



**National Endowment
for Democracy**



Monitoring and Evaluation For The Kurdistan Parliament

Fourth parliamentary term - third session
(September, 1st, 2016- February, 28th, 2017)

The Seventh report



**National Endowment
for Democracy**

NED



PAY INSTITUTE
For Education & Development

PAY

Monitoring and Evaluation of the Kurdistan Parliament Activities Contents

Fourth parliamentary term - third session
(September, 1st, 2016- February, 28th, 2017)

Seventh report

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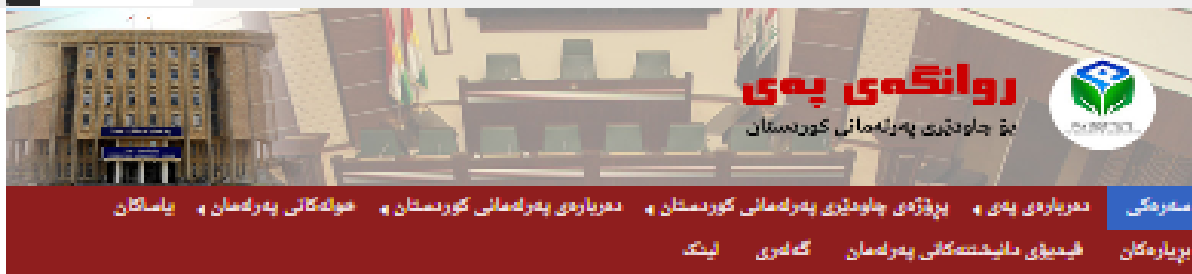
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PAY Institute for Education and Development is a Kurdistan-based non-governmental organization that was formally registered at the non-governmental organizations department on (28/11/2013), and began its activities in December 2013.

Monitoring the Kurdistan Parliament Project:

This project started to perform its work with the beginning of the 4th term of the Kurdistan Parliament. And now, with the support of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), it leads the duties that it is entrusted with.





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 - پەرلەمانی کوردستان لە هەندێک کاتدا
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هەوائی پۆزانی پەرلەمان

زۆرمان لە ئێستایدا هێندێک لەسەر ئەوەوە
دووبەش دەکەوێت. ئەوەی هێندێک لەسەر ئەوەوە
کەسێکی دەرەسەر 2017، 2017
شەڕێکی هێندێک لەسەر ئەوەوە
کوردستان گەڕا، و بەو هۆشیارێکی هێندێک لەسەر ئەوەوە
بەسەر ئەوەوە...
بیرۆیا



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PAY Observatory for Monitoring Kurdistan Parliament

<http://payied.org/>

During its past season of work, PAY observatory worked on all levels of all rounds of Kurdistan parliament which are four, having documented all members' and speakers' resumes, the legislations, resolutions, provisional and permanent committees. As for the fourth round (2013-2017) however, provisional and permanent committees, resumes of members and the speaker and his deputies, parliamentary fractions, parliamentary regulations and internal laws, Kurdistan's draft constitution, and Iraqi constitution were added.

Some of the above information were obtained from the official website of Kurdistan parliament but some sections were added which had not been used by the parliament's official website nor by any other research center or media channel so far:

1. Non-presence of MPs in parliamentary sessions: a table is drawn for each session to show who was present and who was absent (stating the reason for the absence) according to the rounds
2. Session videos: The official website of the parliament releases a limited number of sessions on YouTube whereas PAY observatory releases all videos of parliament sessions.
3. Graphics: This section contains graphic information on all the four rounds: (The fractions and their electoral results, ethnic composition of the parliament, age, gender, and education distribution of the members, religious breakdown of the members, distribution of the members according to the provinces they come from, and the distribution of their seats on the provincial basis for each party).
4. MP contact address (telephone number + email + Facebook)
5. Opinions: In this section, articles written by MPs on parliamentary issues have been listed.
6. Kurdistan parliament in the press: All parliament activities covered in the press are put in a link which is currently under construction.
7. Publications on parliament activities: This section includes all publications on parliamentary issues, which is currently under construction.
8. Kurdistan parliament publications: This section will post all parliament publications. It is now working partially in Kurdish and work is underway on the Arabic version too. The English version will also be added in the future.

Introduction

The hardships of Kurdistan region's political and economic circumstances have reached so dire a level that the Kurdish people have lost all patience with it. They are tired with the artificial economic crisis created since 2014 as it has led to job losses, unemployment, poor marketability, inflation, tax increase and salary cuts by the regional government. Moreover, the political disunity and the disharmonious relations among the political parties have caused the parliament to remain dysfunctional which in its turn, has led to the government and other formal institutions becoming paralyzed. Hence, the public have become despaired of the political forces and have lost trust in elections and the political process in the region. Leaving the parliament nonoperational and denying its speaker access to the capital by a group of militants is a dangerous precedence and raises a question mark over the political experience of Kurdistan region as viewed by the international community. What sense does it make for an authority to liken itself to a democratic island in the Middle East and its parliament has been made inactive for one year and a half and the MPs are loitering here and there?!

Thus, in order to highlight such circumstances and observing Kurdistan parliament in its capacity as a national and legislative body, PAY Institute for Education and Development continues to carry out its observation task. The present report is its seventh report which it conducts with the help of the US organization National Endowment for Democracy.

Our primary and ultimate goal is to let the people of Kurdistan know how their representatives in the parliament perform and how to create transparency in the accomplishment of parliamentary obligations and finally show the public how some principal questions such as legislation, audit, and budget approval are worked out within this national body.

We, in PAY, intend to cooperate with the parliament via disseminating accurate and lucent information on the parliament and its activities thus helping to distinguish the active MPs from the inactive ones as well as putting pressure on those who do not discharge their obligations satisfactorily.

In short, our project aims at connecting the MPs with their voters and strengthen the relations between public opinion and the national body even though the MPs are currently not acting freely or have very limited freedom to act and work.

In addition to this objective of ours, our organization is an authorized one and works legally according to laws legislated by Kurdistan parliament (Law number 1 of 2011 pertaining to non-governmental organizations and registered in the organizations office with the number 1406 on 11/26/2013. However, as per the access to information act number 11, 2013, we reserve the right to access information according to Kurdistan parliament Act number 5 in 2013 (pertaining to the cooperation and development between the public powers and non-governmental organizations in Kurdistan Region) adopted by the parliament.

Several approval letters we have received from the parliament (both from the Speaker and the deputy speaker of the parliament) clearly state that we are allowed to access information from the parliament. Sadly, as per a decision taken by the deputy speaker of the parliament on January, 24th, 2017 with their letter number 143/5/2 and a subsequent letter numbered 452/4/4 dated February, 27, 2017 issued by the General Director of Kurdistan Parliament Divan, our institute is indirectly denied access to information from any MP. This practice goes against democratic principles claimed by the authorities of the region and also against the very legislations enacted by the parliament itself.

