

Kurdistan 2033

The New Generation Movement
Strategy for a Developed Kurdistan
One-year Plan / Four-year Plan / Fifteen-year Plan

Preface

The Kurdistan Region stands at a crossroads and the decisions that are made today will have an effect far into the future. To successfully navigate these dangerous times, the Region needs a political movement that envisions a decisive, new future: one that strives to build an inclusive, peaceful, and prosperous Kurdistan where human rights, individual liberties, women's rights, power sharing, economic development, tolerance, and compassion are society's guiding principles. That movement needs to be decisive in its support for these values, eschewing the systems of patronage that are so damaging to society.

The Kurdistan Region needs to undertake a brave new change, unafraid to take on the large and complicated problems that require constructive dialogue with the Iraqi government. The New Generation Movement can resolve the issues between Erbil and Baghdad and make the Iraqi Constitution for our citizens.

We will do this in a way that empowers women and girls in political decision-making. Women and girls should not be used to decorate the table of politicians. Their role in decision-making must be equal to that of men.

In the spirit of transparency and openness, the New Generation Movement is making its policy goals public by releasing this detailed fifteen-year plan. Drawing on the expertise of numerous advisors, this plan outlines three phases of development for the most important parts of our society.

New Generation will work hard to become the largest party in the Region. For too long, the chaotic multi-party governments have divided the cake of government amongst themselves and, as a result, failed the people. This arrangement enables the old political forces to avoid taking for their own failures. New Generation seeks to form a majority government capable of implementing a cohesive, progressive policy agenda to end that practice.

Unlike the older parties, New Generation does not look for excuses for its failures or others to blame. It is committed to governing with accountability and transparency. Success or failure would be measured by the welfare of the citizens, not the fortunes of the movement's leadership. If we fail in that regard, we should not remain in power.

This fifteen-year policy program put forward by the New Generation Movement requires harmony and stability to be successful. Ensuring peace and coexistence is central to this plan. Therefore, as a way of introduction, I would like to discuss these issues in greater detail.

First, peace within the Kurdistan Region means creating an atmosphere of coexistence and tolerance that ensures a diverse and inclusive society between citizens of different ethnic and religious groups, all holding equal rights and responsibilities. We are all endowed with human rights that stem our common humanity and are not granted on the basis of religion, ethnicity, or gender. We are all citizens of Kurdistan or the people under our protection. The New Generation Movement serves all equally.

A matter that has particular relevance for the Kurdistan Region is the historical tension between our political parties. While we all have strongly held beliefs and will firmly challenge each other on policy. Nevertheless, we are all also from this region and country.

We should respect each other and ensure that our rivalry never reaches a point where we undermine our common identity or depend on external forces to resolve our differences. Developing the homeland is the first and foremost duty of us as citizens and as political parties. Maintaining peace within the borders of the Kurdistan Region is all of our responsibility, regardless of our partisan affiliation.

Second, in terms of maintaining peace in the disputed territories, no government or military force has been able to resolve the issue using force. The last one who attempted to do so was Saddam Hussein, who failed to impose his will on the area around Kirkuk or on the Kurdistan Region, even with one million fighters and armed men. Peace in this contested zone stems from a commitment to tolerance, political stability, and economic development. Kurds should respect all other ethnicities, religions, and sects in these areas. Providing good governance would demonstrate the positive benefit of living under the umbrella of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). If a referendum were to be held in the future, residents in the disputed areas would want to choose this government freely. Kurds should use a discourse of coexistence.

Third, in order to have a stable and progressive Kurdistan Region, we need a strong relationship between the Region and Iraq. Our Region stands to benefit from a peaceful, democratic Iraq and we should aim to build a mutually beneficial partnership with the government in Baghdad. War reached our region and thousands of our sons and daughters became victims. The strategy of the New Generation is for the Region to have a strong and mutually beneficial relationship with a democratic Iraq, where both respect each other's institutions.

Fourth, New Generation believes that none of the three above-mentioned points can be realized if the Kurdistan Region does not have a good relationship with neighboring countries, especially Iran and Turkey. This relationship must be one based on mutual respect. The fate of the Kurdistan Region is linked to those countries. Successful development of the Region hinges on having positive trade relations and a stable security situation with them. When in power, New Generation will attempt to strengthen these relationships without surrendering any of its autonomy. In exchange, Iran and Turkey should respect the Kurdistan Region, its government, and its people and treat it as a sovereignty entity. Conducting regional relations in this manner is immeasurably preferable to that of the past and it will be the goal of New Generation to do so.

Political stability and peace lead to economic development: It is an issue of primary importance for the New Generation. because without a strong economy, we cannot realize the true potential of the Kurdistan Region. In the following pages, we outline the policy program of the New Generation Movement. In it we address the issues of the economic well-being of the people and government, the health care and education of its citizens, the environment, and the peshmerga. Without a strong economy, we cannot effectively tackle these issues. Without a healthy, well-educated, verdant, and secure society, we cannot meet our economic potential.

This fifteen-year plan of the New Generation Movement has been divided into three different phases for each sector: a one-year plan, a four-year plan, and a fifteen-year plan. We have attempted to be as detailed and open as possible, while recognizing that some of the finer points will change as we adapt to new circumstances. Nevertheless, the values inherent to this plan – transparency, good governance, accountability, and stability – will

not change. As a new political force, we offer a vision that looks forward to a Kurdistan Region that is stable, progressive, and prosperous and ask the people of Kurdistan to help us meet that goal.

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President of the New Generation Movement

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Table of Contents

- I. Governance
- II. Economic Development
- III. Judicial Authority
- IV. Education
- V. Health
- VI. Peshmerga
- VII. Environment
- VIII. Disputed Territories and relationship with the Federal Government

I. Governance

People are the priority.

Therefore, New Generation is dedicated to serving the people, whose lives and wellbeing are at the center this plan. Kurdistan 2033 is a solid plan for reforming the Kurdistan Region's governance, in a way that transforms the country from an isolated and indebted region with a struggling economy to a productive and thriving region that is an important economic center in the region. Implementing this plan will come in three phases. The first is a short-term plan that will last for one year. The second is a medium-range plan the covers four years. The third is long-term plan for the next fifteen years. The project was designed through an intensive consultation process, involving both foreign and local teams that took a critical look at former projects in order to identify shortcomings and make a better plan that's suitable for implementation.

Political System of the Kurdistan Region

Kurdistan 2033 envisions that the political system of the Kurdistan Region will be a constitutional, parliamentary arrangement where the Parliament is the highest authority in strategic decisions. However, the executive, judiciary, media, civil society organizations, and NGOs will nevertheless play an important role, acting as check on Parliament and areas where the power sharing can be affected. To establish and maintain the balance of power between these institutions, we must first identify the basic reasons behind weak governance in the Kurdistan Region. It is only by first identifying the problems, that we can later resolve them.

Three-stage Plan to Develop Governance in the Kurdistan Region

The Kurdistan Region, after becoming a legal entity in the Iraqi Constitution of 2005, has taken on an importance for the region and the world, given the major developments in the region and the Kurdistan Region's strategic location and natural resources. However, it has not been able to leverage these in a way that benefits the people. It is, therefore, crucial that we reform governance in such a way that it remedies this failure.

1. One major aspect that needs to be resolved is the division between the two zones and the awkward power sharing arrangement that results. We are determined to address this in our fifteen-year plan by establishing a single, unified executive that consists of the President and their deputy, Prime Minister, and Council of Ministers.
2. Each part of the executive will have its own powers and responsibilities, reducing the chances of dictatorial and authoritarian impulses. For example, the executive authority should be shared between the President and Prime Minister, in a way where each takes some appointed and different powers. The authority of the Speaker of Parliament, the Chief of the Judicial Council, and the National Security Advisor should all have clearly delineated in such a way that would work together and strengthen governance in the Kurdistan Region.

3. The elections of President and Prime Minister should be held simultaneously and the President should be appointed by Parliament, to avoid any party unilaterally taking both positions of President and Prime Minister.
4. Reflecting the current dual-administration of the Kurdistan Region and to resolve it, there should be a condition for the next twelve years where the President and Prime Minister should be from different zones and reflect the will of the majority in those zones. The reason behind choosing this solution is to unify the two administrations fully, where no party feels isolated and powers would be divided and shared. It is however, a short-term solution and would be predicated on the eventual dissolution of the zone system and the establishment of a unified administration.
5. The President and Prime Minister have the right of veto only once to each bill approved by Parliament, barring their ability to veto if the bill receives a second reading. However, if a piece of legislation obtains 60% of the votes in Parliament, they will not be able to veto the legislation.
6. The President and Prime Minister will both be appointed by Parliament, as judges, peshmerga commanders, the head of the judicial council, and the national security advisor should be given see Parliament as the prime governing body of the whole of the Kurdistan Region and, therefore, the President and Prime Minister have legitimacy throughout the Region.
7. In the first four years of implementing this project, the reshuffling of administrative officials will be conducted throughout the whole Kurdistan Region, from the position of minister and down. For example, the general manager of Erbil province should be posted to Sulaimaniyah and Halabja, and vice versa. This includes the general managers of security institutions. We see this as a measure to strengthen trust, empower a professional force, and weaken geographic partisan affiliation in these sensitive institutions. It is a concrete way to move beyond dual-administration and work towards creating true national identity.
8. The Chief of the Judicial Council holds authority that is totally independent from any other power of the Kurdistan Region. It will have a special budget that is determined does not need of approval by Parliament, the Ministers Council, or the President.
9. District level executive officials and administrative institutions would operate on a decentralized system, in a way where departments, general managers, and the institutions outside of the capital will retain most their powers. The ministries will decide only on strategic matters and, in this way, local governments and departments will be strengthened.
10. The Head of the Ministers Council can appoint peshmerga commanders in the position of major-general and above, but subject to the approval of Parliament. Peshmerga positions under the rank of major-general will be appointed by the Prime Minister and do not require the approval of parliament.
11. The Prime Minister and President would jointly appoint the representatives of the Kurdistan Region to diplomatic positions abroad, subject to the approval of Parliament. President and Prime Minister would jointly manage the dossier of foreign relations and representations of the Kurdistan Region at international conferences and summits.

