

External interference and its impact on the policy of the Kurds towards the central government (1985-1986)

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Abstract:

Research aims (External interference and its impact on the policy of the Kurds towards the central government (1985-1986) To study one of the important and main aspects in the contemporary history of Iraq, which is an attempt to reveal the foreign interventions from neighboring countries that contributed to provoking the Kurds against the central government, as the Turkish intervention contributed to obstructing reaching an agreement or a comprehensive final settlement between the Kurds and the central government.–Libyan-Iranian), especially since the latter was in conflict with the Iraqi government.

The research concluded that the clear interest in the Kurdish issue at the level of the neighboring countries of Iraq during that period, which represented a radical shift in the history of the Kurdish movement, where each of: (Syria, Iran and Libya) worked to provide the Kurds with money and weapons.

In conclusion, the research concluded that the external interventions succeeded in exhausting the Iraqi government and the Kurdish movement by depleting their human and military capabilities. and hire Iraqi Kurdish movements are in conflicts by proxy with the central government to influence its internal situation and deplete its military capabilities.

Keywords: Kurds, Turkish intervention - Syria–Iran–The central government

the introduction :

The Kurdish issue came into existence in the Iraqi political life, as one of the important issues that followed the collapse and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire after its loss in the First World War (1914-1918), and the resulting British occupation of Iraq and its establishment of the modern Iraqi state in 1921, so that the Kurds began Whether in Iraq or its neighboring countries, by striving to find an entity of their own. To achieve this, the Kurdish leaders established some parties of a separatist national nature, and they carried out some armed movements aimed at separating from Iraq, or at least obtaining some legitimate rights and sharing in power, and they often used external forces to achieve their goals, which revealed a defect in the successive Iraqi governments' dealings with the Kurdish issue, represented by their lack of understanding or acceptance of the minimum aspirations of the Kurds, who continued to feel marginalized and deliberately excluded from serious participation in a system of government dominated by an Arab majority.

aHistorical events depend on their times, and when they are studied, any researcher should shed light on them in light of their origins, and clarify their reality

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in the period in question. By that, I mean that the duration of the study focused on the role of the Kurds in Iraq under certain circumstances, linked to the interests of the Kurdish parties and the extent of their subordination or submission to a certain party, as well as the directions of the Iraqi government aimed at imposing its authority on Iraqi Kurdistan, and preventing any regional interference in its internal affairs. The study of the subject necessitated dividing the research plan into four main axes as follows:

Firstly: The impact of the Turkish intervention on the relationship of the Kurds with the central government in 1985

secondly: The impact of Syrian support–The Iranian-Libyan for the Kurds in Iraq 1985-1986

thirda: government policyIraqi Towards the Kurds 1985- 1986.

fourtha The impact of external support on the Kurdish movementIn Iraqi Kurdistan 1986.

Firstly: The impact of the Turkish intervention on the relationship of the Kurds with the central government in 1985

Failed negotiations⁽¹⁾ between the government central And majesty Talabani⁽²⁾, And that Following publication Some unofficial reports, which indicate that a final settlement has been reached for some outstanding problems among the Kurds⁽³⁾ and the Iraqi government, Through it, the Kurds will obtain some unacceptable

(1) In order to stop the Iranian expansion in Iraqi Kurdistan, the central government conducted rounds of dialogue with the Yakiti Party during the period (1983-1985), for details see: Mariwan Ibrahim Abdullah, Negotiations between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish movement in Iraq 1968-1991, unpublished master's thesis, Mansoura University, Faculty of Arts, Mansoura, 2015, pp. 164-200

(2) Jalal Talabani: Jalal Husam al-Din al-Talabani was born in 1933 in Erbil from a well-known religious Kurdish family. He practiced his political activity from an early age and became a member of the political bureau of Party party In 1954, he graduated from the College of Law in Baghdad in 1959. He was influenced by Marxist ideas, and split from Barti, to found a new party in 1975 known as (the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan). look : Central Information Office, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, Jalal Talabani, History and Struggle: A Brief Biography of His Life, No. 15, Series of Publications of the Central Information Office, (Sulaymaniyah, 2003), pp. 3-10.

