



**Vision Foundation**  
for Strategic Studies

## **Scenarios for the Formation of the Tenth Cabinet Kurdistan Regional Government**

**Prepared by :**

**Aland Karim Saleh**

**2024 / NOVEMBER (28)**



[www.visionfoundationi.net](http://www.visionfoundationi.net)

[info@vfssiq.net](mailto:info@vfssiq.net)



## About the Vision Foundation

Vision Foundation for Strategic Studies has been established by a group of selected journalists and academic intellectuals on 01/09/2024. This institution serves as a tank of constructive thought and action for mutual understanding with the aim of creating a prosperous future for the Kurdistan Region and Iraq through research and dialogue to resolve crises.

### Summery:

This paper presents the outcome of a discussion held within the framework of the Strategic Research Vision held on 28/11/2024. In the meeting, political and military leaders, researchers, academics and civil society organizations highlighted the possible scenarios for the formation of the new cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government, its composition, roles and responsibilities. During the discussion, the following main issues were raised:

1. Formation of the National Cabinet.
2. Obstacles facing the tenth cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government.
3. The scenario of the formation of the tenth cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government.
4. Roles and responsibilities of the new cabinet.

The outcome of the discussions resulted in three possible scenarios two of which were most likely to be feasible. These scenarios include the formation of a semi-divided cabinet with the participation of both the major ruling parties and several smaller parties. Another scenario is the formation of a new cabinet after the parliamentary elections. In addition, a new government framework was developed as part of the negotiations that will govern the Kurdistan Region for the next four years. The role and responsibilities of the new government were clearly defined.



## Introduction:

The sixth session of the Kurdistan Parliament on (2/12/2024) held its first meeting where new members of the legal committee were introduced. On that day both major parties of the election (The Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) officially began discussions regarding the formation of the new cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government. These discussions are ongoing. Some political analysts consider the formation of the new cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government to be a challenging process due to the longstanding political tensions between the two parties. During the Kurdistan Parliament election campaign these tensions reached a high point. The formation of the new cabinet requires the approval of the Kurdistan Parliament and the approval of at least 50%+1 of its members. This proportion will be achieved only with the participation of both the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and the Kurdistan Democratic Party. This ongoing dispute may be settled by a new initiative. The Parliament of Kurdistan holding 15 seats has proposed the inclusion of additional ministries to ensure participation in the new cabinet. This proposal is expected to bring the matter closer to a resolution. Although both the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and the Kurdistan Democratic Party have visited several of their political allies to discuss the formation of the new cabinet but there are still remaining challenges and negotiations. These two forces have agreed to finalize the formation of the new cabinet after the next Iraqi parliamentary elections expected by the end of 2025.



## Formation of a national cabinet

The first part of the discussion, which focused on strategic research focused on the possibility of establishing a national government in the Kurdistan Region. Major General Jabar Yawar former Peshmerga Minister in the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) who also served as the representative of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) in the ministry said that no national program was presented during the elections. Since 1991 every cabinet formed has been in the interest of the political parties.

No national program has been seen. From 1991 until now every cabinet we have formed has been for the service of the parties not for the service of the people.

Major General Jabbar Yawar is the former Secretary General of the Ministry of Peshmerga in the Kurdistan Regional Government.

The new election style of the Kurdistan Parliament and the results of that election up to a certain point have pushed the opportunity for the national government to be born away. Dr. Akho Hama Karim, a spokesperson for the Kurdistan Regional Government Ministers' Assembly from the Gorran list believes that there should not be a national government in the new cabinet. The issue is not that the opposition parties mostly do not participate in the government even political observers have expressed their views believing that the parties opposition forces should form a national government.

