

Turkmen of Iraq



By

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Purpose and Scope

This book was written with two clear objectives. Firstly, to make an assessment of the current position of Turkmen in Iraq, and secondly, to draw the world's attention to the situation of the Turkmen. This book would not have been written without the support of Turkmen all over the world.

I wish to reveal to the world the political situation and suffering of the Iraqi Turkmen under the Iraqi regime, and to expose Iraqi Kurdish bandits and reveal their premeditated plan to change the demography of the Turkmen-populated area. I would like to dedicate this book to every Turkmen who has been detained in Iraqi prisons; to Turkmen who died under torture in Iraqi prisons; to all Turkmen whose sons and daughters were executed by the Iraqi regime; to all Turkmen who fought and died without seeing a free Turkmen homeland; and to the Turkmen City of Kerkuk, which is a bastion of cultural and political life for the Turkmen resisting the Kurdish occupation.

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1.0 Chapter One

1.1 THE DEFINITION OF THE TURKMEN

Turkmen are the third largest ethnic group in Iraq after Arabs and Kurds. Today, the Iraqi Turkmen population is estimated at around 2.5 million, taking into account all available estimates of towns and townships that they live in. They may constitute around 14% to 16% of the Iraqi population, although existence of higher percentages has also been proposed. They have been undergoing decades of assimilation campaigns in Iraq — often, in a more brutal fashion than that carried out to Kurds, who number around three-and-a-half million. Turkmen have been suffering at the hands of the merciless *Ba'aths* regime, with pressure to place them under the Kurdish rule. In all statements by the western leaders, and in the media, there is an overemphasis on the Kurds and a total disregard of the Turkmen. It is shocking for us to see the Iraqi Governing Council, which was established by the U.S. administration, and the Kurdish leaders bargain over Kerkuk, which has been for centuries, and still is, a predominantly Turkmen province. During the Laussane Peace Treaty negotiations in 1924, the British claimed, "Turkmen people were different from the Turks of Anatolia as they came to Iraq from the steppes of Central Asia and they are the direct descendants of the Turkmen people from Turkmenistan". In 1970, the Iraqi government called them Turkmen for purely political reasons to cut off their links with the Turkish Republic.

Historians agree that the terminology of Turkmen, Turkoman, Torcoman, Turkcoman and Turkmend does not specify something different from Turkish ancestors but specifies the same as that of Muslim Oguz Turk who accepted Islam as their faith. The Turkmen commenced their migration from central Asia and spread towards the Middle East. They established several Turkmen states in Iraq and have also immensely contributed to the Middle East civilizations. The words of Turkmen eventually become synonymous with the Turk from the above era. Mahmood Kashegri, Bayruni and other writers, when referring to Turkmen were in fact describing the Oguz, the Halach and the Karalook, which are Turkic tribes, which were engaged in agriculture. [1] Later, the name of Turkmen was mentioned in the Group of Geography as stated in the book of Al-Mukadesi, *Geography Library*, part three, page 274 and afterwards. [2]

The name of Turkmen was also stated as Tukumenk in the Chinese Tung Tin Encyclopaedia of the 8th Century, carrying the same implication of Turkmen as was presented in the dissertation that was submitted by the Bavarian Academic of Science in Germany as was introduced by Hearth. [3] Also, the Russian academic historian Bartoled in his book, *The history of the Turks in the central Asia*, stated that the source of the Turkmen word is still unknown for us and more research is needed to establish the origin of the Turkmen. [4][1] The Ghaznavids were of servile origin, but the Persian culture and administrative technique, which they adopted, speedily came to overtake their steppe beginnings. [5] The Qarakhanids were also influenced in the same way; their elites were assimilated to the traditions of the Iranian-Islamic states. [6] The Oguz lived at the southeast coast of the Caspian Sea and were not influenced by Persian culture. Therefore, they remained less integrated and were called Turkmen.

Linguistically, the name *Turkmen*, as a whole word, has no meaning in the Modern Turkish Dictionary other than 'a Turkish clan'. As a compound name, it can be divided into two words, Turk and men. The word 'Turk' is used as a synonym to the word 'Turkic' of the international literary usage. The word 'men' means 'I'. Figuratively, it refers to bravery. Accordingly, the word 'Turkmen' can be explained as "I am a Turkish man" or "We are Turkish brave men". [7][1]

Y. J. Diny and K. Kahin supported these explanations, respectively. [8][9] Other scholars have proposed that the element 'man/men' acts as an intensifier, and have translated the word as 'pure Turk' or 'most Turk-like of the Turks'. [10] There are several theories over the development of the term *Turkmen*. Mr. Najeib Asim Feri suggests that the word Turkmen consists of two words, Turk and man, which mean a Turkish man or a Turkish fighter. The Turkish historian Mr. Hussein Hisameddin describes the work of Turkmen as magnificent Turk. [1]



Turkmen demonstrate showing their opposition to the Kurdish federation in the North of Iraq, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: photos Salman Mofak Kerkuklu, 2005

The word Turkmen was also used by Alexander the Great when he named the powerful Turkic army under the leadership of Shu whom he met after the congruence of Samarqand as Turkmen. [12][168] According to Mohammed Bin Hussein Kashegri, who died in 1073 AD, [11] the name of Turkmen is a compound name formed from the word *Turk* and the Persian word *Manand*, which means, "They are Turks". [13][14][15A][168] Also Ibn al-Kathir reported that the word Turkmen could be developed from the words Turk and Iman. [21][1] [168][179]

The word *Iman* is Arabic, which means faith, and is used for the same meaning by the Turks. [15][1][16] [16A][16B] It is reported by Neshri that at the Abbasid period (912–913), when the leader Canakhan with his 2 thousand people embraced Islam, they were called Turki-iman, which was later changed to Turkmen. [16][17]

A Turkmen writer Shaker Sabir Alzabit, in his book a brief history of the Turkmen in Iraq, which was published in Baghdad in 1962, noted that some historian states that the name of Turkmen is derived from an Arabic word of Turjuman which means a translator. [18] So there are a number of explanations and definitions for the word 'Turkmen'. Some historians state that the word Turkmen consists of two words

'Turk' and the Persian word of "mend". **[19][1]** The Turkmen converted to Islam and settled adjacent to Khorasan, where they were called Turkmen.

Professor Farooq Somer makes another suggestion in his book *The Oguz and the Turkmen*, which was published, in the Turkish language. He states that the word Turkmen was given to those of the Turkish Oguz tribes who embraced Islam in the 11th Century. **[20][16A]**

Turkmen was supposed to be used for those of the Oguz tribes who embraced Islam and acted as translators for the non-Islam Oguz or other Turkish clans; then it was generalised to include all Oguz people. **[24][23]** Dequigne believes that the name Turkmen was developed from the name Koman, which was one of the non-Oguz Turkish tribes. **[24]**

Almost all sources date back to the 10th Century. Whether the first nomad communities of Oguz tribes — who embraced Islam in the Ordu region at the south of Middle Asia on the frontier of an expanding Islam world — were Turkmen or named Turkmen is still a subject of discussion. In the 11th Century, the name Turkmen was politicised and expanded to cover Kerkuk and Halac communities. The term was later restricted to only the Oguz clans until the 13th Century. **[25]** According to the Turkish historian Y. Oztuna, the name Turkmen appeared with the conversion of nomad Oguz tribes to Islam Turk. **[26]**

At the end of the first half of the 11th Century, and when all the Oguz people embraced Islam, the term was used as an alternative to Oguz. In the following century, the word Turkmen seems to have been used for the Oguz people who remained nomad and townsmen. It was during the Mongol period that the name Oguz was finally discontinued. Thereafter, the name Turk totally replaced Oguz. **[27]**

It can be concluded that the name Turkmen was first used mainly for the nomads of Oguz, who were the first Oguz peoples to embrace Islam. **[178]** Somer and Boyle claim that the Near Eastern Muslims gave the name Turkmen to the Oguz. **[28]** The term 'Turkmen' appears for the first time in the Islamic sources in the 10th Century, about 980 A.D. The geographer Maqdisi, speaking of two strongholds

in the province of Isfijab, calls them the “frontier posts against the Turkmen”. In the 11th Century, this was applied to the southwestern Turks, whereas the term Turk was used for the eastern Turks of the Karluk group. [168]

Ghaznaferi sources frequently call the incoming Oguz as Turkmen and in his book named *Mirror for Princes*, Nizam al-Mulk considers the nomad Seljuks within Iran and in the lands to the West as Turkmen. [29] In the 11th Century, Oguz Turkmen tribes dominated by the Seljuk clan entered the Caucasus region, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. They defeated the Byzantine army, and drifted through Iran and into Anatolia. The chieftain Ottoman of the Kayi tribe established in the 13th Century the sprawling Ottoman Empire that lasted into the 20th Century. The other two Turkmen states were the Kara Akkoyunlu (Black Sheep) from 1378 until 1469 and the Akkoyunlu (White Sheep) from 1387 until 1502.

According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the name Turkmen is a synonym of Oguz, which includes all Turkish (Turkic) population that lives to the southwest of Central Asia. [30] This includes the Turkish population of Turkey, Republic of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan of Iran, Turkmenistan and other countries (i.e., Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Greece, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and other European countries). In the Turkish language, men/man means powerful, magnificent, pure or original; so Turkmen in Turkish means a pure/original Turk. [31] Also, Najeeb Asim Feri stated that Turkmen means Turkish man or Turkish fighter. [32] The well-known Turkish writer Dr. Ibrahim Kafesoglu also stated the latter. [1]

Cloud Cohen in his book about Ottoman Turks which was published in London in 1968, Pg. 8, the name of Turkmen is used to distinguish between the nomadic Turks and urban Turks. [33] However, in our view, calling Iraqi Turkmen as ‘Turkmen, Turkoman, Turcoman’ begins with the Seljuks. Historians agree that the terminology of Turkmen, Turkoman, Torcoman, Turkcoman and Turkmend does not specify something different from Turkish ancestors but specifies the same as that of Muslim Oguz Turks who accepted Islam as their faith. [1] It is worth noting that with the exception of Turkmenistan and Afghanistan, all the Turkmen communities can easily understand each other. The Turkish historian Y. Oztuna presents almost the same definition to the name Turkmen. He calls Turkmen as Oguz Turk. [1]

The Turkmen of Iraq have been settled in Iraq before the Ottoman Empire in 1516 A.D.; moreover, the Turkmen of Iraq have established several Turkmen states in Iraq, such as Sujuk Empire (1118–1194), Dynasty of Mosul Atabekians (1127–1233), Dynasty of Erbil Atabekians (1144–1209), Turkmen Dynasty in Kerkuk (1230), State of Kara Koyunlu (1411–1470) and State of Ak Koyunlu (1470–1508). **[33A]**

At the first Iraqi Turkmen Congress, held in Erbil from 4–7 October 1997, a “Declaration of Principles” was adopted. The second article defines who they are and what the name ‘Turkmen’ represents. “The name Turkmen represents a people belonging to the Muslim Oghuz branch”. According to the article, they “migrated from Central Asia to today’s Turkmenistan”. This migration, according to them, began in the year 673 AD. Here, they are, no doubt, referring to the immigrations leading to the foundation of the Seljuk empires, which also brought a large part of the ancestors of the present-day Turks of Anatolia, the Caucasus and Turkmenistan to the regions which they now inhabit. All these Turkic peoples — the Turks of Turkey and the Balkans, the Azeris of Azerbaijan and Iran and the Turkmen of Turkmenistan, Iran and Afghanistan are members of the Oghuz group of Turkic languages. That means that there is a relatively high degree of mutual linguistic comprehensibility among them.

To summarise, the Turkmen are the descendents of those Oguz tribes who originally came from Central Asia. As stated by the El-Maroozi, the Oguz were divided into main branches. The first branch settled in the cities; the second branches, which settled in plain grasslands and the Oguz tribes who converted to Islam were called Turkmen. **[34]** The Turkmen did not leave their ancestral lands in one massive migration. However, they departed their land in successive waves over a long period and eventually settled in the Middle East. **[35]** The Iraqi Turkmen are generally Sunni Muslims, although there are claims that up to 40 percent of Iraq’s Turkmen are Shiites Muslims. Sufism is also prevalent among the Turkmen of Iraq.



Turkmen demonstrating against the Kurdish federation in the north of Iraq, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, 2004



Turkmen demonstrating against the Kurdish federation in the north of Iraq , Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, 2004

There are approximately 3 million Turkmen in Iraq today, living mainly in the cities of Mosul, Erbil and Kerkuk, and in the area around Diyala. There is also a sizeable Turkmen population in Baghdad. [36]



Turkmen demonstrating against the Kurdish federation in the north of Iraq, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, 2004



Turkmen demonstrating against the Kurdish federation in the north of Iraq, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, 2004



Turkmen demonstrating against the Kurdish federation in the north of Iraq, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, 2004



Turkmen demonstrating against the Kurdish federation in the north of Iraq, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, 2004



Turkmen demonstrating against the Kurdish oppression and federation in the north of Iraq, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli

1.2 THE ORIGIN AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE TURKMEN IN IRAQ

The incursion of the Turkmen into Iraq took place in successive stages of migration. The Turkmen's first arrival in Iraq dates back to 674 A.D. Turkish settlement began in the form of military colonies and, later, Turkmen were entrusted with the task of guarding the caliph and the seat of the caliphate. The appearance of the Turkmen in Iraq took place when one of the Umayyades rulers, Ubeydullah Bin-Ziyad, was

in power. His army consisted of Arabs during the spread of Islamic religion. He conquered Turkistan in Central Asia and his army settled and married, and, in 673 A.D. (54 Hegira), brought them to Basra city which is located south of Iraq. [37][38] [39][39A]

The historian Al-Teberi in his book [41][41A][42] states that in 673 A.D., the Ubeydullah Bin-Ziyad, one of the Ummayyides rulers, faced tremendous resistance from the Turks under the leadership of Queen Kabaj Khatoon during his offence on Jihoon and Bukhra in Turkistan. The Turkmen astonished Ummayid leader Ubeydullah Bin-Ziyad with their bravery, leadership, discipline, war tactics and the use of archery.

All these factors led the Ubeydullah Bin-Ziyad to recruit Turkmen in their armies. They also dispatched thousands of Turkmen to Iraq to join the Islamic army in which they reached the highest rank, especially during the Abbasid era, when the Khalefa Abbasid Al Muetasim Bellah brought more than 50,000 of the Turkmen from Turkistan.

The Turkmen were used to fight and to repel the Crusaders, invaders. Moreover, the Al-Muetasim Bellah built and established a city for them called Samarra, which is located north of Baghdad. [42] Eventually, they became rulers of Iraq and divided their territory into numerous, independent emirates and states.

Historical records also show that during these developments, further waves of Turkmen migrants continued to enter Iraq. [43] The city of Baghdad assumed the role of an important centre of Turkish culture in the Iraqi history, and Turkmen played a tremendous role in contributing to building the Iraqi civilisations, such as Khwarazmi, Al-Beruni, Sarkhsi, Al-Bukhari and Farabi. All these scientists and historians were of Turkmen origin. Thanks to their native language, literature, customs and traditions, communal life-style and rich folk arts, the Turkmen population gradually consolidated and increased their presence with the entry of the Seljuks (another Turkmen tribe) to Iraq.

The second stage of Turkmen migration into Iraq took place with the entry of Seljukians (the name Seljuk is given to the group of ruling members of Kinik, a sub-group of the Oguz). Sultan Tugrul Bek

Al_Saljuki, delivering the sermon named Hutba on Friday, 15 December, 1055, in Baghdad, marked the beginning of Turkish sovereignty **[44][44B][16A]**, which ended in 1918, after almost nine centuries. The Seljukians' Sultan Tugrul Bey Oguz Turk prompted successive waves of Turkish immigration to Iraq, and so the Turkish population in Iraq continued to grow during the reign of Atabegs (Feudal city-states), which followed the Seljukians. The term 'Turkmen' was first introduced with Seljuks. Historians agree that this terminology certainly does not specify something different from Turkish ancestors, but the Muslim Oguz Turks are called 'Turkmen'.

The migration of the Turkmen to Iraq continued for several hundred years, and the most dramatic increase was during the Seljuk Empire. The Seljuk army conquered the Mosul region, and built up powerful and mighty states there and in the regions Erbil and Kerkuk. They left behind numerous works of architecture and art that have survived to reach our age. At the same time, the emigration of Turkish peoples to Islamic countries increased dramatically as a result of the spread of Islam among the Turks. **[45]**

After the collapse of the great Seljuk Empire in front of the Turkish Lord Zeynettin. The city of Erbil, which is located north of Kerkuk, came under the leadership of Muzeffereddin Gokboru and Erbil city had its most glorious period under his influence which commenced from 1190 to 1233 A.D. Hence, various Turkish rulers have ruled the area until 1514 AD, but Yawuz Sultan Selim, after his Tebriz journey on 16th September, 1514 A.D. conquered northern Iraq in 1515 A.D. and annexed it to the Ottoman Empire. Nineteen years later, Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent went to Baghdad and put an end to Safavi sovereignty on the 28th of November, 1534 A.D. At that time all Iraqi territory was under his command. This period is accepted as the settlement of Turkmen in Iraq.

Among the Atabeyliks, which dominated the region, Mosul region is known as Zengiler, with its capital Mosul (1127–1233). In the 14th Century, the ethnic composition of Iraq was such that Turks overwhelmingly dominated. It is possible to say that during the reign of Celayirliler, Baghdad became an important centre of Turkish culture. During this era, the Turkish movement covered the region from the northern borders down to Baghdad. Turkish, along with Persian, became a popular language. In the early 15th Century, Turkish was the

official language of the Karakoyunlu dynasty, with all official decrees being written in Turkish. During the reign of the Saffavities dynasty, the Turkish population continued to grow, as the ethnic identity of this dynasty was Turkish and its administrative infrastructure was entirely based on the Turkish culture.

Nadir Shah had besieged Kerkuk in 1732 and 1734, resulting in Kerkuk becoming a Saffavi territory. Kerkuk came under the control of the Ottoman Empire with the treaty of 1746 and remained under the Ottoman rule until World War I. Mr. Abdul Razzak al-Hassani, an Iraqi historian, wrote about Turkish people in Iraq — both past and present. He describes Turkmen as people who had settled on the lands separating the Arab territories from those of the Kurds, and on the Turkmen territories as a buffer zone. This zone he sees as stretching from the north-west at Telafer, in Mosul province, to an area in the south-east, encompassing Altunkoperi and Tuzkhurmato in Kerkuk province, and Kizlerbat and Mandeli in Diyala province. [46]



Figure (1) Map produced by William Guthrie in 1785, describing the Turkmeneli of Iraq, 'Turcomania'

The writer also indicates that the Turkmen were the remnants of the armies brought by the Ottoman ruler, Sultan Murad V, who recaptured Iraq from the Safawi rulers in 1638 A.D. Other historians suggest that Turkmen had already settled in Iraq even earlier than 1638 A.D. These conflicting views show the Complexity of the existence of Iraqi Turkmen in Iraq. They indicate that the settlement of Iraqi Turkmen in

Iraq took place in successive stages, with the diverse tribes occupying different areas. This is evident today, with slight variations in Turkic. [47] Also, a historical map (Figure 1) produced by William Guthrie, in 1785, shows Turkmeneli, or 'Turcomania', the land of Turkmen, as it was called by westerners in those days. The area is shown in yellow, where the city of Kerkuk is clearly visible. For many centuries after this, the area was commonly known as the land of Turkmen. Later, in the 19th Century, the Ottomans, with some modifications, renamed Turcomania as the Mosul province of Iraq. Today, the Kurdish leaders are claiming that the city of Kerkuk is part of what they are trying to establish as an "artificial Kurdistan".

Owing to these facts, the city of Baghdad assumed the role of an important centre of Turkish culture in the 14th Century, and the Turkish language, along with the Arabic and Persian languages, became quite popular. For instance, Fuzuli, the famous Turkish poet who lived in the 16th Century, in addition to being considered an exalted master who had embellished the Turkish literature, is also considered a great legend in terms of the aesthetic expression attained by the Turkish language during that era. Traces of Turkish culture are also evident in the communal structure of Turkmen who are maintaining their existence in Iraq at present too. [48] Thanks to their native language, literature, customs and traditions, communal lifestyle and rich folk arts; the Turkmen have been successful in keeping alive their existence. [49] This is a major achievement when one considers the many pressures and assimilation efforts deployed by the Baghdad regime. In this respect, the Turks and the Saffavi dynasty, and, finally, the Ottomans ruled this country uninterruptedly till end of the First World War.

1.3 GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE TURKMEN

The Turkmen are concentrated mainly in the northern and central regions of Iraq. Originally from Central Asia, they began settling in Iraq thousands of years ago in a migration that stretched over several hundred years. They have ruled the country six times since establishing their first state in northern Iraq in around 600 B.C. Turkmen are the third largest ethnic group after the Arabs and Kurds in Iraq, with a population of approximately 3 million. The area where the Turkmen predominantly live is called Turkmeneli [50]. This is a diagonal strip of land stretching from Telafer at the North Syrian

border (they are Telafer, Mosul, Erbil, Tuzkhurmato, Bestamli, Kefri, Amerli, Sulymanpak, Chardagli, Turkilan, Yenkeja, Yaychi, Kombetler, Kizelyar, Kaplan, Omermandan, Altunkoperi, Numera Sekiz and Debiss) in the north of Iraq and ending in Mendeli on the Iranian border in Central Iraq. [50]

There are several major cities in this region and some smaller districts, and the capital of the Turkmeneli is Kerkuk. *Turkmeneli*, in Turkish language, means 'a Turkmen land'. Some other main cities in this region are Mosul, Erbil, Sinjar and Diyala. In addition to these historically Turkmen-populated areas, there is a sizeable Turkmen presence in the capital city Baghdad too. Among the Turkish communities who are settled in the countries outside Turkey, the Iraqi Turks, 'Turkmen', are known as a community greatly attached to their national consciousness, tradition and religion. For centuries, the Turkmen territories were considered a buffer zone separating the Arabs from the Kurds. Cultural, social, religious, economic and political factors have considerably influenced the relations and distribution of the population of the Turkmen in the area. The Turkmen of Iraq are mainly merchants and manual labourers. Turkmen are related to today's Turks. In fact, they are the Turks' ancestors. Linguistically and culturally, the two people still strongly resemble one another. [51]

The Turkmen were part of the wave of migrations from the area north of the Great Wall of China, which started more than two millennia ago. During many centuries of nomadic empires rising and falling, the ancestors of the Turkmen were pushed farther west, eventually settling in the area around the southern part of the Caspian Sea and the mountainous areas where Iraq, Iran and Turkey come together. Part of the reason for the vast difference in estimates is the Iraqi government's policy of the 1970s and 1980s that expelled Turkmen from their traditional lands in Iraq. They were resettled in other areas and encouraged to register officially as Arabs. Arabs were then resettled onto lands that once belonged to the Turkmen and the Kurds after the latter two groups were forced out. [51]

1.4 NATIONAL FLAG OF THE TURKMEN

The Turkmen flag consists of a blue background with a white crescent and a star. Both star and crescent are sandwiched between two white horizontal strips. The colour blue represents Turkism. The star and

crescent represent Islam. The two white horizontal strips represent the region of the Turkish people who settled between the Danube River in Austria and the Great Wall of China.



Turkmen flag being carried by Iraqi Turkmen during a demonstration against the Kurdish federation, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: photos Salman Mofak Kerkuklu

1.5 RELIGION OF THE TURKMEN

The old religion of the Turkmen was Al_Shamaniya, Judaism, Buddhism and Zaradishet but the Turkmen converted to Islam after central Asia was conquered by Islamic forces. **[16A][52]** The majority of Turkmen are Muslims, but there are also about 30,000 Christian “catholic” Turks living in Iraq. They are called the Kala Gaweri. **[52]** The Muslim Turkmen are divided into two Muslim faiths: Shiite and Sunni. The Sunni Turkmen are divided into Hanafi and Shafei.

The two Turkmen Muslim and Christian sects helped the Turkmen to be more dynamic in the Iraqi society. **[53]** They facilitated mixed marriage more easily with Arabs and Kurds; therefore, there are a large number of Arab tribes who have originated from Turkmen, such as Albayeti. **[54]** There is no difference at all between the Sunni and Shiite Turkmen in the dialogue, language or culture. Intermarriage between the Shiite and Sunni Turkmen is very common. However, some Kurdish militias are trying to utilise various methods to divide the Turkmen community by carrying out a policy of divide and conquer.

1.6 THE LANGUAGE OF THE TURKMEN

The main spoken language in Turkmeneli (Turkmen homeland) is a Turkish dialect. This is a part of the Western Turkish language group that also includes the Turkish spoken in Turkey, Cyprus, the Balkans, Iranian Azerbaijan (South) and Republic of Azerbaijan (North), northern Syria, Iran, Turkmenistan and southern Turkistan (northern Afghanistan). [55] The Turkmen language, with its various accents, is closer to the Turkish spoken language in both Azerbaijan (Republic of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan of Iran) and Urfa in South-eastern Turkey rather than the Turkmen language in the Republic of Turkmenistan. [56][57]

The Iraqi Turkmen language is drawn from two major sources. The first and foremost is the spoken language and local dialect spoken in Erbil, Kerkuk and other main Turkish settlements. In general, these belong to Azeri Turkish. Although local Turkish dialects show degrees of similarities, differences are found in local dialects spoken in different cities, towns, villages and, even, neighbourhoods. This can be attributed to the fact that different Turkish clans settling in Iraq from the 11th Century onwards have slightly different dialects. [58][59]

Spoken language is the foundation of Iraqi Turkmen culture, folk literature, group identity, ethnic consciousness and world outlook. The spoken mother tongue is naturally passed on to new generations and this, naturally, creates a strong bond uniting the Turkish-speaking peoples of Iraq. However, there is a group of Turkmen called Christian Turkmen of Kerkuk Castle "Kala Gaweri", which has, for centuries, lived in Kerkuk among Turkmen. They have their own script, bible and mourning songs. But all these activities are practised in the Turkish language.

Unfortunately, compulsory education in Arabic has led to the weakening and deterioration of the spoken Turkish from generation to generation. In fact, the older generation with no formal education speaks relatively pure and more correct Turkish.

Formal written Turkish is the second major source of the Turkish language in Iraq. Local dialects have not found their place in written literature. Turkmen have adopted formal Anatolian Turkish for written language. Up until the 16th Century, the literary works of Turkmen

were in an Azeri dialect (this can, perhaps, be named old Anatolian Turkish); but from the second half of that century onwards, the written literature of Turkmen came under the influence of the rising Ottoman language, a western Turkish dialect. After separation from the mainland as a result of the First World War, Turkmen have continued with their preference for Anatolian Turkish by using Arabic characters. Turkmen writers have also followed the simplification movement in Turkish literature. Although it was already lagging a little bit behind, it came to a halt in 1975 when the Iraqi government banned all publications, even newspapers and magazines, from Turkey. This forced Turkmen writers to work self-sufficiently, relying solely on Turkish radio broadcasts.

2 Chapter Two

2.1 THE MODERN HISTORY OF THE IRAQI TURKMEN

A key to understanding why the maintenance of Iraq's territorial integrity is viewed by many as critical is the knowledge of the country's enormous ethnic and religious diversity. One must also take into account the aspirations of these groups and the problems they face now. One of these ethnolinguistic components is the Turkmen minority, which has made a major effort to define itself both internally and to the world community.

It is rather shocking for us to see that Saddam Hussein and the Kurdish leaders have been bargaining over Kerkuk, which has been for centuries, and still is, a predominantly Turkmen province. Kurdish leaders are encouraged by the West to pursue their objective of acquiring an autonomous region. It would seem from the ongoing negotiations that they would incorporate the Turkish-inhabited area. Now the facade is to say that they will grant Turkmen cultural rights, but they have long been trying to degrade Turkmen. What a bleak prospect it is for Turkmen who have been hoping for better days under a new democratic Iraq, following the liberation of the country.

It is utterly incomprehensible that nearly 3 million Turkmen should come under the rule of 3.5 million Kurds. The Turkmen nation is entitled to have the same political, economic and cultural rights as Arabs and Kurds in Iraq. If the Kurds are to be granted autonomy, Turkmen should not be denied this right or — since mostly they live together in many places — the autonomy should be granted jointly to Kurds and Turkmen. In a free and democratic Iraq, all the ethnic groups should be given representation, commensurate with their proportion in the population, in the central government and the parliament. We strongly believe that any settlement in Iraq that disregards the Turkmen nation would not be justified; nor would that be fair and lasting. It will be doomed to failure. Unfortunately, now, the disposition of the Kurds towards Turkmen seems one of total disregard and suppression.

Turkmen have been living in present Iraq for over a millennium. Yet, since they were left outside the borders of a new Turkey in an artificially created Iraq, Turkmen felt the heavy-handed treatment by

successive Arab rulers, the worst of whom were the Ba'ath Party. Along with the Arabs, the Kurds were recognized in the first constitution of monarchical Iraq as one of the three main component groups of the Iraqi nation. The monarchy era that lasted from 1932 to 1958 saw the removal of the Turkmen from the government post and the deportation to the Arab areas of the country. The suppression of the Turkmen peaked in 1946 when they were subjected to what is historically known as the Gawer Baghi massacre.

The military coup of 1958, that toppled the monarchy, brought rays of hope for the Turkmen at first when they heard radio announcements by coup leader General Abdul-Kerim Qasim and his deputy General Abdul-Salam Arif that Iraq was made up of three main ethnic groups, and that the Turkmen were one of them. Turkmen interpreted these statements as the end of the suppression. However, the happy days did not last long.

As a result of the general amnesty, Kurdish leader Mullah Mustafa Barzani returned from the Soviet Union and started negotiations for a Kurdish autonomous region. This has increased the tension in the region and, as the result of this incitement, for the first time in history, clashes between Turkmen and Kurds took place with heavy casualties. When the new regime decided to steer a policy independent of other influential Arab states, the Communist Party and Kurds gained favour with the political ascendancy, and, soon afterwards, Turkmen in Kerkuk were attacked on the false pretext that they helped the Mosul resistance. On 14 July, 1959, Kerkuk was put under curfew and its population slaughtered by Communists and Kurds. The streets of Kerkuk were filled with blood. This was one of the city's most brutal moments in history.

This massacre was totally disregarded by the world. The world community turned a blind eye to it. It was only after this massacre that the Communist Kurds became so bold as to ask for the inclusion of Kerkuk in their autonomous region under negotiations. Attempts by the Iraqi government to restrict the operations of foreign oil companies and its threats towards Kuwait's oil put it at loggerheads with other Arab countries and Great Britain. The ensuing era of General Abdul-Salam Arif (1963–1967) was one of the best periods for the Turkmen in Iraq. The culprits of the 1959 Kerkuk massacre were hanged in the two big squares of Kerkuk by the government. Turks were allowed to

operate cultural associations and schools, publish magazines and newspapers in the Latin characters of Turkish, and get some posts in government. This made them very happy, and they demonstrated excellently that as citizens of Iraq, they could work for their country and live in cooperation with other Iraqis.

Then the Ba'ath party rule, commencing in 1968, opened one of the darkest chapters in Turkmen history. The Ba'ath party forced people to sign petitions asking for the closure of Turkish language schools, and to appoint Arab administrators in Turkmen areas. Boycotts by Turkmen were suppressed in a bloody manner. The Turkmen Cultural Directorate that was set up by the government to bring Turkmen under strict control was not working according to the government plans. Therefore, the Iraqi government started a new strategy to replace all Turkmen teachers with Arab teachers; they also sent all Turkmen teachers to non-Turkmen areas. An all-out assimilation campaign against Turkmen was unleashed. Turkmen youngsters with university degrees were given jobs in non-Turkmen areas. Arabs were encouraged to settle in Turkmen areas with rewards of 15,000 Iraqi Dinars to each person. Those Arabs who bought farmlands were offered an extra reward ranging between 7,000 and 10,000 Dinars (approximately \$30,000), and the lands confiscated from Turkmen under various pretexts were given to Arabs. Young Arab men were encouraged to marry Turkmen girls with offers of 10,000 Iraqi Dinars. All this was designed to change the demographic balance of the Turkmen-dominated region, with its capital city Kerkuk. This was followed by government decrees that changed Kerkuk's name to that of al-Tamim and also changed its administrative borders, taking other Turkish towns outside this province and annexing Arab towns and villages. The Arabs then annexed Turkish towns. Subsequently, the Ba'aths government banned the use of the Turkish language in public. Religious leaders who did not speak Arabic were forced to deliver sermons in Arabic, and when they failed to, they were executed. The 1980s saw the execution of countless Turkmen leaders and elders who were, often falsely, accused of spying for Turkey or Iran. During the Iran-Iraq war, dozens of Turkmen villages were totally bulldozed to the ground. [66]

Turkmen have been severely intimidated into silence, and they have been waiting helplessly, not knowing what to do. Here, I would like to mention the 1987 national census in Iraq, as it is relevant to a number

of ethnic groups. In this census, Turkmen were openly threatened to declare themselves as either Arabs or Kurds. If they declared themselves Turks, they would be deported to Saudi. The decomposition of the Iraqi Turkmen was an Iraqi policy inherited from one government to the next. The aim was to remove the Turkmen from the oil-rich north and have them dispersed throughout the south of Iraq.

The official combination of the assimilation policy and the decomposition policy was successfully played out for years, but assimilation and decomposition would not have been enough to erase or eradicate the Turkish charters and the languages of the Iraqi Turkmen. The repressive policies of the Iraqi governments were always the order of the day for fear that the Iraqi Turkmen could be as big a headache as the Iraqi Kurds and the Shiite Arabs in the South. Repressive measures were severe or lax, depending on the conjecture and the relations of the Iraqi government, especially with the Iraqi Kurds.

There is no evident sign that official Turkish positions on the Iraqi Turkmen will change. However, changes to improve the present conditions and to solve the Iraqi Turkmen problems within the Iraqi sovereignty may be timely, especially with a view to the Kurdish Spring in northern Iraq. The Kurdish Spring encouraged by the United States, the European Union, Russia and others needs to be emulated by the Iraqi Turkmen who cannot afford to be isolated from northern Iraq geographically or politically, and, least of all, economically.

The Iraqi Turkmen should not be seen as a danger to Iraqi sovereignty but as a credit to strengthen Iraqi stability and as a part of the big mosaic of Iraqi unity. The Iraqi government must guarantee human rights for all citizens, regardless of ethnicity, and reach an agreement about these issues, with representation from Kurds, Turkmen and Arabs. They should present a regional security plan in which the Turkmen are given a role to play. The second stipulation concerning the Turkmen is that the world should be reminded of the Turkmen's presence in Iraq. Baghdad should be aware of this presence, and it should be noted that providing certain rights and guarantees to the Turkmen would contribute to the ending of the division of the country.

The major difference between the Iraqi Turkmen and Iraqi Kurds is that Iraqi Kurds were always armed ready to revolt and fight, and the Turkmen were unarmed without outside support, disorganized and, consequently, docile. One very important element in a possible change in the Iraqi official policy towards the Iraqi Turkmen may be not to see them as a liability, but as a credit to Iraqi unity and territorial integrity, which the Turkish Republic should support without any reservations. Iraqi Turkmen are known to be loyal Iraqi citizens, with their traditional respect for authority and support for the government, although with a distinct Turkish identity that they have kept over the centuries.

