

A Macrostructure Analysis of the Discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives on Kurdistan Independence Referendum

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Abstract: This study investigates the relationship between power dynamics, dominant ideologies, and implicit communication using critical discourse analysis (CDA). It focuses on the discourse from the Iraqi House of Representatives regarding the Kurdistan Region's independence Referendum. The study examines how power dynamics and ideologies are present in this discourse, employing Van Dijk's sociocognitive framework to uncover hidden ideological elements. The hypothesis suggests that the discourse highlights power struggles and dominant ideologies. The findings reveal that the Iraqi House of Representatives employs language to emphasize power dynamics and portray itself as safeguarding Iraq's unity. It also discusses how language is used to emphasize federal government authority, criticize Kurdistan Region officials, highlight consequences, gain regional support, and influence power dynamics in favor of the central government, illustrating the role of language in shaping perceptions and power relationships.

Keywords: CDA, political discourse, macrostructure, thematic structure, Kurdistan referendum

1. Introduction

Critiques in CDA are interested in studying the powerful elite in a society that uses language to maintain, exercise or reproduce power. The concept of the elite in CDA is used to refer to groups of people who have control and access over specific communicative events, such as media, parliamentary debates, text books and law. Hence, this allows the elite to gain influence and achieve their goal to control the minds of the public (van Dijk, 1998: 14). When the elites use their position to convey their own ideological views in order to serve their own interest, it is called dominance (Weiss & Wodak, 2003: 15). The role that CDA takes is to expose such practices:

CDA seeks to show how the apparently neutral, purely informative discourses of newspaper reporting, government publications, social science reports, and so on, may in fact convey ideological attitudes, just as much as discourses which more explicitly editorialize or propagandize. (Anthoniden, 2003:300)

Generally speaking, politicians tend to use extensive varieties of linguistic devices in order to achieve their political goals and interests. Such linguistic devices include determining and persuading the public thought, criticizing their rival politicians, and trying to make the public believe in politicians. Therefore, they use many discursive devices and perform them in every day speech. By focusing on politician's speech, critical discourse analysts can have more insight about how the politicians use language manipulatively to validate their ideologies and values for the positive results (Nasih & Aboud, 2020: 2).

Chilton (2004: 3) argues that political discourse plays a crucial role in shaping people's thoughts and attitudes. Accordingly, politicians use their linguistic skills to modify and control people's thoughts and attitudes. In order to become a successful politician, one needs to be an eloquent orator in order to guide the receivers'

emotions, actions and minds. Politics can be viewed as "a struggle between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it" Therefore, there is a strong relationship between language and political activity.

Taking the critical discourse theory as the framework, the critical discourse analysis method as the methodology, and the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives as an example, this paper will explore the macrostructure of the discourse mentioned earlier through analyzing the thematic aspect following van Dijk sociocognitive approach. There are three levels of analysis in sociocognitive approach, namely superstructure, macrostructure, and microstructure. However, this research focuses on macrostructure level in order to answer the research questions.

1.2 Aims of the Study

This study aims at investigating the macrostructure level of the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives when addressing Kurdistan Referendum issued in the Official Gazette of Iraq of Ministry of Justice in September, 27, 2017. It is an attempt to explore how language is manipulated when covering this issue of Referendum. Accordingly, it investigates the thematic level of the discourse in terms of the main topic(s) of the discourse.

1.3 Research Question(s)

The study attempts to answer the following questions:

- How are power dynamics and dominant ideologies manifested within the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives concerning the Kurdistan Region's independence Referendum?
- What are the hidden ideological underpinnings within the discourse, as identified through Van Dijk's sociocognitive framework?

