

The Assyrian Question & The Self Determination Right... - Ashor Giwargis

Scientists do agree that civilizations were formed through different eras of history and they went through different stages from hunting to shepherding, then agriculture followed by civilized structuring which came in the form of societies built upon social interlocking of the oneness of traditions, land, and history forming thus ethnicities with their own distinctive traits.

The formation of multiple civilizations on this planet led to infinite struggles especially where it concerned the Middle East area for reasons mostly economical which were created by the West for the geographical existence of the Middle East on The Silk Road (1) thus the West took advantage of the mosaic of religions within the peoples of the area.

Today, oil attracts the conspiracies and plots of the great nations for they again are taking advantage of the area where religions began, and the eastern mentality with its religious and sectarian rigor was responsible for the annihilation of millions through history where Christianity, Islam and Judaism meet and the followers of these religions don't agree upon any thing except that they all worship God while some don't recognize all that has to do with progress and accepting the other. Not to mention other reasons which are the cause of hostilities between the peoples of these religions. All this stems from ethnic ideologies which created contradicting outlooks which pour into the corner of "struggling for existence" within the same geographical spot, and as long as problem of "clash of religions and civilizations" continue without pin pointing and solving them, the situation is going to continue to intensify, increasing hatred between the peoples of the Middle - East, turning the indigenous peoples in the process into the "sacrificial lamb" in the struggle of the intruders.

The Assyrians who are an indigenous people of the Middle East, will be the focus of this article, since they have suffered over the centuries and still are while their rightful cause continues to be crushed between the West's imperialistic hammer and the anvil of a degraded neighbour...

The Assyrian Cause is a dilemma created by the intruders onto the national Assyrian homeland turning it into a "Case" which branched into different facets when the Assyrian ethnicity is faced with a fateful dilemma because of the ethnic and religious belonging.

During the past century, the Assyrian Cause entered as a "problem" through two gates into the arena of the Middle East, the first being religious and going back to the first centuries A.D. when the Assyrians embraced Christianity, and the second an ethnic one represented in the suffering which followed the first national revolt of 1915, in the time of the Martyred Patriarch Mar Binyamin Shimon.

The Assyrian people belong to Assyria (known as Mesopotamia), their language is "modern Assyrian" (which is the Old Assyrian [Akkadian] with Aramaic influences) and its use began during the time of the Assyrian King Sennacherib (705-681 BC). The language is also known as "Syriac" stemming from the Church literature and in reference to the Syrian Church. The Assyrians were the pioneers in establishing the first state-system in history that came about during the Akkadian period. Following the coming of Jesus Christ, the Assyrians embraced Christianity at the hands of the Apostles in the First century A.D. (I Peter 5:13) This was a

reason for the massacres committed against them and specifically during the time of the Persian king Shahpur II (4th century A.D.) then during the Islamic Caliphate, and later the Ottomans whose history is smeared with the blood of its subjects, but especially the Christians.

The Assyrians number about 3.2 million people worldwide; the largest numbers live in the Diaspora because of forced deportations, while the rest still live in Assyria under the threat of most of their neighbors who came onto the land throughout history.

1- Fate's Indignation (A historical overview)

The West's greed in the region goes back several centuries, and has had a basic role in the calamities that befell the Assyrians. After the treaty of 1535 between the Ottomans and France, the latter was permitted to send "missionaries" to the lands which were under Ottoman control, thus the Catholic campaign began upon the Church of The East with the Dominicans, Capuchins, Jesuits, and Carmelite missions' arrival. This ended in separating a part of the Assyrians from their glorious Eastern Church heritage by joining Catholicism on April 9, 1553. The new Catholic church prospered under the pressure and torture of the Kurds (!) who were paid by the missionaries into forcing the poor villagers to practice the catholic rites in their churches (2). Out of such suffering a new church was born in the Assyrian society, it has been spreading in the plains of Assyria since the mid-19th century, and is known today as the "Chaldean" Church being in union with Rome (Uniate Church).

For the longest time, the Assyrians asked for help from their neighboring Christian countries, to be saved from the Islamic persecution in the region. Frederick Engels gave an example of that in one of his letters to Karl Marx when he said: "As long as the Christians continue to be persecuted by the Ottomans, it's certain that they will look up to the Orthodox Church and its leader of 60 million Orthodox whoever he is, as their liberator and protector" (3). What affirms Engels's statements is a letter from the Patriarch Mar Rouil Shimon (1860-1903) to King Michael (4) on May 14, 1868. In this letter the Patriarch states: "... We are a poor nation, my people have no place to sow a sufficiency of grain to provide themselves with bread ... The Kurds have forcibly taken many of our Churches and convents, they constantly abduct our virgins, brides, and women, forcing them to turn Moslems... The Turks are worse, they do not protect us, demand military taxes, poll tax, also the Kurds take our money for they consider us as "Zirr Kurr" (slaves - being Christians...writer's note)... Now, such being our condition, we beseech your mightiness, for the sake of Jesus, His Baptism, and cross. Either free us from such a state or to procure us a remedy... May God preserve you, Amin - Qudshanis" (5)

The Assyrians' suffering continued without any attention on the part of Russia, then 30,000 Assyrians of Iran joined the Russian Orthodox Church on March 24, 1898 on the condition that Russia protect them from Islamization and persecution. The English and French missions forgot about their conflict to control the Church of the East and united in order to compete with the Russian Church. Their missions began to create plots claiming before the Iranians and the Ottoman Sultan that the Assyrians were collaborating with the Russians which caused many Assyrians to migrate to Russia in the 19th century, especially from the plains [Gawar, Albaq, Salamas]. Meanwhile, the Russians could not find the time for the "liberation" which the Assyrians had asked for, except in WWI when the signs of a general massacre began to loom

in the Turkish horizon. When the Russians felt dangerously threatened by the Turks and the Germans on the eastern front [Caucasian Mountains], the French and English took advantage of the state in which the Christians were living in what is now known as Turkey. They promised the Assyrians independence and freedom after centuries of suffering if they joined the allies, as Britain did with the Arabs in 1916. The Arabs, on the other hand, did obtain their independence at the end.

Before the beginning of WWI, a nationalistic trend had begun to infiltrate the societies of the Middle East from Europe at the end of the 19th century influenced by the French Revolution. Thus, the peoples of the region began to move from religious racism to one that was more nationalistic. The Turks established the "Young Turks" association in July of 1908 " which developed into the "United and Advanced Party" calling for the Turkification of all ethnicities found within the lands still considered as Turkish until today. The Arabs on the other hand established the secretive "Al-Aahad"(covenant) and "Al-Aarabiyya Al-Fatat"(Young Arab) associations. The latter played a big role in WWI in convincing Al Hussein bin Ali (Mecca's noble - Sheriff) to join the allies on an "Arab" nationalistic basis after he had declared his stand against them at the beginning of war and had joined the Ottomans on an "Islamic" religious basis (specifically Sunni). As the Arabs were collaborating with the English to gain their freedom, so were the English in order to control the oil of the East as confessed by Lawrence of Arabia (6).

