخ به مسافی پرهوای خویان ده زانن؛ وهك نهوهی له میژووی هاوچهر خدا به پییبریاری ژماره ۲۸۸ی نهنجومهنی ناسایش - پیکخراوی نهته و هیه کگر تووهکان له ۱۹۹۱دا، در به سه دام حوسین بشتر است کر ایه وه.

۲۰ ئو بالانس: ۳۰ :۱۹۹۱ بهم ئەنجامه گەيشتووه كه : بارزانى به نهينى، داواى له دەست دەسەلاتدارەكانى سۆڤييەت كردووه، كه له برى قازى محەمەد كه هەندى جار كۆنترۆلى له دەست دەدا، ئەو بكەن به سەرۆك. له گەل ئەوەشدا سۆڤييەت رەتيكردەوه، لەبەرئەوەى متمانيان به بارزانى نەبوو و هەرچۆنيك بيت له كاتەدا بەلايانەوه گرنگ نەبوو، چونكه خەريكى كشانەوه بوون و دەبوو خاكى ئيران بەجى، پهيلان.

٢٦- همروهها پشتر استكر او هتموه له لايمن مهسعود بار زانيموه: ١٤٠: ٣٠٠٣

۲۷- پاوڵ ئەناتۇلى جويچ ســودۆ پلاتۇڤ (۱۹۰۷-۱۹۹۱) ملازمى گشـــتى يەكەى ھەواڵگرى ناوخۆيى NKVD ســـەرۆكى"بەرێوبەرى چالاكىيە تايبەتىيەكان"ى چالاكى نەێنى ســـۆڤىيەت بوو KGB. سودۆپلاتۇڤ، پاوڵ، و ئەناتۆلى (۱۹۹۵-۱۹۹۰): ۲۶، ۲۹، ۲۹، ۲۱۵.

۲۹ ـ قیکتور ئەباكۆمۆڭ (۱۹۰۸/۱۹۰۸) بەرپرسێكى پلە بەرزى ئاسايشى سۆڤيەتىي، لە ۱۹٤٦ بۆ ۱۹۰۱ وەزىرى پێشووى دەوللەت يان NKGB) MGB) بووە . زۆر دړنده بووە و بەوە ناسراوە، كە بە دەستى خۆى ئەشكەنجەى زيندانېيەكانى داوە.

۰۳- میخایل سوسلوق (۱۹۰۲ - ۱۹۸۲)، رابهری بیرو باوهرهکانی شیوعی سوقیهتیی بووه، له سالی ۱۹۰۰ تا کوتایی ژیانی ده لالی دهسه لات بووه، نهمریکییه کان له نزیکهوه بهدوادا چوونیان بو پهیوه ندییه کانی سوقیه سالی ۱۹۰۰ تا کوتایی ژیانی ده لالی دهسه لات بووه، نهمریکییه کان له نزیکهوه بهدوادا چوونیان بو بهیوه ندی نهمهریکیی مهوالگریی ناوه ندی نهمهریکیی the CIA cable 50X1, E.O.13526, ریکهوتی ۱۹۵۱ و مورگیراوهکان : ۱- له ۱ ی گهلاویزی ۱۹۹۳ چوار نه فسهری سهربازیی سوقیه تیهتیه کهیشتنه بنکهی بارزانی. سوقیه تیه تیه که لادییه کی بچووکه له نیوان په واندوز و سنوری نیران ، به بارزانی و ژماره یمکی زوری پیاوهکانیان ووت " دمبیت بو ماوهیه ک





توزیک پشوویان دریز بی، له بهرئهوهی له داهاتوویه کی نزیکدا که سینکی تر دیت و له پیناو تو دمجه نگیت", ۲ - بارزانی لهریگه ی ئاسمانییه وه له لایمن سو قییه ته وه چه کی بچووک و ئازووقه و خوار ده مه نی پیده گات . ۳ - له بنکه ی بارزانی ۱۹ ژنی سو قییه تی له گه ل هاوسه ره بارزانییه کانیان و ۲۰ بر ۲۰ مندالی لنیو و .

https://www.archives.gov/files/declassification/iscap/pdf/2012/029/doc2.pdf) (له ۲۰ ی مانگی ئادار سهر دانی کر اوه).

۳۱- تهواوی ووته کانی: "کاتیک له زیندان بووم ، چهند پیشنیار یکم نووسی سسهباره ت به پهیومندیکردن به بار زانبیه وه لهدوای ئهوه ی بارود و خ له روّ (هلاتی ناوه راست له ۱۹۲۳ خراپتر بوو، پیّم راگهیمندرا که رازی بوون به پیشنیاره کانم و کورده کانیش به چهک و تهقهمه نی پالپشتی کران، بو بهرگریی کردن له ناوچه کانیان له بهرامبه هامه ته کانی سنزادان له لایمن سوپای عیّراقه و و سرم رای ئهوه هموله کانمان شکستیان هیّنا، تاوه کو کورده کان به مینه هاو پهیمانیکی ستراتیجی خومان و جله و گیری نهوانه ی به به بی به کهین که عیّراقیان به ریّوه ده برد.

۳۳- بۆ نموونه بړوانه كۆمەللە بەلمگەنامەيەكى وەزارەتى دەرەوەى ئەمەرىكا : وەزارەتى دەرەوەى ئەمەرىكا : وەزارەتى دەرەوەى ئەمەرىكى پەيوەنىدىيەكانى دەرەوەى ويلايەتە يەكگرتووەكان ، ١٩٤٨، ڕۆژھەلاتى نزيىك و باشورى ئاسياو ئەفرىقا(لە دوو بەشدا)، ١٩٤٨، ئېران پەرەى ١٨-٢٠١، لە ئېنتەرنىت .

http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi/bin/FRUS/FRUS/ type=div&did= FRUS: .FRUS1948 v05p1.i0009 & isize = text





بكرايه، ئەوا كوردەكانيش وەك ھەر مرۆۋىكى تر ئەو مافەيان ھەيەلە ھاوبەشى كردنى ھەر يەكە له و جوار ئازدىيەدا. كورده نەتمورىيەكان ھەللە نەبوون. ئەوان زۆر بە سانايى دەيانمويت ريكەيان بنیدر نت و مک : کور د بڑین ، به ز مانی کور دی قسے بکهن ، به ههمان ز مان بخو نننه و ه و کتیب و رۆژنامه بنووسن، وهک به عهرهب و فارس و تورک تهماشا نهکرین (ئەلفینستۆن: ٩١:١٩٤٦). ٣٤- ميناسـيان: ٢٣: ٢٠٠٧ "له ووتهكاني كارمهنديكي بيّشـووي موسـاد" كه: ئيسـرائيل ههموو کات بشتگیری کور دهکانی عیراقی کر دووه، تعنها له ( باکوری روز باوای ئیرانهوه) به لام همرگیز یار مهتی کور دهکانی ناوخوی ئیر آن یان تورکیا نهداوه " به ینی و و تهکانی به بربرسینکی گهورهی پیشوووی موساد : ئیلئیزیر تسافریر Eleizer Tsafrir ئیسرائیل له سالمی ۱۹۲۳-۱۹۲۰ جهند ر او پُرْ کاری سمر بازیی له بنکه کانی مه لا مستهفای بار زانی همبوو، که راهینان و چهک و تهقهمهنی وتويخانهو چهكى دره تعيارهى معيدانييان بو دابينكردوون ، هعروهها ئهمهريكا لهم ههلمه تعدا به شدار یکر دووه (۲۹)، وه ئیسر ایل دمیان ملیون دو لاری به خشیوه له یالیشتیکر دنی کور دهکان و برجهک و ئاز و و قه کر دنیان لهر بگای ئیر انه و ه بو و ، که شه بن ئامانجه کانی خو ی که تیو و ، له عيراق كه تاسال ۱۹۷۹ يەيو ەندىيەكى باشىكى لەگەل ئىسىرائىل ھەبور لە گەل ئەوەشىدا بەينى دانیپدهننانه کانی ئیلئیز پر تسافر پر ئیسر ائیل همر گیز بالیشتی کور دهکانی تور کیای نه کر دوه له جهنگه که یاندا دری تورکیا یان کورده ئیرانیا کانی سهرده می فهرمانره وایی "شا". (فوتن . ۲۹ = رۆپتەرز ، ۱۹۹۹/۲/۲۱).

Anderson 1972: p. B7; Morris 1980: 11; Ghareeb 1981: 61; Jawad 1981: 287/288; Raviv & Melman 1990: 21 & 82; Black & Morris 1991: 184/185 & 327/330; Cockburn A&L 1991: 104/105; Gunter 1994: 470/471; Katz 199): 175; Nakdimon 1996; Bengio 1998a: 32/41; idem 1998b: 115/116, 120, 233 .n. 32 & 33; Hennerbichler 2004: 577/586; Minasian 2007: 15/32

۳۵- نهنده رست ۱۹۷۱: به ش.ب ۷؛ موریس ۱۱:۱۹۸۱؛ غهریب ۱۹۸۱:۱۹۸۱؛ جهواد ۱۹۸۱؛ ۲۸۷ (۲۸۷ ؛ ره فیف و میلمان ۱۱۹۸۰؛ ۲۱ و ۸۲ ؛بلاک و موریس ۱۹۹۱: ۱۸۵ ۱۸۵ و ۲۲۷ (۲۸۷ ؛ ۲۸۸ ژوئیش ۱۹۹۱: ۱۸۵ ۱۸۵ و ۲۲۷ (۳۳۰ ، کوکینیزن ا و ل ۱۹۹۱: ۱۹۰۲ (۱۰۰ ؛ گهنتم ۱۹۹۸: ۲۷۷؛ ۲۷۱ زیر ۱۲۳ و ۳۳ ناکدیمون ۱۹۹۱؛ بیننگیو ۱۹۹۸: ۱۸۵۹: ۱۲۰ (۱۲۰ ۱۲۰ ، ۲۳۳ ن. ۳۳ و ۳۳ ؛ هینم بیچلم ۲۰۰۶: ۲۲/۱۵۰۷ میناسیان ۲۰۰۷: ۳۲/۱۵۰۰.

۳۱- له ووته کانی جهیسن موریسنه و ، بیگن یار مه تیبه نهینییه کانی ئیسر ائیل بو کورده کان پهخش مدکات و ه ک ناگادارییه ک. و اشدینگتن پوست ۱۷ نه و میه ک بو عیراقییه کان ( Christian Science و ه ک ناگادارییه ک. و اشدین زانستی مهسیحی ، آی مانگی تشرینی یه کهم ۱۹۸۰ ، پهرهی ۱۱. معناحیم بیگن به پیوپسری پونامه که له ماوه یه کی زور له پیشتر موه ، شلومو ناکدیمون له سالی معناحیم بیگن به پیداچونه و میه کی میزووی سه باره ت به چالاکی سه ربازی ئیسر ائیلی بو کورده کان له ژیر ناونیشانی نه و هیوایه ی که یه کریزی ئیسر ائیل و کورده کانی تیکدا له ۱۹۲۳ / ۱۹۷۰ (به زمانی ئیبری چاپکراوه له لایمن ( Acharonot and Chemed (Jediot جیدیوت ئاخار و نوت و چهمه د،





تهل نه فیق ۱۹۹۱. به پیی پهیامنیری نه مهریکی جاک نه نده رسن له سالی ۱۹۷۲ دا ، که ناماژه ی به سب مرچاوه کانی ده زگای هه و الگریی ناوه ندی نه مهریکا کردووه ، مسته فا بارزانی ههروه ها مانگانه بری ۲۰۰۰۰ دو لاری له لایمن نیر در اویکی نهینیی ئیسرائیله وه پیگهیشتووه: "هه موو مانگیک نوینه میزیکی نهینی ئیسرائیل خوی ده خزینیته شاخه کانی باکوری عیراق بو گهیاندنی مانگیک نوینه میلا مسته فای بارزانی ، پالپشتیه که زامنی تووندو تیژی کورده کان له به رامبه عیراق ده کات، که حکومه ته کهی له رووی سه بربازییه وه دژ به ئیسرائیل بوو. "ئیسرائیلیه کان درده که ناو ده زگاعه ره بیه کان ، و اشنگتون پوست ۱۹۷۷ نهیلوولی ۱۹۷۲ لاپه و به ۷).

Ghareeb 1981: 133: "Both the Israeli Mossad and the Iranian Savak helped Barzani establish a sophisticated intelligence apparatus, Parastin [Security] ... to gather information on the Iraqi government and its armed forces." The KDP "Parastin" security apparatus is currently headed by the elder son of Masoud ... Barzani, Masrour

Riedel 2017: "Against great odds, the Kurds drove the Iraqi army out of much of Kurdistan.": https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/ 2017/11/02/masoud/barzani/and/the/roots/of/kurdish/distrust/of/the/united/states.

.(accessed 2nd Nov. 2017)

In German: "Auch Israel gehörte zu jenen Staaten

۳۷-غهریب: ۱۳۳: ۱۹۸۱ "همریه که موسادی ئیسرائیلی و ساوا کی ئیران یار مهتی بارزانیان داوه تا دهزگایه کی زانیاری پیشکه له موسادی ئیسرائیلی و ساوا کی ئیران یار مهتی بارزانیان داوه تا دهزگایه کی زانیاری پیشکه و تو دابمه رینیت "پاراستن" (ئاسایش) .. بو بلاو کردنه و هی زانیاری له حکومه تی عیراقی و هیزه سامربازییه کانی". له ئیساتادا پاراستنی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان له لایمن کوره گهوره ی مهسعود بارزانی (مهسرور بارزانی) سهرپهرشتی دهکریت. هم ریدل ۲۰۱۷: "سامره رای ئاسته نگییه گهوره کان، کورده کان توانیان ساوپای عیراقیی له ناوچه یه کوردستان راوبنین ".

https://www.

brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/11/02/masoud/barzani/and/the/roots/of/kur.dish/distrust/of/the/united/states. (accessed 2nd Nov. 2017)

In German: "Auch Israel gehörte zu jenen Staaten, die das Kurdenproblem .39 instrumentalisierten und an einer befriedigenden Lösung im Rahmen des irakischen Staates kein Interesse hatten" (Orland, Frankfurter Allgemeine .Zeitung, 07.04.1997, no. 80, p. 9)

REUTERS: https://www.reuters.com/ article/us/mideast/crisis /syria 40 /israel/israel/to/russia/assads/safe/from/us/but/iran/must/quit/syria/idUSKBN :1K11RX: CNN





https://edition.cnn.com/2018/05/09/middleeast/israel/rockets/syria/index.html INDEPENDENT: https://www.independent .co.uk/news/world/middle/east/israel/iran/crisis/live/updates/war/golan/heights/syria/air/strikes/nuclear/deal;/netanyahu/rouhani/a8344501.html

JERUSALEM POST: https://www.jpost.com/Israel/News/ Netanyahu/tells/Putin/Israel/will/continue/to/act/against/Iran/in/Syria/563022 (all accessed 28 July 2018)

Hennerbichler 2004: 373 et seq.; Agreement at foreign minister level .41 13 June 1975: UCDP: online: http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/ fullpeace/Iran /Iraq%2019750613a.pdf; Border agreements chronologically: :Exchange of letters Selim/Ismail 1514, online

http://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/hist/eia/documents\_archive/selim.php; Peace/ and border/agreement Zuhab/Qasr/e Shirin 1639, confirmed 1746, :1823 and 1847, online

http://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/hist/eia/documents\_archive/zuhab.php; Protocols of Teheran 1911 and Constantinople 1913: see: McLachlan, :Keith 2013: EIr online

http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ boundaries/i; Iran/Iraq border treaties 1937, 1969 and 1975: cf. Kechichian, Joseph A., n.y.: EIr online: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/boundaries/iv; lately Gulf War 1990: Letters Saddam Hussein to Presidents of Iran: UNSC: online: http://digitallibrary.un.org/record/96182/files/S\_21528/EN.pdf?version .=1 [all quoted online/sources accessed 20 January 2018]

٤٢ ـ مستهفا ٢٠١٦: رو للي ئير ان له ههريمي كور دستان

Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, online: http://studies. aljazeera.net/en ./reports/2016/04/ 160420105055207.html

Treaty 1975, UN/Registration/no. 14905, IRAN and IRAQ, Agreement concerning the rules governing navigation on the Shatt al'Arab (with exchanges of letters). Signed at Baghdad on 26 December 1975, online

٤٣- پەيمان نامەى ١٩٧٥، ژمارەى تۆمار لەنەتەرە يەكگرتورەكان ١٤٩٠٥، ئۆران و عۆراق، رۆكەرەت دەربارەى رىساكانى، كەكەشتىرانى لەشەتل ئەلمەرەب (لەگەل ئالوگۆركردنى نامەلەگەل يەكتىرى). لەبەغدا لە ٢٦ى كانونى يەكەمى ١٩٧٥، لەئىنتەرنىت:



https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201017/volume/1017 ./I/14905/English.pdf (accessed 05 January 2018)

٤٤ - بيكهيناني لايهنه كور دبيه نويپهكان له عير اق و ئير ان و توركيا هالمهتيكي درير خايهن بوو که له بیسته کانی سهده ی رابر دو و موه به در پژای چهندین دهیه له گفتو گوکر دن له نیوان سهروک هۆزەكان و بېرمەندەكانى ئەوكاتەي كوردستان بەرەو پېشىچوونى بەخۆيەرە بېنيوە. ھېچ كام لەم لایهنه کور دبیه نو پیانه به تهنیا له لایهن کهسایه تبیه کی کور دبیه و ه پیک نه هنزر او ه (هننه بیشلهر: ۲۰۰٤: ۲۰۰٥ / ۲۰۰۰ مهو له کاني ربکخستنه وي جو و لانه و ه جياو از مكاني كور دســتان گهيشــته لو و تكه له ٤٤ ١٩٤٦ - ١٩٤٦ له جو ار جيّو مي دامهز ر اندني "كوّ ماري مههاباد". (بروانه نووسینی دواتری ئیگلتن :۱۹۲۹:۳۱). له مانگی ئازاری ۱۹۶۶ "کومهله"ی ئير اني نو پنهر پکيان به ناوي " محهمه ئهمين شهر هفيي) بۆ كهر كووك له عير اق نار د، بۆ ووتوو پژ كردن دوربار مى يارمه تبيه هاوبه شهكان و بهرنامه كانى داهاتوو لهكه في نوينه رمكانى لايهنى اهيوا". " هيو ا" لهلايهن " ر مفيق حيلمي ( ١٨٩٨ - ١٩٦٠ )هو ه له ســاڵـي ١٩٣٨ دامهز ر او ه، كه ميْرٌ و و نو و س و نووســهر و ســياســييهكي كورد بوو، له ســايماني " ، كۆبوونه وهكه له كهر كوك له مالّـي " ئهمين ر مواندزیی " بوو ، له سویای عیراقیی داعةید بوو (گفتوگویه کی زاره کی له گهل کوره کهیدا " كۆچكردوو، ووريا رەواندزىي"١٩٢٩- ٢٠١١، كەلەنەمسا نوينەرى كوردەكان بوو)، لەسلەر يەيماننىك رىكەوتن . " ھيوا" جوولانەوەيەكى نهننى بوو و ھىچ بەرنامە گەلىكى تايبەت بە لايهنهكهي نهبوو. له ســهر متاي هاويني ٤٤٤ أئهندامهكاني لقى "هيوا" له سـليماني له بهر امبهردا سمردانی " كۆمەللە" يان كرد و بەستنى يەيمانەكەيان دوويات كردەوه. سال و نيويك دواتر ھەمزە عهدو لا له عيراق و قادري بهك له سوريا، قازي مهلا وهاب له توركيا، له مههاباد چاويان به سهر کرده کوردهکان کهوت و دهربارهی ئهگهرهکانی خوبهریوهبردن گفتو گویان کرد. له مانگی ئابی ٤٤ ١ دا ســ مركر دمكاني كور د له توركيا، عيراق، وئيران له جياي دالانيمر و له سـنوره ســـي لایهنبیهکهی و و لاتهکهیان چاویان به یهک کهوت. یهیمانیکیان به ناوی " یهیمانی سی سنوور" بو بِالْيِشْتَى هاوبهشي بو كوردستاني گهوره بهست، "قاسم قادري "ي له لايهن كومهلهوه له مههاباد هات بو و ، كه نو ينه رايهتي كو ردهكاني ئير اني دهكر د. له عير اقيشهو ه "شيخ عو بهيدو لا" هاتيو و . "قازی مهلا وههاب " یش نوینه رایهتی کوردهکانی تورکیای دهکرد. کومهلهی کوردیی له بهیروت له لايمن خيز إني بهدر خانياكانهوه خويان دمنواند، نهخشه مهكيان خسته روو، كه كور دستانيكي گهور دی له رووی جوگر افیپهوه دوناساند. کو مهلهکه راویژیان له گهل چهند شار وز ایهکی نیودوو لهنیی دمر بار می بر سے کور د کر دووه، (همر ومک ئیگلتن ئاماڑ می بیکر ددوه) سنوور مکهی بیکهاتووه لهو ناوچانهی دانیشتوانی کوردی تیدایه له باشور و روز هه لاتی ئه نادو ل بهرهو که نداو زیاتر خویندنه وه (هم لَبرُ اردن): لاكور: ۲۲۱-۲۳۲: ۱۹۰۱ نارفا: ۱۲۶: ۱۹۶۱، ؛ ســتانسـفیلد: ۲۰۰۵: ۲۰۰۳ اسله کلیت و سله کلیت ۲۰۰۳: ۲۹؛ جهوایده ۲۰۰۱: ۲۳۰/ ۲۲۲؛ ئەزىز ۲۰۱۱:۲۷ ئەمىر لىق ۲۰۱٤:۷۷





٥٤- ســـهر چاو مکان: تو پُر ینهو میه که لایهن عهبدولحهمید حوســهینی، به پالپشــتی لیّدو انه کانی شایه تحالم کانی نهو کاته.

53- آیدوانی شاهیدحال " نیبراهیم ئهحمه له ماآهکهی خوی له "ساری Surrey" له به پیتانیا، ئه و کیاته ی که انه ۱۹۸۲ له تاراوگه بوو؛ لهگفل نووسه ری ئهم شدیکردنه وه کورته به ئامادهبوونی "عومه ر شیخ موس" ، کهسایه تیبی رووناکبیر و بلیمه تی خوینده وار و شاره زای سیاسیی کورد و هاو دامه زرینه ی ی.ن. ک. (یه کیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان)، هه روه ها و مرگیرانی کردووه، گفتوگوی کرد.

٤٧ به خهملاند ژمارهيان له نيوان ١٠ بۆ ٣٠ كهس دهبوون .ههمزه عهبدولا له لايهن پوليســـى ئهوكاتهوه داواكراو بوو .

۴۸- برونست مارتن قان ۱۹۸٦. دامهزر اوه کور دبیه گهورهکانی عیراق. میر MER (پروژه ی تویز بین سار اوهکان ، بهرگی ۱۹، تهمموز/ نا ۱۲۰- جهنگه شار اوهکان ، بهرگی ۱۹، تهمموز/ ئاب ۱۹۸۲، له ئینتهر نیتهوه و مرگیر اوه:

https://www.merip.org/mer/mer141/major/kurdish/organizations/iran(access ed 02 June 2018

هه لَسه نگاندنی هاوشینوه له لایهن ئهنیستیتوی کوردیی له پاریس: دامهزراوهی کورد له پاریس، خشتهی کاتیی: کوردستانی عیراق، ۱۹۰۱: له ئینتهر نیتهوه:

۱۰ قاسملوو و حیسامی ۱۹۷۱: ۸۸-۸۹ لیستیک که پیکهاتووه له ۲۰ "پیشمهرگهی" پ.د.ک. ی نیران که کورژرا بوون، له نیویاندا که زیاتر له ۱۰ کهسیان مستها بارزانی و شوینکهوتووهکانی تومه تبار کران که یان بهدهستی خویان له ناویان بردوون یان پرادهستی هیزهکانی ئیرانیان کردوون تومه تبار کران که یان بهدهستی خویان له ناویان بردوون یان پرادهستی هیزهکانی ئیرانیان کردوون ده بهردهواهی دهربارهی پولی بارزانی لهو کاتهدا" بارزانییهکان مافی مانهوهیان له ئیران به بهردهواهیی تا پرادهیهک پیهخشرا، بارزانی و پیشمهرگهکان له وی مانهوه و دوای چوار سال گهرانهوه مالهوه که دوای له دوای نهوهی خومهینی تهختی پاشایهتی له شا سهند. ئاپراستهی چالاکییهکانی هوزهکه لهدوای هاتنه سهر تهختی خومهینی جینی تیروانین بوو. لیرهدا شایهنی تیبینی کردنه (که ئاماژه بهوه دهکات که هوزی بارزانییهکان پیشرهوهی کوردی نهتهوهی پیکهینابوو) له ههشتاکاندا پراستهوخو دوای شریرشی یا بارزانی له سالی ۱۹۷۰ و دوورخرانهوهی بو دهرهوهی وو لات چووه پال خومهینیهکان. یاخیبوونی بارزانی له سالی ۱۹۷۰ و دوورخرانهوهی بو دهرهوهی خوبهریوهبردن "پارتی دیموکراتی یهکهم ئهرکیشسیان پیکهانتبوو له تیکشکان ده خووه و لانه و دوروزی ایه همشدیکان.





کوردی ئیران "بهسهرکاردایهتی "عهبدولر محمان قاسملوو" که بارزانی بهتهواوی جوو لانهومکهی تنیک و پنیک شکاند. دواتر قاسملوو له لایهن پاسهوانی شورشی ئیرانییهوه تیرور کرا ، که شوینی کهوتبوون لهدهر موه ی وو لات "ئهوروپا" که داوای پهنابهریّتی کردبوو. ۵۲هینهربیشلهر ۵۸۷-۸۰۰

۵۳- هینهربیشلمر: ۷۳: et segg ۲۰۰٤.

بنِت )" (و مرگیر او م له کهین ۵۲: ۲۰۱۱ فتن ۲۹).

٥٥- ئۆبىچو ەرى Obituary : تايمز ٢٠٠٤/٢/٢٦ خشتەي كاتەكان:

.https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/sami/abdul/rahman/sz6jqn5xrrr (login necess.): http://web.archive.org/web/20090423064920/http://www.cpa/iraq.org/ ٥٥. !government/TAL.html (accessed 15 January 2018); cf. Kane 2011: 6 et seqq ومسلوم عيراقه" زممان ١٥ تشريني يمكممي ٢٠٠٨: " ٢٠٠٨ كمركووك شاريكه دمگم ريته وه بو حكومه تي فيدر اليي عيراق " تاكه چامر مسمر لهم كاته دا بريتييه لهو مي (و مک بار و دو خيکي تابيه تي مامه لمي لمگه ل بکريت، و مک نه و مي ناو جه يمکي سهر به خو

۷۰- ماده ی ۱ ۶ ۱ : یمکهم دهسه آلاتی جیّبه جیّکاره، که ئه و هه نگاه و پیّویستانه ئه نجام ده دات بیّ ته و او کردنی جیّبه جیّکردنی دو اکارییه کانی همه و و ان ۱۱ ، برگه لاوه کییه کانی به ندی ۱۵ له قانونی به پیّ یو مبردنی پر اگوز مربی. دو وه م : ئه و به رپرسیار یّتییه ی خرابو وه ئه ستوی ده سه آلاتی جیّبه جیّکاری حکومه تی عیّراقی پر اگوز مربه مهرجی بی دانراوه له به نده که دا، به ندی ۵۸ قانونی به ریّوه مبردنی پر اگوز مربه دنی پر اگوز مربه بیّ گونجاندنی له گه آل ئه می ده سام و در بیّن در در او به پیّی گونجاندنی له گه آل ئه مده ده ده مهرجه ی به ته و اوی سه که و تو و بییت (ئاساییکردنه و و ئامار و سه رژمیری له گه آل در نی ویست و خواستی له گه آل ریوز اند و میر که و ناوچه جیّناکو که کانی تر دا بی ناشکر اکردنی ویست و خواستی

https://web.archive.org/web/20161128152712/ http:// www.iraqinationality. gov.iq/attach/iraqi constitution.pdf

هاو لاتبيان )، له ريكهو تيكدا، كه له ٣١ ي كانووني يهكهمي ٢٠٠٧ تيبهر نهكات ". سهر چاوه:

.(accessed 15 January 2018)

۸۰- بروانه MERI: ۲۲-۱۷: ۲۰۱۵.

۹۰ ـ پێگهی عێڔاقیی ــ کوردیی: "دهســـتور ۳۱ی کانونی ۲۰۰۷ی وهک دوا واده بۆ ئەنجامدانی ههموو ئهم ههنگاوانه دیاری کردبوو. نزیکهی ده ساڵ دواتر هیچ ههنگاوێک بهشێوهیهکی سهرهکی جێیهجێ نهکراوه." (حکومهتی ههرێمی کوردستان ۸: ۲۰۱۷)

http://web.archive.org/web/20090423064920/http://www.cpa/iraq.org/.-\.government/TAL.html (accessed 15 January 2018)





ئەنفال لە بەرامبەر كوردەكان ، راپۆرتى رۆژھەلاتى ناوەراسىت ، چاودىرى ماڧى مرۆڤ ، ١ى تەمووز/١٩٩٣.

٦٢- رۆيترز Reuters: (بهغدا) ٣١ى ١ى ٢٠٠٧ عيراق قەرەبووى عەرەبەكان دەكاتەوە بۆ
 ئەوەي كەركووك جۆڵ بكەن.

https://www.hrw.org/reports/ 1993/iraqanfal/ANFAL1.htm (accessed 20 January 2018); Talabany 1999: 11 et seqq. (III. Attempts to Arabize the هام للمكانى به عام مبكر دنى ناوچهى كام كوك). (Kirkuk Region)

https://www.kurdipedia.org/files/books/2013/87924.PDF?ver=13028634328 .0814632 (accessed 20 Jan. 2018)

٦٤. هملسهنگاندن له لايمن كهينهوه ٢٣: ٢٠١١.

تا رادهیهک زیادهر مویی تیدا دهردهکهوت: "ههرچهنده وهک مهیدانیکی بهردهوامی ناکو کبیهکان بوو، بیجگه له ۹ روّر له ۱۹۹ تا ۲۸ ی مانگی ئاز ار راپهرینی ۱۹۹۱ ههرگیز له میرّووی عیراقی هاوچهرخ بهریوبهرایه تیبهکی کوردیی له کهرکووک نه بووه. راسته لهرووی ناوهینانهوه له دوای ۱۹۷۳ له کاتی رووخانی کهرکووک له سهردهستی پیشهمرگه ی تایبهت به یمکیتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان و یهکهکانی هیزی ئاسایشی یهکیتی نیشتیمانی و ژمارهیه کی کهمی هیزی تایبه تی ناز اری ۲۰۰۳، سوپای نهمهریکیی شارهکه ی گرت و داوایان له هاوپهمانه کوردهکان کرد بکشینه و « با روانه :

Cf. also Derzsi/Horváth 2017: ftn. 7: http://www.gppi.net/publications /iraq/after/isil/kirkuk (accessed 1st September 2017)

۵۰. پهیوهندی زارهکی له لایمن جهلال تالمبانی و مام رؤستهم (رؤستهم حهمید رهحیم) ی.ن.ک.ه فهر ماندهی سهرکهوتووی " پیشه مهرگه " ناسر ابوو به شهر کردنی بهسهختی له جلهوگیر کردنی کم کو و کدا ۲۰۰۳.



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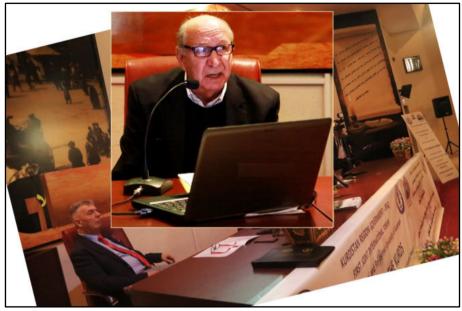




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# هه لبر ارده کاتی دا هاتووی کورده کان له سوریا / روز ناوا

هۆمەر شيخموس







## پێشەكى

للساله کانی پیشوودا، همیشه ههندیک پراستی نهگوردراو سهره کی همبوون همولمداوه بیری میلله تی کوردیان بهینمه و چونکه همرگیز نابیت له بیر بکریت نهوانیش:

1/ معبهستی سهرهکی له پشت ویستی مروقی کورد بو بهخت کردنی ژیانی خوی و خیر زانه کهی و شته به نرخه کانی تهنها بو بهده ستهینانی ئاز ادبی و سهر بهخوییه ههروه ها بو دهسته به کردن و پاریزگاری کردنه له نهزاهه و شانازی و شهره فی تاکی کرود و ئاسایشی خیران شهمکه به نرخه کانیه تی.

2/ میر رو شایه که گهلی کورد هه رگیز چوکی دانه داوه بو هیچ حوکمیکی دیکتاتوری و چه و سینه مهر حزب و لایه نیک و خیز انیک بوبیت، به بی گویدانه ئه وی حوکمداره که کورده یا خود نا.

3/مێــروو ئموهشــمان نیشــان دهدات که نهتــوانر اوه به زهبــری هێــزو چهك هــیچ ئایــدولوژیایهك و بیرور ایهکــی تــایبهت یــاخود کهسـیی بســهپێنرێت بهســهر هــیچ تاکێکــدا، ههروههـا ههڵوهشــاندنهوهو داروخــانی ههمــوو هێــزه دیکتاتوّرهکــان له مێــروودا دهبێــت ببــنه نمــونهیهکی بهرچــاو و بهبیرهێنــانهوهیهك بــو ههمــوو جموجو ڵێك و بزووتنهوهکانی کورد.

4/ یه کیّک یی تر له پر استیه میّژوویه کان نهوه یه: هم کاتیک گهایی کورد یه کگرتوو بوبیّت نه توانر اوه شکستیان پی بهیّنریّت و توانای سه کهوتنیان به بهسه هموو کوسب و نهگه که مکاندا زورتر بووه، به لام به داخه وه کاتیک یه کگرتوو نهبوین به ناسانی توانر اوه تیک بشکیّنریّن.

5/ کۆمه لگای کوردی له پیناو ئازادی توشی چهندین کارهسات و کاری داری داری داری داری داری دان به دان به دان به دان به ته نیاز و دا، به لام به ریوشوینی ناشتی و شارستانی و دیالوگ، ته نیا خوی به س نیه، کورد ده بیت ریوشوینی ناشتی و شارستانی و دیالوگ،





و هرگرتنی راو بۆچوونی جیاواز، پنکهوهبوون، پهیرهو کردنی دیموکراسی، پهیرهوکردنی یاسا بگریته بهر.

6/ له ههموو جیهاندا سهلمیندر اوه که ریزگرتن له مافی مروّف، ئاز ادی پر ادهربرین، کوبونه و ریخستن وه دامهزر اندنی یه که ی دیموکر اسک که له ریخ یاسا کار بکه به هوّک به هوّک به بنیات نانی شارستانیه تیکی پیشکه و تو و و در وست کردنی دوخیکی ئاشتیانه که له رووی کومه لایمتی و ئابووری و کلتوریه و هم سهر که و تو و ده بیت.

7/ لمکوتاییدا، به هو ی نه و نیرانکاریانه ی چهندین سال ی شهری ناوخو، به به ده و نیرانکاریانه ی چهندین سال ی شهری ناوخو، به به به ده و نام به و نیستمانه که ماندا بیته و ه و له پیناو دا هاتو و یه کی گهشه سهندو سه که و و هانیکی راستی بو ناشتی و نارامی در وست بکه ین.

## هه نبر ارده کانی داهاتوو بق کورد له سوریا:

لهم پهرمیهدا (وتار) سهبارهت به ههندیک راستی سهرهایی گفتوگو ده کهین، ههروه ها پهیوه ندیه کانی نیوان کورد و سوریاو پیگهی کورد له سوریا هه تاکو پیش راپهرینه کهی مانگی 2011/3 بو گورینی دیموکراتی ده خهینه روو.

دواتر باس لمگورانکاربیهکان دهکهین که به هنوی ههرهشهکانی داعش روویسان داوه له کوردستانی سوریا به تسایبهت کوبسانی و سنجار، وه دروستبوونی KNC ههریمی سهربهخوی و های عمفرین و کوبسانی و کنبه نملجهزیره، پاشان فراوان بونی ناوچهکانی که له ژیر دهسه لاتی کوردان ئمله ش وای کرد که ستراتیجی تورکیا توره بوون و ههستیاری پیوه دیار بینت، دواتر دروستبوونی هیزی دیموکراتی سوریا(SDF) وه یهکگرتنه وه کهم باکوری سوریا ریگایه بوو بو دووباره بهدهستهینانه وه یه شهر عیمت و کهم





کردنه وه ی ترسه کانی تورکیا دو اتر به کورتی باس له پهیوه ندیه کانی کورد دهکریت له گه ل هیزه کانی ئوپوزسیون لهسوریا وه رژیمی سوریا.