2. Linguistic Analysis

The linguistic analysis of the data is carried out following van Dijk's framework of macrostructures proposed in 1980 (revised in 2013). In this framework, van Dijk proposes a distinction between two levels of analysis; global and local. The Global analysis is related to macrostructures, and the local analysis is related to microstructures. Macrostructures are higher-level semantic or conceptual structures that organize the 'local' microstructures of discourse, interaction, and their cognitive processing. The global or Macrostructures of discourse consists of two components; the semantic macro structure in terms of theme or topic and the superstructure in terms of schematic structure. van Dijk (1980: 27) defines semantic macro structures (theme/topic) as the gist of speech which can be understood intuitively by the receivers when expressed in the talk or speech words and sentences or even in some parts of it such as summaries or conclusions. Superstructure is another type of global structure which refers to the schematic 'global form' that organizes the global meaning of the text (van Dijk, 1980: 27). Terms such as 'topic' or "theme" are used in the present study to refer to the semantic macrostructure of a text, while the term 'schemata' refers to the schematic superstructure under the umbrella term 'macro analysis'.

2.1 Macro Analysis

In the theory of discourse, the notion of macrostructure is used to account for the various notions of global meaning, such as topic, theme, or gist (van Dijk, 1980: 10). That is, macrostructure is focused on the global meaning which emphasizes more on the meaning or the topic of the discourse. According to van Dijk (1985: 117), the macro level is the higher level representing the topic, theme, or gist of a text, i.e., it is concerned with what the text is about. The macro form is arrived at through a set of micro features applied to the sequence of propositions locally expressed by the text. Consequently, any proposition entailed by a subset of a sequence of micro features may function as a macro form for that sequence. van Dijk (1981: 196) argues that macro structures

are semantic constructs making the topic of discourse explicit, i.e., they indicate the subject matter of discourse. Nevertheless, there is a general consensus regarding the components of the macro level.

2.1.1 Thematic Structure

According to Van Dijk (1980: 5), theme element belongs to the macro structure that analyzes the higher or more global levels than the micro level of words, sentences, and sentence connections. Themes or topics represent the gist or most important information of a discourse, and tell us what a discourse is about. Themes/topics are typically the information that is best recalled of a discourse. Although the topics abstractly characterize the meaning of a whole discourse or of a larger fragment of discourse, they may also be concretely formulated in the text itself, for instance in summaries, abstracts, titles or headlines. When people talk about such a theme or topic, at the same time they imply that details of the discourse are disregarded or abstracted from this account at a more general level (van Dijk, 1980: 17).

van Dijk (1980: 99) believes that sentence topics (the themes of sentence) are different from discourse topics (the themes of the discourse text), but not completely independent of them.

"Each simple sentence has a theme. The theme is what the sentence is about. It is usually a starting point of an utterance and everything else that follows it in the sentences, which consist of –what the speaker states about" is called theme (Brown and Yule, 1983: 126-127).

Theme or topic has two functions. The first function is to organize the information (micro information) of the discourse. In this way, it can serve to collect a large number of connections between information units at the local level to form a larger unit which carries the whole meaning and function of the small pieces (van Dijk, 1980: 13). The second function of the theme is the reduction of complex information. As mentioned in the first function, there are many complex information units in any discourse, so that one needs to reduce this information to get the more important, relevant, abstract, or more general information from a complex micro-level information unit. Then, the relation between micro level and macro level is subjected to various reduction rules which are known as "macro rules" (van Dijk, 1980: 14).

As far as the ideological functions of themes/ topics are concerned, van Dijk (2004: 45) argues that they directly follow the general principles mentioned above; if someone wants to emphasize self-good things or others-bad things, the first thing they do is topicalizing such information. Conversely, if someone wants to de-emphasize self-bad things and others good things, then they need to de-topicalize such information. For instance, in much public discourse in multicultural society this means that topics associated with racism are much less topicalized than those related to the alleged crimes, deviance or problems allegedly caused by minority groups.

2.1.2 Schematic Structure

Schematic structure is defined by van Dijk (1980: 5) as an overall form that arranges the global content of any text. Accordingly, the global structure of discourse is not limited to the semantic macrostructure; rather, it has another type of global structure that is mainly concerned with organizing the semantic macro structures of discourse. van Dijk (van Dijk, 1980: 12) differentiates between these two types of global structure into thematic and schematic structures. The former is semantic while the latter is schematic or structural. Macrostructures necessarily characterize any kind of complex information processing, whereas superstructures have a more conventional nature (van Dijk, 1980: 12).

