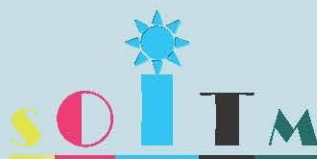


Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

Merciless Exploitation and Violation of International Law



Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights
Research Foundation
The Netherlands

January 2019

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SOITM Foundation
Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights
Research Foundation
The Netherlands

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Publication of

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To the all people, who want to defy all kinds of feelings,
thoughts and beliefs that hinder application of human
rights and democracy culture

This book contains the sixteen parts of the series of articles of the Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights Research Foundation about “Turkey’s Turkmen policy” written from 2008 until 2015

This series of articles of the SOITM Foundation deals with the Turkish interventions in Iraqi Turkmen affairs

Analyzing the causes of the Turkey’s Turkmen policy, looking for its motives, mentioning its disadvantages and providing the recommends

“Turkey’s Iraqi Turkmen Policy is not less harmful than the assimilation policies of both the Baath regime and the Kurdish Parties”

Acknowledgements

Believing in the case and bestowing without boredom, tiredness and indolence are two basics of achievement when facing the challenges to the way to great goals.

Fortunately, SOITM Foundation managed to find those who have such qualities...

The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization was at the forefront of those who have made a great effort reviewing articles of the SOITM foundation in English for more than ten years...

Although few in number the Turkmen intellectuals who provided invaluable support to the SOITM foundation in reviewing particularly of the Arabic versions of the articles prefer to remain unidentified. They deserve more than a thank, but such people do not like to be thanked, praised or flattered. In fact, they are happy when responding to calls of conscience...

Today, the Turkmen of Iraq are in dire need of confident believers in their mission, and of determined people who search solutions for the Turkmen affliction. Those who work free of charge and can defy all the feelings, thinking and believes, which hamper the march aiming to promote the Turkmen political system, to represent them effectively against giant challenges, which threaten their existence...

Contents

Information about the Iraqi Turkmen Human rights research (SOITM) Foundation	1
Preface	2
SOITM Map of Northern Iraq – Ethnic distribution of non-ruling communities (Minorities)	3
Categorization of the Iraqi Turkmen political community	4
To the Turkmen students, youth and intellectuals	5
Summary of the history, geography and population of the Iraqi Turkmen	6
a. History and Geography	6
b. population	7
Information needed to be known before starting to read this book	12
 Articles: The General title of the Series of Articles is “Evaluation of Turkey’s Turkmen Policy”	
<hr/>	
XII. SOITM roadmap to deal with Turkey's hegemony over the Iraqi Turkmen	13
a. Unalienable Turkish policy and increasing Turkmen sufferings	13
b. Stages of SOITM's approach to the Turkish intervention in Turkmen issues	15
c. Distribution policy of the articles	18
d. The Turkmen tragedy and the role of Turkey	20
e. The Turkmen need help and the conclusions	23
f. Conclusions	24
g. Recommendations	25
I. The unconstructive role of the Iraqi Turkmen Front within the Turkmen Policy	27
a. Inefficacies of the Iraqi Turkmen Front	27
b. Factors that render ITF's system ineffective	28
c. Recommendations	31
II. The Turkmen of Iraq are Victims of subordination and deteriorated national politics	33

a.	Briefly, the Turkmen population size and their political system	33
b.	Analysis of the weakness of the Turkmen political and civil society organizations	34
c.	Factors affecting negatively the Turkmen political movement	34
d.	Internal factors	34
e.	External factors	36
f.	Unconstructive Turkish policy towards the Turkmen	37
g.	Announcement of rebuilding of the Turkmen council	38
h.	Failure of re-building of the Council of the Iraqi Turkmen	39
i.	Summary of the administrative structure of the Iraqi Turkmen Front	40
j.	Conclusions	41
k.	Recommendations	42
III.	Turkey opens another rift in the fragile Turkmen political system	43
a.	Factors helped Turkey to dominate easily the Turkmen political system	43
b.	Factors that determine the Turkey's Turkmen policy	44
c.	Periods of Turkey's administration of the Turkmen political system	45
d.	The means by Turkey controls the Turkmen political system	46
e.	Turkmen political setbacks under Turkish domination	48
f.	Sectarian alliances of Turkey in Iraq	51
g.	Irrational harmful administration of the Turkmen affairs by Turkey	54
h.	Conclusions	56
i.	Recommendations	56
IV.	Turkey's Turkmen policy lacks the most basic elements of ethics	58

a.	Turkey and Turkish-speaking peoples in the neighboring countries	58
b.	Inhuman dimensions of Turkey's Turkmen policy	57
c.	Turkish role in failure of the Turkmen political system and the Turkmen policy	60
d.	Reasons for Turkish illogical attitude	61
e.	Conclusions	61
f.	Recommendations	62
V.	An approach of the Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights Research Foundation	63
a.	Establishment of SOITM Foundation and its activities	63
b.	Some of SOITM activities	63
c.	The start of the foundation's research of Turkey's Turkmen policy	63
d.	SOITM's policy related to the distribution of the articles	65
e.	Recommendations	66
VI.	Turkey broke the backbone of the Iraqi Turkmen by depriving them of monthly incomes estimated to be millions of dollars	68
a.	Turkmen students in Turkey and Turkmen immigration to Turkey	68
b.	Turkmen civil society organizations and political activities in Turkey	68
c.	Factors retarded Turkmen political movement in Turkey	69
d.	Oil-for-food programme, sharing of the revenues and deprivation of Turkmen	69
VII.	Based on Machiavelli standard, justifies all the means	72

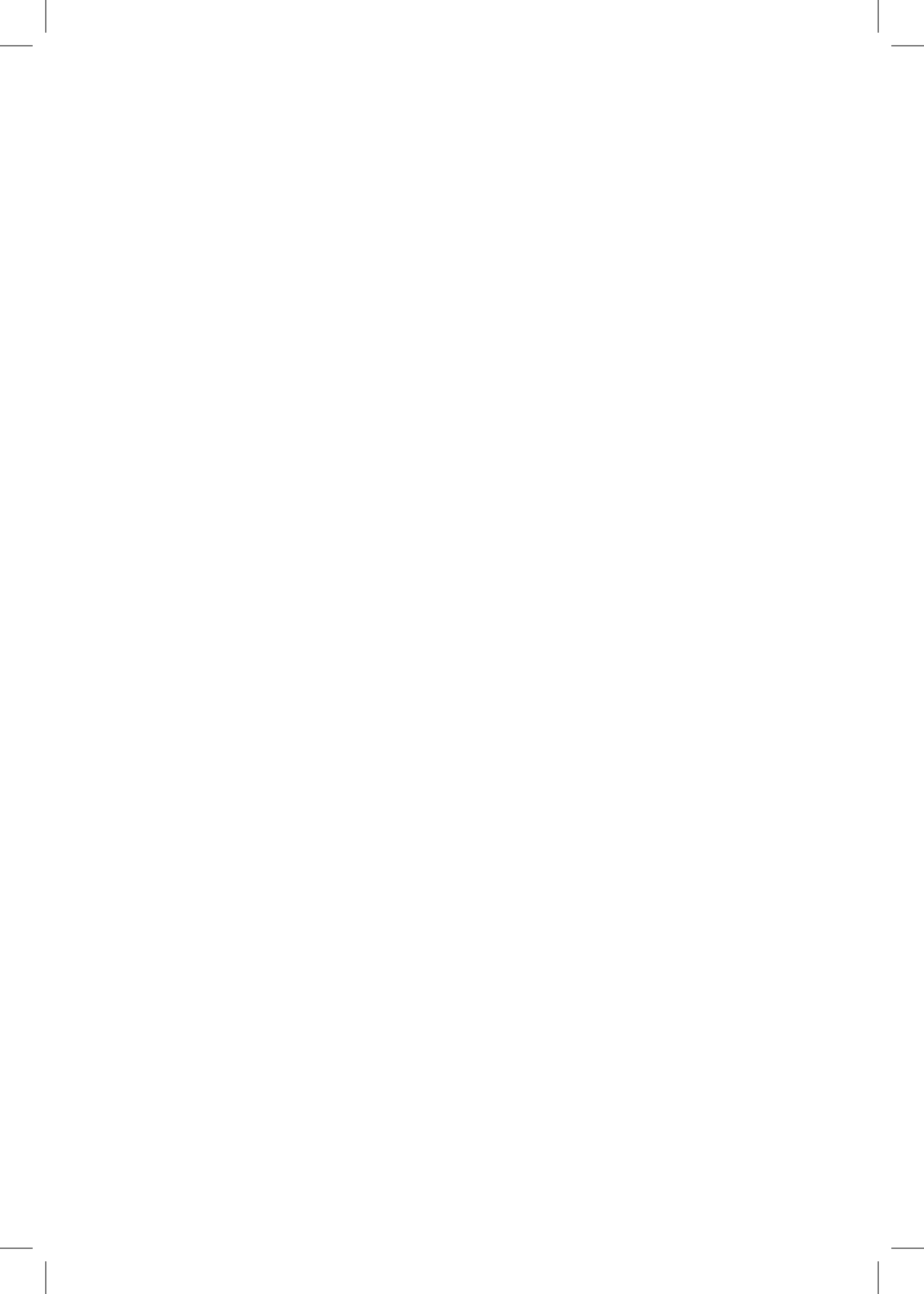
a.	Appearance of the Turkmen political organizations	72
b.	Factors delayed appearance of the Turkmen political organizations	72
c.	Factors assisted Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system	73
d.	Contradictions between the Turkmen and Turkish interests	74
e.	Factors demanded Turkish control of the Turkmen political system	74
f.	Basis of the Turkish policy towards the Iraq Turkmen	75
-	Before Erdogan period	75
-	During Erdogan period	75
g.	The INTP and participation in the Iraqi opposition congresses	76
h.	Turkey neutralizes the leaders of the INTP to establish the ITF and then replace them	77
i.	Turkish army holds the Iraqi Turkmen Dossier	79
j.	Recommendations	80
<hr/> VIII. Threw them hand-tied in the sea and said: Beware! Never get wet with water		81
a.	Reasons for the setbacks of the Iraqi Turkmen community	81
b.	Dispersion of the Turkmen political system under Turkish administration	82
c.	Factors led to the deprivation of Turkmen political system of the sources of funding	84
d.	The reasons of suffering of the Turkmen from poverty	86
a.	Requirements of the Iraqi Turkmen community	86
b.	Sources of funding from which the Turkmen were deprived as a result of blind submission to Turkey	89
c.	Conclusions	91
d.	Recommendations	92
<hr/> IX. Why should the Turkmen foremost change their policy towards Turkey?		93

a.	Vulnerability of the Iraqi Turkmen as a non-ruling communities	93
b.	Periods of Turkey's Turkmen policy	93
c.	Negative reflections of the Turkey's domination of the Turkmen political system	94
d.	The need to establish for an independent general Turkmen political system	95
e.	Factors preventing building of the independent Turkmen political system	96
f.	Factors facilitating establishment of the independent general Turkmen political system	98
g.	Recommendations	100
X.	The Role of Turkey in the failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections	102
a.	Estimation of the Iraqi Turkmen population	102
b.	Turkey's Iraq policy	102
c.	Stages of Turkey's domination of the Iraqi Turkmen political system	103
d.	Helpless Turkmen political situation and misuse by Turkey	105
e.	Factors facilitate Turkey's exploitation of the Turkmen of Iraq	108
f.	The Turkmen political organizations, preparations for elections and the results	111
g.	Turkish intervention in the preparations of the Iraqi Turkmen for the elections	119
h.	Performance of Turkmen parliamentarians	125
i.	Conclusions and Recommendations	127
XI.	A brief history of the council of the Iraqi Turkmen	128
a.	Requirements to establish the independent general Iraqi Turkmen council	128
b.	Establishment of the Iraqi Turkmen Council and its development	128
c.	Changes which were made at the Turkmen political system	130
d.	Attempts to establish the independent general Iraqi Turkmen Council	131
e.	Conclusion	132
XIII.	In the collapsed Turkmen political arena, Arshad al-Salihi (Mohtaroğlu) where to march?	133

a.	Collapsed Turkmen political arena	133
b.	Failure of Turkmen politics	134
c.	Iraqi Turkmen Front	135
d.	Turkish administration of the Iraqi Turkmen	136
e.	Turkish funding to pass its policy on the Iraqi Turkmen	136
f.	Who is Arshad al-Salihi?	139
g.	Al-Salihi where to match?	140
h.	Al-Salihi's constructive aspects	140
i.	Al-Salihi's unconstructive aspects	142
j.	Al-Salihi and the presidency	144
k.	Conclusions	146
l.	Recommendations	148
m.	Al-Salihi between two possibilities	150
<hr/> XIV. Turkish Turkmen policy is a history of continuous humiliations		152
a.	Factors helped Turkey to establish hegemony over the Turkmen of Iraq	153
b.	Irrational lines of Turkey's Turkmen policy	154
	- Restriction of funding sources	154
	- Subjugation of Iraqi Turkmen to the red lines of Turkish policy	154
c.	Major manipulations of the Turkmen political system by Turkey	155
d.	Conclusions and recommendations	158
<hr/> XV. Fifth Turkmen Congress was a drama of revenge written and produced by Ankara acted in by some Turkmen individuals		159

a.	Determination of the presidents of the ITF before the general Turkmen congresses	159
b.	Events that preceded the organization of the congress	160
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation of the Turkmen • A failed ITF • Delay of GTC • Executive's revolution and dismissal of Ergeç: • Ankara's anger • Turkey's revenge 	
c.	Sequences of events of the 5th GTC	161
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparatory commission Mustafa Ziya: • Selection of delegates of congress • Election of members of ITC • Election of presidents of ITC and ITF and members of the executive committee 	
d.	Results of the congress and punishment of those who revolted against Ergeç	163
e.	Conclusions	164
f.	Recommendation	164
<hr/>		
XVI.	The destructive history which Erdogan's government writes for the Iraqi Turkmen	166
a.	Turkmen political movement and Iraqi Turkmen Council briefly	166
b.	Attempts of the Turkmen to establish an Independent General Iraqi Turkmen Council	167
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attempt of 2010 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Termination of ITC in 2011 • Attempt of 2013 • Attempt January 2014 • Attempt of November 2014 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Bayraktar's attitude • Attempt of April 2015 (Movement of TSY) 	
c.	The Process of Failure of the fifth attempt	175
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct interferences of the Turkish government • Early refusal by some Turkmen organizations subordinate directly to Turkey • Withdrawal of pro-Turkish members of the Transitional Body • Withdrawal of the Turkmen civil society 	

	organizations	
•	Retreat of Turkmen parties	
○	Turkmen Nationalist Community (TNC)	
○	Turkmen Nationalist Movement (TNM)	
○	Turkmeneli party (TEP)	
○	Turkmen Justice Party (TJP)	
d.	Conclusions	181
e.	Recommendations	183
	The end	186



Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights Research Foundation “SOITM Foundation”

The Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights Research Foundation, which is known as 'SOITM', was established on 28 December 2001, in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. Its objectives are to:

- Promote the emancipation and Human Rights situations inside Iraq:
 - o Supporting the international protection and promotion of the Human Rights inside Iraq, chiefly, in Turkmen Region in Iraq.
 - o Monitoring the Human Rights situations & recording of violations
 - o Watching and enlightening the developments of Human Rights
- Promote the Turkmen cultural identity:
 - o Encourage the study of the Iraqi Turkmen culture and history.
 - o Introduce the Iraqi Turkmen into the international community.
- Encourage the social integration of the Iraqi Turkmen in the Netherlands and support the participation of the Turkmen in the social activities and institution of the civil society organizations.

SOITM realize the goals by:

- Organization of the lectures, courses, seminars and symposiums
- Publication of books, newspapers, journals & institution of websites
- Organization of meetings, training programs & assisting campaigns
- Promotion of the cooperation between Turkmen organizations
- Cooperation and exchange of thoughts with the international organizations about the situation in Iraq.
- Enlightenment of the European parliaments, academics, journalists and communities about the situation in Turkmen regions

SOITM employs some 15 volunteers in and outside Iraq. Its headquarters is in the Netherlands. It established teams in the following Turkmen regions: Kerkuk, Baghdad and Mosul and has representatives in different other Turkmen regions.

SOITM is an institute with a human rights and democratization focus. It maintains regular contact with the Middle East academics, international press and the Human Rights organizations to introduce the Turkmen of Iraq and assist the democratization process and the spread of civil society culture in Iraq, particularly in Turkmen region.

SOITM is a non-governmental and non-profit foundation founded in 2001. The foundation's budget is generated by donations. It is an independent organization. Its activities and views are free of political ideas, and it is not connected to any political party or ideological factions.

Preface

The Turkish political mentality characterized by different specifications. Facts and realities based on personal interests, political ideologies and/or doctrinal teachings. The presence of general facts and realities, and how to define them is ignored by the Turkish political mentality. "What I know is true there are no other trues. Accordingly, what others says, must be proved wrong" can be considered as a basic characteristic of the Turkish political mentality.

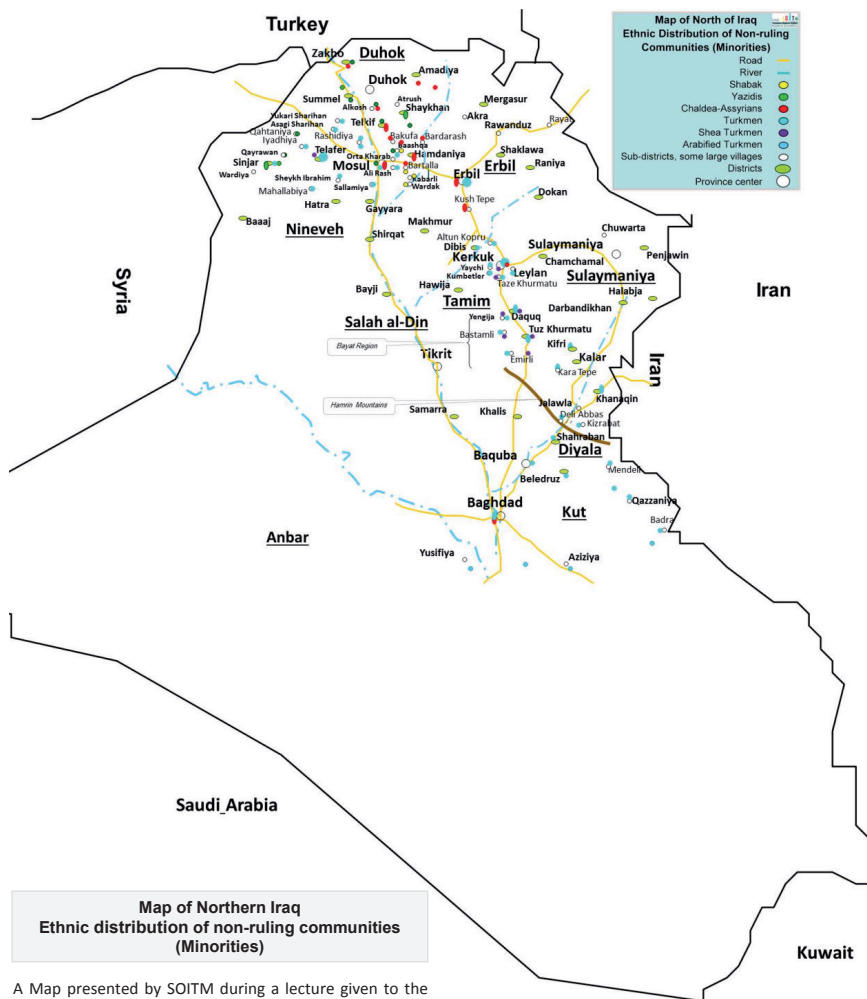
Despite the fact that principles of humanity recently began to play an important role in countries foreign and internal policies to avoid violation of justice and human rights, the Turkish political mind is still far off. The idea is that if the measures taken are related to national interests, then all means are justified. This can be clearly seen in Turkey's Turkmen policy.

Different factors, of which many are widely described in SOITM's articles, have forced the Turkmen of Iraq to unwillingly accept Turkish hegemony on the Turkmen political system and to keep silent for decades in front of Turkey's destructive Turkmen policy. Believing that the justice should emerge, notwithstanding serious difficulties, SOITM foundation started in 2008 its series of articles to uncover the basis of Turkey's Turkmen policy.

The uninterrupted Turkmen political activities started with foundation of the Iraqi National Turkmen Party in late 1990 and early 1991. Today, the Iraqi Turkmen political community can be categorized into 3 groups: 1. Conservative nationalists. 2. Religious Shia. 3. Those who cooperate with the Kurds.

The exposure to assimilation policies before and after 1991 and the Turkish mistreatment of the Turkmen political system has brought to a poorly developed, unprofessional and fragmented Turkmen political and civil society system.

This has led to marginalization and self-seclusion of the majority of Turkmen intellectuals, who accept the situation as fait accompli. Turkmen political arena has become fertile ground for opportunists and obstructive for the professionals. Throughout the years, pro-establishment Turkmen writers, activists, politicians and political and civil society organizations have chiefly emerged, created by both Turkey and the Kurdish authorities.



A Map presented by SOITM during a lecture given to the Dutch University students who studied democratization in the Kurdish region of Iraq, in the department of political Science, the University of Amsterdam at 11. 01. 2010

Categorization of the Turkmen political community and the date of establishment

Turkmen Conservative Nationalist Political Community (TCNPC)	
1.	Organization of the Turkmen Democrats and Patriots (OTDP) (1980)
2.	Iraqi National Turkmen Party (INTP) (1991)
3.	Turkmen Union Party (1991) (TUP) Turkmen Eli (TE) (1996)
4.	Turkmen National Democratic Movement (TNDM) (1993)
5.	Turkmen Independent Movement (TIM) (1994)
6.	Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) (1995)
7.	Turkmen People Party (TPP) (1996)
8.	Turkmen Eli Co-operation and cultural Foundation (TCCF) (1996)
9.	Islamic movement of the Iraqi Turkmen (IMIT) (1997)
10.	Turkmen Nationalist Community (TNC) (2004)
11.	Turkmen nationalist Movement (TNM) (2004)
12.	Turkmen Justice Party (TJP) (2004)
13.	Turkmen Decision Party (TDP) (2005)
14.	Iraqi Turkmen Bloc (2009)
15.	Turkmen Coalition (2012)
16.	Turkmen National Right Party (2013)
Religious Shiite parties	
1.	Islamic Union of Iraqi Turkmen (IUIT) (1991)
2.	Wafa Movement (2002)
<i><u>Inside the large Shiite parties:</u></i>	
3.	Islamic Al-Dawa party
4.	Supreme council of Islamic revolution, Mohammed Taqi al-Mawla
5.	Badr Organization, Mohammed Mahdi al-Bayati
6.	Sadrists, Fevzi Akram
7.	Others
Cooperating with the Kurdish authorities	
1.	Turkmen Union and Brotherhood party (TUBP) (1992)
2.	Turkmen Brotherhood party (TBP) (1992)
3.	Iraqi Turkmen Union Party (ITUP) (1994)
4.	Turkmen Democratic Party of Kurdistan (TDPK) (1997)
5.	Turkmen National Liberation Party (TNLP) (1998)
6.	Kurdistan Turkmen Cultural Association (KTCA) (1998)
7.	Turkmen People Party (TPP) (2002)
8.	Turkmen National Community (TNC) (2002)
9.	Turkmen Association of the Liberals (TAL) (2003)
10.	Turkmen Sunrise Party (TSP) (2003)
11.	Turkmen Democratic Movement (TDM) (2004)
12.	Turkmen Reform Movement (TRM) (2005)

To the Turkmen Students, Youth and Intellectuals

There is no doubt that the Turkmen of Iraq do not like, but refuse the use of violence and at the same time avoid exposure to,

There is no doubt also that this trait is one of the elements that characterize the peoples as civilized,

A trait that has helped the Turkmen of Iraq to attenuate the anger provoked by the authoritarian mentality of the State, particularly in the period of the Baath regime,

Thus, this allowed the Iraqi Turkmen to reduce the loss of life to a large extent and to maintain the ethnic entity to a certain degree,

But it seems that the long period of persecution and deprivation of institutions have had a negative impact on the Turkmen administrative capabilities and their will to challenge confrontations,

Where they become ignorant to and lack of cooperation, solidarity and organized teamwork, despite sanctifying them, which leaves them with arms folded in front of the destructive challenges,

The Turkmen could not manage to show any kind of challenge to the domination of the Turkish State on them and on their political system and the Turkish exploitation and disregard for the Turkmen dignity,

Today, the Iraqi Turkmen are at the crossroads, as they are exposed to ethnic cleansing, and at the need to challenge and sacrifice in the political field where the risk is much less than the past,

Regrettably, the Turkmen political community lately realizes that the lack of a professional Turkmen political system is one of the major causes for their defeats, sufferings and threats to their existence,

There are many factors that led to the failure of the Turkmen to build a professional political system, but Turkey has played and continues to play a fundamental role in this direction,

The study which was carried out by the SOITM Foundation in the form of a series of articles under the main title "Evaluation of Turkey's Turkmen policy" proves without any doubt that the Turkish State hindered and continues to hinder the establishment of a professional Turkmen political system,

Turkey exploited and continuous to exploit the Turkmen of Iraq for Turkish national interests,

This is what makes Turkey largely responsible for the Turkmen's subjection to ethnic cleansing.

Summary of the history, geography and population of the Iraqi Turkmen

History

The presence of Turkic people in the Middle East and Iraq can be dated back to the Sumerian era. The arrival of the Turkmen in Iraq had started by recruiting Turkmen soldiers by the Umayyad's in the 7th century, which continued under the Abbasids Caliphate, when Turkmen formed almost all Al-Mu'tasim's army.

The movement of Turkmen steadily continued increasing towards Iraq and other Middle East regions for more than 500 years i.e. Seljuk's, two large Mongol waves (Genghis Khan and Tamerlane), Black sheep and White Sheep Turkmen and Safavids.

Geography

The Turkmen of Iraq are found principally in the northern provinces of Iraq. They inhabit mainly in the provinces of Kerkuk, Nineveh, Erbil, Salah al-Din, Diyala, Kut and Baghdad. The earlier Turkmen immigration waves in the period of Umayyads, and many in the Abbasids and Seljuks era, settled in the center and south of Iraq, where they were completely Arabized.¹ (Map of north of Iraq)²

Kerkuk province. Kerkuk is considered to be the capital city of the Iraqi Turkmen as the largest Turkmen population concentration is found in. Kerkuk's linguistic, cultural and ethnic identity is distinctly colored by Turkmen presence.³ The systematic Arabification and Kurdification policies have seriously decreased Turkmen concentration in almost all the Turkmen regions and particularly in Kerkuk province. Mainly Turkmen inhabit the Tawuk (Daquq) district, the Altun Kopru and Taza Khurmatu sub-districts and tens of villages in the Kerkuk province.

Erbil province. In this province Turkmen are living almost only in the Erbil city. Erbil has been exposed to the early most heavily Kurdification process during the latter century. Presently, Turkmen population in this city makes up to 25%, while the city was almost completely Turkmen in the beginning of 19th century

Nineveh province. The Turkmen are spread in a wider regions of Mosul, particularly in the west and south i. e. the district of Telafer, the sub-districts of Iyadhiyya and Mahallabiyya and dozens other villages. Large villages of Kara Koyunlu, Reshidiyya, Shirikhan and Sallamiyya are other Turkmen regions in the province of Nineveh. There also are a large number of Turkmen in Shingal (Sinjar) district and inside Mosul city.

Salah al-Din province. The most heavily inhabited Beyat region in this province is made up of Turkmen as well as Tuz Khurmatu district and Bastamli and Amirli sub-districts and tens of other villages.

Diyala province. The heavily early Kurdified and Arabified biggest Turkmen cities are found in the Diyala province i. e. the Kifri, al-Mikdadiya (Shahraban) and Khanaqin Districts as well as Kara Tepe, al-Sadiya (Kizil Rabat), Mandali, Jalawlai and Kazzaniya sub-districts and tens of other villages.

Wasit province. Turkmen speakers are still present in the Badra district of this province. There is a large number of completely Arabicized Turkmen in the al-Wasit province and, particularly, in the district of al-Aziziya. The large Karaguli tribe is a well-known too for their Turkmen origin.

Baghdad. According to the Turkmen sources the Turkmen of Baghdad are estimated to be 50,000 families (300.000 people). In the early 20th century, the well-known large neighborhood of Al-Maydan was inhabited by Turkmen militaries, while Turkmen aristocratic families as well as upper officials inhabited al-Haydarhana. Turkmen are also found in Ragiba Hatun, Aazamiye, Fadl, Hasan Pasha, Bab al-Shaikh and Kara Kol.⁴

Population

It has been documented by the United Nations that the national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities are considered by definition more vulnerable People. Without doubt that the vulnerability of such people is proportionally increased with the increase of intolerance in non-democratic culture. The Turkmen of Iraq are an example of such a community: Ethnic and linguistic non-ruling (Minority) community in a non-democratic ethnically and religiously oriented Iraq.

Underestimation of population size of the minorities is the first principal step to deny their rights and existence. Unfortunately, when the ethnicity was estimated in Iraq for the first time directly after the First World War the geopolitical factors became against the Turkmen of Iraq.

The hatred against the Ottoman Empire by the Arab authorities was in its climax and reflected on the Turkish origin communities in the countries which were found after dismember of the Ottoman Empire. The large province of Mosul of Ottomans, which composed almost all the northern Iraq (Nineveh, Kerkuk, Erbil, Sulaymaniya and Duhok) - here the Turkmen of Iraq mainly found- was a disputed area between the defeated Turkey and the victorious Great Britain, with the Iraqi Kingdom who were ruling the province and organized the estimations and censuses. The large population size of the Iraqi Turkmen was in favor of Turkey. Therefore, continued to be a matter of dispute between them. Accordingly, the estimations and censuses, which were carried out by the great Britain and the Iraqi kingdom, deliberately underestimated the Turkmen population.

The first estimation of the ethnic components of the area carried out in 1921 by Britten estimated the Turkmen as 8.4% of the population of the whole Mosul province. (Table 1)⁵

Negotiations and argument concerning the destiny of Mosul province continued for 8 years and escalated in Lausanne and in the League of Nations as the Turkish insistence about Mosul province to be annexed to Turkey increased with the time.

Mosul commission of the League of Nations in 1924 described the first Iraqi census organized by the Iraqi Government (1922-1924) as rather an arbitrary census. The percentage of Turkmen was almost halved (dropped down to 4.8%) in Mosul province. (Table 2)⁵ Iraqi Turkmen were then knocked down to approximately 2% of the total Iraqi population.

Since then the ethnicity was not accounted in Iraq until the census of 1957, the early results of which continued underestimating the number of the Iraqi Turkmen population down to only 136,800. However, the revised figure issued after the 1958 revolution, had

confirmed the total Turkmen population to be 567,000, corresponding to 9% of the total Iraqi Population.^{6, 7}

Since late forties Arabic nationalism increased and the nationalist policies of the successive Iraqi governments escalated reaching racism with the Baath regime which rose to power in 1968.

The real population statistics of the minorities in Iraq had always been kept undisclosed after the census of 1957 while published figure was therefore severely underestimated. Because Iraq being the west pre-occupied country with the Kurdish issues, they relied on governmental data without questioning it regarding the statistics related to the Iraqi minority other than the Kurds. In the census of 1987, the Turkmen were not allowed to register themselves as Turkmen, were forced to register themselves either as Arabs or a Kurdish. At the same time, the Turkmen were forced to change their nationalities to Arabic nationality.

Table 1, Total Population number and number of the Iraqi Turkmen in the whole Mosul Vilayet and Mosul sanjak (governorate) according to two British estimations in 1919 and 1921 and the Turkish census statistics submitted at Lausanne

	Date	Region	Number of Turkmen	Total Population Number	% [1]
British [2] estimation	1919	Province [3]		703,378	
		Governorate [4]		350,378	
British Estimation	1921 [5]	Province	65,895	785,498	8,4
		Governorate	14,895	432,468	3,44
Turkish statistics	Before war [6]	Province	146,960	673,000	21,8
		Governorate	35,000	-	

[1] = The percentage of Turkmen population. [2] = the ethnicity was not estimated. [3] = Mosul province was including the present five Iraqi governorates of Nineveh, Kerkuk, Erbil, Sulaymaniya and Duhok. [4] = Mosul governorate of Ottomans was including the today's Nineveh and Duhok provinces. [5] This estimation was organized only in the Mosul province of Ottomans. [6] First World War.

The much stronger assimilation policies and suppression of the Turkmen of Iraq started after the fall of Baath regime in 2003 by the

Kurdish authorities, who controlled almost all Turkmen regions, denying the Turkmen's existence and claiming ownership of almost all Turkmen regions.

Table 2, Total Population number and number of the Iraqi Turkmen in the whole Mosul province and Mosul governorate according to the Iraqi census of 1922 – 1924

	Turkmen population No.	Total Population No.	%[1]
Province	38,652	801,090	4,8
Governorate	9,757	295,964	3,3

[1] = The percentage of Turkmen population.

Nevertheless, the large Turkmen regions (Map 1)² and the large population of the Iraqi Turkmen has persisted undeniable. The Iraqi opposition congresses, which were held from 1991 had accepted 6% as the population percentage of the Iraqi Turkmen.

The community had to face decades of assimilation policies by the Iraqi Governments, particularly during the Baath regime, the exposure to ethnic cleansing under Kurdish administration since 2003 and the Turkish misuse of the Iraqi Turkmen and their political system from early 1990s. Nevertheless, many Turkmen political organizations had established and Turkmen candidates won no less than 10 seats in the Iraqi parliamentary elections. Meanwhile, the current number of Turkmen in Iraq is estimated between 2-4 million by the Turkmen sources and they are almost equally divided doctrinally to Sunnis and Shias. There are small percentages of Shabak, Kakai and Christian Turkmen.

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Information needed to be known before starting to read this book

The articles of this book were written between February 2008 and September 2015, and the information was collected in general from the Turkmen politicians, in addition to the experience of the SOITM Foundation for the events that took place in the Turkmen political arena since the foundation's establishment in 2001. Moreover, the leaders of the SOITM organization have experienced events in the Turkmen political arena for decades.

The conflict between Fathullah Gulen, head of a religious mystical group which invaded all the state's institutions, and Recep Tayyip Erdogan, head of the ruling party since 2003, led to the bloody coup attempt in July 2015, and revealed many secrets about the power centers in Turkish state. This necessitated a brief review of the Turkish administration of the Turkmen issues.

The large number of information, which were published after the coup about Gulen's infiltration of the Turkish state's institutions, showed that Gulen has controlled a large part of the Turkish institutions that administered the Turkmen dossier: the Turkish army, the National Intelligence Service and the Turkish Foreign Ministry.

Gulen's hidden presence in these institutions indicates that he played an important role in management of the Turkmen dossier since the 1990s. This role increased after Erdogan received the Turkish government in 2003, allowing Gulen to dominate all institutions of the Turkish state. Gulen appeared to have been involved increasingly in the management of the Turkmen file since 2005, when his influence had increased to a large extent in the army. Gulen shared the management of the Turkmen dossier with the Turkish army since 2010 until the coup in 2015, during this period Gulen started to cooperate with democrats (Kemalists) in the army against Erdogan's dominance of the state administration. Erdogan, who participated in the management of this dossier after 2011, remain alone administrating it after the coup attempt.

Part XII

SOITM Roadmap to Deal with Turkey's Hegemony over the Iraqi Turkmen

Date: December 31, 2014

No: Art.5-L3114

Unalienable Turkish policy & increasing the Turkmen sufferings

Part five of the series of articles of the SOITM foundation about Turkey's Turkmen policy, which was published on July 13, 2013, briefly presented the foundation's approach through its ten years of life. At that time, four parts of the series had been written and limitedly distributed.¹

Today, there are eleven articles. The newest ones include important and sensitive information about Turkey's Turkmen policy. The drafting of these last editions went through different stages and was influenced by different factors. The distribution of the articles has been expanded through a particular approach.

The information, which the series include, particularly in the most recently written articles, concerns important developments related to the basics of the Iraqi Turkmen's recent political history, at its darkest stages, where the Turkmen of Iraq were and still are being subjected to ethnic cleansing. This required the establishment of a new roadmap for SOITM's approach to Turkey's Turkmen policy, for the benefit of the Turkmen community. The objective is to safeguard the Turkmen political system and to build it on professional basis, far from Turkish exploitation and so that the system can face the huge threats which threaten the existence of the Turkmen community.

Day after day, the absence of a powerful Turkmen political system and the presence of poorly developed Turkmen political and civil society organizations is proving to be among the major causes of failure of the Turkmen to resist the threats posed by the complicated Iraqi political arena at this moment of insecurity. The establishment of a professional Turkmen political system is necessary to save the Turkmen people from decades of violations.

Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

The recent articles present new aspects of the Turkish domination and exploitation² of the Turkmen political system, and of how Turkey is preventing the Turkmen from establishing an independent political system.

Two major characteristics of today's Turkmen political system make it clear that Turkey is responsible for the Iraqi Turkmen's political failure and consequently for their increased exposure to the present genocide campaigns:

- Turkey fragmented and scattered the Iraqi Turkmen's political system and prevented its formation, to the point of rendering it useless.^{3, 4}
- Turkey prevented cooperation between the two major Turkmen political communities.⁵

Table 1, Parts, titles and dates of the series of the SOITM foundation

Part	Title	Dates
I	The unconstructive role of the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) within the Turkmen Policy	27.2.2009*
II	The Turkmen of Iraq are Victims of subordination and deteriorated national politics	26.2.2011
III	Turkey opens another rift in the fragile Turkmen political system	8.5.2013
IV	Turkey's Turkmen policy lacks the most basic elements of ethics	30.5.2013
V	An approach of the Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights Research Foundation	13.7.2013
VI	Turkey broke the backbone of the Iraqi Turkmen by depriving them of monthly incomes estimated to be millions of dollars	25.10.2013
VII	Based on Machiavelli standard justifies all the means	21.11.2013
VIII	Threw them hand-tied in the sea and said: Beware! Never get wet with water	19.4.2014
IX	Why should the Turkmen foremost change their policy towards Turkey?	26.5.2014
X	The Role of Turkey in the failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections	15.11.2014
XI	A brief history of the council of the Iraqi Turkmen	24.11.2014

* = rewritten on 27 February 2009, second renewal 10 July 2013

In 2008, SOITM foundation started to study more intensively the Turkmen political system and the Turkish interference in Turkmen affairs. The interesting findings allowed SOITM to start reporting on the Turkish negative influence on the administration of Turkmen politics. The reports which were written in English and translated into Arabic and Turkish highlighted eleven chapters so far. (Table 1)

Stages of SOITM's approach to the Turkish intervention in Turkmen issues

First stage: criticizing the ITF without touching the Turkish role

On 22 February 2008, an article was written by SOITM only in Turkish, under the title "The failure of the system in the Turkmen politics".⁶ This article criticized the structure and conduct of the ITF without mentioning the Turkish authorities, despite the fact that Turkey directly administered the ITF and played a major role in all that happened. This article was sent to the Turkish authorities and a very small number of Turkmen politicians.