(3) The Kurds: There is a difference between researchers about the origin of the Kurds. Some of them refer them to an Arab origin after their defection from the Arabs as a result of disputes between them, so they lived in the mountains and mixed with non-Arabs, so their language became non-Arab, and there are opinions that assign the origin of the Kurds to the oldest Sumerian records before two thousand years BC., Some trace their origin to the Indo-European peoples, but with all this difference between researchers, most writers and intellectuals agree that the Kurds are the descendants of the Kutians and the Medes, and they are a tribal group that moved to the Persian plateau since Central Asia at the end of the second millennium BC. For details, see: Fouad Hama Khurshid, The Origin of the Kurds, Kurdish Culture and Publishing House, (Baghdad, 2006), pp.

concessions to the Iranian and Turkish governments. and that live In their lands Kurdish minorities, It wasn't These two countries want to grant the Iraqi Kurds real autonomy, which may be a bad example for the governments of the two countries⁽¹⁾.

In order to obstruct reaching a comprehensive final settlement agreement between the Iraqi government and the Kurds, Turkey used means economic pressure on Iraq, threatened his government off Export oil to global markets the tube Iraqi Transporter oil, And who passes through Turkish territory to a port Ceyhan on the Mediterranean⁽²⁾.

Turkey's objection to the Kurds' negotiations with the Iraqi government can be attributed to two factors: the first is the existence of a common border with Iraq that is about 331 km long, most of which extends through the Kurdish areas of rugged mountainous nature, which may lead to difficulty in controlling the movements of the armed Kurdish groups, and the second factor, he Turkey and Iraq have seen many One of the armed Kurdish movements that had an impact on the existence of joint cooperation between the two countries⁽³⁾.

It is worth noting that the Turkish interventions in the Iraqi affairs were soon crowned with success, when the Iraqi government agreed to stop its negotiations with the Kurds, which was confirmed by Jalal Talabani by saying: (On Tuesday I was in Baghdad, and the Iraqi president assured me that the outstanding problems between us had ended, and he asked me: Are you ready to sign on Thursday? I asked to postpone that until Saturday until the rest of the delegation members arrive from Erbil, and on Saturday the government delegation informed us that there were some outstanding issues, but the main reason was the Turkish intervention that led to the end of the negotiations)⁽⁴⁾ Obviously, It seems that the Iraqi government was not sincere in negotiating with Jalal Talabani, but wanted through this negotiation a guarantee party Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (Alekiti)⁽⁵⁾

(1) Peter j. Chel Kowski and Robert J. Pranger, Ideology and power in the Middle East Studies in Honor of Georg Lenczowski, Duke university press, (Durham, 2013), P 278_410.

(2) Pierre Mustafa Saif Al-Din, Turkey and Iraqi Kurdistan, the two bewildered neighbors, Khani Press, (Dohuk, 2008), p. 167.

(3) Khalil Ali Murad, The Regional Position on the Armed Kurdish Movement in Turkey in 1984, Journal of Regional Studies, Volume 2, Issue 3, (Mosul, 2005), p. 3.

(4) Seen: Chris Kuchera The Kurdish national movement and the whim of freedom. East Corporation for printing and publishing, (Erbil, 2013), s99 - 100.

(5) The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan: A Kurdish political party established in June 1975, headed by Jalal Talabani, as a Kurdish organization oppositetobarty party, where The party included leftist groups and parties, including the League of Toilers of Kurdistan and the Kurdistan Socialist Movement, and it raised the slogan of the right to self-determination, democracy and human rights. It is abbreviated by (Alekiti), and will be referred to by this abbreviation in the subsequent pages of thesearch. See: Ali Atheeb Rahima Al-Sharifi, The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and its political Philosophical Readings XIV.4 (2023), pp.103-117. 105

On its side in the war with Iran, and at the same time it was aware of Turkey's refusal to such kind of negotiations, as the Turkish government had previously concluded an agreement with the Iraqi government to confront the armed Kurdish movements in Iraqi Kurdistan.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, the Iraqi government has not taken any practical steps towards Hizb Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, It is clear evidence of the insincerity of her intentions.

secondly: The impact of Syrian support–The Iranian-Libyan for the Kurds in Iraq 1985-1986

The refusal of the Yekiti Party's dialogue with the central government was not limited to Turkey. The Iraqi neighboring countries, in which the Kurds settled parts of their territory, also opposed the existence of any rapprochement between the leadership of the Yekiti Party and the central government, which forced the party leadership to send a delegation consisting of : Kamal Fouad⁽²⁾ and Omar Sheikmou⁽³⁾, To Damascus in January of the year 1985,

To clarify the dimensions that forced the leadership of the Yekiti party to dialogue with the central government⁽⁴⁾.