Just like the Arabs, the Assyrians entered WWI with the allies seeking independence and removal of the Ottoman oppression. The Assyrians were known on the international platforms as the "Smallest Ally". During this period two thirds of the Assyrian nation was slaughtered. The massacres which were committed against the Assyrians were at the same time ethnic and religious and the goal of joining the war was so that the Assyrians would be liberated from oppression, to establish the Assyrian State in their historical homeland, and practice their right in self determination.

Following fierce battles against the Persians, Turks, and Kurdish tribes and losing more than 200,000 Assyrians [first two years of war]. A group of Assyrian intellectuals and leaders prepared a declaration "United Free Assyria" on July 28, 1917 which was known as the Urmia Manifesto. This declaration consisted of 20 clauses and acted as the Constitution of a sought after Assyrian State. It seemed far more advanced than most of the Middle East's countries constitutions for it recognized the rights of all ethnicities found in Assyria. This declaration was greeted with support from the allies who held a special meeting with the Assyrian leaders in order to discuss the project of an Assyrian State, this came to be at the beginning of 1918. The meeting was attended by representatives of Britain, Russia, and France; they promised the Assyrians an independent state at the end of war. This was also confirmed by the Russian consul in Iran, Vassily Nikittin, who represented the Russian side when he said: "the representative of Britain emphasized on granting the Assyrians their independent state following the war because they truly deserve it" (7).

This was the official beginning of the Assyrian State project for the first time in the Assyrian history since the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. The "Assyrian National Council" was established in Urmia, Iran, only to become an Assyrian government for the free state of Assyria, but that did not last long. After the Russians took advantage of the nationalistic spirit of the Assyrians

in order to realize military victories in the region of Azerbaijan in Iran, Lenin's Revolution broke out and the Russians withdrew from the war. The Assyrians were surrounded by their enemies: the Kurds, Iranians, and Turks, and continued to resist for several months until their ammunition ran out. The British took advantage of the situation this time (8) and persuaded the Assyrians to the plains of Assyria which is the most important part of the Assyrian national homeland [today's Northern Iraq].

In Iraq the Assyrians were settled in temporary camps where they were constantly and severely attacked following the 1920 revolution, simply because they were of the same faith as the "colonist". This was a major reason for the Assyrians to be weary of being considered the "new enemy" by the Arabs, along with the Turks and Kurdish tribes. Great Britain again took advantage of this situation and began to create problems between the Iraqi government and the Assyrians whose role ended in driving out the Turks from the North of Iraq after bloody confrontations (9).

The plots of the English can be summed up in the "resettlement project", when Turkey firmly refused the return of the Assyrians in the Lausanne treaty of 1923. In 1925 Mosul was joined to Iraq, thanks to the Assyrians who voted for that before the League of Nations' Commission. The Assyrians demanded to be settled within a homogenous population unit due to the dangers that they were facing because of the Kurdish tribes and Arabs, but their demand fell on deaf ear. Instead they were settled in the regions infested with malaria causing the death of a large number of babies (10). Some were settled in lands which could not be cultivated and were under the mercy of Kurdish bourgeoisie. They were separated from each other so that the Iraqi government used this card to refuse self government for the Assyrians (11) on the decision of the League of Nations. Britain continued to create problems between the Assyrians and Iraqi government which culminated in an Assyrian massacre in August 1933, whereby around 4000 men, women and children were massacred at the hands of the Iraqi army lead by colonel Bakir Sidqi (a Kurd) who was later on promoted to the rank of major-general as a reward for committing the massacre. He was helped by the Arab tribes under the banner of Jihad and under the direct supervision of Britain (12). Patriarch Mar Ishai Shimon was exiled to Cyprus with his family; followed by a fierce media campaign against the Assyrians in Arab newspapers, while Prince Ghazi the son of Faisal the first, the Hashemite who ordered the massacre was showered with greetings as the Assyrians were portrayed as the "colonist's collaborators" forgetting who brought his family from Saudi Arabia to rule Iraq.

It is to be noted that these greetings came with an apparent Arab [nationalistic tone on the outside].... but in reality it was from the Sunni sect only. The Allies tried to relocate the Assyrians from Assyria to other parts of the world with the aim of melting them in foreign societies, as if the Assyrians were a people without a land, but their attempts failed with the insistence of the Assyrian people to remain in the homeland, while the project of an Assyrian State remained a dream after all the promises of the allies in WWI.

Because of those promises, the Assyrians were considered "collaborators" by the "intruders" who treated the Assyrians so badly that they were forced to ask for help from Russia and later on Britain, even though the Assyrians followed the same path as the Arabs in getting rid of the Ottomans. The latter were far less loyal to the English. It is worth noting here that even

the Najaf scholars welcomed the British in Iraq following Turkey's defeat and sent letters of congratulations to King George V (13).

Thus, the de-facto powers are the ones to decide who is and is not a collaborator. These are the same forces that decide when to make collaboration legitimate. This has reached such an extent that the Assyrian is even cautious of saying any thing, for he is forbidden to mention the "Assyrian homeland" or the "independent Assyrian State" or he will be directly classified as "Zionist" or a "collaborator", while the intruders who are in the Assyrian national homeland have the right to openly declare that they have the right for an independent state, and they have succeeded in imposing their demands on those who so call themselves "Arab" nationalists.

2- The Assyrian national movement lacks revolutionary thought

The enemies of the former Soviet Union followed suit by applying the international "Nationhood" for geographical-economical reasons regardless of ethnic affiliation, so the European Union was established and is formed of several nationalities and in turn will form the "European Nation" exactly as did the "American Nation". The Arabs failed in realizing the "Arab Nation" which was supposed to be formed of all those who call themselves Arabs from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. The countries of the Middle East (Arabs and others) failed even in realizing a "nation" within a "state".

Thus we can be certain that the Middle Eastern peoples who are dominating the Assyrian lands failed miserably in applying what they had imported from the west (that is the nationalistic theories). This failure is particularly evident in Iraq where there is a variety of nationalities and religions.

Today, the sincere Iraqis are looking to "nationalize" Iraq, that is to consider Iraq as a fully developed nation on its own merit, consisting of all the ethnicities and religions to the extent that some have suggested the withdrawal of Iraq from the League of Arab countries. Others call for a middle course in the Iraqi political thought, that is to correct the national ideas of every group with what is beneficial for it and for the national interest in general... But in reality the Iraqi body is decaying on the inside with religious racism hidden behind the slogan of tolerance, and degenerated thinking hidden behind the slogan of morals and religious traditions, and separatism hidden behind the slogan of federalism....

The Iraqi people and politicians are well aware of all this, also the Assyrian people are especially aware of this but its politicians continue to raise the patriotic Iraqi and Kurdistani speech above the Assyrian national speech and at the expense of the Assyrian nationality.

