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### General Report

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### THE SUMMARY OF VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE IRAQI TURKMEN AND ATTEMPTS TO ASSIMILATE THEM DURING THE DICTATORIAL BAAH PERIOD

#### INTRODUCTION

**“I personally am not in favor of allowing the Turkmen membership in the party or even the simplest job in the Land Registry office. As this is an extremely secret subject which I would never put it in writing but my oral suggestions are: Don’t worry, we are going to assimilate the new Turkmen generations through the student and youth organizations”.** Chemical Ali (1)

According to the Encyclopedia Britannica the name Turkmen is a synonym of Oghuz which includes all the Turkish (Turkic) population who live to the southwest of Central Asia.

1. Turkey.
2. Republic of Azerbaijan.
3. Azerbaijan of Iran.
4. Turkmenistan.
5. in other countries:
  - a. Afghanistan.
  - b. Iraq, Syria and other Arab countries.
  - c. Greece, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Gagavuz, and other European countries.

The Turkmen are considered the third largest nationality group in Iraq. For political reasons, the size of the Turkmen population has remained secret since the establishment of the Iraq Kingdom in 1921. In official Iraqi documents the size has continuously been underestimated at around 2% of the total Iraqi population, while according to some independent sources they approximate 6-9% of the Total Iraqi Population. The Turkmen authors assert that the Turkmen constitute at least 10%. The Turkmen live mainly in the north and middle of Iraq. Their largest city is Kirkuk.(2)

The racist mentality of the 1968 coup leaders developed as a response to the challenges which threatened the Arabic communities at that time, especially after 1967 war.

It is to be expected that a racist autocratic regime will cause disaster in a country populated by one ethnic group when it goes through a stressful period. The disaster will be much greater when there are many ethnic groups in the country. In an ethnically, linguistically and religiously mixed country such as Iraq such a regime causes a catastrophe, as the history of the last three decades of Iraq shows. In such threatening situation, unfortunately, the Turkmen of Iraq inhabited Kirkuk City which produced 70% of the Iraqi petroleum and 2.2% of the world.

It was very difficult for the successive Iraqi regimes to assimilate the large number of the Iraqi Turkmen, who were well-educated and constituted the majority of the Iraqi intellectuals until the not too distant past. Therefore, the present Baath regime implemented inhuman policies such as forced emigration, compulsive relocation and deportation, execution of soldiers, intellectuals and politicians.

The harsh policies of the Baath party originate basically from two main ideologies: Arab racism and despotism. In order to strengthen their rule and to stay in power at any price the Baath regime developed its hostile behavior and evil methods. All powers are centralized in the Revolutionary Command Council, particularly in the president. The president is the head of unarmed sectors of the state, military forces and the security system. The temporary statute which the government instituted in 1970 allows total control over the citizens. The legislative and executive powers are usurped by the president, which frustrates the functioning of the courts. The one-party system has led to this dictatorial structure and moreover the racist mentality of the leading party has led to severe violations of the Human Rights in Iraq, which has a highly mixed population. To achieve its goals, the authorities do not hesitate to violate human rights in all fields of the life. The repressive nature of the political and legal systems prevents the rule of law. Numerous laws lead to continual repression. The authorities use persecution or force to extract confessions or achieve cooperation with the regime. Hundreds of citizens are being killed yearly during investigations. Defense lawyers are not allowed in the security courts.

The term national security is so broadly defined that it considers simple criticism of the economic, social or political situations as a crime, such as criticism of the absence of some types of consumption materials or medicines. The range of possible offences is extremely wide for the Turkmen. Security courts are put up for espionage and treason cases. These two offences are defined so broadly that even the presence of Turkish newspapers in Turkmen houses or being carried by Turkmen people is considered as treason. Military officers or civil servants with no legal training are chairmen of these tribunals, which hear cases in secret **(3)**.

Human rights monitors are not allowed to enter Iraq. The Special Rapporteur notes, that since his first visit to Iraq in January 1992, has not been allowed to return. Moreover, the Government of Iraq has refused to cooperate with United Nations Human Rights procedures by refusing the stationing of human rights monitors throughout Iraq as requested by the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights. Continued restrictions are designed to prevent dissent.

The aggressive assaults, which the Iraqi regime applied against the ethnic and religious

communities, have aimed especially the Turkmen population. This brutality was intensified and severely harmed the Shiite Turkmen. **(4)** Thousands of Turkmen were executed, deported or have disappeared. Many settlement areas were devastated. Turkmen are denied equal access to employment, education, and physical security.

The fact that the political awareness of Turkmen differs widely from the mentality of the Baath party has exacerbated the hostility of the Iraqi regime.

The special rapporteur has addressed the general assembly on many occasions on the topic of the violation of Turkmen human rights:

1. Special Reporter of the Human Rights Commission, "Report to the Assembly", A/46/647, paragraph 48, 55 and 89.
2. Special Reporter of the Human Rights Commission, "Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Iraq", E/CN: 4/1992/31, paragraph 114 - 117.
3. Special Reporter of the Human Rights Commission, "Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Iraq", E/CN: 4/1993/45, paragraph 78.
4. Special Reporter of the Human Rights Commission, "Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Iraq", E/CN.4/1994/58, page 49.

Military court cases, for example, failed coups, coup attempts or the defeat of senior military officers during the wars are treated in special military courts. These courts are presided over by high-ranking Baath party member officers. In these court cases, the Revolutionary Command Council has prepared the verdict previous to the tribunal, and it is almost always the death penalty. To eliminate the people who are regarded highly in society, or high-ranking officers, 'treason' is often given as a reason for the verdict. **(5)**

As in the military field, the Government's security forces come in different forms and shapes and have broad executive rights. The following are some of the security forces:

1. An office in the Republican Palace is directly responsible for different civil and military sectors.
2. Special teams of Uday Saddam Huseein called the Saddam's Patriots.
3. National security (al-Muhabarat al-Iraqiyye).
4. The fourth Department of the Ministry of Defense.
5. The 16<sup>th</sup> division which was also called the Military Iraqi Inspection (al-Mukhabarat al-Askeriya)
6. The security office of the Ministry of the Interior
7. All members of the Baath party, of high or low rank, should report any criticism of the government.
8. Police.
9. Crime combating forces.
10. Political advisory bureau (al-Tawjih al-Siyasi).
11. All type of Unions: students, labor, trade, engineers and doctors.

Certainly, all the sections of the Iraqi community have suffered severely from the dictatorial and chauvinistic Saddam regime. The Shiite, who form more than half of the Iraqi population, the Kurds and the Turkmen, each group numbering a few million people, remain the focus of hostilities of the Baath regime.

The organized political power of the Shiite religious sect was formed in the seventies of the 20th century, after establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran. The Kurds, who developed the sense of nationality at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (McDowell), were able to establish national political and military power, after the fifties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These two groups were able to find external supporters. The Turkmen who remained inactive in the fields mentioned above were not able to find external supporters and remained powerless which exposed them to the hostilities. They remained out of 'safe havens' and under the rule of Baath regime after 1991. The other factors which exposed particularly the Turkmen to the most powerful assimilation policies are following: (4)

1. The vast majority of the Turkmen did not join the Baath party because of the aggressive Arabic nationalistic policy it adhered to.
2. Even under unbearable oppression the Turkmen could not adapt to the Baath regime because of their democratic attitude.
3. The Turkmen keep striving for and defending their national and cultural identity.
4. Absence of external supporters.
5. Unfortunately, the Turkmen live in fertile oil rich areas.
6. The Turkmen are a peaceful population and do not believe in aggression.

In this article we will document and categories the various ways in which Turkmen human rights are violated and the ways in which the Turkmen are forcedly assimilated.**DISSCUSSION**

The violation of Turkmen human rights and the attempts to assimilate them can be classified into the following categories.

- I. **Arabisation policies, distortion of Turkmen concentration and dispersion of the Turkmen.**
  - A. Resettlement of Arabs in the regions inhabited by Turkmen
  - B. Distortion of the Demography of the Turkmen settlement areas
  - C. Discrimination through employment opportunities, unfair dismissals and appointments
  - D. Deliberate measures to exacerbate Turkmen living conditions
  - E. Forced displacement and deportation
  - F. Interference with the right of ownership
- II. **Extra judicial acts**
  - A. Respect for the Integrity of the Person
  - B. Arbitrary Arrest, detention, exile, torture, cruel and inhuman punishment
  - C. Arbitrary executions
  - D. Disappearances
  - E. Collective punishments
- III. **Education, culture and the right to information.**
- IV. **Anti democratic policies that interfere with the civil liberties.**
  - A. Political Rights
  - B. Sports rights
  - C. The right to food

I. Arabisation policies, distortion of Turkmen concentration and dispersion of the

## Turkmen.

The population of Kirkuk and Erbil cities were Turkmen through and through in the not too distant past (6, 7, 8). The application of harsh assimilation methods and Arabization policies has decreased their population density notably, particularly in Kirkuk city. To dissipate the Turkmen, the Iraqi regime used many methods.

In the early seventies, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) founded the Northern Affairs Committee, which was charged with the implementation of the assimilation policies in the Turkmen regions. The president's cousin, Ali Hasan al-Mejid (9), notorious for his crimes, was appointed as chairman of this Committee, for the duration more than a decade. This committee is under the direct command of the Republican Palace.