پاشان باس له دهستیوه ردانه ئالوزه کانی هه ریه که له روسیا ئیران و حزب الله و ئه مریکا و ئیسرائیل و تورکیاو سعودیه و قه ته ده کریت بو سام خاکی سوریا.

بهشی سیمره کی لاپهره کانی باس له و هم نبر اردنه قورسانه ده کات که دینه به به به به دورده کورده کیانی سوریا له داهاتو و دا دوای نه وه ی تورکیا دهست به سیم عمفریندا ده گریت و هر رژیمی نهسه به به به ده به به به پشتگیری نیران و روسیا و ه دانوستان له گه کی حکومه تی سوریا، له هه موی گرنگتر ناییا هیزه کانی نه مریکا دوای روخانی داعش ده میننه و هیزه کانی نه مدیکا دوای روخانی داعش ده که ناوجه که ؟

وه داهــــاتووی دانوســـتانه کان جهنه و اله لایه نیوه نیوه نیوه نیوه داهیری نه ته وه یه کگر تووه کانی ستیفان دیمیستور ابو گه شتن به چارهسر یکی سیاسیه دبلو ماسی بو بارودوخی ناوچه که گفتوگو نهینیه کانی نیوان رووسیاو ئهمریکا له سهر داهاتووی سوریا.

## باكگراوند:





نه ته وه کانی تر له سه رخاکی سوریا، سی ناوچه ی جوگرافی کورد یه کیان گرت یاخود دروست کران ئه وانیش: (کورداخ یاخود شاخی کورد) دواتر ناونرا به عه فرین هم وه ها باکوری روّژ ناوای حمله با هکاتیک دا زوّر به ی دانیشتوانی کورد بوون وه کوّبانی و (عین العرب) واته چاوی عمره بنزیک جه رابلس و روباری فورات ئه میش زوّر به ی دانیشتوانی کورد بوون، هم وه ها ناوچه ی جه زیره یاشان ناونرا به حه سه که.

دانیشتوانی نهم ههریسمه بهزوری کسورد و سریان ناشوری و نهرمهن و عمرهبن. شاره سهرهکیه کانی نهم ناوچهیه کوبانی و عهفرین و قامیشلی و حسمه کهیه.

وههروهها كۆمهلەي گەورەي كوردى منسرووى ياخود نوى هەيە لە ئەنجامى كۆچكردنى ناوخۆيى لەھەر يەكە لەدىمەشىق و حەماه و حەمەس و حەلەب (شىخ مەقسود و اشرفيه)و رقه و تەل الابىچ لە جرابلس تىل رفعت لە عەزاز.

زوربهی پهنابهرهکانی ناوچهی عهفرین پاش دهست بهسه گرتنی لهلایهن هیزهکانی تورکیاوه لهناوچهی شههبانی باکوری حملهب نیشته جیبوون.

هۆكسارى سسهرەكى بسونى ئەم سسى (عسرق) ەى كسورد لەم نساوچەيەدا دەگەرىي تەوە بىق پەيمانى سايكس بيكىق وە رىككەوتنى ئاشىتى لەدواى جەنگى جىھانى يەكەم لە بسارىس فەرەنسا، ئەمەش بسووە ھسۆى دووبسارە پەنسگ كسردنەوەى سىنوورەكانى و دانسانى خسائى سىنورى بسى گويسدانە سىنورى سىروشىتى و (عسرق) زىساتر لەسمىر بنەماى رىگاى ئاسىنىنى خىسرا بە بسى گويدانە و يستى خەلك لەسەر ئەو بابەتە ئەنجام درا.





كاركردن هاتوونه ته ناوچهكه له توركياوه له كاتيكدا رير هي پهنابهر هكانى كه لهدواى شورشهكهى شيخ سامعيدى پيران 1925/ ئاگرى ئارارات 1930/1926) دورسيم 1937 كۆچيان كردووه بۆ سوريا دەگهنه 3/1 يەك له سەر سيّى دانيشتوانى ئەسلّى ناوچهكه.

ناوچهی عهفرین ناوچهیه کی شاخاوییه همروه ها بهناوبانگه به زهیتوون و زهیتی زهیتی زهیتون و سابون و همنارو ئاسنی خاو، کوبانی ناوچهیه کی تهخته به به همه کشتوکالیه کانی بهناوبانگه به تایبه تی لوکه و گهنم و سهوز هوات.

ناوچهی جهزیرهش لهگهل ئهوهی دهو لهمهنده به نهوت و گازی سروشتی خاوهنی گهنم و لوکهو چهندین جوری بهرههمی تره

ههروهها ئهم سئ ناوچه کوردییه دهو لهمهندن به سهرچاوهی ئاوی به هوی بوونی رووباره کانی فوارت و خاپورو دجله و عهفرین، چهندین دهریاچهی بچوك و شكیان کردووه به هوی دروستكردنی بهنداو له لایمن توركیاوه ئهمهش چهندین ناریکی دروست له نیوان توركیاو سوریاو عیراق ی در اوسی.

لهتهم ووزی 2012 حکومهتی سوریا هیزه کانی کشانه وه له ناوچه کوردیه کانی جگه له ناسایشی ههندیک ناوچه ی وه که قامیشان و حهسه که نهینت پاشان گورینی بو ( PYD پارتی یه کیتی دیموکراتی) وه هیچ ریکه و تنیکسی ناشکرا یاخود نهینی بهدی نه کورای نه کیران ههردو و لایه نهکه که ناشکه دا، له کانونی دو وه می 2014 هیزه کانی و PYD و هیزه سریانی و کوردی و عهره و مهسیحیه هاو پهیمانه کان سیسته می حوکمی خوجییان راگهیاند (حوکمی سهر به خو) له ناوچه کانی عهورین و نهلجه و یوکمی خوجییان

له گه آل شاری عامودا جیّگهی سامره کی ئهم حوکمه سامربه خوّبیه بوو که ناوی (روّژئاوا) یان لینابوو کوردستانی روّژئاوا یاخود (روّژئاوای کوردستان)، (Rojava ye kurdistan)



ئهمه دوات رگوردرا له مانگی 3ی 2016 بو (یه کیتی دیموکراتی باکوری سوریا) که له لایه ن ئه نامه دوات دیموکراتی سوریا وه هیری سامربازیه که که ناسراوه به (هیری دیموکراتی سوریا) له گه آل نه وه شدا YPG ، YPJ ناسراوه به (هیری دیموکراتی سوریا) له گه آل نه وه سامربازییه کانن TER/DEM میشتا ریک دراوی هیر مکین له ناوچه که به آلام دوای رزگار کردنی ره قه و دیر ناموز له دهستی داعش له 2018 پار



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تیکی تازه سامری هه لدا به ناوی (پارتی داهاتووی سوریا) له لایه هه دیك نوینه ری ئه و ناوچانه وه.

#### میرووی کونی سیاسهتی کوردی له سوریا:

نیشانهی سمره کی سیاسه تی کوردی له سوریا له ساله کانی رابردوو بریتی بسوو له دابه شمونه یه که دو ایه که دووباره کانی حزبه سیاسه کان، ئه گهر ته ماشایه کی کو تابی ساله کانی 1940و 1950 بکه بندن ده بین بین چه دین





رووداوی گرنگ بالی بهسهردا کیشاوه له کوردستانی عیراق و ئیران و تورکیا.

لهدوای جهنگی جیهانی دووهم یه کهم پارتی نیشتمانی لهسالی 1957 دروست بوو به ناوی (پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان) له سوریا.

لهسسه ره تادا هۆکسارى ئەم گەشەسسەندنە دەگەر ايەو ، بىق هۆکسارى جيساوازى سياسسى و ئايىدۆلۆرى بەلام لەكاتەكسانى داھساتوودا زيساتر بىوون بە مەسسەلەى شەخسسى و دەسىتيوەردانى ئاسايشسى سىوريا فىاكتەر يكى تىر بىوو، هۆكسارى ئەم دابەشسبوونە كە ئەويىش بە ھۆى جيسابوونەو،ى بسارزانى و مەكتەبسى سياسسى پارتەكەى لە 1964 پاشسان دروسىت بىوونى يەكيتيسى نيشستمانيى كوردسىتان لە 1975 وە ھەريەكە لە پارتەكسانى تىرى نىساوچەكە دابەشسبون بە سىسەر ھەريەكە لە پارتى كوردستان و يەكيتيى نيشتمانيى كوردستان.

تاوهکو 1990ه کانیش پیگهی سیاسی لهکوردستانی سوریا بهدهستی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانه و بارتی دیموکراتی پیشکهوتوو، کاتیك همردووکیان دواتر دوو گروپی جیاکراویان لی دروست بوو لهریکخراوه سهرهکیهکه.





جيهانيه كانى مافى مروق، ئەم پارتەش بەشىپكى لىن جيا بوويەو كە ناويان لەخۆيان نابوو (يەكىتى دىموكراتى كوردستان) لەسال 1997.

لهماوهی ساله کانی 1990 چهندین پارتی بچوکی تر و هاوپهیمانی له و پارتانه بهره و نهمانی له و پارتانه بهره و نهمان پارتانه بهره و نهمان چوون پاش چهند سالیّك.

لهدهستپیکی ئهم سهدهیهدا دوو جو لانهوهی نوی گهشه کرد لهکوردستانی سوریا یهکیکیان پارتی دیموکراتی یهکیتی PYD که لهلایهن هیزهکانی پارتی کریکارانی کوردستان لهسوریا لهسال 2003 دروست بوو، دوای چهندین سال لهپهیوهندی قورس لهگهل رژیمی ئهسهد دوای دهرکردنی نوجه لان لهسوریا لهسالی 1998.

ئەوى تىر (جىولانەوەى داھاتووى كىورد لەسوريا) كەلەسالى 2005 گەشلەي كرد.

هم لسانه وه له پیناو گورینی دیموکراتی لهسوریا لهمانگی 3ی 2011 لهدر عا / جو لانه وه میه کی تازه بسوو له گوره پانی سیاسی لهکور دستانی سوریا، زوربه ی ریکخه رانی گهنج بوون لهناوچه کانی حمله و دیمه شق.

عاموداش به ههمان شیوهی در عا ههستان به تیکشکانی پهیکهرهکهی ئهسهد له شارهکه بوّ دووهم جار دوای ههستانه وهکهی مانگی 3ی ساڵی 2004.

ئهم جو لانهوه گهنجانه تازهیه پارته کونهکانی تی پهراند به دروشه تازهکانیان و چالاکیه جوراو جورهکانیان بو گورینی سوریا پاشان زور لهریکخراوی مهدهنی و کومههی جوراو جور اوجور دوای ئهم جو لانهوه یه کهوتن پاشان دوای دروست بوونی پارتی (مجلس وگن کوردی) لهمانگی وی پاشان دوای دروست بارتی جیاوازی سام بهخوی کارو چالاکی گهنجانیان کهم کردووه به دروستکردنی جو لانهوهی تایبهت به خویان.

دوای دروستبوونی KNC (المجلس الوطني الکوردي) له PYD 2011 به سدار بوو لهگه لیان هه تاکو کوتا روزی ئیعلان کردنی پارته که به لام پاشان





رای خوی گوری و بریاریدا بروانه ئۆپۆزسیۆنهوه (لجنه تنسیق قوی المعارضة) وه پۆستی جیگری رئیس مجلس اداره وهرگرت.

جـو لانهوه ی داهـاتووی کـورد (میشـال تیمـۆ) بریـاری دا که له KNC بکشـنتهوه و بـرواته نـاو پـارتی SNC (مجلـس وطنـي سـوري) لهبهر مهوقیفی دو دلّی KNC لهسهر بهشداری کردن لهگهل (المجلس الوطنی السوري).

ههروه ها پشتگیری سوپای سوریای کرد و چهکی هه لمگرت دری ئهسهد، به لام ئوپوزسیوننکی ئاشتیانه ی هه لمبرارد، لهم کاته ا PYD ناسراوه به (خهتی سینهم) رایگهیاند نه لهگه ل رژیمدایه و نه لهگه ل ئوپوزسیون هیشتنه وه ی ناوچه کور دیه کان و پاریزگاری کردن لییان ته نها ئامانجی ئه و بارته یه.

لهتهمسووزی 2012 دا حکسومهتی سسوری هیزهکسانی کشسانه و لهنساوچه کور دیهکسان جسگه لههمنسدیک نساوچه ی وهک قامشسلی و حهسسه که نهبیست، وه ناوچه کسانی پرادهستی PYD کرد له گه ل چهنسدین چهک و تهقهمهنسی و ژیسر خانی ئابوری بو ناوچه که.

ئهمه وا دانرا که PYD پلانی داناوه لهگه فی حکومه تی سوریای ئه و کاته ئهمه ش وای کرد که له و ناوچانه می له ژیر کونتروّ فی PYD ه دایه کوسب و تهگهره ده خرایه بهرده م نوپوزسیون، وه ناوچه کانی ژیر دهستی حکومه تیش له ناوچه کانی ژیر دهستی حکومه تیش له ناوچه کانی خود یه کگرتنی له ناوچه کانی خود یه کگرتنی اله ناوچه کانی خود یه کگرتنی و PYD و حکومه تا ماوه یه کی زور تا کو ئیستاش بهرده و امه که هه ندی جار رووبه رووب و نهوه ی بچوک بچوک پرووی ده دا له نیوانیاند ازیات رله قام شلو و حسه که به فروو و مورو و کونترو فی ده دار.

ههتا ئه وکاته پارتی دیموکراتی (PYD) شوینکه و تووی که م بوو به به راورد لهگه آل (KNC) و (جوله ی داهاتووی کوردی) دواتر دوای ئه وه ی نیران ریگای به هاتنه ده ره وه ی زیاتر له 1500 گهریالای (PKK) دا که زوربه ی کوردی سوریا بوون لهچیاکانی قهندیله و ه به به شداری کردن و





به هێز کردنـــی (پــارتی یه کێتــی دیمـوکراتی) لهسـوریا دواتـر PYD بـوو به خاوهنی هێزی ئیداری و سهربازی لهناوچه کوردیه کان.

لهتهمووزی 2012 شدا سهروکی ههریمی کوردستان (مهسعود بارزانی) کهوته نیوان و ههولیدا واله PYD بکات که بگهنه دانوستان و ههروه ها کونسولی بالا (مجلس اعلی) دروست بکهن بو ریخستنی کاروبارو دروستبوونی کاروباری هاوبهش لهنیوانیاندا به لام PYD سوور بوو لهدابه شنه کردنی حوکم لهگهل هیچ لایه نیک به هوی جیاوازی بیرو بوچون و سیاسه تی PYD لهگهل پارته کانی تر چهند دانوستانیک لهههولیر و دهوک ریکخراو به لام ههمووی بی نه نه جام بوو.

به هـۆى هه نسـوكهوت و سياسـهته نـا ديمـوكراتيه ديكتـاتۆريهكهى PYD دريان موه زور شـكات و دهنگـى نـازارى بـوون ههيه لهنـاو چهكه به نام لهم دوايهدا لهدواى هـاتنى هنيـزه ئيسـلاميه جيهاديهكـان وهكـو بهرهى (نوسـره)و دمولهتـى ئيسـلامي لهعنيـراق و شـام (داعش) وه شـهركردنى PYD دريان و پارنزگـارى كردنيـان لهنـاو چهكه ئهمه واى كـرد شانسـيان بهرزتـر بنيـتهوه و سـمره راى ئهوهى كه كوردهكان رازى نـين پنيـان و به دنيـان نـيه ههنـدنيكيان به پـارنز مرى خويـانى دادهنـنن، لهگهن ئهمانهيشـدا زور جـار رنيكخراوهكانى مـروڤ رهخـنه لهسياسـهت و ههنسـوكهوتهكانى PYD دهگـرن لهدرى مافى مـروڤ رهخـنه لهسياسـهت و ههنسـوكهوتهكانى PYD دهگـرن لهدرى مافى مـروڤ پارتهكانى تر كه به كارى دهينـن

PYDلهناوچهکهدا خوّی به نوینه کورد دادهنیت به هوّی ئه و هیّره ی که لهناوچهکهدا همیمتنی به لام KNC و ریّکخراوه مهدهنیه کان ئهمهیان پی قبول لهناوچهکهدا همیمتنی به لام خوپیشاندانه کانیان ئهیانه وی داوای رازی بوون (ئیرن) نه کهن به لام PYD به ریّکاری یاسایی دهجولیته وه لهگهلیان و همولی گهرانه وی هیّز دهدات بو خوّی.

گەورەتىرىن و بەھێزتىرن پارتەكان لەناو KNC كەشوێنكەوتەى زۆريان ھەيە چوار دانەن ئەوانىش:





- پارتی دیموکراتی کوردی به سهر و کایهتی عبدالحکیم بشار
- پارتی دیموکراتی پیشکهوتوو بهسهر و کایهتی عبدالحمید دهر و پیش (ئیستا KNC)به جیهیشتووه لهم چهند سالهدا).
  - پارتی یهکنتی به بهسمر کردایهتی ئیبراهیم برۆ.
- پارتی دیموکراتی نیشتمانی به سهرکردایه تی مویه دین شیخ عملی (که پهیوهندیه کانی KNC و تورکیای به دل نیه).

له کوتابیه کانی سالّی 2013 دا KNC به رهسمی چووه ته ناو هیزه کانی تورکیا و توپوزسیون (ائتلاف و گنی اقتوات معارچه سوریه) و ه له گه آن تورکیا و ناوچه کانی تر له پشتی توپوزسیون ده گرن بوو به هاوپه یمانی ته مه شنیوانی همر دو و پارته که زور تر بوو.

## هه نبر ارده قورسه کانی رووبه رووی کورده کان دهبیته وه لهسوریا:

سسر مرای نمو بارود و خه جیاوازانه ی که دروست بوون بو کورده کانی سروریا سسر متای شورشسه وه بو گورانکاری دیموکراتی لمسالی 2011 لمسوریا نمیانتوانی سسر مایه به کسار به پنن له همموو نمو جینیشینانه ی به رووی نمواند انه هسات به هوی نمو دلم راوکییانه و انهوه الاوازی پیبینی و وردبینی گشتی، یه کنه گرتنی و نمیوونی نمز موون. بویه همیشه نموان نمه کمران به دوای پیشنیار کردن و نمسیحه کردن له عیراق و کور دستان و تورکیا لمجیاتی نموه ی همونی به دیه پینانی سمر به خویی بو خویان به نموان به دورکیا لمجیاتی نموه ی همونی به دیه پینانی سمر به خویی بو خویان به نموان به نمورکیا لمجیاتی نموه ی همونی به دیه پینانی سمر به خویی بو خویان به نمورکیا لمجیاتی نمورکیا لمجیاتی به دیه پینانی سمر به خویی بو خویان به نمورکیا کمی نمورکی به دیه پینانی سمر به خویی بو خویان به نمورکی به دیم پینانی سمر به خویی بو خویان به نمورکی به نمورکی به دیم پینانی به دیم پینانی سمر به خویی بو خویان به دیم پینانی

جولهی سیاسی کوردی له عیراق و تورکیا نهخشه ی تایبه تی سیاسی خویان ههیه که ناگونجی به شیوهیه کی بیویست لهگه لیاندا

جوابیان ئەدایەو، بە قبولكردن یان پرەفز كردنى ئەو داوەتانامەيەى كە لايەن سەرۆكى سوريا (بەشار ئەسەد) سېپردرابوو بۆ ئەوەى وەفديكى كوردى بنيريت بۆ دىمەشق بۆ دانوستان و گفتوگۆكردن لەسەر خواستەكانى كورد





وه ک (زمان و کولتورو سیاسه ت) وه پیدانی مافی به هاو پیبوون بن ئمو خطکانه یک که له دهستیان دا بوو له مرایکی ناوباری دانیشتواندا لهسالی 1962.

هۆكارى سەرەكى بۆرازى نەبوون و دەربرينى نارەزايى لەسەر ئەگەرى مانەوەى رژنىم لەداھاتوودا، بەلام دوو دلسيەش دەگەر يىتەوە بۆم مىندۇوى كوردو دانپيادانەنانى و نەناسىين و كەم كىردنەوەى كورد لەلايەن رژنىمە يەك لەدوا يەكەكانى سوريا لەسالى 1946ەوە.

به لام ئهسه هم لهسه حوکم مایه وه دوای حهوت سال لهبه ربه کانی و جه نگیکی دان و پشت گرتنی و جه گیکی دان و پشت گرتنی و روسیا و اجبار کردنی کورد لهریکه و تن و دانوستان کردن لهگه ل رژیمدا.

لهم دواییه دا رژیمی سوریا ویستی ریکه و تن و دانوستان لهگه فی کورد بکات لهگه فی پیدانی چه ندیک کاتوری و زمانه و انه و دامه زراندنی هه ندیک ریکخراوی سه ربه خوبه پینی قسه کانی و هزیری ده ره و هی سوریا (ولید معلم) له دوای و تاره کانی نوینه ری نهم ریکا له UN.

پهیوهندیه کانی لهگهل هیّزی ئوپوزسیون لهسوریا ئاسان نهبوو. هیّزه یه کهمه کانی کورددا تهنها زیاتر یه کهمه کانی کورددا تهنها زیاتر مافی نه تهوهیدی و زمان و کلتوریان دابوو به کورده کان جو لانه وه کانی سهر به مافی نه تهوهیدی و زمان و کلتوریان دابوو به کورده کان جو لانه وه کانی سهر به محمان شیّوه دوو دلّ بوون لهبوون ئوپوزسیون به لام لهر کساته دا که بوون به به شیّن له که له کوپوزسیون به به سیر دا گیراو به سیربازی کیرا له لایه گروپسی ئیسالمی ده سیر دا گیراو به سیمر به قاعیده بوون ئیستا پیّی ده لین هیئه جمیه می نوسره کهسه به به قاعیده بوون ئیستا پیّی ده لین هیئه ته محریر الشام، اخوان المسلمین موالیه لترکیا – موالیه تی قه ته در وست بوو.

ئیستا ئۆپۆزسىيۆنى علمانى ودىموكراسى لەگەل ھىنزە سەربازىكان (سوپاى سوريا) (سورياى سەربەست) ھەندىك كارىگەرى ھەيە بۆ ناوچەكە.





ئه و گروپه لهتوركيا نيشته جين وه ياريان پي دهكري له لايهن توركيا. قهتهر ـ سعوديه.

هیشتا KNC یش لهگهل بی هیز بوونی به شیکه له (ائتلاف و طنبی لقوی المعارضی به نیز بوونی به شیکه له (ائتلاف و طنبی لقوی المعارضیة) به لام لهگهل هاپهیمانه کسان و نوپوز سسون چه نیف و و به و به هیزی دانوستانه کهی جنیف و هداگیر کردنی عهفرین له لایمن تورکیاوه له نه و زی 2018.

به شداریان کرد بو چهند سالیّك لهگهل (معارضة موالیه) ههروه ها بوون به جیّگری رهئیس دواتر له 2014 تهواو بوو، ههولّی ریّککهوتن و دانوستان درا بو رژیمی ئهسهد.

ئهمهش ترسی لهلهدهستدانی ئهو ناوچانه دهگهیهنیت که به دهست کوردهکان، ئهرمینیهکان یونانیهکان، رووسیاوه دواتر سوریا، ئهو به شیوهیهکی ستراتیژی ترساوه و راوهستاوه لهدری ههموو جوریک لهبونیادی حکومهتی خویی کوردی لهعیراق، ئیران، سوریا لهترسی کاریگهری تووشبوونی کوردهکانی خوی. لهبهر ئهوه، ئهو در ایمتی دامهزراندنی ههریمیکی فیدر آلی کرد لهکوردستانی عیراق بو چهند ساآیکی زور ههتا ئهو راستیهی جی کردهوه و لهسهر زهوی و گریبهستی لهگهل KRG حکومهتی ههریمی کوردستان ئهو ههمان ههستیاری ههیه بهرامبهر به کوردهکان لهسوریا بو دامهزراندنی بهشیکی که خویان بهریوهی دهبهن، به تایبهتی که لهلایهن PYD دامهزراوه، بهشیکی که به لهیهکداچوونی چهکداریدا بووه لهگهل تورکیادا لهسائی 1984هوه به به گالتهجاری.





كاتنك AKP به كهم حسار هاته هنر وه له سالي 2003 دا نهو نز بکسو و نمو میمکی ئاشستکر دنمو می کسر د سۆ داو اکسار ی کسو ر دی که لمکو تابیسدا دانی نا به کوردهکان و هاک ناوچهیهای و کلتورو زمان. قوتابخانهی کوردی ر ادبية و كهنالي تهلهفزية ني كر انهوه. وه دانو ستاندني ئاشتي كر المكهل المكهل PKKلەنپون (2015/2013).

لهم ماو مبهدا، تور كبا بهبو هنديهكي باشي لهگهل نو بنهر اني KNC/ PYD) (كورداني سوريادا دروست كرد صالح مسلم، دواتر سامرة كي PYD، دو و اجار بانگهێشت کر ابو و بو تو رکيا بو گفتو گو کر دن.

ته انه تورکیا گرنگیداننگی میزووی دامه زرانید به ریگهدانی به هیزهکانی بنِشهم گهی کو ر دستان عبر اق بو تبیه ربو و ن به تو رکیا بو هاو کاری هیز مکانی YPGله كۆبانى درى ھۆرشەكانى داعش بۆشار ەكە، لەئەبلولى 2014 بە داخەو ە ئهمه کو تایی هات کاتیك که گفتو گو کانی ئاشتی ر و و خان و ه بار تی کور دی HDP ســـهر كهو تنيّكي گهور وي هه لنبر اردني بردهوه به بهدهستهيّناني 80 كورســي له يمر لمماني توركيادا، له حوز ميراني 2015 دا، ئهمه ئمر دو غان دهست نيشانيكر دبوو و مكو همر مشميهك بمر اميمر ئامانجهكاني بق دامهز ر اندني سمر ق كابهتبيهكي بههيّز ئەو ھەستا بە يارىكردن بە نەتەو ەيەر ستى توركى بۆ بەھۆز كردنى بۆستى سياسى ناو خوّبی PKK ش به هه له هه ماری کر د و مدهستبکر دبو و ه به بز و تنه و می بهر انگار یو و نه وه له ناو شهاره سه مکیهکانی کو ر دستانی تو رکبا ئهمه رژیمه ز ور دار مکهی ئهر دو غانی به هنز کر د به سهر و لاته که وه و هانبدا بو کار دانه و می دژوار دژی کوردانی تورکیا و سوریا. داگیر کردنی جهرابلوس و شاری نالباب لمناوچهی سوریادا ئامانجی سور مکی لیّی ریّگرتن له دامهز راندنی بهستنهوهی جو گر افی کانتو نه کانی جهزیره، کو بانی و عهورین، داگیر کر دنی عهورین له ناز اری 2018، هەنگاويكى تر بوو بۆ ريگرتن له كوردانى سىورىيا بۆ دامەزرانىدنى همر یمنکی یه کگرتووی ئۆتۆنۆمی راسته قینه به دریژایی سنووری باشووری تورکیا. سەرۆك ئەردۆغان بەردەوامە لە ھەرەشە بۆ ناوچەي دەستبەسەرداگيراوي SDF لە



روژهه لاتی فوراتدا ههرهشدی کوتایی له کوبوونه و میمکدا له خهزینه یه کی بیری تورکییه وه ده رچوو، له دانیشتنه کانی کوبوونه وهی گشتی نه ته وه یه کگر تووه کان (UN) به لام تورکیا ریّگه ی لی گیراوه و بهرده وام ریّگه ی لی ده گیریت له همر جووله یه فری بوونی هاو پهیمان و هیزی ویلایه ته یه کگر تووه کانی ئه مریکا (UN مه مه مه و ناوچه ی روژهه لاتی فورات له پابه ندبوونیان بو ته واو کردنی شهر دری داعش و نه هیشتنی هیزه ئیرانیه کان و نوینه رانیان له سوریا. ریکه و تنی رووسی – تورکی له سهر ئیدلیب وا ده رده که ویت که کیشه کانی بو تورکیا ئالوزتر کردوه له جیاتی به دیه ینانی ئامانجه کانی داها تووی هموو هم ریمه که هیشتا له ژیر پرسیار دایه ئایا هیزه کانی رووسیاو سوریا هیرش ده که نه سه ری ؟

پابهندبوونی ویلایه تعیه کگر تووه کان UN له گه آل بزوو تنه وه ی کوردی له سوریا، له لایمن همردوو KNC و PYD یه وه، دهستی پیکرد له کاتی قوناغه سه ره تاییه کانی شورش له سوریادا، به آلام به تاییه تی له سالی 2012 دا له کاتی کو بونه و دایا الوگییه جاوازه کانی ئو پو زسیونی سووری له ئه سته نبول و قاهیره. نیر در اوه کانی KNC و مرگیران له الایه تی کاروباری ده ره وه له چه ند جاری کدا، به آلام PYD همرگیر و مرنه گیر اله به به به به به وه ده سانکراوه و ه که ده ستنیشانکراوه و ه کو یک خراویکی تیرو ریستی له الایه ته یه کگر تووه کانه وه.



ئالۆزى زياترى بەيوەندىيەدوو قۆلىيەكانىان، دەركەوت كاتتىك سەر ۆك تر امب ئهگهری کشانه و می هیز مکانی و بالایه به به یکگر تو و مکانی لهسور یا راگهیاند. ههرچهنده، بینتاگون و فهرمانده بهریو هبهر مکان بیشنباری مانهوهی زیاتریان کرد بو هیزهکانی ویالایهته یه کرتووهکان. نهمه نهگهری کر دهوه بو کور دهکانی SDF بو دهستبیکر دن به دانو ستاندن له گهل رژیمی ئەسسەد بىق ئاسسابى كىر دنەو دى بەبو دنسدىبەكان لە دو اى كشسانەو دى ئەمر بكسا لە ناوچهکه و پالایه به په کگر تو و مکان دوای کشانه و می له ریکه و تنی نه تو می ئير إنك و خر ايبووني يهيو مندييه كاني له گهل ئير إن، برياريدا له سوريا بمننن ته وه، به ینی لیدو انه کانی سهر ق ف ترامی، راوی ترکاری ئاسایشی نەتەو ەبىي جىز ن بۆ ئتىز ن بالو بز جەبمىس جنفىرى لە كىاتى دانېشىتنەكانى کو بو و نهو می گشتی نهته و مهکگر تو و مکان UNپه گو بر می ر ابور تبك له لايمن لـوّري مايلوري بـو كهنالي تهلهفزيـوني كوردسـتان 24. له روّري بينج شهممه 27ي ئەپلول 2018، بالو پر جەيمىس جيفىرى، نوپنەرى تاببەتى و پـــلايهته پهکگر تو و مکـــان بـــق بايهنـــد بـــو و نـى ســـو ر بـا، بــاس له بير کـــر دنهو مى بهر يّـو بهر ايهتي تر امــب دهكـات دهر بـار مي داهـاتو وي سـو ريا، له نيّو انيانــدا كوردستاني سوريا. جيفري قسه دهكات بو يهيامنيران له نيويورك دوربارهي



كۆبىوونەوەى گشىتى نەتەوە يەكگرتووەكان UN، سىخ ئامانجى ناسىراوى ويلايەتە يەكگرتووەكانى دەرخست:

- 1. تۆكشكانى ھەتاھەتايى دەو لەتى ئىسلامى(ISIS) .
  - 2. بەھيز كردنەوەى پرۆسەى سياسى.
- 3. لابردنى ههموو هيزه فهرماندهبيه كانى ئيران له ناو گشت سوريادا.

پرسیار کرا ئایا سیمروّک دونالد ترامی به فهرمی بیروّکهی مهرجیّک بو کشانه وی ویلیمته یه کگرتووه کانیان له سیوریا بریتی نهبیّت له لابردنی هیزه کانی ئیران و نوینه ره کانیان پهسهند کردووه، جیفری له وه لامدا ووتی، سیمروّک ئیمهی دهویّت له سیوریا تاکو نهوه جیبه جیّ دهبیّت وه مهرجه کانی تر جیبه جی کراون، به لام دهمه ویّت لیّره دا پروون بم، جیفری بهرده وام بوو، وهدیمه نیکیی نیرکردنه وهی ویلیمته یه کگرتووه کانی دهرخست که به تاییه تی پهیوه سته به پیگهی کوردی له سیوریا. مانه وهی ئیمه له سیوریا به پیویستی بوونی نهمریکی نییه له سیمر زهوی پروونی کرده وه، بوون له سیمر زهوی پیگهی تیکشکانی همتا همتایی ئیستای دهوله تی نیسلمی همیه به لام

جیفری بهرده و ام بوو، چهند نمونه یه کی دا له نیوانیاندا "بو چهند سالیکی زور وید الایه ته یه کرتووه کان هاو پهیمانی ناوخویی همبووه له سهر زهوی له باکوری عیراق، وه پشتگیری ئاسمانیمان دابین کرد."



باكورى رۆژ هه لات، ييويسته به شداربن له يروسهى سياسى . "همروه ها له روژى بنِنجهشه ممه، شهش و لات "ميسر، فهر هنسا، ئه أمانيا، ئور دون، سعو ديهو بريتانياي گهوره"، بهشداریان کرد بق ئاماده کردنی روونکردنه و میه که بانگی دیمستبورا دهکات "بۆ قابلکر دنی، به زووترین کات، کۆمیتهی دەزگایهکی گشتگیری بوپر بۆ دەستىپكردنى پىشىنباركردنى دەستورىكى نوپى سوورى بۆ دانانى بناغەي بۆ جيفرى، زياتر ئامارهى ييكرد: "ئەسەد له سەر لاشەى دەوللەتىك دانيشتو و م به كه نزیکهی هیچ دهستگهیشتنیکی ئابو و ری نبیه بو نهوتهکهی و سهر جاوه گازیپهکانی." وه هيچ هيوايهك بو فريا كهوتني بنكهننانهوه نيپه جونكه ويلايهته په کگر تو و مکان UN، "بشتگیری کر او ه له لایمن زور پنه له ناو په کیتی ئه و ر و يا، بهر بهسته له و ه النامانجي سيم مکي ر و و سيا له سيو ريا ر ز گــار کر دنی ر ژ پمــی ئەســەد بــو و ه له بهز انــدن، بار اســتنی هێــز ه ســهر باز بیهکهی و بایهخی ئابو و ر ی ناو جهکه له داهاتو و دا و ه فشار خستنه ســهر و لاتــانــ ر و ژ ئــاو ا بــو مــامهله کر دنېکـــ هاو تــای کار و بــار ه نــاو جهبـی و نيّو دەو لْهتبيهكانى. بەشدارى سەر بازى له ئەيلولى 2015 ژمار ەيەكى زۆرى سياسه تمهدار إني روسيا ئامار هيانبهو راستيه كرد كه "و لاتاني روز ئاوا چهند ر ژ پمپکیان له روژ هه لاتی ناو در استدا گوری بی نهو دی بیر و رای نهوان و مر گر نے بابہ خ به سے مر نجی ئه و ان بدهن. " له گهڵ کے ردانی سے ربا ههنديك جار بهيو هندى يشتكير إنهيان ههبووه. ئهوانPYD) و (RNC)بو ژمارهيهك له كو بو و نهو وي گفتو گو كان بانگهيشت كران له مؤسكو، ئاسانا، سوچي به لام ئەمانە ھەر گىز كاريان لەيشتگيرى روسيا نەكرد بۆرژيمى ئەسەد. لە ينشنيار مكهياندا بن دمستووري نويي سوريا، داواكاري كورديان بن بلاوبوونه وه وی دهسه لات و مافی کلتووری بهسهندکر دووه هه لویستی فهرمی روسى ھەمىشى جەختىي كىردۆتەرە كە كوردەكان بپويسىتە نوپنەرايەتى بكىرين لهجننف و همر وهها گفتو گو كانى تر كه يميوهنديان به داهاتووى سورياوه





# هه نیر نده داهاتو و هکانی کورد له سووریا:

له ژیر رووناکی روونکردنهوه چیروکهکهی ساهرهوهدا، ئهم هملبژیرانهی که دین بیشبینی دهکرین بو بزوتنهوه کوردییهکان له سوریا:

1. هم آبر یّ سری یه کهم به رده و ام بر و و ن له بر ارود و خی ئیستا، سیم ه رای له ده ستدانی عه فرین بو هیشتنه و هی ده ده ده که ده و ریگرتن له هم ده شه تورکییه کان بو ده ستگرتن به سه به و ناوچانه که ده و لهمه نه و نه و تاییمتی نه و تاییمتی شه توکالی و سه رچاوه ی ئاو. به تاییمتی نه گه ر ناوچه کانیی ر دقه و دیر نه لزور به یلر ینه و له فیدر الی باکوری سوریا.

3/ هم نبر ی سیدهم: قوستنه و می کات و می همانی و چاو مروانی نمنجامی شهری نیدداید. پاشان دهستکردن به دانوستاندن لهگه ن رژیمیکی





لاواز کراوی ئەسەد بۆ گەيەشتن ملكەچكردنى زياترو دانپيدانان بە مافى ئۆتۆنۆمى فيدر الى.

