

### **7.1 Turkmen under the British Occupation**

A key to understanding why the maintenance of Iraq's territorial integrity is viewed by many as critical is knowledge of the country's enormous ethnic and religious diversity, the aspirations of these groups and the problems they now face. One of these ethno-linguistic groups is the Turkmen, who have made a major effort to define themselves, both internally and to the world community. Their real population has always been suppressed by the authorities in Iraq for political reasons and is officially estimated at 2%, whereas in reality their number should be put between 2.5 and 3 million, i.e., 12% of the Iraqi population. The Turkmen of Iraq settled in Turkmeneli. Over the centuries, Turkmen played a constructive role in Iraq, either by defending the foreign invaders or by bringing civilisation. Their monuments and architectural remains exist all over Iraq. They lived in harmony with all ethnic groups around them. They lived with justice and tolerance.

The Turkmen are a Turkic group with a unique heritage and culture, as well as linguistic, historical and cultural links with the surrounding Turkic groups, such as those in Turkey and Azerbaijan. Their spoken language is closer to Azeri but their official written language is like the Turkish spoken in present-day Turkey. The Turkmen of Iraq settled in Turkmeneli (Turkmen land) in three successive and constant migrations from Central Asia, and increased their numbers; this enabled them to establish six states in Iraq:

1. The Seljuks,
2. The Atabegs,
3. The Ilkhanids,
4. The Jalairids,
5. The Kara Koyunlu (Black sheep),
6. The Ak Koyunlu (White sheep).

The Ak Koyunlu became the last Turkmen state, in the sixteenth century. After that, the Safawids and the Ottomans ruled them.

### **7.2 Turkmen during the time of the Monarchy**

For decades, since the creation of the Iraqi State in 1921, the Turkmen of Iraq and their plight have been completely ignored by the international community: they have been the least listened to outside Iraq and the least defended by their own government. Indeed, for decades, the Turkmen have been denied their basic human rights in Iraq, and have faced total indifference from the international community.

The disregard of the Turkmen's historical role and achievements in Iraq, the denial of their true representation as the third largest ethnic group and, consequently, their marginalisation in Iraq have been initiated by the British colonial authorities at the end of World War One in 1918, for geopolitical and economical reasons only. This was meant to facilitate the separation of the Mosul Vilayat 'Mosul Province' (now representing five Iraqi provinces: Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Duhok and Sulaymaniyah) from the Ottoman Empire (Turkey), in order to control the huge oil reserves of Kirkuk, which was then inhabited mainly by the Turkmen, as it had been for centuries.



Figure 35 Kirkuk Kalasi (Kirkuk Castle), 1918

During the 1920 uprising against the British occupation of Iraq, several Turkmen leaders appeared in the political arena in Tuz Khormatu. They have successfully participated in the uprising against the British occupation. These include *Ali Efendi Mullah Wali*, *Najem Mohammed Chayir*, *Sayid Mohamed Sayid Ali*, *Khurshid Bakir Agha*, *Qanber Hussein Agha*, *Wahab Rustum Agha*, *Ali Mullah Safer*, *Jalal Rashid Efendi*, *Kasim Mohammed Suleyman*, *Moussa Qanber Agha*, *Hassan Maruf*, *Mullah Mehdi Khalil*, *Fadhil Mullah Mustafa*, *Rashid Khalifa Aldaqooqi* and *Abbass Kahya*. Also, during the uprising in Tuz Khormatu, *Mohammed Al-Ferhan Albayeti* and the chief of the *Bayat Tribe Faris Beg* provided the demonstrators with logistical support and arms.<sup>[1]</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Brief Turkmen History Mowjez Tarih Al-Turkmen*, by *Shakir Sabri Alzabit*, published by *Matbaat al-almaarif*, part one, pages 137–138, Baghdad, 1960



Figure 36 King Gazi, the King of Iraq, with his uncle, Abdullah bin Ali, who was his regent while he was underage, during his visit to Turkmen City of Tuz Khormatu in 1940



Figure 37 Bagwan Tokar, British occupation, showing British soldiers guarding the bridge in Tuz Khormatu, 1918



Figure 38 Ali Effendi, Rafik Alqadhi, Qanber Agha and Zaynal Abdin

However, after the British invasion of Iraq in 1918, the Turkmen began to experience a different situation. The Turkmen were branded unjustly as loyal to Turkey: they were removed from the administration, pushed into isolation and ignored. Then, their fundamental human rights in culture and education were violated by the closure of their schools between 1933 and 1937.

Under the constitution, drawn up in 1932, the Kurds and the Turkmen had the right to use their own languages in schools and government offices and to have their own language press. With the Arabs, the Kurds were recognised in the first constitution of monarchical Iraq as one of the three main component groups of the Iraqi nation. However, constitutional rights were acknowledged to minorities in Iraq and the Royal Constitution of 21st March 1925 and the Article 16: "As determined by a general programme prescribed by law, each of the minorities originating from various nations has the right to set up schools where education is provided in the language used by that minority and is entitled to be in charge of these schools." It was stated in the Royal Constitution, which was valid until 1958, that the Iraqi State consisted of Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen and other minorities.

Moreover, according to Article 14 of the same constitution, Turkmen, like other minorities, were also entitled to receive an education in their own language and to be in charge of their own educational institutions. In fact, until the proclamation of the republic, various constitutional amendments did not cause ethnic or political discrimination. However, in 1933, the final version of Article 17 of the constitution declared Arabic as the official language, with legally defined exceptions. Legislation number 74, published in 1931, and entitled *Native Languages* had clearly stipulated these exceptions. This law permitted all judicial processes to be conducted in the Turkmen language and primary school education to be in the Turkish language in all areas where Turkmen lived, foremost among these being Kirkuk and Erbil, and these rights were under constitutional guarantee. However, in 1936, after the resignation of Hikmat Suleiman, the brother of Sadrazam (Chief Minister) Mahmud Shavket Pasha, from the

post of Prime Minister, to which he was appointed two years before, the new military regime began a campaign of taking back the rights given by the constitution. Thus, the Turkmen of Iraq lost the right to be educated in their native tongue. Under the Iraqi constitution of 1925, both Turkmen and Kurds had the right to use their own languages in schools, government offices and press.

By 1972, the Iraqi government prohibited both the study of the Turkmen language and Turkmen media and in 1973, any reference to the Turkmen was omitted from the provisional constitution. During the 1980s, the regime, the Ba'ath Party, prohibited even public use of the Turkmen language and the constitution of 1990 only states that the 'people of Iraq' consist of 'Arabs and Kurds'.

However, one of the historical tragedies carried out against the Turkmen in Tuz Khormatu during the Monarchy was the uprising 'Intifada' of June 6, 1954. The uprising commenced when the people of the district and the adjacent villages were frustrated by the election games practiced by the Iraqi government, which was assigning its supporters in the parliaments as representatives for the different constituencies. The Turkmen residents of Tuz Khormatu decided to show their unity and try to prevent possible the rigging of the election results. Therefore, they demanded free and integral elections, away from the governments' influences and government candidates.[<sup>2</sup>]

In the elections held in June 1954, there were two candidates, *Mr Jihad Al-Wandawi* and *Mr Zaynal Abdeen Al-Hajj Qanber Agha*, who were accepted by the Tuz Khormatu people to represent them in the Parliament. The Election centres in the constituency were held in the *Employees' Club* and the *Tuz Khormatu elementary school*.

The voting began at six o'clock in the morning and after a few hours, it was evident to the people that the government was supporting and proffering *Mr Jihad Al-Wandawi*, thus ignoring the principle of neutrality and implementing the orders of the central powers in Baghdad. The supporters of *Mr Zaynal Abdeen Al-Hajj Qanber Agha* objected and protested to the authorities that there were people being brought in to vote for *Mr Jihad Al-Wandawi* more than once. The people of Tuz Khormatu objected in writing to the District Commissioner, demanding that he investigate the issue. The Commissioner issued an order to arrest the campaign manager of the Turkmen candidate, *Haji Mubarak Hassan*. [<sup>3</sup>] The people realised that things were going from bad to worse and in their fury they attacked the election centres and destroyed the ballot boxes. [<sup>4</sup>]

People noticed that in the first polling centre, in the Employees' Club, there were armed forces trying to intimidate the crowds and prevent them from advancing but that was of no use, for the crowds continued marching. The unarmed protesters started to stone the armed troops in the Club, thus forcing the troops to seek shelter in nearby gardens and the clashes continued between the people and the outsiders, who were totally committed to making the

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<sup>2</sup> Ersad Hurmuzli, *Hakikat al-Wojood al-Turkmenifi al-Iraq*, (The existence of the Turkmen in Iraq), page 215, first edition, boyut. Tan.Mat, Ankara, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Ersad Hurmuzli, *Hakikat al-Wojood al-Turkmenifi al-Iraq*, (The existence of the Turkmen in Iraq), page 217, first edition, boyut. Tan.Mat, Ankara, 2005

<sup>4</sup> Ersad Hurmuzli, *Hakikat al-Wojood al-Turkmenifi al-Iraq*, (The existence of the Turkmen in Iraq), page 216, first edition, boyut. Tan.Mat, Ankara, 2005

government's candidate win the elections. The troops started shooting at the protesters and killed *Suleiman Ali*, one of the original inhabitants of Tuz Khormatu. This was clear evidence for the Turkmen of the denial that was being forged.

The period of monarchy, from 1932 to 1958, saw the removal of Turkmen from government posts and their deportation to Arab areas. The suppression of the Turkmen peaked in 1946, when they were subjected to what is historically known as the *Gawer Baghi* massacre when the police opened fire on unarmed protesters among the Iraqi oil workers in Kirkuk. Since then, and despite the formal independence of Iraq from Great Britain and the end of the British mandate in 1932, successive Iraqi governments have applied the same policies of marginalisation and discrimination towards the Turkmen as those that were initiated and applied by the British in 1918 and for the same geopolitical and economical reasons!

### **7.3 The Abdul Karim Qasim Period (1958–1963)**

The military coup of 1958 that toppled the monarchy first brought rays of hope for the Turkmen when they heard radio announcements by coup leader General Abdul-Kerim Qasim and his deputy General *Abdul-Salam Arif* that Iraq was made up of three main ethnic groups and Turkmen were one of them. Turkmen interpreted these statements as the end of the suppression.

However, happy days did not last long. After the coup of 1958, General Abdul-Kerim Qasim declared an amnesty and, because of this, a Kurdish rebel leader *Mullah Mustafa Barzani* returned from the Soviet Union and started negotiating for a Kurdish autonomous region. The situation of the Turkmen has deteriorated dramatically and drastically because of the hegemonic ambitions of Kurdish rebel leader *Mullah Mustafa Barzani* and his plans for an independent Kurdish state in the north of Iraq, for which the oil wealth of Kirkuk was not only a necessity but also the main motivation. The existence of Turkmen in the north of Iraq, side-by-side with the Kurds, and the Turkmen presence in great numbers in Kirkuk, where for centuries, they represented the majority, were seen and felt by Mullah Mustafa Barzani as obstacles to the realisation of his dreams for an independent Kurdish state and the control of Kirkuk's oil wealth.

During the time of General Abdul-Karim Qasim, the Turkmen suffered marginalisation and discrimination from both the Kurds and the Iraqi communists who dominated the regime in Iraq. They faced internal deportation, exile, arbitrary arrest and detention, confiscation of properties and agricultural land and worst of all, the massacre of 120 of their intellectuals and community leaders on the eve of the first anniversary of the revolution on 14th July 1959 by Kurdish rebel leader Mullah Mustafa Barzani and his Kurdish followers allied to the Iraqi communists. Kirkuk was put under curfew and its population slaughtered by Communists and Kurds. The streets of Kirkuk were filled with blood and witnessed one of its more brutal moments in history. The Turkmen in Kirkuk were attacked under the false pretext that they helped the Mosul resistance against the central government. The Kirkuk massacre was totally disregarded by the world and the whole of humanity ignored it.

It was only after this massacre that the Communist Kurds became aggressive enough to negotiate for inclusion of Kirkuk in their autonomous region. During this period (1958–1963), a mass migration of the Kurds, from their villages and towns in the north-east of Iraq to the Turkmen region and especially to the cities of Kirkuk and Tuz Khormatu, were organised and implemented in order to increase Kurdish presence in Kirkuk and alter the demography of this large Turkmen city.

#### 7.4 The social era of General Abdul-Salam Arif (1963–1967)

The ensuing era of General Abdul-Salam Arif (1963–1967) was one of the best periods for Turkmen in Iraq. The culprits of the 1959 Kirkuk massacre were hanged in the two big squares of Kirkuk by the government. Turkmen were allowed to run cultural associations and schools, publish magazines and newspapers in the Latin characters of Turkish and get some posts in government. This made them very happy and they demonstrated excellently that as citizens of Iraq they could work for their country and live in co-operation with other Iraqis.



Figure 39 Kuchik Bazaar in Tuz Khormatu, 1960

#### 7.5 The Ba'ath Period 1968–2003

After the coup d'état of the 17th July 1968, which brought the Ba'ath party to power in Iraq, efforts were made to end the Kurdish rebellion in the north-east of the country. Generous incentives were presented to the Kurdish rebel leader, Mullah Mustafa Barzani, by the Ba'ath regime in 1970 to put an end to his rebellion by offering him an autonomous Kurdish region with Erbil city (another Turkmen city) as its capital. In doing this, the Iraqi government acted in total disregard of the Turkmen interests in Iraq and particularly of those of the 300 000 unfortunate Turkmen of Erbil, who were sacrificed by the Ba'ath regime and offered as a 'present' to Mullah Mustafa Barzani in return for his acceptance to end the Kurdish rebellion.

In the 1970s, as it became more and more clear that *Mullah Mustafa Barzani's* ambitions and plans were to take over Kirkuk, control its oil wealth and declare an independent Kurdish state, the Iraqi government (Ba'ath regime) acted to maintain Iraq's territorial unity and to counter Barzani's ambitions. However, the Iraqi government has refused to accede to the Kurdish rebels' demands to include the Turkmen city of Kirkuk as part of the Kurdish autonomous region for economical and political reasons and because the overwhelming majority of the population in Kirkuk were Turkmen. Moreover, Saddam Hussein's government did not carry out the

agreement of 1970; thus, the Kurdish rebels renewed their fight against the central government in Baghdad.

Nevertheless, the Ba'ath party period commencing in 1968 had opened one of the darkest chapters in Turkmen history. The Turkmen Cultural Directorate that was set up by government to bring Turkmen under strict control was not working according to the government plans. Thus, Saddam Hussein's regime started new a policy, which is commonly referred to as *Arabisation* ('*ta'rib*'), was invoked by the Iraqi government programme. Arab families were resettled from southern Iraq to replace and dilute the Turkmen population but the Turkmen have opposed policies of the Ba'ath regime and have vigorously contested the regime's authoritarian Arabisation policy.

During the Ba'ath regime, the Turkmen of Iraq have suffered a great deal and paid a costly price for their opposition. They have lost hundreds of their political activists and intellectuals. Thousands of Turkmen have been forced into internal deportation and faced confiscation of their lands and properties. Numerous Turkmen villages have been destroyed and thousands of Arabs from the south of Iraq have been paid large sums of money to come and settle in the Turkmen regions to replace the deported original Turkmen inhabitants and take over their lands and properties. This was a brutal and horrible ethnic cleansing policy imposed by the Ba'ath regime on Iraq's third largest ethnic group, the unfortunate, unarmed and defenceless Turkmen.

## **7.6 Arabisation of Tuz Khormatu**

As I have stated, to reduce the concentration of the Turkmen population in Turkmeneli regions in general, and Kirkuk in particular, the Iraqi government established an Arabisation ('*ta'rib*') policy, which can be defined as the systematic forcible transfer of the Turkmen and Kurdish populations, aimed at changing the demographic nature of northern Iraq. The Iraqi government programme of resettling Arab families, who were brought from southern Iraq to replace and dilute the Turkmen and Kurd populations accompanied this. The forced and arbitrary transfer of populations is not permissible under international law and is a crime against humanity. Nevertheless, Saddam Hussein's government sought to alter the demographic make-up of northern Iraq in order to reduce the political power and presence of Turkmen and Kurds and to consolidate control over this oil-rich region; this covered areas reaching from the town of Mandeli, close to the Iranian border, to the Syrian and Turkish border areas around Telafer.[Doc.1]

Many Turkmen and Kurdish villages were bulldozed and new Arab settlements were built nearby. The main object of the Arabisation policy is to reduce the Turkmen population in Kirkuk and the surrounding regions. Therefore, the Iraqi government has annexed the district of Tuz Khormatu, which was linked to Kirkuk city until 1970. Because of the Arabisation policy, the Ba'ath regime have decided to link it to a newly established province, called *Saladdin* (*Tikrit*), which is 130 km from Kirkuk, whereas Tuz Khormatu is 75 km from Kirkuk. Nevertheless, the district of Tuz Khormatu city was annexed to the *Saladdin* province by an official government legislation number 434, which was issued on 11th September 1989.<sup>[5]</sup>[Doc.2] In addition, the Ba'ath regime linked the *Kifri* district to the *Diyala* province. The Turkmen district of *Altun Kopri*, which was annexed from Erbil, governs the Kirkuk

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<sup>5</sup> Aziz Kadir Samanci, *Political History for the Iraqi Turkmen*, Page 34, first edition, year 1999 Published by Dar Al-Asaqi, London, United Kingdom.



province thus the area that Kirkuk governs was reduced from 19 543 km<sup>2</sup> to 9426 km<sup>2</sup>, hence Kirkuk became the fourth largest province in Iraq.[<sup>6</sup>]



Figure 40 Tuz Khormatu district

The properties and most other assets seized from the Turkmen victims were distributed among the new Arab arrivals as part of a package of economic incentives. Simultaneously, the Iraqi government brought in landless Arabs from the nearby *Al-Jazeera* desert in Northern Iraq and others from central and southern Iraq to settle in the Turkmen area. Furthermore, titles for the rich agricultural lands seized from the Kurds and Turkmen were invalidated upon their expulsion and the land was then leased under annual contracts to Arab farmers. Many of those expelled have since been living in camps for the internally displaced in the northern Kurdish-controlled governorates outside Iraq for over a decade.

The forced mass displacement of populations based on their ethnic identity and attempts to Arabise Kirkuk and Tuz Khormatu date back to the discovery of major oil reserves in Kirkuk city in the 1920s, while Iraq was still under British mandate. Oil from the Kirkuk fields was not successfully extracted until 1927, but oil rights were first conceded to the *Iraqi Petroleum Company* consortium on 14<sup>th</sup> March 1925.

The *Arabisation* policy first occurred on a massive scale in the second half of the 1970s. During the Arabisation period, Saddam Hussein's government controlled the oil industry. In addition, the Ba'ath regime brought in large numbers of Arab workers instead of employing local Turkmen and Kurds in the *Iraqi Petroleum Company*. The Turkmen were also excluded, as the Iraqi government embarked on massive irrigation projects, which began in the 1930s on the *Hawija*, *Qaraj* and *Qari-Teppa* plains around Kirkuk, which became a rich agricultural region. Later projects helped the Iraqi government to settle several large nomadic Arab tribes from southern Iraq on these newly fertile lands.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, page 34.

### **7.7 The provisional constitution announced by the President of Iraq, General Ahmed Hassan Bakr, on 24th January 1970, Article 5:**

The people of Iraq consist of two groups: Arabs and Kurds. The national and the legal rights of all ethnic minorities are acknowledged within the unity of Iraq. The cultural rights seemed to be set to include the cultural rights of the minorities in Iraq. In this declaration, the section of the Turkmen rights consists of:[Doc.3]

The Turkmen shall receive primary education in Turkish in the area where they live and the Turkmen language will be the medium of instruction at the primary education stage.

- A directorate of Turkmen education shall be established and attached to the Ministry of Culture and Information.
- Turkmen publications shall be encouraged and assisted and this shall be attached to a union of Iraqi writers.
- A weekly newspaper and a monthly magazine in the Turkish language shall be published.
- The number of Turkmen programmes in the Turkmen language on Kirkuk TV shall be increased.

In 1972, at the height of the Cold War, Iraq signed a 15-year treaty with the Soviet Union. Saddam Hussein's regime undertook wide-ranging social and economic reforms to try to increase its popularity. By March 1970, an agreement was reached between the government and the *Kurdish Democratic Party* (KDP) over the establishment of an autonomous Kurdish area. The government also nationalised the *Iraqi Petroleum Company*, which had been set up under the British administration and was pumping cheap oil to the West.

Soaring oil revenues resulting from the 1973 oil crisis were invested in industry, education and healthcare, raising Iraq's standard of living to one of the highest in the Arab world. But Saddam Hussein's government did not carry out the agreement of 1970; thus, a conflict broke out between the Kurds and the government's armed forces in the spring of 1974.

The Kurds in the north of Iraq, who were funded by the USA-backed Shah of Iran Mohammed Riza Pahlavi, have rebelled against the central government in Baghdad. The intensity of the conflict and the economical damage caused to the Iraqi economy pushed Baghdad to the negotiating table with Iran, in a famous agreement that was signed between the Shah and Saddam Hussein in Algeria, where Iraq agreed to share control of the disputed *Sha'tt al-Arab* waterway with Iran. The Shah of Iran, Mohammed Riza Pahlavi cut off the Kurds' funds and the Iraqi regime put down their uprising. Also, Saddam Hussein extended his grip on power, stationing relatives and allies in key government and business roles. In 1978, the Ba'ath regime passed a new law, under which membership of opposition parties became punishable by death. The following year, Saddam Hussein forced *General Ahmed Hassan Bakr's* resignation – officially, because of ill health – and assumed the presidency. He executed dozens of his rivals within days of taking power.

### **7.8 The National Congress of the Ba'ath Party, 1971, and the impact on Turkmen**

The National Congress of the Ba'ath Party, held in 1971, reached a decision to make Kirkuk city and the surrounding area an Arab city by the 1980s. In accordance with this decision, the following measures were taken:

For instance, all education in Iraq was entirely in the Arabic language. The schools providing education in the Turkmen language were closed down in phases. The names of the Turkmen

schools were changed to Arabic names. Arabic education became compulsory in all Turkmen-populated areas.[Doc.4][Doc.5][Doc.6]

The teachers of these schools were appointed to other areas against their wishes. All these steps were taken by the Ba'ath regime to assimilate the Turkmen in the area and to prevent their cultural development.

There were 137 schools in 1970, but by 1971 this figure had fallen to 68. The decomposition of Iraqi Turkmen was an Iraqi policy passed down from one government to the next. This involved moving the Turkmen from the north to the south of Iraq and spreading them all over the country to decompose their national identity. In short, the Turkmen received almost no attention from the Western media, but they are the third largest demographic component of Iraq.[Doc. 8] Since 1970, the Iraqi Government has resorted to various means to assimilate the Turkmen and to 'Arabise' the region. For example, tens of thousands of Turkmen families were deported against their wills into the south of Iraq and hundreds of Turkmen villages were destroyed by the Iraqi regime under a variety of pretexts.[Doc.9][Doc.10] Simultaneously, the Iraqi government brought in landless Arabs from southern Iraq and other parts of Iraq to be settled in their place, enticing them with free housing and other economic incentives. This Arabisation policy is aimed at bringing about demographic changes designed to reduce the political power and presence of Turkmen, thereby consolidating the government's control over this region.

Teachers were transferred to the south of Iraq and a variety of legislation was introduced by the Revolutionary Command Council to prevent the Turkmen from seeking any employment in Turkmen-populated areas, especially, Kirkuk City. Turkmen leaders and elders were often falsely accused of spying for Turkey or Iran, or accused of being members of illegal organisations.[Doc.11][Doc.13][Doc.14][Doc.15][Doc.17][Doc.19]

All these steps were carried out intentionally, in order to change the demography of the Turkmen-populated area. The Arabisation of Turkmen became a state policy in 1971, when the General Assembly of the Ba'ath Party decided to Arabise Kirkuk. This continued until 1980.[Doc.12][Doc.16][Doc.18]

Administrative boundaries were changed in 1974 to divide Turkmen concentrations. Since the mid 1970s, Arabs have enjoyed special incentives and rights, encouraging them to move to historically Turkmen areas, including particularly the oil-rich cities of Kirkuk and Mosul.[Doc.16][Doc.18]

Turkmen societies, institutions and properties were officially 'Arabised'. This meant that the Iraqi administration not only prohibited the people from speaking Turkish in public but also punished even those who spoke privately in that language.[Doc.4][Doc.5] Many Turkmen-settlement names were changed to Arabic by the Iraqi regime. Kirkuk City was officially changed to Al-Tamim (literally: 'nationalisation', marking the nationalisation of the Western-owned Iraq Petroleum Company in 1972) by resolution number 41 of the Council of the Revolutionary Command, dated 29th January 1976. The largest township therein, Tuz Khormatu, was administratively attached to Tikrit, which is the place of birth of Saddam Hussein.[Doc.2]

The province of Kirkuk has continually shrunk in size with successive administrative decrees and thus the size of Kirkuk province, which was 20 000 square kilometres in 1975, came down to half that figure. Consequently, Kirkuk, with 4.2% of the land area and formerly the fourth

largest province of Iraq, is presently the 14th largest province, with only 2% of land area. The Turkmen names of all the streets, shops, supermarkets, mosques, graveyards, parks, sports centres and entertainment centres were changed to Arabic names. [Doc.4][Doc.5][Doc.6][Doc.7]

The towns of Tuz Khormatu, Kifri and Chamchamal were affiliated to neighbouring provinces. Elsewhere, in the oil-rich regions, the government had already resorted to re-drawing Iraq's administrative map in an effort to alter the demographic make-up of disputed areas once and for all. The boundaries of Kirkuk province were redrawn such that an Arab majority was ensured in key areas. Several major towns with a clear Kurdish majority were reallocated to existing neighbouring provinces or to the newly created Salahuddin province. [Doc.2]

Kirkuk province was renamed Al-Tamim. The authorities then embarked on a massive campaign of forced relocation: tens of thousands of residents were evicted from their homes in areas with significant oil deposits, as well as in disputed areas. These included Kirkuk, Khaniqin, Mandeli and Shaikhan, where the majority of deportees were removed to locations in southern Iraq; many were abandoned without any shelter. Others were housed in rudimentary camps along major routes under military control. In their place came Arab families from various southern tribes, encouraged by the government with financial remuneration and other benefits.

