

*Politics and Economics of the Middle East*



SCIENCE AND CULTURE FOR PROGRESS IN KURDISTAN

**Almas Heshmati · Alan Dilani · Serwan M. J. Baban**  
Editors

# Perspectives on Kurdistan's Economy and Society in Transition

Science and Culture for Progress in Kurdistan  
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NOVA







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## **APPENDIX A**

### **PROGRAM OF THE 1<sup>ST</sup> WORLD KURDISH CONGRESS**

#### **Day 1: October 7th (Friday), 2011**

19:00-22:00 Reception: Welcome Dinner and Welcome Speech by the Organizing Committee and Leyla Zana and Carol Prunhuber Founding Members and Message from Helene Krulich-Ghassemlou

#### **Day 2: October 8 (Saturday), 2011**

08:00-08:30 Late Registration

08:30-09:00 Introduction of the Congress by Alan Dilani, Harry van Bommel Member of the Netherlands Parliament and Opening Speech by Leyla Zana

#### **09:00-11:00 Session 1:**

##### **Scientific Perspectives on Health, Education, Economy and Politics**

Chair: Peter Herrmann (University College of Cork, Ireland)

Karianne Westrheim (Chair of the EU Turkey Civic Commission -EUTCC- Norway)  
The EU Turkey Civic Commission and its Significance for the Kurdish Question in Turkey

Serwan Baban (University of Kurdistan Hawler, Kurdistan)

The Role of KRG Higher Education Institutions in the Process of Nation-Building

Alan Dilani (International Academy for Design & Health, Sweden)

Promotion and Prevention Salutogenic Approach to Health Infrastructure

Almas Heshmati (Korea University, Korea)

Realities of Economic Development in the Kurdistan Region

Discussion

11:00-11:30 Coffee Break/Poster

**11:30-13:00 Session 2:**

**Medical Treatments in Kurdistan, Challenges and Possibilities**

Chair: Rang Noory Shawis (Sheffield Childrens Hospital, UK)

Sultan Cetiner and Sertip Zangana (Medical University of Liverpool, UK)

Medical Education, Training and Developments in the UK System and its  
Relevance and Application to Kurdistan

Deiary Fraidoon Kader (Newcastle Gateshead Medical Volunteers, UK)

Surgical Voluntary Work in Kurdistan

Prasad Godbole (Sheffield Children's NHS Foundation Trust, UK)

The Experiences of Pioneer Healthcare in Kurdistan

Discussion

13:00-14:00 Lunch

**14:00-16:00 Session 3:**

**The Struggle of Kurdish People for Freedom**

Chair: Carol Prunhuber (PhD. in Literature, Writer and Journalist, USA)

Hemin Hawrami (KDP Foreign Relations)

Analysis of the Current Political Situation of Kurdistan within the Middle  
East

Kathryn Cameron Porter (Leadership Council for Human Rights, USA)

Human Rights and the Kurds

Peter Herrmann (University College of Cork, Ireland and University of Eastern Finland,  
Finland), Struggle for Freedom and Human Rights – A Multifaceted

Problem, Requiring a Single Answer

Khalid Khayati (Linköping University, Sweden)

Kurdish Diaspora in Europe: From Victim Diaspora to the Practice of Long  
Distance Nationalism and Transborder Citizenship

Discussion

16:00-16:30 Coffee Break/Poster

**16:30-18:00 Session 4:**

**Education in Kurdistan and Future Projects**

Chair: Saman Shali (Academic and Business Consultant, Kurdistan)

Mukadder Baran (University of Hakkari, Turkey)

The Impact of Sociolinguistics on Scientific Education: A Case Study in the  
City of Hakkari

Badirkhan Sindi (Editor-in-Chief al-Taakhi newspaper, Iraq)

The Impact of Foreign Regimes on Kurdish Culture and Education

Fereydoon Rahmani (The Kurdish House, Canada) and

Media Royan (Stockholm University, Sweden)

2 Case Studies: Oral History Project on Kurdish Struggle and Kurdish  
Diaspora Elite

Discussion

**19:00-24:00 Cultural Performance by Prominent Musicians and Singers from  
Kurdistan**

**Day 3: October 9th (Sunday), 2011**

**09:00-11:00 Session 5:**

**The Challenges of Mental and Social Health in Kurdistan and Prevention of Diseases**

Chair: Alan Dilani (International Academy for Design & Health, Sweden)

Kamal Artin (Kurdish National Congress, USA)

Individual vs. Society, a Comparative Analysis

Abdulbaghi Ahmad (University of Uppsala, Sweden)

Child and Adolescent Mental Health in Kurdistan

Ata Ghaderi (Uppsala University, Sweden), Promoting Health and Preventing Illness, Not  
Only Treating Severe Diseases: Designing an Effective Healthcare System  
in Kurdistan

Discussion

11:00-11:30 Coffee Break/Poster

**11:00-13:00 Session 6:**

**Business and Economic Development in Kurdistan**

Chair: Almas Heshmati (Korea University, Korea)

Saman Shali (Academic and Business Consultant, Kurdistan)

