

## **Turkmen Population in Iraq And Social and Demographic Composition Of Kirkuk**

Territories of today's Iraq had been a homeland for Turks before their entry to Anatolia. As from the 9th century A.D., the Turks played an important role in the destiny of those lands. The presence of Turks in Iraq can not be compared with that of Safawis in Iran and of Mamelukes in Egypt. Safawis, although they were not of Persian origin, were mostly representing the dominant class in Iran; just as the Mamelukes were doing in Egypt, though they were not Arabs. That is why it is not possible to speak of any Safawis or Mamelukes in today's Iran and Egypt respectively. On the contrary the Turks, from the times they started to migrate from the Central Asia to the West, made Iraqi territories their homeland. As a result of that, the Turks developed a settled life-style in Iraq and constructed new cities. Turkish settlement in Iraqi territories goes back to very early times.

The process of settlement of Iraqi Turkomans in Iraq was carried on within different periods of time following each other. This process starts in the year 54 Anno Hegirae. Turkoman migrations that had taken place throughout centuries, and also had continued during the Seljuk and Ottoman eras, gave way to the establishment of various new settlement centers, or to the development of already existing ones in the area. Arbil and Kirkuk are the most important of them.

Reliable Western sources, while inquiring the Turkish presence in and around Kirkuk, reach different conclusions as follows:

1 – The Turks living in and around Kirkuk now, are the descendants of the members of Turkish units that were settled in the area by the Abbaside Caliph in the 9th century A.D.

2 – The Turks living in that area have their roots in the Turkoman groups that were brought from Anatolia to be settled here during the Grand Seljuk period, or in the Turkoman groups that came and settled in the area during the period of Iraqi Seljuks (1117-1194).

3 - Kirkuk Turks are the descendants of some 100.000 Turks that were enslaved by Timur and were brought to the region as slaves around the year 1392.

4 - Kirkuk Turks are descending from the Meraga Turkomans, who were brought to the region from Azerbaijan by Shah Ismail (1502-1524).

5 - The Turks living in and around Kirkuk were brought from Anatolia during the rules of Ottoman Empires Yavuz Sultan Selim and Kanuni Sultan Suleiman, in order to ensure the security of the roads .

It is possible to add further to the above mentioned opinions of Western sources. However, the fact is that merely the large number of such arguments, all being based on historical evidences, apart from all other evidences and material remnants of the past, is a proof in itself to the Turkish presence going back to very early periods at the region. In other words, the Turkish presence which constantly increased in the region since the 9th century has never been questioned and debated. The researchers have rather been involved in generating various opinions regarding the origin of the Turks who have been living in Iraq since centuries.

In the Encyclopedia of Islam, which was started to be published in 1909 in Leiden, Holland and was in a short while widely accepted as an important reference book by all the scientific world, J. H. KRAMERS, the well-known Orientalist who wrote the texts of entries regarding the Iraqi territories, besides confirming the above mentioned information, also emphasizes that in any case the Turkish presence in the region goes back to the times before the Ottoman Empire, by stating that "in the 12th century the Kirkuk area had been under the rule of Begtekinliler, a Turkish Principality having Arbil as its Capital" .

## KIRKUK UNDER THE OTTOMAN RULE

There is no doubt that when Mosul and Kirkuk were entered under the Ottoman rule, to be followed by Baghdad and Basra, many regions in the area were reopened to Turkish settlement, besides those places already populated by Turks. The Turkish presence in and around Kirkuk are further evidenced by the Turkish names of many settlement units, which were given during the early periods of settlement, and most of which are still being used. Some of those names, which are undisputedly referred to by both the Western and the Turkish sources are : Tavuk, Altunkprü, Tazehurmatu, K.y sancak, Depelu (Tepeli), İkiztepe, Tasbulak, G.ktepe, Agcalar, Kizlicabulak, Karabulak, Agcadag, Kizildereçayi, Karaburun, Saruçam, Sarukamis, Kurt Deligi, Sivritas, G.kçeyay, Karaçay, Susbazne, Kuruçay, Merveçayi, Kusdere, etc. Those Turkish names are mentioned in the sources belonging to early Ottoman era, as well as in the reports and maps prepared during the periods when the region went under the English rule.

