

## Chapter two

### 2.1 Squatting in government properties

After the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime in 2003, both Kurdish parties brought over 600,000 Kurds from outside the region of Kirkuk city (Iran{x"Iran"}, Turkey{x"Turkey"} and Syria) to settle in Kirkuk.{x"Syria"} The new Kurdish arrivals squatted in the governmental and high-ranking Ba'ath party members' houses that were deserted after the fall of the Ba'ath regime. The squatters also were given original Iraqi identity cards, passports and registered identities showing them as being residents of Kirkuk.



Figure 8. The Kurdish Paramilitary militia occupying the building of the Officers' club in Kirkuk, Turkmeneli. *Photo by Mofak Salman Kirkuklu*

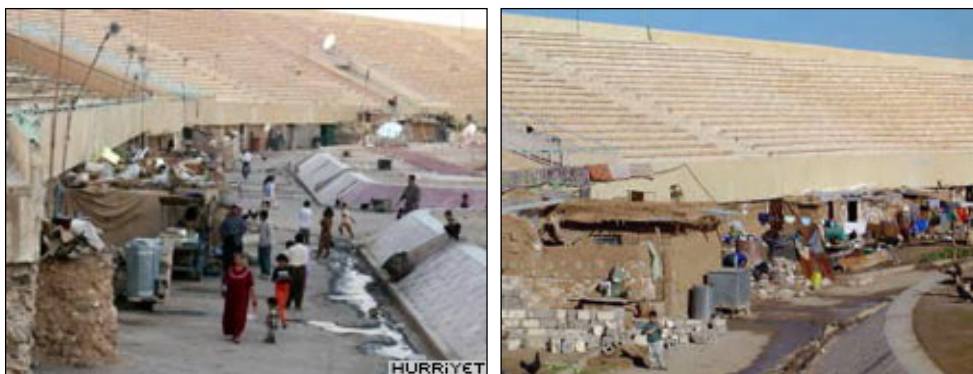


Figure 9. The Kirkuk football stadium is filled with Kurds brought from outside Kirkuk by the Kurdish Paramilitary in order to change the demography of the city.



Figure 10. Turkmen lands confiscated by the Kurds.



Figure 11. Turkmen lands confiscated by the Kurds.



Figure 12. Turkmen and government lands, confiscated by the Kurds.



Figure 13. Provocation of the Turkmen by raising a Kurdish flag on the Turkmen properties.

## 2.2 Establishing puppet parties

In order to suppress the Turkmen voice in northern Iraq{x "Iraq"}, the Kurdish militia established several puppet Turkmen parties to serve their own purpose, headed by such people as *Waleed Sherka*, *Abdul Kadir Bazergan*, *Urfan Kirkuki (Urfan Suleymaniyahi)*, and *Seyfadin Demirci*. All the Turkmen parties, which were established by the Kurdish militia{x "militia"}, were of Kurdish origin and worked for the Kurdish party. All their bodyguards were from the Kurdish militia. The Turkmen parties established by the Kurds were designed to divide the Turkmen people and were used to smear the name of the Turkmen. The supporters of these parties among the Turkmen were almost negligible and they were not the real representatives of the Turkmen. Nevertheless, the Kurdish militia gave these puppet parties tremendous financial support{x "militia"} and they were placed into various high-ranking governmental positions in the Kurdish control region. They were used as puppets in the hands of the Kurdish militia and as bargaining tools against the Turkmen.

### 2.3 Using false identities

After the toppling the Saddam Hussein regime, the Iranian Kurds, Syrian Kurds, Turkish Kurds and Kurds from North of Iraq returned to Kirkuk{x "Kirkuk"} with the help of the Iraqi Kurdish Militia by using false identification. The armed paramilitary arranged fake IDs and passports in order to prove that they were residents of Kirkuk. Kurdish women were also brought from the Kurdish town of Suleymaniyah to give birth in Kirkuk{x "Kerkuk"} hospital in order to have a Kirkuk birth certificate.

During the occupation of Kirkuk, there was an atmosphere of complete confusion and chaos after the Kurdish Paramilitary looted government offices, including the crucial Land{x "land"} Registry offices. In addition to this, on 31<sup>st</sup> of January 2007 Iraq's ambassador to Sweden was called to the Foreign Ministry amid reports that the embassy in Stockholm had issued some 26,000 passports on false grounds. The ministry invited the Iraqi ambassador to explain the situation, with the Swedish ministry representative, Andre Mkandawire, stressing that the ambassador had not been "summoned."

The Swedish free daily newspaper, *Metro*, reported that the embassy had issued some 26,000 passports in the past two years without carrying out sufficiently rigorous identity checks. The Swedish Migration Board officials said that they had information that people from Syria, Iran, Turkey and Lebanon were being told that they could apply for Iraqi passports at the Iraqi Embassy in Stockholm. Iraqi passports were issued to asylum seekers in Sweden and Norway through the Kurdish personnel who were working in the Iraqi embassy. [1], a claim that was corroborated by the Swedish immigration minister.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.dailystar.com.lb> Sweden wants answers in Iraqi passport debacle' by Agency France Press (AFP), Thursday, February 01, 2007, STOCKHOLM



The Norwegian newspaper, *Aftenbustin*, stated that the Iraqi Embassy, “issued passports *revision R* based on forged *passport revision S* because they do not have the resources for checking the authenticity and accuracy of the *revision S* to obtain a passport for travel.”

However, the Swedish Migration Board spokesperson, *Bengt Hilster*, stated, “We knew for a long time that the Iraqi embassy issued passports at revision T. Travellers come in with the forged passport S, but what can we do? This is a question we put to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They know about this. We have information in numerous reports. Sources added that the Swedish Migration Board had received several notifications through 2005 and 2006 confirmed that the people of Iran, Turkey, Lebanon and Syria were able to obtain passports (Revision M and Revision N) from the Iraqi embassy”. In addition, Mr. Gustave Lindh, Minister Plenipotentiary for Justice, said that “the apportionment was aware of the problem about a month ago and the Foreign Ministry summoned the Iraqi ambassador about the matter on Wednesday, February 2007.”