Within a few months, due to the despotism of their president Saad al-Din Ergeç, who was strongly supported by Turkey, almost all the members of the executive committee of the ITF rebelled against the president and dismissed him. Ergeç's dismissal was not recognized by Turkish authorities.

On 13-14 July 2008, the fifth general Turkmen Congress (GTC) was organized by the Turkish army, who was administering the Turkmen dossier of Turkish government alone. By forged elections, the Turkmen parties were expelled from the ITF, their funding was largely decreased, other members of the executive committee of the front were silenced and the ITF was registered as political party.

Second stage: little information about the Turkish role

After the fifth GTC, which was not as serious as it should have been, SOITM had determined to start the series of articles under the general title of 'Evaluation of Turkey's Turkmen policy'. The aforementioned article was then rewritten on 27 February 2009 in further detail under the secondary title "The unconstructive role of the Iraqi

Turkmen Front within the Turkmen Policy”, and was published in three languages as the first part of the series of articles.⁷

Major shortcomings in the administration of the ITF, the absence of discipline and major conflicts between the managers, which significantly slowed down the ITF's functioning, were underlined. The need to rebuild the ITF on professional basis and with an inevitable cooperation with other Turkmen organizations (among which the other Conservative Nationalists and the Religious Shiites), was recommended. Additionally, the article included a paragraph on the forged fifth GTC organized by Turkey without presenting details on Turkey's involvement in the failure of the ITF and the Turkmen political system.

Third stage more details on Turkey's harmful role

Afraid of the possible consequences and of Turkey's possible revenge, SOITM lingered in the writing of the second⁸ part of SOITM series for three years, to avoid further damage to the Turkmen political system.

The Turkish hegemony on the Turkmen political system continued and the system was further disintegrated and weakened and the sufferings of the Turkmen of Iraq increased.

SOITM foundation resumed writing. The second part of SOITM series was completed on 26 February 2011 and sent to the Turkish authorities.

This part presented information about:

- The poor development of Turkmen political and civil society organizations.
- The failure to rebuild the Iraqi Turkmen council (ITC).
- The inadequacies of the ITF's administration.
- The retaliatory measures of Turkey against Turkmen politicians and political organizations.
- Accusations to Turkey of mismanagement of the Iraqi Turkmen political system.

Directly after the second SOITM article,⁹ (3 May 2011), Turkey, through its embassy in Baghdad, made several retaliatory changes to

Part XII: SOITM Roadmap to Deal with Turkey's Hegemony

the Turkmen political system, which is represented by the ITF and the ITC. The ITC was dissolved, the president of the ITF and the members of the executive committee were replaced, the triennial GTC was cancelled and funding to the ITF was significantly cut. Similarly, the intense efforts of Turkmen organizations to establish a professional independent ITC were frustrated. Such changes would normally fall under the jurisdiction of the GTC and would therefore require the organization of a GTC.

In the same period, the Turkish government removed the tutelage of the Turkish army and took the management of the Turkmen dossier away from the Turkish army. This meant that these measures were taken by the Turkish government and not by the Turkish army, which had been administering Turkmen dossiers exclusively from 1997.

Turkish authorities remain indifferent to the SOITM foundation. Using different channels, the SOITM Foundation continued to inform the Turkish authorities about the disadvantages of Turkey's Turkmen policy.

Al-Hashimi's event in November 2011 seriously worsened Turkey's Turkmen policy. The ITF, as most of the Turkmen authorities, refused to withdraw the Turkmen minister from al-Maliki's cabinet, as had been ordered by Turkey. This disobedience brought to two aggressive punishment measures by Turkey against the Turkmen political system:

- A serious reduction of the Turkish funding to the ITF, which retarded severely its functioning.
- A serious rift caused by Turkey in the executive committee of the ITF, which created a group to support Turkey's sectarian policy dividing the committee into two conflicting groups. This led to paralysis of the ITF.

SOITM foundation refrained from reporting about the Turkish mistreatment of the Turkmen political system, mainly due to:

- Firstly, fear of further arbitrary measures by Turkey against Turkmen organizations,
- Secondly, on the hope that the Turkish authorities would understand such a grossly irrational policy by providing information and making the Turkish government see the great sufferings of the Iraqi Turkmen.

Fourth stage: presenting details on the Turkish mistreatment of the Turkmen of Iraq

After about two and half years, on 8 May 2013 the third SOITM article was completed, which included:

- The reasons why the Iraqi Turkmen surrendered to Turkish hegemony
- Long history of Turkey's mistreatment of the Turkmen of Iraq.

Two factors played an important role in the preparation of this third part of the SOITM series:

- Firstly, the continuation of Turkey's harmful Turkmen policy and a consequent further retardation of the Turkmen political system.
- Secondly, an international conference for the Turkmen of Iraq was organized on 14 March 2013 at the European Parliament. This conference was illogically criticized by the Turkish government. Furthermore, a Turkish academic criticized the conference for the same reasons, publishing an article for the Turkish strategic center hamper the legislations for the well-being of the Turkmen that the Iraqi government sent to the parliament, such as the Turkmen Affairs committee and the change of the administrative status of the Turkmen district Telafer to province.^{9, 10}

Turkey's Turkmen policy continued without change. Furthermore, the pro-Turkish wing of the ITF's leadership and some ITF parliamentarians lobbied the Iraqi parliament with the pro-Turkish Arabic Sunni blocs to hamper the legislations for the well-being of the Turkmen that the Iraqi government sent to the parliament, such as the Turkmen Affairs committee and the change of the administrative status of the Turkmen district Telafer to province.

To continue informing the Turkish authorities and a small group of Turkmen politicians and intellectuals about the harmful Turkish policy toward the Turkmen, the SOITM series continued.

The policy for distribution of the articles

The Turkish interference in Turkmen issues is considered unlawful interference in Iraqi internal affairs, in violation of international law.

Part XII: SOITM Roadmap to Deal with Turkey's Hegemony

This was imposed on the Turkmen political community and was obeyed unwillingly.

SOITM articles include highly sensitive subjects related to basic internal Turkmen political issues. The publication of these articles will certainly expose the Turkmen of Iraq to further difficulties in the current insecurity of Iraq. Hence, the articles were considered confidential and it was decided not to publish them, but to distribute them carefully, despite the fact that some Turkmen politicians were in favor their publication.

The range of distribution of these articles depended on:

- The measures taken by the Turkish government in its policy toward the Turkmen of Iraq.
- The developments in the situation of the Turkmen.
- The type of authorities to which these articles had been sent.
- The type of subjects, which the article treated.

Distribution of these SOITM articles was increased with the continuation and worsening of the Turkish mistreatment of the Turkmen of Iraq and with the increase of the violation of their human rights. According to the type and number of authorities to which the articles were sent, the distribution of SOITM articles can be divided into five stages:

1. All the articles were sent to few Turkish authorities and to a dozen of Turkmen politicians as soon as the article was completed.
2. After September 2012, Part II was sent to a larger group of Turkmen intellectuals, some Turkish journalists and few Turkic organizations, particularly, Azerbaijanis.
3. From the first month of 2014, Parts II, III and VII were sent to almost all Turkmen intellectuals and dozens of Turkish journalists and Azeri authorities. At this stage, the articles were also sent to Turkmen Shia politicians, particularly, the parts distributed in this stage.
4. After September 2012, Part II was sent to a larger group of Turkmen intellectuals, some Turkish journalists and few Turkic organizations, particularly, Azerbaijanis.
5. From the first month of 2014, Parts II, III and VII were sent to almost all Turkmen intellectuals and dozens of Turkish journalists and Azeri authorities. At this stage, the articles were

also sent to Turkmen Shia politicians, particularly, the parts distributed in this stage.

6. From April 2014, Parts III and V were sent to large number of Turkic authorities.
7. At the beginning of the October, SOITM started to distribute parts III & V to selected national, regional and international politicians, parliamentarians, media and academics.

Part I was rewritten and published one year after it was issued.⁷ Parts V and XI were published as soon as they were completed. Parts II, III and VII were very widely distributed. Parts IV, VI, VIII and IX were limitedly distributed. Part X was sent to only 13 Turkmen, Turkish authorities and some Azerbaijani authorities. Part XI was published.

The two main reasons, which moved SOITM to the fifth stage were:

- The disorganized Turkmen political system that failed to give any kind of assistance to the hundreds of thousands Turkmen who were attacked and displaced by the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Shām. In consideration of the fact that the SOITM foundation is holding Turkey responsible for the failure of the Iraqi Turkmen political system, also Turkish help to the displaced Turkmen was insufficient.
- It has been proved for the SOITM foundation that the mistreatment of the Turkmen of Iraq is a basic element of Turkish national policy and part of the classical Turkish political mentality that cannot be changed.

In the **next stage**, SOITM will start distributing the series **unlimitedly** and discussing them with the international and Arabic authorities, politicians, parliamentarians, the media and universities.

The Turkmen tragedy and the role of Turkey

Communities of Turkish origin in post-Ottomans founded countries other than Turkey are large in number and distributed in different states. These communities were exposed to aggressive violation of human rights for a century and still suffer from various problems.¹¹

Part XII: SOITM Roadmap to Deal with Turkey's Hegemony

The Iraqi Turkmen are a model example of such communities, which accounts for not less than two million people, who have been exposed to oppression and ethnic cleansing for decades.^{12, 13}

Before the Baath period, the Turkmen were marginalized in governmental posts. They were prevented from using mother language and were not allowed to establish national & cultural institutions.

Decades of Baath regime, during which the Turkmen were exposed to more extensive and systematic violations. They were subjected to deportation, arbitrary detention, persecution, execution, confiscation of vast land, pauperization and forceful change of their nationality to Arab.

After decades of neglect, Turkey started to deal with the Turkmen of Iraq after the second Gulf war in 1990. At that time, the Turkmen of Iraq were an exhausted community, as the result of all the abuses they had suffered. Since then, Turkey has dominated the Turkmen political system and is almost completely controlling the Turkmen decision-making mechanisms, using it in favor of the Turkish national interests.¹ Unfortunately, this is done while not paying attention to the Turkmen's sufferings and to the Turkmen's interests.

After the second Gulf war in 1990, the oppression of the Turkmen did not decrease and they continued to suffer because of both the Kurdish parties in the Safe Haven and the central Iraqi government in the rest of the country.

After the fall of the Baath regime in April 2003, the marginalization of the Turkmen in the central and local administrations reached its climax. Kurdish militias seized and ruled Turkmen regions, which were exposed to attacks by tanks and airplanes and to terrorist attacks, imprisonments, kidnappings and assassinations.

Since the appearance of the Islamic State, the largest part of the territory which is affected by its terrorism is the Turkmen regions in the provinces of Nineveh, Salah al-Din, Kerkuk and Diyala. About half-a-million Turkmen are displaced and large Turkmen areas have been almost completely evacuated and are now under the Islamic State's control.

Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

The devastating blow of the Islamic State to the Turkmen of Iraq increased calls from the Turkmen intellectuals and writers to rebuild the ITC, including representatives from all the Turkmen communities and to combine the efforts of Turkmen politicians and organizations to establish a professional general Turkmen political system.

The president of the ITC, Yunus Bayraktar, who dissolved the last ITC following orders coming from the Turkish embassy in Baghdad on 3 May 2011, was forced to start a process to revive it. As usual, the traces of Turkey's interference in this process can be seen. Instead of an expanded ITC as was initially planned, a smaller ITC was announced on 15 November 2014.

Identical to Turkey's Turkmen policy, the announced ITC excluded the large Turkmen Religious Shiite community and included most of the Turkmen Nationalist conservatives, who are either already under Turkish administration or were previously dismissed. Thus, prevention of establishment of the general Turkmen political system and hampering of the cooperation between the Turkmen political communities are considered from the basics of the Turkey's Turkmen policies, continued.

On the other side, on 25 October 2014, the Deputy of Secretary General of the Islamic Union of Iraqi Turkmen and the President and Deputy of the ITF organized a meeting. During which a decision was made to organize a forum for all Turkmen organizations to discuss a project on how to unite the efforts and build a general Turkmen political system.

The Turkmen Forum was held in Baghdad on 6-7 December 2014 and gathered all the representatives of the Turkmen of Iraq. As had happened in the previous twenty-five years, Turkey disapproved the rapprochement of the Turkmen organizations and tried to disrupt the Forum. The Turkish embassy in Baghdad and Turkish consulates in different Iraqi provinces started calling the Turkmen authorities and intellectuals to protest and to push them not to participate in the forum. Several Turkmen turned down the demands of the Turkish authorities, while the following pro-Turkish Turkmen groups did not attend the forum:

- Turkmen member of the Iraqi Parliament, Hasan Turan, and his party, the Turkmen Justice Party, led by Turkmen from the

Society of the Muslim Brothers. After a close relation between Turkey and the Kurdish Regional Government, the Kurdish President of the Kerkuk Provincial Council left his post for Hasan Turan, well-known member of the Society of the Muslim Brothers. Turan leads the group, which was put by Turkey in the executive committee of the ITF to support Turkish policies.

- President of the ITC, Yunus Bayraktar. Bayraktar is well-known for his role in obstructing the functioning of the ITC.¹⁴
- ITF members of the Nineveh Province Council, who were elected in the latter Iraqi provincial elections from the pro-Turkish United for Reform list. It is worth pointing out that the staff of the ITF appointed by Turkey and the election lists of the ITF prepared under supervision of the Turkish consulates or Embassy and the final list have to be approved by those Turkish authorities.
- The representative of the ITF in Erbil province.
- The representative of the ITF in Ankara, Hicran Kazanci, despite the fact that he was in Iraq that week. The representative in Ankara is the main channel through which Ankara administers and applies its dictates on the ITF. Kazanci was appointed against the will of the president of the ITF and that he was later on included in the executive committee of the Front.
- The representative of the ITF in Kerkuk province, Kasim Kazanci, brother of Hicran Kazanci.

The Turkmen need help

There are around two million Turkmen in Iraq. They are almost equally divided into Sunni and Shiite sects and the sectarianism is still the less between the Turkmen sects. Turkey has hampered the cooperation and solidarity, which are blessed by the Turkmen of Iraq, for more than two decades.

Today, the Iraqi Turkmen have almost completely lost their trust in the benefit of Turkish assistance to them. Furthermore, significant part of Turkmen intellectuals are aware of Turkey's mistreatment of their community.

Helping the Turkmen of Iraq to remove the Turkish domination on the Turkmen political system will certainly help the Turkmen of Iraq to build their independent political system, where Turkmen politicians from both Sunni and Shiite sects can closely cooperate. Such a step

can be considered as one of the main requirements of the reconciliation policy of the Iraqi government.

Conclusions

The studies that are presented in the articles of the series of SOITM foundation that were written so far, deal with the core of the Turkmen issues, which are living a moment of uttermost importance. These articles reveal a number of facts, which call for searching for a way to solve the complicated situation in which the Iraqi Turkmen political system finds itself, exposing the community to the worst violations. As a result of Turkey's policy, the Turkmen political system is dispersed and the establishment of a general and professional Turkmen political system has been impeded leaving a large number of poorly developed Turkmen political and civil society organizations. Turkey's Turkmen policy shows the following characteristics:

- Turkey interferes into Turkmen issues and Iraqi internal affairs.
- Turkish interference is overt and continuous.
- Turkey's Turkmen policy is a sectarian policy that prevents cooperation between the Sunni and Shiite Turkmen, consequently:
 - o Turkey plays a role in the sectarianism, which kills tens of the Iraqis daily.
 - o Turkey hampers the national reconciliation process, which is one of the major goals of Iraq and the international community, to alleviate sectarianism in Iraq and in the region.
- Turkey exploits the Turkmen of Iraq in favor of Turkish National interest.

Today, the Turkmen of Iraq have no national strategic organizations and a failing political system, which leaves the Turkmen hand-folded and politically defenseless. This has facilitated the continuation of the Turkmen's subjection to human rights violations, which is considered an ethnic cleansing.

As the SOITM foundation does, Turkmen politicians have continuously informed the Turkish authorities about the harmful outcomes of their policies. However, Turkey punished and intimidated the Turkmen who opposed these policies, which means that Turkey is aware of outcomes of its policy toward the Turkmen

and Iraq. Hence, Turkey plays a major role in the exposure of the Turkmen to ethnic cleansing. Therefore, Turkey should be held responsible for the exposure of the Iraq Turkmen to ethnic cleansing and should be forced to stop interfering into Turkmen and Iraqi issues.

SOITM recommends that:

- The Turkmen of Iraq internationalize the Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system, an interference into Iraqi internal issues and at the same time a violation of international law.
- The national, regional and international communities help the Turkmen of Iraq to eliminate Turkish exploitation and Turkish domination on the Turkmen political community. This will help the Turkmen of Iraq play their natural role in building a new democratic Iraq.

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Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

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Part I

The unconstructive role of the Iraqi Turkmen Front within the Turkmen Policy*

Date: February 22, 2008
No: Art.6-B2208

There are several important factors that have negatively influenced the development of the current Turkmen political system, for example a long history of aloneness of the Turkmen of Iraq, their exposure to fierce assimilation policies and their location between two stronger nationalist communities, who are the Arabs and Kurds, in a non-democratic Iraq.

The disregard of Turkmen interests by the Turkmen political organizations and the absence of co-operation and solidarity between them could be considered as one of the most harmful influences to the Turkmen political system since the establishment of the Safe Haven in 1991, particularly after the occupation of Iraq in 2003. The Turkmen political system today is feeble and has no power of influence.

Inefficacies of the Iraqi Turkmen Front

As the most powerful Turkmen organization and receiver of sizeable financial support Turkey, the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) holds the primary responsibility for the hindrances of the Turkmen political system.¹ ITF's inefficacies can be summarized as follows:

- ITF refuses calls for any type of reform on the Turkmen political system. This inhibits the institution of an independent general Turkmen political system.
- The Turkmen Council, which is administered by ITF, is a puppet organization representing only one political view.
- Several families dominate ITF.
- ITF suffers from considerable internal disagreements, could not develop and its effectiveness has seriously decreased.
- ITF could not obtain and/or lost the support of most of the Iraqi Turkmen population, including Iraqi Turkmen intellectuals.
- ITF is marginalized both inside and outside the country

Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

- ITF has introduced fundamentalist and – secularist discrimination into Turkmen politics
- ITF's subordination to Turkey:
 - Frequently operate in discordance with Turkmen national interests
 - Deprive the Iraqi Turkmen of political and logistic support from national, regional and international powers. This also brings animosity in many occasions.

The continuation of this state of affairs is destined to deteriorate further the Turkmen political system and would expose the Turkmen population to further disappointment at a time when it is faced with several serious challenges.

Factors that render ITF's system ineffective

The important factors which render ITF's system ineffective are listed below:

- Several organs elect themselves, for example, the Turkmen council elects the delegation of the Turkmen Congress, which in turn elects the Turkmen council. In short, the Turkmen council elects itself.
- The Turkmen council elects the nine members of the ITF's executive board, which in turn elect the president of the ITF. The president dominates the management and the decision making mechanisms.²
- The Turkmen council, which was instituted as the highest Turkmen authority, could be viewed as neglectful. It is ineffective and subordinated to the ITF presidency.
- Members of the same family head chief offices. There are several members of the same families in other offices.
- There are notable discrepancies between the budgets of other offices.
- Expenses are greatly inflated. This increases the possibility of corruption.
- Disagreements between the high-ranking staffs can result in the marginalization or dismissal of the person concerned and his relatives who work for the ITF

The source of finance for the ITF is the Turkmen Eli Foundation whose headquarters are in Ankara. When the current president of

Part I: The unconstructive role of the Iraqi Turkmen Front

ITF was appointed in 2005, one of his relatives was also appointed as the head of the Turkmen Eli Foundation.

The Iraqi Turkmen Front's spending pattern is as follows:

First, the owner of the ITF has to agree to any type of expenditure.¹ Secondly, the president of the ITF is required to authorize the expenditure and subsequently the approval of the president of the Turkmeneli foundation is also required. Donation from any sources to the Iraqi Turkmen front is not accepted.

Accusations of fraudulence and mismanagement within the Turkmen Eli Foundation and the Iraqi Turkmen Front are based on the following:

- Extraordinary expenditures during:
 - o The ill-programmed annual summer meetings organized in Ankara by the Ankara office of the ITF for Diaspora Turkmen organizations.
 - o The protest meeting in Ankara in spring 2007.
 - o The Iraqi elections of 2005.
 - o Institution of the Turkmen Eli television.
- The large differences between the budgets of the offices of the ITF.

There is no doubt that freedom of expression, speech and press are considered the foundations for democracy. These are built on the hypothesis that projects can be improved and developed, issues can be addressed and problems can be solved if they are discussed.

For several reasons, the Turkmen community does not perform any type of self-criticism and those who do, meet great resistance. This can be considered as one of the major factors influencing unconstructively the Turkmen policy and the Turkmen political system and preventing its development. Consequently, the Turkmen policy is ineffective and the Turkmen political system suffers from powerlessness and vulnerability.

As the Iraqi provincial elections are approaching, Turkmen intellectuals, writers and politicians are still unaware of a potential defeat of the Turkmen in the upcoming elections.

The failure of the ITF had already been witnessed in the Iraqi general elections of 2005. The 90,000 votes, which the ITF won in the election of January 2005 decreased to 70,000 thousands votes in the election of December 2005. Iraqi Turkmen front:

- Claims to be the only legal representative of the Iraqi Turkmen
- Was the only Turkmen list in the aforementioned elections
- Estimates the number of the Iraqi Turkmen at approximately 3 millions

The Turkmen population, which already suffers from threatening challenges and weaknesses within its ethnical power centers, has been obliged to accept these electoral defeats. Despite the recurrent failure and great threats which the Iraqi Turkmen are facing, Turkey remains inattentive and shows no any intentions to review its harmful policies towards the Iraqi Turkmen and to introduce reform into the Iraqi Turkmen front. Unfortunately, the Turkmen of Iraq will participate in the upcoming provincial elections through the same ITF, which is now characterized by the almost complete absence of Turkmen public support, as can be the almost complete absence of Turkmen public support, as can be clearly learned from a simple poll in the streets of Kerkuk and in other Turkmen regions.

In the current state of affairs, the expected number of Turkmen representatives in the Iraqi parliament and in the province councils will be:

- Severely decreased
- Disproportional to the size of the Turkmen in Iraq.
- Insufficient to
 - Stop the violation of Iraqi Turkmen human rights.
 - Return their usurped rights during Baath regime.

Consequently, the authorities of ITF, in particular its owner,¹ will hold the historical responsibilities of the defeats from which the Turkmen of Iraq have suffered since the early 1990s.

A rich cultural heritage, the high percentage of educated people and large population size of the Turkmen of Iraq have all been factors that made them resist assimilation policies for several decades and preserve their language and culture. Consequently, the presence of a powerful Turkmen political system will help to find a position in the national political arena and support national and regional stability.

Recommendations

- A restructuring of the Turkmen Council (Turkmen Parliament) and its freedom from subordination are a means of rescuing the Turkmen political system.
 - Turkmen intellectuals, particularly those who played an important role in defending the Turkmen rights during the most dangerous Baath period, should be allowed to participate in the Turkmen political processes and compete for the membership of the Turkmen council.³
 - The sectarian and regional discriminations in Turkmen policy should be abandoned.
 - The Turkmen council should be opened to all Turkmen political organizations and independents.
 - The Turkmen Shi'a parties, which have several members in the Iraqi parliament, should be included in the Turkmen council.
 - Turkmen Eli television should be sufficiently staffed and handed over to professionals.
 - Turkmen political parties should improve their structure, activities and increase the number of party members. The Turkmen civil society organizations need to be professionalized. Turkmen funds should be founded. Political subordination to and financial dependence on Turkey needs to be removed.
 - The support of the national and regional powers should be ensured.
 - Turkmen institutions in the fields of media, culture, sport, music and literature should be established and the present organization improved.
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** This article was written at 22 February 2008 for internal circulation. It is rewritten for publication at 27 February 2009 and reviewed for the third time at 10 July 2013*

References:

1. The Iraqi Turkmen Front was founded by the Turkish National Intelligence organization in 1995.
2. In April 2008 and due to the despotic administration of the president of Iraqi Turkmen Front, seven of the nine members of the executive board published a press release and ousted the president. Ankara refused

procedure and demanded the change to be done through the 5th Turkmen Congress. Three Turkmen were sent from Ankara with continuous remote control, the fifth Turkmen Congress was organized, like a staged theater play. During the congress, four of the seven members of the executive board were expelled from the ITF. They were presidents of four political parties under the ITF umbrella. The other three, who were the heads of ITF offices in different regions, were silenced. The president remained unchanged.

3. The largest numbers of well-known Turkmen politicians, writers, high-ranking officials, academics, high-ranking retired officers, legislators could not have opportunity to participate in the Turkmen political processes.

Part II

The Turkmen of Iraq are victims of subordination and deteriorated national politics

Date: February 26, 2011

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Briefly, the Turkmen population size and their political system

The large size of Turkmen population in Iraq can easily be estimated by examining the vastness of the Turkmen regions. This large population's constant exposure to all types of violations of human rights is well documented. Their political system and civil society organizations have not been able to develop under the non-democratic systems of successive nationalistic Iraqi governments.

The Turkmen political structure can principally be divided in to two major groups; the nationalist conservative group within which the Sunnis constitute the majority and the religious Shiite group. A third group of Turkmen organizations has been instituted by the Kurdish authorities, which have limited activities in favor of the Kurdish interests.

The first regular Turkmen party was founded in Ankara in the early 1990s and began its open activities after about a year in the north of Iraq (Safe Haven). The establishment of other Turkmen political parties followed and in 1995 an umbrella organization, the Iraqi Turkmen front (ITF) that included the national conservative parties and organizations, was founded. The political activities of the Shiite Turkmen who constitute about half of the Turkmen population began in 1980s abroad and were developed in close contact with major Iraqi Shiite coalitions.

By the time of occupation of Iraq in April 2003, there were several Turkmen political parties with about ten years of political experience. While Turkey has supported the conservative nationalists, the Shiite Turkmen group got powerful positions in the Iraqi Shiite coalitions and the Iraqi governments.

Analysis of the weakness of the Turkmen political and civil society organizations

After twenty years of open political activities of Turkmen organizations and 7 years of practical experiences in the present multi-party Iraqi political system, the situation of the Iraqi Turkmen has further deteriorated. They are almost completely absent in the Iraqi political arena, they are exposed to all types of violation of human rights, they are marginalized in the administration in many of their regions and in the Iraqi government, their lands continued to be confiscated and arrests, assassinations and kidnappings take place frequently in Turkmen regions.

Accordingly, the following question should be asked, "Why does a large community with several politicians, political organizations and logistical support remains suffering?" Which are the factors that influence the Turkmen politics so negatively? Which are the reasons worsening and contributing to the further deterioration of the Turkmen situation?

Possible factors, which should be analyzed in such equations are the internal and the external factors.

Internal Factors

The people

Are the Turkmen people aware of the deterioration of Turkmen political situation? Certainly, yes, this is well known among the Turkmen people, particularly, among the intellectuals and the politicians.

Participation in the political process and observation of the performance of politicians and evaluation of their activities are basic responsibilities of peoples. The question here is thus: do the Turkmen people fulfil these responsibilities?

Two characteristics of the Iraqi Turkmen politics present clear answers to the preceding question: First, the Turkmen candidates received a small number of votes in the Iraqi elections. In the last Iraqi general election, the Turkmen candidates received

Part II: Iraqi Turkmen are victims of subordination & deteriorated politics

approximately 200,000 votes, while the Turkmen sources including the political organizations estimate the number of the Turkmen in Iraq at more than two million people. Second, the public support for the Turkmen political parties is very small in regard of membership and finance.

If the Turkmen people are aware of the deterioration of Turkmen political system, why they don't interfere? The answer to this question will be left to the Turkmen intellectuals, noting that under such circumstances the intellectuals and particularly the writers of a community will have to take the responsibility.

The Turkmen intellectuals and youth could not confront the challenges avoided searching the causes in the Turkmen political system and remained silent about the deterioration of Turkmen politics, particularly in regard of harmful Turkmen policy of Turkey. They isolated themselves when they could not find a position in the official political system, which has been represented in the ITF. Inattentiveness and passiveness of the Turkmen political system, exposure to suppression and difficulties in fulfilling the needs to make a livelihood have made large numbers of the Turkmen people surrender to the reality and co-operate with the suppressor instead of challenging the deterioration of the Turkmen politics.

Whilst writers and media play a pivotal role in the development of the political culture and directs the dynamics to improve the national politics, the Turkmen writers could not touch the real political problems; keep peace with strictly conservative policies. The ITF front built its own media. The independent Turkmen media could not be instituted.

The politicians and organizations

Second factor to be considered when analysing the effectiveness of a political system is the role played by the politicians and the organizations. It could be said that its power is proportional to the degree of development and welfare in a community. Furthermore, the general (national) political system is considered the major authority, which manages the national affairs of an ethnic component, particularly in a multi-ethnic culture.

Powerful National political systems serve to preserve the entity, culture and literature of the people. It studies the economy and coordinates national strategies. Such systems respond to violations of human rights and defend these rights when violated.

Despite the fact that the Turkmen community advocates for unity and solidarity, the Turkmen politicians failed to institute the National (Turkmen) Political System, due to two main factors: the external interference with the system, national or religious subordination and adherence of the Turkmen politicians to chair of leadership.

The Turkmen political institutions have not been able to organize the Turkmen people. They suffer from a lack of members, which is considered the mainstay of political organizations, and a failure to secure basic popular support. Their administrative structures are miserable and are severely lacking of professional units and cadre. Consequently, these organizations were deprived of self-financiering and suffer greatly from the financial shortage, which is considered from the major disabilities of the national institutions.

The Turkmen politicians and politics enclosed within the perimeter of the Turkmen narrow policy, which is based on conservative, not transparent, lacking self-criticism and influenced significantly by ethnical and religious subordination, which made the Turkmen politics remain out of the Iraqi political arena.

As an inevitable consequence, Turkmen politicians and organizations fail in fulfilling a professional political mission. Their activities have been limited to the distribution of Aid-gifts and meats in offer feast and publication of press releases. Another known activity of the Turkmen organizations is the arrangement of friendly visits to each other, but they remain unable to organize a joint conference to discuss one of the large numbers of critical problems facing of the Iraqi Turkmen.

External factors

Since the foundation of the Iraqi state, there are several major external factors, which influence the Turkmen political system negatively, for instance their position between the two major ethnic groups in a non-democratic nationalistically intolerant culture. They

Part II: Iraqi Turkmen are victims of subordination & deteriorated politics

also suffered from aloneness and helplessness until the early 1990s, and from marginalization by the occupation authorities in the first years after the fall of Ba'ath regime.

The religious and ethnical subordination of Turkmen politicians and organizations have played the foremost role in the failure of contemporary Turkmen political system, which has been exhausted due to the decades of aloneness in the complex political and ethnical environment of Iraq where the Arabs have the governmental power and the Kurds enjoy international support.

Turkmen Shiite parties approached the large Iraqi Shiite parties and educated about the religious culture they became a part of these parties while maintaining their own ethnic culture. These parties have been confined to activities within the religious area, therefore remained unable to extend their ethnic popular base to ensure self-financing and the development of professional political, cultural and social activities. When the large Iraqi Shiite parties dominated the political arena, these Turkmen parties thus became invisible, despite the fact that several Turkmen politicians held important positions.

Unconstructive Turkish policy towards the Turkmen

The Turkmen nationalist conservative group remains captive of Turkish financing. Ever since the start in the early 1990s, these parties have also largely been subjected to the orders issued by the ruling powers in Turkey. To facilitate easier control over the large number of nationalist Turkmen conservative political parties and civil society organizations, the ITF was founded by Turkey in 1995 and was made an umbrella organization including almost all Turkmen organizations in this group.

Noting that the Turkish National Intelligence Organization instituted the Iraqi Turkmen Front in 1995, after two years in 1997, Special Intelligence (Özel Kuvvetler), a higher military intelligence department of Turkish army, has handled alone the Turkmen dossier until the fifth Turkmen congress in 2008. During this congress, all the Turkmen parties were expelled by fake elections and the attempts to convert the ITF to a political party started. Later on, the Turkish ministry for foreign affairs started to manage only the dossier of the expelled parties. Administration of the ITF by Turkey was relatively overt until

before the fourth Turkmen Congress in 2005, after which Ankara started to administer ITF only confidentially through some of the front's leaderships.

Contradictions between the Turkish and Turkmen interests in some important areas, appointment of staff by Turkey, limiting the financing only to Ankara as well as the use of uncommon salary and work policy made the ITF an ineffective organization. It lacked both the professional departments and popular bases to defend the Turkmen people in a difficult historical period in a time where they have been exposed to the most brutal violation of the human rights.

The Turkmen failure in the 2005 elections resulted in a Turkish loss of confidence in the ability of the Turkmen. The ITF started to be ruled inflexibly by its new chief, Turkmen parties started to be expelled from the ITF, with funding thereby being cut off from the expelled parties. Attempts started to turn the ITF into a political organization supported by several Turkmen civil society organizations, all financed by the same source. The Turkmen Assembly has subsequently been subordinated to the ITF, both organizations being administered by Ankara through their respective chiefs.

The ITF played an important role in the dispersion of the Turkmen political system. In addition that it dispersed its components due to the futile administration, the ITF has refused or ignored all calls from Turkmen Shiite parties that still do hold important positions in the higher Iraqi administration to build a Turkmen National Political System. The leaders of the Iraqi Shiite Coalitions that form the Iraqi government have continuously advised the Turkmen Shiite leaders that the building of a Turkmen national system is mandatory to defend the interests of the Iraqi Turkmen community.

Political setbacks followed, the Turkmen disappeared from the political arena in Iraq and the Turkmen community has been exposed to all types of violations of human rights. This has created a state of despair and frustration among the Turkmen people who lost their trust in politicians and in political organizations, particularly in the ITF and its financier who are now openly criticized by Turkmen intellectuals and by the Turkmen people.

Announcement of rebuilding of the Turkmen council

After years of political weakness and with Turkmen political organizations working each in their own limited surroundings, the president of the Turkmen Assembly of the ITF, Yunis Bayraktar, declared in the middle of 2010 “the time had come for the Turkmen political parties to cooperate and to work jointly”. Accordingly Bayraktar started to invite the Turkmen political parties from both groups: the religious Shiite and the conservative nationalist, to discuss institution of the General (national) Iraqi Turkmen Assembly or the Iraqi Turkmen Parliament. Noting that some of these parties had previously been expelled and others have never been dealt with by the ITF and its Turkmen assembly. The parties have been asked by Bayraktar to present their ideas and projects on a future Iraqi Turkmen parliament.

A number of meetings have been organized this far. However, the weakness of Turkmen media, the lack of an independent Turkmen press, the weakness and conservatism of the Turkmen political milieu and the absence of links between the people and the political parties have hindered the access to information about these meetings.

Failure of re-building of the Turkmen council

Most of the main Turkmen parties refused the supervision of the Chief of Turkmen Assembly, Yunis Bayraktar, questioned its legitimacy and considered Bayraktar as not a neutral authority, and asked instead to form a committee with members from the official Turkmen parties to study all aspects of the project. Ignoring this proposal, Bayraktar continued to organize the meetings previously mentioned.

Despite the fact that about seventeen meetings have been convened, some of the party leaders deny the existence of such meetings, others attended only the first meeting, and others question the seriousness of the meetings.

The information that has leaked from these meetings indicates that there are no projects on which an assembly or a parliament for a community more than two million people can be built. The projects presented by Turkmen organizations are not enough to create a

general assembly for a community which suffers from the collapse of the administrative and political system and that is furthermore exposed to all types of human rights violations.

Most of the discussions in these meetings said to be revolved around the distribution of seats, and the ITF that gets substantial funding from Turkey appears not to pay attention to the project per se and rarely participates in the meetings, while still insisting on getting the largest possible number of seats to dominate the Assembly.

Some of the Turkmen politicians and activists describe this attempt to build a General (National) Turkmen Assembly as a policy of procrastination pursued by the powers ruling the ITF. Others believe that the Chief of the ITF's Assembly, Bayraktar, is not serious in his attempt aiming to re-enter some of Turkmen political parties under the umbrella of the ITF from which these parties were expelled only a few years ago.

Summary of the administrative structure of the Iraqi Turkmen Front

The ITF has about 65 branches inside and outside Iraq and a staff of hundreds. The monthly income is estimated at hundreds of thousands of dollars. The ITF does not have any particular administrative and political approach, and there is no oversight of staff performance or follow-up, with no general work plans given to the branches of the ITF in- or outside Iraq.

Most of the offices of the ITF can be considered a center where the supporters of the ITF gather, rather often come from certain families and receive different salaries. The meetings of the higher commissions of the ITF-Assembly, such as the Advisory Committee, the Executive Committee and even that of the Assembly itself are randomly held and subjected to the will of the ITF chief or to publish press releases on events and to solve other problems.

Relating to the ITF branches out of the country, after deciding the country in which an office of the ITF will be instituted, a representative will be appointed by Ankara a specific budget will be allotted. These branches have no strategy to follow and are limited to one or two person. The representatives from the different ITF offices

out of country have no regular work contact with each other and with head office in Ankara. They meet, only when they for some reason, maybe once or twice per year, come to Ankara or Iraq.

