Chapter 4

KURDISH PEOPLES STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS
4.1. Introduction

I leave it to God’s wisdom

The Kurds in this world’s state

Why are they deprived of their rights?

Why are they all doomed?

See, from the Arabs to the Georgians

Everything is Kurdish and, as with a citadel,

The Turks and the Persians besiege them

From four sides at once.

And they both make the Kurdish people

Into a target for Fate’s arrow.

Kurdish poet Ehmed-e Xani

One among the most ancient ethnic groups hard hit by the system imposed cruelties in the world is Kurds. A deep delve in to Kurds history, current life and movement clearly evidences that this ethnic population is still struggling to survive day in and day out from rough weather released by the tyranny of the majority in socio-political systems they are living. Kurdish people be they are men and women are subjected to various forms of violence such as discriminations, atrocities, gas attacks, mass executions, or arbitrary arrest and torture at the behest of government forces and extremist groups. Simply stated they are undergoing their worst ordeals in their checkered history, because, they are not only ethnic minorities but also politically less dominant than their majority counterparts in various countries.

Although the elites of this group visualized the need of unity, it is still elusive for several reasons. Their Population is approximately twenty to twenty five million. But, it is dispersed in various countries. They have not succeeded in converting their population in to a reckonable or commendable united force or power to build up a strong political entity. They have their own language, food habit, dress, behaviour, culture and tradition to nurture a distinct ethnic nationalism. They are the largest groups in their own dwelling places but unfortunately do not have their own independent state, predominant power and position to decide their own destiny even in this age of modernity, democracy and human rights. Whateoer they may be
having, their individual and collective political existence on account of statelessness is at stake. One repercussion of this deplorable situation and forceful denial of statehood is that their political and non-political rights and existence are exposed to visible and invisible violence and violation. Kurdish people are victims of politically-motivated violence. They are imprisoned for unjust causes and subjected to inhuman treatment. All these forms of structured and unstructured violence have resulted in agonizing pain and suffering.

They want their own state and government to recognize, respect, guarantee and protect their rights to liberty, equality, non-discrimination and rights to preserve their religion and culture. Moreover, they are in search of opportunities to learn instruction in their mother tongue and have sufficient chance to gain own knowledge of the society, history, traditions, language and culture as well as rights of participation in the economic progress and development in their country. They also want to participate effectively in social, economic and political decision-making structures to translate their right-centric priorities into action.

It may be argued that in the politics of multinational state of Iraq Kurdish ethnic nationalism and feminism both as movements and ideologies have their own distinct spaces. For instance, Kurdish men have been fighting for autonomous region of Kurdish than by appealing to the sentiments of nationalism and patriotism. Women in keeping with the trend too have joined their hands with their men in this larger struggle. But, women’s struggle for rights has been enlivening feminism within the politics of nationalism and human rights. Because, Kurdish women as part of the ethnic minority group are also hard hit on account of Iraqi state, extremist groups and their own ethnic male domination in several ways. They too have their movements to fight for their rights and identity to elevate their status vis-à-vis their male counterparts in their own ethnic group and also the Iraqi state. Therefore, the gender-related issues and priorities, agendas and actions, policies and strategies naturally have to receive lofty place in the double discourse of Kurdish nationalism and feminism. For the realisation of their long dreamt dreams and priorities they have established their contacts with members of their group, other minorities, and citizens of other States.
4.2. General Information about Kurds

4.2.1. Who is Kurd?

Kurdistan means ‘Land of the Kurds’. They constitute largest ethnic group in southwest Asia. In Turkey, Iraq, and Syria, they are the second and in Iran the third ethnic group. Kurdish population is fourth largest ethnic group after the Arabs, Persians and Turks in the Middle East.

Despite it, they are not having their own independent country for thousands of years. The Kurds are geographically located in the Taurus Mountains of eastern Anatolia in Turkey wherein their approximate population is twenty three percent in northern Iraq these are almost twenty three percent of the population, the Zagros Mountains of western Iran ten percent of the population.

For reason of statelessness, this largest ethnic group is living scattered in Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Germany, Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia. Although Kurds are one among the others ethnic population in the world, they have not adapted other customs, tradition and culture.

Wars and people’s movements have brought big changes in the living conditions of the Kurdish peoples in their region and the world. These people have witnessed the benign and malignant sides of wars, coups and movements. Because, their ethnic life is also moulded and maintained within their local, regional and global ecology. The ebb and flow of macro and micro level politics characterized by the constant rivalry for power within and outside the borders of their inhabitations has left an indelible impact upon their life and struggle. Perpetual struggle for rights by this weak and the oppressed ethnic group is undoubtedly the core process of local and global politics. Binary political processes like domination and resistances have always been the primary factors responsible for the birth of new states, breaking up and liquidation of old and mighty states paving the way again for the creation of new states have all taken place on account of cataclysmic coups, civil wars and major wars. Many of the current countries in the Middle East were created in the twentieth century and after the First and Second World War. Thus, the occurrence of any change involves the creation of an autonomous region or a country's independence. In 2003, the war with America and its allies against Iraq lead to major events that
impacted the stability of the autonomous Kurdish region within Iraq. The only autonomous Kurd area is in Iraq.

### 4.2.2. Origin of the Kurds

Origin of the Kurd returns to legends on the Serefname⁴ which is regarded main historical resource on Kurdish in sixteenth-century. In fact for the first time were revealed culture, history, society and custom of Kurd. The origin descent’s Kurd is the people who fled from Zahhak⁵.

As claimed by the Shahnama⁶, Zahhak governed the lands of both Iran and Turan in the legendary Pishdadian dynasty⁷. Hakan Özoğlu in his book “Kurdish notables and the Ottoman state” explains the origin of Kurds as below:

Due to his evil nature, God punished him with an open wound on each of his shoulders, wounds that resembled serpents. Because of these wounds, Zahhak lived in extreme pain. The best and most skill full doctors could not cure him. Finally, one day Satan himself appeared in Zahhak’s court under the guise of a doctor and stated that the only remedy for Zahhak’s unending pain was for the brains of two youths to be applied daily to these serpent-shaped wounds. Accordingly, it was decided that every day two youths would be executed and their brains be applied to the wounds. Amazingly, this treatment seemed to work. The practice of putting two young people to death every day lasted for some time. In the end, the cook who was in charge of slaughtering innocent people had mercy on some of them and allowed some of them who escaped into the mountains. He mixed the brains of a sheep with brains of the remaining human victim and presented the concoction to Zahhak. As a condition for freeing the prisoners, the cook required that they reside in inaccessible mountains and hence far away from the tyranny of Zahhak. Inhabit the mountains they did. In time, these freed people multiplied and filled the mountainous regions, and came to be called the Kurds.⁸

So, Hakan explained in this book the Kurds resided away from society for a long time due to which they maintained own culture, arts, and civilization. Gradually, they appeared in the valleys as farmers, shepherds, and traders and instituted villages, fortresses, and towns.
According to G. R. Driver’s article “The Name Kurd and Its philological Connexions”, the term Kurd is an ethnic label descended in different origin:

- In the third millennium B.C, in clay tablet of Sumerian inscribed “the land of Kar-da” or “Qar-da”, that related to Su who have been connected in south of Lake Van and the Qur-ti-e in mountains in the west of Lake Van.

- Xenophon referred in seven books of "epic Anabasis" to the Karduchi or Kardukhi that area around the Armenia and Mesopotamia. He named Cyrtii, the tribal inhabited in the Karduchi and may have been the original Kurds who are residing in the present Kurdistan area.

- The famous Russian scholar, Basile Nikitin, as Kurdologist referred to the linguistic link between the words “Karduchi” and “Kurd are discussed by several scholars.

Also, Vladimir Minorsky derived widely as ancestors, the Medes in the eighth century B.C. who populated in current Kurdistan areas, linguistically resemble the Kurds. In the twentieth century many Kurdish nationalists accepted this investigation.

Although, the origin of the Kurds is ambiguous there is common philological theories, territorial nature and the ancient populace of an exact region_ Kurdistan, ethno-linguistic theories, or etymological theories propagated. So, these have essentially consummated different names for inhabiting a region in ancient history that nowadays is described as Kurdistan.

4.2.3. The Kurd’s Prominent

Before the twentieth century, Kurds and their boundaries had no place and significance in the international arena. Since twentieth century, new states established and they imposed their identity within territory. Also the power state tended to mountains that strategically provide defensible frontier, so they progressed to the west or east boundary where Kurds inhabit.

Since the Second World War, another vital reason to control Kurdistan is growing oil and water resources for example in Syria Rumaylan, in Turkey Batman and Silvan, and in Iraq Kirkuk and Khaniqin. Water is more vital rather than oil.
because of the growth of population and the increased demand for energy and more extensive irrigation.

Until the 1920s, the Kurdish people haunted in the international frontiers for pastoral movement, so they are afforded economic opportunity to the government such as the Harki and the Pizhdar- notable Kurds tribes- with their flocks migrated seasonally to the border and traded Iranian salt with wheat on the Mesopotamian plain. The border was also increasingly used for smuggling. Still an important source of income in impoverished in areas like Van and Hakkari.

Moreover, a permeable frontier has afforded a refuge for those who offend the state. Kurdish leaders have been seeking sanctuary in neighbouring states for hundreds of years. Most major Kurdish leaders have attempted to cross one of these borders when they have been defeated; some have been caught in the attempt, others have escaped to resume their rebellion under more propitious circumstances. Finally, Kurds have been able to exploit border tensions between adjoining states to advance their own cause. In the mid-nineteenth century, for example, a Shikak section was encouraged by Iran to undermine Ottoman suzerainty in Somay, the border district opposite the northern tip of Lake Urumiya. All three functions continue to this day. Frontiers have not been wholly disadvantageous to the Kurds.

However, there can be no doubt that today such borders are much less permeable. The use of wire-mesh fences, minefields and air surveillance makes it increasingly difficult for people to cross borders except through authorized crossing-points. This undoubtedly retards Kurdish national progress and has largely suffocated Kurdish cross-border trade (except for smuggling). Kurds are now drawn more closely into the fabric of the states in which they live. Moreover, these frontiers run across rather than along the linguistic-cultural divides in Kurdish society. There is, therefore, a tension between the 'imagined' community of the Kurdish nation and the practical requirements of economic survival which persuade large numbers of Kurds to seek employment in Istanbul, Tehran and so forth.

4.2.4. Geography and Population

The term Kurdistan is controversially indicated the region where the majority of them are Kurds. In the twelfth century, Saljuqs was primary named Kurdistan as a
geographical term. The geographical extent was started when Kurds moved outwards. McDowall in his book “Modern History of the Kurds” expressed:

They moved to the north beyond the Araxes River, to the west as far as Sivas, Erzerum and Marash and on to the Mesopotamian plain around Kirkuk; and to the east beyond the city of Kirmanshah. The majority of such Kurds were tribal, moving among and beyond what non-Kurdish peasant settlements already existed.\textsuperscript{12}

The prominent feature of the Kurdish region’s geography is high plateaus and mountains that encompasses, including Mount Ararat in Turkey and the Zagros Mountains in Iraq and Iran, and lands pasture and valleys covered by forest. Also there are some popular rivers and watercourses like the source of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, lakes such as the Lake Urmia in Iran and Lake Van in Turkey\textsuperscript{13}. There are substantial oilfields and natural gas reserves, rock sulfur, coal, copper, iron, zinc, and gold that are another attribute of Kurdish areas; Iraqi Kurdistan exclusive of Kirkuk and Mosul\textsuperscript{14} possesses the sixth largest oil reserves in the world. This rivers, valleys, and mountains cause to succeed in agriculture that is an important economic activity for the Kurdish region as well as hosts an extensive tourist industry and great unthread and historical tourism interest.

Kurdistan is a strategic area located in the geographic heart of the Middle East and north-western of Persian Gulf. In current situation, Kurd as ethnic majority is comprised in parts of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Azerbaijan. They have steadily inhabited a marginal zone among the central powers in the plain of Mesopotamian and the Plateaus of Iranian and Anatolian. They geographically, politically, and economically continue to be marginalized.

The Kurdish people have been generally struggling with the government or own tribal communities. The Kurdish people are wishing to have control of their inhabited lands. Until the nineteenth century, they largely resisted between two empires of the Ottoman and Persian, because these states were ideologically or practically forced and persecuted Kurds entity.

In 1514, Kurdistan was partitioned between the Ottoman and Persian\textsuperscript{15} empires for the first time. After four hundred years, Britain and France altered
Kurdish areas for political intend. They were dividing Kurdistan into three parts except Kurdistan of Iran. Meho in his book “The Kurds and Kurdistan” in introduction stated: “The divided area covered 190,000 square miles and covered: Turkey (43 %), Iran (31 %), Iraq (18 %), Syria (6 %), and the former Soviet Union (2 %).”\textsuperscript{16}

The numbers of the Kurds are not estimated because different countries that they live, do not calculate as the minorities\textsuperscript{17}. In general, it seems that these regimes (have a Kurds populate), prefer to deny everything related to Kurdish existence due to fear of separate Kurdish goals. So, the real Kurdish population is not known. According to the CIA\textsuperscript{18} Fact book in 2014 has estimated 28 million Kurds in Kurdistan and adjacent regions. Specifically, the populations are documented as below:

- 14.5 million of 80.6 million in Turkey, eighteen percent of population.
- 6 million of 80.8 million in Iran, ten percent of population.
- 5 to 6 million of 32.6 million in Iraq, fifteen to twenty percent of population.
- less than 2 million of 17.9 million in Syria, 9.7 percent of population. (This statistic is comprised Armenians, and other ethnicity except Arab)
- Two million in Diaspora.

4.2.5. Language and Dialect

Historically, the Kurds have to read or write the official statement of countries where they populate. Also they cannot use own mother tongue in public areas because of time to time prohibits. This language is officially accepted by Iraq and Iran. Nevertheless, the Kurdish languages are taken from the north-western Iranian branch of the Indo-European language which is closely related to Persian and Balochi. But, the Kurdish language is gradually having impact on by non-Indo-European language like an Altaic in the Turkish or a Semitic Arab in Iraqi and Syrian.
Currently, the Kurdish language is divided into two main dialects or varieties including Kurmanji and Pahlawani (Dimili-Gurani) dialects. Kurmanji, the popular, common dialect is spoken by about 75% of the Kurds today in Turkish, Kurdistan of Syrian, and Iranian Kurdistan in the northern and western Iraqi Kurdistan and in Armenia in former Soviet. Kurmanji is further divided into two major branches - Bahdinani (Turkey, Syria, Armenia and Azerbaijan), and Sorani (in the central parts of Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan). Bahdinani and Dimili use a modified form of the Latin alphabet.

Pahlawani, spoken by the rest of the Kurds, is further divided into Dimili or Zaza (Anatolia, northern Iraq, northern Iran and the Caucasus) and Gurani. Gurani (whose script is descended from the Persian alphabet) has two divisions - Laki and Awramani. Sorani uses the Persian-Arabic (Iraq and Iran) script.
Kurdish dialectics have a written tradition literary with three different alphabets, for example in Iran and Iraq, the Arabic and Persian alphabets are used for writing, while the Latin alphabet is used in Syria and Turkey for writing. In the countries of the former Soviet Union they are Cyrillic alphabet.