4. هم آبر یری چوارهم: ریکخستنی مالّی کوردی له سوریا، بابلّین باشتر کردنی پهیوهندییه کان له گهل ئه نجوه منی نیوده و له تی کوردی و ه پارته سیاسیه کوردییه کانی تر بو پیکهینانی به پیوه به رایه تییه کی هاوبه ش و یاسا دانانیکی هه آبر یردراو، هاوشیوه ی پروسه که ی سالّی 1992 ی کوردستانی عیراق ئهمه پیگه ی کورد به هیز دهکات به به راورد به پر یمی سوری و تورکیا ئهمه پشتگیری به هیزی KRG و دهکات به به راورد به پر یمی سوری و تورکیا نهمه پشتگیری به هیزی و لا ی گشتی کوردی له سهرانسه ری کوردستاندا لی ده کریت، له بارود و خیکی لهم شسیوه یه دانوستاندنه کانی ده و داواکاری هاوبه ش له دانوستاندنه کانی داهاتو و دا له گه ل حکومه تی سوریا و ه پر و سه نویکر اوه که بو پر و سه نویکراوه که بو پر و سه ی و دبای ماسی بو ناکوکییه کانی سوریا له جنیف .

5. هم آبر یری پینجهم: ئاواتخواستن و کارکردن بو گهراندنه وهی گفتو گوی ئاشتی له نیوان PKK حکومه تی تورکیا که ده شکیته وه به سمر پهیوه ندییه کانیان لهگه آ تورکیا و دوورکه و تنه وهی تری کوردستان سوریا. ئهمه ره وانبیر پیهکی دبلوماسیتر و هاوتاتر لهخو ده گریت به رامبه ر تورکیا.

7. هم لبر یّری حموتهم: هم لبر یّری خو کوری بهرده و ام بوون له سیاستی سهرسه خت و پیکه و هم لنه هاتو و هکه ی هیزه داگیر کراو هکه له لایه ن PYD و لقه کانی، به شیر هیکی زور دیمو کراسیانه و هم جمختک ردنه و ه له توندره و بوون





لهگه فی همرو هیززه سیاسی و سهربازییه کان له ناوچه که هه و لدان بو به جیدگه یا نامید ناید و نه باید دو لوژییه پینه گهیه شتو و هکه یان به به هید نی سه میرای هه مو و سه رنجامه کان، بو نمو و نه: نزیکه ی ته و او پر و و خاندنی کوبانی و له ده ستدانی عه فرین.



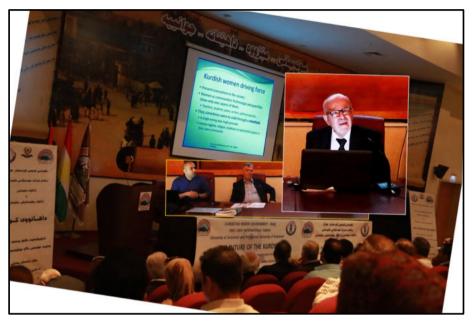




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# ئيران و كورد







چل ساڵ لهمهوبهر، رێك لهم روٚژانهدا منيش وهكوو مليونهها كهسى تر، بهشدارى خوٚپيشاندانه گهورهكانم دهكرد له دژى رژيمى شا له ئێران. ئێمه له كوردستان قهت ئهو دروشمه سبرانسسريهيهى ئێرانمان دووباره نهدهكردهوه كه دهيانگوت، اسمربهخوٚيى، ئازادى، كوٚمارى ئيسلامى"! لهباتى ئهوه داواكاربيهكانى ئێمه بريتى بوون له "يهكسانى، برايهتى، كوٚمارێكى ديموكراتى". كورد هيوايهكى زوٚرى همبوو بهوهى كه له ئاكامى ئهو شوٚرشهدا به مافه نهتهوايهتييهكانى بگات و تهنها ده روّژ پاش رووخانى رژيمى شا، يهكهم گفتوگوكان لهگهڵ نوێنهرانى حكوومهتى تازه به دهسه لاتگهيشتوودا دهستيان پێكرد. كوردستان بهشدارى نهكرد لهو رێفراندوٚمهى كه بو اكومارى ئيسالمى اله مانگى چوارى سالى ۱۹۷۹دا رێك خرا چونكوو نهيدهويست دهنگ به فوٚرمێك له حكوومهت بدات كه ناوهروٚك و قانوونى ئهساسبيهكهى ناروون بوو. باقى بهسهر هاتهكه لاى ههمووان روونه.

خۆپیشاندانی زور گەورەی پوژی هەشتی مارسی ۱۹۷۹، واته كەمتر له مانگیك پاش پرووخانی پرژیمی شا به بونهی پوژی جیهانی ژنهوه له تاران، ههروهها دوو ههفته دواتر نموروزی خویناوی له شاری سنه ناوهندی پاریزگای كوردستان نیشانهگهلیکی هوشداریدهر بوون كه ئاراستهی سیاسهتی دهسه لاتدارانی تازهی ئیرانیان دهستنیشان دهكرد. سام ه پای ئموهیش زور نمبوون ئمو پرووناكبیر و تویژهره سیاسیانهی كه بتوانن پهوتی بهرهوپیش چوونی كهش و هموای سیاسی و ئابووری و كومه لایهتی و لات پیشبینی بكهن.

چل ساڵ بهسه رئهم شورشه ا تیپهریووه و پرسی ژن، کیشه ی کورد و ههروه ها پرسی ئاز ادییه دیموکراتیکه کان، کریکاران، خویند کاران، ماموستایان، پرسی ئاز ادییه دیموکراتیکه کان، کریکاران، خویند کاران، ماموسه ماوه ته و و ژنامه و انان، نووسه ران و هونه رمه ندان به ردوام به بی چاره سه ریی ماوه ته و هوکات قهیرانی ئابووری و سیاسی ژیانی بو زورینه ی خهلکی ئیران زور دژوار کردووه.



### خانهدانی سهفهویی ۲۷۲۳ / ۱۵۰۱

بو ئموهی له ناوهروکی سیاسهتی ئیستای کو ماری ئیسلامی ئیران تیبگهین، پیویسته ئاورینک بدهینهوه له سهر دهمی دهسه لاتی خانهدانی سهفهوی که زیاتر له پینج سهد سال لهمهوبهر دامهزرا. شا ئیسماعیلی یهکهم که بناغهدانهری خانهدانی سهفهوی له سهرهتای سهدهی شهرهای یهکهم که بناغهدانهری خانهدانی سهفهوی له سهرهتای سهدهی شهرهاز دههم دا بوو، بوی دهرکهوت که به معبهستی بهرهنگاربوونهوهی ئیمپراتوری عوسهانی دهبی ههول بدات، ههرچونیک بووه زورینهی خهلکی و لاتهکهی بهیننته سهر ئایینی شهول بدات، همرچونیک بووه ئایینی پرهسمیی دهولهتی ئیران. کاتیک هیندیک له فهر ماندهکان و هبیریان هینایهوه که لهوانهیه ئهم کاره ئاکامی مهترسیداری لی بکهویتهوه، بهینی نووسینی پراجیر ئیم ساقوری له کتیبی "ئیرانی سهفهویی"دا، پادشها له وه لامدا گوتی: "له پرهوتی ئهم کارهدا خودا و ئیمامهکان پشهرانی ئیمهن و ئهگهریش خهلکانیک ههبن کهمترین به بهرنگاریی بکهن، به شمشیر له بهرامبهریاندا پرادهوهستین!" ئاکامی ئهم سیاسه بهرامبهر به و که "برایهتی سوننییهکان"یان ههلوهشانده و ههر کهسیک ئاماده نهبوو له بهرامبهر به شمشیم شیعهگهر بیه نوییه دا ملکه چ بیت، نیعدام کرا. 2

موسو آمانانی سوننی عوسمانی به وردی سهرنجی ئهم پر هوتهی سهفه و بیه کانیان ده دا و نیگه رانی گهشه کردنی دهسه آلاتیکی شیعه بوون که له وانه بوو دهسه آلاتداره تی ئیمپر اتورییه که ی ئه وان له به شی پر و پر هه آلات ابخاته مه ترسییه و ، پاش زنجیره یه ک ئیمپر اتورییه که که تیدا شائیسماعیل سهر که و تنی گرینگی به دست هینا، له شکری سو آلنان سهلیمی یه که م توانی سالی ۱۹۱۶ له شهری چالدران شکستیکی گهوره به سهر پادشایه تی سهفه وی دا به پنیت بو کور ده کان ئه مه ئه و ساله یه که کور دستان له نیوان دو و ئیمپر اتوری عوسمانی و سهفه وی دا ، به شکرا . ده سه آلاتدارانی خانه دانی سهفه وی دو و شتیان به الاوه گرینگ بوو: شیعه گهری و مهزنایه تی ئیمپر اتورییه که یان . له کاتی دابه شکر دنی به رپر سیاره تی و پر و لی سهره کی له ناو له شکر و حکوومه تدا به الایانه وه گرینگ بوو که خهلکی سهر به ئایینی شیعه هه آبر برن . ئه م چه شنه سیاسه ته ی ئه و سهر ده مه له ئیر انی ئه مهرویش دا به پر وونی له کور دستان ده بینریت .





خانهدانی سهفه وی بق ماوه ی زیاتر له دو وسه د سال و همتا ۱۷۳۱ له دهسه لات دا مانه وه. به لام کاریگه ریی سیاسی و فهر هه نگی ئه و ان به در نیژ ایی دهسه لاتی پادشاکان و خانه دانه کانی دو اتر و هه روه ها پاش شو پشی سالی ۱۹۷۹ ی ئیران که کوماری ئیسلامی به دهسه لات گهیشت به رده و ام ماوه ته وه. ئه وه ی که پر پیمی نویی ئیسلامی کردی، بریتی بوو له گو پینی شیعه گهری و مه زنایه تی سه رده می سهفه وی بق شیعه گهری و ناسیق نالیسمی فر او انخوازی ئیرانیی.

# پەيمانى سايكس \_ پيكۆ

پهیمانی به ناوبانگی سایکس — پیکو که سانی ۱۹۱۱ و له گهرمهی شهری یه کهمی جیهانیدا له نیوان بریتانیا و فهرانسه دا به سیترا و نامانجی دابه شکردنی خاکی ژیرده سه لاتی پرووخاوی ئیمپراتوری عوسهانی بوو، هیچ گورانکاربیه کی له کوردستانی نیران دا به دی نه هینا. هاوکات دابه شکردنی نه و ئیمپراتورییه ههوالیکی خوش بوو بو نیران دا به دی نه هینا. هاوکات دابه شکردنی نه و ئیمپراتورییه ههوالیکی پر که به ری هیر شبه ربوو له در اوسییه تیبه وه و ده بووه هوی دامه زرانی حکوومه تیکی لاواز له عیراق و ههروه ها دابه شبوونی کوردستان. پر استه له و سهرده مه دا ده سه لاتداره تی عیراق و همروه ها دابه شبوونی کوردستان. پر استه له و سهرده مه دا میزی به هیزی ناو نه ربور از واته پرهزا خان که سالی ۱۹۲۱ خانه دانی په هله وی دامه زر اند و بوو به پر مزا شا. نه م پادشایه به مشتی ناسنین و لاتی به پیوه ده برد هم تا سالی ۱۹۶۱ بوو به پر مورا شا. نه م پادشایه به مشتی ناسنین و لاتی به پیوه ده برد هم تا سالی ۱۹۶۱ باکوور و باشووره و چوونه ناو خاکی نیران و پرهزا شا — که پشتیوانیی له سیاسه تی باکوور و باشووره و چوونه ناو خاکی نیران و پرهزا شا — که پشتیوانیی له سیاسه تی نازیی کر دبوو — ناچار کرا ده ست له پادشایه تی هه نازیت و کوپره که ی واته با نازیی کر دبوو — ناچار کرا ده ست له پادشایه تی هه نازیت و کوپره که ی دانه را

سهردهمی کوماری کوردستان له سالّی ۱۹۶۱ی لیّ دهر چیّت، دو خی ژیردهستهیی گلی کورد له کاتی فهرمان دهوایی محمد ر هزا شا دا هیچ ئال و گوریّکی بهسهردا نه هات. گهلی کورد چالاکانه له رایه رینی سالّی ۱۹۷۹ی ئیران دا به شداریی کرد به و





هیوایهی دیموکر اسی له و لات دابمهزریت و ستهمگهریی نهته و ایهتی کوتایی پی بهیندریت.

### شۆرشى ئيران و چاوەروانىيەكان

دامهزراندنی کۆماری ئیسلامی له ئیران به دلنیاییه وه دهریخست که له ژیر دهسه لاتی فهرمان و وایانی نویدا کور دهکان ناتوانن چاوه و وانی بار و دۆخیکی باشتر بن. زوری پینه چوو که شهر و پیکدادان دهستی پیکرد له نیوان گهلی کور د که تازه له پینه و و که شهر و پیکدادان دهستی پیکرد له نیوان گهلی کور د که تازه له پینه و و له پینه و و دهسه لاتدارانی پرژیمی تازه ی ئیران که نیشانیان دا تهنانه له پرژیمی پیشویش دهسه لاتدارانی پرژیمی تازه ی ئیران که نیشانیان دا تهنانه له پرژیمی پیشویش در نده ترن . نهم دهسه لاته نوییه تهنانه دوژمنایه تیبه و قری کومه لایه تیبه کانی ئیرانیشدا کهوننه دوژمنایه تیبه و . خهلکانی ئیراندیخواز و پیکخراوه کانیان به توندی سهرکوت کران و به تایبه له دهیه ی ۱۹۸۰ دا به دهیان پیکخراوه کانیان به توندی سهرکوت کران و به تایبه له دهیه ی ۱۹۸۰ دا به دهیان کار هسات نامیز بو گهلانی ئیران و ژیرخانی نابووری و ژیانی سیاسی و لات، کاریگه پی زور قوولی ههبوو له سهر بزووتنه وی دیموکراسیخوازیی له ئیران. گاریگه که میم شهره ی قوسته و بو خاشه پرژیم نه هیزه سیاسییانه ی نوپوزیسیون که له وانه و بینه نالنیز ناتیقیک بو داهاتووی نیران.

### كوردستان و كۆمارى ئىسىلامىي ئىران

سسر مرای ئموه ی که لایه نی کورد زور زوو دهستپیشخه ری کرد بو گفتوگوکردن لهگمل نوینه رانی دهوله ته کوردستان و له تاران، ههول و تیکوشانی ئاشستیخوازانه ی ریبه رانی کوردستان بی ئاکام مایه وه و نزیکه ی پینج همفته پاش راپه رین له ئیران شه و و پیکدادان له شاری سنه روویدا. تمنانه تدیدار و گفتوگوی کهسایه تبیه سیاسییه کان و هکوو ماموستا شیخ عیزه دین حوسهینی، دوکتور قاسملوو ریبه ریبه ری حیزبی دیموکرات له گفل ئایه توللا خومهینی و مهدی بازرگان سهره کوه زیر و باقی کاربه دهستان له قوم و تاران نهیتوانی بگاته هیچ ریککه تنیك.





ر و ژ ی ۱۹ ی ههشتی ۱۹۷۹ [۲۸] گهلاو پژ ی ۱۳۵۸] خو مهینی فهر مانی جیهادی دهر کر د له در ی خه لکی کو ر دستان و بهم جهشنه شهر بکی ههمه لایهنه دهستی بنکر د. گهلی کور د بهر منگاری ئه و هنر شه بو و هو ه و باش سنی مانگ دهسه لاتدار آن داو اي دانو و ستاندنيان كر د. سـهر جهم لايهنه سياسيپهكان ئامادهيي خوّيان دهر بري و یاش راگهیاندنی ئاگربهس "دهستهی نوینه رایهتی گهلی کورد" بیکهیندرا.<sup>3</sup> نه ئهم دەستەي نو بنەر ايەتبپە و نە ياقى ھەو لەكانى تر بۆ جار ەسلەر بْكى ئاشلىتبانە، ھېچ بهر ههمیکیان نمبو و شهر و هیر شی دهستدر بز یکار انهی نهر تهشی نیر آن له بههاری ۱۹۸۰ دا دیسانه وه دهستی بیّکر ده وه و دو اتریش که شهری ئیر آن و عیّر اق دهستی بنکر د، کور دستان بو و به معیدانی دو و شهری مالویر انکهر همتا ئیستایش که سالی ۲۰۱۸ په هێشـــتا په ر مســمپي ئاگر پهس له نێو ان هێز ه چهکدار مکاني ئێر ان و هێز ي بنشمهر گهدا ر انهگهیهندر او ه

حیزبه کانی کور دستان و ریبه رانی سیاسی بهرده و ام به وه تاوانبار کراون که گوایه ئەوان شىمىرخواز بوون و بوونەتە ھۆي تىكدانى رەوتى گفتوگۆكان. بەللگە زۆرە بۆ ئەو دى بنچەوانەكەي ئەو بۆچۈونە ئىسبات بكرنت باش گەراننىك لەسەر سايتنكى ر مسمى ئير إن بهنيوي "بريال امام خميني، صحيفه امام"، سيّ برگهم بهرچاو كهوت که به روونی نیشانی دهدات چ معبهستنگ له پشت سیاسه ته کانی ریبه رانی ئیر انهوه شار در ابووهوه و چون پهپامي به ناو ئاشتي و ئاگر بهسپش ههر بو خو ئاماده کر دن بووه بو شهر يكي تر. ئهم باسه تعنانهت له ئهمر ويشدا جيگاي سهر نجه به تايبهت باش مو وشهک بار ان کر دنی معقهر مکانی دو و لایهنی حیز بی دیمو کر ات و کهمینکی به ابه رانی کور دی روز هه لاتی کور دستان له شاری کویه له روزی هه شتی سنيتامبرى ئەمسال دا. ئەو سى برگەيە لەقسەكانى خومەينى بريتين لە:

روِّرْی ۲۸ گەلاوپْرْی ۱۳۵۸ [۱۹۷۹/۸/۱۹] خومەينى دەڵێ: "ھەر ئيســتــا دەنگو باســــنِـکم بنِگەپشـــتو و ە كە لە شــــار ى ســـنە حيز بى دىمو كر ات ئەر تەش و ر يكخر او مكانبيان گهمار و داوه و نهگهر ههتا نيوسهعاتي تر يار مهتييان بنِنهگهیهندر نِت، دهست بهسهر ههمو و جهکهکانیان دا دهگر ن. ههر و هها له مزگهو تی





جامیعهی سنه وه ناگادار کراوین که حیزبی دیموکرات ژنهکانمانیان رفاندووه. من فهرمان دهدهم به ههموو هیزه چهکدارهکان به ههموو توایانه وه و نهوهندهی که یخویسته دهستبه جی به رهو سنه بکهونه ری ." 4

1. روّژی ۲۲ی خمر ملومری ۱۳۵۸ [۱۹۷۹/۱۱/۱۷] پهیامی خومهینی له ژیر سلمردیری پهیام به خوشکان و برایانی کورد که تیبدا دملّی: "سلاو بو خوشکان و برایانی کورد . . من ده زانم که ده ولّهت بهینی خواستی ئیوه پرهفتاری نهکردووه . . داوا ده کهم له ههیئه تی تایبه تی حکوومه ت که به نیاز پاکی ته واوه و دریژه به گفتو گو بده ن و لهگهل که سایه تیبه ئایینی و سیاسی و میللییه کان و تویژه کانی دیکهیش بهیوه ندی بگرن . . ئیسلام به بهرپه رچی ههموو هه لاوار دنیک ده داته وه . . له پهنای ئیسلام و کوماری ئیسلامی دا ههموو چهشنه هه لاوار دنیکی فهرهمنگی، ئابووری و سیاسی لاده بریّت . . "5

ئهمانه له کاتیکدا بوو که به پیّی گوتهی پاریزگار [ئوستاندار] ی ئهو کاتی کوردستان که له لایهن دهو لهتهوه دانر ابوو، ههروه ها نوینه رانی خومهینی له کوردستان که چهندین تیلگرافیان بو تاران و قوم نار دبوو ههموو ئهو ههوا لانهی سهباره ت به شاری سنه و مزگهوتی جامیعه و پفاندنی ژن و مندالیان به درو خستبووه وه. لایهنی کوردی ئهوکات زوری ههولدا که پراستی پرووداوهکان بگیریتهوه به لام دهزگاکانی پراگهیاندن ههمووی له ژیر دهستی دهسه لاتدار اندا بوو و دیاره ئهوانیش چونیان پیخوش بوو وه ها باسی پرووداوهکانیان دهگیرایهوه.



لهم سالانهی دو اییدا گو قار نك له تار آن دور دوچو و به ننوی "چشم انداز ایر آن" که سالِّي ۲۰۰۶ جهند ژ مار میه کی تهر خان کر د بق کو ر دستان، "جشم انداز ایر ان، و پژ ه نامه كر دستان". 7 لهم گو قار مدا جاوبيكه و تنبان كر دبو و لهگه ل ئه و كار بهدهسته ئير انبيانهي که له سالهکاني ۱۹۷۹ و ۱۹۸۰ دا سـهر داني کو ر دسـتانيان کر دبو و و له نزیکه و بهشداری گفتو گوکان بو و ن لهگهل نو بنه رانی گهلی کو ر د. نهم کهسابهتبیانه که کاتی خوی و وزیر و نوینه ری تابیه تی خومهینی و سهر مکو وزیر مه هدی باز رگان بوون بۆ كور دستان، به ئاشكر او به كراو ميى مەبەستى راستەقىنەي سەفەر مكەي خۆپان بۆ كوردستان دەگىرنەوە و زانيارى زۆر سەرنجراكىش دەدەن بە خوينەرانى گو قار مکه. له ر استیدا نهم ز انیار بیانه ریك ههر ههمان نهو شتانهن که لایهنی کور دی ئه و سالانه باسیان کر دبو و و بو جاو دیر انی سیاسی له کور دستان هیچ سهیر نهبو و . بو نمو و نه ئه و كهسانه ده لنن ئه و ان قهت به معبهستى ريككه و تن لهگه لايهنى كوردى دانووستاندنيان نهدهكرد، مهبهستيان ئهوه بوو شيخ عيزهدين حوسهيني بهره و قوم رابكيشنن و له ماليكدا له ژير جاو مديريدا بيهيلنهوه. ژونهر اليكي ئمرتهش به ر اشكاو بيه و دملّى ئه و م ئه تهش يو و كه ئاگرى شهرى ههلْگير ساند و بهكيك له نو يِنه راني دهو لهت له ادهستهي نياز ياكيي بو گفتو گو كردن دا دهليّت: من ئاماده بووم پهنجهی دهستم ببر در پتهوه به لام خو دمو ختاری [ئۆتۆنۆمی] بۆ کور دهکان ئیمز ا نه کهم! من ئهو دهم کاتیک که ئهم دهر برینانهم خویندهوه، له وتاریکدا به وردی لېدو انه کانې ئه و سالانهم بهر او ر د کر دو و ه له گه ل گفتو گو کان لهم گو څار هدا.  $^{8}$ 

بهپێی بۆچوونی ئهوان هیچ چهشنه ستهمێکی میللی بهرامبهر به کوردهکان نهبووه ههربۆیهش داواکارییهکانی ئهوان له جێی خویدا نهبوو. ههر ههوڵدانێك بو ئاڵ و گوری بارودوٚخی کوّمهڵایهتی و فهرههنگی و ئابووری لهلایهن ژنان، خویندکاران، کریکاران و نووسهران و باقی تویژهکان له کوردستان به جیاوازیخوازی و تیکوشان بو دابهشکردنی ئیران له قهڵهم دهدرا. له لایهکی تریشهوه کاربهدهستان و ههروهها دهزگاکانی پراگهیاندن – تهنانهت ئیرانییه ناسیونالیستهکانی دهرهوهی و لاتیش – مهبهستیانه به رای گشتی له ئیران بلین که ههر چهشنه وه لامدانهوه به خواستی





که د دهکان بهکسانه لهگه ل دابهش بوونی جو غرافیای ئیران. هاوکات هوشداری دودر بته خه لکی ئیر ان که سهری ناکامی کار وساتئامیزی را به بنه کانی و لاتانی به هاري عمر مبي بكمن و خويان نهخهنه بمر دمم داهاتو و يمكي لمو جهشنه. له کور دستان تهنانهت ئابین پش له ژیر گوشار دایه لهبهر ئهوه ی زور بنه ی خهلکی کو ر دستان مو سو أماني سو نني ن.

خو مهبنی دهبگوت ههمو و موسو لمانه کان به کسانن و نهگهر له رابر دو و دا له خهلکی ئير ان ســـتهميّك كر او ه، له ههمو و ان كر او ه. ئهو هي خو مهيني به ناوي ئيســـلامهو ه دەپگو ت، ئێستا لەلايەن كار بەدەستان و تەنانەت ناسىيۆ نالىستە ئێر انېيەكانى ناو ەو ە و دەر ەو ەى ئېر ان دو و بار ە دەكر پتەو ە و دە لىن بېرو بست ناكات كو ر دەكان ھىچ مافېكى ز باتر بان بدر نتی بهم جهشنه ئه وان نکو لی دهکهن له وهی که کور دهکان و باقی کهمه نهته و مكان و گروويه ئنتنبكىيهكان له ئنران له مافى نهته وايهتى خويان بنيه بين ئهم بۆ جو و نه دەيههو پت ئهو ه بليت كه ههمو و كهس له ئير ان به دلخو از ي خو ي له بار ي ز مان و فهر ههنگ و ئابین و شــتی تریشــهوه بیّگهی بلهی دو و ههمی بو خوی هملنز ار دو و ه! ئموان هیچ کومملگایه کی ستهملیکر او له ئیران نابینن و نکولی دهکهن لمو وي كه رژيمي ئيستا و تهنانهت رژيمي پيشو ويش هيچ هه لميه كي بهر امبهر بموانه كردبيت. همر ريك لهسمر ريدكهي نمريتي خانهداني سهفهويي، له ئيراني ئهمرودا دەستر اگەبشتن به شو بنه بالاكان له ناو ئەرتەش و دەوللەتدا تەنھا بو ئەوانەبە كە شيعهن و ئهگهر كهسانيك ههبن زوريش ليهاتووين بو يوسنيك، شيعه نهبوون دهبيته ريّگريّك لمبهر دهمياندا. ئاشكرايه كه ئهم چهشنه رهفتارانه بق ييّكهوه ژياني ئاشىتىيانەي گەلانى جۆر او جۆر لە ولاتنكى فرەزمان و فرە قەوم و فرە فەر ھەنگى و مكو و ئير اندا زياني ليدمكهويتهوه.

به گوتهی دوکتور ئهمیر حسمانیوور، "بهتاوان دانانی فهر همنگی کوردی بووه هوّى در و ســتبو و نـى در ايهتـى له نيّو ان گهلانـى كو ر د و تو رك و فهر ههنگهكانيان." <sup>9</sup> بر سے تمو او تی خاك و بهكگر تو و بى و لات تمنانهت هننر او مته ناو كهلاسي دور س خو بندنه وه. نمو و نمی تاز می ئه و میه که محمد بطحایی و مزیری فیر کر دن و بار هینانی



ئیران له دیدار یکدا بو پاریزگای فارس هاوینی رابردوو گوتی: "فیرکردنی خویندکاران به ئهدهب و ئاخافتن به زمانی فارسی هیلی سووری ئیمهیه. . دهبی زمانی فارسی وهکوو هیلی یهگرتوویی و لات له خویندنگاکان بهکار بهیندریت <sup>10</sup>." ئهم دهربرینهی جهنابی و هزیر ریک به پیچهوانهی مادهی پازدهی قانوونی ئهساسی ئیرانه که دهلی دهرس گوتنهوه به زمانه ناوچهیی و قهومییهکان له خویندنگاکان له پیدای زمانی فارسیدا ریگه پیدراوه <sup>11</sup>.

### ئيران وهكوو هيزيكى نوى لهناوچهكهدا

رووخاني رژيمي سهدام له عيراق و همروهها نهماني تالمبان له دهسه لاتي سياسي له ئەفغانستان، ھەلیّکى زیرینى بۆ كۆ مارى ئیسلامى ئیران رەخساند. ریبەرانى ئیران که له و کاته دا زور هه ستیار انه مامه آمیان لهگه آن رو و داو مکان دمکر د مهیادا نهمریکا و هاو بهیمانه کانی بور و و ژینن، دو اتر که لکی زوریان و درگرت له و بشیر یی و شـــبر ز مبیهی له عبر اق بیکهات. ئیر ان ور ده ور ده و به بار مهتی و مرگرتن له هاوبهیمانه کانی خویان له به غدا و له و لاتانی دهور وبهر بوو به یاریکه ریکی به هیز له ناو جهكهدا. جگه لهو مش، ههمو و تو اناكاني خو بان خســتهگهر بو ئهو مي گو شــار بخهنه سهر حکوومهتی همریمی کور دستان و لهم ریگاوه تعنانهت به وریاییهوه حیسابیان بق تور کیایش دهکرد. بنندخوازیی ناوجهیی دهسه لاتدارانی ئیران زور به گر ان لهسم خه نیر ان کهوتهوه. له کاتیکدا یار مهتی سیاسی و سمربازی و ئابووري بۆ سے ووريا و يەمەن و لوبنان و عيراق دابين دەكرا كە ئابوورى و لاتى ئێر ان له تو انایدا نهبو و ئه و بڵندخو از پیه جێبهجێ بکات و گهلاني ئێراني خســته ناو هه ژار بیهوه. ههڵبرژار دنه کیشـه لهسـهر هکهی سـهر هککوّ ماری ئیر ان له ۲۰۰۹دا و دو اتر سهر هه لَدانی بز و و تنه و می سه و ز و لاتی هه ژ اند و هاو کات به ر دهی لهسه ر لاو از پیه ناوخو پیهکهی سیستهمی سیاسی ئیرانی ههلدایهوه. ژمارهیهک له چالاکوانان له ئيران پرسياريان دمكرد كه بۆچى بزووتنهومى سهوز له كوردستان رەنگدانهومى نهبو و ه. هو کار هکهی ئاشکر ا بو و . له کاتبکدا کو ر دهکان بیشو از بیان دهکر د له هممو و





چهشنه جموجوّلّیک به مهستی گهشهیدانی دیموکراسی له ئیران، ئاماده نهبوون پشتیوانی له بزووتنهوهی سهوز بکهن چونکوو ریبهران و نوینهرانی ئهو بزووتنهوهی سهوز بکهن چونکوو ریبهران و نوینهرانی ئهو بزووتنهوهی – که بهشینکیان بوخویان بهشدارییان کردبوو له سهرکوتکردنی بزووتنهوهی رهوای گهلی کورددا – نه باسیکیان له کوردستان دهکرد و نه کیشهی کورد له ئیرانیان به گرینگ دهزانی. ههروهها کاتیک که بزووتنهوهی ئازادیخوازانه له کوردستان چالاک بوو و هملسووو پراوانی ئهم بزووتنهوهیه زیندان و ئیعدام دهکران، ئهم بهناو ریبهرانه بوخویان له دهسه لاتدا بوون و له باشترین حالهتدا بیدهنگهیان لیکردبوو.

نافه رمانی مهدهنی له کور دستان و مانگرتنی گشتی

ئاكامهكانی ستهمی نه ته و ایمتیی له سهر گهلی كورد له بواری جۆراو جۆری سیاسی، كۆمه لایه تی، ئابووری و ژیانی فهر هه نگی دا خویان ده نوینن. مانگرتنی گشتی رۆژی ۱۲ی خهرمانانی ئه مسال ۱۲ سییته مبری ۱۸۰ ۲۲ له روانگه ی سیاسییه و ه نیشانی



دا که ستهمی نهته وایه تی، سه رکوت و ئیعدام کردنی چالاکانی سیاسی بوونه هوی ئه وه که گهلی کورد له پشت هیزه سیاسییه کانی کوردستانه وه و اوهستان. نافه رمانی مهده نی خه لمکی کوردستان کاردانه وه ویه به بوو به رامبه ربه کوشت و بری چالاکانی سیاسی، مووشه کباران کردنی مهقه ری ناوه ندیی هم ردو لایه نی حیزبی دیموکرات و شوینی ئاواره کان له کویه و هم وه ها گوشار خستنه سه و کوشتنی چالاکوانانی ژینگه پاریز که تیده کوشان جه نگه لمکان له فه و تان رزگار بکه ن.

دوژ منایهتی کردن و خولقاندنی گیر و گرفت له کور دستان به شیوه یه کی زوّر زهق له دیار ده ی کو لبهریی له ناوچه سنو و ربیه کاندا خوّی ده نوینیت که بهر ده و ام ده که و ته ته ته مه کو لبهرانه ته قهی هیزه ئه منبیه کان، گیانیان به خت ده که و یان بریندار ده بن ئه م کو لبهرانه که سانیکی گهنج یان به تهمه نن و هی و ایان تیدایه که زانکوّی ته و او کر دووه، خهلکی شار و گونده کانی ناوچه سنو و ربیه کانن که هیچ سام چاوه یه کی داهاتیان نبیه و زر جاریش ته نیا سهر چاوه یه کی داهاتیان نبیه و زر جاریش ته نیا سهر چاوه ی به خیو کردنی بنه ماله که ی خویانن.

روّلّی ژنان له رەوتی رووداوهکانی داهاتوودا چ له ئیران و چ له کوردستان گرینگییه کی تایبهتییان ههیه. ئهوان له ههموو بوارهکانی ژیانی کوّمهلّگاکه دا چالاکن و شویّنپیّیان دیاره. ژنان وهکوو ههلسووراوی بواری یهکسانی جنسی، خویّندکاری زانکوّ، ماموّستا، نووسه ، هونهرمه د و همروه ها له بواری ریّکخستنی چالاکی و جموجوّل له ناو خهلّکدا که دهبنه هوّی بهرهوپیّش چوونی دیموکراسی و بهشداربوونی ههرچی زیاتر له کوّمهلّگادا شویّنیّکی بهرجهستهیان گرتووه تهوه. ئهمه له کاتیّکدایه که زوّر جار له میدیاکان و لای هیّندیّك لیّکولّهران کچان و ژنانی کورد تنها وهکوو پیّشهمه گه و شهرهانی ئازا و لیّهاتوو دهناسیندریّن که هملّبهت لهم بواره دا روّلی زوّر گرینگ و گهورهیان گیّراوه. سهره رای ئهوه وایه که خهریکن به له کاتی رزگارکردنی قوربانییه کی توندوتیژییدا، وهک ئهوه وایه که خهریکن به مهیدانیّکی مینریّر گراودا تیّپهردهبن که پیّویسته پیّش ههلّگرتنی ههر ههنگاویّك به وردی بیری لیّبکهنهوه چوّن بچنه پیّش نهکا ههلّهیك بکهن که ببیّته هوّی ورووژاندنی سیستهمی پیاوسالاری، ئایین و دابونهریتی دواکهوتووانهی کوّمهلگاکه.



# ئاسۆى داھاتووى حيزبه سياسىيەكانى كوردستان و ئيران

مانگرتنه گشستیهکهی ئهم دو اییهی کوردستان پهیامیکی گرینگی پیبوو بو حیزبه سیاسییهکان. ئهوهی که کوّمهلگای مهدهنی ئامادهیه بهشداری بکات له خهباتدا و ههروهها داوای پلاتفورمیکی هاوبهش دهکهن که ئامانجی دیاریکراوی لهخو گرتبیت. له ههمان کاتدا حکوومهتی ئیران تیدهکوشیت بو تیکدان و نههیشتنی ههر هیزیکی سیاسی یان ههر تاکه کهسیک که شیاوی ئهوه بیت له دواپوژدا پیگاخوش بکات بو جیگرتنهوهی ئهم پرژیمه. هیزه سیاسییهکانی کوردستان له پروانگهی دهولهتی ئیرانهوه پیتویسته لهناو دهولهتی ئیرانهوه پیتویسته لهناو ببرین. کاربهدهستانی پرژیم بو بهرهنگاربوونهوهی بزووتهوهی گهلی کورد لهم بوارهدا، دهست دهگرن به ههردوو باس و بهلگهی ئایینی و ناسیونالیسمی ئیرانیهوه. بهوان زوریان پیخوشسه پیکدادانی چهکداری بورووژینن و بهم چهشسنه ههموو ههولندانیکی چالاکهانانی کوردستان چ له بواری ژینگهپاریزییدا، چ له بواری هموران زوریان ژن و بیاو یان له ناو کریکاراندا به بنبهست بگهیهنن.

ئهم رهفتارهی کاربهدهستانی ئیرانی له ناوخوّی ئیران به شیوهیه کی تره چونکوو هیچ حیزبیکی سیاسی لهوی نییه که هاوچهشنی حیزبه کانی کوردستان جهماوه ربی بیت. ههرچهند ههردوو بالی کونخواز و ریفورمیست له ئیران له سهر شانوی سیاسییدا چالاکن، نیشانه گهلیکی ئاشکرا دهبینریت لهوهی که خهلکی ئیران چیدی فریوی واده و بهلینی ئهوانه بو پیکهینانی ئال وگوړ له ژیانی پوژانهیاندا ناخون. گهندهلی و سهرکوتگهری له همهووکاتیك زیاتر یهرهی ئهستاندووه.