The role of schema is to form and organize the global meaning of a text. Moreover, there is a problem concerning the generality of superstructure (schemata). Van Dijk (1980: 109) states that there are many types of discourse that have conventional schematic structures, but this does not mean that all discourses have the same superstructures. van Dijk and Kintsch (1983:16) state that there are many factors that affect the structure of any discourse type. Such factors may include conventional or cultural variables. Stories, psychological reports, lectures and many other types of discourse may exhibit different schematic structures. Accordingly, such a

superstructure task is to provide the overall syntax for the global meaning. For instance, the study of news schemata is not limited to the understanding of the mass media discourse only, but it contributes to the understanding of the organization of written discourse in general so that many discourse types play a role in the comprehension, memorization and processes of production (van Dijk, 1986: 156).

It is worth mentioning that the current study is limited to analyze the thematic structure of the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives and the schematic structure has been excluded.

3. Methodology

This research employs a qualitative method as it analyzes and describes the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives when addressing Kurdistan Referendum in the Official Gazette of Iraq of Ministry of Justice in September, 27, 2017. A qualitative approach focuses on some aspects of texts such as entities, processes and meanings that cannot be investigated or even quantified according to their amount or frequency (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 8). Creswell (2014: 32) adds that a qualitative method applies the analysis in terms of words rather than numbers; it is concerned with analyzing the text inductively, beginning with a specific theme until reaching the general one. The qualitative analysis is based on careful analysis of the sources of the material and covers explicit presentation of the researcher's understanding. It also considers others' perspectives and it has to be open towards re-interpretations (Mayring, 1983 cited in Septiani, 2014: 8). In addition to that, a qualitative analysis helps the researchers understand the meaning people have constructed, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world (Merriam, 2009 cited in Septiani, 2014: 8).

In order to achieve the goals of the study, the data are read critically, with emphasize on the main themes. The data are analyzed using van Dijk's sociocognitive approach at macrostructure level.

4. The Model of Macro Structures

The interaction between the macro and micro structures, as Hamburger (1981: 116) states, constitutes the coherence of a text, i.e., the elements of micro structure can be directly filled into the relevant constituents of the macro structure of that text. Furthermore, both micro and macro structures have to be broken down into logical units. Each unit of macro structure is fragmented over a number of micro structure elements which are not arbitrary elements, but represented semantically in the macro structure (Hamburger, 1981: 130).

According to van Dijk's framework, the notion of 'Macro Structure' stands for the global meaning of a text; it refers to the higher- level semantic or conceptual structures which organize the local constituents (the micro structure) of a text (van Dijk, 1981: 41).

5. Data Analysis and Discussion

As far as the macro analysis of the text is concerned, the themes or topics of the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives have been chosen to be analyzed from critical discourse analysis perspectives. Generally speaking, the themes characterize the meaning of the whole discourse. However, the themes may also be expressed in the text itself such as in summaries, abstracts, titles or headlines. At this level, the semantic macro structures will be taken into consideration.

Theme 1: The Unconstitutional Case of Referendum

The house of representatives claims that the independence referendum of Kurdistan Region is unconstitutional since it violates the first article of the constitution which guarantees the unity of Iraq. This theme is stated in the following paragraph:

قرر مجلس النواب بجلسته الثالثة والعشرون والمنعقدة بتاريخ 27 /أيلول/ 2017 من الفصل التشريعي الأول السنة التشريعية الرابعة / الدورة الانتخابية الثالثة واستناداً إلى أحكام المادة (59 /ثانياً) من الدستور واستشعاراً من مجلس النواب بواجبه الوطني والدستوري كممثل للشعب العراقي بجميع مكوناته وحرصاً على وحدة العراق وسلامة أرضه ومواطنيه وبموجب السلطة الممنوحة له وفق الدستور الذي اقره جميع أبناء الشعب العراقي ومنهم القادة الكرد الساعين للانفصال عن الوطن فإنه يؤكد على خطورة الأوضاع الحالية وتداعياتها التي تهدد مصير الوطن بسبب إصرار سلطة إقليم كردستان على إجراء الاستفتاء والقيام بتنفيذه في الخامس والعشرين من أيلول الجاري رغم صدور قرار من مجلس النواب العراقي بعدم دستورية وقانونية هذا الاستفتاء في جلسته الاعتيادية السابعة عشر في 12 /أيلول/ 2017.

- According to the first legislative term, the fourth legislative year and the third electoral round, the House of Representatives held its twenty-third session, on September 27, 2017. Based on article (59/Second) of the Constitution, the House of Representatives should feel its patriotic and constitutional duty as the representative of the Iraqi people with all its components. And in the interest of Iraq's unity and safety of its land and citizens and under the authority granted to the parliament in accordance with the constitution approved by all people of Iraq, including the Kurdish leaders who seek to secede from the homeland, it confirms the seriousness of the current situation and its repercussions that threaten the fate of the homeland due to the insistence of the Kurdistan Region authority to conduct the referendum and its implementation on the twenty-fifth of September, 2017. This insistence of holding a referendum clash with the issuance of a decision made by the Iraqi House of Representatives to declare that this referendum is to be considered unconstitutional and illegal in its seventh regular session on September 12, 2017.

This parliamentary decision is based on the constitution which considers referendum as a step towards independence, and this is against the first article of the constitution. The alibi of the House of Representatives for taking such a decision is that this constitution has been approved by all people of Iraq including the Kurdish leaders.

The theme provided answers the first question as it illustrates the manifestation of power dynamics and dominant ideologies within the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives concerning the Kurdistan Region's independence referendum. Through the analysis of the language and terminology used, we can identify several key aspects that highlight these dynamics:

- Authority and Control

The language employed in the paragraph emphasizes the authority and control of the House of Representatives. Phrases like "وحدة العراق" (unity of Iraq) and "خطورة الأوضاع" (dangerous circumstances) convey a strong sense of urgency and concern for the nation's integrity. This framing positions the House as the guardian of Iraq's unity and stability, asserting its authority over matters that could potentially threaten national cohesion.

- Dichotomy and Threat Perception

The paragraph establishes a dichotomy between the "سلطة إقليم كردستان" (authority of the Kurdistan Region) and the broader "مصير الوطن" (fate of the nation). By positioning the referendum as a threat to national cohesion, the discourse implies that the Kurdistan Region's pursuit of independence challenges the overarching interests of the entire nation. This framing reinforces the House's position as the entity responsible for safeguarding the unity of Iraq.

- Narrative Construction and Legitimacy

Drawing upon van Dijk's CDA approach, the discourse of the House of Representatives is seen as constructing a narrative that emphasizes constitutional, national, and unity-based dimensions of the referendum issue. This narrative serves to legitimize the House's stance as the protector of Iraq's interests and justifies its opposition to the referendum. The language and strategies employed are carefully tailored to position the House as the legitimate and rightful authority in matters of national significance.

- Shaping Public Opinion

By framing the referendum as unconstitutional and a threat to Iraq's unity, the discourse of the House of Representatives aims to shape public opinion and influence the perception of the issue. The use of strong and emotive language, combined with an appeal to national unity and security, seeks to garner support for the House's stance among the broader population. This aligns with the House's efforts to maintain its position of power and authority within the Iraqi political landscape.

In summary, the language and strategies employed in the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives concerning the Kurdistan Region's independence referendum reflect a complicated interplay of power dynamics and dominant ideologies. The House strategically positions itself as the defender of Iraq's unity and national interests, framing the referendum as a potential threat. This framing serves to construct a narrative that reinforces the House's authority and shapes public opinion in alignment with its stance.