Doing Business in Kurdistan: A Risk Assessment

Heja Sindi (University of Kurdistan Hawler, Kurdistan), Developing a 'Kurdistanian  
Diaspora Intellectual Model and Policy': A Public Management Perspective

Rang Noory Shawis (Sheffield Children Hospital, UK)

The Need for a Medical and Health Professional Council for Kurdistan

Abdul Kadir Hadi Hasan (Buckinghamshire NHS Trust, UK)

Breast Cancer Screening Program for Kurdistan

Discussion

13:00-14:00 Lunch

**14:00-15:30 Session 7:**

**The Future of Kurdistan in the Middle East and the Role of Women in Kurdish  
Society**

Chair: Pary Karadaghi (Kurdish Human Rights Watch, USA)

Marianna Charountaki (University of Exeter, UK)

The US- Kurdish Relations

Deborah Morgan-Jones (London University, UK), Establishment of ‘Greater Kurdistan’  
and Consolidation of National Identity: A Strategic ‘Brand Building’  
Programme

Soheila Ghaderi (University Paris, France), The Role of Kurdish Women in the Struggle  
for Freedom and their Impact in the Contemporary Kurdish Society

Gissou Nia (International Criminal Court, The Hague), Challenges in Documenting  
Human Rights Violations against Kurdish Populations and Potential Legal  
Avenues for Redress

Discussion

15:30-16:00 Coffee Break/Poster

**16:00-17:30 Session 8:**

**The Impact of Culture and Music in Kurdish Society, the Kurdish Lobbyist and  
Challenge with Human Right**

Chair: Alan Dilani and Almas Heshmati

Mazhar Khaleghi (Founder and Chair of Kurdish Heritage Institute, Kurdistan)

The Impact of Culture in Kurdish Society

Ava Homa (George Brown College, Canada)

Recovery through Creative Expression

Taha Barwary (Former KRG Minister and Scandinavian Representative, Sweden)

**17:30-18:30 Session 9:**

**General Meeting and Closing**

Chaired and final words by Alan Dilani and Almas Heshmati

## *APPENDIX B*

### **OPENING SPEECH BY LEYLA ZANA**

Esteemed Guests,

First of all, I would like to greet you all and express my gratitude to everyone who helped in to make this congress a reality.

The Kurds, one of the ancient people of the Middle East, have made the effort to maintain good relations among themselves and those with whom they have been living together throughout history. The Kurds have contributed to the countries where they live, be it through science, art, literature, medicine, commerce, architecture and agriculture, with an innovative and sense of shared responsibility.

Even in the era called the Dark Ages by Western civilization, thanks to their written works, inventions and discoveries, Kurdish scientists and artists have left a wealth of knowledge to humanity. However, in the early 20th century and immediatly afterwards, the Kurds were divided into four areas and subsequently treated as prisoners in their own land. They were not allowed to continue contributing to scientific and literary fields during this trying period.

The Kurdish people's mother tongue and culture were banned, and even their most basic human rights ignored, turning their lives into a daily challenge. Even today in Turkey, when our children start school, they must take the following oath: 'I am Turkish, I am right and I am hardworking....' With this they want to impose on the child's mind a one-sided ideology. This is all part of an official assimilation policy which is not even common among fascist and militarist regimes in the world. This not only shames Turkey, but all of humanity.

Nonetheless, the Kurds have continued in their peaceful struggle for freedom and human rights against these repressive regimes and injustices perpetrated in every area of Kurdistan. And these practices continue with intensity to this day.

Due to the recent developments in the world in the form of liberalization and openness and our geo-political situation within the global conjuncture, it is vital that we ensure the Kurds' union at the national level, particularly in politics and in all areas of science, health, education, art, and literature, as well as in all aspects of life. The Kurds know well that this is a historic opportunity and mission, and they struggle for it.

Today despite the gains obtained in South Kurdistan, ongoing denials, unreliable analysis, and an unconscious approach to the problems in Kurdistan as a whole remain. This has caused serious uncertainty for our future. This situation also risks endangering the gains obtained in South Kurdistan. However, at this point, the world accepts the Kurds as important players in the Middle East and determines their policies with the Kurds in mind.

My expectation and wish from the Kurdish perspective is that the Kurds successfully fulfill their requirements to manifest a new reality.

Dear friends, the origin and cornerstone of a society's culture have been language. Despite all the cruelty and oppression imposed on Kurds, the Kurdish language has not



vanished. As a nation, we owe this to the Kurdish women. It is the duty of Kurdish academic institutions to protect, develop and bring into the modern world with a scientific base, this language which has survived regardless of all difficulties.

If we look at the ongoing progress of science and technology, we realize that our language is alive only because the Kurdish women speak it to their children. If we look at the evolution of science, technology and the gradual progression of technology, our language which is kept alive by the Kurdish mothers speaking with their children, is not sufficient. The rapid development of science and technology through many innovations, allows enrichment of language parallel to these developments. This helps to eliminate certain deficiencies and reshape the language itself.

Therefore, Kurdish academics and intellectuals are urged to conduct research on philosophy, mathematics, physics, information technology and all branches of science, to unify the Kurdish language, and bring the necessary materials from the Latin alphabet so a more comprehensive Kurdish language can be introduced to the general population of Kurds.