12. The Prime Minister will appoint chiefs of police and security forces according to their military ranks in any of the police departments.
13. Military strategy will be designed by the Prime Minister and implemented by the Ministers Council.
14. The budget and financial planning is within the remit of the Ministers Council and would be implemented after Parliament approval.
15. There are six major powers and responsibilities that are jointly shared between President and Prime Minister, and organized through the Constitution and law:
 - a. General Command of Armed Forces
 - b. Head of the National Security Council
 - c. Head of the Executive Authority
 - d. Managing Foreign Relations
 - e. Managing the relationship between Erbil and Baghdad
 - f. Managing the Economy and Natural Resources of the Kurdistan Region
16. Decentralization will be implemented in the Kurdistan Region and an important principle of executive authority. Powers will be devolved governors and governorate councils of the Kurdistan Region, giving them an important role in managing the country.

Principles of Good governance and Three-stage Plans to Implement Them

In order to ensure a people-centered society, the government should be formed by the people and for the people. Consequently, the people also have the power withdraw its confidence in that government, replacing it with one that better meets their needs. In forming a government in service of people, the principles of good governance must be implemented.

Vision: We, the people of the Kurdistan Region, take part in the democratic process in order to form a functional and service-based government, to give confidence to the people's representatives, and to implement the principles of good governance: transparency, reasonability, functionality, and monitoring.

Transparency

The government is obliged to implement an open and transparent financial management system that can be examined by the people and people's representatives in order to develop better trust that the country's affairs are being managed honestly, especially for finance, projects, and services. We advocate for the use of technology and local human resources to implement the highest level of transparency, so that the public receives accurate and detailed information.

One-year plan:

1. Create an electronic and transparent system for the Ministry of Finance, where the figures for revenue and expenditure are available to all the Members of Parliament or

relevant committees. This database should be frequently updated, so that the information is accurate.

2. Ensure freedom of information requests are delivered in a timely and transparent manner and that the freedom of the press is not infringed.
3. Provide seasonal financial reports for the KRG and local governments to the media. This should be imposed by law, so as to force the government not to ignore it.
4. Issue seasonal reports on all investment projects of the government across the whole Kurdistan Region, in an electronic report so as to make the people aware of the expense, level of progress, and time of completion of any project. All the companies and government institutions will be obliged to work through this system. This would ensure that money is being spent on actual work and not for any corrupt purpose. This database should be updated monthly.
5. All government departments should provide citizens a receipt of a service rendered in an electronic form (or print copy on request).

Four-year plan:

1. KRG is required to present to Parliament, citizens, and media outlets past records of previous cabinets, so it can be used to scientific, political, and legal research or for parliamentary investigation into financial activity or management. For that purpose, there should be a specific department to preserve official documents of KRG and all local governments.
2. All government departments should be obliged to issue their vacancies directly and publicly. They must also use a system that interviews all eligible candidates, in a way where any candidate can appeal employment decisions if he/she feels that the evaluation was not conducted fairly.
3. An electronic system will be introduced and used by all service departments where the number of visitors, figures on the amount and kind of services rendered, and all major activities of any department will be displayed. This database should be updated regularly.
4. All government departments will be subject to people's evaluation in an electronic form, where citizens are able to evaluate any department in terms of transparency and quality of service. The head of any department which its evaluation reaches lower than half of its full capacity will be changed according to this system.
5. All government departments will use an online system where people can see the level of service without visiting the department, so as to prevent harassment by officials or others.
6. All government salaries, budget activity, and financial transactions in the Kurdistan Region will be conducted through bank accounts, with no cash transactions allowed. This enables monitoring of all government budgets, revenue, financial transactions, salaries, and income of officials in the Kurdistan Region.

Responsibility

One-year plan:

1. Introduce a system of responsibility and accountability in decisions for all government officials. Any citizen can appeal for an inquiry against any official on relevant issues. The system holds officials accountable to the people when there is due cause or enough electronic signatures are collected, so the government is forced to respond and follow through established and publicly known procedures.
2. After disclosing any case of corruption or abuse of public wealth by any official, the government will refer the case to the public prosecutor for investigation and make that fact known to the relevant parliamentary committees. The result of investigations should be disclosed within one month after completion.
3. Ministers, general managers, or heads of departments can be summoned for inquiry in Parliament by parliamentary committees with the signatures of one third of MPs.
4. All government officials, from President and Prime Minister to general managers are compelled to reveal the amount and source of their wealth to an ethics committee before they begin in their position.

Four-year plan:

1. All ministers, department heads, and general managers will be forced to reveal an annual plan in front of a relevant parliamentary committee and explain the details of their plan to MPs before their budget can be approved.
2. Local government departments will conduct 30% of their projects annually through surveys and consultation with people.
3. Local governments and their officials (except for security and judges) should seasonally appear in front of people for inquiry and questioning by the local councils.

Functionality

Functionality and efficiency in government, in order to complete routine procedures, is essential to economic development and progress. Under the Kurdistan 2033 plan goal will be to reduce the amount of time to complete routine procedures and the need for excessive forms by 20% and by 50% after four years. By leveraging technology and through administrative reforms, we aim to eliminate the need to visit a government department within fifteen years for most routine procedures.

One-year plan:

1. Evaluations will be conducted into the procedures of all local departments and ministries, so any issues can be identified, fixed, and the departments can be held accountable for reducing routine procedures by 20%.
2. Local departments and ministries are asked to set up an active website and Facebook page to release instructions for any procedure that is conducted by their departments.

3. Communication centers and hotlines of departments will be established to respond to people's needs and to give necessary information.

Four-year plan:

1. All government departments should display some of their work on their websites, so that people can do some of their work before visiting the departments and the time of people staying in the departments will be shortened.
2. All departments should conduct a transparent system where people are informed about the duration of completing their procedures, and in no way their procedure should stop or department head should always have a replacement for the positions, so that people's work will not be halted in case of absence.
3. All the procedures and paperwork should be done on one place [one-window policy], so that people can finish their paperwork in one place and in a specified duration, not to move around from one place to another.

Fifteen-year plan:

1. Except for some extremely sensitive work, 80% of the people's procedures and paperwork will be conducted through an online system, where people do not need to visit the departments (especially ministries). More than 90% of the procedures will be completed in local departments so as to spread development to all areas and enhance local accountability.

Monitoring

In the framework of strategic plan of Kurdistan 2033, the KRG will create a monitoring mechanism for all departments that will ensure that reports are issued and transparency is assured.

One-year plan:

1. The KRG will create a monitoring department that is directly linked to the Ministers' Council to monitor all projects and decisions of the Cabinet. It will issue a report each month to the Ministers' Council.
2. This department, after the approval of the Prime Minister, will publicly publish its reports.

Four-year plan:

1. The Monitoring Department will introduce a transparent monitoring mechanism so that it can conduct its work electronically.
2. This department will investigate the shortcomings that have been publicized by the media or raised by the people through other channels alert the Ministers' Council about them directly.

3. This department should file any evidence to the courts for investigation. It does not need the approval of the Prime Minister to do so.

II. Economic Development

New Generation has designed a fifteen-year strategic plan to develop a strong and dynamic economy. For the past 27 years, the Kurdish authorities have failed to do so, causing the dilapidation of the economic infrastructure of the Region. For the New Generation Movement, the economy is one of the most important sectors, as it underpins the well-being of all citizens in the Kurdistan Region and is, as a result, at the heart of this plan.

New Generation will transform the economy of the Region from one that relies solely on one source of revenue and diversifies the economic base. Along with increasing the production of oil and metals, the plan focuses on increasing employment opportunities, foreign and local investment, modernizing agriculture, and rebuilding infrastructure (roads, railroads, water and electricity, airports, post offices). Combined with a reorganization of the taxation, tariff, and banking systems, this will greatly assist the development of the Kurdistan Region's economy.

