

**THE IRAQI TURKMEN
(1921-2005)**

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by

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ABSTRACT

THE IRAQI TURKMEN (1921-2005)

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This thesis evaluates the situation of the Iraqi Turkmen between 1921-2005 in terms of the important developments in Iraq. The Iraqi Turkmen could not organize politically due to the oppressive Iraqi regimes in the period between 1921-1991. They started to carry out political activities openly after the Gulf War II in Northern Iraq. The Turkmen who are the third largest ethnic population in Iraq, pursue the policy of keeping the integrity of Iraqi territory, enjoying the same equal rights as the other ethnic groups and being a founding member in the constitution. The Turkmen are still maintaining their political activities to prove their existence in Iraq even in 2005. Turkey has defended the idea that the Turkmen should have the same political, social and cultural rights as the other ethnic groups in Iraq. The future of Kirkuk where the Turkmen live would be a model for Iraq or the start of serious conflicts.

Keywords: Iraqi Turkmen, Iraqi Turkmen Front, Iraq, Kirkuk, KDP, PUK, Turkmeneli

ÖZET

IRAK TÜRKMENLERİ (1921-2005)

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Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

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Bu çalışma, 1921-2005 arasındaki tarihsel süreçte Irak Türkmenlerinin durumlarını, Irak'ta meydana gelen önemli gelişmeler ışığında incelemiştir. Irak Türkmenleri 1921-1991 arası dönemde Irak yönetimlerinin baskıcı tutumları neticesinde Irak içinde siyasi açıdan örgütlenememişlerdir. Irak Türkmenleri politik mücadelelerine aleni olarak II. Körfez savaşı (1991) sonrası K. Irak bölgesinde başlamışlardır. Irak içerisinde üçüncü büyük etnik nüfusa sahip Irak Türkmenleri bu çerçevede Irak'ın toprak bütünlüğünü, diğer etnik gruplarla eşit haklara sahip olma ve anayasada kurucu halk statüsünde olmaları gerektiği tezini savunmaktadırlar. Türkmenler 2005 yılına geldiğimiz şu sıralar Irak'taki varlıklarını ispat etme gayesi ile siyasi mücadelelerine devam etmektedir. Türkiye'nin Irak Türkmenleri ile ilgili ana politikasını Irak'taki diğer etnik gruplar gibi Türkmenlerinde eşit siyasi, sosyal ve kültürel haklara sahip olması oluşturmaktadır. Türkmenlerin yoğun olarak yaşadıkları Kerkük bölgesinin gelecekteki durumu Irak için bir model teşkil edebileceği gibi, problemin başlangıcı olabilecek durumdadır

Anahtar Kelimeler: Irak Türkmenleri, Irak Türkmen Cephesi, Irak, Kerkük, KDP, KYB, Türkmeneli.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPA	: Coalition Provisional Authority
EC	: European Cummunity
ITF	: Iraqi Turkmen Front
INC	: Iraq National Congress
INTP	: Iraqi National Turkmen Party
KDP	: Kurdistan Democratic Party
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	: Nongovernmental Organizations
LoN	: League of Nations
PMF	: Peace Monitoring Force
PUK	: Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
TA	: Transitional Administration
TBA	: Turkmen Brotherhood Association
TIB	: Turkmen Islam Union
TIM	: Turkmen Independence Movement
UN	: United Nations
UNSC	: United Nations Security Council
U.S.	: United States

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the determinants of Turkey's Foreign Policy towards Iraq¹ "*The Iraqi Turkmen*"² is on the agenda of Turkish Foreign policy partly after Gulf War II, but entirely after the Iraqi War of 2003. Besides, Turkish public became familiar with the subject of "*Iraqi Turkmen*" after the Iraqi War of 2003. News and articles were written in press, TV programs were broadcasted, panels and conferences were held in academic fora about them.

This thesis aims to analyze the situation of Iraqi Turkmen between 1921-2005. The other objective of this thesis is to examine Turkey's policy towards the Turkmen to make the subject more understandable. The chronology of this thesis seems long; however, understanding the current situation of the Turkmen requires it to be examined within this period.

The significance of this study arises from the fact that Iraqi Turkmen have a different position in Iraq where the ethnic identities are problematic. The Turkmen have been loyal to their country in Iraq since it was founded. They have supported the idea of the territorial integrity of Iraq and have maintained the political struggle

¹ Turkey-Iraq relations has changed periodically since the foundation of Iraq state, however the determinants of this relation depended on developments in the Middle East, the security concerns of Turkey (PKK and status of N.Iraq), Water Issue, Economic reasons and the situation of the Turkmen.

² Iraqi Turks were called "Iraqi Turkmen" both during the Lausanne negotiations by the British and after the 1958 coup by the Qasim government. The underlying reason for that was to imply that Iraqi Turks were different from Anatolian Turks. During the Lausanne Conference, Ismet Inonu, the lead of Turkish Delagation, stated that this did not fit the realities. The Word "Turkmen" was initialized after the 1958 coup among the Turkmen, as it refers to the Oghuz who accepted Islam. Therefore, the word "Iraqi Turkmen" instead of "Iraqi Turks" will be used in this thesis.

to get their rights under Iraq during every period even when ethnic nationalism has been rampant.

Kirkuk, which has a considerable Turkmen population, is on the world agenda since Kurdish groups made some attempts to annex it to Kurdish autonomous territory after the Iraqi War of 2003. Even Coalition Authorities have anxieties about ethnic conflicts in Iraq which may be triggered from Kirkuk. Neighbouring countries of Iraq have cautioned the Kurdish groups about their attempts. For instance, Turkey perceives these attempts as a threat to its security, because the possible establishment of a “Kurdish state” in the region could well produce instability in Turkey as well as in Iraq’s other neighbors. The Turkmen, who were exposed to the Arabization policies by the Pan-Arab regimes in Iraq, now, are faced with Kurdification policies along with human rights abuses.

The thesis has three main Chapters. The years which are the turning points or determinants for the Turkmen are taken into consideration during the periodization of these periods. These dates are; the establishment of the Kingdom of Iraq in 1921, the establishment of the No-Fly zone after Gulf War II in 1991 and the Iraqi War in 2003.

In the second Chapter, the origins, settlement areas and the population of the Turkmen will be described and then the society between 1921-1991 will be examined within the Mandate-Kingdom period as well as the Republican period. In the republican era, Qasim, Aref Brothers and Baas regime periods will be analyzed. The Kirkuk massacre during Qasim’s rule which has not been forgotten by the Turkmen will also be examined.

In the third Chapter, “*the Turkmen between 1991-2003*” the process towards establishing No-Fly Zone in Northern Iraq, the Turkmen both under No Fly-zone and Baas regime will be examined, and their political movements due to acceleration in that period, and Turkey’s policy towards Turkmen will be analyzed.

In the fourth Chapter, “*The Turkmen between 2003- May 2005*”, the political situation of Iraqi Turkmen, Kirkuk Issue, and Turkey’s policy towards the Turkmen will be analyzed. In the conclusion part, a concise overall evaluation will be presented and projections will be made on subject.

The methodology used in this study is descriptive. This study heavily relies on secondary sources mostly in Turkish, and a few in English in the form of articles, books, encyclopedia, and TV programs. It is useful to express that sources in foreign languages are hard to be found about Turkmen. This may be explained by the fact that the subject may not be attractive to foreign researchers. During the research period, it was useful to interview the Turkmen who had migrated from different Iraqi cities to Turkey for different reasons, and had witnessed important events.

CHAPTER II

THE IRAQI TURKMEN BETWEEN 1921 and 1991

2.1 The Iraqi Turkmen

2.1.1 Origins

The Turkmen are the Oghuz who migrated from Central Asia to Iraq. According to many researchers, they were named Turkmen after choosing Islam. The Turkmen migrated because of many various political situations at different times and chose Iraq as their motherland. The immigration of the Turkmen to Iraq occurred in different and consecutive times. Namely, during Amawi, Abbasid, Buveyh, Seljuk, Celayirli, Ilhanlı, Safawi and Ottoman periods.³ The Turkmen founded some states and princedoms in Iraq. These were Iraqi Seljuks, the state of Atabegs(feudal city states); Mosul Atabeg(Zengees), Arbil Atabeg, Kirkuk Turkmen Kipchak Princedom, Ilhanlı, Celair, Karakoyunlu and Akkoyunlu states.⁴

The first period of the Turkmen settling in Iraq goes back to year 54 of the Hegira. This period began when the Amawian commander Ubaydul'Lah Bin Ziyad settled 2000 Turkmen in Basrah.⁵ In addition, Abbasids also took advantage of the power and skills of the Turkmen in battles and conflicts. Especially, because the

³ Nilüfer Bayatlı, "Irak Tarihinde Türkmenler-Turkmen in Iraq History", *Türk Yurdu*, (January 1993), pp.6-9., Suphi Saatçi, *Tarihten Günümüze Irak Türkmenleri (Iraqi Turkmen from Past to Present)*, (İstanbul:Ötüken Neşriyat, 2003), pp.20-79.

⁴ Ekrem Pamukçu and Habib Hürmüzlü, *Irak'ta Türkmen Boy ve Oymakları(Turkmen clans and nomadic tribes in Iraq)*, (Ankara:Global Strateji Enstitüsü, 2005), pp.11-17.

⁵ Şevket Koçsoy, *Irak Türkleri (Iraqi Turks)*, (İstanbul:Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1991), pp.125-126.

Caliph el-Mutasım had great trust in the Turkmen, immigrations never ceased. It can be said that this first period laid the groundwork from the point of creating a convenient atmosphere and the Turkmen felt comfortable settling in this country. The second and the most important period occurred with unceasing immigrations in the Seljuk period (1071-1299 AD) after Sultan Tuğrul Beg had entered Baghdad and took the reign from Abbasids on 25 January 1055. The third period of Turkmen settling in Iraq occurred in the time of Ottoman Empire. Crowded groups of Turkmen joined previous settlers in Iraq in 1535, during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, and in 1638, during the reign of Sultan Murad IV.⁶

2.1.2 Settlement Areas

Iraqi Turkmen live in the area extending from northwest to southeast of Iraq, which they call Turkmeneli⁷ as the strip between Kurdish and Arab people. They live in Mosul-Yunus Prophet, Arbil, Altunkopru, Kirkuk, Tazehurmatu, Kifri, Karatepe, Kızılarbat, Hanekin, Mendeli, Bedre and Sahraban regions towards the east and southeast starting from the town of Telafar in the west of Mosul and the villages around it.⁸ In addition, 50 thousand Turkmen families reside in Baghdad. Areas in which the Turkmen live are limited within the boundaries of Mosul, Arbil, Kirkük, Diala and Selahaddin provinces⁹. The settlement areas of the Turkmen in Iraq are on the itinerary of postal service road constructed between Istanbul and Baghdad.¹⁰

The areas in which the Turkmen live intensively are important because these lands include the Kirkuk oil wells, the richest and highest quality oil in both Iraq and

⁶ Erşat Hürmüzlü, *Türkmenler ve Irak (Turkmen and Iraq)*, (İstanbul:Kerkük Vakfı, 2003), pp.12-14.

⁷ See Appendix A, for Turkmeneli Map.

⁸ Güçlü Demirci, "Irak Türklerinin Demografik Yapısı-Demografic Structure of Iraqi Turks", in *Türkler Ansiklopedisi(Encyclopedia of Turks)*, (Ankara:Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), Volume:20, p.614.

⁹ See Appendix B, for Administrative Divisions of Iraq.

¹⁰ İzzeddin Kerkük, *Haşim Nahit Erbil ve Irak Türkleri(Hasim Nahit Erbil and Iraqi Turks)*, (İstanbul:Kerkük Vakfı, 2004), p.47.

the world; they are the granary of Iraq because they do not have irrigation problems; they function as a kind of buffer zone between Arab and Kurdish settlements; they have wide agricultural lands and a gentle climate¹¹; and they have rich mines such as sulfur, uranium and phosphorus.¹²

2.1.3 Population

There are three different estimates about the population of the Turkmen in Iraq whose population is estimated to be approximately 24 million.¹³ While this number changes between 10% and 15% relatively within the overall population of Iraq according to Turkmen researchers, it is regarded as less than 5% according to official Iraqi and western resources. In addition, Kurdish researchers are currently trying to acquire political advantages by stating that more Kurdish people live in Northern Iraq numerically based on statistical information provided by Iraqi authorities.¹⁴

Only the 1957 census among the censuses in 1927, 1934, 1947, 1957, 1965, 1977 and 1987¹⁵ held was based on the ethnic structure of communities in Iraq. It was found out that 567.000 of the 6.3 million of Iraq's population were Turkmen according to the results of the census announced in 1959.¹⁶ Turkmen resources calculate the Turkmen population by making projections for today based on this census.

¹¹ Mustafa Kayar, *Türk Amerikan İlişkilerinde Irak Sorunu(Iraq Issue in the Turkish-American Relations)*, (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2003), pp.99-100.

¹² Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, *Brief History of Iraqi Turkmen* (İstanbul:Yıldız Yayıncılık, 2004), p.83.

¹³ Suphi Saatçi, "Irak'ın yapılanması ve Türkmenler-The construction of Iraq and Turkmens" in Ali Ahmetoğlu, Hayrullah Cengiz, Yahya Başkan (ed.), *Irak Dosyası(Iraq File)*, (İstanbul:TATAV, 2003), p.136.

¹⁴ H.Tarık Oğuzlu, *The Turcomans of Iraq as a Factor in Turkish Foreign Policy:Socio-Political and Demographic Perspectives*, (Ankara:Dış Politika Enstitüsü, 2001), pp.5-13.

¹⁵ Ziyat Köprülü, *Irak'ta Türk Varlığı(The Existence of Turks in Iraq)*, (Ankara,1996), pp.6-7.

¹⁶İbrahim Sirkeci, "Turkmen in Iraq and International Migration of Turkmen", A report for Global Strategy Institute, Ankara, Turkey, January 2005., Zubaida Umar, "The Forgotten Minority of Iraq", *Inquiry*(London), February 1987, p.37.

In the statistical information provided by Iraqi authorities, the Turkmen has been shown as 2% of the overall population because of political reasons. Therefore, foreign researchers take this resource as a base in their publications and encyclopedias.¹⁷ It is stated in Kurdish resources, based on statistical information given by the Iraqi government, that the Turkmen population is 2.6 % according to the census in 1957 and that this rate was reduced to 1.15 % in the 1977 census.¹⁸

It is estimated that the rate of Shiite Turkmen constitutes %32 of the Turkmen population in Iraq.¹⁹ The Shiite Turkmen live intensively around Mosul, in the towns and villages on the Kirkuk-Baghdad route, particularly in Tavuq and Tuzhurmatu regions.²⁰ Besides, there is a small number of Christian Turkmen who live among the Iraqi Turkmen.²¹ It seems impossible to reach precise results of the ethnic and religious distribution of communities in Iraq unless an objective census under the auspices of international observers is held. Nonetheless, a short history of the Turkmen is in order.

2.2 The Period of Mandate and Kingdom (1920-1958)

The provinces of Basrah, Baghdad and Mosul which were the center of rivalry between the British and Germans as of late 19. century came under British rule as a result of the defeat of Ottoman Empire in World War One. The political advantages Britain acquired by taking possession of Iraq were clearing off threats

¹⁷ Ersin Güngördü, "Irak'ta Siyasi Coğrafya ve Türkler-Political Geography in Iraq and Turks", *Kerkük*, (April 1992), pp.3-5.

¹⁸ Nuri Talabani, *Kerkük Bölgesinin Araplaştırılması (Arabization of Kirkuk Region)*, (İstanbul: Avesta Yayınları, 2005), pp.21-22.

¹⁹ Güçlü Demirci, "Irak'taki Türkler-Turks in Iraq" in Ali Ahmetoğlu, Hayrullah Cengiz, Yahya Başkan (ed.), *Irak Dosyası (Iraq File)*, (İstanbul: TATAV, 2003), p.103.

²⁰ Suphi Saatçi, "Irak'ın yapılanması ve Türkmenler-The construction of Iraq and Turkmens" in Ali Ahmetoğlu, Hayrullah Cengiz, Yahya Başkan (ed.), *Irak Dosyası (Iraq File)*, (İstanbul: TATAV, 2003), p.136.

²¹ Enver Yakupoğlu, *Irak Türkleri (Iraqi Turks)*, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1976), p.68.

against the route to India that could come over Iraq, taking the Abadan oil site in the southeast Iran under protection, and taking possession of energy resources upon the navy's conversion to oil instead of coal energy by 1900.²²

The provinces of Mosul and Kirkuk in which Turkmen resided were part of the Ottoman Empire during the signing of the Mondros Armistice on 30 October 1918. The British occupied the region on 3 December 1918, based on article seven of the agreement,²³ in spite of the fact that the armistice clearly stated that all forces keep to their positions at the time of signing the armistice. So, official Turkish existence in Iraq, ruled by the Ottoman Empire by the end of the First World War came to an end.

The northern part of Iraq was left to French authority in accordance with the Sykes-Picot agreement signed in May 1916 between England and France just while World War One continued.²⁴ However, in the San Remo Conference on April 24, 1920, France waived its claims on Mosul in return for receiving 25 % share of Mosul oil revenues and Britain's evacuation of Syria. So, London acquired the mandate authority of Iraq, including Mosul.²⁵

A meeting was held by the British Middle Eastern experts, in March 1921 in Cairo as a consequence of insurgencies²⁶ against the British that started in 1920 in both southern and northern regions of the country. At the end of the meeting, it was decided that an Arab government would be established in the form of a constitutional monarchy in Iraq and Amir Faisal, a member of the Arab Hashmite dynasty and

²² *Birinci Dünya Harbinde Türk Harbi, Irak-Iran Cephesi:1914-1918*, III.Cilt(Turkish War in First World War, Iraq-Iran Front 1914-1918, Volume III), (Ankara:Gn.Kur Basımevi, 1979), p.19.

²³ Article seven of Moudros Armistice was "The Allies to have the right to occupy an strategic points in the events of a situation arising which threatens the security of the allies."

²⁴ *Tayyar Arı, Geçmişten Günümüze Ortadoğu, Siyaset, Savaş ve Diplomasi(From Past To Present Middle East, Politics, War and Diplomacy)*, (İstanbul:Alfa Yayın, 2004), p.136.

²⁵ Ercüment Kuran, "Musul Meselesi (1515-1926)-Mosul Issue (1515-1926)", in Mahir Nakip and Ziyad Köprülü (ed). *Irak Türkleri Sempozyumu (Symposium on Iraqi Turkmen)*, (Ankara:1987).

²⁶ The Turkmen joined the 1920 rebellion against British Troops, The heroism of Telafer Turkmen is remembered in the Kaçakaç epic.

Britain's old comrade-in arms, would be made king. Amir Faisal was installed as king of Iraq on August 23, 1921, according to the result of a referendum. The British claimed that %96 of the Iraqi people chose Faisal I as king.²⁷

2.2.1. The Mosul Issue

The region comprising Kirkuk, Mosul, Arbil and Suleymaniyah today which used to be Mosul Vilayeti in the past has been recorded as the Mosul issue in the literature because of debates after World War One, when a diplomatic struggle took place between Turkey and Britain about the region. There had been some negotiations about reaching a solution about the Mosul issue in the peace conference held in Lausanne, and they constituted one of the most difficult parts of the Lausanne Conference. The Mosul issue was discussed in two sessions, on January 23, 1923. The British delegation lead by Lord Curzon²⁸ argued persistently for the Mosul district, which was still under British occupation, to remain within the boundaries of Iraq. The British delegation claimed the followings during the negotiations:²⁹

- The Mosul Issue was a matter of determining a frontier line and there was no need to hold a plebiscite which the Turkish delegation had offered, in the region. According to the British, Kurds and Arabs had never asked for a plebiscite; besides, they did not even know what really it meant.
- With the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922, both Britain and Iraq had undertaken the responsibility of protecting the territorial integrity of the land of Iraq.

²⁷ Mim Kemal Öke, *Musul Kerkük Dosyası (Mosul Kirkuk File)*, (İstanbul, Türk Dünyası Araştırma Vakfı Yayınları, 1991), p.33.

²⁸ Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary was the president of conference.

²⁹ Kemal Melek, *İngiliz Belgeleriyle Musul Sorunu (1890-1926)*, (*Mosul Issue with British Documents (1890-1926)*), (İstanbul:Üçdal Neşriyat, 1983), p.42.

Britain therefore could not withdraw from Mosul due to its commitments to Arabs, the people of Iraq and League of Nations.³⁰

- Based on British statistics³¹, the British asserted that most of the people of Mosul were Arab and Kurdish and Mosul could not be given to Turkey on the basis of its Turkish population, which composed only 1/12 of the entire Mosul population.

- Kurds were of Persian origin and they did not support Turks during WWI.

- All the economic relationships of the Mosul Province were with Syria and Iraq.

- Mosul could not be left to Turkey because of the Christian minority living in Mosul.

- If Turkey took Mosul, the Turkish border would only be 60 km. away from Baghdad, which would put Iraq's security in danger.

- Mosul was captured during the war between Turkey and Britain: consequently, Britain had the right of conquest over the Mosul province. When the armistice was signed, the important Turkish towns of the provinces such as a Kirkuk and Altunkopru had already been occupied. The city of Mosul was occupied after the armistice was signed because the information that the armistice was signed had reached the front late.³² Furthermore, British said that the armistice contained several decrees which made the occupation possible, and that a war ends not with an armistice but a peace treaty. Furthermore, the British added that there was not any connection to oil and the British case.

³⁰ Henry A.Foster, *The making for modern Iraq* (Oklahoma:University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), pp.143-146.

³¹ According to British statistics; the population of Mosul was composed of 66000 Turks, 455.000 Kurds, 186.000 Arabs, 62000 Christians and 17.000 Jews and totally 78600.

³² İlhan Ş. Kaymaz, *Musul Sorunu (Mosul Issue)*, (İstanbul: Otopsi Yayınları, 2003) pp.274-275.

The Turkish delegation³³ explained Ankara's thesis regarding Mosul, which was included in the boundaries of the National Oath (Misak-ı Milli) within ethnographic, political, historical, geographical economic, military-strategic frameworks.³⁴

- Ethnographic: According to Turkish statistics, the population of Mosul province was approximately 503.000. In addition, there were about 170.000 Turkish, Kurdish and Arab migrant tribes. Because these tribes changed their places from season to season, it was impossible to calculate their exact number. According to the Turks, the sandjaks of Mosul, Kirkuk and Suleymaniyah were mostly populated by Kurds and Turks and the number of Arabs was very few. The Kurds were not different from Turks in terms of race, religion and tradition. Turks responded to the British claim that Kurds were of Persian origin by stating that Kurds were Turanian in race.

- Political reasons: The annexation of Mosul to Iraq was not possible since the Arabs are in the minority; it was not true that Kurds do not want to live together with Turks; British troops occupied Mosul after the Mudros Armistice was signed in violation of it; Turkey did not believe that there was a necessity for British mandate in Iraq. In addition, there was no legal basis for the treaties which aim to establish a mandate in Iraq, because it has been a part of Ottoman Empire.

- Historical reasons: Turks asserted that Mosul had remained under Turkish sovereignty since the 11th century.

- Geographical-Economic Reasons: Turks claimed that Mosul was part of Anatolia in view of both its climate and the structure of its land. In terms of

³³ The leading person of Turkish delegation was İsmet İnönü, Foreign Minister, the other two members were Dr. Rıza Nur, the Minister of Health and Hasan Bey, the Minister of Finance.

