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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

16 April 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs

SUBJECT: Transmittal of Kurdish Democratic  
Party Autonomy Plan for the Kurdish  
Area of Iraq

1. We are transmitting to you as an attachment to this memorandum the verbatim text of the Kurdish Democratic Party's (KDP) proposed autonomy plan. This text is an English translation [redacted] of the original Arabic.

2. The KDP had planned to broadcast this memorandum as its answer to the Iraqi Government's own autonomy plan. [redacted]

[redacted]

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EXC 33(b)(1)(6),  
EXC 35(c) [50 USC 4034g]

W. E. Cplby  
Director

Attachment - 1

*W. E. Cplby*

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E.O. 13526, Section 3.5

NLN 09-22/21 per sec 3.3(b)(1)(6), 3.5(c) [50 USC 4034g], 11/5/2010  
By AM NARA, Date 11/12/2010

[R 1 OF 13]

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EXCISE FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTATION  
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Date Impossible to Determine  
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I. THE PLAN FOR AUTONOMY

A. INTRODUCTION

1. The Kurdish Revolution was created on the basis of defending the rights of the Kurdish people, in particular, and the Iraqi people, in general. This Revolution began at a time when the Government of Iraq has violated the rights and freedom of the people of Iraq and has terrorized them. Besides, the Iraqi Government has embarked upon a cruel military campaign against the people who demanded their legitimate rights. Since then, this Revolution has continued with a view to realizing two principal objectives of the struggle. First, to obtain a regime of democracy for Iraq and, second to obtain autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan. The reason why these two objectives were advanced lies in the fact that the Kurdish national aspirations constitute part of the national and democratic ideals of the entire people of Iraq.

2. Under the leadership of its veteran fighter-leader Mustafa Barzani who has continued his leadership with full sincerity and trustfulness, the Kurdish Democratic Party intends to realize these two objectives in cooperation with all the patriotic forces of Iraq. The Kurds have always supported the idea of strengthening brotherly relations between the Arabs and Kurds and obtaining the best means for bringing about a rapprochement between the two nationalities and backing the Arabs in the direction of realizing their rights and objectives.

3. We and the entire people of Iraq as well as the friends of Iraq hoped that the March 11 agreement would lay the foundation for solving the Kurdish question, realizing the national aspirations of Kurds and securing national unity and friendly and brotherly relations among the Arabs, Kurds and national minorities throughout Iraq. Also it was hoped that this agreement would pave the way for putting an end to the extraordinary situation and creating democratic conditions with the people as its source and securing individual and democratic freedoms for all the people of Iraq without any distinction. Much to our regret, now we are witness to the fact that all these hopes have been shattered and optimism has been replaced by pessimism because of the policy and domination of a group over the administration and Baath Party; a group that has embarked upon activities diametrically opposed to the Iraqi people's will. This has been made clear to all and it was discussed and analyzed in detail

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in the declaration of the Political Bureau of Kurdistan Democratic Party dated February 12, 1974. We made great efforts in the hope that the ruling group would revise its policies, choose the right way, try to solve the current issue peacefully and by means of negotiations and would not shed the blood of the Kurds and Arabs. Despite all these, it seems that our positive views and our peaceful efforts were interpreted as our weakness and this added to their pride and made erroneous calculations and predictions harmful for the unity of Iraq.

4. We, nevertheless, remained cool and refrained from showing reactions that could damage national unity. But the ruling group went to the extent of intensifying its policies so much so that five Kurdish mercenaries who were always harmful to national unity were brought into the cabinet and the newspaper "Al Takhy" was put at their disposal. After the security and counterintelligence agents broke into the office of "Al Takhy", important government officials, especially the Deputy Chief of the Revolutionary Council, Saddam Husayn Tikriti, started threats and levelled irrelevant accusations on us and those who do not follow their line. They threatened that they would use all their power and possibilities in order to eliminate any opposition. They shamelessly attribute the Kurdish democratic movement and all other Iraqi movements who oppose them to imperialists and conspiratorial plans against Iraq and Iraqi people. They forget the fact that their own hostile policy and down-treading the interests of the people of Iraq constitute a conspiracy against the Iraqi people and the national unity and objectives and serve the colonialists and enemies of Iraq better than everything. Their short-sightedness has acquired such dimensions that they claim that all the 10 million population of Iraq are their followers, whereas the people inside and outside know better than anyone else that all the Iraqi population, either Arabs or Kurds, is suffering from their policies. Thousands of Arab brothers and best national fighters have died under cruel torture or have been murdered as a result of accidents stage-managed by the ruling regime. Multitudes of people lie in duress in dreadful Fascist prisons

5. The preponderant majority of the noble people of Iraq are against their blood-thirsty regime and are fighting, hand in hand with the patriotic and nationalist forces, in order to save the country from the hands of the ruling group.