Three-stage Plan for Stimulating Economic Development

One-year plan:

1. After winning the majority of the votes of the Kurdistan Region, the New Generation will work to normalize and improve relations with Baghdad, obtain the appropriate share of the Iraqi budget for the Kurdistan Region in order to resolve the pay and salary crisis for public servants.
2. Ban economic monopolies in the Kurdistan Region by political parties by law. This imposes a harsh penalty on all those individuals and parties that have used their positions for economic gain, by obtaining investment projects for either themselves or for relatives and friends. For instance, some businesses (especially fuel, cigarettes, and medicine) are currently monopolized by officials from the KDP and PUK. Implementing the principle of competitive bidding in contracting on the basis of price, quality, and value for money will help to spread wealth beyond traditional patronage systems and allow for entrepreneurship.
3. Reform the taxation system, so that it reflects the principles of progressive taxation; that is that imposes a higher tax rate on the wealthy, which declines in stages for lower income brackets. New Generation also pledges that the tax system will be managed in a technocratic manner, so that it serves the welfare of the people, rather than entrenched interests. Similarly, tax revenue will be used for the benefit of lower-income and poor people. Additionally, revenue will be used to develop the Region's infrastructure and to revive moribund economic sectors.
4. Crack down on companies that fail to pay their taxes. Approximately, 24,000 companies are currently registered in the Region according to the Taxation Department. 9,000 of them have not paid their taxes and do not have any filings with the Taxation Department. According to the taxation law, the companies must give 15% of their income to the government annually. Recovering this lost revenue will greatly benefit the economy of the Region.

5. Issue a special law to lower taxes and tariffs for those domestic companies that export 75% of their products abroad or produce those products greatly needed in the Kurdistan Region as determined by the government.
6. Free trade will be regulated by the law and the government will comply work to attract foreign investment under the condition that it does not hurt the public interest and benefit special interests.
7. Issue a special law to encourage foreign investment in the Kurdistan Region. The government will help foreign investors, under the condition that the investment is in favor of the public interest and economic development and increase employment Kurdistan Region. Currently, there is \$6bn of foreign investment in the Kurdistan Region, which amounts to only 13% of the total investment in the Kurdistan Region. In contrast, other countries in the region are able to harness a much higher level of international investment. For example, Qatar, the rate of foreign investment is 58% total investment.
8. Encourage local production and discourage imports of products that could be made or grown locally – when it does not unduly affect the price of the products and does not hurt the people of the Region.
9. Issue a special law for drilling and exploring metals that will encourage investors. While the land of the Kurdistan Region is rich with various minerals, they cannot be excavated or sold on the international market due to the lack of a special law. The special bill to explore for and exploit proven mineral resources was given to the Third Sitting of Parliament by the government but was delayed and never enacted.
10. Reorganize the banking system and change the way that salaries are paid, shifting from cash to modern electronic methods. Currently in the Kurdistan Region, there are 1,249,481 public servants. If payment of these employees is made electronically through their bank accounts and if commerce in the Kurdistan Region were conducted through bank accounts, savings could reach 897.5bn Iraqi dinars. This could be accomplished through biometric registration and would also have the effect of reviving the banking sector in the Region.
11. Issue two new laws to establish two funds under the names of Reserve Monetary Fund and Saving Fund for Future Generations. These laws would save money as a secure reserve and to provide for future investment.

Four-year plan:

1. Develop the agriculture and industry sectors. To accomplish this a special law will be passed to encourage farmers, businessmen, and financiers to be given loans to encouraged to create and invest in their own businesses. While now only a small number of agricultural products from the Kurdistan Region are exported abroad (for example, sumac, peanuts, pomegranates, potatoes, natural gum, and Pistacia Atlantica), the Kurdistan Region enjoys a great deal of arable land and weather suited to many agricultural products that could be profitably sold abroad. As for industrial products, except for cement, bricks, and beams, which are exported to the other parts of Iraq, no other industrial products in the region are exported abroad.

2. Support and encourage animal husbandry, including livestock and dairy products, for which the Region currently depends on imports. By creating large livestock projects in all provinces of the Region and establishing industrial dairies, local need could be fulfilled, along with exporting the surplus to the other parts of Iraq.
3. Part of New Generation's clear economic vision is to end reliance on public sector employment and, instead, develop the private sector. The Movement favors finding employment, businesses opportunities, work, and talent in an independent economy open to all individuals. A huge portion of the Region's people are public servants, which is a heavy burden on the government and does not yield any profit. In 2017, the population of the Kurdistan Region was 5,895,052 people. Of this a full 1,249,481 people are public servants, which amounts to 40% of the people, which means almost half of the people are public servants.
4. Open center to train unemployed people in all cities, districts, and towns of the Kurdistan Region in order to train unemployed people and prepare them for work in the public or private sector for free. The training will entrepreneurship.
5. Establishing a strong economy depends on creating small and medium projects and businesses. New Generation will work to encourage youth, farmers, and ordinary people to have their own projects and businesses, whether small, medium, or as artisans, instead of simply thinking of becoming a public servant with a small salary.
6. People will be encouraged and facilitated (according to the law) to become independent in their work as farmers, artisans, and manufacturing.
7. Reduce public expenditure by making sure that employees working in the private sector have the same rights as those in the public sector. This is especially relevant for retirees. If they have the same rights in both sectors, it will encourage them to move into the private sector, shifting a financial burden from the government to private enterprise.
8. The financial operations of government departments will be conducted in a financially transparent manner, with all records being public. This is a major strategic pledge of New Generation.
9. A special law to counter corruption will be issued that mandates that any company that has benefited illegally or encroached on public property or wealth will be tried in court and public property will be returned according to the law. All those companies which has obtained licenses through monopoly or by illegal means will be relieved of their licenses.
10. Facilitate and remove of all unnecessary procedures to obtain a business license for companies and industrial factories. Most of the work will be electronic and all the work will be completed by one department and in one day.
11. Facilitate licenses for those products that are imported to the region or those which are exported abroad, in way where all unnecessary procedures are removed and the license is given in one day.
12. Change the Residence Fund and encourage the private sector to build low-cost, residential cities for poor or low-income people, in a way where the number of renters will be reduced to half in a short duration of time and no public servant will be in a

rented house or flat. As of now according to the data of the Defending Renters Group, 75,000 renters exist in the Kurdistan Region (21,000 in Erbil, 31,000 in Sulaimaniyah and about 15,000 in Duhok, with a further 4,000 in Halabja province and 4,000 in the Garbiyan administration). Along with the fact that the stats increase on daily basis due to the formation of new families, thousands of families who live in rented houses have not been registered.

13. Increase tourist projects and revive the tourism sector in the Kurdistan Region. In the past five years, only 10 million tourists have entered the region, an average of 2 million each year. Compared to neighboring countries which have 30 million annually, this number is too low. New Generation seeks to increase the number of tourists threefold within four years.
14. Provide balance between women and men in economic projects. A strong economy depends on giving more opportunities to both equally.
15. Sports will be made into an important sector in the country, transforming it from an amateur hope to a professional business. A special budget will be allocated to assist youths in sports and a sports academy will be established to find and develop the talents and capacities of athletes of both genders. High-profile tournaments will be formed in the Kurdistan Region and big celebrations will be held for the winners. Opportunities to take part in international tournaments will be a major goal. We will transform sports from an ignored sector to a sector which can grow itself and create revenue.

Fifteen-year plan:

1. The Kurdistan Region enjoys a moderate temperature, which if managed well, can support a significant agricultural sector. The rural population will be supported through the reconstruction of villages, the provision of a full range of services, and by strengthening local economies. The government will assist and support them in this. Currently, 81% of the population is urban, while 19% is rural. By reconstructing villages and providing services (roads, electricity, water, hospital, school), the number of villagers will increase and will significantly contribute to an increase in agricultural production.
2. Due to the wars and confrontations in the Kurdistan Region over the last three decades, the agricultural sector has been severely damaged and many villages have lost the capacity to improve their lives through their chosen profession. The government will work to improve the production capacity of agricultural villages.
3. All farmers in the Kurdistan Region will be given scientific training on agricultural advances, how to increase the production yields, and deal with environmental problems.
4. Enable farmers to obtain the newest and most advanced agricultural equipment without taxes or tariff and at a reasonable price, which will increase production yields and labor efficiency.

5. The Ministry of Higher Education will encourage universities and institutions in the Kurdistan Region to prepare and conduct research on agriculture in the Kurdistan Region and share their findings and so farmers can benefit from.
6. Study and improve water management, which is one of the largest obstacles for the agricultural sector. Establish dams in different regions to effectively manage water resources.
7. Provide loans, reduce taxes and tariff son people who work in industry and agriculture. The government will also invest in roads and rail in order to reduce the expense of exporting for farmers, businessmen, and factories.
8. Encourage the private sector to invest in a cooling depot, the transportation, and the packaging of agricultural products. The government will encourage the marketing agricultural products in order to display our agricultural products to the world and find new markets for them.
9. Complete clearing agricultural land of mines in all of the Kurdistan Region and return them to productive, agricultural use.
10. Change land-ownership laws from 75 hectares into larger so as to facilitate the creation of big farms and increase production in agricultural lands.
11. Activate and develop professional institutions in order to prepare workers for invest in factories, industry, and business projects.
12. Establish large, dedicated industrial sites in all of the provinces of the Kurdistan Region (but far from residential areas) so that most of the factories and industrial projects will be gathered in those places can benefit from dedicated services like roads, electricity, water and internet lines.
13. Redevelop all roads in the Kurdistan Region and establish a highway to connect the provinces of the region, which is crucial for economic development, especially agriculture, industry, and trade. Establish a railroad to connect the Kurdistan Region to Baghdad, Basra, Tehran, and Istanbul, along with the Region's own provinces. This will facilitate the transportation of industrial and agricultural products abroad. This would require the construction and repair of 1200km of railroad.
14. Resolve the issue of an unreliable electric and water infrastructure by repairing all the power transmission lines, dams, and establishing standardized systems. Additionally, reform the way the fees for electricity and water are collected by the government. Together, these guarantees continuous and reliable water and electricity provision, which is important for economic and industrial development.
15. Create a modern postal system of the Kurdistan Region and establish a common numbering system for all addresses in the Kurdistan Region, whether residential, commercial or governmental. This is vital for economic development and helps ensure government and business efficiency.
16. Increase the amount of cement production by a 100-fold. Currently, 9 million tons of cement is produced annually, but under this fifteen-year plan, that amount will be increased to 900 million tons per year. This will fulfill both local needs and enable exports to the other provinces of Iraq and abroad.