### A. Resettlement of Arabs in the regions inhabited by Turkmen (10)

After the Baath coup in 1968, the policies of Arabisation in the Turkmen areas became more intensive and were applied openly. A lot of governmental laws defining the racist policies were published in the government newspaper.

The Arabs were granted advantages and invited to move to the region while the Turkmen were restricted in their choice of real estate and housing and forced to change residence.

The Arabs, particularly high ranking members (11) of the Baath party were not only encouraged financially but even ordered officially to move to the Turkmen areas particularly the oil rich cities Kirkuk and Khanakin.

Twenty to thirty thousand Arab families have been resettled in the Turkmen regions, particularly in the Kirkuk province. These families have been donated 10 - 20 thousand Iraqi Dinar which was equal to about 60 thousand American dollars in the 1970s and the early 1980s, to build their luxurious houses. In spite of their low education, these people have been appointed to the higher posts in the official offices. They are at a distinct advantage in all areas of secular life, including administrative, political and economic. Almost all the important officials in Kirkuk city have been replaced by high-ranking Baath party members and by people from the president's home town. Many new neighborhoods were recently built for the immigrated Arabs inside Kirkuk City. (Table 1)

Table 1. Recently built neighborhoods inside Kirkuk City for the resettled Arabs

Quarter Name	No houses	Region
Sulphur Houses	1200	Dibis Road
Refinery Houses	500	Dibis Road
Officers Houses	1500	along the military camp
al-Wasiti	±2000	Next to the TV station
al-Baath	±2000	New Tisin
al-Siqaq & al-Ishtrakiyya	700	Near Train Station
al-Garnata	700	Next to al-Idare al-Mahaliye
al-Hajaj	±1000	Along the Kirkuk-Leylan road
al-Uruba	±800	Next to Kasab Hane quarter
Al-Qutayba	±500	
al-Shurta	±500	

al-Shuqaq al-Saqaniyya	±1500	Over the old Seyyid Kizi football stadium
2000 Houses	2000	New Kirkuk
4000 Houses	4000	New Kirkuk
al-Wahda	±500	Kirkuk Karali road
al-Hurriya	±500	Kirkuk Karali road
Dur al-amn	±500	South eastern al-Shorja
al-Andalus	>1000	Entrance from Altun Kopri
al-Qarame	>500	Entrance from Suleymanian
al-Muthanna	>500	Entrance from Yarveli
al-Qadisiyya	>1000	At the other side of Baghdad Road against al-Wasiti neighborhood

### B. Distortion of the demography of the Turkmen settlement areas (12, 13, 14, 15)

The administrative boundaries have been changed continuously to divide the Turkmen concentrations. The name of Kirkuk province was changed to the Arabic name al-Tamim according to resolution number 41 of the Revolutionary Command Council, dated 29 January 1976. The area of Kirkuk province was reduced to about 7.000 km<sup>2</sup>. The administration of two large Turkmen districts Tuz Hurmatu and Kifri was annexed to the Salahaddin and Diyala provinces respectively.

In the 1970s, the Turkmen names of almost all streets, football teams (Table 2), and neighborhoods (Table 3), villages, towns and districts (Table 4) in Kirkuk province were officially renamed in Arabic. The Turkmen names of workshops or offices were also changed. It is forbidden to give any place a Turkmen name.

Table 2 *Some of the renamed Turkmen football teams*

Turkmen names	New Arabic names
KardaShlik	al-Tamim Youth.
Piryadi	7 Nisan.
Gök Bulut	al-Yermuk.
Tisin	al-Baath.

Table 3 *Some of the renamed Turkmen neighborhoods*

Turkmen names	New Arabic names
Yeni Tisin	al-Baath.
Avcı	al-Zehraa.
Pamuqçılar	al-Mansur.
Cukur*	al-Arab.
Korya† center	al-Baath center.

\* = Is from the oldest Turkmen neighborhoods. † = Is the heart of Kirkuk city.

Table 4 *Some of the Turkmen administrative regions, which have been given Arabic names.*

Turkmen names	New Arabic names
Karali	al-Rehtad
Buyuk sari tepe	al-Reu
Kucuk sari tepe	al-welid
Tokmakli	al-Hansai

Tercil	al-Kadisiye
Yenice	Ebu Muhnin al-Sahafi
Yarimca	Ceddah
Zindene	Misir
Sirince Bulak	al-Yermuk
Yukari Rucibati	al-Munteda
Asagi Rucibati	al-Kendi

Social engineering projects have been designed by the Iraqi regime to modify the ethnic ratios in the Turkmen regions. Wide streets were created in the middle of densely populated, nicely built Turkmen neighborhoods, after the houses had been expropriated.

1. *Salahaddin* Street was the first street that was created in the middle of the most densely populated Turkmen neighborhood *Musalla* in the early 1970s. About 1500 houses were destroyed. This street remained untarred for many years. The inhabitants, especially the children, suffered a lot from walking around in the mud.
2. An absolutely unsuitable street was created in the middle of the nice and rich *Sahat Tayaran* neighborhood. After the destruction of dozens of new buildings, the project was abandoned.
3. A Street wider than 20 meter and longer than 4 km was created in the middle of *Al-Shorje* neighborhood in Kirkuk city resulting in the destruction of 40% of the houses.
4. A Street was opened up in the *Gavurbag* district, which led to the destruction of *Muhammediyya* mosque and about houses.
5. The demolition of the big Old Tisin neighborhood has resulted in the destruction of more than 2 thousand houses of Turkmen Shiite.
6. Before the complete destruction of the large old *Tisin* Region, a wide street was created in the middle of *Hamzeli* neighborhood, which ruined more than 500 houses.
7. About 500 recently built houses were expropriated in the *new Tissin* region in order to build a new train station instead of the old one, even though the old station had not been used for many years. Later on, the old train station was restored. The expropriated houses were donated to Arab immigrants from the south.
8. In the 1970s, special teams were founded by the NAC to get rid of the Turkmen characteristics of the Kirkuk city. To mention a few examples: all the writings were removed from the historical entrance (*Top Kapisi*) of Kirkuk citadel, and the Diwan writing from the Ottoman period. Crescent and stars were removed from the tombstones.
9. The destruction of Kirkuk Citadel in 1998 was a terrible crime. All the houses were expropriated on the pretext that it was going to be a historical area, but later they were destroyed. The Citadel was considered the symbol of the Turkmen and Kirkuk city. There were more than 10 historical neighborhoods and more than two thousand houses (Table 5). It was inhabited by the Turkmen only. Now it is a low hill with a few buildings used as a garrison for special military forces.

Table 5 *Neighborhoods of Kirkuk Citadel that were demolished in the late 1990s.*

Agalik	Meydan	Yedi kizlar
Yukari Mahalle	Kara tepeliler	Tenekeciler
Mekteb	Kapisi	Hamam
Zindan		

The well-known historical sites in the citadel which have almost all demolished were:

1. Tomb and Mosque of the Prophet Daniel
2. Cathedral of the Mother of Grief.
3. Green Arch (Gok Kumbet).
4. Top Kapi (Cannon Door)
5. Historical houses in Kirkuk Citadel
6. Historical Mosques
  - a. Ulu Mosque
  - b. Meydan
  - c. Numan
  - d. Arsalan
  - e. Aryan Mosque

To force the Turkmen to leave Turkmen regions, particularly the oil rich Kirkuk city, the Government has demolished a lot of Turkmen sub-districts and villages (Table 6).

Table 6 *some of the destroyed Turkmen towns and villages around Kirkuk City:*

Beshir	Hamzeli (Eski Tisin)	Yaychi
Terjil	Yahyawa	Tirkalan
Turkeshkan	Topzawa	Bilawa

The following Turkmen towns around Mosul city were evacuated: Harabe, Gokcheli, Bazvaya and Qaretepe. Most of the inhabitants were forcedly deported to the Suleymaniyya province.

All the inhuman aggressive policies could not assimilate the Turkmen of Mandili district. On 26 July 1987 the Baath regime proclaimed resolution number 459 which stated that this city was no longer a district, in spite of the fact that it is a large and densely populated city. It is now a sub-district annexed to the smaller Qazaniye district.

### **C. Discrimination through employment opportunities, unfair dismissals and appointments**

The employment policies of the Baath regime are used for racist aims. Employment has played an important role in the relocation of mainly Turkmen. The private sector in Iraq is very small, and even that small sector is restricted by government legislation. The university graduates are obliged to work for government. According to the Labor Law University graduates such as doctors, pharmacists and engineers are not allowed to work outside the government sectors and they are not allowed to resign. The ministries distribute the appointments centrally, and an appointment depends on the average marks the person gets at graduation. All the appointments both in the private and in the government sectors in Kirkuk City must be approved by the Northern Affairs Committee. Almost all Turkmen who had been appointed centrally by the ministry in Turkmen area are subsequently rejected by Northern Affairs Committee. In this way Turkmen are refused jobs in all fields of employment in the Turkmen area, and they are offered jobs in one of the provinces in the south of Iraq. In the same way the Northern Affairs Committee refuses when Arabic staff applies for jobs outside the Turkmen regions. This is not in accordance with custom in Iraq, where people used to be appointed in their places of residence.

The official jobs of village or district mayor should be given to Turkmen but they are all given to Arabs who have been forced to emigrate to the region.