With the aim of achieving a kind of rapprochement between the Kurdish parties, the leadership of the Yekiti party asked the Iranian government to start a round of

role in Iraq 1975-1991, a historical study, PhD thesis. Unpublished, Mustansiriyah University, Faculty of Education, 2023

(1) Iraqi Kurdistan: a designation given by researchers to the regions of northern Iraq, which includes (Mosul, Sulaymaniyah, Kirkuk, Dohuk and Erbil) and after the declaration of the Iraqi state in 1921 The term Iraqi Kurdistan appeared to denote this region. See: Noura Wadi Muhammad al-Shibli, master's thesis Unpublished, Albasrah university, College of Education for Humanities, 2020 p.8.

(2) Kamal Fouad: He is Kamal Abdul Karim Muhammad Fouad. He was born in the city of Sulaymaniyah in 1932. He graduated from the College of Engineering at the University of Baghdad. He joined the Iraqi Communist Party and became the official of the Communist Party - the Sulaymaniyah branch. He obtained his master's and doctoral degrees from the University of Hamburg in 1971. He participated in the founding of the Yekiti Party in 1975, where he was elected a member of the party's leadership committee in 1977. He assumed the presidency of the Kurdistan Parliament for (2) terms. 002–2005), he died in 2014. For details, see: Ali Atheeb Rahima Al-Sharifi, the same source, pp. 38-39

(3) Omar Sheikmou: He was born in the city of Amuda, Syria, in 1942. He completed his intermediate and preparatory studies in the city of Aleppo, and was accepted into the American University. He left Syria in 1962 and resided in London. He obtained political asylum in Sweden in 1967. He obtained a master's degree from Stockholm University in 1973, and obtained a Ph. in the Politburo for a party, participate in The establishment of the party's relations office in the city (Berlin) in 1982. For details, see: Nawzad Ali Ahmed, Ember Under the Ashes: Important Stations in the Life of Omar Sheikmou, Translated by: Yassin Hussein, Kurdish Heritage Institute Press, (D.M., 2017).

(4) look : Ali Sinjari, The Kurdish Issue and the Baath Party, Part 3, Khani Press, (Dohuk, 2012), pp. 37-38.

reconciliation between the Kurdish parties under its auspices.⁽¹⁾ And on the trail, a delegation from the Unified Kurdistan Socialist Party(spines)⁽²⁾, visited the Yekiti party headquarters and party headquarters(the party)⁽³⁾ This was followed by a visit by a delegation from the leadership of the Yekiti Party to the headquarters of the Parti Party in the Iranian village of Razan.⁽⁴⁾ Thus, the Iranian government began to get closer and closer to the Kurdish parties, due to its need for the Kurdish factor, as it sent a representative of it to hold a meeting with the leadership of the Yekiti Party, with the aim of developing special programs and plans, and coordinating for the purpose of launching joint military operations against Iraqi army forces⁽⁵⁾.

The Iranian government also sought to put an end to any future rapprochement between the Yekiti party and the central government, by opening a front in Iraqi Kurdistan that would strengthen Iran's military position in the face of Iraq's

⁽¹⁾ Cypressable Ismael The experience of the frontal work in Iraqi Kurdistan 1980-1990. University of Sulaymaniyah, College of Humanities, (sulaymaniyah, 2010), p. 64.

⁽²⁾ The Unified Socialist Party of Kurdistan: It was founded in 1976, under the name of the Kurdistan Socialist Movement, headed by Salih al-Yousifi, who remained in Iraq after the collapse of the Kurdish movement in 1975. It included a number of members of the Parti Party, the party changed its name in 1981, to the Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party, after the assassination of Salih al-Yousifi and Mahmoud Othman became its president. search. See: Sorour Abd al-Rahman Omar, History of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (1975-1976), translated by: Jamal al-Hamwandi, vol. 1, Hefi Press, (Erbil, 2011), pp. 139-140, Zuzan Saleh al-Yousifi, Saleh al-Yousifi (1918-1981): pages from his life and national struggle with his full collection of poetry, Jaziri Library, (Dohuk, 2009). pp. 90-94.

⁽³⁾ Kurdistan Democratic Party (Parti): Mustafa Barzani announced the establishment of this party in 1946, when he was in Iran, where he sent Kurdish politician Hamza Abdullah to Iraqi Kurdistan to work with the political forces there to form the desired party, which held its founding conference in Baghdad on August 16, 1946, and elected Mustafa Barzani as its president. What this word was mentioned in the research is what is meant by the Kurdistan Democratic Party. For details, see: Sherko Fathallah Omar, The Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Kurdish National Liberation Movement in Iraq, 1946-197, Ministry of Culture, (Sulaymaniyah, 2004); Hasan Shubar, Partisan Action in Iraq (1908-1958), 2nd Edition, Baghdad Capital of Culture Project Publications, (Baghdad, 2012), pp. 181-185; Hassan Latif Al-Zubaidi, Encyclopedia of Iraqi Politics, Al-Arif Publications Foundation, (Baghdad, 2013), p. 265.