³⁴ Kemal Melek, *op.cit.* pp.34-35.

economics, the Mosul province had become more dependent on Anatolia than on Iraq because of the railway line that connected Mosul to the Mediterranean. Mosul was more dependent on products coming from Turkey than that of Iraq.

- **Military and Strategic Reasons:** Turks opposed the British claim that the boundary suggested by Turkey, 60 miles from Baghdad, would constitute a threat to Iraq. Turks supported this view by pointing out that the capitals of many countries were located close to boundaries. Furthermore, Turks claimed that Turks and Arabs who had lived together peacefully for centuries would never attack each other.

It was understood that there were significant contradictions between the claims of Ankara and London. When the Mosul issue began to impede the conference, parties decided to postpone the resolution of the problem until after the conference. Pursuant to article 3 and paragraph 2 of the Lausanne Peace Agreement, signed on July 24, 1923, the boundary between Turkey and Iraq would be designated free of dispute between Turkey and Great Britain for nine months. In case of a dispute between the two governments at this time, the dispute would be presented to the League of Nations (LoN). While waiting the decision about the boundaries, no military activities would be carried out that could cause a change in the current situation of the region.³⁵

Halic Conference was held in Istanbul on May 19-June 5, between the Turkish and British delegations.³⁶ The Turkish delegation demanded a boundary including the cities of Suleymaniyah, Kirkuk and Mosul. In return for this, a joint corporation in the Mosul petroluem would be offered to Britain. The Turkish delegation particularly emphasized Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood and the very fact

³⁵ İsmail Soysal, *Tarihçe ve Açıklamaları ile birlikte Türkiye'nin Siyasal Antlaşmaları(Political Agreements of Turkey with History and Explanations)*, (Ankara:TTK, 1983), Volume I, p.87.

³⁶ During Halic Conference, the head of the British delegation was Sir Percy Cox, the British High Commissioner in Iraq until September 5, 1923, and the head of the Turkish delegation was Fethi Okyar, president of the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

that the majority of the Mosul province was composed Kurds and Turks. The British delegation, in return, argued the problem of the future of Nestorian Christians. British not only demanded the province of Mosul, but also the villages of Beytüşşebap, Çölemerik, and Revandiz, which were within the borders of Hakkari at that time, for the Nestorian Christians, who had migrated to Iraq.³⁷ It was understood that there were significant contradiction between the claims of the two governments. The British tried to prevent the problem from being resolved and tried it to be negotiated in the LoN. The Halic Conference could not reach a solution and ended on June 5, 1924³⁸. The Mosul issue was handled in the Council Meeting of the LoN on September 20, 1924 upon London's application. The two governments' arguments differed little from those made at Lausanne. Britain still argued for delimitation of a frontier line and Turkey for the whole provinces. The Turks still referred to themselves and the Kurds of Mosul as a unit, constituting a majority. Turkey defended the view that the most appropriate course of action was to apply a plebiscite in the Mosul province, but Britain claimed that the LoN's duty was only to draw a border between Iraq and Turkey.

The British demanded that a commission composed of impartial persons should be established. LoN made the decision that a commission would be established in order to find out the wishes of the people in Mosul, to collect information by negotiating with the Turkish, Iraqi and British authorities and to prepare reports in light of this information. In addition, some members from Turkey and Britain would be appointed to help and counsel the commission. The

³⁷ Mim Kemal Öke, *Musul Meselesi Kronolojisi(1918-1926) (Cronology of Mosul Issue (1918-1926))*, (İstanbul:Türk Dünyası Araştırma Vakfı,1987), pp.130-131.

³⁸ Ercüment Kuran, "Musul Meselesi (1515-1926)-Mosul Issue (1515-1926)", in Mahir Nakip and Ziyad Köprülü (ed). *Irak Türkleri Sempozyumu (Symposium on Iraqi Turkmen)*, (Ankara:1987).

commission³⁹ in question was established on September 30, 1924. The commission started its work on January 16, 1925, and was directed by the British in Iraq throughout its work. The commission proposed in the report it presented to the Council in September 1925 that Mosul should be ruled under British mandate for 25 years, and that the border between Turkey and Iraq should be the line which had been drawn in Brussels. As a result of Turkey's objections, advisory opinion was requested from the Permanent Court of International Justice on September 19, 1925. Upon the negative decision made by the aforementioned Court, the Council of LoN decided, by considering the opinions of the Inquiry Commission and the Court in the meeting on December 16, 1925 in which the Turkish committee did not participate, that the border between Turkey and Iraq would be the Brussels line⁴⁰ and that Mosul would be placed in Iraq under British mandate due to a new agreement between Baghdad and London.⁴¹ The Turkish Parliament and public reacted against this decision, yet Turkey chose to reach an agreement with Britain. The reasons why Turkey was obliged to abandon this particular objective of the National Pact may be explained as follows:

- Turkey was still a militarily and diplomatically isolated country. Therefore; Turkey's estrangement from the international arena was an important external factor.
- Turkey had been at war throughout 10 years from 1911 to 1922.

³⁹ The members of the commission were Count Teleki, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, De Wirsén, former Swedish Ambassador to Bucharest, and Colonel Paulis, a Belgian Veteran Officer.

⁴⁰ Brussels Line was determined in November 1924 as a temporary line as a result of Turkey's application to League of Nations because of border clashes. According to Brussels Line, Mosul was left to Iraq while Hakkari was left to Turkey.

⁴¹ For details of Mosul Issue; See Mesut Aydın, *Türkiye ve Irak Hududu Meselesi*(Turkey and Iraq Border Issue), (Ankara:ASAM, 2001), Raif Karadağ, *Musul Raporu*(Mosul Report), (İstanbul:Emre Yayınları, 2003).

- Turkey wanted to repair damages caused by war, commit to a development in peace and stability, and lead itself to modernization by taking advantage of the peaceful atmosphere.
- It was very risky and non-realistic for Turkey to maintain the never-ending conflict and disagreement with Great Britain which was the Great power of the time.⁴²

2.2.1.1 The Ankara Agreement

The Ankara Agreement, signed between the governments of Britain, Turkey and Iraq on June 5, 1926, consists of three parts, Borders, Good Relationships with Neighbors and General provisions, consisting of 18 articles.⁴³ Article four of the agreement makes the decision that the citizenship of residents in the lands given to Iraq shall be regulated pursuant to article 30 and 36 of the Lausanne agreement, and those who reside in the region had been awarded with electoral franchise and the right to transfer freely their residence within 12 months as of the effective date of the agreement. The Turkmen would either migrate to Turkey pursuant to article 31 or use the right to become a national of Iraq within the time appointed in accordance with article 30 of the Lausanne Agreement. A very small number of Turkmen families or individuals took advantage of article 31.⁴⁴

Suphi Saatçi, a Turkmen scholar, stated that one of the crucial weaknesses of the agreement was that no legal guarantees about the Iraqi Turkmen had been included in it, and that Turkey could have played a more active role about the

⁴² “Türk İngiliz Münasebetleri ve Musul Meselesi-Turco-Anglo Relations and Mosul Issue” in *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası(1919-1973)(Turkish Foreign Policy by events)(1919-1973)*, (Ankara:A.Ü.S.B.F Yayınları, Sevinç Matbaası, 1974), p.81.

⁴³ Süleyman Doğan, “Irak’ta Petrol Savaşı ve Türkmenler-Petroluem War in Iraq and Turkmen”, *Kardaşlık*, (January–March 2003), p.17.

⁴⁴ Zubaida Umar, “The Forgotten Minority of Iraq”, *Inquiry*(London), (February 1987), p.39.

massacres and dramas the Iraqi Turkmen suffered in later periods if a guarantee article that would provide sanctions regarding the Iraqi Turkmen had been included in the agreement⁴⁵.

Regarding the 1926 Agreement, Bilal Şimşir, a retired ambassador, emphasized that Turkey laid minority claims to Turks in Western Thrace and in Bulgaria with various agreements, but it did not do the same for the Iraqi Turkmen and he stated that the reason for this can be explained by historical and political factors. In addition, he emphasized that the word “minority” means non- Muslims in Turkey, and it would be an incoherent and contradictional approach for Turkey to acknowledge the Muslim Turkmen as a minority in the 1926 Ankara Agreement, three years after the Lausanne Peace Agreement. Besides, Şimşir stated that the Turkmen nowadays regard themselves as the third essential ethnic element of Iraq after Arabs and Kurds because they had not been regarded as a minority in the 1926 Agreement.⁴⁶

2.2.2 The situation of the Turkmen people in the time of Mandate and Kingdom

The first interim government was established on October 25, 1920, with the prime ministry of Abdurrahman El-Geylani. Izzet Pasha Kerkuklu, a Turkmen, was appointed the Minister of National Education and Health. Kerküklü was appointed as the Minister of Public Works on January 29, 1921 in the second government, but he resigned in April 1922, and no Turkmen has ever been appointed to any ministry after this date.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Suphi Saatçi, “Masum Irak Türkmenleri desteklenmelidir-Oppressed Iraqi Turkmens should be supported”, *Türk Yurdu*, (January 1993), pp.11-14.

⁴⁶ Bilal N.Şimşir, op.cit., pp.72-74.

⁴⁷ Erşat Hürmüzlü, op.cit., p.43.

The Kingdom of Iraq formed its policy based on denial and disposal of the Turkmen as of its establishment. Iraq considered that it could be absorbed by its powerful neighbor, Turkey without British support during the time of Feisal I (1921-1933), and resorted to massacre the Turkmen population and to deny their existence in this country⁴⁸.

The fundamental policy of the decision-makers of the newly founded Iraq was to completely exclude the two main elements of insurgency against the British troops in 1920, the Turkmen and Shiite Arabs, from the system. Also, the policy to ignore the Turkmen in political arena while the disagreement about Kirkuk and Mosul was continuing has been effective.⁴⁹

The Turkmen supported Turkey because of ethnic, religious, historical and political reasons, boycotted the referendum on the election of Feisal I as king of Iraq in 1921⁵⁰, and they held out against the British invasion and British mandate under the auspices of the LoN. A large number of Turkmen officials resigned from their positions for their reactions.⁵¹

With the founding of the state of Iraq, the Turkmen found themselves in an atmosphere that was different from the past in social, economic and political fields. Because of the difficult conditions and limited opportunities they had, it seemed possible for them to refuse the new government certainly, and to hold out against the government consistently. It was not so easy for the Turkmen to comply with the new situation in psychological and historical terms. As a consequence, they felt politically

⁴⁸ Kadir Mısıroğlu, *Musul Meselesi ve Irak Türkleri*(*Mosul Issue and Iraqi Turks*), (İstanbul:Sebil Yayinevi, 1985), p.191.

⁴⁹ Aydın Beyatlı, “Siyasi Konjonktürde Irak Türkmenleri-Iraqi Turkmen in political conjuncture”, *Kerkük*, (November 1998), pp.8-12.

⁵⁰ Nefi Demirci, *Kerkük (Kerkük'ün Siyasi Tarihi)*(*Kirkuk (The Political History of Kirkuk)*), (İstanbul:Detay Ofset, 1986), p.22.

⁵¹ Aziz Kadir Samancı, *Irak Türkmenlerinin Siyasi Tarihi*(*Political History of Iraqi Turkmen*), (London, Dar Al-Asaqi, 1999), p.49.

isolated and became introverted. This situation made their political role weaker and caused the Turkmen to be isolated from the political equations in Iraq.⁵²

On May 4, 1924, the *Teyyari* (Levy)⁵³ forces under the British, carried out a massacre in Kirkuk. As a result of the quarrel with the Teyyari soldiers in the bazaar in Kirkuk, reinforcement troops reached the region, and attacked people with gunfire, and looted workplaces belonging to the Turkmen, and killed activist Turkmen. It was hoped that the growing national awareness among the Turkmen people would be suppressed by massacre.⁵⁴ The reaction of the Turkmen in Kirkuk caused a notification to be given out by H.Dobs, a British Political officer, on May 5, 1924. In accordance with the aforementioned notification, it was decided that the Levies would be transferred to the Suleymaniyah-Chamcamal region immediately, and compensation was paid to those who suffered from the incident.⁵⁵

Hasim Nahit Erbil wrote in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*(Ankara) on August 7, 1925 about the 1924 massacre where he stated that the massacre in Kirkuk, when nationalist consciousness was brewing, had been implemented in order to prevent the Turkmen from acting in favor of Turkey at a period during which the Mosul negotiations were going on.⁵⁶

The first constitution of Iraq was issued by the constituent assembly in Arabic, Turkish and Kurdish, and it entered into force on March 21, 1925. Article 16 of this constitution entitled the Turkmen to provide education in their native

⁵² Ibid., pp.60-61.

⁵³ The Levy was established of Assyrians and was supported by British, and particularly was used during the 1920 rebellion.

⁵⁴ Arshad Al-Hirmizi, *The Turkmen Reality in Iraq*, (İstanbul:Kirkuk Foundation, 2005), p.79.

⁵⁵ Şemsettin Küzeci, *Kerkük Soykırımları(Kirkuk Genocides)*, (Ankara:Teknoed Yayınları, 2004), p. 39.

⁵⁶ İzzeddin Kerkük, *Haşim Nahit Erbil ve Irak Türkleri(Hasim Nahit Erbil and Iraqi Turkmen)*, (İstanbul:Kerkük Vakfı, 2004), p.134.

language. In addition, there was to be no segregation in terms of ethnicity and politics.⁵⁷

Iraqi nationalists opposing the mandate authority politically, organized against Britain and pressed the Iraqi government. As a result of the pressures, Iraq gained its independence with an agreement signed on June 30, 1930. Despite this fact, the benefits of England in the region have not been forgotten.⁵⁸

The Iraqi Turkmen were entitled to certain rights by the Iraqi government in the period when the relationship between Turkey and Iraq was improving. During King Feisal's visit to Turkey on July 8, 1931, the Code of Local Languages (Number: 74) was put into effect. The Turkish dialect which was called Turkmen language by the Iraqi people was recognized as one of the local languages. In accordance with this code, it was accepted that court trials would be carried out in the Turkmen language in some Turkmen regions, primarily Kirkuk and Arbil, and it was decided that education in primary schools would be completely in Turkish in places where Turkmen lived and were in a majority.⁵⁹

One of the two crucial documents acknowledging the existence of Turkmen in Iraq and entitling them some rights was the declaration of the Kingdom of Iraq which was announced under the signature of Nouri Said Pasha, the Prime Minister, upon Iraq's membership to the LoN on May 30, 1932.⁶⁰ It was expressed in article 9 of the declaration that Turkish would be an official language besides Arabic in Kirkuk and Kifri where the Turkmen were in the majority. In addition, it was decided

⁵⁷ Habib Hürmüzlü, "Irak'ın Hukuki Yapısında Türkmenlerin Yeri-The Turkmen in the legal structure of Iraq" in Ali Ahmetoğlu, Hayrullah Cengiz, Yahya Başkan (ed.), *Irak Dosyası(Iraq File)*, (İstanbul:TATAV, 2003), p.128.

⁵⁸ In accordance with the agreement between England and Iraq, Iraq would consult England about foreign policies and common benefits; make available its ports, railways and other facilities to England in case of war; and the English military bases in Iraq would continue their activities

⁵⁹ Bilal N. Şimşir, *Türk Irak İlişkilerinde Türkmenler (Turkmen in Turkey-Iraq Relations)*, (Ankara:Bilgi Yayınevi, 2004), p.40.

⁶⁰ Aydın Beyatlı, "Siyasi Konjonktürde Irak Türkmenleri-Iraqi Turkmen in political conjuncture" *Kerkük*, (November 1998), pp.8-12.

in other paragraphs of this article that the officials employed in this region would be Turkmen and that they were required to speak Turkish language. Furthermore, the Turkmen were entitled to use their language in courts, to carry out activities in press and information in Turkish, as well as in schools, offering education in their native language in places where they were in the majority.⁶¹ The aforementioned rights of the Turkmen, which were regarded as superior to all laws including the constitution, were registered with this declaration, and were recorded in the League of Nations.⁶²

The relationships between Turkey and Iraq improved to a considerable level with the visit King Feisal I to Ankara on July 8, 1931. As a result of this visit, negotiations for new agreements between Turkey and Iraq started. "Regulation, Trade and Residence Agreements" were signed on January 9, 1932 in Ankara. The Residence Agreement was ratified on June 4, 1932 in the Turkish Parliament and put into effect on July 6, 1933. The residence of Turkish nationals in Iraq and the residence of Iraqi nationals' in Turkey, and right to have employment and property for them in both countries were regulated.⁶³ After the residence agreement was put into effect, the relationship with Turkey of some of the Turkmen taking advantage of the agreement became easier. Therefore, visitations between Iraq and Turkey increased, and the Turkmen were entitled to reside, work, carry out trade, acquire property and send their children to schools in Turkey.⁶⁴

It was expressed in article 17 of the 1933 Iraqi Constitution that the official language in Iraq would be Arabic except for circumstances indicated by law. The

⁶¹ For a 1932 Declaration see Suphi Saatçi, *Tarihten Günümüze Irak Türkmenleri (From past to present Iraqi Turkmen)*, (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2003), pp. 200-206.

⁶² Habib Hürmüzlü, "Irak'ın Hukuki Yapısında Türkmenlerin Yeri-The Turkmen in the legal structure of Iraq" in Ali Ahmetoğlu, Hayrullah Cengiz, Yahya Başkan (ed.), *Irak Dosyası(Iraq File)*, (İstanbul:TATAV, 2003), p.130.

⁶³ Yaşar Canatan, *Türk Irak Münasebetleri(1926-1958)(Turkey-Iraq Relations (1926-1958)*, (Ankara: T.C Kültür Bakanlığı Başvuru Kitapları, 1996), pp.44-45.

⁶⁴ Bilal N. Şimşir, op.cit., pp.89-90.

exceptional circumstances were included in the Code of Local Languages, number 74 which was published in 1931.⁶⁵

Although cultural rights of the Turkmen were guaranteed by some laws, education in Turkish was forbidden in the primary schools except for the ones in the Kirkuk city center by the Iraqi Government as of the 1930-1931 academic year. Turkish language courses were reduced to one hour a week and were treated as a foreign language in a few Kirkuk schools. In 1937, the Baghdad government terminated this implementation completely. Furthermore, officials of Turkmen origin were employed in areas outside the Turkmen regions, and officers, soldiers, policemen and gendarmes of Arab and Kurdish origin were appointed persistently to Kirkuk and towns around it.⁶⁶ Between 1936 and 1958, the Turkmen were banned to found associations carrying out social and cultural activities, and to publish in the Turkish language.⁶⁷

The Iraqi government generally took steps in order to carry out the Arabization of the region and to change the ethnic structure as of the 1930s. The government put the Al Huvayca irrigation project into effect in order to settle Arab tribes on the Al Huvayca plain in the southwest of Kirkuk, and distributed the lands in the scope of this project to members of the Al-Ubeyd and Al- Cubur tribes and to members of other Arab tribes.⁶⁸ This period became the beginning of the process of settling Arabs in Kirkuk, which was planned and implemented by both the Kingdom

⁶⁵Güçlü Demirci, "Irak Türklerinin Demografik Yapısı-Demografic Structure of Iraqi Turks", in *Türkler Ansiklopedisi(Encyclopedia of Turks)*, (Ankara:Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), Volume:20, p.613.

⁶⁶Suphi Saatçi, *Tarihi Gelişim İçerisinde Irak'ta Türk Varlığı(The Historical Development of the Turkmen Existence in Iraq)*, (İstanbul:TTT, 1996), pp.204-205.

⁶⁷ Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, *Brief History of Iraqi Turkmen*, (İstanbul, Yıldız Yayıncılık, 2004),p.111.

⁶⁸Nuri Talabani, *Kerkük Bölgesinin Araplaştırılması (Arabization of Kirkuk Region)*, (İstanbul: Avesta Yayınları, 2005), p.33.

and the governments that followed. Meanwhile, lands of the Turkmen were expropriated by the government.⁶⁹

Bilal Şimşir stated that the developments towards the solution of the Hatay issue⁷⁰ worsened the Turkmen situation in Iraq during the time of The Kingdom. The Baghdad government thought that another Hatay would be created in Northern Iraq if the rights of the Turkmen were upheld; therefore, it put pressure on the Turkmen society, and followed the policy of Arabization. The evaluation of the Iraqi government on the Hatay issue was used as an excuse for putting pressure on the Turkmen⁷¹

Italy's policy of expansion to Asia and Africa after 1934 under the leadership of Mussolini⁷² caused Turkey, which thought that the security in the Middle East and Mediterranean were in danger, to look for alliances with eastern states.⁷³ In view of the Italian expansion, Turkey initialized the Pact of Nonaggression with Iraq and Iran on October 2, 1935. This document initialized by three neighboring countries was converted into the Sadabad Pact with the participation of Afghanistan. The pact was signed between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan in the Sadabad Palace in Simran

⁶⁹ Aziz Kadir Samancı, op.cit., p.55.

⁷⁰ Hatay was a province of the Ottoman Empire from 1516 until the end of World War I and was called Sanjak of Alexandretta when it was occupied by France. France kept control of Hatay when it granted Syria independence in 1936. A census conducted by the French Authorities in 1938 on a system devised by the Turkish Government declared that Turks constituted %46 of the population and were thus the dominant ethnic group in the sanjak in 1939, Hatay's population strongly endorsed the transfer to Turkey in a referendum in which they voted overwhelmingly in favor of becoming part of Turkey. As a result, Hatay joined Turkey through a process of self-determination. Turkey achieved to solve the Hatay issue through diplomacy by using the revisionist-anti revisionist struggles in Europe between 1937-1939. It is worthy to express that if the French had not agreed, in order to prevent Turkey from siding with Germany once again, Hatay would remain in Syria.

⁷¹ Bilal N. Şimşir, op.cit., p.112.

⁷² Italy sent troops to Eastern Europe and occupied Ethiopia in the beginning of October, would occupy Albania in 1939.

⁷³ *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası(1919-1973)(Turkish Foreign Policy by events)(1919-1973)*, (Ankara:A.Ü.S.B.F Yayınları, Sevinç Matbaası, 1974), pp.114-117.

on July 8, 1937 after the boundary convention had been signed between Iraq and Iran.⁷⁴

Tevfik Rüşti Aras, the Foreign Minister, and Celal Bayar, Minister of the Economy, and the Turkish delegation in Baghdad during the last stages of the Sadabad Pact visited Mosul and Kirkuk on June 27, 1937.⁷⁵ The visit of the Turkish delegation to Mosul, Arbil and Kirkuk caused excitement among the Iraqi Turkmen. This disturbed the Iraqi authorities. Regarding the matter, the prime minister Nouri Said Pasha stated in the report he had given to the Cabinet after returning to Baghdad: “The Turks should be kept under pressure all the time. They are likely to possess and rule us one day as they possessed and ruled the Abbasid state. We have just got rid of the Turkish authority, therefore let us do not allow them to do it again, let us be careful.”⁷⁶

Hundreds of Turkmen intellectuals were arrested or exiled to southern districts after the visit of the Turkish delegation. The Iraqi government took severe measures against the Turkmen in the following periods. Social and cultural activities of the Turkmen were banned, and historical Turkish buildings were vandalized, and the demografic structure of the Turkmen settled areas began to change with the settlement of Arabs in the region.⁷⁷

The Iraqi Turkmen were gradually exposed to a policy of assimilation by the state between 1936 and 1941. It was decided to disperse the Turkmen population

⁷⁴ For the Sadabad Pact, See İsmail Soysal, *Tarihçe ve Açıklamaları ile Birlikte Türkiye'nin Siyasal Antlaşmaları (Political Agreements of Turkey with History and Explanations)*, (Ankara:TTK, 1983), Volume I, pp.584-587.

