

oil. In addition, the majority of Kurds were Sunni Muslims who could strengthen the balance of power in favor of Sunni Arabs who were pro-British colonies. Clearly the British politicians wanted to deprive the hostile Shiites from forming the government in Baghdad or even gaining their proportional votes during the parliament elections. To the disappointment of both Kurds and Shiites, the British authority brought a Saudi man from Syria and crowned him as the king of Iraq. This man was unpopular and unwanted by both Shiites and Kurds who made up more than three quarters of the population. The Kurds became a source of British frustration when they refused the king, refused the annexation of their land to Iraq and refused to be second hand citizens in an Arab-speaking Iraq. The Britain responded with an iron fist waging several wars against them: Sulemania city and some other defenseless towns were bombed by the Royal Air Force. Kurdish leaders were imprisoned or sent into exile. This siding with Sunni Arabs seems understandable. Arabs were enabled to form governments loyal to them and to stand against any movement that refused the British mandate. The Sunni Bedouin Arabs were urged to settle down in towns and villages to the west and south of Kirkuk. Those Bedouins are the same Aljubur and Alobedi tribes who today claim the ownership of Kirkuk and its belonging to the Arab world! The British negligence of the Kurds, denying their basic rights, prevented them from having them their own state. This paved the way for foreign people like nomad Arabs to settle down in the heart of Kurdistan and to begin taking Kurdish lands, houses, cattle and even the simple furniture that they had! Had the Kurds possessed their own state and armed forces, no one would have dared encroach upon them, neither Arabs nor Turks. Under these puppet governments between 1921 and 1958 almost every Iraqi institution, including the army, was directly under British supervision. This meant that no strategic plans could have been carried out without British endorsement. To make it

## The Introduction of the Translator

The Kirkuk question is complicated. It has been pending for the past nine decades. The complexities do not arise from the multi-ethnic and sectarian communities who have been living together in harmony for centuries. This peaceful coexistence was never disturbed by the local residents of the city. Rather, it has been planned by outsiders. History tells us that Kirkuk was the city of brotherhood between Kurds, Turkoman, Chaldeans, Armenians, Assyrians and Jews. Apart from the expulsion of Jews to Israel, no sectarian troubles had ever been reported until the military coup lead by General Kasim in 1958.

However, these troubles in Kirkuk didn't arise out of the blue. Although it happened under Kasim's rule, the roots were planted by British colonialism when following the Allied victory in the First World War, Britain and France occupied the region and started dividing the inheritance of the Ottoman Empire. Iraq came under the control of the British. The northern border of Iraq initially included Shengal, the Hamrin Mountains and Khanakin of Kurdistan. This meant that Kurdistan's Oil was out of the reach of Britain. And here the troubles of Kirkuk, the oil rich city, started. The annexation of southern Kurdistan, including Kirkuk, was planned. This plan required ethnic contention and the creation of pro-British groups.

Kurdistan's Southern Region during Ottoman Rule was known as the Vilayet of Sharezoor or Mosul. It included Mosul, Erbil, Kirkuk and Sulemania. The British authority needed to annex Kurdistan to their mandated area for economic and political reasons. Kurdistan, especially Kirkuk and Khanakin, was rich in

plentiful water sources, cool weather and good pasture for their animals.

Islam was also present in Kirkuk. Arabs arrived in the 7<sup>th</sup> century on their way to northern Kurdistan. In Arabic, Kirkuk was *Kirkheni* which is a version of Syriac meaning Citadel. A tablet with cuneiform script was found in 1927 at the foot of the Kirkuk Citadel and stated that the city of Erekh of Babylon was on the site of Kirkuk.

Due to the strategic location of Kirkuk, this city had seen fierce fighting between the ancient empires. Originally the city was founded by Hurrians who were also known as Gutian people. Later on this city became the capital of the Kingdom of Gutium, which is mentioned in Cuneiform records from about 2400 BC.

The Hurrian kingdom with its Arrapka (Kirkuk) Capital came under attack from the Assyrian kings and it is believed that fell under Assyrian rule during the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC. The Assyrians were later conquered by the Medes who dominated the region until being defeated by the Achaemenids who themselves couldn't resist the powerful Parthians and Sassanids. The Sassanid Empire took Kirkuk as the capital for their kingdom which was also known by *Garmakan* or *Garmian*. It's worth mentioning here that many historians assign the Kurdish origin to Gutium and the Medes. They regard Kurdistan as the first cradle of civilisation and the land of the greatest historical changes, i.e. when Man left the caves of the Kuwestan Mountains and started cultivating grain on the Garmian plains. In Chermo village, archeologists have found signs of the first ever seed grain used by man. Chermo is situated about 50km east of Kirkuk and Chermo means white in Kurdish.

Now is there doubt about the real and only possible Kurdish identity of Kirkuk? Isn't the eternal history of Kurds with their capital, Kirkuk, sufficient to remove any doubt? Is it reasonable to assign a historical city to a group of people who only settled down there for feeding their animals? If temporary occupants,

more clear: the commander of the second division of the Iraqi army based in Kirkuk, wouldn't have raised a report (its' text is still available in Iraqi archives) to Baghdad in 1929 asking for more Arabs to be sent and settled in Kirkuk and so initiated the arabisation process of the region!

Perhaps the most interesting report is the one that reached my working place on the 25<sup>th</sup> September 2011 in the Zheen Documentation Center of Sulemania, where I look after old English documents. The report had been forwarded from the British Liaison Officer of Mosul to his superiors in Baghdad asking them to develop an atmosphere of friendship in Kurdistan in order to use the Kurds against any attacks from the enemies, from Turkey and Iran. Amazingly this report came in while I was busy writing this introduction! As usual, the report was labeled 'confidential' without mentioning the name of the officer. The report carries his signature and his rank "Major in the British Army." (Dated Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1930, No. BS/C/1/3/30)

If the Aljubur Tribe claim the ownership of Kirkuk just because of they were pasturing their cattle in Kurdistan for some decades, then what about the long history of the city?

History tells us that the city is 5000 years old. It has many old names such as *Arrapka* during the Parthian era; *Korkura* is mentioned by Ptolemy, which is believed to refer either to Kirkuk or to the site of Baba Gurgur, *Karkha* under the Greek Reign referring to the Citadel / Castle of the City. The Kurdish name was there too, the city, and the region was known as *Garmai*. The word 'Garmian' in Kurdish means 'the hot region' which to this day includes the region of Kirkuk. However, Garmian is close to the Syriac name *Beth Garmai* which means the place of bones, in reference to the slaughtered Achaemenids during the battle between Alexander the Great and Darius. Kurdish pastoralists were travelling between Garmian and Kuwestan (the cool region) according to the season. In summer, they went deep into the mountainous area of west Iran to enjoy

Government. In a press conference, Alawi stated that Kirkuk is a part of Kurdistan and that the Kurdish people are entitled to establish their own state.

Kirkuk was visited by many European Orientalists and travelers, some of them were sent officially by their governments to study different aspects of this city including the demography of the region. They wrote about the population, the castle and the fertile agricultural lands. As a matter of fact, they all confirmed the Kurdish identity of the city and the fact that they needed Kurdish interpreters to communicate with the people. The evidences are numerous enough to remove any doubt about the reality of Kirkuk's ethnic background.

These facts are well known by both Arabs and Turks, but they continue casting doubts about the natural identity of Kirkuk. They continue to deny the expulsion and extermination of Kurds and Turkoman. To everyone's disappointment local Arabs and Turkoman are used to promote silly propaganda that the Kurds are occupying other people's lands, killing Turkoman and bringing Kurds from other countries to reside in Kirkuk in an attempt to create a new geopolitical situation benefiting the Kurds!

Here a logical question strikes one's mind: on the one hand, the Turkoman of Kirkuk claim that they were subjected to mass killing and expulsion by the Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party, and on the other hand, they stand alongside Arab chauvinism and help them to control Kirkuk once more. What is the reason for this dramatic contradiction? The answer comes from outside the border. Some Turkoman elements were paid and helped to create a political gathering in Kirkuk called The Turkoman Front, who get instructions and monthly salaries from Ankara. Even their bosses and ready-made plans are chosen by the Turkish Intelligence Service. The Turkish fixed policy for the last century has been to hinder Kurdish freedom anywhere in the world!

for whatever reason they are there for, reside in a place belonging to others - does this mean that they have the right to expel the original inhabitants and confiscate whatever they have? If so, why don't the Arabs ask for ownership of Spain or a part of China?

The Turkish story is a copy of that of the Arabs. The Ottoman Turks created garrisons to serve their troops from Zakho in the north of Kurdistan to Baghdad in the center of Iraq. These servicemen remained with their families in the Kurdish and Arabic areas permanently. Beside the garrison services, they helped take letters between Ottoman leaders and the Governor in Baghdad. Thus the Turks in service were called Turk-men.

The famous Ottoman writer, Shams-Adin Sami, described Kirkuk in his informative encyclopedia as a pure Kurdish city. He also pointed to a population estimation mentioned in the Russian Magazine saying that Kirkuk's Population is 12,000 to 15,000 not including Turk-men because in his view they were temporary migrants who would one day return back to Turkey. Parallel to this, many Arab travelers, historians and scholars have represented Kirkuk as the heart of Kurdistan, or as a Kurdish city by majority of population. Muhammad Abbas Salih, who wrote an introduction to the book "*A Guide to the Iraqi Governorates*," described Kirkuk as a Bride of Kurdistan. Salih wanted to contradict the distortion of facts fabricated by the author Abdulmajid Hasan Fahmi. Probably the most realistic portrait of Kirkuk's inhabitants is the one described by Professor Shakir Khassbak, the author of the book "*Kurd, Turk and Arab*." The contents of these books are discussed in the coming chapters.

For his part, the famous Iraqi-Arab writer and author Hasan Alawi visited Kurdistan's regional capital Erbil in September 2011 representing the White List Fraction in the Iraqi Parliament and held talks with the Kurdish Regional

## **A Short Foreword by the Author**

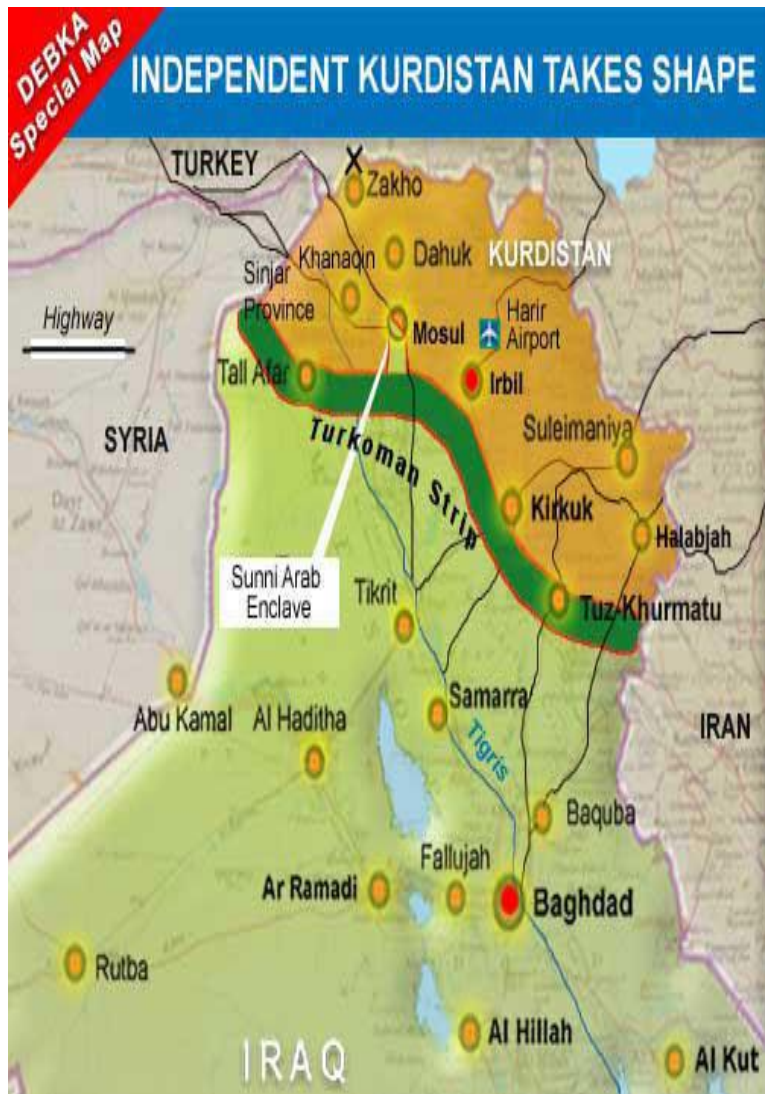
Due to the failure of Kurdish leadership in developing a well-established program to deal with the Kirkuk question following the Liberation of Iraq in 2003, a chaotic situation has emerged and come to prominence in this city. The anti-Kurds in the city have been able to exploit the situation and give the impression to the international community that the Kurds have been occupying the city.

Even now, when the Ba'ath regime's destruction of the city is still visible, while the victims are still waiting for relief and the expelled families remain under the open sky waiting for Arab occupants to leave their houses, Kurdish officials in leading positions are unconcerned or don't work hard enough to normalize the situation.

There is yet another Kurdish failure that complicates the Kirkuk question, this fiasco arises from the way some Kurdish leaders in the city do their work. They never try to win the hearts and minds of the population. Rather they work for their own benefit. Had they used the enormous income of the city to rebuild the economic infrastructure of Kirkuk and its districts, they would have build bridges of friendship and narrowed the gaps between the local communities. These discrepancies have created good headlines for the anti-Kurdish propaganda in some Arab countries and Turkey.