The fact that the power to appoint and dismiss staff is in Ankara, has a negative influence on the work of the ITF. It can frequently be seen that staff has serious problems with each other or with managers but remain working together in the same office. The staff that is appropriate for the interests of Ankara, remains in his position despite that he lost the trust and confidence of his colleagues and of Turkmen people. For instance, the current chief of the ITF, who lost the support of most of the members of the Executive committee and of the Turkmen people, remained in his position by a fake election organized by Ankara in 2008.

The funding process of the ITF and Turkmen assembly remained completely in the hands of Ankara from the early 1990s and onwards, which enabled Ankara to control the activities of the ITF and its related organizations.

The Ankara administration of Turkmen issues is characterized by military inflexibility and retaliatory measures, two out of many examples are:

- In 2008, seven of the nine members of the Executive Committee (the largest body in the ITF) revolted against the chief of the ITF. Soon after that revolt all seven members were expelled or otherwise silenced by a false election organized by Ankara. The chief re-elected by fake election.
- In 2010 a leading member of the Executive Committee and likewise the chief of an important ITF office argued with the ITF chief about the identification of the candidates for different posts in the Iraqi government. He was dismissed together with his whole working team.

Conclusion

The suppressive Iraqi environment and decades of aloneness and exposure to heavy assimilation policies have dispersed the administrative and political abilities of the Turkmen community.

The selfish Turkmen policy of Turkey since the institution of the Safe Haven in 1991 has further dispersed the Turkmen political and civil society community, whilst Turkey had almost never involved in Turkmen issues before that date, even at the time when the Turkmen were exposed to the fiercest repression and assimilation policies.

The Religious and ethnical subordination made the Turkmen politicians and organizations fail to institute the necessary co-operation to build the Turkmen National Political System. This led to the absence of professional national political and strategic organizations and to the absence of Turkmen from the Iraqi political arena and failure to stop the numerous violations of Turkmen human rights.

Recommendations

Turkmen politicians and organizations should achieve a comprehensive self-assessment; start restructuring their organizations on professional bases and planning for professional political activities.

In order to have an effective role in the difficult and complicated Iraqi political arena, to stop continuous violation of Turkmen human rights, to regain Turkmen rights, to find solutions for many Turkmen social and economic problems and to revive the Turkmen culture, the establishment of independent Turkmen National Political system is urgent. It should own its independent decision-making mechanisms and be characterized by real credibility, possess its own administrative organs and political tools and control its budget. The Turkmen people, particularly, intellectuals and writers are primarily responsible of realization of such a reform to preserve the national existence of the Turkmen in Iraq.

Part III

Turkey opens another rift in the fragile Turkmen political system

Date: 8 May, 2013
No: Art.2-E0813

The Iraqi Turkmen political community is divided into three groups: conservative nationalist, religious Shiite and those who cooperate with Kurds. The conservative nationalist group is the largest and dominates the Turkmen political arena. Despite the fact that almost half of the Iraqi Turkmen are Shiites, the development of the religious Shiite organizations are still small in size and activities. The Pro-Kurdish Turkmen political group, despite the large number, remains minute.

Different unfavorable factors have accompanied the Turkmen political process in modern history, including complexities in internal developments of Iraqi politics, the appearance of exaggerated national feelings directly after the establishment of the Iraqi Kingdom and the situation of the Turkmen as the third largest component after Arabs and Kurds, who reside in a strategic wealthy region.

The Turkmen-Turkish relationship which is characterized by obedience has the most important influence to the on Turkmen political process. Several factors have contributed in the strengthening of this unique relationship of subordination, for example, blind national affiliation, serious threats to the Turkmen existence inside Iraq and the deteriorated situation of the Iraqi Turkmen, which forced the Turkmen to consider Turkey as the only savior. This is the situation of most of the Turkish origin communities in the countries neighboring Turkey.

Factors helped Turkey to dominate easily the Turkmen political system

Other important factors which facilitated Turkey's domination of the Turkmen political arena are:

- The political and security instability inside Iraq after occupation

Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

- Being a non-ruling community (minority) is already vulnerability for the Iraqi Turkmen
- The Iraqi Turkmen being exposed to ongoing systematic assimilation policies by two largest components
- The Turkmen of Iraq and the Turkmen political community suffering from serious financial shortages
- The appearance and development of Turkmen professional political organizations inside Turkey, whose police depends on self-interest and are contested in important aspects with the Turkmen interests
- Regional and Intra-country threats to the Turkish state and sovereignty

Factors that determine the Turkey's Turkmen policy

The policy of the Iraqi Turkmen community towards Turkey has been built with kinship and ethnic considerations, and they were confident of Turkish support in building of the Turkmen political system to return their rights (which were almost all usurped) and to play their natural role in the Iraqi political arena. However, Turkish policy toward the Turkmen was constructed on national interest, which was framed around:

- The Turkish minority policy,
- The economic interests, particularly in the north of Iraq,
- The threat of Kurdish rebels to the Turkish state and of the emergence of an independent Kurdish state in the same region.

Another important factor, which influences Turkey's Turkmen policy is the Iraqi Turkmen's strong desire to practice all their cultural, ethnic and political rights, which were not in keeping with Turkey's minority policy.

It was impossible for Turkey to remain inattentive to the Iraqi Turkmen, who are a large community in a very feeble situation and in strong need of Turkey, looking to the country as their only savior, present in an unstable region sheltering threat to the Turkish state.

The aforementioned factors made Turkey the sole financier and player in the structuring and functioning of the Turkmen political system and remained almost the major resolution center for the Turkmen decision making mechanism.

At the same time, questioning the legitimacy of Turkish interference with the Turkmen affairs, which is part of the internal Iraqi affairs, is another factor, which defines Turkey's Turkmen policy. Hence, details of the Turkish interference with Turkmen issues, which is directed by intelligence offices, remain uncovered, even to most of the Turkmen political community.

Periods of Turkey's administration of the Turkmen political system

The Turkish management of the Turkmen political system can be divided into three periods according to the Turkish authority that held the Turkmen dossier.

- The First period (1990 – 1997)

The Turkish administration of the Turkmen political system started with the appearance of the first Turkmen professional political party toward the end of 1990 and beginning of the 1991 until September 1997. The Turkish Ministry for the Foreign Affairs and the National Intelligence Organization (MİT) were the managers of the Turkmen dossier during this timeframe. The role of the Turkish National Intelligence organization increased with the progress of this period. The attempts of the Turkish army to hold administration of the Turkmen issues started in September of 1996, which was completed by organization of the first Turkmen congress in September 1997.

- The second period (1997 – 2011)

This period ended with appointment of the present executive committee of the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) on 5 May 2011. The Special Forces Command "Özel Kuvvetler Komutanlığı" of the Turkish army administered the Turkmen dossier in this period. Handover of the dossier to and from the army was gradual and unwillingly carried out. The return of the dossier to the government was parallel to the period during which the Turkish government removed the tutelage of the Turkish army, which was gradual and lasted few years.

- The third period (from 2011 onwards)

Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

The Turkmen dossier has been administered mainly by the Turkish army in addition to the Turkish National Intelligence organization and the Turkish Ministry for the Foreign Affairs in this period.

The Turkish policy towards the Turkmen political system changed along with the change of the Turkish government and with the change of the Turkish authority, which held the Turkmen dossier. The policies of the intelligence services, diplomats of the ministry of foreign affairs and the army officers are all different from each other. The Turkish administration of the Turkmen issues has also been influenced by the personal approaches of the staff. The policies of the present government of Turkey towards the regional government in the north of Iraq and towards the central government are completely different from the former Turkish governments.

The Turkish administration of the Turkmen political system was also characterized by retaliatory punishments which reached their peak when almost all the members of the executive committee of the ITF rebelled against the front's president. Under remote control of Ankara, the fifth Turkmen congress was organized in April 2008. By an openly forged election all the Turkmen authorities and parties who rebelled against the president of the front, were either silenced or expelled from the ITF keeping the president in position. The front, which was considered as the Turkmen political system and the only legal representative of the Iraqi Turkmen, was changed to a political party.

The means by which Turkey controls the Turkmen political system

Turkey commands the Iraqi Turkmen political system, mainly through the following procedures:

- The financial source

Besides providing limited monthly payments, the expenses of the major events or activities of the Turkmen organizations were paid for after a written request by the office in charge. After the establishment of the ITF, when the Turkish authorities were involved directly in the administration, the salaries were allocated for the staff. Later on, budgets were allotted for the departments of the ITF. The total

Part III: Turkey opens another rift in the fragile Turkmen political system

budget was sent to the president of the ITF in the headquarters until the revolution of the executives of the ITF against the president in 2008, after which the budgets were sent directly to the departments.

Thus, the funding is subjected to the general Turkish national policy and the policy of the Turkish office, which holds the Turkmen dossier. As a result, important events or activities, which are not consistent with the Turkish national policies or with policies of the offices, which administer the Turkmen system, are not financed even if it is crucial to the Turkmen of Iraq. Financing is also used as a punishment, and the payments are withheld when an organization is not realized an order or when the organization's decisions or activities are found to be unacceptable by the Turkish authorities. Funding has been used as a deterrent threat. The organizations are not allowed to obtain financing from other sources. Obtaining financial support from other kin powers, for example Azerbaijan, has been refused. Funding has frequently been exposed to abuse by intervening authorities.

- Assignment mechanism

Turkey holds the assignment of the high-ranking staff in its hand, for example the president, members of the executive committee, the heads of the office and candidates in elections. Those who do not comply with the orders of Ankara were dismissed and those who dismissed by ITF were refused by Turkey, for example:

- Dismiss of the president of the ITF in 2008 by the executive committee was refused by Turkey and the president of the ITF kept his post.
- The Turkish government refused dismissal of the Ankara representative of the ITF by the president of the ITF in 2011.
- Collective dismissals of higher staff and political parties have been occurred in the fifth Turkmen congress in 2008.
- Collective dismissals of all the workers of Baghdad branch of the ITF in 2010.

- Media

Turkmen media was ignored by Turkey and remained ineffective. Turkmen Eli television has always been administered directly by Ankara and subordinated to Turkish policy. It serves the Turkish policy and the pro-Turkish Turkmen politicians and organizations,

and bans those who do not follow Turkish policy. The Turkmen Eli newspaper remains seriously underdeveloped in size and content. Non Pro-Turkish Turkmen Medias are not supported. Because of the absence of the Turkmen press, the Turkmen people today lack the simplest information about Iraqi politics and even about the Turkmen politics and Turkmen institutions. Consequently, participation of the Turkmen people in the political process is almost absent.

- Disruption of the Turkmen political system

Turkey has not paid any attention to the integrity of the Turkmen political system. In fact, it has hampered the building of the general independent Turkmen political system. The Turkmen authorities and organizations, which are suited to the Turkish policies, are included in the process and the others are excluded. The organizations, which violated Turkish policies or refused to obey Turkish dictations are expelled or forced to quit and marginalized. The large Turkmen Shiite group has been excluded from the Turkmen national political process from the start, which was in the early 1990s and establishment of the ITF in 1995. The same policy applied to any Turkmen authority and organization, which is not subject to the Turkish policies. It is known that almost half of the Iraqi Turkmen are from the Shiite sect, while Turkey forced the ITF to follow its sectarian Sunni policy inside Iraq. The ITF was forced to cooperate or ally with groups, which were in coalition with Turkey, despite that the majority of Turkmen organizations and politicians did not prefer those groups (even by some of the ITF's politicians). Thus, Turkey prevented establishment of an independent Turkmen political system and the Turkmen organizations are subjected to the Iraqi non-Turkmen groups, which are cooperating with Turkey.

- Others

The Turkish administration does not hesitate to use intimidation against the Turkmen to preserve its administration of the Iraqi Turkmen. Threatening and kidnapping were used to silence Turkmen writers and politicians.

Turkmen political setbacks under Turkish domination

Part III: Turkey opens another rift in the fragile Turkmen political system

During the twenty three years of its lifetime, the fragile and dispersed Turkmen political system which has suffered from serious financial shortage and has been dominated by Turkey, has survived several crucial setbacks. This has totally diverted its course from Turkmen national objectives:

- The first professional Turkmen political party called the Iraqi National Turkmen Party, which was the largest, was forced to change its leaders in 1996. The party was expelled from the ITF in 2008 and financial support was cut and marginalized. The party has now almost disappeared from the political arena.
- The administration of the Erbil branch of the cultural Turkmen Brotherhood Club, which refused to be entered under the umbrella of the ITF, was forced to split in 1996. After a month after the joining of a group of the executive committee under leadership of Wadad Arsalan into the INTP, the president and his group left the club. The club became ready to be included in the ITF.
- Turkey prevented Turkmen from participating in the negotiations of the distribution of the money of the oil-for-food program. Thus, the Turkmen were deprived of a share of a huge money, while the Kurdish parties received 13% of that sum.
- In 1996, the President of the ITF was dismissed and established a new party, which remained outside the umbrella of the front.
- The third President of the ITF Chalabi, who was brought to the head of the ITF in 1996, was marginalized and later on dismissed from the front in the middle of 1997. Chalabi also remained out of the ITF, which was considered the Turkmen political system.
- The fourth president of the ITF, Arsalan, left the front, with a large group of Turkmen politicians in 2000 after accusing Turkey of interfering in the front's basic functioning and Turkish authorities of fraudulent behavior then joined the Kurdish authorities.
- Turkmen political participation in the Iraqi opposition congresses was ignored, dispersed, and ineffective. The Turkish authorities in line with Turkish national policy directed this participation.
- After occupation, the Iraqi Turkmen were almost completely shut out of the political process, when Turkey – US relations had deteriorated.

- The Turkmen political system suffered crushing defeats in almost all the Iraqi elections, and Turkmen candidates received a ridiculously low number of votes, consequently, the Turkmen members of the Iraqi parliament and even in the province councils were importantly low in all semesters of the Iraqi parliament.
- The work of the ITF members in all the semesters of the Iraqi parliament was almost completely uncoordinated and they almost never organized meeting for their group. This is true even in some provincial council. Some of the ITF members of the Iraqi parliament left the ITF as soon as they were elected behaving against the objectives of the Front and even against the interests of Turkmen.
- In 2003, almost all the Erbil Turkmen left the ITF, who went on to cooperate with the Kurdish authorities. The president of the front was excluded from the political process.
- Interference of Turkey with the process of the organization, results of the third Turkmen congress in 2005 and modification of the ITF administration committee members was well known by most of the Turkmen politicians. The excluded administration of the ITF established a new party and remained out of the front. The Erbil department of the Iraqi Turkmen left the front, seizing all offices and buildings, after they described the front as plaything of Turkey.
- The period of the presidency of Sadettin Ergeç, was the longest presidency period in the history of the ITF, lasting for two electoral periods. It was the most inefficient and ineffective period of the ITF and of the Turkmen political system. Ergeç was loyal to the Turkish administration despite their unconstructive Turkmen policy, hegemony on the Turkmen political system and application of all directives without discussion. In return, he was held for longer period as president of the ITF, against the will of the members of the executive committee of the front. Ergeç, who had the full support of The Turkish army, administered the ITF repressively which revolted almost all the members of the executive committee.
- The Turkish interference in the process of the fifth Turkmen congress in 2008 was overt in disregarding and insulting the will of the Turkmen political system. Turkey refused the dismissal of Sadettin Ergeç by the executive committee, ordering organization of the fifth general Turkmen congress. Three

Part III: Turkey opens another rift in the fragile Turkmen political system

Turkmen were sent by Ankara to organize the congress. They arranged a false election and expelled or silenced all the members of the executive committee who dismissed Ergeç. The financial support of the expelled parties was cut. Ergeç remained president of the ITF.

- In 2010, the whole Baghdad office of the ITF was dismissed when the head of the office contradicted and disputed the president Ergeç.
- The Turkmen council, which was formed from the Turkmen Shura in 2003, remained subordinated to the ITF, which was dominated by Turkey. The council remained a puppet organization and stopped working shortly afterwards.

Sectarian alliances of Turkey in Iraq

The Turkish – Iraqi relationship and Turkey's Iraq policy, hence the Turkish administration of the Turkmen political system, recently has new direction as a result of changes to the Turkish foreign policy. The new Turkish policy is based on sectarian Sunni religious ideology and national interests, interfering with the interior affairs of Iraq and even disregarding Iraqi unity, while the preservation of the unity of Iraq had always been a basic policy of former Turkish governments. Turkey could establish close collaboration with three major Iraqi Sunni blocs to the degree interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq:

- **Renewal List**

This bloc is led by one of the former leaders of the Iraqi Islamic party of Sunni sect and deputy of the Iraqi president Tariq al-Hashimi who was accused of terrorism and fled to Turkey, where he was received. The Renewal list has 20 seats in the Iraqi parliament, which is considered the largest Sunni Islamic bloc in the present Iraqi parliament.

The observer of the Iraqi issues can easily learn that the Turkey adopts an unusual religious sectarian policy with al-Hashimi, which is clearly contradicting the basics and the principles of the international relations.

The depth of the Turkey–al-Hashimi relationship was realized after the latter was accused of terrorist activities inside Iraq. Disregarding the international law, ignoring the decision of the Interpol and interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq, Turkey granted residence and a Turkish passport to al-Hashimi. At the same time, Turkey – Iraq relationship was disturbed and the large Turkish economic interests in Iraq were negatively influenced.

Turkey also tried to force the ITF to cooperate and coordinate with al-Hashimi and his political bloc. Turkey and al-Hashimi's close cooperation started to be visible from the frequent visits of the latter to Turkey, which according to some sources reached 25 visits in certain years. While the health problems of the major Iraqi politicians were treated in Arabic countries or Europe, the health problems of al-Hashimi were treated in Turkey. His heart operations were performed in the top Turkish Gülhane military hospital.

In 2006, when al-Hashimi was the president of the Iraqi Islamic party, the pro-Islamic Baghdad satellite television channel (Baghdad TV) started to broadcast from the Turkish satellite (Turk sat). At the same time, the intensive effort of a leader from the Turkmen Shiite religious group to get a television channel from the Turkish satellite, which was planned to be financed by Turkmen business men, was refused by Turkish authorities. However, that the Turkmen media suffer from severe shortage.

- **Iraqiyoony group**

Iraqiyoony is a conservative nationalist group led by the Sunni leader Osama al-Nujayfi, who is the Speaker of the Iraqi parliament and has 20 seats. The Iraqiyoony group is considered the largest Sunni bloc in the present Iraqi parliament. As al-Hashimi, al-Nujayfi is also known for his frequent visits to Turkey and his performing of Friday prayers with the Turkish prime minister. He is also known for his many business relationships inside Turkey. Turkey's large financial support to al-Nujayfi during the 2010 Iraqi general elections has widely been talked among Turkmen politicians. The financial support to al-Nujayfi is believed to have been around one million dollars. The aforementioned data suggests that Turkey has created the political power of the al-Nujayfi family, and the recent and powerful appearance of the family in the Iraqi political arena supports it.

- Kurdish regional government

It is well known that Kurdish issues are considered the largest of Iraqi dilemmas, which have cost Iraq huge wealth and numerous lives during the latter century. The Kurdish militias occupied an immense amount of land after the fall of the Ba'ath regime in 2003, which is inhabited mainly by the non-Kurdish population, including most of the Turkmen regions. This region started to be administered by Kurdish authorities. The demographical changes, which Kurdish authorities introduced are also well documented. At the same time, the Kurdish authorities frequently claim the ownership of those regions, with the intention of establishing an independent Kurdistan and annexing them. It is also well known that the present Kurdish Regional Government is almost independently ruling its region.

The world's relationship with the Kurdish region in Iraq is built regarding the aforementioned factors and respecting the Iraqi internal affairs and the unity of Iraq, taking the sensitivity of the region into consideration. But Turkey ignores the sensitivity of the Iraqi case excludes the Iraqi central government builds political and economic relationship with the Kurdish region. Visits of the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Turkish Prime Minister to Erbil are considered the sole of its kind. The cooperation of the Turkish government with the Barzani regime in the field of production and marketing of petroleum and natural gas in the north of Iraq excludes the Iraqi central government.

The unusual Turkey-Iraqi Kurds relationship, the Turkish interference into the internal affairs of Iraq and the direct Turkish involvement in the Turkmen political system were further enlightened when a religious Turkmen politician took over the place of the Kurdish president of the Kerkuk provincial council in May 2011. In this process, the Arab bloc was marginalized in the province council, after which terrorist attacks increased against the Turkmen. Turkey's request from the Turkmen politicians that they should not object to the Kurdish inclusion of the Kerkuk region obviously uncovered the Turkish encouragement of Kurdish secession from Iraq.

The visit of the Turkish minister for Foreign Affairs to Kerkuk city, which is well known with its problems, in May 2012 without obtaining a visa through legitimate means, marginalizing the Iraqi central

government, further provides evidence of Turkish interference into Iraqi internal affairs and its support for the Kurdish authorities, which encourages their secessionist attempts. After this event too, the terrorist attacks increased against the Turkmen of Iraq.

Such flagrant interference of Turkey into Iraqi internal affairs which is interfering with the basic national Turkmen policies and interests has adversely influenced the policy and the political system of the Turkmen.

Irrational harmful administration of the Turkmen affairs by Turkey

In 2011, the Turkmen politicians and organizations were working hard on a project and organizing regular meetings to institute an effective Turkmen council. The president of the Turkmen council, Yunus Bayrakdar, who was supervising the discussions and subordinated to Turkey was continuously procrastinated the process and directing the discussions unconstructively to keep the council at the same unproductive state and return the Turkmen parties under the umbrella of the ITF. At the peak of attempts to ensure the success of the project, Turkey appointed new administration and a new president of the ITF taking specific Turkmen politicians from different Turkmen parties. Thus, Turkey hampered the institution of an independent Turkmen council and preserved its strict role on the ITF, which is still considered as the Turkmen political system.

In early 2011, the representative of the Ankara division of the ITF, through which Turkey dictates most of its role on the ITF, started to support the Turkish secessionist policy of the north of Iraq. The intention of the Turkish government to appoint the Ankara representative as the head of the ITF was published in Turkish media. In June 2011, the president of the ITF dismissed the Ankara representative of the ITF, which was refused by Turkey.

The Turkish misuse of the Iraqi Turkmen political system and the his interference in to the internal affairs of Iraq was clear when Turkey ordered the Turkmen minister to withdraw from al-Maliki's Cabinet in December 2011 to protest the terrorism charges against the Vice President and head of the Sunni Renewal List, Tariq al-Hashimi, who has been supported by Turkey. The order of Turkish government was

Part III: Turkey opens another rift in the fragile Turkmen political system

refused by most of the Turkmen politicians and Turkmen public opinion, and Turkmen minister remain attending the meetings of the cabinet.

As it is well known from the course of Turkey's Turkmen policy for the past 23 years and from the new sectarian intrusive approach of the Turkish government into Iraqi internal affairs, the silence of the Turkish government in front of refusal of its orders by ITF, which was the first of its kind, was not expected.

As a result, the processes of the Turkish government to penalize the ITF were followed. The President of the ITF was called by the Turkish authorities and asked to resign. He refused the order, citing that the President of the ITF was to be officially appointed and dismissed by a Turkmen Congress and that accordingly the 6th Turkmen congress should be organized. The organization of such a congress was not in favor of Turkey, hence such an event was ignored and the retaliatory sanctions began. Almost all the financial support to the ITF was cut. Noting that the ITF is financed only by Turkey and any financial support from any other sources were prohibited.

Furthermore, Turkey started to create a rift in the leadership of the ITF, by encouraging of the Islamists and opportunists against those who opposed the Turkish dictations in the executive committee of the ITF. A pro-Turkish group, who served the Turkish sectarian policy and Turkish interests, was created in the administration and in the decision-making authority of the ITF. This group started to receive more space in Turkmen Eli television broadcasts, guide anti-Iraqi government policy, which was in dispute with Turkish government and hamper the decision making processes of the front.

The pro-Turkish group, following Turkey's general Turkmen policy, which refuses the establishment of a general independent Turkmen council, remained out of the consensus of the Turkmen organizations. They did not participated in the conference, which was organized on 13 April 2013, to widen the present Turkmen council and reconstruct the independent national Turkmen council, despite that they did not show any objection during the two meetings which were organized by the preparation commission. Thus, Turkey could foil another attempt of the Iraqi Turkmen to build an independent Turkmen council.

Conclusion

In view of the above stated facts, it is clear that it was impossible to save the Iraqi Turkmen political system from subordination to Turkey and easily remove such independency, which ruthlessly exploited them in favor of Turkish interests. This has hampered the construction of the Turkmen political system and exposed them to further ethnic cleansing.

Subordination to Turkey has also deprived the Iraqi Turkmen of support from other national, regional and international powers. Furthermore, this has led to the development of hatred and animosity towards the Turkmen, which has played an important role in subjecting Turkmen to further intimidations, killings, kidnappings, assassinations, arbitrary imprisonments, marginalization from administration, confiscation of immense Turkmen lands, demographic change of Turkmen regions, and attacks on their cities. Furthermore, the Turkmen of Iraq pay bills of the Turkish interventions in Syria and the hatred, which developed toward Turkey for supporting the Kurds and sectarianism.

Despite all the disasters, which the Iraqi Turkmen have survived for decades, the egocentric Turkey's Turkmen policy has never changed.

The majority of the Iraqi Turkmen are still inattentive towards the political process and do not realize the basis for Turkey's Turkmen policy and its destructive results.

Recommendations

Considering the aforementioned facts, it became mandatory to get rid of the Turkish hegemony on the Iraqi Turkmen political system:

- The national, regional and international powers and the United Nations should support the Iraqi Turkmen to build their independent political system and media.
- The Iraqi government should provide the Turkmen political system and the political systems of the other components of the Iraqi population with legal national funding. Otherwise, they will remain exposed to misuse by external powers.

Part III: Turkey opens another rift in the fragile Turkmen political system

- Professional independent Turkmen media should be instituted to enlighten the Turkmen community and make them share in the political process.
- The Turkmen should build their relationship with Turkey on mutual interests leave the blind obedience to Turkey and find other allies.

Part IV

Turkey's Turkmen policy lacks the most basic elements of ethics

Date: 30 May, 2013

No: Art.3-E3013

As human beings countries too, build their foreign policies on two major factors, interests and values. These two factors vary inversely with each other. Exaggeration of national interests will decrease the standards of the values, and vice versa. One of the major determinants of the balance between these two factors is the ethical values in the culture of the people, which at the same time plays an important role in formulating the foreign policies of countries.

Turkey and Turkish-speaking peoples in its neighbor countries

Unbalanced development of the political culture results in interesting relations between communities, as is the case of the relationship between Turkey and the populations of Turkish origin in different neighboring countries. The relationship between Turkey and the Iraqi Turkmen presents an example of such a unique relationship, and is therefore worth further attention.

After the fall of the Ottomans Empire, the animosity and the hatred that had developed towards the Ottomans reflected onto the populations of Turkish origin in the newly created countries - all ruled by non-Turkish governments. The Turks in the Balkans were exposed to massacres, in Greece they are still deprived of their ethnic cultural rights, and in the Arabic countries, they are marginalized and exposed to serious assimilation policies, as in the cases of the Iraqi¹ and Syrian² Turkmen. These suppressed communities had no other choice than to consider Turkey as their only rescuer, while Turkey has no policy toward these communities.

The long-lasting unfavorable geo-political factors negatively influenced the development of the political system of these Turkish origin communities. The absence of political experiences and a serious shortage of finances have further subordinated these

populations to Turkey. At the same time, this has increased the animosity against them and removed the possibility of getting help from any other national, regional or international powers.

Inhuman dimensions of Turkey's Turkmen policy

Those who have followed the course of Turkey's Iraq policy, particularly over the past two decades can easily find various inhuman dimensions in Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen policy. Turkey remained inattentive to Iraqi Turkmen issues until the second Gulf war in 1990, even though they were exposed to serious assimilation policies, executions and massacres.

Only after the formation of the Safe Haven in northern Iraq, which created a power vacuum and potential security threat to the Turkish state, did Turkey allow the Iraqi Turkmen to institute a political party and began to support them financially. In return, Turkey has dominated the Iraqi Turkmen political arena, playing a major role in determining the basic policies and leading staff in favor of Turkey's national policy. Furthermore, Turkey has resorted to illegal methods to preserve its control of the Iraqi Turkmen political arena.

Since 1990, the exposure of the Turkmen of Iraq to violations of human rights has further increased with the Turkish domination of the Iraqi Turkmen political arena. The Iraqi Turkmen are exposed to intimidations, killings, kidnappings, assassinations, arbitrary detention, marginalization from administration, confiscation of further Turkmen lands, demographic change of Turkmen regions, and attacks on their cities.¹

The long-lasting unconstructive policy of Turkey towards its Kurds has negatively influenced the relation between Turkmen and Kurds, has played an important role in the creation of animosity between them, and led to exposure of the Turkmen to human rights violations by the Kurdish militant parties. Disturbances in the relationships between Turkey and Iraqi Kurds and between Turkey and the U.S. directly after the occupation in 2003 played an important role in exposing the Turkmen to real ethnic cleansing operations.

Two other characteristics of the Turkish domination of the Turkmen political arena have contributed to the failure of the Turkmen political system:

- Turkey marginalized any Turkmen authorities, which did not fall under the umbrella of the Iraqi Turkmen Front dominated by Turkey. The large Turkmen Shiite community was excluded and several conservative nationalist groups were expelled from the Iraqi Turkmen Front. Furthermore, Turkey prevented participation of the Iraqi Turkmen front in any type of establishment of a general Iraqi Turkmen system.
- Turkey prevented the Iraqi Turkmen Front, which was considered as the general Turkmen political system for long time, from receiving any financial support from any other source - even from other kin powers, while its funding was basically insufficient to develop a professional powerful Turkmen political system that could serve millions of Iraqi Turkmen.

Turkish role in failure of the Turkmen political system and the Turkmen policy

As a result of the aforementioned Turkish domination of the Iraqi Turkmen arena in favor of Turkish national interests, the establishment of an independent professional Turkmen political system has been prevented. The Turkmen have almost completely disappeared from the Iraqi political arena. They have failed to regain their rights. Moreover, they are exposed to more aggressive violation of human rights.

The following example, demonstrates another cruel aspect of Turkey's Turkmen policy, which cannot be defined by any ethical measures.

The Turkmen tragedy was discussed for the first time on an international platform on 13 March 2013 when the European Parliament approved a resolution on the plight of the Iraqi Turkmen.³

The Turkish Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) published an article on 22 March 2013 under the title "The decision which was made on Iraq in the European Parliament and notes on its effects on the Turkmen" by an assistant professor. This article criticized the event for its description of the Iraqi Turkmen as a

minority.⁴ Although the definition of the term minority by the United Nations suits the Turkmen of Iraq.⁵ At the same time, Turkmen authorities were contacted by Turkish authorities who presented them with similar critique.

Reasons for Turkish illogical attitude

The question here is why a Turkish scholar, authorities and a research organization criticize, stressing on a pointless topic, such an international event for a kin community which has suffered from ethnic cleansing for decades? To understand such an illogic approach, several major points, which are involved in this process, should be clarified:

- The Turkmen people strongly oppose being described as a minority, to the extent that they exclude those Turkmen politicians or organizations, which accept the description of Turkmen as a minority.
- The ORSAM research center was founded in 2009 after the dissolution of the Global Strategic Center, a civil society organization of the Turkish army located at the same address.
- The author of the article, S. Erkmen is from Ahi Evren University, which was established by the present Turkish government in 2006. Ahi Evren is a renowned religious character in Islamic history.
- The present Turkish government has divided the executive committee of the Iraqi Turkmen Front, the largest Turkmen political organization, into two opposing groups. The participants in the European Parliament's event were from the group, which opposes the dictations of the Turkish government.
- Adherence of the Turkmen to practice all their cultural rights mismatches with Turkey's minority policy.

It becomes clear that the ORSAM's article was written to support a specific government policy and to belittle the event of the European Parliament, as well as to raise dislike towards the Turkmen participants in the event.

Conclusion

In view of the above stated facts, it is clear that Turkey's Turkmen policy lacks the most basic element of ethics, and prohibits the

establishment of an independent Turkmen political system, thus further exposing them to atrocities.

Recommendations

Taking the aforementioned facts in consideration:

- The Iraqi Turkmen should get rid of Turkey's domination of the Turkmen political system and seek the support of other national, regional and international actors.
- As a non-ruling community (minority) who has suffered from aggressive suppression for long time, the Iraqi Turkmen need the support of the national, regional and international community to institute their independent political system.

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Part V

An approach of the Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights Research Foundation

Date: February 13, 2013

No: Art.7-G1313

Establishment of SOITM Foundation and its activities

The Iraqi Turkmen human rights research foundation, which is known as (SOITM), was instituted during a very difficult period of Turkmen and Iraqi history.¹ Iraq was suffering under the oppression of a dictator and from the international community's punishments and the Turkmen of Iraq became victims of actual ethnic cleansing processes. After having suffered from cruelties inflicted by the Baghdad authorities, the Kurdish parties however started governing their region. In fact, the Kurdish authorities replaced the dictatorial Ba'aath regime and oppressed the other non- Kurdish communities, particularly the Turkmen.²

SOITM, realizing the difficulties of its mission, started its activities in 2002, by monitoring and documentation of human rights violations and the subsequent preparation of reports and articles to enlighten the international community on the situation.

Due to the lack of resources on the Iraqi Turkmen in the western and international libraries, SOITM started to prepare articles on Turkmen history, its geography and population. SOITM also prepared reports on other Iraqi minorities. As SOITM addresses the international community and the Arabic world, it adopts English as its official language and uses it in its activities and in the preparation of reports and articles. SOITM additionally uses the Arabic language in its publications.

Some of SOITM activities

The following are some of the activities, which SOITM realized:

- SOITM produced approximately one hundred reports and articles on the human rights situation and other issues related to the

Turkmen of Iraq. Some of these reports were translated to different languages. Part of SOITM's publications was published in a book titled "The Turkmen of Iraq: Underestimated, Marginalized and exposed to Assimilation".³

- SOITM participated in ten sessions of the different working groups of the United Nations: Sessions of the working group on the minorities, sessions of the working group on indigenous populations, and sessions of the human rights council.
- SOITM attended various events, which were organized by European organizations about
- Iraq.
- SOITM met more than a hundred parliamentarians in the European parliament and in the parliaments of European countries enlightening them particularly on the situation of the Iraqi Turkmen and other components of the Iraqi community.
- SOITM organized meetings and exchanged letters with the followings:
 - o Ministries for foreign affairs of several European countries and several embassies in The Hague.
 - o Between SOITM representatives from different Turkmen regions and United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq.
 - o Different United Nations authorities and international media, civil society and human rights organizations, and academics.
- SOITN organized:
 - o Two conferences in collaboration with UNPO, about the situation of the Iraqi Turkmen at the European parliament.^{4, 5}
 - o A conference for the Turkmen Human Rights activists in Europe.
 - o Several conferences for Turkmen civil society organizations in the Netherlands
- SOITM Issues:
 - o SOITM website, a website (www.turkmen.nl/) which publishes its reports and articles, publications of Turkmen writers and also other important publications on the Turkmen of Iraq.
 - o Turkmen Tribune website, a daily electronic newspaper in Arabic, which has been effective since 2010. (www.turkmentribune.com/)
 - o Iraqi Turkmen Journal, a weekly electronic journal in Arabic (for two years from 2003 to 2005) (www.turkmen.nl/index75.html)

After several years of hard work in the international arena, SOITM realized that the major cause of the failure of the Turkmen policy is the disorganization and dispersion of the Turkmen political structure and the absence of an independent Turkmen political system. It can be easily concluded that this is the main cause of the disasters, which the Iraqi Turkmen have had to confront. Hence, the Turkmen failed to retrieve their human rights, which were usurped during the Ba'ath rule and at the same time, they were exposed to aggressive violations of their human rights.

A glance at the Turkmen political history and a simple search for the causes of their failure in building an independent Turkmen political system enlighten the major role of Turkey in this context. Turkey has dominated the Turkmen political system since 1990, before which the Turkmen of Iraq were completely ignored by Turkey.

After realizing this fact, SOITM approved the idea that "The Turkey should change its policy towards the Turkmen". This was expressed by SOITM in every talk with Turkmen politicians and intellectuals. Additionally, SOITM adopted the mission to further research the Turkish unconstructive role in the failure of Turkmen political system, and to enlighten the Turkmen community about the factors, which prevented the structuring of the Turkmen political system and hampered its development.

SOITM's policy related to the distribution of the articles

SOITM started writing a series of confidential articles under the general title "Evaluation of Turkey's Turkmen Policy" in 2008. Until now four articles have been written and distributed to a very limited number of Turkmen politicians, writers and intellectuals and to the Turkish and other kin country's authorities, such as Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan. The first article was only published after a year of internal circulation. Two of these articles were translated to Arabic and Turkish and the other two will be translated in the future.

The titles of the articles are:

- Evaluation of Turkey's Turkmen policy (Part I): The unconstructive role of the Iraqi Turkmen Front within the Turkmen Policy.⁶

Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

- Evaluation of Turkey's Turkmen policy (Part II): The Turkmen of Iraq are Victims of subordination and deteriorated national politics
- Evaluation of Turkey's Turkmen policy (Part III): Turkey opens another rift in the fragile Turkmen political system
- Evaluation of Turkey's Turkmen policy (Part IV): Lacking the most basic elements of ethics
- Evaluation of Turkey's Turkmen policy (Part VI): The unconstructive role of the Turkey in structuring and functioning of the fragile political system of the Iraqi Turkmen. (Upcoming)

Evaluation of Turkey's Turkmen policy (part II) was sent to about seventy addresses including the highest Turkmen politicians, writers and opinion leaders which mostly confirmed the entire information presented in the article. This shows that despite the Turkmen realization of the harmful role of Turkey in the administration of the Turkmen political system, they are unable to intervene or do not dare to do so.

After five years work in this field, SOITM is convinced that Turkey is aware of the situation and determines its Turkmen polies purely in adherence with Turkish national interests and therefore has no desire to change its Turkmen policy.

Recommendations

In view of the above stated facts and problems, SOITM urges:

- The Turkmen politicians and intellectuals:
 - To re-evaluate Turkey's Turkmen policy in light of the information provided in the reports of SOITM foundation and to intervene to change it.
 - To abandon their subordination to Turkey. This deprives them from getting supports of national, regional and international powers and brings animosity.
- To return their usurped rights and get their human rights in a unified democratic Iraq are the strategic Turkmen goals, which are legitimate rights. This makes it easier to get the support of national, regional and international powers. Accordingly, the Turkmen politicians should work to get the support of all the powers in the region.

