



**Iraqi Turkmen Human  
Rights Research  
Foundation**

## **History of a City: Mosul after occupation**

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The forefront of the Kurdish militias, the Peshmergas, backed by the US troops, reached the outskirts of Mosul city on April 19<sup>th</sup> 2003. On April 21<sup>st</sup> and after the surrender of the first Iraqi army corps, the city was completely occupied by these Kurdish militias. The Kurdish militias under the vision of the US authorities gathered all the weapons and equipments of the Corps. By the influx of the Kurdish militias into the Eastside of the city, robbing and looting of the governmental offices started, of which many were set afire, which included also the banks and faculties of the University of Mosul. The militias also took over almost all of the governmental and Baath party vehicles and even the vehicles of the faculties and municipality. The Kurdish parties backed by the Peshmerga militias took up tens of the Baath party buildings and transferred them to their own party centers. Fierce quarrels took place between the inhabitants and the militias when some of the militias tried to enter into the west side of the city which forced them to withdraw back to the Eastside. Later on the same day of April 21<sup>st</sup>, the 101 Paratroopers division of US army under the leadership of the General David Petraeus entered the city from south.

### **The establishment of the first city council**

The Iraqi National Congress under the leadership of Ahmad Chalaby and the tribal leader Misha'an al-Juburi later entered the city. Al-Juburi was severely opposed when he wanted to appoint himself the governor of the province. It was also speculated that with some relatives, al-Juburi robbed some governmental banks. On April 25<sup>th</sup> 2003, the US general invited the notables of Mosul for a conference to institute the council of the Nineveh province. After a series of meetings and using Caucus method, 28 members were appointed as the members of the council depending on the allocation method. Ghanim al-Basso was chosen as the governor, Khasraw Goran, from KDP, as the deputy, Yusuf Lello from the Chaldo-Assyrians and Ibrahim Arafat, from the Turkmens of Mosul were appointed as the deputies of the governor. Several positions were given to the Kurds from Mosul who were members of the Kurdish parties. Attempts of the Kurdish parties to prevent the appointment of a representative from the Shabak community failed and a Shabak was chosen for the council. At the presence of Brigadier Khalil from PUK and Dr. Shawkat Bamerni from KDP, the first council of the Nineveh province was established at May 5<sup>th</sup>.

The council started to work under the direct rule of the occupation authorities and the influence of the Kurdish parties backed by the Peshmerga militias. The Kurdish influence further intensified when Hero Mustapha (Ms.), an Iraqi Kurd female holding US citizenship, was appointed in September 2003, as the representative of Mr. Bremer in the province. In coordination with the Kurdish deputy of the governor, Khasraw Goran, and some of the Christian members of the council and in two steps the Kurdish presence in the council of the city was further intensified; Firstly, by increasing the number of the minority groups and the females. Several other pro-Kurdish members were added to the council. Secondly, by a suggestion of Khasraw Goran, aimed at expelling the Ba'ath party members out of the council. The major goal of this operation was to get rid of the governor Ghanim al-Basso and some of the Sunni Arabs. Al-Basso was dismissed and the number of the council was increased to 41. In September Usame Kashmula was chosen the governor, who was assassinated on the road between Baghdad and Mosul and replaced by his cousin Duraid Kashmula. The Sunni Arabs had their own candidate called brigadier general Riyadh and their opposition was ineffective.

## Withdrawal of Sunni Arabs

Due to the recent modifications and the appointment of al-Basso as a governor of the province, the Sunni Arabs, particularly, those from the Islamic Party withdrew from the council. This event created a large vacuum in the council and gave the opportunity to Kurdish deputy Khasraw Goran to introduce other pro-Kurdish members into the council. At the end of November 2003, the city was infested by the armed groups of al-Qaida, which forced the government to send the aggressive Iraqi army brigade al-Thi'ab (wolves) to Mosul to establish the security. In contrary, the assassinations, kidnappings and bombings increased in the city.

In March 2004, the Peshmerga militias replaced Thi'ab brigade and the Kurdish parties started to enforce their headquarters in the central and eastern part of the province: Sinjar, Shaykhan, Ba'ashiqa, Hamdaniya, Zummar and Telkeif. These party headquarters have been backed by Peshmerga militias and Kurdish secret security forces. Paying large sums of moneys and offering jobs, the Kurdish parties started recruiting large numbers of collaborators from other ethnic and religious communities; Yazidis, Shabaks, Chaldo-Assyrians and Turkmens. At the same time, the Kurdish politicians started to claim that the origin of these communities are Kurdish.

In this unsecure condition characterized by Kurdish hegemony on the administration, army and police forces, the assassination teams were instituted. Many leadership elements and those who oppose the Kurdish control of the administration and Kurdification processes were killed. In the same period, the second and the third Iraqi military divisions were instituted almost completely from the Kurdish Peshmergas as soldiers and commanders.