ر ووداوه کانی مانگی بهفرانباری سالی پار [دیسه مبه ری ۲۰۱۷] که تیدا خوّپیشانده ران دروشمیان ده دا "ریفوّرمخوازان! کوّنخوازان! باربیه که کوّتایی هات!"، ئاماژهیان به تاوانبار کردنی تهواوه تی سیسته می سیاسی ئیران ده کرد. ناره زایه تیی زیاتر له سهد شاری ئیرانی گرته وه و خهلک له خوّپیشاندانه کاندا داواکاری ئال و گوری سیاسی ریشه یی بوون. ئهوان له کاتیکدا به رنگاری داواکارییه مهزنخوازنه کهی رژیم له ناوچه که دا ده بوون مورونه و موروشمی و مورو "له کوّل سووریا





ببنهوه، بير بنك له دو خي ئيمه بكهنهوه!" و "نه غهز زه، نه لوبنان، گيانم به فيداي ئير ان!" له ناو خو بيشاندهر اندا زور باو بوو.

نهك همر خوييشاندهران، بطلكوو كمسانيكي وهكوو شار مداري پيشووي تاران له كۆبوونەوەيەكدا لەئەسىفەھان كەبەھارى سالنى رابردوو بۆيشىتيوانى لەخولى دوو ههمی هه ڵبر اردنی ســــــ محكوماریی روّحانی ریّکیان خسـتبوو گوتی: "ائیمهیش ينمانخوشه ئاشتى بگمرنتهوه سووريا و لوبنان و يهمهن. يشكيرى له شيعهكان و به شمهینه تانی ئه و لاتانه بکریت به لام ئایا ئهمه همر به باره و جهك و كوشت و بر جنبه جيّ ده کر نِت؟<sup>12</sup>" همر له دهور و بهري ئهو کاته شدا خو نندکار نِکي نهتر س و ئاز ا له زانکو ی ته وریز که و ته ململانی لهگفل تیوری داریر هری سیای باسداران واته حسب من عمبياسي و له كو يو و نهو ميهكي گهو ر مدا گو تي: "ئايديو لوّ جي ئيّو ه بريتييه له تیر و ر و توقاندن و نار دنی جمك بو بشتگیر ہے كر دن له بهشار ئەسمدى ديكتاتورى خو بِنمِرْ . ئايدوْ لو جي ئبّو ه گهمهكر دنه به باو هر ي ناسيو ناليستيي و ئاييني خهلْك و باريز گاري لهو "حرم" الله دهكهن له حومس و ئيدليب كه ههر ايشكي نبيه. ئايديو لو جي ئيوه بو و دجهي ئير إن دهنيريت بو حيسابي حيز بو للا له بانكهكاني لوبنان. خودی حهسهن نهسر ملّلا سهاماندو و یهنی که چهکهکانیان، بژیویی روّژ انهیان، خواردنیان و ته انه جله کانی ژیرهوهیشیان به بوودجهی خه کی ئیران دابین دەكريت. قسمى ئاخرى ئەمەيە كە ئىمە قەت خەيانەت و تاوانكاربيەكانى ئىوەمان لهبير ناجيتهوه 13!

له كاتنكدا كه گهمار و تاز مكانى ئهمريكا دمبيته هوى چرتر بوونهوهى قهيران، گەندەڵى لە ھەڵكشان دايە و ھەروەھا مانگرتنى كرێكارن و بەشەكانى كۆمەڵگا ڕوو له زیادبوونه، لیشاوی زانیاریی سامبارهت بهم بارودوّخه له ریگای توره كۆمەلايەتىيەكانەوە دەگاتە ھەموو قو ژبنيكى ئيران و ئەمەيش وايكردووه كە چيدى ر ژیم له تو انایدا نبیه گیر و گرفت و کیشهکان بشار پتهوه.

له وهها دۆخنكدا همر چەشىنه رووداونك له كوردسىتان زۆر له قەبارەي خۆي گەورەتر دەكريتەوە و كاربەدەستان خەلكى يى دەتۆقىنن و سەرنجيان بۆ مەترسى لە





سهر یه کگر توویی و ته واو ه تی خاکی ئیر ان پراده کیشن. وای دابنین ژنیکی چالاکهٔ انی بواری یه کسانی له کور دستان یان ته نانه ته شار یکی گهوره ی ئیر ان خهریکی هه لسوو پر ان و خهبات بیت و هاو کات ژنیکی چالاکهٔ انی خه لکی تاران هه مان ئاستی هه لسوو پر انی ژنه کور ده که ی همینت له نووسین و گوتاردا. چالاکبوونی ژنه کور ده که زور به ئاسانی به هه و لّدان بو جیابوونه وه له ئیران و پشتگیریی کردن له حیز به سیاسییه کانی کور دستان ده در یته قه لهم و ئه مهیش واده کات که سزای ئه و له دادگادا زور قور ستره و له وانه یه هه قائی تا که می ایت خو نه گهر کور د به گشتی دادگادا زور قور ستره و له وانه یه هه و ل بو دامه زراندنی کور دستان یکی سهر به خو بده ن نه که تا وانبار نین به لکوو داوایه کی پره وای گه لی کور دیان به رز کر دو وه ته و پیویسته نه وه ویش بگوتر یت که له کاتی مووشه کبار ان کردنی مه قه پره کانی دو و لایه نی حیز بی دیموکرات له کویه کار دانه و مکان له ناو پره و ته ناسیونالیسته کانی ئیرانیی له حیز بی دیموکرات له کویه کار دانه و مکان له ناو پره و ته ناسیونالیسته کانی ئیرانیی له خوی و لات و له دم و و زور لاواز بوو.



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# داهاتووی ئیران و کورد بهرهو کوی دهچیت؟

بههۆی گرینگی جیۆپۆلیتیکی ولاتی ئیران له ناوچهکهدا و ههروهها دۆخی رۆژههلاتی ناوهراست، کوماری ئیسلامی زیاد له جاران داوا دهکات پیگهیهکی باشتری ههبیت و لهم بوارهدا کهوتووه ململانی کردن لهگهل ئهمریکا و هاوپهیمانهکانی و ههروهها خوازیاری ئهوهیه که رووسیا و تورکیا بهرژهوهندیهکانی ئیران له بهرچاوبگرن. دهسهلاتدارانی ئیران له وهها گوشه نیگایهکهوه سیاسهتهکانی خویان بهرامبهر به کیشهی کورد داده ریزن. لهولایشهوه کوردهکان پیویسته ههلویستیکی ئاشتیخوازانهیان ههبیت و هول بدهن له بهرهوروو بوونهوه لهگهل واقیعی سیاسی ناوچهکهدا ههلویستیك بگرن که ترازووی هیز رابگریت و لهههمان کاتدا دهسهلاتیکی زالیان بهسهر دوخهکهدا ههبیت.

حکوومهتی ههریمی کوردستان سانووریکی بهربلاوی لهگهل ئیراندا ههیه، ههروهکوو چۆن لهگهل تورکیایش ههیهتی. بههؤی ئهو روّلهی که کوماری ئیسلامی ئیران له ههموو بوارهکاندا له عیراق ههیهتی، حکوومهتی ههریم پیویسته سیاسهتیک بگریته بهر که بریتی بیت له پیکهوه ژیانی ئاشتیبانه. داوای پشتیوانیی و پشتگیریی بی شهرت و مهرج له حکوومهتی ههریمی کوردستان بو حیزبهکانی بهشهکانی تری کوردستان، خواستیکی نابهرپرسیارانه و ناواقیع بینانهیه. له ههمان کاتدا ئه و داوایه که حیزبه سیاسهتکی نابهرپرسیارانه و ناواقیع بینانهیه. له ههمان کاتدا ئه و داوایه که حیزبه سیاسیهکانی روّر هه لاتی کوردستان به بی شهرتومهرج پشتگیریی له همهوو سیاسهتهکانی حکوومهتی ههریم له باشوور بکهن نارهوایه و دهبیته هوی که دهسه لاتی سیاسی ههریم له بهرامبهر ئیراندا بکهویته دوّخیکی شکینهره وه و نامههیش زیانی ههیه بوّ پرسی میللهتی کورد له ناوچهکهدا. له کاتیکدا که ئیران پاریزگاریی له مافی مروّقی ههموو تاکیکی کورد بکات حکوومهتی ههریم بهگشتی پاریزگاریی له مافی مروّقی ههموو تاکیکی کورد بکات له همر بهشیکی کوردستان بیت. نهمه به ته واوه تی جیاوازه له و باسه ی که ئایا نهم یان نه و ریکخراوی کوردی له سینووره کانی ههریم که نایا نهم یان نه و ریکخراوی کوردی له سینووره کانی ههریم که نایا نهم یان نه و ریکزروی کوردی له سینووره کانی هه هریم که نایا نهم یان نه و ریکخراوی کوردی له سینووره کانی ههریم که نایا نهم یان نه و ریکخراوی کوردی له سینووره کانی ههریم که کانی و دوردهگریت بو خهباتی





جهكداري يان نا. ئهم بابهته واته جالاكيي جهكداريي، دهكري بو خوي وهكوو بالهنتكي جياو از بخريته بهر باس و لنكو لبنهوه.

بهر امبهر به روز ثاقا و ب ک ک و ههر و مها ریکخر او مکانی سهر به نهوان، ئیران سـباسـهتي تايبهتي خوي دهباته بيش له كاتبكدا كه و لاتاني روز ناوايي تعنها باسـي شهر فانان و قار ممانهتی ئهوان دمکهن له شهر بهر امبهر به داعش و لابهنه ســـباســـببه کانی خهبات و بنشـــکه و تنه کانی ئه و ان له ر و ژ ئاڤا له بهر جاو ناگرن، حكوومهتى ئيران گوشار دهخاته سمريان بۆ ئەوەي لەگەل حكومهتى سووريا بگهنه ساز شننك و معبهستیان ئه و دیه بهم جهشنه ستهمی نهته و ایه یی و سیاسه تی سهر كوت و دابلّة سبني ر ژبمي بهشار ئەسەد بخربته بشت گوي.

حبز به سباسبیه کانی روز هه لاتی کور دستان له دوخیکی ههستیار دان. راسته ئهوان دەتو انن لەسمەر بشتبو انى جەماو ەرى خەلك لە ناوخۆى كور دستان حيساب بكەن، ههر و مکو و له کاتی مانگر تنه گشتییه کهی شار مکانی کور دستان دا بینیمان، به لام ئهم حيز بانه هيچ بهديليکيان نبيه جگه لهو دي که له ناو جهکاني ژير دهسه لاتي حکو و مهتي ههر يمي كور دستان دا بميننهوه. ئهم حالهتهيش له ژياني روز انه دا بو ريكخر او مكان و ئەندامان و بنەماللەكانيان كېشەي خولقاندو و ه. كۆمارى ئىسلامى ئېران بەر او ەدو و نان و توقاندن دهيههو يت يان بيدهنگيان بكات، يان له مهقهره سهر هكييهكانيان له باشوور دەريان بەرپنيت و له رۆژيك دەگەريت كه ئەم حيزبانه لەم ناوچەيە نەمينن! به ئاور دانهوه له میژووی سهد سالی رابر دو و بومان دور دهکهویت که نهم مهبهستهیان قەت نايەتە دى. ھىچ رنگا چارەيەكى چەكدارى بۆ پرسىكى كورد نىيە. سىمرەراى ئەو ەيش كۆشىلەي نۆوان دەوللەتانى ناوچەكە و ھەروەھا ھۆزە گەورە جيھانىيەكان دەنوانن كارىگەرىي خرابيان ھەبنت لەسەر ئەم حيزبانەي رۆژھەلاتى كوردستان كە له ناو جهي ژير دهسه لاتي حكو و مهتى ههريم دان.

به لام یه ک شبت دهبیت روون و ناشکرا بیت. تا نه و کاته ی نهم حیزبانه داوای سـ مربهخویی کوردستان ناکمن و به شیك نین له حیزبیکی سـ مرانسـ مری له ئیران، بۆپان ھەپە بجنە ناو بر ۆ سےەي گفتو گۆ كر دن بۆ جار ەسے رى كۆشےەكە لەگەل ھەر



حکوومهتیکدا که له تاران دهسه لاتی بهدهسته وه بیّت. هیچ ریّکخراویّکی سیاسی کورد ناتوانیّت به ته نها خوّی حکوومه تی ناوه ندی له ئیران برووخینیّت. همر به و شیخ و دیه شدی هیچ رژیمیّك ناتوانیّت بزووتنه وهی کوردستان خاشه بر بكات. ئهمه له وانه یه له رواله تدا وه کوو دو خیّکی ئاسته نگ بیّته پیّش چاو. ئهم رژیمه له لایه که و هیچ چه شنه مافیّك، ته نانه ته و ورده شتانه یش که له قانوون ئه ساسی ئیراندا هاتووه، بو گهلی کورد ناسه لمینیّت. له لایه کی تره وه دام و ده زگای زانیاریی و ئمرته ش و سیای پاسدارانی ئهم رژیمه ناکریّت له به چو نه گیریّن.

زوربهی رەوته ســياســيهكانی ئيران، وەكوو لايەنە ريفورمخوازەكان، ناســيوناليســتهكان و تەنانەت هينديك لايەنى چەپيش، چ لە ناوخوى ئيران و چ لە دەرەوە، در به سـەر هەلدان و شـورش رادەوەسـتن. ليرەدا پرسـيارەكە ئەوەيە، ئەدى چون دەكريت ئەم دەســهلاته ديكتاتور و پر چەكە لە توانا لەشـــكرييەكانى دوور بخريتەوە و تەنها لە ريگاى دەربرينى نارەزايى و خوپيشــاندانى ئاشــتيخوازانەدا ئالوگورى بەسەردا بيت؟

له کوردستان جگه له حیز به سیاسییه ناسر اوهکان، تاقم و دهستهی ئیسلامی سیاسیش چالاکن و نابی له هملسه نگاندنی دو خهکه دا ئه وانه لهبیر بکرین. ته نانه وه ها بووه که پیشتر توانیویانه له ناوخوی پوژهه لاتی کوردستان چالاک بن بهبی ئه وهی له لایمن دهسه لاته وه پیگرییان لی بکریت. پرژیمی ئیران بو ئه وه ی که گه نجانی کورد نه چنه ناو حیز به سیاسیه کانی کوردستان، تا پراده یه له له گه ل ئه م په و ته ئیسلامییانه دا راده هات.



# كيشه ناوخوييهكان وكومه لكاى مهدهنى

لهبهر ئهوه ی هیزه سیاسییه کانی کوردستان میژوویه کی زوّر خراپی تیکهه لچوونی چهکدارییان ههیه له ناو خوّیاندا، زوّر گرینگه کاریّکی وا بکهن که دهست بردن بوّ چهک له ههر ههل و مهر جیّکیدا قهده غه بکریّت. ههموو لایه نهکان پیّویسته له بنه ماکانی دیالوّگ و دانووستاندنی ئاشتیخوازانه پهیرهویی بکهن.

بهبی ئاماده بوونی کومه آگایه کی مهده نی چالاك که بکهویته ده رهوه ی دهسه آلاتی حیز به سیاسییه کان و کاریگه ربی ئه وانی به سه رهوه نهبیت، ناکری باس له پرهوتیکی دیمو کراتی له و آلاتدا بکهین. نابی کومه آگای مهده نبی بکریته هم پیمیک که تبیدا هیزه سیاسییه کان خه ربکی ململانی و قوزینه و هی به بن بو کوکردنه و هی ئهندام و په رمیدان به دهسه آلاتی زیاتر بو خویان.

ئهمه له کاتیکدا مســـقگهر دهبیت که حیزبهکان لهســـهر پلاتفقرمیکی لانیکهمی هاوبهش پیکهوه هاوکاری بکهن و خویان دوور رابگرن له ههر چهشــنه دور شنایهتییه که لهوانه به ناســانی لهلایهن هیزه نمیاره کانهوه که آلکاوه ژووی لی دور منایهتییه که لهوانه به ناســانی لهلایهن هیزه نمیاره کانه و کومه آلگای و هربگیریت. ئاشـــکرایه که ریزگرتن له پیوهره دیموکراتییهکان له ناو کومه آلگای کور دسـتاندا گرینگیی زوری ههیه. شهرکردن بهرامبهر به رژیمیکی دیکتاتور بهو مانیایه نبیه که پاش نهمانی ئهو رژیمه به شــیوهیمکی ئوتوماتیکی حکوومهتیکی دیموکراســـی دیته بهرهم. لاچوونی ســتهمی میالی دهبیت هاوکات موژده دهری شهفافییهت، خوشبژییتی، مافی یهکسان بو ههموو شارومهندان، یهکسانی ژن و پیاو، پیکهوه هه آلکردن و ئازادی رادهربرین بیت. وهکوو کامران مهتین ده آلیت: "کور دســتان لاواز ترین خالی دهسـه آلاتی نیوه فاشـیسـتی حکوومه تی ئیرانه. ههمان بارود و خ له بهشهکانی تری کور دستان بهرامبهر به حکوومه ته دهسه الاتداره کان واته عیراق، ســووریا و تورکیا تیبینی دهکریت. ههربویه کور دســتان و کوردهکان له خهرات بو دیموکراسی رادیکال، دادیهروه ری کومه آلایه تی و یهکسانی ژن و پیاو له خهرات بو دیموکراسی رادیکال، دادیه دهروه ی کومه آلایه تی و یهکسانی ژن و پیاو له





ناو جهکهدا و مکو و لیبر او انه ترین و بیشکهو تو و ترین هیز دمر کهو تو و ن و همر و ایش دەميننەو م 14. اا

کور د که لهم بهشه بر له کیشه و نالوز بیهی جیهاندا جاو مر و انی و مدهستهینانی مافه نەتەراپەتىپەكانى خۆپەتى، بۆرپستە دو و شتى لەبىر بۆت: پەكەم – بۆكەرە ژپانۆكى ديمو كر اتبيانه شانبهشاني باقي مبلله تان لهم ناو جهدا كه ههمو و بان گير و دهي كو مهانك گر فت و کیشمه کیشن و ، دو و همم – له سهر بناغه ی بهر ژ هوندی هاو بهش و ریز گرتن له يهكتر، لهگهل حيزبه سياسييهكاني باقي بهشهكاني كوردستان هاوكاري بكهن.

### دەرەنجام

له ئير ان خهلك له دهو لهتي رو حاني نائو ميد يوون و بهر اميهر به ريفور مخواز مكانيش و ههم و گو مانیکیان نهماوه و دهز انن که ئهو انه ناتو انن ئال و گور یکی بهر جاو له دو خی ئیر اندا بکهن خه لکانی نار از ی له هموو بهشهکانی کو مه لگای ئیر اندا دەبىنرين: ئەوران دەستىان بە تۆرە كۆمەلايەتىيەكان دەگات و چىدى نەبەستر اونەتەوە به دامو دهزگای بر و پاگهندای ر مسمی حکو و مهتهوه.

له ئاستى نێونەتەو ەيىدا، ئەمرىكا گوشارێكى رۆژلەگەڵ رۆژ زياتر دەخاتە سەر ئيران همرچهند باس له گوريني رژيم ناكات. رووخاني رژيم له ئيران ناوچهكه بهر در و و ی بو و مهلهر ز میه کی سیاسیی به هیز ده کاته و ه که ناکامی چاو در و اننه کر او پی دەبنت نەك ھەر بۆ ئېران بەلكوو بۆ ھەموو ناوجەكە و ھەلبەت لە كور دســـتانبش كاردانه وى گهورهى ليدهكهويته و . يرسيار ئهوهيه كه ئايا كومه لگاى جيهاني و هيزه ناوچەييەكان ئامادەن بۆ وەھا گۆرانكارىيەك؟ بەلەبەرچاوگرتنى ئەو ھەلومەرجە نالمبار و ئالوزهى كه ئهم ناوچهيهى گرتووهتهوه و همروهها هملويستى توندى رووسيا و چين له لايهك، بيمهيلي يهكييهتي ئهوروويا له لايهكي ترهوه كه نايانهويت به ئار هزووی دهو لهتی دونالد ترامب رهفتار بکهن، داهاتوو زور لیل و تهماوییه. حیزبه سیاسییه کانی کور دستان دهبیت ناگاداری ئهم راستییانه بن و زور به وریاییه و ه





خاوهنی روّ ره هی سیاسیی سیمربهخوی خویان بن. هاوته بیب بوون و چوونه ناو ریزی هاوکاری سیاسی ده شی تعنها ئه و کاته بکریّت که لیّیان روون بیّت نابنه کارتیّک له گهمه ی سیاسی هیزه گهوره کاندا.

### يهراويزهكان

<sup>1</sup> Savory, R. M. (1970). *'Safavid Persia'* in Cambridge History of Islam, vol. 1, P.M. Holt, A.K.S. Lambton, & B. Lewis (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 50 cf.

<sup>2</sup> Cleveland, W. L. and Bunton, M. P. (2013). "A History of the Modern Middle East". Boulder: Westview Press, p. 52.

ادەستەئى نويندەرايەتى گەلى كوردا بۇ گفتوگۆكردن لەگەڵ دەوللەت بە سەرۆكايەتى شىخ عىزەدىن حوسەينى  $^3$  پېكھات كە تىيىدا دوكتور قاسملوو رېيبەرى حىزبى دىموكرات گوتەبىئ ، كۆمەللە و رېكخراوى كوردستانى چريكى فىدايى ئەندام بوون.

برتال امام خمینی، صبحفه امام، جلد ۹، ص ۳۰٦

http://www.imam/khomeini.ir/fa/c207\_51248/

پرتال امام خمینی، صبحفه امام، جلد ۱۱، ص <sup>5</sup>

oohttp://www.imam/khomeini.ir/fa/c207\_51254/

يرتال امام خميني، صحيفه امام، جلد ١٣ صص ٤٦ و ٤٧ 6

http://www.imam/khomeini.ir/fa/c207 51262/

/ http://www.meisami.net . چشم انداز ایران، ویژه کردستان

ایرو انه و تاریکی ئه حمه د ئه سکه نده ری سهبار مت به دوو ژماره ی گوڤاری چشمانداز ایر ان ویژه کر دستان  $^8$  گهشتیک به نیو گور انبی ئادالار ساهیلینده ['که دهلّین ئهورو دهشت و کیو شینه]، و مرگیرانی ئه حمه و  $^9$  Wanderings in Adalar Sahilinde by Amir Hassanpour:

https://books.openedition.org/ifeagd/2220?lang=en

بروانه سایتی فارس نیوز . وزیر آموزش و پرورش، آموزش آدبیات و تکلم زبان فارسی در مدارس خط  $^{10}$  https://www.farsnews.com/

Article 15: Persian is the official and common language and script of the people of Iran. However, use of regional and ethnic languages in the press, the mass media, and the teaching of their literature at schools, alongside the Persian language, is freely permitted. http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/ir/ir001en.pdf
12 http://www.bbc.com/persian/iran/39777618

13 http://www.mei.edu/content/io/iranian/student/rare/video/blasts/regime/ repression/home/and/foreign/wars

> <sup>14</sup> Kamran Matin, senior lecturer at university of Sussex, cle/13107/rojhelat/rises/reflections/on/general/strike/iranian

https://theregion.org/article/13107/rojhelat/rises/reflections/on/general/strike/iranian/kurdistan







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# كۆچى بەكۆمەنى گەنجان و داھاتووى كورد

ميّليتا ئەيچ سونژيچ







بربرهی سهقامگیری و گهشهسهندنی ههر نهتهوهیهک پیّوهندیی به چینی مامناوههندیی ئه و نهندیسه ی ئابووریین و ئهو نهتهوهیه و ئهندیسه ی ئابووریین و دهتوانن به سهر کیشهکان دا زال بن و نهتهوهکهیان به ره و داهاتوویه کی باشتر پال بنین. نهتهوهیه که چینی مامناوهندیی نهبی، ناتوانی به ره و پیشهوه بروا.

له ئیستادا کوچی چینی مامناوهندیی له هیندیک له ناوچهکانی روز هه لاتی ناوه راست و ناوه راستی و و لاتانی ئه فریقاییدا دهبینین. چونکه باوه ریان به وه نیه و و لاتهکهی خویان بتوانی ژیانیکی چاکیان بو فه راهه م بکا، که لهگه ل ئاره رو و و تواناکانیان دا بگونجیت. باکوری عیراق یه کیکه له و ناوچانه. کاتیک گهنجه کان کوچده کهن، به شیوه یه کی ئاسایی ئه و که سانه ن که خوینده و اریییان هه یه و چالاکن. له سمر ئاستی جیلی و نه و هی سمر ده می خویان به به رزه فرتر ده زانرین، که کوچکردنی ئه وانه، کارتیکه ریی له سمر داهاتووی کومه لگه هه یه و به م هویه و کومه لگه تووشی نه هامه تیی و داهاتووی کمترسیدار و خویند مربون ده بی ده دین.

داخی گهور متر ئهو میه، توانامهنییه کانی ئهو گهنجانه وهک گهنجه کان خوّیان لهناو دهچن . چونکه ئهگهر لهم چوونه پر لهمهترسییه شیان بوّ ئوروپا، به زیندووییش دهربچن، بهو بههه شته ناگهن، که چاوه روانی ده کهن. چانسی ئه وه زوّر کهمه که قهوار میه کی قانوونیی وهربگرن. له خراپترین بارودو خدا لهوانه یه دوای له دهست دانی چهند سالیّک لهباشترین ساله کانی تهمهن و تیکو شانیان بوّ وو لاته کهی خوّیان بهری بکرینه وه خوّیان کاریّکی مانه وهشیان بدریّتی، زوّرینه ی زوّریان کاریّکی سووکیان دهدریّتی (کاریّکی ئهوتو که پیویستی به لیّزانین و شههاده یه نهریت و هیچی لیّوه فیرنابین و به نرخیّکی زوّر کهم کاریان پیده کهن) که هیچ ئوروپایی یه کوازیاری نییه به فیرنابین و به نرخیّکی زوّر کهم کاریان به ئومیّدی پیشکهوتن، به خته وهریی و ساماندارییه وه جیّه پیشتووه، له کوّتایی دا بیّنه وهی دهستکه و تیّکیان ههبیّ، تیکده شکن. کوّج کردن بو هه رنه ته و میه که پرسی مان و نهمانه، به کوردیشه وه .



### كوردهكان له رووى ئامارهوه وونن

همرچهنده ئهم ووتاره ههولدهدات بۆ رووناكى خستنه سهر بزوتنهوه كۆچبهرهكانى كورد بۆ ئوروپا، به لام ناتوانين ئامار يكى تهواو بخهينه بهردهستانهوه، به لكو به كه لك وهرگرتن له به لگاندن دەى سەلمىننىن. چونكه له ههموو برگه و كاتهكاندا ناكرى جياوازيى له نيوان كورد و نهتهوهكانى ديكهى ناوچهكه بهدهستهوه بدرى.

پیش و «پیکه وتن: قاچاخچیه کان مامه له که له گه گروپه زمانییه کاندا ده که نه نه نه نه نه نه نه کور ده کان. کور ده کان له که له نه کور دی ده دوین، به ناسایی به زمانه کانی عمر «بیی و فار سیش ده دوین. به م شیوه ده توانن سم نجی گروپه قاچاخچیه جیاواز ه کان راب کیشن و که لمک له خزمه تگوز اربیه کان یان و هربگرن. بویه سم وتا ناکری جیاوازیی له نیوان ئه وانه ی خویان به کور د ده ناسین و ئه وانه به پره چه له کور دی پراسته قینه نه ده سته وه بدری.

- کاتی چوون: لیکو لینه وه کو چبه رییه کان به گویره ی پیره وه جوگر افییه کان، تیبینی جووله کو چبه رییه کان ده که نور ته ی نهم نامار انه بلاو ده که نه و نکه کور ده کان له گفل گروپه نه ته وه وییه کانی دیکه دا کو چده که نورو وه ک قه وار هیه کی جیاواز نابینرین بریه که ناسان نییه، داتا کان شیب کرینه وه.

\_\_\_ كاتى گەيشـــتن: ئاماره پانابەرىيەكانى ئوروپا لەســـەر ھاولاتىيبوونەوە تومار دەكرين. بۆيە كوردەكان ھىچ ئامارىك پىكناھىنن و وەك عىراقىي، ئىرانىي و تورك تومار دەكرىن و تىكەلل دەبن.

لعبهر ئهم هۆكارانه، ئهم ووتارانه تهنها واقیع و رووداوهكان باس دهكهن نهک ئاماری ورد. ئهگهر هیچ جیاواز نیك نهبی، بنهمای زانیارییهكانی ئهم ووتاره دهگهر نتهوه بۆ زنجیرهی ئهو چاوپید کهوتنانهی که نووسهر لهگهل پهنابهران و کوچبهراندا بوویهتی و ئهو تویزینهوانهی له بارهی قاچاخچییهكاندا کردوویهتی. ئهم ووتاره دهیهوی پروونی بکاتهوه، چ شستیك چاوهروانی پیاوانی گهنج و هیندیك له ژنانی کورد دهكا، کاتیك به هیوای دوزینهوی ژیانیکی باشتر له ئورویا نیشتمانی خویان بهجیدههیلن.





بهداخهوه بنهمای ئهم هیوایه زورجار دهگهریتهوه بو خهیالات و بانگهشهی قاچاخچییهکان.

# بهشی یهکهم: دهرچوون و گهشتکردن

سنی ریگای سمره کی نائاسایی بۆ كۆچكردن بۆ ئەوروپا ھەن، ئەوانىش رىگاكانى رۆژاوا و ناوەند و رۆژھە لاتى دەرياى ناوەراستن.

ئهم خالانهی که باسکران زورتر له روژههلاتی ناوه راست و ئهفغانستان تیبینی دهکرین. چونکه ئاشکرایه که تیپه راندنی سنوره نیوده و لمتیهکان ناقانوونیی و مهترسیداره. لهبهر ئهم هو کاره خهلک خزمه تگوزاری قاچاخچییه کان به کار ده هینن، که زور به ئاسانیی له ههموو ئاستیکی گهشته که دا به ردستن.

جووله كۆچبەرىيەكان لە رۆژھەلاتى دەرياى ناوەراستدالاى ٢٠١٨.





ههرچهند قاچاخچنتیی قانوونیی نبیه، ئاودیوکردنی خه لنک کار یکی خوویستانهیه، ریککهوتنیکه له نیوان دوو لایهندا به رهزامهندی خویان، که ئهوانیش قاچاخچییی و بریکارن. (پیویسته لهگه فل قاچاخچیتیی کردن به مروقه وه تیکه فل نهکریت. ترافیکین یاخود قاچاخچیی مروق، فیل، زورکردن و به کارهینان له خوده گریت. وه کاره که دری خواستی که سی قاچاخچیتی پیوه کراوه که یه).

کاری قاچاخچیّتیی کردن لهسهر خواست بهنده و قازانج بهخشه – وه بهگویرهی پولیسی ئهوروپا [دهزگای چهسپاندنی قانوونی ئهوروپی] – گهشهسهنترین لقی تاوانی پلانبودانراوی (تاوانی پیکخراو) نیودهولهتییه. لهو ههریّمانهی که خواست زیاد دهکات. گروپه تاوانکاره نیونهتهوه وهیهکان بهخیرای جیّی خوّیانی تیدادهکهنهوه. زوّر جار ئهو گروپی مادهی هو شبهر و چهکفرو شهکان، کارهکانیان ههمهجوّر دهکهن و دهست به ئاودیوکردنی خهلک دهکهن. بو قاچاخچیهکان زوّر ئاسانتره که خهلک له سنورهکانهوه بگوازنهوه، وهک له گواستنهوهی چهک و مادهی هو شبهر. له ههمانکاتدا، له پرووی کومه لایه تیبهوه ئاودیوکردنی مروّق کهمتر بیزراوه بهتایبه یه و و لاتی ترانزیت. ئهم بهشه دووبارهیه و دو جار نوسراوه له ئینگلیزیهکه

### شيوازى كاركردنى قاچاخچييهكان

پهیوهندی قاچاخچییهکان و بریکارهکان یا راستهوخو له خاله دهرچوونه ناودارهکانهوهیه، یا له ریگهی توره کومه لایه تبیه کانهوهیه، پیشنیاری توره کومه لایه تبیه کانه ناوداره کانه ناوداره کانه ناور به زمانه کانی ده ریی (زاراوه ی فارسیی ئه فغانستان) فارسیی، عمره بی و کور دیی (شیوه زاری سورانیی) یه و به رده و ام له گهشه سه ندندایه.

ئه و قاچازچیی یانه ی به سۆرانیی دماخیون، زوربهیان بو پهیوهندیی کردن به بریکاره کانیانه وه فهیسبووک به کار دینن. له ئیستادا ئینستاگرام زور باو نییه چهند هه رماریکی چالاکی فهیسبووک ههن به سورانی. ههر قاچاخچییه ک سهروی ۲۰۰۰ هاوریی ههیه و ههر پوستیک کاردانه وهی جوراجور به دوی خویدا دینیت.





ئهم وینه و وینه کانی خوارهوه، وینه شاشه ی (سکرین شوّت) هه رماری قاچاخچییه کانن، که له تو ره کومه لایه تیه کانه وه رگیراون، ناو و روخساره کان شار در اونه ته وه.

۳/ ئهم و ینده و و ینده کانی خواره وه ، و ینده ی شاشه ن (سکرین شوت) که لهسه ر پهره ی فه یسبو و کی قاچاخچییه کانن. به شیوه زاری سورانیی نووسراون و دهگه رینه و بو مانگی ۸ی ۲۰۱۲. ، له کاتی نووسینی ئهم و و تاره دا هیندیک لهم سایت و پهرهیانه داخران و چیتر چالاک نین. لهبه ر هو کاری ئاسایشی، سهر چاوه کانیان ناخه ینه به ر دهست.

قاچاخچییه سۆرانیی زمانه کان بانگهشه بۆگهشتی نیوان ههولیر و تورکییه ده کهن. له پاشان له تورکییه و بو ئیتالیا و یونان و ئهلمان و فهره نسه و وولاتی بریتانیا. له مانگی ۸ بۆ ۹ ی ۲۰۱۷ بانگهشهیان بۆ ریگایه کی بهریژه یه ک نوی ده کرد که له دهریای رهشه و ه له تورکییه و بۆ رومانیی و ئینجا بۆ ئهلمانی به لۆری واته بار ههلگری داخر او ده کرد.

گهشتیکی ۶۰ خولهکی له سالی ۲۰۱۸دا له تورکبیهوه بو یونان ۲۰۰۰ دولاری ئهمریکی تیدهچوو. وه گهشت به بارهه لمگر له تورکبیهوه بو ئه نمان به ۱۱۰۰۰ دولاری ئهمریکا بانگهشهی بو کراوه. مندالی خوار تهمهن ۹ سال نیوهی پارهکهی لی و رگیراوه نرخی قاچاخچییه سورانیی زمانه کان کهمیک له عهره بیی و فارسیی زمانه کان زیاتر بووه. وه دولار به لایانه وه له ئیرو پهسهندتر بووه. له سالی ۲۰۱۸دا به تیکرایی گهشتی به بهلهم له تورکبیه وه بو ئیتالیا ۲۷۰۰ بو ئاخیوه رانی به فارسیی ئیرو، بحق ئاخیوه رانی به سورانیی ئیرو، بحق ئاخیوه رانی به سورانیی





و ابنده چیت که کاری قاجاخچنتیی زور جار روبهروی جنّه ی خانه سنور بیهکان نابن. جو نکه قاچاخچییهکان ئهتو انن بیشنیاری گهشتی ههفتانهی بهر دهو ام له نیو ان باکو و ری عيراق و توركييهوه به برى ۹۰۰ دۆلارى ئەمرىكىي بكەن.

لهم بو ستهدا له فهيسبوک قاجاخجييهک بانگهشهي گهشت له تو رکييهو ه بو بو نان دهکا، وه زور زانایانه [دییلوماسییانه] به گهشتی کوتایی ههفته ناویان دهبات زماره دانراوه بۆ بریکاره [موشتەرى] خوازیارەكان دەتوانن له ریگهى وەتسئەپ و مەسینجەر و ئيمو و قايبهر موه لهگهل قاجاخجيبهكه ريك بكهون. ئهو بهلهمهي كه له فهيسبووك نیشاندر او ه، جیاو از ه له بهلهمه جر و بر ه مهتر بسدار هکان که له ر استیدا بهکار دههینرین. جونکه قاچاخچییهکان دهیانهو پت مهتر سی کهمتر بکهن و قاز انج زیاتر بکهن بهلهمی یه ختی ههر ز آن به کار دینن که زور جار بهلهمی لاستیکیین لهگه آنهمه شدا، همرگیز خو بان لهگهل بهلهمكان سهر ناكهون بو ئهو دى له رووى قانوو نبيهوه خو بان بيار يزن. يندهچيت ئهم ئۆفەره (بانگەشەيە) بۆ ئەو كەسانەبنت كە بە تەواوەتى خويندەوار نين. لمبهر ئەمەشە ھێماكارىي بەكار ھێنراوه. گەشتى نێوان پۆنان و ئېتاليا رووندەكاتەوه (به بار هه لُگری داخر او موه، گهشته که به به لهم دهستیده کات). له تو رکییه وه بق یو نان (به تهکسی، ئۆتۆمبىلی كرئ) وه له فهرەنسەوه بۆ بریتانیا (به بارهملگر). ئەم هه رماره له كاتى ئهم نووسيني ئهم ووتار مدا داخر اوه.