We, hereby declare that, despite attempts to hinder our activities, like they did when we released our fourth report, we will go ahead with our work and projects being supported by our friends and patrons both inside and outside as well as the competent MPs. We pledge to continue our monitoring and observation of the parliament to reveal its drawbacks and exercise pressure on the parties which have made the parliament nonoperational and those who take only a silent or a timid position towards it.

To serve this goal, our organization has conducted an opinion poll among the members of the parliament to find out if the project is good or no and whether it should continue or not. This will be released in a separate report, however.

PAY Institute for Education and Development

March, 2017

An Evaluation of the Parliament during its Autumn round (September, 1st, 2016- February, 28th,2017)

A parliament's mission consists of three major pivots being legislation, monitoring the executive power and budget approval and as follows:

First:The legislation process:

As the parliament is currently ineffective, no session or convention has been made during this round nor has any legislation been made.

Second:Monitoring the government:

Again as the parliament is currently ineffective, it has had no role in monitoring the government and has not carried out its obligations.

Third:Budget approval:

The parliament has had no part to play in budget approval in the last four years and it has not approved any of the budgets of 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017.

Committees of the Parliament

Kurdistan parliament has 22 different committees formed according the parliament's internal regulations stipulated in article 37. Then, the MP is free to join any of the committees depending on his/her interest and specialty. Each committee is formed out of a minimum of 5 maximum of 11 members who are assigned to make field visits to government projects, and activities and go down to the street to find out about people's needs and concerns.

Due to the parliament being inactive during the entire 2017 round, the committees have not carried out the missions assigned to them.

First: Meeting of the Parliament Committees:

Due to the parliament being inactive, the Speaker is not allowed to go to his office and his secretary does not go to office; only the deputy speaker is attending office. The parliament does not convene and thus the committees fail to work. Some MPs however, do not attend their offices not because they are not allowed but as a political position against closing down the parliament in the face of the Speaker.

Owing to the letter number 4/4/452 issued by the General Directorate of Divan at the request of the deputy speaker of the parliament which was addressed to PAY institute and all members of the parliament, no information whatsoever should be given to our organization. Hence, we resorted to the official website of the parliament which has announced that during six months, only three committees out of the total 22 have met:

- Agriculture Committee: three meetings
- Peshmarga Committee: one meeting
- Social Committee: one meeting

Second: Reporting on draft laws

So far, 226 bills and draft laws have been submitted to the parliament of which 155 have been given the first reading and sent to the relevant committees while 71 drafts are on the agenda to be given the first reading. Of all those drafts, only 17 laws and 7 acts have been legislated over the past four years and the rest have been left on the shelves. So, during the entire so called autumn round 2017. Moreover, the official website of the parliament announces that no committee has ever submitted any report on any of the bills or drafted proposals.

Table (1) Compendium of Committees in Autumn Round

| No | Title | Number |
|-----|--|--------|
| 1. | Number of parliament sessions | 0 |
| 2. | Number of items on session agenda | 0 |
| 3. | Number of items/ completed | 0 |
| 4. | Number of items/ not completed | 0 |
| 5. | Number of bills given first reading in spring round 2016 | 0 |
| 6. | Number of adopted legislations | 0 |
| 7. | Number of adopted acts | 0 |
| 8. | Number of cabinet members summoned to the parliament | 0 |
| 9. | Number of cabinet members requested by MPs to attend parliament meeting | 0 |
| 10. | Number of cabinet members who were summoned but did not attend the meetings | 0 |
| 11. | Number of cabinet members who attended meetings at their own request | 0 |
| 12. | Number of cabinet member questionings | 0 |
| 13. | Number of committee meetings | 5 |
| 14. | Number of committee reports on spring round bills 2016 | 0 |
| 15. | Number of committee reports on bills which must have been written but were not | 241 |
| 16. | Number of MP's questions addressed to the government | 0 |
| 17. | Number of MP questions answered | 0 |
| 18. | Number of MP questions not answered | 0 |

Notes on the autumn round 2016

1-During this round and earlier and ever since 10/06/2016 the parliament has not convened which goes against the spirit of parliamentary work.

2-In its fourth round and to date, the Kurdistan parliament has legislated 18 laws and 7 acts only, even though 155 bills have passes the first reading.

3-Up to now, the parliament has failed to follow up and question anyone with regard to methods of oil sales and its revenues as well as oil contracts¹. Despite the fact that the parliament approved an act stipulating for establishing Kurdistan's Oil and Gas Fund, the government never listened to the parliament and has been taking steps independently.

4-No cabinet minister has been summoned for questioning².

5-The relevant committees have not carried out their tasks of observation and follow up of projects not completed yet particularly those which received a budget last year not finished yet.

6-The total number of projects sent to the parliamentary committees for approval, which are 362, only 121 reports have been written by the committees. This means that 241 reports have not been prepared and this is against the internal regulations of the parliament.

7-During the current round, out of 22 committees only 3 committees have met. Under normal circumstances, however, they should have met at least once a week.

8-As has been noted, the parliament's role in the crucial political events in Kurdistan is disregarded or marginalized although pursuant to Act 1 of 2005, the political leadership of Kurdistan should refer to Kurdistan parliament for the crucial decisions. Yet, this is not practiced on the ground.

9-Anti-terrorism act number 3 of 2006 was extended by another act of parliament in 2014 numbered 2. This act expired as from July, 16, 2016 and should have been given another extension but it was not. This has created a legal vacuum in the region.

10-Act number 9 of 2008 related to house renting in Iraqi Kurdistan which had been suspended for one year by the act number 8 of 2015, ended on July, 15, 2016. The parliament should have either extended it or modify it but it did not. This has created difficulties for the tenants and landlords both. The courts however, have gone back to the older act for their rulings over related disputes.

11-The presidential term of Board of Human Rights has expired since January,17, 2017 and that of the Board of Supreme Audit will expire as of May,13,2017. Both issues should have been legally settled by acts of parliament but have not, which is illegal.

¹ Article 42 of the internal regulations stipulates that:

- 1 The permanent committees are entitled, via the deputy speaker of parliament, to request information, relevant to the issues concerned, from the office of the popular and professional organizations.
- 2 If the parties mentioned above withheld the requested information from the permanent committees, then the premier would have to be informed through the speaker of the parliament. In case of no response within 15 days, the case would be transferred to the parliament to consider.

² Article 42 of the internal regulations stipulates that:

1. When an MP demands that an executive power member should be questioned, he/she should write a formal letter to that effect.
2. The speaker of the parliament will list the request on the first agenda and send it to the executive power which also gives a one week ultimatum for it.

