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Political Campaign Rhetoric and Its Influence on Public Voting: A Macrostructure Analysis of Kurdistan's 2024 Elections

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Abstract

Political campaign rhetoric plays a key role in shaping voter behavior in the Kurdistan Region. This study examines the 2024 elections, focusing on rhetorical strategies in speeches and materials that aimed to evoke emotions and reinforce group identity. It employs critical discourse analysis to examine political discourse in the 2024 Kurdistan elections, emphasizing its role in reinforcing power structures and shaping public opinion. It aims to uncover themes related to identity, governance, ethnicity, and power, and evaluate the influence of the discourse of campaigns on public opinion. The data of the study consists of excerpts of speeches delivered by leaders of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, and the New Generation Movement. Van Dijk's macrostructural model was adopted to examine how political discourse creates ideological meanings and shows power relationships, following a qualitative approach. The study's findings show that each party uses strategic narratives to legitimize its power and undermine its opponents. They shape the discussion by using emotional appeals, claims about identity, and accusations of dictatorship. These strategies influence how voters perceive and behave, either by strengthening loyalty, fostering distrust, or advocating for change. The study concludes that language plays a crucial role in political influence in Kurdistan. Election discourse reflects deeper societal conflicts and power struggles. Critical discourse analysis highlights how political texts construct legitimacy, challenge opposition, and shape public awareness. This research offers valuable insights into political communication in divided societies and enhances the application of critical discourse analysis in electoral contexts throughout the Middle East.



About the Journal

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1. Introduction

According to Richards and Schmidt (2010), critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a way to study language with a critical approach. CDA focuses on examining texts and other forms of communication to reveal hidden ideologies, power dynamics, and issues like manipulation and racism. By analyzing language, CDA helps us understand how various factors shape our beliefs and influence the structure of society. Widdowson (2007) explains that CDA examines how language is used or misused for powerful and ideological purposes. Critical discourse analysts aim to identify and track these ideologies in texts produced by powerful groups and institutions. Wodak and Meyer (2001) demonstrate that CDA is a tool used to make complex ideas more accessible. CDA helps analyze topics like power, control, and ideology in language.

Political discourse analysis (PDA) is a crucial component of the study of the rhetorical devices that politicians employ to establish their authority and undermine their opponents, such as metaphors, repetition, and ideological framing. Comprehending these linguistic strategies helps explain political rivalry and decision-making. PDA is crucial to understanding how language impacts governance, affects voter behavior, and creates narratives. It sheds light on the connection between society, language, and power. This study examines the political discourse of election campaigns in the Kurdistan Region using CDA. It focuses on speeches given by leaders of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), and the New Generation Movement (NGM). This study shows how politicians use language to shape beliefs, tell stories, and affect public opinion. Using Van Dijk's macrostructure model, the study analyzes themes such as identity, governance, nationalism, and political rivalry. By highlighting rhetorical strategies and ideological positioning, the study illustrates how discourse reinforces power structures, challenges opposition, and reflects broader societal struggles in a region marked by historical and geopolitical complexity.

1.1 Aims of the Study

The current study aims to uncover significant themes and narratives in the election discourse related to identity, governance, ethnicity, and political power in Kurdistan. It assesses how election campaign discourses affect public opinion, views toward political parties and candidates, and voter behavior, and contribute to a better understanding of political discourse in a region with historical, ethnic, and geopolitical struggles.

1.2 Questions of the Study

This study seeks to answer several key questions. It examines how political candidates and parties use language to shape ideas about regional identity, governance, ethnicity, and nationalism. It also explores the most common topics and discourses present in election campaigns and analyzes how these reflect the political and social climate of Kurdistan. Additionally, the study investigates how election-related rhetoric influences public opinion and voting behavior.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study is significant because it offers insight into key aspects of election campaign discourse in the Kurdistan region. It helps uncover how political parties craft their messages by identifying recurring themes, persuasive strategies, and core ideas aimed at influencing and engaging voters. It also examines the effect of campaign discourse on public opinion and voter behavior. Beyond the local context, the study provides a valuable perspective on the political dynamics of a sensitive region, serving as a case study for similar political environments elsewhere. By applying CDA to Middle Eastern elections, the study contributes to the broader field of critical discourse studies, supporting the advancement of both theory and methodology.

2. Literature Review

Like other areas of discourse analysis, the study of political discourse encompasses a range of topics and employs various analytical methods. Recognizing that "political discourse" can have multiple meanings is essential. van Dijk (1998a: 12-13) argues that political discourse extends beyond just

the statements of politicians. It includes all individuals and groups that significantly shape political discussions, both directly and indirectly. This includes the activities of voters, media outlets, political parties, influential interest groups, and political operatives. This concept becomes more complex because some definitions suggest that nearly all discourse can be seen as political. Therefore, if we can analyze all discourse from a political viewpoint, we might say that all discourse analysis is, in a broader sense, an analysis of political discourse (Wilson, 2001). According to Johnson and Johnson (2000: 291), political discourse focuses on the analysis of communication practices that occur within specific political contexts, such as legislative procedures, parliamentary debates, and press conferences. In simpler terms, it can be described as a branch of discourse analysis (DA) dedicated to examining the language and techniques used in politics to uncover the hidden ideologies and significant agendas of political actors. This scenario can be confusing because it looks at politics through themes like power, conflict, control, or domination. These themes can apply to many situations. Recently, in a study of a psychotherapeutic educational institution, staff meetings were described as "political" because they involve negotiations about power and control. These negotiations happen on different levels: between people, within individuals, and at the institutional and educational levels, using various strategies (Wilson, 2001).

Political discourse has become the primary subject of much political linguistics research. Accordingly, political speech is defined by Baranov and Kazakevich (1991) as the entirety of all discourse used in political contexts, including public policy concepts. Trosborg (1997) sees political speech as a component of politics, political activity with a political topic. It is a mixture of literature from different cultures that sheds information on the historical contexts in which it was produced and may be used for several communication purposes, including propagandistic or thought-provoking ones. The primary emphasis of political linguistics research is on political discourse. Accordingly, Baranov and Kazakevich (1991) define political speech as all discourse used in political contexts and the principles guiding public policy. Chilton and Schäffner (1997: 212) define political text as one that was written by a politician and reflects a battle for power in some way. Political discourse is a collection of all predefined speech acts represented in linguistic forms, with politics acting as the content, topic, and addressee of each speech act.

Chilton and Schäffner (1997) highlight a key feature of political discourse, noting that political leaders strategically use language that incorporates patriarchal and aggressive terms. They often employ figurative language and exaggeration to characterize their political opponents. Political activity, in essence, is shaped, guided, and influenced by language. Fairclough (1989:23) reinforces this idea, arguing that language is not merely a tool for political development but is inherently political itself. He claims that language plays a pivotal role in transforming political intent into social action, as it has the power to "make lying seem genuine and murder respectable." Additionally, Prifti (2017) notes that political speeches often rely on a range of rhetorical techniques, such as metaphors, repetition, antithesis, comparative and superlative forms, idioms, and emotive language, to sway and manipulate the audience. Similarly, Ayyad (2012: 252) notes that political discourse is shaped by the ideological and political concerns of those who produce it. Therefore, varying interpretations of negotiated political documents may arise from these individuals' ideologies and political leanings as they seek to further their political agendas and create narratives that resonate with their supporters.

2.1 Characteristics of Political Discourse

Political discourse possesses distinctive characteristics that influence the way individuals communicate ideas, arguments, and policies. These concepts emerge from various disciplines, including linguistics, communication, political science, and rhetoric. Below are the features of political discourse identified by various scholars (see Billig, 1996; van Dijk, 1998b; Chilton, 2004).

Persuasion

Persuasion is essential in political discourse, as politicians aim to influence public opinion and garner support. In his 1961 inaugural address, John F. Kennedy famously urged, "Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country." He used a mix of persuasive techniques, including logical arguments, ethical appeals, and emotional connections, to enhance

credibility, inspire patriotism, and present reasoned arguments (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, 2009).

Framing

Framing is the way issues or events are presented to influence perceptions. Politicians often use this technique to support their goals. For example, Barack Obama framed his 2008 campaign as a movement of hope and change, using the phrase "Yes We Can" to empower his followers and convey the possibility of overcoming obstacles (NPR, 2025).