⁷⁵ Bilal N. Şimşir, op.cit., p.96., This was the first official visit after Mosul apated from Turkey.

⁷⁶ Nefi Demirci, op.cit., p.49.

⁷⁷ Abdülhalik Çay, “Irak Türklerinin Tarihine bir bakış-A Glance on the History of Iraqi Turks” in Mahir Nakip and Ziyad Köprülü (ed.) *Irak Türkleri Sempozyumu(Symposium on Iraqi Turks)*, (Ankara:1987), p.27.

which were in the majority, by appointing Turkmen officials out of Turkmen settled areas. Those who opposed this implementation were severely punished.⁷⁸

A Treaty of Amity and Good Neighborhood was signed between Turkey and Iraq in the presence of Nouri Said Pasha, the Iraqi Prime Minister and Hasan Saka, the Foreign Minister of Turkey, on March 29, 1946. In the additional protocol of article 6 of this treaty, the Protocol of Educational and Cultural Cooperation was signed between Turkey and Iraq.⁷⁹ The Protocol of Educational and Cultural Cooperation under the Turkish-Iraqi Treaty of Amity provided the Iraqi Turkmen new horizons and important gains. When all of the diplomas given by Iraqi schools were regarded as valid, Iraqi youngsters started to flow into Turkey and to attend Turkish schools. This situation was a privilege for the Iraqi Turkmen at the same time.⁸⁰

A number of strikes for wage increases against the Iraq Oil Company, including demands for providing the workers accommodation, regulated working hours, paid holidays, free transport for the workers were held in Kirkuk as of July 3-16, 1946. Since no agreement was reached in the negotiations with the governor on July 12 about the release of those arrested due to the strike, a demonstration was held in the Gavurbağı (Gavurbahgi) district and on the same day, 5 Turkmen were killed, and 14 Turkmen were injured because of the over reaction of the policemen against the demonstrators. This incident has been recorded as the Massacre of Gavurbahgi.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Fazıl Demirci, *Irak Türklerinin Dünü Bugünü(The past and present of Iraqi Turks)*, (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1991), p.17.

⁷⁹ Yaşar Canatan, op.cit., p.103.

⁸⁰ Bilal N. Şimşir, op.cit., pp.109-110.

⁸¹ Arshad Al-Hirmizi, op.cit. pp. 91-94.

Both the Levy Massacre in 1924 and the Gavurbahgi Massacre in 1946 had negative effects on Turkmen society. These incidents forced the Turkmen into political isolation.⁸²

With the agreement signed between Turkey and Iraq on February 24, 1955 the Baghdad Pact⁸³ was established. While the relationships between Turkey and Iraq were improving with this pact with 8 articles offering cooperation in security and defense affairs, Iraq increased the pressures on and assimilation of the Turkmen who were its own nationals. The situation of the Iraqi Turkmen was not mentioned in the agreements signed between Turkey and Iraq. The prohibition against Turkish language continued. While the friendship between Turkey and Iraq were improving, the Iraqi government increased pressures on the Turkmen day by day.⁸⁴

2.3 The period of Republic (1958-1991)

Some political and military developments which directly affected Iraq such as the foundation of Israel in the Middle East in 1948 with British support; Israel's victory in the first Arab-Israeli war; rising to ascendance of Gamal Abdul Nasser, who was regarded as the leader of Arab nationalism in Egypt in 1952, the signing of the Baghdad Pact in 1955 took place in this period.

The monarchy was abolished and the Republic was founded in Iraq upon the coup carried out in the leadership of General Abdulkarim Qasim with cooperation of the leftist and Arab nationalist officers on July 14, 1958.⁸⁵ The political developments that affected the Iraqi Turkmen in the era of the republic were

⁸² Aziz Kadir Samancı, op.cit., p.74.

⁸³ For a Baghdad Pact, See İsmail Soysal, *Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Siyasal Bağlıları(1945-1990)* (*International Political Agreements of Turkey (1945-1990)*), (Ankara:TTK, 1991), Volume II, pp.490-492.

⁸⁴ Suphi Saatçi, *Tarihi Gelişim İçerisinde Irak'ta Türk Varlığı* (*The Historical Development of the Turkmen Existence in Iraq*), (İstanbul:TTT, 1996), pp.208-209.

⁸⁵ Sinan Marufoğlu, "Irak Türkleri-Iraqi Turks" in *Türkler Ansiklopedisi(Encyclopedia of Turks)*, (Ankara:Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), Volume:20, p.607.

determined by the political and military coups in this period. The state of the Iraqi Turkmen in this period is going to be reviewed in consideration of these developments.

2.3.1 Abdulkerim Qasim Period (1958-1963)

2.3.1.1 Iraqi Turkmen in the Abdulkerim Qasim Period

After the coup on July 14, 1958, General Abdulkerim Qasim and his deputy General Abdul Al-Salem Aref declared that Iraq was composed of three essential ethnic groups, including the Turkmen as one of these groups in their speech during the proclamation of the republic over the radio. The Turkmen regarded this statement as the termination of their oppression. They were in support of this coup, anticipating transparency democracy.⁸⁶ Hereby, supportive telegrams were dispatched to Qasim and his assistants, and Turkmen committees were sent to Baghdad.⁸⁷

The new government published a temporary constitution on July 27, 1958 and cancelled the equity of nationals for the first time, stating in article three: “The existence of Iraq is based on the cooperation of all nationals, keeping their rights and guaranteeing their freedom. The country is jointly owned by Arabs and Kurds, and their national rights are protected within the unity of Iraq”. With this article, the Turkmen were not mentioned in the constitution, their status being reduced to that of a minority.⁸⁸

2.3.1.1.1 The Kirkuk Massacre

After the coup in 1958, severe conflicts between the ideological and intellectual schools occurred in Iraq, especially between internationalism and Arab

⁸⁶ Fazıl Demirci, op.cit., p.19.

⁸⁷ Aziz Kadir Samancı, op.cit.p.76.

⁸⁸ Aydın Beyatlı, “Siyasi Konjonktürde Irak Türkmenleri-Iraqi Turkmen in political conjuncture” *Kerkük*, (November 1998), pp.8-12.

nationalism. The Turkmen society had to stand up against the Communist Party in cooperation with the Kurdish nationalist movement, because they did not internalize the Communist idea. It became natural for the Turkmen to support Arab nationalists without making any discrimination between Nationalists and BAAS during the challenge posed between the two schools which spread all around the country, namely Arab Nationalism and Communism. Yet, their situation was not established by a certain agreement concluding an alliance under specific conditions.⁸⁹

Mollah Mustafa Barzani⁹⁰ returned to Iraq after the coup in 1958 and visited Kirkuk on October 22 and 24, 1958. His visit urged activities against the Turkmen and caused tension between Kurdish groups and the Turkmen. Furthermore, on January 13, 1959, a coffeehouse, which was much-frequented by the Turkmen, was assaulted by Kurds.

The insurgency which took place against Communists in Mosul on March 8, 1959 by Lieutenant Colonel Es-Sevvaf was suppressed bloodily. As a consequence of the Es-Sevvaf Movement, Nadhim Al Tabakchali⁹¹ was removed from office, on the basis of his cooperation with Es-Sevvaf. Dawood-Al-Janabi, who was in favor of Communism, was appointed to his position. Maruf el-Berzenci was appointed as the mayor of Kirkuk, and Ojin, of Armenian origin, was appointed as the chief of the Organization of Public Resistance. Hence, it was Kurds and Communists who were appointed to the administration. The Communist Kurds who entered Kirkuk under cover until July 14, 1959 were armed. The purpose of the plan was two fold:

⁸⁹ Aziz Kadir Samancı, *op.cit.*, pp.78-81.

⁹⁰ After the 1958 coup, as a result of the fact that political criminals were pardoned by the new regime, Mollah Mustafa Barzani returned to Iraq from Moscow, where he had lived in exile for eleven years.

⁹¹ Nadhim Al-Tabakchali was the commander of the second division in Kirkuk. He was moderate and a pacifier among the ethnic groups in Kirkuk.

preventing the loyalty of the Turkmen society; and changing the demographic structure of the city by using Communism as a cover was put into effect.⁹²

The purpose of the Turkmen who participated in the first anniversary celebrations of the coup on July 14, 1959 may be explained as their wish to get rid of their political isolation and to announce their will to interact with politics that would determine the fate of Iraq. On July 14, 1959 at around 19.30, the first gunfire sounds were heard and the Turkmen were attacked. It was Osman Hıdır, the owner of the coffeehouse, “July 14” that was first killed. This was the start of the process that would last for three days and that would be recorded in history as the Kirkuk Massacre. A curfew order was announced by the Commandership of the Second Division, which later turned out to be applied only to the Turkmen. Some important Turkmen persons such as Retired Colonel Ata Hayrullah, Cahit Fahrettin and Kasım Neftci were executed. Shops, stores, trade centers and houses belonging to the Turkmen were looted.⁹³

Habib Hurmuzlu stated in his article regarding the advantages and disadvantages that came with the Kirkuk Massacre. According to him, losing the leading persons caused a disaster in a society which was unorganized, inexperienced and frightened. After the massacre, immigrations to Baghdad took place due to a possible repetition of events of July 14 coupled with instability and unemployment problems. The anarchy of Kirkuk resulted in replacing the Turkmen with Kurds and Arabs who were injected to the region. The Arabs in southern Iraq had not been aware of the existence of the Turkmen throughout the Kingdom era because of the policies of the Baghdad governments. They called Turkmen “*Kırad*” which means

⁹² Oğuz Osman, “14 Temmuz 1959 Kerkük Katliamı-14 July 1959 Kirkuk Massacre”, *Kerkük*, (July 1999), p.7.

⁹³ Oğuz Osman, “14 Temmuz 1959 Kerkük Katliamı-14 July 1959 Kirkuk Massacre”, *Kerkük*, (July 1999), pp.6-8., See for the list of martyries of Kirkuk Massacre, Şemsettin Küzeci, op.cit., pp.64.65.

Kurdish. It was just a while before the proclamation of the Republic that the Iraqi Turks were named “Turkmen”. The Iraqi Turks adopted this name in a short time. The reason was that the Arabs constituting the majority in Iraq would know them with their own identity by means of this new name, which relieved the Iraqi Turkmen psychologically. After the massacre news hit the headlines everyday, the word Turkmen settled properly as the name of a third society in Iraq. The Turkmen became center of interest between anti-communist Arabs, intellectuals and journalists in Iraq thanks to the massacre. After the massacre, the Baghdad radio extended the duration of its program in the Turkmen language and reinforced it. Turkmen Brotherhood Association⁹⁴ was established by those who had migrated from Kirkuk and resided in Baghdad.⁹⁵ Nefi Demirci also noted in his book that the unity, cooperation and the interdependency among the Turkmen increased after the massacre of 1959.⁹⁶

On July 28, 1959, General Abdulkерim Qasim held a press conference, and castigated those who carried out the massacre in Kirkuk. He showed the journalists pictures taken during the massacre against the Turkmen in Kirkuk. Two-hundred and sixty persons including Davud-Al Cenabi, who was primarily responsible for the massacre in Kirkuk, were arrested. Some of the leaders who were tried in the Military Tribunal were condemned to death. The rest were released although they had participated in the 1959 massacre. Those who had been condemned to death

⁹⁴ The year 1960 became a milestone in the political and cultural life of the Iraqi Turkmen through the establishment of the “*Turkmen Brotherhood Association*”. The most brilliant milestone of the national and cultural movement of the Iraqi Turkmen was the publication of the “*Qardaslik*” magazine by TBA in Turkish and Arabic languages in May 1961.

⁹⁵ Habib Hürmüzlü, “Kerkük Katliamı neler Doğurdu-What leded Kirkuk Massacre”, *Kardaşlık*, (July-September 1999), pp.20-21.

⁹⁶ Nefi Demirci, *Kerkük (Kerkük'ün Siyasi Tarihi)(Kirkuk (The Political History of Kirkuk)*, (İstanbul:Detay Ofset, 1986), p.83.

were not executed.⁹⁷ Upon these events, the Turkmen founded secret organizations, and tried to take revenge of the Turkmen who were killed.⁹⁸ Nouri Talabani expressed that the Kirkuk Massacre and the events after it caused separation and hostility between the Kurds and Turkmen in Kirkuk the effects of which can be traced to this day.⁹⁹

The news related to the massacre in Kirkuk reached Turkey as of July 19th. Fatih Rüştü Zorlu, the Foreign Minister of the time, called Ankara's Ambassador to Iraq and requested him to obtain guarantee about the safety of the Turkmen in Iraq.

Fuat Bayramoğlu, Ambassador of Turkey in Baghdad, delivered a message from Adnan Menderes to General Qasim on July 25, 1959, where the Foreign Ministry of Turkey noted that some unfortunate events occurred in Kirkuk and approximately 30 Iraqi Turkmen nationals were killed.¹⁰⁰

Meanwhile, the Moscow radio stated that the Kirkuk events had been started by the Turks who intended to possess the Mosul oil district. The Turkish Government expressed in the notice it published on July 28, 1959 that the statements of the Moscow radio were simply untrue.¹⁰¹

When the news from Tel-Aviv, Damascus and Cairo started to be published in the press, indignation aroused among the Turkish public. In order to avoid agitation of the Turkish public opinion, news conferences on Kirkuk events were not permitted. The Council of Ministers banned pictures, films and documents related to

⁹⁷ Suphi Saatçi, *Tarihten Günümüze Irak Türkmenleri (Iraqi Turkmen from Past to Present)*, (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2003), p. 227.

⁹⁸ Enver Yakupoğlu, op.cit., p.37.

⁹⁹ Nuri Talabani, op.cit., p.100.

¹⁰⁰ Bilal N. Şimşir, op.cit., pp.133-134.

¹⁰¹ Şemsettin Küzeci, *Kerkük Soykırımları(Kirkuk Genocides)*, (Ankara: Teknoed Yayınları, 2004), p.78-79., Kadir Mısıroğlu, op.cit., p.195.

the Kirkuk massacre to enter Turkey and be distributed, with its decision of October 21, 1959.¹⁰²

The first educational congress of the Iraqi Turkmen was held in Kirkuk on August 30, 1960. In the congress, important decisions regarding Turkish education were taken. Decision taken by the congress to publish a magazine both in Turkish and Arabic, could was never realized that year.¹⁰³

2.3.2 Aref Brothers' Period (1963-1968)

The authority of General Qasim started to decline through internal and external problems after 1961. The Kurds who had conflicting interests with the government started an armed insurgency. Several disagreements occurred inside the army. Besides, Qasim's attempts to restrict the interests of foreign oil companies and threats against Kuwait caused Great Britain and the Arab countries to oppose Qasim's authority. A group of officers cooperating with the Arab Socialist BAAS Party ended the Qasim administration through a coup in February 1963.¹⁰⁴

The coup against Qasim's authority was carried out by Arab nationalists consisting of three groups. One was Lieutenant Colonel Abdul Al-Salem Aref who had toppled the Monarchy together with Qasim, and who was the leader of the group in favor of Naser. The second group was the Arab BAAS Party under the leadership of Ahmed Hasan El-bekr, and the third group was the Iraqi nationalists who were not devoted to Naser, called Kavmi.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Suphi Saatçi, 2003, op.cit. p.228.

¹⁰³ Bilal N.Şimşir, op.cit., p.137.

¹⁰⁴ Suphi Saatçi, *Tarihi Gelişim İçerisinde Irak'ta Türk Varlığı (The Historical Development of the Turkmen Existence in Iraq)*, (İstanbul:TTT, 1996), p.225.

¹⁰⁴ Enver Yakupoğlu, op.cit., p.38.

¹⁰⁵ Enver Yakupoğlu, op.cit., p.38.

Those who had carried out the coup in 1963 preferred to stay in the backstage and left the administration to the BAAS Party. Abdul Al-Salem Aref was awarded the presidency and legislative authority. The executive power was given to the Council of National Revolutionist Command that consisted of civilian and military persons. During this new era, Colonel Ahmed Hasan El-Bekr was awarded the Prime Ministry. The communists were damaged severely for the first time. Abdul Al-Salem Aref, intended to follow a policy resembling that of Nasser in Iraq, and assumed authority by getting rid of the BAAS Party which he regarded as an obstacle in implementing his policies in a short time. Some of the prominent Turkmen and administrators of the Turkmen Brotherhood Association visited Aref, and expressed the cruelties and injustice they had been experienced.¹⁰⁶ Those 28 persons who had been condemned to death as perpetrators holders and operators of the Kirkuk massacre were executed in three different squares of Kirkuk on June 23, 1963. Thus, the military junta took an important step to win the Turkmen. The Turkmen began to live in a more stable period.¹⁰⁷

2.3.2.1 The Iraqi Turkmen in the period of Aref Brothers

The new regime published a new and temporary constitution on April 29, 1964. Pursuant to the interim constitution in 1964, the 1958 constitution was cancelled and abolished. It was emphasized in article 19, that the Iraqi people were equal without any discrimination based on ethnic structures, languages, or other reasons, and without considering differences in rights and duties.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Fazıl Demirci, op.cit., pp.25-26.

¹⁰⁷ Nefi Demirci, op.cit.,p.78

¹⁰⁸ Habib Hürmüzlü, "Irak'ın Hukuki Yapısında Türkmenlerin Yeri-Turkmen in the legal structure of Iraq" in Ali Ahmetoğlu, Hayrullah Cengiz, Yahya Başkan (ed.), *Irak Dosyası(Iraq File)*, (İstanbul:TATAV, 2003), p.132.

Between 1963 and 1968, the Turkmen acquired the opportunity to benefit from civil rights since 1923 for the first time. Although they still lacked the right to have education in Turkish and many other socio-cultural rights. But, having lived decently and humanely and being treated as nationals partially made the Turkmen pleased at that time. The Turkish part in the new Turkish alphabet was added to the part in the old Turkish script in the magazine Qardaslık between 1963 and 1968. Cultural synergy disappeared with the difference in the alphabets and literacy in the Latin alphabet was encouraged. The Turkmen felt at ease and their visitations to Turkey were facilitated.¹⁰⁹

In 1966, Abdul Al-Salem Aref died in a helicopter accident, and his brother Abd Al-Rahman Muhammed Aref came to power., Dr. Nizamettin Arif, a Turkmen was appointed to the position of the Minister of Economy and Commerce as deputy.¹¹⁰

2.3.3 The Baas Period (1968-1991)

Baasists who were supported by the top ranking generals close to the BAAS doctrine came to power in Iraq through a coup on July 17, 1968.¹¹¹ Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr was appointed to the position of Prime Minister and head of the Supreme Council of Revolution. Saddam Hussein, who would come to power by 1979, was appointed to the position of the deputy chief of the Council as the second man of the revolution, and he was made responsible for internal security.

The BAAS Party whose full name is Arabian Socialist BAAS party or Arabian Socialist Rebirth Party was founded by Michael Eflak, a Christian having

¹⁰⁹ Mahir Nakip, "Irak Türklerinin Meselesine Nasıl Bakılmalı?-How should be looked towards to the Issue of Iraqi Turks, *Avrasya Dosyası*, (Spring 1996), p.38.

¹¹⁰ Fazıl Demirci, op.cit., pp.25-26.

¹¹¹ Geoff Simons, *Iraq from Sumer to Saddam*, (London:MacMilan Press,1996), p.277.

grown up in the French culture, and by a Muslim, Salah Bitar, in Damascus in 1943.¹¹² The BAAS doctrine is a kind of Pan-Arab nationalism based on the supposition that there is only one Arab nation, and it has been separated artificially firstly by the Ottomans and then by Western imperialism and Zionism.¹¹³ The BAAS Party had an extreme nationalist ideology. One famous ideology of the party was assimilation of the minorities. This ideology has been the common strategy for the minorities of all Arab parties and fractions in Iraq.¹¹⁴

2.3.3.1 The Iraqi Turkmen in the period of Baas Party

The coming into power of the BAAS Party with the coup on July 17, 1968 did not cause disquiet for the Turkmen at first, because no negative developments occurred between the Turkmen and Arabs. Both sides were exposed to the influence of the Communists at that time. It was expected by the Turkmen that the other ethnic settlements developed against them around Kirkuk to be restricted after 1960.¹¹⁵ Yet, Baasists seemed to have a strong sense of nationalism and racism, and the BAAS party discharged the opposition groups away mercilessly in a short time in order to reinforce its authority. Some of those who were opposition to the Baas party were arrested, some of them were exiled. Fifty-one persons were executed publicly in order to discourage opposition. There was also Nizamettin Arif, who was appointed as the Minister of Commerce as deputy, in this group.¹¹⁶

The Provisional Constitution of Iraq on September 21, 1968 was integrated and converted into the 1970 Iraqi Constitution with the government declaration on

¹¹² Ibid., pp.27-28.

¹¹³ Peter Slugget, *Irak(Iraq) in DİA*, (İstanbul:TDV Yayınları, 1999), Volume:19, p.96.

¹¹⁴ Vedat Yenerer, *Düşman Kardeşler (Brothers as Enemies)*, (İstanbul:Bulut Yayın, 2004), p.114.

¹¹⁵ Sinan Marufoğlu, "Irak Türkleri-Iraqi Turks" in *Türkler Ansiklopedisi(Encyclopedia of Turks)*, (Ankara:Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), Volume:20, p.607.

¹¹⁶ Suphi Saatçi, *Tarihi Gelişim İçerisinde Irakta Türk Varlığı(The Historical Development of the Turkmen Existence in Iraq)*, (İstanbul:TTT, 1996) pp.226-227.

March 11, 1970, granting the Kurds autonomy. It was defined in the 1970 constitution that Iraq was composed of two major nationalities, “*Arabs and Kurds*”. The official language was Arabic, and Kurdish language was accepted as the official language along with Arabic in Kurdish regions. The Turkmen were neglected in the constitutional platform. The structure and attitude of the Iraqi constitutions conflicted clearly with articles of the 1932 declaration that allowed the Iraqi Government to join the international society.¹¹⁷

The BAAS party had stated that it would present the minorities in the country a package called cultural rights in order to attain their support.¹¹⁸ Surprisingly, these rights were only announced after Iraq had implemented the document dated January 4, 1969, covering the termination of racism and racial segregations of the United Nations General Assembly on January 14, 1970.¹¹⁹

The second one of the documents recognizing the existence of the Turkmen in Iraq and entitling them some rights (the first document was the 1932 Declaration) was the Order of the Revolution Command Council on January 24, 1970. The order, “*Cultural Rights of the Turkmen Nationals*” was composed of seven articles. The first three articles were related to education in the Turkmen language, and comprised certain education such that education in the primary schools would be offered in Turkmen language, that all the course materials in the schools offering education in this language would be in the Turkmen language, and that the Turkmen Education Directorate would be founded by the Ministry of Education. The other four articles were related to cultural rights and stated that an association of Turkmen poets and men of letters would be established, that a weekly newspaper or magazine in the

¹¹⁷ Habib Hürmüzlü, “Irak’ın Hukuki Yapısında Türkmenlerin Yeri-Turkmen in the legal structure of Iraq” in Ali Ahmetoğlu, Hayrullah Cengiz, Yahya Başkan (ed.), *Irak Dosyası(Iraq File)*, (İstanbul:TATAV, 2003), pp.132-133.