Any delay in our efforts will be harmful to the future prospects of our children, as they will be forced into foreign cultural assimilation. Such a process will deprive them of progress in the fields of politics, science and technology. We can bring stable solutions with long-term planning and social policies, based on a scientific approach and common sense to the areas where the problems and challenges in daily life exist, especially in education and health.

Strong and sustainable networks established between Kurdish scientists, as well as organizations outside and within Kurdistan, will provide intellectual and professional contributions to a progressive Kurdish society for the future. Parallel to the struggle for freedom and human rights, study and projects in the fields of education, science and art will help to prepare Kurdish society for a better future with trained and qualified people. To have people qualified at a global professional level will accelerate the process and goal of having the Kurdish people become active participants in the modern world.

Esteemed intellectuals, academics and Kurdish friends, I hope your efforts will establish sustainable steps that reflect our people's needs, considering your knowledge and experiences in multidisciplinary fields of knowledge. This effort can protect individual rights if we analyze the relationships between individual/society and individual/state. This can be done in a systematic manner that protects individual rights and minimizes the negative effects of the bureaucracy.

The First World Kurdish Congress' principal mission is to contribute to the development of Kurdish society in all areas and this is very pleasing and promising for me. I greet you in the light of these deep feelings and thoughts. I wish you all success in your work.

Leyla Zana

## **WEAVING A NEW TAPESTRY FOR KURDISTAN: WELCOME SPEECH AT THE FIRST WORLD KURDISH CONGRESS**

*Carol Prunhuber*

WKC Founding Committee Member

Welcome to everyone present at this auspicious gathering!

Welcome to our esteemed speakers and delegates, to all of you who have traveled great distances to attend and participate in this -- the First World Kurdish Congress. We have all put forth noted effort to be here today. . We have made the commitment to bring ourselves, as well as our creative and heartfelt wish to the events that will be unfolding in the coming hours and days.

May our efforts yield great fruit -- -- planting the seeds that will bring forth both inspiration and recognition to Kurdistan as a nation throughout the World.

You have come from many countries, many cities. You represent many walks of life, professions, and many age groups and nationalities. Yet each person here shares a common thread: the desire to positively set forth new threads to weave a new tapestry for Kurdistan. For this reason, we have called this gathering the ‘World Kurdish Congress.’

You have all come with the following responsibility and earnest wish: to listen, widely share your individual knowledge with others and imbibe the ideas and experiences of many others within your own.

During the next two days, we will be presented with this unique and exciting opportunity – to take in much information and simultaneously be aware of ways to bring ideas and trends forward that will further the cause of Kurds everywhere. We rejoice in the coming together of so many academics, scientists, doctors, students, intellectuals and business men and women politically active in the development of the Kurdish society.

While recently attending the *Health & Design Congress* organized by Alan Dilani in Boston, I asked one of the delegates who was the chairperson of the Department of Architecture at a Texas university why he was there. He told me, “I spend most of my time amongst students and in my office at the university. Here I get to see what my colleagues are actually doing. I learn more, I meet new people and I’m able to bring fresh, new ideas back to my academic environment. It catalyzes new ideas that I can then bring alive in my work.”

What is our over-arching goal? I think each one of you wants to ensure that the Kurds become an integral part of the sweeping changes that are happening in the region. For the Kurds in Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq comprise a considerable percentage of the overall population of those countries. By their sheer numbers, the Kurds must play an essential role in the democratic wave that is crossing the Middle East.

How timely our meeting is today, given the present circumstances. Given the historical fragmentation of the Kurdish society and the repressive regimes in which they have lived, forward movement has been slow in coming. The fact is that Kurds are key players today in the democratization process and will have increasingly more impact on the regional and international politics.

This weekend we will be discussing many of the issues that abound in Kurdish society – everything from health issues to education, economy and human rights. The spectrum of our discussions will cover a lot of territory. We will be meeting and networking to further assess our interest and work for the Kurds. What comes out of all this will depend upon all of us, how highly we set our expectations to create a new global panorama for all Kurds. So much can be done if we put aside our separate agendas and join all our efforts to conceive of a new way of working together towards this common goal. This will include joining not only our ideas and expertise, but looking at ways our connections can be useful for the greater cause.

Our work in this Congress is ground-breaking. Take a moment to reflect upon the uniqueness of today. Because what we want to do is to create interest groups, as others are doing. For example, the Jewish and Armenian people have been able to further the interests of their communities by lobbying throughout the world for their cause. For instance, who would have thought a few years ago, the Armenian Genocide would be officially recognized in a European country?

Due to the focused actions of the Armenian community in Sweden, in March 2010, the Swedish Parliament recognized the Armenian Genocide after all efforts in the past had been rejected. How was this done? Following its introduction—the Swedish Armenian community worked tirelessly to gain its passage—through letters—phone calls and personal visitations with parliamentary members. In addition, this campaign was supported by American Armenians.

Going back to the Kurds speaking of networking and lobbying, we cannot forget the efforts of the past Kurdish leadership in this regard. These began with Mullah Mustafa Barzani in the United States. This lobbying continues today although its effects have been limited upon policy change. The KRG, a few NGO's and perseverant individuals do continue their effort to inform and promote the Kurdish cause in the US through the media, notably television channels in Europe and through newspapers and websites.