With the elimination of the regime which is blamed today for all the crimes in Iraq, the real intentions of all the political Iraqi groups surfaced, these same intentions were present at the London Conference which was held by the Iraqi Opposition in December of 2002. After the establishment of the governing council, the same statements which were used in the London Conference were used here. They do not apply to the diversity of the Iraqi people, such as the use of the denominational names for the Arabs (Sunni - Shiaa) and the Assyrians as (Christians) or the (peoples of Kurdistan) while only the Kurds are mentioned by their ethnic

name, even though they are "Sunni and Shiaa" just like the Arabs! We noticed as well in the declarations of the new council that they carried Islamic tones such as using the phrase:"...In the name of Allah the merciful, the beneficent" and this contradicts the principle of secularism which was claimed by most of the members. In its declaration dated July 22, 2002 in the 3rd clause it mentions:" Respecting the Islamic identity of the majority of the Iraqi people"... without mentioning the other religions (Christians, Yizids, Jews and Sabaeans...) which are all Iraqis before the Islam.

The clash of civilizations and religions is still going on until today in the Middle East region, just like in Iraq where the indigenous people are under threats of religious persecution within a project of imposing Islam and a national persecution in the shadows of the Kurdish project which has turned to be the greatest danger on the Assyrian nationality since the beginning of the national Kurdish movement in the 20th century. The United States stands silent on the Kurdish project in order to use it as a rod to threaten the Arabs in Iraq, raising in the process the plots to justify the continuity of its existence in Iraq. The Arab countries remain silent towards the Kurdish project because its engineers are Sunni Muslims. Iran on the other hand supports the Islamization of the Iraqi regime because the majority are Shiaa, while the Sunni Arabs are waiting for the return of Saddam or the Sunni Hashemite "liberator"... In all this, the Assyrians are trying to come closer to all those who do not respect the religious and national beliefs and characteristics of the Assyrian people.

Since the passing of its heroes (Malik Yaqou Ismail, Mar Ishai Shimon... and others) the Assyrian national movement has become "submissive", yielding and unsuccessful in organizing itself to face its degenerate surroundings which influenced its present as well as its future path.

1- Why are the Assyrians collaborating with the Kurdish tribes in political fronts so ambitious in establishing a Kurdish entity on the Assyrian Land? Qamoo ashurayeh plakhina min qoordaye, oo hayoorena go daha jwooja qoordaya kat neeshoo eeleh shatasta atra qoordaya al atra ashuraya?

2- Why do we keep on hearing the phrase "the Kurdish liberation movement" or "Palestinian liberation"? And we don't hear about an Assyrian "liberation" movement? Qamoo akhjee ki shamakh boot jwooja qoordaya qa kheeroota? Ya jwooja Palestinaya qa kheeroota, eena hich dana le shamakh khabrit, jwooja atooraya qa kheeroota?

3- Why does a Kurd and a Palestinian speak of an independent homeland, while the Assyrian has to sing the symphony of brotherhood and harmony while he knows well that he's surrounded by his enemies? Qamoo qoordaya oo palestinaya ki hamzim basit atra kheera oo azad, eena ashuraya ki zamir bi hawazit akhoonwayoota oo khooba oo shlama, kad awin bedayeleh peeshele khoordiya bee dishmin?

4- Why should the Assyrian beg others to just recognize his nationality? On his own historic land? Qamoo ashurayeh garig nonee bi kheeneh qad akhchee mode b'hayayoota Ashureta? Al Araa tarikhnaya diyoo?

The mere thought of posing these questions gives the reader an idea about the level of degradation which the Assyrian national movement has reached at present, not to mention the weak positions of Assyrian politicians before the rest of the Iraqi currents.

Matkhartit anee booqareh yawehleh qa qaryana kha khiyal qad kma aha jwooja oumtanaya Ashuraya silyeleh min daw qadra oo goo moot ahwal weereleh, oo kma zaboona eela kletit daw politiqaya Ashuraya go patiti daha gighla poolitiqaya go iraq.

This was realized by the Assyrian public starting in 1991 which may lead to isolation from the Diaspora where the real power of the Assyrians remains, and through which the Assyrian Cause can be imposed as a real dilemma in the Iraqi equation ... and this has never happened. Oumta Ashureta rishla bee daha mindee go sheetat 1991 oo balkit min hada ashurayeh go galoota rkhiqloon, sabab khela Ashurayaeleh go galoota, oo beorkha daha khela swoota doumta Ashureta bit kaleh go patit Iraqnayeh, oo aha mindee hala leleh tiya l'eetoota.

This degradation is a result of the plurality of decisions and in this the blame goes equally to all sides because the Assyrian national movement is suffering in general of a chronic disease which is the failure in programming a united political speech. Aha khrawa/parpasta teeleh l'eetoota sabab qtayateh preeshe teeloon l'eetoota o ganah min kool geebaneh min sabab swoota d'oomta Ashureta eela mreeta oo marro eele qad la mseela b'kha qala maqriwa.

3 - Factors negatively influencing the path of the Assyrian National Movement: Nooqzeh mashmiraneh qad zoobinona Swoota d'Oumta Ashureta oo pirdisona jwooja Ashuraya

3.1 - External Factors: Nooqzeh Barayeh

3.1.1 - Religious Factor: If we are to observe the Assyrian Cause, we would notice that its path has been greatly influenced by the religious nature of its environment, also the Kurdish density and power in the region which is influenced to a great extent with the religious nature of the Kurds.

Nooqza qamaya eeleh tawdeetanaya. In gashqakh al swoota oumta Ashureta bit parmiyakh qad oorkha djwooyo pisholeh kar moota allo tawdeeta Qoordeta.

They entered in great numbers in Assyria and Armenia with the Mongols who gave them vast lands in exchange for their support, Qoordayeh wiroon go Ashur o goo Arministan min moghoolaye, kad yoowellon khadarya arrateh qa hayarteh.

then the nomad Kurdish tribes were welcomed in Turkey in the beginning of the 16th century because of their Sunni Muslim denomination whereby the Ottoman Sultan supported and armed them to fight off the Shiaa Safawiyyin of Iran. Kharta qoordeyeh pishloon qoobli pshena go Turkiya shooryit doorit Ishtasar sabab eewa Sunni min hada sultan it turkyaa hooyirele oo yoweleh chakki qad palshee min saffawiyeen d'Iran.

Iranians did the same when they brought those tribes from Isfahan and today they are known as Iranian – Kurds OOp Iranayeh widloon hadakh egad mooyeeloon showdkeh min Isfahan, kad

idyoo yooma peesheneh diyee akh Iranayeh Qoordaye, (Qoordit Iran).

(14) . They were again armed and supported against the Sunnite Turkey and its Kurds this increased the influence of these tribal groups within the two countries, so they caused trouble and destruction in the villages of Armenians and Assyrians whose complaints to the local governors in Turkey and Iran fell on deaf ears because they were non-Muslims.