#### **D. Deliberate measures to exacerbate Turkmen living conditions**

Before commenting on the deliberate neglect of the Turkmen regions the matter of Gross National Product should be touched upon. In the 1970s, according to the OPEC organization, Iraq was producing 3.500.000 barrels of petroleum per day. The price of one barrel was 35 - 40 American Dollars. This means that the income of Iraq from petroleum only was 122.5 - 130 million American Dollars per day. Two thirds of the Iraqi oil **(16, 17)** and 2.2% of the world's oil **(18)** was produced in regions inhabited by Turkmen. However, the inhabitants of the region did not profit from this fact, as will become clear from the following examples.

1. The large Turkmen district Telafer in Mosul province has repeatedly been deprived of electricity or water for several months. They had to use the unhealthy water of the small river for washing and drinking. The school buildings are out of date and sparsely furnished and they do not have the necessary facilities for the large number of students. The roads are inadequate.
2. At that time and for 7 months in the hot Iraqi summers (40-50°C) many Turkmen regions received piped water from the municipality for only a few hours a day after midnight.
3. The poorly developed sewer system of many crowded Turkmen regions was in a very bad state and often blocked. The sewage water frequently covered some of the main streets for many days. During rainy days the situation was much worse
4. Musalla Park, 0.5 km in diameter, was full of many sorts of flowers and rare sorts of trees until the late sixties. The ground was nicely covered with grass. There were many sorts of birds. At the end of the seventies the flowers had disappeared. Most of the trees had died from neglect. The birds had left. Brown soil had replaced the nice grass.

The Government owns all the major industries and controls most of the centralized economy. It controls imports and dominates the trade unions. The citizens are required to obtain specific government authorization for imports and exports. In this way Turkmen are virtually prevented from trading. The permission to open a private business is almost always given to the Arabs. The applications of Turkmen to start up a business are almost always refused or the business was hampered by a limited supply of resources.

All types of taxes were extremely low in Iraq. To make it difficult for the Turkmen to buy houses, the taxes in Kirkuk City, especially on houses, were increased hugely in the last 2 decades.

The house owners in the Turkmen regions were asked to pay extremely high taxes since the 1980s. Some of the moderately rich Turkmen were asked to pay 90,000 Iraqi Dinar property tax.

In the late eighties summer (temperature 40 -50C°) tankers of the municipality irrigated the tar-covered streets while people were searching for water because no water came from the taps. This is an example of psychological warfare.

Many terrorist attacks took place in Turkmen cities to scare people away from their regions. In the 1980s, security agents officially ordered the people to plunder many

Turkmen supermarkets in Turkmen areas, such as the supermarket of A. Welî, pretending that they were storing essential goods.

As a hostile reaction of the Baath regime to the Turkmen one-week strike in November 1971, the official banks in 1972 were advised to withdraw credit from all Turkmen businessmen **(19)**.

#### **E. Forced displacement and deportation (4, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24)**

The compulsory relocation continues in the context of a policy aimed at changing the demography of the Turkmen inhabited areas such as Kirkuk, Tuz Hurmatu, Tavuk and Khanakin.

Turkmen were deliberately and collectively dismissed from their jobs and replaced by Arabs in all government offices and especially the Oil company and irrigation projects in Kirkuk.

In spite of having the required documents, thousands of Turkmen staff, for example teachers, doctors and engineers have been not appointed in the Turkmen areas.

By resolution number 1391, dated 20 October 1981, The Baath regime decided to build collective settlement camps for Turkmen of Kirkuk city in four southern provinces: Misan, Diwaniye, Semawa and Rumadi. The government systematically deported hundreds of Turkmen families to the south of Iraq in the late 1970's and early 1980's **(25, 26)**.

In the 1980s, the government started to discharge or reappoint Turkmen staff in many sectors, especially teachers. Thousands of Turkmen officials, workers and teachers have had to leave the Turkmen areas, mainly for the south of Iraq.

In the late 1980s, a large number of Turkmen staffs were discharged in Tikrit, Beji and Kirkuk states.

In the early 1980s, about a hundred workers and staff were discharged from the the electricity plant in Dibis sub-district of Kirkuk City. In the same period, a large number of young and middle aged Turkmen teachers from the surrounding sub-districts of Kirkuk City, for example, Taza Hurmatu, Terjil and Qumbetler, were reappointed to the southern provinces and Suleymaniye.

In 1992, about a hundred Turkmen workers were discharged from the Kirkuk project in Tuz Hurmatu.

The human rights department of the United Nations received and filed several testimonies on the deportation campaigns in Kirkuk province where Turkmen families have reportedly been forced to leave the city. The majority have been deported to the Safe Haven in northern Iraq and were not allowed to bring any property. Shiite Turkmen are deported in particular from the quarters of Kirkuk, for example, Old and New Tisin, from Davuk, Duz, Besir, Yahyawa and other villages.

The estimated 25.000 Old Tisin population and the population of the large village of Beshir numbering about 35.000 were relocated outside Turkmen areas. Thousands of these people were arrested and detained.

After forced deportation of thousands of Turkmen and the departure of equal numbers due to the oppression policies, the Baath regime legislated a resolution in 1990, according to which Turkmen who leave Iraq without permission and do not return in two years, will lose the Iraqi nationality.

#### **F. Interference with the right of ownership (27)**

The purchase of land or buildings in the Turkmen area has to be approved by the NAC. This committee refuses almost all applications by Turkmen. In this way the Turkmen are prevented from buying agricultural or building lands and houses.

According to government regulations the Arabic people are not allowed to sell a house, agricultural and building lands to Turkmen. However, Arabic men are allowed to buy houses and agricultural or building lands from Turkmen.

Thousands of square kilometers of Turkmen agricultural lands and building sites were expropriated (Table 7) as was stipulated in resolutions number 369 and number 1081 of the Revolutionary Command Council, dated 31 May 1971 and 27 September 1984, consecutively. The people whose houses and/or lands were expropriated were paid a small sum which did not even amount to one year's yield. The ownership of the lands has allegedly been transferred to high-level officials of the regime.

Table 7, *expropriated Turkmen Lands. (28)*

<b>Region</b>	<b>Donem*</b>
Dibis	17,430
Central district and Kara Hasan	59,160
Yayçi	19,752
Taze Hurmatu	12,409
Tuz Hurmatu	29,871

\* = Donum is 920 m<sup>2</sup>

Thousands of km<sup>2</sup> of lands were expropriated in Altun Kopri sub-district and other Turkmen regions. All the agricultural lands around the village of Tirklan, which belonged to Turkmen peasants, were reportedly confiscated. This village was then demolished, and its inhabitants were displaced to the Tammuz and al-Shaheed complexes near Tikrit. In the village of Mullah Abdullah, the agricultural lands belonging to a Turkmen peasant were also confiscated.

The movable and immovable properties of the thousands of Turkmen who leave the country and of those who were executed or sentenced to life imprisonment have been given to the security personnel and newly settled Arabs.

## **II. Extra judicial acts**

The perpetrators of the 1968 coup were convinced that the Baath party ideology was the only way to unite the strongly divided Arab nation, to fight any threats, to nationalize the huge oil deposits in the Arab lands and to become a civilized country.

The punishments and rewards the Baath party hands out are based on religion and

tradition and are still the prevailing way of thinking in the Middle East.

Freedom is one of the three principles of the Baath party, but due to the stressful international situation and the fear of counter coups freedom was completely reversed and changed into its opposite, namely suppression. People had been promised democracy but this turned into doctrinal or one-party dictatorship at first and to personal dictatorship later on. Decision-making and legislation have been banned from all fields of life.

#### **A. Respect for the Integrity of the Person**

During the censuses of the last three decades, registration of nationality is allowed only for the Arabs and the Kurds. The Turkmen are forced to consider themselves either Arab or Kurd.

In the nineties, after people had been exhausted by all types of suppression for decades, new racist policy was introduced in the Turkmen areas. To get the same rights and facilities as the Arab people, the Turkmen are asked to officially change their nationality. For safety reasons and to avoid persecution, some of them changed their nationality.

In 1997, the public registration offices started to refuse registration of newborn children with Turkmen names or Turkmen family names.

From the second half of the 1970s, the regime periodically sealed off entire districts in the Turkmen areas and conducted daylong, house-to-house searches. Kirkuk City was particularly exposed many times to thorough searches by military or Baath party squads. In November 1985, the soldiers entered the houses in all neighborhoods of the city without asking permission and searched every corner. The people who objected or the owners of the houses in which simple hunting weapons were found were punished brutally.

On 14 December 1993, the Special Security Guards and members of the Baath party intelligence service accompanied soldiers who were searching homes, without warrant or legal orders, in the large Turkmen neighborhood of Shaturlu in Kirkuk City. **(29)**

Mourning ceremonies and funerals for hundreds of executed Turkmen were prohibited, such as the funeral services for the Turkmen leaders who were executed on 16 January 1980, and for the group of Rushdi Muhtaroglu and Mehmet Korkmaz.

According to the laws which were passed in the early 1970's as part of the laws defining Iraqi citizenship, Turkmen who marry a Turkish citizen are not eligible for appointments resorting under the Ministries of Defense, Foreign Affairs or Home Affairs. According to a similar law which was passed in the 1970s an Arab man who married a Turkmen woman was granted a donation of 500 Iraqi Dinar which was equal to 1500 USA dollars.

The Iraqi Constitution does not mention the Turkmen identity for the Turkmen groups of Shebek, Bajalan and Sarili tribes. The great majority of them talks Turkmen **(30, 31)** and consider themselves to be ethnically Turkmen. However, the Government, without any historical basis, has defined these tribes as Arabs.