The best thing for Kirkuk is for it to remain a part of Kurdistan, and for the Turkoman and other minorities to remain living honorably with their brother Kurds far removed from any Arabization or Turkization, from any Sunni extremism or Shiite fanaticism, and from any expulsion or genocide. Instead they should live peacefully together, respecting each other and rebuilding the country's heritage as it was before.

**Abdulkarim Uzeri**



At present, Kurds have done whatever is possible to show the whole world how the Kurds deal with other minorities while they have been leading most of the institutions in Kirkuk. Indeed, every individual has had an equal chance no matter what was his religion or nationality was. In contrast, the Arab occupants executed every bad act against the non-Arab nationals including expulsion to the genocide of tens of thousands.

In this book I try my best to depend on irrefutable facts and allow the numbers and figures to speak for themselves. I will also seek to shed light on what travelers, orientalists and historians have written about Kirkuk.

**Arif Qurbany**



JALAL TALABANI PRESENTING DOCUMENTS ABOUT KIRKUK TO MEMBERS OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF



I KIRKUK, AN IMPORTANT PART OF KURDISTAN

As my aim in publishing this book is to serve the truth, the whole truth, I try my best to depend only on reliable documents and their concerning statistics that are kept in archives in London, Baghdad and Istanbul.

Those who wrote the manuscripts and produced the documents were from different countries and different nationalities. There wasn't a single Kurd among them. This allows no room for disputing their credibility on the basis of biased authorship. If there is any bias at all, it certainly wouldn't be pro-Kurdish.

We need to produce books of many volumes if we were to try and collect together all those documents written about Kirkuk and other parts of Kurdistan. But here our single aim is to research the identity of Kirkuk. Thus, what we need is to choose those most helpful memorandums and reports written by the visitors who came to the city over different time periods and for different purposes. Germans, French, English, Turks and Arabs had been involved in getting a perspective on the city during their visits to this part of Kurdistan or 'Sharezoor.' To take these documents into considerations means looking at the history of the city from different angles.

With full confidence, we draw attention to what was written by Arab and Turk historians because the new generations of these two nations are the severest critics to the real identity of Kirkuk City. Therefore it's best to take their own forefathers as account witnesses to see how they found Kirkuk and what they wrote about it. Then we can leave the whole issue for logical justification, for decision on the basis of history.

These facts are concluded from their accounts:

The majority of the population was always Kurdish in all the different eras, i.e. according to the different time periods of their writing.

Kirkuk was described as the capital of Sharezoor or southern Kurdistan.

## KIRKUK AS SEEN BY TRAVRLERS AND ORIENTALISTS

Kirkuk is a very old city with a very important geographic location. The exact history of the city is not known but it is certainly no less than 5,000 years old. Its position from geopolitical and strategic points of view is as important as its history. This strategic perspective on Kirkuk has increased in attractiveness over the past two centuries, particularly when Germans discovered a great resource of oil around this city.

For the same reason the British army occupied Kirkuk in 1918, seven years before its official annexation to the new Iraqi state which had been created by the Great Britain in 1921.

The five thousand years of history has made this city a land of civilizations. The city had seen the rule of some of the most important empires and kingdoms of history such as the Hurrians, Gutians, Assyrians, Medes, Parthian, Sassanids and Babylon.

Alongside the prosperity and progress in the city were the many battles of destructive fighting. Therefore, apart from travelers and historians, military personnel have also visited the area and sent their confidential reports to their governments. The Ottoman Empire and Britain hold a great number of important documents on Kirkuk. These documents are of vital importance in solving today's dispute on the identity of Kirkuk.



Kirkuk is a part of Meds. We started our tour from the eastern bank of Tigris River. We reached Dakuk Town in the Kurdish area. There we found a well-maintained castle turned into a military barracks by the Ottoman Turks. The Kurdish starts from here. Their land lies between the two rivers and reaching to Armenia in the North. The whole area is known as Meds or Madi. The Kurds are speaking their own language; it's neither Persian nor Turkish. They speak Kurdish, so one needs an interpreter who knows Kurdish when you pass by this people. Kirkuk is a beautiful city. Its inhabitants speak Sharezoor Kurdish and Turkish.”(1)

Niebor is yet another traveler who visited Kirkuk among many other places in the area. He came to this city during 1767 and wrote down large volumes about the places he had seen and the people he had met. In 1781, his writings were translated into French, and published in two volumes in Amsterdam. As for Kirkuk, he started with a description of the castle which was also known as the Kirkuk Citadel. He found it filthy without maintenance or proper cleaning. It seems that the castle was a residential quarter with old broken-down houses.

This historical report is of a great importance. He mentions that the citadel contained three mosques with high minarets and that God's prophets Daniel, Israel and Michael were buried there. This means that the mosques were built over their tombs. So this city had been of historical importance to the Jewish community, they must have practiced their religious rituals round those tombs which might have been synagogues replaced by Islamic mosques. Moreover, the Jewish people were prevented by the Muslims to go and do their worships close to the mosques.

Niebor put the number of Assyrians as 40 people saying that they were Chaldeans or Nestorians following the Roman Church. He described the city as the capital of Sharezoor and the seat of the Pasha. There isn't much to read about Sharezoor

They considered the Hamrin Mountains, south of Kirkuk, as the natural border separating Kurdistan and Arabistan.

They needed to hire Kurdish interpreters when visiting Kirkuk. An Ottoman expert described Kirkuk's population as pure Kurdish. To him, the Turkoman was only temporary Turkish residents who would return home at the end of their military or governmental service. The details of this statement will be mentioned in the coming pages.

However, according to a British decision in 1925, Kirkuk became a part of Iraq and would be ruled by the newly established government. The government itself was under the control of the British army. It is important to remind ourselves that Britain put Kirkuk under British army control immediately after their arrival in 1918. That is from their first days, they started changing the facts on the ground

Along with Arab and Turks travelers we can mention other orientalist and historians who wrote about our city. It seems more practical to mention them according to the period of history. Thus, first one will be the German doctor and businessman Leonard Ralf who visited Kirkuk and surrounding area in 1574.

His memoirs were translated and published in English in 1693. As for his part, the Iraqi Arab writer Saleem Taha Tikriti wrote a book about these memoirs and published it in Baghdad in 1978, during the rule of the Ba'ath fascism. (A year later, Saddam Hussein controlled the Iraqi government by toppling the weak President Ahmad Hasan Al Baker from power.) Tikriti published his book under the title, 'The Tour of an explorer to Iraq, Syria and Palestine.

Tikriti wrote down this paragraph about the Kurds and their city Kirkuk saying, "We started our journey from Baghdad to Kirkuk on 16<sup>th</sup> December 1574. The way is six days long.



orders and instruction of the Pasha in Baghdad. As it was asked in the letter, the Mutasalim appointed a guide to escort us to Baghdad. We learnt that Kirkuk is the western city of the Sharezoor Pashalik or the Southern Kurdistan Emirate. Nevertheless, the Mutasalim is appointed by Baghdad's ruler because on the one hand, the administration was managed by Baghdad and on the other hand the Pashalik of Sharezoor hadn't yet assigned a Pasha for Kirkuk.”(4)

Our third French traveler and historian is A. Killman who toured the southern part of Kurdistan in 1856 and in the same year he wrote down his touring letter. The letter was published in the same year carrying the title of “A tour in the southern part of Ottoman Kurdistan, starting from Kirkuk to Rawanduz.” The letter was written in French and was also published in the Swiss M. S. J. J. Magazine.

The French traveler described his Kirkuk's tour saying, “In the morning of 12<sup>th</sup> June 1856, we arrived in Kirkuk. I calculated the time of traveling very accurately, according the stages of the guides or the postmen it had taken 61 Frsakh or stages. Usually the fast Ottoman postmen “tatars” manage this distance in two days. Kirkuk is an administrating district belong to the Sharezoor Pashalik, the city is situated at the eastern part of the wilderness. From there, we had to pass by a hill to enter the western part of Kurdistan and to mark the Iraqi Arabia with Kurdistan. The city is divided to two parts, northern and southern. The northern part is a castle, surrounded by walls but doesn't look defensive enough. The streets are made of rocks. The city is neither clean nor organized.”

Killman speaks about the population of Kirkuk, estimating it to be around 35 thousand. This number includes the inhabitants of the city and the suburbs. The soldiers were not estimated; to him they were foreigners. He estimated the number of the Kurds as making up three-quarters of the city. (5)

itself. He only describes the road from Dakuk to Erbil as passing through the center of the Sharezoor Vilayet. (2)

The region was visited by several French Travelers. The first one who visited Kirkuk was Jean Otto; “We arrived in Kirkuk early in the morning. This city is the capital of Sharezoor which consist of 32 other secondary districts. This Vilayet is bordered by Azerbaijan, Persian Iraq, and Baghdad Vilayets, Mosul, Amedi and Hakkari. The majority of the population is Goran Kurds who took the big city of Plingan near Qzilcha as their main center.”

Otto started his journey in 1734 but he printed and published fifty years later in 1784. He described the Pasha of Kirkuk as a serious man, aware of his enemies' plans. His book consists of two volumes known as ‘A Tour to Turkey and Iran, coinciding with Tahmasb Shah Quli Khan's Attacks in the Area.’ Kirkuk's Pasha renewed the castle to improve its' defenses and to be able to stop the enemies' attacks.

The second French traveler to whom we like to refer is called Oliver. He started his journey to the Ottoman territory at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Kurdistan and Egypt were included. His tour was in response to a French Governmental order. He left Paris in 1801 and continued his journey until 1807.

Oliver published his three volume-books under the title of ‘A Tour to the Ottoman Empire, Iran and Egypt.’ He wrote the following about Kirkuk: “Two hours before reaching Kirkuk, our Christian companions left us to visit their families. But the postmen were leading us to the city. Similar to Erbil, this city is also built around an artificial hill on which a castle is build. Just before reaching the city we had a short rest in a village called Tessin. The whole area was green and seemed fertile for agriculture. The postmen had a letter from the Governor of Mosul to be handed over to the Mutasalim of Kirkuk to look after as. Mutasalim is the first in charge in the city to follow the

release of one of his sons who was imprisoned in the city a year previously. This means that he knew the governor and top officials of Kirkuk. Baron Nold put it this way, "Ishmael Beg was the chieftain of Dawude Tribe in Dakuk, he asked me to mediate for the release of his son from Kirkuk Jail."

Qaratapa was yet another familiar place to him. He arrived there on 9<sup>th</sup> of March of the same year. He was warmly greeted by the people of the town. Baron Nold said that he had no doubt that the town was a pure Kurdish territory.

More information on Kirkuk is given in chapter 10 of his book. Nold mentions on page 28 that, "On 18<sup>th</sup> March, he arrived in Kirkuk from Qaratapa and decided to spend two days in the city. The city was important to him because he noticed that great attention was paid to the city of Kirkuk in Ottoman papers. They had stationed over 4,500 troops in the city at a time when the whole population hardly exceeded seventeen thousand inhabitants. The man avoided to give more details on Kirkuk due to military secrecy. Nevertheless, he says that he could write only few sentences about Kirkuk mentioning that it was a Governorate belonging to the Mosul Vilayet and it was an important Kurdish city to which Sulemania was added. He describes the Citadel as a Castle built upon a small prominent hill and surrounded by walls to protect the city from enemy's attacks. It's believed that Prophet Daniel had lived, died and buried there. However a Mosque is being erected on his tomb."

Kirkuk as described by this British witness was an important commercial center with a large number of shops, restaurants and rest houses known as (Karwan-Sara). Beside the high-ranking military of the Turks, there was an influential Kurdish religious leader living in Kirkuk called Sheikh Ali Sheikh Abdulrahman. Visitors were coming to see him from all over Kurdistan. (7)

The big presence of an army has only one meaning: occupation. Yes, Kirkuk and Kurdistan were occupied by the Ottomans. It was typical of the Turks to deny the basic rights of the nations

Messeuo Vital, who was an expert in statistics and geography, had written his four volume-books about the cities, town and villages of the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire. His writing work took four year (from 1890 to 1894). It seems he visited the area earlier and stayed for a pretty long time. His volumes carry the name, 'The Asian Turkey.' He examines Kurdistan and Kirkuk in the second volume. He talks about the Vilayets, cities and Qaimqamias in Kurdistan especially in Sharezoor. According to his statistics, there were five Nahias (sub-districts) and 310 villages. And at time Kirkuk was the residence of the Sharezoor ruler (6).

Baron Edward Nold, one day before his death in 1895 had asked one of his friends to make a book on his reports on tours to Kurdistan, Arabistan and Armenia. The book was printed and published in London, 1895. Baron Nold did not mention the years of his traveling but we can guess from the history of the events that he was in the area sometime from 1891 to 1894. The information he records indicates that he was very familiar with region and that he had been there several times before. The importance of his books lies in the facts he recorded during his daily visits to different places in those three lands. His post and position was not known but he was preparing reports for the Ottoman authorities.

His reports are very informative and reliable. Besides, the details he had given are useful sources for today's territorial disputes. Nold describes the places he had been to. He tells the exact situation, to which land it belongs, what the language of the inhabitants was and what the number of the population was. When he came to the Kurdish region of the Hamrin Mountains, he says that his companions were scared to travel in the area. But he assured them that he had good contacts with the Kurdish tribes and that the chieftains were his friends. There is yet, other evidences indicate that he was there before, because he acquainted with a chieftain who asked him to mediate for the

hospices and almshouses for needy people, 12 motels, 1282 small stores and shops, 8 public bathhouses, and 3 churches. It is inhabited by 30,000 people; three quarters of them are Kurds, the rest are Arabs, Turks, Chaldeans and Jews.” says Sami. (10) These above reports were presented by different people, from different countries and different languages. They are of varying time frames, but they all come before the annexation of Kirkuk to Iraq. There is no room for doubt concerning the original Kurdish identity of this historical city. All the reports of the travelers indicate that the majority of the city’s populations were Kurds. Kurdish was the first language and Turkish or Turkoman was not mentioned. (11)

The abundance of facts and documents relating to the real identity of Kirkuk gives no possibility of considering Kirkuk as an Arab city. This made the hypocrites work hard to change the history and demography of the place. Expulsion of the original inhabitants and replacing them with Arabs from other parts of Iraq started soon after the annexation of Kirkuk to the newly established puppet Government of Baghdad. Unfortunately the British colonial power had initiated these dirty games of Arabization to ensure the oil wealth for them and to consolidate Sunni Arab loyalty.