Oo bahada, midre yoowewa chikke qa palshee min sunni d' Turkayeh oo Qoordayeh ooha yoowilla khela qa danee showdeh mushilmaneh go danee tre atrawateh, min hada mooyeelon khozdaga al matwateh Ashurayeh oo Arimnayeh, kad qwalteh looblaloon kis hookma Turkaya oo Iranaya, eena natyatit denee hookmeh koorkirewa sabab lewa Mushilmaneh.

Even today we clearly notice the Arab silence about the Kurdish separatism, also the clear and evident silence on swallowing what is called "Kurdistan", Oop odyoo yooma bighzayikh qad Arabeyeh eena shteeqeh boot prashta d'Qoordeyeh min Iraq, oop shteeqooteh boot shimmit d'Kurdistan.

and even the Arab media supporting and promoting this project. This unprecedented understanding for the problems of others is illogical on the part of the Arabs, if we do not take into consideration the religious and denominational factors. Oop koonoosh matanooyateh d'Arabeyeh eena bisnada o maroomeh aha pilkhana Qoordaya. If the Assyrians asked for their rights in their historical land, (as the Kurds are claiming) they would have faced the same fate as that of WWI and 1933 and at the hands of the Arabs of Iraq.

In Ashurayeh talbeeloon haqooyateh go atra d'ganeh, makh Qoordayeh bidlabena haqooyateh, Ashurayeh bit ateewas pirma alleh dakh widloon Arabayeh breeshe go sheetat 1933, go Simel 3.1.2 - National Factor: The Assyrians have always been faced with the attempts to obliterate their national existence in all the Middle East countries until today.

Nooqzeh Oomtanayeh-Hal oodyoo yooma, swoota d'oumta Ashureta pishtelah dooshdishta go Madankha Masaaya The Arab revolution of 1916 marked the beginning of the Arab nationalistic trend in the 20th century. Thowra d'Arabeyeh teela l'eetoota go sheetit 1916 oo aha eewa neeshanqa d'shooraya d'oumtanyoota d'Arabeyeh This movement progressed over periods of time bringing about more Arabic currents which were not any less chauvinistic from their Turkish predecessors, for these currents tried to Arabize all the ethnicities on the lands which they consider to be Arab.

Aha jwooja Arabaya moonteeleh qa kha midkha yareekha, oo moozyidleh Arabayoota kad lewa boosh basoor min chavanaya Turkaya, sabab neeshoo eewa qa maghdirra kooleh kool alma bikhayewa al arate d'anee bikshawewa eena arate d'arabayeh, qad odeeloon Arabayeh. , this also coincided with the beginning of a "Kurdish" nationalistic trend increasing thus the unsolved files in the Middle East, but especially in the Assyrian National Homeland. And today the Kurds ask for the Assyrian homeland using what power they have and taking advantage of the calamities of the countries which they live in side by side to the rightful owners of the land. Aha jwooja chuvanaya teeleh l'eetoota har be deh danit oumtanyoota d'Qoordayeh khaloonewa. Aha boosh mozyidla en kitreh ditwala madankha, samazooda al atrit Ashurayeh. OODYOO

yooma Qoordayeh bitlabena atrit Ashurayeh b'kool khelit itloon oo bishqalena pasoolta min den kitreh d'eetin go den atrawateh d'anee bikhayeneh marzeh.

The Kurdish national movement followed the same chauvinistic policy towards the Assyrians as soon as they had the chance (15). Aha jwooja oumtanaya Qoordaya har en pasoolyateh shqeeleleh darqool d'Ashurayeh, dakh en mushilmaneh kheeneh shqeelewa. The Behdinani Kurds deliberately followed an organized terrorism policy after 1991 in order to drive out the Assyrians taking over their lands, terrorizing them and assassinating their leaders as admitted by Mr Jalal Talabani (16).

Behdinani Qoordayeh makhsoosan shqiloon pasoolyateh qad ajizeewa qa Ashurayeh, oo qad Ashurayeh reqee, oo qoordaya shaqiloon arratit Ashurayeh, oop biqddala qa qayoomit Ashurayeh, dakh moodeeleh Jalal Talabani.

Therefore, the Assyrian nationality is in the position of a hostage amongst most of its neighbors. Boot hada, oomta Ashureta eela bikhaya makh yakhsir go shwawootoh. Following the fall of the despised regime in Iraq, it became clear to those observing the Assyrian situation that both the [religious and national] gates which were briefly mentioned, are still opened for more probable massacres and that because of the mosaic of people, conflicts and quarrels in Assyria.

Bar mpaltit hookma d'Saddam, en dgashhoqewa al ahwal d'Ashurayeh ghzeeloon qad hala eet pirset qa pirma d'Ashurayeh, sabab ahwal raba khirbela min kool geebaneh..

3.2 - Internal Factors:

Nooqzeh Gawanayeh

3.2.1- Absence of revolutionary thinking in the Assyrian political thought:

Leet takhmanta khadta go takhmanta politiqeta ashureta Being revolutionary does not necessarily mean armed struggle; Lela lazim palshakh be chakki in bayakh mayakh shookhlapa go takmanta politiqeta. on the contrary it is more of an intellectual rebellion (politics, literature, media, and social) on all that may threaten the dignity of a nation and its national existence in its historical land. B'AAksa daha, garik shookhlapa ateh b'oorkha d'saprayoota, oomanoota, koonish maddanooyateh, oop be ilmeh shotapayeh, oo kallakh darqool d'kool mindee mayileh zyana al swoota oomtaneta Ashureta al arrit Ashur. However, the Assyrian reality is totally the opposite where it is represented in a totally excessive simplicity in political goals and futuristic views. EEena, bighzayikh oodyoo yoma shrara eeleh biaaksa daha, eekit swoota oomta Ashureta eela sada, (aadee) oo litla kha gashaqtah rikhqantea. It is noticed that those Assyrian parties which hold obvious liberating goals are very small and have no political influence in comparison to those adopting obscure goals and which are limited to some defeated phrases which proved useless to accomplish any thing for the past decades and which if they resulted in something it would be for a very short period of time in the Middle Eastern medium full of surprises and changes.

Oodyoo yooma bighzayikh en gabbeh Ashurayeh ditloon neeshit kheeroota eena raba sooreh

be minyanah oo litllon kar meteta. Oo en kheeneh oop in hawee gooreh bimnyana litloon shooq min khabreh badeeleh, oo khzeelan pladdit pilkhaneh anee 10 shineh kharayeh hich mindee lewa oo oop in haweewala kha pladta, le masyawa shatisawala ganoo qa kha midkha yareekha, makhsoosan go daha madankha masaaya milya min shookhlapa oo oo khjalta

The rights which the Assyrians are demanding today may be granted for a certain period of time according to the inclinations of an eastern ruler or through the instructions of his western master, as it was in the time of the martyred President Abd el Karim Qasim in Iraq or the Shah of Iran (may they rest in peace) En madlabeh Ashurayeh oodyoom balkit hawee pessheh yoowih b'kha qayooma makh Abd Kareem Qasim, yan Shah, (alaha manikhloon toorweh) oop ay bit pasha poopilta min kha khela marwaya , but at the end Qasim was killed and the Assyrian rights disappeared for 40 years during which more than 1.5 million Assyrians were forced to flee from the persecution of the central regime and the tribal Kurdish parties in Assyria. Eena go praqta, Qasim pishleh qdeela oo haqooyateh d'Ashurayeh tliqloon qa arpee shineh, oo go do mitkha, 1.5 Ashurayeh majboor weeloon reqeeh min zloomya datra oop min zloomya d'gabbeh d'Qoordayeh.