4.2.6. Religion

Historically, Kurds have greatly contributed to deal Islamic culture. In 7th century the Arabs conquered Kurdish groups. The Seljuk Turks, the Mongols, the Safavid dynasty occupied Kurds land. In the 13th century, Kurds were governed by the Ottoman Empire. So, until the twentieth century, the cosmopolitan world of Islamic culture influenced the Kurds society.

Figure 3: The Kurdish Majority Faith

Islam is practiced by the majority of Kurds. A Muslim can be Sunni, Shafi, Hanafi, Shia, Alevi, Yezidism and Yarsan (a.k.a. Ahl-e Haqq). Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Judaism are the other religions still practiced among the Kurds. A few Kurds are Agnostic.

Two thirds of the Kurds are Sunni Muslims belonging to the Shafi’i School, in contrast to their Arab and Turkish Sunni neighbours who adhere mostly to the Hanafi School, and their Azeri and Persian neighbours who are Shias. Shia Kurds who
constitute ten to fifteen percent of the total Kurdish population -consists of three to four million- are mainly concentrated in southern Kurdistan (in Iran) and in Khanaqin and Mandali districts in Iraq. The remaining Kurds are followers of heterodox, syncretistic sects with beliefs and rituals clearly influenced by Islam but with some practices that are descended from the old pre-Islamic Iranian religion. Such sects include the Alevi (or the Qizilbash), the Ahl-e Haqq (People of Truth) and the Yezidis, in that order. There are also a few thousand Christian Kurds and 100,000 Jewish Kurds residing both in and outside Kurdistan.

4.2.7. Society and Culture

Kurdish social life is an origin old clan system. Also, the Kurds culture is related to the ground and communal culture. Natural environment has a significant impact on the human psyche. Kurds are the inhabitants of nature. Natural barriers have affected to strong and stable existence. For this reason, Kurds have been nomadic and sedentary communities.

In ancient times, the Kurds were inhabitants of mountains and lived in close proximity to nature, and these factors along with religion influenced them. The past mountain habitats of the Kurdistan influenced their future culture, society and nationalism, as well as their literature, music, art, and folklore. However, the Kurd was vicinity to neighbouring especially the Persian, Arabic and Russian, but do not impact on Kurdish culture. The traditional lifestyles of Kurds were nomadic, animal husbandry, sheep and goat herding throughout the Mesopotamian plains and the highlands of Turkey and Iran. Most Kurds practiced only marginal agriculture. The enforcement of national boundaries beginning after World War I (1914–18) impeded the seasonal migrations of the flocks, forcing most of the Kurds to abandon their traditional ways for village life and settled farming; others entered non-traditional employment.

Kurdish family values are significant so that family members have close relationships. One of the most important values is large nuclear family that means Kurds live together and often many generations belong to the family. The history of Kurds relates to socio-culture, economic and political complicate. Social system among Kurdish is basically formed on tribal and clan. Hierarchy of loyalty among Kurdish tribe is founded by cohesion of blood ties, territorial allegiances and strong
religious devotion. The local leaders of religious –sheikhs- are Kurds religious loyalty.

In ancient times, the Kurdish culture, society and nationalism were impacted by inhabitants of mountains, close proximity to nature, religion, and proximity of neighbouring ethnic cultures (especially the Persian, Arabic and Russian cultures). The impact of ancient Iranian culture is also visible, for example, New Year’s Day is celebrated on March 21, and is called Nowroz (a throwback to ancient Zoroastrianism).

Since the 1960s, Kurd’s tribal structures have changed. Kurdish impetus has generally weakened by the mechanization of agriculture, industrialization, subsequent revolts, rural-urban migration, emigration, political mobilization in party politics, the expansion of public education and mass communications. Kurdish nationalism has socially, economically, and politically improved and developed; despite they were socially and economically disregarded. Also, Kurds were culturally and politically controlled by harsh policies of local governments.

Many of Kurds left fatherland, emigrants voluntarily expatriated for social and economic reason, or forcibly became refugee due to the political problems and state sponsored terror for mass evacuations, demolish of village, killings, and imprisonment.

The refugee and migrants have improved social and political conscious, awareness of own Kurdish identity, and also ethnic solidarity was strengthened. The social, economic, and political enlargement has established a strong Kurdish ethno-nationalist movement. European Kurdish immigrants formed their own associations.

In Iraq, Kurdish language, literature, and cultural expression were protected by the 1932 Constitution. After 1958, Kurdish language was officially recognized as the second language of the country and was used in schools and universities after a long struggle.

Kurds in Iraq enjoy better freedom of expression than in other parts of Kurdistan, but the cultural freedom enjoyed by the Kurds in Iraq is always subject to the vagaries of the regime's mood: good when relations between the Kurdish leaders and the government are good and bad when relations are bad.
In Syria, although majorities of the Kurds use Kurdish in daily life, Kurdish language in any form is prohibited by law. Despite the greater tolerance the Syrian government has shown in the 1990s towards its Kurd minority, they still prohibit Kurdish in schools, broadcasts and publications.

In the former Soviet Union, Kurdish language had decent support before World War II. But, after the war, the resettlement campaigns of Stalin discontinued Kurdish as a medium of instruction in schools. This increased the cultural isolation of the Soviet Kurds from their brethren across the borders (as a consequence of changing the alphabet into Cyrillic). Kurds in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia have not been allowed to develop their language effectively.

Given the restrictions of Kurdish language use in Kurdistan, only in countries that do not restrict Kurdish language use has the language shown progress. For example, the Kurds in Europe use Kurdish for instruction and in print, publication, and broadcasts.

Today, tribal traditions deeply affect the daily experiences of Kurds in both rural and urban areas. According to tribal ideology, the Kurdish lineage as descend from a common ancestor is valued, and has a genealogic. Both male and female are traced as head of Kurdish tribe. The Kurdish tribes are linked by kin relations or blood consanguine and familial ties through marriage (Kurdish marriage is generally arranged by chief tribal). One of the most significant events for launching alliances and forming social hierarchies within and between tribes is shaped by marriage.

A peasant is considered as a traditional Kurdish family. Patrilineal lineage or male head of the family establish Kurdish household, although Kurdish men and women, both contribute to all social, economic, and political processes. During their seasonal movement during migration from lowland winter to highland summer pastures with livestock, they shared semi-nomadic pastoralist traditions among other tribe along this journey.

According to Kurdish traditions, family is extended compounding parents, grandparents, married or unmarried children, aunt, uncle, nephew, and niece. This extended family also contributes in agricultural work, animal husbandry, daily chores, and preparations for weddings and other celebrations all together that means
household relations describe gender relations. The kin group shares a residence and meals together, and unit households. For hundreds of years, Kurdish economic activities have relied on non-capitalist forms.

Kurdish women contribute to all social, economic, and political processes within their family. In the old patriarchal traditions, they had decision-making power in their households. But recently, in household decision making, the Kurdish women are weak and just have rights to negotiate and advise. In rural areas, the roles of women are subordinated to patriarchal structures in family affairs. But in semi-nomadic pastoral tribes, they have equal right and privileges with men.

Traditionally, women before marriage stayed with family and their own territory. Most of marriage accrued within the lineage members and prevalence tribal endogamy. Marriage was arranged by families and chief tribe, in some case fulfilled even before children are born. The marriageable age is recognized as in adulthood, and varies to socioeconomic class, educate, employment, and families strategies. Generally, the Kurdish families desire to arrange early marriages for girls to protect honour and prevent abuse. But in some cases girls marry with force and appose her will. Contemporary marriages have quantitatively changed. Direct exchange marriages are often repeats which mean family “A” gives daughter to family “B” and offer daughter of family “B” for family “A” son.

Widowed woman must stay with her husband's family and often accrue levirate marriage (marry with her deceased husband's brother) especially when she has a child. Sororate is another marriage custom that means man who loses his wife-with children, families provides his deceased wife's sister with a lowered bride-price. Both customs (levirate and Sororate) are practiced to assure the well being of child and guarantee that any inheritance of land will stay within the family. Monogamous marriages are common, however, Islam allows polygamy.

Another custom among Kurdish marriage is Bride-price that is given to the bride family at the time of wedding ceremony. This amount differs according to the wealth and social standing of the groom's family. The bride is equipped a trousseau and a dowry. Also, Milk Money (Kaleb or sirdan) is courteously offered to the mother of the bride, because the mother loses her daughter and a labourer and general pays in the form of gold jewelry.
Kurds celebrate all of their festivals, birthdays, New Year, Nowroz, marriage and other ceremonies with singing and dancing. Kurdish dance is formed by circle dance with a group of traditional hand-holding with mixed-gender. Head of the circle dance or Serchopí holds a colourful or symbolic object in his/her right hand and traditionally no one have rights to take his/her place until he/she leads. Last dancers are named Gawaní and traditionally men do not allow female to stand in this situation because they believe this is low status. So, if the woman holds this status, one of Kurdish men should voluntarily replace her. Another respect to women in Kurdish dance is, during dance if some people leave the cycle, if a man stands near a woman; he does not have the right to hold her hands and must allow to her to hold his hand, if she does not do it, he must change his place or somebody should stand near her or she voluntarily leaves cycle or change her seat.

4.2.8. Economy

Historically, many Kurdish people jobs were farmer, rancher and raise livestock. Today Kurdish grows crops such as, barley, rice, cotton, and sugar beets. Additionally, the best tobacco in Turkey and Iraq is grown by Kurds. The basis is animal husbandry and they raise goats, sheep, cows, and buffalo. But recently, globalization and civil wars impact in most Kurds lifestyle, have forced them to live in urban areas.

Traditionally, nomadic Kurdish tribes often crafted handicrafts, weaving and clothing that was economically one of the best Kurdish incomes. Today, the Kurds craft chess boards, talismans, jewelry, ornaments, weapons, instruments etc.

Recently, Kurdish economy has dramatically developed by foreign investment, access to the rich oil resources (in the Iraqi section), and large reserves of water (in the Turkish and Iraqi parts). The Kurds in Iran and Syria are economically protected by central government.

4.2.9. Politics

The ethnic people of Kurdistan are heterogeneous, but all of them make efforts for freedom, full independence and a united country. Though each Kurd’s tribal affiliation comes with different viewpoints, they have a collective memory of betrayal, oppression, and genocide.
The Kurds are historically extended across Syria, Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Armenia. After the First World War and by the Ottoman Empire isolated, Western powers just outlined a Kurdish state without fruition. Since that time, many Kurds have been struggling for autonomy or independence, but the central government has been eliminated.

Until the First World War, the Osmani people governed most of the Kurdistan region. In 1920, the treaty Sevres, Turkey should have established an autonomous area of Kurdistan which was never done. In 1923, the League of Nations in the treaty of Lausanne recognized the Northern part of Kurdistan to Turkey, the Southern part to Syria and Iraq with France and Britain mandates. So, Syria and Iraq states were created in world map. During this period, the Eastern part of Kurdistan governed under Persia Empire.

Since this time, the Kurds have dissented with the ruling governments (Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran). So, they have repeatedly rebelled against them. During the Second World War, they succeed to establish the republic of Kurdistan in Iran on 22nd of January 1946, but at the end of the same year was destroyed. After the Second World War, the Kurds have been exiled to neighbouring countries and West and been killed.

In Iraq, during Baath regime, Kurds were abolished by chemical weapons in Halabja in 1988. In Turkey, the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) fought the government for more than 30 years. Syrian Kurds were banned to use their own language and culture. Since 1991, Kurds in Iraq have attained semi autonomy. In Syria, since Bashar Assad withdrew, the Kurds are basically struggling to obtain semi autonomy.

The central governments in these areas do not allow Kurds be autonomous because of existing oil and agriculture reserve. Both Kurdish men and women are skilled fighters. The military forces among Kurds are named Peshmerga. The main Kurdish politics have been straggled for independence and autonomies, so Kurdish leaders along with political parties and Peshmerga are making efforts for freedom, full independence and a united country called Kurdistan so, they are contributing together to achieve their goals.
Recently, the main Kurdish issues are fighting against ISIS who indwelled in Kurdish areas. The ethnic people of Kurdistan have perceived betrayal, oppression, and genocide. Finally, the table shows below the main political party that put efforts to Kurdish independence.

Figure 4: The Main Kurdish Political Parties in 2014

4.2.10. Four Countries Who Host Predominant Kurdish Population

4.2.10.1. Kurds in Turkey

In Turkey present-day, Kurds make up some twenty percent of the population and approximately fifty-five percent of all Kurds in the world are present in Turkey. Historically, in 1923, before the formation of the Turkish Republic, Kurds as the ethnic minority group conflict for independent and sovereignty. In 1913, the Ottoman Empire originated the first dissension with the Turkification programs. After World War I, the Muslimification program became widespread in Anatolia. New Turkish Constitution created with the exclusionary Turks in 1924, the economic competition...
and market stability policy in the 1950s, additionally emerges of globalization in the 1990s, and desire of Istanbul to join in the European Union, caused to Turkish policy toward denying Kurds. Nowadays, the significant foreign policy of Turkey was the Kurdish dilemma.

In modern Turkey, the Kurds are the minority groups that were disputed against Turkish region for Kurdish unity. The government has increasingly controlled Kurdish population and helmed their cultural identity. After 1828-29 Ottomans-Russia war, Kurds revolted by Bedr Khan Leader and achieved liberty from Istanbul and established Kurds state with its own coinage system. In 1937-1938 along with Turkification policy, massive Kurdish population were killed or resettled. So, in 1847, Ottoman defeated Kurd state. Up to 1852, all Kurds revolts broke out by Ottoman Empire. During 1877-78, Ottoman Empire established Kurdish independent under his protection because they engaged in Russia wars and prevented Kurds revolts. After World War I, in 1918, Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson reflected to self-government of Kurds. In 1920 in the Treaty of Sevres was decided that limited Kurdish autonomy. But this treaty just established modern borders of Turkey. The 1925 Shaykh Said Rebellion and the 1927 Shaykh Abdurrahman Rebellion was unsuccessful. In 1927 by British supported in eastern Turkey formed the Kurdish Republic of Ararat that crushed in 1930-1931. The Kurdish movement toward independence as much as before continued.

In the early 1960s, in modern Turkey limited freedom to Kurds likewise was given number of first Kurdish language books have been published. The Clandestine Democratic Party of Turkish Kurdistan was established with the support of the Iraqi Kurdish Democratic Party. 1967 from to 1969, in Kurdish areas due to the low level civil and social rights, underdevelopment, with the limit of state investment occurred demonstrations that most of Kurdish labourers and students clashed with the police of Istanbul.

**The Kurdish Workers’ Party (PKK):** In 1978, the Kurdish Workers’ Party (PKK) was originated by Abdullah Ocalan. The party was based on an ideology of the combinations between Marxism-Leninism and Kurdish nationalism. Their ideology was based on a fusion of revolutionary socialism and violent struggle toward independence. From 1978 to 1984, the government targets and organized
demonstrations were attacked by the PKK. In the 1982, the Turkish constitution prohibited the ethnic-based political parties. In 1983, the Kurdish language usage was officially inhibited. In 1983 and 1984, the government commenced military actions against Kurdish nationalist movements in Iraq.