Under the Constitution year of 1925, the Kurds and the Turkmen had the right to use their own languages in schools and government offices, and to have their own language press. In 1972, the government of Iraq prohibited study in the Turkish language and banned the Turkish media in Iraq. In the Interim Constitution year 1973, no reference was made to the Turkmen population in Iraq. The Ba'ath regime prohibited the public use of the Turkish language in 1980, and the new Constitution in 1990 states that the Iraqi people consist only of Arabs and Kurds. The creation of the safe haven took place in 1991 by the US and UN after the Gulf War divided the Turkmen into separate communities in the Kurdish autonomous area and under the Iraqi administration. However, during the assault in the Kurdish autonomous region in the year 1996 by the combined forces of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Iraqi army, the headquarters of the Iraqi National Turkmen Party (INTP) was attacked and destroyed.

On the 10th of April, 2003, hundreds of Peshmerga forces — “Kurdish rebels” from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) — poured into Turkmen city of Kerkuk. The Turkmen were astonished and dismayed to see the Kurdish rebels entering the capital city of Turkmeneli (Turkmen province). The municipality buildings, government offices, military buildings, large hotels and a historical military barracks in the city (at that time used as a museum), which was built in the Ottoman era, were set alight by Kurdish rebels, along with Turkmen shops and houses, including the land registry office.

The looting was a purposeful act meant to remove all official evidence proving a Turkmen presence in Kerkuk. The land deeds for the Turkmen have been taken from the registry office intentionally, and

this makes it difficult for the Turkmen to establish themselves as the original inhabitants of the province. The invasion of Kerkuk is a mirror image of events in 1991, during the uprising against Saddam Hussein after 'Desert Storm'. Ethnic violence has emerged as a new source of trouble for the U.S. led coalition forces in northern Iraq, and the violence has broken out in and around the northern Iraqi city of Kerkuk. These attacks have resulted in ten deaths, and twenty-one injuries were reported when a Kurdish Peshmerga, a member of Patriotic Union Kurdistan and Kurdish Communist Party, opened fire (from their headquarter) on a peaceful Turkmen demonstration in Tuzkhurmato.

Presently, the Turkmen have been undergoing assimilation campaigns by the Kurds in Turkmeneli in, often, more brutal fashion than that carried out on Kurds by Saddam Hussein. The Iraqi Kurds are attempting, by various methods, to eliminate the Turkmen identity and entity by displacing the Turkmen from Turkmeneli (Turkmen land) in general and, especially, from Kerkuk City in order to dilute them into Kurdish society.

Though constituting one of the three major entities of the modern Iraqi State, the Turkmen have had the least of advantages. Since the foundation of Iraq in the aftermath of the First World War, the existence of Turkmen has been denied by the official regimes in Baghdad in accordance with the state policy of 'Arabisation'. It was the attempt at sealing the border with Turkey that motivated the Baghdad regime, and their protector Britain, to deliberately ignore the existence of the Turkmen people in the early years of Iraq. To the British and official circles in Baghdad, the presence of a large Turkish entity in parts of Iraq bordering Turkey seemed to have constituted an impediment to the process of state building in Iraq.

Having strengthened the external borders, the next step of the Iraqi regime was to create a nation state on the basis of Arabic identity. From an Arab perspective, the fact that the overwhelming majority of the northern part of the country consists of the Kurdish and Turkish people was a problem that needed to be tackled. Baghdad set the policy of 'Arabisation' in motion as soon as Saddam Hussein's government came to power. However, the process of Arabisation was accelerated with the ascendancy of the Ba'athist rise to power. Since then, the Turkmen have been put under intense pressure by the

official regime and life has been made difficult for them with each passing year under the Ba'aths rule in Baghdad.



Mr. Jalal Talabani, Ezzit Al _Duri and Ali Haasan Al _Majeed (Chemical Ali)

3 Chapter Three

3.1 THE ARABISATION POLICY

The systematic forcible transfer of the Turkmen and Kurd populations aimed at changing the demographic nature of northern Iraq is a policy that is commonly referred to as *Arabisation* (*"ta'rib"*). [Doc.37] The Iraqi government programme of resettling Arab families who were brought from southern Iraq to replace and dilute the Turkmen and Kurd population accompanied this. The forced and arbitrary transfer of populations is not permissible under international law and is a crime against humanity. Nevertheless, the Iraqi government sought to alter the demographic make up of northern Iraq in order to reduce the political power and presence of Turkmen and Kurds and consolidate control over this oil-rich region. This covered areas reaching from the town of Mandeli, close to the Iranian border, to the Syrian and Turkish border areas around Telafer. [Doc.5] Many Turkmen and Kurdish villages were bulldozed, and new Arab settlements were built nearby. [Doc.86A] [Doc.86B][Doc.86B][Doc.86C] The properties and most other assets seized from the victims were distributed among the new Arab arrivals as part of a package of economic incentives. Simultaneously, the Iraqi government brought in landless Arabs from the nearby *Al-Jazeera* desert and others from central and southern Iraq to settle in their place. Furthermore, land titles to the rich agricultural lands seized from the Kurds and Turkmen were invalidated upon their expulsion, and the land was then given on lease on annual contracts to Arab farmers. Many of those expelled have since been living in camps for the internally displaced in the northern Kurdish-controlled governorates for over a decade, and also outside Iraq.

The forced mass displacement of populations on the basis of their ethnic identity, and attempts to Arabise Kerkuk date back to the discovery of major oil reserves in Kerkuk city in the 1920s, while Iraq was still under British mandate. Oil from the Kerkuk fields was not successfully extracted until 1927, but oil rights were first conceded to the Iraq Petroleum Company consortium on March 14, 1925. [67][68] The *Arabisation* policy first occurred on a massive scale in the second half of the 1970s. During the Arabisation period, Saddam Hussein's government-controlled oil industry brought in large numbers of Arab workers instead of employing the local Turkmen and Kurdish people.

[69] They were also excluded as the Iraqi government embarked on massive irrigation projects, which began in the 1930s on the Hawija, Qaraj, and Qari-Teppa plains around Kerkuk, which became a rich agricultural region. Later projects helped the Iraqi government to settle several large nomadic Arab tribes from southern Iraq on these newly fertile lands.

Furthermore, the Iraqi government's attempts to Arabise the oil-rich regions were not limited to the expulsion of Kurds and Turkmen. Their replacement with Arab families brought in from the south by the Saddam Hussein government attempted to wipe out all evidence of a non-Arab presence by 'Arabising' all aspects of life, and the non-Arab couples attempting to get married were pressured into adopting Arab names. Non-Arabs found it almost impossible to register homes or other property unless they adopted Arab names, and even those who registered their ethnicity as Arab were still considered second-class citizens and faced continued discrimination. Besides this, property owned by Arabs could only be sold to other Arabs.

However the legal framework of Arabisation is crucial to resolving the property disputes that are now occurring in northern Iraq following the overthrow of the former Saddam Hussein government. Among the first steps taken by the Ba`ath Party when it came to power in 1968 was a major land reform campaign aimed at further eroding the power of the landlords who had controlled much of the agricultural land in the country, often owning hundreds of thousands of acres of land. Their economic base had already been broken ten years earlier as a result of agricultural reforms implemented by the government of Abd al-Karim Qasim upon the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy in 1958. The Qasim government promulgated the agriculture Reform Act (Law No. 30 of 1958), limiting the maximum amount of land any individual could own up to 2,000 acres and expropriating all lands in excess of this limit.

The financial compensation paid for expropriated land was nominal, and many landowners received nothing when the Ba`ath Party came to power. They cancelled all preceding laws, thus voiding the 1958 law and issued even more far-reaching reforms. The Ba`ath's Agrarian Reform Act (Law No. 117 of 1970) limited individual ownership to a maximum of 1,000 acres of rainfall-dependent lands and abolished compensation payments.

While these laws were implemented without discrimination throughout Iraq, they also dispossessed many large landowners in the north, Iraq's richest agricultural zone, and, subsequently, individual ownership of the same type of land in the Kurdish north was further limited to 300 acres. When the government began mass expulsions of non-Arabs in the north during the mid-1970s, the vast majority of the expelled farmers had property rights to the land they lost. These were rights that had been confirmed through a process known as Taswiya.

All of the inhabitants of these districts had Taswiya property deeds dating back to the Ottoman period. Mr. Lyon, a British official, confirmed those deeds in 1936 (during the period of British rule). Their rights were absolute under Taswiya: they could sell the land, and after the landowner's death, the land was split between his children. The Taswiya deeds were kept in the property registration department and they are still there. Following the mass expulsions of minorities in the mid-1970s, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) issued a series of orders expropriating the land left empty. For example, Order 369 of 1976 expropriated the land of hundreds of villagers in the sixty districts surrounding Kirkuk.

The government supposedly paid nominal compensation for these lands, at the rate of six Iraqi Dinars per acres, but almost no displaced Kurds or Turkmen were able to claim even this compensation, as it required going to inaccessible government offices. No one came to claim their compensation because either they didn't know the correct official route to take or they had been expelled from their land. Once the land was nationalised, the government then rented the land to newly arrived Arab farmers at nominal rates, under annual, renewable contracts issued by district agricultural departments. Most of the agricultural contracts were still on file, making it possible to determine exactly the number and names of families living in each Arabised village in the north.

The crime of forcible transfer of population includes "the full range of coercive pressures on people to flee their homes, including death threats, destruction of their homes, and other acts of persecution, such as depriving members of a group of employment, denying them access to schools, and forcing them to wear a symbol of their religious identity". The use of standardised expulsion procedures (such as

expulsion orders and specialised detention centres, as well as the clear Involvement of Iraqi officials in all aspects of the expulsions, including opposition to U.N.-facilitated returns) also reflects the systematic character of these attacks — a requirement that is defined as requiring ‘a pattern or methodical plan’ that is thoroughly organised and following a regular pattern. The actions of the Iraqi government meet all the requisite elements of the crime against humanity of forced transfer of civilian populations.

First, Iraq “forcibly transferred, without ground permitted under international law,” thousands of Kurds, Turkmen and Assyrians to another location by expulsion or other coercive acts. Second, the persons expelled or forcibly transferred from the Kerkuk region were lawfully present in the area from which they were deported or transferred. Third, the Iraqi government knew that the expelled persons were lawfully present in the Kerkuk region.

The expulsions from Kerkuk are pursued as a matter of government policy, as indicated by the existence of standard documents such as the expulsion orders, the existence of deportation centres, the government opposition to UN-facilitated returns and the similarity of the experiences of the expelled persons.

Human Rights Provisions Relevant to Forced Transfer Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), to which Iraq became a party in 1971, establishes that everyone shall have “the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence. The freedom to choose one’s residence incorporates the right not to be moved. Restrictions on movement and choice of residence are permitted only when provided by law and for reasons of “national security, public order (*ordre public*), public health or morals, or the rights and freedoms of others,” and such restrictions must be consistent with other rights recognised by the ICCPR. Various UN bodies have further defined this right. In a 1997 resolution, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, as well as the UN Commission on Human Rights, affirmed the right of persons to remain in their own homes, on their own lands and in their own countries. It also urges governments and other actors to do everything possible to cease all practices of forced displacement. The population transfer under the UN resolution is a violation of international legal standards.

3.2 THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT ACKNOWLEDGED TO MINORITIES IN IRAQ AND THE ROYAL CONSTITUTION OF 21ST MARCH, 1925

Article 16: As determined by a general programme prescribed by law, each of the minorities originating from various nations has the right of setting up schools where education is provided in the language used by that minority, and is entitled to be in charge of these schools. It is stated in the Royal Constitution, which was valid until 1958, that the Iraqi State consisted of Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen and other minorities. According to Article 14 of the same constitution, Turks, like other minorities, were also entitled to receive an education in their own language and to be in charge of their own educational institutions. In fact, until the proclamation of the republic, various constitutional amendments did not cause ethnic or political discrimination. However, in 1933, the final version of Article 17 of the constitution declared Arabic as the official language, with legally defined exceptions. The Law No. 74 published in 1931, titled *Native Languages*, and had stipulated these exceptions. This law permitted all judicial processes to be conducted in Turkish and primary school education to be in the Turkish language in all areas where Turks live, foremost being Kerkuk and Erbil; and these rights were under constitutional guarantee. However, in 1936, after the resignation of Hikmat Suleiman, brother of Sadrazam (Chief Minister) Mahmood Shavket Pasha, from the post of Prime Minister, to which he was appointed two years before, the new military regime began a campaign of taking back the rights given by the constitution. Thus the Turkmen of Iraq lost their right of education in their native tongue.

Under the Iraqi constitution of 1925, both Turkmen and Kurds had the right to use their own languages in schools, government offices and press. By 1972, the Iraqi government prohibited both the study of the Turkmen language and the Turkmen media, and in 1973, any reference to the Turkmen was omitted from the provisional constitution. During the 1980s, the regime, the Ba'ath Party, prohibited even public use of the Turkmen language, and the constitution of 1990 only states the "people of Iraq consist of "Arabs and Kurds". In December 14, 1927, England gave independence to Iraq Kingship under the rule of King Faisal, and the Kingship period continued until July 1958. During the Monarchy, Iraqi Turks, although deprived of their political rights as a community, led relatively comfortable lives as

far as individuals were concerned. However, even in this period, in 1924 and 1946, Turkmen were massacred, and their leaders and intellectuals forcibly moved to southern provinces. During the republic era, however, governments implemented a policy of open hostility towards the Turkmen.

3.3 THE PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT OF IRAQ GENERAL AHMED HASSAN BAKR ON 24TH JANUARY, 1970, ARTICLE 5:

The people of Iraq consist of two groups: Arabs and Kurds. The national and the legal rights of all ethnic minorities are acknowledged within the unity of Iraq. The cultural rights seemed to be set to include the cultural rights of the minorities in Iraq. In this declaration, the section of the Turkmen rights consists of: **[Doc.8]**

- The Turkmen shall be receiving primary education in Turkish in the area where they live and the Turkmen language will be the medium of instruction at the primary education stage.
- A directorate of Turkmen education shall be established and attached to the Ministry of Culture and Information.
- Turkmen publications shall be encouraged and assisted, and this shall be attached to a union of Iraqi writers.
- A weekly newspaper and a monthly magazine in the Turkish language shall be published.
- Turkmen programmes in the Turkmen language on Kerkuk TV shall be expanding and increased.

In 1972, at the height of the cold war, Iraq signed a 15-year treaty with the Soviet Union. The Saddam Hussein regime undertook wide-ranging social and economic reforms to try to increase its popularity. By March 1970, an agreement was reached between the government and the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) over the establishment of an autonomous Kurdish area. It has also nationalised the Iraqi Petroleum Company, which had been set up under the British administration and was pumping cheap oil to the West. Soaring oil revenues resulting from the 1973 oil crisis were invested in industry, education and healthcare, raising Iraq's standard of living to one of the highest in the Arab world. But the Saddam Hussein government did not carry out the agreement of 1970; thus, a conflict broke out between the Kurds and the government's armed forces in the spring of 1974. The Kurds in the north of Iraq, who were funded by the US-backed Shah of Iran,

rebelled against the central government. The conflict pushed Baghdad to the negotiating table, where Iraq agreed to share control of the disputed Sha'tt al-Arab waterway with Iran. The Shah cut off the Kurds' funds and the Iraqi regime put down their uprising. Saddam Hussein extended his grip on power, stationing relatives and allies in key government and business roles. In 1978, membership of opposition parties became punishable by death. The following year, Saddam Hussein forced General Bakr's resignation - officially, due to ill health — and assumed the presidency. He executed dozens of his rivals within days of taking power.

3.4 THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE BA'ATHS PARTY, 1971, AND THE IMPACT ON THE TURKMEN

All the above decisions that were taken by the National Congress of the Ba'ath Party were never implemented. For instance, all education in Iraq was entirely in the Arabic language. The national Congress of the Ba'aths Party, held in 1971, reached a decision for making Kerkuk City and the surrounding area an Arab city by the 1980s. In accordance with this decision the following measures were taken:- The schools providing education in the Turkish language were closed down in phases. The names of the Turkmen schools were changed to Arabic names. Arabic education was compulsory in all Turkmen-populated areas. [Doc.1][Doc.25][Doc.48] The teachers of these schools were appointed to other areas against their wishes. All these steps were taken by the Ba'ath regime to assimilate the Turkmen in the area and to prevent their cultural development. There were 137 schools in the 1970, and by 1971, this figure had fallen to 68.

3.5 FORCED DEPORTATION OF THE TURKMEN

The decomposition of Iraqi Turkmen was an Iraqi policy inherited from one government to the next. This involved moving the Turkmen from the north to the south of Iraq and to spreading them all over the country to decompose their national identity. In short, the Turkmen receive almost no attention in the Western media, but they are the third largest demographic component of Iraq.

[Doc.81] Since 1970, the Iraqi Government has resorted to various means in order to assimilate the Turkmen and to 'Arabise' the region. For example, tens of thousands of Turkmen families were deported against their will into the south of Iraq, and hundreds of Turkmen

villages were destroyed by the Iraqi regime under a variety of pretexts. **[Doc.55] [Doc.56] [Doc.59][Doc.71] [Doc.73] [Doc.74] [Doc.77] [Doc.79]**

Simultaneously, the Iraqi government brought in landless Arabs from southern Iraq and others parts of Iraq to be settled in their place, enticing them with free housing and other economic incentives. This Arabisation policy is aimed at bringing about demographic changes designed to reduce the political power and presence of Turkmen, thereby consolidating the government's control over this region. Approximately 300,000 Turkmen and Kurds were forcibly expelled from their homes. Land titles to the rich agricultural lands seized from the Turkmen and Kurds were invalidated upon their expulsion, and the land was then leased on annual contracts to Arab farmers. Many of those expelled have since been living in camps for the internally displaced in northern Iraq. **[Doc. 58][Doc.53]**

Teachers were transferred to the south of Iraq and a variety of laws and legislation was introduced by the Revolutionary Command Council to prevent the Turkmen from seeking any employment in Turkmen-populated areas, especially, Kerkuk City. Turkmen leaders and elders were often falsely accused of spying for Turkey or Iran, or accused of being a member of illegal organisations. **[Doc.6][Doc.7] [Doc.11] [Doc.13] [Doc.28] [Doc.29] [Doc.36] [Doc.45] [Doc.54] [Doc.60][Doc.67] [Doc.74] [Doc.75] [Doc.76] [Doc.77] [Doc. 78]**

All these steps were carried out intentionally in order to change the demography of the Turkmen-populated area. The Arabisation of the Turkmen became a state policy in 1971 when the General Assembly of the Ba'aths Party decided to Arabise Kerkuk. This continued until 1980. **[Doc.7][Doc.20] [Doc.32][Doc.37]**

Administrative boundaries were changed in 1974 to divide Turkmen concentrations. Since the mid-1970s, Arabs have enjoyed special incentives and rights, encouraging them to move to historically Turkmen areas, including especially the oil-rich cities of Kerkuk and Mosul. **[Doc.20][Doc.32]**

In the latter half of the 1970s, the names of several Turkmen villages and places were changed into Arabic names, and the name of Kerkuk City was changed to Al-Tamim. **[Doc49]**

Turkmen societies, institutions and properties were officially 'Arabised'. This meant that the Iraqi administration not only prohibited

the people from speaking Turkish in public but also punished even those who spoke privately in that language. [Doc.1][Doc.25][Doc.28]

3.6 CHANGING THE NAME OF THE TURKMEN-POPULATED CITY KERKUK

Many Turkmen-settlement names were changed to Arabic by the Iraqi regime. Kerkuk City was officially changed to Al-Tamim (literally: 'nationalisation,' marking the nationalisation of the Western-owned Iraq Petroleum Company in 1972) with resolution number forty-one of the Council of the Revolutionary Command, dated 29th January, 1976, and the largest township therein. Tuzkhurmato was administratively attached to Tikrit, which is the place of birth of Saddam Hussein. [Doc.49]

The province of Kerkuk has continually shrunk in size with successive administrative decrees, and thus the size of Kerkuk province, which was 20,000 square kilometres in the year 1975, came down to half that figure. Consequently, Kerkuk, with 4.2% of the land area and formerly the fourth largest province of Iraq, is presently the 14th largest province with only 2% of land area. The Turkmen names of all streets, shops, supermarkets, mosques, graveyards, parks, sports centres and entertainment centres were changed to Arabic names. [Doc.1][Doc.37][Doc.25][Doc.48][Doc.50]

The towns of Tuzkhurmato, Kifri and Chamchamal were affiliated to neighbouring provinces. Elsewhere, in the oil-rich regions, the government had already resorted to re-drawing Iraq's administrative map in an effort to alter the demographic makeup of disputed areas once and for all. The boundaries of Kerkuk province were redrawn such that an Arab majority was ensured in key areas. Several major towns with a clear Kurdish majority were reallocated to existing neighbouring provinces or to the newly created Salahuddin province. [Doc.49]

Kerkuk province was renamed Al-Tamim. [Doc.8] The authorities then embarked on a massive campaign of forced relocation: tens of thousands of residents were evicted from their homes in areas with significant oil deposits, as well as in disputed areas. These included Kerkuk, Khaniqin, Mandeli and Shaikhan where the majority of deportees were removed to locations in southern Iraq; many were abandoned without any shelter. Others were housed in rudimentary

camps along major routes under military control. In their place came Arab families from various southern tribes, encouraged by the government with financial remuneration and other benefits.

Many Turkmen quarters' towns and villages were changed and replaced with Arabic names **[Doc.1][Doc.83]** in accordance with a decision taken by the Iraqi Ministry of Interior on the 20th of May, 1976, to replace Turkish villages from Turkish names to Arabic names; for example, the following Turkish villages were changed:

Shrink Bulak	al-Yarmu
Zindene	al-Masr
Yarimca	Cidde
Buyuk Saritapa	al-Raou
Kucuk Saritepe	al-Velid
Yukari Ruceybati	al-Mutanadi
Asagi Ruceybati	al-Kindi
Tokmakli	al-Hansa
Tercil	al-Kadisiye
Yenice	abu-Muhenin Es Safhi
Beshir	al-Bashir

In accordance with the directives given by the Revolutionary Command Council in 1985, the party authorities called the eldest people of the Turkmen tribe and informed them about the new Arabic surnames that they were to use. The authorities prepared false lineage registers and replaced the Turkmen names with the Arabic ones. These pressures have been implemented in the educational and the cultural fields also. The names of some of the Turkmen schools were changed and Arabic names were assigned in accordance with the plan of assimilating the Turkmen amongst the Arabs. Some examples are given below:

Hassasu Primary School	to	al-Hassan Primary School
Dogruluk	to	Omer Bin Abdulaziz
24 Ocak	to	Isama Bin Cedit
Aktas	to	al-Mutenabbi
Ileri	to	Ibn al-Heysen

As in the other Arabised areas, the Iraqi government replaced the expelled Kurdish and Turkmen populations of Kerkuk with Arabs, most of them Shi'a families brought from the south. Arabs took over the homes of expelled Kurdish and Turkmen families. The Iraqi government also constructed entire new Arab neighbourhoods, such as al-Nasr, al-Hurriya and al-Qadisiyya, to drastically alter the ethnic demographics of Kerkuk — the very aim of Arabisation. The Arabs who came to Kerkuk tended to be more urbanised, middle-class professionals than the Arab farmers who settled in rural villages. Also, the Iraqi government offered the newly arrived Arabs a free plot of land and 10,000 Dinars as incentive.

3.7 DEPRIVING THE TURKMEN OF EMPLOYMENT

In order to reduce the potential power and the influence of the Turkmen in the oil-rich region, only the Arabs were selected for employment in the new workshop set-up in Kerkuk. None of the Turkmen who had applied for employment were accepted. [Doc.60] It is most unfair that there is not a single Turkmen employed in Kerkuk city among the 750 officials who have been appointed to the municipality of Kerkuk. Previously, 80% of the employees were Turkmen. This shows the discrimination of the Iraqi government against the Turkmen. [Doc.7] Also, Saddam Hussein's regime has produced various legislations in order to change the demography of the area. They wanted to dilute the concentration of Turkmen within the Arab society. One of these legislations was that the Turkmen graduates, in general, and especially those who have graduated from Turkish Universities were not to be employed in Kerkuk and the surrounding areas. [Doc.39] The Turkmen in Kerkuk were forbidden from possessing and operating a petrol station in Kerkuk [Doc.18] and the surrounding areas. [Doc.14] Moreover, Turkmen were forbidden from exporting and importing bids. [Doc.14] [Doc15] [Doc.16] [Doc.38] Arabised policy was included by placing restrictions on employment and transfer of government employees to posts outside the Turkmen region. [Doc.21][Doc.]

3.8 TURKMEN CIVIL SERVANTS

The Ba'ath regime issued a legislation that stipulated that Turkmen were prohibited from working in important governmental jobs and

positions (i.e., in the secret service and police, as pilot in the air force, officer in the army, ministerial, and councillor). **[Doc.38][Doc.39][Doc.43][Doc.44][Doc.54] [Doc.60][Doc.67]** Turkmen civil servants were assigned to the south and banned from living in Turkmeneli.

In accordance with the provisional constitution and as provided by public law, the Revolutionary Command Council reached the decision regarding the employment of all Turkmen people who graduated from Turkish universities that they were not to be employed in Turkmeneli. **[Doc.39]** The Iraqi government discouraged the Iraqi Turkmen from taking higher education in Turkey by endorsing stamps on the Turkmen ethnic passport stating that the holder of the passport could travel to all countries except Israel and Turkey. Moreover, the Iraqi government utilised a variety of methods to prevent the Turkmen families from forwarding any financial support to their children who were studying in Turkish universities.

The Turkmen employees and their families were forcibly transferred from the government offices in Kerkuk to the other government organisations and especially to the South of Iraq for being Turkmen. **[Doc.44]** Also in order to change the demography of Kerkuk city and to reduce the political influences of the Turkmen in Northern Iraq in general and especially in Kerkuk, the Iraqi government has adopted various legislation and laws to transfer the Turkmen without their consent into various settlements which were designed to accommodate them in the south of Iraq. These settlements were built by the Iraqi government and under direct instruction of Saddam Hussein. **[Doct.88]**

3.9 FORCED EARLY RETIREMENT OF THE TURKMEN

Turkmen who were employed as directors, who held high positions in the government and high-ranking military positions, were forced into early retirement. **[Doc.30][Doc.54][Doc.60][Doc.67]**

Their positions were filled by Arabs who were affiliated with Ba'ath party. **[Doc.42]** The previous government confiscated thousands of Turkmen houses and property of those who escaped from carrying out his military service or did not participate in the Gulf war. Moreover, thousands of Turkmen properties were evacuated by force.

3.10 IMPRISONMENT AND SUMMARY EXECUTION

The Ba'ath Party administration had constructed the most tragic days for the Turkmen nation. The tyrannical regime of Saddam had committed inhuman acts of violence in order to silence the Turkmen. The Turkmen nation was oppressed and persecuted, and their leaders were fabricated with false accusations and executed, although they were not guilty. [Doc.5] [Doc.7] [Doc.28] [Doc.29] [Doc.34] [Doc.36] [Doc.45] [Doc.73] [Doc.75] [Doc.76] [Doc.77] [Doc.78]

Tens of thousands of the Turkmen's political opponents and ordinary citizens were subjected to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, summary execution, torture by beating and burning, electric shock, starvation, mutilation and rape. [Doc.36][Doc.54] The wives of the Turkmen prisoners were tortured in front of their husbands and children in the presence of their parents, and all of these horrors and torture have been concealed from the world by the apparatus of a totalitarian state.



The Turkmen graveyard in Kerkuk. Photo Mehmet Kelenchy, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, 2003

The 1980s saw countless executions of many Turkmen leaders and elders who were often falsely accused of spying for Turkey or Iran, being a member of pro-Iranian Aldawa Party or being a member of the pro-Turkish party MHP (Milli Hareket Partesi). In fact, many of these people who were executed were not involved in any kind of political or military organisation. They were executed by the Iraqi regime in order

to frighten the other members of the Turkmen community. Turkmen have been undergoing decades of inhuman atrocities in Iraq in a more brutal fashion than that carried out against the Kurds.

Turkmen have been suffering at the hands of the merciless Ba'ath regime. However, in all statements by the western leaders and in the media, there is a large emphasis on Kurds and a total disregard for the Turkmen. It is also shocking for us to see that the Western media is turning a blind eye to the atrocities that have been carried out against the Turkmen.

3.11 USE THE TURKMEN AS SCAPEGOAT DURING THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR

The previous Iraqi regime forced Turkmen to go to war intentionally, whereas Arabs and, especially, members of the Ba'ath Party were stationed in safe places, providing planning and logistical support. However, Saddam Hussein's regime purposely brought the Turkmen to the front line during the Gulf war and during the liberation of Kuwait. As a result of these wars, thousands of Iraqi Turkmen lost their lives — either killed in battle or missing in action. The Iraqi Turkmen suffered severely under the dictatorship of the Socialist Arab Ba'ath Party, whereas the Kurds were exempted from carrying out military services.

3.12 PREVENTING THE TURKMEN FROM ESTABLISHING A POLITICAL PARTY

The Turkmen were not allowed to establish any political party. The only party that was allowed to function in Iraq was the Ba'ath Party. Also, Turkmen were not allowed to form any political and cultural organisation.



Surgeon Dr. Burhan Mohammed Salman Kerkuklu, first Iraqi Turkmen to be elected as a councilor in Turkey meeting former Turkish Armed Forces Chief Dogan Gures, Kilis, Gaziantep, Turkey, 1994



Turkish Cypriot writer Osman Turkay, Dr. M. Arsalan, Mustafa Gencsoy, Mofak Salman and Z.Koperli at the Cyprus Turkish Association, London, 1992

3.13 RESTRICTIONS ON THE EDUCATION OF TURKMEN STUDENTS

Although, legally, the Turkmen in Turkmeneli should be provided with equal opportunities with the others in utilising the education institutions in the country, the Turkmen students have always been left behind because of the unfair actions of the Iraqi regime.

Turkmen were deprived of their rights to carry out their education and training in the Turkmen language. High-ranking writers, poets and artists were sentenced to imprisonment. Turkmen were prevented from getting into sensitive positions such as pilots, police officers, secret service and ministerial positions. They were prevented from getting jobs in governmental offices. The Turkmen students were forbidden from attending any military courses abroad. All places were allocated only to members of the Ba'ath Party. The appointments of the Turkmen were not allowed in Turkmeneli, especially the students who completed their higher education study in Turkey. **[Doc.48]** Moreover, the passport which was issued for the Turkmen people was endorsed with a stamp showing that they can travel to all Arab countries but not to Turkey and Israel. This is, clearly, discrimination, but in all the Western media, the human rights injustices and the suffering of the Iraqi Turkmen have been ignored. In addition, the entry into University of students who belonged to the Ba'ath Party was facilitated and they were given the chance to be registered in the faculties of their preference. This took place without taking into consideration the marks they got in graduation despite the fact that entrance into the universities in Iraqi is decided on the basis of the marks of the secondary school diploma.



Mofak Salman with MHP leader Alpaslan Turkes at the Turkish Islamic Center, London, UK. 1992

The young Turkmen were denied the opportunity of receiving higher education. As it was the case with the fields of education and training, in which the Turkmen minorities were not provided equal opportunity, the teachers of Turkmen origin were made to wait for a long time for appointments. Sometimes they were not given any jobs at all while the Arab and Kurdish teachers were given priority in appointments. The freedom of speech in Iraq was restricted, and this was applicable to the press publications and all kinds of communication. This is especially implemented very severely on Turkmen. No newspaper or magazine entirely in the Turkmen language was allowed to be published in Iraq. The sale of Turkish publications sent from abroad was confiscated and inhibited. Any individual who opposed this would be questioned and imprisoned and execution would not be far away.

Turkmen were not permitted to open private schools, publish any books, magazines or newspapers, or distribute any pamphlets. Against these pressures, the Iraqi Turkmen Co-operation and Cultural Foundation tried to gain international recognition. They presented the UN with a list of the persons who were arrested by the Iraqi regime and whose whereabouts were unknown. Turkmen, who had suffered from a massive intimidation and Arabisation policy since 1971, were arrested and convicted of a variety of sentences by the revolutionary courts, which refused to grant them the right of defending themselves.

As a result, hundreds of Turkmen were imprisoned and executed. **[Doc.36][Doc.45]**

3.14 TURKMEN LANGUAGE AND MEDIA WERE BANNED BY THE IRAQI REGIME

In 1932, under the Iraqi constitution, the Turkmen and Kurds had the right to use their own languages in schools and government offices, and to have their own language press. In 1972, the Iraqi government issued new legislation prohibiting the study of the Turkmen language in Turkmen schools. They also banned the Turkish publicity and media. In the interim constitution of 1973, references were made to the Turkmen population in Iraq. In 1980, the Iraqi regime run by the Ba'ath Party announced that the Turkish language was prohibited for public use. However, the worst tragedy of Turkmen history was the new declaration by the Iraqi regime stating that in the new constitution Iraqi people consist of only Arabs and Kurds. The Turkmen have suffered from both social and intellectual persecution under old and new Iraqi regimes. Numerous villages in Turkmen regions have been eradicated and their inhabitants expelled or forcibly transferred to remote areas in southern Iraq by Iraqi authorities. Despite the fact that in 1970, the Iraqi administration had granted some cultural rights to the Turkmen within a narrow framework, including education in the Turkish language in primary schools, daily radio broadcasting for two hours and TV broadcasting for half an hour in the Turkish language, these rights were gradually taken away by the Iraqi authorities, and by 1972, all Turkmen schools were closed. **[Doc.1][Doc.25]**

The Arabisation of Turkmen had already become a state policy in 1971 when the General Assembly of the Ba'ath Party decided to Arabise Kerkuk and continued up until 1980. Administrative boundaries were changed in 1974 to divide Turkmen concentrations. Since the mid-1970s, Arabs have enjoyed special incentives and rights, encouraging them to move to historically Turkmen areas, including the especially oil-rich cities of Kerkuk and Mosul. In the latter half of the 1970s, the names of several Turkmen villages were changed to Arabic names. **[Doc.1][Doc.49][Doc.83]** The Turkmen were banned from receiving education in their own language. Also, the new legislation by the Iraqi regime emphasised that the Turkmen could be imprisoned if they communicated in the Turkmen language in any governmental office or mosque. Moreover, the Turkmen were

forced to use Arabic names for their children on their birth certificates.
[Doc.1][Doc.25]



Turkmen Rights March organised by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, 1991, London, UK



Turkmen Rights March organised by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, 1991, London, UK

3.15 CULTURAL RIGHT OF THE TURKMEN BEING ABOLISHED

In 1959, Turkmen were allowed to operate cultural associations and schools, publish magazines and newspapers in the Latin characters of Turkish, and even obtain posts in government offices. This made them very happy and they demonstrated excellently that as citizens of Iraq they could work for their country and live in cooperation with other Iraqis. The Ba'ath Party rule commenced in 1968 and opened one of the darkest chapters in Turkmen history. The Ba'ath Party forced people to sign petitions asking for the closure of Turkmen language schools and appointed Arab administrators in Turkmen areas. Boycotts by Turkmen were suppressed in a bloody manner. The Turkmen Cultural Directorate, which was set up by the government to bring Turkmen under strict control, was not working according to the plan. Therefore, the Iraqi government started a new strategy by replacing all Turkmen teachers with Arab teachers, and they sent all

Turkmen teachers to non-Turkish speaking areas. An all-out assimilation campaign against Turkmen was unleashed. Turkish youngsters with university degrees were given jobs in non-Turkish areas. **[Doc.24] [Doc.25] [Doc.39] [Doc.43] [Doc.44] [Doc.54] [Doc.60]**

3.16 ATTRACTIVE AWARDS FOR INTER-MARRIAGES

A dozen Arab settlements were built around the towns of Kerkuk, Telafer, Altunkopru and other Turkmeneli provinces. These settlements were filled with pro-Iraqi government Arabs. In order to change the ethnic composition of the Turkmen regions, hundreds of Arab families were paid large sums of money and promised instant government loans. Those persons who married Turkmen girls were given attractive rewards. Young Arab men were encouraged by the Iraqi regime to marry Turkmen girls. All this was designed to change the demographic balance of Turkmen-dominated region. It was very difficult for Turkmen to stand against the Iraqi secret service in order to protect their family. The government offered financial rewards to Arabs who married Turkmen women in an effort to expedite the process of ethnic assimilation. The Turkmen girls did not have the right of choice; they were obliged to marry the Arabs who proposed to them. The marriages amongst Turkmen were subjected to permission as a result of the long security investigation by the Iraqi government.