Many Turkmen quarters' towns and villages were changed and replaced with Arabic names [Doc.4] in accordance with a decision taken by the Iraqi Ministry of Interior on the 20th of May, 1976, to rename Turkish villages with Arabic names. In accordance with the directives given by the Revolutionary Command Council in 1985, the party authorities called the eldest people of the Turkmen tribe and informed them about the new Arabic surnames that they were to use. The authorities prepared false lineage registers and replaced the Turkmen names with Arabic ones. These pressures have also been implemented in educational and cultural fields. The names of some of the Turkmen schools were changed and Arabic names were assigned in accordance with the plan of assimilating the Turkmen amongst the Arabs.

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

To reduce the potential power and the influence of Turkmen in Kirkuk and the surrounding region, only the Arabs were selected for employment in a new workshop set up in Kirkuk. None of the Turkmen who had applied for employment were accepted. [Doc.17] it is most unfair that there is not a single Turkmen employed in Kirkuk City among the 750 officials who have been appointed to the municipality of Kirkuk. Previously, 80% of the employees were Turkmen. This shows the discrimination of the Iraqi government against the Turkmen. [Doc.12] Also, Saddam Hussein's regime has produced various legislations, to change the demography of the area.

They wanted to dilute the concentration of Turkmen within the Arab society. One law that was passed decreed that Turkmen graduates in general, but particularly those who had graduated from Turkish universities, were not to be employed in Kirkuk and the surrounding areas.[Doc.20] The Iraqi government discouraged the Iraqi Turkmen from taking higher education in Turkey by endorsing stamps on the Turkmen ethnic passport stating that the holder of the passport could travel to all countries except Israel and Turkey. Moreover, the Iraqi government utilised a variety of methods to prevent Turkmen families from forwarding any financial support to their children who were studying in Turkish universities.

Turkmen in Kirkuk were forbidden from possessing and operating a petrol station in Kirkuk and the surrounding areas. Moreover, Turkmen were forbidden from making export or import bids. Arabised policy was included by placing restrictions on employment and transfer of government employees to posts outside the Turkmen region.[Doc.21]

The Ba'ath regime issued legislation that stipulated that Turkmen were prohibited from working in important governmental jobs and positions (e.g., in the secret service and police, as pilots in the air force, officers in the army, or as ministers and councillors).[Doc.20][Doc.19] Turkmen civil servants were assigned to the south and banned from living in Turkmeneli.

The Turkmen employees and their families were forcibly transferred from the government offices in Kirkuk to the other government organisations and especially to the South of Iraq.[Doc.22] Also, to change the demography of Kirkuk City and to reduce the political influence of the Turkmen in Northern Iraq in general and particularly in Kirkuk, the Iraqi government has adopted various laws to transfer the Turkmen without their consent into various purpose-built settlements in the south of Iraq. These settlements were built by the Iraqi government and under the direct instruction of Saddam Hussein.

The Ba'ath Party administration had formed the most tragic days for the Turkmen nation. The tyrannical regime of Saddam had committed inhuman acts of violence in order to silence the Turkmen. The Turkmen nation was oppressed and persecuted and their leaders were fabricated with false accusations and executed, although they were not guilty.

Tens of thousands of the Turkmen's political opponents and ordinary citizens were subjected to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, summary execution, torture by beating and burning, electric shock, starvation, mutilation and rape.[Doc15] The wives of Turkmen prisoners were tortured in front of their husbands and children were tortured in the presence of their parents and all of these horrors and torture have been concealed from the world by the apparatus of a totalitarian state.

Because of a strike that was carried out by Turkmen students in conjunction with the Turkmen teaching union on the 2nd January, 1971, Saddam Hussein's government reduced the number of Turkmen schools that were to be open in Turkmen-populated areas and also caused the Ba'ath regime to arrest Turkmen union members. These were interrogated by the *Directorate of Security of Kirkuk*, which at that time was run by *Mr Taha Al-Jazrawi*. In addition, the Ba'ath regime found a good opportunity in the Turkmen student strike to arrest a prominent and intellectual member.

By 1972, the Iraqi government had issued new legislation prohibiting the study of Turkmen languages in Turkmen schools. They also banned Turkmen publicity and media.

The Ba'ath regime, under a variety of pretexts, demolished the houses of Turkmen- populated areas in Kirkuk City, in addition to a large number of Turkmen villages demolished by the Iraqi government. For example, Turkmen houses in Tuz Khormatu, Beshir, Kombetler and Yaychi were destroyed and the residents of those villages were left homeless. Moreover, a large number of Turkmen houses were confiscated, in order to split up the Turkmen localities. Arab families were brought to Kirkuk from the south of Iraq and resettled by force, with the financial support of the government, in order to change the demography of the area. Turkmen who wanted to purchase or sell properties in Kirkuk, were held under obligation to obtain official permission from governmental authorities. Under resolution number 1081, dated 27th September, 1984, the Turkmen lands were expropriated and allotted to the Arabs who were brought from the south. There was a very strict ban on all sales of real estate in Turkmen regions. Turkmen could only sell their land or buildings to Arabs. Turkmen could neither obtain building permission on their own lands nor purchase real estate. During Saddam Hussein's regime, the administration of Tuz Khormatu became under the control of the Ba'ath Party

The Anfal policy (reallocation of the Kurds from the north of Iraq to other places in Iraq) and the deteriorating situation between the Iraqi armed forces and the Kurdish rebels led to the settlement of thousands of Kurds in Tuz Khormatu. The arrived Kurds had been given shelter by the Turkmen in Tuz Khormatu and their population had increased gradually with the steady Kurdish migration. However, the intensified fighting in the north of Iraq between the Kurdish rebels and Iraqi army forces led to the bringing of thousands of Kurdish fighters, known as *Fursan*, by the Iraqi government to Tuz Khormatu, these *Kurdish Fursan* were financed and equipped by the Iraqi government and they were used to fight against the Kurdish rebels. They were also utilised as informers and to quell any uprising that might occur in the district. Moreover, during the Ba'ath period, huge areas of Turkmen land in Tuz Khormatu were seized by the government, and several garrisons were built around the city to monitor the movement of the rebels. Ba'ath Party Headquarters were also built in the district and these were used for propaganda, promoting a Ba'ath agenda and maintaining security and peace in the district. The population in Tuz Khormatu suffered more tragedies, when the Turkmen families showed their refusal to accept the principles of the Ba'ath party. The Ba'ath party became a party of autocratic rulers and the security forces became like a sword to control the necks of the citizens. Turkmen youth were arrested, imprisonment and executed. Religious festivals, such as Al\_ Hussieniya processions, were cancelled and the mosques were closed after completion of prayers, in order to prevent gathering.

The status of the district of Tuz Khormatu during the Ba'ath period became different. The real face of the city disappeared; the Turkmen directorate of the governmental offices were removed and replaced with members of Ba'ath party brought from *Tikrit (province of Salahuddin)*. In addition, Turkmen managers and government civil services were replaced. The native people of the city of Tuz Khormatu found themselves to be foreigners in their own city. Turkmen customs that had been used by their ancestors were banned and the visit to the Shrine of *Imam Zaynal Abidin*, which is today the third-most important of all feasts, was revoked by Saddam Hussein's regime. The Imam Ali shrine was converted into a watch post by the government, to monitor the movement of Kurdish rebels.

## **7.9 The Iraq and Iran War 1980–1988 (The First Gulf War)**

One of the Turkmen's most painful tragedies was that during the Iran–Iraq war (1980 to 1988). While tens of thousands of young Turkmen were enrolled and all the Turkmen reservists were

called back to serve in the Iraqi army to fight against the Iranians, their families in Turkmeneli were discriminated against. Thousands of them were forcibly displaced and their property was confiscated under the pretext that they were opposing the war and were members of the outlawed 'Da'wa' political party!

The Iraqi government (Ba'ath regime) used the Turkmen as a scapegoat during the Iraq–Iran War (the 'First Gulf War'). Whereas Arabs and, especially members of the Ba'ath Party, were stationed in safe places, providing planning and logistical support, the Ba'ath regime deliberately brought the Turkmen to the front line during the Gulf war and during the liberation of Kuwait and because of these wars, thousands of Iraqi Turkmen lost their lives – they were either killed in battle or went missing in action. The Iraqi Turkmen suffered severely under the dictatorship of the Socialist Arab Ba'ath Party, whereas the Kurds were exempt from carrying out military services.

Moreover, the 1980s saw the execution of countless Turkmen leaders and elders who were often falsely accused of spying for Turkey or Iran. During the Iran–Iraq war, dozens of Turkmen villages were totally bulldozed to the ground. Turkmen were not allowed to establish any political party or to form any political or cultural organisation. The only party that was allowed to function in Iraq was the Ba'ath party.

The official combination of the assimilation policy and the decomposition policy against the Turkmen by Saddam Hussein's regime successfully played out for years but assimilation and decomposition would not have been enough to erase or eradicate the Turkish character and the language of the Iraqi Turkmen.

The repressive policies of Iraqi governments were always the order of the day; for fear that the Iraqi Turkmen could be as big a headache as the Iraqi Kurds and the Shi'aa Arabs in the South. Repressive measures by the Ba'ath regime were intensified or relaxed depending on the opinions and the relations of the Iraqi government especially with the Iraqi Kurds. Moreover, in the interim constitution year, 1973, no reference was made to the Turkmen population in Iraq. The Ba'ath regime prohibited public use of the Turkish language in 1980 and the new constitution of 1990 only states that the Iraqi people consist of Arabs and Kurds.

#### **7.10 The uprising of 1991**

During the Gulf war in 1991, an operation known as 'Provide comfort' was launched by the allied forces to ensure a safe haven through an air exclusion zone, which prohibited Iraqi aircraft from flying north of the 36th parallel.

This safe haven caused the division of the Turkmen into separate communities in the Kurdish autonomous area and under the Iraqi administration. During this period, the Kurdish political party enjoyed unprecedented autonomy in administering their political affairs. However, the treatment of the Turkmen under their control illustrates a pattern of systematic human rights violation.

Almost immediately after Iraq accepted the cease-fire on the 3rd March, 1991, uprisings began to spread from dissident areas in the north and south of the country. The *Shia'a* in *Basra* City and the *Najaf* and *Karbala* in southern Iraq took to the streets in protest against the regime.

During the uprising, Sulyaimaniya City, which is a Kurdish-populated area in the north of Iraq, was the first large city to fall. Within a week, the Kurds controlled the Kurdish Autonomous

Region and the nearby city of Kirkuk. In mid-February, President Bush Snr had called on the Iraqi people and the military to take matters into their own hands. Nevertheless, hopes for US support for the uprising never came but, instead, Iraqi helicopter gunships arrived to quell the uprising.

Civilians and suspected activists in the revolt were arrested by the Iraq armed forces and were executed en masse; moreover, hospitals, schools, mosques, shrines and columns of escaping refugees were bombed and shelled.

According to US intelligence, between 30 000 and 60 000 people were killed by Saddam Hussein's military. The Turkmen people took the lion's share of this atrocity in Altun Kuperi, Tuz Khormatu and Kirkuk.

Altun Kuperi is a small Turkmen town located 40 km north of the Turkmen city of Kirkuk. *Altun Kuperi* means 'Golden Bridge' in the Turkmen language. The indigenous inhabitants of *Altun Kuperi* are Turkmen, but in recent years, a large number of Kurds migrated to this town seeking work as economical migrants especially after the Kurdish rebels in 1975 were suppressed by the Iraqi regime.

During the uprising in March 1991 against the Iraqi regime, the inhabitants of Altun Kuperi decided to leave the town after they had heard that Kirkuk City was retaken by the Iraqi regime and that looting, burning property and summary execution were taking place. With the news of the summary executions, opposition to the Iraqi regime quickly spread to Altun Kuperi. To avoid reprisal, persecution and revenge from the Iraqi secret service and republican guards, the inhabitants of the town decided to escape and shelter in safe areas. The fleeing population from *Altun Kuperi* were ambushed and rounded up by the Iraqi army and the consequence was that all males were separated from females and the Iraqi armed forces and Iraqi secret service executed hundreds of Iraqi Turkmen and Kurds on the spot. It was two weeks after this despicable crime against the civilian people before the dead people were allowed to be removed and to be buried by their families. The Iraqi government then confiscated the properties of these martyrs. The dead were buried in a mass grave in *Altun Kuperi*.

In the meantime, during 1991, the people in Tuz Khormatu also rose up against the Ba'ath regime. The consequence of this uprising was the occupation of the city of Tuz Khormatu by the Kurdish militia for a short period. During the occupation of Tuz Khormatu by the Kurds, the Turkmen carried arms and fought vigorously against Saddam's army alongside the Kurdish rebels. However, the Turkmen paid a very high price for their participation in the uprising when the Kurdish leadership made a secret deal with the Iraqi government (Ba'ath regime) by withdrawing their forces from Tuz Khormatu so as not to be attacked by the Iraqi armed forces. The deal between the Kurds and the Ba'ath regime was carried out secretly and without the knowledge of the Turkmen, and this led to the Kurdish militia withdrawing from the city of Tuz Khormatu in the middle of the night, leaving the Turkmen to suffer the consequences. After the Kurdish militia withdrew from Tuz Khormatu, the Iraqi army entered the city but they faced a vicious resistance and a street war commenced in the district.

The fighting between the opposition and government forces lasted for several hours and some of the opposition fighters withdrew their limited resources and headed to the mountain surrounding Tuz Khormatu, while the remaining fighters melted away into the city's houses.



While the fighters headed towards the mountains, they were attacked by military helicopters. In the meantime, the Iraqi army and security forces entered the district of Tuz Khormatu and large numbers of fighters were arrested and executed on the spot by Iraqi security forces under the pretext of helping the Kurdish rebels or fighting against the Iraqi government.

The Turkmen people in Tuz Khormatu suffered from neglect and persecution of ethnic and sectarian division of the former totalitarian regime, which itself had executed hundreds of young people and imprisoned many of its children in the early 1980s. They now suffered from the bombing, were exposed to air, land and military invasion, and all kinds of mass killings and looting, firstly, by the Ba'ath regime and, secondly, under the hands of fellow Iraqis after their participation in the public uprising 1991.

Nevertheless, as part of the Iraqi government's regime of legalising its ethnic cleansing policies, on the 6th of September 2001, in an unprecedented move, it passed Resolution number 199, giving all non-Arab Iraqis over 18 the right to change their ethnic identity to that of Arab. Such legislation is contrary to all the principles of human rights and was politically motivated.

The Ba'ath council banned Turkmen from acquiring real estate in Kirkuk, with its resolution number 434, dated 11th September 1989 and its resolution number 418, dated 8 April 1984. Turkmen who owned arable land were deported to the southern regions by force. In the 1987 national census in Iraq, Turkmen were openly threatened to declare themselves as either Arabs or Kurds. If they declared themselves Turks, they would be deported to South Iraq.

### 7.11 Mohammed Rashid Bander (1952–1997)



The martyr Mohammed Rashid Bander, who is known as Mohammed Rashid Tuzlu, was born in Tuz Khormatu in 1952 and moved to the al\_Fathel neighbourhood in Baghdad. In 1958, he completed his primary schooling in Baghdad and then he moved to Tuz Khormatu and studied at both intermediate and secondary school in the Tuz Khormatu district.

After completing his secondary education in 1970, he studied Muslim Theology in *Najaf Al-Ashraf* City in Iraq, but after a few months he left college, then he travelled to Turkey and studied Control and Quality Engineering at *Trabzon University*. He graduated from Trabzon University in 1976, and then worked as an engineer in Turkey. While he was working in Turkey he participated with other Turkmen members in establishing *Hizb Alwatani al-Turkmeni* (the *Turkmen Milli Party*).

In addition, he spent a lot of his time in Syria and the north of Iraq in organising and structuring Turkmen political parties in conjunction with *Mr Izedin Kojawa*, who was also a Turkmen citizen living in Syria, where he ran an opposition Turkmen organisation against Saddam Hussein's regime.

After his participation in the establishment of the *Turkmen Milli Party* and moved to Erbil City in the north of Iraq in 1991 and worked as a director for the Turkmen radio and TV station.

However, after the occupation of Erbil by Barzani and Saddam Hussein's troops in 1996, he was arrested by the Iraqi secret service with the help of the Kurdish militia and was transferred to the intelligence office of the city of Mosul for interrogation. After the completion of his

interrogation, he was moved to the Fifth Branch of the Intelligent Service and he was executed on the 15th of June, 1997.<sup>[6]</sup>

*Mohammed Rashid Bander* was very patriotic and believed passionately in the Turkmen cause. He completely believed that a Turkmen militia was necessary in order to acquire rights and freedom for the Turkmen. He put a tremendous amount of time and effort to achieve this goal.

A Turkmen militia was establishing itself in the north of Iraq, but unfortunately in the region that was controlled by Talabani militia. The Turkmen militia was instructed by Mr Jalal Talabani and Fouad Mahsum, in person. They told the Turkmen not to carry out any military activities against Saddam Hussein's regime and their pretext for being there was to form an armistice between Saddam Hussein's regime and the Kurdish militia. The prevention of the Turkmen in the mid eighties from carrying out military activities in Northern Iraq by the Kurdish rebel leaders was expected, since the Jalal Talabani was an accomplice and participant in the massacre of the Turkmen in 1959 that was carried out by the communist party and the Kurdish rebels and that ended in the execution and killing of large numbers of Turkmen in Kirkuk. Jalal Talabani was identified in the massacre of the Turkmen by Mr Ezaddin Kirkuk, who is one of the committee members of Kirkuk Vekfi, which is currently based in Istanbul.

A sudden and noticeable increase in the number of Turkmen joining the Turkmen militia caused worries among the Kurdish militia, who then forced the Turkmen militia to leave the area, which is under Kurdish militia control. Therefore, the majority of the Turkmen militia moved to Syria, while the rest went to Iran, where they stayed in the Karaj refugee centre near Tehran. The overwhelming majority of the Turkmen members then went to the west as political asylum seekers.



Figure 41 Kurdish rebel leaders Jalal Talabani and Tayyip Erdogan

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<sup>6</sup> *Ak Su newspaper article written by Mr Hussein Shakur Juma Kassab, under the title, Yowman Kholidan Laferak Baynuhuma, August 2006, issue 34, year three, page 2.*

### 7.12 Abdulhussein Haji Mullah Ibrahim



Abdulhussein Haji Mullah Ibrahim was born in the town of Tuz Khormatu at the Mullah Safer neighbourhood in 1950: both his parents are Turkmen. After completing junior high school, he joined the Military College, from which he graduated as an officer. He worked in the Iraqi army for several years, where he was promoted to the rank of colonel. Abdulhussein Haji Mullah Ibrahim belongs to a prominent Turkmen family in the city and his father, Mullah Ibrahim, was a well known religious figure in Tuz Khormatu. In order to serve in the Iraqi army, the overwhelming majority of army officers and high ranking officers are members of the Ba'ath party, and officers who do not join the Ba'ath party are forced into retirement. Nevertheless, Abdulhussein Haji Mullah Ibrahim did not join the Ba'ath Party, despite pressure exerted by the Ba'ath regime, but he had secret contacts with a group of friends to support the Martyrs of the Turkmen families that were executed by the Ba'ath regime. Besides being a military officer, he was an intellectual, keen, eager and interested in literature and poetry. His poems were written in the Turkmen language and were read out on various occasions. He was very kind and was a respected army officer and loved by his comrades. He worked with them closely in a very professional manner and he treated them as friends, supported them and stood besides them during crises and difficult time

During the Intifada (uprising) in 1991 and because of his belief in justice and anti-oppression, he stood beside the uprisers against the Ba'ath regime and the corrupt system. But after the quelling of the uprising by the tyrannical Ba'ath regime, Abdulhussein Haji Mullah Ibrahim was arrested by Iraqi military intelligence. After nearly a year of detention and physical torture, he was executed in the al\_Rashid Military Camp prison in Baghdad and his body was handed over to his relatives and was buried in Iraq.

### 7.13 Mohammad Abdullah Polatoglu



Mohammad Abdullah was a distinguished teacher in the al\_Nahtha Elementary Boys School, known by the people of the region as a great educator and patriarch. He participated in religious ceremonies that were held for a memorial to Ashura in Karbala and he was a distinguished educator in the school and interested in religious affairs and Islamic education for children.

To direct the pupils in the right way, he used to hold prayer groups with pupils at the school. He was born in the town of Tuz Khormatu in 1939 in the district of Mullah Safer; he stood fiercely against the Ba'ath regime Arabisation policies by educating the Turkmen youngsters, to win the hearts and minds of young people through counselling and religious education for the students.

In addition, he was in contact with his friends, who were exiled from Iraq, resulting in the establishment of a secret political cell to continue underground work and distribution of publications from abroad. On his return from a visit outside Iraq, he was arrested by Iraqi security elements in Tuz Khormatu. He was transferred immediately to the Security Directorate of Tikrit province. Some witnesses, who had been sharing the same cell and were

later released, testified that Mohammad Abdullah had stood bravely in front of the security police by not revealing any names of the other members of his political cell, although he was subjected to beating and other methods of torture, and he encouraged the other prisoners to be strong, patient and brave and not to reveal any names or other information to the security forces. Nevertheless, the Ba'ath regime executed him by hanging on the 11th February, 1982, under the pretext of Turkmen nationalism, in Abu Ghraib Prison. He was buried in the city of Najaf, his family was told not to carry out any memorial service in Tuz Khormatu and the security forces told his family not to transfer his body to Tuz Khormatu.

#### **7.14 Yasher Mahdi Tuzlu**



Yasher Mahdi Tuzlu was born in Tuz Khormatu in 1946 and belongs to the Effendi family. He studied at primary school in Tuz Khormatu, and at secondary and high school in Baghdad.

After completing high school in Baghdad, he studied Politics and International Studies at the Baghdad University of Law. He was also an active member of the Kardeslik Turkmen Club; he was heavily involved in organising the Turkmen youth and students studying in Baghdad. He participated in a collection of donations for a fund, which was distributed to needy Turkmen students. He successfully established close contact with Turkmen students studying in Turkey.

In 1974, he married Shukriya Qazi, who was working as a teacher in Tuz Khormatu. His first child, born in the 1974, was named Turan, which is a very patriotic name among the Turkish nation. Turan studied medicine at Basra University and is currently working in Tuz Khormatu as a physician. In 1975, he had a daughter named Eran, who studied at the Tikrit Science University. In 1976, Yasher Mahdi Tuzlu participated in a training course for a period of two years on taxation and management. After that, he worked as a civil servant in the taxation office, which is situated opposite the Orrizdibag shopping centre in Kirkuk. In 1978, he had a second daughter, named Demat, who studied chemical engineering at Tikrit University.

The Arabisation policy and the oppression of the Turkmen by successive Arab governments in general and the Ba'ath regime in particular, had a great influence on Yasher Mahdi. The discrimination against the Turkmen by the regime, and the arrest, imprisonment and execution of Turkmen intellectuals formed a big factor in Yasher Mahdi's becoming an active member in defending the Turkmen cause and defying the Ba'ath regime. However, his involvement in politics and his outspokenness caused him to become a target for and wanted person of the Ba'ath regime.

For some time, Yasher Mahdi Tuzlu hid from the Iraqi security forces and finally he escaped from Iraq but, for some reason, he came back to Iraq, remaining in hiding again. Unfortunately, he was arrested by the Ba'ath regime security forces on the 13th July 1980, while he went to purchase some necessities from a corner shop in his neighbourhood.

He was taken by some members of the security forces and interrogated. He was badly beaten and tortured during an interrogation at the General Security Service office. Yasher Mahdi Tuzlu was accused of being a member of the Turkmen Nationalist Party (Turani) and was unfairly sentenced on the 1st October 1980 by the Revolutionary Court to death by hanging under categorical penalty provisions in the Heavy Section in the Abu Ghraib Prison in Baghdad. He

was executed on the 14th January 1981 by the Ba'ath regime, and he was buried in the holy city of Najaf in Iraq. The Iraqi security forces told his family not to carry out any memorial or funeral arrangement for him in Tuz Khormatu. In addition, the security forces told his family not to transfer his body to his homeland of Tuz Khormatu.

### **Chapter Eight Occupation of Iraq in 2003**

On the 17th March 2003, the UK's ambassador to the UN stated that the diplomatic process in Iraq had been ended. In parallel to this, the arms inspectors withdrew from Iraq. Also, the US President, George W. Bush, gave Saddam Hussein and his two sons 48 hours to leave Iraq or face the consequences of the war. Saddam Hussein refused to leave Iraq and prepared to face the USA and British forces. Nevertheless, one of the biggest blunders of the American administration in 2003 was to venture in an illegal war against the Iraqi people following an ill-thought ideology conceived by a group of extremists known as the 'neo-conservatives' who pushed for the war with a plan based on lies and distorted intelligence about Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction, with the hidden objectives of regime change in Iraq, weakening the country and controlling its oil reserves, regardless of Iraqi interests. To realise their objectives, the neo-conservatives invented a new and artificial classification of the Iraqis stating that the Iraqi people are composed of Kurds, Shiites and Sunnis, whereas in reality the Iraqi people are composed of Arabs, Kurds and Turkmen, who are either Muslims or Christians.