Kamal Raouf a journalist and intellectual in this regard, expressed his view that there is no national question in the parties' ambitions. Furthermore, this viewpoint was supported by Ali Omer Ainaet a former member of the Kurdistan Parliament from the Gorran list who said Yekiti, and the Party of Kurdistan are contradictory forces and believe that there is no national action. Another different opinion within the dialogue was expressed by Saler Mahmoud, a member of the leadership council of the Kurdistan National Union, who believes that Yekiti has the vision of national unity for the future government and wants Parliament to be the authority. When listening to the discussions of the political opposition and non-governmental organizations and academics one feels a sense of disillusionment about the establishment of a national government because they believe these figures lack awareness about the program of the ruling parties.

Dr. Muhsin Adib, Director General of Culture and Arts in Sulaymaniyah Province and an expert in constitutional law expressed his view that the Kurdistan Region lacks a constitution and without one a proper system of governance cannot be established Likewise Dr. Karwan Hama Salih a university professor stated There is no real governance in the Kurdistan Region what exists is the administration of a geographical area rich in oil and gas In this context the perspectives of research centers are crucial. Interestingly the opinions of these centers aligned closely with those of the opposition during the recent roundtable discussion Raber Talat, head of the Sbeiy Research Center, o remarked The KDP and PUK fundamentally lack the will for good governance and true power sharing In his view Both parties are confident in their own positions and power bases and as a result they are incapable of building a functional government establishing a constitution or forming proper institutions

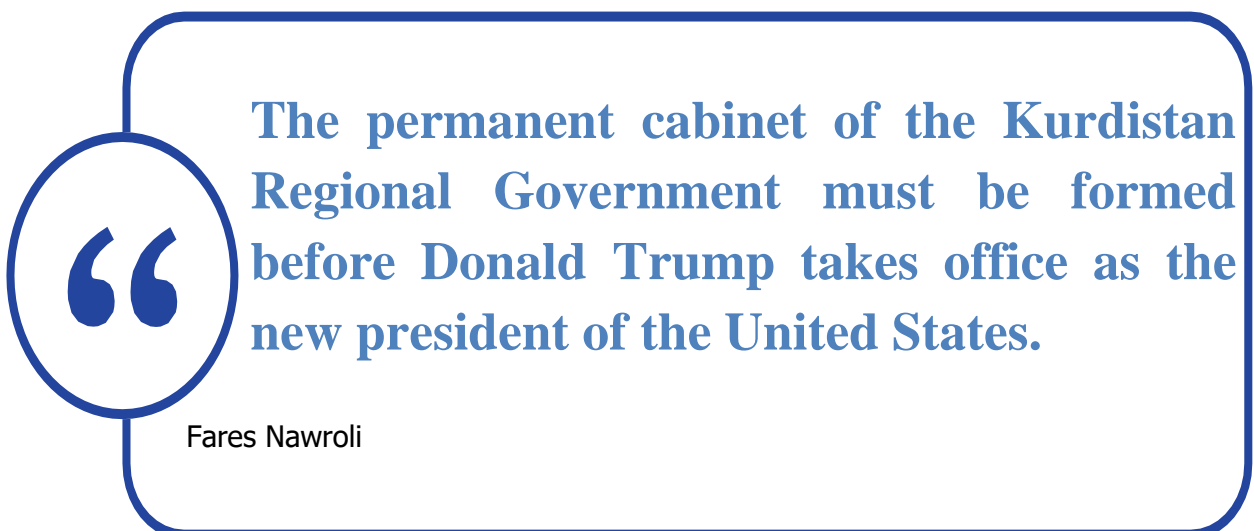
“The PUK and KDP are only confident in their own power bases that’s why they are incapable of establishing a government a constitution or institutions