Appeal to Emotion (Pathos)

Pathos, or emotional appeal, connects with an audience by evoking feelings like hope, anger, or empathy. In his 1963 "I Have a Dream" speech, Martin Luther King Jr. stirred strong emotions as he envisioned racial justice and equality. His powerful lines, like "I have a dream," played a significant role in inspiring the Civil Rights Movement (King, 1999).

Use of Rhetorical Devices

Rhetorical strategies like parallelism, alliteration, repetition, and metaphors enhance political speeches and aid audience retention. In his 1940 speech, Winston Churchill used parallelism and repetition to convey tenacity against Nazi Germany, famously stating, "We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans..." The repetition of "we shall fight" highlights firm courage and determination (Wardhana et al., 2022).

Authority and Credibility (Ethos)

Ethos refers to the credibility and character of the speaker. Politicians use it to gain supporters' trust. Franklin D. Roosevelt's confident tone in his 1933 inaugural address during the Great Depression, particularly his statement, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself," helped establish him as a trusted leader (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, 2009).

Nationalism and Identity

Politicians often use historical references and national symbols to unite people and create a sense of purpose. In his Gettysburg Address (1863), Abraham Lincoln emphasized liberty, equality, and national unity, linking the Civil War to American ideals. He used phrases like "a new birth of freedom" and "government of the people, by the people, for the people" to strengthen national identity (Johnson, 2013).

Call to Action

Political speeches often feature a clear call to action, prompting the audience to take specific steps. For example, in his 2008 victory speech, Barack Obama urged, "This is our time to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our children," inspiring followers to support his reform agenda. The time for transformation is now (NPR, 2025).

Polarization and Us vs. Them

Political discourse can emphasize differences, creating an "us versus them" narrative. In his 1952 "Checkers Speech," Richard Nixon defended himself against corruption accusations by casting himself as a victim and portraying his supporters as innocent while depicting his rivals as dangerous and cunning (West, 2024).

Legitimization and Justification

Legitimation and justification are common among politicians who explain controversial policies. In his 2003 speech, George W. Bush defended the Iraq War, stating, "The security of the world requires disarming Saddam Hussein," framing the invasion as a moral necessity and crucial for national security (Shapiro, 2003).

Use of Simplified or Accessible Language

To reach a wide audience, political discourse often uses straightforward language. In his 1964 essay "A Time to Choose," Ronald Reagan promoted conservative ideals and argued against big

government with accessible language. His rhetorical device, “government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem,” aimed to resonate with the average American voter (Thomas, 2022).

2.2 The Political Context of Kurdistan

The relationship between political parties in Kurdistan and their goals, as well as conflicts and elections, are complex and fascinating topic. Kurdish political parties have a long history of complex relationships, including alliances and counter-alliances, as well as internal conflicts. The most prominent parties include the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). These two parties have led politics in the region for decades, and their relationship has ranged from alliance to conflict. Other parties, such as the New Generation Movement (NGM), the Change Movement (Gorran), and Islamic parties, play an important role in the political scene (Abdullah, 2018).

In terms of the nature of the work and goals of these parties, the KDP aims to strengthen the autonomy of Kurdistan and has strong relations with neighboring countries. The PUK shares similar goals but differs in its methods and regional alliances. The Change Movement focuses on internal reforms and combating corruption. The Islamic parties, on the other hand, seek to achieve their agendas based on religious principles (Abdullah, 2018).

The KRI's political discourse also reflects broader theoretical debates about governance and sovereignty. Given the region's distinctive place within the Iraqi federal structure, concerns arise about the relationship between sovereignty, state-building, and good governance. The KRI's experience contributes to the broader debate on modern forms of sovereignty and governance in complex political contexts by providing insights into how decentralized governance models function within a federal framework (Salam, 2024). Furthermore, political philosophy in Kurdish areas has been influenced by the idea of democratic confederalism, which prioritizes public democracy and decentralized self-government. Without aspiring to create a nation-state, this model promotes a system in which communities plan their affairs independently, encouraging direct participation and autonomy (Baris, 2020: 1-9).

Regarding the conflict between these parties during the pre-election period, this pre-election period often witnessed heated election campaigns and fiery rhetoric, and competition for influence and power, including accusations and harsh criticism between the parties. The local media plays a role in fueling these conflicts through extensive coverage of events and statements (Glavaš, 2017).

In short, political life in Kurdistan reflects a complex balance between competition and cooperation between parties. Election campaigns play a pivotal role in shaping public opinion, and parties seek to achieve their goals by influencing voters' perceptions.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis and Election Campaigns

CDA has been frequently used in election campaigns, concentrating on the ideologies, power dynamics, and persuasive techniques inherent in political discourse. researchers have examined how language is used to shape public opinion by analyzing political speeches, debates, advertisements, and social media material.

Fairclough (2003) highlighted the importance of discourse in shaping political realities, claiming that election campaigns use strategic language to shape voter perceptions. He discovered that political actors use rhetorical techniques like metaphor, presupposition, and intertextuality to establish authority and legitimacy.

Van Dijk (2006) investigated how ideological systems are incorporated into political discourse, specifically during election campaigns. He observed that politicians frequently portray their opponents negatively while positioning themselves as the best option. His research demonstrated how discursive strategies like polarization and language choices create a divide between "us" and "them."

Jalali (2014) conducted a study using Fairclough's framework to apply CDA to the speeches, slogans, and campaign materials of four candidates in Rasht's 2013 City Council elections. It looks at how candidates use ideological speech methods to support their positions and influence voters. The analysis focuses on how speech style, propaganda strategies, and power dynamics influenced

election results. The study reveals important persuasive strategies, ideological indicators, and discourse structures that influenced election success or failure (Jalali, 2014).

Gowhary et al. (2015) used CDA to examine Iranian presidential candidates Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf and Hassan Rouhani's electoral speeches from 2013. It looks at how language influences power, ideology, and political conflict. It examines how language influences power, ideology, and political conflict. The findings show that both candidates employed speech deliberately to promote their political goals, with Rouhani calling for flexibility in foreign policy and Ghalibaf emphasizing commitment to institutional authority. The study emphasizes the importance of language in shaping political narratives and influencing public opinion.

Janam (2019) studied how persuasion works in American political campaigns by looking at speeches from Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. The research used CDA to explore how language influences political messages. It focused on persuasive techniques such as ethos (credibility), pathos (emotions), and logos (logic). The study found that both candidates used different styles to persuade voters. Clinton used repetition and emotional appeals, while Trump focused on unity and promises for the future. These findings show how language shapes political messages and influences the audience.

Al-Azzawi and Abid Salih's (2021) study examines power in American presidential addresses through CDA. It looks at Donald Trump and Joe Biden's language techniques during the 2020 presidential debate, with a focus on personal pronouns, three-part lists, fillers, and interruptions. The study employs both qualitative and quantitative methodologies to determine how these factors influence political discourse. The findings imply that Trump interrupts more frequently, uses sarcasm, and personal pronouns for self-promotion, whereas Biden uses more inclusive language. The study focuses on how language is used in political arguments to wield influence and persuade people.

Recent studies have extended the use of CDA in electoral campaigns to digital platforms. According to KhosraviNik's (2017) analysis of social media speech, politicians and their supporters use language to marginalize opponents and foster in-group cohesion. Similarly, Blassnig et al. (2019) studied how fake news and manipulation affect online election campaigns. They found that communication strategies change to fit digital environments.

These studies highlight the importance of language in election campaigns, illustrating how discourse forms political reality, influences voter behavior, and promotes ideological stances.

3. Methodology and Data Collection

This study is an examination of three essential speeches delivered by key political figures during the Kurdistan election campaign of 2024: the deputy leader of the KDP, the leader of the PUK, and the leader of the NGM. These speeches were sourced from reputable media websites and the official platforms of the respective parties, ensuring a comprehensive representation of their perspectives (see Text1, Text2, and Text3 in the Appendix).