قاجاخجبیه کان بانگهشهی گهشتی نبوده و لهتی ده کهن و بو بهر میندانیان ته کنه لو ژبای نوي به کار ده هينن، که ئه وه نيشانده دات ئهم گهشتانه له لايمن توري تاو انباري فر او انهوه ريكدهخرين و كهساني سهر بهخو نين.

له سهر متای مانگی ههشت (ئاب)دا، لایمر می قاچاخچییه ک تیکر ای گهشته کهی به بنے گو و گل ئیر سهو ه نیشاندهدا، که له تو رکیاو ه بو ههنگاریا، بهناو بولگاریا و رِ وْمانیادا تیدهپهریت. وینهی شارهکان و مهوداکان که گهشتهکه دهیگرتهوه نیشاندر ابوون، لهگهل شوینی همر و مستانی یاسیک له سهر سنور مکان که گهشتکاره خوازیار مکان و قاچاخچیه کان یه کتر دمبینن. همروه ها نیشاندانی گواستنه و ه





گشتییه کانی وه ک پاس و قیتار و ته کسی. نهم مالّپه ره له چهند ههفته ی پیشودا داخراوه به به گهی زیاتر له سهر چالاکی توّره نیّوده ولمتییه کان له و راستیه و سهر چاوه ده گریّت که قاچاخچیه کان به لمگهنامه ی ناسنامه یی ساخته له سهر توّره کوّمه لایه تیمکان ده فروّشن. بوّ نهمه ش ده بیّت پهیوهندیان له گه ل کارمهنده گهنده له کانی نا بالویّز خانه کان دا هه بیّت، چونکه قیزای چهندین و لاتیش دابین ده کهن.

ئهم پوستی فهیسبووکه، له کوتای مانگی ۸هوه به شیوهزاری سورانیی، بانگهشهی قیزای فهرهنسه به ۱۲۰۰۰ ئیرو دهکات. لهم دوایانهدا، داخستنی ژمارهیهک لاپهرهی قاچاخچیی تیبینی کراوه. لهوانهیه به هوی ئهوهوه بی، که له بهدواداچوونی ئهو به بهرپرسانه ترسابن، که بهدواداچوون بو تاوانهکان دهکهن. کاتیک که بو لاپهرهی (پهیجی فهیسبووک) قاچاخچییهکان دهگهریین. لهبهرئهوهی شیوهزاری سورانیی بهشیک نییه له گووگل بو وهرگیران، ناتوانریت بدوزریتهوه مهگهر ئهوهی ئاژانسهکان کار به ئاخیوهریکی سورانیی بکهن.

#### ئاواره يان كۆچبەر؟

قاچاخچییهکان ناتوانن در پرژه به کاره کهی خویان بده ن، ئهگهر خواست لهسهر کوچی ناقانوونی نهبیت و ئهگهر خه لمکانیک نهبن، که بو باشتر کردنی بارودوخی ژیانیان بیانهوی، بهره و ئهوروپا بین. عاده ته نهم خه لمکانه له جیاوازی کوچبهر و به نابهر بی ناگان هه تا ده گه نه ئهوروپا و داواکاری مافی په نابهری لهو وو لاتانه ده که ناگان هه تا ده گهنه نه وروپا و داواکاری مافی په نابهری لهو وو لاتانه ده که ناواره کهسیکه، به به لملگهوه ده ی سهر به گروپیکی کومه لایه تیی تاییه ته و آژیانی نه ته مهترسیی دایه و آژیانی له مهترسیی دایه و آژیانی له مهترسیی دایه و آژیانی و توندوتیژی ناینیی. پیناسه ی ئاواره له ریکه و تنه که سیاسی، په گهر بی بیناسه ی ئاواره له ریکه و تنه که یا ناماژه ی پیدراوه و ه پیویسته ههمو و ئه و و لاتانه ی که ریکه و تنه که یا نامازا کی دووه پایه ناماژه ی پیدراوه و ه پیویسته ههمو و ئه و و لاتانه ی که ریکه و تنه که یا نامازا کی دووه پایه ناماژه ی پیدراوه و ه پیویسته ههمو و نه و و لاتانه ی که ریکه و تنه که پیدران له پسا





نێودهوڵهتیهکان ئهوهیه که نابێت ئاواره بگهریندرێتهوه بارودوٚخێک که ژیان و ئازادیان له مهترسیدایه. کاتێک که داوای مافی پاراستن دهکهن، پاراستنی نێودهوڵهتی به دهست دێنن، چ مافی پاراستنبێ چ دوٚخی مروٚیی بێت.

کۆچبەر ئەو كەسانەن كە برياريّكى خۆويستانە بۆ جيّهيّشتنى و لاتەكەيان دەدەن؛ بەدواى ئاسايشى ئابوررىي، پەروەردە و خويّندن و يا رەخساندنى ھەلى باشتر ياخود ھۆكارى خيّزانىيىيەوەن. كۆچبەر لەمەترسى لەناوبردن و مردندانيە لەو لاتى خۆى وەك ئاوارە و بۆيە دەكريّت، كە بۆ وولاتەكەى خۆيان بگەريّندريّنەوە. بە ھۆى سياسەتى ريگريكارىيى لەكۆچبەرى ئەوروپى كە بەردەوام قانوونەكان ريّگريكارتر دەبن، ئەو كۆچبەرانەى كە لەريگەى نائاساييەوە دەگەنەجى، زۆر ئەگەرى زياترە، كە چانسى مانەوەو و مافى پنابەريان پينەدريّت. بۆيە مەترسيەكى ئەوە دەبيّت كە بىگەرىندريّنەوە بۆ وولاتى خۆيان و ھەموو ئەو پارەيەش لەدەست بدەن، كە بۆ گەيشتن بەئەربان ھۆياۋە.

#### بهشی دووه م: بارودۆخی كاتی گهیشتن. ٤

زۆربەى ئەوانەى بەرەو ئەوروپا وەرىدەكەون لە مەترسىيدار بوونى گەشتەكەيان ئاگادارن، بەلام لايان وايە، ئەوە دەھننى. ئەزمون ئەوە نىشاندەدات كە مەترسىمكان زۆر لەوە زياترن كە چاوەرى دەكرىن و لە زۆر حالمتدا ژيانى ئەوروپا قەرەبووى ئەو نارەحەتنى و چەرمەسەرىي و بەفيرۆچوونە داراييەكان ناكاتەوە، ياخود ھەلى ئەوەى كە خىزانەكانيان لە وولاتانى خۆياندا بەخىو بكەن. بارودۆخەكە لە وولاتىكى ترانزىتىيەوە بۆ وولاتىكى تر دەگۆرىت.

۵/ ههمو ئامارهکان بۆ ئهم بهشه که ئاماژه به سالهکانی نهرداوه له نیوان مانگی یه کی و مانگی حموتی ۲۰۱۸دان. سهرچاوه UNHCRبنکهی بهردهستی پهنابهران.
 : https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations (accessed 6





#### توركييه

توركىيه، پیش ئەوروپا كۆتا وو لاتى ترانزیته. حالهتى توندوتیژى پۆلیس، گرتن و غەرامه كه پیویستبووه بدریت. مرۆقهكان بۆ ماوەى چەند مانگیک له چاوەروانيىدا دەمیننهوه، دەبئ كار بكهن، پارەى قاچاخچییهكان بدەن تا ئاودیویان بكهن. هیندیک كهس له نیوان دەریا و ووشكانى دەگیرین، بۆ توركییه دەیانگهریننهوه پینى ئهوروپا و توركییهدا هەیهه، ژمارەیهكى كهمى خەلك له یۆنانهوه بۆ توركییه دەگهریندرینهوه.،

(۳۹۰ سوری و ۱۳ عیراقی له نیوان مانگی کی ۲۰۱۱ و مانگی ۸ی ۲۰۱۸ گهریندر اونه ته وه)

۹۹ کهس له ۵ پینج رووداودا له دهریا گیانیان له دهستداوه له یهکهم وهرزی ۲۰۱۸ و دوو ئهوهنده له سالی ۲۰۱۷. له ریگا و شکانییهکان، له رووباری ئیڤروس له نیوان تورکییه و یوّناندا، لانی کهم ۱۷ کهس گیانیان لهدهستداوه، که مندالی بچوکیشی لهگهلدا بووه. ههروهها ۱۳ کهسی دیکه له روودای ئوتوّمبیّل و قیتاردا گیانیان سپاردوه.

له رێگهی يۆناندا، به لايهنی کهمهوه ۲۰۱۰ ههواڵی ئهوميان داوه که دوچاری گێچهڵی سێکسی بوون له يهکهم وهرزی ۲۰۱۸ دا، بهڵام دهتوانين بڵيين که زوّر رووداوی ديکه بهبي ئاگادارکردنهوه تێدهپهرن به هوٚی دوودڵی کوٚچبهره نائاساييهکان بوٚ پهيوهندی کردن به دهسهڵاتهوه. 5

#### يۆنان

لهم کاتهدا، مانگی ۷ی ۲۰۱۸، ۲۰۱۰ که سپه نابه رله یونان ماونه ته وه. که نزیکه ی د ۲۰۱۰ که سیان له دورگه کانی یونان و ۲۰۰۰ کیان له زموی سه رمکی [ئه وبه شانه ی یونان که دورگه نین] یونان . ۶۰٪ په نابه ران پیاون، ۲۶٪ ئافره ت و ۳۰٪ مندالن (که ۲۰۰ مندال به بی سه ربه رشتیک کوچ ده کهن)





۲۲۰۰۰ که سی تازه گهیشتوو له نیوان مانگی یه و مانگی حهوت تومار کراون. که یان ۱۲۰۰۰ له پیگهی ئاویی و ۲۰۰۰۰ ایان له پیگهی و شکانییه و هاتوون. له سهدا ۳۰۳(۳۰٪) له عیراقه و سهدا ۲۱۲(۲۱۲٪) له عیراقه و سهدا ۲۱۲(۲۱۲٪) له عیراقه و به نام هیچ پیگایه ک نبیه، که بزانین چهندی لهمانه کوردن. ناوهنده کانی پیشوازیی لیکردن و ناسینه و له یونان زور قهره بالخن، به جوریک که سی ئه وهنده ی تواناییی خویان خه کمی ستاف، پیس و پوخلی و ئاژاوه و توندو تیژیی له نیوان ئاواره کاندا ئه و کیشانه که باون.

ریّکخراوی نیّونه ته وهیی UNHCR ده توانی ته نیا بو یه که سهر سیّی خزه لَکه که جیّگای حاوانه و ۱۰۰ داین بکا. (۲۰ ۲ شویّنی حاوانه و ۲۲ شار ان دا).

هیّندیّک لمو کمسانمی پیّویستیییان به یارممتیی تایبمت همیه، به پاره یارممتییدهدریّن. زوریّك لم کوّچبمران و ئاوارمکان بیّپمنان، که مندالّی بیّ هاوریّ و سمر پمرمستیشیان لمناو دایه. یمکیّتی ئموروپا پیّوهیه، داواکارانی پمنابمریی له یوّنانموه بهسمر وو لاتانی ئمنداندا دابهش بکا. به لام ئمم پروّسمیه زوّر خاوتره له همره ماری تازه هاتووهکان. له نیوهی یمکمی سالّی ۱۸ ۲۰ دا ۲۲همزارکمس یوّنانیان بمجیّهیّشت، له کاتیّكدا همر لمو ماوهیمدا ۲۲همزارکمسی تازه هاتبوون.

#### بالكان

تیپهربوون به بالکاندا دورو دریژ و قورسه. زوریک له سنورهکان به توندی جله کراون یان به پهرژین داخراون. لهبهر ئهمانه لیر و لهوی خهلک گویقولاغی دهنگوی کرانهوه و داخستنتی سنورهکان دهبن و لهمسهری و لاتیکهوه بو ئهوسهری و لاتیکهوه خولیانه. به بهراوردکردن لهگهل پیگاکانی ناوه پاستی دهریای ناوه پاستدا، ئاستی گیچهلیی قاچاخچییهکان له پیگاکانی بالکان کهمترن. به لام همر بوونیان ههیه. ههولی ئهوه دهدری، که کوچبهر بهبی ئاو و خوراک پرابگرن، بو ئهوهی پارهی زورتریان لی وهربگرن. ههروهها پرووتکردنهوه ش لهلایهن چهتهکانی ناوخویی ههروه.





لانهی کهم ۲۲ کهس کوژراون له ۲۲ حالهتی جیاوازدا که له پیگا نائاساییه کانی بالکاندا هاتووچویان کردووه. دوانزه لهوانه خنکاون که زورینهیان له سنوری سربیا/کرواتیا بوون.

حاله تى نەخوازراو لە بولگاريا، ئەلبانيا، بۆسنە و ھەرسێگۆڤينا، كرواتيا، مەقدۆنيا، ھەنگاريا، مۆنتينێگرۆ، رۆمانيا، سربيا و سلۆڤينيا تۆماركراون. خەلكەكە رێگرى بە پەنابەر بوونيان لێدەكرێت. ھەنێک جار بەزۆر دەياننێرنە ئەو وڵاتانەى كە بۆى نەچوون (بۆ نەوونە لە كرواتياوە بۆ سربيا).

#### سربيا

کۆچبەر ە نائاسابيەكان بەتێكرا ۱۸ مانگ لەسربيا بەسەر دەبەن لە كاتێكدا كە ھەوڵى دۆزينەوەى رێگايەك دەدەن بۆ وڵاتێكى ئەوروپى. كەمتر لە ٤٠٠٠ كەس تۆمار كراون و يارمەتى دراون و هيچ كەسێك ئامارە راستەكە نازانێت.

#### هەنگاريا

#### بۆسنەو ھەرسىكۆفىنا

زیاتر له ۱۰،۰۰۰ کۆچبەر له کۆتای مانگی حەوتی ۱۰،۰۰۰ گەیشتوونەتە بۆسنە و هەرسنگۆۋنینا . له کاتنکدا توانای بنشوازیکردنی حوکمهت ۲۰۰ کەسه. باقیهکهی له





بارود و خید کی سهخت دا ده رین یان له کهمپی خیمه ی خراپدر و وستکر او [خیمه یه که یه کسه له و شوینه در وست بکریت به بی بوونی که رهسته ی پیویست] و که لاوه یاخود له سه ر شهقامه کانن

#### ئەندامە دىرىنەكانى يەكىتى ئەوروپا

ئمو کۆچبهرانهی که چهرمهسهریی بالکان تیدهپهرینن و دهگهنه ناوه راستی ئموروپا و ئمولاتریش، دهگهن بهو راستیانهی که قاچاخچیهکان پییان نموتوون. زوّر جار توشی سهرسوو رمان دهبن، کاتیک رییان پینادریت لمو ولاته بمیننهوه که خوّیان خوازیارن و دهبیت لمو ولاته بن که سهر متا پهنجهموّریان لیکردووه (ریکهوتنی دووهمی دوبلین که سهربارهت به ئاوارهیه له ئمندامنی یهکیّتی ئموروپا). ئمگهر به ئارهزوی خوّیان بروّن ئموا به زوّر همنارده دهکرینهوه وولاتی خویان. تمنانهت ئمگهر بگمن بهو وولاتهی خهونی پیّوه دهبین، بوّیان دهردهکهویّت که پیّشوازیان لیّناکریّت.

#### شوینی مانه وه ی گشتی و بهردهست نهبوونی کار

پهنابهرهکان دهنیردرینه ئه و شوینی حاوانهوانه ی که زور چروپرن. بهزوربه یی دهکهونه ئه و شوینانه ی، که تهنها خواردهمه نی سهره تایی و چاودیری سهره تایی پزیشکیی و خویندنگای سهره تایی یان هه یه. له زوربه ی وولاتی ئهوروپیی دا جووله کردنیان بو ناوچه یه کی دیاری کراو، سنوردار کراوه. به شیوه ی ئاسایی پاره ی یاره متی و مرناگه رن به لکو تهنها یاره ی گیرفان (روژ انهیان) دهدریتی.

له زوربهی وو لاتان پهنابهران دهبیّت تاوهکوو دوو ساڵ چاوه ری بب بو یهکهم چاوپیّکهوتنی و هرگرتنی پهنابهریی و لهوانهیه چهندین ساڵیتر بخایهنیّت تاوهکوو بریار لهسهر دو خی داهاتویان بدریّت. بوّیه ماوهیه کی دورودریّژ له دلمراوکیّییدا ده ژین. چونکه نازان ئایا مافیان دهبیّت بمیّننه و یاخود نا. له زوّرینه ی وولان له ماوه ی چاوه روانییدا، مافی کارکردن و خویّندنیان نیبه.





بهنابهر انے و مر گیر او ، بو خو گو نجاندن تے دمکو شین

هیّندیّک کهس (له بهدهست هیّنانی مافی بهنابهرییدا)سهر دهکهون له سالّی ۲۰۱۷ دا ٩٤٪ هاو و لاتبيه سوربيه کان و ٥٦٪ هاو و لاتبيه عير اقبيه کان له و و لاتاني په کيتي ئوروپا (به نۆروێژ و سوپسراوه) مافي پهنابهريي يا مافي مروٚڤييپان بهدهستهيناوه. [ ئير ق يلهس ريكهوتنيكه لهنيوان والاتاني ئهندامي يهكيتي ئهور ويا به بي بهزداري شانشینی پهگرتوو، سوید، کرواتیا و ههنگاریا و کوماری جیک بهلام نهرویج و سو پسر انه ئهندامي ئهم ريكهوتنهن نه ئهندامي پهكيتي ئهورويا ].

خو گونجاندن زور به گهر مو گوری دهستبیده کات. بیویسته به نابه ران شوینی حاو انهو مي خو يان جيهيّلن و له كيشو مريّكدا بو ژياني خو يانشو ينيّک بدو زنهوه، كه ز ور گر انن. لهگه ل ئهمه شدا ز ورینه ی خاوهن مو لکه کان خواز باری ئهوه نین، که مو لْك و خانو و ي خو يان به بهنابهر مكان به كر ي بدهن.

كاتيك بهدواي كاردا دهگهرين بويان دهردهكهويت، كه به بيشار هزايي له زمان و به لْگهنامه به کی دان بیدانر او له به کیک له و و لاتانی به کیتی ئه و ر و با ناو تو انن، ئه کار انه بکهن که بیشتر کردووهیانه. زورجار، بو کاری کریکاریش شارهزایی له كو مبيتهر داو ادهكر بت.

زۆرنىك لە يەنابەران نازانن، بەم بەلگەنامەيەي تايبەت بە گەشت بۆ يهنابهر ان (جهو از ي سهفهري تاييهت به يهنابهر مكان) ناتو انن بق وو لاتهكهي خويان گهشت بكهن، جونكه دەستبهجي قهوار مي بشتبوانبي خوبان لهدەست دەدەن. كه وابي، نابي بير لموه بكهنموه، به بونهى جهزن، سمرداني بنهماله، خيزان يا بهخاکسیار دنی (کهسو کاریان سهر دانی و و لاتهکهی خویان بکهن)

خو گو نجاندن لهگهل كو مهلگه نو پیهكان دهگاته ئاسته زور كهسیهكان: به رادهیهك كه به یکمر ی خیز انه کان دهگور بت. مندالن دهیانه ویت به جیاو از ی هه لسو که وت بکهن له مالْهوه. دهیانهو بت بهو شیّو میهی خویان دهیانو بت جل و بهرگ لهبهر بکهن و لهگهلّ همر دوو رهگهز بچنه دهر موه و تهنانهت بكيشن و بخونهوه. ژنانيش هملسو كهوتيان دهگورن و داوای ئازادی زیاتر بو خویان و پشتگریی زیاتر له ناومالدا دهکهن.





ژمارهی ژنانی ئاواره که په پاوه ی جیابوونه و پردهکهنه وه له ئهوروپا له زیاد بوون دایه و بووه ته بابتیکی باو له توره کومه لایه تیه کان. هیچ مایه ی سه رسوورمان نبیه که بو هیندیک دهیانه و یت بگه رینه و ه.

#### گەرانەوەى خۆوپستى و زۆرەملىي

له مانگی یه کی سالی ۲۰۱۹، ده سه لاتدارانی ئه لمانیا هیوای ئه وهیان خواست که ۱۰،۰۰ عیراقی بگه ریننه و و لاتی خویان له ریگه ی دامه زراندنی سه نته ری راوی ترکاری کو چکردنه وه له هه ریمی کوردستان و به غداد ا

#### پهشی سی: سیاسهتی ناخو و دهروهی ئهوروپا بو پهنابهران

له سالّی ۲۰۱۰هوه کاتیک که نزیکهی ۲ ملیوّن پهناربهر گهیشتنه ئهوروپا، ههلسوکهوتی دانیشتوانیان و حوکمهتهکانی ئهوروپا بهرامبهر به کوّچبهران و پهنابهران زیاتر بهرهو نهریّنی ملیناوه. ۲۷ ئهندامهکهی یهکیّتی ئهوروپا سهلمنادیان که توانایی ریّگاچارهیه کی هاوبهشیان نیه. له جیاتی ئهوه، ههر حوکمهتیّک سیاسه تی



نهته وه یی خوی داده پیژیت که ئامانجی ئه وه به به پرسیار پیه کان بخاته سه شانی ئه وانه ی که پیشتر گهیشتو نه به وروپا و داخستنی سنوره کان به پروی په نابه راندا و سه ختکردنی یاخود در پیژ کردنه وه ی به په نابه ربوون بو نه وانه ی که خوازیارن بین [در پیژ کردنه وه ی به په نابه ربوون له خواره وه باس کراوه]. کاریگه ری گروپه راستر موه کان، که به رده وامه له هه نمیشان له گه ن روزنامه تابلویدیه کان (تیبینی: نه و روزنامانه ی که جه خت له هه والی کوشتن و نه سنی و زهم کردن و ناوز پر اندن ده که نه و نه سنی کی توقینه ریان که له سه رکیشه ی جنه و نه که نه و به نابه ره کان د و ست کر

بهم ههموویه و ته ته چه د و لاتیکی کهم له سنوره دوورهکانی ئهوروپا و ئه لمان و سوید و نهمسا کار لهسهر زورینه ی زوری په راوی په نابه ران ده که و هیچ هاور بییه ک لهسهر دابه شکر دنیان بوونی نیه. له راستیدا ئه و و لاتانه ی، که کهمترین کوچبهر و په نبه ریان ههیه، ئه و و لاتانه ی پییان دو تریت گروپی قایزگارد [گروپی قایزگارد له کوماری چیک و هه نگاریا و پوله ندا و سلوقاکیا پیک دیت که پیکه و تنیامه یه کی سهربازی و ئابوری و کلتوریان و اژوکر دووه بو په ره پیدانی ههماهه نگی له نیوان خویاندا] و زور ترین ترسیان له گهیشتنی په نابه ران ههیه، وه زور به توندی بانگه شه بو ئه ریندایه کی دژه /په نابه ر ده کهن له یه کیتی ئه وروپا. و لاتانی قایزگارد پیک دین له سلوقاکیا (۲۷ په نابه ر بو هه ر ۱ ملیون دانیشتویه ک)، پوله ندا و (۷۹ په نابه ر بو هه ۱ ملیون). ئه مستراتیژیه





هیچ ستانداریکی هاوبهش له نیوان وو لاتانی یهکیتی ئهوروپادا بوونی نبیه

له ۱۹۹۹ هوه، ئهوروپا له همولّی دروست کردنی سیستهمیّکی هابهشی ئهوروپیی بوّ پهنابهرانه. ئهم زانیاریانهی خوارهوه لهلایمن داتابهیزی زانیاری پهنابهرانهوه کوّکراوه تهوه که لهلایمن ئهنجومهنی پهنابهران و دورخراوانی ئهوروپاوه سهرپهرشتی دهکریّت.

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#### تۆقىنى ئەوروپا

چ شتیک هکاری ئهم توقینهیه؟ چهندین هوکار ههن، به لام هوکاره کلتورییهکان له سهرهوهن.





به هاندانی روّژنامه تابلوّیدی و گروپه راست رهوهکان، ئهوروپیهکان ترسی ئهوهیان لینیشتووه، که ناسنامه ی خوّیان له دهست بدهن بو تازه گهیشتوهکان (بیّگانهکان) که شیّوازی ژیان و جل و بهرگ و ئاخاوتنیان جیاوازه و رایان لهسهر دیموکراسی، ئاین، موّرال و ئهرکی رهگهزی جیاوازه. به شویّن دروستکردنی بازنه ی جودای رهگهزی و کلتورییهوهن. چینی کریّکاریی ئهوروپا لهوه دهترسیت که هموو ئهم تازهگهیشتوانه باریّکن بوّ سهر سیستهمی کوّمه لایه تییان، باریّکن بو سهر سیستهمی خویندن و تهندروستی و له بازاری کریّکارییدا رکابهریان دهکهن.

المهمو ئامار مكان بق ئهم بهشه كه ئاماژه به سالهكاني نهرداوه له نيّوان مانگي يهكي و مانگي مهمو ئامار مكان بق به به به به به به به سالهكاني نهرداوه له نيّوان مانگي يهكي و مانگي مهموتي به الله الله: \thttps://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations (accessed 6 September 2018 هـ/ Official Journal of the European Union, 'Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Turkey on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation', March 2016. Available at https://eur/lex.europa.eu/legal/content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex:22014A0507(01) (accessed 6 September 2018)

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# لخيارات الدستورية لحل القضية الكوردية في سوريا

د. سربست نبي







بالرغم من أن التجارب تؤكد على أن الحلّ الدستوري قد لا يقود بالضرورة إلى حلّ سياسي وإلى استقرار دائم، وبخاصة في الحالات، التي تتميز بالتعقيد الكثيف، كالحالة السورية مثلاً، إلا أنّه في نهاية المطاف يبدو الشرط الذي لابد منه للحلّ النهائي، ولتأسيس الشرعية السياسية والقانونية للدولة.

بطبيعة الحال شكّل عامل عدم تنفيذ الدستور، وتعليق العمل ببنوده، أحد مظاهر الاستبداد السياسي، الذي هيمن على الحياة السورية طوال أكثر من نصف قرن من احتكار السلطة. إلا أن عدم اكتراث الأنظمة الاستبدادية بالدساتير السورية لا يفسر طبيعة كل هذا الاستبداد وتاريخه وسلوكه. إذ تبرهن القراءة الدقيقة لسيرة معظم الدساتير، التي عرفتها سوريا منذ الاستقلال، أنها تفتقر لأيّ اعتراف بالتعددية السياسية أو التنوع الثقافي والقومي الحقيقيين، ولا تقرّ بهما. وبالمقابل تبرر هيمنة هويّة لغوية وقومية وتكرّس من تفوقها على حساب الهويّات الأخرى.

#### / حقوق الكورد لن تؤذي أحداً

يتطلع الكورد السوريون اليوم إلى وضع سياسي ودستوري يمكّنهم من ممارسة دور هم السياسي مباشرة و على قدم المساواة مع الأخرين. وهذا الأمر يشترط امتلاكهم للقدرة الدستورية والسياسية المشروعة، التي بفضلها يمكنهم تقرير مصيرهم بحرية ودون إكراه. وفي الوقت نفسه هم يبحثون عن الشروط الموائمة للمساواة الحقيقية في بلد أكثر تنوعاً وانفتاحاً تتيح لهم بالفعل إمكانية التعايش بصورة متكافئة مع الأخرين. ومن هنا ينشدون الضمانات الواقعية (الدستورية، السياسية، الثقافية) التي تحول دون عودة كل أشكال التمييز القائم والمتوارث بحقهم وبحق غيرهم من الأقليات القومية المهمشة. هكذا يمكن للكوردي السوري، المقصي والمغيّب حتى هذا الوقت أن يكتشف على نحو





ملموس الأساس المنطقي و الأخلاقي في نظام سياسي جديد يضمن مساواته مع الآخرين وحريته.

الوجود الكوردي في غرب كوردستان (كوردستان سوريا) حقيقة تاريخية وجغرافية راسخة. وحقوق الكورد المترتبة على هذا الوجود والمستحقة ليست بدعة أيديولوجية أو اختراعاً سياسياً. وهذه الحقيقة هي أقدم بكثير من حقيقة وجود الدولة السورية وأكثر شرعية من الناحية التاريخية، بالرغم من أشكال التشويه الثقافي والاجتماعي والسياسي الذي نال من هذا الوجود طوال عقود. من هنا ينبثق المبدأ المركزي والبدهي للخطاب السياسي الكوردي، ونعني به حق الكورد في تقرير مصيرهم في سوريا (غرب كوردستان). فالتاريخ الكوردي هنا غارق في القدم، والكورد لا يتظللون بظلال تاريخ أحد ولا بشرعيته السياسية. وكل حديث عن التعايش أو المواطنة الحقيقية من دون الاعتراف بهذا المبدأ هو مجرد لغو لا معنى له.

إن شرعية حقوق الكورد تنبثق من هنا بالذات، ومن هذا المبدأ المركزي، لا من أي مصدر آخر. أي من مبدأ حقهم في تقرير مصيرهم في أن يكونوا سوربين بإرادتهم الحرّة. فهم من يجب أن يقرروا أن يكونوا سوربين بإراداتهم الحرّة، لا مرغمين ومكرهين بوصاية غيرهم وإرادتهم. لا أحد يستطيع أن يكرهك على السعادة أو يرغمك على دخول الفردوس، كما لا يستطيع أحد أن يقهرك على أن تكون حرّاً. أولئك الذين لا يؤمنون بحقوق الأفراد والجماعات في العدل والمساواة والحرية يستطيعون أن يتنكروا ببساطة شديدة لهذا المبدأ ويرفضوه.

## / سيرة التنوع والتعددية في الدساتير السورية

لم يكن التنوع الثقافي والقومي في سوريا أمراً عارضاً أو طارئاً في أيّ وقت من الأوقات، إلا في الحقبة، التي طغت فيها نزعة قومية مركزية قادت إلى الإنكار المطلق للآخر ونفيه، وتدريجياً أدت إلى ممارسات إخضاع وتدجين ممنهج بحق المختلف والمتنوع على المستوى السياسي والدستوري. من هنا فشلت الدولة السورية القائمة في





أن تخلق هوية وطنية، جامعة ومشتركة وحرّة للسوريين جميعاً، قادرة على أن تتمثل فيها هذا التنوع دون إقصاء أو إنكار، وتعبّر عن ذلك في صيغة دستورية وقانونية. أمام هذا الواقع والتحدي المتمثل في غياب الهويّة السورية الجامعة تبرز أهمية ودور الدساتير الناظمة للعلاقة بين هويّة الدولة وشكلها السياسي من جهة أولى، وواقع التنوع داخل الدولة أو المجتمع من جهة أخرى. بحيث يعكس أي دستور محتمل مطالب التنوع القائم ويتواءم مع وقائع التعدد القومي ويجسد التنوع الثقافي واللغوي.

بوجه عام تنكرت الدساتير السورية، من قبل الاستقلال وبعده، لهذا التنوع الثقافي الراسخ في البلاد، نفت بعض الهويّات وألغتها، وبخاصة الهويّة القومية الكوردية، ونحت بعضها الآخر، كالسريانية مثلاً. وبالمقابل فرضت هوية أحادية وشمولية، على أساسٍ من المركزية اللغوية والثقافية والأيديولوجية، وقلّصت التنوع التاريخي والتعدديات القومية إلى الحدّ الأدنى قسراً، بزعم أن الوحدة الثقافية واللغوية النمطية من شأنها أن تكرّس التضامن الاجتماعي والاقتصادي، وتعزز من التماسك الداخلي والحياة المشتركة على نحو واسع.

وبالمثل بررت هذه المركزية الثقافية واللغوية وسوغت بدعوى أن الأغلبية الأثنية/ القومية أو اللغوية لها الشرعية التاريخية والأيديولوجية في أن تحتل مكانة مركزية مهيمنة ومتفوقة على الثقافات والجماعات اللغوية الأقل عدداً ومن ثم الأقل أهمية. إن التأكيد على أولوية ومركزية الأغلبية القومية واللغوية كان لابد من أن يقود إلى عمليات إنكار وإقصاء وتهميش ليس على مستوى المجتمع المدني فحسب، إنما أيضاً على مستوى المشاركة السياسية والسلطة.

لعل أهم دستور والأكثر اعتدالاً عرفته سوريا كان هو الدستور الأول المعروف بـ (دستور الملك فيصل) ١٩٢٠م، الذي بالرغم من اعتباره هوية الدولة السورية بوصفها (مملكة عربية) ولغتها الرسمية الوحيدة هي العربية، إلا أن هذا الدستور قدّم





تصوراً لبناء الدولة قوامه الحكم الذاتي للمقاطعات واللامركزية الداخلية، أقرب ما يكون إلى الدولة الفيدر الية. كذلك يلاحظ أن الدستور لم يذكر أيّة هويّة دينية أو مذهبية للدولة سوى دين ملكها، الذي يجب أن يكون مسلماً، وبالمقابل فقد ضمن الدستور حرية العبادة والمعتقد.

بعد هذا التاريخ أعلن الفرنسيون عام (١٩٢٢م) القانون الأساسي للاتحاد السوري، بمثابته الدستور الاتحادي للمقاطعات السورية الثلاث دمشق، حلب، اللاذقية. ويجدر بالذكر هنا أنه حتى هذا التاريخ لم تكن معظم أراضي كوردستان سوريا ضمن الحدود السورية، أو جزءاً من أراضيها، سوى منطقة عفرين.

كان الدستور الذي أعلنه المفوض السامي الفرنسي عام ١٩٣٠م هو أوّل دستور أقرّ بشكل ضمني بالتنوع المذهبي والديني واللغوي في سوريا. فقد أكدت المادة(٦) منه على المساواة في الحقوق بين جميع السوريين، بصرف النظر عن اختلافاتهم وتعددياتهم. كذلك نصت المادة(٢٨) على ضمان تعليمهم الأحداث بلغتهم الأم. مع أوّل دستور غرف بـ (دستور الاستقلال) أقرّ عام ١٩٥٠م، أخذت النزعة العروبية الإقصائية تطغى بوضوح شديد على الدساتير السورية، مع الإمعان في التنكر للهويات الأخرى وتجاهل الاعتراف بأية قومية أو ثقافة أخرى غير عربية.

علاوة على ما سبق، فقد أكد الدستور الأخير للمرة الأولى على البعد الإسلامي كهوية دينية وكمصدر أساس للتشريع السوري. وكانت هذه البداية الأولى لاختزال النظام السياسي والتشريعي في مصدر ديني ومذهبي، كرّس فيما بعد حالة من اللامساواة بين المواطنين على أساس معتقدهم الديني أو المذهبي، وأصبح كلّ من لا ينتمي إلى دين التشريع أو مذهبه خارج مقتضيات العدالة القضائية وضماناتها. إنها المرة الأولى، التي نقرأ فيها بوضوح ما يؤكد، بحسب المادة الأولى من الدستور، بأن الشعب السوري جزء من الأمة العربية، كذلك نقرأ بأن (الفقه الإسلامي هو المصدر الأساس للتشريع).





كان دستور ١٩٥٣م، الذي أعقبه أشد تطرفاً على صعيد تحديد هوية الدولة في مرجعية قومية أو دينية، وعلى صعيد تكريس تفوق عنصر قومي وديني على آخر. إذ اختزل هوية الدولة السورية قومياً في العروبة ودينياً في الإسلام، وبات الشعب السوري برمّته، وعلى اختلاف قومياته وأديانه جزءاً من الأمة العربية / الإسلامية، ولم يعد لهذه الدولة من شرعية تاريخية أو مبرر وجود سوى تحقيق وحدة الأمة العربية، التي تآمرت الكولونيالية العالمية عليها وأمعنت في تمزيقها. وأصبحت اللغة العربية، لغة القرآن، اللغة الوحيدة السامية التي تستحق أن تكون لغة الدولة الرسمية.

في ظلّ الحكومات القومية ذي النزعة العروبية الأشد تطرفاً، التي توالت على سدّة الحكم في سوريا بعد هذا التاريخ، صودر للمرة الأولى اسم الدولة السورية في الدساتير المؤقتة، وتم تعريف الدولة ووصفها ونسبها إلى عنصر عرقي دون غيره، وبخاصة بعد انقلاب البعث في ٨ آذار ١٩٦٣م. بهذا أخذ المنحى الإقصائي والأيديولوجي العروبي يطغى على عمل الدولة السورية ومؤسساتها ويكتسب بعداً منهجياً مقروناً بالممارسات البيروقراطية، طبقاً لنظرية حزب البعث وأفكار القومية، لاسيما بعد أن كرّس هذا الحزب هيمنته السياسية على حياة السوريين دستورياً.