In the beginning of 1984, the PKK and the government were involved in open war across the country. Most of civilians in southeast Turkey were killed and all Kurdish villages were depopulated and demolished and the conflict also happened in the neighbouring countries. The Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990s. The PKK started to play down its socialist roots and to accept more violent tactics such as suicide bombings. In 1991, Turkish was an official language rather than Kurdish language in schools.

In 1992, Turkish government interdicted Kurds for the Kurdish New Year, so when Kurdish civilians celebrated; Turkish forces killed them in Cizre. With formation the Justice and Development (AK) party in 2001, the Kurds succeeded offering more rights. The pro-Kurdish People’s Democracy Party (HDP) backs a new constitution, including an executive presidency, after Turkey’s June 7th election.

In February 1991, the Turkish cabinet announced that the Kurdish language ease just on speaking and music. But it was banned in printed material, schools, public gatherings and demonstrations. Since several clash, fight, protest and demonstration between Kurds and Turkish government, thousands Turkish forces, civilian, and Kurds rebellions were killed. So, in 2002, the European Union pressured Turkish government to legalize the Kurdish language in broadcasts and education. Also the PKK was documented in a terrorist list as a terrorist organization by the European Union. Therefore, for the first time in 2004, State TV broadcasts showed Kurdish-language programs. Then, the Turkish government began peace policy toward Kurds because they tried to join the European Union.

In March 2015, during New Year celebration, Abdullah Ocalan imprisoned PKK leader announced to his supporters to stop clash against the Turkish state and join a congress. Nowadays, the Kurds are populated in the east and southeast of the turkey and in the region of Kurdistan. They were termed hostile to the central government.
4.2.10.2. Kurds in Iraq

Kurds make up about twenty percent of Iraqi population and approximately twenty percent of all Kurds in the world live in Iraq.\(^{23}\) In 1920, the League of Nations put Iraq under the control of the British as a mandated domain. In 1919, Iraq was the section of the Ottoman Empire which terminated in 1919 following its defeat in World War I. In 1921, the British selected the son of the Sharif of Mecca named Hashemite Faisal Ibn Husayn and the British consented to found a standing Iraqi army. The Kurds of Iraq began a series of outbreak from 1919 to 1922. It aimed at forming a Kurdish homeland. The British commenced air attacks against such Kurdish raisings and the British used poisonous gas during the air attacks. In 1922, Kurdistan established the Kingdom of Kurdistan, especially in Sulaymaniyah. The British had a plan to support this movement for the purpose of empowering this state to act as a buffer against Turkey.

Hence, the British succeeded to defeat the Kingdom’s military forces in 1924. In 1926, the League of Nations gave the command over the domain of Iraq. In 1930, Iraq became a member of the League of Nations. In 1931, The Kurds of Iraq began a new revolt and they succeeded to request the league to form an autonomous state. In 1945, Mustafa Barzani was the person who was in the forefront of such movements. He was chosen to Iran due to his activism. In 1946, the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) established in Baghdad with Barzani as its president. Barzani was in Iran to hold the post of military commander of the short-lived Republic of Mahabad for setting up a Kurdish state with the support of the Soviet Union. In May 1946, he moved to the Soviet Union after the collapse of the Republic of Mahabad and then he went to Iraq in 1958. In 1961, he commenced another revolt. The setback of the new government destroyed such ascending which was a significant factor for the assassination of General Qasim and the coup which brought the Baath Party to power in Iraq in 1963.

In 1964, the new government agreed a cease-fire. In March 1970, a new agreement promised to have an increased autonomy to Iraq’s Kurds. In 1974, the Iraqi government altered the terms of agreement deprived oil-rich domains like Kirkuk. In 1975, there had been an agreement between Iran and Iraq in the Algerian capital Algiers and Iran accepted to support Iraqi’s Kurds for a long time. The Iraqi
government was responsible for a new series of military efforts against the Kurds to push them closer to Iran. The government accomplished its policy of the “Arabization” of Kurdish domains to oblige ten thousands Kurds from this area and accommodated Iraqi Arabs in their place.

During Iran-Iraq war (1980-88), the Iraqi government developed its anti-Kurdish activities due to the use of poisonous gas on the Kurdish town of Halabja which was a boarder of Iran. Therefore, a number of people were killed and suffered from the use of poisonous gas during these attacks. Another part of the government, al-Anfal campaign, was against both Kurds fighters and civilians in the Kurdistan of Iraq. A cousin of Saddam Hussein, Ali Hassan al-Majid, used some poisonous gas and weapons for killing people. In 2003, Iraqi government invaded with the help of the United States, both the KDP and the PUK played a major role in the fall of President Saddam Hussein and the Baath party. Some Kurds moved back from areas to which they had been resettled and reclaimed the land and homes seized through the government for occupation by Arabs. As a result, the process of acquiring Iraqi citizenship had become more complicated, therefore they accepted Iranians as citizens but continued to live in Iraq.

4.2.10.3. Kurds in Iran

After the effects of World War I in Iran, Kurds intended to gain some dependence from the central state. From 1918 to 1922, the leader of a local Kurdish tribal chief accepted to permit Kurdish elements to form an autonomous government around Lake Urmia. Kurdish people had the ability to seize control of Halabja from the north. There were no nationalist trends through local political figures to develop their impacts. Simko’s forces were so powerful to defeat those of the government on several occasions. The newly crowned king or shah of Iran, Reza Pahlavi, declared that there should be authorities over the central government and he gained the control of these areas. In 1941, during World War II, Russian and British forces came to the north and south of Iran for occupying. After the Allies of exiling of Reza Pahlavi, Kurdish armies controlled the south part of Iran.

In 1945, the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI) was established in Mahabad in the north-western of Iran. The party supported the elite elements in Kurdish society. After World War II, Kurdish elements asserted a republic in
Mahabad with the support of the Soviets. In comparison with the Simko rising in the early 1920s, the republic of the Kurds in Mahabad was a nationalist trend. After the war, the Soviets withdrew their forces from Iran. Iranian forces had the ability to secure control over the area isolated with the republic. The son of Mustafa Barzani was born in Mahabad who established the KDP in 1946. Through the fall of the government of Muhammad Mossadeq who was the prime minister of Iran from 1951 to 1953, Muhammad Reza Pahlavi returned to Iran because Shah led to more repression of Kurdish separatist activities in the country.

In the following decades, Iran supported Kurdish nationalist activities in Iraq. The Israeli government and the United States have channeled funds to Iraqi Kurdish trends via Iran in these years. There was a new wave of nationalism among Iran’s Kurds when the Pahlavi dynasty fell and the Islamic Republic came to establish in 1979. Most of Kurdish elements supported the revolution signed with Iraq in 1975 which terminated by Iranian, United States, and Israeli assistance to Kurdish activities. In March 1979, the KDPI announced different eight plans for Kurdish independence. Therefore, the new Iranian government decided policy toward the Kurds. During the Iran-Iraq War, Iraqi government encouraged and supported Iranian Kurdish for separatism. Iran executed mutual act and supported Iraqi Kurdish against central government.

Due to policies of Muhammad Khatami who was the president of Iran during 1997 to 2005, Iranian Kurdish could achieve liberty in the Kurdish language, culture and history in public areas. Moreover, the first Kurdish governor was appointed for the Iranian province of Kurdistan, and opened the doors to participate in government and official job. There had been a conflict between Iranian and Iraqi Kurdish groups for separatism. Historically, the Iranian Kurdish groups are encouraged by the neighbouring forces and international support to destabilize Iranian government. Nowadays, the Kurdistan Province, Kermanshah Province and parts of West Azerbaijan Province, Ilam Province are four regions where Kurds live in the Iran.

4.2.10.4. Kurds in Syria

In Syria, Kurds make roughly ten percent and five percent of all Kurds in the world. The Kurdish populations in Syria are largest non-Arab minorities groups. They are settled in the north-eastern province of Hasaka (Jazira). Some of Kurdish
people in Syria ascribe the generations of Turkey ancestors who had escaped in the 1920s after the failed revolt of Shaykh Said. After revolution, Syria was under control of France. The French realized that most of immigrants were good at agricultural skills that were all granted Syrian citizenship. Most of them lived in the north but they were not permitted to live in the south. In Syria, most Kurds are Sunni Muslims but there are Yazidi, Christian, and Alawi elements among them.  

In 1957, the Kurdish Democratic Party of Syria (KDPS) has been established to support linguistic and cultural Kurdish rights in Syria. The significant goals improve Kurdish situation in Syria. In 1961, a new constitution announced the country as the Syrian Arab Republic; also in the government census, Kurdish populations of Jazira region (120,000 Kurds) were known as foreigners (ajanib) and denied Syrian citizenship. Decree No. 93, issued in August 1962, nearly one hundred and sixty thousand Kurds have named foreigners and nearly seventy five thousand concealed. The Syrian government virtually followed program that Kurdish population could not achieve civil, political, economic rights. Indeed, the government could not allowed them to vote, own property, or work in government jobs. In September 1992, another anti-Kurdish Syrian government program forbids the registration of children with Kurdish first names, also prohibited Kurdish cultural centers, bookshops, and similar activities. Kurds did not have standard of livings in the country and seriously suffered from the country’s economic crises, and discrimination and violation. So, most of Syria’s Kurds left the country and some have arrested and killed. The program has been concentrated for keeping a lower profile with regime attacks to them.

In a post-Assad Syria, since government has denied basic rights, systemic discrimination and repression Kurdish groups have been staked out. They have been deprived of fundamental rights. In February 2006, the government had granted citizenship to Kurds in Syria.

In 2011, traditional Kurdish political parties have been developed by many young Kurds due to the downfall of the Syrian’s regime. Shortly they have been revolted. In July 2012, they achieved advantage like withdrawal of security regime forces from Kurdish districts and have replaced by own political and security forces, replacing own flags with Syrian flags, expelling regime officials from municipal
buildings. Also, Iraqi Kurdish groups under the support of Masoud Barzani have been coalesced with Kurdish political parties in Syria.

Syria has witnessed civil war between Kurdish Democratic Union Party (PYD) forces and opposition armed groups (the Free Syrian Army or FSA) on the western and southern borders of Syrian Kurdistan. On 12 July 2012, a collaboration agreement was signed by PYD and Kurdish National Council (KNC), to control and govern all Kurdish areas with creating the Kurdish Supreme Committee. The People's Protection Units (YPG) was formed under the supervision of the Kurdish Supreme Committee to control the Kurdish populated areas in Syria. The main objectives are struggled to anti-democratic; human rights violating, oppressive and dangerous political attitudes in Syrian. Step by step, the People's Protection Units captured and controlled the city of Kobanê (Ayn al-Arab), Amûdê and Efrîn, cities of Dêrika Hemko (Al-Malikiyah), Serê Kaniyê (Ra's al-'Ayn), Dirbêsî (Al-Darbasiyah) and Girkê Legê (Al-Ma'bada). So, just Hasaka and Qamishli were under government control. In 2014, Kurds in Syria affirmed the autonomous areas of Syrian Kurdistan are Cizîrê, Kobanê and Efrîn.

**Kurdish Democratic Union Party (PYD):** Kurdish activists in northern of Syria established a political party under name of PYD in 2003. In 2010, Mr. Salih Muslim was appointed in charge chairman and in 2012, Asiya Abdullah became co-chairwoman. They looked for a democratic solution towards cultural, national and political rights of Kurds. The PYD describes its goals as follows:

- Social equality.
- Justice and the freedom of belief.
- Pluralism and the freedom of political parties.

But it was banned due to article 8.4 that mention: “Carrying out any political activity or forming any political parties or groupings on the basis of religious, sectarian, tribal, regional, class-based, professional, or on discrimination based on gender, origin, race or colour may not be undertaken”.

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4.2.10.5. Kurds in Diasporas

In the 1960s, Kurd people had to migrate, escape, or deport to other countries in the world such as Lebanon, Russia and the USSR, Europe, spatially Germany. They had to leave home lands for economic and politic of reason like Arab spring in 2004, anti-Kurds program of central government, the military coup in Turkey in 1980, the government of Iraq repression of Kurds from 1970s to 1980s. In the 1990s, 1 million Kurds were domiciled in the Western Europe. Nowadays, Kurds people live in Germany, France, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. A number of Iraqi Kurds live in the United Kingdom and North America and in 1948; approximately 100000 Kurdish Jews lived in Israel. But most of Kurdish migrants live in neighbouring state such as:

**Lebanon:** In the mountains of Lebanon Kurds are residing. Most of Lebanon Kurds have escaped and migrated from neighbouring country during the 20th century. In 1983, 90000 Kurds were said to be living in Lebanon, especially in Beirut, but also in Tripoli. The Kurdish community in Lebanon is a result of several waves of immigrants such as:

- World War I, thousands of Kurds fled due to the violence and poverty
- Since World War II till 1960s, Turkish and Syrian Kurds escaped because of the socioeconomic, cultural, and political repression

The Kurds are the second largest non-Arab group in Lebanon. They are Muslim and Sunni. Muslims were the minority in Lebanon. They did not have citizenship rights. Hence, in Lebanon, there is little of anti-Kurdish sentiment. In Lebanon, political and cultural activities are forbidden and the Kurds do not have the power in domestic Lebanese politics.

**Russia and the USSR:** Kurds are diffused in different republics or regions of Russia like Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Krasnodar, and Siberia. The Kurds in Armenia are highest population than in other USSR regions. They are Muslims and followers of the Yazidi faith. Since the 19th century, Armenian nationalism has encouraged Kurdish nationalism, although some of Armenians disagreed because of influence on Kurdish
elements and with Kurdish separatism in Armenian and northern Kurdistan. Some of Kurds are domiciled in Turkmenistan.

After the revolution of the Russia, the Kurdish region wanted to be autonomous but the Soviets did not like to have good relationships with Turkey in the post-Ottoman period. In 1925, Kurdistan was known as an independent region in Soviet Azerbaijan. In the 1930s, Kurds of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia deported to Siberia. During this period, the populations of Kurdish people are unknown. Till 1990s, the state of Armenia and Georgia were assisted the Kurds, Armenia was the only state to provide freedom for Kurds and they have been utilized the medium of education.37

4.3. KURDS IN IRAQ

Table 1: The Historical Structure of Autonomous Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure of Autonomous Region</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Signing of Autonomy According Agreement</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Autonomy Accord collapses</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Gained de facto Independence</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 The TAL recognizes the autonomy of the KRG as full sovereignty</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Historically, the Kurds have struggled for obtain and govern their own destiny in the world. Presently, the Kurds of northern Iraq could achieve unite and control their legal status in de facto state within a federal Iraqi. After collapse of Baath regime, until formulate of the permanent Iraqi constitution, an interim constitution which identified as the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL) was governed Iraq. During the TAL, the federalism region of Kurdistan was formed. It repeat in Article 1: “The Republic of Iraq is a single federal, independent and fully sovereign state in which the system of government is republican, representative, parliamentary, and democratic, and this Constitution is a guarantor of the unity of Iraq.”38 And in Articles 117 of Iraqi constitution recognize “the region of Kurdistan, along with its existing authorities, as a federal region.”39
In post-Saddam Hussein, the only solution to pursue democratization was power sharing at the center and self-governance for Iraqi Kurdistan. Creation a mandate federal relationship for legitimate right to independence of Iraq’s Kurdish community is obligatory. That means power must dive between a central authority and constituent political units which have a fair degree of local power, as well as the ability to raise taxes and a militia. Iraq with multi-cultural, ethnic and religious states, federalist system requires guaranteeing the political and cultural rights, promoting stability and the constituent political units. Also, it can provide a system of checks and balances to moderate the power of any future central government.