17. Establish and sustain a Kurdistan Stock Exchange to regulate electronic dealings between traders, companies, and investors from both inside and outside of the Region.
18. Due its important geographic location, the Kurdistan Region is suitable to be an important business and transport center by in terms of land and air. Therefore, investments will be made to upgrade and develop road, rail, and airport infrastructure.
19. Create a detailed plan of how to benefit from natural gas production, currently the production goals are not set. Attempt to make the Kurdistan Region a station for transport natural gas of Iraq and Gulf countries to Europe. This not only creates and economic benefit, but also creates a strategic incentive for the US and Europe to invest both economically and politically in the Kurdistan Region.

III. The Judiciary

One of the major goals of the New Generation Movement is to make the judiciary in the Kurdistan Region truly independent, where no other power can impose its will on the judiciary. This guarantees justice in the society and the right of citizens to a redress of grievances.

One of the pillars of the rule of law and good governance is the separation of powers and the guarantee of an independent and coequal judiciary. Kurdistan 2033 first provides general principles, before outlining in further detail, a well-thought out approach to achieving this goal.

Three-stage Plan for Reforming the Judiciary

One-year plan:

1. Amend all the laws that prevent the independence of judiciary in the Kurdistan Region.
2. Follow the directives of the judiciary in all cases and respect its decisions, even if they do adhere to the will of the executive.
3. Make the judicial budget independent and not subject to executive control.

Four-year plan:

1. Form a special legal force for judiciary to impose its rules and protect its institutions.
2. Issue a law specifically to protect the rights and privileges of judges.
3. Reorganize the way that judges are approved so as to prevent that process from being abused by the patronage system.
4. Reform the Judicial Council and remove all those members who were appointed on the basis of partisan affiliation and instead appoint legal technocrats.
5. Work to restore the trust of the people in the institution.
6. Change the way in which public prosecutors are appointed at the governorate level, in a way where public prosecutors are elected along with the governorate councils. Only in the case of unethical, illegal, or embarrassing conduct can they be dismissed and replaced through a special election.

Fifteen-Year plan:

1. Remove from the judiciary all those judges who once held partisan positions or were members of a political party. Additionally, banning partisan affiliation of all judges before appointing them.
2. Make the judicial records system electronic to prevent unnecessary delays in court proceedings.

3. Restore trust of people to judiciary and making it the strongest institution in the Kurdistan Region.

Further Details to Achieve an Independent Judiciary

As an independent judiciary is one of the most important parts of New Generation's plans to reform the judiciary, we will go into further detail. In general, the judiciary must be free from undue and partisan influence in two ways: as an institution and individual judges must be free from partisan pressure.

Independence of Judicial Institutions

The independence of judiciary as an institution covers four sectors and several additional considerations:

- I. Independence in administration and decisions
- II. Financial independence
- III. Equality in terms of protocol
- IV. Protecting the security of judicial institutions
- V. Additional considerations

I. Independence in administration and decisions

Judicial Law Number 23 of 2007 recognizes the independence of the judiciary from executive power, but, in reality, this independence does not exist in reality. The following measures are necessary to ensure an independent judiciary in the Kurdistan Region:

1. Judicial decisions regarding legal precedent and constitutionality must be followed.
2. The Judicial Council, which manages the judiciary and currently consists of nine members, should be reformed to remove all those with partisan affiliation. It should consist of legal technocrats.
3. To reform the Judicial Council, especially the presidency of that body, should be separated from the Court of Appeals. The former is an administrative body and should be formed from younger judges, while the latter has legal responsibilities and powers and should be made up of older judges. However, the law should be amended in a way that it does not prevent Judicial Council members to be from the fourth rank of judges, especially those with ability and bravery.
4. Reform the mechanism for appointing the President and the members of Judicial Council that prevents any intervention political parties or the executive branch. The term of the presidencies of the Judicial Council and the Court of Appeals should last no longer than four years and the presidency of the Judicial Council should rotate annually between members of the Council.
5. Members of the Judicial Council should engage in a professional development course before starting their term at a respected international institution on how to defend

their independence and professionalism in the judiciary and on how to counter intervention and pressure.

6. Establish a monitoring body that tracks the members of the Judicial Council and identifies those judges who cannot stay unbiased, maintain independence, have difficulty handling partisan pressure, or are generally unskilled. The body would then warn those judges and, if needed, dismiss them. If a judge was facing pressure or intervention, the Judicial Council should do everything within its powers to decision to support him/her to deal with the pressure.
7. The Judicial Institute should be linked to the Judiciary not the Ministry of Justice. Furthermore, the eligibility requirements and admission procedures of the Institute should be reformed.
8. The Office of the Public Prosecutor should be linked to Judiciary and not the Ministry of Justice.
9. Appoint an official spokesperson for the Judicial Council and another to the presidency of Court of Appeals, in order to be able to convey information the public and, if there were any attempts to pressure those bodies, they would also make this public. They would also give clarification concerning controversial cases, in order to create trust between people and judiciary. When the judiciary has the support of the people, they can operate better and more daringly.
10. Use new technology and electronic records in judicial institutions from top to bottom.
11. Implement a system by which cases are randomly assigned to judges, so that President of the court or the first judge cannot determine which case is given to which judge.
12. There should be a legal guarantee where no judge can be transferred over a decision or otherwise punished, his/her case should not be also transferred to another judge except under strictly proscribed legal circumstances.
13. Criminalize any intervention from judicial administrative officials into the decisions of judges.

II. Financial Independence

The second pillar of an independent judiciary is that it not be financially beholden to the executive, which means which means that the Judicial Council must be able to determine its annual budget. It should be able to pay the salaries and benefits of its own judges, their expenditures, and for court facilities and administration without the approval of any other authority, such as the Ministry of Finance.

Although the Judicial Authority Law of 2017 in theory guarantees the independence of the judiciary, their budget is still not provided independently, but by the government. This law should be law should be amended and clearly guarantee the financial independence for judiciary, so that it can make decisions regarding its own budget.

III. Equality in protocol

The President of judiciary should be at the same constitutional level as the President of the Kurdistan Region and receive the same salary and protocol. Currently, the head of the Judicial Council is at the level of ministers in terms of salary, but, in terms of protocol, at the level of a general manager in the Ministry of Interior.

IV. Protecting the security of judicial institutions

Physically protecting judicial institutions, so that judges can make decisions without fear is a fundamental aspect of an independent judiciary. If judges feel physical threatened or are actually harmed by parties to court proceedings or by partisans, they will be unable to render impartial decisions. Any security force associated with the protecting courts and court officers should be under the command of the Judicial Council and not the Ministry of Interior. The Council itself should equip them with uniforms, salaries, and other necessities from the Judicial Council's budget.

V. Additional considerations related to the independence of judiciary as an institution

- Annual or biannual conferences or summits should be held where all judges should discuss the weak points of judiciary, the obstacles that they have encountered, and ways in which to solve them.
- Reactivate the Council of Appeals in all five appeal courts of (Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, Duhok, Garbiyan, and Halabja), which only exists on paper and does not actually function. The presidency of the Court of Appeals should heed the recommendations of the Council of Appeals.
- The investigative judges in the Security Department should be changed annually in order not to come under the influence of the security forces. This is a short-term measure, as the Security Department is not legal under the Iraqi Constitution and must be disbanded.
- Issue a law regulating the salaries of judges, so that the executive branch cannot impose its decision in terms of the salaries of judges.
- Resolving the current situation of the current President of the Judicial Council because he does not have a legitimacy. The former President was retired and made a decree that he should be appointed as acting president, which is illegal.

Independence of Judges as Individuals

One of the most crucial aspects of the judiciary are the judges themselves. In order to have an independent and capable and daring judiciary, the judges must be educated to treat their occupation as a vocation, not as a mere paycheck. This not only makes adherence to the law their focus, but also preserves their independence and prevents them from being swayed by partisan influences. To that end, several points must be considered.:

1. All judges should have salaries where he/she can provide for himself/herself and his/her family. Salaries should be determined by law and the executive branch should not be able to reduce or increase them, along with residency and transportation benefits.