For instance, it is possible to see the above mentioned names in the Title Deed Registers no 313 (p.530) and no 1049 (p.91) of 16th century, which are kept in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry, as well as in the Title Deed Register no 111, belonging to the same century and is kept in the General Directorate of Title Deeds and Cadastral Survey Archives, and in many Registers of Important Correspondence of the same period.

We also encounter with Turkish names in many reliable Western sources. American Missionary Horatio Southgate, who traveled in the region in 1838, uses some of the above mentioned names between pages 197-223 of his book named as "Narrative of a Tour Through Armenia, Kurdistan and Mesopotamia". In the same way, about 15 Turkish names are referred to in the "Guide of Geographical Names", which was prepared in 1922 for the use of the officials of the British Colonial Office (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use). Again, in the maps prepared by the British Colonial Office in 1925, Kirkuk and the Turkish settlement units around it are shown by their Turkish names.

Apart from some short intervals caused by the disputes with Iran, the Ottoman Empire's absolute sovereignty on territories of Iraq had been constantly maintained between the years of 1520 and 1923. In the beginning, Kirkuk and the area around it had been ruled sometimes from Baghdad, and some other times as a subordinate unit of Shehrizor sanjak (an Ottoman administrative unit) or province. During the Classical era of the Ottoman administrative structure (1520-1700) Kirkuk was made the center of the Shehrizor sanjak at certain times, and the "Beylerbeyi"s (Governor-General of Provinces during the Ottoman rule) appointed to the area mostly preferred to have their offices in Kirkuk, due to the high intensity of the Turkish population there. After the establishment of Mosul Province, Kirkuk was subordinated to Mosul due to its proximity to the latter; and it was even made the center of Mosul province for a while. That much importance was given to Kirkuk essentially due to the presence of a well-rooted Turkish population the Ottoman administration could depend on. Because of that nature of Kirkuk, the Turkish presence there has been underlined in many documents and sources in Turkish. For instance, Mehmed Hursid Pasha, who had been assigned to an international commission formed in order to carry out inspections on local basis for the implementation of Ottoman-Iranian agreement of 1847, writes the following in his official report prepared in 1849 to be submitted to the Ottoman Sultan: "the people living in the districts of Arbil and Kirkuk are speaking Turkish, though they also know Kurdish and Arab languages, due to the existence of Kurds and Arabs living around them". When his report is viewed generally, it would be seen that even in the first half of the 19th century, there was no settled Kurdish and Arab population living in Arbil and Kirkuk; as Mehmed Hursid Pasha, telling in his report about the ethnic characteristics of all the people living in the area, states that the people of those two districts were speaking Turkish, but makes no reference to Kurdish or Arab people living there. As a matter of fact, until the time when the Turkish rule ended in the north of Iraq, the strongest effects of the Turkish administration in that region had been evident in and around Kirkuk.

The Western sources confirming the above mentioned view, base their arguments on the strong Turkish presence in that region. For instance, E.B.SOANE, a Western traveler who examined the region in the 1910's, explains the reason of the strong Turkish rule in Kirkuk "as the presence of Turkish-speaking people of Kirkuk", after saying that "Kirkuk is famous with its Turkomans" .

#### KIRKUK'S POPULATION IN HISTORY

It is a fact that the population of Turks living in and around Kirkuk throughout its history had so largely exceeded the populations of other ethnic groups that it could not be possible to make any comparison between them. However, exact figures in that regard could not be given due to the facts that reasonably healthy demographic statistics are lacking, and the raw materials relevant to the issue in various archives have not been gathered and put in order. Despite those facts, however, the easily accessible Ottoman archives containing materials belonging to the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century provide us some clues. Demographic information could be found in the Yearbooks, which were generally named as "Salname", and were published by the state on annual basis. However, as the censuses made under the Ottoman administrative system were taking into account the communities/religions, rather than the ethnic identities of individuals, the values given in the above mentioned sources were also based on communities/religions (Muslim, Orthodox, Catholic, Jewish, etc.). Still, there is no doubt that the population of Kirkuk, large majority of whom were shown to be Muslims in the above mentioned censuses, ethnically consisted wholly of Turks, when other historical evidences stated above are also taken into consideration. As a matter of fact, the sources also bear clues to that effect.

