

in harmony for centuries. This peaceful co-existence 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, Turkmen, Chaldeans, Armenians, Assyrians and Jews. Apart from the expulsion of Jewish people to Israel, no sectarian troubles had ever been reported until the military coup led by General Kasim in 1958.

However, the troubles in Kirkuk didn't arise out of the blue. Although it had happened under Kasim's rule, the roots were planted by British colonialism following the Allied victory in the First World War. Britain and France occupied the region and started dividing up the inheritance of the Ottoman Empire. Iraq came under the control of the British. In 1921, the northern border of Iraq extended from Shengal, along the Hamrin Mountains to Khanakin of Kurdistan. This meant that Kurdistan's oil was out of the reach of Britain. This is when the troubles of the oil-rich city of Kirkuk started. So the British planned the annexation of southern Kurdistan including Kirkuk. This plan needed the fuelling of ethnic contention and the creation of pro-British groups.

Kurdistan's Southern Region during Ottoman Rule was known as the 'Vilayet of Sharezoor' or Vilayet of Mosul.' It included Mosul, Erbil, Kirkuk and Sulemanyah. The British authority needed to annex Kurdistan to their colony for economic and political reasons. Kurdistan, especially Kirkuk and Khanakin, was rich in oil. In addition, the majority of Kurds were Sunni Muslims who could strengthen the balance of power in Iraq in favour of the Sunni Arabs who were pro-British. Clearly the British politicians wanted to deprive the hostile Shiites from forming a government in Baghdad or even gaining their proportional votes during parliamentary elections. To the disappointment of the Kurds and Shiites, the British authorities

FOREWORD BY TRANSLATOR

This book (The Ethnic Cleansing of Kirkuk in the Documents of Saddam Hussein's Regime) is the ninth book written by my friend Arif Qurbani. Six of these books were the stories about the Anfal genocide campaign against the Kurds; this is the third one about the tragedy of the unfortunate city of Kirkuk. It has been my honour to translate all of them into English. Mr. Qurbani himself is from Kirkuk and an experienced scholar concerning the suffering of his birth place and his people. He has witnessed first-hand the bitter tragedies of the Kurdish people.

Arif Qurbani has employed all of his experience and his writing talent to narrate the eye-witness accounts of the Anfal survivors. He has shown great skill in expressing the deep feelings of these survivors. He has worked hard to help them jump over the wall of fear and terror practiced upon them by one of the largest and most ruthless armies in the world. Those who were interviewed during the time of Saddam's rule needed guarantees that they wouldn't expose their families and relatives to yet more brutal actions by the regime.

The question of Kirkuk is complex. It has been pending for the past nine decades. These complexities do not arise from the multi-ethnic and sectarian communities who had lived together

for more Arabs to be sent and resettled in Kirkuk. This initiated the Arabization process of the region!

Perhaps the most interesting report is the one that reached my workplace on 25th September 2011 at the Zheen Documentation Center of Sulemanyah, where I look after old English documents. This 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 enemies, from Turkey or Iran. Amazingly this report came in while I was busy writing an introduction for a previous book! As usual the report is labeled “Confidential” without mentioning the name of the officer. The report carries his signature and his rank “Major in the British Army” (Dated Nov.1st 1930, No. BS:C:1:3:30).

If Aljubur 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 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 Empire referred to the Citadel, the castle of the city. The Kurdish name was there too, the city and the region were known as Garmai, the word Garmian in Kurdish means “the hot region” which to this day includes the region of Kirkuk. However Garmian is also close to the Syriac name Beth Garmai which means ‘the place of bones’ in reference to bones of slaughtered Acheamenids during the battle between Alexander the Great and Darius. Kurdish nomads were travelling between Garmian and Kuwestan (the cool region) according to the season. In summer, they were

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-class citizens in an Arab-dominated Iraq.

The Britain responded with an iron fist; waging several wars against them. Sulemanyah city and some other defenseless towns were bombed by the Royal Air Force. Kurdish leaders were imprisoned or sent into exile. This siding with the 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 Bedouin are the same Aljubur and Alobedi tribes who today claim ownership of Kirkuk and that it belongs to the Pan-Arab world!

British disregard for the Kurds, denying them 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 had their own state and armed forces, no one would have dared to encroach upon them, neither Arabs nor Turks. Under these puppet governments of 1921 to 1958, almost every Iraqi institution including the army was put directly under British supervision. This meant that no strategic plans could be carried out without British endorsement. To be more specific, the commander of the Second Division of the Iraqi army based in Kirkuk wouldn’t have raised a report (its text still available in Iraqi Archives) to Baghdad in 1929 asking

Now, is there any doubt about the real and only possible Kurdish identity of Kirkuk? Isn't the eternal history of Kurds and 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 to feed their animals? If temporary occupants, 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 haven't the Arabs asked for the ownership of Spain or parts of China?