⁽⁴⁾ beautytaunt (Present and future of Kurdish nationalism) Kurdish Academy Publications (Stockholm, 1989), p. 119.

⁽⁵⁾ Look: no And Sherwan Masteh Fa, Golanah Wa Leh Naw Bazhinda Dewi Nawa Wa I Roudaw Kani Iraqi Kurdistan (1984-1988), (circling in a vicious circle, the internal dimension of the incidents of Iraqi Kurdistan 1984-1988), (Berlin, 1997), pp. 104-105.

support to for a party Iranian Kurdistan Democratic Party (Hadka) ⁽¹⁾ And employing the Iraqi Kurdish movements in proxy conflicts with the central government to influence its internal conditions and deplete its military capabilities ⁽²⁾.

According to the new data, the Yekiti party forces, in cooperation with the Iranian forces, resumed their military operations in the Kurdish areas under their control, as they were able in February 1985 to take control of some villages between Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah, while the forces of the Front Democratic patriotism (quality) ⁽³⁾ From controlling the area that extends from the Syrian border to Rawanduz, and in return, the Iraqi army forces and the Kurds loyal to the central government were trying to regain control over these areas and stop the attacks of the Kurdish parties backed by Iran ⁽⁴⁾.

As important as it is, we note that some Kurdish parties, apparently based on Iranian advice, have begun to seek rapprochement with some leaders of Arab countries in order to seek help. In this regard, he met Masoud Barzani. ⁽⁵⁾ Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi ⁽⁶⁾ in March 20, 1985, The meeting dealt with ways to support the Libyan government to the Kurds in Iraq, and as a result, the Libyan

⁽¹⁾ Iranian Kurdistan Democratic Party: A nationalist party founded in 1945 in Iranian Kurdistan under the leadership of Qazi Muhammad. The founding statement of the party focused on the need for the Kurdish people in Iran to enjoy freedom and autonomy within the framework of the Iranian borders. The party was able to take advantage of the circumstances to establish the Republic of Mahabad in 1946, which lasted only a few months. research. For details see: Hozan Suleiman Al-Dosky, Republic of Kurdistan January 22, 1946-December 17, 1946 (A historical and political study), The Arab House for Encyclopedias, Lebanon, 2006, pp. 74-79

⁽²⁾ Farideh koochi kamali, The Political Development of the Kurds in Iran Pastoral Nationalism, (New York, 2003), p. 191-193.

⁽³⁾ The front included three parties (Al-Parti, the Iraqi Communist Party and the Hasak Party), For details, see: Charter of the National Democratic Front (Jud), Publications of the National Democratic Front, (Sulaymaniyah, 1985), pp. 1-29

⁽⁴⁾ Doria Awni, Arabs and Kurds quarreling or harmony, Dar Al-Hilal for printing and publishing, (Cairo, 1993), p. 104.

⁽⁵⁾ Massoud Barzani: He was born in the Iranian city of Mahabad in 1946. He was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Parti Party in 1970. He participated in the negotiating delegation with the central government that resulted in the autonomy agreement. After the conclusion of the Algiers Agreement between Iraq and Iran in 1975, he took refuge in Iran and established the interim leadership. Then he took over the leadership of the Parti Party in 1979, after the death of his father, Mullah Mustafa Barzani. For the Kurdistan region - for more, see: Muhammad Ali Al-Suwerki Al-Kurdi, the Volume IV, Dar Arabic for the encyclopedia T (Beirut, 2008), pp. 316-219

⁽⁶⁾ Muammar Gaddafi: He was born in the Libyan city of Sirte in 1942. He came to power in a military coup deposing King Idris in 1969. He ruled Libya for more than 42 years. He was killed in 2011. For details, see: Hajar Khudair Muhammad al-Nasrawi, Muammar Gaddafi and his role in Libya's internal politics until 1986, master's thesis Unpublished, Karbala University, College of Education for Human Sciences, 2016.

government provided the leadership of the Parti party with long-range cannons, which were delivered to them via Iran.⁽¹⁾

And in a related context Libyan support for the Kurds continued, where On March 15, 1986, President Muammar Gaddafi took the initiative to convene a general international conference in the Libyan capital, Tripoli. The aim of it, according to his claim, is to defend what he called the torn nations and small peoples such as blacks, Indians and Kurds.⁽²⁾

thirda: government policy Iraqi Towards the Kurds 1985- 1986

In view of this fact, formulated by the Iraqi government harsher policy towards the Kurds, In September 1985, it launched a large military campaign in Sulaymaniyah and Erbil, and arrested about (500) Persons some of them were subjected to torture in order to force their relatives to Peshmerga⁽³⁾ to surrender themselves⁽⁴⁾.