#### **B. Arbitrary Arrest, detention, exile, torture, cruel and inhuman punishment**

Like any other non-democratic regime the Baath party sees the continuation of its rule as

its main objective. For that reason they started to change the structure of the community soon after they came into power. They cleverly destroyed the centers of power and respect in society. Educated people, high-ranking military officers, and the heads of tribes and wealthy families were removed from their positions and replaced by rich or uneducated members of the Baath party. The party membership was the only qualification they needed. It is clearly noticeable that high-ranking employees are under qualified. Many high-ranking Turkmen military officers have been discharged or had to retire in the early period of the present regime. To harass Turkmen businessmen in the early 1970s security agents arrested 12 businessmen, whose possessions were expropriated, such as Abdul al-Wahid Jadduu and Seyid Gani.

Attempts to humiliate Turkmen youths and damage their self-respect:

1. Young Turkmen are repeatedly arrested and detained in the regional security offices. They are kept waiting for many hours before they are allowed to return home. They are not given any reasons. In other cases, they are forced to drink a lot in a short time.
2. For simple criticisms of government regulations, hundreds of Turkmen are submitted to severe persecutions and torture in the prisons of the security headquarters. Many singers, poets and writers are imprisoned or tortured in prison for long periods.
3. Government offices close at three o'clock in the afternoon. Therefore people spend relatively long periods in cafes each day. There are well-known and large cafes in each quarter in Turkmen areas. To break up social life in the Turkmen neighborhoods the security authorities from the early 1970s started to bother the owners of these cafes by summoning them repeatedly to the police or security offices and threatening them with punishments and asking them to give regularly information about the customers. Repeatedly water and electricity are cut off from these mostly crowded cafes. Musalla, Aslan Evasi and Ahmet Aga cafes are the cafes that suffered most from this policy.

As has been mentioned before illegal aspects of Baath party policies vary widely. The victims are almost always exposed to torture. These insults varied from simple beating, denial of food, electric shocks, burning with hot irons and rape. Evidence of such torture is often apparent when the mutilated bodies of the victims were returned to their families. Those who died during torture were not given to the families and were reported missing. The family members were put under surveillance and the first-degree relatives were discharged from or not recruited for the ministry of Defense, Home affairs and other important positions.

The security, military or party offices do not give any information about the people who have been arrested. No lawyers are admitted and the prisoners are not allowed to see any relatives for many months. Family members do not know the whereabouts of prisoners.

Bodies of the Turkmen who were executed at the end of June 1993, which were returned to their families almost three weeks after execution, carried marks of harassment and torture. One of them reportedly had his eyes gouged out. **(32)**

### **C. Arbitrary executions (10)**

The earliest Turkmen victim was the deputy minister Nizameddin Arif. He was executed during the first attack of Baath regime on the Iraqi politicians who were not members of the Baath party in 1970.

During the Turkmen student boycott in 1970, the security agents arrested the primary

school teacher Hussein Ali Demirci. He was killed during torture and his body was severely burned with a hot iron and electric shocks. To explain the severe burns on his body and to blame him for the attack on the Kirkuk television station his body was thrown on the electric lines near the Kirkuk television station on 24.01.1971. He was a popular Turkmen actor and known by the name Tembel Abbas from one of his presentations.

As a result of the racist policies of the Baath regime, many Turkmen secret organizations were founded. During the last 3 decades, several groups of Turkmen were accused of political activities and executed, for example, Mehmet Salihi, Necdet Asker Mahmut, Cihad fazil Tavukli and Hussein Demirci. After 1980, execution of Turkmen intellectuals increased sharply. On 16 January 1980, the Turkmen leaders and the administrators' committee members of the Brotherhood Association were executed. In the same year, the members of two other groups consisting mainly of teachers and students were hanged (33). In the 1980s, a large number of high-ranking military Turkmen were accused of fictitious treachery and executed, jailed, dismissed or they disappeared. (Table 8 and 9).

Table 8 *Some of the High-ranking Turkmen military officers who were executed (due to simply created) for simple offences attributed to them*

Rank	Name	Date of exe.
Staff General	Ismet sabir	1990
Major Pilot	Aydin Mustafa	1988
Lieutenant Colonel	Necat Sukru	1986
Colonel	Remzi Mehmed	1986
Lieutenant Pilot	Ahmet Sul. Kasaboglu	1988

'Neglect of duty' was the offence made up for some military Turkmen, such as Colonel Fikret, who was the head of the military Administrative Unit in the al-Rashid Military Camp in Baghdad and was executed in 1988.

Table 9 *Military officers who were accused of (opponent) oppositional (hostile) political activities and executed*

Rank	Name	Date exec.
Major engineer	Halid Aqqoyunli	1980
Major	Talib Juma	1980s
Major	Ali Merdan Hussein	1984
Captain	Hashim Riza	1986
Captain	Talib Mulla Hadi Chaychi	1980s
Pilot	Adil Qumbetler	1983
Lieutenant	Nejdet Asker Mahmut	1970s
Secondary Lieutenant	Jemal Ahmet Faraj	1991
Lieutenant	Hussiin Ali Ahmet	1991

Others were killed in dubious accidents, for example, Staff General Omer Ali, who was killed in a car accident on his return from Beirut in 1980s.

Since 1980, many families and hundreds of youths were captured in the north of Iraq when they were trying to leave Iraq during the Iraq-Iran war. Eighty percent of these people were shot dead or hanged. Almost all of them were Turkmen.

Many people from the Turkmen Salamiyya town in Mosul province were executed. Six members of the Shakuli family fell victim to these executions.

Besides being subjected to the general assimilation policies applied in the Turkmen areas. The Tuz Hurmatu, Tavuk and Taze Hurmatu districts, where people belong to the Turkmen Shiite community, were also exposed to more aggressive hostilities. Hundreds of teenagers were accused of being members of the al-Dawa party, and they disappeared after they had been arrested.

The Turkmen sub-district Beshir of Kirkuk City was a well known area because many Turkmen intellectuals and literary men used to live there. Before its demolition in the late 1980s, the inhabitants of this sub-district were exposed to aggressive harassment. A lot of them disappeared after having been arrested. The elderly were brought to the detainee camps and the families were forcibly relocated. The intellectuals were arrested then executed. In the early 1980s, the prisoners in the Kirkuk Security Headquarters still talk about the 90 teachers from the Beshir sub-district of whom 5-7 teachers disappeared each week until all were executed.

The Turkmen notable Seyit Mejid Seyid Kerim, the owner of the Atlas Hotel in Baghdad, was arrested due to his close relation with a Turkish citizen and died a month after release in the late 1980s.

The lieutenant Suud Sivid executed in the early 1990s for his nationality feelings.

Fatih Sakir Kazim developed paraplegia during torture in the early 1980s. Afterwards his leg had to be amputated in prison because his DM was not treated properly. He died on 18.05.1990 from a heart attack. Bahaddin Resul Kojawa died after amputation of his leg, which was also due to untreated Diabetes Mellitus. Many other Turkmen such as Enver Mehmet Neftci, Asker Hasan Ali and Seyid Mehmet were killed or left to die in prison.

At the end of the Gulf war and after the coalition armies had put an end to the war; the present regime was able to suppress the uprising of March 1991. The provinces were re-occupied by special teams, and during this period serious human rights violations were reported in Iraq. Hundreds of Turkmen were killed (34) when the cities were bombed and by the special military teams who patrolled the streets and in the houses and during their flight to Turkey and Iran. A lot of bodies were buried alongside of the Tuz Hurmatu – Kirkuk, AltunKopri –Kirkuk and AltunKopri – Erbil roads. The Turkmen Shiites were exposed to the most aggressive humiliations in Tavuk, Teze Hurmatu, Mendeli and many other sub-districts and villages of Kirkuk and Diale provinces. Thousands of people, including a lot of teenagers, were accused of political activities and arrested. They were first taken to Baghdad and then transferred to unknown places. All have disappeared. The Turkmen cities of Kirkuk (35), Tuz Hurmatu (36), Taze Hurmatu and Altun Kopri (37) were considered to be the regions in Iraq that suffered most severely.

Since the imposition of UN sanctions on Iraq in 1991, dozens of Turkmen were accused of co-operation with Turkmen parties in the Safe Haven, such as the National Iraqi Turkmen party, Turkmeneli party and Turkmen Front, and they were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, detained, executed or they simply disappeared.

In July 1992, seven Turkmen were arrested for connections with the Iraqi Turkmen

National Party. In February 1993, four of them were executed; Abbas Mehdi Riza Bender, Isam Ömer Celil Sari kahya, Hussein Safi Sultan and Tahsin Korkmaz, and four others were sentenced to 10 – 15 years (imprison) imprisonment. (Table 10).

Table 10 *The students who were sentenced in February 1993.*

No	Name	Duration
1-	Zühir Hussein Mehdi	10 years
2-	Hayder İbrahim Süleyman	15 years
3-	Abbas Fadil Midhat	15 years
4-	Mehmet Semir İbrahim	Lifelong

In September 1992, the following nine Turkmen, all of them students, were arrested for the same reason.