¹¹⁸ Fazıl Demirci, op.cit., p.29.

¹¹⁹ Erşad Hürmüzlü, op.cit., pp.62-63.

Turkmen language would be published, that the Turkmen Directorate of Culture under the Ministry of Culture would be founded, and that the duration of the broadcasts in the Turkmen language would be extended.¹²⁰

Haradan Al- Tikriti, the former Minister of Defense in Iraq, who was one of those that played an important role in the coup in 1968 and who was assassinated by the BAAS party, noted in his memoirs published in Libya regarding rights given to minorities, that the Iraqi authority had never been and would never be sincere and loyal in respecting these rights.¹²¹

As a matter of fact, the underlying reason why the BAAS regime had not included Turkish language in the notice was that they wished to minimize the possibility of Turkmen to take advantage of their cultural rights by forcing them to accept the old alphabet (the Arab Alphabet). They hoped to segregate the Turkmen society from the rest, if they insisted on using the Turkish language in the the Latin alphabet. Since then Turkish education in the Arabic Alphabet has been the medium of the Turkmen language.

The notice on January 24, 1970 turned out to be a disappointment among the Turkmen as some of the rights granted would not be implemented, and the rest would be restricted. Thus, the BAAS party followed the opportunity on assimilation policy in disguise of clear suppression. At first, the practice of the right to education in the Turkmen Language was minimized due to the problem with the alphabet. The number of the schools that offer education in the Turkmen language was reduced through several plays. False petitions were issued on behalf of Turkmen parents, and the names of schools in Turkish were replaced with Arabic ones. Fifteen teachers of

¹²⁰ Nefi Demirci, op.cit., p.103.

¹²¹ Ziyat Köprülü, op.cit., p.46., Zubaida Umar, “The Forgotten Minority of Iraq”, *Inquiry*(London), February 1987, p.40.

Turkmen origin were exiled to Kirkuk. The Baghdad government banned the Turkish part written in Latin alphabet of the magazine of Qardashlık of the Turkmen Brootherhood Associatian. The management of the a weekly political newspaper, “Yurt”, and the monthly literary magazine of “Birlik Sesi” which were planned to be published by the Association of Turkmen Men of Letters and Turkmen Directorate of Culture under the Ministry of Press were granted to those who were in favor of the BAAS.¹²²

Because of these unjust implementations of the government, a boycott campaign lasting for 3 days started and some protests were held in Kirkuk. Some students boycotted the courses; some people did not go to their workplaces. Fifty Turkmen were arrested and exposed to severe torture in Kirkuk. The BAAS authority increased pressures because of the the boycott. Turkmen businessmen were not given loans, their relations with the state were obstructed, they were not allowed to work in state offices, and the Turkmen graduates of universities were not appointed to the Turkmen districts. In 1972 only 500 of 10,000 employees working in the Kirkuk oil company were Turkmen.¹²³

On the other hand, the Baghdad government signed an agreement consisting of 15 articles with Kurds regarding their cultural, executive and political rights. This agreement were composed of the decisions that the Kurds would be represented in the parliament, an autonomous Kurdish territory would be established, a Kurdish vice president would be appointed, the domestic income would be shared fairly, and the Arabic and Kurdish languages would be accepted as the official languages in the

¹²² Suphi Saatçi, *Tarihi Gelişim İçerisinde Irakta Türk Varlığı (The Historical Development of the Turkmen Existence in Iraq)*, (İstanbul:TTT, 1996), pp.237-238.

¹²³ Ibid., pp.238-239.

region.¹²⁴ In accordance with the agreement, Baghdad government did not need to win the Turkmen over anymore, because the hostility between the Kurds and government forces had been terminated and peace had been guaranteed in the north.¹²⁵

Pursuant to the agreement between the Baghdad government and Kurds, it was required to hold a plebiscite in order to find out the boundaries of the Kurdish Autonomous Territory.¹²⁶ The major challenge in the plebiscite that was planned to be held on October 26, 1970 based on the ethnic origin and the native language determined the destiny of areas where the Turkmen live intensively. The Turkmen had to choose the authority of one of the two sides to govern Turkmen territory and could not determine their own rights and freedoms. Thus, the Turkmen who were not entitled with the right of autonomy would subordinate themselves to either the Kurds or Arabs.¹²⁷ In this period, within which the conflict between BAAS and Barzani increased, bidirectional pressures in Kirkuk also increased. Those who were in favor of Barzani entered Kirkuk secretly in groups and settled in the quarters such as Mollah Abdullah Mount, Rahimava, Iskan, Sorcha. The Baasists settled 50 thousand Arab families in the districts of el-Hürriye, el-Kerama, el-Baas, July 17, Palestine and el-Kudus, which were recently built by the government, who provided them birth records registered in Kirkuk. They founded front companies (Mukavilin el Arap, Dibis Electricity and Kirkuk Oil Company). The Kurds tried to make their authority accepted in all Turkmen territories. It was forbidden to speak Turkish especially in Arbil, Hanekin and Kifri.

¹²⁴ Kıvanç Galip Över, “İrak’ta Bütünleşmeye Doğru-Towards the unity of Iraq”, in Irak Özel(Iraq Special), *Avrasya Dosyası*, (Spring 2000), p.151.

¹²⁵ Suphi Saatçi, op.cit., 2003, p.46.

¹²⁶ Marion Farouk Sluglett and Peter Sluglett, *Iraq since 1958*, (Devon Great Britain:Short Run Press, 1990), p.131.

¹²⁷ Kadir Mısıroğlu, op.cit., p.202.

The Baghdad government had to postpone the plebiscite to an uncertain date. It was not held, since the government could not prevent the Kurds from entering or establishing themselves in Kirkuk.¹²⁸

Public opinion in Turkey reacted against the Turkmen exposure to bidirectional pressure. Insensitive attitude of the Baghdad government on the Turkmen issue and denial of Turkmen existence in Iraq were regarded as a political matter by the Turkish Foreign Ministry. General Salih Mehdi Ammaş, the Vice President of Iraq visited Turkey on January 16, 1971, for one week and the situation of the Iraqi Turkmen were discussed in this official visit.¹²⁹

The BAAS authority applied all means in order to change the ethnic structure of the territories where the Turkmen made up a majority against them. Even local authority of the villages was allocated to Arabs as well as in the quarters of the big cities. This practice did not change even in the villages where entire residents were Turkmen. Incentives were given to settle the Arabs in Turkmen territories. The names of the villages in the Turkmen language were changed with Arabic ones. The name of Kirkuk was changed to “*Al-Tamim*” which meant nationalization in accordance with the order of Presidency number 41 of January, 20, 1976.¹³⁰ In order to promote Arab settlement in Kirkuk, the moving expenditures of Arabs were compensated; financial support was granted to them; convenient loans for buildings were supplied. On the contrary, the purchase of land and building for the Turkmen was stipulated to the allowance of the security forces. Especially, the sale of immovable property between two Turkmen was forbidden. However, the scale of the property of a Turkmen to an Arab was facilitated. An Arab, who married a Turkmen girl, was awarded ten thousand Dinars (33 thousands US \$). The Baghdad

¹²⁸ Suphi Saatçi, 1996., op.cit., p.233.

¹²⁹ Ibid., pp.235-236.

¹³⁰ Nefi Demirci, op.cit. p.175., Aziz Kadir Samancı, op.cit., pp.116-118.

government banned to preach sermons in Turkish publicly in the Turkmen territories, and put pressure on the clergy. Thus, people who did not know Arabic were exposed to psychological pressure.¹³¹

Turkish President Fahri Koruturk visited Kirkuk on April 27, 1976 during his official visit to Iraq. The Turkmen held a unique welcoming ceremony for President Koruturk. After his visit, many Turkmen were arrested and were taken into custody. Some new plans were put into effect in order to assimilate the Turkmen. In 1976, new regulations enclosing especially the Turkmen territories were carried out through the administrative division of the country. The towns of Tuzhurmatu and Tavuq which were the important residences of Kirkuk were added to the province of Selahaddin, the town of Chamcamal was added to the province of Suleymaniyah, and the town of Kifri was added to the province of Diala. Agricultural lands belonging to the Turkmen were nationalized. Baghdad authorities took over the social and cultural unions, associations and clubs founded by the Turkmen one by one as of 1977. Management of chambers, unions and clubs of teachers, doctors and engineers in Kirkuk were allocated to Arabs. Meanwhile, the government put pressure on the Turkmen Brotherhood Association in Baghdad, whose branch houses were located in Mosul and Arbil, and on the administrators who had been elected annually and it appointed members of the BAAS party to the management of TBA. With this decision, the association lost its function of representing the Turkmen in Iraq.¹³²

The Turkmen experienced the darkest times of their lives under the dictatorial regime that was established when Saddam Husein came into power in 1979. During this period, an awful pressure and assimilation efforts and many human rights violations were observed in areas where the Turkmen lived. Applications such as the

¹³¹ Nefi Demirci, *op.cit.* p.165.

¹³² Suphi Saatçi, 1996, *op.cit.*240-242.

obligation to take permission for purchasing or selling their own properties, nationalizing the lands belonging to the Turkmen, exposure to insults in state offices if the Turkmen were using a Turkish name or speaking Turkish, confiscating houses belonging to Turkmen by force and settling the Arabs and providing Arab settlements in Kirkuk by supplying funds and land by the state were only witnessed in the Turkmen territories.¹³³

Pressures of the BAAS regime on the Turkmen increased intensely in 1979, and leaders of the Turkmen were taken into custody and exposed to torture. Among those who had been arrested and exposed to torture, were Abdullah Abdurrahman¹³⁴, Dr. Rıza Demirci¹³⁵, and Adil Şerif, an undertaker. Although they were tortured for days, these leaders could not be proven guilty. Eventually, the Baghdad authority executed Abdullah Abdurrahman, Necdet Koçak and Adil Şerif on January 16, 1980 in order to discourage the Turkmen. The execution of these leaders who defended most the human rights of the Turkmen society (their unique purpose of which was to live decently in Iraq) made the Turkmen people to steer away from the government.¹³⁶

After this event, the relationships between the Turkmen and the regime ceased. The Turkmen neither applied for any official work nor participated in non-governmental organizations and associations any more. Subsequently, a lot of intellectuals, youngsters or craftsmen understanding that it was impossible to live under such a regime chose exile.¹³⁷

¹³³ İzzeddin Kerkük, "İnsan Hakları Açısından Irak Türklerinin Durumu- The Situation of Iraqi Turkmen as a perspective of Human Rights" in Ali Ahmetoğlu, Hayrullah Cengiz, Yahya Başkan (ed.), *Irak Dosyası(Iraq File)*, (İstanbul:TATAV, 2003), pp.119-120.

¹³⁴ Abdullah Abdurrahman had been the chief of the Turkmen Brotherhood Association for many years

¹³⁵ Dr. Rıza Demirci was the Secretary General of Turkmen Brotherhood Association.

¹³⁶ Ekrem Pamukçu, "Irak Türklerine Uygulanan Katliamlar-Massacres carried out on Iraqi Turks, *Kerkük*, (July 1999), p.5.

¹³⁷ Erşat Hürmüzlü, *Türkmenler ve Irak(Turkmen and Iraq)*, (İstanbul: Kerkük Vakfı, 2003), pp.66-67.

Mahir Nakip stated that the reason why Saddam had executed three Kirkukian Turkmen was to measure Turkey's reaction about its cognates, and that these executions were observed frequently during the Iran-Iraq war lasting for eight years upon the insensitivity of Turkey, Hundreds of thousands of Turkmen was killed in the front and hundreds were imprisoned.¹³⁸

On February 28, 1980, the Turkish Foreign Minister stated as a response to questions regarding executions of the Turkmen in Iraq, "We can only present the reaction of the Turkish public opinion with our compliments; we have done that, but they have not listened to us".¹³⁹

The Saddam regime maintained the policy whereby the Turkmen were compelled to abandon their territories and to change the ethnic identity. Their villages were destroyed. The Turkmen opposing cruelty and pressures had been arrested or executed without any legality.

2.3.3.1.1 The Turkmen in the Iran-Iraq War

The reasons for the eight year Iran-Iraq war can be explained as follows: The Iranian regime threatened the regime in Iraq in 1979; Iran supported the Shiite Iraqi people in opposition and Kurdish separatists; Iraq was not content with the provisions of the *Algeria Agreement* in 1975; the Iranian army was weak; Baghdad wished to become the leader of the Arab world; Humeyni reflected the uneasiness in domestic politics and Iraq intended to possess the Arab Kuzistan Territory.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Mahir Nakip, "Irak Türklerinin Meselesine Nasıl Bakılmalı?-How should be looked towards the issue of Iraqi Turks", *Avrasya Dosyası*, (Spring 1996), p.86.

¹³⁹ Nefi Demirci, "14 Temmuz ve daha önceki katliamlar-14 July and The Previous Massacres" *Kerkük*, (July 1998), pp.3-6.

¹⁴⁰ Serhat Erkmen, "I.Körfez Savaşı Sonrası İran-Irak İlişkileri-Iran-Iraq Relations after Gulf War I", *Irak Özel (Iraq Special)*, *Avrasya Dosyası*, (Spring 2000), p.201.

The war between Iraq and Iran deteriorated the situation in the country and the conditions of the Turkmen society became gradually more difficult. The Baghdad authority exempted a big part of Kurdish population from military service but sent the Turkmen to the frontlines of the battle.¹⁴¹ The Baghdad authority exposed the Shiite Turkmen to severe pressures because of the war between Iraq and Iran. A great number of Turkmen intellectuals were executed due to incorrect and unjust charges. The Iraqi government took advantage of the convenient atmosphere of the battle in order to destroy the Turkmen and it maintained its policy of pressure in the 1980 s.¹⁴²

The Turkmen were executed in pre-war period upon charges that they had been spying for Turkey. During the war the same accusations were made concerning Iran and the Turkmen were executed based on the allegations of espionage for Iran.

Since these projects carried out in order to change the national characteristics of Kirkuk did not satisfy the Iraqi authorities, the government with the order on October 20, 1981 planned to build 20.000 houses in the province of Amara in the south of Iraq in order to force Turkmen families to migrate from Kirkuk. However, when the battle between Iran and Iraq continued in favor of Iran, Arabs migrating from the province of Basrah had to be settled in those houses built in Amara for the Turkmen. The only advantage of the battle between Iran and Iraq has been this for the Turkmen that suffered most from the negative aspects of the war.¹⁴³

In some Turkmen territories, villages were evacuated in order to build military facilities and these villages were destroyed. The evacuated villages were filled with Kurds. Two Thousand houses were taken down in order to build a highway of a width of 600 meters to reduce the number of Turkmens in Kirkuk. Five

¹⁴¹ Cüneyt Mengü, "Irak Türkmenleri ve Yakın Tarihteki Gelişmeler-The Iraqi Turkmen and The Developments of Nearby History", *Türk Yurdu*, (January 1993), p.17.

¹⁴² Fazıl Demirci, op.cit., p.41.

¹⁴³ Fazıl Demirci, op.cit., p.37-41.

hundred more houses were taken down in order to build an international train station in the quarter of Tisin and 1000 houses belonging to the Turkmen were confiscated in the quarter of New Tisin. In November 1985, a large scale search activity including the whole of the Turkmen territories, primarily Kirkuk, were carried out by military forces. Assaults were made on Turkmen businessmen and no measures were taken against the looting activities of the Arabs settled in Kirkuk.¹⁴⁴

The BAAS authority announced that it would hold a census on October 12, 1987 with a circular. However, it was understood from the forms issued for the census that it would be a plebiscite and an unjust implementation to find out the number of Arabs and Kurds. The Turkmen could not expose their own identity. The biggest reaction was shown at the protest march and meeting organized by the Association of Culture and Mutual Aid of the Iraqi Turkmen in Ankara.

In 1988, a great number of Turkmen were executed in Telafer, the largest Turkmen town in Mosul district.¹⁴⁵ The Turkmen were refused a legal identity once again through the statement that Iraqi public is composed of Arabs and Kurds in the Republican Constitution of Iraq published on July 7, 1990.

2.4 The Turkmen Policy of Turkey (1921-1991)

According to article 16 of Lausanne Peace Treaty, Turkey undertook not to pursue policies over the Ottoman/Turks citizens who had stayed out of the border of the newly established Turkey.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, Turkey did not consider the issue of Turks and relative societies outside its territory. Ankara, who has been loyal to the treaties, pacts, lost its authority in Mosul vilayeti with the Ankara Agreement signed in 1926. The Turkey's policy towards Turkmen may be examined in this respect.

¹⁴⁴ Suphi Saatçi, 1996, op.cit., pp.245-246.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., op.cit., p.247.

¹⁴⁶ Lozan(1922-1923)(Lausanne)(1922-1923), (Ankara:Dışişleri Bakanlığı,1973), p.179.

Turkey's foreign policy based on not to touch upon certain slippery fields and issues¹⁴⁷ except for Westernization has been the most important factor for this situation, as well as its intentions not to encourage racist approaches and not to disturb other countries.¹⁴⁸

Hasan Köni stated that the reason why Turkey had not made any agreement about the Turkmen in Iraq in the 1920s can be explained as follows: Iraq committed in the notification published while affiliating with the League of Nations with the support of the British that the rights of the Turkmen in Iraq would be respected. Köni furthermore stated that the Iraqi Turkmen tried to take advantage of social life, benefit from the human rights and to acquire economic rights like the other diaspora Turks, and Turkey believed that the Turkmen would be granted their wishes in a period where the issue of self-determination was given utmost importance.¹⁴⁹

Although the Iraqi Turkmen were not included in the agreements signed between Turkey and Iraq in the period between 1921 and 1991, Turkey made several attempts on behalf of the Iraqi Turkmen during this period.¹⁵⁰ Turkey used diplomacy against the unjust policies towards Turkmen in Iraq.

As from the beginning, the Iraq policy of Turkey has been built on the security of both Turkey and Iraq, in particular of the separatist Kurdish activities. As the beginning of the change of the political conjuncture, Turkey began to deal with Turkmen issue at the beginning of 1990's but indeed it was again related with its security.

¹⁴⁷ As of the beginning of Turkish Foreign Policy based on "Peace at home, peace abroad" and Turkey has never pursued revisionist policies.

¹⁴⁸ Sedat Laçiner, *Irak Küresel Meydan Savaşı ve Türkiye (Iraq Küresel Meydan Savaşı and Turkey)*, (Ankara:Roma Yayınları, 2004), pp.107-108.

¹⁴⁹ Hasan Köni, "Uluslararası İnsan Hakları ve Irak Türkleri-International Human Rights and Iraqi Turks" in Mahir Nakip and Ziyad Köprülü (ed.) *Irak Türkleri Sempozyumu (Symposium on Iraqi Turks)*, (Ankara:1987), pp.91-92.

¹⁵⁰ Bilal Şimşir., op.cit. pp.75-76.

CHAPTER III

THE TURKMEN AFTER GULF WAR II (1991-2003)

3.1 Gulf War II and the process towards the Safe Region

In the beginning of the 1990 s, Iraq accused Kuwait for extraction of oil from the controversial Rumeyla Oil zone, and complained about the debt relationship¹⁵¹ with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Indeed, Iraq regarded Kuwait as part of Basrah, a vilayet of the extinct Ottoman Empire.¹⁵² In addition, there were other reasons pushing Iraq towards the assault on Kuwait such as: the economic and social problems caused by the war between Iraq and Iran between 1980 and 1988; Iraq's attempts to increase its military force; Saddam's desire to become the political leader in the Arab world; Iraq's wish to dispose of internal unsteadiness through external political adventure.¹⁵³ On August 8, 1990, Saddam invaded Kuwait and on August 28 he announced that it had become the 19th province of Iraq.

The invasion caused huge reactions across the world and the Security Council of United Nations (UNSC) asked Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. The UNSC adopted resolutions numbered 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 669, 670 and 674, between August 2 and November 30, 1990.¹⁵⁴ In its resolution 678, the SC empowered

¹⁵¹ Iraq took loans from these countries during Gulf War II.

¹⁵² William Harris, "Modern Irak'ın Stratejik Konumu-Strategic Position of Modern Iraq", *Avrasya Dosyası*, (Autumn 2000), p.55.

¹⁵³ Ramazan Gözen, *Amerikan Kısacında Dış Politika: Körfez savaşı, Turgut Özal ve Sonrası (Foreign Policy within the Amerikan constrain: Gulf War, Turgut Özal and Afterwards.)*, (Ankara: Liberte Yayınları, 2000), pp.98-102.

¹⁵⁴ Mustafa Kayar, *Türk Amerikan İlişkilerinde Irak Sorunu (Iraq Issue in the Turkish-American Relations)*, (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2003), pp.186-187.

member states with the authority to use all required means including force if required in case Iraq did not withdraw its troops out of Kuwait by January 15, 1991. Iraq did not abandon Kuwait despite all these resolutions and negotiations. So Coalition Forces composed of 30 countries, under the leadership of USA, acting under UN mandate, declared war on Iraq (on January 17, 1991). In the operation called “Desert Storm” lasting for 42 days, the Iraqi forces could not resist Coalition forces for long, and a ceasefire was declared on February 27.¹⁵⁵ Resolutions of the UN had been implemented and the invasion of Kuwait ended.

During the Iraq War in 1991, Turkey supported the Coalition composed of Western countries, by opening its lands to the Coalition Forces and allocating its bases and facilities to the use of USA and NATO. Turkey also accepted Resolution 661¹⁵⁶ dated August 6, 1990 by the UNSC and decided to impose a commercial embargo on Iraq. In the framework of this decision, Turkey completely closed the Kirkuk-Yumurtalık oil pipe line, blocked the properties of Iraq and Kuwait and postponed its commercial relationships with Iraq and Kuwait.¹⁵⁷

Upon defeat of the Iraqi army, in March 1991 a large insurgency against the Iraq regime took place, particularly in the region where Shiite communities lived. This insurgency was followed by a Kurdish uprising in Suleymaniyah, in Northern Iraq, on March 02, 1991.¹⁵⁸ The Baghdad authority suppressed the insurgency by using land troops, supported by helicopters. However, approximately 1.500.000

¹⁵⁵ Tuncay Özkan, *CIA Kürtleri ve Kürt Devletinin Gizli Tarihi*(CIA Kurds and The Secret History of Kurdish State), (İstanbul: Alfa Yayın, 2004), p.85.

¹⁵⁶ Resolution consisted of economic and commercial embargo to Iraq

¹⁵⁷ Tayyar Arı, *Geçmişten Günümüze Ortadoğu, Siyaset, Savaş ve Diplomasi* (From Past to Present Middle East, Politics, War and Diplomacy), (İstanbul:Alfa Yayın, 2004), p.591.

¹⁵⁸ Ümit Özdağ, *Türkiye, K.Irak ve PKK, Bir Gayri Nizami Harbin Anotomisi*(Turkey, Northern Iraq and PKK, The anatomy of irregular War), (Ankara: ASAM, 1999) p.64.