هكذا أخذت الدساتير السورية تكتسب دلالات أيديولوجية/ قومية تنطوي على مدلولات لغوية قومية محددة، تؤكد تفوق هوية وثقافة ولغة على البقية وتمنحها شرعية قانونية. وبالمقابل انكمشت إمكانات نشوء هويّة وطنية جامعة وتقلّصت إلى الحدود الدنيا. لقد بات مفهوم الهوية مفهوماً أيديولوجيا رثّاً ومهترئاً مع شروع سلطة الحزب الواحد احتكار المجال العام واحتلاله وتهميش المشاركة السياسية بالنسبة للمختلفين إلى الحدّ الأدنى. من هذا الموقع نظرت السلطة إلى العنصر العربي في سوريا بصفته العنصر المنتخب، الحامل الاجتماعي لليوتوبيا القومية، مادته التاريخية وكتلته التي ستجسد أهداف السلطة القومية المحاكمة، لهذا يتعين عليه أن يسود ويهيمن على بقية المكونات





القومية في المجتمع السوري، وتسود معه ثقافته ولغته بوصفهما الأكثر جدارة وشر عبة

في مواجهة نزوع السلطة نحو الهيمنة وفرض طابعها الأيديولوجي الخاص على مناطق غرب كور دستان، سواء بالإكراه المادي أو عبر المراسيم والقرارات الاستثنائية، أخذ الوعى القومي الكوردي بالرفض يتنامي ويسعى إلى تأكيد ذاته وهويته. واكتسب الحراك السياسي القومي شكلاً منظماً في مواجهة سياسات الإنكار والتعريب، التي راحت تستهدف على نحو ممنهج الهوية والوجود الكورديين عبر سلسلة من الممار سات العملية و القو انين السياسية و الاقتصادية و الاجتماعية.

أقرّ دستور الأسد(الأب) عام (١٩٧٣م) عبر استفتاء شعبي، الذي كان نسخة معدلة عن دستور ١٩٦٩م. وقد قد هذا الدستور على مقاس فكر البعث، بل أكثر من ذلك يمكن بمعنى ما اعتبار ه هامشاً على متن مر كزي هو نظرية البعث، أو يمكن عدّ مو اده مجر د حو اشي على متنه الأبدبو لو جي.

عزِّز دستور ( ١٩٧٣م) من تفوق القومية العربية وسيادتها دون غيرها، وطبع هوية الدولة بطابعها الخاص. وبالمقابل تجاهل الدستور الإشارة إلى أيّ مكون أو هوية قومية أخرى غير عربية. وفي الوقت نفسه اختزل مفهوم المواطنة السورية في مطالب الأيديو لوجية العروبية، فالمواطن السوري، أو الذي يستحق المواطنة السورية، هو وحده العربي الذي يؤمن بوحدة الأمة العربية ويعمل لأجل تحقيق هذا الهدف التاريخي. ففي مقدمة الدستور، المتخم بالمفاهيم المستمدة من خطاب البعث، تكتسب المصادرات الأبديو لوجية والعنصرية أبعادها الإقصائية العميقة، حيث بلاحظ استخدام صفة ( عربي) و (عربية) أكثر من ثلاثين مرة.





ويجدر بالذكر هنا أن الدستور لا يكترث بحدود الدولة السورية، بصفتها حدوداً سيادية لكيان سياسي نهائي للسوريين، إنما يعد هذه الحدود نتاج مؤامرة تقسيمية وكولونيالية من وجهة نظر البعث، لهذا تصف الفقرة (٢) من المادة الأولى الدولة السورية بـ (القطر العربي السوري، الذي هو جزء من الأمة العربية) وعليه يتعين على كل فرد سوري جدير بالمواطنة أن يلتزم بالعمل من أجل الوحدة العربية، ويلتزم بالقيم الأخلاقية والمثل العليا للأمة العربية.

انطلاقاً من تلك المصادرات، فرض البعث دستورياً نظاماً للامتيازات، خلال نصف قرن، بديلاً عن مساواة المواطنين جميعاً، وكرّس تقسيماً هير اركياً للبشر قوامه درجة الولاء السياسي للحاكم القائد، للأيديولوجية، للحزب الواحد العروبي على حساب الولاء للوطن. وتمّ تصنيف المواطنين وحقوقهم بموجب ذلك. وبالمقابل جعل العيش مستحيلاً على المختلفين مع هذا النظام، سواء من المعارضين، أو أبناء الهويّات الأخرى، لاسيما الكورد، الذين عدّوا مشبو هين ومارقين وخطرين على الانسجام الوطني وعلى الهوية القومية العربية للدولة. وهكذا فُرضت وحدة مجتمعية قوامها الإكراه والخضوع والخنوع، فلكي يثبت الكوردي مواطنيته وجدارته بالمواطنة السورية في ظلّ نظام وعيه وضميره للقائد الأوحد وللحزب الحاكم، ومن ثم التنازل عن كرامته للأجهزة وعيه وضميره للقائد الأوحد وللحزب الحاكم، ومن ثم التنازل عن كرامته للأجهزة الأمنية. عندئذ يستحق أن يكون مواطناً يحظى بثقة النظام. وبالمثل أيضاً كان على أبناء الأقليات القومية والدينية الأخرى أن يتخلوا مكر هين أو يتبرأوا من انتماءاتهم وهوياتهم، ويتماهوا تماماً مع الهوية القومية والأيديولوجية السائدة، التي فرضها حزب البعث على الدولة والمجتمع دستورياً.

في عام (٢٠١٢) سعى الأسد (الابن) إلى احتواء الاحتجاجات المتصاعدة، التي عمت سوريا، فعمد إلى إجراء بعض الإصلاحات الظاهرية، التي لا تمس جوهر وطبيعة النظام القائم وتشريعاته. ومن هذا المنطلق أعلن عن دستور جديد. إلا أن هذا الأخير





حافظ على غالبية مبادئ ومواد الدستور السابق، وبالمثل حافظ على الروح القومية الإقصائية فيه. فقد ظلّ أميناً على المصادرات الأيديولوجية، القومية والدينية، التي حددت هوية الدولة قبلاً واختزلت طبيعتها السياسية، دون أن يقرّ هذا الدستور أو يعترف بأية هوية ثقافية أو لغوية أخرى في البلاد. إذ لا نعثر فيه/ بالرغم من مزاعمه الاستعراضية عن التعددية والتنوع/ على أيّة إشارة لوجود الكورد أو هويتهم، أو تنويه عابر بأية أقلية قومية أخرى في سوريا.

#### / ضمانات فوق دستوریه للحل.

هنالك مجموعة قيم دستورية ومبادئ تتعلق بحقوق ومصالح المجموعات والأفراد ومستقبلهم، تكتسب قيمة استثنائية في جميع الدساتير، يلجأ المشرع عادة إلى وضعها كمبادئ ومعايير موجهة لمواد الدستور بإزاء المتغيرات أو المستجدات التي قد تنشأ. إنها معايير رئيسية لصلاحية مواد الدستور ولها مكانة خاصة تجاه التغيير والتعديل، تفوق الحصانة التي للمواد الأخرى، بحيث يتعذر المسّ بها أو ينالها التغيير بيسر، كما لا يمكن التقليل من وجاهتها وأرجحيتها. إنها القواعد أو القيم الأكثر سمواً من قواعد الدستور الأخرى. وتلجأ الدساتير أحياناً إلى وضعها في مقدماتها أو في صلب الدستور أو متنه، أو يتم إلحاق تلك المبادئ بالدستور كنصوص أو إعلانات مستقلة لها الأولوية التشريعية والقيمة العليا، كي تكون موجهة لعمل الدستور ونصوصه، وكي تضمن عدم الإخلال بأية حقوق ثابتة للجماعات والأفراد، ويحفظ استقرار النظام السياسي لأمدٍ غير قصير.

إن الالتزام بهذه القواعد أو المبادئ الـ ( فوق دستورية) هو الذي يبقي العقد صالحاً وملزماً للمتعاقدين جميعاً، وهذا شرط أساس لصلاحية الدستور ولشرعية بقائه. وهذه المبادئ تصنف عادة إلى حزمتين من المبادئ الأساسية. الأولى، تعتمد على اللوائح والقيم والقواعد العالمية، التي أجمع المجتمع الدولي على ضرورتها وصلاحيتها الشاملة، كالإعلان العالمي لحقوق الإنسان وغيرها.. أما الحزمة الثانية فتنشأ استجابة





للحاجات السياسية والعملية للتجارب الوطنية المحلية، الخاصة بكل بلد. إذ أن لكل بلد أو مجتمع خصوصيته وأسئلته المتعلقة بواقعه وتحدياته.

من هذا المنطلق يقتضي الحلّ الدستوري للقضية الكوردية في سوريا مجموعة ضمانات (فوق دستورية) لا ينالها التغيير أو التعديل، إلا عبر اللجوء لاستفتاء إرادة الكورد وحدهم، دون غيرهم من السوريين مستقبلاً. نظراً للتحديات الجيوسياسية والديموغرافية المحتملة التي تهدد الوجود الكوردي برمته في سوريا.

علاوة على ما سبق، هنالك خوف وتوجس مشروع من طغيان أغلبية قومية أو دينية واستبدادها مستقبلاً، وهو ما يشكل تهديداً جدياً للمساواة والحرية معاً، وبخاصة عندما تكون أغلبية منتخبة ومستقطبة حول أيديولوجية قومية عنصرية أو دينية متطرفة.

إن طغيان أي نوع من الأغلبية ستعيد إنتاج أشكال جديدة من القهر وعدم المساواة مصحوباً بأنماط جديدة من سياسات التمييز والتفوق القومي المعززة بالعنف السياسي والإكراه. وبخاصة عندما تغدو تلك الأغلبية مستأثرة بالسلطة، فتصبح مصدراً للتشريع ويغدو الدستور والقوانين رهن إرادتها الطاغية، ولا شك في أنها ستجنح حينئذ، تحت إغواء احتكار السلطة، إلى ممارسة إقصاء الأقلية وتهميش إرادتها ومن ثم إنكار وجودها.

من هنا تنبثق ضرورة تأسيس مبدأ المساواة القومية على قيم فوق دستورية، التي تضمن التعددية وتحمي حقوق الأقلية وتحترم تطلعاتها المشروعة. إن أيّ نظام سياسي محتمل في مستقبل سوريا يستمد شرعيته من هيمنة أغلبية قومية أو دينية / طائفية سيشكّل تهديداً فعلياً للديمقراطية ويقوّض كل نزوع نحو المساواة بين السوريين. وفي هذه الحالة سيعيد إنتاج سياسات الاستبداد الأيديولوجي والقومي ويكرّس مجدداً الممارسات العنصرية وإلغاء الأخر.

خلاصة القول، يتطلع الكورد في غرب كوردستان ومعهم الأقليات القومية جميعاً في سوريا إلى وضع دستوري يمكنهم من ممارسة دورهم السياسي مباشرة وعلى قدم





المساواة مع الأغلبية العربية. وهذا الطموح المشروع يشترط ضمان امتلاكهم للقدرة السياسية المشروعة دستورياً، التي بفضلها يمكنهم تقرير مصير هم بحرية ودون إكراه في نطاق الدولة السورية. إنهم بهذا يتطلعون إلى تحقيق الشروط الدستورية التي تضمن مساواتهم الفعلية مع الأغلبية العربية، في بلد أكثر تنوعاً وانفتاحاً. وينشدون بذلك الضمانات الواقعية (الدستورية، السياسية، الثقافية) التي تحول دون عودة كل أشكال التمييز القائم والمتوارث بحقهم وبحق غير هم من الأقليات القومية، التي همشت طوال العقود السابقة.

/ المبادئ التأسيسية للحل الدستوري.

إن أوّل وأهم مبدأ ينبغي للدستور السوري المحتمل أن يؤسس عليه هو ذاك الذي يفضي إلى الإقرار بأن هويّة الدولة السورية ليست عربية فقط، ولا ينبغي أن تكون عروبية بطبيعة الحال، إنما تعددية. وعلى أيّ نظام سياسي محتمل أن يستمدّ شرعيته من المجتمع السوري بتنوعه القومي والثقافي والاجتماعي والتاريخي القائم، لا من مثال أيديولوجي أو أية يوتوبيا سياسية أخرى. إن عليه أن يجد أسسه الواقعية في هذا التنوع التاريخي القائم ويعكسه في مبادئه العامة ويجسده. ولهذا من العدل تماماً أن ينص الدستور السوري القادم ويحدد بوضوح أن الدولة السورية هي متعددة القوميات، وأن العرب والكورد يعدّان القوميتين الرئيستين، إلى جانب الاعتراف بحقوق الهويّات الثقافية والقومية التاريخية كالسريان وغير هم.

ثانياً بيتعين على أيّ دستور محتمل لسوريا أن ينص صراحة على المساواة التامة بين العرب والكورد، في المكانة والدور، في الحقوق والواجبات، كمدخل عادل ورئيس لحل القضية القومية للكورد في سوريا. وعليه أن يعلن كذلك بأن البرلمان، أو أيّة سلطة أخرى، لا يملك حق المساس بهذا المبدأ، أو يحدّ من شموليته ومن تحققه في كل مناح الحياة السياسية والاجتماعية والثقافية. وأن أيّ قانون يمس هذا المبدأ أو يقلل من وجاهته، يطعن في شرعية القانون ودستوريته ويعدّ مخالفاً لعقد التأسيس والشراكة.





إن تحقيق هذه المساواة لا يستهدف بأثارها ونتائجها المستقبل فحسب، إنما عليها أن تتجه نحو الماضي وتتجسد في الموقف من قرارات النظام وممارساته العنصرية المتراكمة طوال أكثر من نصف قرن. إن معضلة الكورد في غرب كوردستان هي ليست مع النظام القومي المستبد في سوريا فقط، إنما المعضلة أيضاً هي مع تركة النظام السياسية والاجتماعية التي خلفها طوال عقود من الاستعباد والتشويه والتعريب بحق الجغرافية والهوية الكورديتين. إذ حتى قبل مجيء سلطة البعث في أوائل الستينيات من القرن الفائت كانت هنالك بنى تحتية وأقاليم وقطاعات جغرافية بكاملها من كوردستان سوريا تحمل طابعا ثقافياً أو قومياً خاصاً عُرّبت فيما بعد وشوّهت هويتها بسبب السياسات العنصرية الممنهجة، التي اتبعتها السلطة.

أن يعاد النظر الآن في تلك السياسات على نحو يزيل آثارها السياسية والاجتماعية والديمغرافية والثقافية ويضمن العدالة للمتضررين منها، ذلك هو المحك الذي ينبغي لأيّ نظام بديل ومحتمل أن يثبت جدارته الديمقر اطية وشرعيته الوطنية الشاملة عليه. فما يبدو جوهرياً بالنسبة لأيّ تحوّل أو مسعى جديد لإعادة التأسيس لهوية سورية مشتركة ولتحقيق العدالة هو القضاء على التركة العنصرية والممارسات الإقصائية، التي كان الهدف منها تدجين التنوع الثقافي التاريخي في سوريا على نحو يضمن العدالة الأثنو/ثقافية بين المكونات التاريخية المختلفة للمجتمع السوري ويؤسس لمساواتها.

إن ضمان الاعتراف بالاختلاف وبالتنوع وبالحق في التعبير عن هذا الاختلاف يتحقق عبر نظام ديمقراطي/ تعددي يقوم على المساواة بين الأفراد وبين الجماعات. ومن الأهمية بمكان أن يؤكد الدستور القادم وينص على أن هذه المساواة المنشودة لا تتجه بأثرها نحو مطالب المستقبل فحسب، حتى يضمن الكورد، وغيرهم من القوميات، حقوقهم المشروعة والعادلة، إنما يتعين أن تتحقق كذلك بأثر رجعي. وذلك عبر إزالة آثار الغبن القومي والاضطهاد الذي تراكم خلال تلك العقود الطويلة من سياسات التبعيث والتعريب، بحيث تتطهر تماماً الدولة السورية مستقبلاً من ماضيها الاستبدادي





والعنصري، وتتخلص من ميراث التعسف بحق الكورد والقوميات الأخرى عبر مجموعة من التدابير السياسية والتشريعية، وحتى الرمزية، التي من شأنها أن تؤهلها لتكون دولة عموم مواطنيها.

ثالثاً إن المساواة المنشودة تستازم تمكين الكلّ في المشاركة السياسية، دون أية عوائق مادية أو رمزية تنتقص من مكانة هوية أو دورها، في حق السيادة. وعلى أيّ نظام سياسي مستقبلي يتصدى للتغير أن يبرهن على أرض الواقع، وبصورة عملية، على المستوى الثقافي والرمزي، إن هوية سوريا هي كوردية بقدر ماهي عربية، وهي عربية بمقدار ما ستكون كوردية. وعدم القبول بهذه البداهة، سياسياً وثقافياً، سيقود المجتمع والدولة مجدداً إلى الخضوع لطغيان فئة أو جماعة قومية وتستعبد البقية. إن هذا الطموح في المساواة ليس مجرد اختراع أيديولوجي أو سياسي غير مبرر، إنما هو شرط سياسي وتاريخي لكمال الدولة السورية ونضجها، ومقدمة لشر عيتها بصفتها دولة حرية ومساواة بالنسبة لجميع مواطنيها.

بناءً على ما سبق، ومن منطلق التغلب على حالة اللاتكافؤ الثقافي واللغوي بين المجموعات، ونفي التباينات بين الهويات الثقافية، ينبغي أن تتمتع كل أقلية قومية بالحقوق الثقافية والرمزية ذاتها، التي تمتع بها الأغلبية. فضلاً عن ذلك يجب الاعتراف بالمساواة التامة بين ثقافة القوميتين الرئيستين في التمثيل السيادي للدولة، ومن الضروري في هذه الحالة أن يقرّ الدستور السوري صراحة المساواة التامة في المكانة بين اللغات التاريخية العربية والكوردية والسريانية، وأن ينصّ على اعتبار العربية والكوردية لغتين رسميتين للدولة السورية، كي تتحرر الدولة من هيمنة لغة واحدة ومن الاستلاب لثقافة قومية وحيدة.

رابعاً/ عندما يتم إلغاء التفاوت الثقافي والسياسي بين الأفراد والجماعات داخل الدولة الواحدة، وحينما تنزع عنها الطابع الأيديولوجي والقومي الوحيد، وتسترد هويتها





القائمة على التنوع والتعددية القومية، عندئذ تؤلف المواطنة وحدتها، وتتحلل الفوارق وأشكال التمييز بالمواطنة وبوساطتها بالذات. إن تحرر الدولة من استلابها لأيديولوجية قومية أو عرقية على هذا النحو يعني في المحصلة تحرر المواطن من انتماءاته الـ قبل مدنية. وتحرر الدولة السورية، في هذا السياق، من أيديولوجية البعث يعني عدم اعترافها بأيّ امتياز لقومية أو تفاضل لهويّة دون سواها، وتأكيد الدولة ذاتها كدولة مواطنة على نحو محض. فلا تعود تكترث لخصوصية الأفراد القومية أو الأيديولوجية. وهذا ما يؤسس لمفهوم أو تصور جديد للهوية والمواطنة قائم على المساواة التامة في الحقوق والواجبات.

من هنا تبرز أهمية التأكيد دستورياً إن المجتمع السوري بتنوعه الثقافي التاريخي القائم وتعددياته القومية، هو الذي يجب أن يكون المرجع المباشر لمفهوم المواطنة السورية، وبالتالي لأية هوية سورية جامعة، عوضاً عن مفهوم الجنسية العرقي، المتخم بالتطلعات الأيديولوجية العنصرية. فهذا المفهوم المستلب في هويّة أغلبية قومية، وحتى دينية، كان وما يزال يختزل في نفسه وهم العمومية الوطنية، وهو الذي أضر كثيراً بالحياة المشتركة والمساواة.

خامساً/ إن الخشية المشروعة من رؤية الديمقراطية وهي تتعثر أو تندحر على يد أغلبية قومية أو دينية/ مذهبية، وبالتالي تنزلق البلاد مجدداً إلى هاوية أشكال جديدة من الاستبداد القومي المفرط أو الديني المركزي، تقتضي طرازاً سياسياً جديداً لإدارة الحكم. يضمن العدالة والتوازن بين الجميع في المشاركة في السيادة والمساهمة في صناعة القرار السياسي، ويحول دون أيّة عودة محتملة لاستبداد مركزي آخر.

وتبرهن تجارب التاريخ السياسي وأنظمة الحكم على أن فاعلية الاستبداد الفردي أو طغيان أغلبية ما تتلاشى ما أن تتخلى الدولة عن احتكار القرار السياسي والتشريعي أمام مشاركة المجتمعات المدنية والمحلية في إدارة شؤونها وتوجيهها. إن الحلول





الحتمي للنظام الديمقراطي وتحقيق المساواة بين السوريين، وبالتالي بين الكورد والعرب يفترض في هذا السياق إطاراً سياسياً للحل قوامه النظام الاتحادي/ الفيدرالي، الذي يعد أفضل مصد أو دريئة في مواجهة أي استبداد مركزي محتمل، وللتغلب على بقايا التفاوت وأوضاع اللامساواة. وهو الذي يتيح للجميع المشاركة السياسية الحرة على نحو متكافئ، وتعزز لديهم القدرة على مواجهة جنوح السلطة أو المركز نحو الاستبداد.



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# كيفية بدء الابادة الايزيدية و اسبابها والتكليف القانونية لها

القاضي قاسم اوسمان







#### مقدمة

عبر التاريخ تعرضت الاقلية الايزيدية مع بقية الاقليات الدينية والقومية في المنطقة الى حملات ابادة واعتداءات وخاصة في عهد الامبراطورية العثمانية، حيث تعرضت الاقليات القومية والدينية الى اضطهاد وحملات ابادة بشكل متكرر من قبل سلاطين تلك الامبراطورية مع العلم ان الايزيديين والارمن اخذوا النصيب الاكبر من الابادة كأقليات دينية والاكراد اخذو بما فيه الكفاية من الاضطهاد في المجال القومي وكالعادة الايزيديون كانوا يتعرضون الى نوعين من الاضطهاد تارة كونهم يختلفون في الدين وتارة اخرى يشملهم الاضطهاد ضمن القومية الكردية ومن خلال الاضطهاد الديني وبسسب فتاوى صادرة من بعض المتعصبين والقريبين من الباب العالي تعرض ابناء الايزيدية الى 72 فرماننا (حملة ابادة) وهذه الحملات مذكورة في التاريخ كالاتي:

في عام 644هـ الوافق 1246م قام صاحب الموصل بدر الدين لؤلؤ بالهجوم على في الايزيدية الشيخان و قبض على زعمائهم و فتك بيهم و قتل مرشدم شنقاً بحبل في الموصل

عام 652 للهجرة الوافق 1254 ميلاديا قام بدر الدين لؤلؤ صاحب الموصل بالهجوم على ايزيديي شيخان ونبش قبر الشيخ عدي وذبح 200 شخص من الايزيديين وامر تقطيع رؤوسهم وتعليقها على ابواب الموصل

في عام 1414م تم ابادة الايزيدية من قبل جلال الدين محمد عز الدين الحلواني بالتعاون مع الامير عز الدين البخي صاحب جزيرة بن عمر و الامير توكل الكردي صاحب شرانس و الامير شمس الين محمد الجردقلي و تم تطويق الايزيدية من جميع الجهات بعدد كبير من المقاتلين في جبل هكار فقتلوا جماعات كثيرة من اليزيدية و اسروا عدد كبير من منهم و نبشوا قبر شيخ عدي الهكاري<sup>1</sup>

فرمان السلطان العثماني سليمان خان القانوني (1570م) في في عصره صدر فتوى بحق الايزيديين من قبل مفتي الدولة الرسمي ابو سعود العمادي اباح فيها قتلهم علنا وبيعهم بالاسواق شرعا واغلبية الفرمانات كانت تستمد شرعيتها من هذه الفتوى

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في عام 1572 قام الزعيم الكردي علي سيدي بيك بحملة عسكرية على ايزيديي سنجار وتم فيها القتل بشكل كبير والنهب واتلاف المزروعات<sup>2</sup> فرمان علي باشا جانيو لاد سنة 1607 كان هذا الفرمان على جبل سنجار غير ان الايزيديين انزلوا هزيمة قاسية به وبسبب الصراع الموجود بين الصفويين والعثمانيين

تعرض الايزيديين من قبل الصفويين الى حملات ابادة وكان يساندهم في كل فرمان امير اردلان خان احمد الكرد حليف الشاه عباس الصفوي هكذا اصبح الايزيديون يتعرضون تارة لهجمات الصفويين وتارة اخرة لحملات العثمانيين.

فرمان صفوي اخر بقيادة قارجاي قاي خان 1630م قتل عدد كبير من الايزيديين وسبيت النساء والاطفال

فرمان عثماني بقيادة احمد باشا والي دياربكر 1630م قاد هذا الفرمان والي دياربكر العثماني احمد باشا وقتل مايقارب العشرة الالاف رجل واسر الكثير منهم وحصل على غنائم كثيرة ورجع الى دياربكر

فرمان والي وان شمسي باشا سنة 1650م قام بهذا الفرمان بعد اعدام والي الموصل امير الايزيديين (ايزيدي ميرزا الداسني) بقيادة والي وان شمسي باشا وقوات عثمانية اخرى من اياكة دياربكر صوب الايزيديين وقتلوا منهم وسبوا نسائهم 3

فرمان والي دياربكر مصطفى باشا فراري سنة 1065هـ (1655م)<sup>4</sup>: قاد الوالي مصطفى باشا فراري العديد من الفرمانات العسكرية المدمرة والبشعة في خمسينات القرن السابع عشر وكانت بامر من السلطان العثماني في اسطنبول ولكن نذكر هنا واحدة فقط من هذه الفرمانات واخرها بالنسبة له كانت في التاريخ اعلاه

فرمان كابلان باشا 1674م قام هذا القائد بحملة عسكرية لاخضاع الايزيديين في سنجار وذلك في 1674م ولكن الايزيديين الحقوا هزيمة قاسية بالقوات العثمانية قامت عشائر رواندز مع عشائر الزيبار بغزو جبل سنجار حسب ما جاء في كتاب صديق الدملوجي ص590 عام 1119هـ

مديق الدملوجي (الايزيدية ) طبعة ثانية ص590 وما بعده 2 .

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$  صديق الدملوجي مصدر سابق ص $^{5}$  وما بعدها )

ه . د . عدنان زيان ( الكرد الايز ديين في أقليم كورستان ص59 وما بعدها )





فرمانات القرن الثامن عشر: توالت فرمانات الدولة العثمانية على الايزيديين في القرن الثامن عشر وتبادلت السلطات في بغداد والموصل دور قيادة هذه الحملات مع بعض فرمانات الصفويين حتى بداية القرن التاسع عشر

فرمان حسن باشا 1127هـ (1715م).. قاد والي بغداد حسن باشا فرمانا ظالما على الايزيديين للتنكيل بهم ولتثبيت السيادة والسلطة عليهم من خلالها تم القتل والسبي واتلاف الممتلكات

فرمان ثاني لوالي بغداد حسن باشا 1131هـ (1718م)

فرمان والي بغداد احمد باشا 1146هـ (1723م) قام هذا الفرمان ضد الايزيديين في منطقة شيخان حيث ارسل عساكر كبيرة على قرى الايزيديين في منطقة شيخان واطراف الزاب الكبير فقاموا باعمال القتل والسلب والنهب.

فرمان حسن باشا الجليلي والي الموصل 1723م قاد هذا الفرمان على الايزيديين في الشيخان بعد فرمان احمد باشا وفي نفس السنة قاموا بقتل وتهب وسلب ماتبقى من وراء فرمان احمد باشا ثم عادوا الى الموصلفرمان فارسي بقيادة الاقشاري نادر شاه الصفوي سنة 1156 هـ (1734م) اجتاح هذا القائد منطقة شيخان في عهد الشاه الصفوي طهماس فدمر جميع مناطق الايزيديين في الزاب الكبير وبعشيقة وجبل شيخ عادي واسر اميرهم

فرمان والي بغداد سليمان باشا ابي ليلى 1166هـ (1752م) قام هذا الفرمان على الايزيديين في جبل سنجار بقوات عسكرية ضخمة جاءت بمساندة امراء الاكراد وعدد من عشائر العرب الى جانب الجيش في هذا الفرمان نزل قسم من الايزيديين وطلبوا من الجيش الامان فقاومهم في وادي هناك وامر العساكر فهجموا عليهم بالنار من كل الا تجاهات وقتل جميعهم كانوا اكثر من الف رجل ومعضمهم من كبار السن ومعهم الاطفال و النساء 5.

فرمان والي الموصل محمد امين باشا الجليلي 1766م قام هذا الوالي بغارة خاطفة على الايزيديين في جبل سنجار وقتل الكثير منهم ودمر وحرق قراهم فرمان والي الموصل محمد امين باشا الجليلي 1767م قام الوالي بارسال عساكر الموصل مع ولده سليمان باشا في السنة الموالية لفرمانه الاول لقتل اهالي سنجار وتدمير ممتلكاتهم

ِ سابق	مصدر	زيان	عدنان	د.	5

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فرمان والي الموصل سليمان باشا الجليلي 1773م قام هذا الفرمان على الايزيديين في سنجار من قبل عساكر الموصل و الحق بالايزيديين قتل و هدم القرى بعد المواجهة بين الطرفين

الفرمان الثاني لسليمان باشا الجليلي 1779م قام هذا الفرمان على الايزيديين في سنجار بقيادة محمد باشا الجليلي و اخ الوالي سليمان باشا الجليلي وقاموا بهحوم واسع على جميع مناطق سنجار مما ادى الى قتل ونهب وسلب وتدمير الممتلكات.

على جميع مناطق سنجار مما ادى الى قتل ونهب وسلب وتدمير الممتلكات. فرمان والي الموصل عبدالباقي باشا الجليلي 1786م قام هذا الفرمان على عشيرة دنا وهي من العشائر الايزيدية في منطقة دهوك وعندما توجه الوالي المذكورة الى عشيرة دنا ودمرو قراهم تدميرا كاملا واحدة تلو الاخرى و بينما كانو عساكر الوالي منشغلين بالسلب والنهب بيوت وممتلكات الايزيدية اغتنم زعيم الدنا نمر سمو مع قلة من مرافقيه في الموقع الخلفي ففاجئهم فرسانه وقتلوا الوالي عبد الباقي وبعض اقاربه وهرب العساكر الباقية الى الموصل

في عام 1788 م ارسل والي بغداد سليمان باشا العساكر مع الامير عبدالله بيك شقيق الحمد كهية و عبدالرحمن باشا والي السليمانية لضرب الايزيدية في سنجار و قتل 60 من الرجال واسر اكثر من 60 امرأة و غلام وجواري و اخذ اكثر من 16000 راس غنم(2)

فرمان والي الموصل محمد باشا الجليلي 1792 م قام هذا الفرمان بمبادرة والي بغداد و بامر من السلطان في اسطنبول وفرض من خلالها الحصار على الايزيديين في سنجار لغرض ابادتهم

فرمان والي الموصل محمد باشا الجليلي 1793م قام نفس الوالي باعادة الكرة بتوجيه حملة على الايزيدية لتكملة ماتبقى من الاعمال الوحشية ضد الايزيدية

فرمان والي الموصل محمد باشا الجليلي 1793م في نفس هذه السنة عاد وكرر هذا الوالي فرمان ثاني و كان معه هذه المرة قوات الينكرجية من الموصل وفشل في حماته هذه

فرمان اخر لوالي الموصل محمد باشا الجليلي 1794م اراد الانتقام من الايزيدية في سنجار بسبب فشله في الفرمانات السابقة فبعث بحملة تمكن العساكر فيها من قتل اهل سنجار وحملو رؤوسهم الى الموصل وقد ارسلها الوالي الى بغداد

فرمان والي بغداد سليمان باشا الكبير 1791م لقد ارسل هذا الوالي جيشاً كبيرا على اهلي سنجار من الايز ديين بقيادة احد قادته و هو لطف الله افندي و كان هذا الجيش محملاً بالمدافع الثقيلة في ذاك

الوقت وقاموا بتدمير سنجار و قتل اهلها6

<sup>6</sup> صديق الدملوجي مصدر سابق ص599





فرمان اخر لوالي بغداد سليمان باشا الكبير 1794م لم يكن حكام الموصل وحدهم يشنون الحملات ضد الايزديين خلال هذه الفترة بل كان يشاركهم فيها ايضا حكام بغداد حيث ارسل والي بغداد سليمان باشا الكبير 1780-1802 حملتين على ايزيديي سنجار ففي سنة 1794 غارت عساكر على ايزديين جبل سنجار بقيادة الامير عبدالله بك الخربنده و قاموا بسلب و نهب ممتلكاتهم و قتل رجالهم

فرمان احد اعوان والي بغداد وهو عبدالعزيز الشاوي 1798 قام هذا الفرمان بامر من حكام بغداد و ساندهم حكام الموصل بقيادة الوالي محمد باشا الجليلي المدعو بك الافندي و لم يعتمد الجليليون على قواته الذاتية فقط للانتقام بل تعاونت قوات القبائل العربية من العبيد و بو حمدان و طي و ( 300) فارس تحت لواء احد اعوان حاكم بغداد وهو عبدالعزيز بيك الشاوي ثم هاجموا على قرى شيخان فهزم امير شيخان حسن بيك بأهله الى الجبال و قاموا بأعمال النهب و السلب و سبو النساء و الاطفال و حملوا رؤوس خمسة و اربعون رجلاً من ايزيديية شيخان الى بغداد

فرمان امير بهدينان قباد بيك  $1799م^7$  ارسل امير بهدينان المذكور قواته لاخضاع الايزيديين في شيخان و امير هم و لكن لم يحالفه النجاح في مسعاه هذا و كرر بتوجيه جيش الامارة الى مناطق الشيخان الذين عادوا بعد ان نهبت قراها

فرمان الوالي محمد باشا الجليلي سنة 1800م قام هذا الفرمان على الايزديين في سنجار و كان الطاعون منتشرا في في ذالك الوقت في الموصل عاد من حملته متدهواً بعد ان دمر فرى الايزديين بأكملها

فرمان محمد باشا الجليلي 1801م قام هذا الفرمان على الايزديين في جبل سنجار و تم تدمير قراهم و سلب اموالهم

فرمان والي بغداد علي باشا 1802م قاد والي بغداد علي باشا سنة 1802م هذا الفرمان و سانده والي الموصل محمد باشا الجليلي بجيوش باشوية الموصل و توجهت الحملة صوب سنجار و حاصرتهم من جهة الشمال بينما حاصر عرب المنطقة جهة القبلة فأدت اساليب الحصار و الضغط المتوالي الى خروج الايز ديية من كهوفهم و اضطرارهم الى الاستسلام بشروط قاسية

فرمان والي بغداد علي باشا 1803م قام هذا الفرمان بالضغط والحصار على الايزيديين في جبل سنجار ودام القتال اياماً عديدة وهدمت قراهم وبيوتهم ونهبت اموالهم واجبر قسم منهم قسرا على اعتناق الاسلام8

فرمان قوباد بيك امير بهدينان مع والي الموصل محمد باشا الجليلي 1805م) اضطر قوباد بيك امير بهدينان ان يطلب المساعدة لاول مرة في تاريخ الامارة من والي

صديق الدملوجي مصدر سابق-ص $\frac{7}{2}$ 

<sup>8</sup> عدنان زیان مصدر سابق ــس82



الموصل محمد باشا الجليلي بعد فشل حملته على الايزيديين في شيخان فبعث له محمد باشا الجليلي جيشا فآجتمع عسكر قوباد بيك مع جيش والي الموصل ونزل الجيشان معا في نواحي زاخو آلا ان قوات الشيخان دحرت قوات الطرفين فرمان الوالى نعمان بأشا الجليلي 1807 م بعد ان امن والي الموصل جانب امارة بهدينان لصالحه ضد امارة الشيخان تفرغت جيوش الجليليين لتوجيه الحملات ضد الابزيديين بمساعدة امير بهدينان . ففي سنة 1807م توجه والى الموصل نعمان باشا الجليلي بجيوش الخيالة لاغضاع الايزيديين في امارة الشيخان نهائيا ووقعت الحرب بين الطرفين وبذلك قام قوات الوالي الجليلي بمذبحة بشعة بحق الايزيديين في شيخان فرمان والى الموصل نعمان باشا الجليلي 1808 قام هذا الوالى بحملة على المتحصنين من ايزيدية سنجار وكان ذلك 1808م فقاتلهم بقوات ويقال بانه تمكن من اخضاعهم و لكن سر عان ما رجع الايزيديون في سنجار الي اعتصامهم $^{9}$ فرمان والى بغداد سليمان باشا الصغير 1809 م طبق هذا الفرمان على الايزيديين في سنجار وشارك في هذه الحملة والى الموصل احمد باشا و انحاز الوالى الى فارس الجربا شيخ مشايخ الشمر ضد الايزيديين فاقنع فارس الجربا الوالى المذكور لقيادة حملة عسكرية على الايزيديين في سنجار وكان هدف فارس الجربا من وراء هذه الحملة ضمان سيطرة شمر الجربا على الجزيرة العليا من جبل سنجار فابدى للوزير ان لدى الايزيدية غنائم كثيرة من السهل الحصول عليها فسول له ان يسير عليهم(2). فخرج من بغداد على راس قوة كبيرة (1224هـ/1809م) لاخضاعهم وتحقيق مبتاغه فامر الوالي زعماء القبيلتين في الموصل وكذلك وجود اهل الموصل من الجربا بالإضافة الى قوات محمد بيك امير الكوبه وقد شاركت ابضا في هذه الحملة قوات كثيرة مختلفة كقوات كويسنجق واربيل وكركوك وتكريت وزعمها عشائر عديدة مثل قبائل البوحمدان والبوسلمان والطي والعبيد والبوحمد وشمر الجربا وغيرهم وصفها المؤر خون بانها (عساكر تسد الفضاء) وقوات منظمة من بغداد مكون من 40000 جندي فامر بتوجيههم صوب سنجار فقاموا بسلب ونهب القرى والمساكن وقتل الايزيديين وقطعوا الاشجار وخربو ديارهم واثاره الا ان الحملة لم تحقق هدفها ففشلت في ذلك. علما ان قوات الوالي كانت مجهزة ب6 بطاريات مدافع ميدان فان هذه القوات والعشائر باجمعها لم تحقق اهدافها فانه بدلا من أن يعود منها ظافرا محملا بالغنائم التي كان يمنيه بها فارس الجربا وجد نفسه خالي اليدين.