It is remarkable that, following the developments in the Iraqi-Iranian war in 1985, each of the parties to the conflict tried to exploit the weaknesses of its opponent, in order to be able to impose its will on the course of the war, as Iraq focused on striking the main center for the export of Iranian oil in Kharg Island,⁽⁵⁾ with the aim of destroying the Iranian economy and forcing the Iranian government to stop the war, and in return Iran worked to transfer the weight of the war to the regions of Iraqi Kurdistan,⁽⁶⁾ It helped the Yekiti party exploit the security vacuum after Iraq withdrew some of its military units from the area Karadag⁽⁷⁾, In view of this, Al-Yakiti

(1) Jamal Nabz, Ex source, s156; Kurdistan Newspaper, Issue 138, d. M, December 1985.

(2) Saber Ali Ahmed, Gaddafi and the Kurdish Issue, Dar Al-Multaqa for publishing, Lebanon, 1992, p. 77.

(3) The Peshmerga: meaning (going to death), Kurdish armed forces appeared in Iraq and were at the beginning subject to the authority of the tribes, and after the declaration of the Republic of Mahabad in 1946, the Peshmerga became organized forces led by Mustafa Barzani, and in the year 1993, it assumed responsibility for security in Iraqi Kurdistan. For details, see: Mahmoud Al-Shennawi, Iraq between sectarianism and nationalism (This is what happened after shock and horror), Dar Hala Publishing, (Cairo, 2011), p. 655

(4) Muhammad Ihsan, Kurdistan and the Vortex of War, Dar Al-Hikmato publish, (London, 2000), p. 77.

(5) Kharg Island: It is located in the northeastern part of the Arabian Gulf, about 17 nautical miles away from Iranian territory, and its area is about (21) km. For details, see: Taj al-Din Jaafar al-Ta'i, Iran's strategy towards the Arab Gulf states, Raslan Corporation for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, (Damascus, 2013), p. 122.

(6) Ali Sinjari, The Kurdish Liberation Movement: Positions and Opinions, Khabat Press, (Dohuk, 1997), p. 284.

(7) Qara Dagh: In Turkish, it means the Black Mountain. It is located in the area confined between the Brand Mountains to the east and the Qara Dagh Mountains to the west. It belongs to the city of Sulaymaniyah, and there is abundant cultivation of wheat, fruits and tobacco. For details, see: Philosophical Readings XIV.4 (2023), pp.103-117. 109
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was able to control large areas near the Iraqi-Iranian borders⁽¹⁾.

In an attempt to control the developments of the war with Iran, the Iraqi government issued an order to the Iraqi army commanders, using excessive force against Kurdish militants collaborating with Iran, During the last three months of the year 1985, the Iraqi army units were able to kill many armed elements of the Yakiti party, and they also launched military operations in many cities and villages of Iraqi Kurdistan,⁽²⁾ Thus, Iran has been able to disperse the Iraqi military structure by supporting the Kurdish militants, which facilitated the occupation of the Al-Faw peninsula.⁽³⁾ In the south of Iraq in February 1986, and began trying hard to occupy the city of Sulaymaniyah, and for the purpose of implementing its plan, it asked the Kurdish militants to occupy the Iraqi military sectors there⁽⁴⁾.

fourthA: The impact of external support on the Kurdish movement In Iraqi Kurdistan 1986

In view of the nature of the battles that were raging in several regions of Iraqi Kurdistan, it was necessary to continue the diplomatic meetings to coordinate the positions between the Kurdish parties and the countries cooperating with them.⁽⁵⁾ Secretary of the Kurdish Socialist Party, with Abdullah Al-Ahmar, Assistant Secretary-General of the Syrian Baath Party, as the meeting dealt with the issue of aid and the method of its delivery to the armed Kurdish movements⁽⁶⁾.

Bashir Youssef Francis, Encyclopedia of Cities, Part Two, which book, (London 2017), pp. 729-730.

⁽¹⁾Christina Koivin, The Kurds, the Mother of Genocides, translated by: Hussein Mulla Mahmoud, Cairo Center for Kurdish Studies, (Cairo, 2017), p. 96.