1. Atilla Ahmet Nimet
2. Salih Yunus Ali
3. Tariq Mehmet Abdullah
4. Nejdet İbrahim Kerim
5. Shirzat Ahmet Said
6. Sirwan Selman Said
7. Mehmed Siwid Bezirgen
8. Shahin Tezeli
9. Ali Hadi Chardakli

On 27 June 1993, all of them were executed. Their bodies were given to the families 15 July 1993. In 21.04.1993 Tahsin Korkmaz was executed for the same reason.

A group of 28 Turkmen were accused of political activities and put to death in 1997**(38)**.

A group of fifteen Turkmen were buried in a collective grave after execution in the south of Iraq in 2001; Yavuz Hasan, Metin Cafer, Reshid Yilmaz, the primary school teacher Izzeddin Awkati, Gulhan Riza and Abbas Tenekeci **(39)**.

The inhumanly wide range systematized assimilation policies of the government against the Turkmen made those who applied the orders not hesitate to commit the unimaginable crimes:

Twenty three years old Deniz Wahid, was electric engineer, refused to marry a security officer who she has not know. In 1993, she was burned with her husband in their car in the entrance of Kirkuk City from the south.

Twenty four years old Turkan Ahmet, qualified from the faculty of education, Mosul University, was teacher of the Arabic in one of the secondary school in Kirkuk City. She refused to succeed one of the students, whose father was an officer in the security service, failed in all the examinations. In 1996, she was killed by an automatic gun near the Domis houses on the Baghdad Road neighborhood.

#### **D. Disappearances (5)**

A large number of Turkmen intellectuals were accused of political activities and

disappeared after their arrest. Nothing has been heard of them since. Ten years later their disappearance is still officially unaccounted for. The Iraqi authorities threaten the families when they search for these people. The main reasons for these disappearances seem to be death during detainment, severe handicapped injuries, and to protect the witnesses against them. The University lecturer in Baghdad Agricultural College Riza Demirci disappeared after having been arrested on 15.02.1979. Kemal Terzi returned to Iraq when the Government offered immunity to the politician outside Iraq. He disappeared after security agents led him away from the mosque after Friday prayers in early September 1980. Others were arrested for no apparent reason. For example, Mahir Oktay, who left Iraq in the early 1970s, came back from Turkey using his Turkish passport to visit his relatives. Security agents arrested him on 17 February 1985. No reason was stated for the arrest, and government officials did not inform his family of his whereabouts and there is no information about him until today. Jewdet Avci was a Turkmen intellectual who was from the active members of the Turkmen Brotherhood Association. After occupation of the Association by the Baath party regime, he was exiled to Mosul City in the north of Iraq. On 10 October 1981 he did not return from his work.

Gazi Memet was a professional soldier in the Rashid Military Camp in Baghdad who was arrested by the Mukhabarat agents in 1980 in Baghdad. His mother took a lot of pains to reach to the head of the Iraqi general Security headquarters. She was informed that her son had been killed. Hasib Gulhan was from the well-known Turkmen Gulhan family in Kirkuk City. This family possesses vast agricultural lands around Kirkuk City. He disappeared in the early 1980s after he left his house one morning by car.

Thousands of Shiite Turkmen have disappeared in the late 1970's and early 1980's, and their houses were demolished by the Iraqi regime, such as the large Old Tissin Neighborhood in Kirkuk, and the villages of Beshir, Yahyawa and Topzawa.

After the development of the Safe Haven, above the 32<sup>nd</sup> parallel, in the north of Iraq in 1991, the Turkmen political organizations were able to re-organize themselves and work openly.

On 31 August 1996, the troops of the Baath regime invaded the area with the help of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Barazani and captured dozens of active political Turkmen (Table 11). All of them have disappeared. Many of these persons may have been killed surreptitiously, late in 1997 and throughout 1998, in the so-called prison-cleansing campaign.

*Table 11 Turkmen politicians who were taken from the (Save) Safe Haven and disappeared.*

No.	Name	Birth date	City of birth	
1-	Aydin Shakir Iraqi	1936	Kirkuk	MINTPL <sup>+</sup>
2-	Farhad Qasim Kirkukli	1946	Kirkuk	MINTPL
3-	Ayad Wahid Sa'adullah	1960	Erbil	MINTPL
4-	Ali Hasan Hussein (Ajamoglu)	1965	Kirkuk	MINTPL
5-	Abdulrahman Ömar Qadir Baqqal	1972	Kirkuk	MINTPL
6-	Ali Yaychili	1971	Kirkuk	MINTPL
7-	Ahmet Nurettin Kayachi	1976	Kirkuk	MINTPL
8-	Mehmet Rashit Mehdi	1953	Tozhurmatu	MTEPL <sup>+</sup>

9-	Miqhail Shahbaz Samad	1973	Erbil	
10-	Tariq Fayed Nureddin	1979	Erbil	
11-	Lt-Col Sirwan Ahmat Abdulkadir	1960	Kirkuk	
12-	Munim Mehmet Emin	1947	Erbil	
13-	Halid İbrahim Ahmad	1945	Erbil	
14-	İbrahim Abdurrahman	1964	Erbil	
15-	Mazin Faruq	1968	Erbil	
16-	Nejmettin Nurettin	1937	Erbil	
17-	Shakir Shükür Zeynelabdin			
18-	Neshet Faysal Abdillah	1960	Erbil	
19-	Shirzad Yüsuf Aziz			
20-	Shahin Yunus Mahmut			
21-	Hajar Abdulgeni Shahab	1972	Erbil	
22-	Abdurrahman Qadir Muhammed			
23-	Halid Abdullah	1947	Erbil	
24-	Nüsret Halit Abdullah	1977	Erbil	
25-	Yilmaz Halit Meheddin	1969	Kirkuk	
26-	Ayad Ahmat	1963	Kirkuk	
27-	Abdurrahman Qal Ali	1974	Kirkuk	
28-	Ferhad Hadi	---	Erbil	
29-	Yilmaz yusuf	---	----	
30-	Shivan Shahbaz Mehmed	---	Erbil	

MITNPL\* = Member of Iraqi Turkmen National Party Leadership. MTEPL\* = Member of Turkmaneli Party leadership

### E. Collective punishments

The charge of 'guilty by association' is facilitated by administrative requirements imposed on relatives of sentenced people, deserters or other perceived opponents. (40)

The Baath regime has introduced different general suppressive policies after the 1968 coup, for example:

1. Hampering appointments of Turkmen in many posts, for example:
  - a. Ministry of Defense.
  - b. Ministry of Home Affairs.
  - c. Ministry of Foreign affairs
  - d. Military institutions and College
  - e. Police institution and College
  - f. Education faculties and institution Colleges
  - g. Sports institutions
  - h. Academy of Fine Arts
2. Deprivation of the Non-Baath party members from many rights.
3. Systematic punishment of the family members and close relatives of the following people:
  - a. People who were sentenced for political offences
  - b. people who refused to join the military service during the wars.
  - c. people who fled from Iraq.
  - d. people who joined the opposition in the north of Iraq.

Hundreds of secret Turkmen organizations were founded in Iraq in the last three

decades, even though most of them had simple aims or were inactive because their opponents treated them aggressively. After the Gulf War in 1990 and the development of the Safe Haven many Turkmen parties started to work openly in northern Iraq.

The movable and immovable possessions of those who were sentenced for political reasons have been expropriated. According to Revolutionary Command Council Decree No. 395 of 9 October 1990, the movable and immovable property of their sisters and wives had to be confiscated.

Relatives of Turkmen who were sentenced for political reasons were subjected to the following treatment:

1. Being put at the disposal of the Baath Party and forced to work for them.
2. Being put under surveillance and punished for simple criticism.
3. Not being allowed to buy immovable possessions in Kirkuk.
4. Deportation to the frontiers in the Gulf War.
5. Forced relocation either to the South with their possessions or to the north without them.
6. Dismissal from their jobs in the following fields.
  - a. Ministry of Defence.
  - b. Ministry of Home Affairs
  - c. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The wives, children or parents of the Turkmen opponents were brought to the security offices and threatened with punishment if their husbands, fathers or sons continued working against the regime. In many cases the Turkmen opponents, particularly mothers were arrested and held as hostages in order to force the relatives who had escaped abroad to surrender.

The movable possessions of those who had fled from Iraq were sold in auctions which were attended only by Arabs, while their immovable possessions were granted directly to the immigrated Arabs.

Non-reporting of deserters exposes the relatives to:

1. Economical punishment such as loss of ration cards for purchasing government-controlled food supplies
2. Eviction from their residences
3. Dismissal from their jobs
4. Deprivation of the right to trade

During the conferences of the Turkmen parties and Turkmen front abroad or in the Safe Haven, the Special Security forces inside Iraq threatened relatives of politicians and the sympathizers. They were forced to call the politicians and warn them against participating in conferences.

### **III. Education, culture and the right to information.(2)**

For decades the Government has conducted a brutal campaign of murder, summary execution, and protracted arbitrary arrest against the Turkmen population, and particularly, against those who continued asking for Turkmen cultural rights. The regime has severely repressed Turkmen writers and intellectuals.

Turkmen have been deprived of their right to education for many decades, ever since use of the Turkmen language as the language of instruction in schools was banned by the Cabinet of Yasin al-Hashimi in the mid 1930s **(19, 41)**. The Beshir periodical, which was published by Turkmen intellectuals in Turkmen and Arabic, was stopped after publication of 26 issues. The other cultural Turkmen organizations were constantly thwarted by the government. The Turkmen graduates are not admitted to forms of higher education such as doctorates, post-doctorates or master's degrees.