 $^{9}$  عدنان زیان مصدر سابق  $^{-}$ 





فرمان احمد باشا الجليلي 1819م طبق هذا الفرمان على الايزيديين في جبل سنجار واحدث بديار هم الخراب والدمار وقاموا باعمال سلب والنهب والحصول على الغنائم المادية

فرمان داود باشا والي بغداد 1826م طبق هذا الفرمان على الايزيديين في سنجار بسبب ايوائهم قاسم بيك الشاوي الثائر على والى بغداد

فرمان محمد اينجة بريقدار والي الموصل 831م تم اتخاذ اجراءات صارمة ضد الايزيديين وقبض على امير هم علي بيك و تم قتله في موقع يسمى كر محمد عرب 1834م قام محمد رشيد باشا بحملة على ايزيدية سنجار تم قتل عدد كبير منهم ونهب اموالهم وسبى نسائهم 10

فرمان والي الموصل الثاني محمد باشا اينجا بيرقدار 1835م بعد ان استولى محمد باشا اينجا بيرقدار على قلعة العمادية ورتب امورها قام اثناء رجوعه الى الموصل وفي طريق عودته بجمع رؤوساء وزعماء شيخان الايزيديين في قرية كر محمد عرب وفتك بهم فتكا ذريعا حتى ابادهم عن بكرة ابيهم.

فرمان 1937م لم يذكر في هذا الفرمان اسم الوالي القائد الذي قاد هذا الفرمان لكن (لون كريك) يذكر انه في سنة 1937م سحق جند من خارج العراق الايزيديين في سنجار مرة اخرى ولم يذكر اية تفاصيل

فرمان والي الموصل محمد باشا اينجا بيرقدار 1838م حيث يقول احد الرحالة عن ذلك، قام هذا الوالي بحملة شرسة ضد الايزيديين في سنجار ويذكر المؤرخون انه فتك بهم ويظهر ان الحملة هذه كانت شديدة الوطأ عليهم علما ان هذا الوالي عمل نفس ما عمل بالايزيديين في شيخان في سنة 1835م

فرمان الوالي الموصلاًي محمد باشا اينجا بيرقدار 1842م قام بهذا الفرمان بسبب تاخير دفع الضرائب وكان هذا الوالي تواقا لاحصاء الضرائب بالدفع الاجل وفي تلك الاثناء جاء وفد من الايزيديين يحملون عرض السلام والصفح الى انه قام بقتلهم بشكل وحشي بتعليق راس زعيمهم وسبعة من الاشخاص الموالين له فوق بوابة الموصل، وبلغ التعامل مع الايزيديين من الشدة والبطش واخذ يقطع رؤوسهم ويضعها في اكياس ويرسلها الى الموصل لاجل ارهاب الناس واخذ العبرة منها فرمان والي الموصل عمر باشا سنة 1940 قام هذا الوالي بقتل اعداد كبيرة من الايزيديين وصلبهم وتعذيبهم بشكل بشع ومنافي لابسط حقوق الانسان في سنة 1844م قام والي الموصل محمد شريف باشا بحملة على ايزيديي سنجار ويقال ان هذه الحملة من اشرس الحملات واكثر ها دموية

11 د. عدنان زیان – مصدر سابق ص71

<sup>10</sup> صديق الدملوجي مصدر سابق – ص607





عام 1845م قام محمد باشا الكريدي بحملة على ايزيديي سنجار وتم قتلهم وسبي نسائهم ومصادرة اموالهم

في عام 1847م قام والي الموصل طيار باشا بحملة على ايزيديي سنجار في منطقة مهركان

في عام 1835م قام احد قادة الاتراك باسم حافظ باشا والمشهور في تاريخ الايزيديين الذي قام باشرس حملة على جبل سنجار وقام بسبي النساء وقتل الناس الابرياء وتدمير القرى والممتلكات و توجه هذا الوالي من اسطنبول وكان تحت لوائه سبع باشاوات بجيوشهم الكبيرة صوب الايزيديين في منطقتي سنجار وشيخان وجاء هذا الفرمان بعد الطاعون الذي فتك بالايزيديين ولم يبق منهم بسبب الطاعون الاعدد قليل فالايزيديون الفقراء الذين نجوا من الطاعون والفرمانات السابقة قد احتموا بالكهوف فحاصر هم فيها وابادهم قتلا بالرصاص والقنابل الخانقة فاضطر الناجون ان يهجروا قراهم ومساكنهم ولم يبق من الايزيدية في سنجار الاعدد قليل , و جميعهم اجتمعوا في اوسفان بعد الفرمان ويبرز على وجوههم الهلاك والجوع لاحول ولاقوة لهم الا بالله 12

فرمان محمد رشيد باشا (1836م) قام هذا الفرمان على الايزيديين في سنجار واوقعوا بالايزيديين الباقين مجزرة اخرى بعد فرمان حافظ باشا البشع عام 1312هـ الموافق 1891م قام والي الموصل اينجه بيرقدار بحملة على ايزيدية سنجار

فرمان الفريق عمر وهبي باشا (فريق باشا) سنة 1893م بدأ هذا الفرمان سنة 1892م في اول مرة على الايزيديين في الشيخان واوقع خرابا ودمارا شاملا بالمعالم الاثرية والدينية وقاموا بسلب ونهب جمي 13 الممتلكات المالية وسبي النساء وهتك الاعراض وبعد ان علم اهالي سنجار من خلال الذين هربوا من منطقة الدنانية والشيخان الذين نجوا من بطش جرائم عمر وهبي وما فعله ابنه عاصم بيك وكذلك الاستيلاء على مناطق الايزيديين وهدم مزارات اوليائهم اعلنوا العصيان في جبل سنجار, فاعلموا بان ما حل باخوانهم الايزيدية في شيخان سوف يحل بهم. فارسل الفريق عمر وهبي ابنه عاصم بيك الى سنجار مع عدد كبير من قوات الجيش النظامي لغرض تدمير ايزيدية سنجار لكنه لم يتمكن من ذلك وبعدها خرج الفريق عمر وهبي باشا نفسه المنائدة هناك اما بالنسبة للايزيدية في منطقة سنجار فاجتمعوا في العشائر العربية الساكنة هناك اما بالنسبة للايزيدية في منطقة سنجار فاجتمعوا في

<sup>607</sup> صديق الدملوجي مصدر سابق - 007

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> د . عدنان زیان – مصدر سابق-ص-48-47





قرية (بكران) بقيادة سفوك مطو باشا المسقوري الجوانبي محما عبدو الهبابي واستعدوا للقتال ضد قوات الفريق عمر وهبي فتقدم قوات عمر وهبي باشا باتجاه قرية بكران فخيم قواته في منطقة تسمى زورافا وفيه اخذ جميع استعدادته للهجوم وفي 15 نيسان سنة 1893م هاجم الفريق عمر وهبي الا ان الايزيديون دافعوا عن اراضيهم و عقيدتهم وقاتلوا في معركة بقيادة محما عبدو ابوصالح الهبابي على شكل هجوم مقابل واستمرت المعركة الى مابعد العصر وتكبد خلالها جيش الفريق عمر وهبي خسائر فاضحة في الارواح والمعدات فاضطر الى الانسحاب والهزيمة الى مقره الخلفي في زورافا ثم لاحقهم الايزيدية بقيادة محما عبدو وطردهم من جميع بقاع سنجار فهزم الى الموصل وثم الى اسطنبول

فرمان بكر باشا سنة (1894م) قام هذا الفرمان على الايزيدية في جبل سنجار بقيادة بكر باشا و عندما علم الايزيدية بذلك تجمعوا في قرية بكرا ويوسفا بقيادة سفوك مطو باشا واستعدوا للقتال وبرغم من كثرة عدد جنود بكر باشا المهاجمة والاسلحة المتطورة انزل بهم الايزيدية هزيمة وتم دحرهم من خلالهم مقاومتهم بعزيمة وشجاعة مما ادى الى انسحاب بكر باشا من جبل سنجار

فرمان الامير محمد آمير امارة (رواندوز) المعروف ب (ميري كور) 1843م عام 1932م زحف الامير محمد باشا امير رواندوز بجيشه الذي كان يقدر بين اربعين و خمسين مقاتل من عاصمة امارته (رواندوز) وبعد ان جرى تصفية مع الايزيدية اللذين في طريقه في منطقة اربل عبر نهر الزاب الكبير من قرية كلك وتسمى كذلك الدواسن سكانها الايزيدية و هي اول قرية تقع في طريقه الى الشيخان فقتل اهلها قتلأ عاماً و اخذ يسير من قرية الى اخرى و يعمل فيها سيف الانتقام و يقضي على كل ذي روح فيها و كانت امارة الشيخان تمتد من نهر الزاب الاعلى الى نهر خابور في زاخو متراصة بالسكان الايزدية و نفوسهم تزيد على مئة الف نسمة و اخذ جيشه يهاجمها و احدة تلو الاخرى و يبيد سكانها و لم يسلم من يده سوى النساء و الفتيات الاتي كن يجدن لهن شفيعاً من نضارتهن و طراوتهن و يسبيهن و يرسلهون الى عاصمته روانده 14

فرمان اسعد باشا الدرزي والي الموصل 22 ايار 1910م قاد الفرمان محمد فائز افندي على الايزيدية في سنجار مطالبا بفرض التجنيد الاجباري على الايزيدية واخضاعهم تحت سيطرة الامبر اطورية العثمانية

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> صديق الدملوجي مصدر سابق – ص567





فرمان قائمقام سنجار الحاج ابر اهيم بيك والمعروف ب(حجى ابر اهيم باشا) سنة 1917م طبق هذا الفرمان على الايزيدية في سنجار في عهد الموصلي اوج بيك مما ادى الى تدمير المنطقة و قتل عدد كبير من أهاليها و خاصة في شمال جبل سنجار عام 1918م حملة قام بها القائمقام العسكري حاجي ابر اهيم بيك 15 عام 1935م حملة بقيادة اللواء الركن حسين فوزي حسب الارادة الملكية في 17 تشرين الأول من نفس العام<sup>16</sup> بخصوص عدد الفر مانات هناك عدم ذكر البعض منها لكون في نفس السنة و من قبل نفس الشخص القائم بالحملة مثال على ذلك حملة الفريق عمر و هبى على ايزيدية شيخان و ابادتهم و قيام ابنه عاصم بقيادة حملة على ايزيدية سنجار و كذلك والى دياربكر بكر مصطفى باشا و الذى قام بعدد من الفرمانات و ذكر منها فرمان واحد لكونها لنفس الوالي و في فترات متقاربة و كذلك عدم الحصول على بعض التواريخ و السبب كان يعود الى نقطتين النقطة الاولى عدم تمكن الحصول على الوثائق العسكرية في خزائن الامبر اطورية العثمانية و النقطة الاخرى لتعرض الايزيدية الى فرمانات متتالية و بذلك انحرموا من التعليم الا ان الكاتب صديق الدملوجي و بعض الكتاب الاخرين حصلوا على قسم من الوثائق الخاصة بحملات الابادة ضد الايزيدية من خزائن الامبراطورية العثمانية ولوتم تسجيل جميع الفرمانات بأعتقادي عددها تتجاوز ال 72 فرمان لكن بسبب النقاط المذكورة اعلاه و السباب اخرى و هي عدم توفر وسائل الاعلام الحرة انذاك و لكون الفر مانات كانت حملات عسكرية لم يكن بالامكان الحصول على المعلومات الكافية ناهيك عن تأخر الشعب من الناحية الثقافية و التعليمية في ذلك الزمن وهناك فرمانين كارثة تل عزير 2007 وحملة الابادة الاخيرة عام 2014.

المبحث الاول: كيف بداءت حملة الابادة ضد الايزيدية وماهي اسبابها: وستناول في المبحث كيفية بدء حملة الابادة ضد الايزيديين واسبابها وسنقسم المبحث الى مطلبين المطلب الاول يخص كيفية بدء الابادة ضد الايزدية اما الثاني يخص اسباب استهداف الايزيدية.

المطلب الاول :كيفية بداء حملة الابادة ضد الايز يدبين:-

من خلال زيادة موجة التطرف الديني في المنطقة في التسعينات بعد احتلا الكويت وظهور القاعدة وتطورها الى تنظيمات اكثر تطرفاً وتاجيجها ضد الايزيدية وابناء الاقليات الدينية والاثنية، تم تحريم الطلبة من الايزيدية والاقليات من مواصلة الدراسة وخوف الناس من الذهاب لغرض العمل والتسوق الى المدن وخاصة الموصل و

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> جون سين غيست الحياة بين الكرد تأريخ الازديين ص91 وما بعدها

<sup>16</sup> عدنان زیان مصدر سابق



بسبب تلك الظروف وقعت نكبة تل عزير وسيبا شيخ خدر حيث قتل فيها الاف الابرياء وتم هدم بيوتهم على رؤوسهم وكل هذا جرى في ما مضى من الزمن وابناء الدينة الايزيدية وبقية الاقليات الدينية والعرقية والاثنية في العراق والشرق الاوسط كانت تتفائل بالخير في زمن العولمة والديمقر اطية وانتشار منظمات المجتمع المدني والمنظمات الدولية الخاصة بحقوق الانسان والمرأة والطفل، الا ان تفائلها انقلب الى جحيم والى نار احرق الاخضر واليابس وتم بيع النساء الايزيديات في اسواق النخاسة علنا كاى سلعة

التي مهدت الطريق لحدوث الكارثة المذكورة اعلاه بهدف تهجير وقتل هذه المكونات الاصيلة من الشعب العراقي وبعد انتشار المد الاسلامي المتطرف في الشرق الاوسط بداءاً من العراق وسوريا حيث تم خلط الاوراق السياسية تحت مسميات من قبل المتطرفين بالتنسيق مع جهات سياسية لها مآرب خاصة باسم الدين لغرض توسيع نفوذهم ومن جهة اخرى لغرض تشويه ومحو الثوابت الدينية والاجتماعية والتاريخية والاثرية ومن هذه الاحداث التي جرت في اطراف مدينة الموصل والتي هي موطن التعايش بين الاقليات الدينية والاثنية والقومية حيث تم افتعال ازمة في قصاء شيخان يوم 15-2-2007 وبذلك تم تضخيم حادثة صغيرة كانت من الممكن ان تعالج عن طريق استخدام العلاقات الاجتماعية الا انها توسعت بسرعة كانتشار النار في الهشيم والحادثة هي صعود بنت من الاخوة الكرد المسلمين مع شابين ايزيديين في السيارة وتم استغلال هذه الحادثة من قبل حفنة من المتطر فين و هاجموا على بيت امير الايزيدية وتم حرق سياراته في باب البيت وكذلك حرق مركز لالش العائد لابناء الديانة الايزيدية وقاعة شيخ مند وبيت كل من المتهمين بالحادث وقاموا بالرمى على بيت الامير وبابا شيخ. ولولا السلطات الموجودة في الاقليم والحكومة الفدر الية ووجود قوات التحالف الدولي لادي ذلك الى فرمان (حملة ابادة) للايزيدية وبعد شهرين من الحادث ظهرت مكيدة اخرى للايزيدية من خلال استغلال حادث قتل فتاة ايزيدية باسم دعاء خليل اسود بتاريخ 30-4-2007 مع العلم الحادثة كانت اجتماعية مجردة وتدخل بها عوامل اجتماعية من قبل اهلها الا ان بعض الناس الحاقدين على العراق الجديد من المتطر فين استغلوها ضد الايز بدية وابناء الاقليات الاخرى ادخلوها في اطار ديني ضبيق مع العلم ليس هناك اي سبب ديني في الموضوع و هو مجرد حادث اجتماعي كما مر ذكره ولو تتبعنا ما يجري في المجتمع العراقي والكور دستاني سوف نجد بانه حدثت قتل الاف البنات من قبل أهلها ومجتمعها بحجة غسل العار او حرقها او تبرير اطار قانوني لها دون تكبيرها ووضعها في اطار ديني او سياسي ونتيجة لتلك الحادثة تم تاجيج مشاعر الاسلاميين المتطرفين ضد الايزيديين دون معرفة الاسباب الحقيقية للحادث فقط الهدف منها كان



لتكبير مثل هذه القضايا ضد الاقليات في كر دستان والعراق لتمزيق النسيج الاجتماعي وتهجير هذه الاقليات من مناطقها وعلى اثر ذلك تم قتل 24 عاملا ابزيدا كانوا يعملون في معمل نسيج الموصل وتم قتلهم بشكل جماعي وتبنت جهات متطرفة على انه ثارو انتقام لقتل دعاء وبعدها بفترة وفي 14-8-2007 قامت مجموعات ار هابية بالهجوم على ناحية تل عزيز ومجمع سيباية سيخ خدر بثلاقة صهاريج مملوءة بالمتفجرات مما ادى الى قتل حوالي 700 شخص بينهم اطفال رضع مع امهاتهم وكذلك شيوخ مسنون وشباب ونساء وجرح عدد كبير جدا وهدمت الاف البيوت على رؤوس ساكنيها و هذا كان بمثابة الفر مان رقم 73 على الابزيدية وبعد انسحاب القوات الامنية من الموصل تم قتل عدد كبير من قوات الحرس الوطني من الايزيدية في جنوب قضاء بعاج عند انسحابهم الى شنكال وتم التمثيل بجثثهم وكذلك تم قتل عدد من الفلاحين في ربيعة من قبل داعش وكل هذه التداعيات والاحداث المتسارعة والمصنوعة خصيصا لتاجيج مشاعر الاسلاميين المتطرفيين ضد الايزيدية لغرض ابادتهم كانت تمهيدا لحدوث كارثة 3-8-2014 التي ادت الى تدمير منطقة شنكال بكاملها والاعتداء على الشرف الايزيدي وخطف النساء والبنات كغنائم حرب من قبل ما يسمى بالدولة الاسلامية في العراق والشام في عصر الديمقر اطية والعولمة اضافة الى قتل الالف الابرياء و تطويق الاخرين في جبل شنكال لغرض ابادتهم وكذلك تهجير مناطق بعشيقة وبحزاني والقرى الايزيدية الاخرى التابعة لقضاء تلكيف القريبة من مركز مدينة الموصل وكذلك تهجير المسيحيين والشبك والكاكابين في داخل مدينة الموصل و الغرض منها القضاء على هذه المكونات الاصيلة في العراق.

كل هذه الظروف التي مر ذكر ها ادت الى اثارة الافكار الاسلامية المتطرفة ضد الايزيديين والاقليات الاخرى حيث ادت الى وقوع كارثة ابادة الايزيديين في ليلة الايزيديين والساعة الواحدة والنصف ليلا بدا القصف المدفعي على المجمعات السكنية الواقعة جنوب مدينة سنجار وبالاخص مجمعات سيباية شيخ خدر وكر عزير وكرزرك واستمرت الاشتباكات الى الساعة السابعة صباحا ونقلا عن المقاتل بركات صالح من اهالي كرزرك الذي تحدث الى الباحث داود مراد الختاري والمنشور في موقع بحزاني الالكتروني حيث قال بقينا في الخطوط الامامية مع داعش لمدة 53 يوما والمسافة بيننا وبين عصابات داعش 350م تقريبا هم كانو في مقاتلوا داعش يوم 2014/8/2 وحسب معلومات مسربة من تلك القرية العربية مقاتلوا داعش يوم 2014/8/2 وحسب معلومات مسربة من تلك القرية العربية دلك المساء تفقد نقاطنا عقيد عسكري من البيشمركة باسم محمد ومعه اليتين مدر عتين دلك المساء تفقد نقاطنا عقيد عسكري من البيشمركة باسم محمد ومعه اليتين مدر عتين وقيانا له من المفروض ان تبقى هذه المدر عات وتعزيز ها بقوات اخرى في الخط





الامامي حيث ان هناك هجوم مرتقب لداعش فرد قائلا "سوف نساندكم عند حدوث اي هجوم"... وعندما بدا الهجوم في تمام الساعة الواحدة قاوم المقاتلين الندافعين عن المجمع بكل شراسة الا ان الاسلحة لم تكن متكافئة حيث كان مقاتلوا داعش مجهزين باسلحة ثقيلة و عجلات مدرعة من نوع همر بينما المدافعين عن المجمعات لديهم اسلحة خفيفة وبالرغم من ذلك قاومنا لحد الساعة السادسة صباحا وبعد انسحاب القوات الامنية المدافعة بشكل مفاجئ ادت الى كارثة حقيقية (1)، في مجمعات سيباية شيخ خضر وكرزك وتلعزير وتل بنات وتل قصب حيث قتل الاف الناس وتم سبي الاف النساء وخطف الاطفال وتم قتل الرجال بشكر جماعي ولاتزال المقابر الجماعية شاخصة.

المطلب الثاني: - اسباب استهداف الايزيدية

سنتناول في هذا المطلب اسباب استهداف الايز بدية من قبل مقاتلي داعش سبق وذكرنا جملة من الحوادث التي جرت قبل حدوث هذه الكارثة واشرنا من خلالها الى نمو الفكر الاسلامي المتطّرف في العراق في مرحلة التسعينيات وبالذات بعد ظهور تنظيم القاعدة ومن ثم تطور ها وانشطار ها الى تنظيمات متشددة و هذه التنظيمات المتشددة قامت بقتل الابرياء من الايزيدبين في الموصل والمدن التابعة لها وكذلك تهديد بقية الاقليات كالمسيحيين والشبك والكاكابين وكما تم ذكره في المقدمة بسرد موجز لحملات الابادة ضد الايزيديين منذ فجر التاريخ حيث 72 حملة ابادة في زمن الامبر اطورية العثمانية و ولاتها في العراق وكل هذه الحملات استمدت شر عيتها من فتاوى مجموعة من علماء الدين ووعاظين مقربين الى السلطة وبصورة خاصة فتوى المفتى الرسمي للامبر اطورية العثمانية ابو سعود العمادي في عهد السلطان سليمان القانوني ومنذ ذلك التاريخ تتوالى الفرمانات وحملات الابادة على الايزيديين لسبب واحد وهو الاختلاف في الدين وعند ظهور التنظيمات المتطرفة وخاصة في حملة الابادة الاخيرة في 2014/8/3 استندوا على ايات من القرءان في ابادة الايزيديين وهناك العديد من الفيديوهات التي انتشرت في مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي والموجودة قسم منها في حوزتنا وكما نشرت في مجلة (دابق) لسان حال مايسمى بالدولة الاسلامية في العراق والشام. فكل هذه الامور تظهر لنا جليا بان ابادة الايزيديين في هذا العصر المتقدم جرى تحت مسميات دينية ضيقة لذلك وحسب رأينا المتواضع نرى من الضروري العمل وبجدية لمحاربة واستئصال هذه الافكار المتطرفة من قبل الحكومة العراقية وحكومة الاقليم وبالتعاون مع الدول الكبرى والهيئات والمنظمات الدولية ذات العلاقة لغرض الحفاظ على الاقليات وعدم تكرار مثل هذه الجرائم في اماكن اخرى.



المبحث الثاني: - التكييف القانوني للجريمة وفق مبادئ القانون الجنائي الدولي (نظام روما الاساسي)

وسوف نقسم هذا المبحث الى مطلبين نتناول في المطلب الاول القتل الجماعي وسبي النساء وخطف الاطفال اما في المطلب الثاني نقارن جريمة ابادة الايزيدية مع نصوص القوانين

المطلب الاول: - القتل الجماعي و سبي النساء و خطف الاطفال سنتناول في هذا المطلب التكييف القانوني لجريمة ابادة الايزيين وفقا مبادئ القانون الجنائي الدولي

التكييف القانوني لجريمة ابادة الايزيدية في يوم 2014/8/3 من قبل ما يسمى بالدولة الالسلامية في العراق و الشام (داعش) حيث قام هذا التنظيم المتطرف بغزو مناطق الايزيدية في قضاء سنجار تحت مسميات دينية و بالاستناد على ايات من القرأن الكريم لتحقيق مأربه و في الايام الاولى من الحملة قام بجرائم ابادة جماعية في اكثر من موقع ففي قرية (قنى ميهركان) الواقعة في الجهة الجنوبية الشرقية من حافة جبل سنجار حيث تم قتل 82 شخصاً من بينهم عجزة تتجاوز اعمار هم السبعين منهم على سبيل المثال المواطن بدل خلف سقط المصاب بشلل نصفي الذي كان بناهز من العمر 78 اي من مواليد 1936 و خطف مئات الاطفال و سبي مئات النساء و ارسالهم الى مدينة تلعفر حيث تم بيع البنات و النساء في اسواق العبيد و تم الاعتداء على شرفهن و كذلك تدريب الاطفال على افكارهم و تغير دينهم قسراً و في نفس اليوم حدثت مجزرة كبرى في موقع قريب جنوب غرب قرية قني في مزرعة صالح مراد منت و كذلك في داخل مدينة سنجار و تم دفن عدة وجبات من المغدورين المحتجزين في دا ئرة الاحوال المدنية في سنجار شمال سياج معسكر سنجار و في نفس اليوم قامت عصابات داعش بمجزرة رهيبة في مجمع سيباية شيخ خضر و ناحية تلعزير و سيباية محمود خرو في مفرق ناحية تلعزير و تم اخذ جميع النساء الي مدينتي موصل وتلعفر لغرض بيعهن كسبايا ناهيك عن الاعتدأت الجنسية الفضيعة و في نفس اليوم حدث اكبر قتل جماعي في مجمع خانصور حيث قطع رأس رجل كبير السن بأسم يوسف ابر اهيم كارس يناهز من العمر 82 سنة و اعداد اخرى من ناس الابرياء و سبى جميع النساء و خطف الاطفال و في نفس اليوم حدثت اكبر مجزرة في قرية حردان الواقعة في الجهة الشمالية الشرقية من الجبل حيث تم قتل اكثر من مئة شخص و سبي جميع النساء و تم دفنهم في مقابر جماعية في مفرق حردان و بعد تر هيب الناس بهذه المجازر و هروب الناس آلي الجبل قامت عصابات داعش في اليوم الثاني بتطويق الجبل من جميع الجهات و قطع الامدادات من الماء و الاكل و الدواء عن المحاصرين في الجبل و لمدة اكثر من اسبوعين مما ادى الى موت مئات الناس من الاطفال و المرضى و العجزة من قلة الاكل و الماء و الدواء و كافة هذه



المعلومات قد حصلت عليها من خلال الاتصالات اليومية عبر الموبايل و عن شهود عيان دونت افاداتهم في الايام الاولى من الكارثة.

اما فيما بتعلق بقر بتى كو جو و الحاتمية بسبب و قو عهما في الحدود الجنوبي لقرئ الابز بدبة و بمحاذات قرئ عشيرة اليومتيوت العربية و ليعدهما عن جيل شنجار بمسافة (27كم) لم بتمكن اهليهما الوصل الى الجيل كون الإحداث كانت سربعة وبسبب انسحاب القوات الامنية المدافعة وتعميم الفوضي والخوف بقبت القربتين تحت سيطرة داعش و بعد اجراء المفاوضات بين الطرفين و اعطا الوعود الى اهالي القريتين من قبل امير داعش ( ابو حمزة الختوني ) وهو من اهلي قضاء حضر من العشائر عربية السنية حيث قال لهم ارفعوا الراية البيضاء و سلموا سلاحكم للمقاتلين و ادخلو الاسلام انتم في أمان و اثناء فترة المفاوضات تمكن اهالي قرية الحاتمية الهروب ليلاً الى جبل سنجار من الجهة الجنوبية الشرقية و كان ذلك في ليلة 2014/8/10/9 و بعد ذلك بخمسة ايام اي في يوم 2014/8/15 المشؤوم تم جمع سكان قرية كوجو في بناية ثانوية تلك القرية الكبيرة المتكونة من (344) عائلة فلاحية كبيرة حسب البطاقة التموينية و مجموعهم (1738)فرد من الجنسين و بذلك حدث مجزرة كبيرة حيث تم قتل مختار القرية احمد جاسم قاسم و ابناء و كافة الرجال على شكل وجبات و تم دفنهم بو اسطة ألة الشفل في اطراف القرية و تم سبي جميع النساء و خطف الاطفال و اخدت المشخلات الذهبية و النقود الموجود معهم و كذلك اجهزة الموبابل و تم ارسال النساء و الاطفال الى قضاء تلعفر و هذه معلومات ورد في اقوال الناجي من بين الجثث كجي عمى سلو (1). و في الطريق تم قتل 80 من النساء المسنات و تم دفنهن في اعدادية الصناعة جنوب شرق مدينة سنجار استناداً الى اقوال ناجية من بينهن و بعد وصولهن الى قضاء تلعفر تم عزل الاطفال من عمر اربعة سنوات فما فوق من النساء لغرض تدريبهم على افكار داعش و تغير دينهم و قاموا بحجز النساء في قريتي ( قزل قويو ) و (قصر المحراب ) بالقرب من مطار تلعفر و تم ارسال و جبات منها الى محافظة الرقة السورية لغرض بيعهن في اسواق السبايا وهناك كثير من امثلة كثيرة على ذلك من خلال اقوال الناجيات منها نادية مراد و زهور خضر و بسمة قاسم جولو و الاف منهن و عند مقارنة هذه الجرائم البشعة في هذا الزمن المتقدم مع نصوص القانون الدولي الانساني و نظام روما الاساسي لمحكمة الجنايات الدولية و اتفاقيات جنيف 1949 نجد تطبيق المواد





6, 7, 8 الخاصة بالابادة الجماعية و جرائم ضد الانسانية و جرائم الحرب و جرائم العدوان على ما قام به مقاتلي داعش بحق الايزيدين في سنجار .

المطلب الثاني: - مقارنة الجريمة مع نصوص القوانين

سنتناول في المطلب مقارنة الجريمة مع نصوص القوانين

لأهمية الموضّوع ارى من الضروري مقّارنة ما قام به داعش من الجرائم ضد الايزيدين في سنجار مع نصوص نظام روما الاساسي و الاتفاقيات الدولية و ما جاء في مواد من الدستور العراقي و القوانين العراقية كما يلى:-

م 6: - من نظام روما الاساسي (الابادة الجماعية لغرض هذة النظام الاساسي تعني الابادة الجماعية اي فعل من افعال التالية يرتكب بقصد اهلاك جماعة قومية او اثنية او عرقية او دينية بصفتها هذة اهلاكن كلياً او جزئياً):

أ-قتل افراد الجماعة

ب-الحاق ضرر جسدي او عقلي جسيم بافراد الجماعة

ج-اخضاع الجماعة عمداً لاحوال معيشية يقصد بها اهلاكها الفعلي كلياً او جزئياً د-فرض تدابير تستهدف منع الانجاب داخل الجماعة

عند النظر الى الفقرة ألف اعلاه من حكم المادة السادسة المذكوره اعلاه نرى بأن تنظيم داعش قام بقتل جماعي ضد الايزيدية و باعداد هائلة و المقابر الجماعية الموجودة خير دليل على ذلك و كاذلك هناك شهود عيان نجوا من ضمن الجثث امثال كجي عمي سلو و فواز سفيل عمو و ادريس بشار سلو و غير هم من مجازر قريتي كوجو و قني مهركان و اشخاص اخرين و دليل اخر وجود اكثر من سبعة و اربعين مقبرة جماعية في مناطق مختلف من قضاء سنجار و بذلك تنطبق هذه الفقرة بخصوص قتل افراد الجماعة من قبل مقاتلي داعش اما ما يتعلق بالفقرة (ب) من المادة اعلاه حول الحاق ضرر جسدي او عقلي جسيم بافراد الجماعة خير دليل على ذلك قتل الزوج امام عيون زوجته او اغتصاب البنت أمام والديها و ضرب الاشخاص بشكل مبرح و بشكل جماعي و جوعهم في معسكرات الحجز و اخذ اطفال

الاسحاص بسكل مبرح و بسكل جماعي و جوعهم في معسكرات الحجر و احد اطفال عنوة من امهاتهم و بيع البنات و اغتصابهنا جبراً و هناك امثال و حالات عديدة يحجز عقل بشري في هذه الوقت عن وصفه ناهيك عن موت الأف الناس بسبب قله اكل و الماء و الادوية اللازمة و بذلك تنطبق هذه فقرة من مادة سادسة و بذلك تنطبق هذه الفقرة ايضا على جرائم داعش بحق الايزيدية .