⁽²⁾Ali Atheeb Rahima Al-Sharifi, previous source, p. 185.

⁽⁴⁾Al-Faw Peninsula: located in southern Iraq, it was known as Al-Maaser, and before it was called (Al-Dakhak)., And that the reason for changing its name to Al-Faw is due to a ship from the Dulim ships called Al-Faw that sank in the Al-Muhalban River, whose name changed to Al-Faw until the whole province became known as Al-Faw. For details, see: Abd al-Aziz bin Musaed al-Yassin, a tribe in Jableh whose lineage is related to its ancestors, its branches and its branches, and those who belong to it from Kuwait, Dar Al-Urouba For publication and distribution, (Kuwait, 2005), p245

⁽⁵⁾Donia Rizk Khoury, Iraq in the Time of War: Soldiers, Martyrs, and Remembrance, Translated by: Ayman J. Haddad, The Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, (Beirut, 2022), pp. 80-82.

⁽⁵⁾Rasoul Mamand: He was born in the city of Sulaymaniyah in 1944 and completed his studies there. He joined the Parti Party in 1968. After the collapse of the Kurdish movement, he returned to Kurdistan and held some meetings with his colleagues that resulted in the establishment of the Kurdistan Socialist Movement in 1976. He continued his political activity until his death on March 12, 1994. For details see: Ali Atheeb Rahima Al-Sharifi, previous source, p. 43.

⁽⁶⁾Tishreen Newspaper, Issue 563, Syria, April 1986.

Here it should be noted that the militants of the Parti party, after obtaining weapons from Syria, Iran and Libya, were able to occupy the district of (Mankish located north of the city of Dohuk on May 14, 1986⁽¹⁾) This encouraged the Iranian army to occupy more Iraqi lands, especially in the southern regions, after the Iraqi government was forced to withdraw a large number of Iraqi army units from the south to the fighting areas in the north⁽²⁾.

In addition, the military operations taking place in the Kurdish regions had serious dimensions from an economic point of view, as the attacks of the Kurds in the north posed a direct threat to trade between Iraq and Turkey, due to its proximity to the international road linking the two countries, along with the Iraqi oil pipeline to the Turkish port of Ceyhan.⁽³⁾ Where troops are launched Peshmerga Yekiti party in May 1986, An attack on the Iraqi army forces, as a result of which a battle took place known as (Qiwana), which resulted in the Iraqi army forces incurring great human and material losses⁽⁴⁾ This led to his failure to regain control of the area between the Arabs of Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah from the Parti Peshmerga, who launched a surprise attack on the Iraqi army forces stationed near the Iraqi-Turkish border, and seized several military detachments⁽⁵⁾.

According to these developments in the regions of Iraqi Kurdistan, Iran began coordinating among the Kurdish parties in order to unify its ranks against the Iraqi government, as its efforts resulted in the signing of an agreement in June 1986 between the Yekiti, Parti and Iraqi Communist parties.⁽⁶⁾ In view of this, the three Kurdish parties issued a joint statement announcing the unification of their efforts in

(1) Hawazin Suleiman Mirkhan, Iranian-Syrian Support for the Kurdish National Liberation Movement in Iraqi Kurdistan (1980-1988), Academic Journal of Newroz University, Volume 6, Issue 2, (Dohuk, 2017), p. 274.

(2) See: Abdel Halim Abu Ghazaleh, The Iraqi-Iranian War (1980-1988), (Alexandria, 1994), pp. 180-181.

(5) Philip Ronis, Turkey and the Middle East, translated by Michael Najm Khoury, Dar Cordoba for Publishing, Documentation and Research, (Cyprus, 1993), pp. 75-77.

(4) Rukhsh Ali, His Yeruzah Kani Yeh Kish Zanani Kurdistan, (Memoirs of the Mountain Women Union), Jaikhana Kanma, (Soleimani, 2002), p. 456.

(5) look :Abdul Halim Abu Ghazaleh, previous source, p. 180.

(6) The Iraqi Communist Party: It was founded in 1935, and started its secret work under the name (Anti-Colonialization and Investment Association), then changed its name to the Iraqi Communist Party, which considered itself to be the party of the working class, and issued a secret newspaper that bore the name (The People's Struggle). For details, see: Moayad Shakir Kazem Al-Taie, The Iraqi Communist Party 1935-1949, a historical study, a doctoral thesis submitted to the Council of the College of Education at Al-Mustansiriya University 2007, pp. 85-90.

directing military strikes against the Iraqi army forces⁽¹⁾.