For instance, according to the "salname" of the year 1891, Kirkuk was consisting of six districts and five subdistricts. The total number of houses in the center was 4630. When we take into consideration that researchers of history generally assume the total number of persons living in a house as 5, we calculate the total population as 23150. In the same Salname, though no ethnic classification is made on the said population, it is stated that the language most widely spoken in Kirkuk was Turkish; other than that Kurdish and Arabic were also spoken . The same information was also included in the Salname of 1992-93 . Reference to Turkish as the most widely spoken language in those Salmames was not a coincidence, but it was a reflection of the fact that almost all of the people living in Kirkuk were Turks.

In the Salname of 1894, the total population given for Kirkuk was 29140. In accordance to that source, in which it is stated that 1200 non-Muslims and around 3000 foreigners were living in the city, it is also particularly underlined that "in general, the population of the city was consisted of Turks and Turkish-speaking people". In addition, names of many Turkish neighborhoods are also mentioned of, like: Agalik, Meydan, 'ay, 'ukur, Avci, Ahi Hüseyin etc. According to the same source again, around Kirkuk there were large Turkish villages, each consisting of two hundred houses. Some of them mentioned in the source were: Is'in, Besir, Tazehurmatu.

All the researchers accept the reliability of the Ottoman sources, which never attempted to divert the ethnic or religious identities of individuals. On the other hand, the Ottoman "Salname"s are counted among the basic sources for obtaining demographic and statistical information on Ottomans. Therefore, the information given above, combined with the statements in the Salname of 1894 about "the presence of a considerable number of Arabs and Kurds, as well as some Iranians found as foreigners in Kirkuk" can be taken as a proof of the fact that the rest of the population was consisted completely of Turks .

Those information are also confirmed by the Western sources with slight differences. For instance, Horatio Southgate, an American who traveled to the region in 1838, is giving the population of Kirkuk as 15000 . Approximately fifty years later, in a report prepared by British Consulate in 1885, the population of Kirkuk is given as 25000, without making reference to ethnic groups . Vital Cuinet, a Frenchman who went to the region in the 1890's as an Inspector of the

Ottoman Public Debts Administration (Duyun-i Umumiye), and thus surely had the capacity to access the official figures, while giving the population of Kirkuk as 30.000 in his study titled as "Le Turquie D'Asia" (Asian Turkey), insistently underlines that 28000 of that population were Turkomans . These figures are parallel with those given in the Ottoman "Salname"s of the same period. Similar information could also be found in the British documents covering again the same period. For instance, in a document prepared by the British Foreign Office, the population of Kirkuk is given as approximately 25000. In the same document, after stating that the population in Kirkuk consisted of Turks, Kurds, and Arabs, it is emphasized that the most widely spoken language in Kirkuk was Turkish ; which means that the Turks were making up the majority of the population.

In another British Consulate report belonging to the year 1910, the total number of Turkomans living in Kirkuk and Telafer is given as 50000, while it is stated that the Kurds of Talabani tribe in Kirkuk had a population of only 2000 .

Those figures, which belong to the period before the World War I, and which are needed to be evaluated through the modern methods of the science of demography, are quite close to the real figures. The fact that all the above mentioned sources confirm each other though they were independently prepared, also serves as evidence showing their accuracy. The differences between them are within tolerable limits. The increases or decreases occurring in the population are at scales that could be explained by taking the conditions of the time into consideration.

W.R. HAY, who had served as a British political officer in the region for two years after the World War I, wrote that the city of Kirkuk, having a population of 30000 before the war, had been the main center of the Turks living in the region, and there had also been several Turkish-speaking villages around the city . Those statements of W.R. HAY confirm the previous information. In the same way, C. J. Edmonds, who had been in the region between the years of 1919 and 1925, and whose book is widely used as a reference for the history of the region, states the likely population of Kirkuk at the time as 25000, and adds that the Turkomans constituted the majority of that population . Those figures given by C. J. Edmonds were in conformity with the figures brought forward by the British delegation during the talks in Lausanne.