By confusingly mixing the ethnicity of the Kurds with the religious affiliations of the Iraqi Arabs, the American administration has encouraged these ethnic and sectarian groups within their armed militias to take the lead in the governing process under the banner of democracy. The world has since then seen and witnessed the tragic consequences of this Machiavellian plan and the effect of the US administration's policy on innocent Iraqis!

After the intervention of the USA, and foreign occupation and regime change in Iraq, and despite the US administration's propaganda that they had brought 'democracy' into Iraq and that the Iraqis were now liberated and free, the reality is that the situation and the living conditions of the majority of the Iraqis, and especially the Turkmen, have dramatically deteriorated. Indeed, the Iraqis are forced to live under foreign occupation with all the humiliation that results from such occupation. They are exposed to all the dangers of the war, killing and injury, arrest and imprisonment, limitation of movement and freedom, shortage of food and medicines, lack of goods and basic services.

#### **8.1 The interim Government**

After the defeat of Saddam Hussein's regime on 10th April 2003, by the US forces, hundreds of Kurdish militia poured into the Turkmen city of Kirkuk. The municipality buildings, government offices, military buildings, large hotels and a historical military barracks in the city (at that time used as a museum), which was built in the Ottoman Empire era, were set alight by Kurdish rebels, along with Turkmen shops and houses, including the land registry office.

Land deeds belonging to the Turkmen have been deliberately taken from the Registry Office and this makes it difficult for Turkmen to establish the original inhabitants of the province. The invasion of Kirkuk in 2003 by the Kurdish militia was a mirror image of the repeated events from 1991 during the uprising against the Iraqi government (Ba'ath regime) after Operation Desert Storm.

The Turkmen, Arabs and Chaldo Assyrians had high expectations of the interim administration established after 9th April, 2003. The Turkmen expected to see democracy, fairness, tranquillity, an end to discrimination, the right to self-determination and an end to violence. Unfortunately,

the opposite has occurred regarding the human rights situation in Iraq, in particular concerning the Iraqi Turkmen.



Figure 42 Execution of Saddam Hussein

After the invasion of Iraq, an interim Government was established in June 2004 by the US administration and the USA handed the sovereignty of Iraq to the interim government, which was headed by Prime Minister Ayad Allawi.

The Turkmen had high expectations of the interim administration. Mrs Songul Cabuk, who was inexperienced and unknown to the Turkmen was the only person appointed by the US administration to represent the Turkmen. The Kurds endorsed her appointment. The established interim government has only granted a single ministerial seat for the Turkmen, whereas eight ministerial positions have been given to Kurds: by appointing a single minister in the new government it was not truly representative of the Turkmen population.

The Turkmen candidate who applied for the post of deputy Prime Minister was completely opposed and rejected by the Kurdish coalition parties. Moreover, an interim committee was established, consisting of 55 members representing Arab, Kurds and others, but only a single Turkmen (Riyaz Sarikahya) was elected and this clearly shows injustice and under-representation of the Turkmen in the newly formed constitution.

After the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime, the Turkmen have been subjected to campaigns by the Kurds in Turkmeneli, often more brutal than those carried out on Kurds by Saddam Hussein. The Iraqi Kurds have attempted by various methods to eliminate the Turkmen identity, especially from Kirkuk City, in order to disperse them into Kurdish society. The economic, political and cultural aspects of the Turkmen were completely changed when the Kurds brought over 600 000 Kurds to Kirkuk.

The city of Kirkuk, which is located 250 km north of Baghdad, holds strategic as well as symbolic value for the Iraqi people in general and for the Turkmen especially. The ocean of oil beneath its surface could be used to drive the economy of an independent Kurdistan, the ultimate goal for many Kurds. The Kurds hope to make the city and its vast oil reserves part of an autonomous Kurdistan, whereas the Turkmen, Chaldo Assyrians and Arabs are fiercely opposed to the inclusion of Kirkuk in an autonomous region. Because of Kirkuk's oil resources and its strategic importance, the fight over the control of the province proved to be one of the main focal points of the conflict in northern Iraq. Kurdish control over Kirkuk could fuel Kurdish nationalism in the region and undermine the rights of Turkmen, Arab and Chaldo Assyrian residents in Kirkuk.

Indeed, the Kurdish armed militias, which are known as *Peshmerga*, and belong to the Kurdish political parties *Patriotic Union of Kurdistan* (PUK) and *Kurdistan Democratic Party* (KDP) of Mr Talabani and Mr Barzani, have been authorised by the US invasion forces and the American administration to extend their control beyond the Kurdish autonomous region in the north-east of Iraq, further to the south and to the west to the Turkmen region, to occupy and control all Turkmen towns and cities, such as Kirkuk, Tal Afar, Tuz Khormatu, Altun Kuperi, Daqooq, Khaniqin, Kifri, etc.

Nevertheless, the systematic forcible transfer of the Turkmen and Arabs populations aimed at changing the demographic nature of northern Iraq is a policy that is commonly referred to as *Kurdification* (*takrid*). The Kurds have changed the demographics of the Turkmeneli rapidly. This process was involved by the resettlement of tens of thousands of the Kurds and, at the same time, driving out the Arab population at gunpoint. Kurdish officials bluntly declared that they do not want Arabs in northern Iraqi territories.

The Kurds, encouraged by the United States, the European Union, Russia and others, need to be emulated by the Iraqi Turkmen, who cannot afford to be isolated from Northern Iraq geographically, politically or, least of all, economically. Turkmen strongly believe that any settlement in Iraq that disregards the Turkmen nation would not be justified, would not be fair and lasting and would be doomed to failure. Unfortunately, now, the disposition of the Kurds towards Turkmen seems to be one of total disregard and suppression. The main objective and intention of the Kurds is to change the demographic structure of the Turkmen-populated area and the Kurds have intensified their Kurdisation campaign in the city of Kirkuk.<sup>[7]</sup> Kurdish officials working at the administration of the Kirkuk municipality have been confiscating real estate and lands belonging to the town administration with a view to granting them to ethnic Kurds newly arrived in Kirkuk, who are not originally from the town. Kurdish parties have encouraged and offered financial support to all Kurdish families from outside Kirkuk to move to Kirkuk. Also, Kurdish parties have transferred a large number of Kurdish employees and police officers from the north of Iraq to be appointed in Kirkuk.

It was rather shocking for us to see the Nuri Almaliki government that was established by the US administration and the Kurdish leaders bargaining over Kirkuk and surrounding region, which has been for centuries and still is a predominantly Turkmen area. Kurdish leaders are encouraged by the West to pursue their objective of acquiring an autonomous region, but this; it would seem from the ongoing negotiations, would incorporate the Turkmen-inhabited area and the Kurds have long been trying to degrade Turkmen.

What a bleak prospect for Turkmen, who have been looking for better days under a new democratic Iraq following the liberation of Iraq! It was utterly incomprehensible that almost two and half million Turkmen should come under the rule of four million Kurds. The Turkmen nation is entitled to have the same political, economic and cultural rights as Arabs and Kurds in Iraq. If the Kurds are to be granted autonomy, Turkmen should not be denied this right or – since they mostly live together in many places – the autonomy should be granted jointly to Kurds and Turkmen.

In a free and democratic Iraq, all the ethnic groups should be given representation, in central government and parliament, commensurate with their proportion in the population. The

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<sup>7</sup> Article published by the *Jamahir AL\_Turkmen* on 6 September 2003 on ITO-Habber.



Turkmen strongly believe that any settlement in Iraq that disregards the Turkmen nation would not be justified, and would not be fair and lasting. It will be doomed to failure.



Figure 43 Evacuated Arab villages after the toppling of Saddam Hussein



Figure 44 Evacuated Arab villages after the toppling of Saddam Hussein

Unfortunately, because of the Kurdisation policy in the North of Iraq in general, and Kirkuk, in particular, in which the Kurdish parties are trying to change the demography of the Turkmen-populated area, the Turkmen parties have expressed their opposition and have demonstrated peacefully against the new discrimination policies, on several occasions, in Kirkuk, Tuz Khormatu and Baghdad, only to be shot at by Kurdish militia and American troops, turning those peaceful demonstrations into a blood bath. In addition, the US forces have helped the Kurdish militia to change the demography of the area by appointing a Kurdish governor, Mr Mustafa Abdurrahman, in the Turkmen-populated city of Kirkuk without election and without the consent of the population in the governance. The US forces allowed only Kurdish militia to carry arms in the north of Iraq, where they proceeded to terrorise the local Iraqi population. Moreover, during the election, the US forces had allowed over two hundred thousand Kurds

from outside to be poured into Kirkuk City unabated, even though the election legislation clearly stated that no transportation movement was permitted between cities.

The USA have also arbitrarily arrested Turkmen and abducted hundreds of Turkmen and Arabs in Kirkuk and sent them to prisons in Kurdish-held northern Iraq. This was revealed by the Iraqi officials, US government documents and revelations from the victim's families. These Turkmen and Arabs were transferred secretly and in violation of Iraqi law to prisons in the Kurdish-controlled cities of Irbil and Suleymaniyah.

To suppress the Turkmen voice in northern Iraq, the Kurdish militias have established several puppet Turkmen parties to serve their own purposes. The Turkmen parties established by the Kurds are designed to divide the Turkmen people and are used to smear the characters of the real representatives of the Turkmen. Nevertheless, these puppet leaders have been appointed in various high-ranking government positions. Moreover, these puppet leaders are being introduced to national and international conferences and to the world as the real representatives of the Turkmen, while they are clearly not.

## **8.2 The election of 30th January, 2005**

The elections of 30th January, 2005 were carried out in the absence of sufficient international observers. During the elections, incidences of fraud, cheating and manipulation in the voting system were widespread. Several irregularities took place in northern Iraq. For instance, after the close of registration at the polling station after the 23rd January, 2005, 100 000 Kurds who were not residents of Kirkuk were registered and were allowed to vote in the election.

An estimated eight million people voted in elections for a Transitional National Assembly. The Shia'a United Iraqi Alliance won a majority of assembly seats. Kurdish parties come second. During the election, the Kurds obtained a large number of seats in the parliament and a large number of ministerial positions. By April 2005, amid escalating violence, parliament selected a Kurdish leader, Jalal Talabani, as the president of the republic of Iraq. Dr Ibrahim Javari, a Shi'aa, was named as Prime Minister and a new constitution was established.

Dr Ibrahim Al-Jafferi faced strong opposition from both Kurdish parties, PUK and KDP, for his strong opposition to the implementation of the referendum on Kirkuk. Thus, both Kurdish parties fought vigorously against Dr Ibrahim Al-Jafferi and refused to participate in his government. Moreover, Dr Ibrahim faced tremendous pressure from the US administration and his own party to leave his position, and as a consequence, Dr Ibrahim resigned and *Dr Nuri Almaliki* took his position.

During *Dr Nuri Almaliki's* presidency, there was instability and a lack of security. The level of violence increased dramatically and the central government was very weak. Dr Nuri Almaliki was under tremendous pressure from the Iraqi government and the USA to bring stability and peace to the country and to disarm the local Shi'aa militia of *Moqtada Alsader*.

However, during *Dr Nuri Al-Maliki's* government, only a single ministerial position, that of minister of sport, was given to the Turkmen Shi'aa. This post was held by *Mr Jassem Mohammed Jaafar*. In the meantime, the Kurds in the north of Iraq had established their own government and appointed *Mr Abdullatif Benderoglu* as a minister representing the Turkmen in the newly established government in the north of Iraq. In addition, Mr Massuad Barzani was appointed as the president of the Kurdish parliament in the north of Iraq and started a more vicious campaign of Kurdification.

### **8.3 The new Iraqi legislation**

During the occupation, a new legislation was established by the US administration and enforced on the Iraqi people. In the newly formed constitution drawn up by the interim government, it was clearly stated that Iraq consists of only Kurds and Arabs and has totally disregarded the existence of all other minorities. The Turkmen strongly believe that a new Iraq must be inclusive and ethnically and religiously balanced in representing Iraq's three main groups.

After the election, few Turkmen from Tuz Khormatu were appointed as ministers in the new Iraqi governments. In addition, the Kurds and the US administration imposed the idea and principles of *Federation* on the Iraqi people. Moreover, the Kurdish parties insisted on adding a new paragraph, which is article 140 in the legislation, and is related to Kirkuk and its status. The Kurds have insisted on carrying out a referendum of the Turkmen City of Kirkuk.

### **8.4 Kurdification ('altakrid')**

After the invasion and foreign occupation of Iraq, the Kurdish parties, led by Mr Talabani and Mr Barzani, and their militias, have realised the old plan of Mullah Mustafa Barzani by taking control of Kirkuk, Kurdifying the city and controlling its oil wealth, to the detriment of the Turkmen. This clearly proves that what has changed for the Turkmen since the regime change in Iraq is simply the substitution of Kurdish control for Ba'ath control. This is not only unfair but is also unacceptable to the Turkmen, who want to live freely in their Turkmen region in a free, peaceful and democratic Iraq.

After the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime, thousands of internally displaced Kurds and Turkmen have returned to Kirkuk City and other Arabised regions to reclaim their homes and lands, which have since been occupied by Arabs from central and southern Iraq. These returnees were forcibly expelled from their homes and lands by the government of the Ba'ath regime. However, the majority of the Kurds returning to the city of Kirkuk were not originally from Kirkuk. They had been brought from outside the region to Kirkuk with the help of the two Kurdish parties, in order to change the demography the city and to win the referendum, which was arranged for the 31st December 2007, to determine whether Kirkuk can formally join the Kurdish administered region; an outcome that Arabs and Turkmen in Kirkuk staunchly oppose.

These Kurdish newcomers to Kirkuk have been given financial support and incentives by both Kurdish parties to come and settle in Kirkuk: they have been issued with forged identification cards, and official records and documents have been falsified to show them as Kurds originally from Kirkuk who had been forcefully displaced by the Ba'ath regime, even though the great majority of them had never been, lived, worked or possessed any property in Kirkuk!

The Kurds have managed to bring hundred of thousands of Kurds to Kirkuk from outside before the election to show that they are the overwhelming majority in Kirkuk and to force the established government under the occupation to hold a referendum in 2007. The date of the referendum was cleverly calculated to make sure that both Kurdish parties had enough time to transfer an adequate number of Kurds to the city of Kirkuk. The Kurdish plan was obviously to win the referendum and annex Kirkuk City to an autonomous region, which is currently under Kurdish control.

It is worth mentioning that from the US and Kurdish occupation of the Turkmen region on the 10th of April 2003, up to 2007, not a single Turkmen has recovered his rights or recuperated his property or agricultural lands, confiscated by the Ba'ath regime; not a single Turkmen has been

compensated; not a single Turkmen village which was destroyed has been rebuilt. This is in contrast with the Kurds, who have not only recuperated all their lands and properties and received compensation but have also taken over all the properties belonging to the Turkmen, which had been confiscated by the Ba'ath regime.

Kirkuk itself has become almost synonymous with the abusive Kurdisation campaign, which illustrates the persistency of the designs that the Kurds have on Kirkuk.<sup>[8]</sup>

Kirkuk's fate has been one of the thorniest issues of Iraq's constitutional process. Under Article 136 of the document ratified by Iraqis on the 15th October, 2005, a referendum on the status of Kirkuk will be held in the province no later than the 31st December, 2007. This will happen only after the Iraqi government takes measures to repatriate former Kurdish residents and resettle Arabs or compensate them.

Nevertheless, throughout Kirkuk and across hundreds of remote farming villages, the Kurdish political parties are doing the job themselves. The PUK has openly declared that the party provides \$5000 to each repatriated Kurdish family. Tens of thousands of Kurds have resettled in the city and surrounding villages over the past year, many with the help of the parties. From 2003 to 2006, the Kurdish parties relocated as many as 600 000 Kurds to be settled in the Kirkuk region since Hussein's fall in 2003. The demographic structure of Kirkuk has been seriously distorted as Kurds, backed by armed Peshmerga forces, have been migrating into the city in large groups claiming to be original residents.

The fate of the disputed Iraqi city of Kirkuk is vital for all of Iraq and a planned referendum on its status should be held across the country, not only in Kirkuk, as currently intended. The Turkmen declare that Kirkuk is an Iraqi city and all the people of Iraq should decide on its fate. A referendum to be held only in Kirkuk would not be acceptable and valid, since it is extremely easy to manipulate election results in the city. As a matter of fact, the issue of Kirkuk's status is potentially explosive for Iraq and ethnic conflict over the city could spark violent clashes and even a civil war across Iraq, which could eventually lead to disintegration of the country. However, the unresolved issue is the future of Kirkuk: an oil rich city in northern Iraq, which is a home to a substantial number of Turkmen, Kurds and Arabs, making it a powder keg.

The Kurdish militias are insisting that the constitution requires a popular referendum by December 2007 to determine whether Kirkuk can formally join the Kurdish administration region. If this is the outcome, the Arab and Turkmen in Kirkuk will staunchly oppose it, since the demography of the city has already been altered dramatically by the Kurdish authorities. The risks of further violence sparked by a referendum are great and would be potentially explosive; a referendum in Kirkuk City could spark violent clashes among the ethnic groups and even a civil war across Iraq, which could eventually lead to a disintegration of Iraq. There is also a great possibility of Iran, Syria and Turkey intervening and becoming involved in Iraq. Unless the international community acts soon to resolve mounting tensions in Kirkuk, the result could well be yet another violent conflict in Iraq, with the risk of full-scale civil war and possibly outside military intervention, since the Kirkuk issue is not purely an internal matter but is a matter of concern to the stability of the adjacent countries.

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.radiotahrir.org/blog.php>, *Eerie Silence in North Iraq*, 20th November, 2006, by Barbara Nimri Aziz

The referendum result would not reflect reality, owing to the alteration of the ethnic composition of this city by the Kurdish parties who brought, as mentioned above, over 600 000 Kurds and registered them as inhabitants of Kirkuk precisely for the purpose of voting in this planned referendum in order to legalise their control over the city and its annexation to the Kurdish autonomous region! Kirkuk has never been a Kurdish City, despite the misleading arguments, false claims and dubious practices of the Kurdish political parties. It is historically a Turkmen city and should, therefore, not be controlled by the Kurds or be annexed to the Kurdish autonomous region.

Given the very dangerous situation in Kirkuk, international arbitration is necessary to avert communal violence. As Turkmen, we are satisfied with the Iraqi Study Group Report on the Kirkuk issue that was submitted by James Baker and Lee Hamilton. The Turkmen find the ISG report realistic, constructive, well structured and comprehensive in covering all aspects that relate to Iraqi issues and provide new hope for the future of Iraq. However, as Turkmen, our recommendation to the ISG is that the referendum on the Kirkuk status should be completely abolished rather than delayed and we argue that the Iraqi government should consider it to be implemented.

### **8.5 Deaths during the Kurdish occupation**

During the occupation of the Turkmeneli region by the Kurdish Militia the Kurdish militia killed a large number of Turkmen intellectuals and politicians.

### **8.6 The assassination of the Director General for Education**

On Tuesday the 31st August 2004, the Director General of Education, *Dr Ibrahim Ismail*, an ethnic Turkmen, was shot several times in the head by attackers who sprayed his vehicle with gunfire. *Dr Ibrahim Ismail* was killed on the main road as he was heading towards the Technological Institute in the south of Kirkuk. Three bodyguards and two teachers accompanying him were also wounded. The General Chief of police, *Turhan Yusuf*, in Kirkuk, said that six attackers in a pick-up truck sprayed *Dr Ismail's* vehicle with gunfire. *Dr Ibrahim Ismail* was an active member of the Iraqi Turkmen Front. He was one of the organisers who staged protests condemning what the Iraqi Turkmen Front describes as attempts by the city's Kurdish community to seize Turkmen and Arab land and to distribute it to the Kurdish people. He was also at the centre of a heated debate in the ethnically divided city over which languages should be taught in schools. He felt strongly that the Turkmen language should be taught along with the Arabic language. He was strongly opposed to the Kurdish language being used as an official language in Kirkuk.

In addition to this, all the Turkmen and Arabs living in the north of Iraq, in general and, in Kirkuk, in particular, opposed the Kurdish Paramilitary groups that have been controlling three Northern provinces after the 1991 Gulf War. However, the Kurds, with the help of the British and the US forces have pressed for the inclusion of Kirkuk in an autonomous Kurdish region within a federal Iraq.<sup>[9]</sup><sup>[10]</sup>

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<sup>9</sup><http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/E3545EF5-FC5E-4562-B9B6-CF83F263B086>, (Al Bawaba news online, dated 31/8/2004, (Bizturkmeniz, website, 31/8/2004) (Ref: Kirkuk Egitim Muduru Olduruldu, 31/8/2004, CCNTurk.com, 31/8/2004) (Tuesday 31 August 2004, 12:21 Makka Time, 9:21 GMT.

In addition, on the 21st of March 2005 the US forces and Kurdish secret service, *Asayish*, raided Tuz Khormatu City. The raiders ransacked offices and religious shrines, tore up portraits of religious leaders and arrested several prominent religious Turkmen Shi'aa leaders. *Adnan Mohammed Amerli*, *Sayid Aziz Sayid Kadir*, *Ayoub Ibrahim Al-Najar*, *Sayid Hussein Sayid Kadir* and *Talal Hussein Kuwaiti* were arrested by the Kurdish militia.



Figure 45 Spraying the car of Dr Ibrahim Ismail with gunfire, Kirkuk, Turkmeneli

Nevertheless, after the occupation of Iraq, armed militia and the police forces started to terrorise the public. Table 2 gives a list of the names of Turkmen citizens who were abducted or murdered in the district of Tuz Khormatu from 2003 to the present.<sup>[11]</sup>

1. Ali Kazim Berber: abducted and then escaped from the hands of terrorists, 2005
2. Mahdi Zinel Abidine Taqi: abducted on the road to Tikrit–Tuz after payment of ransom, 2006
3. Semad Shaker: 2006
4. Brother of Minister of Construction, Jassim Mohammed Tuzlu): abducted and released, 2006
5. Hassan Ali Kaboor: abducted and released, 2006
6. Ali Hashim Mokhtar oglu: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2006
7. Imad Reza Hassan: 2006
8. Muhammad Haidar Semeen: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2006
9. Amer Mohamed Semeen: 2006
10. Aziz Khidr Mali: 2006
11. Mohamed Hassan Ibrahim: 2006
12. Suleyman Majeed: not released so far, 2006
13. Mohamed Sahib Joka: not released so far, 2006
14. Ali Akber Zinel Abidine Jair: 2006
15. Mohamed Sadoun Saleh: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2006
16. Hussein Adnan Qarah Nazli: abducted and released without the payment, 2006
17. Adnan Gomaa Mokhtar: abducted from Yengejeh and released after payment of ransom, 2005
18. Fadil Tawfiq Al-Byati: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2006
19. Ali Shahin Nuri Askar: abducted and fled from the hands of the kidnappers, 2006
20. Shahin Nuri Askar: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2006
21. Muthir Qassim Kena: abducted and released after payment of ransom ,2006
22. Hussein Mahdi Najjar: abducted and released after payment of ransom ,2006

<sup>10</sup> *Bizturkmeniz*, website, 31/8/2004)(Ref: *Kirkuk Egitim Muduru Olduruldu*, 31/8/2004, CCNTurk.com, 31/8/2004)((Tuesday 31 August 2004, 12:21 Makka Time, 9:21 GMT.

<sup>11</sup> [www.bizturkmeniz.com/ar/index.htm](http://www.bizturkmeniz.com/ar/index.htm), 6/1/2007, *khtitaf almuwatin alturkmen fi Tuz Khurmatoby*.