Table 1: Description of the data

Text No.	Date	Title	Source
1	13-10-2024	مه‌س‌ر‌ر‌ ب‌ر‌ز‌ان‌ی‌ د‌ ک‌م‌ر‌ن‌ه‌ف‌ال‌ا‌ م‌ع‌ز‌ن‌ ی‌ا‌ خ‌ه‌ل‌ک‌ئ‌ د‌ه‌و‌ک‌ئ‌ د‌ا‌ ب‌و‌ پ‌ش‌ت‌ه‌ف‌ان‌ی‌ی‌ا‌ ل‌ی‌س‌ت‌ا‌ 190 ی‌ا‌ پ‌ارت‌ی‌: ت‌ن‌ی‌ پ‌ارت‌ی‌ی‌ه‌ ب‌اس‌ئ‌ پ‌ی‌ش‌ک‌ه‌ف‌ت‌ن‌ و‌ئ‌اف‌ه‌د‌ان‌ی‌ی‌ا‌ ک‌ور‌د‌س‌ت‌ان‌ی‌ د‌ک‌م‌ت‌	https://www.calameo.com/read/00013941814abc4c6e692?trackersource=library
2	14-10-2024	س‌ه‌ر‌و‌ک‌ ب‌اف‌ل‌: م‌ام‌ ج‌ه‌لال‌ د‌ه‌و‌ک‌ئ‌ ک‌رد‌ ب‌ه‌ پ‌ارت‌ی‌ز‌گ‌ا‌	https://www.pukmedia.com/KS/Details/201948/KS/Details/201948
3	12-10-2024	و‌وت‌ار	https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1071375181027134&id=100044639850148&set=a.278820916949235

The analysis focuses on several critical themes that are fundamental to the political discourse of the time, specifically addressing issues of:

- Unity: Exploring calls for collective strength and solidarity among parties.

- Stability: Discussing the importance of a secure and peaceful environment for socio-economic development.
- Progress: Highlighting visions for advancement and modernization within the region.
- Change: Advocating for necessary reforms and shifts in policy and governance.
- Opposition: Analyzing the dynamics between competing parties and their stances.
- Oppression: Addressing historical and ongoing struggles for rights and recognition within the Kurdish context.

Employing a qualitative approach, this study adopts a thematic analysis framework, analyzing the speeches at a macro level as identified by Teun A. van Dijk. This approach allows for a broad understanding of the political narratives and ideologies propagated by these leaders, shedding light on the broader implications for the region's future.

3.1 The Model

This study will be guided by CDA, a powerful framework for exploring the profound relationship between language, power, and society. CDA allows researchers to investigate how discourse not only reflects but also reinforces or challenges power structures and social inequalities. In particular, it follows Van Dijk's (1980, 2013) macro (thematic) analysis, revealing how language constructs ideological meaning and inspires critical thought.

In discourse theory, the concept of macrostructure is used to describe various aspects of overall meaning, such as the subject, theme, or essence of a text (van Dijk, 1980, p. 10). Essentially, macrostructure focuses on the broader meaning of the discourse, highlighting what the text is primarily about. According to van Dijk (1985, p. 117), the macro-level represents the main theme, subject, or core message of a text, addressing its central topic.

Textual and contextual analysis investigates the linguistic features that create meaning on a macro level. It identifies recurring themes and dominant narratives, highlights both implicit and explicit ideological messages, and uncovers the power relations embedded in discourse. Additionally, contextual analysis links these findings to broader societal structures, historical influences, and institutional power.

4. Data Analysis

The process of data analysis involves examining and interpreting the data from three texts through the lenses of macrostructure, power dynamics, and ideological strategies to reveal the main themes and underlying meanings. These approaches enhance our understanding of how information is organized and exercised to influence society.

Macrostructure (Thematic) Analysis

Macrostructure Analysis examines the main themes and messages in a text, focusing on how they convey meaning and ideology. It highlights the central ideas communicated and their relationship to power and social dynamics. This type of analysis identifies dominant narratives.

Power and Ideological Strategies

Power and Ideological Strategies explore how discourse reflects and reinforces power relations and ideological beliefs. These strategies are used to shape perceptions, build legitimacy, and strengthen group loyalty.

Text 1

Thematic Analysis

- Ensuring Progress, Stability, and Development

The central message is that the KDP is the only political entity focused on the progress, stability, and development of Kurdistan.

"تنی پارتييه باسى پيشكهفتن و ئاقه دانيا كوردستانى دكهت"

"The KDP solely talks about progress and development in Kurdistan."

- Negative Portrayal of Opposition

Other political parties are portrayed as threats to Kurdistan's future, focusing on destabilization and destruction.

"کەس ژ وان ئالییان باسی ژیان وپاشه‌روژا خەلکی کوردستانی نەکرێه، بەلکو دخواست ریکی ل خەلکی وپارتی بگرن بۆ وئ چەندی پینگافین وئ بۆ پیشکەفتنا کوردستانی رابگرن"

"No one from those parties has discussed the future of the people of Kurdistan. Instead, they want to destabilize, break, and destroy."

Power and Ideological Strategies

- Self-Glorification

The KDP is positioned as a savior and protector of Kurdistan.

"لەوما تنی ئالییهک کو هەتا نوکە ل گەل خەلکی کوردستانی مابیت و ب پشتراستیقه هەتا هەتایی دی مینیت ول گەل خەلکی کوردستانی ب راوهستیت، پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانه"

"The KDP is the only entity that has remained with the people and will stand with them steadfast."

- Nationalism

Emphasis on the KDP as a uniquely Kurdish party committed to the people and their resources.

"پیدفیی دکەت حوکمرانییا داهااتی یا هەریم کوردستانی د دەستی خەلکەکی دا بیت"

"The next cabinet of Kurdistan must be in the hands of its people."

- Collective Identity

The KDP is framed as synonymous with the people of Kurdistan, tying its success to the community's pride and dignity.

"لەوما پیدفیی هەموو کەسەکی، هزر د وئ چەندی دا کریت، ریکی ل پارتی بگریت، هزر د وئ چەندی دا کریت، زیانی ب پارتی بگهینیت، پیدفیی پیشتر هزر د جه‌ماوهری پارتی دا بکەت، بزانی پارتی خودان جه‌ماوهره‌که ب کەسی ناچەمییت و ب کەسی ژئ ناراوهستیت."

"It is essential for everyone who has intentions to prevent the KDP's progress, should have thought of the KDP audience to realize that the KDP has a strong base of audience that remains steadfast and never retreats".

Text 2

Thematic Analysis

- Oppression and Dictatorship

The PUK frames the KDP as authoritarian and oppressive, positioning itself as a liberator of the marginalized population. This aligns with the ideology of resistance against suppression.

"ئیمه هاتوینه‌ته بادینان تا ئه‌و رژیمه دیکتاتۆره ده‌رکه‌ین و ئازادی بگه‌رێنینه‌وه."

"We have come to Bahdinan to overthrow this dictatorial regime and restore freedom."

- Marginalization and Inequality

The speaker passionately criticizes the deep socio-economic divides that have emerged under KDP governance, painting a stark picture of a regime marked by corruption and a troubling neglect of the people's needs.

"جگه له دروستکردنی جیاوازییه‌کی گه‌وره له‌نیوان ده‌وله‌مه‌ند و هه‌ژاره‌کان هیچی تریان نه‌کردوه."

"Apart from creating a significant difference between the wealthy and the poor, they have done nothing else."

- Unity vs. Division

The theme of unity is challenged by claims of betrayal and disunity. The PUK leader accuses the KDP of working with occupiers and not representing Kurdish unity.

"باسی یه ک ریزی کوردستان ده کهن، به لام نهوهی نهوانن نایزانن یه ک ریزی چیه، که ی باسی یه ک ریزی چوار پارچه ی کوردستانیان کردوو؟، نهوان ئیزدییه کانیان فرۆشت، ئەمه یه ک ریزی کوردستانه؟ ئەبیت شهرم له خۆیان بکهن، 400 گوندی ئیمه چۆله له بهر نهو به زمانه ی نهوان له گه ل داگیرکه ران ده یکه ین وخاکی ئیوه ده فرۆشن."

"They talk about Kurdistan's unity, but they do not even know what unity means. When have they ever spoken about the unity of the four parts of Kurdistan? They sold out the Yazidis—does this represent Kurdish unity? Shame on them. Four hundred of our villages were emptied because they collaborated with the occupiers and sold our lands."