Various censuses were held in the region both during the British rule, and after the Iraqi State gained its independence. However, since most of those censuses were used for political purposes, the results of them were not always explained clearly. In general, by taking the results of the 1957 census as basis, it was claimed that a total of 600.000 Turkomans, who at the time corresponding to 10 % of the total population, were living in Iraq. However, no sound information could be given with regards to their distribution within Iraq. The demographic balance in the region had been constantly changed at the expense of the Turkoman population, due to reasons like Kirkuk's special status, its great value for the petroleum industry, and its position with regards to the relations between the central authority and the Kurds.

For instance, in the census of 1947, that was the first official census held in Iraq, the population in and around Kirkuk was determined to be 286000, while the population of the Kirkuk city was given as 69035. However it was not stated how much of that population were Turkomans . Similarly, in the census of 1955, no reference was made to the population of the city center, and of the Turkomans, while the total population of Kirkuk was given as 312410 .

## POPULATION OF TURKOMANS IN IRAQ

### NEGOTIATIONS HELD IN LAUSANNE ON THE TURKOMAN POPULATION :

In the course of the talks held between Turkey and Britain before signing the Lausanne Treaty, Lord Curzon spent great efforts in order to show the population of the Turkomans living in Mosul

province (Northern Iraq) much less than the real number, and used very small numbers in defining the Turkoman population there.

Lord Curzon, claiming to be taking as basis the censuses carried out in the region meticulously by the British military officers in 1920, showed the Turkoman population as 66.000.

In his answer, Ismet Pasha, based on the documents he had submitted, stated that the real number of Turkoman population was in fact 146 960.

#### TURKOMANS IN THE CENSUSES :

First constitution of Iraq was declared on the date of March 21, 1925. Before it was passed, the draft of this constitution was published in Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish, and English, and was submitted to the information of the people. Article 6 of that Constitution stipulated that, without being subject to any discrimination with regards to nationality, religion, and language, all the Iraqis had equal rights, which were guaranteed by law. Later, in the Constitution of 1958, as well as in the constitutions which followed, it was stated that Arabs and Kurds had common constitutional rights, which were guaranteed again by the constitution. However none of those constitutional rights were provided to the Turkomans.

Due to political reasons, the Iraqi state had always tried to keep the population of Turkomans at low levels. Despite that, the census of 1957, though having some shortcomings and defects, had been the census which was carried out in the most serious way, which yielded the closest results to real numbers, and which included the details. It is seen that there were two different officially declared results of that census with regards to the Turkomans:

The preliminary results of the census were declared in the same year, and the Turkoman population was stated to be 136.800.

One year after the revolution in 1958, and the foundation of Iraqi republic (1959), the final results of the 1957 census were declared. In those final results, the Turkoman population was declared to be 567.000.

Here, the point that caught attention is that especially the Kurdish groups and writers, with the aim of showing the Turkoman population less than their real number and misleading everyone, have always pronounced the preliminary results as the real ones (136.800). On the other hand, they have ignored the final and official results declared by the State (567.000). This is a fact that should always be stressed.

In fact, obtaining the original and official copies of the results of the 1957 census, as well of other censuses held in later years (1967, 1977, 1987, 1997), and even of the 1947 census held earlier, would largely be helpful to the studies like this one.

The census in 1977 and in later years (under the rule of the overthrown Baath regime) had been held not for obtaining statistical data that would be used in dealing with various issues, but merely for collecting police information. In that context, the census forms included questions that would not found in ordinary forms, such as; whether the individual in question was the member of a political organization; detailed information about his relatives of fourth degree; and information on his relatives living out of Iraq.

#### THE FACTS PROVING THAT KIRKUK IS A TURKOMAN CITY

1) The Turkoman "Beylik"s (Turkish Principalities ruled by a Bey) and States founded in Kirkuk are the proofs of the fact that it is a Turkoman city.