In the midst of the escalation of the Iraq war . Iranian, Iran's urgent need to cooperate with the armed Kurdish movements by opening a front in Iraqi Kurdistan in order to relieve pressure on the Iranian army in the south, so Iran began to emphasize the leadership of the Yekiti party, the need to support Iran's Revolutionary Guards⁽²⁾, to carry out acts of sabotage against the oil installations in Kirkuk, which it called : first openings,⁽³⁾ These operations constituted a major blow in the depth of Iraqi territory, which made the Iraqi government reconsider its strategic calculations in protecting the oil wells from the attacks of the Kurdish militants and Iran, especially since these operations came as a response to the strikes that the Iraqi Air Force launched on the oil depots in the Iranian Kharg Island overlooking the Arabian Gulf⁽⁴⁾.

After the Kurdish-Iranian relations reached an advanced stage of understanding, Iran invited the leadership of the Yekiti Party and the leadership of the Parti Party to visit it. from Okay discussion The situation in Kurdistan Iraq, The visit resulted in the signing of an agreement for political and military cooperation by both sides, which was signed by Jalal Talabani on the Kurdish side And Idris Barzani⁽⁵⁾, On the Iranian side, the Chief of Staff of the Forces Iran's Revolutionary Guards, Under this agreement, Iran pledged to support the Kurdish movements with money and weapons. It seems that this rapprochement with the Iranian government has paved the way for the Yekiti Party to reconcile with the Parti Party., In which the two sides agreed on bilateral cooperation in the political, military and media aspects, and to

(1) Ibrahim Jalal, (Glimpses from the History of the Marxist Society), printing press Ron, Soleimani H, 2011), s488.

(2) Iranian Revolutionary Guard: It was formed on May 5, 1979, in the aftermath of the Islamic Revolution, in an attempt to unite several paramilitary forces into one force loyal to the new government. The Revolutionary Guard is considered the weapon of the Iranian state alongside the forces Land, sea, air and itching M The existing Basij militia guards on Volunteers. For details, see: Keith Katzman, The Iranian Revolutionary Guard: Its Establishment, Formation, and Role, Translated by: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 3rd Edition, (Abu Dhabi, 1998); Amal Abbas Jabr, Supporting Institutions of the Islamic Republic of Iran: The Revolutionary Guard and charitable institutions as a model. Journal of the College of Education, Al-Mustansiriya University Issue 2, (Baghdad, 2022), p537_544.

(3) Look: n Sherwan Mustafa, Ex source, s104 - 105.

(4) As-Safir Newspaper, Issue 5075, Lebanon, September 14, 1988.

(5) Idris Barzani: Born in the village of BaRazan in 1944, he lived in exile and house arrest for 11 years with his family in Basra - Baghdad, Mosul. He remained until his father, Mustafa Barzani, returned to Iraq after the revolution of July 14, 1958. He participated in the 1961 movement. He worked to implement the reconciliation agreement between the Kurdish parties with the aim of turning it into a Kurdish front. He died on January 31, 1987. For details, see: Hassan Latif Al-Zubaidi, Encyclopedia of Iraqi Politics, 2nd edition, Al-Aref Publishing Company, (Al-Najaf Al-Ashraf, 2013), p. 60; Sami Shores, Kurdistan and the Kurds: The National Movement and Political Leadership, Idris Barzani as a Model, Dar Aras Publications, (Erbil, 2001), pp. 105_169.

address the outstanding problems between the two parties, and to build new foundations for cooperation and friendship towards mobilizing and organizing the Kurdish forces to overthrow the regime in Baghdad,⁽¹⁾ And the formation of a supreme committee from the leadership of the two parties, whose task is to develop ways to implement the agreement and develop relations between them.⁽²⁾ For its part, the leadership of the Yekiti Party proposed the formation of joint armed factions during the military operations, but this proposal was not included in the terms of the agreement⁽³⁾.

As an important step to intervene in Iraqi affairs, the Iranian government held in late December 1986 a conference: (Victory for the Iraqi People), in which the Kurdish leaders demanded the need to unite efforts and establish close relations with the religious components opposing the Iraqi government. About (400) delegates participated in the conference, representing various Iraqi opposition groups, under the direct supervision of the President of the Iranian Republic, Ali Khamenei.⁽⁴⁾ And some figures in the Iranian government, in addition to the Yekiti Party and the Parti Party, and your senses party, and the Kurdish Islamic Movement⁽⁵⁾, Idris Barzani, through the proposal he presented to the conference, demanded the need to build a democratic, pluralistic Iraq, and to exert efforts in a unified program in order to overthrow the Iraqi government.⁽⁶⁾ And on the effect Five committees were formed headed by Iranian officials, which angered Fuad Masum.⁽⁷⁾ The representative of the

(1) nisherAndMustafa, the previous source, p108.