When the Shah was forced into exile, more than 150,000 Assyrians fled over a period of 24 years because of the practices of the Islamic regime thus today there are no more than 50,000 Assyrians in Iran ... and who knows until when ? Eeman Shah pishleh dreeda boosh zoda min 150,000 Ashurayeh riqloon min Iran go mitkhit 24 shineh min sababit zloomya mushilmana. OO odyoo yooma basooro min 50,000 Ashurayeh pyasha go Iran.

It is well noticed that the larger, deep rooted parties refrain always from mentioning the word "Assyria" or a "national Assyrian homeland" in their political speeches, so those who mention the two phrases would be ridiculed by the leaders of the "Assyrian national movement" whose organizations continue to build the Assyrian home on weak foundations and ideas empty of any hint for liberalism which led and will lead future Assyrian generations to walk in the same defeated path.

Bighzayikh en gabbe d'eena gooreh le mapleekhee khabrit "Ashuraya" oop le matkhiree go hamzamyateh "atra Ashuraya" oop en khakma mineh maplikhee hatkha khabraneh, qayooma d'jwooja Ashuraya Demoqrataya ke maskhir beeyeh, kad o qayooma ganoo bnayileh beta Ashuraya al kha asas yan bitnawra zaboona. Oop takmenyateh d'anee qayoomeh eena badeeleh oop bit mawidee en tawleedate Ashurayeh khateh bit azee bedeh oorkha.

The activities of these organizations have been limited in culture, arts, and glorifying linguists and journalists and poets with rarely mentioning any revolutionary symbols. Amal d'Anee shoutaseh/gabbeh eela akhchee seereleh be oumanyoota, amaleh shotapayeh, yan seereh be leeshana, yan saprayoota, eena litloon rimzeh d'revolution.

Futurewise these organizations had no plans and money was spent on graduating students in fields such as medicine, engineering, rather than in politics, international law, history, and military sciences...On the other hand some organizations glorified some revolutionary Assyrian symbols who died serving the Kurdish case.

Go daateet, any gabbeh/shootaseh litloon pilaneh, oo zooza peesheleh koorja qa maqreta d'iskoolayeh go khaqleh d'Engineering, la poltiqayoota yan qanooneh politiqayeh teevelayeh, yan tarikhneyeh, yan askaroota. OO min do geeba kheena khakma shootaseh bikhqara be den rimzeh kad mitloon go khilmat qoordayoota.

Nowadays if a school is built in Assyria (specifically today's North Iraq) or if a ministry seat is designated as "Christian" is seen as a great national accomplishment according to these organizations while the increase in Assyrian submissiveness is on the rise before the Kurdish project and we see that the Assyrian individual shuns away from the debilitated Assyrian national movement.

OODYOO youma in madrashyateh binyina go garbia, yan kha koorsee d'waziroota peesheleh yoowa be shimit "christyaneh" anee gabbe gashooqina aloo akh kha hoonar, kha menteta qa oomta Ashureta, oo har b'deh dana bighzayikh eh ptakhta d'oorkha qa qoolayoota qa qoordayoota bizyadela gaweh oop ptakhela oorkha d' markhaqta min Ajwooja Oomtana Ashuraya.

When asked about the reason behind this humiliation suffered by Assyrians on their historical homeland in the shadows of projects such as "Shiistan", "Sunnistan" and "Kurdistan", the answer comes: "We can't" or "This is our fact", that is if being humiliated is acknowledged, otherwise the answer would be: "Here we have a minister and thankfully they have recognized our existence, what else do you want"?

Edantit paqoorikh min daha jwooja oomtanaya Ashooraya moodeeleh o sabab qadaha mpalta mankhipanta d'Ashurayeh go atrit ganan, khoot dlaneeta hatkha shimaneh makh "Shiistan" "Sunnistan" "Kurdistan", jowabeh hammasha eeleh, "Le masakh hichmindee odakh". "eedan khoot keepa Eela", yan "hatkhela ahwalatan" oo anee jowabeh bit shaqlakhloon akhchee IN reshee bedaha nkhipta d'peelina gawo. In la reshee, bit hawee mara, "itlan kha wazir, mabyoonela qad modooyena be khayootan, kheena mo bayeetoon"?

3.2.2- Submission to others:

Ptakhta d'oorkha qa kheeneh: Because of the pressures exerted upon the Assyrian nationality in the Middle East, the Assyrian individual found himself obliged to take a ride on the train of slogans presented by the stronger currents (Arab and Kurd) even though these same slogans which are inclusive in their ideology are aiming the final blow at the Assyrian identity. Sabab itwa khela meteta al oomta Ashureta go madankha masaaya, Ashuraya mootaleh al ganoo qad haweeleh shqaltit kha sama min den heemizmaneh d'pishloon hoomzemeh min khelwate makh Arabayeh yan Qoordayeh, apin anee khabraneh, kad eena kha sama min takhmanta politiqeta d'khelawateh boosh gooreh minan, oo neeshit denee heemizmaneh eewa mkhetit chappola kharaya al hayayootah Ashureta. This submissiveness did not only affect the Assyrian individual, but also some Assyrian parties which found themselves totally obliged to join the political fronts which are working to eliminate the Assyrian national existence in the long run such as the "Kurdistan Front" working in Assyria.

Aha zabinoota yan ptakhtit oorkha la akhchee mooteela kar al parsoopeh Ashurayeh, eena oop

al gabbe Ashurayeh qad khizyaloon oo mikhikhaloon ganeh qad sharikee min den jabhat qad pilkhanena qad shepeela oomta Ashureta min koko, makh jabha qoordeta go Ashur gano. This came to be with the supple tone of the Assyrian political speech and the extra caution of not expressing the Assyrian ambitions as it should be, in order to avoid agitating the ally – or the enemy. Oo aha mindee teeleh be den khabraneh ‘shimyelan min malale politiqayeh Ashurayeh be deh oorkha d’bidlabewa la hamzimakh basit swoota oomteneta Ashureta qad la makribakh qa dishmin sabab dishminan go Kurdistan bishmayena.