## The Provincial Elections of 2005

Three election listings had competed in Nineveh province in the provincial elections of 31 January 2005: The Islamic party, the supreme council and the Kurdish Coalition. Decision of the Sunni Arabs to boycott the provincial elections and huge manipulations had given a golden opportunity to the Kurdish parties to continue rule the Nineveh province until today. As a result the Kurdish coalition dominated the councils of most of the cities. The distribution of the sets in the Nineveh province council was as follows: 31 of 41 sets for Kurdish Coalition, 4 sets for the supreme council, 3 sets for the Islamic party and three independent members. **The governor Duraid Kashmula, who was candidate from the Kurdish coalition**, kept his position. With the establishment of the further Kurdish control to almost all higher administrative units of the province and employing the two Iraqi military divisions and Peshmerga militias supported by the US troops, all the potentials and facilities of the province have been used to realize the Kurdish parties agenda:

- ✓ Appointments of tens of thousands of the Kurdish staff, for example, the appointment of nine thousand teachers from the Duhok province to the Nineveh province.)
- ✓ Bringing of large numbers of Kurdish families,
- ✓ Annexing some regions to the Kurdish province of Dohuk, for example, Shaykhan district.
- ✓ Forging the identity cards and ration cards to show that they are original inhabitants.
- ✓ Intimidation and terrorizing of the other communities particularly Shabaks, Yazidis, Chaldo-Assyrians and Turkmens.
- ✓ Handing the security of inter city roads to another group of Peshmerga militias, for example, all the roads in Turkmenian Telafer district, Erbil – Bartalla and Shaykhan – Duhok.

## The Kurdish parties dominate the region

It is well known that the occupation authorities depended on the Kurdish parties and militias in northern Iraq. Ignoring the long standing animosity between the Barzani party and the region, particularly, the Mosul city, accompanied the militants of that party and the US troops into the region and Mosul city. Bringing of as much as Kurdish militants into the Mosul city in the years 2004 and 2005 was the policy of the occupation. After worsening of the Security condition in the

province, the Kurdish militants were asked to leave the region. Despite that different units of them left the region, about five thousand Militant Peshmergas remained in the north of the province.

It was only in the years 2007 and 2008 the Iraqi government started to understand the disloyal goals of the Kurdish parties and the fearful Kurdification operations in northern Iraq and Nineveh province and started to realize the threat of this processes. The central government started to change some of the commanders of the military units. The commander of the Iraqi second military division Brigadier General Jamal was changed by Brigadier Mutaa al-Khazraji. The Kurdish parties rapidly contained the modifications. The refusal of the Nineveh inhabitants to recruit in the army which is made of the Kurdish Peshmerga militants and to participate in the political processes which was controlled by the Kurdish parties supported by the occupation had reinforced the Kurdish hegemony of the province.

### **The Provincial Elections of 2009**

After all these disasters, people of the province arrange to participate really in the election of January 31, 2009, aiming to reconstruct the reasonable administration. There are fierce competition between the Arabs, Kurds and the other communities to win as much as possible numbers of seats in the councils of the cities, particularly, Mosul city. Unfortunately, the United Nations office in Baghdad covets to reach to the real population size of different Iraqi communities. The UNAMI also aims to publish its report on the so-called the disputed regions to determine the regions of the Iraqi ethnic and religious communities.

The already dominating Kurdish parties employ all the facilities and illegal means to win as much as seats in the city councils. They use large numbers of the peoples, those who work for them in return of money or jobs, from the other communities, for example Shabaks, Yazidis, Chaldo-Assyrians, and Turkmens and even from the Arabs. They are spending huge sums of moneys to buy the votes of the notables with their groups and Mukhtars (heads) of the neighbourhoods and staff of the election centres. They distributed ration foods to the poor families and neighbourhoods in return of their votes. To guaranty the voting of those peoples for the Kurdish parties, they are asked to swear before getting the food or briberies. The fear of persecution, limits the activities against the wrongdoings of Kurdish Parties supported by militias and even waging campaigns of the non Kurdish political groups, for example, the unsuccessful attempts to assassinate the Shabak member of the Iraqi parliament. The Mosul inhabitants have very welcomed a Brigade of the Iraqi army which was brought from the south and replaced a brigade of the Peshmerga militias. But the Kurdish influence in the city is still not completely neutralized. Unfortunately, the Iraqi government still could not replace the Peshmerga militants in the vast regions in the north and west of the province: Hamdaniya, Baashiqa, Shaykhan, Sinjar, Zummar, Namrud, Telkeif and Telafer. These regions are under the hegemony of Kurdish parties, Kurdish militant Peshmerga and Kurdish security forces.

Afraid of losing the great numbers of seats which the Kurdish parties unfairly won in the preceding elections, they started asking for the postponement of the elections in Mosul under the pretext of the existence of expelled Kurdish families from the province.

The upcoming provincial elections in Iraq and the so-called the disputed regions will significantly influence the fate of the region and the strength of the central government, therefore the transparency and independency will importantly influence the political processes in the northern region and in all the New Iraq.

### **Recommendation**

*In light of the aforementioned facts that the Kurdish parties control the major part of administration in the northern Iraq and had subdued a large number of peoples, the UNAMI should not depend on the results of the upcoming Iraqi provincial elections to determine the population sizes of the Iraqi communities or the UNAMI is going to commit a fatal historical*

*mistake which will interfere with the reconciliation processes in Iraq and delays for several decades.*

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Written for SOITM by Abu Murtatha and translated by SOITM