Power and Ideological Strategies

- Critique of Elite Governance

The speaker considers the PUK as a party of the people and the KDP as serving elites.

"دروستکردنی جیاوازییه کی گه وره له نیوان دهوله مه مند وهه ژاره کان."

"Creating a significant difference between the wealthy and the poor."

- Control of Information and Freedom of Expression

The speaker accuses the KDP of suppressing freedom of speech, contrasting it with the PUK's commitment to democracy.

"ئه گه ر نوسه ر بیت، زیندان ده کریت."

"If you are a writer, they imprison you."

- Frustration and Resistance

The PUK portrays itself as gaining momentum, emphasizing that opposition is growing even within KDP ranks.

"خه لکی ناو پارتي په یوه ندى به منه وه کردوو و تو یانه دهنگ به یه کیتی دهه ین."

"Even people within the KDP have contacted me, saying they will vote for the PUK."

Text 3

Thematic Analysis

- Power Struggles and Political Division

The text contrasts two dominant political forces, the PUK and the KDP, highlighting how they each maintain control in their respective zones (Sulaimani for PUK, Erbil for KDP).

"نهوهی له سیاسهت بزانیته و تیبگت، ده زانیته پارتي ویه کیتی هه ردووکیان ته نهها له زونی خویاندا دهنگ دهه ین، نهویش به زه بری ترس و پاره و به کاره یانی پۆست و داموده زگی حکوم"

"Anyone who understands politics knows that both the KDP and the PUK only manage to win votes within their own zones of influence—using fear, money, and government institutions"

This suggests an entrenched power struggle where resources and coercion are tools of dominance.

- NGM as an Alternative

The text positions the NGM as the only truly national party capable of winning votes across different regions.

"تا که لایه ن که کوردستانییه و ده توانیته له هه موو پاریزگاکان و له هه ردوو زونه که دهنگ بهینیت نهوهی نوپیه"

"The only truly Kurdish political force that can win votes across all governorates and both zones is the New Generation."

This constructs the NGM as a unifying force against the entrenched parties.

- Political Fear

The text suggests that PUK and KDP fear losing power, implying they engage in manipulation.

"بویه تا که هیز که پارتي ترسی هه یه لپی هه یه هه ولیری پی بدۆرینیته و دهسه لات له دهست بدات نهوهی نوپیه"

"The only force that threatens the KDP's dominance and could challenge its hold on power is the NGM."

It portrays an unfair electoral system that benefits established parties.

Power and Ideological Strategies

- Representing Unified Kurdistan

The NGM is framed as the only party representing all of Kurdistan, beyond regional divides.

"تاکه لایهن که کوردستانییه و دهوانیته له هه موو پارێزگاکان و له ههردوو زۆنه که دهنگ بهینیت نهوهی نوپیه"

"The only truly Kurdish political force that can win votes across all governorates and both zones is the New Generation."

This reinforces the movement's legitimacy while implying that others are self-serving.

- Legitimacy Through Popular Support

The NGM is constructed as the rightful representative of the people, contrasting with elites.

"ئهه جار ههواوی پارێزگاکه ی لێ ده بهینهوه پشت به خوا و به دهنگی خه ئک"

"This time we will take over the entire governorate with the support of the people."

This implies that the party's power comes from the electorate, not from institutional control.

5. Findings

After analyzing the three texts at the macrostructure (thematic) level, the main findings can be outlined as follows:

- The dominant theme across the texts is political rivalry, particularly between the KDP and the PUK. Each party employs strategic discourse to frame itself as the legitimate representative of the people while discrediting the opponent.
- The KDP portrays itself as the sole force for progress, stability, and development in Kurdistan. It employs self-glorification and nationalism to establish credibility.
- The PUK, in contrast, frames the KDP as authoritarian and oppressive, positioning itself as the party of resistance and liberation. It highlights socio-economic disparities and restrictions on freedom of speech to challenge the KDP's governance.
- The emergence of the NGM is framed as an alternative to the entrenched power structures of both the KDP and PUK. The party's discourse focuses on electoral fairness, regional inclusivity, and public trust.

The power and ideological Strategies identified in the three texts are presented as follows:

- The KDP and PUK both employ strategies that reinforce their credibility. The KDP presents itself as the defender of Kurdish interests, while the PUK highlights its role in opposing dictatorship.
- Each party associates the other with negative traits. The KDP labels opposition groups as divisive and destructive, whereas the PUK portrays the KDP as elitist and repressive.
- The KDP associates its success with Kurdish pride and sovereignty, strengthening the perception that supporting the party is equivalent to supporting Kurdistan's future.
- The discourse reveals that the NGM accuses both major parties of manipulating electoral outcomes through financial influence, institutional control, and coercion.
- The NGM constructs a binary opposition between itself and the ruling elite. The Movement was determined to frame itself as the only entity capable of uniting all Kurdish regions and breaking the long-lasting party-zone control.

Political parties in Kurdistan employed language strategically to shape views on regional identity, governance, ethnicity, and nationalism. The KDP promoted nationalism, stability and growth. In contrast, the PUK shows its stand against authoritarianism and social and economic inequalities, and limits on freedoms. The NGM offered a new governance model against these established powers. The language employed in these election campaigns reflected the current political reality, focusing on themes like legitimacy, governance, and opposition. Discussions on elections proved to have an influential role in shaping public opinion in different ways. The influence was spotted in the way voters engaged in and responded to relevant issues.

6. Results and Discussion

The findings of the current study shed light on the intricate interplay between political discourse and voters' interaction in Kurdistan 2024 elections. These findings illustrate that the political discourse employed in these election campaigns emerged as a critical factor in shaping voters'

attitudes. This section addresses the questions of how political parties navigated local issues and broader geopolitical concerns, how voters engaged with these narratives, and which rhetorical strategies were mostly employed.

The first question, the current study sought to provide an answer for, addressed the way major political parties in the Kurdistan Region compromised between local concerns and broader national, regional, and international updates. Political parties in Kurdistan Region were required to cope with the challenge of addressing local issues—including security concerns, public service delivery, economic instability, and corruption—while responding to broader national, regional and international contexts associated with striving for independence, a unified political discourse, relations with the central government and the world.

The analysis revealed that a dual-track rhetoric employed by the KDP emphasized themes of stability and unity as encapsulated in their campaign slogan “Peace, Prosperity, Unity and Resilience”. Through this message, the KDP endeavored to reassure its capability to manage external relations effectively while maintaining internal cohesion. The party presented itself as the guardian of Kurdish sovereignty, referring to historical clashes and continuing disputes with the central government. Meanwhile, it introduced targeted economic initiatives, promising urgent and comprehensive reforms. Contrarywise, the PUK, troubled with internal divisions before elections, struggled to address voters with a cohesive and inclusive narrative. Allegations of connections with external entities impacted their credibility on foreign policy. The PUK positioned itself as a liberating force against what it portrayed as the KDP's oppressive governance, focusing on issues of freedom and socio-economic inequality. Meanwhile, the NGM emerged as a strong alternative, highlighting its growing influence both nationally and internationally. They emphasized public trust, regional inclusivity, electoral fairness, anti-corruption, reform, and improved service delivery. The second question addressed by this study focused on how voters interpreted, engaged with and reacted to political discourse. Political discourse, in principle, allowed for noticeable polarization, especially with older voters, and increased engagement, especially among younger voters. Voters show a mix of skepticism and participation. Official reports marked the participation of 72% among the 2.9 million eligible voters.

Election discourse affected public opinion by concentrating on establishing parties' credibility. Voters' response to these strategies differed significantly based on political affiliation, education level, and age. Election results and analysis advocate that established parties succeeded in maintaining loyalty among nationalist-leaning, rural, and older voters, who prioritized Kurdish autonomy and stability. Opposition parties like the NGM gained support by highlighting the deteriorating economic situation. Voters, particularly the young and urban, expressed frustration over missed opportunities, holding governmental mismanagement responsible for the status quo. The KDP's dominance, securing 39 seats, is attributed to a deep-rooted and strong presence, along with a solid organizational structure. Securing 23 seats, the PUK maintained its traditional stronghold in Sulaymaniyah, but faced challenges in gaining ground strongly in the KDP zone. The NGM's rise, securing 15 seats, is attributed to the growing demand for a comprehensive change in the governance model in Kurdistan among voters, especially disenchanting younger ones.