To use the Turkmen card against the Kurdish uprising in the north, the Baath regime granted both the Turkmen and the Kurds partial cultural rights on 24 January 1970. **(19, 42)** The Turkmen language became the language of instruction in more than 130 primary schools in the Kirkuk city and 200 schools were founded in Kirkuk province where Turkmen also became the language of instruction. Many cultural publications and organizations were founded, for example, Milli Takimi (National Company), Kara Altun Takimi (Black Gold team), Yuce Sesler (Lofty Voice) and as a publication Yurd (homeland) newspaper. The number of Turkmen cultural activities increased in Kizilay and Revolutionary Association. The Turkmen were accorded the right to publish a weekly newspaper and a monthly magazine in Turkmen language. The number and the duration of Turkmen programs on Kirkuk television was prolonged to one hour a day and the duration of Turkmen broadcasts on Baghdad radio was also prolonged to seven hours a day. This was short-lived. At the congress of the Baath Party in 1971, it was decided to intensify Arabisation of the Turkmen area. The same year the right to instruction in Turkmen was infringed upon.

The Turkmen people reacted to this decision, which deprived them from their cultural rights, such as the use of Turkmen as the language of instruction, in publications and in the theatre. The Turkmen students organized one of the biggest democratic protest activities in the recent history of the Iraq. Hundreds of thousands of Turkmen students boycotted primary and secondary schools as well as the university. No more than 10 out of 60 students in each class in the Kirkuk area attended schools. Written statements were distributed in the streets and schools in the main Turkmen districts, sub-districts and villages, encouraging the students to continue the boycott until their cultural rights were given back to them, and calling on their parents to support their children. The boycott lasted for more than one week. The next step was to be organized by the shoppers to set down the shutters. This prevented when the Iraqi regime had brutally stopped the boycott. A large number of teachers and students were arrested and held captive and interrogated in Kirkuk security head office. Fathers of the students who organized the boycott were arrested and others were threatened. The primary school teacher and actor Hussein Ali Demierci died under torture. The government gradually took over all the Turkmen cultural centers. The teachers of Turkmen schools were exiled to the Arabic provinces. Turkmen graduates started to be appointed in the Northern provinces. The remaining Turkmen institutions gradually came under total government control and were staffed by Baath party members. The newspaper Yurd (newspaper) was given to Benderoglu, and old communist and new Baath party member **(19)**. The duration of Turkmen programs on Kirkuk television and of Turkmen broadcasts on Baghdad radio were shortened.

The only cultural Turkmen journal Kardaslik, which had been published for about three decades by the Turkmen Brotherhood Association, was stopped in 1990. After the Turkmen were deprived of their cultural rights in 1971, the name of more than 120

Turkmen schools were changed into Arabic names (Table 12).

Table 12 *Names of Turkmen Schools which were renamed in Arabic.*

<b>Turkmen names</b>	<b>Arabised names</b>
Hassa Su	al-Hassa
Dogruluk	Amir bin Abdulaziz
Aq TaSh	al-Mutenebbi
Ileri	Ibn al-Heythem
Yildizlar	al-Fecr al-Jedid
Dede Hicri	Ebu Kasim al- Thekafi
Yedi Kardash	al-Baath
Kere Altun	8 Shubat
Muttlu	al-Nasr
Shanli	That al-Sawari
24 Ocak	Usama bin zeyid

As was mentioned above that the Cabinet of Yasin al-Hashimi in the mid 1930s banned the use of Turkmen language as the language of instruction in schools. The teachers kept teaching in Turkmen, particularly at primary schools. In the late 1970s, it was forbidden to talk Turkmen in government offices and schools. This was extremely harmful for the Turkmen students, particularly for children and teenagers. These age groups could hardly know any Arabic because they lived completely in a Turkmen-speaking environment.

Traditionally a large number of the Iraqi Turkmen students study at a university in Turkey. The families are accustomed to sending their children who cannot get a place at an Iraqi university due to language problems to Turkey instead. While they are studying in the democratic environment in Turkey many of these students participate in Turkmen cultural activities and hold positions in Turkmen cultural organizations. After getting a degree they return to Iraq with a democratic mentality and all the more conscious of their deprivation of Turkmen cultural rights. In the late 1970s the Iraqi government started to fight this phenomenon as part of its Arabization policy, banned to give passport for study in Turkey.

Many of these students are arrested and exposed to different sorts of persecution, when they visit Iraq during the summer holidays. Their first-degree relatives are put on the black list and deprived of many rights. Several of them were executed when they returned to Iraq after qualification. For example;

1. Fatih Nefi, who got a university degree in Turkey and after his return to Iraq he was accused of treachery and executed in 1980.
2. Hisameddin Hac Nuri qualified as an engineer in Turkey and was accused of nationalism and executed in 1980.
3. Celil Demirci qualified as an engineer in Turkey in 1970s.

In order to throw suspicion on cinemas in Turkmen regions which showed Turkish films a bomb attack was planned by the security services during a Turkish film in Cinema Salahaddin in Kirkuk city in 1979. Celil Demirci, who was by then a quiet

male teacher, was accused of planting the bomb and executed in 1981

4. Mahir Oktay. As he is mentioned above he disappeared when visited Iraq in 1985.

5. Abdullah Beshirli, an industrial engineer who was executed with his father and uncle a few years after return from Turkey **(43)**.

The Turkmen of Iraq are not only deprived of cultural activities and Turkmen press but also of radio and TV programs in their own language. In 1959, Baghdad Radio station started to broadcast programs in the Turkmen language for only half hour, which was later extended to 4 hours. The TV programs in Turkmen started in the second half of 1970s, initially they broadcast for only 20 minutes, later this was extended to 45 minutes. With the start of Iraqi satellite broadcasting in 2000, the interval for Turkmen programs was unexpectedly one hour. After a few months, broadcasting in Turkmen was stopped and at the same time continued in Arabic and Kurdish for about 20 hours. The staff was selected from the Baath party members and the programs were prepared according to the Baath party policies. After the Second Gulf War, Broadcast of Kirkuk TV was stopped and Turkmen Radio was largely reduced.

The commission members who evaluate the Turkmen programs, songs and presentations for broadcast are all Arabs. The quality of Turkmen songs and presentations has been lowered deliberately. There appear many singers who perform poorly and the lyrics of their songs are not appreciated.

There are numerous examples of Turkmen poets, writers, singers and actors being subjected to arrest, assault, and harassment in the past few decades. Almost all Turkmen cultural associations were harassed and had to close down, such as Red Crescent Theater and the National Company, Black Gold and Yuce Sesler groups. Turkmen concerts and national festivals could no longer be organized. Hundreds of Turkmen used to attend the theatre plays of the National Company and of the Black Gold Group and the presentations of the Revolutionary Association, but these performances were put an end towards the end of the 1970s. It was hard for the Turkmen to have to do without music and folklore. Since the 1970s thousands of musical performances have been organized at home on social occasions such as wedding parties and circumcision parties.

The Revolutionary Sport Association organized activities mainly in the following fields: football, basketball and volleyball. In later years, it is changed to a cultural organization. The departments of national dance, theatre and music were developed. With the intensification of assimilation policies the theatre and national dance division were forbidden. All the activities of this Association are now extremely restricted.

The National Company mentioned above was a cultural organization founded in the early seventies. This organisation gave performances in many fields: music, choirs, drama and folkloristic dance. This organization was abolished after the execution of the famous actor Hussein Ali Demirci, as has been mentioned.

To prevent Turkmen from organizing such feasts the majority of Turkmen singers were arrested and subjected to torture, such as the Top singers Abdul-Wahab Ahmed (Haba) and Ekrem Tuzlu. After participation in a festival in Suleymaniye governorate, Abdul-Wahab was arrested for the fifth time in August 2001. After release, his health was rapidly deteriorated and died in few weeks.

Turkmen poets have been exposed to the same brutal policies. The well-known poet Mehmed Izzet Hattat was imprisoned for 6 years although he was already in his sixties. The blind poet, Hasan Gorem, from the Turkmen district of Tuz Hurmatu was imprisoned many times.

There is a strict ban on all types of Turkmen publications including poems, novels and newspapers. Acquisition of publications written in the Latin Turkish alphabet is considered an offence. Many Turkmen were arrested, tortured, harassed and sentenced for that reason.

#### **IV. Anti democratic policies that interfere with the civil liberties (44).**

##### **A. Political Rights**

When there is talk of 'elections in Iraq' this is misunderstood by people from democratic countries. People should bear in mind that these elections take place in a country where political activities outside the ruling Baath party are forbidden and opposition parties are not allowed. The candidates are selected from high-ranking party members by the government. Everybody knows that the Baath party motto is: "you are either with us or against us; no independent candidates". The organizers of any political activities, especially if they are from ethnic groups, are considered traitors and sentenced to death. In this way thousands of Turkmen from all age groups, particularly highly educated people have been executed merely because of political activities.

Towards the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, many groups of Turkmen intellectuals were accused of treason and executed.

On 16 January 1980, the executive members of one of the few official Iraqi Turkmen organizations that were still left were sentenced to death after being accused of illegal political activities that were regarded as treason. They were Retired Colonel Abdulla Abdurrahman, associated Professor Dr. Necdet Kocak and the businessman Adil Sherf. Dr Riza Demirci disappeared after his arrest. In their place, active Baath party members were appointed. With this group Major Engineer Halit Sait Aqqoyunlu and businessman Ibrahim Qocava were also executed.