2. Suitable housing should be found for judges who do not already have residency in the local area.
3. Transportation, including vehicles and flights should be provided for the judges when necessary.
4. Institutions for educating judges should employ foreign experts in legal doctrine and norms to teach for some years, until there is a sufficient number of local judges to take over teaching courses.
5. In the institutes, courses on the proper ethical standards of judiciary should be given priority. Additionally, judges should be well versed in human rights law and the independence of the judiciary.
6. With all this criticism, it is important not to forget that there are good judges in the Kurdistan Region, but there the one who act on behalf of partisan forces have tainted the system. All judges must be free of partisan affiliation and those who do not pass muster should be dismissed.
7. Those judges who remain play a vital role in rebuilding efforts. A good example of this is the reform of the judiciary in some Eastern Bloc states following the post-Cold War transition to democracy.
8. Judges should engage in regular professional development through annual (or more frequent) courses, especially for those judges who have a weak background or who have been warned by the monitoring body.
9. Assigning special guards for judges ensures that they will be able to make decisions in a secure situation without any fear of retaliation.
10. All judges will be mandated to sign a code of ethics and expected to rigorously adhere to it.
11. By allocating salaries for employees, workers and assistants of the judges from the Judicial Council works to prevent interference in a judge's decisions from the executive.
12. Judicial authority should guarantee that the judge cannot be dismissed until he/she is retired unless they are found to have acted illegally or unethically as determined by the law.

Additional Measures to Ensure Judicial Independence:

1. A contemporary, democratic constitution that recognizes the separation of powers and guarantees the independence of judiciary is the foundation upon which all else is constructed.
2. Forming a constitutional court from independent and professional judges.
3. Disarming political parties and creating one professional and unaffiliated security force.

4. Creating a judicial police force with sufficient numbers to ensure the safety and independence of the judiciary. The force should only be under the authority of judiciary itself in all aspects.

IV. Education

Education is one of the most crucial aspects to creating a vibrant, progressive, and dynamic society. In Kurdistan 2033, the education sector has been given a great deal of importance and, as a result, a detailed vision has been developed in consultation numerous educational experts.

Three-stage Plan for Education

One-year plan:

1. Amend all the laws that prevent educational reform and issue laws that facilitate reforms in the education sector.
2. Dismiss all managers, supervisors and officials who have been appointed under the partisan patronage system and replacing them with those who will do the best job.
3. Clear partisan intervention in all education centers and teachers' syndicates, according to the law.
4. Investigate and punish those who physically attack teachers and those teachers who use violence against students.

Four-year plan:

1. Open a center of teachers' training, where all teachers will take part in two professional development courses annually.
2. Invite skilled foreign teacher trainers to educate local teachers on the newest educational methods. Additionally, these foreign teachers should engage use a "Training-the-Trainers" (TTT) model, which will then allow for knowledge to be disseminated to local teacher by local teachers.
3. Issue a special law to protect the rights of teachers, their salary, and work-life balance.
4. Increase the allocated budget of education sector, relative to other sectors, given the importance of education in creating a better future for all.

Fifteen-year plan:

1. Remove dual-shift schools and complete the construction of new schools, in order to remove dual-shifts and reach a goal of having only twenty students per class.
2. Renew the national school curriculum at all levels to reflect the newest international standards.
3. Open kindergartens and primary schools in all villages of the Kurdistan Region and fully staff them.

Further Measures to Achieve Education Reform and Excellence

In addition to the three-stage plan for education, there are several other more ways in which the education in the Region can be reformed. First, there needs to be a shift in educational philosophy, by seeing it as an investment in human capital and placing the learner should be the center of the education process. Second, the physical infrastructure and management systems need to be brought up to international standards. Third, we must take special care of our youngest students, seeing to their physical and psychological needs. Fourth, we seek to instill positive values in the students, such as respect for others. Fifth, it is critical that we support teachers and educational staff in their own development. Finally, we must reform the curriculum so that it meets international standards and reflects the most recent developments in the field.

Education as human capital:

The best investment a government can make is in its people. The best way to do that is to invest in education. Education creates additional human capital or the collection of diverse traits that make up a society and economy. Better-educated citizens are more entrepreneurial and productive workers, more adept at critical thinking and problem solving, and are able to see beyond narrow interests and understand the world beyond their front door. Education creates citizens who are responsible and free, while still recognizing right and duty. Investment in education is investment in the future and is the foundation for securing economic stability, national security, and civil relations with other nations.

Being cognizant of children's duties to the society, family, and friends, New Generation also believes that they have rights as individuals, where every child has their own characteristics which makes them a special entity and different from other children. The New Generation Movement does not look upon schools as military camps, nor learners as an army, and does not evaluate teachers as officers. We believe in an educational system where individuals are both free to be themselves and are responsible to those around them. We see school as a microcosm of society and the place to start building a better one.

The student as the center of the education process:

Students should not passively receive information from the teacher or simply memorize required subjects but should have their own thoughts and opinions. The evaluation of students by teachers should privilege the rote memorization of facts, but also consider critical thinking skills and invention. As a result, we stand by these following principles:

1. To be fair to all at school without discriminating on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, place of origin, or social class.
2. Have consequences for those who do discriminate.
3. Make students familiar with books in a way they become enthusiastic and critical readers.
4. Encourage students' invention in science and creativity in art and literature by providing annual awards at the national, province, and school level.

Building education infrastructure and reform in administration structure of the schools according to international standards:

While the student, teacher, and curriculum ought to be at the heart of education reform, creating and maintaining quality facilities is crucial to the success of realizing our vision.

1. Prepare a national map and database of existing schools, so as to identify underserved areas and populations and ensure equal access to education. Currently, there are 1,650,000 students in the Kurdistan Region and this number is expected to reach two million during the fifteen years of implementing this plan. Yet, there are only 6,480 schools, 4,400 with one shift and 2,000 with two shifts, along with 80 schools with three shifts. In order to make all schools one shift and with classes of with 20-25 students, the Kurdistan Region needs an additional 7,000 more schools (assuming 6 classes per school) at current numbers and 10,500 more schools over the next fifteen years.
2. Along with the public sector, the private sector should also be obliged to build schools and educational centers.
3. Encourage wealthy individuals to build kindergartens and schools, encouraging them to do so through tax incentives.
4. The number of schools and education centers should be on a level where only one shift is there in the schools, and work should be done to eradicate multiple-shifts in schools.
5. All students should have their own workspace in the classroom (standardized in a square meter minimum), a cafeteria, sports areas, a place to break, and a garden.
6. Teachers and members of Education Board should have their own space (standardized in a square meter minimum), a front office, and a breakroom.
7. Class size should not exceed 20-25 students, as crowded classes may tire the teacher and be a detrimental learning environment.
8. Provide a library, a scientific lab, a computer lab as part of the school infrastructure.
9. Provide large multipurpose rooms that can be used for sports, painting, music, theatre, activities, and ceremonies.
10. There should not be no difference in the quality of services between schools in rich and poor areas.
11. Work to enhance the level of education in public schools to be on par with private schools.
12. The Ministries of Education, Higher Education, Planning, and any other relevant departments should work together to write strategic programs for the future.
13. Raise the Ministry of Education and educational institutions to international standards. Use the example of other countries that have made swift progress in the education sector.
14. Eliminate the influence of partisan patronage in the appointment of officials.

Monitoring program in kindergarten and primary schools:

Setting up a program to focus on enriching the physical and psychological well-being of kindergarten and primary school students, in order to prepare them for the future. The

government should provide kindergartens and primary schools in all neighborhoods, villages, and areas or arrange reliable transportation from outlying areas. As most of the hours of the day will be spent at school, meals and other physical and psychological needs of children should be provided. After completion of this program, the child should be familiar with reading, writing, art, and physical empowerment, along with psychological readiness to advance to secondary school. This will also provide an opportunity for early intervention in the event of any problems and families can become involved and/or referred to the appropriate social program.

Learning duty while practicing liberty

The New Generation Movement wants children to know that, while they are free, they also have some duties to society, that their freedom is also surrounded by the freedom of others. For that purpose, New Generation works to create shared understanding that it is important to consider the character of others, to have a positive attitude towards other people and groups, and they should feel responsible towards the health of the natural environment. This way, the child will be ready to become a productive citizen in the future and take part in making decisions as an adult.

The teacher as a valued educator:

The teacher is a vital part of the education process. The New Generation Movement wants to create a community where teachers are respected as a kind friend and to foster a suitable social environment between the learner and the teacher. In order to achieve this, the teacher's needs must also be met.

1. Provide salaries and a suitable working environment for teachers and residential accommodations for themselves and their families.
2. Encourage skilled people with a particular expertise and holders of higher academic degrees to be teachers in primary and secondary schools, not just universities and institutions of higher learning.
3. Before being appointed to a position, teachers should be trained to international standards and periodically evaluated.
4. Opportunities for continuous professional development should be open for teachers at institutions both at home and abroad, as successful teachers always remain knowledge seekers.
5. Teachers should be encouraged to take suitable breaks and maintain a positive work-life balance, so as not to become discouraged in their job.
6. Award exemplary teachers and educators annually, especially those who have found inventive ways of teaching and build positive relations with students.

Reform in school curriculum:

Given that teaching methodology is always advancing, reforming curricula and training to reflect those changes is imperative to building a world-class education system in the Kurdistan Region. Studies should be undertaken of high-ranking education systems and

recommendations made on how to improve curriculum development and use of technology.