Northern Iraqi people, mainly Kurds, Turkmen and Assyrians, took refuge in Turkey and Iran.¹⁵⁹

The Kurdish situation attracted world attention because of the outrageous circumstances of their refugee conditions. Faced with this crisis, Ankara which had experienced a similar crisis in 1988, took the lead in initiating Operation Provide Comfort.¹⁶⁰

Turkish President Turgut Ozal supported the idea that the best way to help the refugees was to establish a buffer zone along the border, and to have them settled on the plains in this zone. The idea of establishment of a buffer zone was brought on the agenda by the British MP John Myer, at a meeting of The European Community (EC) in Brussels. But the proposal of President Ozal was not supported because of the fear that a new Gaza Strip would be created. The establishment of a region was appropriated that would guarantee refugees to return to their hometowns. As following report released by the US Secretary of State, James Baker after his investigations on the Turkey-Iraq border and upon recommendations of the EC, US President, George H.W Bush(1989-1993) warned Iraq not to fly over their airplanes, not to make military operations above the 36 parallel, and declared the territory as a “No-Fly Zone”. Thus, a different buffer zone from the one proposed by Turkish President Ozal occurred.¹⁶¹

In accordance with the UNSC Resolution 688(1991), The first phase of the Operation “Provide Comfort” that was limited to help and rescue operations, was launched. This Resolution at the same time was the basis of the establishment of the

¹⁵⁹ Baskın Oran, *Kalkık Horoz-Çekiç Güç ve Kürt Devleti(Poised Hammer and Kurdish State)*, (Ankara:Bilgi Yayınevi,1998), pp.52-53.

¹⁶⁰ Henri J Barkey, “Koşulların Zorladığı İlişki:Körfez Savaşından bu yana Türkiye ve Irak-Affairs forced by conditions:Turkey and Iraq since Gulf War”, *Avrasya Dosyası*, (Autumn 2000), p.33.

¹⁶¹ Kemal Kirişçi, “Huzur mu Huzursuzluk mu:Çekiç Güç ve Türk Dış Politikası-Peace or lack of Peace:Poised Hammer and Turkish Foreign Policy” in Faruk Sönmezoğlu(ed) *Türk Dış Politikasının Analizi(The Analysis of Turkish Foreign Policy)*, (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2001), pp.200-201.

“No-Fly zone” and “Poised Hammer” Operation.¹⁶² Operation “Provide Comfort” I (PC I), was carried out by 20.000 soldiers from 11 countries, and supported by the Air Force Unit deployed in Turkey at the end of April 1991. After establishment of the No-Fly zone, as a consequence of operations, refugees returned to their hometowns and only 5000 remained on the Turkish Border by August 1991.¹⁶³ The number of military force decreased, as a result of the success in operation PC I. The Second phase of the operation began under the name “*Poised Hammer*”(on July 1991-August 1996). Its force was deployed in Incirlik to control the “*No-Fly zone*” region and to be a deterrent against the Baghdad regime. The name of the operation changed to “*Operation Northern Watch*”¹⁶⁴ in January 1997.¹⁶⁵ Although Turkey was the initiator of this operation, later it lead to the creation of “Kurdish Political Authority” in N.Iraq, This bacame one of the most pressing foreign policy and security concern to Turkey.

The reason why Turkey supported “*Poised Hammer*”/“*Operation Northern Watch*” was the fact that these operations were detracted Saddam from attacking N.Iraq. The Turkish stance also symbolized cooperation and solidarity of Turkey with the international society on Iraq Issue. At this period, Turkey was carrying out operations on N.Iraq against the PKK Terror organization. If Poised Hammer/Operation Northern Watch were not supported, Turkey could face problems in the international community.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Tayyar Arı, op.cit, p.596.

¹⁶³ Serhat Erkmen, “Türkiye’nin Körfez Savaşı Sonrası Kuzey Irak Politikası-Turkey’s Northern Iraq Policy after Gulf War” in *Irak Krizi(2002-2003)(Iraq Crisis-2002-2003)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2003), pp.278-279.

¹⁶⁴ Operation “Northern Watch” ended its activities legally and in act, after 2003 Iraqi War.

¹⁶⁵ Tayyar Arı, op.cit, pp.597-598.

¹⁶⁶ Serhat Erkmen, “Türkiye’nin Körfez Savaşı Sonrası Kuzey Irak Politikası-Turkey’s Northern Iraq Policy after Gulf War” in *Irak Krizi(2002-2003)(Iraq Crisis-2002-2003)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2003), p.279.

It is obvious that the 36. parallel was not considered while the borders of the No Fly zone were drawn. Kirkuk is below the line of 36. paralel but Mosul is above it. In practice, Kirkuk and Mosul were placed under authority of the Baghdad regime. Although Suleymaniyah was under the line of 36. parallel, It was left to the control of Patriotic Union of Kurdistan(PUK) lead by Talabani.¹⁶⁷

In the “*No-Fly zone*”, an authority gap occurred that could not be controlled by any country and in which non-governmental organizations and terrorist groups were free to act. The seperatist Kurdish groups used this vacuum and worked for an independent “Kurdish state”, which negatively affected the countries in the region.¹⁶⁸ The Kurdish groups created institutions such as “legislative”, “executive”, “judiciary”, and “security forces”.¹⁶⁹ The financial resources for institutionalizing of the Kurdish groups were met through the Habur Border Gate, oil, illegal income and foreign support, until the Iraqi War of 2003.

- Habur Border Gate: It is estimated that Kurdish groups gain one billion US\$ per year from trade with Turkey. Kurdistan Democratic Party(KDP) lead by Mesud Barzani, founded the Kurd Oil to serve this purpose.¹⁷⁰, Çetin Nuhoglu, the chief of the International Transportation Association(Turkey) asserted that after Gulf War II, the border gate system became the most important source of income for Kurdish groups, whereby they gained 300 million US \$ in permits for the entry of Turkish trucks to N.Iraq.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix C, for No-fly zone map in Iraq.

¹⁶⁸ Ramazan Gözen, op.cit., p.331.

¹⁶⁹ Aydın Beyatlı, “Siyasi Konjonktürde Irak Türkmenleri-Iraqi Turkmen in political conjuncture” *Kerkük*, Issue 6, November 1998, pp.8-12.

¹⁷⁰ Serhat Erkmen, “Türkiye’nin Körfez Savaşı Sonrası Kuzey Irak Politikası-Turkey’s Northern Iraq Policy after Gulf War” in *Irak Krizi(2002-2003)(Iraq Crisis-2002-2003)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2003), pp.273-274.

¹⁷¹ Hurriyet Newspaper, 21 March 2004.

- Oil: With Resolution 986 of the UNSC (14 April 1995)¹⁷², 13 % of the revenues gained by the sale of oil was allocated to the region.¹⁷³ This share was divided up between KDP and PUK, and these incomes were used for construction of infrastructure of N.Iraq.
- Illegal revenues: Smuggled cigarettes, drug trade and racketeering can be counted among the illegal activities which brought revenue.
- Foreign Contributions: Part of the foreign help coming to the region was supplied by NGOs. However, a considerable part was financed by the states which wanted to pursue their interests in the region such as US, Britain, France, Japan, and Israel.¹⁷⁴

3.2 Turkmen between the two Wars (1991-2003)

While the Turkmen were not being affected by the insurgency against the central government, they watched developments with care and worry. An insurgency took place on 18 March 1991, which was instigated by the Kurds from the North, against the BAAS administration in Kirkuk. Both PUK militia and KDP militia entered the Kirkuk city. They invaded the government agencies and buildings on 18 Mart 1991, and burned the civil registration records, with the aim to destroy data regarding Turkmen existence in the region.¹⁷⁵

The Turkmen who did not join the insurgency became victims of military units which arrived from Baghdad on 26 March 1991 in Tazehurmatu, and 28

¹⁷² Oil For Food Project was envisaging the selling of two million US dollars in a period of every 6 months.

¹⁷³ Bülent Aras, *Ortadoğu ve Türkiye(Middle East and Turkey)*, (İstanbul:Q Matris Yayınları, 2003), p.153.

¹⁷⁴ Sedat Laçiner, "Sosyo-Ekonomik Dış Politika:Türkiye-Irak İlişkileri Örneği-Socio-Economic Foreign Policy:Turkey-Iraq Relation as an example" in *Irak Krizi(2002-2003)(Iraq Crisis-2002-2003)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2003), p.245.

¹⁷⁵ Meşruke Yılmaz Börklü, "Irak'ta yaşayan Türklerin Yakın Siyasi Tarihi-The nearby Political History of Turkmen living in Iraq", *Kerkük*, (February 2001), pp.6-9.

Turkmen were killed for no reason.¹⁷⁶ Two days later, military units who besieged Altunkopru on 28 March 1991, killed approximately one hundred Turkmen without any questioning.¹⁷⁷

Massacres which the Baghdad administration instigated against the Turkmen caused thousands of Turkmen to migrate to the borders of Turkey and Iran, (at the beginning of April 1991); Nearly 17.000 Turkmen reached the Turkish borders, under difficult circumstances. Due to the fact that Turkey granted the right of refuge to Turkmen and Kurds who escaped from Iraq, nearly 15 thousand Turkmen were settled into Şemdinli, Yüksekova, Sivas, Kangal, Kayseri, Güneşli and Halkalı regions, and about seven thousand Turkmen had to take refuge in Iran.¹⁷⁸

During the 1991 insurgency, the number of Kurds who escaped to Turkey and Iran was nearly 25 or 30 % of the total population. The rate of Turkmen who escaped from places where the bloodiest assaults were experienced, primarily Kirkuk, Altunkopru and Arbil, did not exceed 1 %.¹⁷⁹

The most important consequence of Gulf War II for the Turkmen was that %85-%90 of the Turkmen population were left outside “No-Fly zone”, while the north of 36th parallel and the south of 32nd parallel were put under protection and thus the Turkmen were actually divided into two.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Şemsettin Küzeci, *Kerkük Soykırımları(Kirkuk Genocides)*, (Ankara:Teknoed Yayınları, 2004), p. 186.

¹⁷⁷ Sadun Köprülü, “Altunköprü Türklerine diktatör, canavar, Saddam’ın Kanlı Katliamı-The Bloody Massacre of Dictator and oppressive Saddam to Altunkopru Turks”, *Türkeli*, (March 2004), pp.97-102.

¹⁷⁸ Suphi Saatçi, 2003, op.cit., pp.268-269.

¹⁷⁹ Erşat Hürmüzlü, *Türkmenler ve Irak(The Turkmen and Iraq)*, (İstanbul: Kerkük Vakfı, 2003), p.108.

¹⁸⁰ Mustafa Sıtkı Bilgi, “Türk-Irak İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Boyutu-The Historical Dimension of Turkey-Iraq Relations” in *Irak Krizi(2002-2003)(Iraq Crisis-2002-2003)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2003), p.232.

3.2.1 The Turkmen in the “No-Fly Zone”

The No-Fly zone which was established within North Iraq included the provinces of Suleymaniyah, Arbil and Dohuk. While the Turkmen lived predominantly in the Arbil¹⁸¹ region, a few Turkmen families resided in Suleymaniyah–Kifri, Dohuk and Zaho regions in the No Fly zone.

“Parliamentary” elections were held in order to fill the authority gap in the newly-established area, on 19 May 1992. KDP received %44.58 of the votes, and PUK received % 44.33 of the votes as a result of the elections. Both parties gained 50 seats out of 105 seats, and the remaining 5 seats were allocated to Assriyans. The Turkmen did not participate in this election since there was a condition that “Only “Kurdistan” citizens can participate into the election”¹⁸² and they were worried that the region will secede from the central administration¹⁸³ Muzaffer Arslan, the Secretary General of Iraq National Turkmen Party (INTP) of that period, explained another reason why the Turkmen did not participate into the elections by stating;

We did not participate into the elections, because the problems of Iraq should be considered as whole. Benefiting from the temporary opportunities, seeking one-sided and partial solutions to the problems shall bring no use and the problems of Iraq cannot be solved in this way.¹⁸⁴

“Regional Parliament” was established in Arbil following the elections. Kurdish parties established a “regional-government” in Arbil on 4, July 1992, with 17 ministries under the “prime ministry” of Fuat Masum from PUK. The Turkmen did not accept the “ministry” which was offered to them in “government” finding it inadequate representation for their population.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Arbil was taken under control by PUK in 1993 and taken under control by KDP in 1996 as a result of disagreements between PUK and KDP.

¹⁸² Tuncay Özkan, op.cit., p.96.

¹⁸³ Aydın Beyatlı, “Siyasi Konjonktürde Irak Türkmenleri-Iraqi Turkmen in political conjuncture” *Kerkük*, (November 1998), pp.8-12.

¹⁸⁴ Baskın Oran, op.cit, p.111.

¹⁸⁵ Baskın Oran, op.cit, pp.117-118.

Draft of a “Constitution” was prepared in the “parliament” in 1992. In the fourth article of the draft of “Constitution” which was prepared in Arbil in 1992, the existence of the Turkmen was clearly recognized. They were called a minority, instead of nation and in the fifth article of the same draft of “Constitution”, Kirkuk was proclaimed capital. Soon after, PUK and KDP started a conflict by ending the ceasefire between them.¹⁸⁶

Following the KDP-PUK struggle, PUK became dominant in Arbil in May 1993, where the Turkmen population was dense and “parliamentary elections” which were held were deemed invalid.¹⁸⁷ During this period, 11 Turkish primary schools and 5 secondary schools were opened by Iraqi National Turkmen Party (INTP) in Arbil. Along with the press and broadcasting organizations, a radio and television station with broadcasted in Turkish was founded. Radio broadcasting was initiated as of 23 May 1993.¹⁸⁸ INTP established a security unit, composed of 350 people to protect institutions belonging to Turkmen.¹⁸⁹

Upon the invitation of KDP, Saddam’s forces with the KDP militia made a raid on Arbil on 31 August 1996. During the raids, which were organized against the Turkmen schools, 34 Turkmen were killed or arrested. This issue was registered in the report of UN Human Rights Commission (A/51/496/add. 18 November 1996).¹⁹⁰ Saddam’s forces killed several Turkmen leaders, particularly by targeting the Turkmen who were carrying out activities in the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF). Many

¹⁸⁶ Vedat Yenerer, op.cit., pp.34-35.

¹⁸⁷ Ümit Özdağ, op.cit., p.124.

¹⁸⁸ Hasan Yılmaz, “Irak’ın Gizlenen Gerçeği:Türkmenler-The concealed reality of Iraq:Turkmen”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (May 2003), p.27.

¹⁸⁹ *Irak Türkmenleri (Iraqi Turkmen)*, (Ankara:ITF,2003), pp.21-22.

¹⁹⁰ Vedat Yenerer, op.cit., p.108.

houses, workplaces, buildings and structures of foundations belonging to Turkmen were assaulted.¹⁹¹

As a result of 1996 Arbil raid, PUK was cleansed from Arbil. While PUK were settling into Suleymaniyah region, KDP became dominant in Arbil and Dohuk regions. Parties established their own administrations in both of the regions”.¹⁹²

KDP wanted all of the political parties within the region to be kept under its control and command, and did not recognize the existence and political rights of the Turkmen.¹⁹³ Furthermore, Turkmen were occasionally regarded as an obstacle which could prevent the Kurdish project.¹⁹⁴ Serious steps taken for the foundation of the actual “Kurdish state” gave hope to Kurdish groups, and political attempts of the Turkmen which were regarded to prevent a prospective “Kurdish state” were destroyed even before being formed. The policies which local forces pursued to pacify the Turkmen can be described under four headings;

- Local forces portrayed the Turkmen as separatists and as a “trojan horse” of foreign forces, and requested the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) to get out of the Arbil city.¹⁹⁵

KDP claimed that Turkey exerted pressure on the regional government via the Turkmen in the north of Iraq, and that Turkmen were exploited by Turkey. It further argued that Turkey, in order to prevent progress in N.Iraq, which Kurdish parties call the democratic experience, Turkey used the Turkmen to prevent this.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Şemsettin Küzeci, op.cit., p.229., Baskın Oran, op.cit., p.239.

¹⁹² See Appendix D, A map that shows the region both under the control of KDP and PUK after 1996.

¹⁹³ Cemal Şan-The Leader of Iraq National Turkmen Party, *Irak Türkmenlerinden bahsediyorum (I'm talking about Iraqi Turkmen)*, Symposium on History, Culture and political of Turkmens, (Ankara: ITF, 2001), p.63.

¹⁹⁴ Sedat Laçiner, op.cit., p.317.

¹⁹⁵ Mazin Hasan, “Türkiye’nin Türkmen Politikası:Yapılması Gerekenler-The Turkmen Policy of Turkey: Needs to be Done”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (April 2003), p28.

¹⁹⁶ Hasan Yılmaz, “Irak’ın Gizlenen Gerçeği:Türkmenler-The concealed reality of Iraq:Turkmen”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (May 2003), p.31.

- In order to implement their policies, Local Forces established puppet parties.

In order to disintegrate the Turkmen political movement, Local Forces established puppet parties such as Turkmen Brotherhood Party, Turkmen Unity Party, Kurdistan Turkmen Cultural Society, Turkmen Liberation Party, Turkmen Liberal Democratic Community, Turkmen People's Party, Turkmen Naissance Party and they financed them.¹⁹⁷ Bilal Şimşir stated that these kind of parties reminded of associations established by Great Britain in Turkey between 1918 and 1922, and that he pointed that this kind of structuring in Northern Iraq may be the work of British and American organizations.¹⁹⁸ Erşat Hürmüzlü stated that imitations of these political organizations that have no sympathizers and members other than their president had been treated with smiles, but they cast a shadow on Turkmen political activities.¹⁹⁹

- Local Forces desired to disperse the organization around Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) by having raids and assaulting.

KDP militia attacked with gunfire 16 institutions, organizations and offices belonging to the ITF on 10-11 August 1998. They were invaded and looted by the public. Furthermore, 86 Turkmen security guards were arrested.²⁰⁰ The assault in 1998 affected the Turkmen movement in a negative way whose political power had been increasing from 1996. This event had a remarkable impact on Turkmen society. They believed that racist movements against them shall occur later, considering that

¹⁹⁷ Mazin Hasan and Soran Şükür, "Kerkük Kerkük-Kirkuk Kirkuk", *Stratejik Analiz*, (March 2004), pp.17-37.

¹⁹⁸ Bilal N. Şimşir, *Türk Irak İlişkilerinde Türkmenler(The Turkmen in Turkey-Iraq Relations)*, (Ankara:Bilgi Yayınevi, 2004), p.222.

¹⁹⁹ Erşat Hürmüzlü, "Irak Türkmenlerinin Dünya Görüşü ve Geleceği-World Vision of Iraqi Turkmen and Their Future", *Kardaşlık*, (April-June 2002), p.14.

²⁰⁰ Suphi Saatçi, "Irak Türklerinin İki Ateş Arasında Kaderi Değişecek mi?-Will the destiny of Iraqi Turks change between two fires?", *Kardaşlık*, (October-December 2001), pp.8-10.

they are weak in terms of geography, organization, and logistics. This situation created an adverse effect in a period when the Turkmen should have been more organized.²⁰¹

On 11-12 July 2000, KDP militia attacked the ITF building whereby two security guards were killed, and four Turkmen were seriously injured. The event caused indignation in Turkmen community. These attacks, which were repeated every two years, show how right the Turkmen were for not trusting the regional “administration” in Northern Iraq.²⁰² Soon after, ITF documented every attack on Turkmen and made them public with reports.²⁰³

- Local forces manipulated the public by using the media.

The local forces made psychological war against the Turkmen by using printed and visual press as a tool. KDP succeeded in creating feelings of hatred among the Kurds in N. Iraq against Turkey.²⁰⁴

Şemsettin Küzeci in his book entitled *Kirkuk Genocides* portrayed the pressures exerted on the Turkmen in the “No-Fly zone” in a comprehensive framework, as political pressures, pressures on education, pressures in social and economic fields and the attacks made on the Turkmen.²⁰⁵

Since the number of the Turkmen in the “No-Fly zone” did not exceed 250-300 thousand, they could not show a serious political presence among 3.5 million Kurdish people. KDP found that the Turkmen somehow joined and Turkish Units,

²⁰¹ Mazin Hasan, “Türkiye’nin Türkmen Politikası:Yapılması Gerekenler-The Turkmen Policy of Turkey: Needs to be Done”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (April 2003), p.27.

²⁰² Suphi Saatçi, “Irak Türklerinin İki Ateş Arasında Kaderi Değişecek mi?-Will The destiny of Iraqi Turks change between two fires?”, *Kardaşlık*, (October-December 2001), pp.8-10.

²⁰³ For the details of attacks Turkmen encountered, See Vedat Yenerer, op.cit, p.36 and references part.

²⁰⁴ Hasan Yılmaz, “Irak’ın Gizlenen Gerçeği:Türkmenler-The concealed reality of Iraq:Turkmen”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (May 2003), p.31.

²⁰⁵ Şemsettin Küzeci, op.cit., pp.286-315.

which were deployed for combat against PKK in Northern Iraq, while on the road to independence and this situation extremely disturbed KDP.²⁰⁶

The Turkmen found a partial chance to develop themselves in political and administrative terms in the “*No-Fly zone*”²⁰⁷. However they were barely able to introduce themselves to the Arab world and the international community in terms of their policy.²⁰⁸

As a consequence of the attacks in USA on 11 September 2001, Iraq became the next target, after Afghanistan. A rapid convergence between the two Kurdish groups was observed. Kurdish groups which had old antagonisms accepted the 1992 “election results”. They re-established the joint parliament. Another issue was that KDP became more severe and tough towards the Turkmen and it has uncompromising attitudes on the subject of Kirkuk.²⁰⁹

3.2.1.1 Political Struggles of Turkmen

The Turkmen made use of peaceful methods in their political struggles, and they followed policies which reject gunfight. Organizations which are known for their cultural and economic aspects became popular among the Turkmen. The main reasons of this are that most of the Turkmen are from the educated, intellectual and elite class, and that the geography where they reside and the political environment are not appropriate to gunfight.²¹⁰

Due to the deep pain of the 1959 Kirkuk massacre, organizational activities started to appear among the Turkmen. Young Turkmen, who were studying in

²⁰⁶ Vedat Yenerer, op.cit., p.33.

²⁰⁷ Erşat Hürmüzlü, “Türkmenler Irak Vatandaşlığı ve Federal Çözüm-The Turkmen, Iraqi citizenship and federal solution”, *Kardeşlik*, (October-December 2002), p.5.

²⁰⁸ Erşat Hürmüzlü, op.cit., Introduction part.

²⁰⁹ Hasan Yılmaz, “Irak’ın Gizlenen Gerçeği:Türkmenler-The concealed reality of Iraq:Turkmen”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (May 2003), p.32.

²¹⁰ Erşat Hürmüzlü, op.cit., pp.102-103.

Turkey, founded the “*Iraqi Turks Cultural and Solidarity Association*” on October 1959 which was their first cultural and social organization.²¹¹

“*Turkmen Brotherhood Association*” was established in Baghdad in 1960. Student unions, tradesmen organizations, teachers’ organizations and youth movements were linked to them.²¹²

Increase of prosperity and considerable increase in the number of students coming to Turkey made an important contribution to the development of the Turkmen political movement in the 1970s. The Baas Party in 1978 prohibited Turkmen students to continue their education in Turkey. The Iraqi regime encouraged them to go to The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.²¹³

Iraqi National Democratic Turkmen Organization was founded on 8 August 1980. This organization joined the Iraqi National Democratic Front as a member. The organization was the first political organization which was declared by the Iraqi Turkmen. All the political organizations of Iraq convened for the first time in a meeting in 1983. In a conclusion statement, the rights of Turkmen were recognized by the insistent attitudes of this Turkmen organization. The organization ended its activities since the political conjuncture changed.²¹⁴

Iraqi National Turkmen Party (INTP) was founded in 1988 but openly declared itself only after Iraq invaded Kuwait, due to the repressive Baghdad regime. As a consequence of the experienced administrators of INTP, the world became aware of Turkmen existence. Administrators of INTP participated in opposition

²¹¹ Ekrem Pamukçu, “ITC’nin Siyasal Yapılanma Süreci-The Period of Political Construction of ITF”, *Kerkuk*, (February 2001).