6. A clear indication of this question is the regime's fear from even hearing the word "referendum" or holding general elections or getting out of the holes equipped with electronic devices or its apprehension of going among the people.

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7. Such behavior is unique in the entire history of Iraq. All sorts of terrors have been introduced all over Iraq and even inside the organization of the Baath.

8. The ruling regime did not stop short at the foregoing measures but also embarked upon a military campaign against the Kurdish areas using all sorts of arms available, including the Air Force. Since 1st of April 1974 the regime used all its possibilities in launching a wide-spread massacre spear-headed against the innocent people in such areas as Darbandi-Khan, Souseh, Suleimanieh-Dukan road, the regions surrounding the Suleimanieh-Kerkouk road, Shekan, Khaneqin, Sary Dash, Darband Koury and the suburbs of the Sepilak area. Many of the fighters of our party and other national parties were hanged.

9. The hanging of many Arab brothers and 11 strugglers from our party on April 14, 1974 present the best reason in support of these statements.

10. The Kurdistan Democratic Party headed by Barzani cannot remain silent vis-a-vis such a policy of coercion and violation and considers the Baath ruling group responsible for the consequences of this policy and announces that in cooperation with all the nationalist and patriotic forces in Iraq it would use all the possibilities of the noble people of Iraq in the service of the people and the country. The KDP also announces the following:

(a) Our party would employ all ways and means which are in line with the interests of the people of Iraq to cooperate with the struggling nationalist and patriotic forces in Iraq and would take the necessary measures within possible frameworks. The activities of our party are aimed at putting an end to exceptional or extraordinary conditions in Iraq and preparing the ground for free elections and bringing to power a government who truly represents the people, a government who tries in the direction of realizing the people's basic interests and objectives. Such a government should make efforts to save the country from adventurous groups who dominate the destinies of the people and save it from the policies of these adventurous groups; policies which are diametrically opposed with the fundamental interests of the nation. Any such government should guarantee the Kurdish national rights so that the Kurds would be able to enjoy real autonomy within the boundaries of the Republic of Iraq, and should strengthen the foundation of national unity.

(b) In our opinion, the fundamental rights of the Kurdish people have been epitomized in the attached plan which we consider as demonstrative of a real autonomy that guarantees the legitimate demands of the children of the Kurdish people and makes the people of Iraq and the nation's unity immune against any shortcoming or weakness.

This is the same plan on the basis of which we had negotiations with the ruling group of the Baath Government.

B. THE CAUSES

11. The declaration of March 11, 1970 is like any agreement between the ruling party and the Kurdish movement as represented by the Kurdistan Democratic Party. This agreement was the source of a series of mutually-abiding rights and responsibilities according to which the Kurdish people were to enjoy the right of autonomy within Iraqi Kurdistan within a maximum period of four years. As the four-year period of the agreement terminated, the Government of Iraq issued on March 11, 1974 a defective law of autonomy which did not take into account the Kurdish plan or Kurdish views both in the fields of the provisions of the law or the areas to be covered by this law which does not include the governorates of Suleimanieh, Kerkouk, Irbil, Dahuk, Sinjar, Shaykhan, Aqara, some other regions from the Province of Nineveh and the Governate of Khaneqin, and other areas with a Kurdish majority.

12. Taking into consideration our inability to present our case through fundamental and democratic means because the country is dominated by an authoritarian group, we decided to issue the present plan. We would put it into effect wherever possible in light of the internal situation in the Iraqi Republic. In so doing, we have been guided by the principles of common law governing the implementation of legitimate rights directly by the people at a time when the natural road to democratic rule is blocked. Any decision of the "Revolutionary Council" cannot nullify the decision of our national parliament. At a time when we are issuing this plan for the Kurdish people and all the noble people of Iraq we firmly express our belief that the Kurdish

people are naturally entitled to the right of implementing the principles of autonomy within the Republic of Iraq, especially at a time when the ruling group has denied us this natural right and has devoted itself to the cause of wiping out the declaration of March 11, 1970 and has, unilaterally, issued a demagogic law in which the phrase "Kuridsh Rights" has been repeated aimlessly and makes efforts to implement this law through agents and mercenaries despite its awareness that such endeavours would bear no fruit.

13. In accordance with our firm decision we shall try to put our plan into effect wherever possible in Iraqi Kurdistan and within the boundaries of the Iraqi Republic taking into account the existing conditions and possibilities and in a manner as to preserve national interests and unity and the legitimate rights of our Turkman brothers and the Christians of Kurdistan.