On the other hand, no Kurdish state or Beylik having Kirkuk within its boundaries has ever been founded in the region. The Turkoman states and “Beylik”s which covered the region within their boundaries and the period of years passed under their rule are :

a. Iraqi Seljuk State 1118 - 1194

b. “Atabeylik”s (a type of Beylik)

(1) “Atabeylik” of Mosul 1127-1233

(2) Beylik of Arbil 1144-1233

c. Ilhanlilar State 1258 – 1339

d. Celayirliler State 1339 – 1410

e. Karakoyunlu State 1411 – 1468

f. Akkoyunlu State 1468 - 1508

2 ) Information proving the Turkoman ethnic composition of the city of Kirkuk :

A- The largest and oldest neighborhoods of Kerkük are inhabited by Turkomans :

Begler-Sarikahya-Saturlu-Cirit Square-Imam Abbas- Musalla – İukur – Piryadi – Zive - Ahi Hüseyin-Agalik Square-Altuncular-Neftçiler-Avci- Yeni Tisin-Tisin-Hamzalilar-Hasa -Mahatta Road-Baghdad Road-İniçiler-Almas-Bulag -Helveçiler.

(The neighborhoods of Kurds are : Imam Kasim-Sorca-Rahimava-Azadi-Kirmizi Kilise-Iskan (even those names are in Turkish, and excluding the neighborhood of Imam Kasim , all of them have been established during the last 50 years).

B - In Kirkuk, Turkoman families are the most crowded ones, whose roots going to very early times :

Neftçi- Yakubi- Hürmüzlü- Gedik- Avci- Salihi- Celali- Kirdar- Kasaplar- Bayrakdar-Alemdar-Pasvan- Klemen- Terzibası- Beyatlı- Koçak- Tikritli- Bazırgan- Saatçi- Küzeçi- Naib- Kazi- Sari Kehye- Sabuncu- Kayacı- Akkoyunlu- K.prülü- Avuçlu-Demirci- Samancı- Ketene- İelebi- Bolyemez-Dizdar-Yüzügölmez

C – Graveyards in a city are important; as they indicate the ethnic composition of the city and the dominant ethnic group there, depending on to whom they belong to. The largest and oldest graveyards in Kirkuk are those belonging to the Turkomans. Names of the Turkoman graveyards are :

Musalla- Ahmed Aga- Şhitler - Neftçi- Hürmüzlü - Talimtepe- Seyit Allavi – Imam Ahmet – Seyit Yusuf.

D – Even though in Iraq the mayors were brought to office through appointment, during the period of 1920-1980, 8 Turkoman mayors had been appointed, while the number of Kurdish mayors had been only 2. The Turkoman mayors who had been in office during the said period are :

Mecit Yakubi- Baki Aga- Abdurrahman Piryaddi- Sadik Sarraf- Samil Yakubi- Nurettin Vaiz- Hisamettin Salihi-Mazhar Tikritli- Nazim Salihi- Ibrahim Mohammed.

(After 1980 Arab mayors were appointed)

(The Kurdish mayors who had been in office during the period of 1920-1980 : Sheikh Habib Talabani-Sheikh Fazil Talabani )

E – In Kirkuk, activities related with press had always been carried out by the Turkomans :

1. The newspapers and magazines published in Turkish in Kirkuk during the Ottoman period:

Havadis Paper 1911 A.D. (Gregorian Calendar)

Maarif Paper 1913 A.D.

Kevkeb-i Maarif Paper

2. During the rule of Iraqi State

Nemce 1918 A.D.

The weekly named KIRKUK had been published in Arabic and in Turkish during a period covering approximately 50 years (1926-1974) by the Kirkuk Municipality in Kirkuk.

Teceddüt 1920

Ileri 1935

Afak 1954

Besir 1959

F - In Kirkuk, all of the singers are Turkoman :

Osman Teplebas- Resit Küle Riza- Mustafa Kalayi- Molla Veli- Saltag- Muçula- Malallah- Molla Taha-Serif- Mahav- Salih Havala-Mehmet 'ulboyun- Ali Merdan-Siddik Bende Gafur- Abdulvahit Kuzeci- Abdurrahman Kizilay- Izzettin Nimet- Kerim K. Jemen- Kerkük kızı- Fahrettin Ergeç- Ekrem Tuzlu- Faik Bazirgan- Faik Neccar- Sima Berber- Ali Kaleli- Tahsin Kerkükoglu-Sami Celali- Mehmet Camci- Muhammed Rauf - Ibrahim Rauf.