²¹² Erşat Hürmüzlü, op.cit., p.109.

²¹³ Aydın Beyatlı, “Siyasi Konjonktürde Irak Türkmenleri-Iraqi Turkmen in political conjuncture” *Kerkuk*, (November 1998), pp.8-12.

²¹⁴ Cemal Şan, op.cit. p.84.

meetings, which were held in Riyad, Beirut, London and Washington.²¹⁵ In addition, they represented the Turkmen in the important spheres like European Parliament.²¹⁶

The first meeting of Iraq National Congress²¹⁷ (INC) was held in Vienna on 17 June 1992, and the second in the town of Selahaddin in N.Iraq, October of the same year. INTP and the independent Turkmen representatives participated in these meetings. Only one Turkmen was included into the executive boards which were composed of 17 for first meeting and 26 later, by taking 6 per cent of the Turkmen population as a basis. The Turkmen were not included into tripartite presidency system which was composed of a Kurd, Sunni Arab and Shiite Arab profile.²¹⁸

New parties and organizations were established since the region became more stable for The Turkmen in N.Iraq. Permissive environment for the Turkmen activities encouraged many people to be politically active. Therefore, the INTP did not remain the only political party. With a view of collecting the Turkmen parties and the organizations under one roof, activities creatie on Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF) were initiated in October 1994.²¹⁹ The ITF was established on 24 April 1995 by the composition of the INTP, Turkmen Unity Party²²⁰ and Turkmen Independence Movement (TIM).²²¹

The first administration of ITF took office by appointment. In order to form the Turkmen political movement (which came to the point of disintegration with the Arbil raids of 31 August 1996), into a whole once again, and to ensure unity, a new

²¹⁵ During the Gulf War II, Arab countries as well as the countries in the region, stimulated by the USA and Britain initiated the negotiation process with the Iraqi opposition groups, presuming that the Saddam regime shall be destroyed.

²¹⁶ Muzaffer Arslan, "Irak Türkmenlerinin Siyasi Yapılanması-Political Organization of Iraqi Turkmen", *Türk Yurdu*, (January 1993), p.23.

²¹⁷ INC was founded in 1991, by US support and control.

²¹⁸ Cüneyt Mengü, "1991'den 1999'a Irak Muhalefeti ve Türkmenler-From 1991 to 1999 Iraqi Opposition and Turkmen", *Kerkuk*, (August 1999), pp.4-8.

²¹⁹ *Irak Türkmenleri (Iraqi Turkmen)*, (Ankara: ITF, 2003), pp.21-22.

²²⁰ The name of this party was changed to Turkmeneli party.

²²¹ Mustafa Kayar, op.cit. pp.322-323.

agreement protocol was signed between the Turkmen party and organizations on 5 February 1997. This protocol played an important role for the reintegration of the Turkmen who were about to be disintegrated, and became the starting point of the road to the Turkmen General Assembly.

“*First Turkmen General Assembly*” was held in Arbil on 4-7 October 1997. Representatives of the Turkmen foundations in Europe, USA, Canada and Australia participated into the General Assembly. The General Assembly was held by the main organizations of the Turkmen, Iraqi National Turkmen Party (INTP), Turkmeneli Party (TP), Turkmen Independence Movement (TIM), Turkmen Brotherhood Association (TBA), Turkmeneli Cooperation Culture Foundation, Culture and Assistance Foundation of Iraqi Turks. In the General Assembly, the ordinance of the ITF was accepted. The Turkmen Council, composed of 30 people, was elected. The president of the ITF and members of the executive board were elected by the Turkmen Council. President of the ITF and the members of the executive board were elected by the composition of representatives of INTP, TP, TIM, TBA.²²²

ITF, which included four parties,²²³ was organized into “Political and Foreign Affairs”, “Health, Social and Assistance”, “Information, Education and Culture”, “Research and Planning” and “Security Departments”.²²⁴

Dual containment policy of US in 1998²²⁵ was replaced with the policy of overthrowing the Saddam regime. US found appropriate that a comprehensive and new study ground should be started in terms of the Iraqi opposition groups.

²²² Mofak Salman Kerküklü, op.cit., p.85. See further information about Turkmen Political Parties in Iraq, Bilal. N. Şimşir op.cit., pp.212-216, Hasan Yılmaz, “Irak’ın Gizlenen Gerçeği:Türkmenler-The concealed reality of Iraq:Turkmen”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (May 2003), pp.26-28.

²²³ See further information about ITF, *Irak Türkmenleri(Iraqi Turkmen)*, (Ankara:ITF, 2003), pp.26-27.

²²⁴ Aydın Beyatlı, “K.Irak-Türkmen Cephesi ve Çözüm Önerileri-Northern Iraq-ITF and solution advice”, *Kerkuk*, (28th June 2000), p.21.

²²⁵ The main logic of Dual-Containment was to impose an embargo on Iraq and Iran, which constituted threat to the interests of USA and to isolate them from international community at the same time.

Therefore, KDP and PUK were made to sign a peace agreement in Washington in September of 1998. Later, within the framework of the same studies, the “*Act on Saving Iraq*” was put into effect on 20 January 1999, and Washington contacted the seven Iraqi opposition groups. These contacts aimed at cooperation towards overthrowing the Saddam Regime and establishing a democratic administration based on the human rights.²²⁶ In accordance with the “*Act on Saving Iraq*,” there was no legal Turkmen organization or representative present among the seven opposition groups. The fact that there was no legal Turkmen organization in such an act reflected Washington’s view towards the Turkmen existence in Iraq.²²⁷

Second General Assembly of ITF²²⁸ convened in Arbil on 20-22 November 2000.²²⁹ The Turkmen representatives supported the opinion that a unitarian Iraqi state should be restructured, in which there should be no discrimination against races, languages, religions and sects and which should be pluralist, democratic, parliamentary and respectful of the human rights.²³⁰

Apart from ITF, the parties such as Iraqi Turkmen Islamic Union which was founded in Damascus and lead by Abbas Beyatlı, the Iraqi Turkmen Islamic Movement which was founded in Damascus and lead by Dr Sami Muhammet and Turkmen Loyalty Movement which was founded in Tehran in 2001 were most influential during this period.²³¹

²²⁶ Cüneyt Mengü, “1991’den 1999’a Irak Muhalefeti ve Türkmenler-From 1991 to 1999 Iraqi Opposition and Turkmen”, *Kerkuk*, (August 1999), pp.4-8.

²²⁷ Öcal Bayatlı, “Değişim Kavşağında Irak-Iraq at variation crossroads”, *Kerkuk*, (July 2000), p.25.

²²⁸ Arbil Branch of TBA which separated from the front in 1999 did not participate in the second general assembly.

²²⁹ Bilal. N. Şimşir, op.cit.,p.214.

²³⁰ Erşat Hüzmüzlü, “Irak Türkmenlerinin Dünya Görüşü ve Geleceği-World Vision of Iraqi Turkmen and Their Future”, *Kardaşlık*, (April-June 2002), p.14.

²³¹ See further information about Turkmen Political Parties in Iraq, Bilal. N. Şimşir op.cit., pp.212-216, Hasan Yılmaz, “Irak’ın Gizlenen Gerçeği:Türkmenler-The concealed reality of Iraq:Turkmen”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (May 2003), pp.26-28.

Iraqi opposition groups held a meeting on 14-16 December 2002, when the war against Iraq was finalized. In this meeting, Iraq was defined as the country of the Arabs, Kurds and others. The fact that the Turkmen which are the third largest ethnic group in Iraq, were counted as equivalent to the few Assyrians meant that they were politically eliminated.²³²

The destiny of Iraq after Saddam was discussed in the Iraqi Opposition meeting held in Selahaddin, Northern Iraq, in February 2003. The Turkmen were not included in the composition of the administration, which was established by six people. KDP officials who hosted the opposition meeting maintained their negative attitude towards the Iraqi Turkmen in this meeting. KDP officials claimed small numbers for the Turkmen population which cannot be taken into consideration. Therefore, the Turkmen which are the third largest ethnic population in Iraq and second in Northern Iraq were left aside once more. Although several political discussions and disputes took place among Turkmen, ideological differences never escalated into a gunfight among them.²³³

3.2.2 The Turkmen under the Baas Regime (1991-2003)

Eighty five or eighty percent of the Turkmen population was to live and be exposed to pressure and cruelty, which the BAAS party adopted as a state policy after Gulf war II.²³⁴

An embargo was applied to Iraq after Gulf War II. The Turkmen were also affected as well as the other Iraqi people, and they had hunger, disease, poverty, unemployment and despair due to the embargo. All the heavy political pressures and

²³² Hasan Yılmaz, "Irak'ın Gizlenen Gerçeği:Türkmenler-The concealed reality of Iraq:Turkmen", *Stratejik Analiz*, (May 2003), p.32.

²³³ Erşat Hürmüzlü, op.cit., p.109.

²³⁴ Suphi Saatçi, "Irak Türklerinin İki Ateş Arasında Kaderi Değişecek mi?-Will The destiny of Iraqi Turks between Two fires change?", *Kardaşlık*, (October-December 2001), pp.8-10.

bad economic conditions forced the Turkmen to migrate. The number of Turkmen who migrated to Turkey, Europe and America increased²³⁵

The first stop of Turkmen's migration route, which mostly resulted in death and misery, was Turkey. However the laws enforced in Turkey prevented the Turkmen to settle in Turkey. Those coming to Turkey by various means were expelled. They were made to travel under dire circumstances by being deceived with the promise of different criminal networks to take them to European countries through Greece in exchange for great amounts of money.²³⁶

Izzeddin Kerkuk²³⁷ in his article tried to answer why the Turkmen were treated with rudeness and cruelty although they had always been loyal to their state. In fact they were treated as if they had been second or even third class citizens. Kerkuk reached the following conclusions:

- All of the governments who were in power, had always looked at the Turkmen with suspicion and saw them as a potential danger even though they officially mentioned friendship towards Turkey.
- Kerkuk pointed out that the ideology of the BAAS party which was founded on hostile ideology against Turks became effective during this process. In addition, the fact that the region was under Turkish rule for long years caused an inferiority complex.²³⁸

Suphi Saatçi, in his article, stated that the inhuman pressure applied to the Turkmen with the material and moral threats and tricks by the Iraqi government with its full power to assimilate them for 30-35 years yielded no concrete result. On the

²³⁵ Meşruke Yılmaz Börklü, "Irak'ta yaşayan Türklerin Yakın Siyasi Tarihi-The nearby Political History of Turkmen living in Iraq", *Kerkuk*, (February 2001), pp.6-9.

²³⁶ İzzeddin Kerkuk, "İnsan Hakları Açısından Irak Türklerinin Durumu-The Situation of Iraqi Turk as a perspective of Human Rights" *Kardaşlık*, (January 1999), p.9.

²³⁷ İzzeddin Kerkuk, retired diplomat, the founder of Kerkuk foundation.

²³⁸ İzzeddin Kerkuk, "İnsan Hakları Açısından Irak Türklerinin Durumu-The Situation of Iraqi Turks as a perspective of Human Rights" *Kardaşlık*, (January 1999), pp.6-7.

contrary, the cruelty and the injustice applied to the Turkmen by the Baghdad administration accentuated the national awareness and identity of the Turkmen.²³⁹

3.3. The Turkmen Policy of Turkey (1991-2003)

While the no-fly zone was being constructed in 1991, exclusion of Kirkuk was a strategic preference for Turkey. The underlying reasons why Turkey preferred Kirkuk to be excluded from this region are,

- Kirkuk oil feeds N.Iraq in economic terms.
- The security concerns stemming from the possibility of creation of Kurdish autonomy in N.Iraq.²⁴⁰

However as a natural result of this preference, a strong Turkmen opposition could not be organized in Kirkuk. As a result, strength of the Iraqi Turkmen remained limited only to Arbil and a few settlement centers.²⁴¹

Before examining the Turkey's Turkmen policy, it is appropriate to state that Iraqi policy of Turkey between 1991-2003 concentrated on four dimensions; relations with KDP and PUK, the PKK factor,²⁴² relations with Baghdad and the status of the Turkmen. During this period, while Turkey was trying to keep PUK and KDP under control, it also dealt with preventing PKK terrorism. Apart from this, Turkey tried to develop its relations with Baghdad and defended the territorial integrity of Iraq.²⁴³ Turhan Ketene evaluated the priorities of Turkey's policies for

²³⁹ Suphi Saatçi, "Irak'ın yapılanması ve Türkmenler-The construction of Iraq and Turkmen" in Ali Ahmetoğlu, Hayrullah Cengiz, Yahya Başkan (ed.), in *Irak Dosyası(Iraq File)*, (İstanbul:TATAV, 2003), p.143.

²⁴⁰ Ümit Özdağ, op.cit., p.162.

²⁴¹ Mazin Hasan, "Türkiye'nin Türkmen Politikası:Yapılması Gerekenler-The Turkmen Policy of Turkmen:Needs to be Done", *Stratejik Analiz*, (April 2003), p.25.

²⁴² PKK teror organization caused 35000 death toll with it's terror attacks in Turkey. Whenever the list of terror organizations were declared, changed its name for political reasons to KADEK, KONGRA-GEL.

²⁴³ Mustafa Sıtkı Bilgi, "Türk-Irak İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Boyutu-Historical Dimension of Turkey-Iraq Relations" in *Irak Krizi(2002-2003)(Iraq Crisis-2002-2003)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2003), p.228.

Iraq, in the following terms; firstly, the PKK issue, secondly Iraqi Kurds, thirdly economic relations concerning Iraq, fourthly, the issue of Iraqi Turkmen, fifthly the others which were covered by Sunni Arabs, Shiite Arabs, Assyrians, Syrians and the Yezidis. Ketene furthermore pointed that Turkey considered its first two priorities while was leaving the other issues behind, and did not take them seriously.²⁴⁴

The basic factors determining Turkey's policy for Northern Iraq has been security concerns in the context of PKK activities. In this regard, a security agreement was signed between Turkey and KDP, and Turkey extended the first assistance package of 13 million dollars, and 12 million dollars later, in the fall of 1993. More important than this, border trade of 200 million US\$ per year was established. These revenues became a life line for Kurdish groups until "*The Oil for food*" program was initiated.²⁴⁵ Priority sequence of Turkey's policies for Iraq was determined by its foreign policy trends. Official Turkish pasaports were given to Barzani and Talabani, and offices were opened for them in Ankara.²⁴⁶ Furthermore, as it was mentioned in previous chapters, revenues of Habur Border Gate supported the region in economic terms. Turkey beside USA played an important role of mediation in the disputes²⁴⁷ between the Kurdish groups.²⁴⁸

Turkey tried to formulate policies towards the Turkmen after the Gulf War, by taking into consideration the USA, Iraq regime, PKK and even other regional

²⁴⁴ *Irak'ın Yeniden Yapılanması ve Türkmenler, Geo-politik Tartışma (The reconstruction of Iraq and Turkmen, Geo-Political Discussion)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2004), p.21.

²⁴⁵ Serhat Erkmen, "Türkiye'nin Körfez Savaşı Sonrası Kuzey Irak Politikası-Turkey's Northern Iraq Policy after Gulf War" in *Irak Krizi(2002-2003)(Iraq Crisis-2002-2003)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2003), pp.282.

²⁴⁶ Savaş Avcı, "Türkiye ve Irak Türkmenleri-Turkey and Iraqi Turkmen" *Kardaşlık*, (April-June 2002), p.27.

²⁴⁷ Sedat Laçiner, op.cit., p.316.

²⁴⁸ These disagreements originated in historical leadership, religious sect, revenues of Habur border gate and political.

forces.²⁴⁹ Although attention of Turkey towards the Turkmen from 1991 to 1996 increased, activities remained limited. They focused on areas of education and culture in general, and food assistance from Kızılay. Turkey, which has been insistent over the territorial integrity of Iraq, put forward this basic approach in all of its policies towards the Turkmen; which prevented the Turkmen to become a serious military and political power.²⁵⁰

Establishment of the ITF (24 April 1995) constituted an important step in Turkey's policy for the Turkmen. This marked the transition from social support to political support for the Turkmen, by Ankara.²⁵¹

One of the most important results of the 1996 Arbil raid was Turkey's bringing the Turkmen, more into the foreground. The dilemma of Turkey up until then was: if obvious support was provided to the Turkmen, would Saddam not be incited against these people? If the Turkmen were not supported, would these people still exist? Turkey seemed to have solved this dilemma then, it shall support the Turkmen whatever happens.²⁵²

Turkey accepted the situation of N. Iraq as a short-lived arrangement that would end until the Baghdad administration re-established its authority there. Turkey cooperated with Baghdad within the framework of diplomatic initiatives towards Northern Iraq in 1996.²⁵³ During this period, Turkish foreign policy on Iraq created a paradox in itself by pursuing policy of supporting of the Turkmen and supporting Saddam at the same time.

²⁴⁹ Mazin Hasan, "Türkiye'nin Türkmen Politikası:Yapılması Gerekenler-The Turkmen Policy of Turkmen:Needs to be Done", *Stratejik Analiz*, (April 2003), p.27.

²⁵⁰ Hasan Yılmaz, "Irak'ın Gizlenen Gerçeği:Türkmenler-The concealed reality of Iraq:Turkmen", *Stratejik Analiz*, (May 2003), p.32.

²⁵¹ Erşat Hümmüzlü, "Türkmenler Irak Vatandaşlığı ve Federal Çözüm-Turkmen, Iraqi citizenship and Federal solution", *Kardeşlik*, (October-December 2002), p.3.

²⁵² Baskın Oran, op.cit., p.226-239.

²⁵³ Mustafa Kaya, op.cit., pp.324-326.

A meeting was held in Ankara in order to make the ceasefire between KDP and PUK, on 30-31 October 1996 with the participation of the Turkish, American, British, KDP, PUK and Turkmen officials. Thus, the Dublin process²⁵⁴ was actually moved to Ankara and it became the Ankara process. The Turkmen, who had had no seat in the previous meetings, came to be a direct party to participate in the negotiations with the policy changes of Turkey on this issue. The place of the Turkmen in Northern Iraqi equation was officially proven and registered from then on.²⁵⁵ At the end of the meeting, it was decided to establish of *Peace Monitoring Force* (PMF)²⁵⁶ which would have a headquarters in Arbil to maintain and monitor peace between KDP and PUK.²⁵⁷

These kinds of developments created the impression that Turkey, at a later period, started to perceive the Turkmen as a strategic factor after the Gulf War II in 1990. The status of the Iraqi Turkmen which was not brought to the foreground at the beginning enabled Turkey to find a new way through its efforts to find new political means. The problem of the Turkmen was brought to the foreground because of Turkey's new strategic perceptions.²⁵⁸

During this period, Turkey wanted to open a second border gate in Ovaköy²⁵⁹ in order to develop the Turkmen region, and make direct contact with the Arabs. However this had been prevented by US. Even after the Iraqi war of 2003, this

²⁵⁴ The meetings which were organized by the leadership of USA first in 10th August 1995, second in 12th September 1995 in Dublin, Ireland to end the battles between PUK and KDP. Tuncay Özkan, op.cit., pp.180-181.

²⁵⁵ Baskın Oran, op.cit., pp.245-246.

²⁵⁶ The Turkmen and Assriyians took active role at PMF and PMF ended activities after Iraqi War of 2003.

²⁵⁷ Mofak Salman Kerküklü, op.cit., 84.

²⁵⁸ Serhat Erkmen, *Irak Krizi(2002-2003)(Iraq Crisis-2002-2003)*, op.cit., p.286.

²⁵⁹ Ovaköy was described as a Habur Border Gate for Turkmenland Region(Turkmeneli), If Ovaköy Border Gate is opened, a new axis will be established opening the way to Telafer-Mosul-Kirkuk or Baghdad.

border gate could not be opened as of May 2005 on account of the objections of KDP.²⁶⁰

The pressures which were applied by KDP on the Turkmen in N.Iraq, created a problem between Turkey and KDP. Even though KDP declared that it shall meet the requests of Turkey concerning Turkmen, it did not keep its promise. Moreover, KDP wanted to close the Turkmen schools in the region, However it could not close them down because of Turkey's opposition.

Prior to the Iraqi war, Iraqi opposition groups had meetings in Ankara on 19 March 2003. The Ankara declaration that was agreed upon in the last Ankara meeting where the American and Turkish officials participated, offered a good framework for the position of Turkmen. The document observe the rights of the Turkmen, however it was not applied exactly in practice.²⁶¹ Meanwhile, international conjuncture was to change rapidly while narrow ethnic concerns became a priority for the USA as long as those ethnicities served Washington's purpose. The Turkmen were not one of those.

²⁶⁰ Vedat Yenerer, *op.cit.*, p.19.

²⁶¹ Bilal N. Şimşir, *op.cit.* p.281.

CHAPTER IV

THE TURKMEN AFTER THE IRAQI WAR OF 2003 (2003-2005)

4.1 Iraqi War of 2003

Subsequent 11/9, within the combat with terrorism, following of the Afganistan operation, US declared war against Iraq on 19 March 2003, with a view to liberalizing Iraq, dethroning Saddam and disposing the weapons of mass destruction. After 21 days from the start of the operation, on 9 April 2003, Baghdad fell. Baas regime came to an end, and G. W. Bush stated that the main fights ended from the American Warship on 1 May 2003, and declared victory. However, today in May 2005, increasing number of resistance movements are still going on in Iraq. It was reported that civilians between 21.523 and 24.415 and 1609 American soldiers 1231 of which to be in the fights and the Iraqi soldiers between 4895 and 6370 were killed by May 2005.²⁶²

4.2 The Turkmen after 2003 Iraqi War

After the Iraqi War of 2003, the Turkmen reunited with their cognates in the north and the south. They were happy to be saved from an oppressor, Saddam Husein, after 25 years and to learn that the USA invaded Iraq with the promise of bringing democracy. However, the experiences undergone for past two years created disappointment.

²⁶² “Irak İç Savaşa Gidiyor-Iraq goes to Civil War”, *Akşam Newspaper*, 13 May 2005.

The US forces opened a Northern Front with the help of Kurdish groups and within 21 days Baghdad fell. Afterwards, Kirkuk fell on 10 April 2003, and Mosul fell on 11 April 2003. The Coalition forces overlooked the Peshmergas looted weapons remaining from the ex-Iraqi army in both provinces. The Kurdish groups burned the buildings of the Deed and Cadastre in an organized manner particularly in Kirkuk, destroyed the documents, and appointed officials to government agencies and changed the Arabic letters into Kurdish and to occupied Kirkuk.²⁶³

Provincial councils were established in every province within the framework of administrative restructuring, however the Turkmen were granted lower representation rights. For instance, in Kirkuk where the Turkmen population is dense, US officials followed a pro-Kurdish policy against the Arabs and the Turkmen during the establishment of the provincial council. US Forces allocated 6 seats for each ethnic group²⁶⁴, and appointed five Kurdish independent officials for another six seats, and three of the seats allocated to the Turkmen were provided to puppet parties.²⁶⁵

The US and PUK peshmerga forces carried out an operation against the Turkish Liaison Team Office in Suleymaniyah on 4 July 2003 and 11 Turkish soldiers were taken hostage as a consequence of the Suleymaniyah raid. They were first taken to Kirkuk. One of the most important reasons of this was to demoralize the Turkmen by putting pressure signifying that Turkish officers were too weak even in protecting their own, let alone the Turkmen. In the same operation, Suleymaniyah branch of ITF was raided and the Turkmen were arrested. With these raids,

²⁶³ Current Affairs, "A hotbed of Ethnic Tension", *The Middle East*, December 2003, p.13.