Boards Affiliated with the Parliament

There are some independent boards that are affiliated with the parliament by law. The ineffectiveness of the parliament has influenced these boards and in some cases, it has rendered them weak or useless. Following is an account of each board and the way it has been affected by the status quo:

First: Board of Supreme Audit of Kurdistan Region- Iraq

This board is working according to Act 2 of 2008. As stipulated in articles 2, 3, 4, an auditing power will be established in the Region with the name The Board of Supreme Audit of Kurdistan Region- Iraq with its administrative and financial character acknowledged. It has the right to exercise all legal power to accomplish its goals and is represented by its head or anyone who presides over it. This Board is affiliated with the parliament with its main objective being the protection of state and public property by applying an effective auditing and monitoring according to the jurisdiction granted to it by law. What is noted here is that:

1-The Board has not fulfilled its legal obligations due to the fact that the relevant ministries and departments of the government have not given them access to information despite the fact that article 11 of Act 2 runs: “The Board has the right to look into all classified and unclassified documents and files related to their work except for those issued by the President of the region in coordination with the speaker of the parliament and the prime minister provided that the chairman of the Supreme Audit is notified and asked to state his/her opinion about it”. This has not been implemented.

2-Article 12 stipulates that: “The Board has the power to make financial assessments of general contracts, aids, grants, loans, and facilities provided by the government to make sure how they are expended. Moreover, all the Region’s institutions are required to put forward to the Supreme Audit Board all contracts, loan statements and grants they procure within one month so that the Board can decide on them”.

What is noted is that the government is said to have a large sum of accumulated debts of which it has not notified the Board nor has it informed the Board about the contracts with foreigners. In this connection, the head of the Supreme Audit Board has stated that: “A weak financial system and a neglected banking system finally resulted in a situation where people no longer trust the system and have turned to the private banks to do their financial transactions. This runs counter to the laws since public money should not be kept in private banks; rather they should have been submitted to an institution over which the Supreme Audit Board would audit”¹.

3-According to the same act, the Board may audit with any private institutions dealing with the government. Yet, no one has ever audited the accounts of a private institution such as Kurdistan Bank, which has financial transactions with Kurdistan regional government and where monthly salaries of government employees come from.

³ <http://www.xelk.org/detailnews.aspx?jimare=15055&babet=important&relat=2025>

4-The act suffers from some legal weaknesses and some of its articles are contradictory and this has hindered the work of the Board.

5-The Board's budget is allocated as an independent unit through the parliament. The last few years however, the Board has had no budget and is seeking the Ministry of Finance to provide money for it. This has negatively impacted its work.

6-Paragraph 1 from article 9 stipulates that: "The Board delivers annual reports to the Presidency of the Region, the parliament and the government in which it puts forward its position on the financial, economic and administrative situation and its auditing activity in the ministries and departments of the government within its jurisdiction. The report includes also a summary of its activities of the year in question".

What is noted is that the Board has already delivered its 2013-2014 report and is currently working on its 2015 report.

7-The government should have dispatched its final account reports to the Supreme Audit Board for auditing and the Board, in turn, should have sent it to the parliament for discussion and approval. However, since 2013 to date, the government has never sent any final account report; rather it has released a financial statement only, which is against the law and has not been subjected to auditing by the Board.

8-As stipulated in article 10, the following parties and institutions are covered by the Supreme Audit Board:

A-Ministries, government administrations and the independent bodies not affiliated with the government as well as the bodies that independent budgets and appendices.

B-All the unions, associations, and organizations licensed by the government.

C-Any other party that the parliament decides to bring under the monitoring jurisdiction of the Supreme Audit or any other mentioned in its founding laws.

Yet, the council of ministers, the oil and gas board, and the region's security council which extoll the largest portion of the budget, evade being monitored and capitalize on this law.

9-As for monitoring and auditing the accounts of the regional council for oil and gas consisted of the prime minister, his deputy and the ministers of natural resources and finance and which supervises the region's oil and gas files, Khalid Chawishli, The Supreme Audit Board's head says: "We haven't been able to monitor them as we are not allowed"¹.

Most criticism is levelled against ministry of natural resources but this has been hard to achieve due both to the fact that the ministry is withholding the data from the Audit Board and the fact that it deals with some private companies. However, the companies listed in the law to be founded by the government, have not been founded. Accordingly, the Supreme Audit Board fails to deals with private sector companies and the mission cannot be fulfilled. The head of the Supreme Audit Board has made a statement in this regard: "They do not allow us to audit the contracts the ministry of natural resources has made with the companies nor do they allow us to monitor the process of oil and gas. "Many a time have we asked to check the contracts but we have been denied" said the head of the Supreme Audit Board.

¹ <http://speemedia.com/dreja.aspx?Jmare=30079&Jor=1>

Chawishli also referred to the fact that pursuant to article 11 of the Supreme Audit Board act (number 2 of 2008), the Board reserves the right to look into all the classified and unclassified documents and files of a financial nature except for those issued by the President of the region in coordination with the speaker of the parliament and the prime minister provided that the chairman of the Supreme Audit is notified and asked to state his/her opinion about it.

He adds that: “they have sent us some ordinary and procedural contracts only; they have refused to send us any contracts related to investments, oil, gas, money exchange, etc.”¹

10-The Supreme Audit Board issues related to the parliament can be summed up in the following:

A-The appointment of the deputy head of the Supreme Audit Board and filling other vacant positions (such as office heads, centers 1 and 2, technical, Halabja and Duhok) has been put on hold.

B-Paralyzing the parliament has negative influence on the monitoring and the auditing process due to the budget not being approved. This gives room for creating a chance to exclude the final accounts with the current budget.

C-The fact that the act 2 of 2008 related to the Supreme Audit Board suffers from gaps and weaknesses and failing to cover a large proportion of public and state property, particularly of those in higher positions, makes it imperative to make a new legislation to be approved by the parliament.

Currently, the amendment project has been prepared by the Supreme Audit Board waiting for the parliament to get back to work.

D-Normalizing the parliament would be reason to finalize the Iraqi Kurdistan constitution and regulating the powers legally, which will secure further support for Supreme Audit Board work both legally and institutionally.

E-Parts of the reform process prepared by the Supreme Audit Board require amendment of some laws or legislating some new laws.

F-The parliament and questioning process lends support to the independent institutions.

¹ <http://speemedia.com/dreja.aspx?Jmare=30079&Jor=1>

Second: The Independent Commission of Human Rights in Kurdistan Region-Iraq

This commission functions pursuant to Act 4 issued in 2010. In the second article of the said act, it is mentioned that: “a commission will be set up (The Independent Commission of Human Rights in Kurdistan Region-Iraq) which enjoys its independent financial and administrative character within the overall budget of the Region, a budget that is connected exclusively to the parliament for which it will be responsible.”