You may be wondering how a Venezuelan journalist became one of the Founding members of a Kurdish Congress. A few months ago, I received an email from Alain Dilani, commenting upon the book I had recently published on the life of Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou. In that email, he told me that he had been inspired, upon reading Ghassemlou's book, to create the event at which we are all present today. He wanted to bring together his years of professional contacts and skills in setting scientific international forums – this time for his own people. I was very moved to hear both his commitment and inspiration.

At that point, I had spoken quite extensively about the Kurds, but I had never heard a Kurd come up with an idea like this. And in the weeks and months that followed, I saw that he persevered, regardless of the obstacles, to make this happen. I hasten to add that, because I knew Ghassemlou personally, and witnessed his charisma and ability to bring

together millions of his countrymen and women, this cause is something very dear to my heart.

For Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou did much to promote the Kurdish cause. In fact, he gave his life for it. I saw Ghassemlou's incredible skill first-hand. If any Kurd knew the importance of making friends for a cause, it was Ghassemlou. He knew that for the Kurdish cause to advance, he needed to make friends other than the mountains. He was one of the most sophisticated advocates for the Kurds; he set a very high standard. For years, he engaged and passionately shared his firm conviction about the importance of the Kurdish struggle within the region.

Ghassemlou worked tirelessly to advocate, educate and inform journalists, politicians, NGO's and intellectuals in Europe of the Kurdish situation. His strength was his resolute belief that the Kurdish people were important, not only in Iran but within the Middle East context. He knew that these relationships needed to be cultivated, though he had no illusions about the political results. He sensed that the Kurdish cause was not on the top of the list for the European democracies who were focused upon their own regional interests, yet he persevered.

Coming back to right now...you may be asking yourself, "Why bother to lobby today when lobbying has not borne fruit in the past?" To this question, I would retort, "Because it is time. Because we have all felt the call to be here and work together for this common aim, bringing all of our skills, knowledge, fortitude and hope that we can make a change. Together we can make a difference and tip the scales in favor of the cause we believe in. We can bring the Kurdish cause to the world's attention in a new way." This is necessary and it is a step in the right direction.

Ghassemlou launched an armed struggle against the imposed war by the Iranian regime. Above all else, this political leader was a man of dialogue who held a pragmatic approach. He was a passionate ambassador for his people.

He once said that he could make a friend of any person if given 15 minutes of conversation. Warm, charming and open, with a refined sense of humor, this was a man who spoke nine languages and forged close ties with those he met. He gained sympathizers of all walks of life and professions for his cause – be they doctors, lawyers, intellectuals and academics, government officials, ambassadors and politicians of the left or right.

Important to note is that Ghassemlou became a respected interlocutor in Europe because he gave reliable information. He was credible and knowledgeable on the Kurdish issue and its role within the international and regional context of his time. He not only informed but educated his interlocutor. His message was so simple, "Autonomy for Kurdistan, Democracy for Iran."

Ghassemlou clearly articulated his message to the journalists, making it easier for them to comprehend the complexity of the geo-political situation and the position of his party. Much of his time was focused upon meeting with the media in Europe and in Kurdistan. He knew that he had to make the world aware of the Kurdish plight. Every trip he made to Europe a great chunk was dedicated to meeting with the press. It was in those days that the few journalists that ventured into Kurdistan in the midst of the war, launched upon them by the regime of Khomeini, discovered a leader whose simplicity and charisma won them to write about their plight.

Of course, Ghassemlou was a politician and he moved in political circles. He had that forum in which to articulate the Kurdish cause, wherever he went. You may be sitting here wondering, “As a businesswoman in France or a scientist in Belgium...how does this translate for my work? I am committed to this cause, but in what practical ways can I move my perspective, skills and most of all, the Kurdish nation, forward?”

Ghassemlou established a solid bond with the Socialist Party of France not only through his words, but through his actions. Officials within the French party trusted him; they experienced firsthand a man who walked his talk. This is something we can all do. He earned people’s respect and friendship. As a French politician said: “Ghassemlou seduced us; he, convinced us. He always acknowledged the support he received from the French Socialist Party.”

Today we have gathered Kurds from Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria, Kurds who live in North America, Europe and Asia. We also have friends of the Kurds who have contributed to this cause by focusing their studies and life’s work upon them.

This gathering is truly an event that Ghassemlou would have looked proudly upon. He must be smiling at this very moment. Nothing would please him more than this joining together of minds and hearts for the well-being of the Kurdish cause. Let us bring his vision into our own as we move forward during this historic two day event.

And before we begin this auspicious event, let us take a moment to remember all the Kurds who, in the past, have given their lives for their people – past, present and future – so that all of us have the opportunity and the impetus to be assembled here today for a creative and unified purpose.