14. We entertain the belief that the preponderant majority of the people of Iraq, ranging from Arabs and Kurds to minorities, oppose and condemn the policies of the present administration and confirm the provisions of this declaration and that they would stage a hard and fierce fight aimed at realizing the holy objectives of this declaration.

15. Our immeasurable faith and belief in the nation and the people assures us that the people would, by the grace of God, remove all the impediments and would fulfill their objectives.

II. FUNDAMENTAL AND GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. The Republic of Iraq is an inseparable state with its people formed of two principal Arab and Kurdish nationalities and with the nationality of the remaining minorities being brotherly.

2. All the fellow-countrymen of the Republic of Iraq enjoy equal rights and responsibilities.

3. The Republic of Iraq enjoys economic and customs unity and trade within the country is free.

4. The Republic of Iraq enjoys a constitution, a flag, and a single slogan. The laws governing the flag and the slogan are amendable in accordance with para. 1. of article 1.

5. All the central laws that are not opposed to autonomy are to be enforced all over the country. The provincial laws in agreement with the constitution, and not opposing the laws of autonomy, as well as the central laws of like nature applied to provinces, shall be binding within the autonomous rule.

6. The two languages of Kurdish and Arabic shall be considered as official languages in the Kurdistan area. In addition to the Kurdish language which is the medium of instruction, Arabic shall also be taught in the schools of the area, and Kurdish shall be taught as the second language in all the regions of Iraq.

7. Cultural and administrative rights of the minorities shall be observed, and they will be entitled to the right of participation in the legislative and executive bodies in all the regions of the Republic.

8. The Kurdish people shall participate, in proportion to their population, in the administration and in public responsibilities and key positions including ministerial, councils, army commands, etc.

9. The Kurdish people shall participate in the law-making body in proportion to their population.

10. One of the vice-presidents shall be nominated from among the Kurdish people in accordance with the decision of the legislative council of the region.

Pg 8  
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1. The general and organizational program, and the authorities of the autonomous rule in Kurdistan are as follows:

1-2. The legislative council of the region:

1-1-2. The legislative council of Kurdistan shall be elected in accordance with a law through direct and free elections and shall have the following authorities in the name of legislative council of the region.

2-1-2. Ratification of the laws of the region and decisions pertaining to types of regional duties and taxes and so on which are part of the income of the region.

2-1-3. Study and approval of the budget of the region:

2-1-4. Approval of detailed plans for economic, social and cultural development in the region within the framework of general state plans.

2-1-5. Censor and impeach the chairman and members of the executive council.

2-1-6. Giving vote of confidence to the executive council or annulment of this council.

2-1-7. Negotiations with the members of the executive council pertaining to running affairs of departments.

2-1-8. Internal order of the legislative council of the region.

2-1-9. The legislative council shall elect one of its members as speaker who shall be equal in rank to the vice-speaker of the central legislative body.

2-2. Executive power of the region:

2-2-1. The region shall have an executive body headed by the executive council which would be responsible to the legislative council of the region.

2-2-2. The legislative council shall appoint the chairman of the executive council and a presidential decree to that effect shall be issued. The chairman of the executive council shall be equal in rank to a deputy prime minister.



2-2-3. The chairman of the executive council shall nominate candidates to this council and upon the approval of the legislative council, they would be appointed as ministers by a presidential decree.

2-2-4. The executive council shall supervise the affairs of the departments of the region which pertain to the duties of the central government in the region in the field of foreign affairs. This is part of the responsibilities of the central government as mentioned in article 3, and the matters related to the laws of provinces which concern the authorities of administrative regions. Thus, the council shall enforce its authorities within the framework of local laws as well as the general central laws.

2-2-5. The chairman of the executive council of the region shall be deputy prime minister (of the central government) as a cabinet member.

2-2-6. The chairman of the executive council shall contact the central ministry through prime minister's office or directly.

2-2-7. Organization of the executive body:

2-2-7-1. Chairman of the executive body and its subordinates:

- Central office
- Investigation and statistics office
- Inspection and surveillance office

The following departments shall be in contact with the executive body:

- Regional Planning Council
- Department of Education and Higher Education
- Local Affairs Department including local police and local security
- Department of Health, Labor and Social Services
- Department of Welfare and Housing
- Department of Transportation and Communications
- Department of Finance or Treasury
- Department of Municipalities and Tourism
- Department of Agriculture, including farming and improvement of farming and irrigation
- Department of Culture, Propaganda and Youth
- Department of Religious Shrines and Endowment Land and Justice
- Department of Industries and Industrial Works taking into consideration that exploitation of oil in all the regions of the Iraqi Republic is part of the authorities of the central government.