What is noted here is that this act has not been fully implemented and The Independent Commission of Human Rights in Kurdistan Region-Iraq has not fully discharged its obligations:

1-Article 5 paragraph two stipulates that: “The head of the commission is appointed with the rank of minister as per nomination by the parliament presidency and presidency of the council of ministers and then a regional presidential decree is issued after the approval by the parliament with a majority. The term is four years and is renewable for one term only.”

What is noted here is that the head of the commission was elected on 01/17/2012 in the parliament and his term has expired since 01/17/2017. For this, the head of the commission officially notified the parliament on 01/04/2017. Three months have elapsed since this notification and neither has the head been put to retirement, nor has he been replaced nor has his term been given an extension nor the has letter been responded.

2-Paragraph 1 of article 8 of the abovementioned act runs: “The parliament monitors and follows up the activities of the commission based on the acts and laws and internal regulations of the parliament.” It is noted that the parliament has not made any concrete steps to monitor the commission which commits legal violations.

3-The Act suffers from flaws and does not run parallel to human rights and international standards; hence, it requires amendment. There are reservations on the commission members themselves but since the parliament remains inactive, they cannot be questioned.

4-As for the commission’s budget, it is stipulated in paragraph 1 of article 4 that: “a commission will be set up (The Independent Commission of Human Rights in Kurdistan Region-Iraq) which enjoys its independent financial and administrative character within the overall budget of the Region, a budget that is connected exclusively to the parliament for which it will be responsible”.

Yet, in reality, The Independent Commission of Human Rights is looking to the Ministry of Finance to secure its payments and this has had negative impacts on the Commission’s activities and work.

5-The Independent Commission of Human Rights is also responsible for the implementation of the Information Accessibility Act which the government evades to carry out its responsibilities towards.

6-There are some acts and laws that should be made or amended and which have direct bearings on people’s lives (such as Terror Act, The Consumer’s rights law, Human

Trafficking law, Labor Act, etc.), but the inactive parliament is a hindrance and makes it impossible to make.

7-Paragraph 10 of article 4 mentions that:

A-The commission prepares annual reports on the reality of human rights in Kurdistan Region and submits it to the presidencies of Kurdistan Region, the Parliament, the Judicial Council and those who are concerned along with practical recommendations on how to protect and foster human rights in Kurdistan.

B-Regularly reports to the parliament on the human rights situation in Kurdistan and releases them in media channels.

However, the parliament has not responded to any report whatsoever from the commission and has never presented any feedback on how the commission has conducted its work.

Third: General Board of Kurdistan Region for disputed areas

This board works for the disputed areas as per act no.(2) of 2010 and act no. (6) of 2012 amended of general board of Kurdistan region, as mentioned in the second article of the act: according to this law, a board is formed under the name “General Board of Kurdistan Region for the Disputed Areas” which has an abstract character as an independent financial and administrative body with direct contact to the council of ministers.

First: as identified above this board is attached to the council of ministers but it comes at the third section of the seventh article of the law “ the board president should present to the parliament periodical reports every four months on the rights and duties of the board via council of ministers”

It's worth noting that the board hasn't given any reports to the parliament for two years and the parliament hasn't done something about it.

In an interview with the board they explained that: at the beginning we sent 120 reports to the parliament but they didn't responded to any of them, then we sent 110 additional ones but there was no responses either, then we decrease it to 60 but nothing comes it after that we only sent to the 22 commissions and the three presidencies there no responses either, the we decreased to three to the presidency still there were no responses finally we make it as one report but there was no responses. Ultimately we decided not to send any reports and no one said anything for that one as well.

Second: the board worked on two pivots; one of them is 140 article in Iraq constitution, the work on that has stopped after the latest changes and we don't know its fate, the second one is the existence of services in the disputed areas but because of the economic crisis and the lack of annual budget for that purpose therefore this board now has ceased to work.

Third: there are many gaps and lacunae in the law of the board even there are discrepancies between the Arabic and Kurdish versions. The paralysis of the parliament had an impact of not amending that law.

Fourth: Board of Integrity of KRI

This board is works according to the act (3) of 2011, as it mentioned in the second law: to this law a board under the name 'Board of Integrity in KRI' will be established, it will have an abstract and independent figure under the auspices of the parliament and it will have allocations in the general budget of Kurdistan Region.

As noted, the law of this board has not applied properly, and this board couldn't do its duties:

First: as it comes in the second article of law board under the name 'Board of Integrity in KRI' will be established, it will have an abstract and independent entity under the auspices of the parliament and it will have allocations in the general budget of Kurdistan Region.

But, no budget has been allocated to this board, it looks forward to allocating budget by the government and the ministry of finance to do its works, this undermines the independence of the board.

Second: in the fourth article of the law it mentions the application of its ruling on the following:

1. The legislative, executive, judicial presidents and the members who work in them.
2. Private sector like persons and companies who have contracts with ministries, entities and all the offices in the region
3. Political entities, NGOs, Civil Societies and international organizations work in the region, unions, associations and clubs which have relations with the following affairs:
 1. The legalities of payment and grant sources
 2. The kind of spending according to the regulation spendings followed
 3. Taking into consideration their bylaws and their violations.

It's worth noting that the reason behind not implementing this law because most employees and senior officials of this country have immunity like MPs, ministers, lawyers, security men, ministry of interior forces, peshmerga, journalists and others which can't be implemented without the approval of their immediate heads or managers to come before the court of law and be investigated and most of the time their officials barely agree to take their employees for questioning.

Third: it comes in the in the fifth article that the board works for:

1. The implementation and following of the anti-corruption laws, the standards for general services according to the applicable laws, investigation of corruption cases then sending them to special courts to follow them closely, taking into account the requests of people especially those related to corruption and investigate them. Spreading a national culture of integrity and working to have special instructions in an unlawful manner of obtaining

wealth and disclosing the financial interests of president of the region and his deputy, the speaker, his deputies and the secretary of the parliament as well as the members, the PM, his deputy, the ministers and those who have the ministers' positions as well as their deputies, the president of the board of integrity, his deputy and the directorate of the board and their investigators, those have special positions, their deputies and their assistants, the general directorate and their deputies, judges, general prosecutors, judicial supervisors, investigators, guarding officers of the region, internal security forces, administrative heads, province council members, heads of districts, sub-districts, mayors and mayoral council members and any other person in the civil and military positions apart from the above-mentioned should be included the financial disclosure reports as per instructions in that respect. Whilst these duties haven't been fulfilled properly. One of the sectors that people cast doubt about it is the oil, gas and energy sector but nothing has been done by this board, the reason behind it is no accurate details have been presented to the board.