This "obligatory" path of the Assyrian organizations in the Middle East is due to the weakness on the ground. Anee pasoolyateh zabooneh oo yawaneh d’oorkha qa dishmin teeloon l’eeetoota min gabbe Ashurayeh sabab eewa ganeh zaboona al deh aaraa dpilkhanawa gawo. This weakness in turn is a direct result of not collaborating with the organizations working in the Diaspora and which have a media and political power particularly in Europe and the United States. Iita daha zabinoota ewa laplakhta min den shootaseh d’itloon koonish mataanooyateh go gallota, kad itloon khela politiqaya, makhsoosan go Europe oo America. This can be considered as a crime against the Assyrian Cause on the part of the Assyrian national movement, in this era. Laplakhta min den shootaseh kad itloon msetah politiqeta b’oorkhit koonish madaanooyateh, eela kha jareema al swoota oomta Ashureta min daha jwooja oomtanaya Ashuraya go daha dora. and this crime goes back to the beginning of the Kurdish liberation movement on the Assyrian land whereby there was an Assyrian political vacuum over a period of time during which the Kurdish national movement adopted the geographical phrase "Kurdistani" rather than the phrase "Kurdish" and we see that in the names of Kurdish parties "Kurdistani Democratic Party" (instead of Kurdish...) same applies to the "Kurdistani Workers Party", and the "Kurdistani Patriotic Union".

Go daha mitkha daha jareema, jwooja qoordaya al arit awahatan khoolineh oo shqileh iqra geographaya min hada shooreeloon qoordayeh maplookha khabraneh makh Kurdistani, min geebit qoordaya, oo shimmit gabbeh shookhliploon min geebit “gabbit qoordaye” shooreeloon biqrayoo “gabba ‘Kurdistanaya” Therefore, the Kurdish national movement succeeded in attracting other ethnicities to its groups and one of those was the Assyrian ethnicity which being isolated from the Assyrian Diaspora for decades, concluded that the "Kurdish" liberation movement was the sole place to remove the oppressive regimes. Min hada, jwooja qoordaya moonteeleh oo shooreeleh bigrasha nashe min millateh kheeneh, oo kha min dennee millateh eewa Ashoorayeh, sabab rookhqinewa min Ashoorayeh go galoota by shineh, o tookhmineh qad aha jwooja qoordaya qa azadoota oo kheroota eeleh oh shopa eekheedaya qa mampaltit shooldaneh faschayeh, (fascistic) Some Assyrians joined the Kurdish parties in Turkey and Iraq and participated in the "Kurdish" liberation movement which in turn aims for the final blow on the land and the identity of the Assyrian people for it recognizes the Assyrians as "Kurdistan citizens" or as "Christians of Kurdistan". Khakma min Ashoorayeh shoorikloon go gabbe qoordayeh go Turkia, go Iraq, oo weeloon pilkhana min daha jwooja qoordayah qa kheerootit ‘Kurdistan, qad awin neesho eewa mkhetit chapoola kharaya al hayayootit d’oomtan Ashooreta, kad shooreela biqrayan “raayatit Kurdistan” yan “Qoordayeh Christianeh” Thousands of Assyrians died and more than 220 Assyrian villages were continuously burnt and destroyed in Iraq and Turkey for the case which is aiming at doing away with their national identity, thus, the world did not hear of them as Assyrians.

Be ilpt Ashurayeh mitloon oo boosh zoda min 220 matwateh Ashurayeh pishloon mooqdeh oo poorpiseh go Iraq oop go Turkia, sabab neeshe ewa shepeewala hayayootah Ashurayta, min hada doonyeh la shmeela qad anee eewa Ashurayeh. What is astonishing is that until today those who graduated from this "Kurdistani school" are still loyal to the Kurdish project as much as they can, which is nothing more than: "Let's Kurdify the Assyrian land together. Oh mindee boosh makhjilana hal oodyoom, eelih kad en Ashurayeh qad poorqineh madrashyateh qo madrashyateh qoordayeh, be kool kheleh, peeshena hala mhoomneh qa swoota Qoordeta, qad eelah bemara "ta hodakhlah Ashur Kurdistan, moodaleh"...For we are all "kurdistanis" and brethren and let us therefore live together in peace"... Indeed the Assyrian Democratic Movement considers itself a representative of one the "Kurdistani" groups and also one of the "Kurdish" parties... this is obvious through its recent press releases Kad koolan eewakh Kurdistan, oo koolan eewakh akhoonwateh, eta temoon khayakh m'oodaleh be shlama. Jwooja oomtanay Ashooraya ke khashiwlana ganoo akh kha izgadda d'oh alama Qooraya oo kha gabba qoordaya min sabab en ktooyateh d'kteeweleh min qam 3 shinni

3.2.3- The destructive ideologies to the distinctive Assyrian nationality:

En takhmanyateh politiqayeh parpisanit oomta Ashureta: This factor is divided into two parts as well: the Assyrian politician's lack for the historical knowledge. Aha mlooaa itleh tre sammeh. Kha samma eeleh zabinooteh d'qayooma be yoolpana tarikhnaya/tasheetanaya. and the participation of some Assyrian members of foreign parties into the Assyrian national movement. Oo shareekotit khakma hadameh Ashoorayeh min gabbe nookhrayeh qad weerena go jwooja oomtanaya Ashuraya. All the Assyrian parties (without exception) have historical errors in their principles, especially because the Assyrian individual is known for his unique national emotions, harmful to the preservation of the national ideology of the Assyrian society as whole. Kooleh gabbe Ashoorayeh itloon khildeh tasheetanayeh, min sabab parsoopa Ashuraya pirshinyoo binyeleh al khakma deelayateh qad seerena b'do rikhshe oomtanayeh, oo en rikhshe masee mayee zyana al oomta Ashureta in hawih psheereh. This trait is evident when he gathers all the Middle Eastern groups which at one time belonged to his religion as part of the Assyrian nation, or he gathers all the groups that spoke a language close to his...Then he mixes between the religious and the national names without really knowing what each means.

Aha khilda peesheleh daiya ashkara edantit jameelah kooleh nashootit madankha masaaya kad b'kha dana hoomzimtelah leeshanoo, yan weeteleh kha sama min tawdeetoo, oo kharta khwidla be tawdeeta oo shimma, oo layadeh moolah manayo. It is normal that when an Assyrian organization is established in the Middle East it would have former politicians who belonged to non-Assyrian parties at one point, but those politicians brought with them and diffused the ideas that they had learned from their old parties. Kyanetela qad khakma gabbe politiqayeh shooteseh go madankha bit haweeloon parsoopa poolitiqayeh seereh b'gabbe la Ashurayeh, eena en parsoopeh politiqayeh mayenah mineh takhmanyateh yan adateh leepewa go gabbeh atteqa. That is why we notice the "Kurdish" tone in the speeches of some organizations working in Assyria, also the "Syrian Nationalist" and "Communist" tones, when they neglected the attributes of the Assyrian nationalism in equating the national "name" with the sectarian "nomination", Qada bishmayikh hawazeh qoordayeh go hamzatit khakma gabbe

pilkanena go Ashur, oop hawazeh oomtanyoota d'sooriya, yan hawazeh communisteh, kad manshooyena basit deelayateh oomtaneyh Ashuraya edantit Wadena shimaneh tawdeetanayeh barabar min shimaneh oomtanayeh. similarly about expanding the geographical location of the Assyrian national homeland. Also we notice the old influences in the theory of distribution of the Assyrian people and this can be seen within the organizations working in Syria and Turkey, regrettably these ideas found their way to some Assyrian groups in the Diaspora. Oo har hadakh oop jaroobina garwiseela hidood d'Ashur qad emree Ashur eela eekit Ashurayeh bikhayena, oo aha mindee bit khazitleh go shootaseh yan gabbe pilkhanaena go sooriya yan Turkia, oo pashamta ela qad enee takmanyateh prasena oo bishqalena iqra go khakma shootaseh go galoota.