Part V: An approach of the SOITM foundation

- The governments of a kin countries like, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, to help the Turkmen and persuade Turkey to change its harmful Turkmen policy.
- The international community, the national, regional and international powers to take into account the information presented in the articles of SOITM in building their policies towards Iraq.

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Part VI

Turkey broke the backbone of the Iraqi Turkmen by depriving them of monthly incomes estimated to be millions of dollars

Date: October 25, 2013

No: Art.8-J2513

As any other non-ruling (minority) community in Iraq, the Iraqi Turkmen have not been able to set up a political system due to undemocratic and suppressive racist policies of successive Iraqi governments. This political atmosphere has forced large numbers of Iraqi Turkmen to flee to neighboring countries, mostly Turkey.

Turkmen students in Turkey and Turkmen immigration to Turkey

Migration by Iraqi Turkmen to Turkey is not a short-term phenomenon, it started directly after the foundation of the Iraqi kingdom in 1921 and increased after the Baath regime came to power in 1968 pursuing systematic assimilation policies. The largest migration flow of Iraqi Turkmen to Turkey, which can be estimated in tens of thousands of people, started with the Iraq–Iran war in 1980, and, although it has gradually decreased, continues to date.

University graduates who have pursued their studies and settled in Turkey, as well as, those who could not practice politics inside Iraq and therefore fled to Turkey, constitute the nucleus of Turkmen intellectuals and activists in Turkey.

Turkmen civil society organizations and political activities in Turkey

In 1959, following the 14th July massacre to which the Turkmen of Iraq were subjected in Kerkuk, a group of Turkmen intellectuals in Istanbul, Turkey, founded the Iraqi Turks Culture and Solidarity Association (ITCSA). Several years later, a branch of the ITCSA was opened in the capital, Ankara, and in recent decades, other branches have been opened in different Turkish provinces, such as Izmir, Konya and Antalya.

Given the fact that Turkmen were not allowed to practice political activities inside Turkey, the ITCSA could not openly engage in politics and remained as a cultural civil society organization. Despite that, the Iraqi Turkmen were exposed to aggressive assimilation policies and atrocities by the Baath regime, Turkey did not allow them to institute a political party in Turkey, and remained itself silent to the suppression of this group by the Baath regime.

Only in 1990, when the Iraqi army occupied Kuwait, Turkey allowed the Iraqi Turkmen to practice opposition political activities and set up a political party: in a completely unfavorable geopolitical atmosphere, the first professional Turkmen political party, which is called the Iraqi National Turkmen Party (INTP) was established by a group of Turkmen activists in Turkey.

Factors retarded Turkmen political movement in Turkey

Several geopolitical factors were inductive to disturb development of the newly established Turkmen political system. The founders had almost no experience of the practice of politics, nor of administration of political institutions. Furthermore, the Turkmen had barely any self-funding sources. Turkey pursued suppressive minority policies, which contradicted the basic Turkmen political requirements, i.e. the demand for full ethnic and cultural rights. Turkey's huge economic interests in the Kurdish region in the north of Iraq were in contradiction with the Turkmen ethnical and national interests. The PKK, which threatened the Turkish state's sovereignty was nestled in the north of Iraq where the Turkmen live. Moreover, Kurdish desire to control the huge oil deposits in the Kerkuk region, which is historically a Turkmen region, favored Kurdish attempts for independence, which in turn was perceived by Turkey a threat to the Turkish state.

Taking into consideration, the Iraqi Turkmen depended solely on Turkey as a defender and rescuer; it became impossible to safeguard Turkmen politics against Turkish hegemony and misuse. The Turkmen political history is full of such chronicles.

Oil-for-food programme, the revenues & deprivation of Turkmen

In early 1996, after years of refusal, the Iraqi government agreed on the UN initiated oil-for-food programme, after which discussions on

Part VI: Turkey broke the backbone of the Iraqi Turkmen

part of the UNs and United States authorities, with regard to the details of this programme began. In this context, the major Iraqi opposition components were invited to New York to participate in the discussions on the distribution of the revenues of the programme.

Members from the leadership of the Iraqi National Turkmen Party (INTP) were invited to represent the Iraqi Turkmen. The INTP was the largest of the Turkmen parties that had been participating in the Iraqi opposition conferences since the first conference on 11 March 1992 in Beirut and elected to the executive committee at the Salah al-Din Conference of 17 October 1992.

However, the attempts of the executives of the INTP to participate in the above mentioned discussions was refused by the Turkish authorities, particularly by the Counter-Terrorism Department which was active in the north of Iraq. It is worth noting that Turkey was dissatisfied with the leadership of the INTP at that time and displaced them during the second congress of the party, which was organized on 18-20 August 1996 in the city of Erbil.

When the arrival of the Turkmen representatives to New York was delayed, Ahmad al-Chalabi, President of the Iraqi National Conference, contacted the Turkmen authorities in Turkey. After having learned that Turkey was displeased with the participation of the Turkmen in the above-mentioned discussions with the leadership of the INTP party, he contacted Turkish officials working on the Iraq Desk of the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. As well as, he contacted the Turkish National Intelligence Organization. He informed them about the importance of the New York - based discussions for the Iraqi Turkmen community and for the future of Iraq. Al-Chalabi also proposed a compromise to the Turkish authorities, suggesting that other Turkmen politicians, favored by the Turkish authorities be sent in place of the initially invited INTP leaders. This proposal was also refused and al-Chalabi was asked to remove the Turkmen from the list of attendees for the conference.

During the above-mentioned New York discussions, from which the Iraqi Turkmen were excluded, the revenue of the oil-for-food programme was allocated, resulting in 13 percent being allotted to the Kurdish region and thus given to Kurdish parties.

The Iraqi opposition then accepted that the Turkmen account for 6% of the total population of Iraq and the Kurds 13%. Accordingly, when the Kurdish parties received a share 13% from those incomes, the expected share of the Turkmen was 6%, which was worth millions of US dollars monthly.

As a consequence, the Turkmen community, the Turkmen regions and the Turkmen political system were deprived of a vital funding. In a time they were suffering from extreme poverty and from the overriding of Kurdish armed parties. The Turkmen remained suffering from the dominance of the economically rich and politically, as well as militarily powerful Kurdish parties.

The past twenty-two years of Turkmen political history, during which Turkey has dominated the Turkmen political system, have been full of such traumas due to Turkish mismanagement of Turkmen political organizations.¹ The miserable conditions of the Iraqi Turkmen community and fragility of its political system today gives a clear idea of the destructive nature of Turkey's Turkmen policy.

In light of the many issues described above, the institution of an independent Turkmen political system is urgently needed, in order to stop the atrocities threatening the existence of the Turkmen of Iraq.

According to the National Political Parties' Law the Iraqi government is obliged to financially support the Turkmen in this endeavor and put an end to their exploitation by Turkey.

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 - (Part III): Turkey opens another rift in the fragile Turkmen political system. (Unpublished)
 - (Part IV): Lacking the most basic elements of ethics. (Unpublished)
 - (Part V): An approach of the Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights Research Foundation. (Published)

Part VII

Based on Machiavelli standard, justifies all the means

Date: November 21, 2013
No: Art.9-K2113

Appearance of the Turkmen political organizations

The Turkmen political structure was founded and grew in very unfavorable circumstances, which delayed appearance of professional Turkmen parties, seriously restricted their functioning and exposed them to misuse. The non-professional Turkmen movements started to be founded since the fifties of the latter century, which were secret and with limited activities.

The professional Turkmen political parties have emerged with increase of the activities of the Iraqi opposition abroad after occupation of Kuwait by the Ba'ath regime in 1990. After approval of the Turkish government and extensive activities of Turkmen intellectuals in Turkey at the end of 1990 and beginning of 1991, the first professional Iraqi Turkmen political party was founded, which was called the Iraqi National Turkmen Party (INTP). The Turkmen intellectuals and population, which were longing for a political institution for decades, embraced the INTP and gathered around it.

That was in the national conservative field. The first Turkmen Shi'ite religious party, which was called Islamic Union of the Iraqi Turkmen, appeared several months after the appearance of INTP in Syria and within the Iraqi al-Dawa Party. This group remained confined to its religious field with limited ethnic cultural activities.

Factors delayed appearance of the Turkmen political organizations

Several geopolitical factors played important roles in the creation of the long-term disadvantageous circumstances of the Iraqi Turkmen. The antipathy that was developed by other ethnic communities against the Ottomans during the late-Ottoman rule was reflected

towards the Turkmen in Iraq. The presence of two large and powerful ethnic communities, competing for power and land, in the strongly nationalistic atmosphere of Iraq prepared the floor for suppression of the Iraqi Turkmen. The importance and wealth of the Turkmen regions further accentuated this suppression.

The undemocratic political system of Iraq, and the long-lasting suppression, aloneness, defenselessness and helplessness of the Iraqi Turkmen, as well as the impermissibility to practice political activities inside Turkey, where numerous Turkmen resided, delayed the institution of the first Turkmen political organization until 1991.

Large number of giant difficulties awaited the Turkmen politicians and the newly borne Turkmen political system, which disturbed functioning of the Iraqi Turkmen institutions and exposed them to misuse hindering the development of Turkmen political system and its adaptation with the changes in the Iraqi political arena. Institution of an independent professional Turkmen political system was prevented. Turkey played the major role in this context.

Factors assisted Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system

The factors, which facilitated subordination of the Turkmen political system to the Turkish will and assisted Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system:

- Establishment of the Iraqi Turkmen political system inside Turkey made it restricted by the regulations and basics of the Turkish national policies.
- Being founded by Turkmen intellectuals, who were citizens of Turkey and resided there for long time, facilitated Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system.
- Due to the Turkmen politicians' lack of experience in practicing politics and administration of political organization, and a lack of self-finance sources subordinated the system to exploitations by the only financer and disturbed the building, development and functioning of the Turkmen political system.
- Turkmen people believed that there were no savior other than Turkey and they were unquestionably sure that Turkey would help them in building of the Turkmen political system and in returning their rights.

Contradictions between the Turkmen and Turkish interests

Contradictions between the Turkmen and Turkish interests are considered from the important factors, which necessitated Turkey to dominate of the Turkmen political system, by Turkey:

- The Turkmen's demands for full ethnic and cultural rights were disadvantageous for the Turkish state which deprived its minorities from their rights and had been requested by the West to improve its minority policy. This made Turkey to keep the Turkmen political structure weak, and prevented the building of an independent Turkmen political system.
- The red lines of the Turkish policies in the north of Iraq contradicted the Turkmen policies. Subordination of the Turkmen political system to the red lines of the Turkish policies subjected the Turkmen to the rage of the Kurdish authorities and prevented adaptation of the Turkmen political system with Iraqi political arena.
- Turkish new policy after 2010, which was based on the Sunni sect, also contradicted with Turkmen policies. When Turkmen politicians and organizations refused the Turkish dictations, they were subjected to the rage of the Turkish government, and the Turkish financial support was severely diminished, and a rift was opened in the Turkmen political system.
- A Turkey's strong economic interest in the Iraqi Kurdish region, from whom the Turkmen were continuously suffered, was at odds with the Turkmen interests.

Factors demanded Turkish control of the Turkmen political system

The factors which demanded Turkish control of the Turkmen political system, were:

- Kurdish control of the huge Kerkuk oil deposits, where the Turkmen live, was considered a risk for Turkey, and thus necessitated governing of the Turkmen policy by Turkey to avoid such possibility.
- The potential risks to the Turkish state, represented by PKK and the possibility of an independent Kurdish state in the north of Iraq, where Turkmen live, led to Turkish hegemony over the Turkmen political system.

Basis of the Turkish policy towards the Iraq Turkmen

Before Erdogan period

Subordination of the Turkmen political system to Turkey's policy towards the Kurdish region has always been against the basic interests of the Turkmen.

Prior to 2010, when the Turkmen dossier was administered by the Turkish army, the Turkmen politicians and organizations were obliged to deny the most basic demands of the Kurds: for example, the term Kurdistan, a federal system for Iraq and the Kurdish administration in Safe Haven.

This worsened the functioning of the Turkmen organizations in the Safe Haven and rendered the north of Iraq inappropriate for Turkmen political organizations. The Kurdish authorities marginalized and encircled the Turkmen organizations. The Kurdish militias attacked the Turkmen organizations. Additionally, the Turkmen suffered from the counter policy of the Kurds in the Iraqi opposition activities and in the administration of Iraq following the occupation of 2003.

During Erdogan period

After 2010, when the Turkish government seized the Turkmen dossier from the army, Turkey's policy toward the Kurds was completely inverted which harmed the Turkmen in another way. Depending on the Sunni sect, Turkey formed a coalition with the parties, which were led by al-Hashimi, al-Nujayfi and al-Barzani. When Turkey forced the Turkmen to cooperate with that parties and to accept the fait accompli and cooperate with the Kurds met strong opposition from Turkmen politicians and organizations. By creating a group who supported the Turkish policy, Turkey marginalized other large Turkmen groups and opened another rift in the Turkmen political system.

The administration of the Turkmen dossier by the Turkish army from 1996 until 2010 further hampered the development and functioning of the Turkmen political system, due to its inflexible character and lack of a diplomatic and political mindset.

The INTP and participation in the Iraqi opposition congresses

In such seriously unfavorable circumstances, The INTP was founded in 1991 to represent a Turkmen population of more than two million in the complicated chaotic political arena of Iraq, which comprised several large, rich and experienced Arabic and Kurdish political organizations supported by regional and international powers. Huge tasks lay ahead to be realized by the INTP, including stopping the atrocities against Turkmen, retrieving their violated rights and obtaining full ethnic and cultural rights.

Suppression of all the components of the Iraqi community by the Baath regime had enlarged the number and size of the Iraqi opposition and pushed it outside Iraq, spreading worldwide particularly to Iran, Syria, Turkey and the United Kingdom. The Iraqis abroad founded large numbers of civil society organizations and political parties.

The Iraqi dilemma that had occupied the international agenda for decades brought the regional and international powers to pay attention to the Iraqi opposition organizations. The United States became closely involved, the United Kingdom and European Union paid close attention, and Syria, Iran, Turkey and Gulf countries dealt directly with the Iraqi political organizations. Thus, in 1991, the newly founded INTP was facing a worldwide arena in need of experienced and professional large political and civil society organizations. In the context of this very sensitive region, the importance for Turkey of the Iraqi political arena, particularly the north, and the position of the third largest Turkmen population, can easily be understood.

Three indispensable elements of the Turkish policy, which the Turkmen politicians were obliged to obey, formed the most restricting factor for the INTP and threatened its presence in the de facto 'Safe Haven' region administered by Kurdish parties and militias in the absence of the rule of law. These elements were the refusal of a federal system for Iraq, the denial of the use of the term Kurdistan, and the avoidance to deal in the safe haven. Consequently, from its very foundation in 1991, the INTP was seriously marginalized in all political and administrative fields, continuously facing difficulties and exposure to intermittent armed attacks by the Kurdish authorities. The refusal of basic Kurdish objectives has reflected negatively on

the Turkmen position in the Iraqi opposition activities and in the administration of country after the fall of Baath regime in 2003.

With the growth of the INTP and expansion of the activity fields of the Iraqi opposition, as well as the increased engagement of international powers with Iraq, the activity fields of the INTP were increased. The party started to participate in the general congresses of the Iraqi opposition, and in the meetings between the opposition and international powers, such as the United States and the United Kingdom.

Furthermore, INTP began to take part in international conferences aimed at discussing very sensitive issues of interest to Turkey, such as the future of Iraq, the future of the Kurdish administration, the rights of Iraqi minorities and federalism in Iraq after the fall of the Baath regime. Additionally, the INTP started to participate in the formation of coalitions with other Iraqi political groups and in the administration of the safe haven. The policy of the Turkmen radio and television in Erbil were also considered as important issues to the party. All the aforementioned issues were of interest to Turkey, which was interfering directly with decisions of the INTP.

Turkey neutralizes the leaders of the INTP to establish the ITF and then replace them

Eventually, the leaders of INTP started to escape the Turkish authorities from intervening in the decision-making mechanism of the party, while at the same time, Turkish authorities started to feel that they were losing control of the functioning of the party. At the same time, disagreements emerged between Turkmen politicians. A politician who broke away from the party took command of the other Turkmen party, the Turkmen Union Party, which had limited facilities. Another Turkmen politician founded another small party in 1993 named the Turkmen National Democratic Movement, which could not obtain support from Turkey and was not included in the Iraqi Turkmen Front.

In the last quarter of 1994, Turkey adopted the idea to establish a front from the Turkmen political and civil society organizations, which were subordinated to its administration and will, to better control the decision making-mechanism of the Turkmen organizations. Top

Turkish authorities to manage the process of establishing of the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) addressed the international Turkmen-Turkish persona, Professor Ihsan Doğramacı. Despite rejections by the top leadership of the INTP to be included in such a front, they were forced by Turkish authorities to become part of it. This was reflected in the administration of the ITF, as continuous disagreements between the executives were expressed during meetings and activities until early 1996 when the INTP left the ITF after an armed quarrel took place on 19 December 1996 between the managers of the front.

After the divergence between the Turkish authorities and the INTP executives and the forcing of the latter to be included in the ITF, disagreements started to develop between the executives of the party, resulting in the dismissal of the Erbil Turkmen who insisted to remain in the front. Marginalization of the party by Turkey had further worsened its financial situation. Towards the mid-1996, the party lost its effectiveness to a large degree becoming administratively dispersed.

Historically, the overt attempts by the Turkish army to get hold of Turkey's Turkmen dossier started directly after Barzani-supported Baghdad's attack on the city of Erbil on 30 August 1996. Following this incident, several Turkmen politicians in Erbil were invited by a lieutenant colonel and another high-ranking Turkish army officer to the Liaison Bureau of the Turkish army in Erbil where they were informed that the army would administer the ITF and deal with the Turkmen dossier from that moment on. The Turkmen politicians were asked to cooperate.

In the middle of 1996, Mustafa Kemal Yaychili, a member of the executive board of the INTP, who remained constantly loyal to the Turkish policies, appeared alone in Erbil, and launched intensive activities to reconstruct the INTP and preparing the second congress of the INTP.

Yaychili's attempts to contain the Erbil politicians who were dismissed from the INTP failed due to his attempts to restore the same working mentality replacing only the president and the members of the executive board who were disregarded by Turkey. However, Yaychili succeeded in opening a rift in the administrative

board of the Turkmen Brotherhood Club in Erbil, a civil society organization refusing to practice politics and be included in the ITF. He convinced Wedad Arsalan's wing of the TBC's administrative board to join to the reconstructed INTP, and a month later the president together with his group left the TBC, thus leaving the presidency for Arsalan and his group.

To facilitate the mission of Yaychili, the executives of the INTP, who were not looked favorably upon by Turkey, were kidnapped by Turkish intelligence agents in Ankara and forced to keep silent. Some were exposed to conspiracy and imprisoned. On the other side, a smearing campaign was initiated against them, accusing them of misusing their position in the party, steeling, engaging in fraud and spying. They were prevented by Turkish authorities to travel to Erbil to participate in the upcoming congress of the party.

Yaychili organized the second general congress of the INTP during the period from 18 to 20 August 1996 in Erbil city, during which he was elected president of the party and, subsequently, Arsalan was appointed as one of his deputies. Hence, almost all the executives of the party who were not desired by Turkey were expelled and the INTP was prepared to be included in the ITF.

Turkish army holds the Iraqi Turkmen Dossier

Thus, the period from August 1996 to September 1997, passed with the strife of the Turkish army to extract the Turkmen dossier from the government and modify the Turkmen organizations to be ready for inclusion in the ITF. The first Turkmen congress was organized under the direct supervision of the Turkish army from 17 to 18 September 1997, after which Turkey's Turkmen dossier was seized by the Turkish army until 2010 when the Turkish government recaptured it.

Since 1991, the merciless Turkish authorities have dominated the political system of the already devastated Turkmen community, which has further exhausted the Turkmen of Iraq. The Turkmen political system is today characterized by fragileness, dispersion, powerlessness and ineffectiveness. The Turkmen community suffers from all types of human rights violations and from a real ethnic cleansing.

Recommendations

In light of the aforementioned facts, SOITM urges:

- The Turkmen politicians, intellectuals and people to further investigate the harms caused by more than twenty years of Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system.
- The Iraqi government to support the Turkmen political organizations financially in order to protect the Turkmen from misuse by the other countries.
- The Turkmen community to abandon subordination to the Turkish authorities. This state have deprived them from the support of all other regional and international powers in the region and prevented the development of the Turkmen political system, which now suffers from dispersion and serious underdevelopment.

Part VIII

Threw them hand-tied in the sea and said: Beware! Never get wet with water

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The Iraqi Turkmen have a strong sense of ethnicity, a rich national culture, a large number of educated people, and they honor unity and solidarity. Despite all of this and their large population, they have failed in the political sphere, are absent in the Iraqi political arena and are unable to stop human rights violations of all types to which they are exposed for long periods.

Reasons for the setbacks of the Iraqi Turkmen community

There should be several reasons for the setbacks of such a large community, which has many powerful characteristics. The Turkmen of Iraq remained hand-tied in front of the suppressions to which they were exposed for decades because:

- They were deprived of the simplest cultural and ethnical rights.
- The Iraqi political arena has not allowed them to institute the simplest national ethnical institutions, particularly the political and civil society organizations. Hence they could fight the assimilation policies and develop their mother language, culture, literature, arts and economy.
- The regional geopolitical factors did not help the Turkmen to get the simplest financial and logistic support from the national, regional and international powers.
- Additionally, their territories did not allow armed resistance, as such, a resistance requires a large amount of money and political support, which the Turkmen lack.

One of the major causes of the failure of the Iraqi Turkmen is due to Turkish dominance and exploitation of the Turkmen political system in favor of Turkish national interests. Turkey ignored the Iraqi Turkmen (who have been entirely relied upon) and prevented them from practicing open political activities inside Turkey before 1990, and prevented building of the Turkmen independent political

administrative system after this date. The latter 24 years of the Turkmen history, during which Turkey dominates the Turkmen politics, is replete with examples.

In the Kuwait post-occupation period the Iraqi opposition abroad was activated and the Safe Haven was instituted under the indirect supervision of the international community in the north of Iraq. There was no choice other than starting the building of the democratic administration. In this period the Turkmen was exhausted, distracted and suffered from serious poverty in terms economy, political and management experience. Additionally, there were no simplest Turkmen political and civil society institutions and infrastructure to build on.

The announcement of the date of organization of the first Iraqi opposition congress, in March of 1991 in Beirut by the Iraqi opposition, had forced Turkey to allow the Turkmen of Iraq to practice opposition political activities inside Turkey and institute a political party supported by Turkey. The organized Turkmen political movement appeared with the establishment of the Iraqi national Turkmen party (INTP) at the beginning of 1991 in Turkey. In 1995, the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) was established under direct supervision and sole funding of Turkey as a general Turkmen political system and the only legal representative of the Iraqi Turkmen.

The large Turkish national interests and the threats to Turkish national sovereignty in the region have not left in front of the young Turkmen political system, which lacked the simplest necessities and needs and surrendered to the nationality feelings, any chance other than to be subjected entirely under the Turkish hegemony.

Dispersion of the Turkmen political system under Turkish administration

Turkey disregarded the Turkmen interests and abused the Turkmen political system for more than two decades, which led to marginalization of almost all the Turkmen organizations and most of the Turkmen politicians by Turkey, excluding them from the Turkmen political system; some of the Turkmen organizations and politicians were excluded from the beginning, and others were expelled or

withdrew. The following is the political history of the Turkmen under the administration of Turkey, which is characterized by dispersion of the system:

- Three Turkmen political groups moved away from the Turkmen political process during the first congress of the INTP in 1993; the group of Umit Akkoyunlu, the group of Arshad al-Hurmuzi and the group of Aziz Kadir. The latter established a new political movement.
- When the ITF was founded in 1995, important Turkmen groups, which were out of Turkish control, were left out of the system, for example:
 - o The large religious Shiite group of politicians and organizations, disregarding that the Shiite Turkmen constitutes about half of the Iraqi Turkmen.
 - o The Turkmen national democratic movement, which was, as the ITF, from the Turkmen national conservative group of the Turkmen political organizations.
- Another group of Turkmen politicians of the INTP was left out of the Turkmen political process during the second congress of the party in 1996, when Turkey changed members of the executive committee of the party.
- In August 1996, the Iraqi army entered into the Erbil city after cooperation between Barzani with Baghdad's regime. The Iraqi army collected a large number of Turkmen politicians from the headquarters of Turkmen organizations who were missed later on. Many Turkmen politicians considered this event as Turkey left them in a vulnerable situation and they joined to the Kurdish side. Note that there were offices of Turkish army intelligence in Erbil city.
- With the change of each president of the ITF, Turkey disregarded or dismissed large Turkmen political groups, who left the Turkmen political system and continued their activities out of the umbrella of the system.
 - o The first president Turhan Ketene established in 1996 with a number of his dismissed fellows the Turkmen People's Party.
 - o The second president Sinan Chalabi in 1997 continued his activities with a group of his colleagues in a civil society organization.
 - o The third president Wadad Arsalan left the ITF in 2000 with a large group of his colleagues joining to the Kurdish

- authorities and bringing the largest Turkmen civil society organization, the Turkmen Brotherhood club, out of the Iraqi Turkmen political system.
- The fourth president of the ITF Sanan Aga Kassap was marginalized during the third Turkmen congress in 2003 and later on stopped political activities.
- The fifth president of the ITF Faruk Abdullah established, with a large group of his colleagues the Turkmen decision party in 2005.
- A large group Erbil Turkmen left the Turkmen political system when the headquarters of the ITF was brought to Kerkuk city in 2003.
- Turkmeneli party, which is the secondly founded Turkmen party, left the ITF in 2005.
- The Erbil branch of the ITF, which was considered the second largest Turkmen political community after Kerkuk, left the ITF in 2005, seizing all the buildings of the Front in Erbil.
- Four Turkmen parties were expelled from the ITF in 2008 during the 5th Turkmen congress:
 - Iraqi National Turkmen party
 - Turkmen Justice party
 - Turkmen independent movement
 - Turkmen Islamic movement

Despite the large number of Turkmen organizations and politicians who have been excluded, expelled or left the Turkmen political system, which was subordinated to Turkey, no professional Turkmen institution could be instituted. The absence of the simplest sources of funding is considered the most important reason. Today, most of the Turkmen organizations lack the most basic institutional structure, organizational departments and their activities are very limited or absent. Turkey played the largest role in the failure of institution of an independent general Turkmen political system.

Factors led to the deprivation of Turkmen political system of the sources of funding

There are several factors, which deprive the Turkmen political system from financial sources. This is considered one of the biggest obstacles to the building and development of any political and civil society organizations. The most important factors are:

Part VIII: Threw them hand-tied in the sea & said: Beware! Never get wet

- The Turkmen of Iraq suffered from severe difficulties when they had the opportunity to carry out political activities and access the large professional Iraqi opposition parties abroad in 1990, before which they were exposed to all types of human rights violations for decades leading to:
 - Impoverishment of the Turkmen of Iraq, which was part of the assimilation policies to which the Turkmen were subjected.
 - Lack of capability of solidarity in the Turkmen community due to the deprivation of Turkmen from their political rights and aggressive punishment of any political movement of the Turkmen of Iraq.
 - Lack of organizational experiences and management of political organizations led to failure of Turkmen parties to collect public support as a result lost important source of funding.
- Absence of an independent general Turkmen political system and Turkmen media and disappearance of the professional Turkmen political organization, which gained the trust and met the political and the economic needs of the Turkmen people, deprived the Turkmen political system from support of the Turkmen community and from its funding.
- Continuous funding of the Turkmen political system by Turkey from the beginning of the establishment of the system and prevention of the Turkmen organizations which were financed by Turkey to get any funding from any other sources led to absolute reliance on Turkish funding and ignorance to search for other sources.
- Complete subordination to Turkey deprived the Turkmen of Iraq of any type of support from national, regional and international powers.
- Political and security instability after occupation and continuation of exposure to more intensive violation of human rights by the Kurdish administration and terrorists.
- The absence of democratic culture in Iraq leads to a lack of awareness of the importance of political and civil society organizations. This is considered the most important cause of the absence of public support of the organizations leading to absence of funding.
- The failure to enact the Iraqi political party law leads to the lack of legal funding from the Iraqi government.

The reasons of suffering of the Turkmen from poverty

Today in Iraq, the state fails to provide the most basic services to citizens and the lack of security and spread of terrorism cause loss of people and properties. In addition to this, the administration, economy and trade work on the ethnical national basis, particularly in the Turkmen regions, which are dominated by the Kurdish authorities and militias, who claim ownership of those regions. The Iraq Turkmen suffer also from severe poverty due to:

- Marginalization in administration and appointments.
- The difficulties, which Turkmen businesspersons and contractors have in receiving governmental projects.
- The difficulties in the field of trade, which requires political support, which the Turkmen lack.
- The frequent exposure of the Turkmen to terrorism, extortion and kidnappings to make them to pay large ransoms, where some sources estimates the sum paid as ransom by Turkmen to kidnappers so far more than 50 million US dollars.

Requirements of the Iraqi Turkmen community

Today, the Iraqi Turkmen are in need of a professional political administrative system in order to secure the legal funding of the Iraqi government and earn the confidence of the Turkmen people. Such an organization will be able to build strong public support, which is considered another legal source of funding, and find other large finance sources from the regional and international powers to ensure the needs of more than two million Turkmen in all fields of life, for example:

- The Turkmen of Iraq do not have the simplest professional press and media. They do not have even one professional newspaper. Until a few months ago, there was no Turkmen Television. This explains why the Turkmen community lack the simplest information about Iraqi politics and even about Turkmen politics and organizations and why the Turkmen are absent in the Iraqi political arena. The Turkmen do not possess scientific, cultural and arts journals. Furthermore, the Iraqi Turkmen are in need of professional press in English and Arabic to ensure regional and international support in order to get rid of ethnic cleansing to which they are exposed.

Part VIII: Threw them hand-tied in the sea & said: Beware! Never get wet

- Education in the mother language suffers many shortcomings, there is need for thousands of schools, teachers and specialists, and additionally there are gaps in the curriculum and a shortage of textbooks. Additionally, the Turkmen of Iraq are in need of a university which teaches in Turkish, otherwise the education in the Turkmen language will have no meaning because of continuation after secondary school will be impossible and Turkmen families will not prefer education in mother language.
- The agriculture in Turkmen regions suffers from a shortage of irrigation systems, seed and fertilizer and other requirements of modern harvest.
- Despite the large amount of Turkmen literature, art and music, and large number of Turkmen writers, artists, painters and sculptors, the Turkmen of Iraq have no professional syndicates, associations, or educational institutions in the aforementioned fields. The Turkmen theater has proved its value in the 1950s and 1970s, when they got opportunities and presented many theaters for Turkmen and international authors. The Turkmen literature, art, music, theater, writers and artists need funding to revive, organize and develop these important fields of Turkmen national culture and ensure buildings, theaters, press houses, publications and specialists.
- The poverty and unemployment which are widespread among Turkmen, and the large number of ill people with an important absence of health services in Iraq, furthermore, intimidation of rich Turkmen by kidnapping for ransom and deprivation of Turkmen businessmen and contractors from getting governmental projects requires a professional Turkmen political and administrative system to:
 - o Own all of the specialized committees
 - o Be able to find large funding sources
 - o Finance the Turkmen political organizations
 - o Stimulate, encourage and finance the establishment and development of Turkmen civil society organizations.
 - o Implement health service and agricultural needs in Turkmen regions
 - o Find work for unemployed Turkmen
 - o Share Turkmen in administration of their regions
 - o Stop the ignorance and improve the municipality services in Turkmen regions

- Ensure that the financial allocations of the Iraqi ministries reach to the Turkmen regions
- Be reference of the Turkmen when the state make decisions regarding the Turkmen community, for example:
 - Turkmen radio and television
 - Directorates of education and committee of Turkmen affairs
 - Appointment of ministers, general directorates and ambassadors
- Be able to get the national, regional and international support to consolidate the security in their regions and stop the attacks on Turkmen.
- Return tens of thousands of acres of Turkmen agricultural land which were confiscated during the Baath regime
- Stop the demographic changes and remove the Arabization and Kurdization of Turkmen lands
- Most of the Iraqi people and the Arabic and western world have almost no information about the Turkmen of Iraq (even most Turkmen people themselves). In particular, the new generations do not have information about the Turkmen history, geography and decades of human rights violations of the Turkmen of Iraq. In this context, the Turkmen of Iraq need a large central library, which includes sources about the afore-mentioned fields. The shortage of sources on the Turkmen of Iraq demands strategic research centers to study and document the history, geography, and economy and literature of the Turkmen. Since the Iraqi Turkmen live in a region where there are several ethnical communities and that the Iraqi issues attract the attention of the international community for decades, the Turkmen need to have a specialized translation center in Arabic and English.
- The professional general Turkmen political administrative system would be the legitimate Turkmen authority to consolidate the basics of Turkmen policy, and would be at the level to face the challenges, which threat the existence of the Iraqi Turkmen. The establishment of this system alone requires great sums to institute the Turkmen council, its specialized committees, strategic centers and buildings and the staff of these institutions who would be dedicated to their posts and get reasonable salaries proportional to their important missions. The large numbers of Turkmen political and civil society organizations, which suffer from the absence of the most basic elements of an

organization, need large sums of money to reconstruct themselves, enabling them to function professionally in the complicated Iraqi political arena. Additionally, the special or urgent conditions, such as the national general elections, which are considered the essence of the political process, need much funding which the proposed professional general Turkmen political system would ensure.

Hence, it has been made clear in the afore-mentioned data that the Iraqi Turkmen political system, which is dominated and misused by Turkey, despite their seriously deteriorated condition, is in urgent need of funding to institute their professional general political administrative system. To organize the Turkmen political life, implement Turkmen political organizations and the Turkmen press and media and fix the basics of the general Turkmen policy. Hereafter, the Turkmen can stand on their own feet, play their natural role in the Iraqi political arena, withstand and counter the ethnic cleansing to which they are exposed, and preserve the Turkmen entity and ethnic national culture. Such great necessities and essential objectives cannot be realized by a single political or civil society organization, and also not by several unprofessional, dispersed and uncooperative organizations or under the tutelage of a certain power, but by a self-Turkmen political power and professional general Turkmen political and administrative system.

Sources of funding from which Turkey deprived the Turkmen

In the midst of the terrors to which the Turkmen are exposed depriving them of all funding other than of the Turkish government (which is very small when compared with the large requirements of the Iraqi Turkmen) is like leaving the Turkmen with hands tied in front of challenges, which threaten their existence. This unwise Turkish policy has deprived the Turkmen of Iraq from huge funding sources which would have met most of their financial needs and allowed the avoidance of the failure of the Turkmen political system.

The most important sources of funding which the Turkmen of Iraq lost as a result of blind obedience to the will of Turkey are:

- Deprivation of incomes of oil-for-food program

Turkey prevented the Turkmen of Iraq from participating in the meetings of New York in late 1995 and early 1996, during which a share from income from oil-for-food program was allocated to the Kurdish parties. This was a damaging blow to the Iraqi Turkmen. Hence, Turkey deprived the Turkmen of Iraq from a huge financial source accounted by monthly millions of US dollars. That was considered a legal funding source and its approval would have given recognition of the presence of a large Turkmen community in Iraq, which could also help many aspects of the Iraqi Turkmen suffering. The Iraqi opposition then accepted that the Turkmen account for 6% of the total population of Iraq and the Kurds 13%. Accordingly, when the Kurdish parties received a share 13% from those incomes, the expected share of the Turkmen was 6%, which was worth millions of US dollars monthly.

- Deprivation of funding from kin countries

The deprivation of Turkmen of Iraq from the financial sources of the kin countries, like Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan was no less traumatic than deprivation of the Iraqi Turkmen from a share of incomes of oil-for-food program. The Azeri government and the Azeri people have very strong sympathy towards the Turkmen of Iraq, considering the Turkmen of Iraq from Azerbaijani origin, and show always their willingness to provide all types of support to the Turkmen of Iraq. The Turkmen share the same name and origin with Turkmenistan.

A leading group of the ITF visited Azerbaijan in the second half of 2007 for a week. The delegation briefed the government authorities of Azerbaijan on the difficult situation of the Iraqi Turkmen and their urgent need funding sources. The request of the Turkmen delegation has been studied by Azeri authorities in highest levels and even in the presidency of the republic. The delegation got approval from the Azerbaijan government for financial support for the Iraqi Turkmen, to be paid through a branch of the ITF, which should be opened in the capital of Azerbaijan, Baku.

After the delegation of ITF returned to Kerkuk, one of its members presented to the ITF president the details of the decision of the Azerbaijani government about the financial support to the Turkmen of Iraq. Sadettin Ergeç, who was loyal to the Turkish government and

subjected to its orders, was the president of the ITF at that time. Ergeç promised to study the Azeri decision and perform the necessary preparations to open a branch of ITF in Baku. Ergeç neglected the subject. After a short period from returning from Azerbaijan, the Azeri authorities telephoned the member of the delegation, which visited Azerbaijan and inquired about the opening of the ITF in Baku for providing the financial support to the Turkmen of Iraq. Ergeç was informed about the telephone call of the Azeri authorities and their interest to provide financial support to the Turkmen of Iraq. Ergeç neglected the subject once more. The telephone call of the Azeri authorities was repeated several times. Every time Ergeç ignored it, until the telephone calls were stopped. It is well known that Azerbaijan is a rich petroleum country. Turkey has always rejected the requests from the presidents of the ITF to ask for financial support from the countries. The ITF refused for the same reason the offer of the Iran government to provide financial support to the ITF.

- Deprivation of other funding sources

Since 1990, the massive financial support of international organizations to the Iraqi civil society organization, particularly in the north of Iraq, is well known. That was categorized under the title humanitarian support and support of the democratization. The international organization of doctors without borders had contacted the SOITM foundation several years beforehand, when an infectious disease was widely spread in Iraq and the health system almost collapsed. The organization informed SOITM that they are presenting very large support to the hospitals in the Kurdish regions and they could present the same to the Turkmen health institutions in Turkmen regions. After intensive telephone calls with the authorities of al-Shifa Hospital in Kerkuk city, SOITM was able to reach to the person who was in charge of the administration of the hospital, who informed SOITM foundation that they are not allowed to receive that any type of financial support from any source. Al-Shifa hospital was part of the Turkmen system, which was subjected and financed by Turkey.