1. Develop a focus on STEM disciplines (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics).
2. Use visually stimulating school for younger students.
3. Use computers and technology in classes in all school levels.
4. Develop curricula that meet the needs of a variety of levels of learning.
5. Along with Kurdish, the languages of English and Arabic should be taught though the use of technology and the training for teachers, who should be taught either by native or fluent-level speakers.
6. Scientific programs should be taught in English, with an Arabic-Kurdish glossary of terms, to allow the learner to be familiar with the standard language of the discipline, yet still maintaining touch with local culture.
7. Eradicate the culture of dictatorship, chauvinism, religious, sectarian, and extreme ideological perspectives in school curriculum.
8. Hold field trips for students at all levels, in order to make them familiar with the nature and the heritage of the Kurdistan Region. Also develop exchange programs between schools and educational institutions in different provinces and areas of the region.
9. Coordinate between the Ministry of Culture and other cultural centers to make the students familiar with the various accents and dialects of the Kurdish language.
10. Teach respect for different cultures, ethnic and religious minorities, which should be reflected in the behavior of educators, teachers and in the school curriculum.

V. Reforming Health Care

Health care is one of the most consequential sectors that people encounter during their lives, touching life, death, injury, family, pain, relief, sorrow and compassion. Yet, this sector in the Kurdistan Region has been degraded through poor management and negligence. As a result, thousands of people have become victims twice over.

In order to have a prosperous and healthy society, health care needs to be reformed. As a result, New Generation has developed a detailed plan within the context of Kurdistan 2033. When implemented, the health care sector will be on par with international standards.

The primary goal of this plan is to raise the quality of health care services, by employing more doctors, providing high-quality drugs, and establishing quality, local hospitals that have all necessary medical equipment, so that citizens will not have to go abroad for medical care.

Three-stage Plan for Health Care

One-year plan:

1. Evaluate of each class of sector employee: doctors, assistant physicians, nurses, and administrative staff. In doing so, we must keep in mind that these four positions work in concert and all have value, not just the doctors.
2. Issue a special law that raise awareness of addiction and provides dedicated funding for treatment and rehabilitation.
3. Raise awareness of sexually-transmitted infections (STIs) to prevent their spread.
4. Make dental services a priority. By law, dental care should be free to anyone under 18-years old.
5. Exporting legal drugs will be banned through the law. The two ruling parties currently monopolize their sale.
6. Reform food and drug inspection and quality procedures to prevent the entrance of any harmful food or medicine into the Kurdistan Region.
7. Raise awareness of the importance of prenatal and postnatal care.
8. Encourage breastfeeding.
9. Issue a special law to that provides for pre/postnatal care and the full range of pediatric care.
10. Encourage natural birth and provide suitable surgical operations for mothers if needed.

Four-year plan:

1. Provide better training for nurses and offer a wide range of professional development, in order to be able to provide the highest levels of care.

2. Coordinate with licensed therapists, social workers, and religious organizations to mitigate the impact felt by families from the illness of a member.
3. Increase the level of quality control for drugs and medical equipment in all sectors, along with dedicated staff to ensure that those standards are met.
4. Regulate the salaries of doctors and medical staff by law at a level that is suitable so that they can dedicate themselves fully to their public practice.

Fifteen-year plan:

1. Implement a universal health insurance plan. This will enable everyone to afford care and would prevent the sick from having to sell their property and belongings to seek medical care abroad.
2. Sports and exercise should be promoted for all ages. Poor or distant areas should be provided for at the same level as rich and urban areas.
3. Have a doctor to patient ratio on par with international standards. Currently, there are only 11 doctors for each 10,000 people in the Kurdistan Region, whereas Australia has 48 doctors per 10,000 people and the EU has 33 doctors per 10,000 people. The Kurdistan Region would need 13,800 more doctors to reach the EU standard and 22,800 to match Australia. Additionally, we will need another 48 doctors annually for each 10,000 live births. The goal of Kurdistan 2033 is to meet this need over the next fifteen-years.
4. Reform the medical college curricula by bringing in foreign experts to reflect the latest medical techniques.
5. Hire accomplished foreign teachers in all medical colleges to raise the level of teaching and make students familiar with newest medical developments.
6. Establish dedicated cancer wards in all hospitals in the Kurdistan Region.
7. Open centers specializing in bone marrow transplant in all major hospitals in the Kurdistan Region. Currently there is only one center in Sulaimaniyah that specializes in this treatment, problems such as Thalassemia, blood cancer, and immunity-related illnesses that require bone-marrow transplants are found throughout the Region.
8. Build a large emergency hospital in all district centers.
9. Raise the number of available hospital beds to international standards (5 beds for every 1,000 people). Given its population, the Kurdistan Region needs 30,000 beds, but currently only has half that number or less.

VI. Peshmerga

Strategy for forming national force: Peshmerga Force

Forming a national army is one of the major pillars of building a modern, secure state. Despite being the pride of our nation, the peshmerga is riven with division along partisan lines and degraded through patronage and corruption. The KDP and the PUK have used peshmerga units as their own personal forces to intimidate each other and citizens voicing legitimate concerns.

A true national army is the protector of the political, social, cultural, religious values of the nation and the historical that connection binds them. It must protect and defend the life, dignity, and liberty of citizens from threats from inside and outside the Kurdistan Region. It is a guardian of democratic society, where citizens are free to live their lives and organize themselves as they see fit. Moreover, the Army consists of those very citizens, in all of their diversity, who stand up to defend the nation's values and people. As such, the Army must be unified both in its cause and conduct to the nation as a whole, rather than to the narrow interests of the powerful.

The New Generation Movement wants to see the peshmerga restored to this ideal of a national army. Up until now, no political party in the Kurdistan Region has been able to put forward a detailed, long-term plan to establish a nationally unified force. One of the major strategic goals of New Generation is to build a national defense army for the Kurdistan Region. In consultation with military experts, we have devised this detailed vision.

Past attempts in building a national army in the Kurdistan Region

Over the last quarter century, there were several efforts to make the peshmerga a national army. None, however, were successful.

First attempt: After establishing the first cabinet in 1992, the KRG established a dedicated Ministry of Peshmerga with the aim of creating a modern fighting force that unified all the political parties under its umbrella. However, this attempt failed and the peshmerga divided along partisan lines. This division was on full display during the KDP-PUK civil war between April 1994 to late 1997.

Second attempt: After the fifth cabinet of the KRG in 2005, the KDP and PUK again attempted to make a national army. Despite this rhetorical goal, no practical steps were ever taken to actually achieve it. The issue was revived between 2009 to 2013 because the Gorran Movement had become the opposition had helped to publicize the issue in the media.

Third attempt: After the emergence of ISIS in 10 June 2014, and its attack on the borders of the Kurdistan Region in August that same year, the failure of the peshmerga on most fronts against the militant group showed that the lack of a unified and well-trained force had dramatic and unsettling consequences.

While establishing the 8th cabinet, all parties took part to rectify the situation. Several attempts were made in 2015 to develop a roadmap to unify peshmerga forces, but the attempts were prevented by the KDP and PUK. These two parties (in the form of the

KDP's 80 Unit and the PUK's 70 Unit) have used the peshmerga against each other fear that losing control over their partisan factions will strengthen their rival.

After the independence referendum and the subsequent defeat of the peshmerga at the hands of Iraqi government forces and the Popular Mobilization Units, the US, NATO, UK, and other international forces have directly and indirectly asked for the unification of the peshmerga and have showed readiness to aid in this process. The KDP and PUK, however, have still blocked attempts to do so, as they still fear losing power and influence.

The strategic phases of building a national army

One-year plan:

Implementing the strategic steps for this phase will increase political pressure internally, in Iraq, and abroad, as it is necessary to build momentum for further reform in subsequent years.

1. Allocate a budget to be approved by Parliament that consider all the expenses for the unification of peshmerga forces.
2. Audit the current finances of all peshmerga units. Employ a dedicated and independent staff to do this.
3. A dedicated and independent staff will be assigned to determine which personnel are have military, legal, or medial certifications. Those with proper qualifications and who do not have significant partisan affiliations will be assigned to the proper committee. Additionally, this staff will determine if anyone is either of retirement age or under the age of 18. Decisions will be made to dismiss or retain those falling into either category according to regulations.
4. Appoint and employ foreign and local military experts to advise throughout the process.
5. Unify the payroll of all peshmerga forces, including Unit 70 and Unit 80. All payments made to those units must go through Ministry of Peshmerga.
6. Order the Logistics Department of the Ministry of Peshmerga to retrieve all logistical and specialized equipment from Unit 70 and Unit 80 within six to nine months.
7. Assign a dedicated and independent staff to execute the mission of unifying the peshmerga, in particular Unit 70 and Unit 80 and to immediately begin planning about how to accomplish that goal within four years.
8. Develop procedures for determining military suitability, whether the individual enlisted according to military rules (i.e. not through partisan patronage), medical readiness, and any other qualities, with special attention to Unit 70 and Unit 80.
9. Review the administrative procedures of the Ministry of Peshmerga and issue a report on positive and negative aspects, along with recommendations on how to improve the ministry.

Four-year plan:

In this phase, six strategic administrative and political steps will be taken, in order to make the defense system of the Kurdistan Region a truly national system within four years. These steps are outlined below and graphically depicted in accompanying tables below:

Step 1. Mechanism to reorganize the structure of departments and consultancies of the Ministry of Peshmerga and reinforce poorly performing units

In this step, a mechanism will be developed to reorganize the structure of all public departments and consultancies of the ministry will be modified. A dedicated and independent staff will be assigned to accomplish this task. Also, under this process, some excellent mid-level officers will be redeployed to poorly performing units. The goal of rearranging the structure of Ministry of Peshmerga and general departments is to find skilled people without partisan affiliation and appoint them to positions where they will be most effective.