## **THE EDITORS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR KURDISTAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT**

### **EXTRACTED FROM PRESENTATIONS AT THE FIRST KURDISH CONGRESS**

#### **Preamble**

The World Kurdish Congress was held in October 2011 with the theme of researching science and culture towards increased progress in Kurdistan. The papers presented over two days focused on various important aspects of health, education, economy, culture and political science in Kurdistan. The objective was to exchange and develop knowledge regarding progress within Kurdish society – including ways that health, quality of life, political, social and economic development, equality, human rights and education could be further enhanced and improved.

Since a large number of educated and experienced Kurds are residing industrialized countries, in our view it is appropriate to establish a Ministry of Diaspora to manage the relationship between this group and the Kurdistan Region. The ministry's primary task should be the better use of this intellectual capital in Diaspora. In addition to a source of knowledge, this force can serve as network and bridge the Kurdistan with the power houses outside world. We urge KRG to find the appropriate mechanisms and to provide necessary resources to support and encourage our scientist to engage in the region's development.

The main recommendation to the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) is that we fully utilize available science-based approaches and better use the intellectual capital of our Diaspora in making effective, informed decisions.

The following is a brief summary of the recommendations that emerged from the WKC, and compiled by the Editors.

#### **General, Mental and Social Health**

- Promote a healthy lifestyle and the wellbeing of individuals as these are more important than the current limited curative health care provision and condition.
- Promote modern approaches to teaching and research in the health sector taking in consideration the specific needs of the region and Kurdish society.
- Promote a women's breast cancer screening program, and also a general screening of the risk factors to prevent diseases and to promote health in Kurdistan.

## **Academics**

- Facilitate the organization of Kurdish academicians to attract better-qualified personnel to teach in Kurdistan universities and thereby increase the quality of the education system.
- Establish a network of academics in the Diaspora to promote exchanges and therefore benefit from our intellectual capital outside Kurdistan.
- Establish close cooperation between national universities to facilitate exchange programs, cultural experiences, and the monitoring of quality in education and joint research programs.
- Establish close cooperation between researchers abroad and national universities and research institutes.

## **Education and Nation-Building**

- Modernize the higher education institutions in terms of vision, mission, curriculum, teaching methods, research and training, and university management to increase quality and capacity of human capital to play a direct role in the process of nation-building and wealth creation.
- Establish a *Diaspora Ministry* or another alternative structure to actively attract and sustain the Diaspora's capacity and intellectual capital.
- Promote the idea of a Greater Kurdistan and the consolidation of national identity through a strategic brand-building program.
- Establish a Media Centre to preserve Kurdish oral history by collecting and studying information and factual materials or narrations.
- Foster national interest and ways of thinking. Higher education and development policy which is financed by natural resources extraction should target Greater Kurdistan.
- Promote education policy and gear it towards human capital building in both the private and public sectors.

## **Politics and Governance**

- Reform education and governance as a necessary component of embarking upon a sustainable development strategy.
- Lobby for Turkish accession to the EU as a way to help to solve the 'Kurdish problem' in Turkey. This would necessitate Turkey's granting full political, social, economic, cultural and education rights to its population – including the Kurds.
- Study the strategic landscape of the region to realize its potential and take strategic actions in the interest of the nation, particularly in the areas of natural resources and food security and production.

- Promote cooperation between various parts of the world and the KRG in the areas of politics, education, capacity building, woman's rights and culture.

## **Development**

- Establish a commission to guide on the priorities of national development, especially in those areas that are neglected, such as agriculture and other light and heavy industry sectors.
- Promote capacity for nation building by developing the necessary infrastructures to support this objective.
- Reform existing institutions to become more transparent and accountable by enforcement of laws and regulations.
- Establish institutions in Science and Technology and use the national research funds to promote and utilize available research capacities.
- Create a clear vision and have the resources to implement a smooth and successful development of the region
- Ensure that public institutions are not static, but dynamic and adaptable to change.
- Expect highly-ranked civil servants to have relevant qualifications and always lead by example.
- Expect public institutions to support development and change and problems related to bureaucracy, corruption and inefficiency.

## **Freedom and Human Rights**

- Establish adequate representation and participation in transitional justice mechanisms, international criminal proceedings, and other potential avenues for legal redress under principles of universality in national jurisdictions to protect the rights of Kurdish minority populations in the transitioning states of the Middle East region.
- Recognize and promote the rights of women, children and minorities on the basis of universal values and human rights

## **Highest Priority Research**

- Allocate necessary resources for the preparation and establishment of an Integration Commission, Integration Research Institute and Integration Research University that target the ideas of Greater Kurdistan.
- Support research on important issues such as: refugees and repatriation, Kirkuk, water and other natural resources, governance, cross-border social, political and economic integration of Kurdistan.
- Support a comprehensive research on major crimes against humanity such as Hallabja, Anfal, displacement, landmines and other crimes against the Kurdish nation so they are internationally recognized.



- Prepare laws regarding water, environmental, business and competition, trade, labour, equality and discrimination, banking and finance, media and communication, asset holdings, taxation, health, medicine and education, central-regional governments relations, mechanisms for oil and gas-revenue sharing, and various forms of rules and needed regulations.
- Establish a national legal team composed of international and national experts to assist the KRG in vital issues such as Halabja, Anfal, Kirkuk, other land disputes, forced migration, foreign interventions, etc.