The third question, which this study sought to provide an answer for, addressed the rhetorical strategies most frequently employed by the major political parties in Kurdistan and the rhetoric most specifically associated with these respective parties.

For the 2024 election campaigns, the major political parties in the Kurdistan Region employed discursive strategies. However, such strategies were not employed consistently across parties; rather, each party tailored its discourse to different voters. Nationalist rhetoric, markedly prioritized by the KDP, was observed as the most dominant, featuring Kurdish sovereignty, autonomy, and economic independence, though approached differently by each party. Proposing their vision for a new governance model, the PUK framed itself as the guardian against authoritarianism while emphasizing economic and social inequalities and restrictions on freedom. On the other hand, the reformist tone adopted by the NGM underscored issues of governance failure and corruption, calling for mass participation and demanding to secure electoral integrity.

Attributing negative traits to opponents was another strategy repeatedly adopted by the competing

parties. The KDP's deputy leader, for instance, labeled other parties as divisive and destructive, promising that they would never be able to cause damage, using the phrase "they can't," which became a catchphrase. The PUK, for its part, portrayed the KDP as repressive and discriminatory, promising to end their authority, using the phrase "go home," which also became a catchphrase. A highly critical and influential dimension in the 2024 election campaigns was the alleged interference of external actors. Accusations of external ties were often exchanged by the competing parties, especially directed against the opposition. The other persistent rhetorical strategy, largely highlighted by the ruling KDP, was securitization, highlighting its role in maintaining the region's security despite all the threats and framing these elections as a choice between chaos and stability. However, the PUK and the NGM viewed this strategy as an attempt to distract voters from governance failures.

7. Implications of the study

After presenting the key findings, it is crucial to explore their implications, as they may influence future research, policymaking, and practical applications both internally and externally. This study suggests several implications. For politicians, it emphasizes the importance of strategic language use in shaping public perception, helping them refine communication strategies to engage voters more effectively. For voters and civil society, it encourages greater awareness of political messaging, enabling more critical assessment of campaign discourse and more informed electoral choices. For researchers and academics, it adds value to discourse analysis, political science, and communication studies by providing a framework for analyzing political speech and its impact on governance and public perception.

8. Conclusions

The current study examined the political discourse employed in the election campaigns in the Kurdistan Region and how voters interacted with it. CDA helped uncover how language reflected and shaped political ideologies, power dynamics, and public opinion. The study reached several key conclusions as follows:

- Political actors in Kurdistan use speech to shape identities, tell stories about governance, and influence how Kurdish people feel about ethnicity and nationalism. Their choices of words aim to persuade and support their ideas.
- The discourse of election campaigns in Kurdistan shows deeper societal problems. It is not just about politics, but reflects historical injustice, ethnic divisions, and challenges in governance. This discourse often reveals efforts to legitimize authority, attack opponents, and control how the public sees issues.
- Political messaging influences how voters behave. Themes like nationalism, reform, and anti-corruption shape how the public views parties and candidates. To influence voters, politicians often use emotional appeals and persuasive language.
- Political discourse in Kurdistan is influenced by intense party rivalry, with each actor employing strategic language to assert their legitimacy and undermine opponents.
- The KDP promotes a nationalist message that focuses on stability, sovereignty, and progress. It connects its success to Kurdish identity and national interests.
- The PUK views itself as a group fighting against authoritarianism. It highlights the inequality, repression, and lack of freedom people face under KDP rule.
- The NGM challenges both parties by promoting clear and fair elections, encouraging everyone to take part, and building public trust. It criticizes the elites and presents itself as the best alternative.
- All three parties use strategies based on ideas and power to shape what people think. They do this by making emotional appeals, telling stories, and creating clear choices between two sides.
- Political communication in the region reinforces identity politics and reflects broader tensions in governance and representation.
- The study shows that Kurdish political texts are not neutral. They influence how voters think, support existing power structures, and are key to political legitimacy.

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ريتوريكي هلمته سياسييكان وكاريگه ريهي لسهر دهنگدهري گشتي: شيكارييهيكي ماكروستراكتورالي ههلبژاردهكاني ٢٠٢٤ي كوردستان

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پوخته

ريتوريكي سياسي بانگهشهي ههلبژاردن پوليكي سهرهكي دهگيريت له دارشتني رهفتاري دهنگدهران له ههرئمي كوردستان. ئەم توپژينهوهيه بهواداچوون بۆ ههلبژاردنهكاني كوردستان ل سالي ٢٠٢٤ دهكات، كه تيشك دهخاته سهر ستراتيجييهكاني ريتوريكي له ووتار و كه رهستهكاندا كه نامانجيان وروژاندني ههست و سۆز و بههيزكردني ناسنامهي خهلك. ئەم توپژينهوهيه شيكاري گوتاري رهخنهيهي بهكاردههينيت بۆ ليكولينهوه له گوتاري سياسي له بانگهشهي ههلبژاردني سالي ٢٠٢٤ي كوردستان، كه جهخت دهكاتوه له سهر پولي گوتاري سياسي له بههيزكردني پيكهاتهكاني دهسلات و دارشتني راي گشتي. نامانجي ليكولينهوه ئاشكراكردني بابتهكاني پهيوهست به ناسنامه، حوكمراني، نهتهوه ودهسلاته وههلسهنگاندني كاريگهري گوتاري ههلمتهكان له سهر راي گشتي. داتاكانئ توپژينهوهكه پيكدت له بهشيك له وتارهكاني سهركردهكاني پارتي ديموكراتي كوردستان ويهكيتي نيشتماني كوردستان وجولانهوهي نهوهي نوي. مؤديلي ماكروستراكچهرئ فان داك بهكارهينراوه بۆ ليكولينهوه كه چۆن گوتاري سياسي ماناي ئايديوئوژي دروست دهكات وپهيوهندييهكاني دهسلات نيشان دهوات بهپني ريبازيكي چۆنايهتي شيكاركرانهوه (شيكاري بابتهي). دهرههجمهكاني توپژينهوهكه دهرديهخن كه ههر لايهنيك بۆ شهريعت دان به دهسلاتهكهي وتيكداني ركابهركان گيرانهوهي ستراتيجي بهكاردههينيت. لايهنهكان به بهكارهيناني بانگهوازي سۆزداري و بانگهشهي ناسنامه وتومهتي ديكتاتوريهي، باسهكه له قالب دهدهن. ئەم ستراتيجانه كاريگهرييان له سهر چۆنيهتي بينيني شتهكان وههلسوكهوتي دهنگدهران ههيه به بههيزكردني دلسۆزي، دروستكردني بيمتانهي، يان داواي گورانكاري. توپژينهوهكه بهو نهجمه دهكات كه زمان پوليكي چارهنووسساز دهگيريت له كاريگهري سياسي له كوردستان دا. گوتاري ههلبژاردن رهنگانهوهي مملانئي قولتري كومهلايهتي ومملانئي دهسلاته. تيشك دهخاته سهر نهوهي كه چۆن دهقه سياسييكان شهريعت بنيات دهنين، تههداي دژايهتي دهكن وهوشيارئ گشتي له قالب دهدهن. ئەم توپژينهوهيه تيروانينيكي بهرخ پيشكهش دهكات بۆ پهيوهندييه سياسييكان له كومهلگا دابهشكراوهكاندا وبهكارهيناني له چوارچيوهه ههلبژاردنهكاندا له سهرانسهرئ پوژههلاتئ ناوهراستدا بهرز دهكاتوه

وشه سهرهكيبهكان: شيكاري گوتاري رهخنهيهي، گوتاري سياسي، ماكروستراكچهر، ئايديوئوژيا، دهسلات

خطاب الحملات السياسية وتأثيره على التصويت العام: تحليل البنية الكلية لانتخابات كردستان 2024