بخصوص الفقرة (ج) من المادة السادسة حول اخضاع الجماعة عمداً لاحوال معيشية بقصد اهلاكها الفعليى كلياً او جزئياً بعد الاطلاع على ما جرى من جرائم داعش و ما اشرنا اليه في الفقرات السابقة اضطر الناس الناجيين من جرائم داعش الاحتماء بسلسلة جبل سنجار و كون جميع اطراف الجبل اراضي سهلة قام مقاتلي داعش في الايام الاولى لمدة اكثر من شهرين بتطويق الجبل من جميع جهاته و منع





وصول المؤن و الادوية الى المحاصرين في الجبل لغرض اهلاكهم مما ادى الى موت المئات بسبب قلة الماء و الاكل و الادوية و لدينا اسماء و ادلة كثيرة بهذا الجانب و نذكر على سبيل المثال وليد حيدر مراد الذي توفي في (كلي بيريني) في منطقة مهركان و فرهاد زمان ابرهيم و العديد غيرهم

اما بخصوص الفقرة (د) حول فرض تدابير تستهدف منع الانجاب داخل الجماعة: قامت عصابات داعش الار هابية بقتل جميع الرجال و تجنيد اكثر من 1900 طفل للتدريب على الهجمات الانتحارية و تغيير دينهم و زرع افكار هم في ادمغتهم و بيع النساء في سواق النخاسة مما يؤدي ذلك الى منع الانجاب و تقليل افراد الجماعة الدينية المستهدفة من الايزدية و بذلك تنطبق الفقرة اعلاه على تلك الجرائم و عند النظر الى حكم الفقرة (هـ) من المادة السادسة اعلاه حول نقل اطفال الجماعة عنوة الى جماعة اخرى تم الاشارة الى ذلك في الفقرة (د) اعلاه و في اماكن اخرى عند التطرق الى اختطاف الايزيدية كخطوة اولى قامت عصابات داعش بعزل الاطفال من عمر اربعة سنوات فما فوق من امهاتهم و تدريبهم على الاعمال الار هابية و غسل ادمغتهم حسب تعاليمهم و هذا دليل على تطبيق حكم الفقرة اعلاه على جرائم داعش

من خلال شرح مضمون المادة السادسة من نظام روما الاساسي المؤرخ في 1998 و الذي دخل حيز التنفيذ في 2002 يظهر جلياً بأن جميع فقراتها تنطبق على جرائم ما يسمى بتنظيم الدولة الاسلامية ضد ابناء الايزيدية في قضاء سنجار و عند النظر الى احكام المادة السابعة من نظام روما الاساسي لمحكمة الجنايات الدولية بخصوص الجرائم ضد الانسانية التي تنص على ما يلي :- لغرض هذا النظام الاساسي يشكل اي من الافعال التالية جريمة ضد الانسانية متى ما ارتكب في اطار هجوم واسع النطاق او منهجي موجه ضذ اي مجموعية من السكان المدنيين وعن علم بالهجوم : القتل العمد: سبق و تم شرحه في المادة السادسة و ذكرنا تلك الاعمال الاجرامية الشنيعة بشكل جماعي و اشرنا الى قسم من اماكن المقابر الجماعية الأبادة الجماعية المادة السادسة سالفة الذكر و مشروحة في هذه المادة ايضاً حيث ان شروط الابادة الجماعية تنطبق على جرائم داعش في سنجار المادة الم

ج- الاسترقاق: خير دليل على ذلك بيع الانسان اليزيدي في اسواق الرقيق بشكل يظهر كانما الانسان في القرون الوسطى و نقلاً عن شهود عيان من الناجيين و الناجيات ان قسم من البنات تم بيعهن اكثر من مرة من خلال ارسال صورتها من امير الى اخر عبر الوبايل و الامثلة على ذلك افادة الناجية بسمة قاسم جولو و اختها الاصغر منها من مواليد 1993 اللتان تم بيعهن اكثر من مرة في محافظة الرقة





د- ابعاد السكان او النقل القسري للسكان: كما هو معلوم لذى الجميع تم تدمير منطقة سنجار بكاملها بالنسبة ساكنيها من الايزدية و تم تهجير هم و تدمير كافة ممتلكاتهم ة مزاراتهم و لا تزال نسبة كبيرة منهم في مخيمات النزوح في كوردستان و عدد كبير منهم التجؤا الى دول العالم و هذا دليل على تطبيق حكم هذه الفقرة على جرائم داعش هـ السجن او الحرمان الشديد على اي نحو اخر من الحرية البدنية بما يخالف القواعد الاساسية للقانون الدولي: تم شرح هذه الفقرة في المواد اعلاه حيث تم سجن الايزيدية في معسكرات الاسر في اماكن متفرقة من سوريا و العراق مع ضربهم و اهانتهم بشكل يخالف مبادئ القانون الدولي و جميع الاعراف الدولية و الانسانية و التعذيب: سبق و تطرقنا الى التعذيب في المادة السادسة حيث تعرضت الايزيدية

و- التعذيب: سبق و تطرقنا الى التعذيب في المادة السادسة حيث تعرضت الايزيدية الى ابشع طرق التعذيب النفسي و الجسدي كما تم شرحه سابقاً

ز- الاغتصاب و الاستعباد الجنسي او الاكراه على البغاء او الحمل القسري او التعقيم القسري او التعقيم القسري او اي شكل اخر من اشكال العنف الجنسي على مثل هذه الدرجة من

الخطورة: الاغتصاب و الاستعباد الجنسي تم شرحه حيث تم اغتصاب بنات قاصرات من قبل اكثر من شخص و اثناء المرض و بالاكراه و حتى في حالات الحيض حيث تم استخدام جميع الاساليب الغير انسانسة معهن

ح- الاضطهاد: بخصوص الاضطهاد الذي جرى ضد الايزيدية تم شرحه حيث تعرضت الايزدية الى الاضطهاد من خلال الضرب و الحجز و اخذ اطفالهم عنوة عنهم و تغيير دينهم قسراً حيث كانت طرق الاضطهاد ضدهم تقوق العقل الانساني و يعجز عنها القلم

ط- الاختفاء القسري للاشخاص: تم شرح هذا الموضوع في المادة السابقة والتاكيد على ذلك لايزال مصير اكثر من ثلاثة الاف ايزيدية غير معروف من بينهم الاطفال والنساء

ي- جريمة الفصل العنصري: في تاريخ 30/نوفيمبر/1973 افتتحت الجمعية العامة للامم المتحدة للتوقيع و تصديق على الاتفاقية الدولية لقمع و معاقبة جريمة الفصل العنصري (تعريف جريمة الفصل العنصري بأنها اعمال غير انسانية ارتكبت لغرض انشاء و ادامة هيمنة فئة عنصرية من الاشخاص على اية مجموعة عرقية اخرى او اشخاص و قمعهم بشكل منهجي) من التعريف و من خلال شرح مواد هذه الاتفاقية يظهر بأن تنظيم داعش ارتكب جرائم ضد الايزيدية لغرض الهيمنة عليهم و ادخالهم الى الاسلام بعد تغيير دينهم و بهذا تم قمعهم بشكل منهجي منظم لذلك ينطبق عليه الفقرة (ي) من نظام روما الاساسى

ك- الافعال اللأنسانية الاخرى ذات الطابع المماثل... سبق و تطرقنا الى جرائم داعش ضد الاقلية الايزيدية و مدى وحشيتها و لا انسانيتها لذلك تسبب لهم اذى خطير





من الناحية الجسمية و الصحية و العقلية و البدنية و الأهمية هذه المادة تم شرح هذه الفقرات ضمن النص القانوني من قبل المشرع

اما بخصوص المادة الثامنة من نظام روما الاساسي م تنص على مايلي: جرائم الحرب:-

يكون للمحكمة اختصاص فيما يتعلق بجرائم الحرب و لا سيما عندما ترتكب في اطار خطة او سياسة عامة او في اطار عملية ارتكاب واسعة النطاق لهذه الجرائم لغرض هذا النظام الاساسي تعنى "جريمة حرب":

(أ)- النتهاكات الجسمية لأتفاقيات جنيف المؤرخة 12/أب/1949, اي فعل من الافعال التالية ضد الاشخاص او الممتلكات الذين تحميهم احكام اتفاقية جنيف ذات الصلة: القتل العمد

التعذيب او المعاملة اللانسانية بما في ذلك اجراء تجارب بيولوجية تعمد احداث معاناة شديدة او الحاق ادى خطير بالجسم او بالصحة

الحاق تدمير واسع النطاق بالممتلكات و الاستيلاء عليها دون ان تكون هناك ضرورة عسكرية تيرر ذلك و بالمخالفة للقانون و بطريقة عابثة

ار غام اي اسير حرب او اي شخص اخر مشمول بالحماية على الخدمة في صفوف قوات دولة معادية

تعمد حرمان اي اسير حرب او اي شخص اخر مشمول بالحماية من حقه في ان يحاكم محاكمة عادلة و نظامية

الابعاد او النقل غير المشروعين او الحبس غير المشروع

اخذ ر هائن

(ب)- الأنتهاكات الخطيرة الاخرى للقوانين و الاعراف السارية على المنازعات الدولية المسلحة، في النطاق الثابت للقانون الدولي، اي فعل من الافعال التالية:

تعمد توجيه هجمات ضد مواقع مدنية اي المواقع التي لا تشكل اهدافاً عسكرية 17 و لطول نقاط هذا النص لاحظت من الضروري الرجوع اليه عند الحاجة كون كافة النقاط الموجودة فيه تنطبق على ذلك الهجوم الشرس على الايزيدية و ابادتهم و عند النظر الى حكم المادة بخصوص جرائم الحرب يلاحظ تطبيق فقرات تلك المادة على ما قام به تنظيم الدولة الاسلامية في العراق و الشام لذلك عند تكييف جرائم داعش في العراق و سوريا و خاصة في قضاء سنجار ضد الاقلية الايزيدية بالامكان اعتبار





ذلك ابادة جماعية 18 (تعريف الابادة الجماعية عرفها البروفيسور الهولندي المختص بالابادة الجماعية بيتر دروست بأنها التدمير المتعمد لحياة مجموعات من البشر لأنهم فقط اعضاء في مجتمع ما 19 و عرفه الفقيه سونيل: ( بالعمل الاجرامي السحوب بالرعب والعنف بقصد تحقيق هدف معين) وكما تنص ( المادة الاولى من قانون الارهاب في اقاليم كوردستان لسنة 2006 على تعريف جريمة الارهاب) 20 لذلك من الواجب الانساني و الاخلاقي على المجتمع الدولي ان يهتم بمثل هذه الاعمال الاجرامية و الارهابية التي تهدد السلم و الامن الدوليين بموجب مواد الفصل السابع من ميثاق الامم المتحدة المواد من 39 الى 51 حيث استند مجلس الامن في

قراراته ذات الصلة ضد مقاتلي داعش في الفصل السابع من الميثاق و خاصة المادة 42 منه التي تنص (اذا رأى مجلس الامن ان التدابير المنصوصة عليها في المادة 41 لا تفي بالغرُّ ض او ثُبِت انها لم تف به، جاز له ان يتخذ بطريق القوات الجوية و البحرية و البرية من الاعمال ما يلزم لحفظ السلم و الامن الدولي او لاعادته الي نصابه و بجوز أن تتناول هذه الأعمال المظاهرات و الحصر و العمليات الأخرى بطريق القوات الجوية أو البحرية أو البرية التابعة لاعضاء الامم المتحدة)(1) و أضافة الى هذه النصوص من ميثاق الامم المتحدة و القوانين و المعاهدات الدولية هناك نصوص من الدستور العراقي و القوانين العراقية تحرم و تشدد العقوبة على الجرائم الخطيرة حيث اكد المادة 37 من الدستور العراقي الدائم لسنة 2005 في الفصل الثاني/الحريات (اولاً- أ:حرية الانسان و كرامة مُصونة. ب- لا يجوز تُوقيف احد او التحقيق معه الا بموجب قرار قضائي. ج- يحرم جميع انواع التعذيب النفسي و الجسدى و المعاملة غير الانسانية، ولا عبرة بأي اعتراف أنتزع بالاكراه او التهديد او التعذيب، و للمتضرر المطالبة بالتعوض عن الضرر المادي و المعنوي الذي اصابه وفقاً للقانون. ثانياً: تكفل الدولة حماية الفرد من الاكراه الفكري و السياسي و الديني. ثالثاً: يحرم العمل القسري (السخرة)، و العبودية و تجارة العبيد (الرقيق)، و يحرم الاتجار بالنساء و الاطفال و الاتجار بالجنس)21

 $<sup>^{18}</sup>$ د. محمداحسان - الصمت – الابادة الجماعية في كور دستان العراق – دار المدى- ط 2015 – ص 35  $^{19}$  د. همداد مجيد علي – الأر هاب اركانة اسبابة اشكالة-حكومة اقليم كور دستان وزارة الثقافة – ط $^{19}$ 

<sup>2</sup> متن قانون مكافحة الارهاب في اقاليم كور دستان – سنة 2006- المادة الاولى

ميثاق الامم المتحدة والنظام الاساسي لمحكمة العدل الدولية - مكتب الاعلام العام / نيويور ك الدستور العراقي الدائم لسنة 2005/ المادة 37





ان قانون العقوبات العراقي شدد العقوبة الخاصة بالجرائم الواقعى على الاشخاص حفاظا على انسانيتهم وكرامتهم حيث وردت عقوبة الاعدام في المادة 406 منه وكذلك المادة 405 على عقوبة السجن المؤبد بخصوص جرائم القتل العمد والمادة 393 من نفس القانون شدد العقوبة حول الاعتداء الجنسي الغير مشروع حيث نصت المادة 405 (من قتل نفسا عمدا يعاقب بالسجن المؤبد او المؤقت) ونصت المادة 406 :- (يعاقب بالاعدام من قتل نفسا عمدا في احدى الحالات التالية)

اذا كان القتل مع سبق الاصرار والترصد

اذا حصل القتل باستعمال مادة سامة او مفرقعة او متفجرة

اذا كان القتل لدافع دنيء او مقابل اجر او اذا استعمل الجاني طرقا وحشية في ارتكاب الفعل

اذا كان المقتول من اصبول القاتل

اذا وقع القتل على موظف عام او مكلف بخدمة عامة

اذا قصد الجانى قتل شخصين او اكثر فتم ذلك بفعل واحد

اذا اقترن القتل عمدا بجريمة او اكثر من جرائم القتل

عند النظر الى هذه المواد نرى انها حددت عقوبات الشديدة للقتل الواقع على الفرد وفي ظروف معينة واذا قارننا جرائم تنظيم الدولة الاسلامية في العراق والشام تجاه الاقلية الايزيدية في سنجار والشعب العراقي مع حكم تلك المواد نرى بان تلك الجرائم مجازر وحشية وقتل جماعي بحق ابرياء عزل حيث يفوق تصور المشرعين وقوع مثل هذه الجرائم وهناك الاف الامثلة على ذلك اذكر منها نموذج واحد على سبيل المثال لا الحصر وهو عندما قام مقاتلي داعش في الايام الاولى من غزوهم لمنطقة سنجار بنقل قسم من الرجال المحتجزين في دائرة الاحوال المدنية في سنجار والذين تم القبض عليهم بعد عزل الاطفال والنساء

منهم الى مزار شيخمند في قرية جدالة غرب مدينة سنجار وبعد جمعهم في المزار تم تفجيره على رؤوسهم وكذلك قتلوا القسم الباقي في الدائرة اعلاه وخاصة الذين رفضو الدخول الى الاسلام وتم دفنهم في مقابر جماعية بواسطة الة الشفل وفق شهود عيان فمثل هذه الجرائم تعتبر ابادة جماعية لان القوانين قد شددت العقوبة بالنسبة للجريمة الواقعة على الفرد في حين جرائم داعش كانت جماعية وباشكال رهيبة يعجز عنها تصور الانسان اما المادة 393 من قانون العقوبات العراقي رقم 111 لسنة 1969 شدد العقوبة الى السجن المؤبد او المؤقت حيث نصت المادة على ما يلي:

1- يعاقب بالسجن المؤبد او المؤقت كل من واقع انثى بغير رضاها او لاط بذكر بغير رضاها او رضاها





2- يعتبر ظرفا مشددا اذا وقع الفعل في احدى الحالات التالية أ- اذا كان من وقعت عليه الجريمة لم يبلغ من العمر 18 سنة كاملة ب- اذا كان الجاني من اقارب المجنى عليه الى الدرجة الثالثة او كان من المتولين تربيته او ملاحظته او ممن له سلطة عليه او كان خادما عنده او عند احد ممن تقدم ذكر ه ج- اذا كان الفاعل من الموظفين او المكلفين بخدمة عامة او من رجال الدين او الاطباء واستغل مركزه او مهنته او الثقة به د- اذا ساهم في ارتكاب الفعل شخصان فاكثر تعاونوا في التغلب على مقاومة المجنى عليه أو تعاقبو على ارتكاب الفعل هـ اذا اصيب المجنى عليه بمرض تناسلي نتيجة ارتكاب الفعل و - اذا حملت المجنى عليها او زالت بكارتها نتيجة للفعل) واذا افضى الفعل الى موت المجنى عليه كانت العقوبة السجن المؤبد واذا كانت المجنى عليها بكرا فعلى المحكمة ان تحكم لها بتعويض مناسب وبخصوص مضمون هذه المادة واسباب تشديد العقوبة اعتبر المشرع عدم بلوغ المجنى عليه سببا للتجديد في الفقرة أوكذلك الحالات الاخرى في حين هناك ادلة دامغة على قيام مقاتلي داعش وامرائه بالاعتداء على بنات ايزيديات في اعمار اقل من 10 سنوات بشكل جماعي ناهيك عن الاف الاعتداءات الجنسية بشكل وحشي وتحت تاثير الضرب والشتم والاهانة مع بنات قاصرات ومع نساء عنوة في ظروف المرض وبشكل جماعي مما ادى الى حدوث نزيف وامراض تناسلية وحالات موت وحمل قسرى لذلك فاقت هذه الجرائم تصور المشرعين في مجال الاعتداء الجنسي و الطرق الوحشية المبتكرة من قبلهم22

بعد كتابة هذا الجهد البسيط و من خلال مواضيع البحث ارى من الضروري كتابة هذه التوصيات لغرض معالجة اوضاع الايزدية بعد الابادة و كذلك باقي ابناء الشعب العراقي و محاولة عدم تكرار ما جرى على الايزدية و الاقليات الاخرى في سهل نينوى و ادناه اهم التوصيات:-

البحث بشكل جدي من قبل الحكومة العراقية الاتحادية و حكومة اقليم كوردستان بالتعاون مع المنظمات الدولية الخاصة بحقوق الانسان و حقوق الاقليات عن المفقودين من ابناء الايزيدية من النساء و الاطفال و الرجال الذين تم اختطافهم من قبل مقاتلي داعش

22 قانون العقوبات العراقي رقم 111 مسنة 1969 وتعديلاته

قانون العقوبات الغرافي رقم 111 مسلة 1969 وتعليدته قانون مكافحة الار هاب في كوردستان العراق رقم 61 لسنة 2006 / المادة الاولى قانون مكافحة الار هاب العراقي رقم 13 لسنة 2005 / المواد 1و 2

د. همداد مجيد على / الارهاب أركانه اشكاله اسبابه / ص17 وما بعده

د. محمد احسان / الابادة الجماعية في كور دستان العراق ص35 وما بعدها سنة الطبع 2015





المحاولة بشكل جدي من خلال التعاون بين الحكومة الاتحادية وحكومة اقليم كور دستان و بالتعاون مع المنظمات الدولية و الدول المانحة للقيام باعمار قضاء سنجار و مناطق سهل نبنوى لغرض عودة النازحين الذين قضوا اربع سنوات في النزوح في ظروف سيئة جدا و في حالة ابقاء الوضع على هذه الحالة سوف نخسر الانسان و الارض معاً

العمل بجدية في مجال تعويض المتضررين و تخصيص رواتب تقاعدية لذوي الشهداء و المفقودين

التعاون الكامل من قبل الحكومة العراقية و حكومة اقليم كور دستان مع فريق التحقيق الدولي المشكل بموجب قرار مجلس الامن 2379 لسنة 2017 لغرض الوصول الى جمع الادلة بشكل كامل و عادل لتقديمها الى مجلس الامن لغرض ايصال الملف الى محكمة الجنايات الدولية

العمل بشكل جدي من قبل الحكومة الاتحادية و حكومة اقليم كور دستان و منظمات المجتمع المدني العمل على اعتدال الخطاب الديني و خاصة في مناهج الدراسية من المراحل الابتدائية لكي لا يتكرر اعمال العنف و زرع الكراهية بين ابناء المجتمع التعاون الجدي بين الحكومة الاتحادية و حكومة اقليم كور دستان حول تطبيق المادة 140 من الدستور العراقي الدائم لغرض تحديد مصير المناطق المتنازع عليها



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#### CONTRIBUTORS SORANI

بهشدار بو و ان به گویرهی دهرکهوتنیان

## دكتور فيرديناند هينه بيشلهر

سالّی ۱۹۶۱ له شاری لینز له نهمسا له دایک بووه. له بهشی میزوو، زانستی زمانی ئه نمانی نرمانهوانیی، فهلسه فه و سایکوّلوّژیی له زانکوّی قییمن خویّندوویه تی. سالّی ۱۹۷۲ بروانامه ی دکتورای له ژیر ناونیشانی چهمکسازیی به دهست هیّناوه. سالّی ۲۰۱۲ بو ۳۲۰ نازنای پروّفیسوّری شانازیی له زانکوّی سلیّمانی پیّدراوه. له ۱۹۲۷ هوه، وهک روّژنامه نووس دهست به کار بووه و به گشتی کاری بو توری پراگهیینه کانی گشتیی و میدیای نهمسا کردووه. له ۱۹۸۰ بو ۱۹۸۰ له بواری دیپلوّماتیی دا کاری کردووه و یاریده دهری دکتور بروّنو کرایسکی پراویّرکاری پیّشووی نهمسا بووه. له باره ی میژوو، فهرهمنگ و شارستانیی کورده و خاوه نی چهندین و و تار و لیکوّلینه و و تویّژینه و می زانستیی و کتیه.

## ئەحمەد تەبقچەلى

سالّی ۱۹۵۸ له ئەستەمبول له توركىيه له دايك بووه. خاوەنى بەكالەريۆسه له زانستى بىركارىيدا كە لە زانكۆى كانتىبيْرى خويندوويە. سالّى ۱۹۸۰ ماستەرى لە زانستى بىركارىي بە پلەى يەكەم لە زانكۆى قىكتۆريا-نيوزلەندا بە دەستەيناوە. سالّى ۱۹۹۱ ماستەرى لە زانستى بىركارىي لە زانكۆى ئۆكسفۆرد لە بەريتانيا بەدەست ھيناوە. لە ئىستادا بە گرىيەست لە زانكۆى ئەمرىكى لە سالىّمانى- عيراق پرۆفيسۆرى يارىدەدەرە و لە ناوەندى تويرىنىنەوەى زانكۆى سلىمانى تويرى ئەرىدارى شمەكە و زۆرتر لە ۲۰ سال ئەزمونى لە بازارەكانى ئەمرىكا و رۆر ھەلاتى ناوەراست و باكورى ئەفرىقادا ھەيە. ئامانجى لىكۆلىنەوەكانى لە ئىستادا بريتىن لە: ئابورى عيراق، ئابوورى خۆرىن، دونياى باش داعش و ھۆكارە ئابووريەكانى سەر ھەلدانى توندوتىرى.

# دكتۆر مىلىتا سونىچ

سالّی ۱۹۰۰ له خیز انیکی کرواتی له ریکا له یو گوسلاقیای پیشوو له دایک بووه. سالّی ۱۹۰۷ و مک مندالیّکی ئاواره بو نه نه سال ۱۹۵۸ دایک و باوکی له کهمپی ئاوارهکانی سهر به نه نه نه نه دایک بووه به خاوه نی پروانامهی دکتورا له بواری سهر به نه نه نه نه داری دکتورا له بواری زانستی پهیوه ندییه کان له زانکوی قبیه ن و له ۱۹۸۸ هوه بووه به وانه بیژ. و مک رو ژنامه وان کاری کردووه. بو ماوه ی ۲۰ سال و مک و و ته بیزی نه نه و می بالای نه ته و می کردوه کان بو کارو با کاری کردوه در همر و مها و مک لیکوله را له سهر نه فریقا و ناسیا و به کاری کردوه. به ریوبه ری جیبه جیکاری پهره پیدانی نیوکلتورییه، که به کاران کاری کردوه. به ریوبه ری و ناواره ده دات.





#### ئەحمەد ئەسكەندەرى

سالمی ۱۹۶۸ له سهقز له کوردستانی ئیران له دایک بووه. له زانکوی شیراز بروانامه ی به به ۱۹۷۸ دا به به دهست هیناوه. سالمی ۱۹۷۸ دا به دانکوی به به به ۱۹۷۸ دا له زانکوی بورد و به ناوه. سالمی ۱۹۷۸ دا به زانکوی بورد و له فهر ه نسه له بواری ئاوناسییدا . D. E. A. به به به باریده دهری کوچکردوو شیخ عیزه ددین حوسه بنی بووه (۱۹۲۲ - ۲۰۱۱) نوینه بری دیاری کومله به له به به به به به به به به به هموو کوردانی جیهان له ئه نجوه مهنی نیوده و له نیوده و له شاهی و چهندینی دیکه. خاوه نی خاچی سور له ژنیف و خاچی سوری ئه سکه نده نافی و چهندینی دیکه. خاوه نی چهندین لیکولینه و و و و تاره له باره ی میژوو و زمان و کاتوور و شارستانیه تی کورده و .

## عومهر شيخ موس

سائی ۱۹۶۲ له عامودا له سورییه له دایک بوه. سائی ۱۹۲۷ له زانکوّی لهنده نه به کالوّریوّسی له کاروباره نیّودهولهٔ تیه کاندا به به به داین به دهست هیّناوه. سائی ۱۹۷۲ له زانکوّی ستوکهوّلم بروانامه ی ماسته ی که پهیوهندی کوردن به سهرکردایه تی یه کیّتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان و بوّ دژایه تی کردنی پرژیّمی سهدام کوردن به سهرکردایه تی یه کیّتی نیشتیمانی کوردستان و بوّ دژایه تی کردنی پرژیّمی سهدام حوسهین دهستی له نووسی نامه ی دکتوراکه ی له باره ی اناژاوه له پروژهه لاتی ناوه پراست داه هملگرتووه. زانا و نووسه و و هرگیر و پراویژکار و چالکوانی دیرینی نیّودهولهٔ تیه له باره ی کورده و مدهب میّژوو و نه ده به و کاتیب و ووتاره ده رباره ی میّژوو و نه ده و کاتوور و شارستانیه تی کورد.

## دكتور سەربەست نەبى

سانی ۱۹۲۸ له قامیشلی له سورییه له دایک بووه. سانی ۱۹۹۶ به کالهریوسی به دهست هیناوه و له ۱۹۹۱ بپروانامه ی دوکتورای هیناوه و له ۱۹۹۱ بپروانامه ی بالای به دهست هیناوه. سانی ۲۰۰۱ بپروانامه ی دوکتورای له زانکوی دیمه شق له بواری فه لسه فه دا به دهست هیناوه. له زانکوی تشرین له دیمه شق وانه بیژ بووه. سالی ۲۰۰۷ ئه م ماقه ی لی سه ندراوه ته و سانی ۲۰۱۰ به ناچاریی پرووی له همریمی کوردستان و نامی له همریمی کوردستان وانه ی ووتو ته و له میناد اله زانکوکانی کویه و هه ولیر وانه بیژه. بابه تی لیکولینه و مکه ی بریتیه له چهمکی کومه نگه ی مه ده نی له فه لسه فه ی نویدا. چه ندین لیکولینه و و کتیبی بالاو کردوته و له باری پره خنه ی میزوی و ئیسالمی سیاسی و شورشی سوریا و کورده و .

# دکتور مایکل م لیزنبیرگ

سالمی ۱۹۶۶ له گرونینگن له هولهندا له دایک بووه. زمانهوانیی و فهلسهفه و زمانناسیی له بهشی فهلسهفه له زانکوی ئهمهستهردام خویندووه. سالمی ۱۹۹۰ بروانامهی دکتورای به دهست هیناوه. پروفیسوری یاریدهده و له زانکوی ئهمستهردام. سالمی ۱۹۹۲ چاودیری ههلبر اردن بووه لهیمکهم ههلبر اردنی کوردستانی عیراقی دوای سهدام. ماوهیهکی زوری





وهک لیکوّلهری مهیدانی لهنیّوان کوردهکاندا بهسهر بردووه و چهندین ووتاری له بارهی سیاسه و کوّمهلگه و نابووری و کلتوور و میرژوی روّشنبیریی ناوچهکه بلاوکردوّتهوه.

## دادوهر قاسم اوسمان

سالمی ۱۹۵۲ له شدنگال له موسل-عیراق له دایک بووه. له زانکوی موسل قانوونی خویندوه و پاشان به شیوازی ئهلکترونی له زانکوی مانچهسته کارگیریی و کاری خویندووه. دیپلومای کارگیریی و کاری له سالمی ۱۹۸۶ و بروانامهی بهکالوریوسی له سالمی ۱۹۹۲ و بروانامهی بهکالوریوسی له سالمی ۱۹۹۲ بهدهست هیناوه. بو ماوهی ۲۰ سال وهک پاریزهر کاریکردوه له شهنگال و سلیمانی. یهکهم دادوهری یهزیدیی بووه که لهلایهن سهروک جهلال تالمهانییهوه هملبریدراوه. سالمی ۲۰۱۸ خانهنشین بووه، له ۲۰۰۷هوه نهندامی یهکیتی پاریزهرانی کوردستانه. دامهزرینه می کومههی سودبهخشانی شهنگاله.

#### دكتور كۆزاد م ئەحمەد

سائی ۱۹۲۷ له به غدا له نیراق له دایک بووه. سائی ۱۹۸۹ به کاله ریوسی له هونه و شوینه و ارتاسییدا به دهست هیناوه. سائی ۱۹۹۳ بروانامه ی ماسته و له ۲۰۱۲ دا بروانامه ی دکتورای له باره ی ئاشورییناسییه وه له زانکوی لهیدن له هو له فی باید به ده بایه و کلتوریی دکتوراکه ی بریتیبوه له سهره تاکانی کور دستانی دیرین: گریدانیکی میژویی و کلتوریی دکتوریی بهشی (۲۰۰۰-۱۰۰۰ پیش زاین). له زانکوی سلیمانی پروفیسوری یاریده ده و سهروکی بهشی شوینه و ارناسییه. بابه ته کانی بریتین له سهره تای میژویی و کلتوورییه کانی کور دستان. شوینه و ارناسی دیاری کورده. خاوه نی چهندین لیکولینه و و کتیب و و و تاره لهسه و سهره تای دیرینی کوردستان.

## دكتۆر حەيدەر سەعيد

سالتی 1970 له نهجهف له دایک بووه، له 1988-1992 کولیژی هونهری له زانکوی به غذا ته واو کردووه، سالی 2001 دکتورای له زمانناسییدا بهدهست هیّناوه، له دوّحه له وو لاتی قهتهر وهک زانایهک له سهنتهری عهرهبیی بو تویژینهوه و لیکولینهوه سیاسییهکان کاردهکا. سهرنووسهری گوقاری سیاسهتی عهربیییه، به شداری کردووه له نووسینی " رایورتی نیشتیمانیی سهبارهت به گهشهپیدانی مروّبی له عیّراق له سالانی 2008 بو 2014 دا". خاوهنی ههریهک له کتیبهکانی "زانسته کوّمه لایه تیهکان، نیّراق 2008، کوّتایی کلتووری ده ولهتی نه ته وه یی 2009، شیعه عهره 2019. گرنگترین لیّکولینه وه ی بریتییه له: عیراق و دابه ش بوونی کوّمه لما





#### CONTRIBUTORS ARABIC

#### دكتور فرديناند هينيربيشلر

ولد في لينز - النمسا عام ١٩٤٦. درس التاريخ وعلم اللغة الألمانية واللغويات والفلسفة وعلم النفس في جامعة فيينا. حصل على الدكتوراه عام ١٩٧٧ عن أطروحته: المفاهيم. منحه جامعة السليمانية شهادة دكتوراه فخرية عام ١٣/٢٠١. عمل صحفيا منذ عام ١٩٦٧ وبشكل رئيسي في هيئة الإذاعة النمساوية أعوام ١٩٨٠ كان مساعد المستشار النمساوي السابق الدكتور برونو كرايسكي. له العديد من المقالات والدراسات والكتب عن تاريخ الكرد وثقافته وحضارته.

#### أحمد طبقتشلي

ولد في اسطنبول- تركيا عام ١٩٥٨. حصل على البكالوريوس في الرياضيات عام ١٩٨٤ بجامعة كانتربري وعلى البكالوريوس في الرياضيات أيضا وبالمرتبة الاولى بجامعة فيكتوريا- نيوزيلندا عام ١٩٨٥. ونال شهادة الماجستير في الرياضيات عام ١٩٨٩ من جامعة أكسفورد- المملكة المتحدة. عمل مدرسا مساعدا في قسم البحوث بجامعة السليمانية. وهو خبير في أسواق رأس المال، ولديه خبرة أكثر من ٢٥ عاما في أسواق الولايات المتحدة والشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا. يركز بحثه على: اقتصاد العراق ، والاستدامة الاقتصادية بعد داعش، وعلى الأسباب الاقتصادية وراء ظهور الارهاب.

#### د. میلیتا ایتش سونتش

من عائلة كرواتية، ولدت في ريبكا- يوغوسلافيا السابقة عام ١٩٥٥. لجأت مع عائلتها الى النمسا وهي طفلة في الثالثة من عمر ها. عاشت مع آباءها في مخيمات مفوضية شؤون اللاجئين. حصلت على الدكتوراه في علوم الاتصالات بجامعة فيينا عام ١٩٨٦ وألقت فيها محاضرات منذ ١٩٨٨. عملت كصحفية وكمتحدثة وباحثة (٢٥ عاما) في شؤون إفريقيا وأسيا والبلقان والعراق أيضا لدى المفوضية. وكذلك عملت مديرا تنفيذيا للحملة الثقافية عبر القارات، وهي وكالة اتصالات متخصصة في الهجرة ومعلومات اللاجئين.

#### احمد اسكندر ي

ولد في سقز- كردستان ايران عام ١٩٤٨. حصل على شهادة البكالوريوس من جامعة شيراز الجيولوجية عام ١٩٧٨. عمل مساعدا للمرحوم الشيخ عز الدين عام ١٩٧٨. عمل مساعدا للمرحوم الشيخ عز الدين الحسيني (١٩٧٦-٢٠١١). قاد ممثلية حزب كوملة في أوروبا. قام باتصالات دولية كمتحدث لشؤون لاجئي الكرد وعمل مع اللجنة الدولية لشؤون اللاجئين وجمعيات الصليب الأحمر الاسكندنافية وغيرها. كتب العديد من الدراسات والمقالات عن تاريخ الكرد ولغته وثقافته وحضارته.

#### عمر شيخموس

ولد في عامودا- سوريا عام ١٩٤٢. حصل على البكالوريوس في الشؤون الدولية بجامعة لندن عام ١٩٦٧. ونال شهادة الماجستير في العلاقات الدولية بجامعة ستوكهولم عام ١٩٧٧. حصل على الدكتوراه عام ١٩٧٨. أعد أطروحة حول سلوك الصراع في الشرق الأوسط، لكنه تخلى عنها وانضمم إلى قيادة الاتحاد الوطني الكردستاني للمشاركة في حركة المقاومة ضد نظام صدام حسين. وهو عالم كردي دولي مخضرم وكاتب ومترجم ومستشار وناشط في مجال حقوق الإنسان. كتب العديد من الدراسات والكتب والمقالات عن تاريخ الكرد وثقافته وحضارته





#### د. سربست نبی

ولد في القامشلي- سوريا عام ١٩٦٨. حصل على البكالوريوس عام ١٩٩٤، والدبلوم العالي عام ١٩٩٦، والماجستير عام ٢٠٠٦. عمل محاضرا في جامعة والماجستير عام ٢٠٠٦. عمل محاضرا في جامعة تشرين وجامعة دمشق. نفي من سوريا عام ٢٠٠٧، وأجبر على المغادرة إلى إقليم كوردستان العراق عام ٢٠٠٠. عمل منذ ذلك الحين كمدرس في عدة جامعات، ويعمل حاليا في جامعة كويه- أربيل. موضوع بحثه: مفهوم المجتمع المدني في الفلسفة الحديثة (أطروحة). نشر العديد من الدراسات والكتب حول النقد التاريخي والإسلام السياسي والثورة السورية والأكراد.

#### الدكتور ميشيل م. ليزنبيرك

ولد في جرونينجن بهولندا عام ١٩٦٤. درس فقه اللغة الكلاسيكي والفلسفة واللغويات في كلية الفلسفة بجامعة أمستردام. بجامعة أمستردام. حصل على الدكتوراه عام ١٩٩٥. وهو استاذ مساعد في قسم الفلسفة بجامعة أمستردام. كان مراقبا للانتخابات في أول انتخابات إقليمية في كردستان العراق مابعد صدام عام ١٩٩٢. أمضى فترات طويلة من البحث الميداني بين الأكراد، ونشر العديد من المقالات حول المجتمع والسياسة والاقتصاد والتاريخ الثقافي والفكري للمنطقة.

#### الحاكم قاسم رؤوف ش.م.

ولد في سنجار بمحافظة نينوى- العراق عام ١٩٥٢. درس القانون في جامعة الموصل وإدارة الأعمال في جامعة مانتشستر (عبر الإنترنت). حصل على دبلوم إدارة الأعمال عام ١٩٨٤، وعلى ليسانس الحقوق عام ١٩٥٤. عمل ٢٥ عاما كمحام وقاض بشكل رئيسي في سنجار والسليمانية. وهو أول قاض ايزيدي في العراق يعينه الرئيس الراحل جلال طالباني. متقاعد مند يوليو ٢٠٠٨. عضو نقابة القضاة في كردستان منذ عام ٢٠٠٧. مؤسس جمعية سنجار الخيرية ٢٠٠٣. شارك في دورة تدريبية خاصة بالتحقيق الجنائي في المملكة المتحدة.

#### د. كوز اد محمد أحمد

ولد في بغداد- العراق عام ١٩٦٧. حصل على البكالوريوس في الفنون والأثار بجامعة بغداد عام ١٩٨٩. ونال شهادة الماجستير عام ١٩٩٣ والدكتوراه في علم الأشوريات بجامعة ليدن- هولندا عن أطروحته: بدايات كردستان القديمة، تأليف تاريخي وثقافي (حوالي ٢٥٠٠-١٥٠ قبل الميلاد). بروفيسور مساعد ورئيس قسم الأثار بجامعة السليمانية. الموضوعات: البدايات التاريخية والثقافية لكردستان القديمة. باحث أثار كردي. كتب العديد من البحوث والكتب والمقالات عن الأصول القديمة لكوردستان.

#### دكتور حيدر سعيد

ولد في النجف- العراق عام ١٩٧٠. درس طالبا من ١٩٨٨-١٩٩٢ في كلية الأداب- جامعة بغداد. درس علم اللغة عام ٢٠٠١. باحث في المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات في الدوحة- قطر. رئيس تحرير مجلة السياسات العربية. شارك في اعداد "التقرير الوطني للتنمية البشرية في العراق" عامي ٢٠٠٨ و ٢٠٠٨. الف: العلوم الاجتماعية في العراق ٢٠٠٨، نهاية ثقافة الدولة الوطنية ٢٠٠٩، العرب الشيعة ٢٠١٨. الاهتمامات البحثية الرئيسية: العراق ومجتمعاته المنقسمة.





# داهاتووی کورد

كۆنفرانسى نيودەوللەتى زانكۆى سليمانى و زانكۆى بۆلىتەكنىكى سليمانى

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