3.17 BANNING THE TURKMEN FROM ACQUIRING REAL ESTATE IN KERKUK

The Revolution of Ba'ath Council banned the Turkmen from acquiring real estate in Kerkuk, with its resolution number 434, dated 11 September, 1989, and its resolution number 418, dated 8 April, 1984. **[Doc.86]** The Turkmen who owned arable lands were deported to the southern regions by force. The Iraqi government, under a variety of pretexts, **[Doc.76][Doc.77] [Doc.78][Doc.79][Doc.80]** demolished Turkmen-populated areas in Kerkuk City, in addition to a large number of Turkmen villages demolished by the Iraqi government. For example, Beshir, Kombetler and Yaychi were destroyed, and the residents of these villages were left homeless. Moreover, a large number of Turkmen houses were confiscated in order to split up the Turkmen localities. **[Doc.85][Doc.87A][Doc.87B][Doc.87C]** Arab families were brought to Kerkuk from the south of Iraq and resettled

by force, with the financial support of the government, in order to change the demography of the area. **[Doc.46] [Doc.47]**

The Turkmen who wanted to purchase properties or sell their properties in Kerkuk, were under the obligation to obtain official permission from governmental authorities. **[Doc.55][Doc.56] [Doc.57][Doc.66]**

With the resolution number 1081, dated 27.09.1984, the Turkmen lands were expropriated and allotted to the Arabs who were brought from the south. There was a very strict ban on all sales of real estate in Turkmen regions. **[Doc.31][Doc. 33][Doc.35][Doc.41]**

Turkmen could only sell his/her land or building to an Arab. Turkmen could neither obtain building permissions on their own lands nor could they purchase real estate. These restrictions were published in official newspapers and openly enforced.

On the other hand, Arabs were encouraged to buy real estate and settle in Turkmen regions, with interest-free loans. **[Doc.47]** The lands that the Turkmen owned and their title deeds were expropriated by the Iraqi regime at a price much lower than their real value. The lands expropriated in the district of Kerkuk, **[Doc.5]** namely, Tisin, Hasa Timan, Beyle, Shaturlu, Sari Kehya, Gavurbagi, Arasa and the village of Bulawa, were sold to members of the Ba'ath Party, security personnel and officials of Arabic origin at low prices. **[Doc.72][Doc.73][Doc.74][Doc.85]**

The Turkmen who objected to these expropriation processes were threatened with death, and they were obliged to receive the money paid to them from the lands expropriated by the government. **[Doc.41][Doc.71]**

The decision of the Revolutionary Command Council, dated 31st March, 1975, number 369, is noteworthy for showing the reasons on which the expropriation of the lands belonging to the Turkmen by the state are based. The Revolutionary Command Council resolution is as follows: In accordance with paragraph (A) Article 42 of the provisional constitution and as provided by public law, the Revolutionary Command Council reached the following decision on 31st March, 1975, regarding the lands covered by it (listed in detail below). Since they are within the area belonging to the Iraqi Petroleum Company and the military installation, the lands included the list attached to the decision will be expropriated and registered in the

name of the local administration of Kerkuk. [Doc.13][Doc.26][Doc.27][Doc.28][Doc.29] [Doc.59] Arab families were given financial incentives to move to the oil-rich areas in the north of Iraq. The Iraqi government embarked on housing construction projects to bring more Arab families north in order to change the demographic makeup of the north and, especially, Kerkuk which is dominated by ethnic Turkmen. [Doc.35] [Doc.41] The decades of state persecution of Kurds and the repeated forced displacement in the north of Iraq have tremendously contributed to the change in the demographic nature of the Kerkuk region.

3.18 BAN THE TURKMEN FROM ENTERING THE BIDS

In a legislation that was passed by the Revolutionary Command Council, the Turkmen were banned from participating in the bidding which was opened to regulate the rents of the shops at the city centre of Kerkuk, which are mostly used by Turkish tradesmen. [Doc.14] [Doc.15] [Doc.16] [Doc.18] [Doc.38] [Doc.58]

The Turkmen have been prohibited from making purchases or sales of properties among themselves. They have been allowed to sell their lands or houses only to Arabs at much lower prices than their real value, while the Arabs have been encouraged to settle in Kerkuk in return for big financial rewards.

3.19 DEPORTATION AND REPLACEMENT

The Iraqi government fiercely implemented a deportation and replacement policy against the Turkmen. Also, the Turkmen deportees were not compensated for their properties nor were they provided with proper accommodation facilities in the places where they were sent. [Doc.12] [Doc.14][Doc.32][Doc.51][Doc.52] The Arabs substituting them enjoyed all financial support, and were allocated houses and land. The Turkmen who have been forced to immigrate to the north Iraq could not find secure place to work and to settle. The Turkmen have been involved in illegal attempts in order to take refuge in countries that welcome refugees, with the hope of finding security and accommodation. Many Turkmen lost their lives in such attempts. In several incidents, a few hundred Turkmen were drowned while trying to cross the Aegean Sea by boat or killed by the border police while attempting to escape to Europe for a better future.

3.20 BAN ON TEACHING AND PUBLICATION IN THE TURKMEN LANGUAGE

Turkish education in Turkmen regions was abolished in 1936 by the Iraqi authorities. The Turkmen intellectuals protested against this. The protesting teachers and intellectuals who participated in the demonstrations were sent into exile. Moreover, the Iraqi government, in order to reduce the potential power of Turkmen, passed a new legislation forbidding Turkmen students from entering Teaching Colleges, Military Academies and Police Academies. [Doc.1][Doc.25][Doc.48]

Turkmen children were forced to attend summer camps starting from the age of seven where Arabic, the Arab culture and ideology of the Ba'ath regime was taught. [Doc.48][Doc.81] Those families who refuse to send their children to these compulsory camps were sent to trial and sentenced to severe penalties. Although in the 1970s, within the framework of cultural rights granted to Turkmen, primary schools were opened where the language of instruction was Turkish, shortly afterwards, some of these schools were closed and others which survived were forced to switch to the Arabic language education starting at the 4th grade. The Turkish language schools with Turkish names like Fuzuli, Yildizlar, Kara Altun, Ileri, Aktas, Yedi Kardash, Mutlu and Sanly were all renamed in Arabic [71]

3.21 RECRUITMENT OF INFORMERS

The Iraqi government agents attempted to coerce Turkmen, Kurds and Assyrians into becoming informers for the various security or intelligence apparatuses, or for the Ba'ath Party, thereby focusing particular attention on those who had relatives who had escaped. When those who were recruited to spy on their families refused to cooperate, they faced instant expulsion. Others faced trumped-up charges of espionage or were accused of involvement in opposition activities, thus facing torture and abuse before being expelled to various parts of Iraq.

3.22 DESTRUCTION OF THE TURKMEN ARCHITECTURE

Similar to the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, the legacy of the Turkish civilisation was systematically destroyed. The government tore down a historical bridge in Kerkuk, built in 1875, which was in good condition

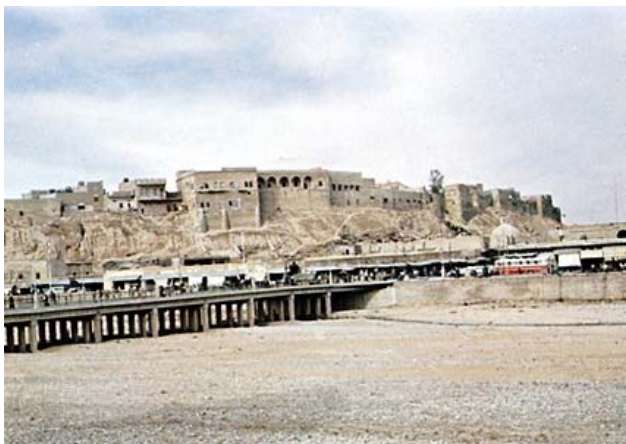
and in service. The historical Kerkuk Castle was evacuated and partly destroyed and the Governor's Palace of Kerkuk was torn down as well.



Saddam Hussein's government destroyed Turkmen houses and historical places in Kerkuk (Kerkuk Kalasi "Kerkuk Castle"), Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu



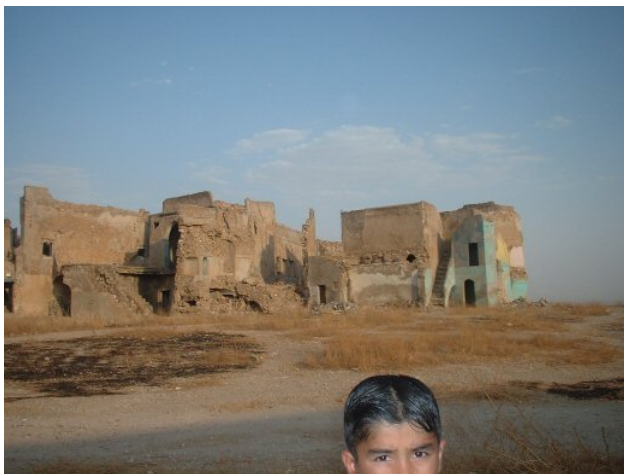
Saddam Hussein's government destroyed Turkmen houses and historical places in Kerkuk (Kerkuk Kalasi "Kerkuk Castle"), Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu



Saddam Hussein's government destroyed Turkmen houses and historical places in Kerkuk (Kerkuk Kalasi "Kerkuk Castle") before the destruction, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli



*Saddam Hussein's government destroyed Turkmen houses and historical places in Kerkuk (Kerkuk Kalasi "Kerkuk Castle"): after the destruction, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli:
Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu*



*Saddam Hussein's government destroyed Turkmen houses and historical places in Kerkuk (Kerkuk Kalasi "Kerkuk Castle"): after the destruction, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli:
Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu*



Saddam Hussein's government-destroyed Turkmen houses and historical places in Kerkuk Daniel Peghamber in (Kerkuk Kalasi "Kerkuk Castle): Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu

3.23 FORCED RECRUITMENT INTO VOLUNTEER PARAMILITARY

The Iraqi government established over the years a number of paramilitary forces, either as auxiliary support to the regular armed forces or as elite units, effectively private armies, answerable to the political leadership. In the latter category fall “Fida’iyyi Saddam” and a new force reportedly created in 2002 known as “Sword of the Leader” (“Sayf al-Qa’id”). The principal auxiliary force created during the 1970s was the Popular Army “al-Jaysh al-Sha’bi” headed by Vice President Taha Yassin Ramadan — purportedly, a volunteer force the purpose of which was to provide military support to the regular armed forces during the Iran–Iraq war.

Many of the Kurds, Turkmen and Assyrians had been recruited into the Popular Army under pressure. Also, a new force, the “Jaysh al-Quds” was created in February, 2001, amid many official fanfares, its declared purpose being the “liberation” of Jerusalem. Like the Popular Army, it was nominally a volunteer force. In practice, many of its recruits, including Kurds, Turkmen and Assyrians were pressured into enlisting. Training typically took place over one or two months, focusing on the use of light weaponry such as Kalashnikov rifles, rocket-propelled grenades and light artillery.

Turkmen and Kurdish boys between the ages of twelve and seventeen were normally recruited into yet another force known as “Ashbal Saddam” (Saddam’s Cubs), which also involved periodic training in light weaponry over a month during the Summer vacations.

3.24 FORCED RECRUITMENT INTO THE BA`ATH PARTY

Since 1968, Iraq was ruled by a single political party, the Arab Ba`ath Socialist Party. Its role in Iraqi society remained pervasive, facilitated by its own intelligence and security structures. The Iraqi secret service and Ba`ath officials frequently attempted to recruit Kurds, Turkmen and Assyrians to join the party, the aim being multi-fold. Membership served as a means through which the state strived to retain control of individuals and to monitor any anti-government activity on their part. Becoming a member was invariably followed by pressure on individuals to act as informers in their local neighbourhood, their professional milieu or other spheres. Above all, willingness to join the

party served as a test of loyalty to the government. Refusal or reluctance to join raised suspicion, resulting in the person concerned being placed under surveillance and facing innumerable obstacles and discrimination in their daily lives.

3.25 RE-ALLOCATION OF TURKMEN FARMLAND TO ARAB FAMILIES

In addition to the pressure tactics used against Turkmen families living in and around Kerkuk to leave their homes, the Iraqi government has forcefully ejected a large number of Turkmen farm communities in the province, seizing their property without prior notice or compensation and leaving them destitute.

[Doc.55][Doc.56][Doc.57][Doc.72][Doc.73][Doc.74][Doc.77][Doc.78] Entire villages of Turkmen farmers have often been forcibly vacated en masse, in contrast with the more individualised pressure tactics used on urban dwellers. Many of them find themselves internally displaced to the north of Iraq, which was under Kurdish control. Expelled from their rural homes in the first instance, such families headed for Kerkuk City and other urban centres where, at best, they were able to find temporary shelter with relatives.

Formerly relatively affluent landowners in the countryside, they found themselves eking out a living as manual labourers in the city. Years later, as the government's Arabisation policy increasingly focused on urban centres, they were forcibly expelled once again, this time to the north of Iraq, which was under Kurdish control. Some of the more valuable seized properties were presented as gifts to senior members of the Ba'ath Party and other officials in return for services rendered to the state. Mostly though, they were distributed to Arab tribal families brought in from southern Iraq. **[Doc.9][Doc.33][Doc.35][Doc.59][Doc.71]**

The Iraqi government, in response to a query from the UN special reporter on Iraq, stated that a process of land reform was underway in northern Iraq. The government attempted to cast this process as necessary to make the best possible use of land suitable for agriculture, and claimed that the land was distributed to all farmers willing to exploit it for agricultural purposes, without regard to their ethnic affiliation. **[Doc.9] [Doc.28] [Doc.29] [Doc.32] [Doc.35] [Doc.87A] [Doc.87B] [Doc.87C]** In fact, the Iraqi policy was aimed at

removing Turkmen and other non-Arab farm communities and replacing them with Arab farmers. [Doc.9] [Doc. 23] [Doc.31] [Doc.41]

3.26 THE CLOSURE OF TURKMEN CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

The Turkmen in Iraq could not establish associations or become members of civil organisations. After persistent efforts by Turkmen intellectuals, *Turkmen Kardashlik Ojagy* was founded. However, with a decree from the highest echelons of the State, this association's board of Trustees was replaced by Ba'ath militants shortly after, in 1980.

3.27 EXECUTION OF TURKMEN LEADERSHIP

In January 1980, dozens of Turkmen intellectuals and leaders were sentenced to death after mock and censored trials. [173] Most prominent among them are Retired Colonel Abdullah Abdurrahman, Associate Professor Dr. Necdet Kocak, Agricultural Engineer Dr. Riza Demirci, and businessman Adil Sherif, Lieutenant Colonel Halit Akkoyunlu, educator Mehmet Korkmaz. Later, and hundreds of Turkmen intellectuals were similarly tried and hanged. Many others died in prisons from torture. Trials were behind closed doors and defendants did not have the right to hire lawyers. [72]

Prominent among those sentenced to long years of imprisonment are: Poet Mehmet Izzet Hattat, Poet Nihat Akkoyunlu, blind Poet Hassan Gorem, Artist Ekrem Tuzlu, Lawyers Ihsan Ali Ekber, M.D. Sadik Riza Ali, Saudun Osman Köpürlü, Ismail Teleferli and Salahaddin — the list goes on and on. In recent years, unexplained disappearance cases among Turkmen have reached an alarming rate. The report dated July 13th, 1994, prepared by a special UN representative states that in 1993, three high-ranking Turkmen Iraqi officers were arrested, and that they disappeared.



Letter of Turkmen recognition submitted by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu to the former British Prime Minister John Major at 10, Dawning Street, London, U.K.



Letter of Turkmen recognition submitted by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu to 10, Dawning Street, London, U.K.

During the 1991 civil disorders, the cities and towns of Kerkuk, Erbil, Kifri, Tuzkhurmato and Altunkopru were shelled by Iraqi artillery. Thousands of innocent civilians died and thousands more perished during the arduous march to asylum in Turkey, not only from hunger

or exhaustion but also from helicopter gunfire! During the same period, about 80 young Turkmen, who took refuge in a building in Altunkopru, trying to escape crossfire between Kurds and government troops, were brutally killed by Iraqi soldiers. Recent years also saw intensification of forced relocation of Turkmen families in southern Iraq. If a member of a Turkmen family leaves Iraq, the remaining members of the family are sent either to the south or to the Kurdish-controlled north.

3.28 CONFISCATION OF THE TURKMEN LAND AND PROPERTY

With the Revolutionary Command Council number 1391, dated 20 October, 1981, it was agreed that the Turkmen would be forced to immigrate to the southern provinces of Iraq. **[Doc.88]** Hundreds of Turkmen villages and towns have been destroyed under various pretexts and the Turkmen have been forced to immigrate to other places. Also, the government fiercely confiscated the Turkmen farms and agricultural lands. The Arab nationals in the south of Iraq were encouraged to settle in through non-refundable financial incentives and free land allocations.



Saddam Hussein's government destroyed Turkmen religious places, houses and historical places in Kerkuk (Houses built in Gawerbaghi by the Iraqi Petrol Company for the staff working in IPC), house before the destruction, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu



Saddam Hussein's government destroyed Turkmen religious places, houses and historical places in Kerkuk. "Houses built in Gawerbaghi by the Iraqi Petrol Company for the staff working in IPC", but later destroyed by Saddam Hussein's regime, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu

Turkmeneli. Hundreds of Turkmen villages and towns were demolished under a number of pretexts. The Turkmen were forced to move to other areas and many Arab citizens were given incentive premiums to encourage them to settle in Turkmen areas, with the land distributed in shares and Turkmen villages name replaced with Arabic name. [Doc.33][Doc.35][Doc.41] [Doc.44] [Doc.56] [Doc.58]



Saddam Hussein's government destroyed Turkmen houses and historical places in Kerkuk (Kerkuk Kalasi "Kerkuk Castle") and confiscated land were given to the Arab brought from south of Iraq: Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu

Lands were confiscated from Turkmen under various pretexts and Turkmen houses were expropriated for various reasons, and Turkmen were forcibly exiled to the south of Iraq. Arab families from the south were brought to replace them. Also, families from Palestine were brought to settle in Kerkuk and the surrounding area. They were also given a reward and encouraged to settle in Turkmen areas with rewards of 10,000 Iraqi Dinars to each person. Those Arabs who bought farmlands were offered an extra reward varying between 7,000 and 10,000 Dinars (approximately, \$30,000). This was followed by government decrees that changed Kerkuk's name to Al-Tamim, and changed its administrative borders, taking other Turkmen towns outside this province and annexing Turkmen towns and villages.

As a result, Kerkuk was made to lose its characteristic of being a Turkmen city. Thus, thousands of Arab families were issued identity cards and registered in Kerkuk. They settled in the new district of Kerkuk, which had been established by the Iraqi regime, for example: 7th April, al-Hurriyet, al-Keramma, El-Ba'ath, Palestine, 17th July, and El Kudos. All Arabs settled in these areas were given priority in employment and those who had no job were assigned salaries. While Arab districts of Kerkuk were hurriedly provided with public services, the Turkmen districts were neglected.



Saddam Hussein's government destroyed Turkmen religious places, houses and historical places in Kerkuk "Mohammedi Jamesi in Gawerbaghi (Mohammedi Mosque in Gawerbaghi)" later demolished by Saddam Hussein's government: Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu

3.29 RE-ALLOCATION OF FARMLAND TO ARAB FAMILIES

Pressure tactics used by the Saddam Hussein government against Turkmen who are living in and around Kerkuk to leave their homes, seizing their property without prior notice or compensation have left them destitute. Entire villages of Turkmen and Kurds farmers were often forcibly vacated en masse, in contrast with the more individualized pressure tactics used on urban dwellers. Many of them find themselves internally displaced to the Kurdish-controlled region. Moreover, the authorities reportedly gave additional incentives in the form of plots of land to Arabs resettled in Kerkuk who brought the remains of their dead relatives and reburied them in the city's cemeteries.

Arabisation policy increasingly focused on urban centres. Some of the more valuable seized properties were presented as presents to senior Ba`ath Party and other officials in return for services rendered to the state, but most were distributed to Arab tribal families brought in from southern Iraq. The Iraqi government, in response to a query from the UN special reporter on Iraq, stated that a process of land reform was underway in northern Iraq. The government attempted to cast this process as necessary to make the best possible use of land suitable for agriculture and claimed that the land was distributed to all farmers willing to exploit it for agricultural purposes, without regard to their ethnic affiliation. In fact, the Iraqi policy was aimed at removing Kurdish and Turkmen farm communities, and replacing them with Arab farmers.

The Arabisation process was increased with the emergence of the Kurdish question; the importance of this area was further enhanced. Consequently, the activities of acquiring the lands belonging to the Turkmen and Kurds were accelerated by the Iraqi regime; this was also done by cutting the geographical ties of the Turkmen with Turkey. Various steps were taken by Saddam Hussein's regime to assimilate the Turkmen in the area. All this was designed intentionally to change the demographic balance of the Turkmen-dominated region.

3.30 HUMAN RIGHTS AND SUMMARY EXECUTION

All the above points that I have indicated are in defiance of the international declarations and agreements, especially of the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights. The Council of the Revolutionary Command, which was the highest legislative and executive body in the country, takes the decisions related with the Turkmen. The Arabisation policies intensively applied in order to assimilate the Turkmen, in the 1990's have been escalated to the level of an ethnic cleansing.

The number of Turkmen families deported from Kerkuk by Saddam Hussein's government exceeded tens of thousands and they were replaced with Arab families. This policy of deportation and replacement with Arabs is a very old one and has been pursued by the Iraqi Government for some thirty years. Faced with this unrelenting repression and assimilation campaign and the hardships resulting from UN embargo and the arbitrary division of the Turkmen land at the 36th parallel, all Turkmen in Iraq were forced to consider emigration. Many families reluctantly escaped to Turkey and later sought asylum in countries like Canada, Australia, Denmark, Sweden, UK, France and Germany. The sad truth is that Iraqi Turkmen, in their own land, had become a community deprived of their most basic rights, treated as third class citizens, facing an endless campaign of repression and 'Arabisation', and in danger of losing their cultural and national identity.



(Right) Mofak Salman, (Center) Chairman of UNGO working Group On Minorities Group and Dr. S. Jerjis, Geneva, Switzerland, 2005



(Right) Dr. S.Jerjis, Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, Mrs Christina Meinecke Dr.A.Bazez at the United Nation Commission for Human Rights / UN, Geneva, Switzerland, 2005

The international organisations and nations, which claim to be champions of human rights, seem to conveniently ignore the plight of the Turkmen. The Western media consistently use the name 'Kurdistan' when referring to the North of Iraq, despite the fact that the region also belongs to Turkmen and Arabs. The Turkmen of Iraq are sadly ignored by the world in general. Unfortunately, only a certain section of the Turkish people in Turkey understands the painful problems of Iraqi Turkmen and tries to find solutions for them. To sum up, we can say that about 3 million Turkmen are facing gradual extermination, and the legacy of a Turkmen civilisation in Iraq is being irrevocably erased. All the above activities are designed to change the demographic balance of the Turkmen-dominated region. The information gathered by Human Rights Watch during its September 2002 mission clearly established that the Iraqi government was continuing a policy of forced expulsions of Kurds, Turkmen and Assyrians from Kerkuk and other regions. The process of forced expulsions from Kerkuk was a centrally organised, bureaucratic government campaign, involving formal documents such as the expulsion orders many victims received. Typically, families targeted for expulsion would receive several threatening visits from security personnel or Ba'ath Party officials.

During those visits, the families were pressured to take one or more of the following steps: officially alter their ethnic identity by registering as

Arabs instead of Kurds, Turkmen or Assyrians — a process known as “nationality correction”; [Doc.2] [Doc.54] [Doc.62] [Doc.62] [Doc.63] [Doc.68] [Doc.80], become members of the ruling Ba’ath Party; and/or join one of the various militias formed by Saddam Hussein, including the so-called Army of Jerusalem (*Jaysh al-Qads*). Families with young men were particularly harassed. As a result of these pressures, some families decided to depart for the Kurdish-controlled areas, knowing that they risked forced expulsion, imprisonment and other abuse if they continued to refuse to comply with official demands. Those families who remained in Kerkuk were soon presented with a formal expulsion order. Oftentimes, a male relative was arrested at this point and held hostage by the security services until the family had arranged for departure to the Kurdish-controlled areas.

As with most Iraqi government abuses, different security agencies were directly implicated. Among the most prominent agencies involved in the expulsions were the General Security Directorate (*Mudiriyyat al-Amn al’Aam*), headquartered in Baghdad and with centres in major cities across the country, and the internal security service of the Ba’ath Party (*Amn al-Hizb*). Both these apparatuses directly implemented the policy of forced population transfers at all its major stages, by conducting surveillance of targeted individuals or families, putting pressure on them to comply with official demands, threatening arrest, expulsion or other punishment for failure to comply, earmarking or issuing expulsion orders, and seizing of property and assets. Additionally, General Security Directorate officials were involved in the arrest, interrogation and, sometimes, torture of those who refused to succumb to their pressures and, together with the police, in the detention of the head or male member of targeted families, effectively as hostages, until the expulsion process was completed. The Ba’ath Party’s security officials were also involved in identifying persons who failed to join the party, and exerting pressure on them to do so. Frequently, the ‘Mukhtar - the civilian community representative - in a particular neighbourhood, such as cities, towns or villages backed up the pressure on ethnic minority families by security officials. Necessarily members of the Ba’ath Party, the Mukhtars had intimate knowledge of the families residing within a given area and were able to report regularly to security officials on the situation of individual families, on any changes in their circumstances and any acts on their part that indicated disloyalty to the authorities. They

frequently accompanied security officials on their rounds of targeted homes and participated in exerting pressure on families to comply with official demands.

The local police in each district were also involved in the execution of orders concerning forced expulsions, such as the detention of a family member pending expulsion. They were also charged with being present at the homes of families on the day of their expulsion, recording the names of each family member, ensuring that they did not take with them prohibited articles or belongings, and drawing up a list of all other major items that were being taken. Where the families concerned were expelled to northern Iraq, which was under Kurdish control, the police was also required to escort them to the last government-controlled checkpoint. At that point they took any documentation still remaining in the families' possession with the exception of their nationality certificates, which they were permitted to keep. The police also escorted those families that were expelled to destinations in southern Iraq, handing over their expulsion papers to local officials upon arrival.

The government of Iraq has resisted efforts by the United Nations, including its main Refugee Agency, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), to facilitate the return of Iraqis displaced from the Kerkuk region. In the immediate aftermath of the 1991 Gulf war and subsequent uprisings, UNHCR and other non-governmental organisations sought to facilitate the safe return of Kurds and Turkmen who had fled from Kerkuk in 1991. However, this focus on returning Kurds and Turkmen ran directly counter to government plans". [73]

Government opposition to the facilitation of returns was made even more apparent in August 1991 when the UN Executive Delegate requested permission from Baghdad to establish a sub-office in Kerkuk, and it was denied. [74] One month later, the Iraqi government refused to allow UN guards to accompany a convoy of 3,417 returnees to Kerkuk. [75] Combined Pressure Tactics: Iraqi officials used a wide range of tactics and demands to pressure targeted Kurdish, Turkmen and Assyrian families prior to forcing them to abandon their homes. These included forced change of ethnicity, forced recruitment into the Ba'ath Party, forced recruitment into "volunteer" paramilitary structures, pressure on families with relatives in the north of Iraq which was under Kurdish control and attempts to

recruit informers. Most of the families were subjected to a range of such pressures until they either left voluntarily, out of fear, or were forcibly expelled.

The Turkmen are still not officially recognised. They do not figure in national census and their linguistic rights are denied even in places where they form the majority of the population. Repression under Saddam Hussein's government was directed at all opposition; distinctive ethnic and religious minorities were specially targeted, with violations of the linguistic, cultural and property rights of the Turkmen. The Iraqi Government continued with violations of human rights, especially with regard to the various ethnic and religious minorities in Iraq. They considered ethnic minorities, and especially Iraqi Turkmen, as being lower-grade citizens and treated them as such.

The most violent practice being faced by the Turkmen was that of forced displacement. In October 1997, Turkmen organisations arranged a "Turkmen Assembly" in northern Iraq. The assembly had secured unanimity among the Turkmen organisations, and determined the cultural, educational, information and social policies for the Turkmen people. The groups who attended the assembly had adopted the "Declaration of Fundamental Principles" which is of binding nature for the Turkmen people. A thirty-member council was created, including the Turkmen Co-operation and Cultural Foundation, and various other Turkmen organisations. In order to maintain the Turkmen existence and to protect the Turkmen identity from being eradicated and also to ensure social solidarity with the Turkmen nation in Iraq, several associations and foundations have been established in Iraq and also in Denmark, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Turkey, Canada, United Kingdom, Canada, France, USA and Australia.

Turkmen have been living in anxiety as they are deprived of basic human rights and freedoms, as well as safety of life and property. Although the existing laws had guaranteed these rights, the Ba'ath regime acted in an arbitrary manner. The Turkmen were detained on various pretexts sometimes, illegal searches were carried out in their houses, and sometimes they were appointed or banished to other places. The Turkmen who are Iraqi citizens have been punished just because they are Turkmen — the Iraqi regime acted against the international principle concerning basic human rights and freedom. Unjust punishments, including death sentence, which were applied to

the Turkmen, should have lead the international human rights organisations and all the civilised communities to stand up against these injustices.

In 1990, the New Constitution stated that Iraqi people consist of only Arabs and Kurds. In the Iraqi judicial system, the Turkmen were ignored; also, several Iraqi constitutions did not mention the Turkmen. Article 6 of the present Iraqi constitution, dated 7th July 1990, only mentions Arabs and Kurds as the peoples in Iraq.

3.31 REPLACING THE TURKMEN ENGRAVE WITH ARABIC

In order to change the demography of Kerkuk City and to reduce the economical, political and potential presence of Turkmen and Kurds in Kerkuk, the regime of Saddam Hussein adopted a strategy that all Turkmen and Kurdish engravings had to be deleted and re-engraved in Arabic. This was one of the ways of underlying this demographic change in which the Iraqi government clearly showed the desire to reduce the political power, influence and presence of ethnic Turkmen in order to consolidate government control over this oil-rich region. This forcible and arbitrary change of the used Turkmen language, without any grounds permissible under international law, has been defined in the International Criminal Court statute as a crime against humanity.

The process was part of a broader campaign to wipe out the non-Arab characteristics of the Kerkuk region — a campaign that also involved refusing to register non-Arab names and insisting on Arabic names for formerly Turkmen schools, districts, mosques and streets. **[Doc.1]**
[Doc.25] [Doc.50]

3.32 TRANSFER OF THE POPULATION

Due to the manipulation of census data over a long period of time, a vast majority of Turkmen expelled have no documentation proving past ownership of property, which was systematically withdrawn or destroyed by officials. Some of the properties in question no longer exist, having been razed to the ground as part of the punitive measures adopted by the government. As for the Arab families resettled in these areas, many are by now in their second or third generation, with their children knowing no other home. Some also have extensive economic interests tied up in Kerkuk, and may prove

unwilling to relinquish them. Others will have acquired property in good faith and, in all likelihood, will contest the claims made by the returnees. Compounding all these problems are the completing claims — which have already surfaced — for a stake in the Kerkuk by Kurds and Turkmen.

The census also offered only two options for the registration of nationality: Arab or Kurdish. This was particularly problematic for those minorities who were largely based in the Kurdish regions, such as the Assyrians, the Chaldean Christians and the Yezidis. Those who refused to register as Arabs were automatically designated as Kurds, for which they were to suffer several months later when the Anfal campaign directed at the Kurds was launched. Typically, families targeted for expulsion would receive several threatening visits from security personnel or Ba'ath Party officials. During those visits, the Turkmen families were pressured into taking one or more of the following steps:

- Officially alter their ethnic identity by registering as Arabs or Kurds — a process known as “nationality correction”.
- To become members of the ruling Ba'ath Party; and/or join one of the various militias formed by Saddam Hussein, including the so-called Army of Jerusalem (*Jaysh al-Quds*).

As a result of these pressures, some families decided to depart for the Iraqi government-controlled areas, knowing that they risk forced expulsion, imprisonment and other abuse if they continued to refuse to comply with official demand [Doc.2][Doc.54][Doc.62][Doc.62][Doc.63][Doc.68] [Doc.80]

General Security Directorate “Mudiriyyat al-Amn al'Aam”, headquartered in Baghdad, had centres in major cities across the country, and the internal security service of the Ba'ath Party was “Amn al-Hizb”. Both these apparatuses directly implemented the policy of forced population transfers at all its major stages, namely surveillance of targeted individuals or families, putting pressure on them to comply with official demands, threatening arrest, expulsion, or other punishment for failure to comply, earmarking or issuing expulsion orders, and seizure of property and assets. Additionally, General Security Directorate officials were involved in the arrest, interrogation and, sometimes, torture of those who refused to succumb to their

pressures. Together with the police, they detained the head or male member of targeted families, effectively as hostages, until the expulsion process was completed. The Ba'ath Party's security officials were also involved in identifying persons who failed to join the party, and exerted pressure on them to do so.

Frequently, the Mukhtar, the civilian community representative in a particular neighbourhood in cities, towns or villages backed up the pressure on ethnic minority families by security officials. Necessarily members of the Ba'ath Party, the Mukhtars had intimate knowledge of the families residing within a given area and were able to report regularly to security officials on the situation of individual families, any changes in their circumstances and any acts on their part that indicated a disloyalty to the authorities. They frequently accompanied security officials on their rounds of targeted homes, and participated in exerting pressure on families to comply with official demands.