Nevertheless, the Iraqi Ambassador in Sweden sold passports for an equivalent of \$500 each for Iraqi people without proof of identity or other *revision S*, and \$600 each for non-Iraqis; also without the need to submit other documents. The ambassador’s objective was to make money by selling these passports and also to use the Kurds of Syria, Lebanon, Turkey and Iraq to vote for the Kurdish parties during the election and to vote at the referendum on the 31<sup>st</sup> December, 2007.

The chaos, lack of security, corruption, lack of organisation and weak central government in Iraq led to an abuse of power in various Iraqi Embassies. Although summoned to the Swedish Foreign Office, the Iraqi Kurdish ambassador was not deported for embezzlement and discrimination. In addition, there were thousands of genuine Iraqis in various countries that attempted to get an Iraqi passport but without success. [2] It is also alleged by Sheren Hashem Aqrabi, a Kurdish engineer living in Germany and a researcher in Human Rights in the European Union, that this organised cheating was repeated in the Viennese Iraqi Embassy.

## **2.4 Looting of deeds{xe "DEED"} and the land{xe "LAND"} registry office**

After the fall of Kirkuk{xe "Kerkuk"}, almost all the government buildings and offices were attacked, robbed and burnt by the Kurdish paramilitary and all their contents looted. In addition, large numbers of the private sector were robbed and vandalised by the Kurdish militias. Hundreds of pickups, buses,

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.bizturkmeniz.com/ar/index.htm>, Jamal Muhammad Taqi, 1/2/2007, *Seferat alraq khayir min yomethil hukomet altazweer and altadmeer*

taxis and dump trucks full of cheering Kurds sped down the road from the city of Erbil{x "Erbil"} and Suleymaniyah that were under the control of the Kurds to Kirkuk{x "Kirkuk"}. On the other side of the road, there was a similar procession away from Kirkuk, and these cars/vans were loaded with looted goods from Kirkuk.

The Kurdish paramilitaries were aided by advanced U.S{x "U.S"}. Special Forces in taking the city of Kirkuk{x "Kirkuk"} and took control after Iraq{x "Iraq"}'s military personnel 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 were frightened to drive their cars with the car registration number attached to it. The car owners were more vulnerable and susceptible to being stopped, attacked and the cars taken away from them at gunpoint. Thousands of Iraqi heavy goods vehicles, trucks, ambulances and governmental cars were taken away, dismantled, and sold as spare parts.

Furniture, and even the high voltage transformers and pillions, were removed, dismantled and sold as scrap. Water pipes of some buildings were removed too. Days after seizing control of Kirkuk{x "Kirkuk"} , the Kurdish militia forced Arabs out of their homes in outlying villages into wheat fields that became hastily erected camps. The Kurdish militia{x "militia"} used excessive force and threats, as happened at the al-Muntasir village near Kirkuk, and emptied the Arab{x "Arab"} villages. Houses were ransacked. In one of the villages, Sa'ad bin Abi Waqas in Daquq, the residents were notified by the Kurdish Party of Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) to leave their homes.



Figure 14. Kurdish fighters and Kurdish man wearing traditional Kurdish dress (Sherwal) and others loot an Iraqi army storage building, carrying off sacks of rice, on the outskirts of the town of Kirkuk, {xe "Kerkuk"}Friday, April 11, 2003. (AP Photo/Peter Dejong) © 2003 The Associated Press.



Figure 15. Kurdish Paramilitary (Peshmerga) and Kurdish man wearing traditional Kurdish dress (Sherwal) and others seen carrying off piles of looted governmental revision S from the registrar's office, on the outskirts of the town of Kirkuk

## 2.5 The assassination of the general director for education

On Tuesday 31<sup>st</sup> 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. Dr. Ibrahim Ismail was killed on the main road as he was heading towards the Technological Institute, south of Kirkuk{"Kirkuk"}. Three bodyguards and two teachers accompanying him were also wounded. The Chief General of Police, Turhan Yusuf, in Kirkuk, said that six attackers in a pick-up van sprayed Dr. Ismail's vehicle with gunfire.



Figure 16. The Kurdish militia sprayed the car of Dr. Ibrahim Ismail with gunfire, Kirkuk, Turkmeneli.

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{"Arab"} land{"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 alongside the Arabic language{"language"}.

He was strongly opposed to the Kurdish language being used as an official language in Kirkuk since the Kurds were not in the majority. In addition to this, all the Turkmen and Arabs living in the north of Iraq{"Iraq"}, in general, and, especially, in Kirkuk,{"Kirkuk"} opposed the Kurdish Paramilitary groups that have controlled three Northern provinces since the 1991 Gulf war. {"Saddam Hussein"} The Kurds, with the help of the British{"British"} and U.S{"U.S"}. forces, pressed for the inclusion of Kirkuk in an autonomous Kurdish region within a federal Iraq.

The Kurdish militia in Kirkuk sent threatening letters and phone calls to Turkmen intellectuals, directors and heads of institutes asking them to leave. Both Kurdish parties, the KDP and PUK, sent threatening letters to the Director of Education in Kirkuk, Mr. Shan Omer Mubarak, who is a Turkmen. In both letters, they requested him to leave the job otherwise his destiny would be like the previous Director of Education in Kirkuk, Dr. Ibrahim Ismail who was killed by Kurdish militia.

Mr. Shan Omer Mubarak totally refused to bow down to pressure from the Kurdish militia on the grounds that they were appointing unqualified Kurdish teachers without having a proper qualification. Mr. Shan Omer Mubarak clearly stated, however, that he welcomed the appointment of Kurdish teachers in the city of Kirkuk without prejudice but on condition that they should not hold fake certificates. Threatening phone calls also were sent to the Head of the Institute of Teaching for Girls in Kirkuk, Miss A. Mohammed.