Fourth: in the article (7), it's mentioned that “the president service is four years and it shall be renewed only once” but the board president Mr. (Dr. Ahmed Anwar) obtained the majority votes of the MPs on 13/5/2013 elected as the board president and sworn in on 28/5/2013. After almost two years, his term has come to an end it's unclear whether they will renew his term or not or someone else will start to work in his place while the parliament should do this but the parliament has been paralyzed.

Fifth: according to the article (10), every sixth months the board should present a report to the parliament, but it's worth noting that no report has been presented to the parliament apart from the two reports they presented in 2014 and 2015.

Sixth: according to the law, the board could not form the organization structure as required because of the economic crisis, therefore, they don't have enough employees and they haven't employed enough of them and there are shortcomings and according to the eleventh article, they should have employed a deputy to the board but nothing has been done in that respect.

Seventh: according to the article (14), the board should have investigated those officials who obtained wealth unlawfully or improperly but nothing has been done in that respect.

Eighth: the parliament should have investigated the failure in implementing the law by the board and its duties but the parliament failed to do so because of its paralysis.

Ninth: there are gaps and lacunae in the laws of the board, the board itself doesn't agree with the law and it demanded to be amended but because of the paralysis of the parliament impacted the fact that the law to be amended.

Fifth: High Commission of Independent Election and Referendum

This board works according to the act number (4) of 2014, in each of the second and third article mentioned: according to this law a board will be established under the name High Commission of Independent Election and Referendum so as to be the ultimate authority in which all kinds of election and referendum be held in Kurdistan-Iraq. The commission headquarter is in the capital of the region and opens up its branches in the other provinces and administrative branches, it is an independent board works professionally and represented by abstract entities which is responsible for its activities before the law as it's under a watchdog commission of the parliament.

First: though it's mentioned that this commission is independent as per the law as mentioned in the section (1) article (15) “the commission has an independent annual budget as per the applicable rules and regulations which is proposed by the council in consultation with ministry of finance and shall be approved by the the parliament then inserted into the budget of the region”

But, the commission budget is under the control of the government for its provisions it waits for the ministry of finance, this will undermine the integrity of the commission. It comes in the article (1) of the law that the board is independent but in fact it's not since the commission is divided among the major political parties. It has 9 council members 3 of them for PDK, 2 for PUK, 2 for Goran, 1 for Islamic Union and 1 for Islamic Association. This division is reflected not only in the council but it's also reflected in its administrative actions for example out of 12 commission directorates divided among themselves four of them belongs to PDK, three for PUK, three for Goran, 1 for Islamic Union and the other one for Islamic Association. Even the deputies and the employees were divided among themselves which is not compatible with the law, independence and integrity of the board.

This situation doesn't compatible with the section (z) in the article (5) of the law regarding those who work in the commission: “those who work in the commission shall not have any political affiliations with any part” but those who work in the commission appointed and employed by the political parties.

Second: in the section (5) of the article (4) mentioned: “the management of the registering voters their organization and renewal of their records to guarantee their right in voting”

And it comes in the section (1) of article (6): establishing, renewal and clean-up of voting records with all the new styles, the responsible parties shall coordinate and cooperate the council to achieve that end”. But, up until now the commission hasn't tried to create a clean-up voters' records. If election is held in Kurdistan, it should be done according to the Iraqi voters' registration as per the election held before. That voters' records contain hundreds of thousands dead voters, repetition of voters' names and many other irregularities.

Third: in the section (10) of the article (4) comes “working to create confidence in the voting process for all the people and propagating the education of election via working with all sides in the process of the election”. Till now nothing has been done in that respect to create confidence among the people of Kurdistan.

Fourth: the four parties (PUK, Goran, Islamic Union and Islamic Association) believe that Masud Barzani is not the legitimate presence of the region and host lost his legitimacy, but they consider it's normal for their general directors to be employed by the signature of presidency which is signed by Masud Barzani! This was done through the official letter via

parliament to the president of the region, so this is a recognition of Masud Barzani's position by the commission as the president of the region.

Fifth: commission is independent by name but in employing those who work there only employs people those affiliate with the five political parties.

Sixth: Act of Information Access in KRI

This law was enacted in number (11) of 2013 closely affiliated with the parliament as comes in the third article of this law, human rights board was included. The parliament monitors the implementation of this law.

First: it's worth noting that article (22) mentions : “this law will be implemented after 90 days of the publication of of the law in a formal newspaper” but it has not been implemented until now.

Second: according to the section (6) article (1): “each government entity assigns an employee to look at the demands of access of information by anyone”. Also in the article (12) talks about the training of employees: “each public and private entity shall have special trainings for the special employees to guarantee the implementation of this law” but no training has been provided for any employee.

Third: according to the article (3): “despite the duties mentioned in the act number (4) of 2010 to monitor the implementation of the law, it has the following authorities:

1. To follow the implementation of the contents of this law, monitor the violations and obstacles come before the implementation of this law and issue required recommendations.
2. Setting agenda to train the special employees assigned to implement this act.
3. Taking or receiving and investigating the demands as soon as they can and taking actions required in that respect.
4. Notifying the institutions accused of not implementing this to deal with these cases and do proper actions necessary.
5. Orientation of the citizens of the procedures to have access of the information that they demand.
6. Interfering in those cases that the requester has not the right to obtain information after resorting to the board and the board has the right to file lawsuits against those who violate this law.
7. The board should make public a report ever 6 months about its activities for the public opinion, it's worth noting none of the duties has been implemented.

Fourth: in the article (13) regarding presenting a report mentioned: “every public institution shall send a report to the board including the following:

Received demands, those demands which are fully or partially approved or rejected, objections and requests, those reports which are publicized according to the article (6) of this

law and the courses opened for the employees”. It's worth noting that there is no any report presented to the board.

Fifth: in the article (17) regarding the objection it's mentioned :

First: any individual whose his demands have been rejected the access to information has the right to raise objection on the procedures and rulings of the public and private institutions especially before the related high administrative entities, board and preliminary courts in 7 days since the ruling has been issued to those parties raised objections in the following cases:

1. Rejected demands partially or fully
2. Passing the timeline specified to be responded as per article six/section 5
3. Imposing the unnecessary costs on the requester
4. Sending further instructions for more than one entity with the intention of manipulating the requester's demands and concealing the information.

Second: the preliminary court ruling can be challenged and appealed by the appeals court in 15 day time from the of day of the ruling after that the final decision to be made” this article was also not implemented.

Sixth: in the article (18) these penalties have been identified for any individual concealing information. This was also not implemented.