²⁶⁴ Kirkuk Province Council was established from 30 seats, 6 for Turkmen, 6 for Kurds, 6 Seats for Arabs, 6 seats for Asriyians, 6 seats for officials who were apointed by US officials.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, p.14.

Washington created the impression that it regards the ITF as the 5th column of Turkey.²⁶⁶

Iraqi Governing Council, with 25 members was established by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) on 13 July 2003. Even though party leaders or representatives of the other groups were included into the Governing Council, no one is included from the ITF which is the official organization of Turkmen. Songül Çabuk²⁶⁷ was appointed to the one quota granted to the Turkmen; however they were not represented in proportion to the Turkmen population.²⁶⁸

After the Iraqi war of 2003, the head office of ITF was moved from Arbil to Kirkuk, the Turkmen dealt with political reorganization. Regarding this issue, M. Kemal Yayçılı stated that;

Many of our parties and organizations spend most of their time for internal structuring. Logistics support which is required within the society has major defects and problems. Our parties have still not surmounted these problems.²⁶⁹

The 3rd Turkmen General Assembly²⁷⁰ was held between 13 and 15 September 2003 in Kirkuk, with 550 delegates. During the Assembly, issues concerning Iraq and Turkmen were discussed. This Assembly consolidated unity under the common political discourse in line with the targets of the Turkmen public and resolved to accelerate the political movement.²⁷¹ The participants of the General Assembly stressed that they remain loyal to the territorial integrity and political unity

²⁶⁶“Amerika’nın Süleymaniye Baskını ve Washington’un Değişen Türkiye Politikası-America’s Suleymaniya Raid and Washington’s Changing Turkey’s Policy”, *Teke Tek programı*, Kanal D, 21 July 2003.

²⁶⁷ She was elected vice-chairman of INTP at general assembly of INTP in January 2004.

²⁶⁸ Mariam Shahin, “The Quota Council”, *The Middle East*, August/September 2003, p.10.

²⁶⁹ “ASAM-INTP Genel Başkanı Mustafa Kemal Yayçılı ile yuvarlak Masa Toplantısı-ESRC-Round Table Meeting with the leader of INTP Mustafa Kemal Yayçılı”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (April 2004), p.49.

²⁷⁰ INTP,TP,TIM, TBA and Turkmen Islamic Movement(Shiite Turkmen Party) joined under ITF after this General Assembly.

²⁷¹ Hicran Kazancı, “Yeni Siyasal Yapıya Yönelen Türkmenler- Turkmen Directing the new political structure, *Önce Vatan Newspaper*, 20 April 2005.

of Iraq and any plan or idea that can threaten this unity shall destroy Iraq and Middle East, thus spoil world stability. At the end of the general assembly, the consensus reached was that: “The participants reject the concepts of majority and minority since the all of the peoples living in Iraq are citizens who enjoy equal rights. Territorial or political dominance of any group, meaning social segmentation shall in no way be accepted, and in this context, compulsory demographic and social exchanges which were invented by the autocratic regimes are invalid.”

“*Designated Interim Government*” was established by CPA on 1 September 2003. Dr. Rashad Mandan was appointed as the minister of science and technology, for one chair allocated to the Turkmen out of 25 seats. However, ITF was not consulted for this appointment. Dr. Rashad Mandan was appointed for the second time, among 33 members for a second term “*Designated Interim Government*” on June 2004 to the cabinet which was established by the elected parliament in May, 2005. Moreover, the “*Governing Council*” was terminated on 1 June.²⁷²

The Turkmen were worried since they were not entitled to have seats either in the Interim Governing Council and Interim Administration according to their population rate and US did not consult their political parties for the appointment to the limited allocated seats for Turkmen.

Discrimination applied to the Turkmen and the indifference of the coalition powers lead them to believe in that: “Well, we could not express ourselves during Saddam’s reign, there was cotton in our mouths (we were restricted) but you came you removed this cotton out of our mouths, now we can speak but you never listen to us as you put that cotton back into your ears.”²⁷³

²⁷² “Members of Designated Iraqi Interim Government” [Available] at “<http://www.iraqcoalition.org/regulations/index.html#Regulations>”[May 2005]

²⁷³ Interview with Habib Hürmüzlü.

During the period when the “*Interim Constitution*” was being discussed, the Turkmen defended the 18-province Iraqi project; the most important reason was that it was impossible for the Turkmen to establish autonomy or an ethnic federation under the current circumstances and they objected to the federation ideas because Turkmeneli which is their own territory should not be shared by other ethnic groups.²⁷⁴

The “*Interim Constitution*” which was put into effect on 8 March 2004 would be valid until the elected council took office and prepared the permanent Constitution, and this Constitution is composed of 60 articles under 9 titles. When it is considered in terms of the Turkmen position, they were not regarded as the third original component. In article 9, only Arabic and the Kurdish were adopted as the official language, and the Turkmen are given the right to provide education in their own language. According to article 53, while any three provinces outside the Kurdish administration can form their own region, Kirkuk and Baghdad are excluded. Administrative, cultural and political rights of the Turkmen were guaranteed by paragraph d of article 53. Pursuant to article 58/A 1-2-3-4 and article 58/B of the interim Constitution, after repatriation of those who were made to migrate from Kirkuk in the past and the disputes of immovable properties were settled, and at the end of a transparent census which carried out under the umbrella of a permanent constitution, the status of Kirkuk shall be solved.²⁷⁵ M. Kemal Yayçılı²⁷⁶, President of INTTP, observed that:

The Turkmen are not happy with the new constitution. They want more rights in their own region. Even though the current laws allow them to arrange their

²⁷⁴ “ASAM-INTTP Genel Başkanı Mustafa Kemal Yayçılı ile yuvarlak Masa Toplantısı-ESRC-Round Table Meeting with the leader of INTTP Mustafa Kemal Yayçılı”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (April 2004), pp.48-52.

²⁷⁵ “Law of Administration for The State of Iraq for the Transitional Period”, Available [Online] at “<http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/Tal.html>” [May 2005]

²⁷⁶ M.Kemal Yayçılı died in traffic accident in 14th May 2004.

education in Turkish, we request Turkish which is our mother tongue to be accepted as the official language in every part of Iraq. We are seeking equality among all of the nations and segments of people. One particular right which is granted to anyone should also be given to the other.²⁷⁷

In May, 2004, the Turkmen organized a meeting “*Turkmen Democracy Unity Platform*”. Shiite and Sunni representatives of the Turkmen and the clergy participated in the meeting. The Turkmen declared that they do not want to be ostracized in the reconstruction process of Iraq, and want to be a founding member in the constitution.²⁷⁸

One of the most important events for the Turkmen was that, in September, 2004 prior to the November 2004 census²⁷⁹, the Telafer region became a scene of joint operations of Kurdish militia and the US forces. Thousands of Turkmen became homeless. Strategy experts in Turkey interpreted the Telafer operations as one stage in creating the Western leg of the “Great Kurdistan” dream and it was regarded as a rehearsal of The Kirkuk massacre.²⁸⁰ Such operations in Telafer still go on in May 2005.

US officials allowed the Kurdish planned migration to the Kirkuk region, which started in April 2003 and the migration rates increased towards the January elections. The number of Kurdish people taken to Kirkuk by the KDP and PUK reached 350.000. The aim is to include the region to the Kurdish autonomous region by changing its demographic structure.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ “ASAM-IMTP Genel Başkanı Mustafa Kemal Yayçılı ile yuvarlak Masa Toplantısı-ESRC-Round Table Meeting with the leader of INTP Mustafa Kemal Yayçılı”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (April 2004), p.52.

²⁷⁸ “Kerkük Irak’ın İç İşİ Değİl-Kirkuk is not Iraq’s Interior Affair”, *Manşet Programı*, CNN Türk, 15 January 2005.

²⁷⁹ The census was not conducted due to the security and political reasons.

²⁸⁰ Deniz Musa, “Saklı Şehir:Telafer-The Concealed City:Telafer”, *Türkmen Bohçası*, (November 2004), pp. 18-19.

²⁸¹ “ABD’nin Türkmen Politikası-The Turkmen Policy of USA”, *Kardeşlik*, (January -March 2005), p.16.

It is not adequate to explain the negative attitudes of Coalition forces towards the Turkmen and following pro-Kurdish policies, with the fact that 1 March Resolution was rejected in Turkey. The resistance in Iraq has been increasingly continuing since US President George W. Bush declared that the war ended in May 2003. The Coalition Forces have not encountered any resistance in KDP and PUK regions except for a few events. Coalition Forces opened the Northern Front with KDP and PUK. Moreover, Northern Iraq and Kurdish policies of the US and Israel extend back to the 1960s. It is particularly important to examine the importance which they attach to the Kurds among the Iraqi opposition groups in the period starting from the end of 1990 to the year 2003 and their pro-Kurdish Jewish policies in the region.²⁸² A Kurdish Development Bank²⁸³ was founded in Suleymaniyah with Jewish capital after the war. The Bank granted attractive loans to the Kurds and enabled them to purchase land and houses for exorbitant prices in the Mosul and Kirkuk regions. It is also useful to indicate this point: The West has sympathy towards Kurdish groups on the basis of the historical developments and due to the activities of the Kurdish lobby groups in USA, Israel and Europe. Another important point is US, who knows that any privileges to be granted to the Turkmen shall be in favor of Turkey in the short term, It does not want to take such a risk in the long term.²⁸⁴

The Turkmen participated in the parliament and local elections on 30 January 2005 with three organizations as ITF, Turkmen National Movement, and Joint Iraqi Alliance for the Shiite Turkmen through a quota for the Shiite list. Furthermore, the Turkmen parties which were previously mentioned were specified as nominees from

²⁸² See further information, Şalom Nakdimon, *Irak ve Ortadoğu'da Mossad(MOSSAD in Iraq and Middle East)*, (Ankara:Kesit Tanıtım,2004), Tuncay Özkan, op.cit.

²⁸³ Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, op.cit., p.71.

²⁸⁴ Mazin Hasan, "Türkiye'nin Türkmen Politikası:Yapılması Gerekenler-The Turkmen Policy of Turkey: Needs to be Done", *Stratejik Analiz*, (April 2003), p.29.

the Kurdish list.²⁸⁵ The Turkmen considered whether to participate into the election or not as a consequence of the irregularities which were made in Kirkuk before the election lists were prepared. But, they decided to participate in order not to be detached from the political arena.

At the end of the election, ITF received 73791 votes. Thus, ITF could get 3 deputies in the Iraqi parliament, which has 275 seats, 5 Turkmen out of 141 deputies from the Joint Alliance of the Shiites, 1 Turkmen from the Allawi list and 4 Turkmen from the Kurdish alliance.²⁸⁶ The Kurdish list received 58.4 % of the votes and the Turkmen 16 % and got 9 out of 41 seats for province council in Kirkuk.²⁸⁷

Sedat Ergin explained the reasons for the lack of votes given to the Turkmen in terms of irregularities made by the Kurdish groups, particularly in Kirkuk and Turkmen regions²⁸⁸. He also referred to the fact that participation in the provinces where the Turkmen population is dense was lower, and ITF performed unsuccessfully.²⁸⁹ Moreover, the reasons why the Turkmen were passive in the elections can be linked with the effectiveness of the resistance movements in the Turkmen regions, security problems and unrest.²⁹⁰

Pursuant to the “*Interim Constitution*”, the Elected National Assembly shall prepare draft Constitution until 15 August 2005, and this draft shall be submitted to a plebiscite on 15 October 2005. If it shall not be rejected by a two-thirds majority in at least three of the 18 provinces, the fate of the constitution shall be determined against

²⁸⁵ Kerkük Irak’ın İç İşi Değil-Kirkuk is not Iraq’s Interior Affair”, *Manşet Programı*, CNN Türk, 15 January 2005.

²⁸⁶ Sedat Ergin, “Iraklı Türkmenler Buharlaştılar mı?-Do the Iraqi Turkmen evaporate?”, *Hurriyet*, 18 February 2005.

²⁸⁷ “Kirkuk Kürtlerin-Kirkuk belongs to Kurds”, *Hurriyet Newspaper*, 14 February 2005.

²⁸⁸ For Election Improprieties in Iraq, See Raport released by National Intelligence Service, consisting of 12 articles”, *Aksam*, 15 February 2005.

²⁸⁹ Sedat Ergin, “Iraklı Türkmenler Buharlaştılar mı?-Do the Iraqi Turkmen evaporate?”, *Hurriyet*, 18 February 2005.

²⁹⁰ Soran Şükür and Mazin Hasan, “Irak’ta Demokrasi Provaları-Democracy Rehearsals in Iraq”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (March 2005), p.21.

a simple majority criterion. If the result of the plebiscite for the constitution is yes, general elections shall be held on 15 December 2005, and the new government shall be established at the end of the year. And if the constitution will be rejected the national council shall be terminated and, new elections shall be held on 15 December.²⁹¹

Faruk Abdullah Abdurrahman, president of ITF (2003-June 2005), went to Necef and visited Ayetullah Sistani, the spiritual leader of Shiites, after the election. His visit was interpreted as the formation of the ITF-Shiite alliance, and comments were made that an agreement was made over Kirkuk.²⁹² The fact that one third of the Turkmen are Shiite inevitably facilitates these kinds of alliances, and it can be evaluated as an advantage in a region like Iraq where alliances are important.

After the election, the Turkmen held new Turkmen General Assembly in Kirkuk, on 22-24 April 2005, and evaluated the results of elections. Some Turkmen even thought that ITF remained a little clumsy when faced with developments in Baghdad and stressed the necessity of a reconstruction process. As a consequence of the disputes that arose in the General Assembly where arguments about the regulations of ITF, presidential elections were postponed. It is possible to regard this situation as normal in Iraq because it has a limited two years of experience in democracy.

In the reconstructing process of Iraq, even though the Turkmen were ostracized in political terms, the Turkmen claim that their situation is better compared to the previous periods. Regarding this issue, Turhan Ketene stated that;

The Turkmen issue is considered to be very bad, but if you ask my opinion, the Turkmen issue is in its best status because we can act as we like. We can reach all of the Turkmen regions. If any one of you wishes to go to there, you can do and transmit your message you want. You can deliver any assistance you would

²⁹¹ “Şimdi Irak’ta neler olacak?-Now, What will happen in Iraq?”, *Hurriyet*, 1 February 2005.

²⁹² Sedat Ergin, “Irak’ta Türkmen Gökkuşuğu-Turkmen Rainbow in Iraq”, *Hurriyet*, 8 March 2005.

like. We had never found a better opportunity, in other words we have not had since the Ottoman period.²⁹³

During this period, Turkmeneli TV, which can provide satellite broadcasting from Kirkuk, started broadcasting. Some of the foreign TV channels broadcast news by giving reference to Turkmeneli TV. Turkish courses started in the Turkmeneli region under restricted conditions after the war, and the medium of instruction became Turkish.²⁹⁴

The focal point of the discussions after the Iraqi war of 2003 was to review to what extent the political struggle in a geography like Iraq became successful. The views of Ekrem Pamukçu, a member of the Iraqi Turkmen Council, are as follows;

One of the most important flaws of the Turkmen is that they cannot bear the weapon and the pen at the same time. To survive and have an authority in such a country like Iraq whose structure and order can change at any time, this capability is essential at least to be able to defend itself. As a matter of fact, becoming loyal and making oneself amiable to the current governments did not bring any benefit to the Turkmen, on the contrary they were treated with cruelty, remained vulnerable to massacres and their leaders were liquidated, and many of them were executed. Another mistake of the Turkmen is that they always make their policies in terms of their internal affairs. And this caused conflicts and disagreements and deprived the people of leadership which shall defend them.²⁹⁵

4.3 The Kirkuk Issue

The city of Kirkuk²⁹⁶ is the most important settlement area of the Turkmen as well as a symbol. The name Kirkuk, which was also named as Kerhini and Kerhine in history became known during the period of Karakoyunlu State that was founded in Iraq by the Turkmen. Kirkuk is between the northern and central parts of Iraq. It is

²⁹³ *Irak'ın Yeniden Yapılanması ve Türkmenler, Geo-politik Tartışma (The reconstruction of Iraq and Turkmen, Geo-Political Discussion)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2004), p.20.

²⁹⁴ Interview with Mofak Salman Kerkuklu.

²⁹⁵ *Irak'ın Yeniden Yapılanması ve Türkmenler, Geo-politik Tartışma (The reconstruction of Iraq and Turkmen, Geo- Political Discussion)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2004), p.14.

²⁹⁶ For the history of Kirkuk, See *111 Numaralı Kerkük livası Mufasssal Tahrir Defteri*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2003) pp.1-3.

bordered by Mosul and Arbil in the north, Suleymaniyah in the east, Selahaddin in the west and Diala in the south.²⁹⁷

Today Kirkuk is located in the center of the richest oil areas in the Middle East. Oil in Kirkuk was discovered in 1927 and production started in 1934. Kirkuk oil refinery was constructed, beside Babagurgur oil area, near the city of Kirkuk. Its daily production capacity is 27 thousand barrels. It has 22 billion barrels of oil reserves together with Rumaila oil area.²⁹⁸ Iraq oil areas, including Kirkuk are at the minimum level of cost in terms of oil production in the world and they have a potential lifespan of another 100 years.²⁹⁹ In addition, Kirkuk has natural gas beds, spas, sulphur reserves and vast areas of very fertile agricultural lands.³⁰⁰

Hanna Batatu, in her book, pointed out that Kirkuk was a Turkmen city in the near past, and that the Kurds from the nearby villages migrated to the city. The main factor of this migration was development of the oil industry. By 1959, one third of the Kirkuk population was Kurdish, the Turkmen population decreased by 50 %, and the Assyrians and Arabs appeared as others.³⁰¹

Another finding of Hanna Batatu was that Arbil was being kurdified peacefully in The mid 1950s, while this process did not happen in Kirkuk due to the close cultural bonds with Turkey as the Turkmen remained to their ethnic identity.³⁰²

²⁹⁷ Hasan Yılmaz, "Irak'ın Gizlenen Gerçeği: Türkmenler-The concealed reality of Iraq: Turkmen", *Stratejik Analiz*, (May 2003), p.25.

²⁹⁸ Soran Şükür, "Uluslararası İlişkiler Bağlamında Irak ve Ortadoğu Petrolünün Geo-Stratejik Önemi-Geo-Strategic Importance of the Oil of Iraq and Middle East as a perspective of International Relations' in *Irak Krizi(2002-2003)(Iraq Crisis-2002-2003)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2003), pp.392-396.

²⁹⁹ Mehmet Arslan, "Irak Ekonomisinin Savaş Sonrası Durumu ve Modern Irak Ekonomisinin İnşası-The situation of Iraq Economy after the War and The construction of modern Iraq Economy" in *Irak Krizi(2002-2003)(Iraq Crisis-2002-2003)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2003), p.358.

³⁰⁰ Mofak Salman Kerkuklu, op.cit., p.83., Ziyat Köprülü, *Irak'ta Türk Varlığı (The Existence of Turks in Iraq)*, (Ankara:1996), p.18.

³⁰¹ Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and The Revolutionary Movements of Iraq*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), p.913.

³⁰² Ibid., p.913.

Nouri Talabani, in his book entitled *Arabization of the Kirkuk Region*, stated that the Arabs who came to the Iraqi Oil Company in Kirkuk in the 1950s adopted the Turkmen language.³⁰³ In a sense, this is an indicator that the Kirkuk region then had a dominant Turkmen population. Kemal Mahzar Ahmed expressed that the Turkmen is a fundamental element in Kirkuk and its units in terms of society, culture and politics in the context of their modern history.³⁰⁴

The main reason of the conflict between the Turkmen and the Kurds is Kirkuk, which dates back to the 1950s. Relations between Turkmen and the Kurds in Kirkuk were normal until the mid 1950s. Although the emergence of the symptoms appeared with the increase in the number of the Kurdish population migrating from the villages to the Kirkuk. The changing demographic structure affected economic interests, social, political and administrative structures, although it did not create a reaction which spoiled relations of the Turkmen and the Kurdish people.³⁰⁵

After 1958 coup, the return of Mollah Mustafa Barzani to Iraq encouraged Kurds and started to plan to add the Kirkuk to their territory. They selected the Kirkuk region as a target, where there are rich Babagurgur oil beds which they regard as an economic source for the state they dreamt of. However, the fact that Kirkuk is purely a Turkmen city and that there were few Kurds there, prevented these plans.³⁰⁶

Mollah Mustafa Barzani declared in 1970s;

Even if one single person is determined to be of Kurdish origin according to the census which shall be conducted, Kirkuk shall be Kurdish territory. If we do not conquer Kirkuk, our struggle is useless. The Northern region which was legally left to our administration had been already in our hands in the past. Now we want Kirkuk.³⁰⁷

³⁰³ Nuri Talabani, *Kerkük Bölgesinin Araplaştırılması (Arabization of Kirkuk Region)*, (İstanbul: Avasta Yayınları, 2005), p.24.

³⁰⁴ Kemal Mahzar Ahmed, *Kerkük, Tarih, Politika ve Etnik Yapı, (Kirkuk, History, Policy and Ethnic Structure)*, (İstanbul: Avesta Yayıncılık, 2005), p.93.

³⁰⁵ Aziz Kadir Samancı, *Irak Türkmenlerinin Siyasi Tarihi (Political History of Iraqi Turkmen)*, (London, Dar Al-Asaqi, 1999), p.80.

³⁰⁶ Suphi Saatçi, 2003, op.cit., p. 216.

³⁰⁷ Bilal N. Şimşir, op.cit., 180., Suphi Saatçi, op.cit., p.243.

Moreover, one of the main reasons why the autonomy which had been granted to Kurds in 1970 reached a deadlock in 1974 was disagreement about Kirkuk between the Arabs and Kurds. The Kurdish groups strongly requested that the Kirkuk should be added to their region, but the central administration objected this aspiration.³⁰⁸

The Kurdish political movements promoted an intense migration to the Kirkuk. The arabization policy constituted the antithesis of this and the Iraqi governments which decided to arabize Kirkuk to secure the oil resources always had suspicions about the Turkmen with imaginary fears. Moreover, they changed the name of the Kirkuk as “*Al Tamim*”, which means nationalization in Arabic, and refers to the decision of nationalization of the oil sources.³⁰⁹

Kurdish groups support a federal Iraq after Iraqi War of 2003. Yet, when they define the Kurdish region within this structure which makes Kirkuk the center, they cover Kirkuk, Arbil, Suleymaniyah, Aqra, Dohuk, Zimar, Khaniqin, Barda, Sinjar, and Sheihkan. KDP and PUK are aware of the fact that a Kurdish region that includes Kirkuk shall gain importance in the international conjuncture, and it shall always be used as a trump in the bargaining table.³¹⁰

After the war of 2003, Mesut Barzani and Celal Talabani made strong requests concerning Kirkuk. While these leaders claimed that Kirkuk should be a city related to “Kurdish Autonomy Region”, Turkmen leaders stated that Kirkuk is an Iraqi city which has Turkmen texture. Ümit Özdağ stated that;

³⁰⁸ Morion Farouk Sluglett and Peter Sluglett, *Iraq since 1958*, (Devon, Great Britain:Short Run Press, 1990), p.165.