Theme 2: Surrendering

The House of Representatives claims that the officials in Kurdistan Region have ignored implementing the decisions of the federal judiciary issued by the Federal Court to halt the referendum. Accordingly, the Parliament has issued a number of decisions and sanctions listed in the following lines:

- إلزام القائد العام للقوات المسلحة باتخاذ كافة الإجراءات الدستورية والقانونية للحفاظ على وحدة العراق وحماية مواطنيه لإصدار أوامره للقوات الأمنية بالعودة والانتشار في جميع المناطق المتنازع عليها وبضمنها كركوك وفقاً لما كان عليه الحال قبل تاريخ 2014/6/10.

- Requiring the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces to take all constitutional and legal procedures to preserve the unity of Iraq and protect its citizens. Accordingly, he must issue orders to the security forces to return and deploy in all the disputed areas, including the city of Kirkuk, as it was before the date of 10/06/2014.

- التأكيد على تنفيذ القرارات المتخذة من قبل المجلس الوزاري للأمن الوطني في جلسته الأخيرة لاسيما قراره بالمتابعة القضائية للمسؤولين عن تنفيذ الاستفتاء وتقديمهم للمحاكمة وفقاً للقوانين العراقية النافذة وكذلك سائر الموظفين الكرد العاملين في مؤسسات الدولة الاتحادية.

- Confirming to implement the decisions taken by the Ministerial Council for National Security in its last session, especially the decision to pursue judicial follow-up on those responsible for implementing the referendum and bringing them to court according to the law, as well as all other Kurdish officials working in the federal state's institutions.

- غلق المنافذ الحدودية التي تقع خارج سيطرة السلطة الاتحادية واعتبار البضائع التي تدخل منها بضائع مهربة ومناشدة دول الجوار العراقي لاتخاذ التدابير اللازمة لمساعدة الحكومة العراقية على تنفيذ هذا القرار.

- Closing the border crossings that are outside the control of the federal authority and considering the goods that enter from those border crossings as smuggled goods and appealing to the neighboring countries of Iraq to take the necessary procedures to assist the Iraqi government in implementing this resolution.

The House of Representatives in accordance with the Iraqi Government are trying to put pressure on KRG through a number of decisions and sanctions. The aim behind this step is to submit the KRG including its people and political leaders to Iraq and make them surrender. That is, to make the Kurds admit that the KRG is a part of Iraq and what have they done was a violation of the Iraqi constitution.

This theme answers the second question based on the context of Van Dijk's sociocognitive framework. The analysis of the theme reveals several hidden ideological underpinnings that are strategically embedded within the discourse. These underpinnings are designed to construct and legitimize specific narratives and power relationships.

- Framing of Non-Compliance

The passage strategically employs the term "ignoring" to frame the officials of the Kurdistan Region as non-compliant with the decisions of the federal judiciary. This framing portrays the officials as acting against a higher authority, implying a breach of established norms and rules. This framing establishes a negative evaluation of the officials, setting the stage for justifying subsequent actions.

- Establishment of Federal Authority

By referencing the "Federal Court" and the "Federal Security Forces," the passage reinforces the authority of the federal government. This establishes a narrative of a legitimate and rightful central power. The intention is to position the federal government as the legitimate enforcer of legal and constitutional order, contrasting this authority against the non-compliance of the Kurdistan Region officials.

- Portrayal of Severe Consequences

The passage employs phrases such as "تقديمهم للمحاكمة" (bringing them to trial) and "غلق المنافذ الحدودية" (closing border crossings) to depict the severity of potential consequences for non-compliance. These linguistic choices serve as a deterrent and emphasize the power asymmetry between the central government and the Kurdistan Region officials.

- Regional Endorsement and Solidarity

The passage appeals to neighboring countries, urging them to support the decisions of the Iraqi government. This attempt to rally regional support not only reinforces the legitimacy of the central government's stance but also presents it as a widely accepted and endorsed perspective. This strategy aims to legitimize the power dynamics on a broader scale.