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المخلص

تلعب الخطابات السياسية الانتخابية دوراً رئيسياً في تشكيل سلوك الناخبين في إقليم كردستان. تركز هذه الدراسة على انتخابات كردستان عام 2024، مع تحليل الاستراتيجيات البلاغية في الخطاب والمواد التي تهدف إلى إثارة العواطف وتعزيز الهوية الجماعية. تستخدم هذه الدراسة تحليل الخطاب النقدي لدراسة الخطاب السياسي في الحملات الانتخابية في كردستان عام 2024، مع التركيز على دور الخطاب السياسي في تعزيز هياكل السلطة وتشكيل الرأي العام. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى الكشف عن مواضيع تتعلق بالهوية والحوكمة والعرق والسلطة، وتقييم تأثير خطاب الحملات الانتخابية على الرأي العام. تتكون بيانات الدراسة من مقتطفات من خطابات ألقاها قادة الحزب الديمقراطي الكردستاني والاتحاد الوطني الكردستاني وحركة الجيل الجديد. وقد تم اعتماد نموذج فان دييك الهيكلية الكلي لدراسة كيفية خلق الخطاب السياسي لمعاني أيديولوجية وإظهار علاقات القوة عن طريق تحليل النهج النوعي (التحليل الموضوعي). تظهر نتائج الدراسة أن كل حزب يستخدم سرديات استراتيجية لإضفاء الشرعية على سلطته وتقويض خصومه. فهي تشكل النقاش باستخدام المناشآت العاطفية، والادعاءات المتعلقة بالهوية، والانتهاكات بالديكتاتورية. تؤثر هذه الاستراتيجيات على كيفية رؤية الناخبين للأمور وسلوكهم من خلال تعزيز الولاء، أو خلق انعدام الثقة، أو الدعوة إلى التغيير. وتخلص الدراسة إلى أن اللغة تلعب دوراً حاسماً في التأثير السياسي في كردستان. يعكس الخطاب الانتخابي صراعات مجتمعية أعمق وصراعات على السلطة. يسلط تحليل الخطاب النقدي الضوء على كيفية بناء النصوص السياسية للشرعية، وتحدي المعارضة، وتشكيل الوعي العام. يقدم هذا البحث رؤية قيمة حول التواصل السياسي في المجتمعات المنقسمة، ويُعزّز تطبيق تحليل الخطاب النقدي في السياقات الانتخابية في جميع أنحاء الشرق الأوسط.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التحليل النقدي للخطاب، الخطاب السياسي، البنية الكلية، الأيديولوجية، السلطة

Appendix

Text 1

3612 هژمار:

ئیکشەمب:

13/10/2024

rojnameyaevro.com

پارتی یا 190 لیستا پشتهفانییا بۆ دا دهۆکی خەلکی یا مەزن کەرنهفالا د بارزانی مەسرور

دکەت کوردستانی و ئاڤەدانیا پیشکەفتن باسی پارتییە تێ

دوھێ شەمبێ 12/10/2024 ب بەرھەقبوونا ھەردو جیگرێن سەرۆکی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان، نیچیرقان بارزانی و مەسرور بارزانی، ئاھەنگەکا جەماوەرییا مەزن ل ناڤ یاریگەھا دەھۆک یا نیڤدەولەتی ب بەرھەقبوونا ب دەھان ھزار ھەقوولاتیین خەلکی دەھۆکی برێڤەچوو. مەسرور بارزانی، جیگرێ سەرۆکی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان د پەڤەکیدال ئاھەنگا بانگەشەیا لیستا 190 بۆ ھەلبژارتن پەرلەمانی کوردستانی ل دەھۆکی ل دەستپێکی سوپاسیا نیچیرقان بارزانی، جیگرێ سەرۆکی پارتی کر وراگەھاند، سوپاس بۆ خودی کو ئەم پارتینە و گۆت: پەڤا کاک نیچیرقانی پەڤا ھەموو پارتییە. مەسرور بارزانی، ئاماژەکر، پارتی تاکە ئالیی سیاسیە باسی پاشەرۆژا خەلکی کوردستانی دکەت و چەند رۆژین کیم ژێ یین ماین بۆ وئ چەندی ھەقوولاتیین کوردستانی بچنە سەر سندوقتین دەنگانی و بریارێ ل پاشەرۆژ و چارەنقیسی خوە بدەن. جیگرێ سەرۆکی پارتی گۆت ژێ «ژیان شانۆگری نینە تاکو نمایشەکا کۆمیدی ھندەک سنیلەیان بدەنە پیکەنینی، بەلکو ژیان یا پرە ژ ئەڤراز و نشیقیان و پیدڤی دکەت حوکمرانییا داھاتی یا ھەریم کوردستانی د دەستی خەلکەکی دا بیت، کو جہی باوەرییا خەلکی ھەریم کوردستانی بن و ئەزموون ھەبیت و خوە نەچەمین، نەترسن و روو ب رووی ھەموو ئاستەنگان ببن، لەوما تێ ئالییەک کو ھەتا نوکە ل گەل خەلکی کوردستانی مابیت و ب پشتراستیڤە ھەتا ھەتایی دئ مینیت و ل گەل خەلکی کوردستانی ب راوەستیت، پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستانە». جیگرێ سەرۆکی پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان رۆھنکر ژێ «گەلەک ئالییان پەماین خوە گەھاندینە خەلکی کوردستانی، ھێچ ئالییەکی ژ وان باسی پاشەرۆژ و ئاڤەدانکرنا کوردستانی نەکرێ، کەس ژ وان ئالییان باسی ژیان و پاشەرۆژا خەلکی کوردستانی نەکرێ، بەلکو دخواست ریکێ ل خەلکی و پارتی بگرن بۆ وئ چەندی پینگافین وئ بۆ پیشکەفتنا کوردستانی رابگرن، ئەو دبیزن (دئ ژناڤەین، دئ تیک دەین، دئ ویران کەین، دئ ھەوہ راگرین) ئەم ژێ دبیزنە وان(ناتوان، ناتوان، ناتوان). (ھەرھەسا دیارکر «تێ پارتییە باسی پیشکەفتن و ئاڤەدانیا کوردستانی دکەت». ئاماژە ب وئ چەندی ژێ کر «ئەو نەشین چونکە پارتی خودانا سەرۆک بارزانی یە و خودانا پشیمەرگین خوە نەچەمینە، خودانا جەماوەرەکی خۆراگر، لەوما ھێچ دۆژمن و نەحەزەک نەشیت پارتی و جەماوەرێ وئ رابگریت. پارتی زۆرینە یە و د ئیکەمین ھەلبژارتن پەرلەمانی کوردستانی پتریا خەلکی کوردستانی ل گەل پارتی دیموکراتی کوردستان بوو، بەلێ پارتی ھەموو دەمان ھەڤشکی د حوکمرانییدا ل گەل ئالیین دی یین سیاسی قەبوولکریە و دەستی ئاشتیی بۆ وان دریزکریە، ل سەر حیسابا خوە داخاواز ژێ کریە پشکداری د حوکمرانییدا بکەن، ئەڤرۆ ھندەک خەلک یین ھەین، دوو ژەمین خوارنی نەدایە خەلکی، بەلێ داخاوا ژناڤبرنا پارتی دکەن! باشە ھەکە ئەو خودانین زۆرینەیا جەماوەری بان، دا چ ب سەر پارتی ئینن؟ پارتی خودان جەماوەرە، لەوما پیدڤییە ھەموو کەسەکی، ھزر د وئ چەندی دا کریت، ریکێ ل پارتی بگریت، ھزر د وئ چەندی دا کریت، زیانی ب پارتی بگەھینیت، پیدڤییە پشتر ھزر د جەماوەرێ پارتی دا بکەت، بزانت پارتی خودان جەماوەرەکە ب کەسی ناچەمییت و ب کەسی ژێ ناراوەستیت. دیارکر ژێ «ھندەک ئالی دروشمین وەسا بلند دکەن کو دووماھی ب دەستھەلاتا خوە سەپین دئ ئینن، دئ دووماھی ب مادەیین بیھۆشکەر و گەندەلیی ئینن، ئەو کەسی ئەو دروشمە بلندکری، ئەو ئالییەکی کو ھەموو ئەو خەسلەتە یین تیدا ھەین، لەوما بەرسقا مە بۆ وان ئەو، ھەکە ھوون دەست ژ وان کاران بەردەن، نە دەستھەلاتا خوە سەپین دمییت، نە مادەیین بیھۆشکەر دمیین، نە گەندەلی دمییت، نە ترساندن دمییت، نە تەسلیمبوون دمییت، نە ئاخ فرۆشی دمییت.

rojnameyaevro.com

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Masroul Barzani at the Grand Carnival in Support of KDP List 190 in Duhok:

The KDP Solely Focuses on Kurdistan's Progress and Development.