³⁰⁹ Erşat Hüzmüzlü, *Türkmenler ve Irak,(The Turkmen and Iraq)*, (İstanbul: Kerkük Vakfı, 2003), p.85.

³¹⁰ Volkan Pamukçu, “K.Irak ve Türkiye’nin Güvenlik Politikaları-Northern Iraq and Turkey’s Security Policies), *Kardaşlık*, (July-September 1991), p.23.

KDP and PUK are isolated, and KDP is implementing a chauvinistic policy centered on Kirkuk due to the internal political reasons, and that PUK agrees the approach, and that they expect they shall gain more public support. However this shall bring very serious damages and move the people of the region into a new dead end.³¹¹

When a question regarding the Kirkuk Issue was asked of Muzaffer Arslan, the president of the INTP, he pointed out that;

Since time immemorial, the Kurds symbolized Kirkuk as the capital of “Kurdistan”. Especially, Mollah Mustafa Barzani initiated their acts with the slogan ‘Kirkuk is the Kudus of the Kurdish people. Of course this is not only a moral issue, they targeted Kirkuk as it is one of the most significant oil beds in the world because they believe that Kirkuk which is in Northern Iraq having no other income source can only stand with the revenues extracted from oil.’³¹²

Kirkuk, after the Iraqi war of 2003 was actually handed over to the Kurds by Coalition Forces. The Turkmen were not given any place in the decision making mechanism. As it seems to be a political extension of Turkey, no political representation or role was allocated to ITF. So to speak, USA penalized the Turkmen in lieu of Turkey.³¹³ Governors, police commissioners, mayor in Kirkuk are all of Kurdish origin. Only one authority is staffed with a Turkmen out of 20 authorities in Kirkuk, however that person was assassinated.³¹⁴

The KDP and PUK after the Iraqi War of 2003 encouraged Kurdish migration into the region by claiming that 300.000 Kurds were forced to migrate from Kirkuk during the Baas period.³¹⁵ Before the war, the number of families which were forced to migrate from Kirkuk was reported to be 22.955, in the official newspaper of KDP and fake documents were prepared for 100.000 people.³¹⁶ The Kurdish political groups stressed that the city of Kirkuk is a Kurdish city and a part of Kurdish

³¹¹ “Irak ve Türkmenler-Iraq and Turkmen”, *Bakış Programı*, TRT-2 TV channel, 29 January 2004.

³¹² “Irak ve Türkmenler-Iraq and Turkmen”, *Bakış Programı*, TRT-2 TV channel, 29 January 2004.

³¹³ Mahir Nakip, “Irak Bölünecek mi?-Will Iraq separate?”, (October-December 2003), p.15.

³¹⁴ “ABD’nin Türkmen Politikası-The Turkmen Policy of USA”, *Kardaşlık*, (January-March 2005), p.15.

³¹⁵ George Packer, “The Next Iraqi War”, *The New Yorker*, 1 October 2004.

³¹⁶ Hasan Yılmaz, “Irak’ın Gizlenen Gerçeği:Türkmenler-The concealed reality of Iraq:Turkmen”, *Stratejik Analiz*, (May 2003), p.32.

Autonomous Area in both the London meeting of the opposition groups in December, 2002, and Arbil-Selahaddin meeting in February, 2003.³¹⁷ During the postwar, the demographic structure of Kirkuk changed considerably. Ali Mehdi³¹⁸ reported that while the population of Kirkuk was 870.000 on 9 April 2003, the figure is currently 1.150.000.³¹⁹

When the census, which was supposed to take place on 12 October 2004 was cancelled due to political and security concerns, the voter-registration rolls were decided to be drawn according to the ration cards which were distributed to the families within program “Oil for food”, which had been implemented by UN as of 1996, in accordance with the decision of the High Election Commission in elections of January, 2005. This was to prevent the Kurds who migrated to Kirkuk after the war to vote. However, KDP and PUK highlighted that they will not allow the Kirkuk province council election to be held until article 58 of the Constitution of the Iraqi Interim Government is fully implemented. It is necessary for them to prevent the Kurds who settled into the region after the Iraq operation. Firstly, when they received a negative response from US officials, Kurdish political groups used different pressure methods by using threats of withdrawing from the election and they convinced US officials. Subsequently, 28 new election bureaus were opened in Iraq, and the registration of about 100.000 Kurds who migrated were completed. After the election, the Kurds obtained 26 members out of 41 members of Kirkuk Province

³¹⁷ Mahir Nakip, “Irak Bölünecek mi?-Will Iraq separate?”, *Kardaşlık*, (October-December 2003), p.8.

³¹⁸ He is the member of Turkmeneli party and at the same time member of the Kirkuk Province Council

³¹⁹ “Seçim, Kerkük ve Türkmenler-Election, Kirkuk and Turkmen” *Kardaşlık*, (January-March 2005), p.20.

council. With this election result, Kurds assumed an argument to support the thesis that Kirkuk is a Kurdish city, both in Iraq and in the international environment.³²⁰

Knight Ridder Agency which provides news services to the American newspapers, reported the American army was worried that ethnic tensions in Kirkuk shall convert into large scale violence, and even into civil war. It further indicated that after 30 January elections, with a view to including Kirkuk to the Kurdish region, the Kurdish migration to the region increasingly goes on. It also reported that top US army officers are worried that the Turkmen and Arabs in particular shall rise in rebellion with the domino effect, against Kurds.³²¹

In fact, Kirkuk, since the American invasion, has become a province where ethnic power struggle persists between the Arabs, Kurds and the Turkmen. The Authorities state that the city can either serve as a model in national integrity or a province where civil war can be triggered.³²²

4.4 The Turkmen Policy of Turkey (2003-2005)

The negotiations made by the Turkish and the American officials before the Iraqi war in 2003 to open the Northern Front from Turkey, (This contractual document which is known as memorandum of understanding (MOU) was finalized in a positive manner on 8 February 2003. However, the resolution dated 1 March 2003³²³ was rejected in the Turkish Grand National Assembly.³²⁴ The reason why the resolution was rejected can be explained by some political, economic and moral

³²⁰ Soran Şükür and Mazin Hasan, "Irak'ta Demokrasi Provaları-Democracy Rehearsals in Iraq", *Stratejik Analiz*, (March 2005), pp.23-24.

³²¹ TRT 1 *19.00 News*, 07 April 2005.

³²² George Packer, "The Next Iraqi War", *The New Yorker*, 1 October 2004.

³²³ 1 March Resolution involved deployment of foreign soldiers in Turkey and sending the Turkish troops to the foreign country.

³²⁴ Bilal N.Şimşir, op.cit., p.251-258.

reasons.³²⁵ In terms of the Turkmen issue, it may be said that ostracisation of the Turkmen especially from the meeting in Selahaddin (26 February-1 March 2003) under the guidance of US was effective in the rejection of the resolution.³²⁶

Rejection of the 1 March Resolution caused tension in Turkish-American relations. In fact there was and there is an attempt to exclude Turkey from the political game over Iraq. Hüseyin Bağcı stated “It is nowadays understood that the rejection of the 1 March resolution by Turkey is a right decision in moral terms, but wrong in strategic terms”.³²⁷

Serhat Erkmen, a Middle East expert, stressed that;

The fact that exclusion of Turkey out of the Iraqi equation with the 1 March resolution created a great disappointment among the Turkmen, and that following this, the looting events of Kirkuk and Mosul strengthened the idea among the Turkmen that they are vulnerable.³²⁸

During the operation, Turkey was worried about the negative developments which can end in a possible massacre against the Turkmen. Turkey declared its red lines,³²⁹ gave the signal to intervene and warned the Kurdish groups. However, it was thought that Turkish foreign policy had failed in this period against the peshmerge invasion of Kirkuk and Mosul in April 2003 and that the prestige of Turkey decreased in the world.³³⁰ However, Ankara prevented a massacre of the Turkmen³³¹

Turkey’s policy towards Iraq after of 2003 is oriented towards the protection of its territorial integrity, prevention of a Kurdish state there, and observation of the

³²⁵ Mustafa Kayar, op.cit., p.340.

³²⁶ Bilal Şimşir, op.cit., p.263.

³²⁷ *Irak’ın Yeniden Yapılanması ve Türkmenler, Geo-politik Tartışma (The reconstruction of Iraq and Turkmen, Geo-Political Discussion)*, (Ankara: ASAM, 2004), p.7.

³²⁸ Türkmenler ve Türkiye-Turkmen and Turkey”, *Yakın Plan Programı*, NTV kanalı, 03 May 2005

³²⁹ The territorial integrity of Iraq should continue; the rights of the Turkmen should be under constitutional guarantee; Kirkuk and Musul (Mosul) should not be included in the Kurdish region, the PKK should be removed from Northern Iraq.

³³⁰ Hasan Celal Güzel, “Oy Kerkük Oy- hey Kirkuk hey”, *Kardaşlık*, (January-March 2004), p.14.

³³¹ The Turkmen cannot defend their rights with their own power and did not reach a level of adequate organization and do not have any military deterrence

legal security concern of Turkey by prevention of the PKK assaults from Northern Iraq and prevent oppression of the Turkmen.³³²

Turkey stated many times that Iraqi territorial integrity should be preserved and it is essential that the Turkmen should enjoy equal rights with the other ethnic groups. According General İlker Başbuğ, the Deputy Chief of Staff:

Turkey believes in the protection of the national unity and independence and territorial integrity of Iraq. Turkey considers Iraq as a whole not from the perspective of ethnic proximity or religious terms. The territorial integrity of Iraq is not only a building structure for Iraq but also for the construction of the stability in the whole region. Turkey believes that Iraq shall reach peace and stability as soon as possible and in this context, the fact that the Turkmen which have a considerable rate of the population, enjoy the rights they deserve shall contribute to the solutions towards the future of Iraq, as a balancing component.³³³

After the Iraqi War of 2003, It was discussed that Turkey thought about the Turkmen very seriously and designed its foreign policy on the basis of this group. This would be disadvantageous in terms of Turkey's internal balances and democracy. However, the Turkmen issue is a matter of human rights. To care about the Turkmen is an outcome of the geography and history of Turkey, otherwise, interpreting this interest by the ethnic links and racism would be extremely wrong. To care about the Turkmen is an expected and required result of the Turkish foreign policy.³³⁴ Furthermore, Turkey considers the Iraqi issue as a whole; the following statement is a good example for its approach to the ethnic and religious groups in Iraq. Osman Korutürk, Turkey's Special Envoy to Iraq underlined the following regarding Turkey's policy for Iraq:

We view Iraq from a global perspective, we do not view it as two separate half windows, and in other words Iraq has a Kurdish side, and a Turkmen side, and

³³² Ibid, pp.308-309.

³³³ Gen.Kur.II.inci Bşk.nı Org. İlker Başbuğun "Açış Konuşması-Opening Speech", given in a International Symposium on "Türkiye NATO ve Avrupa Birliği Perspektivinden Kriz Bölgelerinin İncelenmesi ve Türkiye'nin Güvenliğine Etkileri- Analysing the crises regions from the perspective of Turkey, NATO and EU, and The effects of them to the Turkey's Security", 27-28 May 2004.

³³⁴ Sedat Laçiner, op.cit., pp.106-107.

a Shiite side, and a Sunni side, now we look at Iraq as an integrated entity regardless of these separate sides.³³⁵

Moreover, in the National Security Council (MGK) report issued on 24 February 2005, it was highlighted that it is important that Turkey should be in close cooperation and dialogue with the new Iraq administration and all of the segments of its people in line with the protection of the national unity in Iraq, and Turkey's policy for Iraq should be maintained in close dialogue with all of the segments.³³⁶

The statements about Kirkuk made by the Kurdish politicians such as "Kirkuk is the Kudus of the Kurdish people" were met with reaction and worry in Ankara. On this subject, Osman Korutürk stated the following:

We do not view Kirkuk as an internal affair of Iraq, since the territorial integrity of Iraq is to the interest of the whole region. It is also to the interest of Turkey. A development which can prevent the integrity of Iraq can cause an ethnic clash in Iraq. Since the clash can occur in Kirkuk in Iraq, Kirkuk concerns all of the neighboring countries and Turkey.³³⁷

Likewise; in the press briefing on 26 January 2005, General İlker Başbuğ, the Deputy Chief of Staff, pointed that:

Inclusion of Kirkuk into the Kurdish region before the elections would be the first step towards the independent Kurdish state. Kirkuk has vital importance for Turkey. The change in the demographic structure of Kirkuk is not only related to the election results but also to the future of Kirkuk in the long run. This bears a risk not only for Iraq but also for the region. We wish that wrong steps should not be taken in this direction. The special status of Kirkuk should be preserved. This is of vital importance for Turkey. It cannot be expected that Turkey will be silent for the protection of the political rights of the Turkmen who are our cognates.³³⁸

Murat Bardakçı stated that Turkey started to follow a quite different policy on the Kirkuk issue compared to previous behavior, based on Basbug's statement.

³³⁵ Kerkük Irak'ın İç İşİ Değİl-Kirkuk is not Iraq's Interior Affair", *Manşet Programı*, CNN Türk, 15 January 2005.

³³⁶ "Kürt'ü de Kucaklayalım-Let's Embrace Kurd", *Hurriyet*, 26 February 2005.

³³⁷ Kerkük Irak'ın İç İşİ Değİl-Kirkuk is not Iraq's Interior Affair", *Manşet Programı*, CNN Türk, 15 January 2005.

³³⁸ "Kerkük Muhtırası-Kirkuk Warning", *Hurriyet*, 27 January 2005.

Because Turkey interpreted the developments in Kirkuk as the internal affair of Iraq and it even prohibited photographs, movies, and other documents regarding the massacre of 1959 in order to prevent the agitation of the people in Ankara.³³⁹

Furthermore, the assaults made against Turkmen in this period concerned Turkey. Ümit Özdağ, in his articles entitled “*Recent developments in Kirkuk*”, stated that Ankara’s policy towards Turkmen, which is pursued over the Washington, is weak, involuntary, and incomplete and it is far from the representing the interests of Turkey.³⁴⁰

The results of the Iraqi elections created disappointment among the Turkish officials; Abdullah Gül, the Foreign Minister of Turkey, stated the following;

I was disappointed regarding the Turkmen in the Iraqi elections. Even though we consider that the elections were made through dishonesty, we should ask why the Turkmen in Turkey did not vote. There are 35 thousand Iraqi Turkmen in Turkey and only 4 thousand of them voted. 2 thousand Turkmen registered in Sweden, and 900 voted. ITF could not draw the literate and intellectual Turkmen to itself, and include them into their staff.³⁴¹

In the new period which started in Iraq after the elections, Ankara’s approach to the Turkmen was mentioned by Osman Korutürk;

Take the Turks in Bulgaria as an example, stand on your own feet (In the new period, in the democratic process, the Turkmen shall organize themselves, prove themselves in Iraq with the democratic mechanisms, and establish their political maturity and level of efficiency), prove yourself in the Iraqi policy. This approach should not be misinterpreted. It should not be interpreted that the support of Turkey is removed or shall be removed. The support of Turkey shall always continue. The approach whose framework is drawn by us is the desire of the Iraqi Turkmen. The democratic maturity and the political development is also what they want. In this process, experience, knowledge and technology support shall of course continue.³⁴²

³³⁹ Murat Bardakçı, “İrak Katliamlarını Eskiden Irak’a Ayıp Olur diye Sansür Ederdik-We sensored Iraq Massacres in order not to offend Iraq”, *Hurriyer*, 30 January 2005.

³⁴⁰ Şemsettin Küzeci, op.cit., p.350.

³⁴¹ “ABD’yi uyardım ama dinlemediler-Iwarned USA, but, did not listen”, *Hurriyet*, 2 March 2005.

³⁴² Fikret Bila, “Yeni Türkmen Politikası Oluştur-New Turkmen Policy established”, *Milliyet*, 21 March 2005.

However when we compare the conditions between the two countries, it is an undeniable achievement that the political and other rights of Turks in Bulgaria are fully recognized. However Iraq is now under occupation and the conditions are difficult, and the fact that Bulgaria is in the process of EU membership accelerated the success of the People and Independences Movement which is the organization of the Bulgarian Turks, and it should not be forgotten that democracy experience of Bulgaria cannot be compared.³⁴³.

³⁴³ Özüm S. Uzun, "Türkiye'nin Yeni Politikası: Irak Türkmenlerine Bulgar Türkleri Modeli-Turkey's New Policy:", Available[Online] http://www.globalstrateji.org/tr/Haber_id=274 [May 2005]

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

- **Evaluation of the situation of Turkmen(1921-2005)**

The Iraqi Turkmen was isolated from Iraqi politics since Iraq was founded. Consecutive pro-British governments pursued this policy during the mandate and Kingdom era. On the basis of this policy, they aimed to distance them from Turkey.

The Iraqi Turkmen were exposed to an assimilation policy since the 1930s; they were even exposed to massacres in 1924, 1946, 1959 and 1991. Turkmen leaders were killed in particular during the 1959 Kirkuk massacre and in 1980 by the BAAS regime.

There are two crucial documents acknowledging the existence of Turkmen in Iraq: “*the declaration of the kingdom of Iraq*” which was announced under the signature of the Nouri Said Pasha, the prime minister, upon Iraq’s membership to LoN in 1932, and later “*Cultural Rights of the Turkmen Nationals*” dated 1970. In practice, these rights were not applied to the Turkmen.

After the end of the coup in 1958, the declaration of republic was interpreted by the Turkmen as the end of the assimilation policies on them. But, they were exposed to the Kirkuk massacre by using ideological struggle as a cover. One of the most important consequences of this massacre was to unite Turkmen.

The Turkmen lived their most peaceful period between 1963-1968. In the Baas period the Turkmen lived through hardest time in Iraq, they were subjected to human right abuses, Arabification policy and to be removed by force.

Arab-Kurd conflicts in Iraq affected the Turkmen negatively and these were bilateral oppression in Kirkuk where the Turkmen population was intense, in the 1970s.

During the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), Shiite Turkmen were accused of spying for Iran, while before the Turkmen had been accused for spying for Turkey. Baghdad used all means to oppress the Turkmen.

While the safe region was being constructed by US and Britain, Turkey approved the region as its strategic preference. It leaded to stay %85 and % 90 Turkmen populations in Baas regime. As a natural result of this preference, a strong Turkmen opposition could not be organized. In 2003, it leads to their political weakness. The Turkmen made use of peaceful methods in their political struggles, and they followed policies which reject violence. The political activities of the Turkmen accelerated after Gulf War II in Northern Iraq, however, political strength of the Iraqi Turkmen remained limited to only Arbil and a few settlement centers in Northern Iraq between 1991-2003. Establishment of the No-Fly zone fostered Kurdish Nationalism in Northern Iraq. The establishment of "*Iraqi Turkmen Front*" in 1995 was a turning point of the Turkmen political movement for harboring the Turkmen parties. But, the Turkmen were exposed to KDP pressures and attacks lead by Barzani in particular since 1996. Because, they were perceived as an obstacle by Kurdish groups for the state they have dreamt.

After the Iraqi War of 2003, the Turkmen was isolated from the reconstruction of new Iraq by the Coalition Forces. The Turkmen met this with

worry. Indeed, the opposition meetings after Gulf War II (1991) may be symptom of this situation.

After the Iraqi War of 2003, the Turkmen have faced Kurdification policies; in particular the migration of Kurds to Kirkuk will lead to kurdify the region in the long term.

One of the main reasons of the Turkmen' not being able to express themselves to the world was that there is not certain data about their population. The data, however, should be ready after the first census to be held after the permanent constitution is ratified.

The Turkmen have paid for the lands where they lived with rich oil wells, underground and ground sources, natural gases and wide agricultural areas. They will certainly pay for in the future.

- **Evaluation of Turkey's Policy towards Turkmen;**

Turkey did not have a specific foreign policy towards the Turkmen between 1921-1991. We may refer this to the general framework of "*Turkish Foreign Policy*" at this period. Although Iraq-Turkey relations were developing in a good way, the situation of Turkmen was not included in the agreements signed by two countries. Turkey used diplomatic channels against the oppressive policies and massacres of the Turkmen, but did not get specific results. Ankara supported the idea that whichever rights the Kurds enjoyed, should also be given to the Turkmen.

Although activities of Turkey towards the Turkmen increased from 1991 to 1996, these activities remained limited. They focused on education and cultural areas in general, and the food assistance extended by Kızılay. In 1996, the Turkmen joined the Ankara process but it ended after the Washington process in 1998.

Turkish officials made statements after the Iraqi war of 2003 that defended Turkmen's rights. Turkey has demanded the same political, cultural and social rights for Turkmen as the other ethnic groups. Turkey should defend the rights of Turkmen in terms of human rights and international law, by pursuing active policies. This should be pointed out during the negotiations with the other ethnic or religious groups living in Iraq.

Turkey should pursue a new policy that provides the termination of the idea that "The Turkmen are the spy agency of Turkey in the area". These claims are all manipulations of the local groups which aim to benefit from this.

Turkey should give support to Turkmen economic and cultural dimensions to make them a political and economical power in Iraq. Besides, the Turkmen are important for Turkey for security reasons. The state policy of Turkey is not to let the Kurdish State be established. Both the Turkmen policy and Turkish policy are on the same line in defending territorial and political integrity of Iraq.

- **Projection for the future:**

The Turkmen supported the idea that Kirkuk is an Iraqi city with Turkmen texture. But, Kurdish groups claim that Kirkuk is a Kurdish city and should be annexed to Kurdish autonomous state by using the suitable condition after the war of 2003. They have changed the demographic structure of the province. Kirkuk city is called as little *Iraq* with its ethnic mixture; Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen, Assyrians, Kildanians, Shiites and Sunnis. The status of the Kirkuk should be determined by consensus of local citizens, Iraqi citizens, regional countries, Arab states and Coalition Forces. The best solution for Kirkuk should be its annexation to Baghdad with a special status.

Futhermore, ethnic and sectarian groups are clamoring to secure their position in the post Saddam era, “In Iraq’s matrix” We can define it as a jigsaw puzzle which is a picture printed on card-board or wood, that has been cut up into a lot of small pieces of different shapes that you have to fit together again to complete a puzzle. What happens in Northern Iraq is a mysterious situation in which it is not easy to understand all the causes of what is happening, thus a complicated problem. If it is to be solved, all pieces (actors, groups) should be fit together and needed. But, the US has pursued policies in favor of Kurds rather than balancing policy among all the ethnic groups in Northern Iraq. The tension between ethnic groups has been going up since the wrong policies of US and misperceived by Kurds especially in Kirkuk, a microcosm of Iraq nowadays, with its multi- ethnic mix. Indeed, It may lead the start of the conflicts among ethnic identities in Iraq.

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APPENDIX A

MAP OF TURKMENLAND



APPENDIX B

MAP OF ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF IRAQ



APPENDIX C

MAP OF NO-FLY ZONE



APPENDIX D

MAP OF THE N.IRAQ WHICH WERE UNDER CONTROL OF PUK AND KDP AFTER 1996.