As a result of the racist and oppressive policies of the Iraqi regime Turkmen intellectuals, teachers, students, businessmen and workers founded tens of secret political organizations. Many groups were executed after arrest, for example, the groups of primary school teacher Rushdi Muhtar Rashadoglu and of secondary school teacher Mehmet Qorqmaz.

Their groups consisted of teachers and secondary school and university students. The Iraqi regime sentenced more than 20 members to death and more than 50 members got prison sentences, varying from 7 years to lifelong imprisonment. (Table 13)

Table 13 *Turkmen who were accused of oppositional political activities and executed*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth date</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Date of death</b>
Mehmet QorQmaz	1942	PS <sup>+</sup> Teacher	07.08.1980
Rushdi Muhtar Rashad	1953	PS Teacher	07.08.1980
Izzettin Celil Abdulhamit	1957	US <sup>+</sup> of literature	07.08.1980

Selahattin Abdullah Tenekeci	1960	Soldier	07.08.1980
Selahattin Necim Hattat	1961	SS <sup>^</sup> Student	07.08.1980
Muhsin Ali	1958	Teacher	07.08.1980
Mustafa Mehmet Abbas	1957	(Higher school tertiary education)	07.08.1980
Hamit Rahman	1958	Technician	07.08.1980
Cemal Cabbar			1980
Salah Hasan			1980
Halit Shengül	1950	Teacher	January -1981
Abdulkerim Allaverdi	1959	Student	January -1981

" = mentioned also in the list of high-ranking military officers. US<sup>+</sup> = university student. PS<sup>\*</sup> = primary school. SS<sup>^</sup> = secondary school

### B. Sports rights

Professor EY Odisho, who belongs to the Christian community in the City of Kirkuk mentions in his article *Kirkuk City; No historical authenticity without multiethnicity*. "It is beyond any shadow of doubt that Kirkuk was one of the most athletic cities in Iraq. (45) The non-democratic mentality of the Baath party with its ill-educated staff brought about extremely drastic changes in the field of sports in the Turkmen areas.

Tens of Turkmen football teams like Kardashlik, Bishiktash, Nahrin, Musalla, Piryadi, Sarikahya and Galatasaray flourished in Kirkuk city. There were many football stadiums in the city, such as Beshiktash, Kirkuk secondary school, Oil Company, Seyid Kizi, Peryadi, Gavurbagi and Imam Kasim. Weekly football matches were played in these stadiums. Hundreds of supporters from all age groups attended the matches and were enthusiastic supporters of these teams. The visitor football teams came from Baghdad or the other provinces to play Kirkuk teams. Footballers from the Kirkuk team such as Adil Abdulla and Kerim Efandi played in the Iraqi national football team. Some times foreign national football teams played a match against the Kirkuk Team after playing against the Iraqi national football team.

The Baath regime founded the Youth Centers to control sport activities. High-ranking party members managed these centers. By the end of the seventies, these teams and the football stadiums in Kirkuk city had completely disappeared. Seyid Kizi stadium has been destroyed to become a new settlement neighborhood for the Arabs who had been forced to move into the area. To sum up: the flourishing sports environment has completely disappeared..

### C. The right to food

During the last years of the Iraq – Iran war the standard of living of the Iraqi citizen had severely deteriorated. After the second Gulf war and the application of the embargo, the purchasing power of the people decreased even further. At that time people were selling their belongings or possessions, for example, Refrigerators, TVs, the door of the home and clothing, to acquire food for their children for a few weeks. After 1995 when the Baghdad regime agreed to export oil in exchange for the import of humanitarian goods for essential civilian needs, the citizens' economic situation slightly improved.

Since 1991, the government has assigned each person a ration of food, which could be obtained in exchange for a ration card given out by the government. This card

safeguarded the satisfaction of basic nutritional needs, for example rice, meat, eggs and flour. The quality of this food which was distributed monthly was extremely bad in the Turkmen areas between 1991 and 1994. The flour was no different from animal fodder.

A large group of Turkmen have not been given or lost ration cards with which they could purchase government-controlled food supplies. This concerns urkmen whose relatives:

1. Had been political activists abroad.
2. Fled from Iraq.
3. Had been executed for political reasons.
4. Did not join military service.
5. Sympathized with the opposition
6. Turkmen who did not report deserters.

Patronage and clientele are widely spread in Iraq, particularly since the last two decades. Almost all the staff in the Turkmen regions are Baath party members and/or Arabs. Turkmen rarely joined the Baath party. Therefore non-Turkmen people are constantly provided with food illegally, while the Turkmen live on the insufficient monthly portions.

### **Conclusion**

The two and half million Iraqi Turkmen have been exposed to intensive inhuman assimilation policies, forced emigration and cultural erosion for many decades, which reached their zenith during the present regime. Meanwhile the neighboring countries and the international community are still unaware of or indifferent to their lot.

### **REFERENCES:**

1. This paragraph is taken from the speech of Ali Hasan al-Mecid (Chemical Ali) which is found on one of the video cassettes taken from one of the Baath party centers in the rebellion of 1991. Ali Hasan Al\_Mejid is the cousin of President Saddam Hussein who was responsible for the Arabization of the Turkmen areas. He gave the command to drop the chemical bombs on the Halapja district.

Sout al\_Turkmen, the newspaper of Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights research Organization in the European Union, Version 0, December 2001, page 6.

2. The report of Economic and Social Council, commission on Human Rights, Fiftieth session, agenda Item 12, E/CN 4/1994/58, dated 25 February 1994.

Paragraph 139 states:

“Although the Turkmen population constitutes the third largest ethnic community in Iraq with an historical presence dating back over one thousand year principally in the north-central plains of the country, the group still faces the rudimentary problem of official recognition of its identity In term, e.g., of non-accommodation in the national censuses and denial of Linguistic right even in places where Turkmen form an overwhelming Majority, while prospects for their ringlets were said to be positive as of 1970, the Government is said to have closed Turkmen schools in 1972 and presently forbids studies in the Turkish language; there is said to *be* no Turkish media in Iraq save for one Government controlled radio station in Baghdad. Since 1975, Turkmen cultural societies are said to have had their directors replaced by pro-Government Baath parry members.

Turkmen mollahs are said to be forbidden to speak or lead prayers in the Turkish language - a policy which is said to be well-controlled by the fact that all mullahs are officially Government employees drawing Government salaries. With regard to physical properties old Turkmen mosques still carry Ottoman designs and script, but new mosques are said to be required to carry Arabic designs and script; some mosques and ancient properties are also said to have been destroyed in whole or in part under various pretexts, such as development projects”.

3. Country Reports on Human Rights Practices of 1999, released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor U.S. State Secretary, February 25, 2000, section “Denial of Fair Public Trial”.

4. The report of Economic and Social Council, commission on Human Rights, Fiftieth session, agenda Item 12, E/CN 4/1994/58, dated 25 February 1994.

Paragraph 137 states:

“Turning to the particular situation of ethnically Turkmen Shiites: The Special Rapporteur refers to his comments below concerning discriminatory restrictions and practices directed against Turkmen in general. However, more severe measures of repression affect the minority of Turkmen who are also religiously Shiite. Specifically, the special Rapporteur has received reports supported by testimony, concerning internal deportation of Turkmen from areas of Shiite concentration in, for example, particular quarters of Kirkuk, Dakuk and Tuz Hurmatu and other known Shi Turkmen villages. Testimony received by the Special Rapporteur in December 1993 alleges that a very large number of families in Kirkuk were given deportation notifications at the end of November 1993; families were said already to have been deported to the northern Kurdish territory (without any belongings), while 25 families were said to have been deported to southern Provinces with small amounts of their belongings. In the city of Tuz Khurmatu, where the Shiites call for prayer was reportedly prohibited after the March 1991 up-rising, at least two Shiites mosques. Including the main one, have reportedly been closed by the Government and remain so to date. Before their closure, the Government is said to have changed their names to those of “Abu Bakr” and “Omer” - two important Sunni caliphs. The library of the main mosque is also said to have been burnt down. In one Shia Turkmen quarter of Kirkuk called “District 90”, the mosques of al-haj Rousan, al-Kahya, al-Afandi and al-Thaqalayn) is said to have been demolished and most of the estimated 25,000 Shi’a population to have been apparently relocated to other places. Reports further allege that many Shia Turkmen youths have been arbitrarily arrested and detained”.

5. The report of Economic and Social Council, commission on Human Rights, Fiftieth session, agenda Item 12, E/CN 4/1994/58, dated 25 February 1994.

Paragraph 141 states:

“Aside from the allegations referred to above and relating to a program of internal deportations, the Special Rapporteur has also received allegations in the last year concerning arbitrary arrests and disappearances of Turkmen: on 27 November 1993, three high-ranking Turkmen members of the Army were reported to have been arrested and disappeared from Kirkuk, while on 6 December 1993 three young men were reportedly arrested in Kirkuk on the charge of being members of the Iraqi Turkmen National Party. On 14 December 1993, special patrols of Security and the Baath Party Intelligence (Mukhabarat) were said to have accompanied soldiers in conducting searches of homes in the Turkmen region of Shartorloo (Tamim Province) in an effort to identify families for subsequent internal depositions: none of the searches were said to

have been authorized by warrant or otherwise to have had judicial supervision”.

6. Hanna Batatu, “The old social classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq”, (Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1978), p. 913.