According to Article 4 of permanent 2005 constitution “Arabic and the Kurdish language” recognize as the two official languages in Iraq. It emphasize in Article 4:3 that the federal and official institutions and agencies in rest of Iraq must employ both languages. Also children have the right to educate in own mother tongue. The Article 2 of Iraqi constitution describes Islam as the official religion and source of law. It also repeats in Article 7 of the Kurdish Regional Constitution.

Due to federalism regulation, Kurdistan has own regional constitution but exists under the Iraqi federal constitution. In Article 141 mention the situation of legislation in Kurdistan region as:

“Legislation enacted in the region of Kurdistan since 1992 shall remain in force, and decisions issued by the government of the region of Kurdistan, including court decisions and contracts, shall be considered valid unless they are amended or annulled pursuant to the laws of the region of Kurdistan by the competent entity in the region, provided that they do not contradict with the Constitution.”

Moreover, in Articles 112, 113, 114 of Iraqi constitution reveal power sharing among the federal government and regional governments, as well as oil and gas development, antiquities, customs enforcement, water resources, education, environmental policy, electric energy distribution and health policy.

According to Iraq’s federal constitution, Kurdistan’s institutions have authority on legislative and executive, as well as allocating the Regional budget,
policing and security, education and health policies, natural resources management and infrastructure development.

Also, Article 1 of the Kurdish Regional Constitution refers that: “The Kurdistan Region is a Federal Region within the Federal Iraqi state. Its political system is republican, parliamentary and democratic system which is based on political pluralism, sharing power peacefully and the principle of separating powers.”

In Article 2 of the Kurdish Regional Constitution recognize the administrative border of Kurdistan region: “Iraqi Kurdistan includes: Duhok Governorate with its current administrative border, Kirkuk, Sulaymaniyah and Hawler (Irbil) Governorates with the 1968 border; Akre, Shekhan, Sinjar, Tal Afar, Talkeif and Qaraqush Districts; Zumar, Bashiqa and Aski Kalak Subdistricts of Nineveh Governorate; Khanaqin and Mandali districts of Diyala Governorate; Badra district and Jassan Sub-district in Wasit Governorate, with their administrative border before 1968.”

The most important institutions of Iraqi Kurdistan Region are involved:

- KRG or the Kurdistan Regional Government. According to the Kurdistan Region’s laws, KRG have an executive power and ratify by the democratically Kurdistan National Assembly election. Nechirvan Barzani is current Prime Minister.

- KRP or the Kurdistan Region Presidency. The President has the highest executive authority and is elected by democratically vote every four years and also can stand for election for a second term. Mr. Masoud Barzani is the first Kurdistan Region’s president up to recent time. The President’s secretariat is called the Diwan who is headed by the Chief of Staff.

- KNA or the Kurdistan National Assembly or parliament. It has three main functions: propose new laws, scrutinize government policy and administration, and debate the major issues of the day.

The several political parties are associated with government are included:

- The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)
- Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)
➢ Kurdistan Toilers Party
➢ Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party
➢ Kurdistan Islamic Union
➢ Kurdistan Communist Party
➢ The Islamic Group and the Turkman Brotherhood Party.

Among the cabinet members are a Chaldean, an Assyrian, a Yezidi, a Faili (Shia Kurd) and an independent Turkman.

4.3.1. The Treaty Of Sèvres And The Creation Of Iraq

Historically, the Kurds along with the various regional powers have obtained a significant degree of semi autonomy and controlled Kurdish tribes territorial. In 16th century, the Persian and Ottoman Empires permitted them to maintain peace on their territorial. But, the first Kurdish autonomous was founded by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the end of the First World War. As a result of the First World War was initiated the nascent group who known as minority groups. President Wilson in his Fourteen Point Programme for World Peace stated the non-Turkish minorities of the Ottoman Empire must assure their autonomous in own territory.

The British was supported Kurds independent. Britain was sure Kurdish leaders could not be able to govern their territory, but the Kurdish leaders have pursued to widespread and cohesive identity of Kurds and united Kurds tribal.

This was named the Treaty of Sèvres. In 1920, the Allied Powers and the Ottoman government were signed it, and guaranteed local autonomy for the Kurdish areas. In Article 62 of the Treaty, the committee consisted French, Italians and British must secure autonomous Kurdish areas like east of the Euphrates, south of Armenia and north of Syria and Mesopotamia within six months. Articles 64 emphasized on the Kurds living in Mosul and seek to become citizens of the newly autonomous Kurdish state. This treaty recognized the self-determination of Kurdish due to Articles 62, 63 and 64. The Treaty of Sèvres was a humiliation for Turkey. During negotiations Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, Kurdish leaders requested to the League of Nations and Britain to sport Kurdish autonomy. But Treaty of Lausanne was restored Turkish sovereignty, ignores the Kurdish autonomy and recognized the rights of religious minorities.
But Treaty of Lausanne this right was canceled in the Lausanne Treaty in 1923. The League of Nations reinforced Kurdish and figured out South Kurdistan\textsuperscript{45} “has never been a part of Arab Iraq and there is no historical evidence backing the demands and requests of the neighboring countries”.\textsuperscript{46} The Europeans maps in the 16th and 20th centuries disprove the ancient Arab maps that linked these two regions Arab and Kurd in Iraq.

In 1925, the League of Nations established an International Commission for resolved territory dispute between Iraq and Turkish. So, the commission examine Mosul ethnicity population and founded the most of population was Kurdish, finally Mosul attached to a new state of Iraq. Then, Mosul mandated under the League for 25 years, and was governed by local administration, the justice and education system with Kurdish administrators and Kurdish official language. The 1922, British were chosen to secure the mandate areas by Alliance Treaty. In 1926, British permitted Kurds in Erbil and Sulaymaniyah to apply their own language in primary education and to print books. In 1926-27 was increasingly shaped various Kurdish cultural societies and impacted on politics.

In 1932, Iraq achieved independence from Britain. The Hashemite monarchy under King Faisal was governing Iraq. The new Iraqi government was pledged to protect the minority group rights especially Kurdish civil and political rights. In practice, they only ensured Kurdish language rights. But after King Faisal’s death and more than eight decades, the Iraqi government was ruled by factionalism, and loses of coherent leadership, also has had a significant and violent effect on Iraqi population and Kurds.

4.3.2. The Baath Regime

After King Faisal’s death, various revolts occurred and caused to weakness of the central government. Through 1935, the Kurdish chiefs were defended its obligations. They looked for representation in the National Assembly, and equitable distribution of the nation’s resources. However, they were unsuccessful.

The most significant occurrence after Iraq’s independence was emerged a powerful and charismatic political leader among Kurdish. Mullah Mustafa Barzani as nationalist leader is the most prominent Kurdish political figure. His political life
started by revolt in Barzan region. In 1946, he was elected as the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). Barzani was leading the Kurds against Iraqi regimes until his death in 1979.

In 1963, the regime was shifting with coup of the Ba‘ath party. The perspective of the Ba‘ath party was Arabic ideology, socialist and secular. In this time, Iraq was deeply mired in crisis like Sunni was treated against Shia and contrariwise, Arabs against non-Arabs, urban against rural and nomadic tribal. Generally, the country was divided between social groups, ethnic, religious and socio-economic. The new Iraqi regime -Baath Party- was carefully monitored all policies and for stability, development, social welfare and reducing of political conflicts in Iraq, within weeks of seizing power, eradicated, tortured or imprisoned most of Iraqis opponents. Also, Saddam Hussein was temporary given autonomous to the Kurds. While, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) was followed establishing independent region in Kurdistan, authority over its own social and economic affairs, and insisted on Kirkuk and Mosul in the Kurdish autonomous region.

4.3.3. Autonomous Regions in Iraq

In international law, the concept of “Autonomous Regions” defines the regions of the state that are generally detachment of central government with separate powers in internal administration. Autonomous regions are not recognized as states, but encompass with local or regional executive, legislature and judiciary. Autonomous areas widely have authority in education, health, housing, social welfare, culture, religion, land, resources and local security, also it can provide some resources and finance through taxation or else. However, it may achieve in cultural or economic subjects limited capacity to sign international agreements.

Over 25 years ago, a political option in Iraqi Kurdistan imperfectly established on the basic parameters and institutional structures for principle of Kurdish autonomy. Kurds administrative bodies were placed under the direct control of central government in the areas of foreign affairs, defence, public security and information. Since the US-led coalition, under the UN’s peace-keeping operations imposed political settlement and higher international protection in Kurdistan in Iraq.
Still, the development of several concepts like self-determination rights of minorities or oppressed groups is legally stood on low level of internal principles most of states in the world, particularly the extent to these concepts are realized the collective right of a people. Internationally, human rights norms and standards are advocated only for showing off, they are flaunted to provide a legal framework of rules and balance for rights and interests to self-determination. Whereas, the right of self-determination is recognized as one of significant international legal principle, but all states are not practically clear basis these rights. The UN Charter emphasize on self-determination in Article1 (2) “to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.” In additionally, in Article 55 support economic and social cooperation in order to create the essential conditions for “peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples”.  

Especially the Kurds are contained in political perspective as the fear of secession and the fragmentation of neighboring states. Kurds as oppressed groups in the rest of Iraq are suffered from political, ethnic and security problems. So, the Kurds pursued self-determination and a Kurdish free state, but they are hesitant since neighboring region like Turkey, Iran and Syria are opposed to formation a Kurdish state adjacent their borders due to their large Kurdish population. Also, the international community has consistently protected the territorial integrity of Iraq with support an independent political entity in Iraqi Kurdistan.

4.3.4. Boundaries of the KRG

On March 19, 2003, due to Article 58 of Iraqi constitution, Duhok, Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, and the parts of Kirkuk, Diyala, and Ninewa has been referred “Green Line” where control by Kurdish. Since the U.S. invasion of Iraq, peshmerga (the Kurdish soldiers) has been safeguarded the Green Line. KRG leaders have historically been proclaimed more Kurdish territory, but Baghdad has not been accepted.
4.3.5. Currency

After the First Gulf War, KRG are enjoyed their own currency. It is consisted of Old Iraqi Dinars (OIDs) and dinar banknotes printed by Swiss. But, the currency value in KRG was partly more than Iraqi government currency due to the limited print run of Swiss dinars.

4.3.6. Two Main Kurdish Parties

The fourth-largest ethnic group in the Middle East is Kurds who comprise as Indo-European people dwelled in mountain. But they have never achieved statehood. It seemed the World War I peace arrangement and subsequent Treaty of Sevres (1920) actuated Kurdish toward autonomy, but later with Treaty of Lausanne (1923), just was specified minority status in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria and refused the Kurdish independence. Roughly, Kurds in Iraq are estimated 15% to 20% of the population who are mostly Sunni Muslims, and their language is akin to Persian. Previously, Kurds in Iraq have had more national rights; like, in 1931, they allowed to use Kurdish language in elementary education, in 1958, the government recognized a Kurdish nationality, and in 1974, Kurdish under Baath Party rule had limitation autonomy.

More than three decades, the Barzani clan is initially led Kurdish especially in 1991. After World War II, Mulla Mustafa Barzani originated the Kurdish Democratic
Party (KDP), opposed to central Iraqi government regulation, demanded for Kurdish autonomy, and promoted Kurdish rights. In 1979 his son Masoud Barzani becoming head of KDP.

In 1964, Jalal Talabani with urban and left-leaning desires emerged new party as the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). Both parties - the KDP and the PUK - are dominated power among Iraqi Kurds. The KDP generally have traditional desires with strong situation among the tribal. The KDP areas are involved northern mountainous adjacent Turkey border, whereas the PUK areas are consisted southern adjacent Iran border. Historically, PUK is supported central government. The PUK leaders are believed that the Kurdistan must govern under central government. But, KDP believed autonomy of Kurdistan.

During the 1980-1988 Iraq-Iran war, Kurdish parties were fighting against Baghdad and assisted Tehran. In the first, Iraqi government persuaded Kurdish to avoid support Iran and annexed to Iraqi force. In 1984, the PUK ceased fighting to central government, but the KDP not agreed and continued. So, in 1988, Iraqi forces instigated at least two lethal gas attacks against Kurdish to response it. Or, during 1987-1989, Iraqi government reportedly forced Kurds to leave their homes and villages, otherwise killed them.

During the 1990s, Iraq contained by U.S. following the invasion of Kuwait. In mid-1991, U.S. and allied were protecting the Kurds from Iraqi forces by arrangement a “no-fly zone” over the Kurdish areas. Shortly in 1991, Kurdish leaders joined the Iraqi National Congress (INC). In 1992, provisional parliament, an administrations, and organizations set up in Kurdistan. The first elections held for a 105 members. The KDP and the PUK have equal seats (50 seats for each party); another five given to Christian groups. Two main parties agreed jointly for presidential rule.

In October 1992, the Kurdish parliament demanded to create of a Federated State of Kurdistan with committee to Iraq’s territorial integrity. This caveat established fears among Iraq and neighboring states (Turkey, Iran, and Syria). But in early 1994, two main parties disputed for power sharing, territorial control and revenues. So, it was occurred armed clashes among them.
In 1994, the PUK had captured Irbil the capital of the Kurdish regional government. In mid-1996, the KDP utilized Iraqi force to seize Irbil. The KDP and PUK affected to split power in Kurdish regional.

In a September 1998, the United States spearheaded negotiations and the two parties were sign Washington Declaration and conciliated. In February 2003, Kurds immediately allied with U.S. against governance to Iraqis.

4.3.6.1. Embargo

Since 1991, Saddam Hussein used every tactic to impose economic hardship on the Kurdish region by economic siege. Baghdad was cutting off salaries to employees, making impossible transported goods and commodities in the country, and created a fortified line between the two regions. So, fuel and foodstuffs did not depart to north to exert pressure on the Kurds. In July 1992, Saddam regime was banned on the importation of fuel. Within a few months the embargo was complete. This dramatically diminished household purchasing power, and increased the price by likewise astronomical factors.

4.3.6.2. Employment

Criterion the Kurdish employee administered that the UNOHCI announced in 2000, between 5 and 12 percent unemployment, 30 percent were employed in government services; it divided between agriculture (22 percent), in the transportation sector (24 percent), in the services sector (18 percent) and in the manufacturing industrial sector (5 percent).