(2) generousAhmed,(the way of struggle)printing pressrhand, (Erbjto, 2006),s313.

(3) As-Safir Newspaper, Issue 5075, Lebanon, September 14, 1988.

(4) Ali Khamenei: He was born on July 15, 1939, in the city of Mashhad, and he completed his studies there. He played a major role in the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979. After the fall of the Shah, he became Undersecretary of the Ministry of Defense, Supervisor of the Revolutionary Guards, and the Imam of the Tehran Friday Prayers. In 1981, he was elected President of the Iranian Republic, then became Supreme Leader of the Republic of Iran after the death of Imam Khomeini in 1989. See: Haider Ali Khalaf Al-Agaili, United States Policy towards Iran (1979 – 1989), Ph.D. thesisUnpublished,Wasit University, Faculty of Education,2018, p. 340.

(5)Kurdish Islamic Movement: A Kurdish Islamic movement, one of its most prominent founders, Sheikh Othman Abdel Aziz, was influenced by the thought of the Muslim Brotherhood and the thought of the Salafists. It sought to confront the Baath ideology, spread Islamic thought, and strengthen the Islamic identity of the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan. It appeared more among the Kurds after 1991. For details, see: Idris Siwili, Islamic Currents in Iraqi Kurdistan: Origins and Development, Translated by: Khaled Merta Yee, Research Group: The Islamic Movement in Kurdistan, 2nd edition, Al-Mesbar Center for Studies and Research, (Dubai, 2 011), pp. 20-23.

(6)Masoud Barzani, (Barzani and the Kurdish Liberation Movement 1975-1990) Part Four, oxana Press, Erbil, 2021, pg. 43_439.↵

(7)Fouad Masum: He was born in the Erbil Governorate in 1938. He began his initial education in the mosque for a year before entering public schools. After that, he completed primary and secondary studies. He was admitted to Al-Azhar University to obtain a bachelor's degree from it, in the year Philosophical Readings XIV.4 (2023), pp.103-117. 113
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Yakiti party, and pushed him to withdraw from the conference, but the Iranian pressures forced him to retract his decision⁽¹⁾. At the conclusion of the conference, a statement was issued that included (17) An item, which dealt with: the power project in Iraq, preserving the unity of Iraq, justice in rights and duties among the Iraqi people without distinction of nationality, religion or sect, and the Kurdish citizens obtaining their full rights within the Iraqi state⁽²⁾.

It is clear from the foregoing that the shift in Iranian policy towards the Kurdish issue, which was represented by the increase in its political and military support, came as a result of several considerations, perhaps foremost among them: the Iranian forces' occupation of the Al-Faw Peninsula in February 1986, which increased Iran's fears that its forces in the south would be subjected to surprise attacks by the Iraqi army forces. So it worked on his occupation in the north through support for Kurdish militants hostile to the Iraqi government, As well as about it, The strength of the strikes that some Iranian oil installations were subjected to, and the Iraqi support for the Kurdish movement in Iran, encouraged the latter to cooperate with the Iraqi opposition parties, especially the Kurdish ones. Iranian from Accreditation them in delay any possible attack before forces Iraqi in the southern region.

Conclusion :

It turned out that the Kurdish issue in Iraq had a significant impact on the foreign policy of some neighboring countries, as the Kurdish issue in Iraq no longer constituted a local threat only., AndThe Iranian-Syrian cooperation, supporting the armed Kurdish movements in northern Iraq, was aimed at exhausting the Iraqi government and the Kurdish movements by depleting their military and human capabilities. Theses of Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi, in which he claimed the right of everyone to obtain rightscomplete.

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- 2- Ali Tatar(2010), Iraqi government policy in Kurdistan through official documents (1975-1991), University Press, Dohuk, pp. 426-427.

1967, then he obtained a master's degree in philosophy from Ain Shams University in Cairo. In 1968, he was appointed to the University of Basra. Damascus in the year 1978, and in the year 1980, he assumed responsibility for the relations office of the Yakiti Party in Tehran.For detail see:Ali Atheeb Rahima Al-Sharifi, previous source, p. 35.

(1) Aziz Qader AlsManji, The Iraqi Opposition Train from Beirut 1991 to Baghdad 2003, Dar Al-Hikma, (London, 2008), p.64.

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