23. Ertan Mahdi Zine El Abidine Najjar: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2006
24. Habib Mohamed Ali Karim: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2006
25. Muhammad Hashim on the Shahbaz: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2006
26. Talal Mustafa Fadil: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2005
27. Mo'ayed Fuad Sadik: abducted and killed by terrorists, 2003
28. Shihab Ahmed Agha: killed by terrorists, 2005
29. Ihsan Mahdi Agha: killed in front of his home by terrorists, 2006
30. Mohamed Yahya Maruf: killed in front of his home by the However terrorists, 2006
31. Mohiuddin Rashid Biatli: killed in front of his home by the However terrorists, 2006
32. Fahraddin Mohsen: killed in front of his home by the However terrorists, 2006
33. Hashim Abbas: killed in front of his home by the However terrorists, 2006
34. Dilshad Qasim Zine El Abidine: killed in front of his home by terrorists, 2006
35. Mo'ayed Shawkat Kawther: abducted and killed by terrorists, 2006
36. Safaa Younis Mohamed: killed in front of his home by terrorists, 2006
37. Hussein, Younis Mohammed: killed in front of his home by terrorists, 2006
38. Ibrahim Ismail Tawfiq: assassinated in Kirkuk, 2005
39. Ali Jamil Bshirli: killed in front of his home by the However terrorists, 2006
40. Emir of Mohamed Semeen: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2006
41. Nouredine Birame: abducted in 2006
42. Qassim Mohamed Birame: abducted in 2006
43. Amjad Al-Hashim Nuri: abducted and released after payment of ransom, 2005
44. Ashraf Muthher Qassim: killed in the Tuz Khormatu uprising, 2003
45. Ahmed Hussein Ali: killed in the Tuz Khormatu uprising, 2003
46. Muhammad Hashim Askar: killed in the Tuz Khormatu uprising, 2003
47. Cetin Zine El Abidine: killed in the Tuz Khormatu uprising, 2003
48. Ahmed Ramzi and Abdel Rahman: killed in the Tuz Khormatu uprising, 2003
49. Burhan Mohamed Ezzat: killed in the bombing, 2005
50. Ihsan Mohamed Ezzat: killed in the bombing, 2005
51. Almdar Ihsan Mohamed Ezzat: killed in the bombing, 2005
52. Abbas Said Shno: killed in the bombing, 2005
53. Mohammad Latif: killed in the bombing, 2005
54. Mohamed Mahdi Abbas: killed in the bombing, 2005
55. Murtadha Abbas: killed in the bombing, 2005
56. Mohamed Sayed Ibrahim: killed in the bombing, 2005
57. Mohamed Zine El Abidine Bhagwans: reported killed in 2005
58. Mohamed Moussa Namiq Gasab: killed in the bombing, 2005
59. Nihad Abdel-Rahman Jair: killed in the bombing, 2005
60. Talaat Hussein Shno: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
61. Mohamed Saleh Hassan: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
62. Rajih Hédi Abbas: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
63. Fadil Almdar Youssef: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
64. Awni Ali Samad: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
65. Zine El Abidine Hussein Hassan: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
66. Yasar Safer Younis: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
67. Imad Taqi Berber: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
68. Mohamed Ahmed Rashid: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing 2006
69. Muhammad Haidar Jaafar: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
70. Abbas Said Ahmed: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
71. Abd Al-Amir Mahdi Sadik: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
72. Ali Mohammad Reza: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
73. Qassim Askar Emeen: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006

74. Salah Kazim Shakkour: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
75. Farouk Tawfiq: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
76. Reza Karim Jair: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
77. AARDAL Ismail Ali: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
78. Ahmed Abbas Biatli: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
79. Fakhradin Kadir Feizollah: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
80. Mustafa Rashid Mohamed: killed in the Casino Ak Su bombing, 2006
81. Asi Khaz'al Musab: killed during payment of ransom of abductee Qassim Mohamed Birame, 2006
82. Amid Asi Khaz'al: killed during payment of ransom of abductee Qassim Mohamed Birame, 2006
83. Akber Mohamed Birame: killed during payment of ransom of abductee Qassim Mohamed Birame, 2006
84. Mohamed Talal Jihad: killed during payment of ransom of abductee Qassim Mohamed Birame, 2006
85. Ali Askar Effendi: abducted, 2006
86. Mujahid Ismail: abducted, 2006
87. Hani Taqqqi: abducted and not released so far, 2006
88. Ihsan Walli Mustafa: killed in performance of duty, 2005
89. Murad Tahsin walli: killed in performance of duty, 2005
90. Ali Moussa Ismail: killed in performance of duty, 2005
91. Tahsin Walli Mustafa: killed in performance of duty, 2005
92. Kadir Mohamed Eryan: killed in performance of duty, 2005
93. Suleyman Akber: killed in performance of duty, 2005
94. Nabil Ahmed Ghaydan: kidnapped and killed, 2006
95. Hussein Askar Ahmed: kidnapped and killed, 2006
96. Adel Radwan Shakkour: kidnapped and killed, 2006
97. Dia Nuri Ahmed: kidnapped and killed, 2006
98. Zulfugar Abdulhussien Askar: kidnapped and killed, 2006
99. Mohamed Zinel Abidine Askar: abducted, ransom paid and released, 2006
100. Abbas Shaker: abducted, ransom not paid, 2006
101. Adel Hussein Khalil: abducted, ransom not paid, 2006
102. Muhammad Qasim: abducted, ransom not paid, 2006
103. Mohamed Abbas Salah: abducted, ransom paid, 2006
104. Shahin Hassan Mardan: killed in front of his home, 2006

*Table 2 Turkmen citizens who were abducted or murdered in the district of Tuz Khormatu from 2003 to the present.*



## Chapter Nine

### 9.1 Kirkuk and Tuz Khormatu massacre on the 22nd and 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 2003

Firstly, I would like to mention some important events that occurred prior to the Tuz Khormatu uprising. This uprising was caused by the destruction of the shrine of the Sepulchre of *Imam Murtada* on top of Tuz Khormatu Mountain, which overlooks the *Aq Su* River.

The people of Tuz Khormatu built the shrine of *Imam Murtada* with the consent of the Tuz Khormatu councillor and the knowledge of the deputy governor of Kirkuk on the 23rd August, 2003. The shrine took several days to construct. During the construction, Kurdish workers threatened to destroy the shrine. This was reported by the Turkmen to the Kurdish secret police known as *Asayish*. Despite this, the security forces and the *Patriotic Union of Kurdistan* did not take any action to deter offenders and to protect the shrine.

To obstruct the construction of the shrine, the Kurdish militia threw building materials, brought to rebuild the shrine, from the mountains. These materials were trampled on the site to deter people from continuing the work.

During the opening ceremony, the Kurdish *Asayishs* were present at the site and the unarmed Turkmen citizens who attended the opening ceremony were subjected to harassment from the Kurdish security police. In one instance, gunfire was opened on them.

In addition to this, according to information that was revealed to a Turkmen resident in Tuz Khormatu by a Kurdish citizen who had attended a meeting of the Security Council, which was held by the Kurdish militia, the Kurdish militia had decided to demolish the shrine. Therefore, a request was submitted by the Turkmen to the security forces (Kurdish *Asayish*) on the opening day, primarily to provide protection for the Turkmen people attending the opening ceremony. The security forces refused to grant the request of the Turkmen, giving only flimsy pretexts although they were well aware of the gravity of the situation.

However, on the 21st August, 2003, groups of Kurdish militia decided to blow up the shrine of *Imam Murtada Ali Zen Abdin*, one of the Turkmen's most respected holy men. This shrine was a small dome on the hills of Tuz Khormatu.

Hussein's army had levelled the shrine of *Imam Murtada Ali Zein Abdin* in the mid 1990s. However, the shrine was rebuilt after the Iraqi leader was deposed with money from Shi'aa donors, but in 2003 the demolition of the *Imam Murtada Ali Zein Abdin* was carried out when militia from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan 'PUK' Kurdish fired a rocket-propelled grenade at the shrine's dome, caving it in. This was the second time that the shrine had been destroyed.<sup>[12]</sup><sup>[13]</sup><sup>[14]</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Sheikh Abbas Al-Imami, About the latest incident which occurred between the Turkmen and Kurds in Tuz Khormatu and Kirkuk, published in both Al-Kitabat and ITO-Habber, 25th August 2003*

<sup>13</sup> *Mr Muhsin Albayeti, Establishment and continuous investigation in the Martyrs of the Turkmen in Kirkuk and Tuz Khormatu, published in both Al-Kitabat and ITO-Habber, 8th September 2003*

However, the morning after the shrine's inaugural ceremony during the *Muslim Eid* (feast), Tuz Khormatu's Turkmen awoke to see only a smudge of lime-green rubble on the barren hilltop, where the dome should have been.

After the demolition of the shrine, the Kurdish militia poured onto the streets of Tuz Khormatu and started celebrating the destruction of the Turkmen shrine, shouting slogans hostile to the Turkmen, such as *Mako Alawi, No Alawi* and *Where You Turkmen Hedmana Alikom*, 'Where are you, the Turkmen: we have destroyed your Ali!' and showing the hatred, chauvinism and savagery of the security forces and the members of the National Union of Kurdistan.

The demolition by the Kurdish militia of the shrine of the Sepulchre of *Imam Murtada Ali Zaynal Abidin* on the top of Tuz Khormatu Mountain, overlooking the *Aq Su* River, outraged the Turkmen. The news of the destruction of the shrine quickly spread to the town and the people started flocking to the town's main mosque to express their anger and rejection of these nefarious practices. Although the people had made a request to the security forces for permission to stage a march, this request was declined. This refusal, however, did not deter them and they held their demonstration anyway.<sup>[15][16][17][18]</sup>



Figure 46 The Turkmen Shrine has been destroyed and a Kurdish flag has been painted on a concrete structure on the hill of the district: Square 1, the Kurdish flag; Square 2, the shrine of Imam Murtada on the top of Tuz Khormatu Mountain

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<sup>14</sup> *Iraq and its Turkmen: no Kurdish imperialism for us*, *The Economist*, August 30th 2003, page 28

<sup>15</sup> *Sheikh Abbas Al-Imami, About the latest incident which occurred between the Turkmen and Kurds in Tuz Khormatu and Kirkuk*, published in both *Al-Kitabat* and *ITO-Habber*, 25th August 2003

<sup>16</sup> *Mr Muhsin Albayeti, Establishment and continuous investigation in the Martyrs of the Turkmen in Kirkuk and Tuz Khormatu*, published in *Al-Kitabat* and *ITO-Habber*, 8th September 2003

<sup>17</sup> Article published by the *Jamahir Al-Turkmen* on 6 September 2003 in *ITO-Habber*

<sup>18</sup> *Iraq and its Turkmen: no Kurdish imperialism for us*, *The Economist*, August 30th 2003, page 28

The Turkmen in Tuz Khormatu decided to march through the town to carry out a peaceful protest against the destruction of their holy shrine by the Kurdish militia. Their peaceful demonstration went out of the *Imam Ali* mosque to go towards the Big Square in Tuz Khormatu. The militia started shooting at the demonstrators from the main headquarters of the National Union of Kurdistan, which prompted some of the young people to enter their homes and fetch light weapons to defend themselves and the demonstration. The march continued on to the heavily fortified mayor's office, despite exposure to gunfire. Militia belonging to the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan opened gunfire on the demonstrators in the market, leading to armed hostilities between the two sides, and claiming the lives of a group of Turkmen. In the fighting, a rocket-propelled grenade (RPG) was also used by the Kurdish militia against the demonstrators and two sites were affected: one of them is near the *Public Baths* and the second is in the *Aljamilla* neighbourhood.



Figure 47 Turkmen demonstrators showing their anger against the destruction of the Imam Murtada Shrine



Figure 48 Turkmen shot by Kurdish militia, 22nd August 2003

The following people were killed when Kurdish militia opened fired on the peaceful demonstrators:

- 1) *Cetin Zaynal Abdin Effendi,*
- 2) *Ahmet Hussein Hassan Beyatli,*
- 3) *Mohammed Hashim Asker,*
- 4) *Ashraf Muzher Kasim Kenna,*
- 5) *Ahmed Ramzi Abul-Rahman,*
- 6) *Hussein Mohammed Hassan,*
- 7) *Ismail Taha Yaychi,*

- 8) *Ismail Ibrahim Kumbetli,*
- 9) *Ahmed Abdul Hussein Damerchi.*<sup>[19]</sup>



Figure 49 Kurdish militia with US forces in the Turkmen City of Tuz Khormatu

Also in Kirkuk, on the night of Saturday the 22nd of August 2003, rocket-propelled grenades were fired by Kurdish rebels at statues of two Turkmen heroes, who were killed by the Kurds in the Turkmen massacre of 14th July 1959, further increasing the tension in the region. Gunfire echoed through the city on Saturday night and squads of Iraqi police were stationed at each of the statues after the attacks.<sup>[20]</sup>

On the 23rd August 2003, the Iraqi Turkmen Front leader *Barrister Sinan Agha* released a statement condemning the action of the Kurdish militia against the Turkmen. A copy of the statement was forwarded to the American governor in Baghdad, *Paul Premier*, asking him to establish an independent committee to investigate the Tuz Khormatu incident. In addition, thousands of Turkmen in Turkey and Baghdad demonstrated in support of the Turkmen in Tuz Khormatu and condemning the Kurdish militia atrocity. Meanwhile, the Shi'aa religious leader *Moqtada Alsader* released a statement condemning the Kurdish militia killing of the Turkmen.<sup>[21]</sup>

In addition, according to reliable information from Tuz Khormatu, *Moqtada Alsader* refused assistance from both Kurdish parties to rebuild the Shrine until the perpetrators who had committed this crime were arrested to face trial and punishment. However, the residents of Tuz Khormatu assassinated the perpetrators of this barbaric crime one by one and the last Kurdish militia member who fired on the peaceful demonstrators was shot in mid 2006. Nevertheless, the following Turkmen were injured in Tuz Khormatu during the demonstration:

- 1) *Ali Hashim Mahdi,*

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<sup>19</sup> *Turkmeneli Newspaper, year 9, issue 592, page 1, published on Sunday the 24th August 2003*

<sup>20</sup> *Arabs face evictions as Kurds take revenge Michael Howard in Daqooq, Iraqi Kurdistan, The Guardian, Friday 18th April, 2003*

<sup>21</sup> *Turkmeneli Newspaper, year 9, issue 593, page 1, published on Wednesday the 27th August 2003*

- 2) *Mouwaffak Mohammed Nuri,*
- 3) *Ali Ismail Muca,*
- 4) *Timucin Khayrullah Bellew,*
- 5) *Waleed Khalid,*
- 6) *Hassan Kazaw Abbas,*
- 7) *Seyit Asgar Seyit Ali,*
- 8) *Cetin Kalendar,*
- 9) *Cevdat Bahjat,*
- 10) *Kasim Akber Mali,*
- 11) *Isam Abbdin Pasha.*

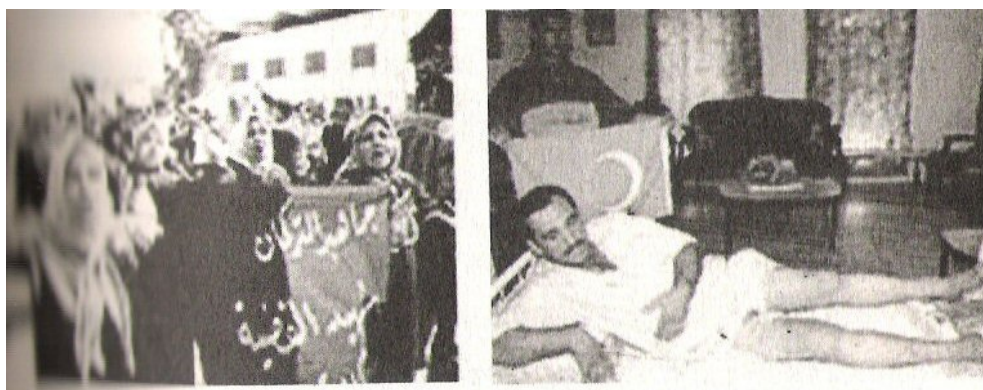


Figure 50 Turkmen shot in the Tuz Khormatu demonstration by the Kurdish militia

During the clashes, the US troops tried to quell the violence between Kurds and gunfire broke out between the Turkmen demonstrators and the US forces. The new violence had emerged as a new source of trouble for USA-led occupation forces in northern Iraq and the US armoured vehicles and helicopters attached to the 173 Airborne Brigade fought off the demonstrators. Three Turkmen were killed in the exchanges.

As a matter of fact, one of the few things that Tuz Khormatu residents agree on is that religion played a secondary role in the dispute and the primary source of the tension between Kurds and Turkmen was a political struggle over the administration of Tuz Khormatu. Also the US administration has completely failed to disarm the Kurdish militia, who have been terrorising the Turkmen people. The hostile approach from armed Kurdish militia towards the Turkmen and the discontent of the Turkmen with both the USA and Kurdish forces in the district has played a tremendous role in the Turkmen uprising.

On the second day of the Turkmen clashes, the bodies of the Turkmen were taken in a funeral cortège in Tuz Khormatu to the graveyard in the Holy City of Najaf. The population in Tuz Khormatu poured onto the streets to bid their final farewells and there were a lot of tears and anger amongst the Turkmen people. Nevertheless, on the way to Najaf, the bodies were taken to the Palestine Hotel in Baghdad and they were shown to the national and internal journalists who were based there to cover the Iraqi war. The objective of the conference was to show the crimes of the Kurdish militia against the Turkmen in Tuz Khormatu. Meanwhile, several injured Turkmen people who had been shot by the Kurdish militia were sent to Ankara for treatment after they had been refused treatment in Tuz Khormatu hospital, which is under Kurdish militia control.





Figure 51 The mother and aunt of the martyr Ahmet Hussein Hassan Beyatli

As a result of the shooting, a member of the Turkmen Front political party Tuz Khormatu, Hashim Nuri Hassan issued harsh condemnation and claimed that the Kurdish militia shot at the Turkmen demonstrators first and the Kurdish police let them get out of control. He said, *"We don't feel in Tuz Khormatu that the administrations are fairly and properly represented. The Americans appointed a Kurdish mayor, the police chief is Kurdish and property left from the Saddam Hussein regime has been given to the Kurds and yet, we are the majority in the district."*



Figure 52 Iraqi Turkmen Front headquarters adjacent to PUK headquarters in Tuz Khormatu. Only the ITF headquarters are flying the Iraqi flag.



Figure 53 Members of the Iraqi Turkmen Front in Tuz Khormatu

*Yusuf Younis Johar*, the local leader of the party, at the headquarters of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, blamed the violence on *Ansar al-Islam*, a group with links to the al Qaeda terrorist network. *'It wasn't us,'* he said. *'The Turkmen started the shooting and the terrorists blew up the shrine'.*<sup>[22]</sup> Moreover, *Captain David Swenson* of the 1st Armored Division, who is in charge of Tuz Khormatu, stated, *'I have spent part of today trying to persuade local leaders, imams and clan chieftains to avoid revenge attacks. I want the families of the victims to visit each other and make peace'.*<sup>[23]</sup>

Also a statement was issued by *Jalal Talabani's* Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) party, in which they denied any role in the violence and blamed 'foreign elements' and the remnants of Saddam Hussein's regime for the clashes in Tuz Khormatu and Kirkuk. The Turkish media said that ethnic Turkmen started the violence in order to encourage Turkey to deploy troops in northern Iraq and quoted *Behruz Gelali*, a PUK spokesman. However, Iraqi Turkmen front member *Sadadin Arkanj* said to the media, *'We want our brethren 'the Kurds' to intervene so as to put an end to this sedition and help ease tension and for our part, we have started to ease tension. So 'the Kurds' should deal with the issue properly and not let the terrorists do whatever they want... the coalition troops are themselves responsible for controlling the situation... Yesterday we called for an increase in coalition patrols and an end to police actions. The Kurdish police are behind such provocations. They refuse to speak with us in Arabic, only in Kurdish, which just widens the gap between us.'*

*David Newton*, the head of RFE/RL's Radio Free Iraq and a former US ambassador to Iraq, said, *'It has been stated that it is possible that the bomb blast in Tuz Khormatu was an attack by supporters of ousted Iraqi leader Saddam. It is a possibility, since it was a bomb, which destroyed the dome of the shrine. I think it is a real stretch to say it was al Qaeda. However, it*

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<sup>22</sup> *Daniel Williams*, 11 killed in ethnic violence in N. Iraq: US troops intervene in riots, slaying six, *Washington Post Foreign Service*, Sunday, 24th August, 2003 page A16, Correspondent *Anthony Shadid* and staff writer *Theola Labb* in Baghdad

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*

*could be the supporters of Saddam trying to stir up ethnic tension. Beyond that [bomb blast], there was clearly no involvement [of the remnants of Saddam's regime.] It was Kurds versus Turkmen in the clashes.'*

However, by Saturday the 23rd of August 2003, the violence had spread to the Turkmen oil-rich city of Kirkuk. The massacre against the Turkmen in Tuz Khormatu caused the Turkmen in Kirkuk to pour out into the streets in order to show their support, unity and solidarity with the Turkmen in Tuz Khormatu, to express their anger and dissatisfaction towards the USA and Kurdish militia in Kirkuk and Tuz Khormatu.

The demonstration of the Turkmen in Kirkuk began with a peaceful march, to show their solidarity with their ethnic kin in Tuz Khormatu. Turkmen marched on the heavily fortified mayor's office in Kirkuk and, at one point; shots rang out as the marchers passed the precinct police office. When the marchers reached the city hall and the Kurdish militia, the Kurdish police, those who were brought from Suleymaniyah and Erbil, discriminatorily and intentionally opened fire on the unarmed Turkmen demonstrators. Three people were killed with gunmen exchanging gunfire and throwing grenades in the streets.<sup>[24][25][26][27]</sup>

Afterwards, shooting broke out and the Turkmen burned a police station as well as an illegitimate Kurdish flag. US troops guarding the city hall intervened and more shots were fired, the US troops then moved and opened fire on the Turkmen demonstrators in order to disperse the crowd. After that, US helicopters appeared and, 'Everybody fled,' said Urfan Essa, one of the witnesses, 'We're afraid of the Kurds. I work in the bazaar (market) and occasionally, someone shouts, 'The Kurds are coming! The Kurds are coming!' Everyone closes his or her shop. Peace in this town is only on the surface.' There is no peace and tranquillity while the armed Kurdish militias are in the town.<sup>[28]</sup> The names of the Turkmen martyrs on 23 August 2003 in Kirkuk are:

- 1) *Erkan Yousif Fatah Bulawali,*
- 2) *Hassan Ali Amin Beyatli,*
- 3) *Yousif Emad Younis Salihi.*

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<sup>24</sup> *Daniel Williams, 11 killed in ethnic violence in N. Iraq: US troops intervene in riots, slaying six, Washington Post Foreign Service, Sunday, 24th August, 2003 page A16, Correspondent Anthony Shadid and staff writer Theola Labb in Baghdad*

<sup>25</sup> *Sheikh Abbas Al-Imami, About the latest incident which occurred between the Turkmen and Kurds in Tuz Khormatu and Kirkuk, published in Al-Kitabat and ITO-Habber, 25th August 2003*

<sup>26</sup> *Mr Muhsin Albayeti, Establishment and continuous investigation in the Martyrs of the Turkmen in Kirkuk and Tuz Khormatu, published in Al-Kitabat and ITO-Habber, 8th September 2003*

<sup>27</sup> *Article published by the Jamahir Al-Turkmen on 6th September 2003 in ITO-Habber*

<sup>28</sup> *Daniel Williams, 11 killed in ethnic violence in N. Iraq: US troops intervene in riots, slaying six, Washington Post Foreign Service, Sunday, 24th August, 2003 page A16, Correspondent Anthony Shadid and staff writer Theola Labb in Baghdad*





Figure 54 Turkmen killed by the Kurdish militia in Kirkuk

The names of the Turkmen who were injured in Kirkuk on the 23rd of August 2003 are:

- 1) *Khalid Abduljebbar,*
- 2) *Ahmad Hussein,*
- 3) *Ferhan Kerim,*
- 4) *Samir Fazil,*
- 5) *Ramzi Feyzullah,*
- 6) *Jangiz Muattasam,*
- 7) *Ahmed Ali,*
- 8) *Yasar Adnan,*
- 9) *Ahmed Adnan,*
- 10) *Mohammed Fatih,*
- 11) *Jalil Hussein,*
- 12) *Hussein Abdin,*
- 13) *Arsalan Nur,*
- 14) *Mustafa Hasan,*
- 15) *Amjad Khalid,*
- 16) *Nevzad Seyit Abbas,*
- 17) *Mohammed Omer,*
- 18) *Felah Hassan,*
- 19) *Geylan Mohammed Najar,*
- 20) *Fikret Mohammed Ali,*
- 21) *Ali Hayder Jasim.*

The incident in Kirkuk was reported on both the CNN-Turk television and private NTV television in Ankara, Turkey and both reports showed that hundreds of Turkmen, carrying blue Turkmen flags, marched on the governor's office. The killing of three Turkmen, with a further eleven wounded by forces of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan was also reported by Turkey's Anatolia news agency.<sup>[29]</sup>

However, on the morning of Sunday the 23rd August 2003, US troops raided the office of the Turkmen Front and confiscated some weapons found in the building while several hundred Turkmen people protested outside the building.<sup>[30]</sup> In addition, in the capital city of Baghdad, Turkmen protested, but no violence was reported.

To quell the violence and the elevated tension between the Kurds and Turkmen, the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) sent

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<sup>29</sup> *Michael Howard in Daqooq, Iraqi Kurdistan, Arabs face evictions as Kurds take revenge, The Guardian, Friday 18th April, 2003*

<sup>30</sup> *Turkish Daily News, August 2003*

a joint delegation to the northern Iraqi city of Kirkuk to meet with local leaders after three days of clashes between Kurds and Turkmen. On the 24th August, 2003 peace talks were arranged and established by the US administration between the Turkmen and the Kurds. The fragile peace talks were held in Kirkuk and all parties agreed to stop the violence. During the meeting, the Turkmen raised the following issues that are to be resolved:

The Turkmen demands were that all Kurdish police who came to Kirkuk from Suleymaniyah should be returned to their original bases and that distribution of the police forces in Kirkuk and surrounding areas should be in equal proportions. Also they demanded the removal of the Head of police and the governor of Kirkuk city, who was appointed by force with the help of the American armed forces, and the establishment of a committee to bring the people who committed the atrocities in both Tuz Khormatu and Kirkuk to justice, compensate the families who were killed by the Kurds during the demonstration and establish a joint committee between the Turkmen.<sup>[31]</sup> They also demanded the removal of all illegitimate (unrecognised by international law) Kurdish flags from Kirkuk and Kurds to avoid further disturbances.<sup>[32]</sup><sup>[33]</sup><sup>[34]</sup>

The above issues were partially implemented, but only recently. Also, about 550 policemen were reported to have been sent back to Suleymaniyah. Kurdish demonstrators stoned the withdrawing US forces. After the peace talks between the Kurds and Turkmen, with the help of the US forces, the Iraqi police and American troops patrolled the streets of Kirkuk and a tense calm settled over the city after two days of confrontation between Kurdish and Turkmen residents. Shops were open and traffic flowed through the streets of the city once more.