4.3.6.3. Non-Governmental Organizations

Since 1992, UN staff manipulated NGOs ties and funding in Iraq, the Iraqi Kurdistan is founded several non-governmental organizations under UN monitoring for relief efforts like. But in the first observe, they could not able to active because of the Iraqi regime micro-managed their actions to an extreme degree. Also, the Iraqi regime did not recognize the legitimacy of the Kurdish administration. All NGOs organization in Iraqi Kurdistan was working illegally. They have faced complexity from the constitutional uncertainties attached, since the central government refused Iraqi Kurdistan. Moreover, the Iraqi government wanted that UN break off NGO ties
and funding, and refused the minutes of UN staff meetings. This Iraqi security measure caused to hinder NGOs in the south and the north of the country. The Iraqi central government hostility led to the organization operating outside of the country, due to certain of NGOs was continuing to work in Iraqi Kurdistan without the consent of the Iraqi government.

Since 1990s, The NGOs in Kurdistan regional government are focused on long-term program toward social development and remitted the provision of emergency assistance, primarily shelter materials and food, to Internally Displease Persons (IDP) and refugees; reconstruction village and road-building schemes, educational facility rehabilitation and agricultural assistance.

4.3.7. Iraqi Oil and Kurds

4.3.7.1. Oil in Iraq

Oil has been a significant and powerful force in Iraqi official’s decisions. According to Department of Energy (DOE) Energy Information Administration (EIA) figures, Iraq estimate over 112 billion barrels (bbl) of proven reserves, additionally it has huge undiscovered reserves. The combination of war and sanctions are two elements that hindered resource’s development and also halted the large scale exploration. During 1991 when Iraq was invasion of Kuwait, oil production of Iraq was immediately decreased by oil embargo. But in 2002, it is significantly increased. Due to the Iraqi oil industry and facilities were repaired and rehabilitated. Sanctions exclusion the use of dual use goods and less investment cased Iraqi oil industry running away from the world’s technology.

Also, according to UN Resolution 986, at least half of exported Iraqi oil transited through tow official channels a Turkey–Iraq oil pipeline and the Ceyhan oil terminal in Turkey to serve European markets, and Iraqi oil was exported through Mina al-Bakr from the Gulf to serve the East. But additionally, Iraq is illegally exported some quantities of oil.

“Kirkuk is a major oil hub which alone holds an estimated 10 billion barrels of oil, which hit an impressive peak of 680.000 (bbl/d) before the war. Since the launch of the US-led war in 2003, production has dropped to around 200.000 (bbl/d).”53
4.3.7.2. Oil in Iraqi Kurdistan

The Iraqi government and Kurds are historically conflicts on oilfields province. In the early years of the twentieth century, the first oil around the city of Kirkuk was discovered. In 1925, the Petroleum Companies consisted of Turkish, British as partner, Royal Dutch/Shell, and French, were granted the first concession’s exploitation in Iraqi Kurdistan. It was the moment that the first Ba’ath party regime recognized Kirkuk and north-west Mosul as two Arab oilfields in 1963. But Mullah Mustafa Barzani was claiming and negotiating on these areas along with creation of an autonomous region. The government relied on the results of a 1947 census that 25 percent of Kirkuk province population was Kurds. The Gulf War was damaged pumping stations and oil terminals. So, in 1975, the government was strategically repaired north–south pipeline, Iraqi government had been rehabilitated since 2001 to retransfer oil pipelines through Gulf ports.

Immediately after 1990 (the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait), the UN Security Council approved Resolution 660 and condemned the Iraqi invasion, due to it, Iraq’s forces must withdrawal Kuwait immediately and unconditionally. Under Chapter VII of Resolution 986, the UN Security Council was offered another opportunity to Iraqi oil namely “Oil-for-Food Program” (OFFP).

In 1990, for the isolation of the Baghdad regime (after Iraq invaded Kuwait), the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) assigned set of sanctions. Unfortunately, those sanctions had difficult life of civilian population, so the UNSC mitigated by resolution 986 (1995) with the Oil-for-Food Programme. Due to this programme, Iraq could sell its oil and procure food and other relief goods under monitoring of the Security Council Committee (661 Committee). In 1997, the first humanitarian relief arrived.

4.3.7.3. Oilfield region and disputed areas

One of the main tensions of Iraqi government and the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has been for the official control of Kirkuk city. Kirkuk is rich in oilfields and farmlands. Also, Kirkuk has geographically been the strategic trade routes between Anatolia, Iran, and Iraq. Distinctive ethnic (Kurds, Turkomans, Arabs), linguistic, religions (Jewish, Christianity and Islam), and cultural diversities
present in Kirkuk. Twenty century with the discovery vast quantities of the oil caused to Arab and Kurdish settlers to this region. In 1968, with the rise of the Baath regime, a systematic and calculate policy of Arabization of the city of Kirkuk was starting. They changed the ethnic character of the city of Kirkuk by replaced the Arabs there.  

Since the launch of the US-led war in 2003, the US army supported Kurdish against Saddam regime by permission to near ten thousand Peshmerga entering the city. In 2005, the provincial and national elections were held in Kirkuk, Kurds obtained sixty percent of the votes because the Sunni boycott of provincial elections.  

The center of Baghdad-Irbil disputed is the Kirkuk province. The Kirkuk is strategically located as the fourth largest city in Iraq with significant Oil-rich revenue. It seems that KRG demand Kirkuk and its oilfields for political and economic goals. Kurds in northern of Iraq are tried to financially and economically developing their region, they do not want under dependency of Baghdad, and push Kurdistan for complete independence and autonomies. Because the central Iraqi governments are historically violated and excruciated Kurd, also, at the present time, they continuous to injustice like in budget distribution.  

So, the KRG accelerated the official control of Kirkuk city. Moreover, Kurds are referred to historical affiliation; Saddam's policy of Arabization and ethnic cleansing in Kirkuk which expelled thousands of Kurds with Arab replacing; therefore moving backs the Kurds to own native lands. KRG for developing its energy sector independently sign several energy contracts with international energy companies in opposition to the Iraq’s constitutional structure. This occurred dispute among central government in Baghdad and KRG. In 2009, UN proposed a set of recommendations to resolve the tensions. Irbil strongly announced reject recommendations.  

Several military tensions occurred between Baghdad and Erbil. Like 2008 in the Khanaqin district, where both peshmerga and Iraqi force tried to govern. KRG President stated that central government tries to monopolize power; on the other hand, Iraqi President Maliki replied Kurds follow unconstitutional policies. The Tension provisionally ended due to Erbil exported oil from the Taq Taq field through the national oil grid with received seventeen percent of the revenue to KRG. In 2011
again started tension, two reasons for protest in Kirkuk was corruption and unemployment. So, the following day of the demonstration, Barzani protected the Kirkuk because of fear of al-Qaeda, Arab groups, and Ba’thist. Without the authorization of the central government, KRG troops deployed near Kirkuk. Maliki demanded the withdrawal of Peshmerga from the Kirkuk. Turkey interceded to solve this crisis, but KRG officials replied, “This issue is no business of the Turkish government”.\(^{61}\)

In August 2007, the northern semi-autonomous Kurdistan region adopted its own oil law.\(^{62}\) Albeit Iraq’s Oil Minister has rejected and called illegal because of oil must export through the national oil pipeline grid. But, the KRG has developed deals with foreign companies as well as with Turkey (Genel), United States (Hunt Oil), UAE (Dana Gas), Britain (BP), Norway (DNO ASA), Austria (OMV), South Korea (SK), Canada (Talisman), Switzerland (Addax) and several others.\(^{63}\)

These oil companies have been took advantage from the conflict among the KRG and the central government in Baghdad.\(^{64}\) Additionally, these development deals have been marked significant advantage for KRG, especially the Turkey’s direct oil pipeline. These advantages involved:

- Automatically demonstrate its own authority over Kirkuk.
- Establish a series foreign relation through oil pipeline.
- Economic link with world markets.

4.3.8. Irbil and Baghdad Relations

The series of wars and rebellions was referring that the Kurds was done against the central authority of Iraq toward the independence. Iraqi–Kurdish dispute was launching after World War I and defeating of the Ottoman Empire by Mahmud Barzanji who fostered independent notion among Kurds. These conflicts were culminated until the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 and are continued up recent. Although, some views highlighted the Iraqi–Kurdish conflicts started by insurrection of the Barzani for the Kurdish autonomy in 1961.

The end of World War I was the first stage of the Kurdish-Iraqi conflicts with the British forces appearance. The first secession efforts were instigated by Mahmud Barzanji in 1919 and in 1922 to establish Kingdom of Kurdistan that it was defeated.
Ahmed Barzani was another Kurdish sheikh that started his activity against the Iraqi central government in 1920s. In 1943, the next serious Kurdish with secession attempts was combated. Mustafa Barzani is Ahmed Barzani’s younger brother who revolts against central state for Kurdish policies toward autonomy. Ultimately, Mustafa Barzani and his fighters exiled to Iran up to 1958. Mustafa encouraged returning in Iraq by new regime that coincided with appointing him as a head of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in 1959.

First step of Mustafa Barzani after returning to Iraq was negotiated with the new Iraqi regime (in 1958, Abdul Karim Qasim seized Iraqi regime with the military coup) for autonomy policies in the north which promised to Barzani to go back from exile. But, Qasim regime refused the negotiations, due to discovery of oilfields in the Kurdish populates areas. So, on 11 September 1961, was happened the First Iraqi–Kurdish War. This combat was escalating by Syrian government who supported Iraqi military.

4.3.8.1. First Iraqi–Kurdish Conflict And Treaty Of March Manifesto

The First Iraqi–Kurdish conflict was started in 1961 until 1970 and was identified as long Iraqi–Kurdish war. In March 1970, was ended by the 1970 Peace Accord. Since June 1961, Barzani announced the previous ultimatum to Qasim government for Kurdish grievances outlining and demanding, but they ignored it. The KDP leader consolidated Kurdish forces to defeat the Baghdad due to occupying and expelling Iraqi officials from all Kurdish government area. So, Baghdad decided a military offensive to control of the north and again ruled in these areas. At the first of war, Kurds who was ambushed could defeat Iraqi army. In response, Qasim used the Iraqi Air Force to attack Kurdish and Barzani’s villages with indiscriminately bomb.

During this time, in 8 February 1963, the Ba'athist was overthrew Qasim regime with military coup that named Ramadan Revolution. When the Ba’thist could hand the government, economics and political was corrupted. The first Ba’thist plans was to create peaceful in Iraq, so, they was negotiated with Kurds and accepted all Kurdish demand and autonomy. Now, the Baath regime was establishing peaceful condition, then rejected all Kurdish clams and initiated a military policy and started to Arabization Kurds territory.
In that time, also, the anti Kurds movement toward arbitrarily categorize was erupted in 1961 Syrian policies. The Syrian interim constitution was changed to the Arab Republic. Due to Arabism policy, in 1962 population census, the Syrian government was approximately documented 120,000 aliens in the province of Jazira while they are Kurds. In addition, they launched a media Arabism campaign against the Kurds threat. In June 1963, Barzani's uprising culminated in Iraqi Kurdistan, Syria supported Iraqi military with offering aircraft, armored vehicles and manpower against the Kurds.

Also, Kurds was supporting by Iran and Israel. Both Iran and Israel was strengthening its own political and military position. They were not satisfied by Iraqi act. Because Iraq was one of Arab participant in the 1948 Arab border fighting with Israel who rejected ceasefire agreements with Israel, not sign. Due to, Israel was worried regarding the Iraqi military lunch for a second time Jordan and Syria, and renew struggle against Israel. Therefore, the Israelis desired to lead the Iraqi attention elsewhere. Another Israeli interest was escaped Jews who are still living in Iraq through Kurdish provinces to Israel. Iran wished to weaken Iraq and prevented the new regional powers in the Persian Gulf.

In 1963, the Ba'ath Party launched a campaign against the Kurdish rebellion. The Kurdish rebellion with their leader Mustafa al-Barzani was searched independence from Iraq. Relations between the Ba'ath government and Kurds got tense in 1968, so, when the Iraqi Armed Forces was suppressing the Kurdish movement, against it they was massively spoiled Iraqi economics. Treaty of March Manifesto was signed in Tikrit in 11 March 1970 by Saddam Hussein and Mustafa Barzani. This treaty fallowed goals as below:

- End the conflict between Iraqi force and Kurdish movement.
- The Kurdish militias merge with the Iraqi Army.
- The Kurds must cut all ties with Iran.
- The rebellion must end.
- Establishing Kurds autonomy.

In 1974, among the Iraqi government and the Kurds was established instability in Oil relation, due to encourage and move the Arab in Kurdish the Oil-rich regions.
Since the Kurds left the government like Kurdish ministers, the Kurdish employees also left their jobs, as well as Kurdish army (police and soldiers). So, again was starting hostility between the Iraqi government and Kurds. The Iraqi government restated to implement the March Manifesto treaty, but Kurds refused it. Again, the struggle was setting up between the Iraqi army and Kurdish forces continued. Of course, Iran was supporting the Kurds in this battle.

Since 1972 or until the signing Moscow and Baghdad friendship Pact, Barzani had supported by Soviet Union, after that US and Iran supported Kurdish autonomy. In reality, Soviet Union, US and Iran followed own regional designs. In 1975, Iran was signed a new agreement with Kurds namely Algiers Agreement for establishing the borders security strip. So, the Iraqi government atrocity accelerated to disappearance of Kurds toward the Arabization programs.

4.3.8.2. Second Iraqi–Kurdish War And Algiers Agreement

The First Kurdish–Iraqi conflict was ended by some negotiated to provide autonomy in North Iraq. Peace plan was broken with the Iraqi program toward Arabization in the oilfields regions of Kirkuk and Khanaqin. Eventually, it led to Second Kurdish–Iraqi War in 1974.

In 1973, the US and Iran made a secret agreement named Algiers Agreement. Through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and with Mossad cooperation, were covertly lunched Kurdish rebels against Ba’thist regime. But Iraqi government accepted Iranian demands on their borders in Shatt al-Arab and Khuzestan to end Iranian support in the Kurdish rebellion. In this time, the Iraqi situation wasn't good, because of Iraq was occupied as below:

- Preoccupied in the 1973 Arab–Israeli War.
- Border dispute with Iran (borders in Shatt al-Arab).
- Support Syrian military army.

So, Iraq had to build a new diplomatic relation with Iran. Iraqi government also feared Iran that arranges attacking from the east Iraq. Iran and Iraq was sign the Algiers Pact in March 1975. Also, Tehran reduced to support the Kurdish movement in north Iraq.
The Iraqi government supplied a new offensive against the Kurds and extends controlling the northern region. As result, Barzani and his peshmerga pushed to the Iranian border. In the absence of KDP, PUK gained power to lead Kurdish campaign against the central Iraqi government.

Since 1976, PUK and KDP relations quickly deteriorated, reaching the climax in April 1978, when PUK troops suffered a major defeat by KDP, which had the support of Iranian and Iraqi air forces.