- Language as a Tool of Control

Van Dijk's approach emphasizes how language is a tool for social and political control. In this case, the language choices strategically position the federal government's decisions as rightful, necessary, and legally binding. Simultaneously, the language positions the Kurdistan Region officials as potential violators of these decisions, casting them in a negative light.

Overall, the passage employs linguistic strategies to construct a narrative that highlights the authority of the federal government, portrays the Kurdistan Region officials as non-compliant, emphasizes potential consequences for non-compliance, rallies regional support, and ultimately shapes power dynamics in favor of the central government. This analysis showcases how language is intricately woven into discourse to shape perceptions, legitimize actions, and influence power relationships.

6. Conclusions

Critical discourse analysis of the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representative using van Dijk's macrostructure model reveals how the elite uses textual components to shape and sway public perception. The primary themes and sub-themes of the text under research are the only discourse aspects that were examined in this study. In light of this, the study has reached the following conclusions:

- Using macrostructure analysis can be very useful in identifying and revealing the hidden ideologies by concentrating on the main themes or topics of any discourse.
- The main theme of the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives is the unconstitutional case of the Kurdistan Independence Referendum. This legislative resolution is in violation of the first article of the constitution since it is based on the constitution, which views referendums as a step toward independence. The House of Representatives' justification for making this choice is that everyone in Iraq, including the

Kurdish authorities, has approved the articles of the Iraqi constitution.

- The other main theme stated in the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives is theme of surrendering. The House of Representatives states that the Kurdistan region's authority disregarded requests from all Iraqi institutions, including the Federal Court, regional states, and international organizations to halt the referendum. As a result of the KRG's insistence on continuing to hold the referendum on the designated date, the Parliament has issued a series of judgements and sanctions against them.
- The theme of surrendering is divided into sub-themes represented by a number of decisions and sanctions against the KRG such as judicial follow-up on those responsible for implementing the referendum and bringing them to court according to the law and closing the border crossings that are outside the control of the federal authority.
- From analyzing the discourse of the Iraqi House of Representatives, it is crystal clear that all the blame is on the KRG officials for their continuous efforts to encourage the Kurds for voting for the referendum. The Iraqi House of Representatives is trying to show the world in general, and the Iraqi people, in particular, that they are very concerned about the unity of Iraq and that this independence referendum is unconstitutional.

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Appendix

قرار نيابي

مجلس النواب

رقم (٥٥) لسنة ٢٠١٧

قرر مجلس النواب بجلسته الثالثة والعشرون والمنعقدة بتاريخ ٢٧ /أيلول/ ٢٠١٧ من الفصل التشريعي الأول السنة التشريعية الرابعة / الدورة الانتخابية الثالثة واستناداً إلى أحكام المادة (٥٩ /ثانياً) من الدستور واستشعاراً من مجلس النواب بواجبه الوطني والدستوري كمثل للشعب العراقي بجميع مكوناته وحرصاً على وحدة العراق وسلامة أرضه ومواطنيه وبموجب السلطة الممنوحة له وفق الدستور الذي اقره جميع أبناء الشعب العراقي ومنهم القادة الكرد الساعين للانفصال عن الوطن فانه يؤكد على خطورة الأوضاع الحالية وتداعياتها التي تهدد مصير الوطن بسبب إصرار سلطة إقليم كردستان على إجراء الاستفتاء والقيام بتنفيذه في الخامس والعشرين من أيلول الجاري رغم صدور قرار من مجلس النواب العراقي بعدم دستورية وقانونية هذا الاستفتاء في جلسته الاعتيادية السابعة عشر في ١٢ /أيلول/ ٢٠١٧ وتجاهل سلطة الإقليم للمناشدات من جميع المؤسسات العراقية للرجوع عن إجراء الاستفتاء وكذلك مناشدات الدول الإقليمية والمنظمات الدولية كمنظمة التعاون الإسلامي وجامعة الدول العربية والمجتمع الدولي متمثلاً بالأمم المتحدة ومجلس الأمن وعدم تنفيذ قرارات القضاء الاتحادي الواردة في الأمر الولائي الصادر من المحكمة الاتحادية على عرائض الدعاوى المقامة بهذا الصدد القاضي بإيقاف إجراء الاستفتاء. لكل ما تقدم فقد ناقش المجلس في جلسته المشار إليها آنفاً تلك الأحداث والتطورات واستمع لآراء السادة النواب من مختلف الكتل.