(Tens of records of the above mentioned singers are kept in Kirkuk TV and Baghdad radio station studios).

No famous Kurdish singer from Kirkuk has ever been known.

G – Before the 1957 census, hundreds of thousands of pamphlets written in Turkish were published by the State to be distributed in and around Kirkuk, while no pamphlet in Kurdish were distributed in the same region. The said pamphlets, which were distributed by using planes and cars, included the following :

State of Iraq – Social Affairs Vizierate

General Directorate of Public Registration

General Census of 1957

Dear citizens; Participating in the registration efforts would, in a way, lay the foundations of a new and happy life style.

H – All of the famous poets of Kirkuk are Turkoman poets. Some of the most well-known names among them are:

Dede Hicri-Mehmet Sadik-Ahmet Medeni-Osman Mazlum-Resit Akif Hürmüzlü- Mehmet Rasih, Hasan G.nen-Resit Ali Dakuklu- Sadullah Müfti- Esat Naib- Celal Riza-ضmer Aga-Tercilli-Hidir Lütfi- Ali Marufoglu- Izzettin Abdi Beyatli- Nazim Refik Koçak- Mehmet Izzet Hattat- Salah Nevres – Nasih Bazirgan- Kahtan Hürmüzlü- Ismail Serttürkmen - Münevver Molla Hassun- Ahmet Mehmet Kerküklü-Aydan Nakip- Ahmet Kusçioğlu.

There is only one Kurdish poet who lived in Kirkuk : Sheikh Riza Talebani. However, his poems are written in Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Kurdish; most of them being in Turkish.

I – In the old times, the mills had been accepted as one of the most profitable types of properties. All of the mills in Kirkuk belong to the Turkomans, and they carry Turkish names. Some of them are still in good condition:

Büyük Karabas- Küçük Karabas- Kırmızı degirmen- Cinler Sakin Degirmeni- Cennet- İukur- Sebil Suyu- Keravli- Tokat- Almas- Esekli- Zeytunli-Sişiçi- Seyhoglu- Ulular-Begler- Neftçi- Büyük Molla Kasim- Silav- Orta- Tendürlü- Mikailoglu

J – Until the year 1938, education in Kirkuk had been in Turkish. That was a right provided to the Turkomans under the Declaration of 1932, and the Law on Foreign Languages.

K - In 1970, the Iraqi State provided additional cultural rights to the Turkomans (Revolutionary Command Council Decision No.89. Date : January 24, 1970).

In accordance with the above mentioned decision, in 102 out of 110 primary schools in Kirkuk, education was started to be given in Turkoman language. The names of those schools were also changed into Turkish names. Some of them were :

Yıldız-Babagurgur- Aydınlik- İaliskan- Baris –Gençlik- Ugur- Aktas- Task.prü.

Schools bearing the names of the neighborhoods they were located in : Yedi kızlar- Almas- Avcı- Sonag.lü- Hasasu- Agalik- Saturoglu- Gavuroglu- Sarikahya- Cirit meydanı-Talim tepe- Topkapı.

L - After the declaration of the Republic, during a period which lasted for some time, free elections had been held in various organizations. The results of the elections made in Kirkuk within that framework were :

- Bar (Chamber of Lawyers) Elections-September 1958. A Turkoman lawyer won the elections among 45 candidates.

-Students' Union Elections (November 22, 1958). Around a thousand students run for those elections, and the Turkomans' list won the elections with a great majority in all the schools of Kirkuk.



-Teachers' Union Elections (January 23, 1959). A total of 900 teachers run for the elections. Turkomans' list won the elections with a great majority in Kirkuk and in the neighboring districts (604 votes).

-Association for the Protection of Children Elections (January 1959). 9 Turkomans, a Christian doctor, and the Director of provincial health were elected to the membership of the administrative committee of the Association, which consisted of 11 members.

-Elections of the Civil Servants Club ( January 1959).

All the memberships of the administrative committee, consisting of 9 members, were gained by the Turkomans.

-Elections of the Red Crescent Association (February 13, 1959)

All the memberships of the administrative committee were gained by the Turkomans.