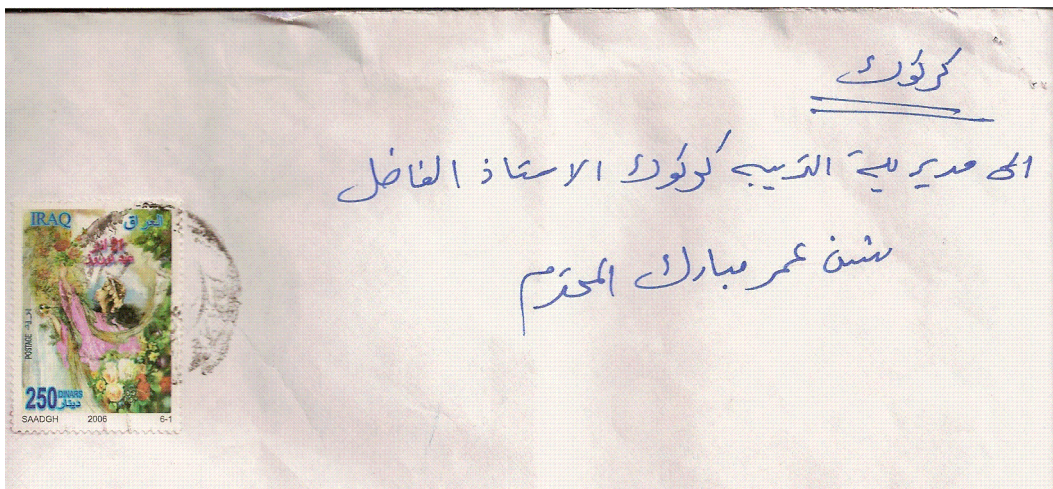


Figure 17. Threatening letters that were sent to the Director of Education, Mr. S. Omer

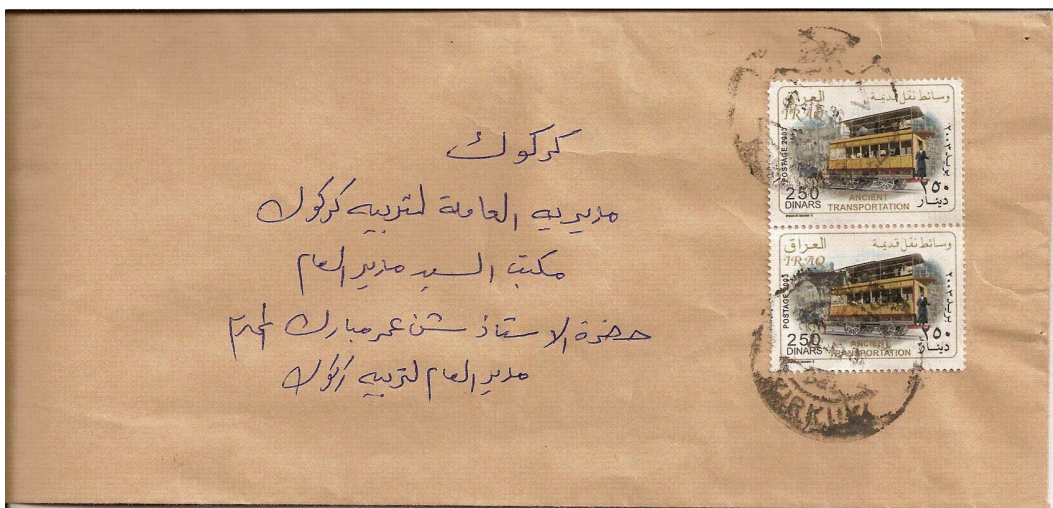
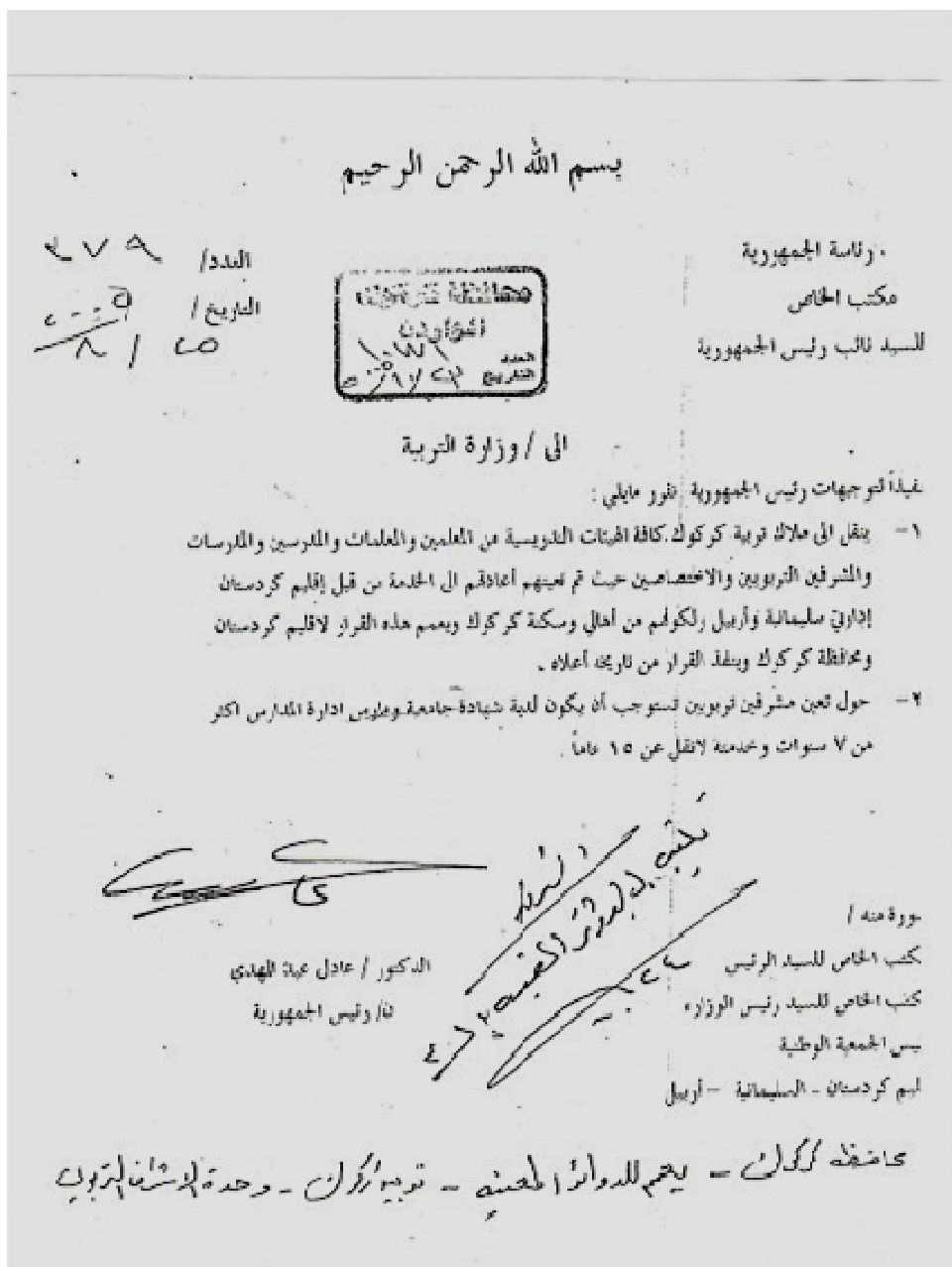