However, this book will now concentrate on the demographic changes brought in by successive Iraqi regimes that came to power from the 1920s onwards. Amazingly, even after all these changes, an Iraqi Arab historian turned up and looked for the truth behind the history of Kirkuk. In 1947 Abdul-Majeed Fahmi Hasan was a head of the Iraqi Kingdom Committee that issued guidelines for the fourteen Iraqi Governorates. The man wrote his second volume of work about the city of Kirkuk. He asked an academic man called Muhammad Abbas Salih to write an introduction about the Kirkuk Liwa (Liwa another name for Governorate). Salih considered this city as a part of Kurdistan. (12)

that came under their control. In spite of their denial as to the presence of the Kurdish nation, many Turkish travelers traveled to different parts of Kurdistan, met with Kurdish people, wrote books about them and confirmed their Kurdish Identity.

The best known of the Turkish travelers is without a doubt Avlia Chalabi (1611-1684). Chalabi traveled several times to the countries of the region. He visited Russia, Bulgaria Anatoly, Iraq, Syria and parts of Kurdistan that came under the Ottoman occupation. He described Kurdistan in his memoir “Siahatnama” as consisting of the following Vilayets: Erzurum, Wan, Hakkari, Diyarbakir, Jazeera, Amedi, Mosul, Ardelan and Sharezoor. Kirkuk was one of the cities of Sharezoor during Chalabi’s visit. (8)

Turkish Scholar of geography, Mustafa Abdulkadir Khalifa, was the author of the Jihan-Nima book (Mirror of the World), who was a contemporary of Avlia Chalabi (1609-1657). He, too, visited Kurdistan and wrote about the city of Kirkuk, describing it as the main city of the Sharezoor Pashalik. (9).

The third and the most important Turkish writer was Shamsadin Sami (1850-1904) who almost three centuries later came to the region to confirm the facts seen by his forefathers. Sami is well known for his great encyclopedia which he named ‘A Dictionary of Turkish Popular People.’ This encyclopedia consisted of six volumes. They record all about the history and geography of the places, the languages and the cultures of the nations that came under Ottoman rule, including the Kurds and their lands.

Sami started writing about Kurdistan from page 3842 in his fifth volume. He mentions the Kurdish cities with high population such as Sulemania, Kirkuk, Erbil and Rawanduz. He said that most of the Kurdish people are living in those cities. Kirkuk is highlighted on page 3846 of the same volume. “Kirkuk comes under the administration of Mosul Vilayet but it’s a part of Kurdistan. This city contains a castle, 36 mosques, 7 schools, 15

## Kirkuk's Kurdistan Identity in Several British documents

As Great Britain and her Allies were the victors of the First World War, and as they demolished the Ottoman Empire and reshaped the geopolitical borders of the liberated countries in the Middle East, it seems that British Archives and Documents relating Iraq, Kurdistan and neighbouring countries from that period of time are of great importance.

The daily reports and telegrams exchanged between British army officers and their commanders, and their political leaders, both in the region and at the British Ministry for the Colonies are considered indispensable accounts of the real post-war situation in the region. These documents are also of great importance to solve today's disputes between the ethnical groups of the area especially relating to the Kurdish question and its territorial ownership.

It's worth mentioning that the British policy of that era was by no means pro-Kurdish. In fact, it was against them; documentary papers prove that. They denied the rights of the Kurds for self-determination. They acted against their will when they instituted an Arab kingdom in Baghdad ruled by a pro-British non-Iraqi king and attached the southern part of Kurdistan to this newly-created protectorate. The documents which are kept in the British Foreign Ministry give irrefutable proof that the British policy was pro-Arab.

This non-alien policy continued in the first half of the Twentieth Century. A letter from Antony Eden to his embassies in the USA and the Middle East in mid-forties urged them to disavow American claims that the British authorities were oppressing

Abdul-Majeed Hasan recited the story of well known figures and landmarks of the city. Overall he did a good work and served the truth but started with a big misstep: he put a photo of the young Iraqi King on the first page and subtitled it with this phrase: "His Majesty King Feisal, the hope of the Arabism." There is no sign whatsoever that the young boy considered himself a symbol of nationalism.

Turning to the text of the book, here are the main points:

- The number of the population of Kirkuk was 60,000 inhabitants.

- There were 8,000 houses in the city.

- Languages spoken are Kurdish and Turkoman.

- There were few Arabs living in Kirkuk but the number has started increasing as they were looking for jobs in the petro-chemical field. (13)

These information were not given by Kurds or Turkoman, they were given by Arabs themselves.

fields which had been established by British and western companies.

Coups d'états came one after the other: each one accused the former of being traitors or hirelings of the country's enemies. The Kurdish freedom fighters were described as British, American and other country's agents. The ruling powers involved the Iraqi army in ruthless fights in Kurdistan. The Kurdish territories were regarded as lands of the Arabs forefathers. Therefore extermination of the Kurds was considered as a national duty, as was the expulsion of Kurds from their homes and replacing them with Arabs from different parts of Iraq. Many districts of Kirkuk city, towns and villages were totally arabized.

After the fall of Saddam's regime in 2003 and the establishment of democratic rule in Iraq, a new constitution was enacted and approved by the majority of Iraqi voters. Within this constitution, article 140 deals with returning disputed territories to their original inhabitants. The Kurds have to work hard to prove the identity of the cut-off parts of their lands. The early British documents seem useful to determinate the original ownerships of all parts of Kirkuk region.

The Kurdish Scholar, Kamal Ahmed Muzhar, studied British documents that show the result of a census made in 1918 covering Quaratapa, Kifri and Tuzkhurmatoo. This process was carried out immediately after their occupation of those Kurdish towns. The figures were as the following:

4,238 Turkoman

458 Jews

276 Iranian Citizens

37 Arabs

1 Christian

And over 60,000 Kurds

Jews and Kurds to conciliate Arabs. This means that when we put these facts into consideration, we show absolute facts available from the biggest power of that time that was by no means pro- Kurdish.

Here, we would like to select two British reports about Kirkuk city and the towns of Qaratapa, Kifri and Tuzkhurmatoo that were also part of the Kirkuk province. The British politicians knew very well that the region was Kurdish but still made a census in early 1920s to show the number of Arabs living in those Kurdish towns. To their disappointment, the census revealed that there were only 37 Arabs out of a total of 70 thousands inhabitants living in Qaratapa, Kifri and Tuzkhurmatoo. Shortly after this, the British annexed the city of Kirkuk to Iraq and a British governor was appointed to rule the city. Twelve assistants were chosen to represent the city's population and to help the British political ruler. Only one Arab man was qualified for the post. However, the man was called the representative of the desert. Most probably he was a Bedouin from the Nomads who were coming from the Arab deserts of west Iraq to pasture sheep in Kirkuk's plains.

The flirtation between British colonialism and Arabs lasted a long time but the impact on the Kurds was far-ranging: starting from denying Kurdish rights, urging Arab tribes to resides in western parts of Kirkuk province and using force to suppress all the Kurdish movements who asked for equal chances to live freely in their own homeland. The British colonialists were gradually transferring more power to Arabs and neglecting all the promises given to the Kurds. Ultimately, the Arabs became too strong; strong enough to turn the table on their masters. They put an end to direct and indirect British rule. A military coup toppled the pro-British monarchy in 1958 and Arab nationalists came to power. First of all, they accused London of stealing Iraqi property and then nationalized the petroleum

No.	Name	Nationality
1	Ahmad Khanaka	Kurd
2	Ahmad Ahmadi Afandi	Kurd
3	Jameel Beg Baban	Kurd
4	Omer Aga	Kurd
5	Sheik Hameed Talabani	Kurd
6	Reza Beg	Kurd
7	Majeed Afandi	Turkoman
8	Hussein Beg Naftchi	Turkoman
9	Haji Jameel Beg	Turkoman
10	Hskel Afandi	Jew
11	Qustantin Afandi	Chaldean
12	Hussein Ali Assi	Arab from the Desert

The Arabs were Bedouins, wandering between Kirkuk and the Arabian Desert. That is why their man was known as the representative of the desert. However, their chieftain Hussein Assi could settle them in the Kurdistan town called Haweeja, west of Kirkuk.

These British Documents reveal the real Kurdistan Identity of Kirkuk and indicate that the Kurds made up a majority of the population that exceeded the total number of other ethnic groups. Thus the Kurds made the majority of Vilayeti Mosul during the Ottoman Rule.

Another British report prepared in 1919 by the civilian ruler of Kirkuk and the British staff of the city was translated into Kurdish by Serbast Kirkuki in 2006. It shows that the main composition of the inhabitants of the whole Kirkuk area were Kurds and that most of the important posts were held by Kurds.

As for its part, the Swedish government had provided the League of Nations with valuable information about the historical Kurdish city. This report is confirmed in a book written by the city's history expert Nuri Talabani. Talabani's book is in Arabic and is called "Kirkuk region and the attempts of changing its national identity." According to the Swedish study, the entire population was 122,000 and the composition of the national and ethnic groups in the whole Kirkuk area was as follows:

Arab: 10,000

Turkoman: 35,000

Kurd: 75,000

Chaldean: 600

Jews: 1,400

This census is available in Stockholm's Library. It's clear that the number of the Kurds was several times higher than the Arabs and more than the double of Turkoman.

The fact of the majority of the Kurdish population is also evidenced by British early statistics. As we have mentioned before, the first British ruler of Kirkuk chose a governorate body of 12 local personalities to facilitate the administration process. Prof. Muzhar reviewed the Foreign Ministry's Archives and found the names of the board members with their ethnic origins. The following table shows that six of the members were Kurds; three were Turkoman, one Jew, one Chaldean and one Arab.

#### City Council of Kirkuk

created Iraq. This meant that neither Mosul nor Kirkuk were either Iraqis or Arab.

It is worthwhile mentioning the text of a PhD dissertation submitted by Fadhil Hussein to the American University of Indiana. The scholar was an Arab from Mosul. His paper was about the geopolitical situation of Mosul and the state of its inhabitants. His paper was overwhelmingly accepted by the University, printed as book in 1955 in Baghdad and once more in 1977 by Baghdad University under the Ba'ath regime.

The author concentrated on two aspects: firstly, the will of the people to determine their own future and the claim of the new Turkish government on the Vilayeti Mosul considering it as part of the heritage of the Ottoman Empire, contrasted to the British Authority's desire to annex it to the new colony Iraq. The Britons had their reasons to do this; mainly because they wanted to consolidate their power in a larger Iraq, to look more acceptable to the Arabs and to use more Sunni Muslims against Shiites. The British rule was never accepted by Shiite Muslims in the whole region.

However, the Mosul Vilayet inhabitants wanted neither of them. As Dr. Hussein stressed they wanted to rule themselves, establishing their own government on their own land. The differences between sides were not easy to resolve, and so the assistance of the League of Nations was required. Therefore, on October 10<sup>th</sup> 1924, the league created a commission of experts consisting of:

- 1- Count Politky the ex-prime minister of Hungary
- 2- A. F Ferrenson, a Swedish commissioner to Bucharest
- 3- Pils Ai, a retired Belgian colonel

On the 17<sup>th</sup> November 1924, the Committee held its first meeting and then visited London, Baghdad and Ankara to collect their points of view and to find a solution for the dispute. Each party produced their evidence but while in Iraq they paid

## **The Kurdistan Identity of Vilayeti Mosul in The Documents of the League of Nations**

I would like to start this chapter with this simple question: Do we desire Kirkuk because it's rich in oil or because it's our real land?

Actually, Kirkuk is our land. To justify this answer I am going to depend totally on facts, the true state of things and the state of things as revealed in the history of the city and region. I am going to neglect Kurdish claims about the ownership of this city. I will only consider statements and reports given by travelers, orientalist and those who, for one reason or another, visited Kurdistan and the region. They met people, were acquainted with and learnt about the culture, language, traditions and nationality. They recorded their memoirs in reports and books, without diverting the truth or aligning with any groups or nations.

As for this chapter, I am going to concentrate at the period of time that covers the situation before the start of WW1 and its aftermath, shedding light on the Vilayeti Mosul (Governorate of Mosul) during the Ottoman era, where Kirkuk came under the same administration. In 1921, victorious Britain put Iraq under her mandate. Four years later she annexed Mosul to the newly



majority was Kurds. Here are the statistics of the three countries:

### **1- The British statistics:**

- The population of the Kurds: 424,720
- The population of the Yezidis: 30,000
- The population of the Arabs: 185,013
- The population of Turkoman: 65,815
- The population of the Christians: 6,225
- The number of the Jews: 16,865
- The number of the Nomads: Not calculated

### **2- The Iraqi statistics:**

- The population of the Kurds: 494,007
- The population of the Yezidis: 26,257
- The Population of the Arabs: 166,941
- The Population of Turkoman: 38,652
- The number of the Christians: 61,331
- The number of the Jews: 11,897

### **3- The Turkish statistics:**

- The population of the Kurds: 263,830
- The population of Turkoman: 146,960
- The population of the Arabs: 43,210
- The number of the Yezidis: 18,000
- The number of the Nomads: 170,000

By a simple analysis one can see that the total figures of the population given by Britain and Iraq are almost the same while the Turkish number was smaller by nearly 120,000.

visits to Mosul, Erbil, Kirkuk and Sulemania. They arrived in Mosul on 27<sup>th</sup> January 1925 and extensive discussions were held with locals in every location they visited. This mission continued their investigations until the end of March 1925 and then returned to Geneva to produce a report about their work.