On Saturday, 12/10/2024, in the presence of both deputy leaders of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Nechirvan Barzani and Masroul Barzani, a massive public celebration took place at the International Stadium of Duhok, attended by tens of thousands of Duhok residents.

Masroul Barzani, the deputy leader of the KDP, delivered a speech during the event calling for support for List 190 in the Kurdistan Parliament elections in Duhok. He began by thanking Nechirvan Barzani and acknowledged: "Thanks to God for giving us this party," and said: "What Kak Nechirvan has spoken is the word of all party members".

Masroul Barzani emphasized that the KDP is the only political entity that focuses on the future of the Kurdistan people. With just a few days remaining until the elections, he urged the people of Kurdistan to cast their votes, decide their future, and shape their destiny.

The deputy leader stated, "Life is not about performing theatrical comedies and making some smiles; life is full of challenges and necessities. The next cabinet of Kurdistan must be in the hands of its people, earning their trust and experience, not retreating, fearing, or yielding to any obstacles. The KDP is the only entity that has remained with the people and will stand with them steadfast."

He clarified: "Many parties have sent messages to the people of Kurdistan, but none of them have addressed the future and reconstruction of Kurdistan. No one from those parties has discussed the future of the Kurdistan people. Instead, they want to destabilize, break, and destroy, while we say to them: 'You cannot, you cannot, you cannot.'"

He reiterated: "The KDP solely talks about progress and development in Kurdistan."

He also highlighted: "The KDP cannot falter because it belongs to President Barzani and the Peshmerga. It represents a community that values its dignity. No enemy or adversary can bring down the KDP or its community. The KDP has consistently been at the forefront in Kurdistan's parliamentary elections, with the majority of Kurdistan's people supporting the KDP. However, the KDP has always cooperated with other political entities in governance, extended a hand of peace to them, and invited them to participate in governance.

He added: "Today, there are some people who did not even offer two meals but still call for the KDP's exclusion! If those individuals represent most of the people, why are they opposing the KDP? The KDP belongs to the people; it is essential for everyone who has intentions to prevent its progress should have thought of the KDP audience to realize that the KDP has a strong base of audience that remains steadfast and never retreats." He also pointed out: "Certain entities spread rumors claiming that within two months of taking power, they will bring down drugs and corruption. The individuals making such claims themselves possess these characteristics. Our response to them is this: "If you abandon those actions, the sustaining power, drugs, corruption, fear, surrendering, and betrayal will end."

Text 2

pukmedia.com
2024/10/14

سه‌رۆک بافل: مام جه‌لال دهۆکی کرد به پارێزگا

بافل جه‌لال تالەبانی سه‌رۆکی یه‌کیتی نیشتمانی کوردستان له مه‌راسیمی بانگه‌شه و ناساندنی کاندیدانی لیستی ۱۲۹ یه‌کیتی بۆ هه‌لبژاردنی خولی شه‌شه‌می په‌رله‌مانی کوردستان له دهۆک به‌شداره و له وتاریکیدا رایگه‌یاند: "مام جه‌لال دهۆکی کرده پارێزگا، ئەوان جگه له دروستکردنی جیاوازییه‌کی گه‌وره له‌نیوان ده‌وله‌مەند و هه‌ژاره‌کان هه‌چی تریان نه‌کردوه."

له وتاریکیدا بۆ ئاماده‌بووان رایگه‌یاند: "خۆشحالم که ئەمرۆ له خزمه‌تی خه‌لکی بادینانم. په‌یامی من بۆ دهۆک و بادینان و هه‌موو ئەم ده‌قهرانه‌ی که غه‌درلیکاران تابه‌ته، هه‌وله‌دهم ئەمرۆ به‌بادینی قسه‌کانم بکه‌م، ده‌مه‌وێت پیتان بلیم نه‌یاری ئیمه‌ تۆقیوه، ئەمرۆ من کاتیک هاتم بۆ ئێره، خه‌لکم بینه‌وه به‌جل و ئالای پارتیه‌وه و وتویه‌تی بۆی سه‌رۆک بافل، منیش پیم وتوون بیده‌نگ بن سبه‌ینێ له زانکۆکان وه‌رناگیریت و دانامه‌زرین، ئەمه‌ ئەو دۆخه‌یه‌ که‌له‌م ده‌قهره دروست کراوه، ئەوه‌ی پارتی نه‌بیت ده‌گیریت و دانامه‌زریت و سه‌رونم ده‌کریت."

"ئیمه‌ هاتوینه‌ته بادینان تا ئەو رژیمة دیکتاتۆره ده‌رکه‌ین و ئازادی بگه‌رینه‌وه، ئەوان له ئیوه ترساون له‌ده‌نگی جه‌ماوه‌ر ترساون، ئەو نواندانانی ئەوان ده‌یکه‌ن که‌س باوه‌رپان پیناکات، هاتووین ئیوه له‌م رژیمة پۆلیسیه‌ رزگار بکه‌ین، له‌و زیندانانه‌ی که‌که‌س نازانیت له‌کوێیه، ئەگه‌ر نوسه‌ر بیت زیندان ده‌کریت، ده‌پرسین ئەمه‌یه‌ حکومه‌ت؟" سه‌رۆک بافل وای وت.

ئهبیت شهرم له‌خۆیان بکه‌ن

وتیشی: "باسی یه‌ک ریزی کوردستان ده‌که‌ن، به‌لام ئەوه‌ی ئەوانن نایزانن یه‌کریزیه، که‌ی باسی یه‌کریزی چوار پارچه‌ی کوردستانیان کردوه؟، ئەوان ئیزدییه‌کانیان فرۆشت، ئەمه‌ یه‌کریزی کوردستانه؟ ئهبیت شهرم له‌خۆیان بکه‌ن، 400 گوندی ئیمه‌ چۆله‌ له‌به‌ر ئەو به‌زمانه‌ی ئەوان له‌گه‌ل داگیرکه‌ران ده‌یکه‌ین و خاکی ئیوه ده‌فرۆشن، به‌ کاک مه‌سعودم وت له‌گه‌ل هه‌قال مه‌زلوم کۆبانی دابنیشه، بۆ ئەوه‌ی ئەم کارساته‌ی ئەمرۆ رۆیدا روونه‌دات و پرۆسه‌یه‌کی ئاشتی دروست بکه‌ین، به‌لام نه‌یانتوانی بیکه‌ن و رازی نه‌بوون."

ئەوان تۆقیون

ئاماژه‌ی به‌وه‌ش کرد: "دوینی به‌ له‌به‌رکردنی یه‌ک تیشیرت که‌من له‌به‌رم کردبوو، لێی نوسرابوو ئەوه‌ی هه‌مانه‌ لی‌تان ده‌ستینه‌وه، ئەژتۆیان شکا، میله‌تی ئیمه‌ له‌ ئیوه ناترسیت، ته‌واو ترس، ئەمرۆ ترس هاوپه‌یمانی ئیمه‌یه، هه‌موو خه‌لکی بادینان دژی ئەم به‌زمه‌یه و خه‌لکی ناو پارتی په‌یوه‌ندی به‌منه‌وه کردوه و توپانه‌ ده‌نگ به‌ یه‌کیتی ده‌ده‌ین و ده‌ستخۆشیان له‌من کردوه، ئەوانیش له‌مه‌ تۆقیون."

"مام جه‌لال دهۆکی کرده پارێزگا، ئەوان جگه له دروستکردنی جیاوازییه‌کی گه‌وره له‌نیوان ده‌وله‌مەند و هه‌ژاره‌کان هه‌چی تریان نه‌کردوه، بۆیه به‌ پشتیوانی ئیوه‌ به‌ده‌نگی ئیوه‌ به‌ پشتیوانی خۆی گه‌وره هه‌موویان ده‌نیرینه‌وه لۆماری، هه‌ریه‌کیتی ده‌توانیت ئەم زولمه‌ راگریت و ئەم ده‌سه‌لاته‌ بوه‌ستینیت"، سه‌رۆکی یه‌کیتی وای وت.