Table One (1): Mechanism to reorganize the structure of departments and consultancies of the Ministry of Peshmerga and reinforce poorly performing units		
⇓	⇓	⇓
Change some of the Ministry of Peshmerga general managers	Change some of the advisors to the Ministry of Peshmerga	Change some of the mid-level officers
⇓	⇓	⇓
Replace with technocrats and experts in military affairs	Replace with experts in military affairs and other experts	Redeploy skilled officers to different units, as needed

Step 2. Strategy to reduce and classify peshmerga forces

In this step, a dedicated and independent staff will be assigned to determine which personnel are have military, legal, or medial certifications. Those with proper qualifications and who do not have significant partisan affiliations will be assigned to the proper committee.

Additionally, this staff will determine if anyone is either of retirement age or under the age of 18. Decisions will be made to dismiss or retain those falling into either category according to regulations.

Step 3. Strategy to reorganize Unit 70 and Unit 80

In this step, members of Unit 70 and Unit 80 will be evaluated according to the reformed procedures for determining military suitability. Some members will be retained and redeployed to other units according to Table Four (4), while others will be dismissed according to Table Five (5).

Table Two (2): Strategy to reorganize Unit 70 and Unit 80					
Implement procedures for determining military suitability, enlistment, medical examinations, and appropriate age					
⇓		⇓		⇓	
Military suitability		Enlistment according to military rules		Medical check and determining military age	
Retain	Dismiss	Retain	Dismiss	Retain	Dismiss

Step 4. Reorganizing the peshmerga structure

The dual goal of this step is 1) to maintain unit readiness and effectiveness and 2) to reduce residual partisan affiliation. It will be implemented by an expert military committee, so as not to harm the overall unit effectiveness or morale.

Some senior officers will be redeployed and new brigades will be formed on the basis of number and need. Commanders will not be allowed to be assigned through partisan patronage.

In this step, the formation of the brigades and regiments will be formed in accordance to the number of peshmerga, and the training will start later according to the military curriculum. Later, they will be divided onto the training units and distributed to camps throughout the Region.

Table three (3): Reorganizing and the peshmerga structure			
⇓		⇓	
Redeployment of senior officers		Formation of new brigades	
⇓			
Open of training courses for peshmerga and distribute units to different training camps in the Kurdistan Region			
Erbil	Sulaymaniyah	Duhok	Soran

Step 5. Strategy for retained Unit 70 and Unit 80 members

In the fifth step, retained members of Unit 70 and Unit 80 will be reassigned to other units within the unified peshmerga in accordance to the Table Four (4).

Table Four (4): Strategy for retained Unit 70 and Unit 80 members

⇓		⇓	
Redeployment of senior officers		Formation of new brigades	
⇓			
Open of training courses for peshmerga and distribute units to different training camps in the Kurdistan Region			
Erbil	Sulaymaniyah	Duhok	Soran

Step 6. Strategy for dismissed Unit 70 and Unit 80 members

Dismissed members of Unit 70 and Unit 80 who are most appropriate for the public sector will be distributed in accordance to their certificates, the space in the ministry and departments of the Kurdistan Region.

To distribute the forces onto the private sector, we need to activate the private sector. This needs a strategic decision from the Ministers Council and the Parliament of Kurdistan Region.

Those of retirement age, would be incorporated into the retirement system.

Table Five (5): Strategy for dismissed Unit 70 and Unit 80 members		
⇓		
Distributing the forces onto public sector, private sector, and retirees		
⇓	⇓	⇓
Public Sector	Private Sector	Retirement

Fifteen-year plan:

Whereas the one-year and four-year plans are designed to reduce partisanship, eliminate corruption, and create a unified fighting force, the fifteen-year plan is designed to turn the peshmerga into a modern army, capable of defending the borders of the Kurdistan Region from hostile actors.

In order to accomplish this, the government must invest in the study and development of military thought and ideology, provide for the individual needs of peshmerga, create an effective logistical support network, develop military expertise in a variety of military disciplines, and become expert in the future technology of warfare.

I. The study and development of military thought and ideology

In order to be a modern and effective fighting force, the peshmerga must invest in the study and development of military thought and ideology. A well-educated soldier is a better soldier. This can be accomplished by developing and implementing annual and monthly courses available to officers and peshmerga of all ranks. Possible subjects include general science, military science, psychology, sociology, strategy, tactics, logistics, and technology.

II. Provide for the individual needs of peshmerga

This step focuses on livelihoods of individual peshmerga and their families. The Ministry of Peshmerga will develop plans for the following areas:

1. Food provision
2. Military uniforms
3. Health care and insurance
4. Financial support, including
 - a. Loans to facilitate marriages
 - b. Loans to purchase real estate
5. A suitable salary, which is paid in full and on time

III. Develop military expertise in a variety of military disciplines

The Kurdistan Region and its neighbors have varied geography, which requires the mastery of multiple military disciplines. In this phase, the forces will be classified into several sections according to geography and will train accordingly. Development of this will require at least ten years.

The most important discipline for the peshmerga will be mountain warfare training, given its particular relevance to the Region. Other disciplines include: air warfare, riverine warfare, and ground warfare, including training specific to plains, deserts, and forests.

IV. Create an effective logistical support network,

Development of military logistics system is one of the main pillars of an effective military. As such, peshmerga forces should be a well-equipped force with heavy and light weapons. Additionally, significant investment should be directed to developing transportation logistics for arms, soldiers, and equipment. The logistics department should also be tasked with acquiring uniforms, rations, spare parts, and any other equipment deemed necessary.

V. Become expert in the future technology of warfare

Technology has come to dominate the modern battlefield. Without proper training in robotics, surveillance, Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) (a.k.a. drones), and other advanced systems and tactics, the peshmerga will be vulnerable to those forces who have. The government should invest the necessary resources and training into making this a priority.

VII: The Environment

There has been a complete lack of any strategic thinking regarding the environment over the last 40 years. The Kurdistan Region's environment has greatly suffered because of conflict and mismanagement of resources, which in turn has harmed the health of the people. Additionally, the preservation of the natural beauty of our Region will boost tourism. In Kurdistan 2033, the environment is accorded a special place. By properly and sustainably managing our environment and natural resources, the people of the region will benefit immensely.

One-year plan:

1. Raise awareness about the value of a healthy environment through the media and in schools.
2. Issue a special law to punish those who harm the environment.
3. Ban and seize all the vehicles which do not comply to environmental standards.
4. Reform the laws relating to construction to strengthen environmental protection.
5. Ban wood-cutting and punishing those who do not practice sustainable forestry or harm green space.
6. Support environmental advocacy groups to raise awareness about the environment and its protection through activities such as Earth Day.
7. Ban the process of mixing Tetraethyllead with petrol (leaded petrol), which is now a huge danger to the health of the people of the Kurdistan Region. Currently, Iraq is one of only three states not to ban leaded petrol, along with Algeria and Yemen.

Four-year plan:

1. Add elements on sustainability and the environment in all primary and secondary school curricula.
2. Implement a recycling project and sustainable waste management in all cities and towns of the Kurdistan Region.
3. Develop a strategic plan with the goal of reducing the reliance privately-owned vehicles.
4. Develop a monitoring system for drinking water, in order to allow people to use tap water in their homes instead of water bottles. Monitoring standards must meet the World Health Organization Minimum.

Fifteen-year plan:

1. Change all vehicles used in public transportation from petrol/diesel to electric.
2. Encourage the use of electric cars by reducing customs and tax on their importation.
3. Build industrial areas away from residential areas, in particular in cities and suburbs.
4. Raise the level of green space in the Kurdistan Region by 20%.
5. Implement "green belt" plans in all cities and towns.

6. Implement tree-planting projects in all cities of the Kurdistan Region.
7. Changing energy production ways, from fuel to clean and environment-friendly energy, through solar energy and wind power.
8. Install modern sewage and waste management systems in all cities and towns and complete all projects now underway. Establishing refinery and regulation stations to benefit from sewage water and preventing it to be mixed with drinking water.
9. Improve and expand public transportation and railroads to reduce the level of private car use and, thus, reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Currently public transportation is in a poor state, so most citizens depend on their own vehicles. In fact, there are 1,700,000 cars are there for 3,070,000 citizens above 18 years on the roads in the Kurdistan Region or about one car for every two people.

VII: Disputed Areas and Relations with the Iraqi Central Government

Vision for Relations between the Kurdistan Region and Baghdad:

The New Generation Movement believes in the idea that Kurdistan Region and Baghdad need and complement each other. A powerful Kurdistan Region and a democratic Iraq are mutually beneficial and will work to prevent foreign intervention into each other's affairs. There is strength in unity and cooperation, especially from a financial perspective. The Kurdistan Region is rich in oil and natural gas, but as long as those resources remain a pawn in the contest between Erbil and Baghdad, the people of the Region cannot fully benefit from their exploitation. Instead of having access to multiple export routes to the south and west, we remain unable to profitably sell our natural resources on the open market. Beyond hydrocarbons, the Kurdistan Region is also cut off from many other export opportunities because of our poor relationship with Baghdad.