The report was exclusive and comprehensive. It confirmed the fact that the majority of the Vilayeti Mosul, both land and people, was Kurdish. The committee ended their report saying, "To reach a fair conclusion, this committee studied what has been written and drawn by Arab historians and geographical experts of the past times, we looked at Arab maps and a great numbers of other maps drawn between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries. The committee also gained knowledge by translating all books and letters written by travelers about the region. The committee concluded that the northern border of Iraq is limited by Heet and Tikrit towns and the Hamrin mountain chain and that 85% of the population of the Vilayet were Kurds." This report was considered by the League of Nations.

The prospects of the three stakeholder states Britain, Iraq and Turkey were taken into consideration because they were important parties in the equation. In addition, each had their own set of statistics about the population of Vilayeti Mosul to put front of the League's delegation. Britain and Iraq wanted to annex it Iraq, while turkey wanted it to remain part of the new Republic of Turkey.

The tables shown below are the statistics of these different parties. Although none of them were positively disposed to the Kurds and each of them was serving their own interests, we show the figures as they are. We show them as they are in spite of reprehensible points. For example, they didn't consider Yezidis as Kurds and they didn't consider that sections of the Jews and Christians were Kurdish by nationality. In spite of all these shortcomings, the facts remained the same and the

## **The nationality of Kirkuk's governors of Kirkuk, shows the Kurdistan identity of Kirkuk**

After the fall of Saddam Hussein, we should have worked intensively to reveal all the crimes conducted secretly in the secret police headquarters and in prison cells. We should have collected all the files and documents of human rights violations. We should have documented all the crimes of forcing Kurdish and Turkoman families to leave their homes and land to be replaced by Arabs who confiscated everything their hands could reach. We should have worked harder to expose all the crimes executed against the Kurds and Turkoman in Kirkuk under Saddam's direct supervision.

We should have collected, studied and kept the dossiers on the confiscation of one million hectares of agricultural land belonging to the Kurds and Turkoman. We should have revealed all these crimes to the world and we should have asked the international community to help the victims and relieve their agony. We should have at least done whatever was possible, sparing no effort to resettle all the deportees back to their own homes. However, in contrast, most of the displaced people haven't been returned yet and only a few employees reinstated from their work after dismissal because of not being Arabs or refusing to become Ba'ath Party's member.

These days, when a few deportees return home several Iraqi Arab media shout loudly that Kirkuk is being occupied by Kurdish migrants, and when some dismissed employees are reinstated they ring alarm bells and call out that all the posts of Kirkuk are being given to Kurds! They claim that high-ranking

The Turks multiplied the number of the Turkoman by almost fourfold the number given by the Iraqis themselves, while the number of the Kurds is being reduced by half.

It is clear that the British officials took the Arab side and the Turks the Turkoman side. The statistics given by the Iraqis looks more realistic especially concerning the number of Turkoman. It's probable that the Turkoman themselves had higher involvement in the census since they had had better education opportunities under Ottoman rule and it makes no sense that they would give their people a smaller number.

No matter what manipulation occurred the number of the Kurds remained the highest and none of the parties denied the Kurdish identity of the Mosul region and its largest second city, Kirkuk.

massacring the Turkoman? It is true that Kurdistan is ruled by a Kurdish Regional Government and the Kurdish nation shares power but these arrangements are constitutional. The Kurds haven't occupied any Iraqi territory, neither is they going to establish a separate state or divide Iraq into ethnic entities as they are being accused of by Arabs and Turks. The 18% of posts given to the Kurds is true evidence that they are still ill-treated in spite of a regional government and top-ranking officials in the Republic of Iraq.

In comparing today's situation with the early years after the establishment of the Iraqi state in 1922 "after the annexation of Kirkuk with Mosul or Sharazoor Vilayet to the Arab state of Iraq", we find the rate of employment was fair to every party. The Kurds received their proper share. Speaking about the annexation of the southern part of Kurdistan, it's worth mentioning that the League of Nations had taken a very contradictory decision by ignoring the truth on the ground, simply neglecting the facts presented by their own committee which had been sent to Kurdistan to discover who Kurdistan belonged to.

Although treatment in the newly established state was somehow fair, the ideology of Arab Nationalism began to emerge and dominate. The British authority never stopped it rather they urged Arabic tribes to take up residence around Kirkuk city especially in Haweeja. The plan for Arabization of oil-rich parts of Kurdistan was always there but its execution only began in 1968 when the Ba'ath regime came to power through a military coup for the second time. It's worth reminding ourselves that from 1958 to 1968, Arab Nationalists had arranged for half a dozen of military coups and in each time they accused the British people of conspiring against the Pan Arab World.

During the period of 1922 to 1968, there wasn't a Kurdish local government, there weren't any Kurdish political parties sharing power in Iraqi government and parliament, but all Kirkuk's

Kurds in Baghdad and influential parties within the Iraqi Cabinet and Parliament are behind it. Needless to say, that in the past, even when there weren't influential Kurds in Baghdad, most Kirkuki posts were held by the Kurds. That was simply logical as during normal times, posts are given according to demographic realities; and so as the majorities in Kirkuk were Kurds, they were granted more posts.

However the facts on the ground show a different picture. Data of employment in Kirkuk indicate that the smallest portion is given to the Kurds. Among 48,867 employees, there are 9,065 Kurds, while the number of Arab employees is the highest and reaches 27,826 contrasted with 11,152 Turkoman employees. This simply means that the Arab minority has three times more posts than that of the Kurds who are the original inhabitants of the place. It's useful to point out the ratio of all the employments according to their origins:

-Arab employees	56%
-Turkoman employees	22%
-Kurd employees	18%
-Christian employees	1.45%

In comparing these figures with the ethnic populations we find that the Kurds make more than half with 1,247,627. Fair treatment would raise the number of Kurdish employees to be half. It's indeed a very anomalous situation to find that more 50% of the posts are held by migrants! All these injustices and no one shout foul, neither Arab media nor Turkish newsmakers. Now where is the prejudice performance of the Kurdish ministers or parliament members? Why does no one criticize the Arab heads for all these unfair actions? The most interesting question is why did the Turks and Turkoman remain quiet when all these injustice were practiced by the Arabs in spite of their complaints that the Turkoman of Kirkuk were being subjected to mass-killing and deportation? Why the strong state of Turkey did remained silent when Saddam Hussein regime was

Murad Shawi	Kurdish	1949	1950
Mustafa Quaradghi	Kurdish	1950	1952
Rasheed Najib	Kurdish	1952	1953
Abdulkafi Arif	Kurdish	1953	1953
Rasheed Najib	Kurdish	1953	1955
Yusuf Abdulwahab	Arabic	1955	1956
Basheer Hadid	Arabic	1956	1958
Abduljalil Al-Hadithi	Arabic	1958	23/8/1959
Mahmmud Albakri	Arabic	23/8/1959	8/9/1962
Naji essa Khlaf	Arabic	8/9/1962	23/2/1963
Abdul-Razak Mahmmud	Arabic	23/2/1963	8/5/1963
Fuad Shakir Mustafa	Arabic	8/5/1963	22/2/1964
Naef Hamudi	Arabic	22/2/1964	5/12/1964
Nuri Alrawi	Arabic	5/12/1964	16/11/1968
Abduljabar Saadi	Arabic	16/11/1968	9/11/1969
Ganim Abduljalil	Arabic	9/11/1969	23/1/1971
Shukri Sabri Alhadithi	Arabic	23/1/1971	16/8/1973
Khalid Abdulhamid Tire	Arabic	16/8/1973	26/4/1974
Walid Ibrahim	Arabic	26/4/1974	10/2/1976
Walid Mahmmud Alkhashali	Arabic	10/2/1976	31/12/1976
Abdulla Fadhil Alsamrai	Arabic	5/1/1977	24/1/1977
Muhammed Hamza Alzubaidi	Arabic	21/2/1977	21/7/1979
Adil Abdulla Mehdi	Arabic	15/9/1979	13/3/1982
Zuher Muhedin Alkadri	Arabic	17/4/1982	3/6/1985
Munzir Nassif Jasim	Arabic	4/6/1985	22/10/1989
Adnan Gedan	Arabic	22/10/1989	20/3/1991

Governors until 1955 were Kurds. They came on two bases: firstly they were represented the majority of the people, secondly they were efficient personalities. None of them were appointed by a political party or by a Kurdish minister. But from 1955 until the fall of Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath rule all the governors were Arabs, all their names and the dates of governing are listed along with the other twenty governors. We will be delighted if any Arab or Turkish media can comment or show how any single Kurdish governor acted out of favouritism or differentiated between the different ethnic groups in the city. There is not a single instance of wrongdoing done by any Kurdish governor recorded against Arabs or Turkoman whatsoever.

Name of the Governor	Nationality	From	To
Fatah Pasha	Kurdish	1922	1924
Abdulmajid Yacubi	Kurdish	1924	1927
Omer Nazmi	Kurdish	1927	1930
Tahsin Askeri	Kurdish	1930	1931
Abdulmajid Abdulhamid	Kurdish	1931	1933
Jameel Rawi	Kurdish	1933	1936
Husamedin Juma	Kurdish	1936	1938
Ahmad Rawi	Kurdish	1938	1940
Fayak Shakir	Kurdish	1940	1941
Meki Sidki Sharbati	Kurdish	1941	1944
Rafik Habib	Kurdish	1944	1945
Amin Khaliss	Kurdish	1945	1946
Hasan Fahmi Madfa'ei	Kurdish	1946	1947
Abduljalil Bartu	Kurdish	1947	1948
Muhammed Saeed kazaz	Kurdish	1948	1949

## The Representatives of Kirkuk in Iraqi Parliament From 1925 to 1958

The lists of the names of the Kirkuk's representatives in the country's parliament during the monarchy are attached to this chapter, with their dates and their ethnical background also detailed. The figures speak for themselves and the details will be briefly discussed at the right time but comes before the major part of this book which is dedicated to discussing the situation created by Saddam Hussein during the thirty five years totalitarian Stalinist regime when the people's representatives were replaced by security police, Ba'ath party members or direct relatives of Saddam and the wider party's leadership.

In addition, Kirkuk and other districts neighboring the Arab region were subjected to arabization and the extermination of the original population. This doesn't mean that other parts of the country were treated fairly. Ba'ath oppression was felt everywhere but the mass killing and Anfal genocide operations were more intensive. It's a usual phenomenon that a dictators' birth place turns into a paradise and a holy place. The purpose of this clarification is to explain that the country had no parliament and no representative, no constitution or respect to the law - therefore nobody could take his case to the public media, human rights organization or the international community. Above all, most Arab regimes were not interested in the fate of Arabs or Kurds in Iraq, they were simply seeking Saddam to execute more foolishness and involve the country in endless wars, such

Muhammed			
Hashim Hasan Almajid	Arabic	01/4/1991	19/10/1991
Yasir Hasan Alsatan	Arabic	10/10/1991	24/1/1993
Hashm Sabah	Arabic	25/1/1993	10/8/1995
Mahmmud Fezi Muhammed	Arabic	10/8/1995	14/1/1996
Ayad Fatih Alrawi	Arabic	14/1/1996	11/8/1998
Nofl Ismael Khariz	Arabic	11/8/1998	30/4/2000
Sabah Nuri Alwan	Arabic	30/4/2000	30/1/2001
Kais Abdulrazak Jawad	Arabic	30/1/2001	11/9/2002
Manie Abdurashid	Arabic	12/11/2002	10/4/2003
Abdulrahman Mustafa	Kurdish	28/5/2003	3/4/2011
Najmadin omar karim	Kurdish	3/4/2011	Up to this date

in a state of brotherhood, and no troubles or disturbances were aroused.

Then the Ba'ath regime came to power. They didn't gain power through ballot boxes or through polls; they came with tanks and with rifles in their hands instead of winning election papers. The first started with terrorizing the people of Iraq. They pioneered the formation of multiple layers of secret police, security forces and military intelligence forces to suppress the nation. The whole nation suffered from their oppression. The Kurdish people suffered the worst. They faced extermination, deportation and arabization. Since the oil-rich city was the starting point, and since the majority were Kurd and Turkoman, two terrible choices were placed in front of them: either convert to Arab nationality or leave the town! By-and-large, the Turkoman chose the first and the Kurds chose the second. Thus the deportation started with allowing them to take only their basic things.

Naturally after the removal of Saddam Hussein from power the displaced people wanted to go home and enjoy their normal lives again. Indeed all acting Iraqi parties had agreed on the return of the deportees to their original places and the new Iraqi constitution legalized this process. So their return to the places where they were originally forced out of does not mean occupying lands of Arabs. It's by no means a Kurdization process of Kirkuk as some Arabic and Turkish media allege, it's rather normalization of the situation of Kirkuk to the status quo ante, or as some of the politicians are pleased to say, making Kirkuk into a mini-Iraq where different ethnic and religious groups can live together in harmony.