### **Economic and Business**

- KRG is urged to distance itself from a purely business-driven development strategy and instead focus on the implementation of a national interest-driven development strategy and promote targeted investment in laggard sectors like agriculture and industry.
- Promote and give high priority to investment in capability, exchange and self-sufficiency.
- Regulate the harmful Business-Politics-Governance relationship which is a source of corruption and irregularities. Instead promote Government-Education-Business cooperation towards progressive development.
- Produce statistics, transparency and accountability and enforcement of rules and regulations.
- Despite the importance of national corporations and business conglomerates, introduce competition and limit the power of monopolies which reduce society's welfare and are harmful to small and medium business enterprises' entry, growth and survival.
- Adopt appointment by merit across the board as nepotism and abuse of power is destructive and costly to the economy and society in general.
- Nominate high civil servants to manage operation of the public sector which plays a crucial role for our existence and development – and nominations ought to be strictly based on skill and performance.
- Promote good work ethics so discipline, skill acquisition and capability at work and organizations become a norm and standard.
- Introduce effective taxation as necessary to smooth the flow of public revenues, to reduce inequality and dependency on oil revenues and to guarantee provision of basic public services.
- Diversify sources of income and public revenues: this is important as an irregular flow of revenues, high dependency on neighbors and shortage of production factors can cause instability in the economy.
- Strengthen the current banking system which has no savings, no or little credit and only limited inter-bank transaction relationships. Entry and growth of small businesses and household economy rely heavily on a well-functioning and trusted banking system.

- Transform the economy optimally to a combined (knowledge-intensive) manufacturing, agriculture and service-based economy.
- Investigate the legal, economic, technology, social, political and environmental aspects of long term contracts in the area of oil and gas as a general principle prior to signing any future contracts.

## *Chapter One*

# INTRODUCTION TO AND SUMMARY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS

*Almas Heshmati, Alan Dilani and Serwan Baban*

*Editors*

This volume is a collection of 20 studies<sup>1</sup> presented at the First World Kurdish Congress held in Rotterdam on October 7-9, 2011. The presentation topics are diverse, covering several areas pertinent to the current Kurdish situation. We have divided the studies into 8 distinct areas of research including: Human Rights and Freedom; Greater Kurdistan, Education and Nation Building; Diaspora; Politics and International Relations; Corruption; Health Care and Trauma; and Economy, Business and Science and Technology. A brief summary of the studies is presented in this introductory chapter.

### **Part One: Human Rights and Freedom**

Several researchers emphasized the struggle for freedom and human rights among others, with the perspective of a multi-faceted problem requiring a single answer by **Peter Herrmann** (Chapter 2). In his view, the challenge in finding an urgently needed answer on the violation of human rights has to focus on fully establishing and securing the rights of a people and their right to self-determination – not merely an individualistic perspective. Instead, self-determination means the right of a people to determine their own understanding of the role they want to play within the global economy.

**Gissou Nia's** (Chapter 3) presentation concerns the challenges in documenting human rights violations against Kurdish populations and the potential legal avenues for redress. These challenges are attributed to: (i) the unique geographical and political status of the Kurds in the region; (ii) cultural practices stemming from a history of oppression; and (iii) linguistic challenges that make a shared common history difficult to record in a credible and consistent manner. She suggests that in addition to information-gathering, another important component for protecting the rights of the Kurdish minority populations in the transitioning states of the Middle East region is adequate representation and participation

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<sup>1</sup> Two studies by Chemen Bajalan on corruption and Nabaz Khayyat on Science and Technology Parks were submitted to the Congress but not presented there.

in transitional justice mechanisms, international criminal proceedings, and other potential avenues for legal redress under principles of “universality” in national jurisdictions.

The research on the role of women in Kurdish society received much attention at the Kurdish World Congress 2011. The role of Kurdish women in the struggle for freedom and their impact in the contemporary Kurdish society was investigated by **Soheila Ghaderi** (Chapter 4). Education plays a role in the Kurdish national movement and its principal aim is the creation of an independent Kurdish State. The women, as mothers and teachers, become the agents of transmission of the Kurdish language to the children. The realization of an independent Kurdistan is the greatest challenge facing the Kurds, while Kurdish women are facing several levels of oppression. The recent events in the Arab countries have shown that in the Islamic and traditional societies, there is no place for women and their claim for equal rights. If Kurds decide to be part of the international democratic society, the new challenge for them is to recognize women rights on the basis of universal values.

## **Part Two: Greater Kurdistan**

In an interesting view, **Deborah Morgan-Jones** (Chapter 5) introduces the idea of a Greater Kurdistan and the consolidation of national identity through a strategic brand-building programme. Brand components include components such as people being the greatest asset and culture, tradition, history, beliefs, vision, values, mission and resources forming the remainder. Jones asks if a ‘locally adjusted’ Kurdistan, as an overall brand with sub-brands, is possible. Currently a Nation within several Nations already is comprised of distinctive identities. Contemporary styles will be necessary to implement the shared vision. Internal buy in is the foundation of a robust brand. External launch would aim to attract exceptional professionals, employees, educationalists, consultants, advisors, inward and external investment. Tourism will be a major economic factor, as well as seizing marketing opportunity to secure growth and build identity in the global marketplace.