M - The names of all the neighborhoods located in and around Kirkuk are in Turkish as follows:

Sona G.lü- Gavur Bagi- Babagurgur- Talim Tepe- Molla Abdullah Tepesi- Yorgan Tepe –Kula etc.

N - All the villages around Kirkuk are inhabited by the Turkomans, and their names are in Turkish, such as:

Türkalan - Yayçi- Topzava- Kübetler- Tisin- lardakli- Yahyava- Besir- Türkeskan- Kizilyar- مضمير  
Mendan- Yarimca- Hamzeliler- Kara Hasan.

3 ) National and International Documents Proving that Kirkuk is a Turkoman City:

A – Declaration made by the Iraqi Government on the date of May 30, 1932:

Article 9 Paragraph 1:

“In the districts of Kifri and Kirkuk of the Kirkuk Liva (subdivision of a province), where most of the people have Turkoman ethnic origin, the official languages to be spoken shall be Kurdish and Turkish besides Arabic”.

In the above mentioned Declaration, national and cultural rights of the Tukumans were also guaranteed.

B- After the Kirkuk massacre occurred in 1924, a written and published announcement was made by the highest ranking British officer there. The text of that announcement was published only in Turkish. Abdurrazzak El-Hasani, Iraqi researcher and writer, explains the reason for the publication of the said announcement in Turkish by the fact that Turkish is the language most widely spoken in Kirkuk ( The book named “Tarih El-Vezarat El Ivakiye” Vol.1. Baghdad, Seventh Edition. 1988, p. 206).

C - The “Law 74 on Local Languages”, which was passed in 1931, stipulated that Turkish should be used while hearing the cases in the courts of the regions where the Turkomans constituted the majority of the population, particularly in Kirkuk and Arbil. In the same law, it was also stipulated that the education should be in Turkish in the same regions.

D – The Iraqi State, in its announcement made in 1958 about the results of the 1957 General Census, had declared the population of the Turkomans as 567 000. When an internationally

accepted standard rate of population increase would be taken into account, the Turkoman population in Kirkuk should have reached a number of minimum 2 million by the year 2003.

E - The above mentioned fact is also confirmed by the official reports sent by the British Embassy to the Royal Foreign Office just after the Revolution of 1958.

- Many Arab or foreign writers, historians, and researchers, who stated that the Turkomans constituted the majority of the population in the city of Kirkuk, have recorded those ideas in their books. Following examples could be given in that regard :

A - In British Encyclopedia and Global Encyclopedia, it is stated that Kirkuk is a Turkoman city.

B - Hayri Emin El- Umeri ; from his book of "Political Stories Taken from the Recent History of Iraq" - Baghdad, p-66. : "The majority of the population in Kirkuk is Turkoman".

C - Ferik El-Mizhir El-Firavn (one of the leaders of the uprising in 1920) ; from his book of "1920 Uprising": Baghdad-second edition 1995. p-12:

"The minorities in Iraq are as follows: Kurds in Suleimaniye and Arbil, and Turks in Kirkuk".

D - Seyyar El-Cemil ; his book of "Leaders and Masters, Ottoman Pashas and Arab Osmanli Pasalari ve Arap Progressives"-Amman-Jordan. First Edition. 1999. p-131:

"The Turkomans living in certain regions in Northern are highly concentrated in Kirkuk, which is on the east of the Tigris River, and in Telafer, which is on the west of the same river. Their origins go back to the Turkoman States which established sovereign rules in Iraq".

E - Longrigg. Stiven Himisli:

His book of "Four Centuries of the Recent History of Iraq". Translated by : Cafer El-Hayyat. 4th Edition. 1968-Kom-Iran. p-21, p-122, p-361

"The language spoken in the city of Kirkuk is Turkish"

F - David Mc Dowel: "Amdoren History Of The Kurds" New York 1996

"All the villages between Mosul and Baghdad are inhabited by the Turkomans, who speak Turkish".

G - Viladimir Minorsky :

His book of "Mosul Issue". Translated into Arabic by : Salim Sahin. Publication of the Kurdish Research Center, Istanbul-1998 p-22.