President Bafel: "Mam Jalal made Duhok a province."

pukmedia.com
14/10/2024

Bafel Jalal Talabani, the President of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), participated in the event of introducing the candidates of the PUK's List (129) for the sixth parliamentary elections in Kurdistan, held in Duhok. In a speech, he stated, "President Mam Jalal turned Duhok into a province. Apart from creating a significant difference between the wealthy and the poor, they have done nothing else."

In his speech to the attendees, he said: "I am happy to serve the people of Bahdinan today. My message to Duhok, Bahdinan, and all these oppressed areas is clear. I will try to speak in Bahdini

dialect. I want to tell you that our opponent is frustrated. Today, when I came here, I saw people with the KDP's flag and clothing, saying, 'Long live President Bafel.' I told them to stay silent, otherwise, neither they would be accepted into universities nor recruited. This situation has been created in this region, where the KDP suppresses and controls everything, and others are marginalized and silenced."

"We have come to Bahdinan to overthrow this dictatorial regime and restore freedom. They fear you; they fear the people's voice. Their fabricated narratives convince no one. We are here to liberate you from this oppressive regime, from the prisons where no one knows where people are kept. If you are a writer, they imprison you. Is this what they call governance?" President Bafel added.

Shame on them

He also said: "They talk about Kurdistan's unity, but do they even know what unity means? When have they ever spoken about the unity of the four parts of Kurdistan? They sold out the Yazidis—does this represent Kurdish unity? Shame on them. Four hundred of our villages were emptied because they collaborated with the occupiers and sold our lands. I told Kak Masoud to meet with Comrade Mazloun Kobani to prevent this current disaster and establish a peace process, but they couldn't and wouldn't agree."

They are cornered

Referring to recent events, he said: "Yesterday, I wore a T-shirt with a slogan on it that read, 'We will not back down,' and this angered them. Our people do not fear you. Fear has ended. Today, fear is on our side. All the people of Bahdinan oppose this tyranny. Even people within the KDP have contacted me, saying they will vote for the PUK, and congratulated me. They, too, are cornered."

President Bafel concluded: "President Mam Jalal turned Duhok into a province. They have done nothing else besides creating a significant difference between the wealthy and the poor. Therefore, with your support, your votes, and the blessing of Almighty God, we will send them away. Unity can stop this oppression and end this regime's control," the PUK leader declared.

Text 3

ngmovement.com

12/10/2024

هاولاتیانی خوشه‌ویست....

ئه‌وه‌ی ئه‌لف و بای سیاسه‌ت بزانیته‌ی و دیقه‌ته‌ی بانگه‌شه‌ بدات، ئه‌وا ده‌زانیه‌ت له‌ ته‌واوی کوردستان دوو به‌ره‌ هه‌یه‌ ئیستا، به‌ره‌ی نه‌وه‌ی نوێ و به‌ره‌ی ده‌سه‌لات، چۆن؟

له‌ سلیمانی تاکه‌ مملانی ده‌سه‌لات (که‌ یه‌کیتیه‌) له‌ گه‌ل نه‌وه‌ی نوێدا، هه‌موو که‌س ده‌زانیه‌ت پارتی گه‌ر کورسییه‌ک یان دوانی سلیمانی به‌نیته‌ت (که‌ له‌ هه‌لبژاردنی سالی 2021 ئیمه‌ بوینه‌ هیزی یه‌که‌می سلیمانی و له‌یه‌کیتیمان برده‌وه‌). بۆیه‌ موناڤیسی یه‌کیتی له‌م زۆنه‌ ته‌نها نه‌وه‌ی نوێیه‌ که‌ ترسی هه‌یه‌ لێ ده‌سه‌لاتی لێ وه‌رگریت و پشت به‌خوا وه‌ریشی ده‌گرین.

له‌ هه‌ولێر تاکه‌ مملانی ده‌سه‌لات (که‌ پارتیه‌) له‌ گه‌ل نه‌وه‌ی نوێیه‌، چونکه‌ هه‌موو که‌س و خودی یه‌کیتیش ده‌زانیه‌ت له‌ هه‌ولێر ده‌نگه‌کانی بای 3 کورسییه‌. بۆیه‌ تاکه‌ هیزی که‌ پارتی ترسی هه‌یه‌ لێ هه‌یه‌ هه‌ولێری پێ بدۆرینیه‌ت و ده‌سه‌لات له‌ ده‌ست بدات نه‌وه‌ی نوێیه‌ (که‌ هه‌لبژاردنی 2021 له‌ ناو هه‌ولێر لیمان برده‌وه‌ و ئه‌م جاره‌ ته‌واوی پارێزگاکی لێ ده‌به‌ینه‌وه‌ پشت به‌خوا و به‌ ده‌نگی خه‌لک).

وه‌ له‌ هه‌له‌بجه‌ و ده‌وکیش به‌ دلی خۆمان کورسی ده‌به‌ین ئه‌م جاره‌.

ئه‌وه‌ی له‌ سیاسه‌ت بزانیته‌ت و تیگیته‌ت، ده‌زانیه‌ت پارتی و یه‌کیتی هه‌ردووکیان ته‌نها له‌ زۆنی خۆیاندا ده‌نگ ده‌هینن، ئه‌ویش به‌ زه‌بری ترس و پاره‌ و به‌کاره‌ینانی پۆست و داموده‌زگای حکومی، که‌به‌و جۆره‌ش هه‌یشتا هه‌یج کامیان سه‌دا 10 ی ده‌نگی خه‌لکی زۆنه‌که‌ی فه‌رمانه‌روایی خۆیان به‌ده‌ست نه‌هه‌یناوه‌. بۆیه‌ هه‌یج کام له‌و دوو هه‌یزه‌ ناتوانن له‌ زۆنی ئه‌وی تردا ده‌نگ به‌ده‌ست به‌هینن.

تاکه‌ لایه‌ن که‌ کوردستانییه‌ و ده‌توانیه‌ت له‌ هه‌موو پارێزگاکان و له‌ هه‌ردوو زۆنه‌که‌ ده‌نگ به‌نیته‌ت نه‌وه‌ی نوێیه‌، کیش

ئەلێت وایە با پێم بێت بۆ پارێتی لە سلێمانی، وە یەکیێتی لەولا دەنگ ناهێنن؟ بۆ؟ وە بۆ نەوێ نوێ لە هەردولا
بەقوێتە و مەملانیی یەکەمی دەکات؟

جولانەوێ نەوێ نوێ

2024/10/12

My dear compatriots,

Whoever understands the basics of politics and pays close attention will realize that there are now two camps in Kurdistan: the camp of the New Generation and the camp of the ruling powers. How? In Sulaymaniyah, the only real political competition for power (which belongs to the PUK) is with the New Generation. Everyone knows that if the KDP wants to win a seat or two in Sulaymaniyah (where in the 2021 elections we became the leading force and pushed the PUK back). The PUK's only true rival in this region is the New Generation because they fear losing their grip on power to us.

In Erbil, the only real competition for power (which belongs to the KDP) is also the New Generation. This is a fact that everyone knows, including the PUK, which will barely win three seats. The only force that threatens the KDP's dominance and could challenge its hold on power is the New Generation (which, in the 2021 elections, defeated them in Erbil and this time will take over the entire governorate with the support of the people).

In Halabja and Duhok as well, we will secure seats with our strength this time.

Anyone who understands politics knows that both the KDP and the PUK only manage to win votes within their own zones of influence, using fear, money, and government institutions. Even with these tactics, neither of them has managed to secure 10% of the votes in the territories outside their control. This is why neither of these two parties can win votes outside their zones.

The only truly Kurdish political force that can win votes across all governorates and both zones is the New Generation. If you think otherwise, then tell us—why can't the KDP win votes in Sulaymaniyah, and why can't the PUK win votes in Erbil? Why is the New Generation the only real challenger in both areas?

The New Generation Movement

12/10/2024