3.33 FORCED CHANGE OF ETHNICITY TO ARAB

One of the most common Iraqi government pressure tactics was to coerce Turkmen living in government-controlled areas to correct their ethnicity and register as Arabs — a process often referred to as 'nationality change'. It was formally introduced in 1997, prior to carrying out a population census. The census did not cover the region under Kurdish self-rule, when the government distributed nationality correction forms. [Doc.2] [Doc.7] [Doc.17] [Doc.19] [Doc.21] [Doc.24] [Doc.34] [Doc.35][Doc.54] [Doc.62] [Doc.63] [Doc.64] [Doc.66] [Doc.68] [Doc.69] [Doc.70] [Doc.80]

These forms required members of ethnic groups residing in Kerkuk, Tuzkhormatu, Telafer, Khaniqin, Makhmour, Sinjar, Tuzkhormatu and other districts to relinquish their Turkmen identities and to register officially as Arabs. Until they did so, they were not permitted to engage even in agriculture, or to buy or build a house. Those who refused were invariably expelled from their homes. The pressure to change ethnicity was focused in a discriminatory fashion on Turkmen, whereas the Assyrian Arabs were never pressured to change their ethnicity. Before the 1987 census, the Iraqi government's "Ba'ath Party" in Kerkuk city spread a rumour that any Turkmen who would register as a Turkmen national would be deprived from all of his rights and would be deported to the south of Iraq. The Turkmen who refused to change

their ethnic identity from Turkmen to Arab were fired from his/her work place. [Docc.2] [Doc.7] [Doc.17] [Doc.19] [Doc.21] [Doc.24] [Doc.34] [Doc.35] [Doc.54] [Doc.62] [Doc.63] [Doc.64] [Doc.66] [Doc.68] [Doc.69] [Doc.70] [Doc.80]

The majority of the Turkmen people in Turkmeneli were frightened by such rumours. Turkmen have been severely intimidated and silenced, and they have been waiting helplessly, not knowing what to do. Thus the 1987 national census in Iraq does not represent the real representation of the Iraqi ethnic groups. In this census, Turkmen were openly threatened to declare themselves either as Arabs or Kurds. If they declared themselves as Turkmen, they would be deported to Saudi Arabia border, so many Turkmen registered themselves as Arabs to ensure the security of their life and belongings. The Iraqi government had acknowledged that it was engaging in a process of nationality changes, but claimed this was a process designed to correct erroneous registrations dating back to the Ottoman era. The Iraqi Government claimed that the intent of the decree was not discriminatory because this right was optional and not discriminatory.

Saddam Hussein's government has also admitted to the practice of refusing to register newborn babies with foreign names. The Iraqi government explained this practice to the special rapporteur. Some parents give their children foreign names that are alien to the heritage of Iraqi society. This forces the bearer of the name to face the astonishment and persistently embarrassing questions of those around them as to the meaning of their socially unusual names. For this reason, a decision had been taken that names must be Iraqi, Arab or Islamic. Saddam Hussein's government denied that this decision was discriminatory against Kurds and Turkmen stating, "the concept of Iraqi identity embraces the names of all religious and ethnic communities, including Kurdish, Turkmen, Christian and other names of other communities".

3.34 RESOLUTION N° 199

In September 2001 the Iraqi government passed Resolution No. 199 giving all non-Arab Iraqis over 18 the right to change their ethnic identity to that of Arab and also the Iraqi authorities attempted to hide the displacement of Turkmen and Kurds from Kerkuk. Many Kurds

and Turkmen families in Mosul and Kerkuk were expelled to northern Iraq for failing to sign form

On 6th September 2001, in an unprecedented move, the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council – which ranks higher than the so-called Iraqi Parliament – passed Resolution No. 199 giving all non-Arab Iraqis over 18 the right to change their ethnic identity to that of Arab. Such a decision was contrary to all the principles of human rights and was politically motivated. Its purpose was to compel all non-Arabs in Iraq to adopt an Arab ethnic identity. This law legalized the regime's policy of ethnic cleansing directed against Kurds, Turkmen and Assyro-Chaldeans. [76]

3.35 COMBINED PRESSURE ATTACKS

Iraqi officials used a wide range of tactics and demands to pressure targeted Kurdish, Turkmen, and Assyrians families prior to forcing them to abandon their homes. These included forced change of ethnicity, forced recruitment into the Ba`ath Party, forced recruitment into volunteer paramilitary structures, pressure on families with relatives in the north of Iraq and attempts to recruit informers. Most of the families were subjected to a range of such pressures until they either left voluntarily out of fear or were forcibly expelled. Officials from the Amin "Security" and the Istikhbarat "Military Intelligence" and the Mukhtar "neighbourhood administrator" kept coming to the houses and putting pressure on the Kurds and Turkmen.

They forced the Kurdish and Turkmen families to become members of the Ba`ath Party and to sign up for military training in *Jaysh al-Quds*. Also, the Iraqi government had established a Kurdish militia called *Fursan*, and the main objective of this militia was to suppress the Turkmen, provide information to the Iraqi secret service and quell any uprising that occurred against the Iraqi government. The Kurdish militia *Fursan* was well equipped and reasonably paid by the Iraqi government, and they worked in conjunction with the Iraqi Secret service and were based in various towns such as Erbil, Kerkuk, Sulymania and Dohuk.

This Kurdish militia has led the Iraqi forces in arresting large numbers of Turkmen people and, later, were also encouraged with financial support and bravery medals from Saddam Hussein. The Kurdish militia has grown to 100,000 members working for the Iraqi Secret

Service, but after the occupation of Iraq, these people were melted away and some of them took a new position with the KDP and PUK party.

3.36 FORCED POPULATION TRANSFER IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

Deportation has been recognised as a crime against humanity in each of the major international criminal instruments, as well as the International Criminal Court, including the Nuremberg Charter, the Tokyo Charter, the Allied Control Council Law No. 10. The long-standing definition of “deportation” as a crime against humanity included the crime of forced population transfer within a state’s borders. [77] The Statute of the International Criminal Court, which came into force on July 1st, 2002, includes, among its definitions of crimes against humanity, deportation or forcible transfer of population. The crime of forcible transfer of population includes the full range of coercive pressures on people to flee their homes, including death threats, destruction of their homes and other acts of persecution such as depriving members of a group of employment, denying them access to schools and forcing them to wear a symbol of their religious identity.

The expulsions of ethnic Kurds and Turkmen from Kerkuk meet the other elements of the part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against civilian population. The use of standardised expulsion procedures — such as the expulsion orders and specialised detention facilities used in the 1990s in Kerkuk — as well as the clear involvement of Iraqi officials, also reflects the systematic character of the attacks, a requirement that is defined as requiring “a pattern or methodical plan” that is “thoroughly organised and following a regular pattern”. The actions of the former Iraqi government meet all the requisite elements of crime against humanity (of forced transfer of civilian populations).

- First, Iraq has forcibly transferred, without ground permitted under international law, hundreds of thousands of Kurds and Turkmen to another location by expulsion or other coercive acts.
- Second, the persons expelled or forcibly transferred from northern Iraq “were lawfully present in the area from which they were deported or transferred”.

- Third, the Iraqi government knew that the expelled persons were lawfully present in northern Iraq.
- Finally, the expulsions from northern Iraq were pursued as a matter of government policy.

3.37 THE 1991 UPRISING AND ITS AFTERMATH

The 1991 Gulf War between Iraq and the US-led coalition that ousted Iraqi forces from Kuwait was followed by mass uprisings against the government of Saddam Hussein among the Shi'a in the south and the Kurds in the north. This was also, at least in part, incited by the then U.S. President George W. Bush's call to the Iraqi people "to take matters into their own hands and to force Saddam Hussein, the dictator, to step aside". [78] However, the Kurdish guerrilla in the North of Iraq and the Shi'a in the South of Iraq profited from the disorder of the Iraqi army that was still reeling from a devastating defeat. On 18th March 1991, the Kurdish rebels briefly seized control of the city of Kerkuk.

Some vengeance killings took place as the population acted out its anger against those associated with the Iraqi government, killing some security, Ba`ath Party, local bureaucrats and intelligence agents; but such killings were more widespread in the south.

However, the U.S. did not come to the support of the uprisings, and the Iraqi government was able to reorganise loyalists within the army. With the support of Ba`ath Party cadre and supportive tribal allies, the government soon mounted a counter-offensive and quickly crushed the uprisings, killing thousands of civilians using indiscriminate force, and rounding up tens of thousands more and executing them. Moreover, Saddam Hussein responded to the uprisings by sending his dreaded minister of the interior, Ali Hassan al-Majid, to Kerkuk with heavy reinforcements: al-Majid ordered the arrests of thousands of Turkmen and Kurdish males in Kerkuk in an attempt to prevent the uprising from reaching the strategically important city.

The Kurdish control of Kerkuk was challenged almost immediately, and by 21st March, 2003, the city was under heavy bombardment from Iraqi tanks, helicopters and artillery. Hundreds of civilians were killed in the bombardment. The worst killings took place after Iraqi troops recaptured Kerkuk on 28th March, 2003, and began exacting revenge on the local population. Tens of thousands of Kurds and Turkmen fled

for the mountains above the city. The Kurdish and Turkmen exodus from Kerkuk following the 1991 uprising, turned into permanent displacement for many who, today, remain in displaced persons' camps inside the Kurdish areas. In response to atrocities and repression committed by the Iraqi troops following the failed uprisings, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 688, calling on Iraq to end "the repression of the Iraqi civilian population". [79]

The resolution was soon followed by a massive humanitarian operation, "Operation Provide Comfort", mounted by the allied forces inside the north of Iraq, and the establishment of a "safe haven" in the north of Iraq. On April 19th, 1991, the U.S., Britain and France unilaterally declared a "no-fly zone" north of the 36th parallel. This made it forbidden for Iraqi fixed wing planes from entering this area and, later, a similar air exclusion zone was established in southern Iraq and the civilian administrators from the northern governorates of Dohuk, Suleymaniya, and Erbil, granting de facto autonomy to the Kurds in the area. In October 1991, Iraq withdrew its troops and administration from the three major northern Iraqi districts Dohuk, Erbil and Suleymaniya, effectively ceding control of the area to the KDP and the PUK. However, the areas of Kerkuk and Mosul fell outside the air exclusion zone and remained under the Iraqi government control. During the crackdown, as many as between one and two million northerners, most of them Kurds, fled to Iran, Turkey or the mountainous areas still under Kurdish control. Some neighbourhoods in Kerkuk were levelled during the crackdown, and the Iraqi government actively resisted the return of Kurds and Turkmen to the city of Kerkuk.

3.38 VIOLATIONS AGAINST THE TURKMEN

Iraqi Turkmen, since the foundation of the Iraqi State in 1920, have never revolted and never resorted to armed struggle. They have always sought their rights through democratic and legal processes, and their sole aim is to live peacefully on their own land while preserving their national and cultural identity. They have continuously been subjected to inhuman repression, and their constitutional rights systematically denied. Over the 83 years since the foundation of the Iraqi State, in the various Iraqi governments, not a single seat has been given to Turkmen. Iraqi politicians have an unwritten agreement whereby in each and every government since the 1920s, there have

always been 3–4 Shiite Arabs and 2–3 Kurdish ministers. Even Christians, who number only about 200,000, have been represented with one or two ministers. Neither during monarchy nor since 1958, have Turkmen ever been represented in any Iraqi government, the sole exception being a Turkmen who served in the interim government of 1920 for one year and then resigned.

Iraq had a parliament during monarchy, but the elections were rigged and only those handpicked by the rulers could get elected. Even under those circumstances, 2 or 3 Turkmen used to serve in the parliament. For thirty years after the proclamation of the republic, Iraq had no parliament, with the 'Revolutionary Command Council' holding legislative powers. In the 1980s, a National Parliament, with extremely limited powers and largely appointed (predetermined) members was founded. Even in these puppet parliaments, the Turkmen were never allowed to be represented properly. However, all the above-mentioned circumstances came to be regarded as trivial predicaments after the Ba'ath Party came to power in 1968 with a military coup.

The Ba'ath regime in the Constitutions of 1968 and 1990 not only denied the presence of 3 million Turkmen but also embarked on a long-term plan to strip Turkmen of their constitutional rights and to achieve complete Arabisation. Since 1970, Turkmen have been forced out of the Turkmen region, and the ethnic composition of the region was forcibly altered. Ten-year programmes to eradicate all Turkmen presence in northern Iraq were started in 1975 and 1985. In Iraq's judicial system, the Turkmen were ignored; the several Iraqi constitutions did not mention the Turkmen. Article 6 of the present Iraqi constitution, dated 7th July 1990, only mentions Arabs and Kurds as the people in Iraq. The creation of the "safe-haven" by the United Nations after the Gulf war of 1991 caused the division of the Turkmen into separate communities in the Kurdish autonomous area and under the Iraqi administration.

As part of the Iraqi regime's legalisation of its ethnic cleansing policies, on 6th September, 2001, in an unprecedented move, it passed Resolution No. 199, giving all non-Arab Iraqis over 18 the right to change their ethnic identity to that of Arab. Such a decision is contrary to all the principles of human rights and is politically motivated. Its purpose is to compel all non-Arabs in Iraq to adopt an

Arab ethnic identity. **[Doc.54][Doc.63]** This law legalises the regime's policy of ethnic cleansing directed against Turkmen and Assyro-Chaldeans. For decades, the Iraqi regime has continued to deport tens of thousands of Turkmen families from that part of Turkmeneli to southern Iraq and has confiscated their properties and belongings, including their identity cards. **[Doc.53][Doc.63]**

The choice facing these people was deportation or the enforced change of ethnic identity. This law, which legalises such acts, is in direct violation even of the Iraqi Provisional Constitution of 1970, Article 19/A, which states that all Iraqis are equal, regardless of ethnic language, religion or social class. Furthermore, Article 5/B of that Constitution states that the people of Iraq are composed of two main ethnic groups, Arabs and Kurds, and recognises the rights of the Kurds and other minorities. This decision of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council effectively divides the population according to ethnicity. It favours one group over the others and gives a higher status to Arabs.

It should also be remembered that this is in direct contravention to Article 18 of the International Charter of Civil and Political Rights adopted by the UN in February 1966. Just as everyone has the right to their place in a family line, so has every person an inalienable right to his claim of ethnic identity. However, Resolution N°199 makes no distinction between ethnic identity and nationality. Any non-Arab Iraqi wishing to change his or her ethnic identity must make their request to the Iraqi Office of Personal and National Records — which means that the ethnic identity of the claimant will automatically be changed. Obviously, anyone can change his nationality since it is a contract between the citizen and the State in which he resides; but ethnic identity is unalterable. This Resolution provokes discord and sows the seeds of hatred among the population of Iraq, and is yet another episode in the continuing violation of human rights by the Iraqi regime.

This violation by the Iraqi regime is contrary to all the principles of the international agreements to which Iraq has been a signatory. It is also contrary to Security Council Resolution No. 688 of 1991, which forbids the violation of human rights in Iraq by the Iraqi government. There is no evidence that the official position on the Iraqi Turkmen will change to improve the present conditions and solve the Iraqi Turkmen problems within the Iraqi sovereignty. The 'Kurdish Spring',

encouraged by the United States, the European Union, Russia and others, is to be emulated by the Iraqi Turkmen who cannot be isolated from northern Iraq geographically, politically or, least of all, economically. Turkmen are deprived of Human Rights and social security. Repression under Saddam Hussein's government is directed at all opposition; distinctive ethnic and religious minorities were specially targeted, leading to violations of the linguistic, cultural and property rights of the Turkmen. **[Doc.1] [Doc.53] [Doc.54]**

Even under the Kingdom that was established in Iraq after the First World War, the Turkmen were confronted with various unjust acts. They were deprived of their cultural rights, such as conducting education in their native language, as well as the freedom of the press. They were also arrested, sent into exile and massacred during the various ruling periods of the Royal regime. Such tragedy did not change after the revolution, which took place on 14th of July 1958. Many Turkmen intellectuals and leaders were brutally assassinated, especially during the Kerkuk massacre committed by the Kurds on 14th of July 1959. Iraq should comply with Security Council Resolution 688, which demands that the Iraqi regime cease at once the repression of its own people, including the systematic repression of Turkmen. The UN Commission on Human Rights found that Iraq continues to commit extremely grave violations of human rights, and that the regime's repression is all pervasive.

4.0 Chapter Four

4.1 KERKUK

The majority of the Turkmen people live in Kerkuk, which is considered the capital of the Turkmeneli. Kerkuk region, rich in oil fields, versatile land, geographical location and strategic routes between Turkey, Iran and Iraq, has always been a very attractive region for the previous Iraqi regimes of Saddam Hussein, the British and the Kurds.



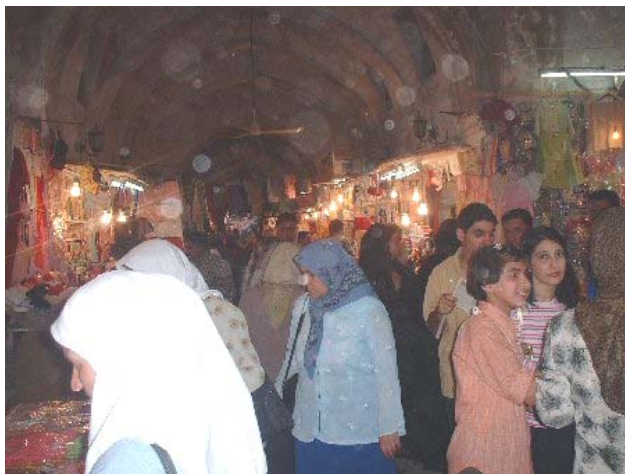
Image from Turkmen city of Kerkuk, Kopri Bashi "Oyakha": from this bridge an Arab woman was thrown down by the Kurdish militias for reprisal in 2003: Photo by Mofak Salman Mofak Kerkuklu

After the occupation of Iraq by the American forces, the Kurdish militia has been utilising a variety of methods as a means to eliminate the original inhabitants of the town. Turkmen have been undergoing decades of an assimilation campaign in Iraq in an often more brutal fashion than that carried out on Kurds. The Turkmen population is approximately three million and they constitute around 12% to 16% of the Iraqi population. Turkmen underwent heavy-handed treatment by successive Arab rulers (the worst of whom were the Ba'ath Party). Kerkuk is geographically the region that straddles the strategic trade routes between Anatolia, Iran and Iraq, and this has been the main

reason for attempts by former ruling powers to settle the Arabs in this region. However, the Turkmen consider Kerkuk City to be the capital of their homeland Turkmeneli. [50] The Turkmen's home is essentially in northern Iraq and it is called Turkmen land or Turkmeneli, stretching from the Syrian border to Iran. This area stretches from Telafer in the north to Mendeli in the south.

The major Turkmen cities are Mosul, Erbil, Kerkuk, Salahaldeen, Diyala, Telafer, Sinjar, Altunkoperi, Kifri, Khaniqin, Kizilabat, Bakuba and Mendeli. There is also a sizeable Turkmen presence in the capital city of Baghdad. Kerkuk/KARKUK/KURKUK/QARQUQ/KIRKUK City is located in northern Iraq, about 248 km north of the capital Baghdad, at the foot of the Zagros mountain range dominating western Iran. The Zagros mountain range and many peaks are higher than 3,000 meters — the Zardokh is at an elevation of 4,548 meters, about 350 meters above sea level, in the region "Turkmeneli". Snow is common in winter, and many mountain peaks have snow even through summer.

Kerkuk is a transit centre for hides, Persian silks and cottons, colouring materials, fruit and timber, but it owes its principal importance to its petroleum and naphtha springs. Kerkuk is also a trade and export centre for agriculture products, sheep-wool, cheese and textile. [80] There are also natural warm springs in Kerkuk, which are used to supply baths and which are reputed to have valuable medical properties. In the neighbourhood of the city there is a burning mountain, locally famous for many centuries.



Kapali Bazaar "Closed Market" near Kerkuk Castle: Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, 2004

Kerkuk is the cultural centre of the Iraqi Turkmen and was also the capital of the Iwak Atabegs in the 11th Century. The city was built over a hill on a river called Hasa Su, and is located in an area with archaeological remains that are over 5000 years old. The city reached great prominence in the 10th and 11th centuries under Assyrian rule, when it was known as Erbega, as a part of bigger city Aarrapha, which was the name of Kerkuk city during the Assyrian

Era. [82]

Kerkuk city lies just south of the no-fly zone that was patrolled by U.S, British aircraft and the oldest part of the town is clustered around a citadel built on an ancient tell, or mound, 130 feet high. There is a Jewish quarter beneath the citadel, and the reputed sarcophagi of Daniel and the Hebrew children are shown in one of the mosques.

[83] [84]



Saddam Hussein's government-destroyed Turkmen houses and historical places in Kerkuk Daniel Peghamber in (Kerkuk Kalasi "Kerkuk Castle): Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, 2003

The new comment of the Internet version of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* may be explained by the degree of Arabisation and

Kurdisation, which Kerkuk City has faced in the second half of the last century. Unfortunately, most of the encyclopaedias present unreliable [85] “official” government statistics about the ethnic structure and population distribution in Iraq as accurate data. [86] [87] [88] [89] These statistics clearly contradict the reports of writers who have had personal experiences in the region. [90]

To obtain information regarding the region’s history and geography for this study, we have consulted, and cited as reference, the most objective sources available, regardless of whether these sources were in Turkish, Arabic, Greek, Albanian, French or English. For instance, a statement noted in a book published by a Kurdish writer Nuri Altalabani claims that Shemsedin Sami, the Turkish historian [91], explorer and author of the Ottoman *Qamous al-A’ala’m*, a comprehensive dictionary of history and geography, cannot be considered a supporter of the Kurds; yet his writings have been used as a source.

One can affirm the same kind of partiality for the many Western scholars and researchers who have contributed to the section on Kerkuk in the Islamic Encyclopaedia. Speaking of the city’s ethnic composition at the end of the 19th Century, Shemsedin Sami states in his celebrated *Qamusl al A’ala’m* that “three quarters of the inhabitants were Kurds and the rest were Turkmen and others. Seven hundred and sixty Jews and four hundred and sixty Chaldeans also reside in the city”.

The historian Shemsedin Sami lived from 1850 –1904. He was of Albanian origin and he completed his intermediate studies in Yannia School in Greece. Shemsedin Sami learnt Arabic, Turkish, Persian and French by private tuition and the Greek language was his mother tongue.

He moved to Istanbul in 1871 and became increasingly involved in journalism, and wrote several novels and worked as a journalist for Al-Hadika newspaper (Garden Newspaper). Shemsedin Sami wrote several books such as *Muaashakat Talleat ve Fatnit* and another book called “*Thwart Kawa Al_hadad ala altaghya Al_Thhak*”, all his publications were in the Turkish language. [92] However, because of his immoral and unacceptable behaviour within the Turkish society Sultan Abdulhamid II deported him from Turkey to Tripoli.

The ruler of Tripoli, Sami Pasha used Shemsedin Sami to produce a newspaper named *Tarabuls al_Karab* (West Tripoli).

However, Shemsedin worked for a period of time in Tripoli the ruler Sami Pasha asked the Sultan Abdulhamid II who was at that time the Sultan for the Ottoman Empire for forgiveness of Shemsedin and the forgiveness was accepted then Shemsedin was allowed to return to Istanbul. While Shemsedin was living in Istanbul he established a daily newspaper called *al_Sbah* (Morning) and also he devoted his entire time producing a dictionary and an Encyclopedia, one his well-known Encyclopædias is called *Qamusl al A'ala'm* “ and this Encyclopedia consisted of six parts and was used mainly to describe people and cities.

In fact, Shemsedin Sami was not an explorer; he wrote about Kerkuk and Baghdad without having been there. Shemsedin Sami states in his quartet celebrated *Qamusl al A'ala'm* page 2889 under item of Shrazoor that Kerkuk is the central city of Shrazoor and consists of 6 towns, 8 counties, 1150 villages, that its population is 89,000 and that the majority of the population consists of Turks, followed by Kurds, Arabs and one thousands of Jewish and Chaldeans.

However, there is inconsistency in Shemsedin Sami's fifth part of *Qamusl al A'ala'm* page 3846, in which he states that three quarters of the inhabitants in Kerkuk are Kurds and the remaining are Turkmen, Arabs and others, seven hundred and sixty Jews and that four hundred and sixty Chaldeans also reside in the city.

In his celebrated *Qamusl al A'ala'm*, page 1324, Shemsedin Sami states for instance, that Baghdad is a Turkish city and that the Turkish language was the first language used in Baghdad, after Arabic. [93] This is a very contradictory statement, because the overwhelming majority of inhabitants in Baghdad were Arabs. [94]

Moreover, Shemsedin Sami states in his quartet celebrated *Qamusl al A'ala'm* page 2622 that Salahiya “Kefri” is a Shi'a town and this is not true. Therefore his information cannot be considered reliable since he had never been to Kerkuk. Shemsedin Sami's books depended entirely on unreliable data and sources. Besides, his encyclopaedia is derived from “*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie*”, which was written by Bouillet. In conclusion, Shemsedin Sami's *Qamusl al A'ala'm* cannot be considered a reliable source of information since it contains many contradictions and inconsistencies.

Nevertheless, the word Kerkuk has some implications in Turkmen, Arabic and Persian languages. The most similar words to Kerkuk are Kirkuk and Kurkluk in Turkmen, which mean partridge, a very common bird in the north of Iraq. It has a beautiful voice, and some people keep the bird as a pet. [95] Also, Kerkuk means beauty, prestige and high position. The name Kerkuk could have originated from changes in these words.

The cuneiform writings on the signboards which were found at the foot of Kerkuk Citadel in 1927 and Kerkuk castle demonstrated that the city Ereka of Babylonia was the present city of Kerkuk. [96] Other sources considered Ereka as a part of the bigger city of Arrapha, which was the name of Kerkuk city during the Assyrian era. [97] At that time, Kerkuk was considered the temple of thunderbolt and rain God 'Edd'. Saint Polus Bejcan mentioned that Kerkuk City was called 'Kora Bajermy' in the Assyrian era. [98] It is stated on fairly authoritative grounds to be Qalat d Slukid — the castle of Seleucids, a Chaldeo-Syriac name dating from about the time of Christ. [99] The name of the city appeared as Beth Garma in Syriac chronicles. It is thought to be the Garmakan region mentioned in the Sassanians era.

At the start of the first millennium, Kerkuk was called *Kerkhini* and *Kerkhina*, and it remained so until the 7th Century. [100] The Turkmen State Kara Koyunlu from 1375–1468 A.D used the name Kirkuk "Kerkuk" for the first time. Mahmood Al-Kashegri the publisher of "Diwan Lughat al_atrak" also stressed this. Also, the word 'Kirkuk' which meant a beauty was mentioned by Ibn al_atheer in his book "al_adrak Lilisan al_atrak, [101] The names 'Kergini' and 'Kirkuk' were also used simultaneously, until the city began to be mentioned only by the name Kirkuk toward the end of the first millennium. [102]



Kerkuk Kalasi (Kerkuk castle) in Kerkuk, Turkmeneli



Kerkuk Kalasi (Kerkuk castle) in Kerkuk, Turkmeneli. Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, 2003

The history of Kerkuk goes back as far as the third millennium B.C. In 1948, copper tools and a calf statue were found during archaeological excavations in Kerkuk, Arafa neighbourhood, dating the history of

Kerkuk back to the Sumerian Era. King Nasirbal II built the Kerkuk Citadel between 884 B.C. and 858 B.C. as a military defiance line. King Sluks built a strong rampart with 72 towers around the citadel, 72 streets and two entries.

C.J. Edmonds, in *Kurds, Turks and Arabs, Politics, Travel and Research in North-Eastern Iraq, 1919–1925*, describes the administration of the Kerkuk region during the last phase of the Ottoman rule thus: In the 18th Century Kerkuk was the chief town of the Wilayet of Sharazur which included the modern (Iraqi) lewai of Kerkuk, Erbil and, nominally, of Suleymaniya. With the reforms of Midhat Pasha, Wali of Baghdad from 1869 to 1872, the name of Sharazur was given to the Sanjak of Kerkuk, corresponding to the present-day lewai of Kerkuk and Erbil, whereas the historic Sharazur remained outside in the new Sanjak of Suleymaniya. Kerkuk remained an important garrison town.



Kerkuk Keshlasi (Kerkuk barracks) built by in the Ottoman Empire era in Kerkuk; it was used by both the Ottoman and the previous Iraqi regime as military barracks, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli. Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, 2003



Kerkuk Keshlasi (Kerkuk barrack) built by the Ottoman Empire in Kerkuk; it was used by both the Ottoman and the previous Iraqi regime as military barracks, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, 2003

Under the renewed, direct Ottoman rule, the Wilayet of Mosul was divided into three governorates (Turkish: Sanjak, Arabic: lewai) of Mosul, Kerkuk and Suleymaniya. Kerkuk remained a part of the Ottoman Empire until the end of World War I when British forces captured it in May, 1918.

During the Ottoman rule, Turkmen inhabitants were encouraged to take high-position jobs in Kerkuk and were given preferential treatment by the Ottoman rulers. The post of 'Mutassallim', or governor, and many other prestigious positions and titles were accorded to them, and the majority of Kerkuk's civil servants came from among the Turkmen community, with the result that the Ottoman rulers enjoyed continued support. [103]

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in its old versions, [104] until a few years ago, mentioned that most of the Kerkuk city population is of Turkmen stock. Interestingly, in the last Internet version [105] of the same encyclopaedia, the expression has been changed to "The city's population is of mixed Turkmen, Arab and Kurdish stock". The latter

statement is a good indication that the Turkmen are mentioned before the other nationalities because the Turkmen still form the majority.

The Encyclopaedia of Islam states: "Whatever the circumstances of their coming to the region, the Turkmen of Kerkuk always provided strong support for the Ottoman empire and its culture and an abundant source of Ottoman officials". **[106]** This can be explained and justified only if the Turkmen inhabitants were trustworthy and were the overwhelming majority in the city of Kerkuk. The Ottomans were highly dependent on them for running their administration. The Columbia Encyclopaedia states that the population of Kerkuk in 1987 was 418,624 distributed among Turkmen, Arabs and Kurds. It also states that Kurds are a minority there. **[107]**

The population of Kerkuk consists of Kurds, Turkmen, Assyrians and Arabs this was also reported in the Oriental Encyclopaedia. **[108]** The Microsoft Encyclopaedia states about Kerkuk: "Kerkuk is the centre of the petroleum industry in Iraq and is linked with pipelines that are used to transfer oil to the ports of the Mediterranean Sea. The majority of the population in Kerkuk is Turkmen in addition to Kurds, Arabs and Assyrians. **[109]** Moreover, Vernacular Architecture of the World Encyclopaedia which was published by Cambridge University touches the national status of the city of Kerkuk and clearly states that the overwhelming majority of the population in Kerkuk is Turkmen and that the Turkmen population is no less than two and a half million. **[110]**

W. R. Hay, a resident in Erbil city between 1918 and 1920, stated in his book *Two years in the Kurdistan of Iraq*, that Kerkuk city is the place where Turkmen are in majority and are dominant. **[111]**

Fazil Hussein mentioned in his book *Mosul Problem* that Turkmen published the only newspaper in Kerkuk in the early 20th Century. **[112]** According to E. Y. Odisho, "the largest Turkmen population concentration is in the city of Kerkuk whose linguistics, cultural and ethnic identity is distinctly coloured by their presence". **[113]**

On page 77, Mr. William. R. Hay mentions: "Kurdish Dizai tribe descended from the hills about three centuries ago, and occupied a few villages around Qush Tappah. In the mid 19th Century, they started to expand, and rapidly covered the whole country up to Tigris.

In the late 1920s, they constituted one-third of the Erbil district population.” [114]

Maryon Farooq, in his description of the Kerkuk Massacre on the 14th of July, 1959 (that was carried out by the Kurds against the Turkmen civilians), stated that the Turkmen are the dominant population in Kerkuk, whereas the Kurds are the recent settlers that immigrated from the North. They came looking for jobs, and a better and more prosperous life in Kerkuk. Moreover, he stated in his book that Turkmen dominated the social, political and economical life in Kerkuk.

[115]

In Kerkuk city, the traditions of the people, the architecture, the cemeteries and the folklore prove to which people it belongs — clearly, to the Turkmen. Many Turkmen have fled from persecution by Saddam Hussein, and every year they gather for Mevlit, the mourning ceremony for those who died in either the Iran–Iraq war or in the struggle against Saddam. This was mentioned by Jonny Dymond in his article that was published in Sunday Observer about the exiled Turkmen laying claim to oil riches. [116]

The discovery of oil in the Kerkuk region encouraged the British to remain there even though, according to the secret Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, Mosul was given to France. The British government persuaded the French government to cede it to the British in exchange for a large share in the Turkish Petroleum Company, which was created in 1916 by the Ottomans and the Germans. This cession of the Wilayet of Mosul was agreed by the Treaty of San Remo signed in 1920 between Britain and France. By 1921, the British were making strenuous efforts to annex the Wilayet of Mosul to the newly created Iraqi kingdom to enable Kerkuk's oil to pass through Iraqi territory to the eastern Mediterranean ports and hence to be shipped to Europe and the West. The Wilayet of Mosul remained a part of the Ottoman Empire until the end of the First World War when it was occupied and ceded from Turkey by British troops under the command of General Marshall on 17th May 1918. The Turks laid claim to the Wilayet of Mosul. The British government retaliated by threatening them with the implementation of the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres, which proposed the creation in two stages of a Kurdish state. Eventually, a new treaty, the Treaty of Lausanne, was signed in 1923, replacing the Treaty of Sèvres, and the Turks renounced their claim to the Wilayet of Mosul. Also, the Ottoman franchise for pumping

petroleum from the Baba-Gurgur oil fields near Kerkuk city itself and selling it for local consumption was granted to the Turkmen family of Nafitchi. Turkmen, such as Majeed Yakubi, have also been appointed Governor of Kerkuk, while others, such as General Khalil Zeki and General Mustafa Raghib, have been appointed Commanders of the Second Army Division.

The Wilayet remained under British occupation until 1925 when the League of Nations finally annexed it to the Iraqi kingdom, under a British mandate. The British administration in the region made border changes by creating a new governorate in Erbil composed of the three districts (qada') situated to the north of the Lower Zab river. Under the Iraqi administration, Kerkuk in 1925, became a governorate made up of the four districts of Kerkuk Central, Kifri, Chamchamal and Guil.

However, the discovery of vast quantities of oil in the region after the First World War supplied the impetus for the annexation of the former Ottoman Wilayet of Mosul (of which the Kerkuk region was a part) to the Iraqi kingdom established in 1921. This highlighted the potential of the region that was to be exploited following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, and this led to the creation of British Petroleum (BP). The first commercial oil field in Iraq was developed in Kerkuk in 1927, and, around the same time, attention was shifting to the western littoral of the Gulf. **[116]**

Today, Kerkuk is at the centre of one of the richest oil-producing areas in the Middle East, and pipelines connect it to the Mediterranean ports of Tripoli in Lebanon and Yumurtalik in Turkey. Iraqi Petrol Company (IPC) originally brought the Kerkuk field online in 1934, and it still forms the basis for northern Iraqi oil production. Kerkuk has over 10 billion barrels of remaining proven oil reserves. After about seven decades of operation, Kerkuk still produces up to one million barrels a day — almost half of the Iraqi exports.