After the bitter power struggles that erupted between Kurds and Turkmen in oil-rich Kirkuk following the downfall of the Hussein regime, there was much speculation over who might be responsible for the Tuz Khormatu clashes that had compounded the tension. A Kurdish member of the Kirkuk City Council blamed the radical group Ansar Al-Islam. The Iraqi Turkmen Front, on the other hand, claimed that the Kurds were behind the violence and also accused the USA of failure to protect the Turkmen in Iraq. In addition, other Turkmen groups called on Turkey to send troops to the Turkmen-populated areas for protection, while thousands of Shi'aa marched in Baghdad on the 25th August in support of the Turkmen, who are also Shi'aa.

The PUK and the Iraqi Turkmen Front finally reached a settlement agreeing to establish a joint committee to investigate the incidents and to prosecute those responsible for the clashes. This was reported by *KurdSat* on the 26th August. The families of those killed in the clashes will receive compensation and moral support and a joint committee will be established to prevent such incidents in the future. Both sides also agreed to meet regularly to discuss political,

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<sup>31</sup> Mr Muhsin Albayeti, *Establishment and continuous investigation in the Martyrs of the Turkmen in Kirkuk and Tuz Khormatu*, published in *Al-Kitabat and ITO-Habber*, 8th September 2003

<sup>32</sup> Sheikh Abbas Al-Imami, *About the latest incident which occurred between the Turkmen and Kurds in Tuz Khormatu and Kirkuk*, published in *Al-Kitabat and ITO-Habber*, 25th August 2003

<sup>33</sup> Article published by the *Jamahir Al-Turkmen* on 6th September 2003 in *ITO-Habber*

<sup>34</sup> Mr Shirzad Shiekhani, *Kirkuk is looking for new flag and continuation of new schools in Turkmen and Kurdish*, published in *ITO-Habber*, 2003

economic and social issues and to instruct their members to work towards peaceful coexistence in the city.<sup>[35]</sup>

However, the mayor of Tuz Khormatu, Muhammad Rashid, said the violence was not instigated by either foreign terrorists or the remnants of Hussein's Ba'ath Party regime. He believes that the responsibility lies with what he called 'dubious elements' from both Kurdish and Turkmen groups in Tuz Khormatu. 'These acts don't serve national unity or the Kurdish-Turkmen fraternity. For hundreds of years, they have lived together in this area without sectarian or doctrinal differences and dubious elements from both parties were behind such sedition.' Still, others say the mayor is downplaying the severity of ethnic tensions in northern Iraq between the two communities. 'The tension has been there and this is one outbreak. However, I think that the outbreak has been contained. Maybe the United States needs to look at its relations with Kurds and Turkmen and see if they can do something that would lower the tensions; lower the grievances of the Turkmen.'

Turkmen fears are that Tuz Khormatu would be attached to the Kurdish north in a future federal Iraq and that this would not be acceptable for all Iraqi Turkmen; the city itself is large enough to be considered as the new Tuz Khormatu Province. A member of the Iraqi Turkmen Front pointed angrily at the red, white and green Kurdish flag painted on the hillside some distance from the remnants of the Imam Ali shrine. 'This is not Kurdistan,' he said. 'This is the Turkmen city of Tuz Khormatu.' Throughout the north of Iraq, Turkmen are being short-shifted by the Americans working in partnership with their Kurdish wartime allies and are being denied their proper representation in Iraq's new interim local government. The predominantly Sunni Turkmen of Kirkuk complain of abuse at the hands of Peshmerga Kurds within the police.<sup>[36]</sup><sup>[37]</sup><sup>[38]</sup>

With inter-ethnic tensions once more erupting, the Turkmen appealed to Turkey to send troops to the city to restore order.<sup>[39]</sup><sup>[40]</sup>

Ankara was quick with the rhetoric of sympathy. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), and the Islamic republic of Iran, 'Ali Khamenei', condemned the Kirkuk killings. Their foreign minister, Abdullah Gul, stated that such treatment was unacceptable.<sup>[41]</sup> However, this oratorical solidarity was clearly a substitute for action.

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<sup>35</sup> Kathleen Ridolf, *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Prague, Czech Republic Rfe/RI Iraq Report*, vol. 6, no 36, 29th August 2003

<sup>36</sup> Sheikh Abbas Al-Imami, *About the latest incident which occurred between the Turkmen and Kurds in Tuz Khormatu and Kirkuk*, published in *Al-Kitabat and ITO-Habber*, 25th August 2003

<sup>37</sup> Mr Muhsin Albayeti, *Establishment and continuous investigation in the Martyrs of the Turkmen in Kirkuk and Tuz Khormatu*, published in *Al-Kitabat and ITO-Habber*, 8th September 2003

<sup>38</sup> Article published by the *Jamahir Al-Turkmen* on 6th September 2003 in *ITO-Habber*

<sup>39</sup> Steven R. Hurst, *Associated Press Writer, Ethnic Fighting Spread in Northern Iraq*, *Associated Press writers Tarek al-Issawi in Kirkuk, Hrvoje Hranjski in Tikrit and D'Arcy Doran in Baghdad contributed to this report*

<sup>40</sup> Kasim Serena Hawes, *Turkmen, Assyrians, Zionists and Kurds*, published in *Kitabat*, September 2003; also other articles published in *ITO-Habber*, 10th September 2003

<sup>41</sup> Steven R. Hurst, *Associated Press Writer, Ethnic Fighting Spread in Northern Iraq*, *Associated Press writers Tarek al-Issawi in Kirkuk, Hrvoje Hranjski in Tikrit and D'Arcy Doran in Baghdad contributed to this report*

Although Turkey is deeply worried about a Kurdish national resurgence that will sweep across its border with northern Iraq, it is at least as worried about its ailing relations with the USA. Since the war, the USA has made it plain that Turkish intervention in northern Iraq will be unwelcome.

On the 25th August, members of the Turkish National Movement Partly (MHP) vigorously demonstrated outside the Ankara offices of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the leading Kurdish grouping in Kirkuk. Clashes ensued with such ferocity that 23 police officers were injured and the Kirkuk violence was a further complicating factor for the Turkish government, which was already wrestling with the US invitation to join the international coalition with ground troops in Iraq. Nevertheless, on the 30th August 2003, the leader of the Iraqi Turkmen Front, Barrister Sinan Agha, received representatives of the International Red Cross and human rights worker, *Mr Tom Plus*. The following Turkmen within the ITF also attended the meeting: Kanaan Shakir Aziz Aghali, Moayed Ilhanli and Salim Sabir Atrakchi.<sup>[42]</sup>

## 9.2 The attack on the Al-Rasul Al-Azam Mosque in the central town of Tuz Khormatu on the 16th September, 2005

The car bomb attack on a Shi'aa mosque of the Al-rasul Al-azam mosque in Tuz Khormatu on the 16th September 2005 resulted in the death of 11 people and left 21 others wounded. The bomber detonated his vehicle and blew himself up as worshippers were leaving the mosque in Tuz Khormatu.<sup>[43]</sup>

The attack on the *Al-rasul Al-azam Mosque* in Tuz Khormatu was part of a campaign against Iraq's Shi'aa by insurgents, many of them rival Sunni Muslims, aimed at inflaming sectarian conflicts in the region.



Figure 55 The Turkmen martyrs killed in the Al-rasul Al-azam Mosque explosion

The names of the Turkmen who were killed in Tuz Khormatu on the 16th September 2005 are:

- 1) *Al\_haj Lutfi Talib Tesenli,*
- 2) *Burhan Mohammed Izzet,*
- 3) *Alemdar Ihsan Mohammed,*

<sup>42</sup> *Turkmeneli Newspaper, year 9, issue 594, Page 1, published Wednesday the 31st August 2003*

<sup>43</sup> Some information for this report provided by AP, AFP and Reuters: *8 Killed in Iraq Mosque Blast as Insurgents Step Up Attacks*, VOA News 16 September 2005: *Iraq mosque struck by car bomber*, BBC News, Middle East, Friday the 16th September 2005, 14:22 GMT 15:22 UK

- 4) *Ihsan Mohammed Izzet,*
- 5) *The son of Al\_haj Lutfi Talib Tesenli,*
- 6) *Murtada Mohammed Abbas Yakub,*
- 7) *Sayid Mohammed Sayid Ibrahim Almusawi,*
- 8) *Mohammed Zaynal Abbdin Bagwan,*
- 9) *Mohammed Moussa Namik Al\_Kassab,*
- 10) *Nihad Abdulrahman Beyatli.*

### **9.3 The attack on the Ak Su Café in Tuz Khormatu on the 17th July, 2006**

On the 17th July 2006, a suicide bomber wearing an explosive belt walked into an Ak Su coffee shop in Tuz Khormatu and, according to a witness, asked for a glass of water before detonating himself, bringing down the old building with the force of the explosion, and killing 22 people in Tuz Khormatu. The coffee shop was close to a Shi'aa mosque in the eastern part of the town in an area populated by Turkmen Shi'aa; most of the dead people were elderly.



Figure 56 The Ak Su café after being blown up, 2006

The Shi'aa lawmakers have accused loyalists of the deposed leader Saddam Hussein of the bloodshed, saying that many of the victims killed were Shi'aa.<sup>[44]</sup> In addition, the police in Tuz Khormatu stated after the explosion, that another 19 people had been wounded in the café

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<sup>44</sup> *Arab News, Suicide Bomber Kills 23 in Iraq Coffee Shop, Agency France Press, Kirkuk, Iraq and 17th July 2006: BBC news, At least 23 people have been killed and 22 injured in a suicide attack in a crowded cafe in northern Iraq*

attack,<sup>[45]</sup> while Colonel Abbass Mohammed Amin, the police chief of Tuz Khormatu, stated that 25 others were also wounded in the bombing.<sup>[46]</sup>



Figure 57 The Turkmen who died in the Ak Su café in Tuz Khormatu

The names of the Turkmen who were killed in Tuz Khormatu on the 17th September 2006 are:

- 1) Awni Ali Sammed,
- 2) Fazil Alemdar Yousif,
- 3) Rajah Hadi Abbas,
- 4) Mahmud Salih Hassan,
- 5) Tellat Shnaw,
- 6) Abdul Amir Mahdi Salih,
- 7) Sayid Abbas Sayid Ahmed Sayid Mahmud Almusawi,
- 8) Mohammed Hayder Gaffer,
- 9) Mohammed Ahmed Rashid,
- 10) Emad Taqi Barber,
- 11) Yashar Safer Ajam,
- 12) Erdal Ismail Ali,
- 13) Riza Kerim Chayir,
- 14) Kasim Asker Kazaw Khan chi,
- 15) Abdul Wahid Shakur Jaro,
- 16) Ahmet Abbas Albayeti,
- 17) Farooq Tawfiq,
- 18) Mustafa Rashid Mohammed,
- 19) Fahraddin Kadir Feyzullah,
- 20) Salah Kasim Shakur,

<sup>45</sup> AFP world news agency, Monday 17th July, 11:55 p.m.: Tuz Khormatu attack, Sunday, ABC online, Sunday, 16th July, 2006, 9:32 p.m.: Arab News, Suicide Bomber Kills 23 in Iraq Coffee Shop, Agency France Press, Kirkuk, Iraq, 17th July 2006

<sup>46</sup> Arab News, Suicide Bomber Kills 23 in Iraq Coffee Shop, Agency France Press, Kirkuk, Iraq, 17th July 2006



- 21) *Zaynalabin Hussein Hassan,*  
22) *Ali Riza Mohammed Khanchi.*



Figure 58 The graves of the Turkmen who died in the Ak Su café



Figure 59 The graves of the Turkmen who died in the Ak Su café

#### 9.4 A deadly truck bombing in a busy market in Amerli

Amerli is a Turkmen Shi'aa village, 75 kilometres south of Kirkuk; the sub-district is located in the south-western township of Tuz Khormatu, a distance of over 29 kilometres with an estimated population of more than 15 000. Amerli is a Turkmen sub-district; in addition, the spoken language in Amerli is a pure Turkmen dialect. The population in Amerli all belong to the al\_Bayat tribe. They are descended from the offspring of *Oguzkhan Emor Ben Dagkhan*, which are made up of 24 Turkmen tribes; these are also mentioned in the *Dewan Languages Turk* composed by *Mahmud Kashegre*. The Amerli population consists of the following tribes:

- **Kahyaler** Kahyalers are descended from their grand chief Afro Babakhan and have branches in the *Suleimanly*, *Ali Moussalli*, *Mullali*, *Hederli* and *Bartoli*. They are now headed by *Bakr Bin Haji Hassan Bin Yousef Bin Babakhan*.
- **Kermli** The Kermli tribe is currently headed by *Farouk Hamad bin Kahya*.
- **Kalaelli** Branches of the Kalaelli are the *Aeichli*, *Qenberly*, *Aslanley*, *Kogerl* and *Hassoulo*. The *A Zoorpollo* has several branches, mainly the *Sefragali*, *Ahmed Kahale* and *Kaj Kaj Aishakli*.
- **Doblar** Some members of the *Doblar* tribe live in the village and in *Zingeli Shurkhoutalu*. There are some other clans related to the *Doblar* tribe, such as the *Qarah Ahmedli* and *Bekler Doukrl*.

The houses in Amerli are either bungalows or have two floors. Some are built using bricks and concrete but the overwhelming majority are built of mud mixed with straw to keep them cool during the summer and warm during the winter. The availability of building mud in the area encourages the population to build their homes from mud, but in the recent years, the residents of Amerli have started to build their homes from stone and plaster.

The sub-district has been linked to the water network via the *Birochli* wells and the sub-district has been provided with electricity and telephone lines. There are many governmental offices in the sub-district mainly the Sub-district Directorate, the police and municipal, telephone, electricity and other services.

The sub-district has a large number of shops; the overwhelming majority are located opposite the Sub-district Directorate. In addition, there are elementary schools for boys and girls and a secondary school, which consists of two floors. The sub-district has a valley named *Cordehrah* and during the rainy season, especially in winter, the locals utilise the water that passes through the valley for irrigation.

In addition, there are three well known shrines in Amerli, such as *Hassan bin Ali*, which the means 'peace be upon him' and this would be visited by the locals. There are also other historical places in the sub-district, such as:

- Takya Dada Merdan,
- Kumbat Alqkubba (a historical hillside used by the locals to bury their dead),
- Mil Erkh,
- Jelkh Tappe,
- Cordhra,
- Bashakakiz Teppesi,
- Kharmeh Anna Qabrri,
- Zidane Dozo,
- Ali Moussa Tappasi,



- Kharmeh Anna Qabrri,
- Zidane Dozo,
- Ali Moussa Tappasi.

The traditional clothes worn by the local men in Amerli are known as a *Tshqndi* uniform. Women wear long trousers called *Kharatali* and a long dress, known as a *Sabba*. Men also wear a dress, known as a *Zuboon*, a *Sultta*, which looks like a jacket, and a shirt with long sleeves, known as *Yankejli*.

The people in Amerli depend on agriculture and livestock farming. The people dig wells, which they use to establish orchards and fields for planting winter and summer crops, such as melons, watermelons and green vegetables.

The sub-district has a branch of the *Iraqi Turkmen Front*; the *Turkmen Cultural Association* issues a monthly newspaper, entitled *Amerli* and edited by *Mohamed Ahmed Amerli*. After the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime, *Mr Abbas Salman Beyatli*, a native of Amerli, was appointed as a director for the sub-district.<sup>[47]</sup>

### 9.5 The attack on Amerli on 7th July, 2007

The attack on Amerli on the 7th July, 2007, was the worst incident of carnage in Amerli, and indeed, in Iraq's history. A suicide bomber detonated a powerful bomb on a lorry loaded with bricks and a food truck laden with explosives in a crowded market in the Turkmeneli village of Amerli. Some 98 homes were destroyed, nearly 100 others were affected, and 20 shops and 10 vehicles were destroyed. In addition, more than 153 people were killed and 350 were wounded, among them 25 children and 40 women. The explosion was very powerful and was among the deadliest since the war started in Iraq in 2003.



Figure 60 The location of Amerli in Turkmeneli

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<sup>47</sup> Article by Salahadin Najioglu published on the *Turkmentimes* website; July 2007



Figure 61 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion

The explosion occurred as families had gathered for their morning shopping. The blast levelled many homes in the small community. It looked as though an earthquake had happened in Amerli. The area that was completely destroyed was estimated at 6000 square metres. Explosives experts said that this huge explosion and the extent of the human losses suggest that the quantity of explosive materials used was approximately 10 tons.



Figure 62 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion

Many of the Turkmen bodies were trapped in the wreckage; the corpses were caught under the debris of the collapsed buildings. Some of the bodies had been burnt and others had been torn apart. Residents and emergency workers continued to dig for bodies under the rubble looking for their loved ones and trying to find the living.

The explosion on the 7th July, 2007, was a big disaster for the Amerli sub-district; all of the casualties were civilians and the death toll made it the second deadliest bombing since the USA-led invasion in 2003, although, in March, a truck bomb attack had killed 152 people in the northern Turkmen town of Tal Afar.



Figure 63 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion



Figure 64 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion



Figure 65 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion



Figure 66 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion





Figure 67 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion: photo by Stephen Farrell of The New York Times

After the explosion in Amerli, ambulances and private cars ferried dozens of corpses and wounded civilians to nearby clinics and hospitals, in which relatives waited for news of the missing. Rescuers were forced to move injured people to Tuz Khormatu, the nearest major Turkmen town, some 45 km (28 miles) away, for medical attention and some of the injured died on the way. Others were taken on to the Turkmen town of Kirkuk, the largest city in the region, for more intensive treatment.<sup>[48]</sup>



Figure 68 A victim treated in hospital, Reuters/Slahal Adeen Rashid, 7th July, 2007

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<sup>48</sup> [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/6279864.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6279864.stm) Saturday, July 07, 2007



Figure 69 A bombing casualty from the village of Amerli brought to a hospital in Kirkuk

The shrapnel from the explosion killed shoppers hundreds of metres away from the bomb. The local people in Amerli stated that they had never seen an attack like it. The whole village was shrouded in smoke and dust.<sup>[49]</sup> Some political analysts and military experts stated that the market bombing in Amerli could be linked to political developments in the region, where a referendum on the status of Kirkuk province is supposed to take place by the end of this year. Kirkuk lies outside the Iraqi Kurdish region.<sup>[50]</sup>



Figure 70 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion

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<sup>49</sup> <http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/3F9A26FB-AB37-4528-ACCE-3D8F5E081CEC.htm>

<sup>50</sup> [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/6279864.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6279864.stm) Saturday 7th July, 2007

The attack on Amerli was clearly among the deadliest in Iraq and it reinforced suspicions that al-Qaeda extremists were moving north to less protected regions beyond the US security crackdown in Baghdad and on the capital's northern doorstep. In a joint statement, US Ambassador *Ryan Crocker* and US military commander *General David Petraeus* said that the attack against the Turkmen Shi'aa was 'another sad example of the nature of the enemy and their use of indiscriminate violence to kill innocent citizens'.<sup>[51]</sup>

During a news conference on Sunday the 8th of July, 2007, in Baghdad, *Abbas al-Bayati*, a Turkmen member of parliament criticised the security situation in Amerli, saying that its police force had only 30 members and that the Interior Ministry had finally responded to requests for reinforcements only two days before the attack. In the absence of enough security forces, al-Bayati said authorities should help residents 'arm themselves' for their own protection.<sup>[52]</sup>



Figure 71 A bombing casualty from the village of Amerli

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<sup>51</sup> Robert H. Reid, Associated Press Writer, *Violent weekend in Iraq kills over 220*

<sup>52</sup> Robert H. Reid, Associated Press Writer, *Violent weekend in Iraq kills over 220*





Figure 72 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion



Figure 73 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion



The call for civilians to take up arms in their own defence was echoed on Sunday the 8th of July 2007 by the country's Sunni Arab vice president, *Tariq al-Hashemi*, who said that all Iraqis must 'pay the price' for terrorism. 'People have a right to expect from the government and security agencies protection for their lives, land, honour and property,' *al-Hashemi* said in a statement. 'The people have no choice but to take up their own defence.' He said that the government should provide communities with money, weapons and training and 'regulate their use by rules of behaviour.'<sup>[53]</sup>

Local police and the mayor, *Mohammed Rashid*, told Reuter's news agency that Iraqi officials have blamed *Sunni Islamist al-Qaeda* for the attack. The Amerli bombing was a blow to a USA-backed security crackdown in Baghdad, Iraq, and underscored the ability of militants to stage large-scale attacks despite the arrival of nearly 30 000 additional US troops in the country.<sup>[54]</sup>

Nevertheless, groups of state officials travelled to Amerli on the 9th of July, 2007, to inspect the effects of the damage that was caused by the explosion and to provide solace to the families of the Turkmen martyrs. The state officials' delegation, which was headed by the governor of *Salah al-Din*, and included the Councillor of Tuz Khormatu, the chief of police and members of the *Salah Al Din* government, were showered and stoned with bricks, as locals showed their protest and rejection of the presence of officials or reception.<sup>[55]</sup>

The stoning came in response to the apparent failure of the state members to help them at a time when the local population was desperate for help and support.

The Turkmen locals in Amerli have accused the Superintendent of Police for the district of *Solyman Beg* of deliberate negligence. This led to the ousting of the governor of *Salahuddin* as chief of police for the district of *Solyman Beg* and *Amerli* because of the negligence, incompetence, damage, human loss and the magnitude of losses faced by Amerli that have transformed the region into a disaster region.

The refusal of citizens to receive government officials was a protest message to the government of *Nuri al-Maliki* because they had not moved earlier despite the magnitude of losses caused by the explosion. The citizens of Amerli were very angry about the absence of security and law, which meant that the Turkmen had become the victims of kidnappings, arrest and killing. All this happened because of the failure of the government to provide protection in the region.

In addition, because of the Arabisation policy, the sub-district of Amerli lacked the most basic needs of life and remains unchanged today. It lacked basic medical supplies, even cotton wool and other simple necessities, needed to provide first aid to the injured after the explosion. The citizens in Amerli extracted cotton from their pillows and cushions in order to apply it on the wounds of the victims to stop the bleeding.

To rescue the injured people who were trapped under the collapsed buildings and to remove the corpses, which stayed under the remains of the destroyed buildings (the Iraqi government had completely failed to bring any machinery), the Iraqi Turkmen Front leader hired machines

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<sup>53</sup> [http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20070708/ap\\_on\\_re\\_mi\\_ea/iraq](http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20070708/ap_on_re_mi_ea/iraq)

<sup>54</sup> [www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=116100](http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=116100)

<sup>55</sup> Article by *Salahadin Najjoglu* published on the *Turkmentimes* website, July 2007

from local companies at his own expense. Until the 9th of July 2007, according to reports received from the Amerli, almost 30 citizens were still missing. It should be noted that after the explosion, the injured were transferred to hospitals in Tuz Khormatu in small cars and private cars because ambulances and fire-fighters were not available in the district.<sup>[56]</sup>

#### **9.6 Turkey sends air ambulances to Turkmen town**

Nearly 24 hours after the carnage in Iraq's Amerli, humanitarian assistance from the Turkish Republic and other Turkmen organisations arrived in Amerli. Turkey swiftly sent two military air ambulances to Kirkuk airbase on the 8th July, 2007, in order to extend a helping hand to those wounded and to transfer the Turkmen who were seriously wounded to Ankara hospitals for treatment.

The two planes, which each had the capacity to carry 14 patients, transferred about 21 injured to Turkey. The planes returned to Ankara late on Sunday the 8th of July 2007 with those seriously wounded who could not be treated in Iraq and the planes took off from the military airport in Ankara. However, one of those injured in the explosion died during the transportation to Ankara.

A Turkish diplomat in Iraq, in charge of coordination in Iraq had revealed that the United States officials did not oppose Turkey's proposal and accepted humanitarian aid by facilitating the procedures.

The injured were treated in Ankara hospital in the capital Ankara. In the meantime, Turkmen Member of Parliament, Fevzi Ekrem Terzioğlu and the President of Turkey, Nejdät Sezer, separately visited the injured Turkmen in the hospital and the Turkish republic, and also called on Iraqi and US officials to provide swift help and support for the Turkmen in Amerli. However, three days after the tragedy, no assistance had arrived.



Figure 74 Member of Iraqi parliament, Iraqi Turkmen Fevzi Ekrem Terzioğlu meeting the injured Turkmen in Ankara Gata Hospital, 9th July, 2007

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<sup>56</sup> Article by Salahadin Najioglu published on the Turkmentimes website, July 2007



Figure 75 A bombing casualty from the village of Amerli, is treated in Ankara Gata hospital, 9th July, 2007



Figure 76 Member of Iraqi parliament, Iraqi Turkmen Fevzi Ekrem Terzioğlu meeting the injured Turkmen in Ankara Gata Hospital, 9th July, 2007

Soon after the attack, Abdullah Gül, a foreigner minister of Turkey, harshly condemned the attack, while expressing his deepest condolences to the Iraqi people and the government, in a statement issued on Saturday the 7th of July, 2007. In the statement, Ankara called for the establishment of national cohesion and peace in Iraq without any discrimination of religions, religious sects or ethnic identities: *'The peace of mind of all of our brothers in Iraq is of primary importance to us and as Turkey, we will do our part for maintaining peace of mind for all in Iraq.'*

In addition, the Turkish Ambassador to Iraq, *Derya Kanbay*, and the Consul General in Mosul, *Hüseyin Avni Botsalı*, contacted the Shiite Turkmen deputy, *Abbas Bayati*, also with a member of the Turkmen Vefa party ('Fidelity') Movement, Feryad Tuzlu, and related Iraqi officials in order to learn the details as soon as possible after the attack.