Rabar Tal'at, the head of the Subay Research Center



## The image of the permanent cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government

Although there is no clear political and administrative roadmap yet for forming the permanent cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government after the Kurdistan parliamentary elections, Masoud Barzani, the President of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) delivered a message stating that they want one parliament, one government, one constitution and one Peshmerga force. However, Lieutenant Jabbar Yawar, former Secretary-General of the Ministry of Peshmerga commented that Masoud Barzani's message about one government, one parliament, one Peshmerga and one constitution is unclear. He added that the PUK also says they are not for maintaining the status quo which is also not clearly defined. Dr. Ahmad Sangawi a member of the Kurdistan Parliament from the Kurdistan Islamic Union list believes that the tense and chaotic situation in the region requires the swift formation of the Kurdistan Regional Government. From the beginning of their election campaign, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) has expressed a different message. They called for a change in the governance process indicating dissatisfaction with the way previous cabinets were formed and managed. Salar Mahmoud a member in the PUK leadership office said what the PUK proposed during the elections was a real statement and a reaction to the dual-administration situation in the previous KRG cabinet which they had condemned and drawn red lines against. The PUK wants to change the governance structure in the new cabinet. He further outlined his vision for the new cabinet saying The PUK supports the formation of a unified government with a joint shared program. These statements by Salar Mahmoud reflect a reference to the previous ninth cabinet which was characterized by major disagreements and lack of coordination between the PUK and the KDP. The tenth cabinet is expected to be formed during a highly sensitive time for Iraq, the region and the world — with ongoing conflict and instability in the Middle East and the United States having just elected a new president. Fares Nawroli formerly a prominent member of the KDP believes that the permanent cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government should be formed before Donald Trump officially assumes office as the new President of the United States.



During Joe Biden's presidency, the Kurdistan Region has had a good relationship with the United States. However it is still unclear how Donald Trump would deal with Iraq and the Kurdistan Region. Before the Kurdistan parliamentary elections there were predictions that the elections would change the political landscape in the region and bring a new force to power. However the results showed a different picture and the situation remained relatively close to what it was in the past. Dr. Ako Hama Karim an advisor to the Kurdistan Regional Government's Council of Ministers, said the elections in the Kurdistan Region reflected the unchanging nature of power. The advisor to the Council of Ministers believes that the current form of the unified government is essentially just two separate administrations. This means that if the PUK and KDP do not form a government together, dual administration will occur. Some opposition parliamentarians are not optimistic about the shape of the next government and some of them don't even have a clear vision for the new parliament. Sirwan Baban, a former member of the Iraqi Council of Representatives, stated that the parliament only serves the interests of the ruling parties, all powers are in the hands of the parties. Academic experts believe that the future government will resemble previous administrations in the Kurdistan Region. Dr. Karwan Hama Salih, a university professor believes that in the new cabinet (3/2) of the positions will go to the PUK and KDP, while (3/1) will be given to other parties that are allowed to participate.

New cabinet, (2/3) of the posts will be for the PUK and the KDP, while (1/3) of the posts will be for those parties that are allowed to participate.

Dr. Karwan Hama Salih University Professor

## The Obstacles Ahead of Forming The Tenth Cabinet

The majority of participants in the discussion agreed that forming the tenth cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government would be challenging and complex due to several obstacles and restrictions. Ahmed Haji Rashid, a former Iraqi MP on the Islamic Group's list stated: There are many issues in forming the tenth cabinet. The opposition is scattered and lacks vision. No single party can independently gather enough members in parliament to form a government. There are also external interventions in the Region aiming to delay the government formation. Both ruling parties and the election winner are accusing each other. Another viewpoint suggests that both ruling parties themselves are in disagreement and cannot reach a consensus on the new government. Dr. Ahmed Sangawi a member of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) in parliament, said: The PUK has many demands in this cabinet. The question is whether those demands will be accepted to reach an agreement with the KDP to form a new government.

Salar Mahmood a member of the PUK's leadership council said: The KDP needs to lower its pride so that we can reach an agreement and work together to build a common governmental agenda. Besides the internal disputes between the KDP and PUK, there's also another opinion that each of the ruling parties is facing internal conflicts of their own which could also obstruct the formation of the new cabinet. Abubakr Raouf, director of the CDO (Culture Development Organization) believes that there is a power struggle within the Kurdistan Democratic Party itself. Both wings of the party want to hold the presidency. It appears that the biggest obstacle to forming the new cabinet is the dual administration and the deep political divisions between the two ruling parties. This was reflected in the statements made by participants in the discussion. Jabar Yawar, former secretary general of the Ministry of Peshmerga said: Until now there is a reality of dual administration in the Kurdistan Region. There are two separate armed forces.