7. David McDowall, “A Modern History of the Kurds”, (I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd Publishers, London & New York 1996), p. 305.

8. David McDowall, “A Modern History of the Kurds”, (I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd Publishers, London & New York 1996), p. 3.

9. Mr. Max van der Stoel, United nations commission on human rights, Situation of Human rights in Iraq, 1998/65, paragraph 13.

10. United Nations, Economic and Social Council, commission on Human Rights Fifty-fourth session, Item 10 of the provisional agenda, report number E/CN.4/1998/67/ dated 10 March 1998.

Paragraph 1 in conclusion states:

“A third list of 29 Iraqi Turkmen executed by the Government of Iraq in 1997 was also made available to the Special Rapporteur”. <<http://www.fas.org/news/iraq/1998/03/e-cn-4-1988-67.htm>>

11. There are 12 party grades in Baath party; Muayyid, Nasir, Nasir Mutaqaddim, Udu Amil, Udu Firqa, Rafiq, udu Shuba, Udu Fari, Udu al-Qiyada al-Qutriyya and Udu al-Qiyada al-Qawmiyya. Baath Party members a grade that is higher than the Rafiq degree should obey any order which he receives from the party, even assassinations.

12. Subhi Saatci, “Tarihi Gelisme icinde Irak Turkleri”, Kirkuk Vakfi publication, Istanbul 1996).

13. Ziyad Kpürlü, “Türkish Presence in Iraq”, Ornek Limited Company, Ankara 1996.

14. Aziz Samanci, “al-Tarih al-Siyasi Li-Turkman al-Irak”, The First Edition, al-Saki Print House, Beirut 1999.

15. The report of Economic and Social Council, commission on Human Rights, Fiftieth session, agenda Item 12, E/CN 4/1994/58, dated 25 February 1994.

Paragraph 140 states:

“The allegation that social engineering projects are aimed at altering the ethnic ratios in historically Turkmen region is articulated in a variety of reports which claim that: administrative boundaries were changed in 1974 to divide Turkmen concentrations: since the mid-1970s, Arabs have enjoyed special incentives and rights encouraging them to move to, historically Turkmen areas including especially the oil-rich cities of Kirkuk and Mosul; in the latter half of the 1970s, the names of several villages and places in the Province of Kirkuk (Taimim) were officially given Arabic names; and. in the 1980s. Turkmen societies, institutions and properties are also said to have been officially ‘Arabized’”.

16. “Great Larousse Encyclopaedia”, Dutch version, volume 13, p. 3.

17. David McDowall, "A Modern History of the Kurds", I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd Publishers 1996, London & New York, p. 305.

18. Ziyad Köpürlü, "Türkish Presence in Iraq", By Ornek Limited Company, Ankara 1996, page 22.

19. Zubaide Umar, "The Forgotten Minority; the Turkmen of Iraq", Inquiry Periodical, February, 1987, p. 37-45.

20. Mr. Max van der Stoel, United Nations commission on human rights, Situation of Human rights in Iraq, 1998/65, paragraph 24.

21. secretary - General, General Assembly, Human Rights Questions: Human Rights situation and reports of special rapporteurs and representatives, Situation of human rights in Iraq, A/52/476/Add.1, October 1997, Fifty - First session, Agenda item 110 (c).

22. United Nations Human Rights for refuges, Background paper on refuges and asylum seekers from Iraq, Center for documentation and Research, June 2000.

Paragraph 4 titled "Ethnic and other groups at risk" states:

"Forced displacement of the Turkmen was reported to have resumed in the last months of 1998, particularly in the Kirkuk area. The head of the coalition of the Turkmen parties stated that about 5,000 evicted Turkmen were living in 'sub-human conditions in Northern Iraq.'"<<http://www.asyl.net/Magazin/Docs/docs-16/L-27a-27b/L9007irq.PDF>>

23. United Nations General Assembly, Fifty-first sessions, Agenda item 110, Situation of Human Rights in Iraq, report number A/51/496/Add.1 Introduction Paragraph 2, dated 8 November 1996.

Paragraph 2 of Introduction states:

"Turkmen had recently arrived in northern Iraq after having been forced to move from their homes in Kirkuk as a result of the alleged policy of Arabization".

<<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/51/plenary/a51-496add1.htm>>

24. United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Report number E/C.12/1997/SR.33, paragraph 17 dated 24 November 1997,

Paragraph 17 states:

"The Human Rights Watch Report of 1996 had made a similar analysis, stating that the homes of Turkmen had been confiscated and that Shi'a had been prevented from buying homes in Baghdad or expelled from the city".

<[http://www.bayefsky.com/summary/iraq\\_cescr\\_e\\_c.12\\_1997\\_sr.331997.php](http://www.bayefsky.com/summary/iraq_cescr_e_c.12_1997_sr.331997.php)>

25. Aziz Samanci, "al-Tarih al-Siyasi Li-Turkman al-Irak", The First Edition, (al-Saki Print House, Beirut 1999, p. 211.

26. Ziyad Köpürlü, "Türkish Presence in Iraq", By Ornek Limited Company, Ankara 1996, page 65.

27. United Nations General Assembly, Fifty-second sessions, Agenda item 11(c), Situation of Human Rights in Iraq, report number A/52/476 dated 15 October 1997.

Paragraph 30 states.

"According to information received by the Special Rapporteur, the Government of Iraq

has since 1995 forcibly expropriated agricultural lands belonging to Turkmen in Kirkuk, paying only symbolic sums which are not even equivalent to one year's yield, especially from Altun Kopri north of Kirkuk to Tuz Humatu to the south of Kirkuk. Ownership of the expropriated lands has allegedly been transferred to high-level officials of the regime, including members of Saddam Hussein's family. All the agricultural lands around the village of Turkalan, which belonged to Turkmen peasants, were reportedly confiscated. The village was then demolished, and its inhabitants were displaced to the Tammuz and Al-Shaheed complexes near Tikrit. In the village of Mullah Abdullah, the agricultural lands belonging to a Turkmen peasant were also reportedly confiscated".  
<<http://www.geocities.com/minohac/humanrt.htm>>

28. Nefi Demirci, "Dünden bu Güne Kirkuk", Dizgi Pres house, Istanbul 1990, p. 14 – 15.

29. Max van der Stoel, Special Reporter of the Commission Human Rights, "Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Iraq", E/CN.4/1994/58, paragraph 141.

30. Ahmet Hamid al-Sarraf, "al-Shabak", 1954.

31. Harry Charles Luke, "Mosul and its Minorities", (The University Press, Glasgow 1925), p. 14-15.

32. Mr Max van der Stoel, Special Reporter of the Commission Human Rights, "Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Iraq", E/CN.4/1994/58, paragraph 35.

33. "Kirkuk City Web Site – Martyrs Lists", Martyrs of Turkmen who were executed due to the political activities in 1980, (<http://members.lycos.nl/Kirkuk/Lb.html>), Site accessed on 7 August 2000.

34. David McDowall, "A Modern History of the Kurds", (I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd Publishers, London & New York 1996), p. 373.

35. "Kirkuk City Web Site – Martyrs Lists", Martyrs of Kirkuk City during the uprising 1991, (<http://members.lycos.nl/Kirkuk/martyr1.html#a>), Site accessed on 7 August 2000.

36. "Kirkuk City Web Site – Martyrs Lists", Martyrs of Tuz Hurmatu during the uprising 1991 (<http://members.lycos.nl/Kirkuk/martyr1.html#b>), Site accessed on 7 August 2000.

37. "Kirkuk City Web Site – Martyrs Lists", Martyrs of Altun Kopri during the uprising 1991 (<http://members.lycos.nl/Kirkuk/martyr1.html#c>), Site accessed on 7 August 2000.

38. "Kirkuk City Web Site – Martyrs Lists", The List of Iraqi Turkmen who were accused of different political activities. They were sentenced to death in 1997, almost all were Turkmen Front Members (<http://members.lycos.nl/Kirkuk/martyr2.html#a>), Site accessed on 7 August 2000.

39. Sout Al\_Turkmen, the newspaper of Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights research Organization in the European Union, Version 0, December 2001, page 1.

40. Country Reports on Human Rights Practices of 1999, released by the Bureau of

Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, February 25, 2000, section "Arbitrary Interference With Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence".

41. Aziz Samanci, "al-Tarih al-Siyasi Li-Turkman al-Irak", The First Edition, (al-Saki Print House, Beirut 1999), p. 112.

42. "Fate of the Iraqi Turkmen", published by the Cultural Association of Kirkuk Turkmen – Vasteras, Sweden, p. 12.

43. Ziyad Köpürlü, "Türkish Presence in Iraq", By Ornek Limited Company, Ankara 1996, page 41.

44. United Nations, Economic and Social Council, commission on Human Rights Fifty-fourth session, Item 10 of the provisional agenda, report number E/CN.4/1998/67/ dated 10 March 1998.

Paragraph 1 in conclusion states:

"The policy of forced displacements of civilians of Turkmen and Kurdish origins continues to be implemented in the cities of Kirkuk, Khanakin and Duz. Basic civil and political rights such as freedom of assembly, expression and movement are severely restricted when not forbidden". <<http://www.fas.org/news/iraq/1998/03/e-cn-4-1988-67.htm>>

45. Edward Y. Odisho, "Kirkuk City: No historical authenticity without multiethnicity". North eastern Illinois University, Chicago, IL U.S.A.