The deputy Iraqi minister, Mr Adel Abdelmahdi, met a delegation from the Turkmen and discussed how to provide the necessary assistance to the families of Amerli. In the meantime, the Iraqi Turkmen Front in Kirkuk and Tuz Khormatu aided the families of Amerli by sending a truck carrying food and essential material for the families affected by the explosion. In addition, representatives of the Turkmeneli Party, Ali Mahdi and the correspondents of two Turkish television channels, TRT and Channel\_D Television Station, and other Turkmen politicians were the first at the scene to offer their support and condolences to the people of Amerli.



Figure 77 Turkmeneli Party deputy Mr Ali Mahdi in Amerli

Moreover, financial support and assistance was collected outside of Iraq for those affected by the bomb in Amerli, in places such as Canada, the USA, Denmark, Holland, Germany and Turkey.





Figure 78 A truck carrying essential material for the Turkmen, sent by the ITF



Figure 79 Distribution of food and supplies by the ITF

This was followed by the provision of truckloads of food and medical aid to those in the affected area. The Iraqi Turkmen Front has continued such assistance in full swing, in order to provide a helping hand to the needy people. The Iraqi Turkmen Front in Kirkuk and their members in Amerli have continued to participate in the removal of the debris from collapsed buildings left by the devastating explosion. In addition, Amerli was visited by a delegation from the *Salah al-Din* provinces, headed by Ali Hashim Mukhtar Oglu, who is the ITF representative in Tuz Khormatu. However, in the mid afternoon of the 10th July 2007, amid angry protests by residents against the government, Mr Abbas al\_Bayati, the Secretary General of the Islamic

Union for Iraqi Turkmen, arrived in Amerli accompanied by a delegation representing the party, in order to provide his support and support to the victim of the explosion and also to participate with the people in grief, promising to provide necessary assistance to the victims.<sup>[57]</sup>



Figure 80 Distribution of food and supplies by the ITF, donated by the Al\_takaful Charity in Denmark to victims of the explosion, 17th August 2007

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<sup>57</sup> Article by Salahadin Najioglu published on the Turkmentimes website, July 2007  
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Figure 81 Distribution of food and supplies by the ITF, donated by the Al\_takaful Charity in Denmark to victims of the explosion, 17th August 2007



Figure 82 Distribution of food and supplies by the ITF, donated by the Al\_takaful Charity in Denmark to victims of the explosion, 17th August 2007





Figure 83 Distribution of food and supplies by the ITF, donated by the Al\_takaful Charity in Denmark to victims of the explosion, 17th August 2007



Figure 84 Iraqi police try to interview the driver of a truck that exploded in the village of Amerli, Iraq, Saturday, the 7th July, 2007, while being treated in a Kirkuk hospital (AP Photo/Emad Matti)





Figure 85 A bombing casualty from the village of Amerli being treated in Kirkuk hospital, Saturday, the 7th July, 2007 (AP Photo/Emad Matti)



Figure 86 A bombing casualty from the village of Amerli treated in a hospital in Kirkuk, Saturday, the 7th July, 2007 (AP Photo/Emad Matti)



Figure 87 Bombing casualties, from the village of Amerli, Saturday the 7th July, 2007



Figure 88 A bombing casualty from the village of Amerli, Iraq, is taken to Kirkuk hospital for medical treatment, Saturday the 7th July, 2007 (AP Photo/Emad Matti)



Figure 89 A bombing casualty from the village of Amerli is treated in Kirkuk hospital, Saturday the 7th July, 2007 (AP Photo/Emad Matti)

### 9.7 The attack on the Turkmen café on Sunday the 16th September, 2007

At 1130 a.m., on the 16th September, 2007, six people were killed by a bomb that was strapped to a bicycle, which was left in front of a Turkmen café, *Kemal*, in the area of Alfelka in Tuz Khormatu.<sup>[58]</sup><sup>[59]</sup><sup>[60]</sup> The explosion set off fires that damaged several houses nearby.<sup>[61]</sup>

The blast killed seven Turkmen citizens and 19 more were wounded. There were two police officers among the casualties and all the casualties were Turkmen. The injured in the explosion were transported to the Tuz General Hospital and the critically injured were taken to Kirkuk hospital for treatment.

On the evening of the 15th of September, the locals noticed that the American forces had added a number of concrete blocks near the café Kemal. Their aim in adding these concrete blocks was to block the road that leads to the market.<sup>[62]</sup> This explosion came a day after an al-Qaeda-affiliated group stated that it would carry out a series of attacks over the holy month of Ramadan, which had started the previous week.<sup>[63]</sup>



Figure 90 Some of the devastation caused by the explosion at café Kemal

On the 20th September, the Turkish government sent a military transport ambulance to evacuate the injured Turkmen. The plane landed in Kirkuk military airport and transferred seven of the wounded, who could not be treated in Kirkuk hospital to Ankara. The injured people were treated at the expense of the Turkish government.<sup>[64]</sup>

Mr Ali Hashim Mukhtar Oglu is a member of the Executive Committee of Salahuddin, the Iraqi Turkmen Front representative for Diyala town. Mr Osama Nazim and relatives of the injured were also present at the Kirkuk military airbase to show their support and sympathy and say farewell. The Turkmen were delighted to receive such a good gesture from a Turkish

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<sup>58</sup> [http://www.turkmentimes.net/wesima\\_articles/news-20070916-6900.html](http://www.turkmentimes.net/wesima_articles/news-20070916-6900.html)

<sup>59</sup> Ahmed Hashim Mukhtaroglu, *Seven killed and 19 wounded, including two police officers, in the explosion in juvenile Tuz Khormatu Turkmen*, *Turkmen Times*, 16/9/2007

<sup>60</sup> Kyser Baqir, [http://www.turkmentimes.net/wesima\\_articles/articles-20070916-6904.html](http://www.turkmentimes.net/wesima_articles/articles-20070916-6904.html)

<sup>61</sup> [www.earthtimes.org/articles/show/108519.html](http://www.earthtimes.org/articles/show/108519.html)

<sup>62</sup> [http://www.turkmentimes.net/wesima\\_articles/news-20070916-6900.html](http://www.turkmentimes.net/wesima_articles/news-20070916-6900.html)

<sup>63</sup> <http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/50B131B7-409F-4F28-A0FD-98696A65BF5A.htm>

<sup>64</sup> [www.bizturkmeniz.com/tr/index.htm](http://www.bizturkmeniz.com/tr/index.htm)



government and were thankful and indebted to the Turkish government for their support and hospitality in treating the Turkmen, who could not be treated safely in their homeland of Turkmeneli. The wounded were transported to Gulhane military hospital for treatment in Ankara.



عدسة احمد هاشم مختار اوغلو

Figure 91 Turkmen transported to Turkey for treatment

After the café attack in Tuz Khormatu, the Iraqi Member of Parliament, Mr Fevzi Ekrem Terzioğlu, stated that if the Iraqi government is incapable of protecting the Turkmen from terrorist attacks, then the only option that has been left to the Turkmen is to establish a Turkmen militia, in order to protect the Turkmen from being killed and kidnapped. However, after issuing this statement, his house was attacked on the 23rd of September by an unknown terrorist organisation. Fortunately, no one was injured in the attack.<sup>[65]</sup>

## 9.8 The attack on the Mullah Safer Neighbourhood

On 12 October 2007 at 8.30, a stranger was wandering around the Turkmen neighborhood of Mullah Safer and he was pushing a cart carrying flour bags. The residents of the neighborhood were very suspicious about his presence since the area had been subjected to several terrorist attacks. <sup>[66]</sup>

Then Mr. Hussein Samin Ismail decided to approach the stranger to investigate his intentions in the area and after a short conversation with him. Mr. Hussein Samin Ismail asked him to move his cart that was carrying bags of flour from the area immediately. However, after verbal

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<sup>65</sup> [www.bizturkmeniz.com/tr/index.htm](http://www.bizturkmeniz.com/tr/index.htm)

<sup>66</sup> [http://www.turkmentimes.net/Default/wesima\\_articles/news-20071012-7581.html](http://www.turkmentimes.net/Default/wesima_articles/news-20071012-7581.html), Hashim Ahmed Mukhtar Oglu

altercations between him and the terrorist who did not respond to Mr. Hussein Samin Ismail request, Mr. Hussein Samin Ismail decided to drag the cart away from the area and while he was doing this the cart immediately exploded. [67]



Figure 92 Hussein Samin Ismail who was killed by the explosion

The bomb caused the immediate death of Hussein Samin Ismail, Hassan Kasim Mohammed and wounded 13 Turkmen's, mainly children. The courage of the martyr Hussein to stop the bomber entering a crowded Turkmen area had prevented another catastrophe in the city. The suspected bomber was badly burned and arrested by the police.



Figure 93 Scenery of explosion, photo taken by Hashim Mukhtar Oglu

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<sup>67</sup> [http://www.turkmentimes.net/Default/wesima\\_articles/news-20071012-7575.html](http://www.turkmentimes.net/Default/wesima_articles/news-20071012-7575.html)



Figure (94 Scenery of the explosion

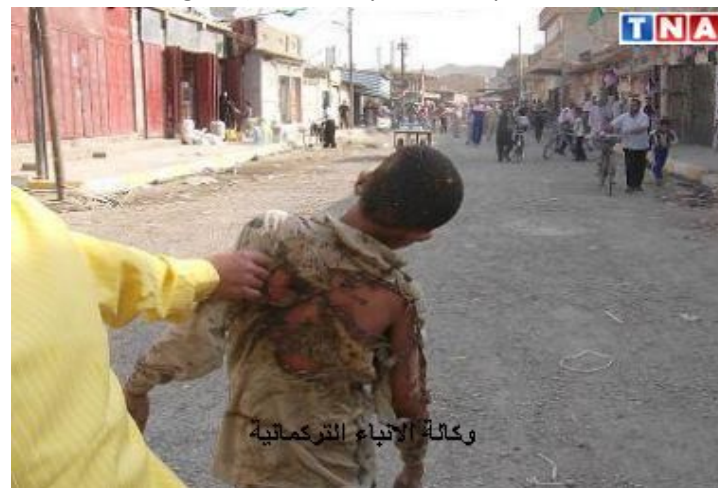


Figure 95 Injured Turkmen kid in the explosion, Photo taken by Hashim Mukhtar Oglu



Figure 96 Turkmen victims of the explosion, photo taken by Hashim Mukhtar Oglu

## DOCUMENTS

Izzet Al\_Duri emphasis on the changing the demography of Kirkuk

Wednesday 13, Alhayat, issue 13699.

The second command of the Iraqi Revolutionary Governing Council Izzet Aldowri, emphases to change the ethnic composition of the Turkmen and Kurd to Arab (Arabization Policy).

### عزت الدوري يشدد على "تعريب" كركوك

□ عذّان - علي عبد الأمير

■ شدد نائب رئيس مجلس قيادة الثورة العراقي نائب القائد العام للقوات المسلحة عزت الدوري على اجراء مسح نهائي لمحافظة كركوك (القامديم) بظهور السكان غير العرب. واتخاذ الاجراءات الهادفة الى "تعريب" المحافظة التي تسكنها غالبية غير عربية الكرد والتركمان.

واقامت مصادر عراقية مطلعة ان الدوري الذي زار المحافظة الاصل الماضي للإشراف على انتخابات القيادات المحلية لحزب البعث أكد لمحافظة كركوك الفريق صباح نوري عنوان "ضرورة الانتباه من مسح بشري لسكان المحافظة من غير العرب وتغييرهم بين تغيير قوميتهم الى العربية او الرحيل عن كركوك".

وكانت مصادر كردية وتركمانية عراقية اشارت الى ان السلطات الاقليمية والحزبية في كركوك تجبر الاكراد والتركمان على تغيير قوميتهم الى العربية مقابل السماح لهم بالسكن فيها. وفي حال رفضهم تهجيرهم الى السليمانية واربيل ضمن حدود اقليم كردستان الخارج عن سيادة الحكومة المركزية.

واشارت المصادر الى ان الدوري الذي كان قائد حشدة عسكرية في نيسان (ابريل) ١٩٩١ شقها "حرس الجمهوري" واستعداد لسيطرة الحكومة على كركوك بعد سقوطها بأيدي المقاتلين الاكراد في الانتفاضة الشعبية التي أعقبت حرب الخليج الثانية ١٩٩١ أكد لمحافظة كركوك وقادتها الاثنيون والحزبيين ان القيادة العراقية لن تسمح بتدخل القوميات في كركوك التي يجب ان تصبح عربية عرقية مع امداد من الاكراد والتركمان الذين يشعرون بالاداء للعراق الى ذلك. استندت لجنة الشؤون القانونية والادارية في المجلس الوطني البرلمان العراقي الحکم الذي أصدره القضاء الاذاعي بحق الطليان الايطاليين فيقولان سريفاشي الذي عاد طائفة صغيرة الى بغداد في شهر نيسان (ابريل) الماضي خارقا الحظر النووي.

الاربعاء ١٣ سبتمبر ٢٠٠٠ - تاريخ ١٥ جمادى الثانية ١٤٢١ - العدد ١٣٦٩٩  
AL-HAYAT WEDNESDAY 13 SEPTEMBER 2000 ISSUE NO 13699

DOCUMENT [1]

**Ministry of Internal Affairs**  
**Kirkuk Governate**  
**Issue: 4228/6/5**  
**Date: 29/1/1976**

**President of Iraq**  
**Ahmed Hassan Albaker**

محافظة تان جديد تان بأسم "صلاح الدين" و"النجف"  
إبدال اسم محافظة كركوك إلى التأميم

أحمد حسن البكر  
رئيس الجمهورية

وأضاف قائلا كما أنه جاء  
وعبة من الوزارة هي تقديم  
الفضل النديم والارتفاع  
بمسئولية تلك الاضية والناطق  
ويكون هذه المراكز مكتوبة  
أداريا ولها مثل سكني ومكانة  
دينية تؤهلها لان تصب في  
مساكنات.

وأشار السيد وكيل الوزارة  
إلى أن ابدال اسم محافظة  
مركزك الى محافظة القامبية  
ياتي اعترافا وتقديرا من  
القيادة السياسية للثوريين  
والثورة لهذا الانجاز العظيم  
الذي يعتبر حدثا بارزا في  
تاريخ قفرتنا والعالم اجمع \*

وفيما يلي نص المرسومين :  
 لسنة ١٩٦٦ المصادف لليوم  
 التاسع والعشرين من شهر  
 كانون الثاني لسنة ١٩٦٦ .  
 أحمد حسن البكر  
 رئيس الجمهورية  
 ونائبه  
 وزير العدل  
 وزير الداخلية  
 وزير الخارجية  
 وزير المالية  
 وزير التعليم العالي  
 وزير الثقافة  
 وزير الشباب  
 وزير المرأة  
 وزير العمل  
 وزير الصحة  
 وزير الزراعة  
 وزير المواصلات  
 وزير التخطيط  
 وزير العدل  
 وزير الداخلية  
 وزير الخارجية  
 وزير المالية  
 وزير التعليم العالي  
 وزير الثقافة  
 وزير الشباب  
 وزير المرأة  
 وزير العمل  
 وزير الصحة  
 وزير الزراعة  
 وزير المواصلات  
 وزير التخطيط

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
مرصوم جمهوري رقم ٤٧  
تقديراً إلى موافقة مجلس  
قيادة الثورة والمادة الرابعة  
قانون الحافظات رقم ١٥٩ لسنة  
١٩٦٩. العمل وبشأن  
على جازع وزير الداخلية  
ومسماً بما هو أت  
أعدت صانعة بأسم  
(محافظة الخب) يكافون  
مركزها في مدينة التنصيف  
وتتبعها الوحدات الإدارية  
التالية يكامل حدودها  
١- قضاء تدرت  
٢- قضاء سارم  
٣- قضاء باد  
٤- قضاء طون  
٥- قضاء

كتب بيفداز في اليوم الثامن  
والعشرين من شهر محرم  
١٢٩٦ الهجري الموافق للـ  
١٩٧٩ للميلاد

هذا المرسوم  
على وزير الداخلية تنبئ  
(ب) قضاء الحربية  
(١) مركز كركوك  
التالي:  
ويجبها كل من الإقصية  
تكونت باسم معاضة الناس  
١) قضاء النجف  
٢) قضاء الشربل  
٣) قضاء أبي صفير  
٤) ضاحية الشبلة  
على وزير الداخلية تنبئ  
هذا المرسوم  
كتب بيفداز في اليوم الثامن  
والعشرين من شهر محرم  
١٢٩٦ الهجري الموافق للـ  
١٩٧٩ للميلاد

تحت إشرافه التي مولته حبس  
قيادة الثورة والمادة الرابعة  
في قانون المحافظات وتم ١٩٩٠  
لنفسه ١٩٦٦ - لامل وبناء على  
ما عرضه وزير الداخلية \*  
وسنأ فيها هات  
٩. أخذت محافظة باسم  
محافظة صلاح الدين بكون  
مركزها في مدينة تربت  
وتتبعها كل من الإنيصة  
الثالثة كمال عربيتا الأديرة:

١٤) قضاء شربت \*  
ب) قضاء سارم \*  
ج) قضاء باد \*  
د) قضاء طون \*  
١٥) ابدل اسم محافظة  
تربت باسم محافظة الناصر \*  
وتجسها بل من الاصلية  
الثانية :  
١٦) مركز كركوك \*  
ب) قضاء الصويبة \*  
على وزن الداخلية تنبذ  
هذا المصمم \*  
كتب بغداد الى الدم الثامن  
والثلاثين من شهر محرم



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

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

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

**Ahmed Hassan AlbakerAlbaker**  
**President of Iraq**

**DOCUMENT [3]**

# قرار في أتر...



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

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

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

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

احمد حسن البكر  
رئيس مجلس قيادة الثورة

**Ministry of Internal affairs**

**Kirkuk Governate**

**Issue: 9/11/1879**

**Date: 26/2/2000**

**To: Special Branch**

**Subject: Implementation of special instruction**

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

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

**Brigadier**

**Nafiaa Salman**

**Internal affairs**

**DOCUMENT [4]**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
جمهورية العراق

وزارة الداخلية  
محافظة التميميم  
لشؤون الداخلية  
لعدد / ٨ / ١١ / ٨٧٩  
لتاريخ ٢٠٠٠ / ٤ / ٢٦

٤٣ / ٥ / ٢٠٠٠

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

١. الامر رقم الموقر ٨١٢ / ١١ / ٨ الصادر في ٢٠٠٠ / ١ / ١٣ والمعطوف على توجيهات  
داخلية - الشؤون القانونية الرقم ٤٦٧ في ٢٠٠٠ / ١ / ٤ حول مسح اثار  
نبات الاعضاء وقبر نواياهم . نود ان نعلم سيادتكم بما يلي :-  
تقرير الوارد من لجان تحكم اللجنة العربية في كافة مدارس المحافظة تشير الى  
ح العملية بشكل جيد . وتم فرض اللغة العربية على كافة المدارس . وتم تطبيق  
الضاق على اللغات المحلية . ولم يبق لهم اي دور في الخطابة . وبالاخص في  
و التوبة والتعليم والتدريس . وتم ضبط الرقابة على ارتداء الملابس المستوردة  
نية . والتي تحمل شعارات وكتابات امريكية وصهيونية وتركية .  
تكون لجنة الرقابة الداخلية في المحافظة من تغيير كافة الاسماء والعناوين . للمحلات  
الزيرية والصناعية . والكافيات والقاهي والمساجد والتكايا والشوارع والاماكن  
ية والتي كانت مدونة بالتهجيات واللغات الكردية والتركمانية . وتم تبديلها  
باسماء وعناوين عربية اصيلة تاريخية عريقة . وبما يتسجم مع التغيير الشامل  
صحت شمل جميع مرافق الحياة في داخل مركز المحافظة .  
م و امركم مع التقدير .

المعيد / نافع سلمان مطلق  
م / الشؤون الداخلية

منه -

- الاضابير الخاصة ١٤ / الديوان - للحفظ  
- الشؤون القانونية / الديوان - للعلم والاطلاع .  
- القلم السري / الديوان - للحفظ .

**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry Internal Affairs  
Security Affairs  
Issue / 12136  
Date 21/9/1999**

**To/ Governor of Kirkuk/  
Subject// Instruction No 145MA**

**Confidential Number/ 164316**

According to the instruction from the Presidential Palace which was sent to us on the confidential document number 13721 dated on 8/8/1999.

Also the received document from the Ministry of planning number 14302/5/4 with regards to the unacceptable Kirkuk Governate and their negative attitude toward the revolution within the education sector.

In order to unite our group and to protect the new generation from being to sucked to the nationalism. Therefore we are requesting from you to implement the following instruction within the entire Kirkuk Governate schools.

1. All education instructions in nursery, primary, secondary schools should be carried out in Arabic only and not all other languages (Turkmen, Kurdish and Assyrians) shall be practiced. Moreover, no lecture, seminar and meeting instructions should be carried out in Turkmen or Kurdish language.
  - All students should be communicating only in the Arabic language and no other language shall be used in conversation. Local languages (Turkmen, Kurdish, Assyrians) are completely prohibited to be used by the education staff in the school, no lecturer and seminar shall be carried out by the local language accept Arabic language.
  - Local language shall not be used or exercised in school and in any sort of governmental corresponding.
  - Local language shall not be used or exercised and to be used as a dialog among the students in the school.
2. Students are not allowed to wear clothes that are imported from foreign countries and especially if the carry a USA, British, Israeli and Turkish flag or carry a foreign logo/ or letters.

**DOCUMENT [5]**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

جمهورية العراق  
وزارة الداخلية  
الشؤون والأمن

العدد / ١٢١٣٦  
التاريخ / ١٩٩٩/١/٢١ م

الى / محافظة التأميم - المكتب الخاص  
الموضوع // تعليمات رقم ١٤٥ م ع

الرقم السري / ١٦٤٣١٦

استنادا الى توجيهات ديوان الرئاسة والمبلغ اليها بكتابهم السري للغاية الرقم ١٣٢٢١  
فسي ١٩٩٩/٨/٨ - وكتاب مجلس الوزراء - هيئة التخطيط والمتابعة الرقم  
١٤٣٠٢/٥/٩ فسي ١٩٩٩/٨/١٤ حول الاوضاع الحادة والاجواء السيئة في مدارس  
محافظة التأميم - وازالة بعض الظواهر الحزبية لانجاح العملية الانتخابية  
على السبيل القومي - وتوحيد الصفوف وعدم فتح الجبهات للاجئين  
بالمدخل من الثغرات الضيقة للتدخل والتلاعب بالذوق الجليل الصاعد  
بالفعارات المتفجرة - ولذا يجب الزام كافة طلاب مدارس المحافظة  
بتطبيق التعليمات التالية :-

- أولا :- التهمة والتعليم والدراسة بجميع مراحلها ( المروضة ، الإشراف ،  
المتوسطة ، الإعدادية ، الثانوية ، والمعاهد ، دور المعلمين والعلماء  
الكتاب ) باللغة العربية فقط . ولذا يجب التقييد بما يلي .
- أ - يمنع منعاً باتاً استعمال اللغات المحلية ( الكردية - التركمانية - الآشورية -  
الكلدانية ) من قِبل الهيئة التعليمية والهيئة التدريسية لالقاء المحاضرات  
او مقررات الجلسات المستعملة بغير اللغة العربية . أثناء الدوام الرسمي .  
بعد منع منعاً باتاً استعمال اللغات المشار اعلاه في الفترة اولا من كتابنا من  
قِبل الهيئة التعليمية والتدريسية منع المظلمة في فترة الاستراحة .
- ب - يمنع منعاً باتاً استخدام اللغات المحلية هذا العربية من قِبل طلاب المدارس  
فيها بينهم .
- ثانياً / يمنع منعاً باتاً ارتداء الملابس الأجنبية المستوردة من الخارج . والتي تحمل العلم  
الأمريكي والبريطاني والاسرائيلي والتركي وأي دولة أجنبية ويحمل كتابات أجنبية .

**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry of Internal Affairs  
Kirkuk Governate**

**Issue: 10465/14  
Date: 18/10/1999**

**To: Directory of Education-Kirkuk  
Subject: Implementation**

According to the received letter, which was issued from the Ministry of Internal Affairs for security, issues numbered 12136 dated on the 21/9/1999.

We would like to inform you that according to the letter sent from the Presidential Office number 4/5/17329 dated the 7/10/1999, which indicates that only Arabic language shall be used in education and disregard other ethnic languages.

Moreover, we inform to establish a committee within the Directory of Education of Kirkuk and its duty will be to follow up the implementation of the above legislation correctly.

**Brigadier  
Nafiea Salman Mutlek  
Internal Affair**

**DOCUMENT NUMBER [6]**



جمهورية العراق

وزارة الداخلية  
محافظة التأميم  
الشؤون الداخلية

العدد / ٨٤ / ١٠٤٦٥

التاريخ / ١٨ / ١٠ / ١٩٩٩

وزارة الداخلية

محافظة التأميم  
الشؤون الداخلية

العدد / ٨٤ / ١٠٤٦٥

التاريخ / ١٨ / ١٠ / ١٩٩٩

الى / مديرية التربية والتعليم العام - التأميم

الموضوع / تعميم

طبقا لتعليمات الخاصة بالطاولة من وزارة الداخلية - الشؤون الامنية والرقم ١٢١٢١  
في ١٩٩٩/٩/٢١ . والسبيل الى مكتب المكتب الخاص الموقر / الديوان والرقم  
١٢٣٢٩/٤/٥ في ١٩٩٩/١٠/٧ . والسبيل الى الزامية تطبيق اللغة العربية في كافة  
مراحل الدراسة . وترك اللسجات المحلية الدخيلة من اللغات الاخرى .  
للتقيد بما جاء في التعليمات بكل هذا فيرعا . وتشكيل لجنة خاصة في  
المديرية تولى المتابعة والاشراف على لجان امنية اخرى . تشكل في  
كافة مدارس المحافظة . ورفع التقارير الدورية الى لجنة امن المحافظة  
واعلاما .....