Figure 18. Threatening letters that were sent to the Director of Education, Mr. S. Omer



## 2.6 Kurdish regional government issuing fake documents.

The Kurdish militia sent several counterfeit, official documents to transfer Kurdish teachers to Kirkuk and this official letter, approved and signed by the name of the vice president of Iraq without his knowledge, attests to this matter (see the attached documents). [Doc.1]



Presidential Office

Especial Office for the Prime Minister

Issue 379

Date 25/8/2005

Kirkuk Governate

To/ the Ministry of Education,

Due to the instruction of the Prime Minister to carry out the following instructions:-

- 1- To transfer all educational committees, teachers, lecture supervisors and education inspectors whom have been appointed by the regional government of Kurdistan in the cities of Erbil and Suleymaniyah to Kirkuk. This legislation shall be distributed into the Government of the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan and Kirkuk. Moreover, the new legislation shall be implemented immediately.
  
1. The appointment of an education inspector cannot be implemented without the candidate having a university degree, at least 7 years experience in education administration and a minimum 15 years service.

Dr. Adil Abdul Mahdi

Deputy Prime Minister

Ministry Office

## **Document English (1)**

The atrocities{x "Atrocities"} carried out by the Kurds; changing the demography of the Turkmeneli in general, and especially in Kirkuk City, by issuing a forgery document sent by the Kurdistan regional government to the Ministry of Education in order to change the demography of Kirkuk [Doc.2]

  
 جمهورية العراق  
 وزارة التربية  
 مكتب الوزير

العدد: ٥٩٣٦  
 التاريخ: ٢٠٠٥/١٠/٩

**إلى / المديریات العامة للتربية كافة**  
**م/ تزويد كتاب**

تهديكم أطيب تحياتنا ...  
 استناداً إلى الكتاب الصادر من رئاسة الجمهورية / ديوان الرئاسة المرقم ١٨٣٧  
 في ٢٠٠٥/١٠/٩ .  
 يرجى عدم الأخذ بالكتاب المرقم ٣٧٩ والمؤرخ في ٢٠٠٥/٨/٢٥ كونه مزور  
 ولم يصدر عن مكتب السيد نائب رئيس الجمهورية الأستاذ عادل عبد المهدي .  
 مع التقدير ...

  
 المدير العام  
 عبد الخالق ناصر العامري  
 مكتب الوزير  
 ٢٠٠٥/١٠/

نسخة منه إلى :  
 مكتب الوزير

حنان //

Doc. Arabic (2)

Republic of Iraq {xe "Iraq"}  
 Ministry of Education

Ministry Office

Issue: 5936

Date 26/10/2005

To /All general directorates for education

## Subject/ Implementation an official document

According to the Document number, 1837 that was issued from Presidency Office dated on 9/10/2005.

Please completely disregard the document number 379 dated on 25/8/2005 because it is a forged document and was not issued by the Prime Minister.

Office of Mr. Adil Abdul Mahdi

With complements

The General Director

Mr. Abdul Khalik Nasir Alamuri

Ministry Office

26/10/2005

**Document English (2)**

### **2.7 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, had 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, stressed the disappointment among Turkmen, Kurds and Assyrians living under grave conditions in the region.

The HRW report mentions that the overthrowing of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein followed a Kurdisation policy in an attempt to change the ethnic structure in northern Iraq. It should be remembered that Turkmen, Kurds, and other non-



Arab ethnic groups were forced away from the region. Because of this, Kurds who wanted to have control over the oil-rich city, Kirkuk, continued to rush to the region. Nearly 100,000 Kurdish refugees set up camp around the city and more waited to enter. Both Kurdish leaders of the Talabani and Barzani invited Kurds to return to Kirkuk where they received a letter from the Iraq Patriotic Union of Kurdistan{xe "Kurdistan"} (PUK) and Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP{xe "KDP"}), inviting them to return with their families. This invitation was backed up with a letter that promised returning Kurds US\$3000, land{xe "land"} and construction supplies.