Many nations have suffered from fascism, racism and chauvinism. They could put an end to them, found laws, rules and regulation to uproot them, taboo their ideologies and prevent them from coming back to power. Such ideologies don't serve Arabs or any other nation. Our region had suffered a lot,

as the war of defending the eastern border of the Pan-Arab World. Saddam Hussein had carried out innumerable crimes against the Kurds of Kirkuk. All these crimes were executed in broad daylight and none of our Arab brothers interfered. They weren't moved then and they won't do seek to do any good today either. They rather stand against the Kurdish people calling them the occupiers of Arab land just because Kurds want to resume their life in their own forefathers' homes.

If only a few Kurdish manage to go back to their working places from which they were dismissed due to racial reasons, they are accused of controlling governmental offices or that they intend to employ Kurds only or taking those roles that should be specified for Arabs and Turkoman.

Here comes an important question: should the Kurds release all data and information about the employment of Kurds in Kirkuk and its counties during the first fifty years of the Iraqi state when this people group made up the dominating majority? Would they have been accused of abusing their power in Baghdad at a time when they had had no power whatsoever? We shed light on that period because the Kurds were not allowed to take part in running the government in Baghdad and there wasn't a strong Kurdistan political party to make a strong fraction in the parliament. What would the normal rate of employment in Kirkuk with respective ratios of the different ethnic groups mean to them? Or would they come to the bare truth, to the decisive majority of the Kurds?

Having a look at the sixteenth elections of the Iraqi parliament, between the establishing of the Iraqi state until the notorious Ba'ath Rule, while the Kurds made up the majority of Kirkuk's representatives. They were winning the votes without having any organized political body or making strong election propaganda. Kirkuk was served by all the representatives, governors and employees no matter who they belonged to. Kirkuk was an example of mini-Iraq where people were living

The Third Parliament Nov.1<sup>st</sup> 1930

<i>Name of the representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Sheikh Habib Talabani	Kurd
Suleman Fatah	Kurd
Mustafa Afandi	Kurd
Ali Keerdar	Turkoman

The Fourth Parliament Jan 3<sup>rd</sup> 1933

<i>Name of the representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Jameel Majeed Pasha Baban	Kurd
Suleman Fatah	Kurd
Fawzi Ali	Turkoman
Muhammad Ali Keerdar	Turkoman

The Fifth Parliament Dec.29<sup>th</sup> 1934

<i>Name of the representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Jameel Majeed Pasha Baban	Kurd
Muhammad Haji Nua'man	Kurd
Shiekh Habib Talabani	Kurd

dear lives had been sacrificed due to the stubbornness of tyrant dictators, and the infrastructure of our countries has been destroyed. Now it's time to rebuild our countries, to develop our human power to serve love and peace not war and hatred.

Bellow is 16 tables of the names and nationalities of Kirkuk's representatives during the sixteen elections to the Iraqi parliament from 1925 to 1958:

The First Parliament July 16<sup>th</sup> 1925

<i>Name of the representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Hama Saeed Haji Hussien	Kurd
Sheich Habib Talabani	Kurd
Rffik Khadim Sijade	Kurd
Nashat Ibrahim	Turkoman

The Second Parliament 19<sup>th</sup> 1928

<i>Name of the representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Hama Saeed Haji Hussien	Kurd
Mustafa Afandi	Kurd
Muhammad Pasha Jaff	Kurd
Ali Keerdar	Turkoman



Hussien Agha Zangana Naftchi	Turkoman
Assi Ali	Arab from the Desert

The Eighth Parliament Dec. 23<sup>rd</sup> 1937

<i>Name of representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Wahab Talabani	Kurd
Jameel Pasha Baban	Kurd
Ahmad Agha	Kurd
Ahmad Yakubi	Turkoman
Hussien Agha Zangana Naftchi	Turkoman
Assi Ali	Arab

The Ninth Parliament June.12<sup>th</sup> 1939

<i>Name of the representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Faik Talabani	Kurd
Dara Beg Dawooda	Kurd
Dawood Jaff	Kurd

Khaleel Zeki	Turkoman
Muhammad Ali Keerdar	Turkoman

The Sixth Parliament Aug.8<sup>th</sup> 1935

<i>Name of representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Faik Talabani	Kurd
Ali Reza Askar	Kurd
Dawood Jaff	K
Suleman Fatah	Kurd
Khaleel Zeki	Turkoman
Dawood Dawood	Jewish

The Seventh Parliament Feb.27<sup>th</sup> 1937

<i>Name of representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Kadir Talabani	Kurd
Ahmad Agha	Kurd
Muhammad Berki	Kurd
Yousif Ibrahim	Kurd

Dawood Beg Jaff	Kurd
Suleman Fatah	Kurd
Amin Rasheed Hamawandi	Kurd
Salih Nua'man	Kurd
Kamil Yakubi	Turkoman
Amin Keerdar	Turkoman

The Twelfth Parliament June 21<sup>st</sup> 1948

<i>Name of the Representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Abdulwahab Talabani	Kurd
Muhammad haji Nua'man	Kurd
Dawood Beg Jaff	Kurd
Ali Rafik	Kurd
Amin Hamwandi	Kurd
Naji Hurmizi	Turkoman
Ahmad Yakubi	Turkoman

Amin Rasheed Hamawandi	Kurd
Muhammad Haji Nua'man	Kurd
Jameel Keerdar	Turkoman

The Tenth Parliament Oct.19<sup>th</sup> 1943

<i>Name of representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Abdulwahab Talabani	Kurd
Dara Beg Adwooda	Kurd
Dawood beg Jaff	Kurd
Suleman Fatah	Kurd
Muhammad Haji Nua'man	Kurd
Jameel Keerdar	Turkoman

The Eleventh Parliament March 17<sup>th</sup> 1947

<i>Name of the representative</i>	<i>N</i>
Fadil Talabani	Kurd
Dara beg Dawooda	Kurd

Dawood Beg Jaff	Kurd
Mahmmud Babban	Kurd
Kamil Yakubi	Turkoman
Abdulla Aochi	Turkoman
Zainalabideen Kanbar	Turkoman
Amin Keerdar	Turkoman

The Fifteenth Parliament Sep.16<sup>th</sup> 1954

<i>Name of the representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Mahmmud Baban	Kurd
Hussien Khanaka	Kurd
Dawood Beg Jaff	Kurd
Amin Rasheed Hamawandi	Kurd
Suleman Biat	Turkoman
Kamil Yakubi	Turkoman
Amin Keerdar	Turkoman

Abdulla Suleman Bayati	Arab
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The Thirteenth Parliament Jan.24<sup>th</sup> 1953

<i>Name of representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Fadil Talabani	Kurd
Mahmmud Jameel Pasha Baban	Kurd
Dawood Beg Jaff	Kurd
Ameen Rasheed Hamawandi	Kurd
Kamil Yakubi	Turkoman
Amin Keerdar	Turkoman
Ibrahim Naftchi	Turkoman
Abdulla Suleman Bayati	Arab

The Fourteenth Parliament June 9<sup>th</sup> 1954

<i>Name of the representative</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Habeeb Talbani	Kurd
Hussien Khanaka	Kurd

## Census and statistics in many years

Another misleading theory about the identity of Kirkuk is being caused by casting doubt about the Kurdish population of the city. The only correct election performed after the fall of the Monarchy was in 2005 when the Kurdish Alliance won more than half of the votes and obtained the majority of the city council.

This was followed by a crazy campaign led by some Arab media groups and the Turkoman Front to stand against the free will of the people. They claimed that the Kurds were brought from Turkey and Iran and were paid to vote for Kurdish representatives and hence to change the voting balance in favor of the Kurds. They went further to accuse the Kurds of trying to change the population constituency of Kirkuk.

At the time, the Kurdish media and political parties didn't take this problem seriously, considering it as just false blaming for their defeat on the one hand and as baseless propaganda on the other hand. Unfortunately this negligence has cost the Kurds a lot; many political parties, both inside and outside Iraq have followed suit and accused the Kurds by bringing outsiders and making them resident in Kirkuk! Only later on did the Kurdish leaders take the initiative by inviting the world's and Arab media correspondents to visit the city and demonstrate that no single Kurd had come from outside Iraqi Kurdistan to live there.

Nevertheless, Arabs and Turkoman have never stopped maneuvering; they fabricated other means to change the truth. They shouted loudly that the Kurds were being brought from other Kurdish cities such as Erbil, Sulemania and Dohuk. They

Ibrahim Naftchi	Turkoman
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The Sixteenth Feb. 14<sup>th</sup> 1958

Name of the representative	Nationality
Kaka Hama Khanaka	Kurd
Mahmmud Baban	Kurd
Dawood Beg Jaff	Kurd
Nazeer Keerdar	Turkoman
Suleman Bayat	Turkoman
Najeeb Yakubi	Turkoman
Ibrahim Naftchi	Turkoman
Mahmmud Fahmi	Turkoman
Questentine Fatuhi	Assyrian

From these election results of the representatives we learn two important points. The first one is that the Kurds made up about 60% of Kirkuk's population and secondly, the tolerance which was common between the people. For example, many Kurds voted for Turkoman representatives and others such as Arabs, Assyrians and Jews. This had never happened under The Socialist Arabic Ba'ath Party!

displaced families, they could have used them to falsify the unfair claims of those Arab and Turkoman groups.

The data presented below is not about the number of the Kurds forced out from their homes by Saddam Hussein's regime or about the number of Arabs brought by the same regime from different parts of Iraq during the Arabization process of Kurdistan. Actually what we see does the total population of the Kurds inhabiting their hometown in Kirkuk and around. These data were not produced by Kurds themselves or by any institution friendly to the Kurds. There was not even a single person among the officials caring for Kurdish nationality. They were doing what they believed to be fulfilling their moral duty, and at the end of the day simply serving Kirkuk.

When we insist on publishing these statistics we simply aim at putting facts in front of those who are concerned about the future of the city. So if today's Kurdish population exceeds that of others this does not mean that the city has been kurdicized by displacing Kurd from other countries or from other Iraqi cities. The truth was, is and will be that the Kurds make the majority.

To enrich this study we consider the following documents:

First: among the best known travelers of the is Turkish national is called Shamsadin Sami, who is the author of the bulky books (six volumes) called the Dictionary of "T'elami Turk" written in Ottoman Turkish style, published in 1986 in Istanbul. Shamsadin detailed in his book the history and the geography of the countries and regions that came under Ottoman control, he also shed light on the traditions, languages and populations of the nations living in those areas. Kirkuk's data comes on page 3846. He says that the city was under the Mosul administration in Kurdistan and had a population of 30,000 inhabitants, 22,000 or 75% of them were Kurds, 760 Jews, 460 Chaldeans and the rest (or less than 7000) were Arabs and Turkoman.

Second: when the Vilayeti Mosul's question was forwarded to the League of Nations, a Swedish government report about the

took this question to the Iraqi Parliament and asked for creation of a committee to investigate their claim. At present this committee is checking the identities of the unlucky displaced Kurds who returned to their homes in Kirkuk.

As a matter of fact, the main purpose of the Arab-Turkoman groups is not just casting doubts about the returnees of Kirkuk; they want to dismantle the new Iraqi constitution accepted by the people of Iraq. They try to cancel Section 140 which states that the fate of Kirkuk and other disputed areas should be decided by votes of the original inhabitants. This means that Arabs brought from other parts of the country should also go back to their homes and the deported Kurds and Turkoman should be resettled in their homes and farms.

If this should happen, should this vote based on the constitution take place, then Kirkuk will surely return to the mother Kurdistan. This fact and the outcome of the 2005 elections disturb the dreams of Arab chauvinism so they do whatever they can to create obstacles to stop this transfer process. They could simply give an unrealistic image of Kirkuk's situation to the Arab world on the one hand, and block the return of displaced Kurds and Turkoman to Kirkuk and surrounding towns and villages between Kurdistan and the central part of Iraq\*.

The Kurdish leaders were not that active to inform the Arab states and the International Community about what Saddam Hussein's regime was doing to their land and people. They weren't active enough either to show Saddam's crimes after his fall in 2003. Indeed, Saddam Hussein had left a generous amount of document about the crimes executed against the Kurds and other Iraqi peoples. Tens of thousands of documents and evidences became accessible to the public. Crimes of extermination of the Kurds and the destruction of the geopolitics of Kurdistan were extensively documented. If the Kurds, for whatever reason, couldn't employ these evidences to take back

- The number of Arabs; 31.500
- The number of Turkoman: 26.100
- The number of Kurds: 47.500

But the census of the central government held in 1957 showed the total population of Kirkuk Governorate as 388,839.

- The Kurds made 48.24% stood at 187,593
- The Turkoman made 21.14% stood at 83,371
- The Arabs made 28.19% to stand at 109,620
- The Christians made 0.41 stood at 1,605

The dramatic rise in the number of Arabs wouldn't be possible without bringing others from other places, because even rabbits don't propagate that quickly and the assumption that the increase happened normally, then how on earth did the number of other nationalities decrease? Were they subjects for extermination or deportation? The true answer lies in many possibilities; from the fact that Iraqi Arabs had always tried to change the demography of the area, to fulfill the British plan to promote the number of Sunni Arabs in oil-rich Kirkuk and to get the benefits of anti Shiite votes in the area.

In 1977 when Saddam Hussein was trying to grip on power, he made several fake statistics and produced figures that go on line with his claims about Kirkuk and the surrounding districts. Here are two examples:

Statistics over Kirkuk's central city and its surrounding

- Arabs 38.49%
- Kurds 38.12%
- Turkoman 21.04%

The whole area of Kirkuk

- Arabs 44.4% or 218,755
- Kurds 37.6% or 184,857
- Turkoman 16.3% or 80,347

consistency of the Vilayeti population was adopted. The statistics prepared by Sweden as illustrated in their report put the number of the Kurds as ten times higher of that of Arabs, twice as high as the number of Turkoman, while the other ethnic groups were not of significance. This statistic form is in the Public Library of Stockholm and most probably in the archive of the United Nations as it had replaced the League.