المرفقات/ تعليمات وزارة الداخلية .

2  
العميد

نافع سلمان مطك  
م / الشؤون الداخلية

نسخة الى /

=====

- قيادة فرع التأميم للحزب القائد - امركم ودمتم للعقيدة والنضال .
- المكتب الخاص الموقر / الديوان - كتابكم اعلاه - للعلم وامركم مع التقدير .
- الاتحاد الوطني لطلبة العراق فرع التأميم - للتمهين مع المكتب الطلابي  
واللجنة الامنية في مديرية التربية والتعليم لتشكيل اللجان الامنية  
في جميع مدارس المحافظة واعلام اللجنة الامنية في المحافظة بذلك .
- المكتب الطلابي / التأميم - لنفس الاغراض .
- شعبة الاضابير المسرية ٦٥ خاص المدارس / القلم المسرى للمحافظة .

**Republic of Iraq**

**Presidential Palace  
Member of the Revolutionary Governing Council  
Prime Minister  
Taha Yasseen Ramadan  
Northern Committee**

***Issue: 33/2461***

**Date: 28/10/1998**

**Confidential/ Ministry of Internal Affairs: Ministry Office**

***Subject: Expenses increment***

In reference to your confidential letter number 33/1378, dated the 13/7/1998. The Prime Minister has advised the Director of the Northern Committee to carry out the following instructions:

Increase the travelling expenses of the members of the police force who accompany the deportee's families to the Southern cities from 5,000 Dinars to 10,000 Dinners.

These expenses shall be provided from the allocated finance your department

**Brigadier  
Tariq Zeyad Salih  
Secretary of the Northern Committee**

**DOCUMENT [7]**

جمهورية العراق  
رئاسة الجمهورية  
عضو مجلس قيادة الثورة  
نائب رئيس الجمهورية  
طه ياسين رمضان  
لجنة الشمال  
(السكرتارية)  
 العدد: ٢٤١/٢٣  
 التاريخ: ٨ رجب ١٤١٩  
 ١٩٨٨/٧/٢٨

الموضوع / زيادة المبلغ

كتابكم المسموعى للفاية المرقم ١٣٧٨/٣٣ في ١٩٩٨/٧/١٣

رجه السيد: نائب رئيس الجمهورية / رئيس لجنة الشمال بما يأتي:

ويتمتع بـ ٥٠٠٠ حصته الأولى دينار الذي يصرف لكل شخص من عناصر المرحلة الذين بين العون المراحل إلى محافظات الوسط والجنوبية كما جدد نقل وطعام إلى (١٠٠٠٠) عشيرة الأولى بملا.

أول بيتين

يرجى التفضل بالاطلاع واتخاذ ما يلزم ... وعلماً أننا ... مع التقدير.

طارق زيادة صالح  
سكربتير لجنة الشمال

199A/1-1Y

استخارة منه الى /

تعالفة بينوى / مكتب المحافظه كتابكم ٤٢٣٢ في ١٩٨٨/١٠/٤ لنفس الغرض اعلاه مع التقدير.

كلية تميم / مكتب المحاماة كتابنا اعلاه ونلخص الفرض مع التقدير.

مكتبة / مكتبة الملك عبد الله بن عبدالعزيز / مكتبة الملك عبد الله بن عبدالعزيز

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

البريد الى بنو كنانة: اني ارجو ان يكونوا منكم في كل سنة

[illegible]

لبنان، بيروت: المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والبحوث، ٢٠٠٤.

2011

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من عباده المخلصين

المركب ذاته

11.12.14  $\leq 11.12.14$

[illegible]

ماتة الطائر - عبد الساتر | دارها ١٨٦٢ ج ١٢٢٢ - القاهره

مجلسه اول در تاریخ ۱۳۰۲/۱۰/۱۵

100

**Republic of Iraq**  
**Revolutionary Governing Council**  
**Legislation number: 199**  
**Date: 6/9/2001**

*Subject: Legislation*

We have noticed that there are some names in the registry office that are inherent from the Ottoman rule. In order to give Iraqi citizens the right of choice that complies and adopts with the principle of the socialist Arab Ba'ath Party. The Arab person can be defined as a person who lived in the Arab World, spoke Arabic and has chosen Arabic as his nationality and according to item (1), article (42) from the legislation, the Revolutionary Governing Council has decided the following:

- 1- Every Iraqi citizen who is 18 years or above has the right to change his ethnic identity to Arabic.
- 2- Changing the ethnic identity can be implemented by submitting a request to the Birth Certificate Registry Office.
- 3- The approval of the Director of the Birth Certificate Registry Office shall be obtained within (60) days.
- 4- The amendment of the ethnic identity must also be applied to the Birth Certificate at the Registry Office.
- 5- The Ministry of Internal Affairs should facilitate the completion of the above legislation.
- 6- The legislation would be valid after being published in the Governmental Newspaper.

**Saddam Hussein**  
**The President of Revolutionary Governing Council**

**DOCUMENT [8]**

نص قرار تغيير القومية الصادر بتاريخ ٦ / ٩ / ٢٠٠١ م والمرقم بـ (١٩٩)

- نظرا لوجود حالات موروثة في سجلات فترة الحكم العثماني للعراق ومن أجل إعطاء العراقي حق اختيار قوميته، وانسجاما مع مبادئ حزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي في أن العربي هو من عاش في الوطن العربي وتكلم اللغة العربية واختار العروبة قومية له، واستنادا الى أحكام الفقرة (أ) من المادة الثانية والأربعين من الدستور (المؤقت) قرر مجلس قيادة الثورة ما يأتي:
- ١- لكل عراقي أتم الثامنة عشر من العمر الحق في الطلب بتغيير قوميته الى القومية العربية.
  - ٢- يقدم طلب تغيير القومية الى دائرة الأحوال المدنية المسجل فيها الشخص.
  - ٣- بيت مدني الجنسية والأحوال المدنية في المحافظة في الطلب خلال ستين يوما من تاريخ تقديمه.
  - ٤- يثبت قرار تغيير القومية في السجل المدني، ويتخذ أساسا لتعديل جميع السجلات الوثائق الرسمية الأخرى.
  - ٥- يصدر وزير الداخلية تعليمات لتسهيل تنفيذ هذا القرار.
  - ٦- ينفذ هذا القرار من تاريخ نشره في الجريدة الرسمية.

صدام حسين  
رئيس مجلس قيادة الثورة

**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry of internal affairs  
Security Department**

**Issue: 8172  
Date: 26/7/2000**

**To/ The Governate of Kirkuk  
Subject/ Instruction and request information number 1465/K/6**

According to the received instruction from the Presidential Palace document 10465 dated on the 5/11/1999 regarding the citizen who left the country after the 1191 incident. We have decided the following: -

1. Send information about all those people who left the country after the 1991 incident and especially the Turkmen traitors and obtain complete information about their remaining relative in Iraq for two generations.
2. Confiscate the property of the deserter and their families to first generation.
3. Remove the ration and resident card from the deserter families.

**Lieutenant General  
Saudon Alwan Almuslih  
Deputy of Ministry of Internal affairs**

**DOCUMENT [9]**



جمهورية العراق

وزارة الداخلية

الشؤون الامنية

العدد / ٨١٣٢

التاريخ / ٢٠٠٠ / ٧ / ٢٦

الس / محافظة التأميم / ع خ

الموضوع / تعليمات وطلب معلومات رقم ١٤٦٥ / ع / ٢

- استناداً الى توجيهات ديوان الرئاسة الترقم ١٠٤٦٥ في ١١ / ٥ / ١٩٩٩  
بخصوص المواطنين الذين قُتلوا القتل بعد أحداث عام ١٩٩١ \* وقد قررنا اتخاذ مايلي :
- ١ / ارسال معلومات كاملة عن ميولات الاذلاء الذين قُتلوا القتل بعد أحداث عام ١٩٩١  
وبالتحديد الاذلاء التركمان \* وتدوين معلومات كاملة عن اقايمهم من الدرجة الاولى  
والثانية المتعقبين داخل العراق \*
  - ٢ / حجز وصفاة الاموال المتبقية وغير المتبقية للجائدين وذويهم من  
الدرجة الاولى \* ولحق الشرايط الخاصة رقم ٤٥٦ لسنة ١٩٩٣
  - ٣ / سحب البطاقة الشخصية وطاقة السكن من افراد مواليهم  
وذويهم من الدرجة الاولى \*

موقع

المدير العام

معدون عنوان العمل

و / وزارة الداخلية للشؤون الامنية

جمهورية العراق

وزارة الداخلية

محافظة التأميم

المكتب العام

محافظة التأميم

المكتب العام

العدد / ٧٧٦٩ / ٧ / ٥

التاريخ / ٢٠٠٠ / ٨ / ٤

الس / الشؤون الداخلية / الديوان  
م / تعليمات وزارة الداخلية  
اعلام تعليمات وزارة الداخلية - الشؤون الامنية الترقم ٨١٣٢ في ٢٦ / ٧ / ٢٠٠٠  
لتنفيذ ما جاء فيها وبالتحديد مع قيادة فرع كركوك والتأميم لحزب البعث  
العربي الاشتراكي \* واعلاما \*

موقع

المدير العام

مباح نبوي طوان

مساعد التأميم

موقع من الس /

- قيادة فرع كركوك للحزب \* ودعم للثقال \*

- = = = = التأميم للحزب \* للعلم ودعم للثقال \*

- العائلات المقيمة / المحافظة \*

- العلم المسمى / المحافظة \*

- فاقية قس \* المركز - للعلم والاظ - ابع \*

**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry of internal affairs  
Kirkuk Governate  
Special Branch**

**Issue: 8/3/2653  
Date: 24/2/2000**

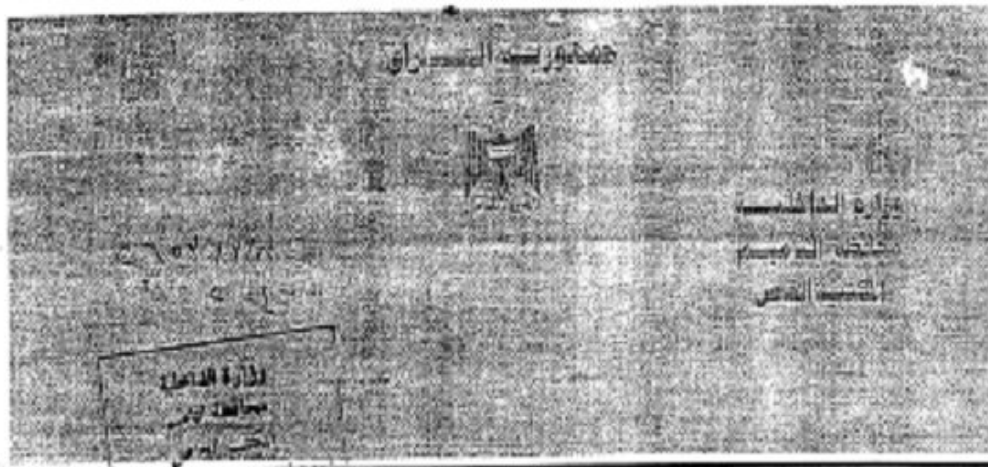
**To/ Kirkuk Council  
Subject/ Special Instruction**

After the consultation with the law department regarding the document number 3/5/1175 dated the 16/2/2000 about the request of the citizen Mr. Khalil Ibrahim Salih who is requesting compensation for his land which was given to Mr. Khalaf Salih Mohammed (Arab) by special instruction from General, Kirkuk Governor, Mr. Ayad Futaih Khalifa Alrawi on the 4/8/1998.

The above citizens did not attend to amend his Ethnic National Identity at that time, therefore the confiscated property is no longer belonging to him, and thus his request is refused.


**General  
Military Brigadier  
Nawfil Ismail Khther  
Kirkuk Governor**

**DOCUMENT [10]**



الى / قاعة قضاة مركز كركوك  
م / امير عيسى

بعد استشارة الشئون القانونية بخصوص كتابكم المرقم ١١٢٥/٥/٣ في  
٢٠٠٠/٢/١٦ حول طلب المواطن خليل ابراهيم صالح تسجيل قطعه  
والتي خصصت للميد خلف صالح محمد بامر عيسى من الطريق الركن اباد فص  
خطية السراوى - محافظة الناصريه في ١١١٨/٨/٩ \* وبموجب العجوبات الخلق  
فان المواطن لم يقدم الشئ لعدم كونه في حوزة  
وقد حجزت القطعة بامر عيسى لصالح مزارات الدولة - وحولت من قطعة سكنية  
الى قطعة تجارية \* ولذا فان عند التحويل الصادر باسم  
المواطن باطلية \* والمواطن لم يشغل اي امتيازات قانونية  
للعلم والاطمئنان - واجراءه المزمع \*

  
الشؤون الركن  
مؤلف اصحاب خط  
محافظة الناصريه

نسخة الى /  
مديرية التسجيل العقاري / الناصريه - للتعلم \*  
الامانة / المحافظة - للعلم والاطلاع واعطاء مايلزم \*  
القلم العشري / الديوان - للحفظ \*

The hanging of Turkmen citizen Mr. Mohammed Kormas, which was carried out by the Ba'ath regime at 6 a.m. on the 9/7/1980. The Doctor who issued the death certificate was named Mohammed Falah. A copy of the death certificate was sent to the registry of Birth Certificate numbered 16907/85.

**الجمهورية العراقية**  
**وزارة الصحة**  
مديرية الاحصاء الطبي والصحي

**شهادة وفاة**

١٩٨٠/٧/١٩ تاريخ التسجيل

١ - اسم الماتول ولقبه <b>محمد مور حمزة</b>	٢ - جنس <b>ذكر</b>	٣ - عمر <b>٤٦</b>	٤ - جنس <b>ذكر</b>
٥ - جنس <b>ذكر</b>	٦ - تاريخ الميلاد <b>١٩٣٤</b>	٧ - مكان الميلاد <b>بغداد</b>	٨ - مكان الوفاة <b>بغداد</b>
٩ - اسم والده الماتول <b>عبدالله</b>		١٠ - اسم والدته الماتول <b>فاطمة</b>	
١١ - اسم الماتول في تاريخ <b>١٩٨٠/٧/١٩</b>			
١٢ - مكان الوفاة <b>بغداد</b>			
١٣ - مكان الدفن <b>بغداد</b>			

١٤ - شهادة الوفاة الطبية

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١٠٠ - شهادة الوفاة الدينية

**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry of internal affairs  
Kirkuk Governate**

**Issue/ 9/3/1748  
Date/ 23/2/2000**

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

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

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

*For your information*  
With compliments

**Brigadier  
Nafiia Salman Mutlek  
Internal affairs**

**DOCUMENT [12]**

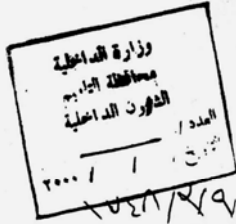
جمهورية العراق



وزارة الداخلية

محافظة التأميم

الشؤون الداخلية



العدد ٢٠٠٠ / ١ / ١٩٩١  
التاريخ ١٩٩١ / ١ / ٢٠٠٠

الى / المكتب الخاص بالوقر - الديوان

م / احصاء ١٩٩١

ندج لكم ادناه المعلومات الكاملة عن مجموع رؤوساء الموائل من المواطنين النخبر العرب الساكنين في محافظة التأميم . والذين اقدموا على تصحيح قوائمهم خلال عام ١٩٩١ . اعتبارا من ١٩٩١/١/١ لغاية ١٩٩١/١٢/٣١ على ضوء التوجيهات المكونة الصادرة من وزارة الداخلية - الشؤون الامنية وتعديلاته . وعلى النحو التالي :-

اولا : العدد الاجمالي لرؤوساء الموائل الكردية الذين اقدموا على التصحيح هي ((ثلاثة الاف واربعمائة واثنان وستون)) .  
ثانيا : العدد الاجمالي لرؤوساء الموائل التركمانية الذين اقدموا على التصحيح هي ((الفان وتسعمائة وسبعة وثلاثون)) .  
ثالثا : ظهرت في الاونة الاخيرة صعوبات لدى مديرية احصاء التأميم اثناء التصحيح . ومن خلال المتابعة تم كشف الخلل وازالته . حيث كان يتسبب تركماني لدى المديرية الذي المدعو (خالد احمد زينل) هو كان السبب لخلق الصعوبات بدوافع عنصرية . وتم احالته الى مديرية امن البلدة لاجراء التحقيق معه ليتنازل جزاءه العادل . . . . . للحصول بالعلم والاطلاع وامركم مع التقدير .

العميد / نافع سلمان مطلق  
م / الشؤون الداخلية

صورة النسخ :-

- اللجنة الامنية في المحافظة . . . . . للعلم والاطلاع .
- القلم السري / المحافظة . . . . . للعلم والاطلاع .
- مديرية احصاء التأميم - لتسهيل امور التصحيح واستعمال الدبلوماسية المحنكة مع المواطنين .
- مديرية الجنسية والاحوال المدنية / التأميم . . . . . لاتخاذ مايلزم .



**Republic of Iraq**

***Ministry of Internal Affair***

**Kirkuk Governate**

**Special Branch**

**Issue: 11/6/1378**

**Date: 18/2/2000**

**To/Northern Petroleum Company/ Administration and Human Resources**

**Subject/ Refusal**

According to the document S/4/1354 dated on the 3/1/2000 regarding the appointment of Mr Khalid Jaefer Kasim who wishes to work as a driver in the transportation department.

After a careful consideration we have found that the above is a **Turkmen** citizen and he is not pro Revolutionary Ba'ath Party and also have a relatives in Turkey.

Therefore due to security reasons we have decided to refuse his appointment as a driver in the Iraqi Petroleum Company.

**Hikmet Tahir Khalid**

**Security Department**

**DOCUMENT [13]**



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
جمهورية العراق

وزارة الداخلية  
محافظة التاميم  
القلم المسمى

العدد / ١٤٧٨ / ٦ / ١١  
التاريخ / ٢٠٠٠ / ٤ / ١٨

الى / شركة نفط الشمال / الادارة الذاتية

م / عدم موافقة

مصري

كما يحكم المرقم ش / ٤ / ١٣٥٤ في ٢ / ١ / ٢٠٠٠ . حول تعيين المواطن ( خالد جعفر قاسم ) بصحة  
سائق لدى شعبة ا لاليات / الشركة .  
وبعد اجراء التحقيقات من هوية المواطن تبين بأنه تركماني القومية وغير موالي لصيغة الحزب والثورة  
ولديه اقارب في تركيا . ولاصباح امنية خاصة لانوافق على تعيينه بصحة سائق في الشركة .

حكمت طاهر خالد  
م / القلم المصري

نسخة الى :-

- ١ - المراسلات المصرية / الديوان - للعلم والاطلاع .
- ٢ - الشؤون القانونية / الديوان - للعلم والاطلاع .

**Republic of Iraq**

**Kirkuk Governate  
Ministry Internal Affairs  
Security Affairs**

**Issue / 1265  
Date 24/12/2000**

**To: Governor of Kirkuk/ Registry Office-Kirkuk  
Subject: Instruction to transfer property, Document Number 216**

With reference to the letter issued from the Iraqi Registry Office, Kirkuk and according to your letter-dated 4/5/1998, which was issued at 8/2/2000 regarding the escape of Mr. Younis Mahmud Yasin abroad. He is a Turkmen citizen and employed by the Iraqi Petroleum Northern Company.

With reference to the received instruction from the Iraqi Petroleum Northern Company and according to the instruction and the authority that have been given to us via the revolutionary Governing council. In accordance with the Registry Office of Kirkuk, we have decided to confiscate his entire possession and property addressed 106/47 KH/T 53, which should be confiscated immediately.

**General  
Nawfil Ismail Khther  
Kirkuk Governor**

**DOCUMENT [14]**

جمهورية العراق

وزارة الداخلية  
محافظة التاميم  
المكتب الاسكاني

العدد /  
التاريخ /

محافظة التاميم  
المكتب الاسكاني  
العدد / ١٢٦٥  
التاريخ / ٢٠٠٠ / ١٢ / ١٤

٩٦١٤

الى - قائممقامية قنبا - المركز

م - امر ٢١٦ ( حجز قطعة ارض سكنية )

كتابكم المرقم ١٩٩٨/٥/٤ الصادر في ٢٠٠٠/٢/٨ بخصوص هروب المواطن ( يونس محمود ياسين ) التركماني القومية والموظف في مديرية شركة نفط الشمال . الذي خارج القطر . واستنادا الى توجيهات وتعليمات لجنة شؤون الشمال - السكرتارية . وبموجب الصلاحيات المخولة لنا من مجلس قيادة الثورة . فقد قررنا حجز ومصادرة امواله المنقولة وغير المنقولة . وبغمنها القطعة السكنية ١٠٦ - ٥٣ غ ت وملاحته ( ثلاثة ) اوله . لصالح عقارات الدولة وتنفيذ ذلك بالتنسيق مع مديرية التسجيل العقاري التاميم ومديرية عقارات الدولة / التاميم ومديرية بلدية التاميم قسم الاملاك . واعلام الشؤون الداخلية بذلك .



المستأجر التركماني  
نورسل اسماعيل خضير  
محافظ التاميم  
المدير الاسكاني

صورة منه الى //

- مديرية التسجيل العقاري / التاميم لابطال قيد التسجيل العقاري للقطعة المرقمة ١٠٦ - ٥٣ غ ت من اسم المالك وتشبيتها تحت اسم مديرية عقارات الدولة واعلامنا بالرقم الجديد .  
- مديرية ضريبة دخل التاميم لاعفاء القطعة من الضريبة والرسوم بموجب قرار ٤٨١ .  
مديرية عقارات الدولة / التاميم . لتخصيم القطعة للامم والحقيد الطيار ( محمد جاسم خالد ) بعد تشييت تسجيل القطعة قانونيا واعلامنا .  
- القلم الصرى / الديوان - للعلم .

عمر ..... ٢/٢٤

**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry of Internal Affairs  
Kirkuk Governate  
Property Department**

**Issue: 7439  
Date: 4/8/2000**

***To/ Director of Land Registry of Kirkuk***

**Subject/ Implementation to Transfer House/land Registry**

1. According to the received letter from the Registry Office, number 4731-dated the 24/7/2000, which is related to the registration of the piece of land, number 17/2641M39, in the neighborhood Tesseen. The above land is property of Mr. Ahmed Jumaea Hussein, a Turkmen citizen who was deported to Suleymaniya city within the third stage of deportation for the year 2000, which was indicated in your letter, Internal Affairs number 9/5/3981 dated 16/4/2000 would be a property of Kirkuk Council.
2. Property of a Kurdish citizen who was deported to Suleymaniya and is located on the land number 29/738 sector 53KT, Shorja neighborhoodneighborhood, block 17 and according to Registration Office letter number 4731 dated the 24/7/2000.
3. The house of Mr. Alyas Jaefer Hassan, address 9854/32, which is, located in the sector 53 KT should be confiscated and considered as belonging to the government.

**Muhammad Awad Younis  
Assistant Land Registry**

**DOCUMENT [15]**

جمهورية العراق

وزارة الداخلية  
محافظة التميميم  
الاملاك

العدد / ٧٤٣٩  
التاريخ / ١٨ / ٤

وزارة الداخلية  
محافظة التميميم  
الاملاك

العدد /

التاريخ /

٢٠٠٠ / ١ / ١

الى / دائرة التسجيل العقاري / التميميم

الموضوع / تحويل دور وقطعة سكنية

(١) بموجب كتاب المكتب الاسكاني المرقم ٤٣١ في ٢٤ / ٧ / ٢٠٠٠ تسجيل قطعة الارض السكنية المرقمة ١٧ م ٣٩ تسعين ملكا صرفا باسم بلدية كركوك .  
والتي تعود ملكيتها للمواطن ( احمد جمعة حسين ) التركماني الاصل . والمرحل الى السليمانية ضمن الوجبة الثالثة لعام ٢٠٠٠ . بموجب كتاب م / الشومون الداخلية المرقم ٣٩٨١ / ٥ / ٩ في ١٦ / ٤ / ٢٠٠٠ .

(٢) وبموجب كتاب المكتب الاسكاني المرقم ٤٣١ في ٢٤ / ٧ / ٢٠٠٠ تسجيل الدار المشيدة على القطعة المرقمة ٣٩ م ٣٨ مقاطعة ٥ خ ت الواقعة في النورجة ضمن بلوك ١٧ ملكا صرفا باسم مديرية عقارات الدولة . والتي تعود ملكيتها للمواطن ( خالد منذ حسن ) الكردي الاصل والمرحل الى السليمانية ضمن الوجبة الثالثة . لعام ٢٠٠٠ .

(٣) تسجيل الدار المرقمة ٩٨٥٤ / ٢٢ والواقعة في مقاطعة ٥ خ ت ملكا باسم مديرية عقارات الدولة لقاء بدل استملكها المقرر بالحكم الصادر من محكمة الاشراف . والصادر في الدعوة المرقمة ١٩٤ / م / ٢٠٠٠ الخاص بالمواطن ( الياس جعفر حسن )

محمود عواد يونس

م / قسم الاملاك

مسودة منه الى :-

مديرية عقارات الدولة - التميميم - لاجراء اللازم .

- الشومون القانونية في المحافظة - للعلم واللائق .

- المراسلات السرية / المحافظة .

- مديرية بلدية التميميم - الاملاك - لاجراء اللازم .

- مديرية التخطيط العمراني في المحافظة - لاجراء اللازم .

- القلم السري / المحافظة

انعام / .....