## 2.8 Vandalizing Turkmen Martyrs' Names

On 1<sup>st</sup> March, 2005, the Turkmen martyrs' names on the commemorating panel in Altun Kopru{xe "Altunkoperi"} were vandalised by the Kurdish militia{xe "militia"} with spray paint. This action, carried out by the paramilitary militia, was designed to terrorize and provoke the Turkmen population{xe "population"}. This clearly shows the hostility and hatred of the Kurdish paramilitary militia towards the Turkmen, a hatred that has previously involved {xe "Iraq"}Kurds in northern Iraq{xe "Iraq"} pretending they will grant Turkmen cultural{xe "cultural"} rights, but never making good on their promises.



Figure 19. The Turkmen martyrs' names on the commemorating plaque before and after being vandalized in Altun Kopru, Turkmeneli



Figure 20. Turkmen graveyards, vandalised by the Kurdish paramilitary.



Figure 21. These Turkmen graveyards have been vandalised by the Kurdish paramilitary.



Figure 22. These Turkmen graveyards have been vandalised by the Kurdish paramilitary.

## 2.9 Power abuse by Kurdish Asayish

On 15<sup>th</sup> March 2005, the Kurdish militia arrested the leader of the Iraqi Millie Turkmen Party, Musalla Branch, Mr. Necmettin Kasaboglu, on his way to Turkey at the Zaho border gate. {xe "militia"} He was interrogated for several days and was released after the intervention of the Turkish government. What a bleak prospect for ordinary Turkmen who had been looking for better days under a new democratic Iraq if the Turkmen populations were forced to live under Kurdish control.

On 21<sup>st</sup> March, U.S {xe "U.S"}. forces and the Kurdish secret service (called Asayish) raided Tuz Khormatu city, which is 55 miles from Kirkuk {xe "Kirkuk"}. The raiders ransacked offices and religious shrines, and tore down portraits of religious leaders and several prominent religious

Turkmen Shi'aa leaders were arrested. The following people were also arrested by the Kurdish militia; Adnan Mohammed Amerli, Seyid Aziz Seyid Kadir, Ayoub Ibrahim Al-Najar, Seyid Hussein Seyid Kadir and Talal Hussein Kuwaiti.

This is a list of the Turkmen people in the district of Tuz Khormatu who were exposed to abductions for the period from 2003. [<sup>3</sup>]

Killings and kidnappings by the various organisations against the Turkmen in Tuz Khormatu District after the occupation of Iraq increased dramatically. Herewith is a list of the names of citizens, the Turkmen who have been abducted and murdered in the district of Tuz Khormatu from 2003 to the present day. The police force has not arrested, nor wants to arrest, the terrorists that perpetrated these crimes against humanity and, as a consequence, they still roam the region to this day.

1. Ali Kazim Berber abducted in 2005 and then escaped from the hands of terrorists.
2. Mahdi Zeynalabidin Taqi abducted in 2006 on the road to Tikrit–Tuz and released after payment of ransom.
3. Semad Shaker murdered in 2006.
4. Brother of Minister of Construction of (Jassim Mohammed Tuzlu) abducted and released in 2006.
5. Hassan Ali Kaboor; abducted and released in 2006.
6. Ali Hashim Mokhtaroglu abducted and released in 2006 after payment of ransom.
7. Imad Reza Hassan murdered in 2006.
8. Muhammad Haidar Semeen abducted and released after payment of ransom in 2006.
9. Amer Mohamed Semeen murdered in 2006.
10. Aziz Khidr Mali murdered in 2006.
11. Mohamed Hassan Ibrahim murdered in 2006.
12. Sulyman Majeed abducted in 2006.
13. Mohamed Sahib abducted in 2006.
14. Ali Akbar Zeynalabidin Jair was abducted in 2006.
15. Mohamed Sadoun Saleh abducted in 2006 and released after payment of ransom.

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.bizturkmeniz.com/ar/index.htm>, dated 6/1/2007, khitaf almuwatin alturkmen fi Tuz Khormatu{PRIVATE }

16. Hussein Adnan Qarah Nazli abducted in 2006 and released without the payment.
17. Adnan Gomaa Mokhtar abducted from Yengejeh and released after payment of ransom in 2005.
18. Fadil Tewfik Al-Byati abducted in 2006 and released after payment of ransom.
19. Ali Shahin Nuri Asker abducted and fled from the hands of the kidnappers in 2006.
20. Shahin Nuri Asker abducted and released after payment of ransom in 2006.
21. Muthir Qassim Kena abducted and released after payment of ransom in 2006.
22. Hussein Mahdi Najjar abducted and released after payment of ransom in 2006.
23. Ertan Mahdi Ziyinalabdin Najjar abducted and released after payment of ransom in 2006.
24. Habib Mohamed Ali Karim abducted and released after payment of ransom in 2006.
25. Muhammad Hashim on the Shahbaz abducted and released after payment of ransom in 2006.
26. Talal Mustafa Fadil abducted and released after payment of ransom in 2005.
27. Mo'ayed Fuad Sadik abducted and killed by terrorists in 2003.
28. Shihab Ahmed Agha killed by terrorists in 2005.
29. Ihsan Mahdi Agha; killed in front of his home by the terrorists in 2006.
30. Mohammed Yahiya Maruf killed in front of his home by the However terrorists in 2006.
31. Mohiuddin Rashid Biyatli killed in front of his home by the terrorists in 2006.
32. Fahraddin Mohsen killed in front of his home by the terrorists in 2006.
33. Hashim Abbas killed in front of his home by the terrorists in 2006.