The conflict re-emerged as part of the Iran-Iraq War, with the Kurdish parties collaborating against Saddam Hussein, and KDP also gaining military support by the Islamic Republic of Iran. By 1986, Iraqi leadership grew tired of the strengthening and non-loyal Kurdish entity in North Iraq and began a genocidal campaign, known as Al-Anfal, to oust the Kurdish fighters and take revenge on the Kurdish population – an act often described as the Kurdish genocide, with an estimated 50,000–200,000 casualties. In the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, a series of uprisings shattered Iraq, but only the Kurds succeeded in achieving a status of unrecognized autonomy within one of the Iraqi no-fly zones, established by the U.S.-led coalition. In the mid-1990s, the conflict between the KDP and PUK erupted once again, resulting in a bloody civil war, which ended in 1997. The most valuable gains of the Kurds occurred between 2003 and 2005, when the Hussein regime was toppled as part of the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the Kurdish autonomy finally gained recognition by the new Iraqi government. Despite the mutual recognition, the relations between Iraqi Kurdistan and the Iraqi central government grew strained between 2011 and 2012 due to power sharing issues and the export of oil.

4.3.9. The Iraqi Government First Programs: The Internally Displaced

Since the Ba’ath party came to power, one of the famous Ba’thist government tactic was monitored, controlled, and displaced Kurdish areas. In its first year (1963), the new Iraqi government founded the villages around Kirkuk, Khaniqin, Mandali, Shaikhan, Sinjar and Zakho are major Kurds oilfields region and have vital roles in geo-strategic and economic of Kurds. All time, Barzani as Kurdish leaders is insisted in Kirkuk as Kurdish incorporation regions.
Iraqi government was setting a pattern for ensuing against Kurds and achieve Kurdish oilfields, and debilitate Kurdish economics. So, was destroyed all Kurdish villages around Kirkuk. Through, were expelled Kurdish villagers from their residences and employment, and replaced with south and central Arabian workers.

From 1960 to 1975, Mustafa Barzani fought against Iraqi regimes for achieving Kurdish rights. The First Iraqi–Kurdish War started in 1961 and in 1970 ended with Iraq peace plan which was provided four years autonomy for Kurds. During this time, Saddam Hussein regime started an Arabization program that move Arabs to the vicinity of Kirkuk and Khanaqin as the Kurds oil regions. Barzani in the first deemed armed struggle inadvisable against Saddam Hussein regime.

In 1974, Saddam Hussein highlighted new offensive law against the Kurds (Act No. 33) that emphasized on the new Iraqi framework toward Kurdish. This law described as below:

- Kurdistan enjoy autonomy as an integral unit within the framework of Iraq
- Kurdish and Arabic are the official and educational languages
- Each region have its own budget and financial resources which originate from local taxation
- A Legislative Council appoint legislature, administrative body, and the Executive Council
- Executive Council appoint ministerial and report directly to the Council of Ministers
- Erbil designate as its metropolitan centre
- Kurdistan must be defined by the majority existence according to the 1957 census; that Barzani rejected it.
- The President of the Republic must select a member of the Legislative Council to form an Executive Council due to Article 13
- The President of the Republic can appointments and dismissals the chairman of the executive council
Police, security and nationality must firmly ensure into the Republic of Iraq due to Article 17

Article 19 added, ‘Supervision of the legality of the decisions of the autonomous bodies shall be exercised by the Supreme Court of Appeal of Iraq.’

Initially the Iraqi government looked for a buffer zone between itself and the Kurdish autonomous region, but afterward they changed their programs toward displacement of Kurds. So, they destructed Kurdish villagers, and displacing hundreds of thousands of them.

Following this imposition 1974 law, the Iraqi government was once more initiated pressure on Kurds who live outside of the temporary Kurds autonomous region. Iraqi government was restricted on their possession, employment, or replaced the Kurdish palace names by the Arab expressions. So, Kurds in these regions were victim to arbitrary arrest, prolonged detention without trial, torture, or execution. Also, they accelerated program with ethnic assimilation through encouraging with financial rewards to Arabs who marry with Kurdish women. Another uprooted Kurds was expelled large numbers of Kurds from the northern area to barren desert regions in the south. These basic issues have reinforced their social marginalization and unless addressed could also impact upon future generations.

Barzani did not accept the 1974 Law, so the second Iraqi–Kurdish war had been overstretched. Iran and Israel at the first supported Kurds. But Iran, Israel and USA desired to provide own political and military goals and did not completely support Barzani; Israel supported Kurds because they wanted to compensate of same Iraqi military threats in Israel and Syria War (in 1973). Also, Tehran signed an Algiers Accord with Iraqi government, it was disastrous for the Kurds, and since the only Kurdish foreigner military assistance in this time was Israel that was transferred aids through Iran. Therefore, they lost Israel’s aids. Turkey from the beginning was hostile to a Kurdish sovereignty in northern Iraq. However, Barzani repeatedly appeal for Washington assistance, but did not support.

As a result of this war, Iraqi government after 15 years secured its influence and extended its control over the northern region. Barzani had to escape with many of his supporters to Iran. However, in 1980s and during the Iran–Iraq War, Iran again supported Kurdish rebellion in northern Iraq. In 1986-1989, Saddam Hussein initiated
massive killing campaign against Kurds and ended this revolt once more. This massive killing campaign known as an Al-Anfal campaign that approximately estimated 182,000 Kurds martyrs in north Iraq and others was refugees in neighboring country.

4.3.10. The Anfal: The Kurdish Genocide

The origin of expression ‘Anfal’ derive in chapter (Sura) eight in Koran and literally denote to spoils (of holy war). It explains that in 624 AD the low number of new Muslim faith conquest over many pagans at the Battle of Badr. So, it was described the military genocidal of minority communities (the Kurdish and non-Arab populations including Assyrians, Shabaks, Iraqi Turkmens, Yazidis, Jews, and Mandeans) in northern Iraq.

It was series of systematic eight military offensives attacks conducting between 1986 and 1989 that culminated (1988) in the final stages of Iran–Iraq War heading by Ali Hassan al-Majid (who subsequently known as ‘Chemical Ali’). They used chemical weapons against both military and civilian targets.

4.3.10.1. The first Anfal campaign

In 1986, on the one hand, truce among the PUK and the KDP, and in other hands Kurds and Iran alliance, caused virtual Saddam Hussein fear, so responded with brutal attack. The anti-Kurdish operations launched to loot or raze their villages by chemical gas attack. The Iraqi air force with aero planes and helicopters were throw bombs and demolished Kurdish Villages. Chemical weapons was involved burning, blindness, vomiting, and in some cases death, of Kurdish victims.

4.3.10.2. The second Anfal campaign

The Halabja chemical attack in Kurdish history is known Halabja Massacre or Bloody Friday. On 15 March 1988, the town of Halabja was full of innocent Kurdish civilians, and had been stronghold of the PUK peshmerga and adjacent to the Iranian border. So, peshmerga (Kurdish freedom fighter) captured it from Iraqi forces, then entrusted to the Iranian army. On 19 March 1988, Iraqi troops assaulted with bombs containing a mixture of mustard and nerve gases to the town of Halabja. “The casualties were enormous: between 3,200 and 5,000 of civilians were killed and
between 7,000 and 10,000 were injured at Halabja chemical attack. Also many more
died in the years after the attack from diseases and birth defects caused by the harmful
gases Saddam Hussein had used.” 66

4.3.10.3. The third Anfal campaign

The results of two preceding campaigns were heavy air and ground troops
attack; mass destruction of Kurdish villages; and thousands of Kurds were displaced,
and innocent Kurdish civilians had been disappearances. But the third chapter of
Anfal was accompanied with the elimination of Kurdish civilians and destroys PUK.
The Iraqi regime were duped both civilians and peshmerga by amnesty and false
encouraging of they will be safe in camps. So, the Iraqi troops detained and separated
them, then were sending to different detention camps. In these camps, extreme
depprivation’s conditions were appalling; adequate facilities like food, water, shelter,
and hygiene was practically none or low existent. Eventually, many hundreds of them
were died of malnutrition and disease, or disappeared.

4.3.10.4. The result of Anfal campaigns (1987-1989)

Violated of human rights in north of Iraq characterizes by the following:

- Mass’s executions and disappearance of civilian like many of women,
  children, and elderly people.
- The extensive employ of chemical weapons, as well as mustard gas
  and the nerve agent GB, or Sarin.
- The burning, destroying, and demolishing of more than 2,000 villages.
- Looting of civilian property and farm animals by army troops and pro-
government militia.
- Arbitrary arrested and captured of all innocent civilians. Also
  preserved in extreme deprivation’s condition.
- Displacement of hundreds of thousands of villagers due to demolition
  of their homes.
- Destruction of the rural Kurdish economy and infrastructure.
Misplacing of hundreds of thousands of refugees in neighbors countries and in the world.

Remaining of hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans.

4.3.11. Democracy in Iraqi Kurdistan

The concept of autonomy is not novel in the Kurdish region in Iraq and several times Kurdish had been negotiated and straggled with the central government and sometimes have been achieved despite reluctance to honour by the central government. In 1970, legislative provisions were constitutionally recognized two nationalities Kurdish and Arabic nationality, and also full participate of nationals in government, the cabinet and the armed forces. So, the reasons of an emerging democracy in a hostile environment were involved as below:

- Lacking the substantial the international supporter.
- Reluctant the central and neighbors countries for Kurdish autonomous in north of Iraq.
- Destructive intrusions of the Iraqi army.
- Full exactions on Kurds by the central government.
- Expunged the half the Kurdish currency savings by central administration withdrawal the 25 dinar note from circulation without announced to the Kurdish administered.
- Deportation of the Kurdish.
- Economically and financially was not protected Kurdish by government.
- The double embargo imposed and a complete lack of energy supplies.
- The political demolished, power gaps and two main Kurdish parties disputed.
- Propagated tragedy of anti-Kurdish.

After the 1991 and in the end of the Persian Gulf War, in international world politics were swinging toward safety of Kurds and upraising against Saddam Hussein. So, United Nations Security Council Resolution 688 was recognized a safe haven, No Fly Zone over a large part of northern Iraq (above the 36th Parallel) was established.
by the US and British and NATO troops. Saddam Hussein had to leave out vital Kurdish populated regions as well as Sulaymaniyah, Kirkuk.

One extremely significant consequence of the Kurdish safe haven -the U.S. government is powerfully support Kurds- is launched Kurdish experience in self-rule, civil rights, and a transition to democracy. Certainly, safe haven are really affected of war, changed Iraqi regime, unstable status that established aftermath’s war and new regime, and future condition of a new Iraq. In addition, it initiated a federalist structure: the Arab region and Kurdistan.

Since Iraqi forces were gradually withdrawn from the Kurdish areas. De facto autonomous is initiated in Iraqi Kurdistan in October 1991. The Kurdish constitution is written, own flag and national anthem is formed. After June 1992 elections, the assembly divided between the KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party) and PUK (the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) as the two principal Kurdish parties. Kurdistan is democratized and achieved a considerable successes in all walk of life including economy, social, cultural, ethnic, democracy, freedom and connecting Iraqi Kurdistan to international system and making its style of governing in practice as a model for the other Kurdish people through all over the Middle East. The Kurdish parties (including to the KDP, the PUK, the Kurdistan People’s Democratic Party (KDPD), the Kurdistan Socialist Party (PASOK), and the Kurdistan Branch of the Iraqi Communist Party, the Assyrian Democratic Movement and the Kurdistan Toilers’ Party) were allied.

During this period, United Nations economic sanction was imposed against Iraq as financial and trade embargo, also Saddam Hussein was economically siege by blocking a Kurdish over oil and food supplies. So, the Kurdish was subjected to a double embargo. In front of this embargoes and fueled dearth, the two dominant political parties (the KDP the PUK) was strained over control of trade routes and resources. So, for another time, two parties were conflicted in1994-1996. Finally, United States was directly mediated ceasefire among the two parties. From 1997 onward, the Oil-for-Food Programme was established on cessation of hostilities. And also, to support these two main parties, in September 1998, the Washington Agreement was signed by the antagonistic Kurdish. It was generally contained as below:
Sharing
- power and elections.
- Security arrangements and prevent in the propagation of anti-Turkish PKK.

4.3.12. Kurdish Refugees

In Iraq, the Kurdish are constantly struggled for autonomy and independence. So, since the 1919 Mahmud Barzanji revolt, they are occupied armed conflicts with the central government. During the Iraqi-Kurdish conflict and specially Arabisation programs of Bath regime was increased displacement of Kurdish majority and cleanse northern Iraq.

Tens of thousands of Kurds was displacing or fledging during the First and Second Kurdish-Iraqi Wars between the 1960s to the 1970s. Subsequently, during the Iran–Iraq War (1980 to 1988), millions of Kurds had to flee to Iran, and others were dispersed in Europe and the Americas. As a result of the Persian Gulf War (1990–91), most Kurds was dispersed. Iran as close border to Iraq was significantly provided asylum for Iraqi refugees, mostly Kurds, who had been uprooted and the subsequent rebellions.

The year 1991, Saddam Hussein policies were started expulsion Kurds around the Kirkuk region and displacement by Arab. So, the new wave of Kurdish exclusion was marked by systematic. This uprising formed more than two million Iraqi Kurds refugees to Iran, Turkey as a neighboring country and countries around the world. The Ba’ath party were prearranged camps like Takiyeh and Bazian, and moved Kurds with the brutal and extreme pressure. Moreover, torture and imprisonment was widespread. Iraqi armies were vandalized Kurdish house and villages.

4.3.13. The U.S. Role In Kurdistan

Until 2003, the Kurds have been mostly U.S. orientation, during to the U.S. invasion of Iraq; the Kurds have politically and militarily cooperated, after that support U.S. positions in Iraq. The U.S. have supported and promoted Kurdish situation in Iraq. Prominently, Masoud Barzani is regularly discussed with U.S. officials about Kurdish positions and activities.
On March 19, the U.S. was decided to topple Saddam Hussein militarily. April 9, 2003, overthrew Saddam Hussein’s regime. The Kurds welcomed it, unlike Turkey disagreed to allow U.S. troops to invasion through the north Iraq, so U.S. forces attacked from Kuwait through southern.

4.3.14. Election In KRG

Since the fall of Saddam Hussein, the Kurdish-inhabited areas of northern Iraq have been comparatively peaceful and prosperous and archived political autonomy. Since 2007, the security of Kurdish region of northern Iraq is mostly support by U.S. officials. The central government and the Kurds have a discrepancy in major territorial, financial, and political issues.

For the first time, the Kurds penetrated and participated on post-Saddam politics in Iraq with an equal balance with Arabs. On April 9, 2003, the U.S. and Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) toppled Saddam Hussein’s regime. For governing the country was provisionally formed Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF). Since overthrown Saddam regime and supporting U.S, in northern Iraq was established pace. The neighboring states did not agree with U.S. acts because they had fear about Kurdish movement in its own regional toward autonomy. Already this fear is presented among them especially in Turkey.