Conclusions

- The Turkish hegemony on the Turkmen political system and its deprivation of the Iraqi Turkmen system from many important

financial sources left the Iraqi Turkmen helpless in front of great challenges. This can be considered one of the important causes of the failure of the Iraqi Turkmen and their exposure to all types of human rights violation.

- The continuation of the Turkmen suffering from financial destitution was always the basis of Turkey's Turkmen policy. This has made the Iraqi Turkmen constantly reliant on Turkey and has forced them to accept Turkish hegemony on the Turkmen political system. This has facilitated the Turkish administration of the Turkmen political system in favor of Turkish national interests.

Recommendations

- The Turkmen politicians and intellectuals should cooperate to remove Turkish hegemony and build the professional independent general political administrative system, which will certainly find support from national regional and international powers.
- The Turkmen of Iraq should be supported, particularly by kin countries like Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, in order to obtain their political independency.

Part IX

Why should the Turkmen foremost change their policy towards Turkey?

Date: May 26, 2014

No: Art.2-E2614

Vulnerability of the Iraqi Turkmen as a non-ruling community

The rights of non-ruling components (minorities) in non-democratic communities, when ethnic or religious sectarianism dominates, are not only withholding, but exceed to include all types of human rights violations varying from assimilation policies to ethnic cleansing. Liberation of such a community and removal of suppression is not an easy mission, particularly when the community has been subjected to decades of suppression. Power centers are dissipated, cooperation and teamwork is very difficult and insurance of self-finance for political action is impossible. In this way, the community cannot stop the violations and practice their ethnic and cultural rights without support from national, regional or international powers.

The Turkmen of Iraq can be considered an example of being in such a complex situation “a minority component suffers for decades in a non-democratic racist community”. The factor that further aggravates the situation of the Iraqi Turkmen is the presence of two large, powerful nationalist communities who compete over the Turkmen territory; the former have tried to assimilate the Turkmen and the latter claim ownership of the Turkmen lands.

Periods of Turkey's Turkmen policy

Like any other Turkish origin communities in the neighboring countries of Turkey, the Iraqi Turkmen, the majority still, do not believe in a savior other than Turkey. They subject themselves to the Turkish will, while Turkey does not have any policies to help them. Instead, Turkey exploits the subordination of these communities and modifies their political system in favor of Turkish interests. The Turkey's Turkmen policy, from which the Turkmen political system seriously suffered, can be generally divided in to 4 periods:

Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

- First period (before 1990): Before the Second Gulf War in 1990, despite the fact that the Turkmen were exposed to all types of human rights violations, Turkey completely neglected the Turkmen of Iraq.
- Second period (1990 – 2003): After 1990, the red lines in the Turkish policy towards the Kurds in the Safe Haven exposed the Turkmen, who were subordinated to Turkish policy, to the rage of the Kurdish parties and their militias.
- Third period (2003 – 2010): The disagreements between Turkey and the United States during the fall of the Ba'ath regime in 2003 led to marginalization of the Iraqi Turkmen front (ITF) which was the largest Turkmen political organization and was considered as the Turkmen political system, subject to Turkey. The Turkmen of Iraq had almost disappeared in the Iraqi political arena and their regions were exposed to attacks and violations of human rights, in addition to being subjected to Kurdish parties who participated in the fall of Ba'ath regime.
- Fourth period (after 2010): The Turkish sectarian policy for the latter years (which depends on the Sunni sect) intended to subordinate the Turkmen of Iraq to the Kurdish authorities, which was inconsistent with the Turkmen national interests. In addition, Turkey tried to force the Turkmen to cooperate with religious Sunni blocs. This created hostile relations between the Turkmen religious sects and the Large Shiite blocs holding the reins of power in Iraq.

Negative reflections of the Turkey's domination of the Turkmen political system

Looking to Turkey as the only rescuer and absolute submission to the will of the Turkey has:

- Prevented the establishment of a general Turkmen political system
- Deprived the Iraqi Turkmen of the support of national powers
- Hindered the establishment of strategic alliances with national powers.
- Created animosity towards the Turkmen,
- Accused them of spying and treason
- Subjected them to further repression.

Part IX: Why should the Turkmen change their policy towards Turkey?

These also lead to loss of confidence of the regional and international powers in the Turkmen depriving the Turkmen from the support of those powers.

As a result, the Turkmen are today secluded, dispersed, helpless and exposed to ethnic cleansing.

The need to establish an independent general Turkmen political system

There is no doubt that the large size of the Turkmen region, the population density of the Turkmen in Iraq and the poverty and neglect from which the Turkmen region has suffered for decades, necessitates a professional Turkmen political system and an immense sum in order to revive the Turkmen regions and stop the suppression of these communities. However, Turkey prevents the establishment of such a system and prohibits the ITF from receiving financial support from any source, while its funding is very small when compared with the requirements of the Iraqi Turkmen.

The highly complicated Iraqi political arena requires a professional Turkmen political system to withstand the powerful political blocs in the Iraqi parliament (which oppose most legislations related to the Turkmen) and resist the powerful Kurdish united bloc in the Iraqi parliament, who claim ownership of majority of the Iraqi Turkmen regions and dominate all types of administration in Turkmen regions. A system is needed that can promote the ethnic rights of the Iraqi Turkmen, for the return of tens of thousands of acres of Turkmen lands confiscated by the Ba'ath regime and Kurdish peoples, and for an end to the demographic changes in the Turkmen regions and confiscation of lands by the Kurdish authorities.

Moreover, the Turkmen people are still far from participating in political processes and unaware of the realities of Iraqi politics. Many are even unaware of the nature of Iraqi Turkmen politics and Turkmen political organizations. The best evidence for this is the small number of Turkmen who are members of the city and province councils and the Iraqi Parliament. Additionally, Turkmen politicians receive low numbers of votes in the Iraqi provincial and general elections. This is mainly due to an absence of Turkmen media, which is ignored, possibly deliberately, by Turkey. To institute a

professional Turkmen press and media with publishing and pressing instruments requires a large sum of money and general national policies, which cannot be realized by any person or group other than a general Turkmen political system.

The ongoing failure and defeat of Turkmen organizations since 1991, in addition to political, organizational and structural bankruptcy and inability to defend the rights of the Turkmen, necessitates concerted cooperation between these organizations to study methodically and inclusively the situation of the Iraqi Turkmen, determine the sources of failure and define the treatments. This process requires institution of the mother organization, which should be the professional Turkmen council.

The large population of the Iraqi Turkmen, the multiplicity and mass of their regions and the large educated class in their society give them a strong chance to play an important role in Iraqi politics, if they could institute a professional independent political system and remove the Turkish hegemony of Iraqi Turkmen politics. A community of this size requires a professional political system to be able to:

- Ensure security in the Turkmen region, which is continuously subject to kidnappings, assassinations, deportations and demographical changes.
- Study the Turkmen economy, which is suffering from serious insufficiencies resulting in the spread of poverty and negatively influencing the standard of living in Turkmen regions.
- Regulate education in the mother language, which suffers from serious shortcomings and difficulties.
- Save the Turkmen literature, music and art, which lack the most basic infrastructures.

Factors preventing establishment of the independent general Turkmen political system

Despite the importance of a professional Turkmen political system to preserve the existence of the Iraqi Turkmen and the presence of assisting factors to establish such a system, the Turkmen of Iraq are unable to institute their political system. Why have all the attempts to institute such a system failed?

It was in fact preferable that the title of this article be “Why should the Turkmen foremost work to change Turkey’s Turkmen policy?” instead of “Why should the Turkmen foremost change their policy towards Turkey?” This is because there is no general Turkmen policy to be changed, nor is there a Turkmen political system to perform the process of alteration. There are weak and dispersed Turkmen political organizations and the largest Turkmen political organization, which is called ITF, is dominated and misused by Turkey. The Turkmen political history confirms that Turkey prevents institution of an independent Turkmen political system. Here are some examples:

- When the ITF was established in 1995, Turkey marginalized all the Turkmen political organizations, which were out of its control. In particular, the religious Turkmen Shiite parties and political community, who are present in large number and play an important role in the leadership of all the Iraqi Islamic Shiite parties, were marginalized. Note that the Shiite Turkmen community represents almost half of the Iraqi Turkmen community.
- After the failure of Turkey in the administration of the ITF, (which is still considered as a political system of the Iraqi Turkmen), over time all Turkmen politicians and Turkmen political parties who were disregarded by Turkey or not in agreement with Turkey’s national policies, were expelled. The fifth Turkmen congress, which was organized in 2008, is one of the best-known examples of dispersion and misuse of the Turkmen political system by Turkey and a blatant Turkish interference in the administration of the Iraqi Turkmen politics. During this congress, which was organized by Turkey, all the Turkmen parties under the umbrella of the ITF, who had revolted against the president of the ITF, Sadettin Ergeç, who was representing the will of the Turkish government, were expelled from the ITF.
- The Turkmen Shiite parties with the Turkmeneli party organized a Turkmen congress in Baghdad on 20 June 2009, to reunite the Turkmen political system. The Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki attended the congress and the Iraqi presidency supported it.. The Turkmen parties (who were receiving monthly sums from the Turkish embassy in Mosul) were prevented from participating in the congress by the Turkish embassy in Baghdad. The Party leaders were directly called and threatened to choose between Turkish support and participation in the congress. The ITF, which

- is subjected to Turkey, refused to attend the congress in advance.
- Yunus Bayraktar, the president of the fictitious Turkmen council, who is subjected to Turkey, foiled all the attempts of the Turkmen parties and politicians to institute a professional Turkmen council. For example:
 - Yunus Bayraktar keeps the Turkmen council out of work for the last 10 years
 - In an attempt to establish, an independent professional Turkmen council has several Turkmen parties run dozens of meetings in 2010. Yunus Bayraktar, who ran the meetings, was stalling and directing the discussion to keep the Turkmen council subjected to the ITF and Turkey.
 - In another attempt, in mid-2013, to establish an independent Turkmen council including all the Turkmen political groups, several Turkmen politicians and organizations organized many meetings, which were headed by Yunus Bayraktar. After completion of the preparations and reaching to agreements, Yunus Bayraktar, declined to announce the new Turkmen council. He disappeared in the mid-January 2014 and travelled to Turkey returning toward the end of April of the same ignoring the announcement of the new Turkmen council.

Factors facilitating establishment of the independent general Turkmen political system

The question that arises is who will perform the process of changing Turkey's Turkmen policy? There is no doubt that the intellectuals play the basic role in any change and in leadership of a community. The Turkmen of Iraq have a large community of intellectuals and educated people who realize the deteriorating situation of Turkmen politics and the challenges, which threaten the existence of Turkmen in Iraq. Moreover, a large number of Turkmen intellectuals and politicians started to know the misuse by Turkey of the Turkmen of Iraq and the opposition to Turkey's Turkmen policy increases steadily even inside the ITF.

The basic objectives of the Iraqi Turkmen are to retrieve their usurped rights, to obtain their ethnic national rights and to live in a unified democratic Iraq, which are not in contradiction with the

Part IX: Why should the Turkmen change their policy towards Turkey?

policies of any national, regional or international powers (other than the Kurdish authorities who claim the ownership of Turkmen lands and intend to secede from Iraq). As a result, an independent professional Turkmen political system, which is not subject to Turkey, could obtain the political, financial and logistic support of the Iraqi state and the other powers, which are present in the region.

The other factor that facilitates the construction of an independent Turkmen political system today is that there are large numbers of Turkmen parties who have been expelled and marginalized by Turkey. Additionally, there is considerable opposition inside the ITF towards the Turkish policies for the Iraqi Turkmen.

The sense of ethnic identity of the Shiites Turkmen and the adherence of their politicians to their national culture and defense of the Turkmen national rights, are not less than their Sunnites. The attempts of Turkmen Shiite politicians of the Islamic Union and Wafa movement and Turkmen leaders in the other Iraqi Shiite parties, to establish an independent Turkmen system and reunification of the Turkmen political powers are well known to several high-ranking Turkmen politicians.

In each attempt, they were met with stubborn refusal by the presidency of the ITF, which is subordinated to Turkey. Sadettin Ergeç, who remained president of the ITF for a long period (2005 - 2011), played the largest role in the failure of the many attempts of the Turkmen Shiite politicians. Ergeç had invited them to join the ITF, which is subordinated to Turkey and its national interests.

Several attempts of the Turkmen politicians to establish a general Turkmen political authority doomed to failure because of continuous refusal of the ITC presidency, particularly in the period of Ergeç. For examples, the attempts of president of the Islamic Union of Iraqi Turkmen, Abbas al-Beyati and the ongoing efforts of al-Shaykh Mohammed Taqi al-Mawla, a leader of the supreme Islamic council of Iraq, and that of Mohammed Mahdi al-Beyati, a leader of Badr organization.

The Iraqi Islamic Shiite parties, who rule Iraq today, believed that a powerful general Turkmen political system was in favor of Iraqi unity and could thus play an important role in opposing the unusual

Kurdish ambitions and their threat to the sovereignty and unity of the Iraqi state. The basics of the Turkmen policy and the location of Turkmen regions support the aforementioned idea. A large number of Turkmen politicians are found in the highest leadership committees of that Iraqi Shiite Parties. These Iraqi Shiite parties were supporting the Turkmen Shiite politicians to establish a general Turkmen political system. The spiritual reference for Shi'a Muslims, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, had always strongly supported and has called for the unity of the Iraqi Turkmen political system.

The request and the efforts of the other groups of the Turkmen political community, the conservative nationalists group and their modest attempts to build a professional Turkmen political system were also strong. It is also well-known that the Iraqi Turkmen have always blessed the cooperation and unity of the Iraqi Turkmen political system, so sectarian intolerance is not seen in this community when compared with others.

One of the major beliefs, which is widely spread among the Turkmen intellectuals and politicians is that, "Unless there is an alternative, it is impossible to leave Turkey or get rid of Turkish hegemony". In fact, the blind obedience of the Turkmen to Turkey make any power in the region avoid supporting the Turkmen and furthermore doubt their credibility, it additionally creates animosity toward Turkmen, consequently, there remains no possibility for the Turkmen to find an alternative. On the other hand, the last 23 years have proved that not only has Turkey failed to help the Turkmen of Iraq but also it has seriously harmed them. In this case, the Turkmen of Iraq should first urgently get rid of Turkish hegemony.

Recommendations

If the Iraqi Turkmen politicians and the Turkmen political parties:

- Are honest to defend their people which they promised in their statutes,
- Are true representatives of their people who are exposed to ethnic cleansing,
- Realized their ridiculous achievements,
- Benefitted from their frequent defeats,
- Could understand that their organizations lack the most basic elements of a political organization, such as:

Part IX: Why should the Turkmen change their policy towards Turkey?

- the legal and self-financing
- specialized personnel
- structural integration
- Public support
- methodological professional work

Then they would be obliged to cooperate in establishing the independent general Turkmen political and administrative system, without such a system, there will be no other authority that obtains the huge responsibilities to fulfill the requirements of a community accounted to more than two million.

Turkey's harmful Turkmen policy is considered flagrant interference in Iraqi internal affairs, which should be internationalized to get rid of Turkish hegemony and misuse of the Iraqi Turkmen.

Part X

The Role of Turkey in the failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections

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No: Art.3-K1514

Estimation of the Iraqi Turkmen population

It is well known that the population size of the non-ruling communities (minorities) in non-democratic cultures dominated by ethnic or religious sectarianism are either not announced or underestimated. Most of the Turkmen sources estimate the population size of the Iraqi Turkmen at 13% of the total Iraqi population. while almost all the western sources, which has primarily looked to the Kurdish case and the Kurdish tragedy for long period and lacked detailed information about the Turkmen of Iraq, estimate the number of the Turkmen in Iraq between 200 and 500 thousand. The reviewed results of the Iraqi census of 1957, which is considered by many international authorities as most reliable regarding the population size of non-ruling communities (minorities), put the percentage of the Turkmen to 9 and the wide spread of the Turkmen regions inside Iraq supports the figure of this census.^{1, 2}

If the figure of the census of 1957 is taken in consideration and the seats in the Iraqi National Assembly are fairly distributed then the number of the Turkmen in the Iraqi parliament should be around 30 out of 325. However, the number of the Turkmen members in the four preceding parliamentary terms were 14, 9, 10 and 10. This low presence of the Iraqi Turkmen in the Iraqi parliament is almost the same in the councils of many of the districts and sub-districts in the Turkmen regions.

Turkey's Iraq policy

The geopolitical developments after the Second Gulf War in 1990 had enabled Turkey to interfere easily in Iraq's internal affairs. Until 2010, the government of Turkey, which was under the Turkish army tutelage, was primarily concerned with the developments in the Kurdish region in the north of Iraq. More recently, Turkish policy has

been based on Sunni sectarianism, which has widened Turkish interference in Iraq's internal affairs by collaborating with the legal and illegal Sunni powers inside Iraq.

Turkey's domination of the Iraqi Turkmen's political system is considered to be one of the most important aspects of the Turkish intervention into Iraq's internal affairs. Desperation and blind obedience of most of the Turkmen to Turkey have forced the Turkmen of Iraq to see no alternative other than Turkey. This has enabled Turkey to easily dominate most of the Turkmen political community and exploit the Turkmen of Iraq in favor of the Turkish interests, which differs and, in some aspects, runs in opposition to the interests of the Iraqi Turkmen.

Leaving the decision making mechanism of the Iraqi Turkmen political system in the hands of Turkish authorities and subjugating the system to the redlines of the Turkish national policy can be considered to be the two main characteristics of the Turkey's policy on the Iraqi Turkmen. These policies have severely restricted the Turkmen political will, trapped the Iraqi Turkmen politicians and political organizations in a very limited field of activity, and seriously diminished their authority.

A close attention to Turkey's Turkmen policy and to the functioning of the Turkmen political organizations for the last two and a half decades demonstrates that the Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system has increased over the time, which has led to a steady distortion of the Turkmen political community.

Stages of Turkey's domination of the Turkmen political system

- First Stage (1991 – 1995)

This period started early in 1991 with the foundation of the first professional Turkmen political party called the Iraqi Turkmen National party (INTP). INTP was founded by Turkmen intellectuals in Turkey, under the supervision of the Turkish authorities, and was forcibly to be subordinated to the Turkish intelligence authorities and Turkish interests. Almost all the Turkmen Conservative Nationalist Political Community (TCNPC) were gathered under this party. (Table 1) The

Part X: The Role of Turkey in failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections

Turkmen Union party, which was much smaller than INTP, was founded in 1992.

The Turkmen politicians could easily escape the control of Turkish authorities and behave independently at this stage, particularly in the fields, which needed no Turkish funding and was out of the control of Turkey, such as:

- in the Iraqi opposition fields,
- in the Safe Haven in northern Iraq,
- in the meetings which were held with different government authorities which were dealing with the Iraqi dilemma,
- in the activities of the international organizations related to Iraq.

The escape of the leaders of the INTP the supervision of Turkish authorities displeased them, leading to the marginalization of the party by Turkish authorities, which weakened the party over time and almost disintegrated in early 1996. The INTP was rebuilt by the Turkish intelligence service in mid-1996 in a form, which was completely subjected to the Turkish authorities.

- Second Stage (1995 – 2005)

To govern the Turkmen political and civil society organizations better and more easily, Turkey forced the Turkmen politicians to be collected under an umbrella organization called ITF in 1995. Through the establishment of the ITF, the authorities of Turkmen politicians and Turkmen organizations were severely restricted and subjugated to the presidency of the ITF, where the president was given absolute authority and was subordinated to the Turkish authorities. When the Turkish army held the Turkmen dossier of the Turkish government in October 1997, the authority of the Turkmen politicians was further diminished by the inflexible military administration.

Turkmen affairs were strictly controlled by the Turkish army at this stage. The relation of the Turkmen Religious Shiite Political Community (TRSPC), which was represented by the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF), with the TCNPC was almost stopped and the Turkmen policy toward the Kurdish region was firmly subjected to Turkish policy. ITF activities with the large Iraqi opposition parties and Turkmen relations with different governments, which were involved directly or closely with issues in Iraq, were shaped by Turkish

authorities. No decision could be made without the prior approval of the Turkish army. The Turkmen organizations were prohibited from getting any sort of funding from any other sources. The Turkish authorities decided the appointment of the staff of the ITF, particularly high-ranking posts.

- Third Stage (2005 – 2010)

This period started with the appointment of Saad al-Din Ergeç to the head of ITF during the fourth Turkmen congress in 2005. While the earlier presidents of the ITF could relatively attempt to confront the Turkish authorities about mismanagement and the Turkmen interests, Ergeç was subjected completely to the Turkish administration. Rewarding Ergeç for his loyalty, the Turkish army, who was single-handedly running the Turkmen dossier of the Turkish government at that time, reelected Ergeç as the president of the ITF for a second term by organizing the Fifth Turkmen congress and rigging the election. Furthermore, the Turkish army authorities refused dismissal of Ergeç by the ITF executive committee, instead expelling all those who tried to dismiss Ergeç.

- Fourth Stage (2011 - today)

The Turkish government, particularly the Turkish intelligence organization (MIT), shared the Turkish army in administration of the Turkmen dossier. Turkey's policy on Iraq had almost completely changed. Precautions in relations with the Kurdish region was replaced by close collaboration and intimate cooperation, which had already started with the Iraqi Sunni groups, was further strengthened. A new administration was appointed for the ITF.

In this stage, direct exploitation of the Iraqi Turkmen's political system in favor of Turkey's new policy on Iraq began. Orders on issues related to essence of the Iraqi internal affairs were now given directly to the Turkmen authorities and refusal was aggressively punished. Disobedience of the Turkmen authorities resulted in increased punishments by Turkish authorities, which debilitated the ITF.

Helpless Turkmen political situation and misuse by Turkey

Part X: The Role of Turkey in failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections

In addition to the important external factors, which negatively influence the results of the Turkmen candidates in the Iraqi elections, such as the manipulation of all stages of elections and a pervasive feeling of insecurity, is the Turkish factor. Turkey dominates the major part (TCNST) of the Iraqi Turkmen political community, which has led to feebleness in the Turkmen political parties and the distortion of the Turkmen political system.

All of the Turkmen political parties in both the Conservative Nationalist and Religious Shiite Turkmen political communities are seriously ill developed and suffer from the almost complete absence of funding sources and are severely underdeveloped organizationally, structurally and functionally which render them ineffective and deprive them of public support.

The political organizations of the TCNPC either have all originated from the INTP or were instituted by the Turkmen politicians, who were either separated or expelled from the ITF. Their feebleness compelled these parties to obey and made them easy for Turkey to manipulate. The ITF, despite important shortcomings, is still considered the largest Turkmen political organization, which is under the direct control of Turkey.

Due mainly to the deprivation of the Turkmen community of cultural rights in the Iraqi ethnic and religious sectarian atmosphere, they developed a powerful ethnic and cultural trend. Therefore, the Conservative Nationalists are better known and they can relatively better reach to the Turkmen people. In addition to these prevailing ethnic and national policies, the relatively large Turkish funding and major media support allowed the ITF, at the same time Turkey, to dominate the Turkmen political arena.

Mismanagement and misuse by Turkey led to an absence of discipline between the staff, regional representatives and the members of the executive committee of the ITF, which led to the continuous detachment of groups of Turkmen politicians from the ITF. Cooperation between the Turkmen organizations was prevented, mainly within the TRSPC, leaving the shattered Turkmen political system almost completely non-functional.

Table 1, Categorization foundation date of the Turkmen political community

Turkmen Conservative Nationalist Political Community (TCNPC)	
1.	Organization of the Turkmen Democrats and Patriots (OTDP) (1980)
2.	Iraqi National Turkmen Party (INTP) (1991)
3.	Turkmen Union Party (1991) (TUP) Turkmen Eli (TE) (1996)
4.	Turkmen National Democratic Movement (TNDM) (1993)
5.	Turkmen Independent Movement (TIM) (1994)
6.	Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) (1995)
7.	Turkmen People Party (TPP) (1996)
8.	Turkmen Eli Co-operation and cultural Foundation (TCCF) (1996)
9.	Islamic movement of the Iraqi Turkmen (IMIT) (1997)
10.	Turkmen Nationalist Community (TNC) (2004)
11.	Turkmen nationalist Movement (TNM) (2004)
12.	Turkmen Justice Party (TJP) (2004)
13.	Turkmen Decision Party (TDP) (2005)
14.	Iraqi Turkmen Bloc (2009)
15.	Turkmen Coalition (2012)
16.	Turkmen National Right Party
Turkmen Religious Shiite Political Community (TRSPC)	
1.	Islamic Union of Iraqi Turkmen (IUIT) (1991)
2.	Turkmen Loyalty (Wafa) Movement (TLM) (2002)
<i>Turkmen In the leadership of the Iraqi Shiite parties:</i>	
3.	Islamic Al-Dawa party
4.	Supreme council of Islamic revolution, Mohammed Taqi al-Mawla
5.	Badr Organization, Mohammed Mahdi al-Bayati
6.	Sadrists, Fevzi Akram
7.	Others
Turkmen Political Community Cooperating with Kurds (TPCCK)	
1.	Turkmen Union and Brotherhood party (TUBP) (1992)
2.	Turkmen Brotherhood party (TBP) (1992)
3.	Iraqi Turkmen Union Party (ITUP) (1994)
4.	Turkmen Democratic Party of Kurdistan (TDPK) (1997)
5.	Turkmen National Rescue Party (TNRP) (1998)
6.	Kurdistan Turkmen Cultural Association (KTCA) (1998)
7.	Turkmen People Party (TPP) (2002)
8.	Turkmen National Community (TNC) (2002)
9.	Turkmen Association of the Liberals (TAL) (2003)
10.	Turkmen Sunrise Party (TSP) (2003)
11.	Turkmen Democratic Movement (TDM) (2004)
12.	Turkmen Reform Movement (TRM) (2005)

Over time, the ITF continued losing the trust of the Turkmen people. On the other side, no alternative Turkmen political organization could appear, mainly due to the Turkish suppressive policies. Hence, the Turkmen political community has failed to improve the political awareness of the Turkmen people and has lost the trust of Turkmen voters. Therefore, the low turnout of the Turkmen voters has always been one of the major causes of the failure of Turkmen in elections. Furthermore, the miserable condition of the Turkmen political community has made many Turkmen vote for non-Turkmen candidates or parties in the latter elections.

Whilst the trust of the majority of the Turkmen community started to dissipate in the Turkish support for the Turkmen, the TRSPC have almost completely lost their confidence in Turkish support. Furthermore, they started to realize the harmful consequences of the Sunni sect and exploitation based Turkish policy. The trust of a considerable part of the large TCNPC has also diminished for the Turkish assistance. Moreover, a large part of Turkmen political community have started to believe that Turkey misuses the Turkmen of Iraq.

Factors facilitate Turkey's exploitation of the Turkmen of Iraq

The Turkmen of Iraq are unable to get rid of the Turkish dominance over the Turkmen political system and several factors facilitate Turkey's exploitation of the Turkmen of Iraq, for example:

- The long exposure to suppression by successive Iraqi governments before 2003 and the Kurdish authorities after that date had exhausted the Iraqi Turkmen psychologically and financially, which crippled their resistance to the Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system.
- The Turkmen are an unarmed and defenseless community in the seriously unstable and insecure Iraqi atmosphere, where there are no security and military forces to protect them. In contrast, the security and military forces in the Turkmen regions are formed from Kurdish militias, which claim the ownership of the Turkmen regions. The region is also at the mercy of the Sunni terrorist groups. This exposes them to all types of terrorist attacks, which further weakens the resistance of the Iraqi Turkmen.

Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

- Exploitation by Turkey, who the Turkmen totally relied on, had dissipated the Turkmen political community. In fact, Turkey has deliberately prevented the establishment of a powerful Turkmen political system, leading to an absence of a Turkmen political authority who could resist Turkish hegemony.
- Total reliance on Turkey deprived the Turkmen of the support of any power to get rid of the Turkish exploitation. In contrary, this reliance on Turkey exposes the Turkmen to violation and persecution.
- There are Turkmen intellectuals, activists and politicians who can be easily exploited and silenced by Turkey and others who accepts the domination of Turkmen political system by Turkey:
 - o Turkmen who have ideological links with Turkey can be easily exploited:
 - The Turkmen who possess exaggerated nationalist feelings & has direct relations with the Nationalist groups in Turkey.
 - The Sunni religious Turkmen groups, particularly the Muslim Brothers Groups who are under direct influence of the Turkish sectarian policy.
 - o Turkmen who can be easily silenced by Turkey, and who are not able to resist the Turkish national policy, even if it is against the Turkmen interests :
 - Turkmen who have large business interests inside Turkey.
 - Turkmen who are living inside Turkey.
 - Turkmen who have first-degree relatives inside Turkey, particularly students.
 - o Turkmen who accepts the domination of Turkmen political system by Turkey
 - Those who do not know or believe that Turkey is exploiting the Turkmen of Iraq in favor of Turkish national interests.
 - Those who know and realize the misuse of the Turkmen by Turkey, but remain loyal to Turkey in spite of that:
 - Those who believe that there are no alternatives to Turkey for Turkmen to depend on.
 - The employers in the Turkmen organizations, which are possessed by Turkey, for example: ITF, Turkmen Eli Television and Turkmen Eli Newspaper.

Part X: The Role of Turkey in failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections

- The close collaboration of Turkey with the Kurdish region, by which the Turkmen are suppressed, further reduces the hope and attempts of the Turkmen to initiate any processes to get rid of the Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system.
- As the Turkmen of Iraq are not known by the international community and have no political system and no media instruments, they are not able to internationalize the unlawful Turkish domination of the Turkmen political community, which is a flagrant interference into Iraqi internal affairs.
- Turkey does not hesitate to intimidate and to fight the Turkmen who oppose Turkey's Turkmen policy.

The Turkish domination of the Turkmen and their political system has caused the Turkmen to endure serious losses and tragedies. Turkey's policy of preventing cooperation between the Turkmen political groups, particularly, between the conservative nationalists and religious Shiite, can be considered one of the major factors, which led to the failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi general elections and in the whole political process. In addition to the fragmentation of the Turkmen political system by Turkey, Turkish direct involvement in the preparations of the Turkmen for elections plays of the major role in the failure of the Turkmen.

The ITF in contact with the Turkish embassy in Baghdad or consulates in the provinces prepare the candidate lists, and the Turkish authorities should approve the final lists. The ITF authorities are frequently called to Ankara just before important events, such as elections, where the dictations are imposed on them. Candidates are added or removed by those Turkish authorities. The higher staff of the ITF, who are appointed according their loyalties to Turkish national policies, and their close relatives, are frequently included in the elections candidate lists.

Holding election coalitions of the ITF with Turkmen and non-Turkmen organizations are subjected to the approval of Turkish embassy authorities and to the Turkish national policies. The ITF was forced to ally with the pro-Turkish religious Sunni list of Osama al-Nujayfi in the last provincial and parliamentary elections, despite the overt anti-Turkmen policy of al-Nujayfi brothers. Cooperation between Turkmen lists, which are not preferred by Turkey are prohibited, disregarding the Turkmen's interests. The candidates in the election lists of the

ITF who are preferred by Turkey, are supported more than others. Turkmen candidates who oppose the simplest items of the Turkey's Turkmen policy are marginalized, excluded, not financed and fought. All the Turkmen candidates other than those of the ITF were marginalized in election campaigns of the Turkmen Eli television, even some candidates within the list of the ITF, who for some reasons had angered the Turkish authorities.

As the result of Turkey's selfish Turkmen policy, only a small number of unqualified candidates are elected in each election. Under such circumstances, the functioning of the elected Turkmen parliamentarians is largely ineffective.

The Turkmen political organization's preparations for elections and the results

When the **first Iraqi Parliamentary and Provincial Elections** were organized on 30 January 2005, the largest Turkmen political community, which was the TCNPC, was still gathered under the umbrella of the ITF. The second largest Turkmen political community, the Religious Shiites, were significantly smaller and distributed in the major Iraqi Shiite parties. The Kurdish list included several pro-Kurdish Turkmen politicians.

These elections took place in the second stage of the Turkish domination of the Iraqi Turkmen political system, when the leadership of the ITF has not yet been entirely subordinated to the Turkish authorities. After the occupation of 2003, when the ITF headquarters was moved to Kerkuk City, the Turkmen from outside of the Safe Haven, particularly from Kerkuk province, were largely involved in the political processes, which were out of the direct control of the Turkish authorities and were still not subjected to the Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system.

At the same time, the new circumstances relatively decreased the Turkish strict control over the Turkmen politicians. This was reflected on the policies of the ITF in the following two years, when Faruk Abdullah was the president of the ITF. The large two main Turkmen political communities, TCNPC and TRSPC, started to collaborate, particularly during the preparations for elections, which was formerly

Part X: The Role of Turkey in failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections

not allowed, even though that the Turkmen of Iraq have always blessed the union and solidarity.

The Turkmen Conservative Nationalists could participate with religious Turkmen Shiites in a unified list in the provincial elections. While all the efforts of the executives of the ITF failed to convince the Turkish authorities that the unified Turkmen list cooperating with the Unified Iraqi Alliance (UIA) in the parliamentary elections was necessary to win as much as possible parliament seats. Hence, the TCNPC participated in the parliamentary elections in a separate list.

The results (Table 2) were disappointing for the Turkmen, particularly, for the Conservative Nationalists who only won 3 seats. This was much more disappointing for Turkey. The Turkmen Shiites in the UIA list won 5 seats. In the elections of provincial councils, the list of unified Turkmen organizations in the list of the Front of the Iraqi Turkmen got nine seats in Kerkuk Province and 6 seats in the Provincial Council of Salah al-Din. (Table 3)

Table 2, the elected Turkmen parliamentarians at the first Iraqi elections on 30th January 2005 and their lists

Election lists	The elected Turkmen parliamentarians
Unified Iraqi Alliance	Mohammed Taqi Ali Hammush Kara al-Mawla
	Abbas Hassan Musa al-Beyati
	Faryad Omar Abdullah Duzlu
	Muazzaz Abd al-Hadi Hassan
	Qaysar Allah Werdi Amin
	Hussein Taqi (Compensatory)
Front of Iraqi Turkmen	Faruk Abdullah Abd al-Rahman
	Riyaz Jamal Amin
	Fayha Zayn al-Abdin
Al-Iraqiya list	Amal Anwar Arif
Kurdistan Alliance	Dilshad Bakr Mawlud
	Yashar Mohammed Shakir
	Intisar Bakr
	Sami Ahmad Ali Safar
Sadrists	Hussein Sharif (Compensatory)
Turkmen Brotherhood party	Walid Mohammed Salih

When the **Iraqi Parliamentary Elections** on 15th December 2005 were held, the ITF administration was entirely subjected to the Turkish administration and Turkey had complete control over the ITF. The Third stage of the Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system had been begun several months before these elections started.

Table 3, the Turkmen members of the Kerkuk provincial council in the two terms

2003 by occupation authorities		Election on 30 th January 2005	
Name of member†	Organizations	Name of member	Organizations
Tahsin Mohammed Ali	IUIT	Hassan Turan Baha al-Din	FIT - TJP
Mustafa Kemal	ITNP	Ali Mahdi Sadik	FIT - ITNP
Ali Mahdi Sadik	ITNP	Tahsin Mohammed Ali	FIT - IUIT
Khidir Galib Kahya	Turkmen notable	Kasim Hamza	FIT - TWM
Macid Hamid	Turkmen notable	Jale Yunus	FIT - TNM
Faryad Omar Abdullah	TWM	Turhan Madhar Hassan	FIT - TIM
Irfan J. T. Mahmud	ITPP - Pro-Kurdish	Majid Hamid	FIT - Turkmen notable
Ali Hussein Aga		Turkan Shakur	FIT - ITF
		Mohammed Mahdi al-Beyati	ITC - Badr
		Guler Ahmad (Compensatory)	FIT - Turkmen Eli Party
		Raad Rushdi (Compensatory)	FIT - Turkmen notable
		Najat Hussein (Compensatory)	FIT - ISCI

* FIT= Front of the Iraqi Turkmen, INTP = Iraqi National Turkmen party, TEP= Turkmen Eli Party, TJP= Turkmen Justice party, TIM= Turkmen independent movement, IUIT= Islamic union of Iraqi Turkmen, ITPP= Iraqi Turkmen People Party, TWH= Turkmen Loyalty Movement, TNM= Turkmen Nationalist Movement, ITF= Iraqi Turkmen Front

Part X: The Role of Turkey in failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections

The ITF, along with the Turkmen parties that fall under its umbrella participated in these elections alone which resulted in a catastrophe and the ITF, which was representing almost all of the Nationalist conservative Turkmen, got only one seat in the Iraqi parliament. The Religious Shiites won the same number of seats as they did in the elections of January 2005. There were other two Turkmen parliamentarians from other lists. (Table 4)

Table 4, the elected Turkmen parliamentarians at the second Iraqi parliamentary elections on 15th December 2005 and their lists

Election lists	The elected Turkmen parliamentarians
Unified Iraqi Alliance	Mohammed Taqi Ali Hammush Kara al-Mawla
	Abbas Hassan Musa al-Beyati
	Faryat Duzlu
	Fawzi Akram
	Mohammed Mahdi al-Beyati
Iraqi Turkmen Front	Saad al-Din Mohammed Amin
Iraqi Accordance Front	Iz al-Din Abdullah Hussein Khidir al-Dawla
	Mohammed Amin Osman (Compensatory)
Kurdish Alliance	Walid Mohammed Salih

In the **second Iraqi Provincial Elections** on 31st January 2009, the Turkmen parties, which were under the umbrella of the ITF, were recently expelled from the Front by Ankara. The parties, which were dismissed from the Front, did not participated in these elections, only the Turkmen Justice Party had its own list in the Nineveh province and was included in an Islamic list in Diyala province. As in the former parliamentary elections, the ITF had represented almost all of the TCNPC. The result was a larger setback for the Iraqi Turkmen. Only the ITF got two seats and only in the council of the Salah al-Din province. There were no other Turkmen candidates in other provinces who won a seat. This time too, the loss was not questioned by Ankara.