34. Dilshad Qasim Ziynalabdin killed in front of his home by the terrorists in 2006.
35. Mo'ayed Shawkat Kawther abducted and killed by terrorists in 2006.
36. Safaa Younis Mohamed killed in front of his home by the terrorists in 2006.
37. Hussein, Younis Mohammed killed in front of his home by the terrorists in 2006.
38. Ibrahim Ismail Tewfik was assassinated in Kirkuk in 2005.
39. Ali Jamil Bshirli; killed in front of his home by However terrorists in 2006.
40. Emir of Mohamed Semeen; abducted and released after payment of ransom in, 2006.
41. Nooraddin Birame abducted in 2006.
42. Qassim Mohamed Birame abducted in 2006.
43. Amjad Al-Hashim Nuri abducted and released after the payment of ransom in 2005.
44. Ashraf Muthher Qasim killed in Tuz Khormatu uprising in 2003.
45. Ahmed Hussein Ali killed in Tuz Khormatu uprising in 2003.
46. Muhammad Hashim Asker killed in Tuz Khormatu uprising in 2003.
47. Cetin Ziynalabdin killed in Tuz Khormatu uprising in, 2003.
48. Ahmed Ramzi and Abdel Rahman killed in the Tuz Khormatu uprising in 2003.
49. Burhan Mohamed Ezzat killed in the bombing in 2005.
50. Ihsan Mohamed Ezzat; killed in the bombing in 2005.
51. Almdar Ihsan Mohamed Ezzat killed in the bombing in 2005.
52. Abbas Said Shno killed in the bombing in 2005.
53. Mohammad Latif killed in the bombing in 2005.
54. Mohamed Mahdi Abbas killed in the bombing in 2005.
- 55 Murtadha Abbas killed in the bombing in 2005.
56. Mohamed Sayed Ibrahim killed in the bombing in 2005.
57. Mohamed Ziynalabdin Bhagwans also said killed in 2005.
58. Mohamed Moussa Namiq Qasab killed in the bombing in 2005.
59. Nihad Abdel-Rahman Jair killed in the bombing in 2005.
60. Talaat Hussein Shno killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
61. Mohamed Saleh Hassan killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.



62. Rajih Hédi Abbas killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
63. Fadil Almdar Yusuf killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
64. Awni Ali Samad; killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
65. Zeynalabdin Hussein Hassan killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006.
66. Yasar Safer Younis; killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
67. Imad Taqi Berber; killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
68. Mohamed Ahmed Rashid killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing 2006.
69. Muhammad Haidar Jaafar killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
70. Abbas Said Ahmed killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
71. Abd Al-Amir Mahdi Sadik killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
72. Ali Mohammad Reza killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
73. Qassim Asker Emeen killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
74. Salah Kazim Shakkour killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
75. Farouk Tewfik killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
76. Reza Karim Jair killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
77. Ardal Ismail Ali killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
78. Ahmed Abbas Biyatli killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
79. Fakhradin Kadir Feizollah; killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
80. Mustafa Rashid Mohamed killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing in 2006.
81. Asi Khaz'al Musab killed during the payment of the ransom for abductees, Mohamed, 2006. Qasim
82. Umid Asi Khaz'al killed during the payment of the ransom for abductees, Mohamed, 2006. Qasim
83. Akbar Mohamed; killed during the payment of the ransom for abductees, 2006. Qasim Mohamed,
84. Mohamed Talal Jihad killed during the payment of the ransom for abductees, Mohamed in 2006. Qasim
85. Ali Asker Effendi abducted in 2006.
86. Mujahid Ismail abducted in 2006.
87. Hani Taqqqi abducted and not released so far in 2006.

88. Ihsan Walli Mustafa killed during the performance of duty in 2005.
89. Murad Tahsin Walli killed during the performance of duty in 2005.
90. Ali Moussa Ismail killed during the performance of duty in 2005.
91. Tahsin Walli Mustafa killed during the performance of duty in 2005.
92. Kadir Mohamed Aryan killed during the performance of duty in 2005.
93. Sulyman Akbar killed during the performance of duty in 2005.
94. Nabil Ahmed Ghaydan kidnapped and killed in 2006.
95. Hussein Asker Ahmed kidnapped and killed in 2006.
96. Adel Radwan Shakkour kidnapped and killed in 2006.
97. Diya Nuri Ahmed kidnapped and killed in 2006.
98. Zulfugar Abdulhussien Asker kidnapped and killed in 2006.
99. Mohamed Zeynalabidin Asker abducted in 2006 and a ransom paid for his release.
100. Abbas Shaker abducted in 2006.
101. Adel Hussein Khalil abducted in 2006.
102. Muhammad Qasim abducted in 2006.
103. Mohamed Abbas Salah in 2006.
104. Shahin Hassan Mardan killed him in front of his home in 2006.

## **2.10 The attack on al\_Tasahul supermarket**

In order to force the Turkmen to leave the city of Kirkuk and to control the oil of the town, Kurdish militias sent text messages, letters, threatening phone calls and intimidating letters to Turkmen citizens in Kirkuk. The violent threats and kidnapping of members of families in order to force them to flee and leave the city became a common method utilized by the Kurdish militia to fulfill the Kurdish aspiration.



Figure 23. Al\_Tasahul supermarket after the explosion

Turkmen business people in Northern Iraq have been harassed by the Kurdish police and militia and forced to pay extortionate amounts of money. It was made clear to these business owners that failure to pay would result in them being killed and their property blown up, which happened to Turkmen supermarket owner, al-Tasahul. The owner had refused to pay \$200,000 on the basis that he would not bend to extortion. The day after his refusal, he was told by the perpetrators that his supermarket would be blown up, and they carried out their threat in January 2007 at 7am. Furthermore, no one was allowed to carry weapons in Kirkuk, only the Kurdish militia. The police, security and check entry points to Kirkuk were completely controlled by Kurdish police.