Third: Turkish statistics prepared by Issmat Pasha Enano showing the Turkish prospects about Mosul or Kurdistan, clearly the man was in favor of Turkey's demand. He put the Pro-Turkish minority as high as possible, but the Kurds remained making the majority. And this is the way he put it:

- The number of the Kurds: 281,820
- The number of Turkoman: 126,210
- The number of Arabs: 43.210

According to Enano statistics the number of the Kurds was only exceeding the total of Arabs and Turks by just 112 thousands.

He comes to Kirkuk and gives the following information:

- The number of the Kurds: 97.000
- The number of Turkoman: 79.000
- The number of Arabs: 8.000

According to these figures of Issmat Pasha, the number of the Kurds exceeds the total number of Arabs and Turkoman by just 10.000.

Concerning Mosul alone he put it this way:

- The number of the Kurds: 122.000
- The number of the Turkoman: 35.000
- The number of the Arabs: 28.000
- The number of the Christians: 31.000

Fourth, here are some other statistics:

Iraqi central statistics in 1922-1924 showed the population of Kirkuk as the following:

At present, the population of Kirkuk governorate according to the gender is as following:

The statistics shown above is the latest in Kirkuk but so far it hasn't been formally published, the ratio of the nationals is not estimated to see who makes up the majority. However the sub-districts that remained inhabited by the Kurds are more populated than those occupied by Arabs (for example see Laylan and Karahanjir sub-districts and compare them with Abbas and A'had sub-districts). This indicates that the increase of Arab population has happened only during the notorious Ba'ath rule and that was fabricated by putting wrong people at the wrong places.

It is worth mentioning here that after the fall of the dictator, thousands of Arab families have returned voluntarily to their original places in the south of Iraq. This indicates two facts: first, most of the occupying Arabs were forced to come to Kirkuk, and secondly, that Kirkuk keeps its natural identity in spite of long decades of deportation and demographic change. However, many of these displaced Arabs could not leave immediately, and others stayed for a longer time. When the displaced Kurds came back to the region most of them were armed, but they did not threaten or harm the Arab occupiers. They simply waited for the lawful procedures because all the Iraqi parties and organizations had previously agreed on the restoring the normal situation of Kirkuk which meant the situation before the rule of Ba'ath regime.

These statistics came one year after Iraqi revolutionary command council issued a decree to separate four major districts (Chamchamal, Kifri, Kalar and Tuzkhurmatoo) from Kirkuk governorate. These districts are either fully or mainly Kurdish. Clearly the main purpose of this separation was to decrease the ratio of Kurds and Turkoman.

The Ba'ath regime continued deporting Kurds and Turkoman. Those who refused were forced to change their nationality to become Arabs. Saddam wanted to see his success in changing the demography of Kirkuk so he ordered another census 10 years after. And here is the result:

-Arabs 45.10% or 271,150  
-Kurds 38.19% or 229,606  
-Turkoman 16.71% or 100,463

Twenty years later, Arabization seemed to be more effective, the number of Arabs reached 544,596, The Kurds were down to 155,861+ 1108 Failies (Kurds to be considered as Iranian and to be deported to Iran), and the Turkoman reduced to only fifty thousand.

. Among this total number of the Arabs were Kurds who had been forced to be identified as Arabs against their will, and also 42,386 Turkoman were also forced to declare that they were Arabs and needed what so called the 'correction of nationality.' However, the long dark night of Tyranny ended and the dawn of Liberty heralded. The way opened up for returning some displaced Kurds and Turkoman back to their homes and those who had been forced to become Arabs were allowed to regain their original nationality.



## Facts and figures about the municipality of Kirkuk

Almost everywhere in the world, the head of the municipality, the Mayor or Governor, is either elected by voting or appointing one of the most efficient personalities of the city to this sensitive post. Whether by election or by appointment, the person must be qualified as a hard worker. If he should fail to serve his citizens, he must be ready to be replaced. The task of the Mayor is often more challenging in multi-ethnic cities. Normally the mayor is chosen by the group of people who makes the majority, but he serves every citizens and groups regardless of color, race or religion.

If we follow the municipality history of Kirkuk and see who has held the Mayor post, and how he got the post, from the very beginning of the establishing the administration of the city, we find the same story of the city repeating itself. When there was a kind of democracy, then the Mayor came from the majority group of the city. This means that by knowing who the Mayor was, we know which national was making the majority.

Since Kirkuk is a very old city and that during the Ottoman Empire rule, Kirkuk was a 'Liwa' (a big city); it had a governorate administration and an established municipality. This means that we can go a bit deeper into the history to the date when the municipality of this city was found.

Kirkuk's municipality was established in 1875 by the Ottoman administrations. The first ever Mayor was a Kurd named (Omer Muhammad Saied Aga Rozhbayani). He held this post for 25 years. Rozhbayani was from a well known family of the city

Name of the place	Number of the males	Number of the female	Total
Central Kirkuk	359,193	332,714	691,907
Haweeja County	40,458	45,647	86,105
Dakuk County	27,183	25,685	52,823
Dubz County	16,286	18,015	34,301
Ryad County	33,611	34,759	68,370
Zab county	24,013	26,065	50,078
Taza County	12,167	16,163	28,330
Abbas county	21,886	23,198	45,048
Laylan county	51,937	38,676	90,613
Altunkopri County	28,445	28,728	57,157
Sarkaran County	6,276	6,413	12,689
A'had County	9,702	11,374	21,076
Mulattaf-Yaychi County	24,334	23,073	47,407
Rashad County	11,793	12,785	24,578
Shwan and Karahanjir County	42,596	41,389	83,967
Total	709,808	684,693	1394,501

However, in 1969 the first Arab Major of Kirkuk was appointed by Saddam Hussein's regime, and no Kurdish Mayor was allowed to reach this post till the regime's fall in 2003. A few Turkoman were appointed on the basis of intimacy with the fascist party or changing their nationality, or both together. The Arab man was called Muzhir Abdulmutalib, from a little town north of Baghdad called Tikrit, the birth place of the dictator Saddam.

The table below shows the names, nationalities and years of working of Kirkuk's Mayors. Once more the aim is to document the facts as they were and as they are. The wrong doing had only started from the time when Arab Nationalism came to power in Baghdad. They did not allow a single Kurd to take any significant post at all. They did not put the majority or the will of the people into their consideration. They rather behaved like occupying gangs. Moreover, they started changing the demography of the most important of Kurdistan. Now, here is 128 years of the history of the city;

Name	Starting Date	Finishing	Nationality
Omer Muhammad Rozhbayani	1875	1900	Kurd
Haji Ali Keerdar	1900	1910	Turkoman
Bahadin Afandi Hurmzi	1910	1920	Christian
Abdulmjeed Yakubi	1920	1924	Kurd
Baki Aga Kudk	15/4/1924	2/2/1925	Turkoman
Abdulrahman Bakir	1/3/1929	16/1/1934	Kurd
Sheikh Habib Talabani	20/1/1934	11/7/1949	Kurd
Shami Yakubi	8/10/1949	22/7/1953	Turkoman
Sheikh Fadil Talabni	16/8/1953	20/8/1958	Kurd
Nouradin Waez	20/8/1958	19/3/1959	Kurd

who had relatives in many towns around the city. In addition, other Kurdish tribes supported him. The Ottomans could doubtless have appointed a Turkoman, but they didn't do that as they wanted to get the hearts and minds of the biggest portion of the society.

All together, twelve persons have held this same post after Rozhbayani; they were either Kurds or Turkoman. No Arab ever held this post until the Ba'ath Fascism took control of the country. In 1969, one year after their military coup, such posts were monopolized by the Arabs and the party members. This situation continued until Saddam's fall. It is worth remembering that before the Fascism, this post was going either to a Kurd or a Turkoman: eight of them were Kurds, the other four were Turkoman. Neither Kurds nor Turkoman were against the other, it was simply the poll who decided. One the other hand, the numbers of Arabs were not big enough to gain any leading posts, so all the posts were passing alternately to Kurds and Turkoman. This situation continued until the Ba'ath party changed the norms of the society and started appointing inefficient party members who made terrible changes in the inter-culture situation of the city. Among these damaging actions were forcing the inhabitants of the city to give up their nationality or giving their homes and lands to Arabs.

Thus, Kurds and Turkoman were deprived from their basic rights. They couldn't elect a single representative, their human rights were violated, and freedom of expression was prevented. Only the fall of the regime heralded the dawn of the normal life. But as it had been said, old habits die hard. The Ba'athists couldn't tolerate this new situation. They have activated their remaining activists both inside and outside the country to stir up anarchy and to give a false impression that the Kurds will take revenge, mistreating Arabs and Turkoman, occupying their homes and their belongings, and last but not least, they will take away an important part of the Arab land.

Waheed Subhi Hamad	12/6/2000	5/10/2000	Turkoman
Muhammad Hasan Muhsin	5/10/2000	1/2/2001	Arab
Hussein Darwish Aljumaily	1/2/2001	4/11/2002	Arab
Hatam Musa Majeed	4/11/2002	9/4/2003	Turkoman
Jamal Muhammad Shukr	12/4/2003	1/11/2010	Kurd
Abdulkarim hasan	1/11/2010	Up to the date	Kurd

By having a look at the time when Saddam's regime was appointing the mayors through the Ba'ath party, we can see the amount of random and carelessness in choosing officials who have direct contact with serving the people. For example; in less than a year four Mayors had been appointed and sacked, the people did not have a say in an important issues such as governing their own city.

Sheikh Marif Barzanchi	15/6/1959	30/7/1959	Kurd
Husamadin Salihi	6/3/1960	10/2/1969	Kurd
Mazhar Abdulkadir Tikriti	10/2/1969	22/12/1970	Arab
Nadim Nuri Salihi	22/4/1971	12/1/1975	Turkoman
Ibrahim Muhammad Mahmmud	13/1/1975	11/8/1984	Arab
Kaiser Fatih Ahmad	12/8/1984	12/12/1984	Turkoman
Muhammad Hussein Taki	13/12/1984	2/5/1985	Arab
Ali Hussein Alwan	3/5/1985	5/1/1986	Arab
Kaiser Fatih Ahmad	6/1/1986	29/10/1986	Turkoman
Hameed Hassan Alawi	30/10/1986	31/7/1988	Arab
Abdulmuhsin Sulaiman	1/8/1988	27/2/1989	Turkoman
Abdulrahman Mustafa	28/2/1989	3/3/1990	Arab
Muhammad Hussein Taki	4/3/1990	3/11/1994	Arab
Muhammad Hassan Mushin	4/11/1994	20/5/1995	Arab
Amir Yunis Hammdo	15/6/1995	15/6/1996	Arab
Naif Salih Hamad	16/6/1996	15/10/1997	Arab
Muhammad Hussein taqi	18/10/1997	6/8/1998	Arab
Naif Salih Hamad	5/8/1998	28/2/2000	Arab
Muhammad Hassan Muhsin	28/2/2000	12/6/2000	Arab

They are evaluated, accepted and studied in many universities including Baghdad University.

The first two of those historians are Turks and the rest are Arabs. They wrote about Kirkuk in different time settings, they recorded what they saw on the ground. They had no reason to ally with the Kurds, they saw that the majority of the people were Kurds and they confirmed that in their memoirs and studies.

They European writers wrote the same thing. Special delegations came to the area for statistical purposes; they had for different economic and political benefits allied with Arabs or Turks. Nevertheless, the overwhelming number of the Kurds remained steady. British people were the most interested side to learn about the truth on the ground. They played their political games on those realities. They exchanged secret letters and reports between themselves, but fortunately they kept them archived in Britain and most of them are accessible to the public.

Islamic and American Encyclopedias make it clear that Kirkuk was in the heart of Kurdistan and was inhabited by Kurds who had opened their heart to other minorities such as Turkoman, Armenians, Chaldeans, Assyrians, Jews and others. Arab nationalism caused the Non-Muslim minorities to disappear; as a result Kirkuk has lost its beauty. Nowadays only few Assyrians have remained in this historical city, they may immigrate to safer countries because of the threats on their lives and the explosions against their churches. These terrorist attacks happen in all the Iraqi Arab territories. Kurdistan is the only safe place for them, which is the reason why many of them choose to live in Kurdish cities and towns.

Among the important secret British documents, there is a report written by the British authorities when an oil-well exploded in 1927 near Kirkuk. Due to this explosion, huge amount of gas burst out of the well and threatened the people around the

## KURDS DO NOT GET EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

History is the truthful witness of the Kurdish identity of Kirkuk. There are a great deal of documents written or produced by historians, orientalist and travelers. The previous chapters are enriched with evidences and irrefutable facts to prove the reality of the ownership on the one hand and the attempts to change the demography of the whole Kirkuk area on the other hand. The evidences are supported by figures and statistics.

In spite of all the documents, the Kurds have never claimed that Kirkuk is solely a Kurdish city. They have always described it as a Kurdistan city with multi-ethnic citizens. This means that Kirkuk is geographically a piece of Kurdistan and that all who live on that land have equal rights without practicing any discrimination between them. Innumerable discriminations were practiced including displacing the original inhabitants and genocide, but the Kurdish people have never sought revenge after liberating the city and the surrounding towns. They have always called for conciliation, living together with mutual understanding and respect.

We needn't review every detail of the historical documents concerning Kirkuk but it's fair enough to start mentioning some historians and travelers of rival group such as Arabs and Turks who visited the city and wrote about what they had witnessed. We choose these two categories on the first instance because the unfair propaganda is fabricated in some Arab countries and in Turkey. These historians are: Avlia Chalabi, Shamsadin Sami, Abdul-Razak Hasani, Hana Battutta, Shakir Khassbak and Muhammad Hadi Daftar. Those historians for one reason or another all visited Kirkuk. Hasani and Khassbak were scholars and university professors. Their studies are of great importance.

reside in remote Arabic areas or they themselves managed to escape to other Kurdish cities.