Kerkuk accounted for 70% of the State's total oil output, and so, Kurdish bandit leader Kaka Mulla Mustafa Barzani felt bound to claim both the towns and a proportion of its oil revenue. However, before the Economic embargo in 1990, Kerkuk continued producing 70% of the Iraqi oil output, with 2.2% of the world's oil being produced in Kerkuk. **[117]**



Mullah Mustafa al-Barzani front left and Saddam Hussein front center in the 1970

The oil of Kerkuk City is well known for its good quality and for the shallowness of its wells. The petrol layers lie 840–1260 metres below the surface of the earth. The underground of the city contains a substantial amount of natural gas, which is unfortunately wasted by burning, and sulphur, which is exploited since the 1970s. A huge petrol refinery is situated to the north of the city. Post-1991 fighting between Iraqi opposition forces and Iraqi forces in northern Iraq resulted in the temporary sabotage of Kerkuk field's facilities. According to David McDowell, in his book titled *A Modern History of the Kurds* (which was published in London by I.B.Tauris & Company Ltd, 1996, reference page 335), both Arabs and Kurds have shown tremendous interest in Kerkuk city because of its natural resources. This is true especially after the nationalisation of the Iraqi oil industry, when both ethnic groups became more eager to control the city. [118] In general, most cabinets of monarchical Iraq encouraged Arabs to settle in Kerkuk. For instance, the cabinet of Yasseen Al-Hashimi in 1935, and during King Ghazi's rule, even plotted to resettle the Arab Obeyed tribes in the Haweeja that is a part of the Kerkuk region. Since then, and particularly from 1963 onwards, there have been continuous attempts to change the ethnic make-up of the region. In fact, the expectation of the nationalisation of the oil industry was that it would enhance oil revenue ten times over. In 1972, given the huge oil resources of Kerkuk [119], the leader of the Kurdish Paramilitary, Mullah Mustafa Barzani made a strong claim to Kerkuk city. However,

this was completely dismissed and rejected by Saddam Hussein's government and was clearly emphasised by a book written by Ms. Hammada Naenae, which was published in Beirut in Lebanon under the title of *Tarik Aziz, a Man and Case* (page 163).

Tarik Aziz stated our clear view to the Kurdish opposition in Iraq that Kerkuk is not, and will not be, a part of the autonomous region to be given to the Kurds in 1970. Also, he stated that Kerkuk is a place for the Arabs, Turkmen, Assyrians and Kurds. Moreover, Kerkuk is not a Kurdish town but it is an Iraqi town with very strong Turkmen identity. However, the demand of the Kurds of this region is due to the oil resources; it feeds into an international plot to divide Iraq. [120] In 1999, production of oil at Kerkuk refinery was estimated at 1 million bbl/d, with output from all northern fields totaling around 1.26 million bbl/d. In early December, 1999, Russian energy company Zarubezhneft said that it was drilling multiple wells in Iraq's Kerkuk oil field and that this was not a violation of the UN rules. Zarubezhneft hoped to boost Kerkuk production capacity from its current 900,000 bbl/d to around 1.1 million bbl/d. Kerkuk oil has been transported from Kerkuk to the Turkish port of Jihan on the Mediterranean coast since 1984.



Kerkuk oil field in Baba Gurgur

The pipeline from Kerkuk to Syrian ports on the Mediterranean was closed as a result of the Iran–Iraq war and Syria's support of Iran. In recent years, this main pipeline through Syria has been reopened and the oil from Kerkuk is being taken to Syrian ports in contravention of the Security Council Resolutions that, since 1991, have imposed economic sanctions on Iraq.

Mustafa Jowad stated in his comprehensive book titled *Kerkuk in the History*, stated that there is relation between the Babagurgur and Gurgur, which was mentioned by Bathlimous, whereas Aziz Kadir in his book titled *Altariah Alsiyasi Li Turkmen aliraq* defines and describes Babagurgur, a word which was not known or used during the Ottoman occupation of Iraq. The word 'Babagurgur' is only of recent use, and *Baba* in Turkish means father and *Gar Gur* means light and fire. Therefore, Babagurgur has no link to the Assyrian era. **[121]**

However, an Iranian Azeri scholar, Qaybali Sakina, published an article in the Southern Azeri journal in the year 2000, which was published by the Sweden-Azerbaijan Federation, on "Iraqi Turkmen — Southern Azeri Literary Relations" in which she highlights the works of the prominent Iraqi Turkmen writer, poet, literary historian and folklorist Abdullatif Benderoglu. He has translated a number of modern Azeri writers (Northern and Southern) into Turkmen, and has analysed the origins of Azeri poetry in his book *Azeri Poetry*, published in Baghdad in 1989. He also wrote a response to the masterwork of the Southern Azeri poet Mohammed Hussein Shahriyar, *Heydar Baba'ya Selam*. Benderoglu's poem is called "Gur-Gur Baba". Heydar Baba is a mountain dividing north (or independent) Azerbaijan from Iranian Azerbaijan; Gur-Gur Baba is a mountain in Kerkuk, which symbolises the national aspirations of the Iraqi Turkmen. **[122]**

The rich oilfields around Kerkuk have made it the most important city in Iraq. The eternal fire of Baba Gurgur, which is located in the middle of those fields, has been active for thousands of years. The distinctive castle of Kerkuk was built 3000 years ago. Prophet Daniel was buried there. Populated entirely by Turkmen, especially by Christian Turkmen, whose numbers dwindled to a few hundreds in recent years, the city has all the aspects of ancient Turkish architecture.

There are, thus, a lot of historical Turkish buildings and monuments in the city. Some of the Turkmen neighbourhoods in Kerkuk, adjacent to the Kerkuk castle, are: Al-Musala, Chay, Imam Qasim, Bulak, Yedi Kizler, Halwachelar, Peryadi, Chkour, Yeni Damler and Bayuk Mahalla. **[123]**



There are large numbers of blacksmith shops located below the Kerkuk Kalesi (Kerkuk castle) Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu



Poultry and pet shops adjacent to the Kerkuk Kalesi, Kerkuk: Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu

The approximately dozen layers of architectural building and renovation yield evidence of domesticated wheat and barley and of domesticated dogs and goats, suggesting the achievement of a settled agricultural way of life. Other artefacts found in Kerkuk, such as flint sickle blades, milling stones and — in the uppermost layers only — pottery; hint at the technological innovations made in response to the new way of food production. Kerkuk also has textile industries and a strong agricultural sector, producing wheat, barley, fruits and sheep. Kerkuk is a huge market for the region's produce, including cereals, olives, fruits and cotton, and there is a small textile industry also. [123]

Kerkuk is built on a mound containing the remains of a settlement dating back to 3000 B.C. Kerkuk's population is a mixture of Turkmen, Arab, Assyrian and Kurds. There is a Jewish quarter beneath the citadel, and the reputed sarcophagi of Daniel and the Hebrew children are shown in one of the mosques. The majority of the inhabitants in Kerkuk City are Turkmen Sunni Muslims, but Kerkuk has also a sizeable amount of Shi'a Turkmen with their distinctive history and culture. **[175]** The latter were brutally oppressed by Saddam Hussein's regime. The majority of Turkmen Shi'as are concentrated around the cities of Kerkuk and Tuzkhurmato, Amerli, Kefri, Karatepe, Kesrabt, Mandeli, Shehraban, Khaniqin, Tazakhormato Daqooq, Tazakhormato, Beshir, Yaychi, Tirkelan and Baghdad.

The Shi'a Turkmen in Kerkuk are settled in various neighbourhoods, but they are highly concentrated in both Eski Tiseen and Yeni Tiseen, which is in a famous Shi'a Turkmen district of Kerkuk called Tiseen and which, in Arabic, means 90. According to the Turkmen Shi'as, the name 'Tiseen' is derived from a group of early Shi'as who went to support Imam Hussein in the holy city of Karbala. They arrived after the 10th of Muharram Islamic date. The group fled to the north of Iraq and settled in Kerkuk. The group consisted of 90 people when they arrived in Kerkuk, and they settled in the Tiseen neighbourhood. The Turkmen in Kerkuk were brutally oppressed by Saddam Hussein's regime; they were subjected to imprisonment, arrest, torture and execution. Their houses were totally destroyed and bulldozed by the Iraqi regime. Moreover, they were forcibly evacuated from their villages under various pretexts, and their property was confiscated by Arabs brought from the south of Iraq, in accordance with the Arabisation policy undertaken in the Turkmen-populated areas.

Shi'a Turkmen have sacrificed thousands of their people by resisting the Iraqi regime. Also, Kerkuk City has Christian Turkmen called 'Kalekaweri', and there are sizeable communities of Christians of the Nestorian branch. The majority of the inhabitants are Turkmen, besides Kurds, Arabs and Assyrians.

A review with an Assyrian poet Sargon Boulus, who was born in Iraq, in Habbaniyah, and who lived in Kerkuk, stated that he learnt the Arabic language with the help of his mother's tuition, whereas he learnt Turkmen in Kerkuk because the surrounding people had Turkmen identity. **[124]** Moreover, he emphasises that Kerkuk is a

Turkmen city, in the conference, which was held on Saturday, 10th November 2004, which was organised by the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin City University Business School, Dublin, Ireland. [125]

My memories in Iraq by Mr. Sataie Alansari describes the author's disagreement with the British captain N. Farrell, in 1921, in Iraq, when he was employed as an adviser to the Iraqi ministry of education. When Mr. Sataie Alansari refused the position of vice principal of the Ministry of Education, which was offered to him by N. Farrell, the latter made a comment and suggestion to Mr. Sataie Alansari which was that he be appointed in Kerkuk, emphasising that the spoken language in Kerkuk city is Turkish, and since he (Mr. Sataie Alansari) speaks Turkish, the job in Kerkuk would be very beneficial to him.

Moreover, Mr. N. Farrell forwarded a letter to Mr. Haydir Rustum, who was in charge of the monarchy administration, requesting that Mr. Sataie Alansari be appointed in Kerkuk, under the pretext that he knew the Turkish language and that the common language in Kerkuk is Turkish. [126]

Mr. Khayri Ameen Alomeri, a well-established writer in Iraq who has several publication papers and books about the history of Iraq to his credit, states in his book *Political Stories from the Modern History of Iraq*, published and distributed by Afak Arabia (page 66), that the overwhelming number of inhabitants in Kerkuk city are Turkmen.

As does Muzher Al-Faruoon, one of the outstanding leaders of the 1920 revolution that rose against the British occupation in Iraq. In his book, *The facts of the Iraqi Revolution in 1920 and Its Results*, he describes the ethnicity of the Iraqi people and describes the Kurds as tribes who settled and concentrated in both Erbil and Suleymaniya city, as against Turkmen who are heavily concentrated in Kerkuk City. [126]

Abdul Majeed Haseeb Alkaysi in an article which was published in Alhayat newspaper in London, dated 1st June, 2000, describes Kerkuk city as a Turkmen city, and also states that there are some Kurdish tribes settled in areas adjacent to Kerkuk city; this was also emphasised and noted in his book, *Hawamish Ala Tarriiah Al-Iraq Al-Sysaysi*, published in London, 1999.

The well-established Iraqi writer Sayer al-Jameel stated in his book, *Al-Tanewia al-Sukanni Fi alIraq Wa Sukan al-Aklemi* (in the chapter on the population and ethnic distribution in Iraq), that the Turkmen language is the most common language in the north of Iraq. He also emphasises that Kerkuk and Telafer cities are polarized and are being greatly used by Turkmen.

During the British colonization of Iraq after the First World War a British official Steven Longreig, took the position of a governor of Kerkuk city for a short period of time, in his book *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq history*, describes the Turkmen as a people who are settled along a strip starting from Telafer and ending at Mendeli in the southeast of Baghdad. The writer emphasises that the Turkmen are heavily concentrated in the city of Kerkuk, which has a Turkish identity and that the spoken language is Turkish. Moreover, the writer in his second book, *Modern Iraq from 1900 to 1950*, translated and edited by Mr. Salim Taha Al-Tikriti, describes the Turkmen as urban people who are heavily engaged in utilising the land for agriculture.

He also states that the Turkmen are concentrated in Kerkuk, Altunkoperi, Erbil, Kifri, Kara tape, Tuzkhurmato, Daqooq, Mosul and Telafer. He emphasizes that the Turkmen have adapted themselves and are being successfully integrated into the Iraqi society. The writer also emphasises that the Turkmen became loyal to Iraq, especially after the sorting of the Mosul problem between Turkey and Britain.

[126]

The British writer Sarah Graham in her book, *Sanctioning Saddam, Politics of Intervention in Iraq 1999*, states that the Iraqi government has used a variety of methods to eliminate the ethnic Turkmen and Kurds in Iraq, especially, in Kerkuk city. She also states that the Arabisation policy against the Turkmen has reached its peak after the 2nd Gulf war.

According to a British telex, a document numbered 134255/371 of the British Foreign Ministry, says that there is a very high concentration of Turkmen in Kerkuk City. And that the spoken language in the city is Turkish. Moreover, a second document numbered 134212/371, a confidential document, under number 1286, dated 12th of August, 1958, which was forwarded to Foreign Affairs, emphasises that the

overwhelming majority of the population in Kerkuk city are Turkmen.

[37][126]

The Palestinian American writer Hanna Batatu describes Kerkuk as a city located about 180 miles from the capital Baghdad and rich with oil fields. Moreover, it is Turkmen-populated, with very strong Turkish characteristics. He also mentions that there is a small minority of Kurdish people who are settled in the outskirts of Kerkuk. He describes the Kurdish tribe as recent settlers and frugal migrants.

[126]

Although Kerkuk is a Turkmen city, its rich mineral and oil resources encouraged the Kurds to claim the town as part of their imaginary estate. As a matter of fact, the Kurds have no historical link or ties with the city. The only reason for their claim of the city is economic — for of its oil and agriculture resources. Also, Kerkuk has an Airbase, and the Kerkuk Airbase (35° 28' 03"N 44° 20' 58"E) is located in Turkmeneli in Iraq, approximately 240 kilometres north of Baghdad, on the west side of the city of Kerkuk. Two main runways measuring 9,700 and 8,400 feet serve the airfield. According to the Gulf War Air Power Survey, Kerkuk has 24 aircraft shelters. At the each end of the main runway are hardened aircraft shelters known as "Trapezoids" or "Yugos", which were built by Yugoslavian contractors some time prior to 1985. Kerkuk Airbase occupies a 9-square kilometre site and is protected by 12 kilometers of security perimeter.

However, the Iraqi government's policy of Arabisation (assimilation policy) toward the Turkmen caused tremendous changes in the ethnic distribution in the area, forcing the Turkmen to declare themselves as Arab or Kurds, and thus encouraging and enhancing the Kurdish claim on the city. In the north, the last census of Kerkuk, which is thought to be accurate, was taken in 1957. It showed Turkmen with a majority in Kerkuk City, and Kurds with a majority in the wider province. Arabs are now in the majority throughout — creating a potentially explosive mix. **[127]**

These Iraqi Turkmen and Kurds were forced from the northern city of Kerkuk, in accordance with Saddam Hussein's long-standing 'Arabisation' campaign. Its aim was to ethnically cleanse Kerkuk and make it an Arab city. Some 100,000 ethnic Kurds and Turkmen were expelled from Kerkuk during the past three decades. The 'Arabisation' of Kerkuk is only one facet in a much broader policy that Baghdad has used to control this oil-rich and fertile land, while trying to crush

opposition among populations embittered by Saddam Hussein's repressive rule. Turkmen were forced to move from villages blown up and bulldozed in northern Iraq. **[128]**

An article written by Mr. Murat Bardakchi, which was published in the Turkish newspaper Hurriyet, August 18, 2002, under the title "We became aware of Kerkuk 80 years after we lost Iraq", indicates: "The prominent Turkish intellectuals were executed en masse in 1980 after being hastily tried in a secret operation in response to orders issued by Saddam Hussein. The executions continued intermittently until the Gulf war in 1990".

Already, the separatist movement among Turkey's large Kurdish minority has been revitalised, and the Turks fear that an independent Kurdistan in Iraq could re-ignite armed insurrection in the country's eastern provinces. Since the beginning of the war, the Turkish government has demanded that the human rights of Iraqi Turkmen be respected in post-Saddam Iraq.

The Iraqi Turkmen are largely centred in Kerkuk, where they actually constitute the majority of the population. **[129]** Moreover, this was clearly stated and emphasised by Amer Al-Baghdadi in his article, which was published in the Kitabab web site on the 26th of December, 2003, under the title, "Hel Sayakoon Shemal Iraq Junoob al Sudan Wa Jalal Altalabani Jone Kernak". However, in southern Iraq, Shi'ia Muslims who make up the majority of Iraq's population have been the hardest hit, with the draining of marshes and brutal tactics — including assassination of key leaders — resulting in some 200,000 being displaced. **[130]**

Turkmen in Iraq, through the decades, have been the subject of assimilation into the rich Arab culture, especially since the establishment of Iraq as an independent state. The influence of the common religion of Islam also played an important role. Finally, ridding themselves of the fear of being a minority against a large Arab majority who looked down on the Turkmen as inferior may have been a factor to consider. **[131]**

The decomposition of the Iraqi Turkmen was an Iraqi policy inherited from one government to the next: moving the Turkmen from the north of Iraq and spreading them all over the country, including southern Iraq, and decomposing their heavy concentration in the oil-rich north. As the assimilation came with the force of circumstances and the

official policy combined, the decomposition policy was also successfully played out over the years. Turkmen are now widely dispersed, but still constitute a sizeable force in the north, divided among numerous clubs and associations of their own. [131]

The repression, assimilation and decomposition would not have been enough to erase or eradicate the Turkic character and the language of the Iraqi Turkmen, but the repressive policies of Iraqi governments were always the order of the day, for the fear of Iraqi Turkmen could be as big a headache as the Iraqi Kurds or the Shi'a Arabs in the south. Repressive measures were occasionally applied or laxed, depending on the conjecture and the relations of the Iraqi government, especially with the Iraqi Kurds. [131]

A Turkish writer, Mr. Murat Bardakchi, describes Kerkuk in his article titled "We Became Aware of Kerkuk 80 Years After We Lost Iraq" which was published in Hurriyet newspaper on August 18, 2002, that the word 'Kerkuk' alone does not usually remind us of anything. Kerkuk, which is only a couple of hours' distance from our borders in the southeast and where more than a million Turks live, has appeared very far from us, and has only been the scene of bitter experiences and suffering. Incidents where numerous lives have been lost have followed one another, and Kerkuk has been turned into poison for the Turks for over 80 years. Thus, Ankara displayed a tough reaction to Masoud Barzani's endeavour to declare Kerkuk as a 'Kurdish' city. Reacting to the incident, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs warned: "Turkey will absolutely oppose the idea of placing Mosul and Kerkuk under Kurdish control".

This was the first time that Turkey raised its voice regarding the issue. Kerkuk and its vicinity, where more than one million Turks live, have always appeared to us as the furthestmost city in a far country. The word 'Kerkuk' bears a different meaning for us when it is spelt together with Mosul; that is, when it is expressed through 'Mosul and Kerkuk'. We used to feel sad every time we used to remember the lost territories after uttering the expression 'Mosul and Kerkuk.' This sadness stems from the fact that we lost control over the oil beds found in those territories and that we do not possess the riches found there any more. Moreover, the incidents that have taken place in Kerkuk have become more tragic than the incidents that took place in Cyprus in the sixties.

In fact, because of Kerkuk's oil resources and its strategic importance, the fight for control of the city proved to be one of the focal points of the conflict in northern Iraq. The two main Kurdish parties, the KDP and the PUK, have long considered Kerkuk to be an integral part of a future Kurdish federal region, whereas the Turkmen of Iraq have vigorously opposed the idea of Kerkuk being a part of the Kurdish region. Moreover, Turkey has repeatedly expressed its concern about Kurds having aspirations over Kerkuk, stating that Kurdish control over Kerkuk could fuel Kurdish nationalism in the region and undermine the rights of Turkmen residents of Kerkuk. Also, this could lead to a civil war and into instability in the region. Kerkuk itself has become almost synonymous with the abusive Arabisation campaign. Thus, the Kurdish determination to reverse the process of Arabisation in Kerkuk was particularly fierce, and the city of Kerkuk fell to Kurdish occupation on April 10, 2003.

For almost a week, Kerkuk was under the control of PUK forces, which entered the city in defiance of a prior agreement with U.S. forces that Peshmerga forces would remain outside the city. The arrival of the Peshmerga "Kurdish rebels" in Kerkuk witnessed widespread looting by civilians and others. The task of arresting the looters and confiscating the stolen goods was too overwhelming for the PUK. They did, however, succeed in protecting some of the non-Ba'ath Party buildings, including the city's hospitals. The U.S. helped the PUK forces to occupy and consolidate their control over the city of Kerkuk. The PUK then brought in civilian defence units, traffic police and medical staff for the hospitals in order to fill the power vacuum, which arose when the Iraqi government forces and officials fled the city. Several dozens of people were killed by Kurdish rebels in the first days after the fall of Kerkuk, including some former Ba'ath officials, who were executed.

4.2 THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF KERKUK

Kurdish neighbourhoods in Kerkuk city are Imam Qasim, Shorje, Kirmizi Kilse and Iskan. These neighbourhoods were founded after the 1950s, due to the extensive Kurdish emigration, which took place mainly after the establishment of the Republic of Iraq in 1958 and the Kurdish uprising in the 1960s. The Kurdish uprising encouraged the Kurdish people to move from the mountains along the Iranian border towards Kerkuk, which promised safety and a better life. The Turkmen

neighbourhoods of Kerkuk bear such names as Bekler, Sari Kehya, Shaturlu, Jerit Meydani, Imam Abbas, Gawerbaghi, Musalla, Chukur, Imam Qasim, Imam Abbas, Egi Hussein, Piryadi, Chay, Kasap Hane, Yedi Kizlar, Hamam, Agalik, Meydan, Altunchilar, Neftchiler, Avchi, Yeni Tisin, Hamzeliiler, Hasa, Mahatta Yolu, Baghdad Yolu, Cinichiler, Almaz, Bulak and Halvechiler.

As one can see, all the above names are in the Turkmen language — the numbers of Turkmen neighbourhoods are ten times the size of the Kurdish neighbourhoods. Moreover, the names of some Kurdish neighbourhoods, such as *Shorje* and *Kirmizi Kilse*, are also Turkmen words. *Shorje* means salty and *Kirmizi Kilse* means the Red Church. The Turkmen were settled these neighbourhoods, but both the Iraqi regime and the Kurdish immigration from the north of Iraq have forced them out. The fact that the number of Turkmen neighbourhoods is ten times that of the Kurdish neighbourhoods leads to the conclusion that the Turkmen are more in number than the Kurds in Kerkuk.

Under the Ba'ath regime, hundreds of villages were destroyed and their inhabitants expelled or forcibly transferred to remote areas of southern Iraq. Many of the limited cultural rights granted to Turkmen were withdrawn: in 1972 Turkish-language education in primary schools, daily radio and television broadcasts and a newspaper were made to stop functioning. According to Human Rights Watch, Saddam Hussein's regime used a wide range of tactics and demands to put pressure on Kurdish, Turkmen and Assyrian families in order to make them abandon their homes. These included compelling them to change their ethnicity — a process known as "nationality correction", forcibly enrolling them into the Ba'ath Party and 'volunteer' paramilitary structures, pressurising families with relatives in Kurdistan and attempting to recruit informers.

As a matter of fact, it would be easy to prove that the overwhelming majority of indigenous inhabitants of Kerkuk city are Turkmen, by taking into account the names of the current population in Kerkuk, which go back to hundreds of years, for example, Tuzlawi, Tesenli, Tawikli, El-Neftachi, Yakubi, Kerkuklu, Gedik, Hurmizli, Awchi, Salihi, Jelali, Kirdar, Kasablar, Beyrakdar, Alemdar, Pasvan, Kulemen, Terzi Bashi, Beyatli, Kocak, Tikretli, Bezirgen, Saatchi, Kuzechi, Naib, Kazi, Sari Kehya, Sabunchi, Keyachi, Tazali, Ak Koynlu, Kalali Kopurli, Odushli, Demirci, Samanci, Ketene, Chelebi, Bal yemez, Dizdar and

Yuzu Ulmez, whereas only a handful of Kurdish tribes live in Kerkuk, with their roots originating from Iran (Sunni religion); therefore, we could consider and conclude that the Iraqi Kurds are of Persian origin. In fact, the only Kurdish town, Suleymaniya, founded by Ibrahim Pasha Baban in the Ottoman era about 200 years ago was made the centre of the *Sanjak* (sub-district) Baban and named after the governor Great Suleyman Pasha who appointed Ibrahim Pasha as a head of the Sanjak. Talabani tribe was the first Kurdish group to inhabit Kerkuk City. They were Iranian, strictly Sunni religious tribes with dervish orders characteristics, which were deported to the north of Iraq in the 19th Century. They are mainly populated in Koy Sanjak sub-districts of the present Erbil State. Pockets of them exist in Kerkuk and Diyala provinces.

According to C.J. Rich: the area above Derbent town determined the southern boundary of the imaginary Kurdistan district, which is located at the southern part of the present Suleymaniya Governorate. However, there are two major graveyards in Kerkuk City; located on either side of the city. Each of them has hosted hundreds of thousands of Turkmen bodies for hundreds of years. On the side of Musalla, lies the Musalla Graveyard and on the side of Ahmed Aga, lies the Ahmet Aga Graveyard, which was later called Martyrs Graveyard. Ahmet Aga was the brave hero who resisted the occupation of Iraq after the First World War. He was the owner of the well-known Café named after him, which is located in the centre of the Korya side of the city and several hundred metres away from Ahmet Aga Graveyard, another small graveyard, which is called the graveyard of Abdi Beg. Towards the end of the 1940s, he built this graveyard for his son who died at an early age. He opened streets, bordered it with different sorts of trees and built a Masjid (Mosque). The Kerkuk massacres in 1959 were an unforgivable crime that was committed by the Kurdish communists against innocent civilian people in the Turkmen city of Kerkuk. The martyrs of that massacre were buried in Ahmet Aga Graveyard, therefore, this graveyard was renamed "Martyrs Graveyard". As one can see there is no Kurdish graveyard in Kerkuk Turkmen City. This is a demographic characteristic of the area, which can clearly explain the nature of the population of any city. It is obvious, and without any prejudice proves that Turkmen form the overwhelming majority in Kerkuk and the surrounding areas.

William R. Hay, in his book titled *Two Years in Kurdistan 1918–1920* (William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles 1921 page 82–83), mentions: “The only 2 Turkish-speaking populations which concern us closely are Erbil and Altun Kopri”. “One Mahalla or quarter of the town is purely Kurdish, and in the rest, the lower classes resemble the Kurds in appearance and dress. All can speak Kurdish fluently, but the language of their homes is Turkish. In the upper town which contains 6000 inhabitants, the purest Turkish element is found”.
[132]

4.3 MAYORS OF KERKUK CITY

Al-Barzani was appointed the mayor of Kerkuk City at the time of the coup of July 1958. He was considered one of the planners of the notorious Kerkuk massacre in 1959, in which the most active Turkish politicians and intellectuals were killed using very wild and savage methods. Many of them were pulled behind cars until they died in the major streets of Kerkuk City. The others were hanged over the electric cables beside the streets.

Al-Barzani was appointed in Kerkuk without being elected by the people of the city. He was forced on the Turkmen as a mayor by the communist government at that period. Al-Barzani was a criminal thug and one of the most-hated individuals by the Turkmen due to his atrocities that were carried out against innocent civilians. However, Al-Barzani was sentenced to death and hanged in 1963. Finally justice was done.

It is also important to mention the names of all Kerkuk city mayors from 1920 until 1980s: 1920s: Abdul Rahman Piryadi, Mejid Yakubi and Sadik Sarraf; 1930s: Abdul Rahman Bakir and Baki Aga Gedik. 1940s: Habib Talabani. 1950s: Shamil Yakubi, Nureddin al-Waid, Fazil Talabani and Mauruf Al-Berzenci; and 1960s and 1970s: Hisameddin Salihi, Mazhar Tikriti, Nazim Salihi and Ibrahim Ahmet. It is worth noting that the position of mayor in Kerkuk City was acquired by election until the second half of the 1930s. Habib Talabani, who was the first Kurdish mayor of Kerkuk City, was appointed in the late 1930s centrally without election and held the office for more than 10 years.

The other two Kurdish mayors of Kerkuk City were Fazil Talabani, who remained in the post for a few years until the coup of 1958, and the above-mentioned Mauruf al-Barzani. From the aforesaid data, it can be said that the Kurds had distorted the historical facts. To distort the Turkmen concentration and to change the demography of these regions, the obliged settlement of southern Arabs in the Turkmen areas and the forced deportation of the Turkmen started openly and intensively in the late 1970s.

4.4 OCCUPATION OF KERKUK BY KURDISH MILITIA IN 2003

On 1st of March 2003, just days before the U.S. operation began against Saddam Hussein's government, the Turkish Parliament rejected a U.S. proposal to deploy lands and air forces in south-eastern Turkey to be opened as a second front in northern Iraq. This came as a very unwelcome surprise to top U.S. political and military leaders, who were counting on the second front to shorten the war and also help keep U.S. casualties to a minimum, as well as facilitate post-war U.S. control in northern Iraq. It understandably led to disappointment, frustration and even anger in the White House and the Pentagon towards Turkey.



Destroyed Iraqi armour in Gawerbagi neighborhood, adjacent to Kerkuk Airbase, which was left behind after the fall the Saddam Hussein's government: Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, 2004

U.S. government officials, at least those more familiar with Turkey, had some idea of the complexity of the situation facing the Turkish government as it wrestled with important decisions affecting its most vital national interests. This awareness of Turkey's dilemma did not make them any happier about the outcome, but they could appreciate to some extent the difficulties, which produced undesirable results. Those not so privy to current developments in Turkish politics, including many soldiers and veterans, who could only shake their heads and wonder if their strong allies of yesterday had turned against them. [112][133]

The Turkish government was understandably reluctant to do so. One of Turkey's primary long-standing, national security concerns involves the situation in northern Iraq. This region is home to a large and would-be independent Kurdish population, as well as other ethnic groups, including Turkmen. Because ethnic Kurds make up a large part of the Turkish population in south-eastern Turkey as well, what happens in northern Iraq inevitably affects south-eastern Turkey.



(Right) Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, Dr.A.Bazzaz, Lord Eric Evabury, N.Kelinchi in House of Lords, London UK, 2005.

In spite of U.S. assurances to the contrary, Turkish officials concluded that development in northern Iraq following the destruction of Saddam Hussein's regime would very likely lead to the break-up of Iraq and the creation of a Kurdish state. Thus, they were reluctant to support a course of action, which they believed would result in the undermining of one of Turkey's fundamental national security policies. Putting the Turkish economy back on solid footing after several years of economic crisis is another vital national objective.

The Turkish economy was hit hard by Desert Storm-related developments. Financial damage ran into the billions, as Turkey suspended trade with Iraq and closed the oil pipeline running from northern Iraq through Turkey to the Mediterranean, revenues from which constituted a very important source of hard currency for Turkey. Tourism, another primary source of revenue, was also negatively affected. Further exacerbating this economic loss was the impact of hundreds of thousands of Kurdish refugees who streamed out of northern Iraq in the spring of 1991, inundating Turkish settlements along the border and overwhelming Turkish assistance means.

The next step, according to the Constitution, was for the government to submit its proposal to Parliament, where, as in our Congress, the will of the people is expressed. It is estimated that well over 90 percent of the Turkish population opposed allowing U.S. ground troops to deploy to south-eastern Turkey for an attack on Iraq from Turkish soil.

However, during the voting session on the above proposal which was held on 1st March, 2003, 264 JDP members of the Turkish parliament voted against the proposal, the outcome of the voting was quite a shock and a big surprise to the US government.

As the result of the refusal of the Turkish parliament to allow U.S. ground troops to deploy to south-eastern Turkey for an attack on Iraq led by the US forces, after the occupation of Iraq, the US took several measures against the Turkish government in general and against the Turkmen in particular. These steps were a repression of the Turkmen population in Turkmeneli, providing safe haven to the PKK terrorist organisation in the North of Iraq although they had listed them as a 'terrorist organisation', also appointing a Kurdish governor in the Turkmen populated city of Kerkuk without election and without the consent of the population. The appointment of the Kurdish governor

by the US forces was considered a reward to Kurdish parties for their collaboration with the US forces. US forces have allowed over two hundred thousand Kurds from outside to pour into Kerkuk city on the election day of 30th June 2004. Also the Turkmen were under represented in the governing council which was established by the US administration. All the above actions have been taken by the US administration as revenge and reprisal steps since the Turkish government opposed allowing U.S. ground troops to deploy to south-eastern Turkey to invade Iraq from the North.

Although a significant number of JDP members voted with the opposition party against the proposal that was submitted by the Prime Minister, the yeas still outnumbered the nays, 264:250. However, 19 of the JDP members abstained. Under the rules governing Parliament, passage of such a bill requires favourable votes from a majority of those presents (including those abstaining). Because the nays plus the abstentions were more than the yeas, the proposal failed. The failure of the proposal was a shock to U.S. policy makers. In the days before the vote, Turkish political leaders, including Prime Minister of Turkey Mr. Erdogan, had spoken to U.S. officials with confidence regarding their ability to get the proposal passed. Acting on this expectation, military contingency plans involving U.S. troops deploying through south-eastern Turkey were finalised. Turkish bases were prepared by the U.S. forces using U.S. dollars. Equipment for the 4th Infantry Division was shipped to Turkish ports in the eastern Mediterranean in preparation for debarkation and movement to south-eastern Turkey; then the proposal failed to pass, leading to developments now well known.

In the aftermath of these developments, U.S. officials expressed strong disappointment with the inability of the Turkish government to deliver what it seemed to promise. Some officials, including Undersecretary of Defence, Paul Wolfowitz, criticised the Turkish military for not taking a firmer hand in the matter. In addition, subsequent to the 1st March, 2003 poll, Parliament did approve over flights and emergency landings of coalition aircraft in Turkey, medical evacuation to and from Turkey and ground re-supply of petroleum, oils, lubricants, food and non-military supplies to U.S. forces in Iraq.

The precipitous disintegration of the Iraqi armed forces towards the end of "Operation Iraqi Freedom" led to a provocative advance of Kurdish forces into the cities of Mosul and Kerkuk. The rapid

disintegration of Iraq's armed forces at the conclusion of Operation Iraqi Freedom created a disastrous vacuum in the authority and the security for the people of Iraq. In Baghdad alone, only Kurdish terror raids into Mosul and Kerkuk that erupted into full-fledged ethnic fire-fights matched news coverage of widespread looting and near anarchy. On 10th of April, 2003, hundreds of Peshmerga forces, "Kurdish Paramilitary", from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) poured into the Turkmen city of Kerkuk, and the Turkmen were astonished and dismayed to see the Kurdish rebels entering the capital city of Turkmeneli. Turkmen, Assyrians and Arabs did not fare better in Mosul or Kerkuk. In these cities, Turkmen, Assyrians and Arabs were subjected to terror raids by the Kurdish Paramilitary.

Another unsettling development taking place in northern Iraq is the widening division between the various ethnic groups, which share a historical claim to this oil-rich region. Since the collapse of Saddam Hussein's government, the Kurds, and Shi'a Arabs residing in this region have been polarising and raising their own private militia armies. Over the past nine months, a number of minor skirmishes have occurred between these rival factions, particularly in the Kerkuk region. On 21st November 2004, this escalating inter-ethnic violence erupted in the form of a massive car bomb detonated beside the headquarters of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). Estimated to have contained approximately one ton of nitro-glycerine, the car bomb shattered the garden wall and destroyed the ground floor offices of the PUK complex. **[134]** Home, business and government buildings were looted and burned. Residents of these and other northern Iraqi cities were harassed, intimidated, and sometimes shot. News footage showed traffic jams leading into and out of the cities with empty Kurdish vehicles lining up, trying to enter the cities to loot, and overloaded vehicles full of booty lining up to leave the cities. In Kerkuk, armed Kurdish terrorists evicted unarmed civilian residents at gunpoint without hearing or due process. **[135]**

An article written by A. Ismail under the title, "Why the Turkmen Are Rejecting the Federation in Iraq", which was published on Kitabab web site, on 26th of December, 2003, clearly pointed out that homes, businesses, and government buildings in Kerkuk were looted and burned.