Another act of violence took place in January 2007 when a car bomb exploded in front of the building of Mr. Ismail Aldaqooqi, as well as Adil Car dealership. The power of the explosion led to the demolition of the entire building. The same thing has also happened at two other markets — Amara Atlas and *Amara Alshfae* — which were owned by Mr. Abbas Amara Qalendar Aldaqooqi. This sort of intimidation and humiliation of the Turkmen families was designed to push the Turkmen into migrating from their home area. The reasoning behind this was that a shrinking of the Turkmen population's density would prevent them from voting and participating in the referendum that was to be held before the end of 2007.

## **2.11 Police Headquarters (Quriya), Central Kirkuk**

The Turkmen have been continuously targeted after the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime and they were deliberately subjected to threat and intimidation in order to be forced out of the region. They

have been pushed aside, disregarded and intimidated in order to halt their economical, cultural, political demands and rights within new Iraq.

For instance, on 17th January 2007, a suicide bomber attacked the Turkmen police headquarters (Quriya) in central Kirkuk. The attack resulted in the death of 10 Turkmen, wounding 42 others including four from an associate police force. Further, on Saturday, 13<sup>th</sup> January 2007, a bomb exploded near the third bridge in the city of Kirkuk, which is mainly populated by Turkmen, and the blast led to the serious injury of many Turkmen citizens.



Figure 24 Quriya Police Station after the blast

A car bomb also exploded in front of the Turkmen Culture and Arts Association, “Sari Kahya”, which is located opposite a Quriya Police Station. Numbers of Turkmen were killed.



Figure 25 Turkmen Culture and Arts association “Sari Kahya”



Figure 26. The damage caused by the explosion on Turkmen properties





Figure 27. The damage caused by the explosion on Turkmen properties



Figure 28. The damaged caused by the explosion on Turkmen properties



Figure 29. The damage caused by the explosion on Turkmen properties

## **2.12 The attack on a Turkmen governing council member**

The Iraqi government established a Supreme Committee of Normalisation, which was headed by the former Minister of Justice, Hashim Al-Shebli. The main objective of the Supreme Committee is to deal with the status of Kirkuk city. The normalisation committee consists of two ministers and some other members who represent other ethnic groups.

As an aside, the Turkmen were not adequately represented according to their size and population within the Supreme Committee of Normalisation. During the Supreme Committee's visit to Kirkuk in 2006, Mr. Ali Mahdi, who was one of the members of Kirkuk Governing Council, had expressed his protest by carrying a placard against the normalisation policies and for unfair representation of the Turkmen within the Committee.

However, one of the bodyguards working for the Kirkuk Governor, Mr. Mustafa Abdurrahman, attacked Mr. Ali Mahdi when he peacefully protested; his placard was pulled away from his hand and was torn up by the Kurdish police. This unfortunate incident happened in front of journalists, TV station crews, Kirkuk Governors and in front of the visiting former Minister of Justice, Hashim Al-Shebli (head of the Supreme Committee of normalisation) and other committee members.



Figure 30. The attack on Ali Mahdi

After this despicable act, the British consulate in Kirkuk visited Mr. Ali Mahdi in his office in order to discuss the above incident and the British consulate advised him to work with the Kurdish groups and not to request assistance and support from neighboring countries (by which, in my opinion, he meant the Republic of Turkey).

The attack on Mr. Ali Mahdi put a big question mark in front of the Turkmen. What type of democracy was that? What would happen to the Turkmen if they have lived under the Kurdish administration? Nevertheless, the offender who carried out this despicable act is still at large and no single person was arrested or interrogated. Furthermore, the police carried out no investigation and the matter is closed.

### **2.13 The Turkmen school books confiscated**

During 1991, the allied forces in the north of Iraq established a no-fly zone area, the purpose of which was to provide a safe haven area for Kurds, Turkmen, Arabs and Assyrians from being persecuted and oppressed by the Saddam Hussein regime.

During that period, Turkmen (the original people of Erbil City) established over 19 Turkmen schools. After the toppling of the Ba'ath regime, the Turkmen teachers were harassed, oppressed, persecuted and arrested under various pretexts by the Kurdish militia. Moreover, teachers and pupils' families were threatened by Kurdish militia to force them to abandon the Turkmen schools, and were told that Turkmen officials had sanctioned the closure of these schools.

In addition, the Kurdish militia insisted that Turkmen schools teach Kurdish history, especially the history of the rebel leader, Mustafa Barzani. However, the most striking thing was when the Kurdish militia, headed by Barzani, seized the entire curriculum; they also took schoolbooks that were originally sent to the Turkmen schools from Turkey. A complete report can be seen in the attached link. [4]

In order to disregard the Turkmen population in Erbil city and assimilate them into Kurdish society, the Kurdish Regional Government carried out a local census by distributing a census form to the public. In the form, the Kurdish authority deliberately ignored the Turkmen's existence in Erbil city. In the field of 'Nationality', the form mentioned only Arabs and Kurds, Christians, Sunnis and Shi'aas, in spite of the fact that since the mid-sixties the overwhelming majority in Erbil were Turkmen. [5]

**إحصاء العائلة**  
**نأماري خيزان**

<p>اسم الوليد الوالد الغذائية والمكان ( ناوس بربكار و شوينس )</p> <p>أقرب النقطه المأهله ( بربكارين شوينس )</p> <p>هاتفه ( )</p> <p>البلد ( كهرهك )</p> <p>رقم الدار ( زمارهين خانوو )</p> <p>القومية كروي ( بهتوهه : كورد )</p> <p>العنوان السابق ( ناوينقاسين بيتشوو - شار )</p> <p>خانوو خويستين ( كرين به )</p> <p>البلد ( كهرهك )</p> <p>رقم الدار ( ايجار )</p>	<p>اسم الشخص لرئيس العائلة ( ناوس سيانسي سه روكه خيزان )</p> <p>التولد ( له دايك بوس )</p> <p>البلد ( كهرهك )</p> <p>رقم الدار ( زمارهين خانوو )</p> <p>العشيرة ( عهشيرهت )</p> <p>العنوان السابق ( ناوينقاسين بيتشوو - شار )</p> <p>خانوو خويستين ( كرين به )</p> <p>البلد ( كهرهك )</p> <p>رقم الدار ( ايجار )</p>
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ليستين ناوس نهتد امانس خيزان  
عائته بأسماء أفراد العائلة

Figure 31. Census form distributed by Kurds to the population in Erbil

The Kurdish Regional Government had appointed two puppet Turkmen ministers in the Kurdish Regional Government. Turkmen wondered where these two Turkmen ministers were going to insert their names in the 'Nationality' section. If they selected Arabic or Kurdish there would be no point in mentioning that there were Turkmen ministers participating in the Kurdish Regional Government.