Eventually, the number of newly brought Arabs in the city reached the sky-high figure of 356,000. It worth mentioning that last local official census was held in 1965 and after this the number of Kurds was never declared but certainly it was sharply diminishing. The only process that helps us get an idea about the ratio of the inhabitants had come from the election of the Iraqi parliament members and the people's representatives in the city council. This took place only after the liberation.

The darkest period for the Kurds in Kirkuk lasted forty years: from 1963 when the fascist Ba'ath party first came to power for nearly one year but they managed to rule Baghdad from 1968 until their removal by the US army in 2003. But the rest of Kurdistan was liberated by the Kurdish people uprising in 1991. Only after the toppling of Saddam Hussein could the Kurds gradually go back to their own homes, but the imported Arabs are still there. These Arab families have been compensated to allow them to resettle in their original places, but there are parties who urge them not to leave Kirkuk and so keep the artificial composition unchanged and insist on casting doubts about the Kurdistan identity of the city.

However, the Kurds have taken extra steps to normalize the situation, they could have used violence to regain their confiscated lands and properties but they preferred enacting the new rules and regulations, and working according to the paragraph 58 of the temporary ruling of Iraq and the paragraph 140 of the new Iraqi constitution. Both of these paragraphs are asking for a new census to see the reality of the population as it is. There are committees set up by both legislative and executive bodies to fulfill the provisions of the constitution and the related laws. The committees in coordination with the representatives of the United Nations agreed to make a new census in the disputed

district. The British officials wanted to evacuate the area, so they needed to estimate how many people had to be transferred. Their calculations showed that Kirkuk was inhabited by 30,000 people, 25,000 out of them were Kurds. This report is available. In a similar estimate performed by the League of Nations during the Vilayeti Mosul crises between Great Britain and Turkey in the 1920s, the number of the Kurds made up three quarter of Kirkuk's population. This reality was reflected in the Iraqi parliament elections held from 1925 to 1958. When six seats were assigned to Kirkuk then voters were never choosing not less than four Kurds.

Another greatly interesting document is a secret report written in 1929 by an Arab chauvinist officer who was the commander of an Iraqi military division stationed in Kirkuk. Upon his appointment, he raised a report saying that number of Arabs in Kirkuk is too little to arabize the city! The man suggested sending more Arabs for that purpose. Soon after this report the campaign of urging Arab Bedouins to the Haweeja district in Kirkuk intensified. So in the issues of Arabization of Kirkuk, initially Arabs were being brought to feed their cattle, later they were being given lands and governmental positions and finally there was the forced expulsion of Kurds and Turkomans out of their homes and putting Arabs in their places. These operations were followed by large-scale forgery operations at the citizens' civil registration of Kirkuk. For this reason, the lawful normalization of the civil situation in Kirkuk is not easy; especially when the Ba'ath regime had replaced most of the Kurds and other employees of this office with Arabs who were trained to execute the forgery.

In 1970s and 1980s, waves of Arab migrants were brought to Kirkuk. Their registering papers were carefully changed. Thousand of Turkoman and others were forced to register themselves and their children as Arabs. Of course, a great number of Kurdish families were either taken by the army to

Registry/1	Alobedi						
Department of Decision Enacting	Ali Aljuburi	Arab	11	2	7	2	0
Notary	Muna Mustafa	Turkoman	12	2	5	3	1
Care of Underages	Khalida Omer	Arab	14	6	5	3	0
Land Registry/2	Fathulla Hameed	Kurd	21	8	3	10	0
Property Disputes Commission	Kamal Khaleel Agha	Kurd	49	33	17	8	1
Fairness Office	Shwan Salih	Kurd	19	5	6	7	1
Iraqi Digging Office	Kadhim Khdir Hussein	Arab	1315	150	915	250	0
Health Head Office	Sabbah Amin	Kurd	784	186	399	182	17
Kirkuk Hospital	Ahmad Amin	Turkoman	954	333	243	351	27
Azadi Hospital	Dlawer Hameed	Kurd	928	561	181	166	20
Pediatric Hospital	Azal Mahdi	Turkoman	331	134	82	112	3
Kirkuk Environment	Ali Abdulrazak	Turkoman	23	11	2	19	0
North Petrol	Mana'a Muhamm	Arab	117	756	868	207	24

areas to see the true state of affairs and then to decide the ownership the cut off parts of Kurdistan.

All the attempts of these committees failed due to obstructions by Arabs and Turkoman and certain neighbouring countries. Long years have passed and the Kirkuk question is pending between politicians and bureaucrats. And now they claim that paragraph 140 is no more valid and that the constitution needs to be amended or changed in way that would deprive the Kurds from their territorial rights. Under the current situation, it's impossible for the Kurds to enjoy the basic rights of citizens because the governmental offices are filled with Arabs and the old guard of Saddam Hussein's regime. The number of Kurdish employees is not proportional to their population size. This means that there will not be fair decisions concerning the return of their confiscated properties on the one hand, and unemployment will be more common among the Kurds.

By having a look at the following tables we will see the extent of the injustice that the Kurdish people are suffering from. (In this table: **Gov Dept** stands for governmental departments and similar places, **Person in Charge** stands for the name of the person in charge, **Nat** for the nationality, **Tot Employ** for the total number of the employees in that department or office, **Kr** for the Kurds, **Ar** for the Arabs, **Tr** for the Turkoman and **Ch** for Christians.)

Gov Dept	Person in Charge	Nat	Tot Employ	Kr	Ar	Tr	Ch
Supreme Court of Kirkuk	Nua'man Karim Ahmad	Arab	139	62	21	54	1
Land	Hameed	Arab	32	2	9	18	2

Hamorabi Co. for Constructi on	Bahadin Ahmad	Kurd	287	133	69	83	2
Maintenan ce And Practice	Mustafa Bahadin	Kurd	17	10	4	3	0
Bank of Housing	Faizulla Muhamm ad Salih	Turk oman	7	1	0	6	0
North Gas Company	Huner Najeeb	Kurd	221 8	625	650	885	58
Petrol Productio ns Company	Kadir Omer Abdulrah man	Kurd	935	277	462	182	14
Directorat e of Petrol Institute	Hussein Ma'arouf	Kurd	20	10	3	5	2
Post and Communi cation	Adil Abdulla ALI	Turk oman	511	125	182	192	12
Weather Forecast	Ali Zandi	Kurd	4	1	2	1	0
Land Transporta tion Directorat e	Nadim Hasan Taki	Turk oman	429	381	37	11	0
The Directorat e of Kirkuk Post	Ramz Abdulkari m	Arab	71	14	27	27	3

Company	ad Mustafa		53		2	2	3
Kirkuk Gas Factory	Ali Abbas	Kurd	169	25	85	59	0
Modern Store	Abbas Shareef	Turk oman	148	64	26	58	0
Old Store	Bashar Abdulqad ir	Turk oman	500	80	120	300	0
June 1 <sup>st</sup> Store	Muhamm ad Karim Muhamad	Kurd	52	18	25	10	0
Directorat e of Irrigation and Water Source	Shahab Hakim Nadir	Kurd	467	234	83	130	20
Constructi on Lab.	Majeed Hameed	Kurd	538	140	114	250	34
Water Well Directorat e	Saladin Muhamm ad	Kurd	137 1	25	107 8	239	29
Kirkuk University	Hussein Khanaka	Kurd	112 5	305	478	343	9
Profession al Training center	Juma Hama Amin	Kurd	41	4	4	8	25
Roads and Bridges Directorat e	Kasim Hamza Ahmad	Turk oman	118	70	4	44	0



Radio and TV							
Labor and Social Security Directorate	Colser	Turk oman	46	8	7	28	3
Network of Social Protection	Amal Muhamm ad Khorshid	Kurd	5	1	1	3	0
Directorate of Social Care	Fadil Omer	Turk oman	72	24	16	27	5
Directorate of employment	Ibrahim Ismail Hamudi	Arab	23	5	9	9	0
Directorate of Distributing Electricity	Yalgin Rashid	Turk oman	1112	145	494	457	16
Directorate of Taza Electricity	Ali Rauf	Kurd	305	69	91	139	6
Directorate of Mulla Abdulla Electricity	Khalid Reza	Turk oman	190	35	25	127	3
Gas Generation	Mahdi Muhamm ad Hasan	Kurd	307	45	110	120	32

Kirkuk Railway Directorate	Shakir Mahmmu d Shukri	Turk oman	355	45	155	155	0
Kirkuk Cement Factory	Muhamm ad Salih Muhamm ad	Kurd	1181	606	250	303	0
Transportation Directorate	Sirwan Abdulstar	Kurd	65	12	35	18	0
Laylan Ceramic Factory	Musa Alquraishi	Arab	36	26	4	6	0
Hand-made Carpets Factory Directorate	Jalal Karim Khasrow	Kurd	83	21	35	35	2
Public Library	Shadia Bakir	Kurd	16	8	4	4	0
Kirkuk Archeology Directorate	Ayad Fadil	Turk oman	11	4	3	4	0
Kirkuk's Tourist Office	Omer Abubakir Hakim	Kurd	8	2	3	3	0
Directorate of Kirkuk	Nassir Hasan	Kurd	150	70	15	45	20

Directorate of Grains Store	Akram Dewana	Kurd	237	86	95	54	2
Central Food Supply	Hewa Suleiman	Kurd	70	47	12	11	0
Directorate of Construction Materials	Falah Hasan Muhammad	Kurd	72	10	48	12	2
Directorate of Central Markets	Mustafa Ahmad	Kurd	200	90	40	60	10
Municipality of Kirkuk	Jamal Shukr Amin	Kurd	718	339	194	180	5
General Directorate of Kirkuk Municipalities	Nawzad Majeed Kaqli	Kurd	1030	492	266	261	11
Directorate of water Supply	Abdulkadir Muhammad Amin	Kurd	897	299	323	265	10
Directorate of Kirkuk	Ramadan Faris	Kurd	328	115	91	119	3

Electricity Directorate							
Kirkuk Directorate of Agriculture	Mahdi Kaki	Kurd	468	184	111	155	17
Directorate of Kirkuk Veterinary	Akram Kamal Arif	Kurd	28	5	6	17	0
Kirkuk Education Directorate	Shan Omer Mubarak	Turk oman	13864	984	10762	1824	70
Education al Supervising	Ahmad Fakhri	Kurd	18	4	7	16	0
Directorate of Immigration	Abdulla Fadil	Arab	18	4	7	6	1
Directorate of Sport and Youth	Jabbar Muhammad Ibrahim	Kurd	195	35	50	110	0
Al-Wakf Directorate	Mula Mustafa Hussein	Kurd	171	104	18	49	0
Directorate of Food Supply	Karam Jaf	Kurd	261	91	79	82	8

Alnur							
Bank of Rafidain The Head Quarter	Shakiba Aziz	Turk oman	70	18	17	31	4
Bank of Rafidain Altun Kopri	Siom Gaiballah	Turk oman	12	2	0	10	0
Alrasid Bank Branch of June 1 <sup>st</sup>	Adnad Abdulrah man	Turk oman	21	5	12	14	0
Alrashid Bank (Atlas)	Tahir Muhamm ad	Turk oman	77	15	27	32	2
High Commissi on of Elections	Farhad Talabani	Kurd	187	32	114	41	0
Kirkuk Passport	Abas Shukr	Kurd	187	32	114	41	0
Housing Directorat e of Kirkuk	Muhamm ad Aziz	Kurd	39	15	15	7	2
Kirkuk Building Directorat e	Hawri Rauf	Kurd	51	29	3	15	4
Insurance Altamin	Shukri Omer	Turk oman	15	4	4	7	0

Sewages							
Directorat e of Constructi on Planning	Ayad Selman Ali	Turk oman	22	6	4	11	
The Internatio nal Real Estate	Amir Salih	Arab	37	11	8	14	1
Directorat e of Financial Supervisio n	Aziz Zrko	Chris tian	15	5	3	6	1
Directorat e of Retiremen t	Munzir Abdul Zahra	Arab	41	7	16	16	2
The Main Tax office of Kirkuk	Nizar Ibrahim	Kurd	52	12	20	15	5
The Second Tax Office of Kirkuk	Younis Ziab	Arab	35	2	13	20	0
Bank of Rafidain	Abdulla Mardan	Turk oman	38	5	9	16	0
Bank of Rafidain - The Black Gold	Hussein Ali Humadi	Arab	32	7	9	16	0
Bank of Rafidain-	Omran Hasan	Kurd	40	7	8	25	0

rights. They simply do not get a chance of learning in their mother tongue. This means that there is no intention to normalize the post tyrannical regime situation and no yielding to the rules of the constitution for which three quarter of the Iraqi people voted.

This is insanity to find the percentage of Arab employees jump from 1% at the time of establishing of the first Iraqi government to today's 57%.

The number of Turkoman employed is also questionable! In the democratic election of the council representatives in 2005, they could only get one third of what the Kurds have achieved.

Company							
Kirkuk Treasury Directorate	Salih Hussein	Kurd	17	4	4	9	0
Civil Status And Registering office	Wael Fadil	Arab	184	32	112	40	0
Total			488 67	908 5	278 26	111 52	80 4
Percent				19 %	57 %	29 %	1.5 %

The number of the employees and their percentage according to their nationality arouses several remarks;

The Percentage of the Kurds and Christians are very low and not proportional to their total populations.