The **Third Iraqi Parliamentary Elections** was held on 7th March 2010, in the third stage of the Turkish domination of the Iraqi Turkmen political system, when the Turkmen dossier was still exclusively managed by the Turkish army. Participation of Turkmen in these elections was greatly dispersed. (Table 5) shows that the

cooperation of the ITF with the Turkmen Religious Shiite group was still not allowed.

Instead, the ITF had allied with the al-Iraqiya list which included pro-Turkey Sunni groups, for example al-Hashimi's and al-Nujayfi's groups. The Baghdad office of the ITF played important role in the establishment of the coalition between the ITF and the al-Iraqiya list. This may have angered the Turkish army who had secular policy and was entirely responsible for the Turkmen dossier. Shortly after the election and because of a dispute between the Baghdad office and president of the ITF, which was subordinated to the army, all staff of the Baghdad office of the ITF were dismissed.

Differing from earlier elections, Iraq was divided into electoral districts according to provinces and open list system was used. This led to decrease of number of Turkmen who were elected from the Iraqi Shiite Lists.

In the Kerkuk province, only two Turkmen won in al-Iraqiya list collecting 64,461 votes. A significant number of Turkmen votes went to the non-Turkmen candidates in the al-Iraqiya list and in other non-Turkmen lists where the Turkmen candidates were included, particularly, the votes of the Turkmen Shia candidates. (Table 6)

In Salah al-Din province Turkmen votes were dispersed between Turkmen candidates in different lists. Only one Turkmen could be elected from the religious Shiite group. In this province, too, an important number of ITF votes went to the non-Turkmen candidates, as in Kerkuk province, in the al-Iraqiya list.

In the Nineveh province, four Turkmen won, three in al-Iraqiya list and one from the Religious Shiites. The total number of votes, which the four Turkmen got, was 46,369. The votes of Turkmen candidates in the lists, which Turkmen candidates won, and in the other lists were lost.

The Turkmen of Diyala province and Baghdad are estimated to be several hundreds of thousands, which equally are from Sunni and Shea sects. Messy ineffective Turkmen political system could not reach to the large number of Turkmen, who were exposed to assimilation for long period, in this province and could not win their

Part X: The Role of Turkey in failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections

trust. There were very few numbers of Turkmen candidates in the election lists in these two provinces. One Turkmen from the al-Iraqiya list in Diyala province and one from a Shia list in the capital Baghdad were elected. The total number of votes, which the two Turkmen candidates got, in these provinces was 11,333, which included also non- Turkmen votes.

Table 5, The names of Turkmen political organizations registered for the Iraqi general elections of 2010, and their lists^{3, 4}

Election lists	Turkmen organizations	Leaders of the lists
List of Kerkuk Turkmen	List of Kerkuk Turkmen	Ali Huseyin Ahmad Qasim
Iraqi National Coalition	Turkmen Wafa Movement Turkmen Eli Party	Faryad Omar Abdulla Ali Riyaz Jamal Amin Saqi
Accordance list	Turkmen Justice Party	Anwar Hamid Gani Jerjis
Al-Iraqiya List	Iraqi Turkmen Front	Saad al-Din Mohammed Amin
Coalition of the State of the Law	Islamic Union of Iraqi Turkmen Turkmen decision party	Abbas Hassan Musa al-Beyati Faruk Abdullah Abd al-Rahman
Kurdistan Alliance list	Turkmen Brotherhood party List of Erbil Turkmen Liberal Turkmen Association Iraqi Turkmen people party	Walid Mohammed Salih Shiro Tahsin Moh. Hummadi Sami Ahmad Ali Safar Irfan Jamal Tawfiq Mahmud
Alliance of National Unity	Iraqi national Turkmen party*	Jamal Moh. Ali Allah Verdi
Not participated	Turkmen independent Movement	Kenan Shakir Ali Darwish
The Turkmen in the leaderships of the Iraqi Islamic Shiite parties included in the lists of those parties		

* Iraqi Turkmen national party has never been registered officially inside Iraq, therefore it participated in the elections as a member of the list with which it participated in elections.

The **Third Iraqi Provincial** elections were held on 20 April 2013 in the fourth stage of the Turkish domination of the Iraqi Turkmen political system, when the Turkmen politicians had started to resist the dictations of Ankara. Ten years after January 2003, when the first Iraqi elections were organized, the two Turkmen political groups

could partially cooperate. Major parties from TCNPC and TRSPC participated in Turkmen list in both Salah al-Din province and the capital Baghdad.

Table 6, the elected Turkmen parliamentarians at the third Iraqi parliamentary elections on 7th March 2010 and their lists

The lists	Name of Turkmen elected	province
Iraqi National Coalition	Mohammed Taqi Ali Hammush Kara al-Mawla He was appointed as the president of High Commission for the Hajj and Umrah and replaced by Hassan Wahab Ali Kannu	Nineveh
The State of the Law	Abbas Hassan Musa al-Beyati	Baghdad
	Jasim Mohammed Jafar He was appointed as the Minister for Youth & Sports and replaced by an Arab parliamentarian	Salah al-Din
Iraqi Turkmen Front	Arshad Rashad Fathullah	
	Nabil Mohammed Jamil Harbo	Nineveh
	Hassan Salman Wahhab	Diyala
	Jale Yunus Ahmad al-Naftachi	Kerkuk
	Iz al-Din Abdullah Hussein Khidir al-Dawla	Nineveh
	Mudrika Ahmad Mohammed	Nineveh

In Nineveh province, under pressure of the Turkish consulate, the ITF was included in the al-Nujayfi's list named the United for Reform, which is a pro-Turkish, anti-Turkmen political party. Two of many examples of al-Nujayfi's anti-Turkmen policies are:

- The refusal of Osama al-Nujayfi to bring the dossier of the confiscated vast Turkmen lands during the Baath period to the agenda of parliament despite the fact that the government completed dossier and sent to the parliament when al-Nujayfi was the speaker of the Iraqi parliament in the previous term.
- Atheel al-Nujayfi, the governor of the province of Nineveh, firmly refused the attempts of Turkmen politicians to turn the administrative state of large Turkmen Telafer district to a governorate. He underestimated the number of the Turkmen considering them in the range of thousands.

The candidates of the ITF were selected under the close supervision of the Turkish consul in this province. The powerful al-Nujayfi list won only 8 seats of which 4 were from ITF.

When the **fourth Iraqi Parliamentary Elections** held on 30th April 2014, the ITF had been significantly enfeebled by the punishments of Ankara due to the disobedience to their dictations. Ankara established a group in the executive committee of the Front to support Turkish policies, dividing the committee in to two disputing groups, which disturbed the decision-making mechanism. Funding was severely decreased which meant that the presidency of the Front could not provide for the needs of the branches which led to the further deterioration of the relations between the branches and presidency. This mismanagement of the Turkmen issues by Turkey had seriously dispersed Turkmen political communities everywhere in Iraqi.

In the Nineveh province, the well-known Turkmen Effendi family, which was detached from ITF, participated in the Nationalist Arabic list. Two former ITF parliamentarians left the Front and participated in the list of United for Reform out of the ITF group. The ITF parliamentarian Mudrika Ahmad left the ITF, joining the other Turkmen group.

An important number of Turkmen votes were going to non-Turkmen candidates in non-Turkmen lists; for example the estimated 11,000 votes of Thabit Mohammed Saeed in the al-Arabiya coalition list and all the votes of the ITF candidates with about 3,000 votes of Nebil Harbo in the list of United for Reform. ITF did not win a single seat in this province. The Religious Shiite Turkmen group were running in the list of National Alliance of Nineveh, which won two seats. A Turkmen woman from Effendi family got a seat in this province. (Table 7)

Turkish interference forced the Turkmen parties to be divided into two lists in the province of Kerkuk, the list of Front of Kerkuk Turkmen and the Alliance of Kerkuk Turkmen. This has decreased Turkmen turnout and tens of thousands of votes of the Turkmen candidates in the Alliance of Kerkuk Turkmen were lost. A significant number of Turkmen voted for non-Turkmen candidates. The Front of Kerkuk

Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

Turkmen of the ITF won two seats, while a single Turkmen list in Kerkuk province was expected to win three, even four seats.

Table 7, the elected Turkmen parliamentarians at the fourth Iraqi parliamentary elections on 30th April 2014 and their lists

The lists	Names of the elected Turkmen	No. Votes	province
The State of the Law	Abbas Hassan Musa al-Beyati	3,540	Baghdad
	Jasim Mohammed Jafar	10,654	Salah al-Din
	Nahla Hussein Saadullah	4,028	Nineveh
Front of Kerkuk Turkmen	Arshad Rashad Fathullah	39,524	Kerkuk
	Hassan Turan Bahaa al-Din Saeed	12,875	Kerkuk
	Hanaa Asgar Mohammed Ridha	2,903	Salah al-Din
United for Reform	Iz al-Din Abdullah Hussein Khidir al-Dawla	13,730	Nineveh
The National Alliance	Mohammed Taqi Ali Hammush Kara al-Mawla	15,543	Nineveh
National Coalition	Niyazi Mohammed Mahdi Kanbar	4,257	Salah al-Din
Arab Coalition	Sajida Mohammed Yunus Abd al-Karim	1,820	Nineveh
Total	10	108, 874	

The Religious Shiite Turkmen group was collected in one list in the National Alliance of Salah al-Din and won one seat. A Turkmen female candidate from the ITF, which was included in the list of the United for Reform list, was also elected. Another Turkmen candidate who was detached from the ITF, won a seat in the National Coalition in Salah al-Din.

The ITF candidate in the Diyala province, who was already a member of parliament, was marginalized by Turkish authorities and by the pro-Turkish group in the executive committee of the Front, which made him fail to collect sufficient votes.

Turkish interference in the Turkmen preparations for elections

Part X: The Role of Turkey in failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections

The geopolitical circumstances and the despair of Turkmen, due to decades of exposure to human rights violations, had surrendered the Turkmen of Iraq to the will of Turkey from the birth of the first Turkmen political party in 1991, allowing Turkey to administer the Iraqi Turkmen political system as it wishes and in the context of its interests.

The direct management of the major Turkmen political community by the Turkish army and / or intelligence services had almost completely removed the role of the Turkmen in the functioning of the large TCNPC. This has been negatively reflected in the results of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections.

The cooperation between the two Turkmen political groups, which was prevented by Turkey for more than a decade, started during the preparations of the Turkmen political organizations for the Iraqi parliamentary elections of **30th January 2005** and the first parliamentary term. After this election it was prevented again which continues until now.

Those new developments at 2003 did not please Turkey, but Turkey could not intervene as easily as it was doing in the Safe Haven. Turkmen groups could participate in the provincial elections in a unified list in different provinces.

The proposal to be included in the list of the UIA in the parliamentary elections was found by both Turkmen political groups (TCNPC & TRSPC) to be very advantageous. The UIA agreed to include 10 Turkmen candidates in between the first hundred candidates of its list and one Turkmen in each 10 candidates after the hundred candidates. Iraq was a single electoral district and a closed list system was used.

The Turkmen groups accepted the proposal. This has been refused by Turkey despite the intensive efforts of politicians from TCNC to convince the Turkish Army authorities in Erbil, which was managing Turkey's Turkmen dossier at that time. As a result, the large and most powerful group, the TCNPC, participated in the elections on an independent list called the Front of the Iraqi Turkmen and the TRSPC were included in the UIA.

The UIA got 140 seats, which meant that if the agreement had not been broken by Turkish authorities the Turkmen won 14 seats only from this list. The sum of the number of the parliamentarians, which both Turkmen groups won, was eight, which meant that Turkmen lost 6 seats. Six Turkmen candidates won from the other lists.

Turkey was displeased about the aforementioned cooperation between the two Turkmen groups and their cooperation with UIA parliamentary bloc. To return Turkey's absolute control over the ITF, Turkey considered the result of the elections as the failure of the ITF administration and press for organization of the fourth Turkmen Congress, which was organized on 24 April 2005 one year before its official date during which Turkey ordered the president of the ITF to leave the presidency. Noting that the Turkish control on the ITF was relatively loosen after the transfer of the headquarters of ITF to Kerkuk, directly after the fall of Baath regime.

At the same time, the changes which had been made in the administration of the Turkmen Front was one of the punitive measures taken by Turkey as a result of Turkey's disappointment of the results of the Turkmen in the parliamentary elections, forgetting the major Turkish role in the failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections. It must be noted that the substantial reduction of Turkey's funding to the Turkmen Front was another measure taken by Turkey after those elections.

After this Turkmen congress, the period of Saad al-Din Ergeç started in the presidency of the ITF, which was one of the darkest periods of the Turkmen political history. Ergeç subordinated himself completely to the Turkish authorities and, consequently, the major Turkmen political community, TCNPC, was subordinated to Turkey, when the Turkish army was the unique holder of the management of Turkmen affairs.

The second Iraqi parliamentary elections of **15th December 2005** were held in this period early in Ergeç's presidency and the ITF participated in this elections once more in its own list separately from other Turkmen group and won only one seat which was for the Front's president Ergeç. This result, despite being more severe than the defeat of the previous elections, was not considered a defeat by

Part X: The Role of Turkey in failure of the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections

Turkey and no investigations were conducted as was done with the former ITF president. On the contrary, Ergeç remain strongly supported by Turkey.

Ergeç's period was also well known by Turkmen community for his monopoly on power and the spread of corruption. This led to the dismissal of Ergeç by the executive committee of the ITF. Ergeç's dismissal was refused by Turkey, which organized the fifth Turkmen Congress and silenced or expelled the members of the committee of the ITF who dismissed Ergeç.

During the third Iraqi parliamentary elections of **7th March 2010**, the ITF had been included in the al-Iraqiya list, which included large religious Sunni groups in close contact with the Turkish government. All of the Turkmen parties in the TCNPC, which were either expelled or separated from the ITF, were scattered between the Iraqi lists. As was the case in the previous elections, the TRSPC participated in the elections in the Iraqi Shiite lists. ITF got 6 seats in the parliament in this elections, however, the cooperation between the 6 parliamentarians of the ITF was completely absent during the parliamentary term.

Analysis of the outcomes of the former elections showed clearly that the absence of cooperation between the Turkmen political groups is one of the major causes of the failure of Turkmen in the elections, which also negatively influenced cooperation between the Turkmen parliamentarians during the parliamentary terms.

In spite of failure in previous attempts, the TRSPC once again started dialogue with the ITF, which was still considered to be the largest Turkmen organization, to unify the Turkmen participation in the fourth Iraqi parliamentary elections of **30th April 2014**. This had been strongly demanded by the blessed Shiite reference, the Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani.

Conversations between the two groups could not be completed because, in many cases, the ITF was referring to Ankara as the decision-making center and Ankara's refusal to allow the participation of the National Turkmen Rights Party in any cooperation. Noting that:

- The National Turkmen Right Party (NTRP) is led by the Turkmen minister who refused the order of Ankara to leave the al-Maliki

- cabinet when the ministers of al-Iraqiya bloc withdraw from the government during the accusation of the Vice President of Iraq, al-Hashimi, of being involved in terrorism activities.
- Two pro-Turkish negotiators from the executive committee of the ITF carried out the Front's negotiations to arrange coalitions or alliances of the ITF with Turkmen and non-Turkmen political parties or groups. These negotiators stood at the head of the group in the executive committee of the Front, which was created about three years ago by Turkey to support Turkey's policy. The chief negotiator of the ITF is from the leadership of the Islamic Turkmen Adalat Party and well known Muslim Brothers politicians.

Being Kerkuk is the center of the Turkmen culture, the Turkmen of Iraq bless it. Additionally, both Arabs and Kurds have exposed the province to intensive demographic changes. Accordingly, the election in Kerkuk province is extremely important for the Turkmen of Iraq.

The Turkmen Religious Shiite group with the NTRP declared an election list under the name Alliance of Kerkuk Turkmen (AKT) on 11 December 2013, announcing that they were open to negotiations on all types of cooperation with other Turkmen parties without any stipulations. The executives of the TNRP contacted the Iraqi Turkmen Front authorities asking for an appointment to discuss the possibilities to cooperate during the elections and the unification of all the Turkmen parties in Kerkuk province. They were referred to Hasan Turan, a member of the executive committee of the ITF. They met with Hasan Turan and showed large flexibility to be included in one list. Turan declined to give any promise, asking them to wait until he could discuss the issues with ITF executives, but Turan has not returned to them.

On 16 December 2013, the ITF collected several small parties and announced the list of Front of the Kerkuk Turkmen (FKT). Later on, ITF transferred two small groups from the Turkmen Religious Shiite parties in AKT list to its list FKT.

Being aware of the risks of participation of the Turkmen in two separate lists in Kerkuk province, several prominent Turkmen intellectuals formed a commission to discuss the situation with the executives of both lists.⁵

The executives of the AKT accepted to meet with the ITF authorities without stipulations, while the ITF authorities showed resistance to accept cooperation with the AKT, showing the refusal of the Turkish government cooperation with the NTRP.

The committee rejected the excuses of the ITF and threatened to accuse the ITF openly when the Turkmen lose in the elections in Kerkuk province. The ITF authorities demanded that the Turkmen intellectual commission wait until they discuss the subject in the executive committee of the ITF. The executive committee of the ITF met in the Turkish embassy in Baghdad and after each member talked with the Turkish ambassador alone, the ITF leadership was told by the Turkish Ambassador that most of the executives refuse to unify the list with other Turkmen list (AKT). It should be noted that all the Turkmen parties of the TCNPC were supporting unification of the two Turkmen lists.

The Religious Shiite group decided to send a representative to Turkey to meet the authorities of the Turkish ministry for Foreign Affairs and discuss the importance of cooperation between the Turkmen groups in the upcoming election and to convince Ankara to allow the ITF to cooperate with them. In the middle of February 2014, the representative of the Turkmen Shiite group met a Turkish staff member from the Iraq Desk of the Turkish ministry of foreign affairs in Turkey. The discussion continued for about three hours during which the Turkmen envoy emphasized on the importance of cooperation between Turkmen groups during elections and presented details about the possible types of cooperation. The Turkish staff refused absolutely the inclusion of the NTRP in any type of cooperation with ITF, and consistently imposed the interests of Turkey in any cooperation. In situations where the Turkish staff could not refuse very acceptable proposals, he referred the negotiators to the ITF to be discussed with them.

The Turkmen in Kerkuk province participated in the elections on two separate lists. Turkmen turnout was severely low, estimated at 35-40% and an important percentage of Turkmen voters voted for non-Turkmen candidates. Dozens of thousands of Turkmen votes were lost and the Turkmen lost one or two seats in Kerkuk.

As preferred by the Turkish government, the ITF was included in the pro-Turkish al-Nujayfi list in Mosul province, which has always been under strict control of the Turkish consulate in Mosul city. The same took place in Salah al-Din, Diyala and Baghdad.

Performance of the Turkmen parliamentarians

It is possible to conclude from the above-mentioned political history of the Iraqi Turkmen, that the elected parliamentarians will certainly fail to represent the Turkmen community in the parliamentary terms in the aggressively ethnic and religious sectarian circumstances. Turkey's disturbing role on the Iraqi Turkmen can clearly also be seen in this field.

Even though Turkey prevented cooperation between the two Turkmen political communities and the UIA during the elections of the **First Iraqi Parliament**, which seriously decreased the number of the Turkmen parliamentarians, the three ITF members of the parliament worked in close cooperation with the five Turkmen parliamentarians of the TRSPC and with the UIA parliamentary bloc. Notwithstanding that, the Iraqi Turkmen were almost completely unknown nationally and internationally and were denied by the dominant Kurdish and large powerful Arabic blocs in the parliament, the cooperation of the Turkmen parliamentarians from both Turkmen political communities and collaboration with the UIA played important role in the respectful introduction of Turkmen into the Iraqi Constitution. This cooperation helped to appoint Turkmen in important posts in the government, for example:

Anisa Avci Deputy of the Prime Minister
Muzaffer Arslan Advisor of the Iraqi president
Hussein Awni Advisor of the deputy of the Iraqi President
Faryat Tuzlu Rapporteur of the Iraqi Parliament
Ismat Abd al-Macjid..... President of the state's Shura

In the **second parliamentary term**, the only Turkmen parliamentarian from the large TCNPC, who was elected, was the president of the ITF Saad al-Din Ergeç. The Turkmen presence and activities in the parliament was further reduced while many issues of vital importance were treated in this parliamentary term. Furthermore, Ergeç was ignorant to his duties as representative of Turkmen in the

Iraqi parliament. He was frequently absent from the parliament sessions. He avoided any type of cooperation with other few Turkmen parliamentarians.

The conduct of the relatively increased number of the parliamentarians of the ITF during the **third parliamentary term** was disappointing:

- The disputes between the two ITF parliamentarians from Kerkuk started during the election campaign and continued during the parliamentary term.
- One of the three parliamentarians from Nineveh province left the ITF directly after elections and even denied that he is a Turkmen.
- Another parliamentarian from Nineveh province left the ITF in the mid parliamentary term and started working against the Turkmen interest.
- The last ITF parliamentarian from Nineveh left ITF during intervention of Ankara into the problem of Tariq al-Hashimi.
- The minister of the ITF in the Iraqi cabinet refused to obey the dictations of Ankara and left the ITF.
- Turkey marginalized the ITF parliamentarian from the Diyala province, who was the most active Turkmen parliamentarian, and his re-election was hampered in the last elections.

The cooperation between the ITF parliamentarians was almost completely absent during all the parliamentary term. These parliamentarians have never come together in a meeting. This was almost exactly reflected in the relations between higher staff, representatives and offices of the ITF.

Only three parliamentarians from ITF were elected for the present **fourth parliamentary term**. The two parliamentarians from Kerkuk province are already in aggressive dispute due to the rift, which Turkey opened in the executive committee of the ITF.

One of these two Turkmen parliamentarians, who stands at the head of the pro-Turkish policy supporters, was the speaker of the Kerkuk provincial council and carried out harmful activities in the Iraqi parliament during the former parliamentary term to hamper important legislation in favor of the Turkmen.

The disagreements between the large Iraqi Shiite parties have reflected on the cooperation of the Turkmen parliamentarians of the TRSPC, which to some degree negatively influenced cooperation between them.

Conclusions

Turkey scattered the Iraqi Turkmen political system, dominates it and interferes grossly into the Turkmen issues, particularly into the preparations of the Turkmen for the Iraqi elections.

The Turkish intervention:

- Is in the favor of the Turkish national interests and against Turkmen interests
- Plays a major role in sabotaging the Turkmen political cohesion
- Is the biggest factor in the continuous loss of Turkmen in the Iraqi elections
- Is a blatant interference in internal Iraqi Affairs

It is clear that the Turkmen of Iraq are not able to remove the Turkish domination on them and on their political system.

Recommendations

The Turkmen of Iraq are in need of the national, regional and international communities to remove the Turkish domination over them and on the Turkmen political system, which is considered a violation of international law.

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Part XI

A brief history of the council of the Iraqi Turkmen

Date: November 24, 2014

No: Art.4-K2414

Requirements to establish the independent general Iraqi Turkmen council

The councils (parliaments) are considered as the skeleton which the communities depend on to organize their affairs and decide self-determination. The plans and programs prepared by the councils will commensurate with the developments of the present and future of their people. In this context, qualified, loyalists, specialists and academics should hold the councils. Additionally, the political parties and politicians should also play a fundamental role in building and administration of the councils, within specialized committees while the institutions hold their responsibilities to implement plans in various fields, i.e. economic, political, scientific, cultural and artistic fields.

Obligations of Councils are numerous and vitally important concerning the existence, well-being, culture, literature and rights of the peoples involve continuous efforts, particularly towards undermined communities who still are exposed to ethnic cleansing, live tragedies and deprived of their rights, such as the Iraqi Turkmen. In addition, the councils require qualified administrative cadres, and a strong, independent and an active presidency.

Establishment of the Iraqi Turkmen Council and its development

The Iraqi Turkmen Council (ITC) was founded nominally in 1994 and prior establishment of the Iraqi Turkmen front (ITF) via an authorization from Turkish government to supervise subordination of the Turkmen political and civil society organizations under an ITF umbrella.

Initially, the council of the Iraqi Turkmen was named "*Shura al-Turkmen*" which means "consultant Committee" was made up of 20 -

30 members, most of academics plus some other intellectuals who all were residents of Turkey with a strong loyalty to the Turkish government who compelled to obey the Turkish national policy.

Followed in early 1995, the "*Shura al-Turkmen*" had established the ITF under the direct supervision of the Turkish National Intelligence organization who dominated, supervised and funded it before being kneeled down to the directorate of the Turkish army during the first General Turkmen Congress (GTC) in 1997.

Since then, the Turkish governments had marginalized the Turkmen Shiite political community in building up the *Shura al-Turkmen* as well as the ITF despite the fact that about half of the Iraqi Turkmen are of the Shiite denomination. Turkey did also marginalized the Turkmen political parties who were not concomitant subordinated to the Turkish administration.

It was then in 1997, when *Shura al-Turkmen* was adopted in the first GTC and since then its number was fixed at thirty and remained as a nominal symbolic organization without power.

However, in year 2000 at the 2nd GTC when the members of the *Shura* were elected nominally without any change in the number and function.

In the 3rd GTC, which was held in 2003, the name of *Shura al-Turkmen* was changed to the "Council of the Iraqi Turkmen" while its number was raised 71 and Saad al-Din Ergeç was elected as the president.

Followed that in 2005, at the 4th GTC the Turkish army dismissed Faruk Abdullah, the president of the ITF and imposed Ergeç the president of the ITC, to the presidency of the ITF. Via a semi-nominal elections Yunus Bayraktar, took over the presidency of the council who has still and up to this moment retaining his position. Ergeç submitted himself, the ITF and the ITC to the Turkish administration.

It was in year 2008, when the 5th GTC was organized which is well known for all Turkmen politicians and intellectuals as a stage where the dignity of the Turkmen people was humiliated.

Part XI: A brief history of the council of the Iraqi Turkmen

It was before this congress when almost all the members of the executive committee of the ITF stroke against the president of the Front, Saad al-Din Ergeç and announced a press release dismissing Ergeç. Turkey rejected the dismissal of Ergeç. The election in the 5th GTC was conducted in a comedian style where four Turkmen parties, who earlier had rebelled against Ergeç, were expelled from the ITF while other members of the executive committee of the ITF kept quiet. Then Ergeç remained the president of the ITF for the second round while strongly supported by the Turkish army and the Turkmen dossier was exclusively held by the Turkish army at that time; followed Bayraktar kept his position as the head of the ITC.

Such situation represented a disasters era during which the Turkmen of Iraq continued suffering from the weakness of the ITC, which was built on fraud. As a result of the pressures of the Turkmen politicians and parties, Turkmen parties carried a series of meetings in mid-2010 in order to re-new the ITC and expanding it to include all Turkmen political parties.

Yunus Bayraktar continued moderating the meetings despite the refusal of Turkmen parties his personal oversee and wondered the legitimacy of his policies and suspected in Bayraktar as an un-neutral personnel who crept to the head of the council via rigged elections.

Following several meetings the Turkmen political parties and intellectuals realized that Yunus Bayraktar, who was submitted to the Turkish government both financially and administratively, the owner of the ITF and ITC, is not serious in achieving the project to revive and expand the ITC. His policy was restricted to contain some of the Turkmen political parties and to retain them under the umbrella of the ITF, which has already been expelled from the Front by fake elections, in the 5th GTC organized by Turkey in 2008.

Changes which were made at the Turkmen political system

Most of the expectations of the Turkmen politicians and intellectuals had finally become true. In a manner not different from moving of the checkers, several changes were made to the Turkmen political system (ITF and ITC) by the Turkish embassy in Baghdad using the ITC. On May 3rd 2011, the following changes were made in the frame

of the Turkmen council and Turkmen front by orders from the Turkish Embassy in Baghdad:

- Dismissal of the president of the ITF;
- Appointment of a new president and a new executive committee for ITF;
- Cancelled the ITC;
- The president and his deputies kept their posts under a fictitious term called *Divan* of the ITC which had no job doing.
- Cancelled the GTC, which used to hold every three years.
- Appointed some Turkmen politicians within the new executive committee of the ITF following detachment from their own parties.

All aforementioned measures, changes and decisions made were illegal and dis-allowed by the statutes of ITF and ITC, but were from the jurisdiction of GTC.

Thus, many meetings were held and large efforts of the Turkmen parties to establish a comprehensive new Turkmen council were gone away, lost and the project was stopped.

After cancellation of the Turkmen council in May 2011, the Turkmen political system continued remaining out of power against many other large challenges faced the Turkmen of Iraq and a consequent absence of the institutional framework of Turkmen Council. The building sustained vacancy while Turkey paid the rent and salaries of a few staff. It consequently was turned into a cafe or a guesthouse for the President and his friends.

Attempts to establish the independent general Iraqi Turkmen Council

Upon a continuous pressure by Turkmen politicians, intellectuals and public Yunus Bayraktar, the president of ITC, re-started meetings in mid-2013 amongst Turkmen politicians to establish a rather wider Turkmen council. At late 2013, the conferees reached to an agreement involved some important points i.e. drafting a new constitution for the Council on a hope to announce the establishment of a larger Council at the beginning of 2014. However, Yunus Bayraktar suddenly disappeared from Kerkuk but it was learned that

Part XI: A brief history of the council of the Iraqi Turkmen

he had traveled to Turkey. Bayraktar returned after a few months refusing to announce a new council.

Once again and due to pressure of Turkmen politicians and media, as well as a group of Turkmen youth who threatened Yunus Bayraktar to occupy the building of council obliging Bayraktar to restart the project of establishment of an expanded Turkmen council.

On 15 October, a new but much smaller Turkmen council was suddenly announced. Marginalization of a large Turkmen religious Shiite political community continued, as accustomed the ITF, which was and still a stumbling block in front of establishing of an independent Turkmen council, did not participated. Yunus Bayraktar, who has been subordinated to Turkey to keep the Turkmen council ineffective and subordinated to Turkey, continued to keep his position as president of the Turkmen Council until an unknown time.

Conclusions

As conclusion, for a period of more than two decades, the Turkmen council remained nominal vicious of its content dominated by Turkish authorities exploiting the president of the council Yunus Bayraktar and the council itself in favor of the Turkish national policy without caring to the ethnic cleansing to which the Turkmen of Iraq are subjected.

Part XIII

In the collapsed Turkmen political arena, Arshad al-Salihi (Mohtaroglu) where to march?

Date: June 21, 2015

No: Art.2-F2115

The collapsed Turkmen political arena

The political movement of Iraqi Turkmen consists of almost only two groups, the first group is conservative nationalists and the other is religious Shiite group. Conservative nationalist group of organizations are larger in number, size and activities compared to the religious Shiite group. There are 3 main reasons for the late emergence of the Turkmen political movement in 1991:

- The authoritarian Iraqi laws forbade the establishment of political organizations and imposed heavy penalties to the founders.
- Turkey's government prevented the large number of the Turkmen intellectuals and politicians to establish parties until 1991.
- Turkmen religious Shiite politicians were largely part of Iraq's major Shiite parties and their activities were completely religious.

Before the fall of the Baathist regime in 2003, Iraqi Turkmen who were living inside Iraq under the rule of Baath regime and did not have any power, remained silent and tried to preserve their national culture, while the Turkmen outside Iraq dominated the Turkmen political arena.

The Turkish government has dominated the Turkmen conservative nationalist group since its establishment in 1991, and exploited the group in favor of the Turkish political interests. Turkey's abuse has dispersed the Iraqi Turkmen political system, which today lacks the minimum requirements of a political institution. At the same time, Turkey has blocked the cooperation of the two biggest Turkmen political groups. Turkey, who ended the Iraqi Turkmen Council (ITC) in 2011, continuously prevents the rebuilding of independent Turkmen political system. Furthermore, Turkey seizes the Turkmen

media using it in the context of its policies, hampers its development and prevents the establishment of the independent national Turkmen media. The important negative effects of these circumstances are:

- The political culture of the Iraqi Turkmen is significantly low,
- The Turkmen national political vision is not formed and not developed,
- Turkmen intellectuals and politicians meet difficulties in reading the Iraqi political arena
- Turkmen people remain away from the politics, which deprives the Turkmen political and civil society organizations from the popular support,
- The turnout of Turkmen people is very low in the elections leading to continuous failure of Turkmen politicians and parties in the Iraqi elections. Therefore, very small number of Turkmen parliamentarians and members of councils of districts and governorates win in elections in proportion to the population size of the Iraqi Turkmen.

Failure of Turkmen politics

Researchers, who would evaluate and determine the characteristics of the Iraqi Turkmen political movement, meet many difficulties due to continuous intensive unseen intervention of Turkey in the Turkmen political system which leads to long lasting desperate situation of the Turkmen political system, and Turkmen organizations lacking the basic characteristics of an organization and its ineffectiveness in the Iraqi political arena.

Today, the challenges faced by the Iraqi Turkmen, tribulations, tragedies, exclusions and continuous human rights violations suffered by the Turkmen that Turkey is the most obvious evidence of the failure of the dominant political system. Today, the challenges faced by the Iraqi Turkmen, oppressions, marginalization and continuous human rights violations is the most obvious evidence of the failure of the Turkey-dominated Iraqi Turkmen political system.

The biggest fields where the Turkmen political system failed are:

- Failure to return the huge Turkmen losses during Baath regime:
 - The confiscated Turkmen real estate and farmland.
 - The demographic changes by destroying villages and establishing Arabs in the Turkmen regions.

- Continuation of demographical alteration in Turkmen regions by Kurdish parties.
- Continuation of exposure of Iraqi Turkmen to all types of human rights violations.
- Failure of Turkmen in all the Iraqi parliamentary and provincial elections, which resulted in winning of very small number of Turkmen candidates. As a result, the Turkmen parliamentarians and members of provincial councils failed in the following fields:
 - Inability to pass laws for the benefit of the Turkmen and inability to prevent passing of the law against the Turkmen
 - Failure to obtain the higher posts which were allocated for the Turkmen, for example:

the Turkmen, for example:		
Vice president	Deputy Prime Minister	A Minister
President of Nineveh provincial council	President of Kerkuk provincial council	
President of Taza Hurmatu council		
Governor or president of the council of Tavuk district		
Governor or president of the council of Tuz Hurmatu district		
Director-general/Diyala province	Many posts in Kurdish region	
Director-general / Salah al-Din province	Ambassadors and counselors	
Chairman or deputy of Kerkuk investment organization		
Posts in the ministry for foreign affairs and internal affairs		

Moreover, Turkmen lost several important posts, such as, the president of the Kerkuk province council & the director general of the General education directorate of the Kerkuk province.

- Absence of Turkmen media, Turkmen press, cultural (Literary and arts) and sport institutions and national strategic institutions such as political and economic.

Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF)

The ITF, which was imprisoned to the financial support of Turkey, found forcibly by Turkish authorities at late 1994 and early 1995. When ITF was founded, it included six Turkmen organizations under the control of Turkey. The two largest of these organizations were forced to enter under the umbrella of the ITF. One of these two organizations was the largest Turkmen party called Iraqi Turkmen

National Party and the second was the largest Turkmen civil society called the Turkmen Brotherhood club.

In the second half of the year 1997, the Turkish army withdrew the Turkmen dossier from the Turkish government and administered the ITF. After about 14 years, at 2011 when the Turkish government removed the Turkish army's tutelage retook the Turkmen dossier and started administering the ITF.

Turkish administration of the Iraqi Turkmen

Turkey conditioned its support to the Turkmen of Iraq in return to dominate the Turkmen political system. Several factors made the Turkmen to accept compulsory this domination, for example:

- Because of the atrocities the Turkmen have suffered for decades, they were psychologically and economically exhausted.
- The Turkmen of Iraq have absolutely believed that Turkey will help them stand on their feet.
- Turkey did not offer alternatives to Turkmen politicians other than to dominate their political system, otherwise:
 - Turkey had certainly fought any Turkmen organization, which did not subordinate to its authorities. Such organization had to suffer from lacking of political and financial sources. Turkmen could also not find regional or international powers to ally mainly due to the blind obedience of the Turkmen community to Turkey.
 - As it has been done, Turkey could create a Turkmen political system from paid Turkmen people who are many. Here the blind obedience of the Turkmen community to Turkey played important role in strengthening such a system. Such organization had certainly had strong political and financial support from Turkey.

Despite that, the ITF has gained the financial support of Turkey alone and lost power due to continuous punishments by Turkey, it is still considered the largest Turkmen organization. This situation has created a bad impression for the Turkmen inside and outside Iraq who are accused of collaboration with Turkey.

Turkish funding to pass its policy on the Iraqi Turkmen

According to some Turkmen sources to dominate the Turkmen political system, Turkey was previously spending 12 million USD per year, 1 million USD monthly, particularly at the periods of Faruk Abdullah and Saad al-Din Ergeç. According to reliable Turkmen political sources, dismissal of the Abdullah was due to the fact that he did not sign cheques of a large sum of money, which the Turkish army authorities who were administering Turkmen dossier of Turkey, brought for him. This was due to that Abdullah did not know how and where the money was spent. As to Ergeç period, according to a Turkmen politician, who was close to the decision-making center, the stolen money was estimated in millions. The abnormal increase of the assets of some of the Turkish army officers, who were administering the Turkmen dossier at that time, was noticed.

At the time being, to implement its policy on the Turkmen of Iraq Turkey spends much less money, which is expected to be 25% of the former sum, estimated at 250,000 USD. According to reliable sources, the distribution of this money is as follows:

ITF: Turkish spending to the ITF is mainly allocated to the rent of buildings, wages of staff and activities. The managers get a salary between 500 – 1500 USD and the personnel between 100 – 150 USD. In the later years and after punishment of Turkey the activities of the ITF are severely decreased. The ITF branches and offices are getting about 5000 USD monthly. Today, there are 22 ITF offices in Kirkuk city alone.

Security Protection Company: A security company, which is officially registered in the Iraqi government. The number of the staff is estimated in several hundreds who receive the same monthly wages. The guards are allocated mainly for the pro-Turkish Turkmen politicians.

Turkmen education: an organization, which deals with the Turkmen education in Iraq. The money allocated for stationery and curriculum. At the same time, about 200 workers receive the same wages (100 – 150 USD). Today, Turkmen education is experiencing very serious problems.