The unity of the Kurdistan Region and Iraq should have a strong, constitutional foundation. The compliance of Baghdad government to the Constitution (which the Kurdistan Region's voters also voted for over a decade ago) could stand as a worthy guardian of the rights of the people of the Region. In fact, the Constitution does not allow for amendment if the provinces of the Kurdistan Region do not in favor. It is imperative that both Baghdad and the Region follow constitutional principles and not renege on promises made. That is the only way to have a strong, mutually beneficial relationship.

The State of Play

Since the foundation of Iraqi state in the beginning of the 20th century, the Kurdish question people have been one of the major unresolved issues and a source of constant political and military conflict between Iraqi governments and Kurdish parties. The post-Saddam era was one of the best in terms of advancing the political rights and economic well-being of the Kurdish people. For the first time in the history of Iraq, a Kurd became President. In the previous eras, Iraqi governments massacred Kurdish people, gassed them with chemical weapons, arrested, tortured, and murdered them due to their political and ethnic affiliation. However, the era after 2003 is very different: no Kurdish citizen can be arrested on the basis of their political or ethnic affiliation by the Iraqi government; most political and economic rights are guaranteed to the Kurds. Some may ask: How can this last, especially with the way in which the Kurdistan Region was treated following the referendum?

We look to history to provide examples of reconciliation. In the Second World War, Germany invaded most of Europe and caused the death of millions of people, displacing hundreds of millions, caused inconvincible damage to infrastructure, and perpetrated the systematic murder of six million Jews in the Holocaust. When it was defeated and the regime changed, Germany began to reenter the fold of the European community and is now one of the major and most powerful members of the European Union. On a smaller scale, there are numerous examples of successful transitions achieved through a process of reconciliation from Rwanda and South Africa to Northern Ireland and Cambodia.

We look to build a strong Kurdistan Region and a democratic central government that work to build powerful institutions, develop the economy, to provide mutually beneficial prosperity and security for the people.

Areas of Potential Cooperation

With the current parties in power, a strong Kurdistan Region cannot be built; similarly, Iraq cannot be a strong democratic country without the Kurdistan Region. Both Erbil and Baghdad need each other to build a strong and prosperous place for people to build a life and raise a family. This true partnership must be supported by the United Nations, the international community and the permanent members of the UN Security Council to be successful. Without the full participation of local parties and institutions, however, reconciliation is impossible, even with the full involvement of the international community.

In fact, there are areas where cooperation with Baghdad would be quite beneficial, none more important than the oil and natural gas industry. The current capacity of the other areas of Iraq to produce oil is much greater than that of the Kurdistan Region. At the moment, Iraq produces 3.5m bpd and can increase it, while the Kurdistan Region only produces 300,000 bpd, which is 8% of the total production of Iraq. According to the Constitution, 17% of Iraqi budget is allocated to the Kurdistan Region, and, even the actual amount paid is lower than that, it is still higher than what Kurdistan Region would obtain through independent oil sales. After Iraqi war of 2003, Baghdad continued to send the constitutionally mandated budget share of the Kurdistan Region to Erbil, even though our fields did not produce any oil. That means that Baghdad sold the oil of its own areas and sent part of it to the Kurdistan Region.

Once the Region's fields began to produce, the KDP and the PUK worked systematically to appropriate the wealth generated from oil contracts. Following the passage of the 2007 Oil and Gas Law, the KRG began using "production sharing contracts," instead of the "service contracts" favored by Baghdad. This allowed for the government to insert in provisions like bonuses for government officials from international oil companies. Combined with a lack of transparency, this allowed KDP and PUK officials to divert revenue that should have been spent on revitalizing critical services like education, health, and the environment, rebuilding dilapidated infrastructure, and boosting economic growth. It is critical that these laws be reexamined and reformed so that the wealth of that belongs to the people actually goes to the people. This includes the introduction of a federal oil and gas law, which is impossible without cooperation from Baghdad.

As the coffers of the Kurdistan Region were systematically drained by the KDP and the PUK, the economic situation of the people of the Region, which had been so bright in the post-2003 era, began to lurch from crisis to crisis. In 2014, the government-imposed austerity measures to mitigate the situation, which only inflamed popular anger, especially from public servants like teachers and health care workers. To distract from this massive crisis, the ruling parties tried to cover up their fiasco by stirring ethnic emotions and holding independence referendum, but that damaged the region even more. The reaction from Baghdad was swift and decisive: areas in the disputed zones occupied by the peshmerga were taken (including oil and gas fields), the airports were closed to

international travel, and the reputation of the Kurdistan Region was damaged on the international stage with its vital Western allies supporting Baghdad over Erbil.

Another important area of cooperation between Erbil and Baghdad is in military matters. According to the Constitution, it's the duty of federal forces to protect the sky and ground of Iraq, including Kurdistan Region. The sky of the Kurdistan Region, however, is violated every day by Turkish warplanes, villages are bombed, and civilians and peshmerga are killed and injured. The central government has said on numerous occasions that it rejects violations of its sovereignty. Yet, disputes between Baghdad and Erbil are taken advantage of by Ankara and result in harm to our citizens. Enhancing cooperation between the Kurdistan Region and Iraq would have the effect of eliminating these violations.

The people of the Kurdistan Region have big aspirations. No one should be in doubt of this. It is the duty of the government first to provide for the needs of the people in the best way possible. It is from that foundation that all other good things come.

The problem of Kirkuk and Disputed Areas:

The problems associated with Kirkuk and the disputed areas have a long history. New Generation sees the following critical issues as the most contentious and, therefore, the most in need of resolution.

1. All previous solutions suggested by Erbil and Baghdad to Kirkuk and other disputed areas have had little effect at resolving the issue.
2. Article 140 of the Constitution does not fully resolve the issue of Kirkuk and other disputed areas, it only touches on part of the issue.
3. The performance of the Kurdish parties and Kurdish authorities in the disputed areas, especially after 2014, has been poor and did not follow any strategic plan for the future.
4. Unilateral decisions cannot solve the issue of Kirkuk and other disputed areas. Any insistence that this is the case misses the point, wastes time, and complicates the issue further.
5. Imposing a de facto solution by any party does not serve Kirkuk and the other disputed areas.
6. Kirkuk and the other disputed areas are not merely an internal issue, but an issue with national, regional, and international consequences. Solving the issue takes a consideration of three major, interrelated points: oil, the future status of the province, and its administration.
7. Mutual administration of disputed areas requires a thoroughly researched and clearly laid out plan, which does not exist at this point.
8. The issue of Kirkuk and other disputed areas is a national issue. The Kurdistan Region and the federal government should both take part in the resolution of this issue.

Recommendations and solution to the issue of Kirkuk and disputed areas:

There are numerous cities in the world which are called Divided Cities, or Deeply Divided Cities, or Polarized Cities, Kirkuk and Jerusalem among them. Jerusalem is much older and more complicated issue than Kirkuk, and as an example to the significance of Kirkuk, Jalal Talabani called it 'Kurdistan's Jerusalem'.

In a comparative study, Scott A. Bollens an American professor, discusses seven polarized cities in the world, Brussels, Johannesburg, Belfast, Sarajevo, Jerusalem, Baghdad and Kirkuk.¹ He classifies these seven cities into three groups.

The first group consists of "Stable Cities," such as Brussels, Belgium, and Johannesburg, South Africa, which despite diverse population groups and historical problems, are now stable.

The second group are "Quagmire Cities," such as Belfast, North Ireland, United Kingdom and Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although good governance and progress can be seen in these two cities, the possibility of confrontation and violence still exists.

The cities that are ready for confrontation are Jerusalem, Palestine* and Kirkuk and Baghdad in Iraq. These cities not only have problems of poor governance and positions, but also that of contested ownership. For example, Israel and Palestine both claim Jerusalem, while Kurds, Turkmen and Arabs all claim to own Kirkuk. In Baghdad, Sunnis and Shia both claim Baghdad (or parts of it) as their own.

To stabilize these cities, the examples from group three (that is Jerusalem, Baghdad, and Kirkuk) should be transformed using the Quagmire group as examples of how progress can be accomplished.

The central issue is that all parties believe in their claim in these cities and that no party is ready to compromise with the other, for fear of losing face, advantage, or the support of their base. Despite statements by international actors urging peaceful resolution of these conflicts, it is often the difficult decision of local actors to pursue compromise, cooperation, and negotiation that ultimately makes the greatest strides towards resolving an issue.

New Generation believes in the peaceful coexistence of the ethnic groups, as a critical part economic development and a way to avoid war and reduce confrontation. It believes that Kirkuk and other disputed areas should be an example for the rest of Iraq and the greater Middle East, as a place where different ethnic and religious groups can put aside their rivalry and live and work together in mutually beneficial coexistence.

Working to strengthen the spirit of tolerance and acceptance in Kirkuk can lead it away from the suffering that self-serving politicians have brought it to over the years. The local security forces should reflect Kirkuk's different groups, which will enable them to better protect their own city. Currently, the people of Kirkuk governorate live in dire economic circumstances, despite their provenience being among the richest in terms of

¹ Scott A. Bollens

<http://www.polisci.upenn.edu/ppec/sawyer/Speakers/Speakers%20Publications/Bollens%20Governing%20Polarized%20Cities.pdf>

natural resources. Cooperation between local forces, the central government, and the Kurdistan Region would work towards rectifying this wrong.