**Republic of Iraq  
Ministry of Internal Affairs  
Kirkuk Governate**

**Issue: 9/5/3981  
Date: 16/4/2000**

**To: The Head Quarters of Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party  
Subject: To carry out a deportation plan of the non-Arab Citizen**

**Top Secret/**

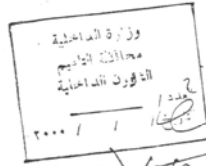
**Stage Number /Third  
Order Number/1432/JH**

According to the instruction received from the Central Committee, which was issued to us through the Ministry of Internal Affairs regarding the deportation of the Non Arab citizens from Kirkuk to outside of the city. Special Security Committee deported the following people in the list outside of Kirkuk on 15/4/2000 and the deportation was carried out within a single day also proper procedure was taken in regards to their possessions and properties.

For your information and knowledge.

**Brigadier  
Nafiea Salman Mutlak**

**DOCUMENT [16]**



جمهورية العراق



٤٤/٤

وزارة الداخلية

محافظة التأميم

م / الشؤون الداخلية

العدد / ٢٩٨١/٥٩  
التاريخ / ٤/١٢/٢٠٠٠

الى قيادة قسم التأميم لحزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي  
م / تنفيذ خطة ترحيل المواطنين الغير العرب

مضى جدا .  
تحية فضالية  
رقم السيرة / الثالثة  
رقم الامر / ١٤٣٦ / ج هـ

استنادا الى التوجيهات المركزة الخاصة . الصادرة من وزارة الداخلية بخصوص ترحيل المواطنين الغير العرب من محافظة التأميم الى خارج المنطقة . ولما سبب امنية خاصة للمحافظة وعلى غرار نتائج الجرد السكاني واليهابيين الى خارج العراق . فقد تم ترحيل المواطنين المدرجة اسمائهم في القائمة المرفقة وذلك في ١٥ / ٤ / ٢٠٠٠ ومن طريق اللجنة الامنية الخاصة وخلال يوم واحد . وتم اجراء اللانم بخصوص مستكاثهم الغير المنقولة والاجهزة الكهربائية . للتفضل بالعلم والاطلاع ودعم للدشال والدرب .

الحسيد  
ناقض سلمان مطلق  
م / ش غ

نسخة منه الى / -

- قيادة قسم كركوك للحزب . للعلم . ودعم للتضال .
- مجلس الشعب المحلي / التأميم . للعلم والاطلاع .
- اللجنة الامنية في المحافظة - لاتخاذ مايلزم .
- مديرية التسجيل العقاري في المحافظة - لاجراء اللانم بخصوص عقاراتهم واعلامنا .
- المراكز العسكرية / الديوان .
- القلم السري / الديوان . للعلم .
- لجنة الجرد السكاني / الديوان - للتأشير .
- مديرية الجنسية والاحوال المدنية / التأميم - لتأشير سجلات المسؤولين بالترحيل .
- شغريخ / الديوان . للحفاظ .

خضير / ١٦٠٠٠ / ٤

**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry of Internal Affairs  
Kirkuk Governate  
Security Department**

**Issue: 9407  
Date: 17/7/1999**

**To: Governor of Kirkuk/ Special office  
Subject: Confidential Instruction  
Confidential Number: 13022/M<sup>3</sup>**

According to the instruction received from the Presidential Palace and received letter No 8107 dated 5/7/1999 from the Revolutionary Governing Council.

We have noticed unusual activities in the North of Iraq, the Turkish threat to the future of Iraq and their interest in the Kirkuk oil. Since the Turkmen constitute a large sector of the population in Kirkuk City and especially after the 1991 uprising the Turkmen became servants under their master Turkey. Also large numbers of Turkmen have joined the Iraqi Turkmen Front in the North of Iraq in order to instabilities the Iraqi Government and they have declared an armed struggle to serve foreign governments.

Therefore we have issued the following instruction, after speaking with the security service and Ba`ath Revolutionary Army in Kirkuk.

**Instruction: -**

1. Transfer all Turkmen Directors, Assistance Directors, Supervisors and Head of Departments people who are working in the Northern Petrol Company to South of Iraq Petrol Production
2. Transfer and deport all Engineers and Technicians who are working in Northern Petrol Company to Beaji Oil Purification.
3. Not to employ the Turkmen in the government offices, local offices and governmental organization, which are, located within Kirkuk City. Their political grade within Ba`ath Party office especially in Kirkuk shall not be considered.
4. Only the census of 1957 should be valid. The census of 1977 should be disregarded.

**Lieutenant General  
Saudon Alwan Almuslih  
Deputy of Ministry of Internal Security Affair**

**DOCUMENT [17]**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

جمهورية العراق  
وزارة الداخلية  
المشؤون الأمنية

العدد / ٩٤٠٧  
التاريخ / ٥ / ربيع الثاني / ١٤٢٠  
الموافق: ١٧ / ٧ / ١٩٩٩

الى / محافظة التاميم / المكتب الخاص

م. / تعليمات خاصة

رقم الخاص / ١٢٠٢٢ / ٢٢

استناداً الى توجيهات رئاسة ديوان رئاسة الجمهورية . وكتاب مكتب امانة سر القطر العرقم ٨١٠٧ نى ٥ / ٧ / ١٩٩٩ . وبعد دراسة الاوضاع الشاذة في شمال الوطن وبالخطر التركي على مستقبل العراق . واطمانهم في حقول شركات نفط كركوك وبما ان التركمان يشكلون شريحة واسعة من سكان المدينة . وبعد احداث ١٩٩١ تحولوا الى ورقة بيد اسيادهم الترك . والتحاق اعداد من ابناءهم المفرزين بالتشكيلات التاميمية . والاوكار الخيانية في منطقة الحكم الذاتي . فيما يسعى بالجبهة التركمانية وقوة مايسعى بحفظ السلام ( بي ايم ايف ) اربيل . ويستثمرون في حق السلاح الاجنبي . والعنفون من العوامل التركمانية في كركوك وسواحيلها يشكلون الرطل الخاص وخطراً على مستقبل امن البلاد . لان روح العنصرية البغيضة ملئت صدورهم . ولا يزال يشكلون نسبة كبيرة من السكان . وبعد اجراء دراسة المضمم من كافة جوانبها تم اصدار التعليمات التالية وبما يستتبعه الظروف الحالية . ويجب تنفيذ ما جاء فيها بحسب مراحل وبالتنسيق مع تنظيمات قيادة التاميم لحزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي والجهزة الادارية المسؤولة بتنفيذ التعليمات واعة منا :

التعليمات /

اولاً/ نقل واعمال الموظفين بدويرة مدير عام دوائر جهات الاقسام من ابناء الاقلية التركمانية . من كافة دوائر شركة نفط الشمال وغاز الشمال الى شركة حقول نفط الحنوب بحسب مراحل زمنية .

ثانياً/ نقل واعمال المهندسين الفنيين من ابناء الاقلية التركمانية من دوائر شركة نفط الشمال وغاز الشمال الى مصرفي شركة نفط بيجي المنطقة الوسطى .

ثالثاً / عدم تعيين ابناء الاقلية التركمانية في وظائف الدولة الرسمية وشبه الرسمية ومؤسسات حكومية والمراقف الخاصة والمامة في حدود محافظة التاميم مهما كان درجة انتماءاتهم الحزبية او شهاداتهم الدراسية . ويطبق بحسب جميع القرارات والتوجيهات الامنية الخاصة الصادرة بحق الاكراد دون استثناء .

رابعا / المصوب لبيان القومية لتنفيذ ماورد اعلاه هي احصاء عام ١٩٥٧ فقط . ويعدل الشريط الاحصائي لعام ١٩٩٧ . وكافة القوانين الاخرى .

موقع  
السفير التركماني  
مساعدون عاملان الصالح  
و/ وزارة الداخلية للشؤون الأمنية

**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry Internal Affairs  
Kirkuk Governate  
Security Affairs**

**Issue: 9/9/713  
Date: 22//1/2000**

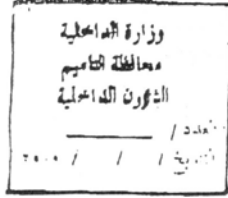
**To: Special Branch  
Subject: General Deportation / 1999-Completion plan project fifties.**

We would like to inform you that Project 50 which was approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs Security Department regarding the deportation of Non\_Arab citizens from city of Kirkuk this would be carried out within five years and with 35 stages. This plan would be commencing from 1/1/1995 to 31/12/1999.

Please see the attached data for deportation for year 1999 for your knowledge and information.

**General  
Nafiea Salman Mutlek**

**DOCUMENT [18]**



جمهورية العراق



وزارة الداخلية

محافظة التميميم

الشؤون الداخلية

العدد / ٧١٤/٩  
التاريخ / ١١ / ٢٠٠٠

الى - المكتب الخاص المقرر / الديوان

م / ترخيص عام / ١٩٩٩ وانهاء الخطة الخمسية.

نود ان ندعم مبادئكم المقرر بتنفيذ الخطة الخمسية الصادرة من  
وزارة الداخلية - الشؤون الامنية . والتعديلات اللاحقة بالخطة والخاص  
بترخيص المواطنين الغير العرب الى خارج المحافظة . ومن خلال  
٣٥ وجهة خلال خمسة ايام . ابتداء من ١/١/١٩٩٥ لغاية  
١٩٩٩/١٢/٣١ . وطما ماتم تنفيذ خلال عام ١٩٩٩ بهذا الخصوص  
للتفضل بالعلم . . . . . ولكم الامر مع التقدير .

  
العميد

نافع سلطان مطلق  
م / الشؤون الداخلية

نسخة الى / -

شعبة العلاقات الصرية / المحافظة - للعلم والاطلاع .  
القلم السري / المحافظة - للعلم .  
الشؤون القانونية / المحافظة - للعلم .  
الضابطة الخاصة - قسم الترخيل / المحافظة - للحفاظ



**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry of Internal Affairs  
Kirkuk Governate  
Security Department**

**Issue: 9407  
Date: 17/7/1999**

**To: Governor of Kirkuk/ Special office  
Subject: Confidential Instruction**

**Confidential Number: 13022/M<sup>3</sup>**

According to the instruction received from the Presidential Palace and received letter No 8107 dated 5/7/1999 from the Revolutionary Governing Council.

We have noticed unusual activities in the North of Iraq, the Turkish threat to the future of Iraq and their interest in the Kirkuk oil. Since the Turkmen constitute a large sector of the population in Kirkuk City and especially after the 1991 uprising the Turkmen became servants under their master Turkey. Also large numbers of Turkmen have joined the Iraqi Turkmen Front in the North of Iraq in order to instabilities the Iraqi Government and they have declared an armed struggle to serve foreign governments.

Therefore we have issued the following instruction, after speaking with the security service and Ba`ath Revolutionary Army in Kirkuk.

**Instruction: -**

1. Transfer all Turkmen people who are working in the Northern Petrol Company as Director, Assistance Director, Supervisor and Head of Department to South of Iraq Petrol Production
2. Transfer and deport all Engineers and Technicians who are working in Northern Petrol Company to Beaji Oil Purification.
3. Not to employ the Turkmen in the government offices, local offices and governmental organization, which are, located within Kirkuk City. Their political grade within Ba`ath Party office especially in Kirkuk shall not be considered.
4. Only the census of 1957 should be valid and the 1977 census shall be disregarded.

**Lieutenant General  
Saudon Alwan Almuslih  
Deputy of Ministry of Internal Security Affair**

**DOCUMENT [19]**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

جمهورية العراق  
وزارة الداخلية  
المستشارون الامنية

العدد / ٩٤٠٧  
التاريخ / ٥ / ربيع الثاني / ١٤٢٠  
الموافق: ١٧ / ٧ / ١٩٩٩

الى / محافظة التاميم / المكتب الخاص

م. / تعليمات خاصة

تاريخ الخاص / ١٤٠٢٢ / ٣٢

استنادا الى توجيهات رئاسة ديوان رئاسة الجمهورية . وكتاب مكتب امانة سر القطر الرقم ٨١٠٧ / ٥ / ١٩٩٩ . وبعد دراسة الاوضاع السائدة في شمال الوطن وبالاخص التركي هلى مستقبل العراق . واطامهم في حقول شركات نفط كركوك وبما ان التركمان يشكلون شريحة واسعة من سكان المدينة . وبعد احداث ١٩٩١ تحولوا الى هجرة بيد اسياهم الاتراك . والتحاق اعداد من ابناءهم المغريرين بالتشكيلات الناعرية . والاكوار الخيانية في منطقة الحكم الذاتي . فيما يسعى بالجهة التركمانية وقوة مايسعى بحفظ السلام ( بي ايم ايف ) اربيل . ومستثمرون في حقل السلاح لصالح الاجنبي . والعنفون من العوائل التركمانية في كركوك وضواحيها يشكلون الرطل الخاص وخطر ا على مستقبل امن البلاد . لان روح العنصرية البغيضة ملئت صدورهم . ولا يزال يشكلون نسبة كبيرة من السكان . وبعد اجراء دراسة المضم من كافة جوانبها تم اصدار التعليمات التالية و بطا يستوجب الظروف الحالية . ويجب تنفيذ ما جاء فيها حسب مراحل وبالتنسيق مع تنظيمات قيادة التاميم لحزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي والجهزة الادارية المشمولة بتنفيذ التعليمات وانا متا :

التعليمات /

اولا / نقل و ابعاد الموظفين بد درجة مدير ومدير عام وروضاء الاقسام من ابناء الاقلية التركمانية . من كافة دوائر شركة نفط الشمال وغازا لشمال الى شركة حقول نفط الحنوب وحسب مراحل زمنية .

ثانيا / نقل و ابعاد المهندسين الفنيين من ابناء الاقلية التركمانية من دوائر شركة نفط الشمال وغازا الشمال الى مصفى شركة نفط بيجي المنطقة الوسطى .

ثالثا / عدم تعيين ابناء الاقلية التركمانية في وظائف الدولة الرسمية ونسبة الرسمية ومؤسسات حكومية والرفاق الخاصة والعامة في حدود محافظة التاميم مهما كان درجة انتماءاتهم الحزبية او تسهلاتهم الدرامسية . ويطبق بحقهم جميع القرارات والتوجيهات الامنية الخاصة الصادرة بحق الاكراد دون استثناء .

رابعا / المعمول لبيان القومية لتنفيذ ماورد اعلاه هي احصاء عام ١٩٥٧ فقط . ويعدل الشريط الاحصائي لعام ١٩٩٧ . وكافة القوانين الاخرى .

موقع  
الدقيق الركبتين  
سمعون عليان المصلح  
و / وزارة الداخلية للشؤون الامنية

**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry of Internal affairs  
Kirkuk Governate**

**Issue: 4228/6/5**

**Date: 5/6/2000**

**To: To Saddam Hussein Irrigation Project  
Subject: Administration Order Number 331 for year 2000**

According to your letter number, 4325 dated the 14/5/2000 about your request to appoint five graduates in your department. After careful consideration and security checks of the candidates, we have decided the following: -

1. We approve the appointment of Mr. Khalaf Anter Suheel as assistant engineer.
2. We approve the appointment of Miss. Hafsa Sultan Habib as Agriculture Supervisor.
3. We refuse the appointment of Mr. Mansur Mohammed Ali for being a Kurdish citizen according to the 1977 census.
4. We refuse the appointment of Miss Sameera Ibrahim Hassan for being a Turkmen citizen according to the 1977 census.
5. We refuse the appointment of Miss Suham Ali Abdullah for being a Turkmen citizen according to the 1977 census.

**Hikmet Tahir Khalid  
Confidential Branch Office**

**DOCUMENT [20]**

جمهورية العراق

محافظة القامشلي

القلم السوري

العدد / ٦٠٥ / ٤٤٤٧

التاريخ / ١٦ / ٥ / ٢٠٠٠

الى / مديرية مفرق ري صدام

الجنس / امراء اداري رقم ٢٣١ لسنة ٢٠٠٠

( صري )

كتابكم الرقم ٤٣٢٥ في ١٤ / ٥ / ٢٠٠٠ حول طلب تعيين ابراهيم من المخرجين والمخرجات في مديريةكم وعلى الطلاعات الصادرة .

وبعد اجراء التعطيلات الامنية عن هوياتهم ولوماتهم واتجاهاتهم من المصادر الخاصة . وعلى ضوء بموجب صلاحيتها اصدرنا الامر الاداري التالي :

- (١) توافق على تعيين السيد / خلف صبر صهيل . بصفة معاون مهندس
- (٢) توافق على تعيين الانسة / حفصة سلطان حبيب . بصفة مراقبة زراعية .
- (٣) لا توافق على تعيين السيد / منصور محمد مولى - لكون لومته كردية حسب احصاء ١٩٧٢ .
- (٤) لا توافق على تعيين الانسة / سميرة ابراهيم حسن . لكون لومتها تركمانية حسب احصاء ١٩٧٢ .
- (٥) لا توافق على تعيين الانسة / سهام علي عبدالله . لكون لومتها تركمانية حسب احصاء ١٩٧٢ .



**To: The Northern Petroleum Company/Headquarter of Kirkuk Health Authority**

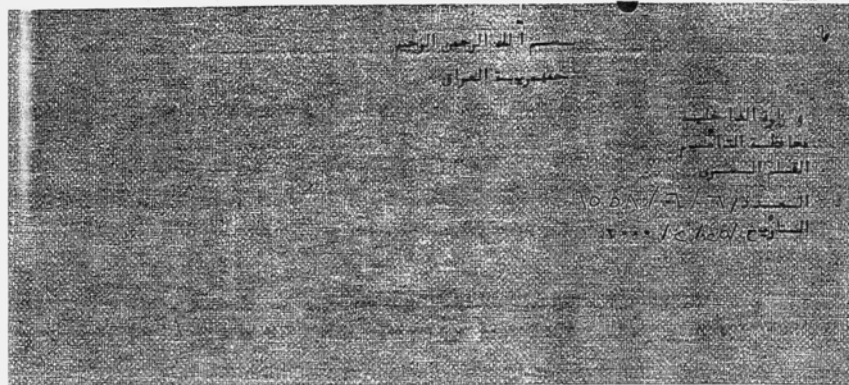
**Subject: National Identity Amendment**

According to the instruction received from the central Committee, which was issued to us from the Ministry of Internal Affairs document number 2839 dated on the 15/2/2000 and was instructed to us on the document number 8/4/2438 dated the 22/2/2000. The following instruction should be implemented commencing the 1/3/2000 to 1/4/2000.

1. Inform the entire Turkmen and Kurdish employees in your department to amend their ethnic national identity and send a copy of the amended letter to the Birth Certificate Registry Office.
2. Punish and take severe action against any one who ever fails to amend his ethnic National Identity after 1/4/2000 and ration vouchers shall be removed. Moreover demote them from their position, cease their bonus, and stop their yearly increment.
3. The above instruction shall not include the Assyrians, Christian, Armenian and non-believers.
4. To inform us of the outcome on a weekly basis

**Hikmet Tahir Khalid**  
**Confidential Office**

**DOCUMENT [21]**



وزارة الداخلية  
محافظة التاميم  
العدد /  
التاريخ /

الى - شركة نفط الشمال  
رئاسة صحة التاميم

م - تصحيح القومية

تنفيذا للتوجيهات المركزية الصادرة من وزارة الداخلية الرقم ٢٨٣٩ في ٢٠٠٠ / ٢ / ١٥ و الملجأ التاميم  
المكتب الخاص بالموافقة / المحافظة . والرقم ٢٤٣٨ / ٤ / ٨ في ٢٠٠٠ / ٢ / ٢٢ . يجب تنفيذ ما يلي واعتبارا  
من ٢٠٠٠ / ٣ / ١ لغاية ٢٠٠٠ / ٤ / ١ .

- ١ - تبليغ كافة منتسبي دوائركم من أبناء القوميات الكردية و التركمانية بتصحيح قومياتهم وفق الضوابط الخاصة  
و تأشير ذلك في سجلات الاحوال المدنية . و ارسال نسخة من الكتاب الى القلم المسرى بالمحافظة .
- ٢ - اتخاذ الاجراءات الصارمة بحق المحتملين عن التصحيح بعد ٢٠٠٠ / ٤ / ١ . و سحب البطاقة التعريفية  
للمواد الغذائية منهم . و ابلاغهم بذلك رسميا عن طريق اجراء ندوات مسموعة بهذا الخصوص . و اخيرا  
نقلهم الى المناطق النائية . و تنزيل مناصبهم الادارية . مع إيقاف العلاوات و الترفيعات السنوية و المحفزات  
و المنحصرات المهنية و الخطورة بحقهم . و اخلائهم من الدور الحكومية خلال مدة ( ثلاثون ) يوما .
- ٣ - قرار التصحيح لايشمل الكردان و الصيحيين و الارمن و البوذيين .
- ٤ - اعلامنا عن طريق ارسال التقارير الاسبوعية .

حكمت طاهر خالدة  
القلم المسرى

نسخة الى :  
= مكتب السيد المحافظ المحترم - امركم الملجأ التاميم بكتابكم الرقم ٢٤٣٨ / ٤ / ٨ في ٢٠٠٠ / ٢ / ٢٢  
= مديرية احوال التاميم - لتسهيل معاملات التصحيح و مراعاة الفقرة عاشرًا من التوجيهات الخاصة للسيد  
المحافظ .

- = مديرية احوال التاميم
- = مديرية بلدية التاميم
- = مديرية مياه و مجاري التاميم
- = مديرية عقارات الدولة / التاميم
- = مديرية طرق التاميم

لغرض الاطلاع  
اعمال

وثيقة رقم ( 68 )

- = كافة شعب و اقسام الديوان
- = شركة غاز الشمال
- = مديرية زراعة التاميم
- = مديرية مائيلو التاميم
- = مديرية التسجيل العقاري / التاميم
- = مديرية الدخل / التاميم
- = مشروع رى صدام
- = مشروع رى التاميم
- = مديرية الجنسية و الاحوال / التاميم
- = المصرف العقاري / التاميم

**Republic of Iraq**

**Ministry of Internal Affairs  
Kirkuk Governate**

**Issue: 6213  
Date: 9/11/1997**

**To/ Director of the Northern Petroleum Company  
Subject/ Transfer of workers and staff**

According to the received legislation from the Presidency Palace number 5624-dated 10/6/1996 and also with reference to the document of the Ministry of Internal Affairs number 12-894, which is, dated 28/9/1997. After careful investigation of the files of the enclosed employees. The ministry of internal affairs transfers employees on the list for being a Turkmen. The transfer should be carried out within 10 days and shall be evicted from the governmental buildings with 30 days. A waiting your response.

No	Name	Current address	Transferred to
1	Yadaallah Hamid Abbas	Health Service	Water & Sewage
2	Riza Sabir Jamil	Civil service	Water & Sewage
3	Akram Fazil Mahmud	Civil service	Water & Sewage
4	Hashim Habib Khatan	Civil service	Kirkuk Council
5	Mohammed Abdullah Sabir	Civil service	Kirkuk Council
6	Aydin Kamil Nueman	Driver/N.Petrolume Co.	Kirkuk Council
7	Hussein Showket Gazi	Driver Admin	Kirkuk Council
8	MoayedMohammed Ameen	Electrical Engineer	Post office and communication office

**General  
Ayad Futayieh Khalefa Alrawi  
Kirkuk Governor**

**DOCUMENT [22]**





جمهورية العراق

وزارة الداخلية

محافظة التميم

المحافظة الاولى / مكتب السيد المحافظ

العدد: ٢٤١٢  
التاريخ: ١١/٩/١٩٩٧

الى / مديرية شركة نفط الشمال  
الموضوع / نقل الموظفين والعمال

استنادا الى كتاب ديوان رئاسة الجمهورية المرقم ٥٦٢٤ فر. ١٠ / ٦ / ١٩٩٦ وكتاب وزارة الداخلية المرقم ١٢-٨٩٤٠ في ٢٨ / ٩ / ١٩٩٧ وبعد تدقيق اصابهم منسوبي مديريتهم وملاحظاتهم حولهم تم مناشرة وزارة الداخلية ووافقت بموجب الامر الوزاري ٣٨٥١ في ٢ / ١١ / ١٩٩٧ على نقل ملاكات الموظفين والعمال المدرجة اسمائهم ادناه الى ملاكات البزارات الاخرى بنفس الدرجة لكونهم من الالة التركمانية وانفكاكهم خلال فترة ايام واخلاصهم من الدور الحكومية خلال شهر واعلامنا

ت	الاسم الثلاثي	العنوان الحالي	العنوان المقبول اليه
١	يبدالله حميد عباس	موظف / قسم الصحة	مديرية الماء والمجارى / التميم
٢	رضا صابر جبريل	موظف / قسم المراقبة	مديرية الماء والمجارى / التميم
٣	اكرم فاضل محمود	موظف / قسم الادارة	مديرية الماء والمجارى / التميم
٤	هاشم حميد محمد طاهر	موظف / قسم الادارة	مديرية بلدية / التميم
٥	محمد مهدي عابدين	موظف / قسم التفتيش	مديرية بلدية / التميم
٦	ايمن جابر نعمان	سائق / غاز الشمال	مديرية بلدية / التميم
٧	حسين شريك غازي	سائق / الادارة	مديرية بلدية / التميم
٨	محمد محمد محمد امين	مهندس كهربائي	مديرية الاتصالات البريد والهاتف

نسخة منه الى /

١- وزارة الداخلية امركم الوزاري المرقم ٣٨٥١ في ٢ / ١١ / ١٩٩٧

٢- وزارة النفط ... سوف تعلمكم باثر انفكاكهم

٣- مديرية الماء والمجارى / التميم

٤- مديرية بلدية / التميم

٥- مديرية الاتصالات / التميم

اعلاما تاريخ مباحثتهم

المدير العام  
اباد فهد خليفة الراوي  
محافظة التميم

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