"The Turkomans constitute the majority of the population in the cities and districts like Telafer, Arbil, Altunkprü, Kirkuk, Tazehurmatu, Tavuk, Tuzhurmatu, Kifri ve Karatepe, as well as in the region lying along the route which passes from the south of Mosul, and which was called as the "Silk Road" in history".

H – The book named as "The Memories of Nazim Tabakçali". Written by : Lawyer Casim Muhlis: Beirut-1969.

Tabakçali, in his official report no. 363 and dated 14-15 February 1959, which he had sent to the Chief of the Iraqi Military Authority, refers to the disputes occurring in Kirkuk between the Kurds and the Turkomans, who constituted the majority.

In another of his reports, which is included on page 423 of the same book, Tabakçali states the following : “Kurds have never constituted the majority in Kirkuk, they have always been in the minority”.

I - The book named as “Iraq in the British Documents covering the period of 1958-1959”.

Translated by the retired Colonel Halil Ibrahim Hasan. Vol 1. Baghdad 2000. p-158:

In the report no. 134255 of the British Foreign Office, a telegraph is referred to, which was submitted by the British Embassy in Baghdad to the Foreign Office, and which said : “A large majority of the Turkoman people speak Turkish”.

On page 50 of volume 2 of the same book, the secret telegraph no.1286 and dated 12 August 1958, which was submitted to the Foreign Office that telegraph is referred to in the document no. 134212 of the Royal Foreign Office) was mentioned to be saying : “In Kirkuk, a Turkish majority is living”.

J – The Palestinian writer and researcher Hana Batatu, on page 224, vol.3 of his book named as “Iraq”, ( Beirut. First Edition, 1992) states the following :

“The city of Kirkuk had been a Turkish city in real sense until recently. Then the Kurds started to migrate there from the nearby villages. By 1959, the population of Kurds had become increased to constitute one thirds of the total population in the city.

K - Encyclopedia Britannica. Vol. 3 – Edited in the USA. It is stated on 10965 p.389 as follows : “Even though there are some people speaking Arabic and Kurdish, Kirkuk is mainly a Turkoman city”.

In the later editions of the same encyclopedia (1999-2000 baskisi) , that fact has been confirmed once more, by emphasizing that the ethnic texture of the city of Kirkuk is primarily formed by the Turkomans.

## CONCLUSION

Particularly after the 1980's, generally in the whole of Iraq, and particularly in Kirkuk, policies aiming at the assimilation of the Turkomans had been implemented, and the Turkomans had been forced to move from their homes. Under the Decision no. 1391 taken by the Iraqi revolutionary Council in 1981, the Turkomans had been compelled to migrate to the southern regions of the country. Also, within the framework of the Arabization policies, the lands owned by the Turkomans had been expropriated and the Arabs brought from the south had been settled on those lands. Terence Clark, who had been the British Ambassador to Baghdad in the 1985's, while telling his observations during his travels to Northern Iraq, calls attention to the Arabization policies implemented in the region, and states that the city of Kirkuk, having quite a colorful society consisting of Turkomans and Kurds, had been deliberately subjected to Arabization by the Saddam regime .

In conclusion, all the available data reveal clearly that Kirkuk had not only been a Turkish city before and during the Ottoman period, but it also had preserved its Turkish/Turkoman identity until the 1980's. Though being subjected since a long time to assimilation policies implemented following the occupation of Iraq by the Britain, during the period of the mandate, and under the rules of Iraqi Kingdom and Iraqi republic, the Turkomans of Kirkuk still maintain their existence. That is alone a fact showing the strength of the Turkoman identity in Kirkuk, besides other evidences.

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7. Salname(Yearbook) for Mosul Province, 1308, p. 139.
8. Salname(Yearbook) for Mosul Province, 1310, p. 205
9. Salname(Yearbook) for Mosul Province, 1312, pp. 298-99.
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11. The original form of the above mentioned statement in Turkish is: "Guraba (foreigner) olarak bir hayli mikdar Arap ve Kürd ile kalilu'l-mikdar (small number of) Acem (Iranians) bulunur", Salname(Yearbook) for Mosul Province, 1312, p. 299.
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