**Badirkhan Sindi** (Chapter 6) emphasizes the impact of foreign regimes on Kurdish culture and education in Kurdistan. Dividing the Kurdish Nation in parts has significantly affected Kurdish culture and education, in which both are now divided into four different segments. This has consequently led the Kurds to suffer from being segmented in four different and deformed societies. The division of Kurdistan, ruled by four foreign regimes, has resulted in a number of problems related to language. He proposes a strategy with eight items to overcome the limitations engendered. The first is to establish a higher commission responsible for implementing a rescuing strategy.

## **Part Three: Education and Nation Building**

**Serwan Baban** (Chapter 7) focuses on the role of the KRG’s higher education institutions in the process of nation-building. According to Baban, the current old system

of higher education, with a curriculum designed to produce civil servants without taking in consideration the evolving market needs and competition, is rather outdated. He recommends the modernization of higher education institutions in terms of vision, mission, curriculum, teaching methods, research and training and university management to increase quality and capacity of human capital to play a direct role in the process of nation-building and wealth creation.

**Mukadder Baran** (Chapter 8) presents a case study on the impact of sociolinguistics on scientific education in the city of Hakkari. She focuses upon the effects of bilingualism inside a monolingual education system regarding the success of students. She conducted fieldwork in Hakkari where the bilingual situation is the most visible. The objective was to obtain information on the high school students' demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds, as well as what their mother tongue was and to what extent they could be considered – and indeed considered themselves, bilinguals. She investigates whether the developments of a regional language lead to a cultural divide and its consequence for participation and democracy.

#### **Part Four: Diaspora**

Currently there is lack of a well-defined policy to embrace the intellectual capacity of the Kurdish Diaspora leading to a failure to utilize this resource. A public management perspective was used by **Heja Sindi** (Chapter 9) to investigate the challenges and potentials of developing a Kurdistan Diaspora intellectual model and policy. He suggests research to identify potentials and challenges experienced, and drafting a policy paper on how to attract and sustain the diaspora capacity and intellectual capital.

The changing character of Kurdish Diaspora from victim diaspora to the practice of long-distance nationalism and trans-border citizenship was presented by **Khaled Khayati** (Chapter 10). He uses the Swedish Diaspora as a successful example of transmuting past to future where the past struggles for survival are replaced with development efforts. He suggests the establishment of a Diaspora Ministry or another alternative structure with similar tasks.

**Media Royan** (Chapter 11) presents a case study on the Kurdish struggle and the second on the Kurdish diaspora elite. She mentions that while in the past the main focus of migration studies was investigating the influences of immigrants on the host society and their integration into the country of settlement, nowadays trans-nationalism studies point out that the effects of living in diaspora stem from the society of origin, as well as trans-border citizenship. She investigates the characteristics that suggest the Kurdish elites' contribution in Iraqi Kurdistan is categorized as a trans-national practice. She also discusses the ways that the specificity of the Swedish political context influences the trans-national practices among Kurdish Diaspora.

#### **Part Five: Politics and International Relations**

During the summer and autumn of 2009, the long-festering Kurdish problem in Turkey seemed to be on the verge of a solution when the ruling Justice and Development Party or AK Party (AKP) government of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and President Abdullah Gul announced a Kurdish Initiative or Opening. Indeed the insurgent Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), still led ultimately by its imprisoned leader Abdullah Ocalan, itself briefly took Turkey's Kurdish Initiative/Opening seriously. **Michael Gunter** (Chapter 12) in this research analyzes this Kurdish/Democratic Initiative/Opening and investigates why it has seemingly failed. In his view, the hope for a renewed Kurdish Initiative has seemingly been dashed. Nevertheless, since the Kurdish problem remains, renewed initiatives are inevitable.

**Hemin Hawrami** (Chapter 13) focuses on the current political situation of Kurdistan within the Middle East. He discusses the strategic landscape of the region and the position of the KDP in relation to the current developments and how Kurds should realize the opportunities and take action keeping in mind the greater interest of our nation. He also sheds light on the implications of a possible future American withdrawal from Iraq and the security vacuum it would create. This would include the transitional period from dictatorship to democracy, the process of nation building and the current tense, political situation with the Iraqi government with its tendency towards totalitarianism. He also discusses the relations with neighboring countries like Turkey and Iran with whom the KRG has a positive political, commercial and cultural bilateral relationship. He stresses that the KRG believes that military solutions and armed struggle are not viable solutions. He also discusses important issues of counter terrorism, radicalism, democracy and energy security, as well as the role of educated Kurds abroad.

The role of the Kurdish Issue in the democratic and European opening of Turkey is discussed by **Marianna Charountaki** (Chapter 14). Turkey has long been presented as a role model for Muslim polities. A 'vicious triangle' model is utilized to reveal how crucially the reality of this role-model image depends on the balancing act between democratization, Europeanization, and the Kurdish Issue. This study counters prevailing views that any changes in the Kurdish Issue are the result of EU accession pressures. By highlighting AKP's 'Kurdish Initiative' and the Kurds' own impetus for change, the analysis suggests a resolution pre-accession to meet Kurdish demands within a Turkish political framework.