It is worth noting that the parties thankfully not recognizing the name "Kurdistan", do not mention either the Assyrian homeland with its real name Ashur (Assyria), rather they use names which do not indicate the identity of the land and as an example "Bet Nahrain" which means "land of rivers", "Garbia" which means "North", and "Atra" which means "homeland", and other trivial names. This is due to the submissiveness mentioned above, and all this will influence the national ideology of the coming generations, increasing the loss. OOp en gabbe Ashurayeh qad minta min alah lena modooyeh b'Kurdistan, lena matkhoodo atran be shimit gano aslaya, ASHUR, ena biqrayona be shimeh kheeneh, makh Bet-Nahrain, Garbia, ATra, min sabab aha zabinoota pristela gawan, oo bit hoy a ilta zabinoota oop qa tawleedatit bitayenh.

3.2.4- State of defeat in facing some simpletons and sectarians in the Assyrian society:

Ahwal maqrimanta edantit bipaqikh be nashe psheede h yan tawdeetanayeh go oomta Ashureta Lately there have been some relinquished decisions concerning the internal Assyrian affairs as well as the Assyrian identity on the part of the Assyrian organizations by adding religious names to the national Assyrian name in order to please some sectarians under the pretext of having one voice, even though the Assyrian identity should not be compromised no matter what the consequences may be. Go dane shinneh, bighzayikh khakma qddayateh pishloon shqeeleh boot shoollaneh oomtaney Ashoorayeh, oo khakma gabbeh Ashoorayeh dqiroon al hayayootan oo mooteeloon shimaneh mrakweh tawdeetanayeh al shimman qad maghdeewa qa khakma eedateh, oo qad doqeewala mahanit palkhakh b'kha qala, apin hayayoota Ashooreta garig hich la daqrakh allo mood hoy a. This step disappointed many while some organizations began to give up on the case of self-determination as a result of what is going on in Iraq to dedicate most of their time to criticize the names Aha pasoolta qa raba Ashurayeh shmidla oo khakma gabbe kleeloon min pilkhana al swoota oomtaneta Ashureta sabab ghzeeloon ahwal d'Iraq shighishtewa oo shooreeloon talooqeh daneh b''badta d'qreeteqeh al shimma min geebit palkheewa al makmaltiti swoota Ashooreta. What matters to us here is that this problem increases the gap between certain Assyrian groups, even though it was possible to avoid it if there were programs implemented to enlighten the simple villagers in the past 24 years - since April 1979 - the date of establishment of Assyrian Democratic Movement, who is today patching the problem for it is unable to solve it.

Oh mindee boosh aninqaya eeleh qad anee kitreh goorwisloon eh rikhqayoota d'gabbe

Ashoorayeh itwaloon min oodaleh, apin lewa chatoon maetit khakma khoodorze mardootanayeh qa malaptit den d'bikhayana go matwateh, be den mitkha d'24 arpa shineh dshootistela Zawaa Democrataya Ashuraya, qad oodyoo yoma areta matoyelah min sabab lela msaya anee kitreh sharyaloon.

3.2.5- Sense of defeat before the Iraqi currents:

Shmadta rookhaneta min kitreh d'itla Iraq. This can be summed up in the absence of a political stand for the Assyrian organizations working in Iraq, in the face of the biased plans towards the Assyrian nationality Masakh aha masala parqakhla be tanetit khakma khabraneh. Leet kha kleta politiqeta min gabbe ashurayeh plakha go Iraq qad kale go patiti en gighleh sawaneh beetayeneh al oomta Ashureta. Beginning with the conferences of the Iraqi opposition parties in the 1990s until the current press releases of the Iraqi governing council and Ahmad Chalabi's proposal for dividing Iraq into four regions without dedicating a region to the Assyrian nationality. Sharrakh min do loomada Iraqnaya gabbe darqoolayeh d'Saddam shqilleh shopa sheetit 1990 hal en mooyaneh d'shimiyan min IGC, (Iraqi Governing Council) oo makhshakhyateh d'Ahmad Chalabee qad Iraq pasha pooleeta b'arpa sammeh in eena litwas kha samma rsheema qa Ashoorayeh. Add to that the absence of positions in relation to what the Assyrians have and still are facing at the hands of the Kurds and Moslems in general, whereby tens have fallen victim since the fall of the previous regime that is now blamed for every crime. * * * * * Shooq min dah, oop leet kha kleta boot oomta Ashureta qad hal oodyoo bipshtela zlimta b'eedit qoordayeh, oo mushilmaneh kheeneh, kad b'alpeh Ashurayeh peeshena mpeeleh min do yooma d'shouldanit Saddam mpileh oo kool jareema diryona oodyoo yooma al do shooldana.

The role of those who consider themselves the representatives of the Assyrian nationality in Iraq is limited to media relations such as the meetings with Iraqis (leaders of the culprit currents most of the time) in addition to publishing some subjects which do not help in this time such as the activities of the Assyrian students, and the women's Unions as well as the farmers' concerns in the so-called "Kurdistan". This policy has been followed since the establishment of the Assyrian Democratic Movement.

Oh dore it dawooloona qayoomit milat Ashureta go Iraq eela akhjee seera be den himazmaneh bit hamzeemeelon go koonish madaanooyateh, matkhiree lomadeh otyawta o qyamta min izgadeh Iraqnayeh kad anee eena mayanit khrawas al Iraq anyway, o shooq min maghzee khakma pilkhaneh d'iskoolayeh, id nisheh, it zaranit d'zroota go Kurdistan. Aha weeyela shoola oo pilkhanit Zawaa Democradaya Ashoorayah hamasha.

The Assyrian national movement facing many obstacles, both political and historical, has prevented the elimination of the heavy burdens carried by the Assyrian nation for over 2600 years, while the promises of the allies to the Arabs and Jews were fulfilled. Aha jwoja oomtanaya Ashooraya kad eetin toorqaleh goo ourkhoo leleh shqeeloo oh yooqra d'itla oomta Ashooreta qa 2,600 shinneh, eena bighzayikh qad Istimar Maarwaya mookmilooleh qolo qa Arabaya oo hoodaya. The Assyrians are the most ancient and deprived people in the world, but at the same time their cause is the most concealed because of the policy followed by the

Assyrian parties, ignoring the dusty Assyrian file in the archives of WWI allies indefinitely, while the Assyrian nationality continues to suffer from the arrogance of the other nationalities and religions living on its land... Ashurayeh eena en boosh ateeqeh oo en boosh zleema nasheh go doonyeh, eena har be deh dana swooteh eela eh boosh dooshwa min sabab zabinoota d'gabbe Ashurayeh moonsheetela en file tozaneh kad peeshena go bet arkeh shooldanit plasha qamaya teeweelaya, oo oomta Ashooreta hala bigrashela joonjareh go eedatit oomtawateh kheeneh bikhaya al atrit awahateh.