2-2-8. The organization of governorates and administrative units in Kurdistan and their duties and authorities shall be determined in accordance with the law of provinces after necessary modifications. The governors shall be directly in touch with the minister of regional administration:

2-2-9. The region shall have moral and legal right to enforce all the authorities and responsibilities to which it is entitled within the framework of constitutional law and relevant laws.

2-2-10. The share of the region from revenues, budget and loans shall be determined proportionate to its population compared to the whole population of Iraq.

2-2-11. The capital of the region shall be determined in accordance with law and the capital shall house the regional legislative and executive councils.

3. The duties and authorities of the central power.

3-1. The constitution and its amendment according to articles 4-9.

3-2. Matters related to peace and war and declaration of general amnesty.

3-3. Making civil, criminal, labor laws and laws governing punitive and civil courts and communications.

3-4. Determination of foreign policy and main lines of domestic policies in general.

3-5. Preparation of economic plans and their approval in consideration of regional development plans.

3-6. Preparation of general budget, taking into account the regional budget.

3-7. Conclusion of international treaties and agreements.

3-8. Matters related to the armed forces and protecting the State's territorial integrity and its borders. Raising defense forces and matters related to State security.

3-9. Oil exploitation.

P9 11  
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3-10. Adoption of financial policies as well as credit policies and administration of central banks.

3-11. Matters related to the supreme court.

3-12. The supervision of general finances.

3-13. The activities of ministries and central departments.

3-14. The central ministries shall have their branches in the region and these branches shall be responsible for their respective duties.

3-15. All ministers in the central government shall be permitted to brief their respective ministries and directly perform the affairs of their branches in the region. This shall be performed within the government responsibilities.

4. Arranging relations between the central and autonomous powers.

4-1. As mentioned in the law of the authorities and duties of the central power, the central power shall prepare the draft of the plan for common responsibilities, shall leave its details to regional officials, and shall coordinate activities in the fields of budget, duties, acquisition of loans, etc. Relations among central ministries shall be determined on a sound foundation.

4-1-1. The central power shall be responsible for education and preparing educational and scientific programs, the nature of education, its requirements and examinations.

4-1-2. In the fields of propaganda, the adoption of a foreign propaganda policy, and production of news publications, the central government shall be the responsible body.

4-1-3. Agricultural programs shall be determined after the views of the region have been expressed to the central office.

4-1-4. Details and general conditions of development projects shall be determined by the central power.

4-2. Appointments:

4-2-1. The chairman of the executive body and members of the executive council shall be appointed by the regional legislative council

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and their nomination shall be subject to approval by the president. The governors and local employees shall be appointed according to current regulations of the executive body upon presidential approval.

4-2-2. Although they will observe the laws of provinces concerning the authorities of departmental heads, other members of staffs whose appointment is part of the responsibilities of central government ministries shall be appointed by regional ministers or the councils of regional staffs.

4-2-3. All the members of staffs reporting to central ministries who work in the region and whose authorities cover the entire country shall be appointed by the central government.

4-3. The high-court or court of appellation shall be entitled to the right of abrogating the verdicts of local courts.

4-4. The calculation of the budget and budgetary planning shall take into consideration population proportions and expenditures shall be determined by the central government.

4-5. The central government ministers can take part in the sessions of executive councils related to their respective ministries.

4-6. Amendments to the constitutional law pertaining to the autonomous rule shall be made only after agreement to the amendment has been reached.

4-7. Proposals for tabling of all laws pertaining to the autonomous rule shall be put into effect after approval by the regional legislative council.

4-8. Any amendment to law or laws of the central government related to the autonomous rule shall be subject to approval by the regional legislative council.

4-9. High judicial courts:  
The high judicial court shall be formed with half of its members appointed by the central legislative body and the other half by the regional legislative council. (Appointments of the chief justice shall be subject to mutual agreement by both parties.)

4-9-1. In the event of differences pertaining to regional laws, the president shall be asked to announce his views to the regional legislative council. In the event that both parties insist on

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their views, the case shall be referred to the high court of justice whose verdicts shall be binding.

4-9-2. Should any of the central laws be opposed to the provisions of the constitution of autonomous rule or make attempts to impose certain things on the region, the region shall be entitled to the right of asking the president to announce his views to the central council. In the event that both parties insist on their views, the case shall be referred to high court of justice whose verdicts shall be binding.

4-9-3. Should any difference of views occur on the items (4-8) the provisions of articles 2-9-4 shall be observed in order to remove the differences.

Notes:

1. The central council, wherever referred to, means the national assembly as elected by the people of Iraq in a free and direct manner.

2. The legislative council of the region, wherever referred to, means the local council elected by the people of Kurdistan (Kurds and minorities) through free elections and directly.