In July 2003, Iraq Governing Council (IGC) appointed five independent Kurds as well as Barzani and Talabani as advisor. In June 2004, Hoshyar Zebari, appointed as Foreign Minister. In March 2004, Transitional Administrative Law (TAL) announced the autonomous region known as Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) or Iraqi Kurdistan. The Kurds constitute a majority in Duhok, Irbil, and Sulaymaniyah provinces. Excluding, the Transitional Administrative Law did not allow the Kurds to govern of Kirkuk and oilfield province where Kurds constitute majority of population.

4.3.15.1. Parliament Election

The Iraqi Kurdistan Parliament (IKP) is democratically elected legislature. The IKP consists of one elected chamber with three main functions are:
Table 2: The Main Kurdish Parliament Function

- Examine proposals for new laws
- Scrutinize government policy and administration
- Debate the major issues of the day

Table 3: Members of the Kurdistan Parliament

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The IKP principles are based on liberty, pluralism, accountability, openness and the representation of all peoples in the Kurdistan Regional government (KRG). According to Law No. 1 passed in 1992, the Parliament structure involves one hundred eleven seats in the Assembly. Elections laws for increase inclusiveness of all groups were amended in February 2009 as well as the minimum candidate’s age for parliamentary was recognized 25 years. And also, it has been reserved eleven seats for minority communities and thirty present for women quota. Currently, thirty six Members of KRG Parliament are women.79
In the Kurdish Regional governmental system based on a parliamentary democracy, with a regional assembly (consists of 111 seats). Currently, the president of Kurdistan region is Masoud Barzani. Nechervan Barzani is Prime Minister of Kurdistan region and is appointed by public vote for four years. Of course this period can repeat for a second time for both Minister and Prime Minister. The Kurdish legislative branch is named the Council of Representatives. The legal systems are mixed Islamic and civil law. National Kurdish forces are hardly developed democratic system after federation.

All aspects of the Kurdish government are heavily politicized. Two major parties are significantly governed Kurdistan those are the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) is led by the Barzanis families in the north region and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) is led by the Talabanis families in the south region. Kurdish soldiers are called peshmerga.

4.3.15.2. The First Election

In the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War, after six month, the first free, fair, and democratic parliamentary election was arising on May 19, 1992. The KDP and the PUK could win seats in parliament. The KDP wined forty five percent of the votes and gained fifty one parliament seats. The PUK achieved forty four of the votes and gained forty nine parliament seats. However due to civil war among KDP and PUK, this parliament was not succeed. As result, two Kurdish states were created, Irbil controlled by KDP, and Sulaymaniyah by PUK.

Figure 6: The First parliament Election In 1992
4.3.15.3. Second Election

In January 2005, election was held nationwide for provincial council, the Kurdistan National Assembly (KNA), and national elections for an interim government. So, the Kurdish in northern fully contributed. Since, the Kurdistan National Assembly (KNA) was separated from the central parliament, the first the KNA elections was held in KRG in June 2005. So, Masoud Barzani appointed in charge of President of the Kurdish regional in northern of Iraq. Also, the prime minister was Nechirvan Barzani.\(^{81}\)

In the October 2005, the constitution held referendum and the Kurds supported it for their most important demands like insistence on federalism.\(^{82}\) Article 113 constitution legally recognized Duhok, Irbil, and Sulaymaniyah as three Kurdish provinces of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). The official languages according to Article 4 are Arabic and Kurdish. The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has national laws and internal security forces; and also according to Article 117, can establish embassies abroad.

Also, the Security Forces in Kurdish areas namely peshmerga that primarily guard Kurdish inhabitants, some peshmerga have united with the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) to serve security in Arab northern cities.

As noted previously, the two main Kurdish parties (KDP and PUK) allied in 2005; they participated in the two Iraqi national elections and achieved about 26% of the National Assembly vote that won seventy five seats out of two hundred seventy five. Also, Jalal Talabani appointed in charge of President of Iraq.\(^{83}\) The majority of Sunni Arabs was boycott National Assembly elections, so Nineveh Province also came under the Kurds control as well as province of Diyala.

The parliament of Kurdistan elections was held on 30 January 2005, it was the first efficient legislative election. Thirteen lists were prepared from political party’s alliance, just the Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan (Masoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani) won hundred and four seats, Kurdistan Islamic Group achieved six seats, and Kurdistan Toilers Party and Independents obtained one seat.
4.3.15.4. Third Elections

The third elections for the Kurdistan National Assembly (KNA) and KRG President were held in July 2009. Among five challengers, Masoud Barzani obtained regarding seventy percent of the vote in KRG and won. The competitive shaped up along with one hundred and eleventh seats of KNA, with closed-list system. In 2009, KNA election presented twenty four lists including parties list of KDP, PUK, and Gorran. The electoral alliance and coalition of the two main ruling parties (the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) was named the Kurdistani List in 2009 parliamentary elections. The Dr. Barham Salih was head of the Kurdistani List who was the former deputy prime minister of Iraq. Later, he appointed in charge of prime minister of Iraqi Kurdistan in September 2009. It must be noted that the Kurdistani List was a significance elements for reelected Massoud Barzani as president of Kurdistan.

However, Nechirvan Mustafa was former PUK leader gave up the party in 2006 due to alleged PUK corruption, and in 2009 formed Gorran to oppose two main Kurdish political parties and their policy. In 2009 election, they participated with presentation a Change List. The Kurdistan Islamic Union, the Islamic Group in Kurdistan, Future Party, and the Kurdistan Socialist Party were coalesced jointly and offered Islamist and Socialist list or Reform and Service List.
In one hundred and eleventh seats in 2009 election of the KNA, the Kurdistani list preserved majority with obtain fifty nine seats; Change List succeeded twenty five seats, Islamist and Socialist list won thirteen seats, and other parties achieved the remainder of the seats.

Figure 8: The Third Parliament Election In 2009

![Pie Chart: The Third Parliament Election In 2009](image)

A significant democratization factor in Kurdistan is that all ethnic groups have influential roles in the political process KRG. So, the KRG applied a quota system for rights of them in KNA election with reserve seats for them, so five seats recognize for Assyrian Christians, five for ethnic Turkmen, and one seat for the Armenian community. Nevertheless, in 2009 KNA election did not concede Yazidi or Shabak communities as the minority groups and no any seats recognized for them, but one Yazidi won in this election due to the Kurdistani bloc.

One of vital matter is the Kirkuk issue and Kurdish oil resources territories that the Kurdish government wants to solve in current election with referendum. The Kirkuk populates by majorities Kurdish but through Arabization policy of Ba'ath regime the Kurds replaced with Arab or through gendercide. Since now, significant problem between the central government and the Kurds is disputed in this territory and has not been an agreement till now. In that case, Kurdistan Regional government prepared the 2005 constitution draft for amendment of regulation on the Kirkuk issue. In 2009 election was dropped to the referendum. On the other hand, the Baghdad
government opposed it and considered as an infringement on the nationally adopted constitution.

The second major issues among Baghdad and the Kurds during this time were Iraq’s integrity that threatens by the United States who supports the Kurdish leaders to be Kurds substantial political strength. Whereas, the Kurds consider the strengthening of central government after the post-Saddam era has been related to democracy that build for redresses’ abuses of the Ba'ath regime and full rights of Kurdish ethnics. They have required U.S Administration support to ensure decreasing explosion of violence in the north and to mollify the Kurdish antagonist.

Another point that must mention about 2009 election of the KNA, popularity of new party in Sulaymaniyah Province where was the main stronghold of PUK party. Apparently, the Gorran are politically shown of weakened the PUK with won about half of the votes of these areas.

4.3.15.5. Fourth Elections

The fourth round of legislative elections in Kurdistan Region held on 21 September 2013. One thousand and hundred twenty nine candidates participated that three hundred and thirty six of them was women. According to Law No. 1 passed in 1992 that are allocated 111 seats in parliament. Out of 111 seats are reserved 11 quota for the minorities; so, the laws are allocated 5 seats for Turkoman, 5 seats for Chaldean, Assyrian and Syriac, and 1 seats for Armenians. Also, thirty percent quotas are reserved for women; then thirty four seats are recognized for women.

Kurdistan Democratic Party won thirty eight seats, Gorran Movement obtained twenty four seats, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan achieved eighteen seats, Kurdistan Islamic Union won ten seats, Kurdistan Islamic Group attained six seats, Islamic Movement of Kurdistan, Socialist Democratic Party, Kurdistan Communist Party and Toilers Party got 1 seat.
4.3.15. KRG Revenue Distribution/Corruption Issues in KRG

The signing of energy deals between the KRG and foreign energy firms raises questions about how the KRG’s resources are used. Observers from the region say that many Kurds resent the high degree of control of the KRG regional economy exercised by the two main Kurdish factions.

According to these observers, the Barzani clan and Talabani clan, which control the KDP and PUK, respectively, have used their political positions to benefit financially, in turn using their financial clout to solidify political support. Some Kurds believe there is little opportunity for independent or smaller Kurdish families to profit from entrepreneurship, because business and economics are heavily dominated by the Barzanis and the Talabanis. Such allegations appeared to be at the heart of the unexpectedly strong showing of Gorran in the July 25, 2009, KRG elections.

4.3.16. Human Rights In Iraqi Kurdistan

Advent of the Baath regime were atrocity abused against ethnic minorities groups like Kurds, Turcomans, Chaldaneans and Assyrians. A systematic human rights violation was based on attack to civilians with comical weapons, and genocide and gendercide through Arabization policies, so they were detained, tortured, killed,
displaced and disappeared civilians, expatriated them from fatherland, and destructed property, that well-known as Anfal.

During Iran–Iraq War, Kurds were politically and militarily suffered on both sides of the border. In 1983s, Kurds were faced terrible Iraqi forces abuses, more than 8,000 men of Barzani soldiers were disappeared due to Iran-Kurds ally at the beginning of the Iran–Iraq War. In 1985, Amnesty International \(^{86}\) has been reported more than 300 Kurdish youths, teenagers, children and women in Sulaymaniyyah were arrested and tortured by Iraqi forces without any Iraqi government responsibility.\(^ {87}\)

In 1988, Iraqi atrocities against the Kurds continued genocide due response to the Kurdish collusion with Iranian forces. They used of chemical weapons on both peshmerga and non-combatants at Halabja. The next flagrant of Baath regime through abuse of Kurdish rights was in March 1991. The end of the First Gulf War, Saddam regime used of tanks and other heavy armaments, helicopter gunships, and allegedly phosphorous bombs on fleeing civilians, provoked the flight of almost two million people. It eventually encouraged UN to prepare the 688 Security Council Resolutions. So, it was established the safe haven, since it, Kurds controlled own territory.

The Human Rights Watch reported the situation of Kurds in Iraq as below:

- 2001: “The government of Iraq continued to force Kurds and other minorities out of the Kirkuk region into the autonomous three northern governorates.”\(^ {88}\)

- 2002: “The Iraqi government of President Saddam Husain perpetrated widespread and gross human rights violations, including arbitrary arrests of suspected political opponents and their relatives, routine torture and ill-treatment of detainees, summary execution of military personnel and political detainees as part of a “prison cleansing” campaign, and forced expulsions of Kurds and Turkmen from Kirkuk and other regions.”\(^ {89}\)

“The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), who controlled most of the northerly Duhok, Erbil, and Sulaymaniyyah provinces, sought to implement a 1998 U.S.-brokered peace settlement but did not agree to set up a unified administration for the region. There were repeated threats of military action and incursions into Kurdish-controlled areas by Iraqi government troops. Human rights abuses were committed by Kurdish
opposition groups, including in the context of clashes between PUK forces and those of Islamist groups.”

“Economic sanctions imposed on Iraq by the United Nations Security Council in 1991 remained in force despite the continued erosion of the international consensus on the issue. The government continued to deny U.N. weapons inspectors’ access to Iraq. Efforts by the United States (U.S.) and the United Kingdom (U.K.) to restructure the sanctions by removing restrictions on civilian imports yet tightening controls on military goods and oil revenue failed due to other Security Council members’ opposition. The Iraqi government also opposed the proposal and temporarily suspended its oil exports in protest.”

“A preliminary survey carried out in northern Iraq by the U.N. Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) estimated the number of internally displaced persons at 805,000 by the end of October 2000, comprising 23 percent of the population.”

2003: “The Iraqi government continued to commit widespread and gross human rights violations, including the extensive use of the death penalty and the extrajudicial execution of prisoners, the forced expulsion of ethnic minorities from government-controlled areas in the oil-rich region of Kirkuk and elsewhere, the arbitrary arrest of suspected political opponents and members of their families, and the torture and ill-treatment of detainees. In a national referendum in mid-October, which excluded the three Kurdish-held Northern provinces, President Saddam Husain received a “one hundred percent approval from a one hundred percent turnout” for another seven-year term of office, according to ‘Izzat Ibrahim al-Douri, deputy head of Iraq’s Revolutionary Command Council. An amnesty for Iraqi prisoners was announced within days of the referendum.”

“Relations between the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which retained control over most of the northern provinces of Sulaymaniyah, Erbil, and Duhok, improved as they began to implement a 1998 U.S.-brokered peace agreement. While both sides continued to maintain separate administrations in areas under their control, the former
unified parliament, the Kurdistan National Assembly, met for the first time since the outbreak of intra-Kurdish fighting in 1996. KDP and PUK officials accused Iraqi government agents and Kurdish Islamist groups of perpetrating acts of sabotage in the region, including the deliberate targeting of civilians. Human rights abuses were committed by Kurdish opposition groups, including by Islamist groups in the context of clashes with PUK forces.\footnote{94}

“Economic sanctions imposed on Iraq by the United Nations Security Council in 1991 remained in force. The government accepted the terms of Security Council Resolution 1409 restructuring the sanctions by introducing a Goods Review List for potential “dual-use” items and “fast-track” procedures for humanitarian goods. Following several months of United States threats of military action, the government announced in early October it would allow U.N. weapons inspectors access to the country without conditions. On November 8, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1441, calling on Iraq to comply with a significantly stricter inspection regime or face “serious consequences.”\footnote{95}

\[\text{2004: "There were times in the past when the killing was so intense that humanitarian intervention would have been justified—for example, during the 1988 Anfal genocide, in which the Iraqi government slaughtered some 100,000 Kurds. Indeed, Human Rights Watch, though still in its infancy and not yet working in the Middle East in 1988, did advocate a form of military intervention in 1991 after we had begun addressing Iraq. As Iraqi Kurds fleeing Saddam Hussein’s brutal repression of the post-Gulf War uprising were stranded and dying in harsh winter weather on Turkey’s mountainous border, we advocated the creation of a no-fly zone in northern Iraq so they could return home without facing renewed genocide. There were other moments of intense killing as well, such as the suppression of the uprisings in 1991. But on the eve of the latest Iraq war, no one contends that the Iraqi.”}^{96}

“The government’s Arabization policy raised the prospect of clashes between displaced Kurds seeking to reclaim their old homes and Arabs who had moved into them.”\footnote{97}
2005: “The legacy includes crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide that have long gone unpunished; and a criminal justice system atrophied due to its subordination to the state security apparatus and corrupted by “revolutionary courts” that made extensive use of the death penalty, torture, and arbitrary detention. Many of the victims of the former government were Kurds, an ethnic minority, and Shi’a, the religion of the Iraqi majority.”