The Iraqi Turkmen in Kerkuk attached Turkmeneli and Iraqi flags on a car during the demonstration against the Kurdish federation, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: photo by Emad Jalali



The Iraqi Turkmen in Kerkuk were protesting against Kurdish federation in Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: photo by Emad Jalali



The Iraqi Turkmen in Kerkuk protesting against a Kurdish federation in Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: photo by Emad Jalali



The Iraqi Turkmen in Kerkuk protesting against a Kurdish federation in Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: Photo by Emad Jalali



The Iraqi Turkmen in Kerkuk protesting against a Kurdish federation in Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: Photo by, Emad Jalali



The Iraqi Turkmen in Kerkuk protesting against a Kurdish federation in Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: Photo by, Emad Jalali



The Iraqi Turkmen in Kerkuk protesting against Kurdish occupation and federation in Kerkuk, Turkmeneli

However, after the occupation of Iraq, thousands of internally displaced Kurds and Turkmen have returned to Kerkuk and other Arabised regions to reclaim their homes and lands which have since been occupied by Arabs from central and southern Iraq. These returnees were forcibly expelled from their homes by the government of Saddam Hussein during the 1980s and 1990s. Kurds are flocking back to Kerkuk, but the city has little capacity to absorb them. The majority of the returning Kurds were originally not from Kerkuk. They have been brought to Kerkuk with the help of the two Kurdish parties in order to change the demography the city. These Kurdish refugees who were brought from outside were housed in government buildings, in abandoned buildings and camps without running water or electricity.



Turkmen demonstration against Kurdish oppression and federation in the North of Iraq, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli



Turkmen demonstrator being arrested by the U.S. forces in Turkmen city of Kerkuk



Turkmen demonstrator being arrested by the U.S. forces in Turkmen city of Kerkuk

5.0 Chapter Five

KURDIFICATION AND ATROCITIES CARRIED OUT BY THE KURDS:

5.1 BURNING THE MUNICIPALITY BUILDING AND LAND REGISTRY OFFICE

The municipality buildings, government offices, military buildings, big hotels and historical military barracks in the city (built in the Ottoman era and now used as a museum) were set alight by Kurdish Paramilitary in addition to Turkmen shops and houses, including the Land Registry office. [136] Personally, I saw the remaining scars of burning and destruction of the governmental offices and council. As a matter of fact, the Kurds ruin whatever they touch and they are more destructive than constructive. The looting was a purposeful act meant to remove all official evidence proving the Turkmen presence in Kerkuk. [137]

The land deeds for the Turkmen have been taken from the Registry Office intentionally and this makes it difficult for the Turkmen to establish the original inhabitants of the province. The invasion of Kerkuk is a mirror image of the repeated events from 1991 during the uprising against Saddam Hussein after Operation Desert Storm. Turkish foreign minister Abdullah Gül stated that a committee comprising Turkish and U.S. military officials should immediately start an investigation mission before further evidence is destroyed by the Kurds. This is another trick that has been carried out by the Kurdish Paramilitary [138]

The ensuing looting and terror raids against the majority non-Kurdish residents of those cities have led to increased ethnic tension. American forces that were supposed to secure the urban areas in order to prevent such terror raids by Kurds did not arrive until after the Kurdish Paramilitary had looted and ransacked the cities. The journalist Bay Fang describes Kerkuk during the occupation by the Kurdish militia as follows: "As dusk falls, Kerkuk is still bustling, and the acrid smoke from burning buildings fills the air. The roads are jammed with trucks and taxis loaded with sofas, refrigerators, and overflowing burlap bags" [139]

The ensuing Iraqi and international outrage over the lack of security in these areas in northern Iraq, as well as elsewhere, led to recent renewed efforts by the U.S. to reign in Kurdish terror squads. First, in a setback to Kurdish aspirations to proclaim the Turkmen-founded city of Kerkuk as “Kurdish Capital,” a local governing council of 24 people was established that consisted of Turkmen, Assyrians, Arabs and Kurds in equal numbers.

Despite the fact that the Turkmen had been given assurances by the US forces that the Kurdish militia would not be allowed to enter Kerkuk and Mosul, the Kurdish onslaught did take place. Indeed, in the lead up to the war, the U.S. expanded enormous diplomatic capital in an effort to balance the desires of Kurdish Paramilitary forces to march into Kerkuk and Mosul, with Turkey’s trepidation over the possible establishment of an economically viable Kurdish breakaway regime in northern Iraq. According to earlier reports, a U.S.-brokered agreement between Turkey, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) would keep Kurdish forces out of Mosul and Kerkuk in exchange for Turkey not invading Iraq.

In a pre-war interview with the leading French newspaper, *Le Monde*, PUK leader Jalal Talabani was quoted as saying “Kurdish fighters are looking forward to protecting the liberated Kurdish zone, but have no intention of occupying Mosul or Kerkuk.” Turkmen, Arabs and Assyrians have remained contemptuous of Kurdish intentions from the very beginning. Kurdish statements that they would only move towards the villages surrounding Mosul and Kerkuk rather than the cities were in themselves troubling to the Turkmen, Arabs and Assyrians since the villages around Mosul are almost exclusively Turkmen and Assyrian. In a tragically sad irony, Turkmen military resources during the war were primarily deployed to secure Kerkuk and Turkmen villages in Turkmeneli — not so much to defend against retreating Iraqi forces but to protect Turkmen villages from marauding Kurdish forces. Some Kurdish apologists have insisted on a Kurdish right to Kerkuk as a Kurdish capital that they liken to their version of the “Jewish” Jerusalem. Those with a clearer sense of history, however, have dismissed such Kurdish claims. But the Turkmen disappointment has grown into rage. Reflecting on the damage suffered, one Turkmen noted that the Turkmen, Arabs and Assyrians have paid a heavy price for the so called liberation of Iraq by the allied forces.

"From the destruction and looting of our historical artefacts in Baghdad to the terror raids of Mosul and Kerkuk, Turkmen refuse to allow the substitution of the savagery of the Iraqi regime with the savagery of Kurdish terrorist forces. Turkmen, Assyrians and Arabs have been refusing to continue to be occupied by the Kurdish Paramilitary. Turkmen and Assyrians have long chronicled a policy of persecution and ethnic cleansing under Kurdish occupation in the northern Iraqi provinces since the first Gulf war. The experiment in Kurdish self-rule has netted Turkmen and Assyrians torture, land expropriations and assassinations. Turkmen experiences in the north in the last 13 years have only been reinforced by these recent attacks. We, Turkmen, cannot count on others to rule us. We must demand sanctuary for our people and our culture. We need a safe haven, a self-administered area — call it what you will — where we can safeguard our language, culture, faith, villages and people. Otherwise, Turkmen may not survive too much more of this celebration and this very strange form of democracy."

While the Iraqi Turkmen, as the majority of the other Iraqis, wanted a regime change, a new oppression has begun against them, this time by the Iraqi Kurds. The KUP leader Jalal Talabani - who occupied Kerkuk, the centre of Iraqi Turkmen, behind the U.S. and British tanks - now claims Kerkuk as a part of Kurdistan, underestimating the Turkmen to half a million only and denying their human rights. After looting the deeds of Turkmen lands from the Land Registry offices and setting fire to them, Kurds are, nowadays, buying these lands by taking advantage of the persecuted Turkmen and offering them high prices to encourage them to sell their own houses. This will increase the population of Kurds in the non-Kurdish areas and will plant seeds for a big problem for the future generations.

The Kurdish Peshmerga still remain armed with weapons and they are imposing their ideas by force on the Turkmen, Arabs and Assyrians against their wishes. They are provoking the Turkmen in the north of Iraq and especially in the Turkmen city of Kerkuk, by raising a Kurdish flag on all governmental buildings and on private Turkmen properties, by changing all governmental names from Arabic to Kurdish and by appointing a non-elected governor for Kerkuk with the help of the U.S. government. Kerkuk and Mosul have been introduced as "Kurdish areas", despite the fact that Kerkuk is a major Turkmen city and the Turkmen's cultural centre. In Mosul, Turkmen population is second to

that of Arabs. Turkmen population is shown as 1%, whereas in reality it is 13–15%. Christian population is shown as 5%, whereas in reality it is 1–2%. The Turkmen are shown as only Sunnis, whereas one-third are Shiite. It is obvious that the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour has been misled by Turcophobic sources hostile to Turkmen whose purpose is to diminish their importance and involvement in the Iraqi solution.

During the occupation of Kerkuk, the Kurds destroyed the name of one of the Selchuk Sultan's daughters, Bughday Khatun, which was written on the tower in the castle. She died when she was 24 years old, in the year of 762. They destroyed the entire historical house in the castle. They wrote on the walls of these houses insulting and abusive words against the Turkmen and their city. They destroyed and burnt Kerkuk's central library, which contained very valuable historical books and a Kurdish family brought from Turkey is now occupying the library. They brought many Kurds to the city to occupy empty houses in order to increase their numbers in the city. They changed the names of most of the streets and hospitals and they wrote the name of every building in the Kurdish language. **[140]**

They fired several rounds of shots on the statue of one of the Turkmen leaders, which is standing close to Kopri Bashi. The Kurds are doing everything to erase the Turkmen identity from Turkmen-populated areas, especially in Kerkuk. The Kurdish governor hired 6000 Kurds so far in the city but he is still refusing 2000 Turkmen who are waiting to return to their jobs — some of them teachers, engineers and employees of different offices. There is a real and systematic assimilation going on in Kerkuk; in the past Saddam carried it out, and now it continues to be implemented by the Kurds. **[141]**

Turkmen in Iraq represent an economic dimension so far unexploited as a potential driving force by either Iraq or Turkey. The Iraqi Turkmen were left to their own fate without any help or assistance, left to a destiny of poverty and isolation. As Turkey had extensive economic relations with Iraq before the crisis in the Gulf and as there are new initiatives to recreate and revive past economic relations, the Iraqi Turkmen, as Iraqi citizens, should be apportioned a part to play within this context, as the Iraqi Kurds are playing their part through their border trade with Turkey.

5.2 THE APPOINTMENT OF AN ILLEGAL KURDISH GOVERNOR

The Kurdish Paramilitary has brought their own Kurdish committee members to run Kerkuk. These were brought from outside of Kerkuk City (i.e., Erbil and Suleymaniya, which are under Kurdish control). **[Doc.4]** They have appointed an illegal governor for the city. Moreover, Kurdish Paramilitary from outside Kerkuk city are telling Arab families, who have been living in their homes for more than a decade, that they must leave or be removed permanently. This is a very dangerous move and could lead to instability and civil war. The Turkmen are very concerned and it is obvious that an ethnic clash between the Kurds, the Arabs and the Turkmen is inevitable.

The Turkmen are extremely worried over efforts aiming to make Kurds a majority in the oil-rich city of Kerkuk, as U.S.-backed Kurdish forces took the city under control. Fears were increased that Kurds could claim a stake in the oil cities in a bid to create an independent state; also, there are a large number of PKK terrorists, affiliated with the Kurdish Paramilitary, entering Kerkuk City. Several offices have been established for the PKK terrorist organisation in Kerkuk with the help of the Kurdish parties. The PKK terrorist organisation has been causing a provocation to the Turkmen by fixing a large number of pictures of the Kurdish terrorist Abdullah Ocalan on the front of shops and walls of Turkmen properties in Kerkuk. All these activities are carried out with the help of the Kurdish Paramilitary.

5.3 USING FALSE IDENTITY

The Kurdish Paramilitary returned to Kerkuk by using false identification and the armed paramilitary have started to arrange fake IDs in order to prove that they are residents of Kerkuk. **[142] [143]** Kurdish women are brought from the Kurdish town of Suleymaniya to give birth in a Kerkuk Hospital in order to have a Kerkuk birth certificate. During the occupation of Kerkuk there was an atmosphere of complete confusion and chaos, which Turkmen considered as unacceptable. Turkmen called for the swift establishment of a U.S. – Turkish military committee to investigate events in the city of Kerkuk after the Kurdish Paramilitary entered the city and looted government offices, including the crucial Land Registry offices. **[144]**

5.4 KURDISH BANK WITH ISRAELI CAPITAL

A Kurdish Development Bank, inaugurated in Suleymaniya in 2004 and financed by Jewish businessmen with Israeli capital, has been established to provide loans only to the Kurds in order to buy property in Kerkuk. There have been persistent reports in the Turkish media trying to establish a link between Israel and the Iraqi Kurds. **[145]**

The Kurdish Credit Bank has caused worries among the Turkmen and Arab people. Iraqi Turkmen Front representative in Ankara, E. Adil said the Kurdish Credit Bank which is located in the city of Suleymaniya in northern Iraq, was established with the assistance of Masoud Barazani, head of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, and Jalal Talabani, head of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan Party. **[146]**

Turkey has also drawn the attention of the Jewish State with regards to allegations that Israelis were buying land in northern Iraq and were trying to change the demography of the area. Turkey has been closely monitoring everything that goes on in northern Iraq, but stressed that Ankara had warned Israel over activities in the region. Turkey has also stated that as long as the Israelis abide by international laws, do not try to transform their relationship with the Kurds into a permanent partnership, do not encourage secessionism and do not try to change the demographic structure of the region it will not complain. Turkish officials said it is normal that Israel cooperates with the non-Arabs of the Middle East, and, thus, Turkey does not object to their move to cooperate with the Kurds. **[146]**

The Turkmen of Iraq were very concerned about the activities of the Kurdish Credit Bank that grants loans to Kurdish people to purchase land belonging to the Turkmen and Arabs in the north of Iraq. The Kurdish Credit Bank also has great importance in potential and strategic terms. The Iraqi Turkmen Front representative in Ankara stated that, Kurdish groups at first wanted to seize the homes and properties of Turkmen and Arabs, who form a majority in the Mosul and Kerkuk regions, by force. Later, when the Kurds realized they could not simply confiscate Turkmen and Arab properties they tried to purchase them. The Arab tribes in the north of Iraq also confirmed that Jewish Kurds and Israelis began to purchase property and that Jewish Kurds had obtained long-term and interest-free loans from the Kurdish Credit Bank to purchase properties which they claim was theirs in the past.

A former Department Head at the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MIT), Mahir Kaynak, said that "It is certainly necessary for Kurds in northern Iraq to receive assistance from foreign countries. It is necessary to establish a bank in the region in order to carry out daily banking transactions and Turkey must act urgently in this field". Kaynak said that investment-development banks have a wide experience in this field and Kurdish groups can establish such a bank with the help of Jewish businessmen, who are very powerful in world financial markets. [146] Whereas, the General Manager and Chief Executive Officer of Ziraat Bank, Jan Akin Jaglar stated they were researching the new banking laws of the Iraqi Interim Governing Council very closely. He said Ziraat Bank has been continuing discussions with Iraqi officials to open a branch in Iraq as a private bank.

5.5 ABUSES AND ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE KURDISH REBELS DURING THE FALL OF KERKUK

Because of Kerkuk's oil resources and its strategic importance, the fight over the control of the province proved to be one of the focal points of the conflict in northern Iraq. The two main Kurdish parties, the KDP and the PUK, have long considered Kerkuk to be an integral part of a future Kurdish federal region. In contrast, the Turkmen of Iraq vigorously oppose the idea of Kerkuk being a part of the Kurdish region. Moreover, Turkey has repeatedly expressed concern about Kurdish aspirations over Kerkuk, stating that Kurdish control over Kerkuk could fuel Kurdish nationalism in the region and undermine the rights of Turkmen residents in Kerkuk. This could lead to instability in the region and, possibly, civil war. Kerkuk itself has become almost synonymous with the abusive Arabisation campaign, and thus the Kurdish determination to reverse the process of Arabisation in Kerkuk was particularly fierce.

When the city of Kerkuk fell to Kurdish occupation on 10th April 2003. For almost a week, Kerkuk was under the control of PUK forces. These Kurdish forces entered the city in defiance of a prior agreement with the U.S. stating that the Peshmerga forces would remain outside the city. The Peshmerga presence in Kerkuk led to widespread looting by civilians. The Peshmerga did little to stop this from happening, but

they did, however, succeed in protecting some of the non-Ba`ath Party buildings, including the city's hospitals. The U.S. helped the PUK forces to occupy and consolidate control over the city of Kerkuk. The PUK then brought in civilian defence units, traffic police and medical staff for the hospitals in order to fill the vacuum left behind when the Iraqi government forces and officials fled Kerkuk. Several dozen people were killed by Kurdish rebels in the first days after the fall of Kerkuk, including some former Ba`ath officials, who were executed.



The Kurdish militia ransacked Arab villages around Kerkuk and their inhabitants were forced out



The Kurdish militia destroyed Arab villages around Kerkuk and their inhabitants were forced out

5.6 ANTI-ARAB SLOGANS APPEARED ON ARAB HOMES

During the fall of the Kerkuk city, Turkmen and Arab residents in some neighbourhoods of Kerkuk reported pressure from Kurdish armed gangs to leave their homes. The armed Peshmerga have been responsible for the acts of intimidation. **[147]**

Peshmerga-armed elements under the political control of the two Kurdish parties openly carried out various atrocities. In some Arab neighbourhoods, anti-Arab slogans appeared on Arab homes, calling on them to leave immediately, especially in the al-Nasr II neighbourhood, which was built in 1992. The Arabs openly blamed the PUK for what happened in their neighbourhood. The PUK started to abuse many people, they went to the houses of the Arabs and wrote "Kurdistan" or "The family must leave this house within twenty-four hours or will be kicked out". The KURDS occupied Arab houses and put up a piece of green cloth representing a PUK flag or a piece of yellow cloth representing the KDP flag.

Some of the Arabs who tried to prevent the Kurds from entering their homes (defending the honour of their women), were killed by the Kurdish Peshmerga; a great number of Arabs homes were completely

looted. The U.S. forces did not act against Kurdish abuses, and it is the Kurdish leadership itself, which eventually acted against these abuses, fearing an international outcry.

5.7 PROPERTY CLAIMS COMMISSION CONTROLLED BY KURDS

In April 2004, the Americans created the Iraqi Property Claims Commission to rule on restitution. By the end of 2004, the commission had received 10,044 claims from Kerkuk province. The commission's statistics show that judges have come to a decision only on 25 cases. The head of the commission said in an interview that only two judges, both Kurds, were working on cases in Kerkuk. The commission has been unable to assign more judges because Kurdish political parties insist that only Kurds review the claims, which limits the number of qualified people. The head of the commission declined to be named because one colleague had been assassinated and another kidnapped. Turkmen and Arab officials accuse the major Kurdish parties of having moved people pretending to be returnees into Kerkuk before the January 30, 2005 elections in order to strengthen the Kurdish vote. The main Kurdish coalition won 26 of 41 provincial council seats in Kerkuk and a Kurd was installed as governor.

5.8 LOOTING OF DEED AND LAND REGISTRY OFFICE

After the fall of Kerkuk, almost all the government buildings and offices were attacked, robbed and burnt by the Kurdish paramilitary and all its contents were looted. **[148][174]** Also, large numbers of private houses were robbed and vandalised by the Kurdish gangs. Hundreds of pickups, buses, taxis and dump trucks full of cheering Kurds sped down the road from the city of Erbil and Sulymania to Kerkuk. On the other side of the road there was a similar procession away from Kerkuk, and these cars/vans were loaded with looted goods from Kerkuk.



Kurdish Paramilitary (peshmerga) and Kurdish man wearing traditional Kurdish dress (sherwal) and others seen carrying off piles of looted governmental documents from registrar's office, on the outskirts of the town of Kerkuk

As the Kurdish paramilitaries, aided by U.S. Special Forces advanced on the city of Kerkuk and took control after the Iraq's military personals withdrew, the Kurds took thousands of all types of government vehicles, luxury cars, buses and shuffles. A large number of private cars were stolen from private houses in the presence of their owners. The public was frightened to drive their cars with the car registration number attached to it. The car owners were more vulnerable and susceptible for being stopped, attacked and the cars taken away from them at gunpoint. Thousands of Iraqi heavy transporting vehicles, trucks, ambulances and governmental cars were taken away and dismantled, and sold as spare parts.

Journalist Bay Fang describes Kerkuk during the occupation by the Kurdish militia as follows: "Late in the day, Turgut, the ethnic Turkmen, stands in front of the ransacked courthouse on a street full of boarded-up shops. His photocopying shop is one of them. It hasn't been open since the American bombing began. "We have all had our cars stolen by men in Kurdish clothes with guns. I don't know if they are Peshmerga or civilians". **[149][150]**

Furniture and even the high voltage transformers and pillions were removed and dismantled and sold as scrap. Water pipes of some buildings were removed too.

Days after seizing control of Kerkuk, the Kurdish militias have been forcing Arabs out of their homes in outlying villages into wheat fields that have become hastily erected camps. The Kurdish militia using excessive force and threats, as it happened at the al-Muntasir village near Kerkuk, emptied the Arab villages. Their houses were ransacked, in one of the villages, called Sa'ad bin Abi Waqas in Daqooq, where the residents were notified by the PUK to leave their homes, each door opened to a scene violent rage robbery and



Taxi drivers are driving cars in Kerkuk City without car registration numbers; therefore can not be sold. Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, 1-8-2003: photo by Salman Mofak Kerkuklu



Civilian driving car in Kerkuk City without car registration numbers therefore can not be sold, dates 1/8/2003, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: photo by Salman Mofak Kerkuklu



Children playing close to a pile of shell cases in Kifri. ©Sean Sutton/MAG 26/04/03. Heavy artillery empty shells are dismantled bagged for transport to Iran. They will be sold for the value of the brass, Iraq © Sean Sutton/MAG 18/04/03

All the equipment of the municipality's phone masks, pylons and telegraph offices in Kerkuk City, Taze Khurmatu Tavuk and Duz Khurmatu were robbed. As a result, the town suffered severely after the occupation due to the lack of communication facilities. All the movable instruments of the Kerkuk Institution for Engineering were stolen; for example: computers, power supply devices, and three-phase motor generators and electric circuits. Even the walls and windows, which were made of expensive material by the Japanese were either taken or destroyed.

The national governmental giant supermarket in Kerkuk called 'al-Sooq al-Markazi' (Central Market) was burnt after all its contents had been removed during their attack in 1991. There are such supermarkets in every city in Iraq, which sell all sorts of housing articles, clothes, and electric and electronic devices. After stealing all the contents of the Thoroughfare Office, including all types of instruments and carriages used for constructing and covering the streets, the building was set on fire. The contents of a great number of governmental offices were evacuated. The emptied buildings were allocated to the Kurdish families who were brought from northern provinces and who claimed that they were deported from Kerkuk City.



A boy carries trays of empty bottles and Kurdish man wearing traditional Kurdish dress (sherwal) looting sacks of sugar as Iraqis loot a storage in Kerkuk, northern Iraq (news — web sites), Thursday April 10, 2003. Aided by American Special Forces in their advance, Kurdish troops took over Kerkuk Thursday, facing little resistance. (AP Photo/Peter Dejong) © 2003 The Associated Press)



KERKUK, Iraq, April 11 — Kurdish fighters wearing traditional Kurdish dress and civilians loot an Iraqi military storage on the outskirts of the oil-rich town of Kerkuk, Friday April 11, 2003, carrying off sacks of rice and vegetable oil. Iraq's (news — web sites) military withdrew from Kerkuk after an offense of Kurdish troops aided by U.S. Special Forces. (AP Photo/Peter Dejong) © 2003 The Associated Press



The bullets from heavy machine guns bullet cartridges are banded out and the gunpowder emptied before transporting to Iran. They will be sold for the value of the brass. Kerkuk, Iraq ©Sean Sutton/MAG 18/04/03



*A cigarette seller looks over a pile of ordnance — looking for something of value.
Kerkuk, Iraq ©Sean Sutton/MAG 18/04/03*



*Heavy machine guns bullet cartridges are bagged for transport to Iran. They will be sold
for the value of the brass. Kerkuk, Iraq ©Sean Sutton/MAG 18/04/03*



A man walking through thick smoke past a department store that was set on fire during looting in Kerkuk, northern Iraq : Friday, April 11, 2003. AP Photo/CP, Kevin Frayer



Kurdish fighters and Kurdish man wearing traditional Kurdish dress (sherwal) and others loot Iraqi army storage, carrying off sacks of rice, on the outskirts of the oil-rich town of Kerkuk, Friday April 11, 2003. Iraq's military withdrew from Kerkuk after Kurdish troops aided by U.S.. Special Forces advanced on the city and took control. (AP Photo/Peter Dejong) © 2003 The Associated Press



Women walk past a pile of 155-mm artillery shells close to houses in central Kifri, Iraq. PUK forces had left the shells here after taking the brass shell cases to sell for their scrap value. Three of the shells are fused and in a dangerous state ©Sean Sutton/MAG 26/04/03

5.9 KURDISH AGGRESSION ON THE IRAQI TURKMEN FRONT FORCE IN 2003

On 11th February 2003, Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) militia forces arrested Mr. Amir Izzet, the head of security office, and other members of Iraqi Turkmen Front in Erbil City in the north of Iraq. Mr. Amir Izzet was accused by the Kurds of trying to blow up the hotel in Erbil City where the heads of the Iraqi opposition parties were meeting, in the presence of American officers and foreign journalists. Later the Kurds' accusation against Mr. Amir Izzet was changed, they accused him of being linked to the pro-Al-Qaida terrorist organisation. The inconsistency in the KDP accusation shows the incompetence in their policy. The accusations against Mr. Amir Izzet, a Turkmen, were false and unfounded.

In fact, the real reason behind his arrest was to pressurise the Iraqi Turkmen Front forces in Erbil City who are the real representatives of the Iraqi Turkmen and also to prevent the ITF from participating in the international conference where they could claim their cultural, economical and political rights within a united Iraq. Hence, the Turkmen would not be able to demand their legitimate rights in the

future Iraqi government. The Turkmen have always struggled for their rights, but the KDP are trying to block all external support for the Turkmen, thus promoting the instability by encouraging differences and inequalities between the Turkmen and the Kurds. Today, the KDP leaders are acquiring complete control and trying to become the only dominant power in northern Iraq by forcing Kurdish people who are not members of the KDP to leave the region. They also resort to continuous harassments and persecution of the Turkmen and Assyrians who are not loyal to the KDP.

5.10 KURDISH FACTION CLAIMED THE UNITED NATIONS PROPERTY IN ERBIL

Kurdish authorities in the northern Iraqi city of Erbil seized millions of dollars worth of trucks, computers and communications equipment from the United Nations, delaying UN plans to establish a permanent office in northern Iraq to manage its political and humanitarian operations there. Any equipment that was purchased with Iraqi oil revenue under Saddam Hussein's government belongs to the Iraqi people, according to the UN officials. **[151][152]**

The previous regime of Saddam Hussein spent more than \$36 billion on goods through the UN's oil-for-food programme and funded the activities of 900 international staffers and about 2,500 local Iraqi employees throughout the country. When the United Nations abruptly pulled out of Iraq in 2003, after two attacks against the United Nations' Baghdad headquarters It left behind millions of dollars' worth of vehicles, computers and other equipment in its offices in Baghdad, Basra and Erbil. The UN officials in Jordan, and Kuwait continue to manage the organisation's assets and relief operations from outside Iraq through a network of Iraqi employees.

The seizures of UN equipment began on 21st June 2004, after the Kurdish regional government's Prime Minister, Nechirvan Barzani, and a nephew of prominent Kurdish leader Masoud Barzani, ordered the requisition of vehicles and other equipment belonging to six UN agencies, including the UN. "They seized 40 vehicles, 400 to 500 communications items, everything from walkie-talkies to satellite units," said Fred Eckhard, the chief spokesman for UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. Eckhard said Kurdish authorities also took 200 computers, printers, copiers, air conditioners and other office

equipment. In addition, they went to the UN Storehouse, broke the padlocks, replaced them with their own locks and said that these were now their assets.

5.11 KURDISH FACTION CLAIMED THE UNITED NATIONS PROPERTY IN SULEYMANIYA

UN officials reported that a separate Kurdish faction headed by Jalal Talabani, the leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, seized trucks, computers and communications equipment from the United Nations' buildings in Suleymaniya. At the time, the United Nations was in the process of transferring some of the assets to the Iraqis, according to a senior UN official. Annan's top humanitarian relief official for Iraq, Ross Mountain of New Zealand, protested against the latest action in Erbil in a letter to the local administrator, noting that under international law the United Nations was the rightful owner of the property.

These properties should be confiscated from the Kurdish parties as they are the property of the Iraqi people and not of a political militia and the Kurdish parties should be held accountable for these illegal activities after a recognised and elected Iraqi government is established.

5.12 IRAQI GOVERNING COUNCIL

The Governing Council in Iraq was established by the U.S. administration. The head of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) was in charge of appointing the Iraqi Governing Council in July 2003. Moreover, all the Iraqi Governing Council members were appointed without consultation with the Iraqi people. An overwhelming majority of the Iraqi Governing Council members had or has close links with the British or U.S. administration. However, the Iraqi Governing Council had no significant powers. It was unable to appoint and dismiss ministers and it was not able to control the national budget. Its role was to oversee the creation of a congress to draft a new Iraqi constitution and the national elections were set to follow a referendum on this constitution. However, the CPA retained real power, it controlled operational security and could veto decisions made by the council. Most of those holding council seat were members of Saddam Hussein's opposition in exile. One of the strongest criticisms of the council was that it was a collection of outsiders who cannot properly

represent the Iraqi people. The council appointed a cabinet of 25 ministers in early September after months of wrangling trying to ensure that those selected accurately represented the ethnic and religious makeup of the country.



Mofak Salman Kerkuklu at the UNGO Working Group On Minorities Geneva, Switzerland, 2005

Iraq's Governing Council approved an interim constitution, which, reportedly, says that Islam will be a source for legislation providing equal rights for men and women, and the recognition of Kurdish regional authority in northern Iraq, unless it challenges the nation's interests. Under the agreement, the council reportedly named Islam the official state religion and enshrined its status as "a source for legislation". After a furious debate over federalism, the regional authority of the Kurds who have had self-rule in the northern provinces of Iraq since the 1991 Gulf war, were also reportedly recognised, but the agreement added that they must cede to the federal government any national ambitions. The Kurdish language was named an official language along with Arabic, but the new Iraqi Governing Council completely ignored the right of three million Turkmen. The council agreed that Iraq would have a president along with two deputies, a Prime Minister and a cabinet. The interim document also advances women's rights (another touchy issue among conservative Muslims), by giving women a guaranteed membership quota of 25 percent in the

national assembly. Within the Iraqi Governing Council, the Turkmen had only one representative: Ms. Songul Cabuk, an intellectual, who had been appointed by the U.S. Administration and who was not known as a political activist. Even her own council colleagues regarded her as nice but extremely reserved. The Iraqi Governing Council had total disregard for the Turkmen's rights. The Turkmen and Arabs have indeed felt that they were being marginalised especially because they are convinced that they are the majority in Iraq.

The Iraqi Turkmen groups were dissatisfied with the interim document and, in particular, were criticising the Governing Council for allowing the continued existence of armed Kurdish Peshmerga units. The Turkmen totally refused the new constitution, and went on demonstrations and large strikes. The Turkmen have not been mentioned at all in that draft. Some 4,000 Turkmen marched through the streets of the Iraqi capital Baghdad to protest against the draft constitution and called for better political representation for Turkmen. The controversial Article 61 (C) states that the permanent constitution would be ratified "if a majority of the voters in Iraq approve and if two-thirds of the voters in three or more governorate do not reject it should be considered a guarantee for minorities".

5.13 DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Thousands of Turkmen, most of them from Kerkuk, demonstrated on Wednesday, 25th February, 2004, in Baghdad calling for more recognition of their rights. With banners marked "No to a constitution that ignores the rights of Turkmen" and "It's up to Turkmen to decide who should represent them in the Governing Council", the marchers caused traffic chaos around the former presidential palace, which is now the headquarters for the U.S.-led coalition Turkmen who were marginalised in state institutions.

The Iraqi Turkmen Front leader, Dr. Farooq Abdullah Abdul Rahman, stated that the Turkmen are about 13 percent of Iraq's population of 25 million, or slightly more than three million people, making them the third largest ethnic group after the Arabs and Kurds. The Turkmen are 60 percent Sunni and 40 percent Shiite.



This photos show an Iraqi Turkmen demonstrating on Wednesday, 25th February 2004, in Baghdad, calling for more recognition of their rights. Photo-Asharq Al-Awsat

5.14 TURKMEN HUNGER STRIKE IN BAGHDAD

The Turkmen protested against their lack of representation in the new constitution, and around 100 ethnic Turkmen began a hunger strike in Baghdad on Friday, 27th February 2004. This was aimed at drawing attention to their political rights as Iraqi leaders worked to finish a temporary constitution. The hunger strikers who included intellectuals, writers, students and a number of women were gathered in and around half a dozen large tents erected outside the main U.S. military headquarters in the Iraqi capital. A banner strung up in front of their encampment said, "Today a pen and a strike tomorrow a Kalashnikov to kill those who would deny us our rights". "We are here to protest because they ignore the role of the Turkmen in the new constitution in Iraq", said a spokesman, Mohammed Jasim Aga Oglo. "They don't want to give us our rights or participate in political, economic and social life", he said. "Turkmen should not be ignored". Oglo said that the group had information that the Turkmen community had been marginalised in a draft temporary constitution aimed at seeing Iraq through to elections after sovereignty is returned on 30 June 2004. The protestors had sent a letter to the U.S.-installed Governing Council Iraq's executive body and the U.S.-led Coalition Provisional Authority, demanding that their rights be respected. Turkmen representatives in Baghdad stated that the group, which numbered 92, would remain on hunger strike until their rights were fully recognised.



This photo shows Iraqi Turkmen demonstrating on Wednesday, 25th February 2004, in Baghdad, calling for more recognition of their rights

5.15 TERMINATION OF THE HUNGER STRIKE

During the hunger strike, the ITF leader Dr. Farooq Abdullah Abdurrahman stated that the ITF had had talks with members of the Iraqi Governing Council on the issue after the demonstration. "We talked to members of the Governing Council. Turkmen will be mentioned in the draft constitution as they [were] promised". The protestors were unhappy that the proposed constitution did not grant basic rights to Turkmen. However, the Turkmen Front leader said that official information on the population of the Turkmen did not reflect the truth. The estimated Turkmen population stands at around three million now. Turkmen should have rights proportionate to that population. Dr. Abdurrahman also reiterated Turkmen's opposition to the creation of a federal Iraq, which will be divided on the basis of ethnic lines — Kurds in the north, Arabs (Sunni) in the centre and Shiites in the south. "We want a federal state for Iraq which will consist of 18 provinces". After the meeting of the ITF members with the U.S. officials, the protestors decided to end their hunger strike. While the hunger strikers were returning from Baghdad, the majority of the guards of the Iraqi Turkmen Front local public and members of the Turkmen organisation went out in order to receive the hunger strikers. The Kurdish militia took advantage of the absence of the guards and raided the ITF branch in Kerkuk.