Other organizations: the money allocated for rent of the buildings, salaries of the staff and other requirements of several organizations many of them are nominal organizations, for example:

ITC: the salaries of the staff of the ITC are as follows:

- President of the ITC, Yunus Bayraktar, 1500 USD
- First deputy Mohammed Tahir, 750 US Dollar
- Second deputy Nihat Kuşçu, 750 USD
- Secretary, Najib Ahmad Sabuncu, dean of faculty of administration and economics, 400 USD
- Staff, Mustafa Bayraktar, (Son of Yunus Bayraktar), 400 USD
- Accountant, Gülşen Hürmüzlü (Wife of Sabuncu), 300 USD

Civil society organizations: there are several associations, syndicates and student unions, most of them are nominal, which are paid by Turkey. The money is paid for rent of buildings, salaries for one or two staff in each organization and cost for very few activities. Some of these civil society organizations are as follows: Turkmen women union, Turkmeneli student and youth union, Turkmen association for Koran readers, Turkmen veterans association, association of the Turkmen health staff, Council of Turkmen tribes and notables and Turkmen teachers Association. The headquarters of these organizations of which many are nominal are distributed in two buildings in Kerkuk city with rents of 700 and 900 USD. These organizations are administered by two or three staff, which the head receives 150 USD and the other staff 100 USD.

These organizations are administered by two or three staff, which the head receives 150 USD and the other staff 100 USD.

The support of the Turkish government to the Turkmen justice party, which is increased after fighting the ITF, remains unknown. The Turkmen Justice Party has the same religious Sunni policy as the Turkish government.

The Turkish fiscal policy and its randomly spending play important role in domination and destruction of the Iraq Turkmen political system. By this way, Turkey can easily mistreat the Turkmen of Iraq by leasing writers and politicians. Additionally, Turkey uses its financial support as a method of intimidation and enforcement. The

Turkmen who disobey the Turkish policies are exposed to withdrawal of the financial support and dismissal.

Who is Arshad al-Salihi?

Arshad al-Salihi emerged in the Iraqi Turkmen political arena in the last years as the president of the largest Turkmen organization. He got important public support by his work in his leadership position and as a Turkmen parliamentarian. Therefore, when the Turkmen politics are studied al-Salihi should be evaluated.

Al-Salihi was born in a well-known family in the Musalla quarter of the Kerkuk city. He grew in the same region, which is rich in Turkmen culture characteristics and possesses high Turkmen national consciousness.

In 1979, he was arrested due to participating in a Turkmen secret political group. He was sentenced to 10 years prison and released after an amnesty, remaining in prison 8 years.

He was appointed as the representative of the ITF in Syria and Lebanon in 2008, later on, he became Kerkuk representative of the ITF.

Al-Salihi is considered the second president of the ITF who was appointed without organization of the General Turkmen Congress (GTC), by a package of orders from Turkish embassy in Baghdad, termination of the ITC was another order of this package.

In two successive parliamentary elections in 2010 and 2014, al-Salihi was elected a parliamentarian from Kerkuk province to the Iraqi council of representatives, he still continues as a president of the ITF and a member of parliament.

Al-Salihi is characterized by a quiet personality, with a sense of responsibility and sincere in his relationships. When he was representative of the ITF in Damascus, he could establish good contacts with authorities in Arabic countries and Arabic media. Additionally he helped the Turkmen refugees in Syria as much as he could.

Al-Salihi where to march?

The period at which al-Salihi assumed the presidency of the ITF coincided with the removal of the tutelage of the Turkish army over the Turkish government and withdrawal of the Turkmen dossier from the army. At the same time, Turkey's Iraq policy was radically changed to Sunni sectarian policy and to collect the largest economic benefits, particularly in the Kurdish region.

Turkey's new sectarian and economically opportunistic policies were incompatible with the al-Salihi's nationalist patriotic policy, which led to the early discomfort of the Erdogan's government from al-Salihi. Additionally, the refusal of the ITF minister of the Turkish request to withdraw from al-Maliki cabinet on al-Hashimi problem increased the discomfort of the Turkish government against al-Salihi and the ITF.

After these events, Turkish government asked al-Salihi to resign, but al-Salihi refused to resign and asked the organization of the GTC, which is a legal authority in election of the president of the ITF. Being organization of a GTC in favor of al-Salihi, it was not organized and al-Salihi kept his post as the president of the ITF. Consequently, the pressure on al-Salihi and ITF increased and sanctions followed. Turkish government decreased severely its financial support to the ITF. At the same time, to impose the Turkish policies to the ITF and to weaken al-Salihi Turkey created a group in the executive committee of the ITF. In doing this, Turkey used the second man of the Turkmen Justice party. Thus, Turkey could weaken the authority of al-Salihi to large extent.

With marginalization of al-Salihi and weakening of the ITF, the support of the Turkish government deviated toward the Turkmen Justice party, which has the same policy of society of the Muslim Brothers as the Turkish Erdogan's government. ITF has become as a nominal dispersed organization and making decision became impossible in the executive committee. The executive committee of the ITF could not meet during about a year and the activities of the ITF have severely decreased.

Al-Salihi's constructive aspects

The political aspects of al-Salihi have appeared by his powerful stance against the threats to which the Iraqi Turkmen are exposed. He was the first Turkmen politician even in some cases the only Turkmen politician who responded to the Kurdish claim of the ownership of the Turkmen regions, particularly, Kerkuk province. Al-Salihi continued refusing the Kurdish claims despite the threats to those who oppose the Kurdish policies in Kerkuk province, while the Kurdish militias control Kerkuk province.

Despite that the press conferences, which are organized by the Turkmen parliamentarians to inform the public about the last minute events faced by the Turkmen, are few, al-Salihi considered pioneer in organizing and gathering the Turkmen parliamentarians to organize such conferences. Al-Salihi is a good follower of all the important issues, which concern the Turkmen of Iraq. He is one of the leading Turkmen politicians who put the Turkmen affairs law into words in the Iraqi parliament sessions. In the written and visual media, al-Salihi presents frequently the basic Turkmen issues.

In his policy towards the ethnic components of Kerkuk province and toward the national and regional issues, al-Salihi has balanced policy.

Al-Salihi's policy towards the dictations of the Turkish government, which are against the Turkmen interests, can be considered the most important aspects of his political mentality and leadership characteristics. The failure of al-Salihi in this context can be attributed to the Turkish government direct targeting him, by significantly reducing the financial support to the ITF, exploiting opportunists and sectarian Turkmen politicians to split the ITF leadership and appointing anti al-Salihi Turkmen politicians in the executive committee of the ITF. Consequently, this has paralyzed decision-making center of the ITF rendering it a dysfunctional organization.

Despite opposition of the Turkish government, al-Salihi supports the activities, which are related to the integrity of the Iraqi Turkmen and reinforcing the consensus in the Turkmen national issues. At the same time, the pro-Turkish government ITF politician plays negative, even blocking roles in this context. For example:

- The Turkmen politicians of ITF who are under the control of Turkey receiving orders from the Turkish embassy and consulates in Iraq boycotted the Turkmen Forum, which was organized in Baghdad between 6 and 7 January 2014, in contrary, al-Salihi participated actively in the forum.
- Al-Salahi played important role in bringing the Turkmen affairs law to the agenda of the Iraqi parliament, while Turkey using the ITF politicians tried to block the law.
- Al-Salihi's attitude relating to the ITC is the same, whilst he support all the attempts of the Turkmen to rebuild an independent expanded ITC, Turkish government intervene directly to impede the process.

The leadership characteristics of al-Salihi and his active Turkmen nationalist police has brought to him a significant popularity and large public support, as he got the highest number of votes in between the Turkmen politicians in the Iraqi parliamentary elections.

Al-Salihi's unconstructive aspects

As the result of 30 years of authoritarian and totalitarian rule of Baath regime, additionally, the twelve years oppression, marginalization and demographical changes in the Turkmen regions after fall of the Baath regime, as well as the atmosphere of violence and political instability in Iraq, there is no doubt that today the Turkmen politics has lagged far behind. Turkish domination of the Turkmen people and dictation of the Turkish policies on the Turkmen political system play the major role in the decline of the system. Thus, Turkey has tied the hands of the Iraqi Turkmen, usurped their will and prevented the establishment of the Turkmen political system. This Turkish policy aims the Turkish interests at the expense of the Turkmen interests, at a time when the Turkmen are exposed to aggressive human rights violations and they are losing their people and lands.

Turkish domination on the Turkmen community and the Turkmen political system and its attrition policy against al-Salihi leaves no any opportunity for al-Salihi to introduce changes in the structure of the ITF and to improve its functioning. Mainly due to the appointment of staffs of the ITF by Ankara in the context of its interests and

decreasing the financial support to ITF greatly, the situation of the Iraqi Turkmen today is as follows:

- The executive committee of the ITF is paralyzed,
- The activities of the ITF was almost completely stopped,
- The connections of the headquarters have severely decreased with the branches,
- Some branches are directly subjected to Ankara and their connections severed with the center, even applying a policy against the headquarters.

This situation is reflected to the Turkmen students leading to appearance of different Turkmen student unions, which disagree, sometimes disputed, with each other.

Al-Salihi could not improve functioning of the ITF offices in Kerkuk province, which are about 22 offices and are directly under his control. Additionally, the civil society organizations of the ITF, which are estimated to be more than 10 organizations have been not developed and remained nominal. For example, The Turkmen teachers association, which is has 3 staff each gets about 100 USD monthly from Turkey, has nothing to do with thousands of Turkmen teachers.

When al-Salihi's period since 2010 in the Iraqi parliament is followed, it will be seen that he has not realized a concrete work in the level of parliament, state and provinces. While other Turkmen politicians presented different projects, such as al-Turkmeniya TV, Turkmen Education Directorate and the confiscated Turkmen lands projects. Some of these projects are realized. The Turkmen parliamentarians Taqi al-Mawla and Jasim Mohammed Jafar presented to the Iraqi parliament the projects of changing of the administrative status of the Turkmen districts to provinces. Al-Salihi played a secondary role in the Turkmen Affairs law, which prepared by former Turkmen parliamentarian Hasan Ozmen.

In the period during which al-Salihi chairs the ITF, no progress was made in the Turkmen political system, on the contrary the system was further dispersed, no goals of the Turkmen have been realized and even none the severe human rights violations from which the Turkmen are suffered, are eliminated.

Al-Salihi and the presidency

Turkey ensures its complete control on the Turkmen of Iraq, seizes their political system, by its exploiting policies causes political failure and defeats of the Turkmen. Being at the top of this political system, assessment of the role of al-Salihi has become necessary.

The aforementioned data shows that al-Salihi is not able to provide any service to the Turkmen. Turkey uses the group, which he created in the executive committee of the ITF against the interests of the Iraqi Turkmen and against the will of al-Salihi. For example:

Iraqi Turkmen Council: despite the positive will and the ethnic national policy of al-Salihi, Turkey prevents the institution of the ITC and rebuilding and expanding of the ITC by Turkmen politicians, parties and intellectuals are continuously foiled directly by Turkey. The ITF, which is headed by al-Salihi, either abstained or stand against rebuilding the ITC.

Independent professional political reference: al-Salihi, who is in good relation with all components of the Turkmen community, supports the union of the Turkmen efforts, despite objection of Turkey. However, al-Salihi has not made any practical initiatives in this context. Although he participated in the Turkmen Forum, he did not make any effort to achieve their targets.

Cooperation between Turkmen political organizations: Turkey has prevented the cooperation between the Turkmen political institutions, especially the cooperation between ITF and the Turkmen Shia political community, which is considered the second largest Turkmen political community. Turkey's prevention of this cooperation is considered one of the major causes of continuous failure of Turkmen in the Iraqi elections. In the parliamentary elections of January 2005, Turkish prevention of cooperation between the ITF and Turkmen Shia group led to loss of several Turkmen parliamentarians. In the parliamentary elections of 2014, Turkey marginalized al-Salihi and handed the authority to make coalition with other political groups to the pro-Turkish group in the executive committee of the ITF, which is led by Hasan Turan and his right-hand Ali Mahdi. Because of Turkish prevention, the Turkmen participated in the elections in different lists.

In Kerkuk province, Turkmen lost certainly one parliamentarian and there was possibility to won fourth.

Legislations made on behalf of Turkmen: Ratification of the Iraqi Turkmen affairs law in the Iraqi parliament will remove the subjection of the Turkmen to Turkey and decrease domination of Turkey on the Turkmen political system. Despite that al-Salihi played important role in the preparation of the Turkmen affairs law, Turkey has opposed this law using the group headed by Hasan Turan and created by Turkey in the ITF executive committee to prevent ratification of the law in the Iraqi parliament. The head of information office of the ITF, Ali Mehdi, helped Turan in these activities, which run counter to the interests of the Turkmen. Mehdi entered lately into the Turkmen political arena directly after the fall of Baath regime by support of Mustafa Kamal Yaychili. In 2014, when Turan was the president of the Kerkuk province council, he waged a campaign in the parliament against the Turkmen affairs law.

Turan had benefited from his personal, political and ideological relations with the Sunni religious and nationalist Arabic groups and from the close relations of these groups by Turkish embassy in Baghdad. Turan has been largely successful in these efforts. Additionally, mainly Mehdi with Turkmen they opposed strongly al-Turkmeniya television channel which the Iraqi government launched for the Iraqi Turkmen. By performing these activities imprisoning of the Iraqi Turkmen to the Turkmen media, which is under the control of Turkey, was aimed.

Al-Salihi as conveyor: Sometime orders of the Turkish authorities are carried by al-Salihi to be applied by the Turkmen organizations connected to the ITF or financed by Turkey. For example:

- Al-Salihi transferred the message of Turkish authorities “Turkey don’t want an ITC at the time being” to the students and youth who occupied the building and demanded rebuilding of the council.
- Being some of members of the Turkmeneli student and youth union participated in the occupying of building of the ITC, the administration of the union was dismissed by Turkey. This decision was transferred by al-Salihi.

Hands tied al-Salihi: al-Salihi remain hands tied in front of the Turkish policies which are conflicting with the Turkmen interests, as Turkey exploits the ITF in favor of its economic, regional and sectarian policies not caring for the Turkmen interests:

- Benefiting from the political and security instabilities, Turkey pursues sectarian policies in his relation with the religious Sunni and nationalist Arabic groups in the Iraq. In this context, Hasan Turan plays an important role in the Iraqi parliament.
- The advantageous commercial, economic and political policies with the Kurdish region are incompatible with the Turkmen interests.
- Without informing al-Salihi, Ali Mahdi, who is the head of information office of the ITF and right arm of Turan, presented a Kerkuk project to the Kurdish parliament.
- The close relation of the Erbil branch of the ITF with Kurdish government takes place by pressure of the Turkish government.
- The 6 Turkmen members of the Nineveh province council were selected as candidates for election directly by Turkish consulate in the province. These Turkmen members had to cooperate with the pro-Turkish Mosul politicians from al-Nujayfi family who are against the Turkmen interests in many important issues, as examples, transferring the administrative status of the Telafer district to a province and returning of the Turkmen lands which were confiscated by Baath regime.

Conclusions

Domination of all the corners of the Iraqi Turkmen political system is known to some degree to national, regional and international powers. The followers and the researchers can find the details of the Turkish supremacy on the Iraqi Turkmen in the study of SOITM foundation "Evaluation of Turkey's Turkmen policy".

A simple look by a researcher or a follower of the Turkmen political movement will simply observe the severe deterioration or even collapse and dispersion of the Turkmen political system. Accordingly, the Turkmen political system could never treat even a simple problem of the Iraqi Turkmen, unable to defend the Turkmen against aggressive human right violations, at a time the Turkmen are exposed to ethnic cleansing.

Today the Turkmen of Iraq have no political, media, education, economic, cultural and social strategic centers. Turkey plays the major role in the reaching of the Turkmen political system to this collapsed state, particularly by preventing directly establishment of the ITC or any other independent general Turkmen organization. As results of this Turkmen policy:

- The national objectives of the Iraq Turkmen have been not written, according which the national, regional and international powers will determine their policies toward the Turkmen of Iraq. The body, which will write the objectives of a community or population, is their independent political system. The absence of the Turkmen national objectives is due to the absence of independent Turkmen political system. The Turkmen political system has been either exploited by Turkey or hampered to be built.
- The governments and international organizations will build up relationships with the general political system of the community, which is accounted by millions. Being the Turkmen of Iraq have no independent general political system, the Turkmen community is not treated seriously by the governments and international organizations. Furthermore, because the Turkmen political system is under the hegemony of the Turkish state and for longer than 20 years, they are not only ignored but exposed to unconstructive policies of different powers in the region.
- To ratify the legislations in favor of Turkmen and hampers those who are against the Turkmen interests in the parliament necessitates professional teamwork. Such activities cannot be performed without a professional independent political system.
- The strategic centers which the Turkmen of Iraq need today require thousands of specialists and great funding, which cannot be realized without an independent professional general system.

The Turkmen community in proportion to the other components of the Iraqi population includes large number of educated and qualified people, particularly, physicians and engineers, but this educated Turkmen class is out of the political process, they are not aware of what is happening within the Turkmen political arena. These Turkmen intellectuals are inattentive to the collapse of the Turkmen political system, despite that they are unaware of the causes of the collapse of the Turkmen political system, and how Turkey has destroyed the Turkmen political system. The most astonishing is that

most of the Turkmen intellectuals are accepting the Turkish destructive Turkmen policy. The lack of the Turkmen media & failure of Turkmen political system, rather being under Turkish hegemony, increase the desperation of the Turkmen people and intellectuals and rules them out of the Turkmen political arena.

Despite his leadership characteristics and important public support, al-Salihi is at the head of collapsed Turkmen political system. Al-Salihi and the ITF, which he heads, are trapped in the grip of the Turkish state. Turkey exploits al-Salihi and the ITF without hesitation to keep the Turkmen of Iraq in captivity and to deviate the direction of the Iraqi Turkmen political movement in favor of the Turkish interests. While doing this, Turkey doesn't care about the great losses of the Iraqi Turkmen. Thus, it can be concluded that al-Salihi is used by Turkey and plays a role in the failure of the Turkmen political system.

Recommendations

It becomes clear, that the Turkmen of Iraq, whose population number is more than two million, their politics and politicians are continuously failing and their existence is threatened are in need to a professional general political system. A system, which should be at the level to treat the widespread failure in different fields and to fulfill the large number of shortages, particularly, the large number of the strategic institutions. Turkey, who is dominating the Turkmen political system since its establishment, distinctly prohibits foundation of a professional Turkmen political system; accordingly, there remain no possibilities in front of the Turkmen people, their intellectuals and particularly, al-Salihi other than the following two, either:

- To accept the fait accompli of Turkey's hegemony, in this case, the continuous defeat and falling into the abyss are inevitable. or
- To refuse the abusive Turkey's Turkmen policy and to work to institute the independent Turkmen political system, which can overcome the threats to Turkmen existence and resolve the shortages from which the Turkmen suffer.

The experiences of the last 25 years show that benefiting from the political and security instability in Iraq Turkey will not hesitate to use all kinds of intimidations and suppressions to preserve dominating the Turkmen community and usurping their political system. However, to get rid of the Turkish hegemony and to establish the

independent Turkmen political system, the international legitimacy will side with the Turkmen. As well, most of the national, the regional and international powers will support the Turkmen legal efforts.

Enlightening of the Turkmen community, which is unaware of the destructive aspects of Turkey's Turkmen policy, will help greatly the Turkmen politicians and intellectuals who will fight the Turkey's hegemony. After learning the Turkish betrayal, the Turkmen community will certainly abandon the blind obedience to Turkey and stand against. In this case, the paid Turkmen politicians and writers will be enforced to obey the will of the Turkmen people and to comply with the Iraqi and international legislations. Additionally, the future of millions of Turkmen people and escape from captivity of the Turkey deserves the sacrifice of Turkmen politicians and intellectuals.

The many Turkmen politicians and organizations that are being marginalized or insulted by Turkey, should cooperate to resist the Turkish hegemony. The Turkmen organizations and the politicians who have been marginalized or insulted by Turkey are as follows:

- Turkish state has marginalized the Turkmen religious Shiite political community, which is considered the second largest Turkmen political community and prevented their cooperation with the ITF, which is representing the Turkmen conservative nationalist community and is under Turkey's control.
- Being refused the orders of Turkish government to withdraw from the cabinet of al-Maliki, the Turkmen minister of ITF and the president of the national Turkmen right party was marginalized and suppressed by Turkey.
- Turkmen politician Hasan Ozmen subjected to an organized campaign because:
 - He was leading the preparation of the Turkmen Affairs law.
 - He was in between the Turkmen leaders who participated in the large Turkmen meeting to rebuild the ITC in April 2013.
- Several politicians of the Iraqi National Turkmen Party were marginalized by turkey and left the Turkmen political arena.
- There are many Turkmen groups which were sanctioned by the state of Turkey, for example:
 - The group of Faruk Abdullah, who was dismissed from the presidency of the ITF in 2005.
 - The four Turkmen parties, which were expelled from the ITF in 2008.

It is clear from the aforementioned information that there are sufficient numbers of Turkmen organizations and politicians, who are out of the control of Turkey, refuse the collapsed Turkmen political arena created by Turkey and are able to institute the independent Turkmen political system.

Al-Salihi between two possibilities

Those who follow carefully the work of al-Salihi can easily see that he feels the concerns of the Turkmen people and is honest to the national and ethnical ideologies. At the same time, al-Salihi is strong enough to oppose the Turkish dictations, which are not in favor of the Iraqi Turkmen. In fact, al-Salihi doesn't deny that Turkey has severely restricted him, as a result, the ITF is today a dysfunctional and dispersed organization, has almost no activities and is used by Turkey to control the Turkmen of Iraq.

While the Turkmen of Iraq are exposed to all kinds of human rights violation, which threatens their existence, Turkey's Turkmen policy that is exploiting the Turkmen of Iraq in favor of its policies against the interests of Turkmen, even openly hampering the building of the Iraqi Turkmen political system, are against al-Salihi's principles and contrary to his objectives. Accordingly, al-Salihi is today at a crossroad, al-Salihi either:

- Accepts the Turkish humiliating policy which threatens the existence of the Iraqi Turkmen and watches the sufferings of the Iraqi Turkmen from a distance, or
- He frees himself from the clutches of the Turkish state standing against its exploitations and cooperates with the Turkmen politicians who were insulted, expelled or forced to leave the ITF to build the independent professional Turkmen political system without which is impossible to rescue the Turkmen people who are accounted by millions with a collapsed political system. While doing this al-Salihi and other Turkmen politicians should prepare themselves to face the intimidation, determent, withdrawal of funding and psychological war of the Turkish state. On the other side, he and other Turkmen politicians will certainly get support of the international legitimacy and Turkmen and Iraqi people.

If al-Salihi wants to revive the Turkmen political system, there are many factors, which will help him. The most important of these factors are al-Salihi's sincerity, credibility and ability to address to the mentality of the Turkmen people, which brought to him a good number of public supports. Al-Salihi has a record number of votes, which were received by Turkmen politicians in all the Iraq elections.

Additionally, al-Salihi has the ability and can respond to the challenges, he doesn't escape from the national and patriotic responsibilities. He is moderate in his nationalist and religious policies and strongly opposes racism and sectarianism. The sectarianism, which is intense in Iraq and threatening the Middle East, the moderate policy of al-Salihi is crucial being the Turkmen of Iraq are divided almost equally between the Sunnite and Shiite sects. In addition, al-Salihi's relations are at a good level with all Turkmen politicians and organizations.

Moreover, as a rational politician who studied carefully the Turkmen and Iraqi political arena, al-Salihi is aware of and sensitive to the problems, which are threatening the future of the Turkmen people, the weak, points of the Turkmen political system and the human rights violations, which the Turkmen of Iraq are exposed. All these characteristics of al-Salihi will assist him during his search for solution for Turkmen problems and building of the independent Turkmen political system.

Furthermore, as a consequences of the Turkish punishments of al-Salihi and the ITF, the ITF has already been collapsed. It loses the support of the many of Turkmen people and has been weakened in the Turkmen political arena, this undesirable outcomes is extending to al-Salihi, as it happened that the number of votes which al-Salihi collected in the later Iraqi parliamentary elections is 20 thousand less than the election before, decreasing from 60,000 to 40,000. .

Today, many Turkmen politicians and intellectuals think that al-Salihi has surrendered to the Turkish hegemony and with policy, which he conducts; he aims to keep the privileges, which the position of the president of the ITF brought for him. By the nationalist style of his speeches, al- Salihi targets to exploit the nationalist feelings of the Turkmen people, who lack information about the Iraqi and Turkmen political arena due to absence of Turkmen media.

Part XIV

Turkey's Turkmen policy is a history of continuous humiliations

Date: September 12, 2015

No.: Art.3-11215

The articles written by the SOITM foundation on the Turkish policy towards the Turkmen of Iraq, which lasted about seven years, required regular communication with the most of the Turkmen politicians, in order to convey the truth to the public opinion and gain the credibility. Additionally to rely on multiple sources represented by Turkmen politicians who had rich experiences in the Turkmen politics, to ensure that the views match, to present a reliable document on the Turkmen political history.

In one of the contacts with one of the Turkmen leaders to collect information related to the subject of one of the articles, he informed us about a very sorrowful situation shaking the conscience of man. He said, "Once we entered into talks with Iraqi authorities on the involvement of Turkmen in the administration of the state. After discussions and negotiations and exchange of views we got from the Iraqi negotiators a good share for Turkmen in the administration, but at the last moment, we received an order to withdraw from the negotiations and we did, losing important rights in the administration of the state". When we asked him, who gave you the order to withdraw from the negotiations? He said, "A simplest Turkish employee was able to give very harmful orders to the Turkmen politicians about the issues related to the fate of the Iraqi Turkmen". This was in the nineties of the last century, being there a lot of such cases in the history of the Turkish policy towards the Turkmen of Iraq, lead to write this article.

The collapsed Iraqi Turkmen political system was never able to stand on its own two feet during its two and half decades of life. It has suffered continuous defeats, rendering it an almost completely useless system for the Turkmen of Iraq, who have survived the darkest period of their history as they have been exposed to a real ethnic cleansing processes.

Having almost completely dominated the Turkmen political system since its foundation, Turkey's role in the failure and sufferings of the Turkmen has been instrumental.

The extent of Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system is not disclosed, mainly due to the fact that this domination is unlawful, and considered as interference in Iraqi internal affairs and violation of international law. This makes Turkey administer its policies towards the Turkmen of Iraqi through its Intelligence services.

Factors helped Turkey to establish hegemony over the Turkmen

Several factors that have helped Turkey to control the Turkmen of Iraq and to dominate the political system, such as:

- Absolute trust of the Iraqi Turkmen in Turkey helps the later to easily find Turkmen people who are willing to implement the Turkish national policies.
- Turkish intimidation and threat of those who oppose its national policies and punishment of the disobediences.
- Fear to criticize the ruling regimes, which the people of non-democratic dictatorial communities develop, strengthened by the lack of security and stability in Iraq. The Turkish government is present in Iraq, particularly in the north, through its army and intelligence services since the establishment of the Safe Haven in 1991, and it has become much strongly after the fall of Baath regime at 2003.
- Failure of Iraqi Turkmen to ally with other regional and international powers. This is primarily due to subordination of the Iraqi Turkmen to Turkey and Turkish domination of the Turkmen political system.

Several irrational lines of the Turkey's Turkmen policy and continuous manipulation of the Turkmen political system by Turkey have deviated the Turkmen political movement from its sound path, and hampered its development, rendering it completely ineffective system.

Irrational lines of Turkey's Turkmen policy

- *Restriction of funding sources*

Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF), which is dominated by Turkey, included formerly almost the entire Turkmen nationalist community, and still represents the skeleton of the Iraqi Turkmen political system. It has been prohibited by Turkey from getting any type of financial support from any source other than those allocated by Turkish government or army:^{1, 2} This inhuman Turkish policy has deprived the Turkmen of Iraq of huge sums of financial supports, for example:

- Turkey prevented the Turkmen of Iraq from participating in the New York conference in the mid-1990s, during which 13% of the income of the oil-for-food program was allocated for Kurdish parties. Thirteen percent is the percentage of Kurdish population in Iraq. Iraqi opposition accepted 6% as the percentage of the population of the Iraqi Turkmen. Thus, Turkey prevented the Turkmen of Iraq from a huge permanent income.¹
- Turkey castoff the financial support, which the kin country republic of Azerbaijan allocated for the Turkmen of Iraq in 2007.
- As result of such Turkish policies, the Iraqi Turkmen were deprived of huge amounts of funding, which were spent in Iraq by international civil society organizations and countries after the establishment of the Safe Haven in 1991, particularly in the north of Iraq.

- *Subjugation of Iraqi Turkmen to the red lines of Turkish policy*

Under the hegemony of Turkey, the Turkmen of Iraq were submitted to the red lines of Turkey's Iraq policy, which were majorly in contrast to Turkmen interests, for example:

- The Turkish army and government, which administered the Turkmen dossier in different periods, banned the cooperation of the two major Turkmen political groups, the conservative nationalists and the religious Shiites.
- From 1991 until 2011, The Turkish army and Turkish government, who administered the Turkmen dossier in different periods, forced the Turkmen to refute several basic Kurdish national policies. For example, the use of term Kurdistan and the recognition of Kurdish administration in the north of Iraq. Such act rendered the north of Iraq, which was the major political arena for the Iraqi opposition groups and intertwined with the Turkmen regions, insecure for the Turkmen organizations. This

exposed the Turkmen organizations in the north of Iraq to various attacks.

- In contrast to the policies of the former Turkish governments and Turkish army, the policy of the Erdogan's governments was almost completely changed. The Turkmen were forced by new Turkish policy to cooperate with the Kurdish region and with Sunni groups in the Iraqi Parliament, which was against the Turkmen interests.

Major manipulations of the Turkmen political system by Turkey

Turkey frequently manipulated the political history of the Turkmen of Iraq treating the Turkmen political system and the Turkmen politicians as puppets. The Turkmen politicians lived periods, where a simple Turkish soldier or an intelligence agent made the most harmful decisions in fateful issues of the Turkmen of Iraq. The Turkmen politicians were forced, prohibited, prevented, dismissed and refused, for example:

- The Turkmen Union Party was the second Turkmen party established out of the control of the Turkish authorities in the late 1991 by Ahmad Güneş, who had no any past political history. By support of the Turkish intelligence services this party was handed to Riyaz Sarikahya in late 1993 and its name was changed to Turkmeneli party in 1996.³
- Turkey compulsorily established the ITF in 1995, despite the strong opposition of the two major Turkmen organization's executives, who were kidnapped by Turkish intelligence agents and were intimidated.
- In August 1996, the Iraqi Army of Baath regime in cooperation with Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party invaded Erbil city. Before the event about a week the first line Turkmen politicians of the Iraqi Turkmen National Party and Turkmeneli party, who were in direct contact with Turkish authorities in north of Iraq, left to Turkey. This let the Turkmen politicians who remained in Erbil city suspicious about Turkish authority's knowledge of the attack and informed only the first line leaderships of those parties.
- During the invasion, the Turkmen politicians who left behind in Erbil city exposed to serious threats and dozens of staff of Turkmen parties including Iraqi National Turkmen party and Turkmeneli party were arrested by the Iraqi army and disappeared. The offices were destroyed and vanished.

Part XIV: Turkish Turkmen policy is a history of continuous humiliations

- Turkey prevented cooperation between the two major Turkmen political groups, the conservative nationalists and the religious Shiites. The Turkish orders were often coercive, for example:⁴
 - In the Iraqi parliamentary elections of December 2005, all the attempts of Turkmen politicians to convince the Turkish army office in Erbil to allow the ITF to participate with the Turkmen Shiite politicians who were part of the Iraqi Shiite coalition, were rejected, which caused the Turkmen to lose many parliamentary seats.
 - In the Iraqi parliamentary elections of 2014, the Shiite Turkmen representative, who was sent to Ankara, failed to convince the Turkish authorities to allow participation of Iraqi Turkmen in a consolidated list in the elections.
 - Almost the same policy continued in all the Iraqi elections.
- In the early months of year 2000, a commission from the ITF held several meetings with the Kurdish authorities to participate in the fourth regional government of Nechirvan Barzani. The Kurdish authorities agreed with most of the Turkmen requirements. Turkey ordered the Turkmen commission to abandon the meetings and prohibited the Turkmen participation in the Kurdish regional government.⁵
- In 2000, the Turkish army determined a new president for the ITF, several months before organization of the second GTC, which is considered the legal authority to elect the president of the ITF. The new president was from out of the ITF, which was against the will of the executive committee of the ITF, who preferred election of a president from and within the ITF.
- Shortly before the fall of Baath regime in March 2003, President Bush's envoy to Iraqi opposition, Khalil Zadeh, requested the politicians of the ITF to accept the legal status of the Kurdish region, which was admitted by the Iraqi opposition congress of London and registered in the Iraqi constitution. In return, for the Turkmen being granted a role in the Iraqi administration, and one of the six members of the Iraqi ministerial council was going to be a Turkmen. The Turkish Iraq policy at that time did not allow the Turkmen to accept Kurdish regional status and to use the term 'Kurdistan', which were accepted by the Iraqi constitution. Thus, the Turkmen were ordered by Turkey to leave the offer of Khali Zadeh unanswered. This led to marginalization of the Iraqi Turkmen in building of new Iraq, and later on exposed them to years of violation of their human rights in the insecure Iraq.

- With the dismissal of the president of ITF, Faruk Abadullah, in 2005, by the Turkish army, Turkey silenced the already ineffective opposition of presidents of the ITF under the Turkish oppressive administration. Abdullah refrained to sign cheques of large sum of money, which were brought by Turkish authorities who administered the Turkmen dossier. Abdullah had no idea how the money was used or spent. However, Ergeç later on signed the cheques after overtaking Abdullah's position as the president of the ITF.
- To penalize members of the executive committee of the ITF, who dismissed the president of the ITF Saad al-Din Ergeç, Turkish army organized the fifth General Turkmen Congress (GTC) in 2008. The statute of the ITF and ITC were violated in all stages of the Congress and Ergeç, who was the loyal man of Turkey, kept his post as the president of the ITF.⁶
- In 2010, Turkey dismissed the head and all the staff of Baghdad branch of the ITF, when he argued with Ergeç the president of the ITF about the results of the Iraqi General elections.
- Turkey has dominated the organization of all the GTCs. In May 2011, the Iraqi Turkmen council was terminated by Turkish embassy in Baghdad and since then all the attempts of the Iraqi Turkmen to rebuild the council on a professional bases were hampered by Turkey.⁷
- After 2010, the refusal of the Turkish dictations exposed the ITF to series of punishments, led to almost dissolution of the ITF.
 - o The severe and frequent reduction of funding by Turkish governments decreased greatly the activities of the ITF. Noting that ITF was prevented by Turkish government to accept any kind of financial support from any source other than that of Turkish government.
 - o Turkey created a group in the executive committee of the ITF to serve its sectarian policies, dividing the committee into two disputing parts. This decreased the meetings of the executive committee before about a year rendering the ITF to almost completely a non-functioning organization.
 - o Financing the branches of ITC directly from Ankara bypassing the headquarters made the branches of the ITF almost completely independent from headquarters, in some cases guiding disputing policies.

Conclusions

Turkey's Turkmen policy is authoritarian and exploitative.

Turkey commandeers the Turkmen political system and guide a humiliating policy toward the Turkmen of Iraq taking advantage of the chaos that pervades Iraq, exhaustion of Iraqi Turkmen community as a result of decades of suppression, and unquestionably trust of the majority of the Turkmen of Iraq in Turkey.

As a result the Turkmen political system has been almost completely collapsed and disappeared from the Iraqi political arena and the Turkmen were exposed to ethnic cleansing.

Recommendations

The problem of getting rid of the Turkish domination on the Turkmen of Iraq and on their political system necessitates that the Turkmen of Iraq should internationalize this illegal policy of Turkey to enlist the support of the international community.

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6. Details of organization of the Fifth General Iraqi Turkmen Congress will be presented in the Part XV of this study of SOITM.
7. Details of the last five years of the Iraqi Turkmen council will be presented in the Part XVI of this study of SOITM.

Part XV

Fifth Turkmen Congress was a drama of revenge written and produced by Ankara acted in by some Turkmen individuals

Date: September 19, 2015

No: Art.4-I1915

Assignment of the presidents of the ITF before the general Turkmen congresses

The General Turkmen Congress (GTC) is organized every three years by the Iraqi Turkmen Council (ITC) to elect members of the Council. The Council elects its president, the president of the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) and members of the executive committee of the ITF. Five GTC have been organized; the first was held between 17 and 18 September 1997 in Erbil city and the fifth between the 13 and 14 July 2008 in Kerkuk city.

All the GTCs were organized under direct control of Turkey and the Turkish authorities identified the presidents of the ITF, which should be elected by Congresses, beforehand:

- Mustafa Kemal Yaychili planned the election of president of the ITF, Wadad Arslan, by the first GTC.¹
- Turkish army decided the president of ITF, Sanan Aga Kassap, several months before organization of the second GTC, which was organized between 20 and 22 November 2000, against the will of the executive committee of the ITF.
- After the fall of Baath regime in April 2003, when the headquarters of the ITF moved from Erbil to Kerkuk city, large number of Turkmen politicians and intellectuals from inside Iraq out of the Save Haven, participated for the first time in the third GTC which were organized between 12 - 15 September 2003. These participants were out of control of the Turkish authorities, accordingly Turkey could not decide the president of the ITF during this GTC.
- During the fourth GTC, which was organized between 22 and 24 April 2005, the president of the ITF, Faruk Abdullah, was dismissed by the office of Turkish army in Erbil city and Saad al-

Din Ergeç, the loyal man to Turkish army, was brought to the presidency of the ITF.

- Saad al-Din Ergeç preserved his post as the president of the ITF by Fifth GTC, which is the subject of this study.

The administration of the ITF was held responsible for failure in the Iraqi General Elections of January 2005 and the 4th GTC was earlier organized and the president of the ITF was removed by the Turkish army. Saad al-Din Ergeç was brought to the presidency of the ITF by this congress. However, Ergeç was suffered of a greater defeat in the next Iraqi general elections of December 2005, and was not subjected to questioning. Between 13 and 14 July 2008, the last GTC was organized.