The chances of Christians being employed depend on who the director is. Under Arabs and Turkoman, their chances are only very slim or next to nothing; while Kurdish directors are rather generous with them.

The departments of civil and personal status are crowded with Arabs. The reasons are clear: Certainly they wanted to keep the forgeries of nationality hidden concerning the thousands of Kurds and Turkoman who are registered Arabs. This comes as a part of demographic changes of Kirkuk and Garmian. Most probably they want to continue the Arabization process in a secret way.

The number of Arab and the Turkoman teachers is unbelievably high. This is unfair and a clear violation of Kurdish children

appropriate seats in the Iraqi parliament and in the local authorities such as the councils of the cities, districts and towns. This does not mean that there was a full democracy in the whole country. The Kurdish nation as a whole, for example, could not enjoy the right of self determination.

Unfortunately, the British power played a negative role in that regard. During their attempts to annex the Vilayeti Mosul which made up the southern part of Kurdistan, they made many promises that the Kurdish people would enjoy every natural right in their homeland, but they did not fulfill any of their promises. Instead, they stood side by side with Arab Fascism which even to today calls Kurdistan a vital territory of Pan-Arabia. The British army oppressed the Kurdish civilians the same way the Arab army dealt- and deals with freedom of movement in their own countries. The documents of the UK Foreign Ministry indicate how brutally their air force bombed Sulemania, Bazian, Barzan and many other places in Kurdistan. To avoid confusion whether Britain was pro-democracy or an authoritarian power, the explanation lays in the manner the British politics dictated flexibility to absorb the frustration of the disappointed people on the one hand, and on the other, hitting them hard when it was necessary. This explains why a kind of elections was allowed.

Thus, the Kurds could get a limited power to govern their region for several decades. But they never misused their power to deal badly with minorities living in their territories. They did not send back the Arabs who came to change the demography of Kurdistan. They didn't punish anybody after the fall of Saddam Hussein either, not even those who took an active part in the genocide of the Kurds. They stuck to their principles. It's worth mentioning here one principle that says, 'He who enters my house is safe.' This applies on enemies too.

In this coming section I would like to concentrate on Kirkuk City and its' districts regarding the way they were governed by

## The Governorate of Kirkuk In 1955

We choose the year 1955 as an example of the normal state of life and administration of the city, districts and towns of Kirkuk in general. We choose this year for the following reasons:

- 1-There was no Kurdish Regional Government like we have today in Iraqi Kurdistan.
- 2-There was no Kurdish regular army.
- 3-The Kurds didn't have any active political parties.
- 4- There were no special laws or constitutional paragraphs for a fair treatment of the Kurds.

By shedding light on the shape of the local government in that year we can show that the ratio of the employees and their directors was simply proportional to the size of their people groups. We do so simply to disprove the baseless accusations and to challenge the false arguments that are practiced today such as saying that Kirkuk is occupied by the Kurds, or that the administration of the city is coming under the influence of the Regional Kurdish Government and the strong Kurdish political parties, or that there is a threat coming from the Kurdish regular army (known as Peshmerga). Yes, today the Kurds have all this elements but are they really abusing the situation? Are the democratic means of administration slowed down or hindered by the Kurdish parties?

The true answer lies in the facts available from the time of the democracy of constitutional monarchy in 1955 and in comparing these facts with the situation created by the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party during their rule and the post liberation conditions which is still skewed by the effects of the toppled regime's 35 year rule. During the monarchy, Kurdish power came from the people who made up the majority and could gain

- Altun Kopri Nahia was directed by a Mudir named Ahmed Karim, born in 1923, and was a qualified lawyer.

- Malha (or Haweeja) Nahia was directed by another Kurdish lawyer. His name was Muhammed Saeed Ibrahim aged 29 years.

-Ibrahim Nashat Ibrahim was an Arab who directed a Kurdish Nahia called Qara Hasan he too was a graduate of the faculty of law. Although he was an Arab, married to a foreigner, he faced no problems whatsoever to rule a Kurdish District.

-Shiwan Nahia, the fourth town belonging to the center was directed by a Christian lawyer, his name was Hashim Naji Hurmzi (was also known as the Christian of the Castle). He was a Turkoman by nationality.

The second Qaimqamia (or Casaba) belonging to Kirkuk Governorate was Tuzkhurmatoo, midway between Kirkuk and Baghdad. It was lead by a Kurdish Qaimqam. He was a 42 years old lawyer with a long experience in the legal profession. This Qaimqamia had only two Nahias; Qadirkaram and Dakuk.

-Qadirkaram was directed by a Turkoman lawyer called Muhsin Koja Kassab. He was 28 years old.

-Dakuk was directed by another Kurdish lawyer. His name was Jamal Abdulkadir, forty years old, born in the Kirkuk city.

The third Qaimqamia is Chemchamal, the Qaimqam was a Kurd named Omer Miran Kadir, born in 1919 and qualified as a lawyer. This Casaba also had two Nahias; Aghjalar and Sangaw.

-Aghjalar was lead by a 28 years old Turkoman director. His name was Hasan Hussein Naftchi. As usual he was a lawyer, too.

Sangaw was, in 1955, lead by a Kurdish jurist his name was; Hamarashid Hamamin Beg.

The third Casaba was Kifri and was governed by Kurdish qualified lawyer called Omer Muhammed Aga. There were three Nahias belonged to this Qaimqamia:

mayors, governors and district directors (known as 'Kaem-Makam') - most of these heads were Kurds. They were ruling very fairly and justly. There was not a single complaint against them. They were from their own area and they were among their people no matter which language was their mother tongue. The Kurds had opportunities to bring in Kurds from every place, give them the lands and facilities at the expense of Turkoman, Arabs, Chaldeans or Armenians – but they didn't. Unfortunately the Arabs did, they did it to the Kurds and Turkoman especially during Saddam Hussein's regime.

After the fall of Saddam, it was Ipso Paso and Ipso Jure for the expelled Kurds to return home. Here the Arabs started shouting and screaming accusing the Kurds of Kurdization of the whole Kirkuk. Arabs and Turkoman worked hard to prevent the unlucky deported Kurds to return to their homes. Arabs were supported by most of the Arabic countries while the Turkoman had been urged on by Turkey. The Turkish regime has always tried to deprive the Kurdish nation from their simplest rights claiming that the Kurds in the occupied Northern Kurdistan may ask for the same rights. These rivals of the Kurds should have understood by now that Kurds are a peaceful people. They never do harm to those who come under their rule, history witnesses to that. So the recent date of 1955 is a good example for Kurdish local ruling in Kirkuk. Many Kirkukians can still remember those days.

Here are the names and nationalities of the Governors of Kirkuk and its counties, and districts in 1955:

Governor of Kirkuk was Rasheed Najib. He was a Kurd.

Qaimqam of central Kirkuk was Sadik Qadiri a Kurd who was a graduate of the Faculty of Law. The administration of the central city was called Qaimqamia and was directing another four sub-districts known as Nahia. Each Nahia was administered by a director called a Mudir. Here are the Nahias and their directors:

Malha Nahia	Muhammed Saeed Ibrahim	Kurd
Shiwan Nahia	Hashim Naji Hurmzi	Christian Turkoman
Qara Hasan Nahia	Ibrahim Nashat Ibrahim	Arab
Qaimqamia Khurmatoo	Abdulkadir Muhedin	Kurd
Dakuk Nahia	Jamal Abdulkadir	Kurd
Qadirkaram Nahia	Muhsin Koja Kassab	Turkoman
Qaimqamia Chemchamal	Omer Miran Kadir	Kurd
Aghjalar Nahia	Hassan Hussein Naftchi	Turkoman
Sangaw Nahia	Hama Rasheed Hamamin Aga	Kurd
Qaimqamia Kifri	Omer Muhammed Aga	Kurd

-Qaratapa was directed by an Arab man from Baghdad. His name was Ihsan Kashtini. He was a 37 years old lawyer.

-Shirwana Nahia had a Kurdish director called Kamil Muhammed. He was also a Lawyer.

-Nahia Pebaz, the last Kurdish district was lead by a local Sheikh called Sua'ad Sheich Habib Talabani. He was a graduated lawyer.

We learn from this information that the whole Governorate was run by Kurds, by qualified legal professionals. Chances were created to other nationalities to share power. There was not a single person appointed by a political party or ethnical group. Nobody stopped an Arab, a Turkoman or a Christian holding a leading position. The only reason that the Kurds took most of the posts was that they made up the majority. Besides, other sensitive posts such as the heads of police, civil status, municipality and education were won by the Kurds. There was no wrong doing, no expulsions, no demographical changes or changing the identity of people – it never happened. The table below gives a clear picture:

The Administration Unit	The Name the Post-Holder	Nationality
The Governor of Kirkuk	Rasheed Najib	Kurd
Qaimqam of the City	Sadik Kadiri	Kurd
Altun Kopri Nahia	Ahmad Karim	Kurd

## **Hundreds of Thousands Donums of Lands Occupied Within twenty years**

The amount of lands taken from the original population of Kirkuk is unbelievable, especially when we discover that one million and two hundred thousand Donums of agricultural land were taken by Arabs from other parts of Iraq, and that one Donum is equal 2500m<sup>2</sup>!

Although the Arabization of Kirkuk was taking place in the open and in front of both the local and international community and that the whole process was running according to the decrees issued by the top leaders of the Ba'ath Regime including Saddam Hussein himself, there are still many terrible unrevealed secrets even after all these since the regime's fall. To everyone's disappointment, the Kurdish authorities in both Baghdad and Erbil have done little to shed light on all that happened and haven't done much to relieve the tragedy of displaced Kurds and Turkoman.

The Kurds have largely failed to publicize their case outside Kurdistan's borders. If we don't work on them today then the whole will simply become like stories of a past age. This does not mean that we should not care about archives and history. But rather we should work in every possible way to beginning with normalizing the Kirkuk situation and also saving all documents and evidences. We should work on rewriting the history in a fair way. We must stop falsification and the distortion of the facts. In addition, we have to translate all the Arabic documents concerning the oppression of our people into the main international languages and we must address the whole international community and related organizations. We can simply demonstrate the identity of our occupied Kirkuk and other territories.

Qaratapa Nahia	Ihsan Kashtini	Arab
Shirwana Nahia	Kamil Muhammed	Kurd
Pebaz Nahia	Sua'ad Sheikh Habib Talabani	Kurd



## Figures Speak About the Oppression Practiced Against the Kurds

The Kurdish leadership has been blamed throughout history for not being able to defend Kurdish rights and for their failure to realize what had been going wrong and how to manage the rights of their nation.

This failure comes into sharp focus when we look at the Kirkuk issue and when we think of finding a suitable solution for almost a century-old problem. The leadership has failed to prove the Kurdish identity of this oil-rich city despite dozens of historical books and piles of documents. This comes at a time when the Iraqi Federal Constitution offers an easy solution to prove the identity of Kirkuk and all the other parts of Kurdistan that have been annexed to the Arabic Provinces of Iraq.

In addition, the Kurdish Political Parties and the Kurdish Regional Government has failed to employ their huge media power to introduce these issues to the international community. In contrast, Turkey and the neighbouring Arab countries waste no opportunity to falsify the facts, to justify the Ba'ath Regimes' crimes against the Kurds and Turkoman of Kirkuk and surrounding provinces, or at least point to these wrongdoings as simply unrelated issues from the past.

Fortunately, the possibility, although slim, still remains to return the situation back to normal. Our leadership is able to call upon documents and studies done by Kurdish and other Iraqi scholars and they can also ask help from international geopolitical experts in deciding the future of Kirkuk. Means and methods are available for the refutation and disavowal of all the claims and

Speaking about documents, it is worth mentioning that Revolutionary command council had issued several decrees concerning the occupations of Kurdistan lands. The council was headed by Saddam Hussein himself. The decrees were all illegal but Saddam never cared about laws, rules and regulations. All his orders were carried out as laws. Among hundreds of decrees, we choose here only four of them. They are dated back from 1975-1995. By only one order; over 1 million Donum ( 2,500 mt sq.) of Kurdish and Turkmen cultivated lands were given to Arab farmers or (This was a part of the Arabization policy). However, here are the four Decrees:-

- 1- Decrees No.365 on March 21, 1975 included transferring the ownership of 121,000 Donums to Arabs.
- 2- Decree No. 824 on July 28, 1976 included the transferring of ownership of 38,000 Donums to Arabs.
- 3- Decree No 949 on August 22, 1977 included the transferring the ownership of 122, 391 Donums to Arabs.
- 4- Decree 931 in 1995 included 900,000 Donums to Arabs.

As a matter of fact there are many others decisions to occupy the lands of original inhabitants and donate them to Arab farmers. All those Arabs were brought from other areas of Iraq and that they only purpose was Arabization of Kirkuk.

1994	62	484
1995	28	355
1996	188	1463
1997	551	3096
1998	1666	10004
1999	4048	18353
2000	374	2281
2001	1006	5012
2002	1600	9700
<b>Total</b>	<b>40512</b>	<b>208750</b>

arguments of the traditional Kurdish enemies and nationalistic Arabic hardliners.

<b>year</b>	<b>Number of Families</b>	<b>Number of members of the Whole Families</b>
1981	4590	30006
1982	658	4217
1983	273	1942
1984	522	3622
1985	258	1705
1986	1974	12693
1987	4906	23202
1988	5346	24538
1989	5846	28497
1990	5691	33102
1991	415	2074
1992	388	1777
1993	122	627

KURDS, CHALDEANS AND TURKMEN  
ARE AMONG THE ANCIENT PEOPLE OF KIRKUK.



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Arif Qurbany

# WHY DOES KIRKUK BELONG TO KURDISTAN?

*Translated from Kurdish by Abdulkarim Uzeri*

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