5.16 THE RAID ON THE ITF OFFICE IN KERKUK BY KURDISH MILITIA

The Iraqi Turkmen Front's Kerkuk branch was attacked and ransacked on the 29th of February, 2004, by scores of Patriotic Union of Kurdistan members who vandalised computers, furniture and other contents of the building in an utterly barbaric manner. The Kurdish militia rampaged through the building, breaking glass and scattering paper. Also, windows were broken, files were scattered around and papers were torn. According to eyewitnesses, Kurdish groups attacked Turkmen stores, tore and burnt Turkmen and Iraqi flags, and initiated clashes that occurred in the streets. During the raid, Turkmen flags were ripped from vehicles and torn to shreds. All the above happened in front of the police who are overwhelmingly Kurdish, and who are supported and equipped by the U.S. forces in return for their support to the U.S. forces against Saddam Hussein. The police enforced a short night curfew in Kerkuk City from 6 p.m. to 5 a.m.

During the attack on the ITF office, two people were injured and Turkmen local leaders feared that if left unchecked, the situation could get out of control. Thus the Turkmen appealed to the United Nations and the Arab League, and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference to send peacekeeping forces to maintain security in Kerkuk by preventing such events, which may lead to civil war. Turkmen leaders in Iraq called for international help in keeping the peace in Kerkuk. Since the attack on the ITF the ethnic tensions between the Kurds and Turkmen have become worse.



Iraqi Turkmen Front Office in Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, 2004

5.17 THE ASSASSINATION OF THE ITF REPRESENTATIVE, IN THE YEAR 2004

The representative of the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) in Tazakhormato and his assistants were attacked by a Kurdish militia with machine gun, while on their way from Tuzkhormato to Tazakhormato, and this resulted in the death of Mr. Mahdi Al-Beyatli and his assistant, Mr. Hussein Abbas Malli. Their deaths were a huge loss to the Turkmen nation. Turkmen National Action Front condemns this cowardly crime. The perpetrators who carried out this despicable act are still walking free, and no one was brought to justice and punished. Mr Hussein was the father of two heroic sons, Ali and Haydir, who were executed in March, 1991, in Kerkuk.

Ali released his father, Hussein, from the prison of the Ba'athist party with a single automatic machine gun "Kalashnikoff" in March, 1991, before he was caught and executed three days later in front of his sister. Ba'athists killed Ali in order to instil fear into all the other Turkmen brave heroes in the town. Hussein Abbas Malli, 66 years old and a father of 9 sons and 6 daughters, was in charge of ITF in Taza Khormatu.



A terrorist assassinated Mr. Mahdi Al-Beyatli and Mr. Hussein Abbas Malli

5.18 THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF DR. FAROOQ ABDULLAH

The attempted assassination of the leader of the Iraqi Turkmen Front, Dr. Farooq Abdullah and his bodyguards in March, 2003, near the town of Khalis, located 50 km north of Baghdad, showed the desperation of the Kurdish Paramilitary to marginalise the Turkmen. It is a desperate attempt to stop the struggle of the Turkmen nation from

getting their rights in the new Iraq. Dr. Farooq was not injured, but one of his bodyguards was hospitalised in the attack.



Mofak Salman Kerkuklu with former Iraqi Turkmen Front Leader Dr.Farooq Abdullah in Kerkuk, 23/10/2004

5.19 THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF DR. SUPHI SABIR

The attempted assassination on 19th of March, 2004, of Dr. Suphi Sabir, the representative of the Iraqi Turkmen Front and his bodyguard, Mr. Fazil Kadir, in Kerkuk resulted in Mr. Fazil Kadir being injured and hospitalised. The Kurds have been attempting to dominate the political scene in Kerkuk by using various dirty games such as elimination of the opposition from Turkmen and Arabs. The Turkmen would not bow to the Kurdish pressure easily, and they would not tolerate the injustice that is done by the Kurdish militia, the people who gain the most from the death of Turkmen leaders or activists are the Kurds. Since the toppling of the former regime, Kerkuk is filled with Israeli secret agents, PUK, PDK Paramilitary militia and PKK terrorist members. The latter have been pouring into Kerkuk from Turkey, Syria and Iran, armed to the teeth and ready to kill.

These acts of terror will only serve the cause of the Kurds by sowing the seeds of fear in the hearts of the general Turkmen public. Turkmen proclamations demand justice and call for the protection of the Turkmen in Iraq, but, realistically speaking, how can we, Turkmen,

expect justice from the Iraqi Governing Council when this body is dominated by those who would like to see the annihilation of the Turkmen nation and how can we, Turkmen, expect justice and protection from the occupying forces which openly favour, encourage and support Kurdish terrorism in the shape of the illegitimate government of Kurdistan? Or should we expect support from an ally, who did not support us and turned their back on our people.

5.20 THE ASSASSINATION OF THE CHIEF EDITOR OF TURKMEN NEWSPAPER “ALTUN KOPRU”

Mr. Ali Ekrem Kopurli, chief editor of the Turkmen newspaper *Altun Kopru*, was assassinated at midnight on April 3rd 2004, shortly after interviewing Dr. Suphi Sabir, head of the Iraqi Turkmen Front Kerkuk office. His assassination was part of a planned effort to eliminate all influential Turkmen personalities in order to terrorise the Turkmen and to deny them any political role in Iraq. [153] [154]

The chief editor of the Turkmen newspaper, *Altun Kopru*, was very active in criticising the Kurdish militia operation in the north of Iraq; also, he had allowed the publication of several articles in the *Altun Kopru* newspaper, revealing the joint operation of Israeli agents and the co-operation between the Israeli government and the Kurdish militia. He also openly stood against the existence and the occupation of Kerkuk by the Kurdish militia. He interviewed a significant number of Turkmen politicians and covered various demonstrations that were carried out against the Kurdish occupation: in other words, he was a great threat to the Kurdish militia.



Mr. Ali Ekrem Kopurli, chief editor of the Turkmen newspaper, Altun Kopru, was assassinated on 3rd April 2004

Furthermore, in other violent attacks on the 19th of July 2004, Laith Hussein Ali, a member of the Turkmen National Front, was assassinated in a drive-by shooting in the northern city of Mosul. Also, in other attacks on the 21st of July, 2004, unknown assailants opened fire on Aslan Mohammed Rashim, a cultural centre official in Kerkuk. Maj. Gen. Amer Mohammed Amin of the Iraqi National Guard Rashim, a Turkmen, who was walking to his car after leaving his office in Kerkuk city when the attack occurred, reported this incident. The Kurdish militias have routinely targeted Turkmen and Arab officials in Kerkuk seeking to foment ethnic tension. Israeli agents operating in Kerkuk have also been behind a string of attacks and assassination attempts against Turkmen intellectuals.

The Kurdish Paramilitary militia also attempted to assassinate Mohammed Burhan Jahan, the deputy assistant of the Iraqi Turkmen Front in Laylan, on 15th November, 2003, by throwing several hand grenades into his house.

5.21 ASSASSINATION OF MUSTAFA KAMAL YAYCHELI

Mustafa Kemal Yaycheli, Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) Senior Official for Kerkuk, was killed when U.S. forces opened gunfire on his convoy when he was on his way to attend a meeting in Tuzkhormatu. Sources from ITF's Representation in Turkey stated that fire was opened on a car carrying Yaycheli in the Tuzhurmatu region of Kerkuk around 11 a.m. Yaycheli and the driver Fazil Namik died, while Necmettin Kasap, who was also in the car, was also injured in the attack. It was claimed that the U.S. soldiers opened fire on the convoy.

According to the medical report and the information from a close of his relative, reported that his neck was broken and there were signs of footmarks on his back. Mustafa Kemal Yaycheli was one of the first Turkmen activists to enter Kerkuk after the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime, he had established and opened several Turkmen political party branches in Turkmeneli. Mustafa Kamal Yaycheli was also extremely opposed the Kurdish militia's existence and occupation of Kerkuk. He had become a candidate for Kerkuk's governorship, but the U.S. forces granted the position to an un-elected Kurdish person as reward to the Kurds for their support of the American invasion of Iraq. [155]



Mustafa Kemal Yaycheli who was killed by U.S. forces on the way to Tuzkhormatu, Iraq

5.22 IRANIAN KURDS GETTING JOBS IN NORTHERN IRAQ

After the occupation of Iraq by the U.S. forces the Kurds have been flocking back to Kerkuk, but the city has little capacity to absorb them.

[156]

However, on the eve of 16th August, 2004, an official visit to Sanandaj region in Iran by the President of Iran, Mr. Khatami, and a Sanandaj-based Kurdish journalist, Masoud Kurdpour, who was covering the event of the visit of the Iranian president, reported and told 'Radio Farda' that the "Islamic government's ban on hiring Kurdish managers had divided people and government, and the elites of the Iranian Kurdish community are immigrating to the prosperous northern Iraq" where the Kurdish administration has enjoyed relative autonomy since 1991 under the protection of the allied forces. Also, Masoud Kurdpour reported that: "in northern Iraq, which has been a safe zone since 1991, we are witnessing an economic growth, and many elites of the Iranian Kurdish community are getting jobs in the administration and management positions in Iraq". **[157]**

It is utterly unacceptable that the Iranian Kurds are getting jobs in northern Iraq, while the Turkmen and Assyrians were forced to leave their jobs there. It is clear that the Kurds in Iraq are adopting the same methods as the Israelis in Palestine, imposing.

5.23 KURDIFICATION CAMPAIGN IN KERKUK INTENSIFIES IN THE LEAD UP TO THE OCTOBER CENSUS

After the occupation of Iraq by the U.S. forces, the Iraqi Kurds have intensified their Kurdification campaign in the city of Kerkuk. The Kurdish officials working at the administration of the Kerkuk Municipality have been confiscating real estate and lands belonging to

the town administration with a view to granting them to ethnic Kurds newly arrived in Kerkuk. The intention, according to the Turkmen sources, was to change the demographic structure of the city ahead of the 12th of October 2004 census. [158]

Iraqi Turkmen Culture and Solidarity Association Chairman Kemal Beyatli told a press conference in August 2004 that Kurdish officials in Kerkuk have been setting up tent cities around Kerkuk in order to boost the Kurdish population. Beyatli said that armed Kurdish groups were transferring Kurds from Suleymaniya and Erbil to Kerkuk. He also added that Kurdish officials working in the city administration were supplying construction materials to arriving Kurds so that they could set up permanent buildings. Both Turkmen and Arabs have criticised Kurdish groups for encouraging the migration of Kurds from the mountainous northern Iraqi region with a view to changing the demographic structure of the oil-rich Kerkuk and Mosul regions. Turkmen and Arabs had protested against the Kurdish influx to Kerkuk in April, 2004. Meanwhile, the Turkish Foreign Ministry and the Turkish Army have warned that efforts to change the demographic structure of Kerkuk could prove to be dangerous. [159] Now the Kurds are flocking back to Kerkuk, but the city has little capacity to absorb them. [160]

It is clear that these Kurds are not originally from Kerkuk but have been brought from outside Kerkuk city, from outside Kerkuk province and even from outside Iraq in order to change the ethnic distribution of Kerkuk city and Kerkuk province to accomplish the "old dream" of Mustafa Barzani, which was to take control of Kerkuk and its oil wealth despite the fact that Kerkuk was, and still is, a Turkmen city. The alteration of the population in northern Iraq continues in view of the upcoming census. Non-Iraqi Kurds are flocking into northern Iraq not only from Syria and Turkey but also from Iran. [161]

This proves that the Kurdish policy-makers are altering the ethnic population of northern Iraq with an eye on the upcoming census, which will work to the detriment of the Iraqi Turkmen. It must be noted that in the early 1970s, the former regime accepted that Erbil, a historically Turkmen city, be considered as the capital of the Kurdish autonomous region in order to put an end to the Kurdish rebellion. Nowadays, no one mentions the existence of the Turkmen in Erbil,

and if things continue in the same manner, in another 30 years, we may not even hear about the existence of the Turkmen of Kerkuk.

5.24 TURKMEN RALLY AGAINST THE KURDISH DOMINATION IN KERKUK ON 23RD AUGUST, 2004

In August 2004, the Kurds stepped up their efforts to muscle into the predominantly Turkmen and Arab areas of the city from which they claim they were expelled during Saddam Hussein's regime. It is clear that they want to impose their hegemony in Kerkuk before the census aimed at determining the fate of the city takes place. **[Doc.90][Doc.91]** The Kurdish police in Kerkuk and Kurdish municipality council members have produced a plan to distribute the lands which had been confiscated from the Turkmen by the former regime to Kurds who were recently brought from outside Kerkuk by the two Kurdish parties. Kurdish groups are trying to change the population balances in the city in their favour. In response to this act, thousands of Turkmen staged protests in Kerkuk, against the activities of Kurds aimed to turn the vital city into a Kurd-dominated settlement and also against the moves by Kurds to seize their lands. The goal of this demonstration was to have the voice of Iraq's Turkmen community heard by the Iraqi government and the entire world and to alert them to the relentless attempts by the Kurds to take over the city. **[162]**



Turkmen's demonstration against the Kurdish occupation, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli

5.25 THE ASSASSINATION OF THE GENERAL DIRECTOR FOR EDUCATION

On Tuesday, 31st August 2004, the general director of education, Dr. Ibrahim Ismail, an ethnic Turkmen, was shot several times in the head by attackers who sprayed his vehicle with gunfire. [163]

Dr. Ibrahim Ismail was killed on the main road as he was heading towards the Technological Institute south of Kerkuk. Three bodyguards and two teachers accompanying him were also wounded. The Chief General of Police, Turhan Yusuf, in Kerkuk, said that six attackers in a pick-up van sprayed Dr. Ismail's vehicle with gunfire. Dr. Ibrahim Ismail was an active member of the Iraqi Turkmen Front. He was one of the organisers that staged organised protests condemning what the Iraqi Turkmen Front describes as attempts by the city's Kurdish community to seize Turkmen and Arab land, and to distribute them to the Kurdish people. He was also at the centre of a heated debate in the ethnically divided city over which languages should be taught in schools. He felt strongly that the Turkmen language should be taught along with the Arabic language. He was strongly opposed to the Kurdish language being used as an official language in Kerkuk.

In addition to this, all the Turkmen and Arabs living in the north of Iraq, in general, and, especially, in Kerkuk are opposing the Kurdish Paramilitary groups that have been controlling three northern provinces after the 1991 Gulf war. However, the Kurds, with the help of the British and the U.S. forces, have been pressing for the inclusion of Kerkuk in an autonomous Kurdish region within a federal Iraq. [164][175]



The Kurdish militia spraying the car of Dr. Ibrahim Ismail with gunfire, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli

5.26 HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

Human Rights Watch (HRW) indicated that the Iraqi interim government, which took over sovereignty from the coalition forces on 28 June 2004 has failed to solve the property rights issues related to ethnic groups in northern Iraq, thus making the region ripe for violence in the near future. A 78-page report prepared by HRW stresses the disappointment among Turkmen, Kurds and Assyrians living under grave conditions in the region.

The HRW report mentions that overthrown Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein followed an Arabisation policy in an attempt to change the ethnic structure in northern Iraq. It is to be remembered that Turkmen, Kurds, and other non-Arab ethnic groups were forced away from the region. The region in debate will be the scene of an October census that will determine who will control the city of Kerkuk in northern Iraq. Because of this, Kurds who want to have control over the oil-rich city Kerkuk continue rushing to the region. Nearly 100,000 Kurdish refugees have set up camp around the city and more are waiting to enter. Talabani and Barzani have invited Kurds to return to the region. Bakir Ahmet, who left Kerkuk in 1988 with his mother, father and four siblings, returned to Iraq as a family of 25. He said that he received a letter from the Iraq Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), inviting his family to return. Ahmet disclosed that the letter promised US\$ 3,000, land and construction supplies. He said that the region belonged to the Kurds. [165]

5.27 KURDISH PARAMILITARY MILITIA RAIDED THE TURKMEN NATIONAL MOVEMENT PARTY OFFICE IN KERKUK ON MONDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY, 2005

The Turkmen National Movement Party office in Kerkuk was raided by the national police guard, which consists of Kurdish Paramilitary militia forces. The equipment of the TNMP, such as computers and furniture, were damaged. The Kurds beat up the guard. Armed groups in police uniforms attacked the headquarters of the Turkmen Nationalist Movement and the Turkmen Youth Sports Centre in Kerkuk. Some parts of the buildings were damaged. The attackers were caught. Moreover, on 15th February, 2005, U.S. forces raided an office of the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) in the northern Iraqi city of Mosul and briefly

detained the Iraqi Turkmen Front's security forces. A group of U.S. soldiers searched rooms and broke windows inside the building. [180]



*Turkmen National Movement Party supporters demonstrate against Kurdish occupation-
Kerkuk, Turkmeneli*

According to the ITF member Mr. Tahir, the U.S. forces took guns and mobile phones of the ITF security guards and locked them in a room. The U.S. soldiers put on guards' uniforms and fired randomly from the building's rooftop. Their purpose was to create the impression throughout the neighbourhood that ITF officials were firing randomly. Turkmen have long complained of pressure at the hands of Kurds, who were the closest ally of the United States during the 2003 war. Mr. Tahir said the ITF had presented a petition to the U.S. forces in Mosul, letting them know about the incident, but added that the organisation had not received any positive response. He also stated that they should apologise, and reported, as well, that he had collected all the bullets fired by the U.S. forces and that these bullets are still in his possession.

5.28 VANDALISING TURKMEN MARTYRS' NAMES ON THE COMMEMORATING PANEL

The Turkmen martyrs' names on the commemorating panel in Altunkoperi were vandalised by the Kurdish militia who sprayed paint on them on 1st of March, 2005. This action carried out by the paramilitary militia was designed in order to terrorise and provoke the Turkmen population. This clearly shows the hostility and the hatred of the Kurdish Paramilitary militia towards the Turkmen of Iraq. Unfortunately, the two Kurdish leaders are encouraged by the West to pursue their objective of acquiring an autonomous region.

The Kurds in northern Iraq pretend they will grant Turkmen cultural rights; however, they have long been trying to degrade the Turkmen. What a bleak prospect for Turkmen who have been looking for better days under a new democratic Iraq, following the fall of the former regime. It is utterly unacceptable that the Turkmen should now come under the rule of the Kurds.



The Turkmen martyrs' names on the commemorating plaque have been vandalised in Altunkoperi, Turkmeneli



The Turkmen graveyards have been vandalised by the Kurdish paramilitary



This Turkmen graveyard have been vandalised by the Kurdish paramilitary



These Turkmen graveyards have been vandalised by the Kurdish paramilitary

5.29 SQUATTING IN THE GOVERNMENT PROPERTIES AND BUILDINGS

Kurds brought from the outside region of Kerkuk city, Iran, Turkey and Syria are flocking to Kerkuk city with the help of both Kurdish parties. They have been squatting in the governmental and high-ranking Ba'ath party members' houses which had been deserted after the fall of the Ba'ath regime. Also, the squatters have been given original Iraqi identity cards, passport and registered identity showing them as residents of Kerkuk. A forged Iraqi National Certificate can be obtained for a price ranging from \$150 to \$200 and the Kurdish Paramilitary is in control of this operation. **[166]**



*The Kurdish Paramilitary militia occupying the Officers' club in Kerkuk, Turkmeneli:
photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu*



Kerkuk football stadium being filled with Kurds brought from outside Kerkuk by Kurdish Paramilitary to be settled in Kerkuk, in order to change the demography of the town, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli

5.30 POWER ABUSE BY KURDISH ASAYISH

On the 15th of March, 2005, the leader of the Iraq Milli Turkmen Party Musalla Branch, Mr. Necmettin Kasaboglu, was arrested on his way to Turkey, at the Zaho border gate, by the Kurdish militia and also on the 21st of March, the U.S. forces and Kurdish secret service (called Asayish) raided Tuzkhormatu city, which is 55 miles from Kerkuk. The raiders ransacked offices and religious shrines, and tore portraits of religious leaders and several prominent religious Turkmen Shi'aa leaders were arrested. The following people: Adnan Mohammed Amerli, Seyid Aziz Seyid Kadir, Ayoub Ibrahim Al-Najar, Seyid Hussein Seyid Kadir and Talal Hussein Kuwaiti were also arrested by the Kurdish militia and the U.S. forces.

5.31 ILLEGITIMATE KURDISH GOVERNOR PREVENTS THE USE OF THE TURKMEN LANGUAGE

In 1925, under the Iraqi constitution, the Turkmen and the Kurds had the right to use their own languages in schools and government offices, and to have their own language press. In 1972, the Iraqi government issued a new legislation prohibiting the study of Turkmen languages in Turkmen schools. They also banned the Turkmen publicity and media. In the interim constitution of 1973, references are made to the Turkmen population in Iraq. In 1980, the Iraqi regime ran by the Ba'ath Party issued a ban on the public use of the Turkmen language. The newly appointed Kurdish governor of Kerkuk has issued a new legislation preventing the Turkmen language from being used. The governor, in his letter, clearly emphasised that the only languages permitted are Kurdish and Arabic. [Doc.3][167]



Kurdish Governor for Kerkuk Abdul Rahman Mustafa Fatah who was appointed by the U.S. force without being elected. His appointment was a reward to the Kurds for their support for the invasion of Iraq

5.32 ESTABLISHING PUPPET PARTIES

In order to suppress the Turkmen voice in northern Iraq, the Kurdish militias have established several puppet Turkmen parties to serve their own purpose. All the Turkmen parties, which are established by the Kurdish militia, are of Kurdish origin and working for the Kurdish party and all the bodyguards are from the Kurdish militia. The Turkmen parties established by the Kurds are designed to divide the Turkmen people and are used to smear the name of the Turkmen Republic in Iraq and to smear the name of the real representatives of the Turkmen.

The supporters of these parties among the Iraqi Turkmen people are almost nul and they are not representative of the Turkmen nation. Nevertheless, these puppet parties have been given tremendous financial support by the Kurdish militia and these leaders have been appointed in various governmental high-ranking positions. In other words, these parties' leaders are used as puppets in the hands of the Kurdish militia and are being used as bargaining tools against the Turkmen. Due to the complete rejection of these party leaders by the Turkmen, numerous assassination attempts have been carried out against them.



Mofak Salman Kerkuklu and Dr. Shamsedin Mustafa, MTT leader at a seminar about oppression of the Turkmen, Kerkuk, 2004.

5.33 FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE KURDS TO MOVE TO KERKUK

Kurdish parties have been encouraging and offering financial support to all Kurdish families from outside Kerkuk to move to Kerkuk. The methods used by the Kurdish militia are exactly similar to the policy of the Israeli government in Palestine which was to drive thousands of the Palestinian Arabs from their homeland to replace them with Jews that were brought from all over the world. Such policies will only lead to instability in the region.



Kurdish families are brought from outside Kerkuk by Kurdish paramilitary to settle in Kerkuk, in order to change the demography of the town



Land is distributed to Kurdish families brought from outside Kerkuk by Kurdish Paramilitary to settle in Kerkuk, in order to change the demography of the town, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli



Land is distributed to Kurdish families brought from outside Kerkuk by Kurdish Paramilitary to settle in Kerkuk, in order to change the demography of the town, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli

5.34 DESTRUCTION OF TURKMEN NATIONAL HERITAGE BY THE KURDISH PARAMILITARY

After the occupation of Kerkuk by the U.S. forces, the Kurdish militia flogged to the city, destroying and looting everything. One of the atrocities committed by the Kurdish militia was the raid of Kerkuk TV station. All the old films, songs and documentaries relating to Turkmen were taken away by the Kurdish militia and burnt. Such activities by the Kurdish militia were pre-planned in order to destroy the heritage of the Turkmen and to change the demography of the city.

5.35 PROVOCATION OF TURKMEN CITIZENS

During my last two visits to Kerkuk, I noticed a very peculiar situation at the governmental offices: at the main entrance of all government offices, Kurdish paramilitaries are being used as personal security. The majority of the members of the Kurdish paramilitary are uneducated teenagers without proper uniforms. They are positioned at the entrance of every government building, carrying an automatic weapon, an AK47. It should be noted that the Iraqi secret service, the

Iraqi Intelligence forces and the Iraqi army have been dissolved and that all their apparatus have been dismantled.

The Iraqi citizens in the north and especially in Kerkuk are wondering who these people are who are abusing and provoking them. It is obvious that the Kurdish militia is being used with the permission of the U.S. forces to deprive the Iraqi citizens of their rights. I am wondering why only the Kurdish militia should be carrying weapons while the others are forbidden from doing so.



Kurdish flag raised by the Kurdish Paramilitary in a Turkmen bazaar, "Korya Bazari", (Turkmen Korya Market) in order to provoke the Turkmen, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: Photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu



Kurdish flag raised by the Kurdish Paramilitary at Ahmed Aga Street at the end Turkmen bazaar, "Korya Bazari", in order to provoke the Turkmen, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli: photo by Mofak Salman Kerkuklu

5.36 MONITORING THE TURKMEN AND THE ARAB EMPLOYEES, AND INTIMIDATION ON THE BORDER

The Kurdish Paramilitary has appointed a secret agent, called an 'Asayish', at each government office. They are used to spy on the activities of the Turkmen and Arab employees, to provoke them and to impose Kurdish parties' ideas. Recently, a new phenomenon occurred in Kerkuk in which the Kurdish Asayish prevented the Turkmen employees from wearing blue scarfs in the governmental office, accusing them that blue is the representation of Turkism. The Turkmen who are travelling to Turkey via Habour Border in the north of Iraq are searched intensively; they are delayed, provoked and sometimes arrested and interrogated for several days. In March 2005, the ITF representative in Kerkuk for the Musalla neighbourhoods, Mr. Najmadeen Kassap, was stopped and all his bodyguards' weapons were confiscated. Mr. Najmadeen Kassap was imprisoned for more than four days. Also, in the recent months, several checkpoints have been established by the PKK terrorist organisation in Zakho area. These organisations are established and are being paid by the KDP party, the same terrorist organisations which are responsible for the killing of over 35 innocent people in Turkey. The U.S. Armed Forces should not tolerate the existence of such a terrorist organisation in the north of Iraq.

5.37 TRANSFER OF THE KURDS TO KERKUK

In order to change the demography of Kerkuk, the Kurdish parties are using a new policy to control all the positions in the governmental offices. Recently, the two Kurdish parties transferred a large number of Kurdish employees and police officers from the north of Iraq to be appointed in Kerkuk. **[Doc.4] [175][Doc.90][Doc.91]**

These employees have been paid by the Kurdish parties who have also provided them with false service profiles before transferring them to Kerkuk where they are appointed as heads of departments based on their "long and outstanding services" as mentioned in their fabricated curriculum vitae.

This problem was clearly stated in 2005 when the internal defence Minister in Baghdad requested the two Kurdish parties to pull out three thousand Kurdish police and return them to their original places

in Erbil and Sulaymaniyah. Unfortunately this request from the Iraqi central government was completely ignored.

5.38 BRITISH SPECIAL FORCES ARE TRAINING THE KURDS

British Special Forces have been training the Kurdish militia in Erbil in the military compound, providing military advice on combating terrorism. Also the CIA and the U.S. Special Forces armed and supported thousands of Kurdish Peshmerga troops to defeat the Iraqi forces in 2003. **[168] [168]** During my visit to the north of Iraq in 2004, I met with a British citizen (Scottish) on the Iraqi Turkish border who openly told me that he had been training the Kurds for the last three years in the utilisation of weapons and the preparation for military combat. The opening of a British consulate in Kerkuk was not required as there are no British citizens resident in Kerkuk; therefore, the establishing of a British consulate in Kerkuk gives another solid indication of the deep involvement of the British government in illegal activities in the north of Iraq.

5.39 ISRAELI TRAINING KURDISH COMMANDOS IN IRAQ

The Israeli presence is widely known in the U.S. Intelligence community and members of Israel's 'Mossad' secret service are among the agents working in Iraq; some posing as 'businessmen'. One of Israel's main objectives is to increase Kurdish military strength to balance that of the Shiite militia.

The Israeli agents are using northern Iraq to monitor developments in the south of the country, as well as in Syria and Iran, Israel's arch foes. Israel has operatives training commando units in the Kurdish areas of U.S.-occupied Iraq. **[168A]**



أصدقاء : من اليسار ديفيد كرون ، الدكتور محمود عثمان شمس

Dr. Mahmood Othman, David Crown and other Israeli officials



Hoshiyar Zibari Kurdish appointed as a foreign minister for Iraq, meeting Israeli Embassy Official in Jordan

The Israeli government has always supported the Kurds in a Machiavellian way as balance against the ousted Saddam Hussein government. By aligning with the Kurds, Israel gains eyes and ears in Iran, Iraq and Syria; also, Israeli operatives have crossed into Iran with Kurdish commandos to install sensors and other sensitive devices to spy on Iran's suspected nuclear facilities. After the invasion of Iraq by the U.S. forces a large number of Kurdish troops have been sent to Israel with the arrangement of both Kurdish parties to get a military training in order to offset the booming influence of Iraq's Shia militia groups.

Because of the Israeli armed forces' experiences in dealing with the Palestinian organisations and Islamic militants "Hamas", Israeli advisers are helping to train U.S. Special Forces in aggressive counter-insurgency operations in Iraq, including the use of assassination squads against guerrilla leaders. The activities and existence of the Israeli personnel in the north of Iraq will only lead to the destabilisation and the escalation of violence in the entire region. The Israeli Defence Force (IDF) has sent urban warfare specialists to Fort Bragg in North Carolina, the home of the U.S. Special Forces, and, according to sources, Israeli military advisers have also visited Iraq and participated in the interrogation of the Iraqi prisoners, in general, and the Palestinians, especially, those who are living in Iraq and who were involved in activities against the state of Israel. Nevertheless, the U.S. forces in Iraq's Sunni triangle have been using tactics that echo Israeli operations in the occupied territories, sealing off centres of resistance with razor wire and razing buildings from where attacks have been launched against U.S. troops, as it happened in both the cities of Samarra and Falluja. Furthermore, the U.S. and Israeli Special Forces teams are being used behind the lines inside Syria, in a bid to kill foreign fighters before they cross the Iraqi border from Syria and Saudi Arabia. Also, the U.S. groups are focused on the neutralisation of guerrilla leaders; some Israelis went to Iraq, as well, not to do training, but to provide consultations.



A guard at Abu Ghraib prison.

Israeli guard at the Abu-Ghraib prison, Baghdad, Iraq, 2003

However, the main objectives of the U.S. and Israeli administrations in Iraq are to establish a Kurdish state in northern Iraq, which can be run by the Kurds. Also, a division of Iraq would lead to better security to Israel and less challenge to Israel from the Arab world.



Telafer Turkmen city being bombarded by both U.S. forces and Iraqi National Guards, which is predominately Kurdish, in northern Iraq - 2005

The pumping of Kerkuk oil to Turkey can cease, and, finally, the Haifa oil pipeline can be revived and used to pump all Iraqi and Gulf oil to be stored in the Israeli Haifa port, thereby making Israel a pumping station to the world. However, to carry out these plan, the Kurds and U.S. Forces need to remove approximately 500,000 Turkmen citizens who live in Telafer, which is located in the northwest of Iraq, approximately 50 km from the Turkish border.

Thus, Telafer city, which is predominately Turkmen, became a direct target for the U.S. and Kurdish militia. For instance, the U.S. forces have appointed a Kurdish person to be in charge of the city, despite the fact that the city is predominantly Turkmen. The town was targeted several times by both U.S. and Kurdish Paramilitary forces, innocent people were arrested and houses were searched; both these forces harassed the Turkmen inhabitants. The city was under siege during six months (2005), water and electricity were cut off in order to push the Turkmen inhabitants to leave the city, and no medical aides are allowed to enter the city; despite all this the Turkmen inhabitants resisted leaving the town.



Telafer city being bombarded by both U.S.. forces and Iraqi National Guards, which is predominately Kurdish, in northern Iraq-22/9/ 2005



Dead in the streets of Telafer City after being bombarded by both U.S.. forces and Iraqi National Guards, which is predominately Kurdish, in northern Iraq-22/9/ 2005

Also, in order to make the above plan successful, the U.S. forces needed to open corridors in northern Syria. Therefore, the U.S. administration has carried out several plans in order to open these corridors: one of these plans was that the U.S. administration accused Syria that the Iraqi resistant and foreign fighters are escaping to Syria after attacking Allied and Iraqi national guards. Hence, the Syrian government, in order to satisfy the U.S. administration, built sand barriers along its border with Iraq.

Then the U.S. and Kurdish Paramilitary used the Syrian Kurds to create some sort of uprising as the one that happened when the Syrian Kurdish, affiliated with the Iraqi Kurds, organised an uprising in the Kamishli stadium: the Kurds went on rampage, burnt the governmental office and shops, attacked the police station and Ba'ath

Party headquarter, and killed members of the security police forces. However, the Syrian police and the security police managed to quell the uprising and brought the situation under control. A larger number of Kurdish people were arrested and brought to trial and, were later released.



Patriotic Union of Kurdistan "PUK" Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani (president of Iraq) with Uday Saddam, the son of Saddam Hussein



Above Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani "Kurdish Iraqi president Jalal Talabani" shaking hands with Saddam Hussein



Above Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani (president of Iraq) with George. W.Bush

Then the U.S. used another plan to attack Syria, as was reported in the newspaper, Asian Age, on Sunday, 5th June, 2005, which is published in New Delhi, India. The report by an American journalist Naomi Tishomki was on the assassination of the Lebanese Prime Minister, Rafik Alhariri, who died when his car exploded. The U.S. accused Syria as being behind his death and the U.S. administration requested Syria to pull out its troops from Lebanon within two weeks. The Syrian government carried out the request of the U.S. administration in order not to give the U.S. any pretext to attack Syria.



The Turkmen population in Telafer City forced to leave by both U.S.. forces and Iraqi National Guard, which is predominately Kurdish, in northern Iraq- 2005



The Turkmen population in Telafer City forced to leave by both U.S. forces and Iraqi National Guard, which is predominately Kurdish, in northern Iraq- 2005

5.40 ANTI-ARAB SLOGANS APPEARED ON ARAB HOMES

During the fall of Kerkuk city, Turkmen and Arab residents in some neighbourhoods of the city reported pressure from Kurdish armed gangs to leave their homes. The armed Peshmerga were responsible for acts of intimidation.

The Peshmerga armed elements under political control of both Kurdish parties, openly carried out various atrocities. In some Arab neighbourhoods, anti-Arab slogans appeared on Arab homes calling on them to leave immediately, especially at the al-Nasr II neighborhood which was built in 1992. The Arabs openly blamed the PUK for what happened in their neighbourhood. The PUK started to abuse many people in the neighbourhood, they went to the houses of the Arabs and wrote "Kurdistan" or "The family must leave this house within twenty-four hours or will be kicked out." They would also occupy a house and put up a green piece of cloth representing the PUK flag or a yellow piece of cloth representing the KDP flag. The City Hall and the majority of the local government buildings were taken over by one of the Kurdish parties, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. "PUK" was scrawled in green spray paint on the entrance and on another wall: " Victory to USA." [169]

Some of the Arabs tried to prevent the Kurds from entering their homes. While trying to defend [the honour of] their women they were killed by the Kurdish Peshmerga. The contents of the Arabs homes were completely looted. The U.S. forces did nothing to stop the

Kurdish abuses, however, the Kurdish leadership , fearing an international outcry, finally intervened to stop the abuses.