Events that preceded the organization of the congress

Situation of the Turkmen: The human rights situation of the Iraqi Turkmen seriously deteriorated, and they were marginalized in administration in the Turkmen regions and in the Iraqi government by occupation and Kurdish authorities. Turkmen regions were exposed to Kurdish politically oriented immigrations, arrests, kidnappings and assassinations. The Turkmen Telafer district faced frequent attacks by tanks and airplanes: the region was almost completely evacuated twice in the same year. Tens of thousands of families were remained displaced for long time.

A failed ITF: Ergeç ruled the ITF with an iron fist: there were corruptions, ITF branches were kept in ignorance and Turkmen activities in the Iraqi parliament were seriously decreased.

Delay of GTC: In 2008, it looked as if the Turkish army wanted to stop organization of the GTC, and to continue with Saad al-Din Ergeç as a fixed president of the ITF. Ergeç subjected himself and the ITF entirely under the Turkish administration. Turkey was forced to organize the Fifth GTC after a delay of several months, but the goal of Turkey to stop organization of the Turkmen congresses was realized later on after the 5th GTC in 2008: since then no GTC has been organized, even though that the GTCs are supposed to take place every 3 years.

Executive's revolution and dismissal of Ergeç: Complaints of the members of the executive committee of the ITF, which was including the presidents of four Turkmen parties and heads of the ITF branches, had increased and their protests augmented against the hegemony of Ergeç on the administration of the Front. When the organization of the Fifth GTC was delayed, almost all members of the executive committee of the ITF revolted against Ergeç and issued a press release dismissing him from the presidency of the ITF.

Ankara's anger: The dismissal of Ergeç, who was the sincere and the obedient man of the Turkish military, by the executive committee of the ITF angered Turkish army authorities, who refused to accept this dismissal and ordered the organization of the fifth GTC.

Turkey's revenge: the Turkish army authorities got their revenge through both the manner in which they organized the fifth GTC, and the punishment of the rebellions.²⁻⁵

Sequences of events of the 5th GTC

According to the rules of procedure of the statute of the ITC and ITF the steps of organization of the GTC are as follows:

1. The ITC selects a preparatory commission.
2. The preparatory commission selects the congress delegates.
3. The delegates elect members of ITC.
4. The ITC elects:
 - President of the ITC,
 - President of ITF
 - Members of executive committee of the ITF.

1. *Preparatory commission:* Instead of selection of preparatory commission by the ITC, a committee was sent to Kerkuk by Ankara, and included three Turkmen residing in Turkey headed by Mustafa Ziya to organize the fifth GTC. The other two Turkmen were Shams al-Din Küzeçi and Ali Kerküklü. Ziya formed the preparatory commission from those who were loyal to Saad al-Din Ergeç.

Mustafa Ziya: A Turkmen resides in Turkey for decades and his specialty is geology. Ziya remains constantly loyal to

Turkey, and has been charged with crucial missions by Turkish authorities, such as:

- Being the first representative of the ITF in Ankara.
- Being the Turkmen representative for the Iraqi opposition meetings, such as
 - o The London meetings of the Group Four of the Iraqi opposition and the meeting of the Iraq Liberation Act, to which he was secretly sent.⁶
 - o The New York meeting of the Iraqi opposition in October 1999.⁷
- Being in charge of External relations for the ITF.⁸
- Being a researcher in the Global Strategic Center which was a Turkish army's civil society organization
- Being president of the Turkmen cultural center
- All the buildings of the ITF in Erbil were registered by his name as an owner.
- He was a member of the preparatory commissions of almost every GTC, and he imposed the commands of the Turkish authorities on the commissions.

2. *Selection of delegates of congress:* during all stages of the congress, Ziya remained in continuous and direct contact with Ankara.²⁻⁴

- In accordance with formal procedure, the parties and the organizations should present their delegates; which was not realized.
- Ergeç as the president of the ITF and Ziya as not a member of the Preparatory commission, were legally disallowed from participating in the selection processes. On the contrary, they played major role in the selection of delegates.
- About 90% (500 of 550 delegates) of the selected delegates were from those who were loyal to Ergeç, president of the ITF and of which many were ITF's employees, who were threatened with dismissal if they did not cooperate and mostly did not meet the requirements of the role of delegate.
- The list of delegates was not announced.

3. *Election of members of ITC:* ²⁻⁴

- In violation of the all the rules and regulations of the ITC's and ITF's statute and without organizing the basic meeting of the congress to elect the members of the ITC, the members of the ITC were chosen.
- Ergeç and Ziya selected the 71 members of the ITC.
- The members should be elected by the delegates in a general congress and Ergeç as the president of the ITF and Ziya as not a member of the preparatory commission were logically not allowed to participate in selection of Council's members. However, they played major role in selection of the members of the ITC.
- Selection of most of the members of the ITC from the staff of ITF.

4. *Election of presidents of ITC and ITF and members of the executive committee*

- The president of the ITC kept his position.
- The incumbent president of the ITF, Saad al-Din Ergeç, and the deputy president of the Turkmen Justice party (TJP), Hasan Turan, had competed for the presidency of the ITF. Turan got only 4 votes, while Ergeç got the rest and remained as president of the ITF for the second term.
- Despite the fact that this was a violation of the rules, three members of the preparatory commission (Amin Garip, Shahbandar Tahir & Talaat Izzat) were selected to sit on the executive committee.⁴

Results of the congress and punishment of those who revolted against Ergeç

- All four parties under the umbrella of the ITF, as well as their presidents (almost all members of the executive committee of the ITF), rebelled against the president Ergeç, and were expelled from the ITF, losing the financial support, which had, until then, been provided to their parties.
- The other members of the executive committee who were presidents of some branches of the ITF were silenced, most importantly Ali Hashem Mohtaroglu, the president of Tuz Khurmatu branch of the ITF, who was leading the revolution.

Turkey's Iraqi Turkmen Policy

- The status of the ITF was changed was changed from a 'Front' to a 'Party', without changing the name.

It is worth noting that the Turkmeneli party and the Turkmen Decision party, which were left out of the ITF, had hoped to come back under the umbrella of the organization to strengthen the Turkmen political action in front of big challenges. Both of them withdrew themselves from the congress, publishing press releases accusing Ziya and Ergeç of corrupting the processes of the congress, and they refused to consider this congress as a genuine GTC.^{3, 4}

Conclusions

It can easily be concluded from afore-mentioned data that:

- Turkey's Turkmen policy is offensive and vindictive.
- The Fifth General Turkmen Congress was a theater play produced by the Turkish Army
- The play was acted by Turkmen individuals, who had served Turkey and their own interests at the expense of the sufferings of the Iraqi Turkmen.
- There are Turkmen individuals help Turkey, who mistreat the Turkmen of Iraq, at the expense of the suffering of the Iraqi Turkmen.
- Turkey dominates exclusively the Turkmen political system paralyzing it, which exposes the Turkmen to serious violations of human rights threatening their existence. This necessitates that the Turkmen of Iraq should get rid of Turkish domination.

Recommendations

It is imperative that the Turkmen community work to get rid of the Turkish domination on the Turkmen political system, which requires cooperation with national, regional and international powers.

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Part XV: Fifth Turkmen Congress was a drama of revenge

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Part XVI

The destructive history which Erdogan's governments write for the Iraqi Turkmen

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Turkmen political movement and Iraqi Turkmen Council briefly

The Turkmen Conservative Nationalist Political organizations (CN) were founded in Turkey and in Iraq in the late 1950s, in the form of cultural associations focusing on the national Turkmen policies. The Turkmen Religious Shiite Political organizations (RS) were founded in Iran and Syria within the major Iraqi Shiite parties and adhered to their programmes, and the Turkmen managed to cover several senior leadership positions in that parties. This community emerged in the form of a Turkmen political party for the first time at the beginning of 1991, dominated by activities of a religious nature.

The CN group, which includes also a large number of Shiite Turkmen and has a long history, is larger than the RS group in number, size and public support and constitutes the most important element of the Turkmen political movement. Thus, the CN group is considered as the major representative of the Turkmen political system.

The Turkmen political system could not get rid of the grip of the Turkish governments since its foundation in Turkey in 1991. With the establishment of the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) in 1995 by the Turkish government, Turkey subjected the Turkmen political system almost entirely to its control.

Before the establishment of the ITF, at the request of a high Turkish authority, according to some sources by the President of the Republic, Suleiman Demirel, the famous Turkmen academic Ihsan Doğramacı was convinced to cooperate in the establishment of the ITF. In the second half of 1994, Doğramacı founded the nucleus of the Iraqi Turkmen Council (ITC), which was called at the time the Turkmen Shura, getting several Turkmen academics working in the

Turkish universities involved, such as Akarm Pamukcu, Okan Acar and Anwar Hasanoğlu.

Turkmen Shura remained as a false organization which did not have statute, was not officially registered in the country and whose executive committee never met as a whole. Under the false supervision of the Turkmen Shura and in close cooperation with the Ankara branch of the association of Iraqi Turks for culture and solidarity, the Turkish ministry for foreign affairs and the Turkish national intelligence organization established the ITF. Turkey included in the ITF only those Turkmen organizations which were under its control and excluded all the others including large RS community.

The first General Turkmen Congress (GTC), which was organized in 1997, determined number of the members of the Turkmen Shura at 30. Additionally, the Turkmen Shura became the authority in charge of the organization of the GTC. In the third GTC, which was organized in 2003, the name of the Turkmen Shura was changed to the ITC and the number of members was increased to 71.

The Turkish army took control of the Turkmen dossier from the Turkish government at the first GTC, which was organized in 1997 and held control of the issue until 2010. Later on, Erdogan's government retook the dossier from the army. This meant that all GTCs organized between 1997 and 2008, were organized under the control of the Turkish army and the organization of the GTCs was suspended when the Turkish government started to manage the Turkmen dossier again. The last ITC was terminated by the Turkish embassy in Baghdad in 2011.

The last five years of the ITC clearly show the outlines of the Turkish domination of the Iraqi Turkmen political system. The present desperate situation in which the Turkmen council and the Turkmen political system find themselves demonstrates the seriously harmful aspects of the Turkey's Turkmen policy.

Attempts of the Turkmen to establish an Independent General ITC

Since the establishment of the Turkmen council as a Turkmen Shura in the second half of 1994, the attempts of Iraqi Turkmen intellectuals and politicians to develop and rebuild a comprehensive Turkmen council have never stopped. At the same time, the rapid developments in the Iraqi political arena and the continually escalating violations of the human rights of the Turkmen make a strong ITC necessary. The last five years of the ITC reveals multiple attempts by Turkmen politicians and intellectuals to rebuild the Council, all of which were foiled by Turkey.

1. Attempt of 2010

The fake ITC, which was established during the fraudulent 5th GTC organized by Turkish army, was almost completely ineffective. The great challenges, which the Turkmen of Iraq were facing, necessitated a strong Turkmen political apparatus. The demands of Turkmen politicians and intellectuals to activate the ITC increased.^{1, 2}

In June 2010, one of the major attempts by Iraqi Turkmen parties to rebuild the ITC was launched, with its first meeting on 26th the month.³ Almost all the Turkmen political organizations participated in the meetings, representing both major Turkmen political communities; The CN and the RS Turkmen political communities. (Table 1)

Table 1, Turkmen Organizations which participated in the 2010 attempt to rebuild the Iraqi Turkmen Council

ITF	Iraqi Turkmen Front	TNC	Turkmen Nationalist community
IUIT	Islamic Union of Iraqi Turkmen	TIM	Turkmen Islamic Movement
TE	Turkmeneli party	LM	Turkmen Loyalty Movement
TJP	Turkmen Justice Party	DAWA	Turkmen authorities in al-Dawa party
TDP	Turkmen Decision Party	IYM	Turkmen authorities in ISCI*
INTP	Iraqi National Turkmen party	TRA	Turkmen Right Association [^]
TIM	Turkmen Independent Movement	TCSO	Turkmen Civil Society Organization
TNM	Turkmen Nationalist Movement		

* ISCI = Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq
Turkmen National Right Party in 2013

[^] = It became a party called

Twenty four meetings were held, preceded by 4 other meetings. The first suggestion of the president of the ITC, Yunus Bayraktar, was to complete the shortfall in the council members from the Turkmen parties, which were not included in the council. This was refused by the majority of Turkmen politicians and parties, which were not under the umbrella of the ITF, and Turkmen intellectuals. The second item of the agenda was to work on an integrated project to build a new ITC, shared by all Turkmen organizations. The second item was accepted, and on these grounds the meetings were continued.

After twenty four meetings, the project was aborted, mainly due to the procrastination of the President of the Council, Yunus Bayraktar. As well as his indirect attempts to realize his first suggestion to preserve the present council and return the Turkmen parties, which were dismissed from the ITF, to the council aiming to ensure domination of the pro-Turkish Turkmen groups and keeping the hegemony of Turkey on the ITC.

After about ten meetings, the Turkmen Shia parties left the project, then so did the INTP. TJP stopped participating in the meetings after the 20th meeting. The ITF, which is the largest Turkmen political organization and controlled directly by Turkey, frequently missed the meetings and left when it understood that it would not dominate the newly instituted council.

At the same time, many items of statutes of a new comprehensive ITC were fixed by the Turkmen organizations during these meetings and the general framework of the organization was determined.

Bayraktar insisted that the approval of Turkey was a necessary condition to continue working on the new statutes, and to try to convince the Turkmen organizations, which had left the meetings to participate in the new council.

Bayraktar spent a long time trying to convince Turkey to approve the new statute of the ITC. The statute was translated into Turkish, and the Turkish consulate in Mosul and embassy in Baghdad were visited, after which Bayraktar, along with his deputies travelled to Ankara to try to persuade the Turkish government.

All the attempts of Bayraktar and other Turkmen authorities to get Turkey to approve the new statute and rebuild the comprehensive ITC was failed. Thus, Turkey thwarted one of the largest attempts of the Iraqi Turkmen to build the comprehensive ITC at a time when the Iraqi Turkmen were exposed to the worst violations of human rights.

Termination of ITC in 2011

In the midst of efforts of the Turkmen political institutions to rebuild the ITC, while Turkey's approval of the new statute and expanding and rebuilding of the ITC was eagerly awaited, Turkey's embassy in Baghdad ordered the termination of the ITC in May 2011. An illegal and abnormal administration was created, called the Divan of ITC. President Bayraktar was made the President of the Divan. Other staff who preserved their posts and salaries are as follows: ⁴

- Mohammed Tahir and Nihat Kuşçu as deputies of Bayraktar.
- Najib Ahmad Zaki Sabuncu, as the secretary of Divan.
- Mustafa Bayraktar, (Son of Yunus Bayraktar) as a member of staff.
- Gülşen Hürmüzlü (Wife of Sabuncu) as the accountant

These staff continues to receive their salaries from Turkey up to the present day.

2. Attempt of 2013

Turkey's direct interference to paralyze the most important Turkmen authority, the ITC, and his intervention to hamper any attempts to rebuild it, have silenced Turkmen intellectuals, and cost the Iraqi Turkmen the loss of another long period in a very difficult human rights situation. The importance of an effective ITC has frequently been emphasized in the writings and speeches of Turkmen politicians and intellectuals. ^{5, 6}

The subject of rebuilding of the ITC was once more raised in a conference, held on 13 January 2013, by a call from the president of the ITF, Arshad al-Salihi. Many Turkmen activists, political groups and intellectuals attended the conference. During this conference, the unity of Turkmen political discourse and the cooperation of all Turkmen parties were strongly recommended.

A commission, called the "High Commission to follow up the Process of Rebuilding the ITC", was instituted to follow up the re-establishment of the ITC. The commission included several independent Turkmen intellectuals such as Yaşar Wandawî, Yaşar İmamoglu, Sabah Tahir, Gülşan Abdullah and Güner Mohammed Kerküklü. The Commission worked intensively, organizing several meetings with Turkmen parties.

Bayraktar started to create difficulties, and repeatedly disappeared from Kerkuk. The ITF, except its president, refused all suggestions to participate in an ITC, which would be out of its control. At the same time, the Sunni Islamist TJP, which had always supported the rebuilding of the ITC, started to help Bayraktar in creating obstacles for the commission.

It is worth noting that in 2010, the Turkish government started to retook the Turkmen dossier from the Turkish army. While the Turkish army marginalized the TJP, which has the Islamic Sunni ideology, before 2010, the Turkish government started gradually reward the party, whose Sunni Islamist policy paralleled with that of the Erdogan's religious policy. Thus, the deputy in the TJP was appointed as the deputy of the ITF, when, in May 2011, the Turkish government changed its administration. Gradually, the support of the Turkish government to the ITF was allocated to the TJP. Thus, by putting obstacles in front of the Commission, the TJP supported the Turkish government policy to terminate the ITC, despite the fact that the TJP previously strongly supported its rebuilding. One of the major obstacles, which the TJP created for the Commission, was that the Arabic religious parties should also participate in the ITC. This is compatible with the religious sectarian Turkish policy which disregards the ethnical characteristics at the expense of the religious unity.

In a conference on the 13 April 2013, which included representatives from all sections of the Iraqi Turkmen community, except two pro-Turkish Turkmen political groups, the rebuilding of ITC was announced. This was greatly welcomed by all the circles of the Iraqi Turkmen community.⁷⁻⁹ The two pro-Turkish Turkmen political groups which boycotted the conference were TJP and the members of the executive committee of the ITF, which had been created by Turkey to

support Turkish policies and led by the Sunni Islamist Hasan Turan.

3. Attempt January 2014

About three months after the conference of April 2013, on 6 July 2013 Bayraktar formed a new Commission, in order to study the mechanisms by which to select the members of the enlarged ITC.¹⁰ (Table 2)

Table 2, Members of the Commission to study the mechanisms of selection of members of the enlarged ITC

Najib A. Z. Sabunçu	Nihat Kushcu	Mohammed Yagmur	Sami Kolsuz
Nawzad Taymur	Adnan Babaoglu	Gazi Abd al-Majid	Gulshan Abdullah
Shadan Şahbender			

The members of this Commission were mainly those who were loyal to Bayraktar, and who were receiving monthly wages from Turkey. While Bayraktar and the TJP worked on stalling the process, continued pressure from the members of the former commission, Turkmen politicians and intellectuals accelerated the process.

Bayraktar agreed to announce the primary nucleus of the new ITC in the beginning of 2014, but he disappeared again in Kerkuk, and travelled to Turkey, remaining there about 3 months. When Bayraktar returned to Kerkuk shortly before the Iraqi parliamentary elections of 30 April 2014, he ignored the process of rebuilding the council.

4. Attempt of November 2014

It seems that to escape the strong pressure of the Turkmen community to rebuild their council, Bayraktar stayed in Turkey. Thus, after the election, he travelled again to Turkey, and remained there several months.

When Bayraktar returned to Kerkuk, he encountered intense criticisms from Turkmen politicians, and intellectuals and a group of Turkmen students and youth (TSY) threatened to seize the building and prevent him and his staff from entering into the building and to

wage a press campaign against him. Moreover, Turkmen writers published many articles in the Turkmen media about the importance of rebuilding the ITC, and Bayraktar's negative role in this context.¹¹

Bayraktar's attempts to hinder the announcement of the new ITC by making excuses and leaving for Turkey did not stop.¹² However, he was obliged, particularly by the threatening of the TSY, to announce a new ITC.¹³

On 15 November 2014, having gathering randomly and mainly pro-Turkish Turkmen politicians and intellectuals, excluding the large Turkmen Shia political community and other Turkmen groups who were not subjected to Turkey, Bayraktar announced a new ITC. Once more, commissions were formed. On 22 November 2014, the first commission was formed, which was called the Drafting Commission of the Rules of Procedure of the Council (Drafting Commission) to review the statutes and to expand the council members to include other Turkmen groups.^{14, 15} (Table 3) and the second was a temporary commission formed on 29 November 2014 to study how to develop the ITC.¹⁶ (Table 4)

Table 3, members of the Drafting Commission to manage the Iraqi Turkmen Council.

Riyaz Sarikahya	Anwar Bayraktar	Leyla Khanchi	Sami Kolsuz
Istabraq Yazaroglu	Abd al-Amir Ibrahim	Mowaffaq Mahmoud	Omar Ibrahim Kerkuklu
Zuhdi Kopurlu	Nihat Beyatli		

Table 4, members of temporary commission which was formed on 29 November 2014

Arshad al-Salihi	Hasan Turan	Riyaz Sarikahya	Anwar Bayraktar
Yavuz Omar Adil	Hasan Özmen	Yashar Imamoglu	Nihat Kushcu

The Commission prepared a draft of the statute, and the parties agreed on the mechanisms to nominate members, and to convince other Turkmen parties to join to the council.

Raising another problem, Bayraktar considered that the number of members of the council was too high, and asked the Commission to decrease the number.

The Commission and the Turkmen parties, who were participating in the new council, introduced a mechanism that demonstrated how to decrease the number of members of the council, as Bayraktar had demanded. On 30 December 2014, the draft of the new statute of the council was handed to Bayraktar. He promised to translate it into Turkish and to get the approval of the Turkish government as soon as possible, and then present it to the new council to work on. However, Bayraktar returned to the commission with yet more excuses, which were all again treated by the commission and the parties.

When Bayraktar understood that his excuses would no longer work, and Turkmen parties, politicians and intellectuals will never give up rebuilding of the ITC, he published a press release suspending the activities of the Commission and the meetings of newly established ITC, and he travelled to Turkey. Astonishing all the Turkmen politicians and intellectuals around him, he accused the Turkmen parties of disagreement and failure to reach a consensus.¹⁷ Additionally, Bayraktar hid the dossiers on the rebuilding of the ITC to prevent his deputies from continuing working on the project.

Bayraktar's attitude

It seems that Bayraktar was initially serious about rebuilding the ITC to include all Turkmen political communities, which would have meant it could not be dominated by Turkey. However, he started gradually to understand that this goal could not be realized, because of Turkey's insistence on dominating the Turkmen political system and the ITC. Because of this, he worked towards building a powerful ITC, which would include only groups who accepted Turkish domination. When Turkey terminated the ITC in May 2011, he realized that Turkey is against the existence of an ITC. After this date, Bayraktar dealt with the persistent requests of the Turkmen politicians and intellectuals to rebuild the ITC by creating excuses and disappearing off to Kerkuk, and his trips to Turkey increased in number and length. This attitude is inhuman, destructive for the people of Bayrakdar and in contrary to his principles, demonstrating beyond about that Bayraktar is under pressure from the Turkish government to prevent the rebuilding of ITC.

5. Attempt of April 2015 (Movement of TSY)

On 22 April 2015, while Bayraktar was in Turkey, a group of TSY controlled the building of the ITC, preventing anyone from entering and refusing to leave the building unless the Presidency of the ITC resigned, and the process of rebuilding the ITC started. In the evening, TSY handed the building to a group of Six Turkmen parties, who signed a press release supporting the TSY, and deciding to:¹⁸

- Terminate the so-called Divan of the ITC.
- Authorize the Drafting Commission powers of Divan.
- Call the Turkmen parties and intellectuals to hold a conference the following week to make a unified Turkmen decision.

The authority of the ITC was given to the Drafting Commission.^{14, 15} (Table 3) On 23 April 2015 the name of the drafting Commission was changed to Transitional Body to Manage the ITC (Transitional Body) after removing some members and adding others.^{19,20} (Table 5)

Table 5, members of the Transitional body to manage the Iraqi Turkmen Council.

Riyaz Sarikahya	Anwar Bayraktar	Leyla Hancı	Sami Kolsuz
Istabraq Yazaroglu	Abd al-Amir ibrahim	Mowaffaq Mahmoud	Omar Ibrahim Kerküklü
Zuhdi Kopurlu	Kerim Zaynal	Yashar Wandawi	Anwar Fakhr al-Din

The TSY movement was greatly welcomed by Turkmen people from all the Turkmen regions and the Turkmen of out of the country. Turkmen political parties, institutions, intellectuals, notables and well-known politicians declared their support, and well-known Turkmen organizations and authorities published press releases blessing the TSY's revolution and the new step of rebuilding the ITC. Several Turkmen businesspersons promised to support financially the new independent ITC. However, Turkey was able to eliminate the TSY's movement and to end the new attempt of rebuilding of the ITC just in 18 days.

The Process of Failure of the fifth attempt

a. Direct interferences of the Turkish government

While the former attempts of the Turkmen political and civil society organizations to rebuild the ITC were hampered by Turkey, by

exploiting the council's president, Bayraktar, and other Turkmen who were used by Turkish intelligence service, Turkey interfered also directly to abort the TSY movement. The reactions of Turkish government were as follows:

- The TSY were told that the Turkish government didn't want an ITC at the time being.
- The Turkish consulate in Erbil accused the TSY of rebel against Turkey.
- ITF representative in Ankara, Hijran Kazanchi, who was frequently sent to Kerkuk to implement the Turkish dictations, was sent to Kerkuk to quell the movement of TSY.
- The executive committee of the ITF, which was not able to meet during the previous year, was forced by Turkey to meet on 9 May 2015 and published a press release warning the TSY:²¹
 - Considering the ITC as its property and the TSY movement as a violent movement against ITF.
 - Calling them to open a dialogue channel with Turkey.
- On 5 May 2015, the financial support to several groups supporting the movement was cut, for example:
 - Türkmeneli Student and Youth Union, whose members had participated in seizing of the ITC building.
 - Several members of the Transitional Body.

This was accompanied by a psychological war against the TSY, aiming to deprecate them in moral terms.²²

b. Early refusal by some Turkmen organizations subordinate directly to Turkey

Three Turkmen groups lead by three Turkmen, who are loyal to Turkey and serve to implement Turkish policies, early opposed the TSY movement.

Turkey controls a large number of Turkmen organizations by Turkmen individuals who had proved their unconditional loyalty to Turkey over several years. These Turkmen serve Turkish policy, which mistreat the Turkmen political movement and deviate it from its sound path in favor of the Turkish interests. There are Turkmen politicians, presidents of parties and organizations, intellectuals and writers who serve the Turkey's policies at the expense of the

sufferings of the Turkmen people. These Turkmen people are continuously granted important positions in Turkmen political and civil society organizations, which are financed by Turkey.

The Turkmen organizations, which are guided by Turkmen individuals who are loyal to Turkey, opposed the movement from the beginning, are:

- The Kerkuk branch of the ITF and the Turkmen civil society organization.

Both of these two organizations are under control of the ITF representative of Kerkuk, Kasim Kazanchi, who is brother of Hijran Kazanchi, the representative of the ITF in Ankara.

- Turkmen Women's Union

Kadriya Ziya is the president of the Turkmen Women's Union; she is sister of Mustafa Ziya who is frequently used by Turkey in very sensitive missions. At the time being, Ziya is the president of a fake Turkmen organization called Türkmeneli Cultural Center.

- ITF

Hasan Turan leads the largest and the most powerful Turkmen group serving the Turkish policy in Iraq. He was the deputy of the TJP with the ideology of the Society of the Muslim Brothers, was appointed by Turkish Erdogan's government as deputy of the ITF in mid-2011. Turan is considered one of the most active Turkmen politicians, and he plays an important role in the implementation of the Turkish sectarian policy in Sunni Arab political communities inside Iraq and in the Turkmen political community. Turkey empowered Turan to create a group in the ITF's executive committee who would serve Turkish interests. Today, this group almost completely dominates the ITF. Despite this, the president of the ITF supported the TSY movement, but the Front's executive committee, which is dominated by Turkey's created Turan group, could still silence the president and publish a press release opposing the movement.²¹

c. Withdrawal of pro-Turkish members of the Transitional Body

The Presidency of the ITF supported the movement of the TSY and participated in the formation of the Transitional Body with several members. However, shortly after that, the dominant pro-Turkish faction of the executive committee started to oppose the event, and

Hijran Kazanchi contacted the members of the Transitional Body asking them to stop the process, and describing them as traitors to Turkey and threatening them by cutting of their salaries. A few days later, two of the ITF members in the Transitional Body stopped participating in the meetings.

After 3 days, Leyla Fakhr al-Din left the meetings and justified the withdrawal by her organization (ITF) by saying it did not support the process. Fakhr al-Din is a permanent employee of the Turkish government and assumed important missions in the ITF and in the civil society organizations, which are financed by Turkey.

After 6 days another permanent employee of Turkey left in the meetings of the Transitional Body who was Zuhdi Mahdi, a member of the political bureau of the ITF, justifying his withdrawal by pressure from H. Kazanchi and other pro-Turkish Turkmen authorities.

d. Withdrawal of the Turkmen civil society organizations

According to the funding sources, the Turkmen civil society organizations are divided into two groups, those which are nationally financed (Members, donors, political parties, central and regional governments) and the Turkmen organizations, which are financed by Turkey. The number of Turkmen organizations, which are financed by Turkey, is more than the number of nationally financed groups. As in the case of the Turkmen political parties, which are financed mainly by Turkey, Turkey exploits those Turkmen civil society organizations in favor of its national policies, even though this means they often act against Turkmen national interests. (Table 6)

Most of the Turkmen civil society organizations, particularly those financed by Turkey, are organizations with almost no and unfruitful activities. They are administered by 2 or 3 Turkmen people, who are paid symbolic wages ranging from 100 to 300 US dollars. Pressure from the Turkish government and the intervention of H. Kazanchi in Kerkuk has led to the withdrawal of support of some organizations, which are financed by Turkey, from the Transitional Body, despite the fact that some of them supported the movement of TSY and rebuilding of the ITF. For example, the Council of Turkmen Tribes and Notables, which published a press release supporting the process, later declared itself in opposition to the process. The

Turkmen Teacher's Organization and the Turkmen Jurists Association became inattentive to the process.

Table 6, Turkmen Civil society organizations and their sources of funding

Organizations financed by Turkey	
Turkmen Civil Society Organization	Turkmen Jurists Association
Council of Turkmen Tribes and Notables	Turkmen Sportive Association
Türkmeneli Students & Youth Union	Turkmen Association for Koran Readers
Turkmen Women Union	Turkmen Association for Political Prisoners & Families of Martyrs
Turkmen Veterans Association	Turkmen Engineers Syndicate (terminated?)
Turkmen Teachers Association	Turkmen Businessmen (SF?)
Turkmen Staff Association	Turkmen Physicians Syndicate (SF?)
Turkmen Health Staff Association	Turkmen Academics Union (terminated)
Nationally financed	
Civil Society organization	Source of funding
Students & Youth Movement of Koçak	National Turkmen Right Party
Al-Rahaf Charity Association	Former Turkmen MP Jale al-Naphtachy
Turkmen Brotherhood Club	Kerkuk Foundation
Conqueror randchildren Ass. for Turkmen Students and Youth	Turkmen Justice Party
Turkmen Rescue Foundation	Self, donors and collaboration with international org.

SF = Self-Financed

e. Retreat of Turkmen parties

Six Turkmen parties signed the press release regarding their receipt of the building of the ITC from the TYS.¹⁹ (Table 7)

Turkmen Nationalist Community (TNC)

Part XVI: The destructive history which Erdogan's governments write

The TNC was shut down several years ago existing only as a name, represented by some of members of its executive committee. Despite this, a member of its dissolved executive committee signed the press release to receive the building from TSY, but no member of the TNC was included in the Transitional Body. Before the termination of the mission of the Transitional Body, a representative of the community attended a meeting, and demanded ending the mission the Transitional Body.

Table 7, Turkmen parties, which signed the press release and received the building of ITC from TSY

TJP	Turkmen Justice Party	NTRP	Nationalist Turkmen Right Party
TEP	Turkmen Eli party	TNC	Turkmen Nationalist Movement
TDP	Turkmen Decision Party	TNM	Turkmen Nationalist Community

Turkmen Nationalist Movement (TNM)

After two days from establishment of the Transitional Body, on 23 April 2015, the TNM, whose president live in Turkey, withdraw from the Transitional Body. The press release, which the movement published, included the same attitude of the ITF, which was published later on, toward the movement of the TSY. Both described the movement of TSY as a violent action.²³

The TNM is administered by a small, ill-educated group of Turkmen who are directly connected to the Turkish MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) which prohibits any opposition to the policies of the Turkish governments. The president of the movement has lived in Turkey for the last few years, and there are several lawsuits against him in Iraqi courts.

Turkmeneli party (TEP)

The representative of the Türkmeneli party, whose president Riyaz Sarikahya was in Ankara, started early to escape the meetings of the Transitional Body, even before the opposition of the Turkey and ITF was learned.

Sarikahya, who began participating in meetings of the Transitional Body as soon as he returned from Ankara, opposed the process from its beginning, considered it a great mistake. He demanded the

mission of the Transitional Body be stopped. He suggested that the Turkmen parties should establish a Political Assembly instead of ITC. Thus, it became clear that Sarikahya is consistent with the Turkish policy to prevent the rebuilding of the ITC.

Like almost all the other Turkmen parties, the Türkmeneli party is ill-developed, and its financial sources are obscure. The president of the party, Riyaz Sarikahya, is well-known for his approval and defence of Turkey's cruel Turkmen policy. In recent years, Sarikahya travels between Kerkuk, Erbil and Turkey.

Turkmen Justice Party (TJP)

At the beginning, the president of the TJP, Anwar Bayraktar, was serious and optimistic about the activities of the Transitional Body, despite the great difficulties. However, he lost his trust in the mission of the Transitional Body after the Turkish government punished some of its members by cutting their wages, and when the ITF considered the TSY movement a violent action and warned them. After a few days, Anwar Bayraktar joined Sarikahya of Turkmeneli party in stopping the meetings and trying to end the process.

On 10 May 2015, despite the fact that the Turkmen National Right party, the Turkmen Decision Party and some of the other members of the Transitional Body insisted on continuing the mission of the Transitional Body, the end was put to this last attempt of the Turkmen to rebuild the ITC. This was by an already written press release published by Anwar Bayraktar and Riyaz Sarikahya.²²

It is worth noting that, due to the continuous marginalization by Turkey and by the presidency of the ITC represented by Yunus Bayrakdar, the political Turkmen Shia community did not participate effectively in the attempts of rebuilding of the independent ITC. However, they participated in some meetings at times when it appeared that the establishment of an independent ITC was possible.

Conclusions

The facts presented in this study unfold the attitudes and identify the following issues:

Part XVI: The destructive history which Erdogan's governments write

- One of these two objectives summed up the policy of Erdogan's Turkish government toward the ITC up by: either Turkey can manufacture an ITC according to the measures of its own interests, imposing its hegemony and ensuring the achievement of Turkish strategies, or it will not allow the existence of a Turkmen Council at all.
- There is insistence on the side of the Turkmen, which never stops, to establish an independent and comprehensive ITC, through the inclusion of all sections of the Iraqi Turkmen community, political parties, civil society organizations and intellectuals.
- Thus, the Turkish state cannot achieve its first objective; therefore, Turkey thwarts all the attempts of the Iraqi Turkmen to build an independent ITC.
- The ITC, which was terminated by Turkey in 2011, and its remnants (Divan) are paid for by Turkey and serve Turkish polices. Turkey, who uses the president of the council Yunus Bayraktar, and other Turkmen people, hamper continuously the rebuilding of the ITC.
- Turkey exploits Turkmen organizations, which were funded by it, and Turkmen politicians who are subordinated to Turkey, to apply its authoritarian policies on the Turkmen of Iraq.

In their relation with Turkey, Turkmen politicians, intellectuals and organizations are divided into five groups:

- Constantly marginalized groups: such as the Turkmen Shia political community
- Expelled from Turkish Umbrella ITF: such as the four Turkmen parties which were expelled during the fifth GTC
- Expelled from Turkish Umbrella ITF: such as the four Turkmen parties which were expelled during the fifth GTC
- Left Turkish Umbrella ITF: such as Turkmen Decision party and Turkmeneli party
- Obedient to Turkey: such as ITF and many Turkmen civil society organizations.
- Actively working for Turkey: such as Hijran Kazanchi, Mustafa Ziya and Hasan Turan

Briefly: The Turkmen of Iraq are exposed to all types of human rights violations and their existence is threatened, which implies the need for a professional Turkmen political system, which Turkey is

determined to prevent, while it continues its humiliating policies towards the Turkmen.

Recommendations

In order to halt the Turkish control on the Turkmen of Iraq and build an independent Turkmen political system, which puts an end to the tragedies of the Turkmen, it is time for all sections of the Turkmen community to cooperate using all available means to get rid of this control. In this case, the Turkmen organizations and politicians, particularly those who are marginalized by Turkey, should stand united in front of the Turkish domination, working together by:

- Disclosing the Turkmen organizations, politicians and writers who work for the benefit of Turkey at the expense of suffering of the Turkmen.
- Raising in the international arena the issue Turkey's usurpation of the Iraqi Turkmen political system.
- Enlightening the Turkmen community about the risks of Turkey's Turkmen policy.

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 - Mohammed Tahir, Deputy 750 US Dollar
 - Nihad Kuşçu, Deputy 750 US Dollar
 - Najib Ahmad Zaki Sabuncu, Secretary, 400 US Dollar
 - Mustafa Bayraktar, secretariat, 400 US Dollar
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THE END



There is no doubt that all segments of the Turkmen community including youth, students, intellectuals and politicians are distressed: How the Turkmen of Iraq can treat the collapse of their political system, and how they can get out the state of retrogression?

The important specifications of the Iraqi Turkmen are a large population that covers a wide territory, a large number of educated people, a large number of Turkmen politicians in the leadership of the Iraqi Shiite parties, which govern Iraq and the kinship with the Republic of Turkey, which influences the balance of power of the region. The absence of Turkmen from the Iraqi political arena and their subjection to all kinds of human rights violations to the point of ethnic cleansing require study of the Turkmen plight, realities and facts by their national leaders in a scientific and systematic manner to prepare a roadmap and work to realize it.

The first step is to organize a congress for all Turkmen leaderships and intellectuals without exclusion to review carefully the Turkmen political system and to study comprehensively the problems of the Turkmen people. This has not been happened until today, except for a few simple cases. In this context, the well-known power, which dominates the Turkmen political system, played an unconstructive role.

After years of work to monitor and document the human rights violations to which the Iraqi Turkmen were subjected and lobbying in Europe to gain support for Turkmen cause, the SOITM foundation realized that the lack of an actual Turkmen political system is the main reason for the continuous failure of the Iraqi Turkmen. This brought the Foundation's focus on Turkmen internal political issues at the beginning of 2008. During a period of seven years, many important invisibles were revealed through research and analysis and led to the publication of this book.

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