“

Until now, there is a reality of dual administration in the Kurdistan Region—there are two existing armed forces

Major General Jabar Yawar, former official at the Ministry of Peshmerga of the Kurdistan Regional Government.

”

Some observers see foreign countries as a major obstacle to the formation of the permanent cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government. Political analyst Salah Rashid says the parties, especially the PUK, refuse to accept a government structure that does not reflect their true size.

Salah Rashid, a former key figure in the Gorran Movement, also points out that the parties are heavily influenced by foreign powers, so the new cabinet may not be better than previous ones.

This view is also supported by several writers and intellectuals. Writer and journalist Kamal Rauf says the more tensions between the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and the Kurdistan People's Party (PKK) continue, the more foreign interference will occur in the Kurdistan Region.

Civil society activists also point out that the continued conflict between the PUK and KDP is preventing the formation of a new government. Halsho Abdulfattah, director of Noor Organization, says the ongoing conflicts between the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the PUK have become a serious challenge to governance in the Kurdistan Region.



## Scenario 1: Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

One of the scenarios discussed in the dialogue was the formation of the permanent cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government which itself is seen in three fundamental scenarios.

Dr. Ahmad Sangawi a member of the Kurdistan Parliament from the Kurdish Islamic Union list says The situation requires the PUK and the KDP to form the government together.

Research centers also reflect this same viewpoint. Rabar Tal'at the head of the Research Center for Seba'i believes The next government must continue the cabinets of the previous ones.

Writers and intellectuals argue further stating that the new cabinet will not only consist of the PUK and the KDP but rather the same system of governance should remain.

Kamal Raouf a writer and intellectual says The KDP and PUK will not bring any change to the new cabinet they will continue the two-administrative system. From a political perspective there is a viewpoint that says without unity, the KDP and PUK will not be able to form the government.

Faris Nawrozi a senior cadre of the Kurdistan Democratic Party says The KDP and PUK separately cannot complete the legal framework for the parliament to form the government.



## ● Scenario2: The Half-Full Cabinet

The strongest scenario for forming the tenth cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government is the creation of a semi-inclusive cabinet meaning the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) form a cabinet together, along with the participation of several allied and close parties. Dr. Hardi Mahdi Mika head of the Kurdistan Center for Documentation and Academic Research says The PUK and KDP are forming a semi-inclusive cabinet. In previous cabinets there have been semi-inclusive governments where minority groups such as the Turkmen the Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party the Islamic Union, and Komal have been given one or more ministries and participated in the government. The New Generation, one of the lists that ran in the 2024 Kurdistan parliamentary elections managed to win 15 parliamentary seats. It is expected that both ruling parties will request the New Generation's participation in the upcoming government. Faris Nawroli a former cadre of the KDP says the tenth cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government will be different because the New Generation will be part of it.



Although New Generation is very tough after the announcement of the parliamentary results it is still ready to enter the next government, but it will be given a strong chance. Omar Enayate, a former member of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) parliament said that the new cabinet will be formed by the PUK and the KDP. According to Omar Ayanat the party has not been united in the past and will only form a government because it has not been able to control Sulaymaniyah. From an operational point of view the legal procedures of the Kurdistan Parliament must be completed with the participation of the new members of the KRG cabinet.

## Scenario Three: Postponement of the Formation of the New Government

### Cabinet

Although the Kurdistan National Union and the Kurdistan Democratic Party have begun their discussions to form the new government, the indicators point out that the new cabinet will face a strong challenge. Ahmad Haji Rashid, a former member of the Iraqi Parliament, says The Union and the Party who have gained most of the parliamentary seats intend to form the government after the elections of the Iraqi National Assembly in October 2025.