## **Part Six: Corruption**

Corruption acts as a major deterrent to growth and development. The importance of the problem has been increasingly recognized by the international community, and particularly in developing countries. **Chemen Bajalan** (Chapter 15) summarizes the existing conditions in relation to corruption in the Kurdistan Region. The region has developed separately from the rest of Iraq since 1991. Though the political situation in Kurdistan is different from the rest of Iraq, most of the legal and administrative system is the same as the Iraqi legal and administrative legal system. Similarly, as with many other developing countries and a country in transition, Iraq and Kurdistan as part of it, suffer

from an increasing trend in corruption with negative effects on its reconstruction and development programmers. Bajalan focuses upon the legal system for combating corruption in Kurdistan within the framework of the Iraqi legal system. Following an overview of corruption in Kurdistan and in Iraq, she discusses the corruption-related offences in the Iraqi Criminal Law. The discussion continues with an overview of the entities that monitor transparency and combat corruption in Iraq and Kurdistan. The paper ends with a summary which includes some of the challenges that is facing the individuals who are combating corruption in Kurdistan and the rest of Iraq, and some suggestions that support the effort to retain transparency within the country.

### **Part Seven: Health Care and Trauma**

The health-related research concerns a number of areas of great importance to health provision and practitioners of health care. The first contribution by **Alan Dilani** (Chapter 16) is on the salutogenic approach to health infrastructure in the search for a healthy society. Here health is defined as a state of complete physical, psychological and social well-being, and not only absence of illness. The focus is on promotion of health, as well as the prevention of disease when resources are limited. This approach leads to strong positive effects in the wellbeing of individuals. The salutogenic approach promotes health and prevents non-communicable disease by creating the context of healthy life styles.

**Abdulkadir H. Hasan** (Chapter 17) discusses his experience and the need for a breast cancer screening program in Kurdistan. He explained that there is no formal cancer registry in Kurdistan which limits the knowledge about its prevalence. Due to the rising incidence, he suggests the introduction of a screening program to enable satisfactory treatment and reduce suffering. Society is obliged to reward women with their basic rights, given their struggle during the past, dark years.

The session on the challenges of mental and social health and prevention of disease is dealt with in the presentation by **Kamal Artin** (Chapter 18) who discusses a comparative analysis of the individual versus society. The role of psychiatry among the medical and social sciences is also discussed. He clarifies the role of physicians, social scientists and psychiatrists and the dysfunctions in organs, society, and brain and mind respectively. He explains how the latter results in traumatic experiences and has its origin in the effect produced by oppression.

### **Part Eight: Economy, Business, Science and Technology**

**Saman Shali** (Chapter 19) discusses the issue of risk and its assessment in doing business in Kurdistan which seems to be an important factor in the context of attracting foreign capital, skill, management and technology. The shared oil revenues, tariffs, foreign direct investment and international airports have contributed to the formation of a stable government, security, economic support for its citizens and growth in investment. Shali

provides recommendations on what the regional government needs to do from a business standpoint to resurrect the Kurdistan economic region.

**Nabaz Khayyat** (Chapter 20) suggests the establishment of the Hawler Science and Technology Park. This is in line with many developed and developing countries strategy to industrialize. It is important to adopt a long term economic strategy that shifts some of the focus to developing a more extensive knowledge-based economy. To achieve such a long term economic strategy requires planning at a national level and creating an appropriate environment which integrates (1) the knowledge supply derived from investment of national resources in science, technology and education with the demand, and (2) stimulates business and government to utilize the knowledge output and drive all of the above up the commercial value chain. Khayyat acknowledges the absence of a central agency focusing on developing research and technology, and the lack of a coordinated and integrated Science, Technology and Innovation (STI) policy. Khayyat elaborates these issues and proposes a number of useful guidelines on ways that the KRG could manage science and technology issues.

The current state of a number of factors that are vital to the development of the Kurdistan Region is studied by **Almas Heshmati** (Chapter 21). These include labor market, mismatch of education and demand for labor, economic development plan and policy, reconstructions capacity building, inflow of FDI, industrial development model and macroeconomic policy of the region. These are considered as preconditions for industrial development of the Kurdistan Region. This study points to a number of limitations in the current development approach. Lacking an internally formulated economic plan and basic national account and statistics do not allow the use of policies and performance evaluation. Introduction of a new taxation system combined with diversification of the sources of revenue is suggested to reduce the dependency of the government on oil revenues. The banking system is not functioning optimally to promote small and medium size enterprises. A policy of enhanced self-sufficiency based on close cooperation between governance, university and business sector is proposed to be given the highest priority.

In summary, the above-mentioned discussions shed much-needed light upon a number of current issues to be considered by Kurds and by the KRG, in particular. Focusing on these matters will greatly aid the Kurds, as a nation, to move forward with a clear focus that is: (1) conducive to their cause and (2) helps us to develop and become a recognized member of the international community – with both rights and obligations towards ourselves as citizens and the environment – while developing our own potential and contributing to the world at large.

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Almas Heshmati, Alan Dilani and Serwan Baban (Editors)