Seventh: in the article (9) it is mentioned “ the council of ministers and related authorities shall implement this law”

But, the council of ministers didn't implement any of the articles because it comes at the article 21: the council of ministers in coordination with the independent board of human rights shall provide required instructions to facilitate the implementation of this law”, but up until now, the council of ministers didn't issue or provide any instructions in that respect.

This means the law has been enacted for four years but has not been implemented. The parliament is twice responsible' once as the legislative authority like all other laws enacted in the parliament and the second one is that the observation and implementation of this board is related to the parliament.

Kurdistan Region

Democracy Island.....one and a half year without parliament

The age of Kurdistan parliament is 25 years, there should have been 7 elections but because of political instability only 4 elections were held, and the parliament is paralyzed in its fourth term.

The beginning of conflict between PDK and Goran appeared in the eighth cabinet which has been a coalition government among the five major political parties started on 23rd of July of 2015 when Goran, PUK, Islamic Union and Islamic Association formed the majority block and held the parliament session to amend the presidency law consequently PDK described it as

‘the end of political consensus’.

Despite the US demands and political parties agreement on the night of 18th/19th August of 2015 so as not to hold the meeting the political commanding council agreed to postpone the session but on the 19th August Goran, PUK, Islamic Association and part of the Islamic Union insisted on holding the session and because of the absence of the legal ratio of the MPs the law failed to be issued.

Later because of the demonstrations and protests, the PDK political headquarters have been burned down in Sulaimani and Garmian and the accusation of PDK to Goran behind the attacks, PDK didn't allow the speaker of the parliament in Prde checkpoint to enter Erbil to his work there since then parliament was paralyzed. Till now this case is still in the court to know who are those and behind headquarter crackdown.

For a year and a half is paralyzed by a political decision, this term has less than eight months all the parties call for its reinstatement or activation but none of them made any practical step in the re-activation of this essential entity and none of them holds any compromise. Till now the conflict is getting tougher by publicizing communique against one another and the five-parties meeting have not been restarted yet.

On the 19th of July, the Kurdistan president term has expired and on 12th of October of threath year the parliament has been paralyzed and the government without the parliamentary watchdog sent home four ministers and the resignation of two other ministers. Economic crisis, ISIS fighting, lack of salary, non-transparency in the income sources, lack of power and fuel, tax increase by the government made people suffer tremendously. Violation of the law, mocking the results of the election, undervaluing the process of voting, high handed parties and their militias in each geographical area and the circumstances that Kurdistan goes through made Kurdistan people worry and be in a very difficult situation.

Even until now both PDK and Goran which are two conflicting parties give fiery statements against one another and they don't regret their steps took against one another. PDK which paralyzed parliament till now believes that preventing the speaker of the parliament to enter Erbil pre-planned, they don't even regret but they insist that they are very happy about that.

Among them, **Umed Khoshnaw**, the head of PDK block believes that: preventing Dr. Yusuf Muhamad is not involuntary action, but it was a reaction against Goran plot which was done in some stages among them: undermining the national unity, destroying political consensus, leaving the principle of compromise and resorting to the the principle of majority and minority. Goran also wants the create chaos in the legitimate institutions make it as if it is Saray Slemani square.”

The PDK block also says “it's right that we were obliged to prevent Dr. Yusuf Muhamad from coming to Erbil, not only don't we regret it but also aw very happy about it, time will tell and history will reveal it was such a responsible action we did”.

While **Goran block** in Kurdistan parliament stated that the 12th October incident was nothing but a coup d'etat and it asks all sides to try harder to re-activate the parliament again.

Goran block says “the history of Kurdistan revolution as it contains shining and victorious moments, it also contains catastrophes and unforgettable local stigma, after the uprising apart from election process and forming Kurdistan regional government which are shining moments but since then corruption, shortcomings, violations of the law, not protecting human rights, suppressing freedom, rigging in the election corruption controls all joints of governance in this region”.

Goran parliamentary fraction in an announcement stated that because of three reasons they prevented the speaker and removed their three cabinet ministers which lead to six implications

“If PDK doesn't believe in parliament and institutional entities it hasn't the right to impose it on other political parties”.

Pointing out to the crises in southern Kurdistan , Goran states “now the living standards of the people and the salary in their worst time, hand-made political and financial crises continues, the problem and gap in the presidential act remained unresolved at the same time ISIS fighting imposed on us, our brave peshmergas sacrificing on the front lines, for the sake of elevating martyrs blood, peshmerga sacrifice, maintaining the rule of law and improving the livelihood of the people it's the duty of all political parties and parliamentary fractions to attempt further for holding the meeting of the parliament and working for its reinstatement.

While Goran fraction is expressing these views but it hasn't took any initiative in that aspect and remained as slogans.

In a communique on the same topic, **PUK parliamentary fraction states** “ it's a year on not holding any meeting in the parliament unfortunately after a lot of conflict on the amendment of the presidency in the region and the problems among political parties reaches to a level that led to the halt of parliamentary sessions”.

In the communique, it also says “ the steps for strengthening civil actions and establishing democracy doomed to fail, the future of democracy and smooth transition of power and parliamentary auditing or watchdog are unclear”. Regarding the international impact, PUK states “on the international stage, it creates a big shock and backward step in the beautiful and short experience we have had in the region”.

PUK fraction points out “ a year on that ugly day, we don't see a serious and quick horizon in resolving the issues, though PUK since the beginning of the conflict tries to assuage the issues but it's extended and unresolved. People are tired of it the sufferings haven't ended, the dangers increased but the responsibility among political parties are ver weak”. It also states “we ask all the political parties to negotiate and discuss the issues then putting forth rudimentary solution for the livelihood of the people, employees and those having salaries for the general interest of our nation and take into account the sensitive situation the region as well as its experience above the political interests of the parties saving the political process and governing from this deadlock”.

These expressions of PUK fraction in the parliament are beautiful and practical slogans, but are these slogans compatible with the steps and stances of this politburo? What are these steps that PUK took in the reinstatement of the parliament? Have they put any practical steps or they just obey the imposed realities which is tantamount to silence?

Abu Bakir Haladni, head of Islamic Union parliamentary fraction states “there is no excuse for the postponement of the status quo, the absence of parliament has an incredible impact on it.” The head of the fraction calls on all sides to cooperate and coordinate in the reinstatement of parliament.

He also stated “the absence of parliament and its paralysis has a bad influence on the current status, the parliament should have in its new season of enactment and worked with the government to find a solution for the crises in Kurdistan.”

He also said “we as a group of MPs and fractions and the speaker discussed this topic we even think of go on foot to Erbil to re-activate the parliament sessions make it real, as a legitimate entity shouldn't remain paralyzed because it undermines the reputation of the region.”