Hence the increase in forced migration while the Assyrians in Diaspora sing the praises of the glorious times of the Assyrian Empire thousands of years ago.

Min hada Ashurayeh d'atra birraqa, oo Ashoorayit galoota bizmara boot den yoomaneh ateeqeh shapeereh go empradoorata b'alpit shinneh mqam adee.

If we were to do a little calculation around the percentage of the Assyrians in the world who are forcibly out of Iraq we find out that they form about 30% of all Iraqis outside of their country, while the Assyrians who remain in Iraq form only 5% of the Iraqi population, which without any doubt clearly shows that the Assyrians have suffered the most amongst all the Iraqi groups. In odakh khishboonya bid khazzakh min kooleh Iraqnayeh d'pleedina min Iraq, 30% eena Ashurayeh, oo en Ashurayeh d'peeshena go Iraq imooneh eeleh akhchee 5% , oo aya mazboodila qad Ashoorayeh eena en boosh joonjireh oo zleemeh go Iraq!

In the event that the Assyrian organizations continue in their defeated path and continue with empty patriotic speeches (that is without paying any attention to Assyrian affairs in comparison with others), not one Assyrian will be left in Assyria in the coming years.

In shootaseh yan gabbe Ashurayeh har haddakh joojee boorkha maqrimenta, oo mleeta min hamzamyateh oomtanayeh badeeleh, oo la masimee bala al shoolana ananqayeh qa oomta Ashooreta, makh milateh kheene, le payish oop kha Ashooraya go Ashur! If we are to look at the headlines mentioned above, we would recognize that the Assyrian weakness in Assyria is due to their contact with their sister organizations around the world and sharing with them the Assyrian political decision rather than creating hurdles before any one who tries to work in the Iraqi arena.

In gashqakh al nooqzeh aninqayeh, bit khazakh zabinootit den jaroobina palkhee go atra eela min lapilkhana min gabbe kheena oo la shwaqta d'gabbe kheeneh min sharakta go qdeyateh kpplaneet. All the Assyrian currents have to be well aware that it is illogical for one organization in Iraq or the world to singularly take decisions. Kooleh gabbe majboor eena qad parmee leet kha gabba yan shoosa go Iraq, yan go doonyeh qad maseh kha qdeta b'shimit kha oomta hawidla bnoshoo. , and all the organizations have to collaborate together bringing about a total change in the present Assyrian national movement, and going out of the plurality of decisions by undertaking one central decision delivered by a cohesive Assyrian Front and not some temporary un real alliances. Oo kooleh gabbe Ashoorayeh garig palkhee m'oodaleh qad mayee shookhlapa go jwajta oomtaneta Ashureta, o garig kalee min koodkha ganoo qaadeh qdeyateh, oo mayee al eetoota kha qdeta koolaneta almeta, betaya min kha knooshya mhadya, la kha knooshya binya min seeyateh zownanayeh.

In light of the danger surrounding the Assyrian nationality and the non - understanding of the Iraqi groups and currents for the necessities of the next steps to preserve the unity of Iraq, then the Assyrians have also to look for a brighter future. Min sabab o khozdaga min ahwal qreeteqeta khoordeeta qa oomta Ashureta, oo la parmata min oomtawateh kheeneh go Iraq qad lena bedaya moona en paoolyateh qad Iraq pasha mkhayda, bas garig Ashurayeh zeh gashqee al kha dateet barana.

Therefore, and because the Assyrian Democratic Movement is considered here the Assyrian decision maker vis a vis the governing council, then it has to break off the collar of surrender which has suffocated the Assyrian hopes for decades and it stop submitting and giving in to others preserving the Assyrian nationality's dignity by sharing in the following steps along side the rest of the Assyrian organizations:

Min hada garig Zawaa Democrataya Ashuraya shamidla eh shishilta d'yakhseeroota d'bikhnaqola heewee d'oomta Ashureta enee kma shinneh oo garig kalya min yawaltit oorkha qa nookhrayeh oo shaqla en pasoolyateh makh gabbe Ashoorayeh kheena oo palkha mineh qa kha neesha.

1- Withdrawing from any front which aims at changing the identity of the Assyrian land and people, and joining instead the Assyrian Front while conserving good relations with all the Iraqi groups (Arabs, Kurds, and Turkmans) for it is a shame for an Assyrian movement to work in a Kurdish front while it drifts apart from the rest of the Assyrian organizations.

Garig parsha min kool jabha nookhreta qad neesho eeleh shyaptiti hayayoota oo araa Ashooreta, oo orra go jabha Ashooreta shootista akhchee min Ashurayeh, eena hala masya yawa oo shaqla min kheeneh, makh qoordayeh, Arabayeh, oo Turkuman, sabab eela nkhipta qa kha gabba bshimit jwooja yan Zowaa Ashooraya palkha min gabbe oordayeh, oo rakhqinala ganoo min kooleh gabbe Ashoorayeh kheeneh.

2- Representing the Assyrian nationality in any official Iraqi platform on the basis of "An Assyrian Front working in Iraq" and relinquishing the "Single Party" policy which is inherited from the degenerated regimes which the Assyrians used to live within. Garig makhziyalla gano go Iraq akh kha jabha mkooyidta Ashooreta, la kha gabba noshanaya, qad eeleh peeshe shootesa bde oorkha khriwta min shooldana atteqa kad Ashoorayeh khiyewa gawoo be shinneh!

3- Relying on a sound patriotic speech (taking into consideration the Assyrian national interest).

4- Holding an open conference as soon as possible with the participation of the Assyrian organizations and releasing a clear and candid program towards what is going on in the Iraqi horizon.

Garig loomada payish weeda bjaldoota qad kooleh gabbe Ashoorayeh hawee sherikaneh oo qtetit daha jabha hawe saleela oo shrara binyah al do mindee d'qawomeleh go Iraq oo dateetit

Iraq mo bit hoya.

5- Working to correct the state of defeat and submission to the de facto situation on the part of the Assyrian organizations in general, for these political organizations are established to change reality and not to submit to it.

Garig palkhana hawi binya al do neesha qa madraztit den ghildeh maqrimaneh, yan eh zabinoota yan ptakhtit oorkha qa dishmin, sabab gabbe eena shootiseh qad shakhlipeela ahwal sawanta, la qa yawaltit swoota oomtaneta min eeda. The Author