إصدار القرار الآتي:

- 1- ان إجراء الاستفتاء من قبل سلطة إقليم كردستان غير دستوري ومخالف لأحكام المادة (1) منه والتي نصت على (ان هذا الدستور ضامن لوحدة العراق) وعليه يعد باطلاً كما تبطل آله الاجراءات المترتبة عليه.
- 2- إلزام القائد العام للقوات المسلحة باتخاذ آفة الاجراءات الدستورية والقانونية للحفاظ على وحدة العراق وحماية مواطنيه لإصدار أوامره للقوات الأمنية بالعودة والانتشار في جميع المناطق المتنازع عليها وبضمنها آراؤك وفقاً لما كان عليه الحال قبل تاريخ 2014/6/10.
- 3- التأكيد على تنفيذ القرارات المتخذة من قبل المجلس الوزاري للأمن الوطني في جلسته الأخيرة لاسيما قراره بالمتابعة القضائية للمسؤولين عن تنفيذ الاستفتاء ومن بينه رئيس سلطة الإقليم المنتهية ولايته وتقديمهم للمحاكمة وفقاً للقوانين العراقية النافذة وكذلك سائر الموظفين الكرد العاملين في مؤسسات الدولة الاتحادية.
- 4- غلق المنافذ الحدودية التي تقع خارج سيطرة السلطة الاتحادية واعتبار البضائع التي تدخل منها بضائع مهربة ومناشدة دول الجوار العراقي لاتخاذ التدابير اللازمة لمساعدة الحكومة العراقية على تنفيذ هذا القرار.
- 5- على الحكومة إعادة الحقوق الشمالية في كركوك والمناطق المتنازع عليها لإشراف وسيطرة وزارة النفط الاتحادية ومنع التدخل لأي من الاحزاب النافذة في تلك المناطق.
- 6- اتخاذ الإجراءات الكفيلة لتنفيذ قرارات السلطات التنفيذية والتشريعية والقضائية الخاصة بإقليم كردستان لاسيما قرار إقالة محافظ كركوك.
- 7- على الحكومة استدعاء السفراء والممثلين في الدول التي لديها تمثليات ومكاتب في الإقليم لغرض ابلاغهم باغلاق تلك الممثلات والقنصليات ونقلها إلى محافظات خارج إقليم كردستان.
- 8- دعوة فخامة رئيس الجمهورية المحترم للقيام بواجباته المنصوص عليها بالدستور خاصة المادة (٦٧) منه باعتباره رمز وحدة الوطن والممثل لسيادة البلاد والساھر على ضمان الالتزام بالدستور والمحافظة على استقلال العراق وسيادته ووحدة وسلامة أراضيه.
- 9- التأكيد على تنفيذ إستراتيجية المصالحة الوطنية على قاعدة تغليب الهوية الوطنية لأبناء الشعب العراقي.
- 10- العمل على إعادة النازحين إلى مناطقهم وتهيئة جميع الوسائل لتحقيق هذا الهدف ومن بينها إعادة اعمار المناطق المتضررة.
- ١١ . استمرار جميع الموظفين الكرد من مختلف المناصب في عملهم وضمن أمنهم ممن لم يشاركوا في هذا الاستفتاء.
- ١٢ . الحفاظ على الروابط الوطنية الاجتماعية مع المواطنين الكرد باعتبارهم مكون أساسي من مكونات الشعب العراقي.
- ١٣ . على الحكومة عدم قبول الحوار المشروط إلا بعد إلغاء نتائج الاستفتاء.

د. سليم عبد الله الجبوري

رئيس مجلس النواب

/محرم / ١٤٣٩ هـ