If we closely look into the of **Islamic Union parliamentary fraction** head, we see loyalty and seriousness but are these statements formal policy of the party in practice? Does the party listen to its parliamentary fraction and its demands? We didn't see any practical steps by the party and the party apart from taking peaceful steps nothing else has been done in that respect.

In the same anniversary Islamic Association fraction announced a communique “the thing happened to parliament was a coup d’etat upon the legitimacy of the people”.

The fraction stated “after a year on the paralysis of Kurdistan parliament by PDK using the military force of the party over the expiration of the extended presidency term ensued suffering and the thing happened to parliament was coup d’etat on the legitimacy of the people's votes but unfortunately the livelihood of the people and those having salary exacerbated under a non-transparent and corrupt government”.

The slogan and communique of the Islamic Association contain some truth, but what's so different of its stance from the other parties? What kind of initiative Islamic Association took to reinstate the parliament? Apart from emotional slogans to attract the sympathy of the people!

All the parliamentary fractions in their communiqués and statements emphasized on the reinstatement of the parliament and MPs had the same wish, but what is noticed is that their stances and their parties stances are not matched and we don't see any seriousness by their party leaders adding to that non-transparency and unclarity agreements among political parties themselves, they are also related the kind of governance and people’s lives which is cast doubt by the people and which confidence lacked by the people to the political parties. If the political parties were truthful in their slogans, if they were with the interests of the people, if they care about the livelihoods of the people and the future of the people in the region they would have compromised from some of their demands and they could have solved the problems and crises of the people and the parliament would have activated.

In the absence of parliament, the government took several unlawful steps like cutting down the salaries and allowances of the employees which were arranged and organized in law and should be amended by a law in the parliament, but the government unlawfully cut them and imposed many taxes on civilians and a massive external loan accumulation, signing oil and gas contracts in skeptical circumstances and it halts working with some laws, it sent home four cabinet ministers and two ministers resigned without any stances from the parliament which is paralyzed these are all unlawful procedures taken by the government in the absence of parliament.

The biggest loser in the status quo is the people of Kurdistan, then the political experience and the democratic process in the region because of that legitimate and legal institutions are paralyzed, the law isn't implemented the political parties become a burden on the people.

The other group harmed in this the MPs whom are only MPs by name and the parliament is paralyzed without their will, they are not allowed to do their part and people castigate them and brand the as powerless. To save from this state, they should begin searching for a proper solution both for the people and for themselves, the 56 MPs should resign then the parliament is automatically dissolved at that time they are obliged to have parliamentary elections only then there is no need for a presidential decree (whom his term officially over), that time the political parties because of the resignation of their MPs take steps towards the election this will unite the knot that presidential term is over.

In this way the MPs will save themselves from this dilemma and they take the pride to do that, then they will be exonerated by the people because of their political parties fell into.

Conclusion

1. The root of all crises is the problem of regional presidency which is remained unresolved.
2. Parliament is paralyzed by PDK and the other four political parties are not much concerned or careless about the reinstatement of the parliament and they didn't concrete steps towards that end.
3. The stance of the majority of MPs and fractions are different from their political parties, the MPs want the parliament to be activated but that seriousness can't be palpable in the stance of their parties.
4. Parliament because of the regional presidency question is paralyzed even if it convenes it can't issue any law and it cannot hold executive authority accountable despite the financial crisis it couldn't approve Region budget for the four years.
5. The paralysis of parliament caused democracy and legitimacy of the law go backward which is under question both nationally and internationally.
6. The paralysis of parliament resulted in the lack of confidence in parliament as the highest authority in the region and it makes people lose faith in elections and voting.
7. The paralysis of parliament had negative impacts on human rights board, supreme audit board, integrity board, election commission and all their duties have been halted.
8. Neither the parliament nor so-called independent board have financial independence though according to the law they are but practically all these boards count on the ministry of finance to provide salary or small budget for the board and its employees.
9. The paralysis of parliament resulted in doing unlawful actions by executive authority and caused to have legal gap and lacuna in many areas.
10. Parliamentary committees in this term hasn't had any follow-up or exploration for any issue, they haven't convened accordingly, the haven't written reports about the draft bill and didn't do their duties that is because of the paralysis of the parliament since if parliament is there the committees will be and running.
11. Exporting oil is one the main reasons of all the crises. While the special oil fund law hasn't been approved of by the parliament but forming the council structure and give confidence to them by the paralyzed MPs is the reason of not identifying their members, at that time the parties were in conflict over their share in that council.

12. Disregarding and neglecting the role of parliament by the political parties in which their rulings, views and recommendations have not been taken into consideration and because of that the MPs lost their will to do their part.
13. Not implementing the laws, decisions and recommendations of the parliament by the executive branch.
14. The existence of many crises in the region, halting the political process, the paralysis of legitimate institutions, the paralysis of parliament, legal gap of regional presidency, unlawful steps of the government, financial crisis, grave livelihood of citizens, lack of salary, non-transparency in the oil and gas revenue, the accumulation of massive loans on the region are symbols of the inconsiderateness of major political parties, without any planning in the face of all these problems.

Recommendations

1. PDK should rectify the mistake he committed on year ago because after a year and a half, there's no pretext to retain the status quo.
2. For the sake high national interest and removing these made-crises, Goran should make concessions to reach an agreement since it's also responsible for easing the difficult burden on the people.
3. PUK should announce its serious stance and come to the field to deal with the situation, not waver and unstable in its stances because if PUK is serious, it will have a crucial impact.
4. Islamic Association and Islamic Union should express their clear stances and listen other parliamentary fractions and put away party interests.
5. If all the efforts reach a deadlock, the MPs should resign if they do that the parliament will automatically be dissolved, they parties are obliged to call for new elections.
6. The political parties should announce general reconciliation and resolve their political conflicts.
7. A national salvation government should be formed better than the one it's now formed or lose legitimacy.
8. The government that will be formed should work to save the people from this tough crisis, reorganize the relations, try to deal with the financial crisis, salary and the livelihood of people to certain extent and it must be transparent in oil sector and in its revenue.
9. The political parties should compromise on the constitution draft bill and should prepare one as soon as Kurdistan served from unconstitutional status and they should form a constitution court.
10. Following these steps like the political parties reconciliation, people and power reconciliation, rearranging among Kurds, all the parties together with people conduct referendum for determining the fate of Kurdistan people, this should include disputed areas whatever Kurds decided should come into effect.