<sup>4</sup> <http://video.milliyet.com.tr/default.asp?kanal=1&id=3967&tarih=2007/02/12&get=12.02.2007> and <http://video.milliyet.com.tr/default.asp?id=3967>

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Yaner Erbil, title of Erbil, date 3/3/2007, published on Bizturkmeniz site.

## **2.14 Demolishing of a Turkmen house by Kurdish militia**

The house of Mr. Fouad Qasim, a Turkmen citizen, was located in the Tesseen neighborhood in Kirkuk. His house was demolished by the Saddam Hussein regime and his land confiscated during the implementation of the Arabisation policy.

After the toppling of the Ba'ath regime in 2003, Mr. Fouad Qasim went back to Kirkuk and rebuilt his house.

On 4<sup>th</sup> April 2007, the police in Kirkuk (who are predominately Kurds) demolished the house again. In addition, he was arrested and was taken into custody; the police preventing his family from seeing him.

It was sad to see the hypocrisy of the police in Kirkuk. Hundreds of Kurds who had no land, houses or property in Kirkuk had been brought in by the Kurdish militia and had built houses of their own freewill on government and Turkmen land with the help and support of the Kurdish militia. The police demolished not one of the Kurdish houses that had been built in Kirkuk. Following his arrest, on 4<sup>th</sup> of April Mr. Fouad Qasim's family wrote a letter to the Prime Minister, Nuri al-Maliki, which was published on the *Turkmentimes* website, asking the central government for help to secure his release.<sup>[6]</sup>

## **2.15 The attack on the Turkmen village of Yengejeh**

With the advent of dawn on 2nd March 2007, the second battalion from the Second Brigade of the Iraqi army, backed by American forces, raided homes and safe houses in the village of Yengejeh under the pretext of searching for outlaws and unlicensed weapons. The forces left the village after they accomplished their mission. However, the Kurdish militia attached yellow tape on the doors of some houses after they had been searched thoroughly, instructing the villagers not to remove this yellow tape from their doors. Nevertheless, the raid on the Turkmen village of Yengejeh took place and, naturally, without any legal violations.

However, in the same day before the sunset, several police cars had arrived in the village of Yengejeh. Some were wearing military uniform and others were in civil clothes. Within a few minutes of arrival,

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<sup>6</sup> [http://www.turkmentimes.net/wesima\\_articles/news-20070405-4872.html](http://www.turkmentimes.net/wesima_articles/news-20070405-4872.html) requesting the Prime Minister's intervention in solving the problem.



the police started to storm and search homes, scattering their contents, destroying their furniture, and without taking into account the minimum of legal or moral scruples.

They had showered terror, carnage and horror in the hearts of the innocent people of the village by beating young people without discrimination. However, the despicable acts did not stop there; they arrested twenty Turkmen who were taken into custody. They seized a number of weapons that had been licensed by the Ministry of Interior belonging to some police officers in the village. As a Turkmen, such catastrophic images and atrocities were carried out by the National Guards, who are mainly Kurds. In addition, all the perpetrators who carried out these cowardly and despicable acts are still at large and enjoying impunity.

## **2.16 Barzani bribes a former Minister of Justice, Hashim al- Shebli**

On April 11th 2007, the Turkish newspaper *Hurriyet* quoted that Mr. Massuad Barzani, the leader of the KDP, had bribed Iraqi officials. In the meantime, the representative for Turkey on the Special Committee on Iraq, Mr. Gilk, provided the United States Government with documents proving that Mr. Massuad Barzani had offered bribes to the former Minister of Justice, Hashim Al-Shebli (head of the Supreme Committee of Normalisation). The motive for this was to coerce Al-Shebli into passing the law on the return of Arabs from Kirkuk to their places of origin and to provide them with a financial reward in order to encourage them to return.

According to information received from reliable sources, the Turkish Intelligence agency was able to obtain a copy of these documents and the private banking account numbers involved in the bribery. The *Hurriyet* newspaper and other Iraqi newspapers claimed that Mr. Massuad Barzani had paid Justice Hashim Al-Shebli a bribe of \$500,000 for his endorsement of the Act that applies to the Arabs who came to Kirkuk under Saddam Hussein's Arabisation policy. Moreover, it was further claimed that Massuad Barzani had bribed another three ministers for the same reasons.

In the meantime, American officials confirmed the validity of the claim that was submitted by Mr. Gilk. In my personal opinion, the Kurdish politicians all acted fraudulently and contrary to the law and the policy of *fait accompli* on the issue of Kirkuk.

The supreme irony was that Al-Shebli resigned abruptly after passing the law in return for the lucrative financial bribery of Massuad Barzani. He then fled to England, taking the amount that he received from Mr. Massuad Barzani. In my personal opinion, the former Minister of Justice, Hashim Al-Shebli (*Head of the Supreme Committee of Normalisation*) should be arrested and taken for trial for bribery, theft and embezzlement.

My questions to the Iraqi Government and the Supreme Committee of Normalisation are therefore:  
How can you carry out a referendum in Kirkuk when both Kurdish parties want to implement Article 140 and the Head of the Committee of Normalisation policies is corrupt? What type of trust and confidence will the public have in the committee?

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