5.41 THE ATTACK ON A TURKMEN HOSPITAL

The newly established Shifa hospital which is located adjacent to the Kerkuk mosque was attacked on the night of March 24, 2004. The Shifa hospital was established with the help of a Turkmen charity called the Turkmeneli Foundation. The main objective of this hospital is to provide free medical services for all Iraqi communities. The hospital is located near the Governor's office in Kerkuk. Armed militia attacked the hospital with machine guns, and in response to the attackers, the hospital guards immediately returned fire. The attackers fled the scene in a pick-up truck. Later, the police found the truck used by the attackers in the neighbourhood of Rahimawa, which is a Kurdish suburb located in the north of Kerkuk city. The abandoned truck had bullet holes stained with blood and the remaining empty cartridges of an AK-47. The only militia allowed by the U.S. forces to carry and utilise such weapons are the Kurds; however, no one was arrested. The attack on the civil hospital had no significant military impact, but the fact remains that such attacks are designed to terrorise the Turkmen.

5.42 THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF MR. ALI MAHDI

The attempted assassination of a member of the Iraqi Turkmen Front, Mr. Ali Mahdi, on the 2nd June, 2000, in the city of Kerkuk, showed the desperation of the Kurdish Paramilitary to marginalise the Turkmen. It was a desperate attempt to stop the struggle of the Turkmen nation from getting their rights in the new Iraq. Fortunately, Mr. Ali Mahdi survived the assassination attempt. However, on the next day, the 3rd June 2005, a prominent Turkmen military brigadier Mr. Sabah Bahlul Kara Altun was gunned down while he was leaving the Husamadin Mosque in the Jumhuriya Street after Friday prayers, in Kerkuk. The perpetrators escaped using a getaway car. Brigadier Sabah Bahlul Kara Altun was a member of the Iraqi Turkmen Front and also a member of the Kerkuk City Council, a deputy for the internal affair for Kerkuk Governorate.



Brigadier Sabah Bahlul Kara Altun, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli, 2005

On the 22nd June 2005 a Turkmen party chief Mr. Saad al-Din Arkaj's escaped an assassination attempt in Kerkuk when a car bomb exploded in the path of Saad al-Din Arkaj's convoy in the city of Kerkuk, wounding four guards, fortunately he escaped and this was reported by the police Colonel Adil Zain al-Abidin in Kerkuk. Mr. Saad al-Din Arkaj's had been chosen a week before to head the Iraqi Turkmen Front party, succeeding Dr.Farooq Abd Allah who was elected to the national assembly in Baghdad. **170]** Also on 30th August, 2005 a Turkmen party chief, Mr. Saad al-Din Arkaj's, escaped an assassination attempt in Kerkuk when several rocket Launchers RBG-7 were fired into his home



A car bomb exploded in the path of Saad al-Din Arkaj's convoy in the city of Kerkuk, 22/6/2005, Kerkuk

The police and security units, forces led by Kurdish political parties and backed by the U.S. Military have abducted hundreds of Turkmen and Arabs in Kerkuk and sent them to prisons in Kurdish-held northern Iraq, according to the Iraqi officials, a U.S. government documents and revelation from the victims families. **[Doc.22]** The Turkmen and Arabs were seized off the streets of Kerkuk by joint U.S. and Kurdish militia. **[171]** These Turkmen and Arabs were transferred secretly and in violation of Iraqi law to prisons in the Kurdish controlled cities of Irbil and Sulymaniyah, sometimes with the knowledge of U.S. forces. **[Doc.177]** The Turkmen and Arab detainees, including merchants, members of tribal families and soldiers, have often remained missing for months; some have been tortured, according to released prisoners and the Kerkuk police chief. **[172]**

A confidential State Department fax obtained by The Washington Post and addressed to the White House, Pentagon and U.S. Embassy in Baghdad, said the "extra-judicial detentions" were part of a "concerted and widespread initiative" by Kurdish political parties "to exercise authority in Kerkuk in an increasingly provocative manner. **[Doc.22]**

The abductions have greatly exacerbated tensions along purely ethnic lines and endangered U.S. credibility the nine-page fax dated June 5, stated. "Turkmen in Kerkuk tell us they perceive a U.S. tolerance for the practice while Arabs in Kerkuk believe Coalition Forces are directly responsible."

The cable said the 116th Brigade Combat Team, which oversees security in Kerkuk, had urged Kurdish officials to end the practice. "I can tell you that the coalition forces absolutely do not condone it," Brig. Gen. Alan Gayhart, the brigade commander, said in an interview whereas the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) leader Massuad Barazani in a press conference told the reporters that the abduction of the Turkmen and Arabs were carried out by the U.S. forces. The U.S. forces interrogated the Turkmen and Arabs detainees before they were transferred to various Kurdish jails in the North of Iraq. **[Doc.22]**

Some Turkmen and Arab abductions occurred more than a year ago. But according to U.S. officials, Kerkuk police and Arab leaders, the campaign surged after the 30th January 2005 elections consolidated, then the two parties the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and the Kurdistan Democratic Party controlled the Kerkuk provincial government.

The U.S. military said it had logged 180 cases whereas the Arab and Turkmen politicians put the number at more than 600 and said many families feared retribution for coming forward.

U.S. and Iraqi officials, along with the State Department cable, said the campaign was being orchestrated and carried out by the Kurdish intelligence agency, known as Asayesh, and the Kurdish-led Emergency Services Unit, a 500-member anti-terrorism squad within the Kerkuk police force. Both are closely allied with the U.S. military. The intelligence agency is made up of Kurds, and the emergency unit is composed of a mixture of Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen.

The cable also indicated that the problem extended to Mosul, Iraq's third-largest city and the main city in the north, and regions near the Kurdish-controlled border with Turkey.

The transfers of the Turkmen and Arabs occurred without authority of local courts or the knowledge of Ministries of Interior or Defence in Baghdad. In fact all these illegal practices were implemented with the knowledge of the US administration in Kerkuk.

The abduction campaign targeted former Ba'ath Party officials, Turkmen activists, members of the ITF who are refusing that Kerkuk be part of the Kurdish Federation. Moreover, the Kurdish militia also abducted a former fighter pilot who said his interrogation in Irbil focused in part on whether they participated in the chemical weapons attack on the Kurdish city of Halabja in March 1988. As a result of these revelations there was an anger and outrage among the Turkmen and Arabs towards the partial US policy.

On the 4th July, 2005, thousands of Turkmen and Arabs participated in a protest meeting in the festival stadium of Kerkuk city and thousands of protesters poured from various parts of North Iraq towards the festival in order to show their anger and frustration towards the US policy towards the Turkmen and also to demand that the name of the Turkmen be included in the new constitution alongside that of the Arabs and Kurds. They also demanded that the Turkmen language be utilized in the Turkmen populated areas.

Kurdish militia with the help of US forces outraged the Turkmen when a US newspaper published a leaked document showing arbitrary arrests and kidnappings of Turkmen and Arabs. Over 180 Turkmen civilians were arrested and kidnapped by both forces and were abused and tortured then transferred from Kerkuk to Kurdish jails in various location in Northern Iraq. The demonstration was also in response to the partial role of the US forces in Kerkuk.



Turkmen protested on the 4th June against Kidnapping of the Turkmen by US forces and Kurdish militia in the North of Iraq Kerkuk, Turkmeneli



Turkmen protested on 4th July demanding for the Turkmen language to be utilised and their name to be included in the new constitution alongside of the Arabs and Kurds Kerkuk, Turkmeneli



Turkmen protested on 4th July demanding for the Turkmen language to be utilised in the Turkmen populated area. 4/6/05, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli



Turkmen protested on 4th July demanding their name to be included in the new constitution along side of the Arab and Kurds. 4/7/05, Kerkuk, Turkmeneli



Turkmen protested in Copenhagen, Denmark on September 2005 demanding their name to be included in the new constitution along side of the Arabs and Kurds also against Telafer city being bombarded by both U.S. forces and Iraqi National Guard, which is predominately Kurdish, in northern Iraq



Turkmen protested in Copenhagen, Denmark on 17th September 2005 demanding their name to be included in the new constitution along side of the Arab and Kurds also against Telafer city being bombarded by both U.S. forces and Iraqi National Guard, which is predominately Kurdish, in northern Iraq



Turkmen protested in Oslo, Norway on 17th September 2005 demanding their name to be included in the new constitution along side of the Arab and Kurds also against Telafer city being bombarded by both U.S. forces and Iraqi National Guard, which is predominately Kurdish, in northern Iraq



Turkmen protested in Oslo, Norway on 17th September 2005 demanding their name to be included in the new constitution along side of the Arabs and Kurds also against Telafer city being bombarded by both U.S. forces and Iraqi National Guard, which is predominately Kurdish, in northern Iraq

DOCUMENTS

Republic of Iraq

**Ministry of Internal affairs
Kerkuk Governate**

**Issue: 9/11/1879
Date: 26/2/2000**

**To: Special Branch
Subject: Implementation of special instruction**

Carrying out the instruction 8/11/812-dated 13/1/2000 that was issued from the Ministry of Internal affairs-Legislation department that was forwarded to us by letter numbered 467 dated the 4/1/2000. In order to destroy the idea of nationalism and to suppress their voice and aspirations. We would like to inform you of the following: -

1. The received reports from the dedicated committee is indicating that the Arabization policy within the city of Kerkuk is working well and have made good progress. Also we have managed completely to impose the Arabic language to be used in all governmental schools also we have neutralized the use of local languages especially in the field of education and the local language has lost its effectiveness completely. We have manage to control the importing of foreigner clothes that have Turkish and American sign on it
2. The internal monitoring committee in Kerkuk have managed to change the names of commercial, manufacturing names and address to Arabic also the name of commercial and coffee shops, beauty saloons, furniture shops, casinos, Mosque names, graveyards, streets, neighborhood, and historical places have

been changed to Arabic. Moreover, all premises and shop signs in Turkmen & Kurdish languages were changed to Arabic and the new names have a revolutionary or Arabic Nationalist meaning.

**Brigadier
Nafiaa Salman
Internal affairs**

DOCUMENT NUMBER (1)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
جمهورية العراق

وزارة الداخلية
محافظة التميميم
لشؤون الداخلية
لعدد / ١١٧٩ / ١١٧٩
لتاريخ / ٢٠٠٠ / ١٢ / ١٩

١٤٣
٥٧
١١٧٩

الى / المكتب الخاص الموقر - الديوان
م / تنفيذ التوجيهات الخاصة

١. الامر رقم الموقر ٨١٢/١١/٨ الصادر في ٢٠٠٠/١/١٣ والمعطوف على توجيهات
داخلية - الشؤون القانونية المرقم ٤٦٧ في ٢٠٠٠/١/٤ حول مسح اثار
نبات الاعداء وقبور نوابهاهم * نود ان نعلم سيادكم بما يلي :-
تقارير الواردة من لجان تحكم اللجنة العمومية في كافة مدارس المحافظة تشير الى
ح الملحة بشكل جيد * وتم تمرر اللجنة العمومية على كافة المدارس * وتم تعيين
الغنى على اللغات المحلية * ولم يبقى لهم اى دور في الضاحية * وبالاخص في
والتمهية والتعليم والتدريس * وتم ضبط الرقابة على ارتداء اللباس المستوردة
نية * والتي تحمل شعارات وكتابات امريكية وصهيونية يتركبة *
يكن لجنة الرقابة الداخلية في المحافظة من تنسيق كافة الاسماء والعناوين * للحلات
الغربية والصناعية * والكائنات والقاضي والمساجد والتكايا والشوارع والاماكن
ية والتي كانت مدونة بالتهجات واللغات الكردية والتركمانية * وتم تعديلها
باسماء وعناوين عربية اصيلة تاريخية عريقة * وبما يتجمل مع التغيير العامل
حيث شمل جميع مرافق الحياة في داخل مركز المحافظة *
م واسركم مع التقدير *

المعيد / تافع سلمان مطلق
م / الشؤون الداخلية

منه الى /

- الاصابير الخاصة ١٤ / الديوان - للحفظ
- الشؤون القانونية / الديوان - للعلم والاطلاع
- القلم الموقر / الديوان - للحفظ

Republic of Iraq

**Ministry of internal affairs
Kerkuk Governate**

**Issue/ 1/6/7109
Date/ 1/7/2000**

**To/ Director Special Branch
Subject/Result of national identity amendment**

For your information, please find enclosed a monthly report for both Turkmen and Kurdish ethnic groups in Kerkuk city that had amended their national ethnic identity

1. The total numbers of Kurdish families who have amended their national identities commencing from 1/6/2000 to 31/6/2000 are 2343.
2. The total numbers of Kurdish families who have amended their national identities commencing from 1/1/2000 to 31/6/2000 are 11775.
3. The total numbers of Turkmen families who have amended their national identities commencing from 1/6/2000 to 31/6/2000 are 1899.
4. The total numbers of Kurdish families who have amended their national identities commencing from 1/1/2000 to 31/6/2000 are 9064.
5. The national amendment identity policy still is in continuous process.

**Lieutenant General
SABAH NURI ALWAN
Kerkuk Governor**

DOCUMENT NUMBER (2)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
جمهورية العراق

وزارة الداخلية محافظة التميميم المكتب الخاص
العدد / التاريخ / / ٢٠٠٠

محافظة التميميم
المكتب الخاص
العدد / /
التاريخ / / ٢٠٠٠

الس / وزارة الداخلية - شومون المحافظ
الموضوع / (علاج تمصيح القوسية)

ادناه الوثائق المرفقة / حشمان حول تمصيح القوسية لاهاء القوسيين
الكردية والعركمانية
محافظ التميميم
للطيف بالعلم والاطلاع مع التقدير .

١ / العدد الخاص لرويساء الموائل الكردية الذين اقدموا الى صميح
قوسيتهم من ٢٠٠٠ / ٦ / ١ لغاية ٢٠٠٠ / ٦ / ٣١ بلغت ٢٢٤٣ الفان وثلاثمائة
وثلاثة وأربعون .

٢ / العدد الاجمالي لرويساء الموائل الكردية الذين اقدموا الى صميح قوسيتهم من
٢٠٠٠ / ١ / ١ لغاية ٢٠٠٠ / ٦ / ٣١ بلغت ١١٢٢٥ احدى عشرة الف وسبعمائة
وغصية وسبعون .

٣ / العدد الكلي لرويساء الموائل العركمانية الذين اقدموا الى صميح قوسيتهم من
٢٠٠٠ / ٦ / ١ لغاية ٢٠٠٠ / ٦ / ٣١ بلغت ١٨٦١ الف وثمانمائة وتسعة وسبعون .

٤ / العدد الاجمالي لرويساء الموائل العركمانية الذين اقدموا الى صميح قوسيتهم من ٢٠٠٠ / ١ / ١
لغاية ٢٠٠٠ / ٦ / ٣١ بلغت ٩٠٦٤ صمعة الف وأربعة وسبعون .

٥ / لا يزال عملية الصميح مستمرة .

المفوض
صباح شومون
محافظ التميميم

صورة //

مكتب تنظيمات محافظات / التميميم صلاح الدين / الحزب

البعث العربي الاشتراكي • للتفضل بالعلم والاطلاع • ونعمم للنفال •

قيادة فروع التميميم للحزب • للتفضل بالعلم والاطلاع ودعم للنفال •

الشؤون القانونية / الديوان • للحفظ •

المراسلات السرية / الديوان •

القلم السري / الديوان •

لجنة الجرد السكاني في المحافظة • للعلم والتأشير •

Republic of Iraq

Governor Office

Issue/ 210

Date/8/2/2005

To/ All villages, town and governmental office
Subject/ Resolution

Only Kurdish and Arabic language shall be used in Iraq in all governmental offices in Kerkuk, and in all villages and towns which are linked to Kerkuk City. No protest or objection shall be accepted against the implementation of the above legislation.

Kerkuk Governor
Abdul Rahman Mustafa Fatah

DOCUMENT NUMBER (3)



2005-2-24

Eriz Türkmeniz

محافظ كركوك يفرض استخدام اللغة الكردية في كركوك
رافضاً الاعتراض على ذلك بأي شكل من الأشكال

مركز وطن الاعلامي / كركوك

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

محافظة كركوك
مكتب المحافظ

لقد /
تاريخ ٢٠٠٥/٢/٢٤

إلى اللغة الكردية والفرنسية
لغة أجنبية رسمية في المنطقة
بالتسليم

بناءً على الاستشارات التي أجرتها لجنة... تقرر أن تكون اللغة الكردية هي اللغة
الرسمية للولاية (المحافظة) الإدارية...
واللغة الكردية هي اللغة الرسمية للولاية...
بموجبها...
٢٠٠٥/٢/٢٤

الأمين العام
محافظة كركوك
٢٠٠٥/٢/٢٤

في قرار أصدره محافظ كركوك،
لزم الأخير جميع الدوائر الرسمية
في كافة الأقسام واللواحي التابعة
لمحافظة كركوك باستخدام اللغة
الكردية كلغة رسمية رافضاً
الاعتراض على ذلك بأي شكل من
الأشكال، علماً أن الكثير من هذه
الأقسام واللواحي تظهر بقلوب
أي كردي مثل ناحية نازي
والرياض وبشير وغيرها.



Republic of Iraq

Kerkuk Governate Police Headquarter

Issue 1797

Date 2/5/2005

Subject/ Administrative Order

According to the document of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Sulymania, Special Office number 4944 dated on 19//4/2005 which was sent to Baghdad for the Ministry of Internal Affairs in regard of the transfer of the following Officers from Governate Of Sulymania to Governate of Kerkuk.

The names of the officers are shown accordingly in the following list commencing with Lieutenant Colonel Shewan Karim Hassan as a number (1) in the list and ending in the Lieutenant Junior Grade, Sabah Kaka Juwamir Derweh as number (15) in the list.

The above officers have been transferred from the property of the Ministry Internal Affairs of Kurdistan Region to the property of Baghdad Ministry of Internal Affairs / Headquarter of the Kerkuk Governate.

The above officers started work commencing from 30/4/2005 and they have been allocated to different police stations.

- 1- Lieutenant Colonel, Shewan Kerim Hassan/ Al-Mukdak Police Station
- 2- Lieutenant Colonel, Najat Hassan Abdurrahman Ahmed/ Aluroba Police Station
- 3- Lieutenant Commander, Abdul Kadir Fakhredin Sulyman/ Al-Adala Police Station
- 4- Lieutenant Commander, Abdulbasit Hama Salih Sulyman / Debis Police Station
- 5- Lieutenant Commander, Nazar Akram Merdan/ Al-tawari Police Station
- 6- Lieutenant , Akram Omer Rahim Kadir/ Al_Mekdad Police Station
- 7- Lieutenant , Jalil Abu Bakir Mohammed Ismail/Kara Enjer Police Station
- 8- Lieutenant , Mazin Ghareeb Abdurrahman/ Kara Enjer Police Station
- Lieutenant Senior, Nowzad Refat Towfeek/ Rahimawa Police Station
- 9- Lieutenant Senior, Nasu Khalid Kadir Karim/ Altawari Police Station

- 10- Lieutenant Senior, Abdullah Ibrahim Niema Hawas/ Dubis Police Station
- 11- Lieutenant Senior, Ahmed Ali Othman Sherif/ Al_Dala Police Station
- 12- Lieutenant Senior Junior Grade, Delir Aziz Rasheed Aziz/Kara Enjer Police Station
- 13- Lieutenant Junior Grade, Saman Ismail Karim Hassan/Aluroba Police Station
- Lieutenant Junior Grade, Sabah Kaka Juwamir Derweh/Al_Dala Police Station

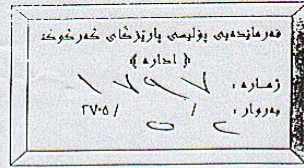
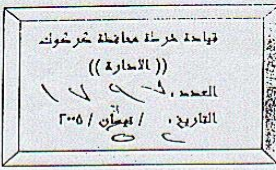
Police Brigadier

Sherko Shakir Hakim

Head of the Police Commission in Kerkuk, April 2005

The Iraq4.Com carried out a poll on the 2004. The poll was opened to everyone and the following questions were asked: -

DOCUMENT NUMBER (4)



أمر ادري

بناءً على ما جاء بكتاب مجلس الوزراء - وزارة الداخلية - السليمانية المكتب الخاص المرقم ٤٩٤٤ في ٢٠٠٥/٤/١٩ الموجه الى وزارة الداخلية في بغداد و المتضمن نقل خدمات الضباط المدرجة اسمائهم ادناه و الذي تبدأ بالتسلسل (١) المقدم شوان كريم حسن و تنتهي بالتسلسل (١٥) باسم الملازم صباح كاكه جوامير درويش . من ميلاك وزارة الداخلية اقليم كوردستان السليمانية الى ملاك وزارة الداخلية بغداد - قيادة قوات شرطة محافظة كركوك و بتاريخ ٢٠٠٥/٤/٣٠ التحق الضباط المذكورين و تم تعيينهم كما يلي ..

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| ١. المقدم شوان كريم حسن | مساعد اول | مركز المقداد |
| ٢. المقدم نجاة حسن عبدالرحمن احمد | مركز العروبة | |
| ٣. الرائد عبدالقادر فخر الدين سليمان | مركز العدالة | |
| ٤. الرائد عبدالباسط حمه صالح سليمان | مركز ديس | |
| ٥. الرائد نزار اكرم مردان | مديرية الطوارئ | |
| ٦. نقيب اكرم عمر رحيم قادر | مركز المقداد ضابط تحقيق | |
| ٧. نقيب جليل ايوبكر محمد اسماعيل | مركز قره هنجير | |
| ٨. نقيب مازن غريب عبدالرحمن | مركز قره هنجير | |
| ٩. م. اول نوزاد رفعت توفيق | مركز رحيم اوه | |
| ١٠. = ناسو خالد قادر كريم | مديرية الطوارئ | |
| ١١. = عبدالله ابراهيم نعمة هواس | مركز الدبس | |
| ١٢. = احمد علي عثمان شريف | مركز العدالة | |
| ١٣. دلير عزيز رشيد عزيز | مركز قره هنجير | |
| ١٤. = سامان اسماعيل كريم حسن | مركز العروبة | |
| ١٥. = صباح كاكه جوامير درويش | مركز العدالة | |

لواء الشرطة
شيركو مكي حكيم
قائد شرطة محافظة كركوك
١ نيسان / ٢٠٠٥

نسخة منه الى ..

وزارة الداخلية - مكتب الوكيل لشؤون الشرطة // كتاب مجلس الوزراء - وزارة الداخلية سليمانية اعلاه للعلم
رجاء ...

مديرية خزينة كركوك

الحصانات // لإجراء اللازم

مديرية شرطة الاقصية والنواحي -

مديرية شرطة البليدة -

مديرية شرطة طوارئ كركوك

لا جراء واعلمنا بتاريخ التحاقهم رجاء

Republic of Iraq

**Ministry of internal affairs
National Intelligent Office
Special Branch**

**Issue/ 7/17/2241
Date/28/4/1998**

**To/ Directorate of Intelligent of Kerkuk
Subject/Observation and civilians monitoring**

According to the Confidential and urgent instruction received 2946 dated on the 25/4/1998 and have advice to follow: -

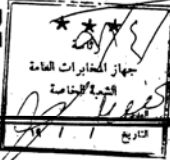
- 1- Increase a civilian monitoring on the Turkmen families in Altunkoperi and especially on those families whose members were executed in the 1991 incidentals also keep observing and monitoring these families into the third generation and also those people whom have an association with the opposition in the North of Iraq. Their movement should be continuously monitored; also their visit to Erbil city and their Satellite dish, receiving TV shall be monitored. As you know that these people are receiving TV signal from the transmitting antenna in Erbil.
- 2- Concentrate on the monitoring on the demolished area around Kerkuk, which were inhabited by the Turkmen (i.e. Tessen Neighbourhood, Basher Village, Yaychi Village, Terkalan, Kombetler and Kizelyar). There are some terrorists attending these areas, photographing these areas and forwarding these images to Turkey and Iran, to be used as evidence of ethnic cleansing by the International Human Right.

**Brigadier
Mehdi Abdul Karim Naji
Director of Special Branch**

DOCUMENT NUMBER (5)

٢٢ ٧٥
٢٢٤٤/١٧/٥١
١٩٩٧/٤/٢٥

العدد
التاريخ



(رئاسة)
جهاز المخابرات العامة
(الشعبة الخاصة)

2٥ - ٤ - ٩٧
Tuzluker Alkanalpor
420106 - 1604016 466

الى / مديرية مخابرات التاميم - الشعبة الخاصة

الموضوع // تشديد الرقابة

ما جاء بكتاب المكتب الخاص المرقم ٢١٤٦ في ١١٩٨/٤/٢٥ موى وعلى
النمر يجب .

١ - تشديد الرقابة على حركة المواصلات التركمانية في ناحية الترنكوبوى
والاخص الذين نفذت بحكمهم حكم الاعدام نتيجة خيانتهم العظمى
واشراكهم في احداث عام ١١١١ . واقاربهم من الدرجة الاولى
والثانية والثالثة . والذين لهم ابناء في صفوف بحري الممالة
في منطقة الحكم الذاتي ومتابعة تحركاتهم وزياراتهم الى
مدينة اربيل والمتابعة للهيئة لهوائيات الموجبة فوق دورهم
لاستلام البث التلفزيوني الموجهة من ابواق المحطة المجاورة
للتركان . والتي تبث برامجها من وسط اربيل وتصل مداء الى
قصة الثون كوبرى .

٢ - تشديد الرقابة على المناطق السكنية في حدود محافظة التاميم
والتي كانت مكونة من قبيل ابناء الاقلية التركمانية في (حسي
تممين قسوى بشير وباجي وتركان وكينيلر قزليار) . حيث هناك
عملا لحكومة انقرة وطهران يقدمون الى المناطق المحبوسة
ويقومون بتصوير انقاضها ويرسلونها الى اسبادهم لظهارها
كوثائق لتقديسها الى المحافظين الدولية لادانة القيادة .

المقيد الركن

مهدى عبدالكريم ناجي
مدير الشعبة الخاصة

صورة منه الى / -

١ - المكتب الخاص الموقر -
كتابكم المرقم ٢١٤٦ في

١١٩٨/٤/٢٥ وامركم مع التهنيت

٢ - الشعبة السياسية في الرئاسة للعلم والاطلاع وامركم

٣ - شئون مديرية مخابرات التاميم في الرئاسة للعلم

**Ministry of internal affairs
National Security Office
Kerkuk Governate**

**Issue/ 11
Date/ 21/1/2000**

**To/ Director Special Branch
Subject/ Legislation**

The recent indication showed the national identity amendment policy in Kerkuk is not successful, therefore the National Security Committee in their meeting on 21/1/2000 want the following instruction to be implemented: -

1. To work hard in order to show the Turkmen and the Kurds public goals of the Ba'ath Party which is to bring social benefit especially to be applied in all stages of education.
2. Increase public awareness and the benefit of the Ba'ath Party by utilizing Saddam Hussein speech and words.
3. The government organization has to concentrate in order to smear the Turkmen nationals and to expose the Turkmen idea foe imperialism.
4. Ba'ath Party and other government organization shall produce propaganda against the Turkmen movement parties among the public.
5. The government and Iraqi Women's Union will advice and educate the public.

**Lieutenant General
Saadoon Khalid Abdulhamid
Directorate of National Security**

DOCUMENT NUMBER (6)

رقم القرار / ١١
تاريخ القرار / ٢٠٠٠ / ١ / ٢١

صبيحة الـ ١٢

أولاً / العمل على توسعة الجامعة (الكردية والعراقية) بالاهداف الجامعة
والانتماء لحزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي * والتمسك بمبادئ
خاصة * ولا سيما حصول العراق الديمقراطية
بما يمكن تكوين قطاعات ذاتية * كما جاء لهم فكري الاغتراق المعادي *
ثانياً / تجديد عقلات السيد الرئيس القائد المجاهد حفظه الله برما
مطابق حول ادارة الصلة بوجهاءهم والمعرفين بين المجتمع وما يشعرون به من العواطف
المخالفة *

رابعاً / التأكيد على المنظمات الحزبية لتوفيرها مع الشائعات والدعوات المضادة للحركة التخريبية التركية الميمنة ومصيرهم الأسود .

موقع

195

Republic of Iraq

**Ministry of internal affairs
Kerkuk Governate**

Issue/ 9/3/1748

Date/ 23/2/2000

**To/ Director Special Branch
Subject/Census of 1999**

Enclosed find complete information regarding f the head of families of the Turkmen and Kurdish ethnic group in Kerkuk whom have amended their ethnic national identity for the year 1999 commencing from 1/1/1999 to 31/12/1999, according of the instruction from a central government and Ministry of Internal affairs commencing as follows: -

1. The total numbers of the Kurdish families who have amended their national identities are 3462.
2. The total numbers of the Turkmen families who have amended their national identities are 2937.
3. Recently we have faced some difficulties in changing the national identity of Turkmen and Kurdish ethnic groups. The problem has been sorted out and due to our investigation we found that a Turkmen citizen Mr Khalid Ahmed Zaynal who was working in our registry office was the main cause for the above delay. He was arrested by our security Service and was integrated and had his punishment.

For your information
With compliments

**Brigadier
Nafiia Salman Mutlek
Internal affairs**

DOCUMENT NUMBER (7)

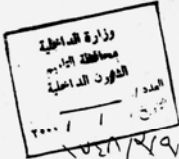
جمهورية العراق



وزارة الداخلية

محافظة التأميم

الشؤون الداخلية



العدد / ١٠٠٠ / ١
التاريخ ١٩٧٠ / ١ / ٢٨

٢٢
١٠٠٠

الى / الكتاب العام المؤرخ - الديوان

م / احصاء ١٩٩١

تدج لكم ادناء المعلومات الكاملة عن مجوع رؤوسا المواطنين من السواطين الغير العرب الساكنين في محافظة التأميم . والذين اقدموا على تصحيح قوائمهم خلال عام ١٩٩١ . اعتبارا من ١/١/١٩٩١ لغاية ١٢/٣١/١٩٩١ على نحو التوجيهات السكونية الصادرة من وزارة الداخلية - الشؤون الداخلية وتمديلاته . وعلى النحو التالي :-

اولا:- العدد الاجمالي لرؤوسا المواطنين الكردية الذين اقدموا على التصحيح هي (ثلاثة الاف واربعمائة واثنان وستون) .

ثانيا :- العدد الاجمالي لرؤوسا المواطنين التركمانية الذين اقدموا على التصحيح هي (الفان وتسعمائة - وسبعة وثلاثون) .

ثالثا :- ظهرت في الاونة الاخيرة سمومات لدى مديرية احصاء التأميم اثناء التصحيح . ومن خلال المتابعة تم كشف الغلل وازالته . حيث كان مستتب تركاني لدى المديرية الذي الدمر (عالم احمد زيل) هو كان السبب لخلق السمومات بدوافع شخصية . وتم احالته الى مديرية امن البلدة لاجراء التحقيق معه ليتال جزءا من العادل للحصول العلم والاطلاع واسوكم مع التقدير .

العهد / نافع سلمان علك
م / الشؤون الداخلية

صورة السري :-

اللجنة الاحصاء في المحافظة للملم والاطلاع .

العلم السري / المحافظة للملم والاطلاع .

مديرية احصاء التأميم - لتسهيل امور التصحيح واستعمال الدبلوماسية المحكمة مع المواطنين .

مديرية الجنسية والاحوال المدنية / التأميم لاتخاذ مايلزم .

New Legislation by Revolutionary Governing Council, number 89 dated on 24/1/1974

According to the legislation number 89 that was issued from the Revolutionary Governing Council dated the 24/1/1970 in regards to bringing unity among the Iraqi ethnic group also providing the rights of the citizens this would encourage and enforce the national unity of the country. Thus the government of Iraq has decided on the below legislation to grant the Turkmen nation the following rights: -

1. The Turkmen shall receive primary education in Turkmen language.
2. The Turkmen language will be that of instruction at the primary education stage.
3. A directorate of Turkmen education shall be established and be attached to the Ministry of Culture and Information.
4. Turkmen publications shall be encouraged and assisted and this shall be attached to a union of Iraqi writers.
5. Establish Directorate of Turkmen Education and shall be linked to the Ministry of Education and Information.
6. A weekly newspaper and a monthly magazine in the Turkmen language shall be published.
7. Increased Turkmen TV broadcasting and Turkmen programs in the Turkmen language on Kerkuk TV.

Ahmed Hassan al_Baker
President of Iraq

DOCUMENT NUMBER (8)

قرار رقم ٨٩



قرار رقم ٨٩ صادر من مجلس قيادة الثورة في ٢٤-١-١٩٧٠

ان ثورة السابع عشر من تموز التي تؤمن بأن الطريق المؤدي الى زيادة مساحة المواطنين في خدمة هذا الوطن وترصين الوحدة الوطنية وتعزيز الوحدة الكفاحية ، يأتي من خلال تمتع المواطنين بحقوقهم المشروعة .

وايماننا من الثورة بحق الاقلية التركمانية في التمتع بحقوقها الثقافية في المناطق التي تسكنها لذا قرر مجلس قيادة الثورة بجلسته المنعقدة بتاريخ ٢٤-١-١٩٧٠ ما يلي :

- ١ - تدرس اللغة التركمانية في مرحلة الدراسة الابتدائية .
- ٢ - جعل كافة وسائل الانضاح باللغة التركمانية في جميع المدارس التي ستدرس بهذه اللغة .
- ٣ - استحداث مديرية الدراسة التركمانية في وزارة التربية والتعليم .
- ٤ - تمكين الادباء والشعراء والكتاب التركمان من تأسيس اتحاد لهم واكمل على مساعدتهم وتمكينهم من طبع مؤلفاتهم وتوفر الفرص لزيادة قدراتهم وقابليتهم للقوية وربط هذا الاتحاد باتحاد الادباء العربيين .
- ٥ - استحداث مديرية الثقافة التركمانية ترتبط بوزارة الثقافة والاعلام .
- ٦ - اصدار صحيفة اسبوعية ومجلة شهرية باللغة التركمانية .
- ٧ - زيادة البرامج التركمانية في تلفزيون كركوك .

احمد حسن البكر

رئيس مجلس قيادة الثورة

Republic of Iraq

**Ministry of Internal Affairs
Kerkuk Governate/ Agriculture Department**

**Issue: 7431
Date: 18/7/1995**

**To: The director of Agriculture of Kerkuk
Subject: Implementation and Instruction**

According to your letter from the Presidential Office number MS 1741, date the 28/6/1995. You have been advised to carry out the following instructions:

1. Cancel all agreements and contracts that have been signed with the Turkmen and Kurdish farmers commencing from 1/8/1995.
2. Cancel all agreements and contract with the farmers in Daqook village whom obtained farm land according to the document number 62 &73 for the year 1992 with the project number 81 and 115.
3. All the paper work, documentation and instruction which is related to the farmer retirement should be ceased immediately and you have been advised to implement the following instruction:
 - a- The farmer has to submit his application form to the Kerkuk agriculture committee and also has to provide the following documents.
 - b- Provide the 1977 census document.
 - c- Obtain an authorization from the government