Appendix 1

Overview of Parliament Activities form its foundation to date 6/11/2013 to 28/2/2017

| No | Title | No. |
|-----|---|-----|
| 1. | Number of parliament sessions | 71 |
| 2. | Number of items on session agenda | 200 |
| 3. | Number of items/ completed | 117 |
| 4. | Number of items/ not completed | 83 |
| 5. | Number of bills given first reading from the foundation date of the parliament | 155 |
| 6. | Number of adopted legislations | 18 |
| 7. | Number of adopted acts | 7 |
| 8. | Number of cabinet members summoned to the parliament | 32 |
| 9. | Number of cabinet members requested by MPs to attend parliament meeting | 13 |
| 10. | Number of cabinet members who were summoned but did not attend the meetings | 19 |
| 11. | Number of cabinet members who attended meetings at their own request | 2 |
| 12. | Number of cabinet member questionings | 0 |
| 13. | Number of committee meetings | 402 |
| 14. | Number of committee reports on bills from the foundation date of the parliament | 121 |
| 15. | Number of committee reports on bills which must have been written but were not | 244 |
| 16. | Number of MP's questions addressed to the government | 443 |
| 17. | Number of MP questions answered | 311 |
| 18. | Number of MP questions not answered | 132 |
| 19. | Number of MP absent form the parliament meetingd | 970 |

Appendix 2

PAY Institute Letter Addressed to the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament Requesting Information

No: 155

Date: 08/12/2016

To/ Deputy President of Kurdistan Parliament

Subject/ requesting information

Greetings,

Sir Deputy President of Parliament, according to the meeting on 4th December 2016, we ask you to confirm to giving the information for the attached files, in purpose to more development for reports in Monitoring Kurdistan Parliament Project. We will be great full for your collaboration and clears your eager to transparency process and monitoring the public establishments.

Attached:

- 1- An information form about committees' activities since the form term has started.
- 2- Giving us a copy of the reports and follow up by the members and committees since 01-09-2016.
- 3- Copy of all bills that has provided to parliament presidency in the fourth term.
- 4- Copy of members' questions that have provided to government in the fourth term.

Regards,

Dr. Sarwar Abdulrahman Omar

President of PAY Institute for Education and Development

Appendix 3

Letter of the General Directorate of Divan Addressed to PAY Institute Stating Their Partial Unreadiness to Provide the Information Requested Counter to What the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament had Promised

Kurdistan Parliament

General Directorate of Divan

Directorate of Administration and Personnel Affairs

No: 2/5/143

Date: 24/01/2017

To: Pay institute

Subject/ Answer

Your letter No: 155 on 8th December 2016

After our meeting with Deputy president, Director of Directorate of Parliament Affairs and Committees and Director of Committees, to discuss YOUR REQUESTS in the letter that mentioned above, we announced that your first point was accepted and the points (2 , 3, 4) were rejected; to your kind information.

Hiwa Nasradin Mustafa

Assistant of General Directorate of Divan

Appendix 4

Letter of the General Directorate of Divan Addressed to PAY Institute Stating Their Unreadiness to Provide the Any Information Requested Whatsoever Counter to What the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament had Promised

Kurdistan Parliament

General Directorate of Divan

No: 04/04/452

Date: 27/02/2017

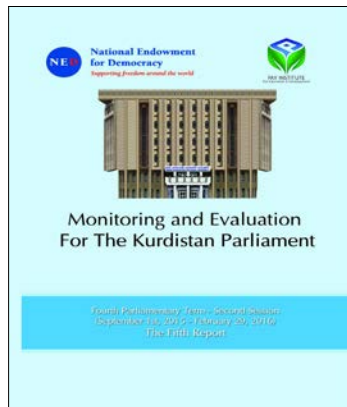
To: Pay institute

Subject/ Receiving information

To follow up your letter No.155 on 8th December 2016 and our letter No/142 on 14th January 2017, after our meeting with Deputy president, Director of Directorate of Parliament Affairs and Committees and Director of Committees we announced that, the website of parliament will be used to receive any information, according to Rule of procedure it is no one's right outside of parliament to work as observatory on its activities and meetings.

With regards.

Hiwa Nasradin Mustafa
Assistant of General Directorate of Divan





A Brief Account of PAY Institute For Education And Development

PAY Institute has registered by the Non-Governmental Organization Department of the Kurdistan Regional Government in November, 2013. PAY is a Kurdish non-governmental independent, non-seeking profit .

A Summary On The Institutes' projects:

1. A Common Project Among Civil Society Organizations And High Educational Apparatuses In The Kurdistan Regional Government.

This project which the institute carried out and its fund which was provided by the non-governmental organization department and tried to interpret the 2013 mandate number 5 of the Kurdistan parliament on the common agreement and development among general authorities and non-governmental organizations in the region of Kurdistan. This project included four workshops, gathering with the presidents of all universities in Kurdistan regional government and holding a two day conference. The participants signed a partnership agreement about common work and presented some suggestions to the concerning participants. The project longed for a year.

2. The project Of Monitoring The Kurdistan Parliament.

This project has included the monitoring and the assessment of Kurdistan parliament, PAY institute rely on the internal rules of the parliament and monitor the accomplishment of legislation and monitor the accomplishment authority.

Since (November 6, 2014) PAY after passing one year from the oaths of the MPs, published its first report. Also Its (5) report is ready to be published which is focus on (November 6th, 2014 to February 29, 2016). These two reports have been done on the fund by PAY institute, but the new report of the monitoring project of Kurdistan Parliament with the association of NED Organization will be prepared.

3. A Workshop About The Phenomenon Of Studying Abandon In Kurdistan Region

This project included a contribution workshop between both the international cooperation for human value organizations and PAY Institute for Education And Development about lessening and decreasing the range of this phenomenon in the region of Kurdistan which was held on (June 18 2014 ,19-) in Erbil province, with a number of 120 attendants including the parliament representatives, ministries, organizations and mass media apparatuses. This project like the previous ones fulfilled in a voluntary way.

4. The project of Monitoring Of Educational Ministry's Works.

This project published at (June 25, 2014), it included 101 points report on the problems of education and study in Kurdistan Regional government. With the commencement of the new cabinet of Kurdistan Regional Government, this report was presented to the Minister of education in presence of professors, organization representatives and media apparatuses of the Kurdistan Regional Government.

5. The Project For Monitoring of Works By Ministry of Higher Education And Scientific Research: This project has, so far, released two reports on the Ministry of Higher Education's activities and duties.

The Challenges of Higher Education and the Search for Solutions, highlighting 140 problems and an open letter to the Minister of Higher Education

This project was delivered on the 22nd of July, 2014 in the presence of the minister of higher education and 80 university professors, delegates and representatives of organizations and media channels. During the session, the minister of higher education decided that the report be sent to all the universities to receive their opinions on the contents of the report and their suggested solutions. He also pledged to follow up the recommendations as well.