The spokesperson for the judicial community also adds more details, The regional forces also intend to form the new cabinet but the international forces who are friends of the Kurdistan Region aim to form the new cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government quickly.

It may not be easy for the parties after the Kurdistan Parliament elections to form the government without presenting any service to their voters in the 2025 Iraq elections and asking for their votes again. Dr. Harde Mahdi President of the Kurdistan Center for Document and Academic Research says The continuation of their current situation (the ninth cabinet) is the best scenario for the Union and the Party and they have their own plans.



The purpose of the connection in forming the new government of the Kurdistan Region with the Iraqi elections according to the continuation of the discussion the persistence of the Party and the Union in that election for the Kurdistan Parliament has been against each other.

Omar Aynaet a former member of the Kurdistan Parliament on the Gorran list focuses on the delay of forming the government until after the Iraqi Parliament elections and says The Union and the Party to protect both of their foundations will not form the new government until after the elections of the Iraqi National Assembly, and the alliances will not leave this step incomplete.

Another perspective is that the formation of the new government of the Kurdistan Region is linked to the internal situation of Iraq.

Sherko Raouf a journalist believes that the discussions for the formation of the new government cabinet will not be settled until after the Iraqi Parliament elections because the positions want to take the future presidency of Iraq, which is currently with the Kurds and the Union; this will also affect the balance of power between the Union and the Party.



## Duties and Responsibilities of the Tenth Cabinet and the New Parliament

The tenth cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government however and in whatever form it is formed faces a few great tasks and responsibilities.

Dr. Ako Hama Karim an advisor to the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) Council of Ministers believes that the tenth cabinet must end the unequal distribution of budget finance and services between Sulaimani and Erbil. The formation of the government takes place alongside the start of the Kurdistan parliament into its legal procedures so some of the government's responsibilities are tied to the parliament. Restructuring the private sector should be one of the main responsibilities of the new cabinet said Halsho Abdulfattah president of Noor Organization. The financial situation of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has forced it to reduce its size in the new cabinet. In the permanent cabinet the ministers must be reduced and the government must be reduced he said. The tenth cabinet must revive decentralization which is currently suspended. After the budget was cut by Baghdad in 2014 the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has never submitted a budget bill to parliament. Powers must be separated the government and parliament must each fulfill their duties, parliament must not wait for the government but must realistically monitor and question it he said. Resolving unresolved issues with the Iraqi government is certainly one of the future tasks of the Kurdistan Regional Government. Journalist Sherko Rauf says the new government should negotiate with Iraq to resolve the oil and gas issues and based on the population census the Kurdistan Regional Government should reach an agreement with Baghdad on financial and economic issues.

Regional conflicts according to Sherko Rauf increase the tasks of the Kurdistan Regional Government In a responsible spirit it must prepare for security incidents.

For the tenth cabinet to succeed in its duties some views suggest that a strong opposition must closely monitor the government.

The opposition should put pressure on him to unite the Peshmerga forces Nawroli said.



## Conclusion:

As a result of the open dialogue conducted by the Vision Organization for Strategic Research regarding the scenarios of forming the permanent cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government and its responsibilities and obligations we have reached the following points:

1. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) will be the main formers of the permanent cabinet and will establish a semi-unified government.
2. There is a strong possibility that the formation of the tenth cabinet may be postponed for several months and be delayed until after the Iraqi parliamentary elections in 2025.
3. In the tenth cabinet the KDP and PUK will include several other political forces in the government and among those forces the priority will be given to the younger generation.
4. The tenth cabinet will face many obstacles the most significant being the internal disagreements between the two main parties themselves. Also, the lack of law enforcement interference of influential relatives the presence of two armed forces and two separate administrations are other barriers ahead of the cabinet.
5. The permanent cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government will be faced with several major responsibilities including resolving the issues with Baghdad unifying the Kurdistan Peshmerga forces ending the dual administration reorganizing the private sector downsizing the government cabinet and delivering the best possible public services to the citizens etc.







# Vision Foundation

For Strategic Studies