2007: “Illegal Detentions by Kurdish Security Forces: Security forces (Asayish) in the Kurdistan Federal Region continued to hold illegally hundreds of detainees, including Kurds, Arabs, and other nationals, many of them on suspicion of terrorism offenses. The majority of detainees stated during prison visits conducted by Human Rights Watch that security officials had neither referred them to an investigative judge nor charged them with cognizable offenses, often for up to three years. Many also stated that detaining officials denied them access to legal counsel and family visits, and subjected them to torture or ill-treatment under interrogation. Beginning in May, and following the unification of the administrations of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the Kurdish authorities took positive steps to resolve some of these issues, and a partial review of case files led to several hundred detainees being released by August.”

2008: “Kurdish officials, responding to Human Rights Watch research documenting torture and denial of due-process rights to detainees in northern Iraq, released some detainees in 2007 and began reviewing cases of others. Conditions for remaining detainees were unchanged at this writing.”

“Violence within the family also continues to be a serious issue. In 2007, UNAMI officials recorded 40 alleged “honor” crimes in the Kurdish region alone within a three-month period.”

2009: “A second female suicide bomber on July 28 in Kirkuk killed about 25 people during a Kurdish protest over the provincial elections law.”

2010: “Serious tensions between the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and the Iraqi central and provincial governments continued over control of
territories lying between the mainly Kurdish- and Arab-inhabited areas in northern Iraq.”

“‘Honor’ killings by family members remain a threat to women and girls in Kurdish areas, as well as elsewhere in Iraq.”

“Female genital mutilation is practiced mainly in Kurdish areas of Iraq; reportedly 60 percent of Kurdish women have undergone this procedure, although the KRG claimed that the figures are exaggerated. Girls and women receive conflicting and inaccurate messages from public officials on its consequences. The Kurdistan parliament in 2008 passed a draft law outlawing FGM, but the ministerial decree necessary to implement it, expected in February 2009, was inexplicably cancelled.”

2011: “Female genital mutilation is practiced mainly in Kurdish areas of northern Iraq. In November the Ministry of Health completed a statistical study on the prevalence of FGM and the data suggests that 41 percent of Kurdish girls and women have undergone this procedure. On July 6, 2010, the High Committee for Issuing Fatwa was at the Kurdistan Islamic Scholars Union — the highest Muslim authority in Iraqi Kurdistan to issue religious pronouncements and rulings — issued a religious edict that said Islam does not prescribe the practice, but stopped short of calling for an outright ban. At this writing the women’s rights committee of the Kurdistan parliament had finalized a draft law on family violence, including provisions on FGM, and the Ministry of Health announced plans to disseminate information on the practice’s negative health consequences. But the government has not yet banned FGM or created a comprehensive plan to eradicate it.”

2012: “Female genital mutilation (FGM) is practiced mainly in Kurdish areas of northern Iraq and several official and non-governmental studies estimate that the prevalence of FGM among girls and women in Kurdistan is at least 40 percent. On June 21 Kurdistan’s parliament passed the Family Violence Bill, which includes several provisions criminalizing the practice, as well as forced and child marriages, and verbal, physical, and psychological abuse of girls and women.”
2013: “In Iraqi Kurdistan, for example, where tradition, custom, morality, and Islam have been invoked to justify continuing female genital mutilation (FGM) from one generation to the next, the highest Muslim authority issued a fatwa in July 2012, signed by 33 imams and scholars, saying that Islam does not require FGM (They Took Me and Told Me Nothing, June 2010). Disappointingly, implementation of the Family Violence Law that went into effect on August 11, 2011, and includes several provisions to eradicate FGM, has been lackluster.”

2014: “In November, nearly 206,600 Syrians fled to the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG)-controlled area.”

4.3.17. ISIS or Islamic State in Iraq

Recently, one of repute news in the international media is Islamic State as the extremist militant group in the world politics which was an off-shoot of al Qaeda in Iraq. They follow a distinctive variety of Islam has been identified Sunni armed group or Salafi jihadi extremist. ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), DAESH (in the Arabic equivalent pronunciation) or later renamed Islamic State has been appalled mass and civilians with barbaric acts. So, this group has been designated as a terrorist list.

Iraqi security forces (under Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki support) formed Shia militia. They executed and indiscriminately mistreated with minority Sunni population; in other side the radicalization of Sunni community caused to the military coalition of Sunni tribes.

Human Rights Watch in report in 2015 explains: “ISIS took over the northern Iraqi city of Mosul on June 10, killing, kidnapping, and threatening civilians, particularly religious and ethnic minorities. It reportedly killed at least 40 Shia Turkmen, including children, and issued orders barring Kurdish, Yazidi and Christian employees from returning to their government jobs. According to Shabak and Shia Turkmen leaders, ISIS killed seven Shabak and at least four of the Turkmen it had taken prisoner. ISIS summarily executed large numbers of captured Shia security officers. In the largest reported incident, ISIS captured more than a thousand soldiers fleeing Camp Speicher, near Tikrit, and then summarily executed at least 800 of them.
Other anti-government Sunni armed groups fighting against the government, including Ba’thist, the Naqshabandi Army, the Islamic Army, Jeish al-Mujahideen, and groups of community-based fighters have also committed abuses against civilians, sometimes fighting alongside ISIS and sometimes against ISIS. In February, fighters from the Military Council, a group of local military leaders, captured and summarily executed 17 SWAT members in Ramadi.\textsuperscript{109}

4.3.18. Summery

The Kurds are the largest ethnic and minority groups in the world. These headmost ethnic groups are living scattered in Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Germany, Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia. Their issues are a deeply complex, controversial, and extremely politically responsive subject. Kurds are known as who does not have independent country, stateless and live dispersed among other countries since now. With establishing Kurdistan Regional Government in northern Iraq, decision makers in neighbouring states who have Kurd population are causing additional complications. The inter-state nature that has been casing to obey central government law and regulation; additionally international community’s has been interfered in their affairs. They were historically considered to be minorities. Treaty of Sèvres was one of significant international agreement that granted minority rights and concessions Kurd independence.

Historically, the Kurds along with the various regional powers have obtained a significant degree of semi autonomy and controlled Kurdish tribes territorial. In 16th century, the Persian and Ottoman Empires permitted them to maintain peace on their territorial. But, the first Kurdish autonomous was founded by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the end of the First World War. As a result of the First World War was initiated the nascent group who known as minority groups. President Wilson in his Fourteen Point Programmed for World Peace stated the non-Turkish minorities of the Ottoman Empire must assure their autonomous in own territory.

Since last, one of the most controversies in the world of Kurds has been political rights. They are persecuted violations of human rights, victim of politically-motivated violence, resulting in pain and suffering, unjustly imprisoned for political beliefs, and subject inhumane treatment.
Kurds look for own government to recognize their rights and ask for equality and non-discrimination, freely and without interference for right to enjoy private and public life such as their own culture, religion, and language. They also desire to participate effectively in cultural, religious, social, decisions making and power or political, economic and public life. They need to establish and maintain their own associations, without any discrimination, free and peaceful contacts with other members of their group, other minorities, and citizens of other States. Kurds wanted develop their culture, language, traditions and customs.

Nowadays, the Kurds of northern Iraq could achieve unite and control their legal status in de facto state within a federal Iraqi. Kurdish minority are estimated to number more than 6 million and make up between 17% and 20% of the population of Iraq. The Only in Iraqi Kurds have managed to set up a stable government within a federal state. One of the other frictions among the Iraq’s neighbors (Turkey, Iran, and Syria) and the central Iraqi government are related Kurdish independence.

Albeit in the 1980s, Saddam Hussein attacked the Kurds with massed armed forces in the 'Anfal' campaign. This involved the deliberate targeting of civilians with chemical weapons, most notoriously in the town of Halabja in 1988. Autonomy of the Kurds realized when the anti-Saddam international coalition established a partial no-fly zone in northern Iraq in 1991 after the first Gulf War.

This allowed Kurdish leaders and their Peshmerga armed forces to consolidate their hold on the north after Iraqi forces withdrew, and provided the basis for the 2005 constitutional settlement.

The immediate tasks facing the Kurdish government were great, and included rebuilding infrastructure, creating an administration and absorbing hundreds of thousands of displaced people after years of war and destruction.

Overall its efforts exceeded all expectations. Iraqi Kurdistan largely escaped the privations of the last years of Saddam's rule and the chaos that followed his ouster in 2003, and built a parliamentary democracy with a growing economy. Major problems remain, nonetheless. The landlocked Kurdistan Region is surrounded by countries unsympathetic to Kurdish aspirations, like Turkey and Iran, and by states approaching internal collapse - Syria and the rest of Iraq.
It is also in dispute with the Iraqi government over several territories, in particular the historic city of Kirkuk. No agreement has been reached over Kirkuk, but in the summer of 2014, when the city was in danger of falling to the hard-line Sunni Islamists of ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant), Kurdish Peshmerga forces pre-empted this by seizing Kirkuk themselves.

Tension between the main political parties - the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and the Kurdistan Democratic Party - erupted into a civil war that almost destroyed the autonomous government in 1994-97, and some differences remain.


4 Sharaf al-Din Bitlisi wrote Sharafnama in Persian in 1597. It is the famous book of a medieval Kurdish historian and poet.

5 Zahhak Legends is the most popular legend pertaining to the Kurds. Zahhak was the fifth monarch and despotic who was well known symbol of violence and evil.

6 Shahnameh is mainly the mythical and historical Persian book that Ferdowsi wrote between c. 977 and 1010 CE, as a long classical epic poem. This book is known as The Book of Kings.

7 Pishdadian is the first dynasty of Aryan people in the Shahnameh, Avesta and Iranian mythology.


9 Xenophon was a Greek historian, soldier, mercenary, and student of Socrates.


13 Lake Van in Turkey is the fourth largest body of fresh water in the world Kurdistan also has important mineral resources.

14 Jurisdiction the cities of Kirkuk and Mosul is disputed among central government and Kurdistan region. “Kirkuk is located at the site of the ancient capital of the Hurrian culture and lies between mountain and rivers. It has long been considered a center of ethnic and religious diversity. Mosul is mainly Kurdish but has also been home to Turkmen tribal elements as well as Arabs and Assyrian-Chaldean Christians. The city’s present political blocs reflect this ethnic diversity. Kirkuk is the center of northern Iraq’s oil industry. Oil was discovered in the area in 1927 and the city can produce half of Iraq’s oil exports. The city’s oil and its large Kurdish population made it a prime target for Saddam Hussein’s Arabization policies, initiated in the 1980s, which forced non-Arabs from the area and sponsored the immigration of Arabs from other parts of Iraq. Mosul, on the Tigris River, is Iraq’s third largest city, after Baghdad and Basra. It has been inhabited for some eight millennia. Like Kirkuk, Mosul is known for its ethnic and religious diversity, with Kurds, Turkmen, Armenians, Arabs, and Assyrians traditionally being the largest groups. Mosul has the largest number of Christians of all Iraqi cities. Under Saddam Hussein Arab immigration was encouraged as it had been in Kirkuk.” Stokes, Jamie, and Andrew Newman. Encyclopedia of the Peoples of Africa and the Middle East. Facts On File, 2009. P.380.

15 During of Safavid and Qajar empires times.


17 Nowadays, Kurdish people are counted a minority position everywhere.

18 The Central Intelligence Agency

19 Supra P 5.


21 Ibid

22 Stokes & Newman 380.

23 Stokes & Newman 380.
“Human rights issues concerning Kurds in Syria”, The Danish Immigration Service (DIS) and ACCORD/Austrian Red Cross. Available at: newtodenmark.dk.

Stokes & Newman 390.

Stokes & Newman 391.


The Kurdish name is Partiya Yekitiya Demokrat in Kurdish.

INFORMATION FILE ON THE ROJAVA (SYRIAN KURDISTAN).P.5

The Kurdish name is Yekîneyên Parastina Gel.


INFORMATION FILE ON THE ROJAVA (SYRIAN KURDISTAN).P.5


Stokes & Newman 391.


Meho,23.


Iraqi constitution.P.35.

Iraqi constitution.P.3.

Iraqi constitution.P.42.


Kelly 68.

Kelly 68.

Iraqi Kurdistan of today


The United Nation Charter, CHAPTER IX, Article 55. Available at: un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter IX.

The Transitional Administrative Law (TAL) was provisional constitution which Iraqi Governing Council was signed on March 8, 2004 after defeated of Baath regime. TAL recorded into permanent constitution in 2005.

Green Line refers to Kurds administrative and provincial boundaries in northern of Iraq where separate these areas from the rest of Iraq.

Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period (March 8, 2004), Article 58. See also the Constitution of the Republic of Iraq, October 15, 2005, Article 143.

Old Iraqi Dinars (OIDs) fell out of circulation in the rest of Iraq in 1992.

On 16th December, 1925, the oil in Kirkuk was discovered.


The Demir Dagh, Taq Taq, Cham chamal, Kor Mor, and Chia Surkh are Kirkuk oilfields. (Sevim14).

As previously mentioned, Articles 112 up to 114 of the constitution declared that the federal and regional governments must share power as well as oil and gas development and Article 1 acknowledges the existence of the Kurdistan region within the federal Iraqi state (Kelly, 2010).


Sevim 14.

OIL AND GAS LAW OF THE KURDISTAN REGION - IRAQ. Kurdistan Oil and Law English. 2007.


The Saddam Hussein was Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council in Iraq.


In May 1992, elections were holding while the KRG was lack of formal structure and did not comprise to all Iraqi Kurdish areas.

Kurds have achieved portions of the region in Iran (the province of Kurdistan) and lies in northern Iraq as the autonomous region, Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) or Iraqi Kurdistan.

The Kurdistan Parliament. Available at: gov.krd

Kurdistan list consist of Kurdistan Democratic Party and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan.

Reform and Services List involve Kurdistan Islamic Union, Islamic Group in Kurdistan, Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party, and Future Party.


It is reserved for Turkmen.

It is reserved for Turkmen.

It is reserved for Turkmen.

It is reserved for Assyrians.

It is reserved for Assyrians.

It is reserved for Armenians.

About the Kurdistan Regional Government. Available at: gov.krd.

Masoud Barzani was initially elected in 2005 and re-elected in 2009, in August 2013 the parliament extended his presidency for another two years.

He is a son of Idris—the Kurdish guerrilla commander who was killed in battle against Iraqi forces in 1987— and Barzani’s nephew

In September 2007, the concept of Iraqi federalism due to the FY2008 Defense Authorization Bill (P.L. 110-181) has been endorsed by the Senate.


Closed-list system is a kind of vote that voters vote for lists, not individuals.
Gorran leader believed that this party populated by younger, well-educated urban Kurds, opposed to corruption and the dominance of the two main Kurdish parties. Also they are believed to solve disputes with the central government must be done through dialogue and the Iraqi Constitution.


HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH WORLD REPORT 2003 451.


HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH WORLD REPORT 2004, 27.


HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH WORLD REPORT 2008, 482.


HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH WORLD REPORT 2010, 504.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH WORLD REPORT 2010, 504.