The Turkish story is a copy of that of the Arabs. The Ottoman Turks had 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 their garrison duties, they helped take letters between Ottoman leaders and the Governor in Baghdad. Thus these Turks in service were called 'Turk-men.'

The famous Ottoman writer, Shamsadin Sami, described Kirkuk in his informative Encyclopedia as a pure Kurdish city. He also referred to a population estimate mentioned in a Russian Magazine saying that Kirkuk's population is between 12,000 and 15,000 without Turk-men; because in their view they were only temporary migrants who would one day return back to Turkey. Parallel to this, many Arab travelers, historians and scholars have represented Kirkuk as being the heart of Kurdistan, or as a Kurdish city by majority of population. Muhammad Abbas Salih writing in the introduction to his book (A Guide to the Iraqi Governorates) described Kirkuk as the Bride of Kurdistan. Salih wanted to contradict the distortion of the facts fabricated by the author Abdulmajeed Hasan Fahmi. Probably the most realistic portrait of the Kirkuk's inhabitants

going deep into the high mountains in west Iran to enjoy plentiful water sources, cool weather and pasture.

Islam was also present in Kirkuk. It arrived in the 7th century AD on its way to northern Kurdistan. In Arabic, Kirkuk was Kirkheni which is a version of the Syriac, Citadel. A tablet with Cuneiform script found in 1927 at the foot of the Kirkuk Citadel stating that the city of Erekh of Babylon was on the site of Kirkuk.

Due to its strategic location, Kirkuk has seen fierce fighting between ancient empires. Originally the city was founded by Hurrians who were also known as the 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 by Assyrian Kings and it is believed that it fell under Assyrian rule in the 14th century BC. The Assyrian Empire fell to the Babylonians who were themselves later conquered by the Medes who dominated the region until being defeated by Achaemenids, who themselves couldn't resist the powerful Parthians and Sassanids! The Sassanid Empire took Kirkuk as their capital for their kingdom which was also known as Garmakan or Garmian. It's worth mentioning here that many historians assign the Kurds' origin to Gutium and the Medes. They regard Kurdistan as the cradle of civilization and that land of the greatest historical changes, when mankind left the caves of the Kuwestan Mountains and started cultivating grain in the Garmian plains, especially in Chermo village where archeologists have found evidence of the first ever seed grain used by man. Chermo is situated about 50 km east of Kirkuk and the word Chermo means white in Kurdish.

killing and expulsion by the Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party and on the other hand they stand alongside Arab chauvinism to help them control Kirkuk once more. What is the reason for this dramatic contradiction? The answer comes from over the border. Some Turkmen elements were paid and helped to create a political party in Kirkuk called the 'Turkmen Front,' which still receive instructions and monthly salaries from Ankara. Even their bosses and ready-made plans are chosen by the Turkish Intelligent Service. The fixed policy of the Turks for the last century has been to hinder Kurdish freedom anywhere in the world!

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

Contrary to this, the Ba'ath regime did the exact opposite. Although they knew these facts by heart, they ignored them and turned to doing their evil deeds. The true identity of Kirkuk was, as it had always been, irrefutably Kurdish. These facts irritated them. They wanted to controvert them but they were foiled and failed. Therefore, they had to resort to the practices of violence and bloodshed, expulsion and demographic changes, and finally massacres that amounted to ethnic cleansing and genocide! That's what my friend's book is all about.

Abdulkarim Uzeri

is the one which is described by Professor Shakir Khassbak, the author the book of "Kurd, Turk and Arab." The contents of these books are discussed in other similar publications.

For his part, the famous Iraqi Arab writer and author Hassan 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 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 they needed Kurdish interpreters to communicate with the people. The evidences are so numerous to cast out any doubt about the reality of Kirkuk's ethnic background.

These facts are well known by both Arabs and Turks, but they continue to cast doubts about the natural identity of Kirkuk. They continue to deny the expulsion and extermination of Kurds and Turkmen. To everyone's frustration, local Arabs and Turkmen continue to promote silly propagandas that Kurds are occupying other people's lands, killing Turkmen 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 Turkmen of Kirkuk claim that they were subject to mass

Short Remarks

It is well known to all of us that there was a terrifying plan against our people: a plan covering several aspects from expulsions to arabization. We knew that there would be waves of Arab re-settlers and that they would get every moral and financial support to replace the original citizens of the city and that many Turkmen would face the same fate as their Kurd brothers. We also knew that many inhabitants would be obliged to change their nationality to be registered as Arabs so that they might be exempted from being expelled and thus deprived from living in their forefathers homeland.

However, the bitter shock was still to come. What was unexpected was that the “Great Father” of Iraq wouldn’t consider this sufficient and so would ask for more humiliations and for more inhumane treatment because, to him, they were born with the wrong nationality and the only solution would be ‘correction.’ This correction meant to become Arab, and having done so they should stay living as Primitive Bedouins, who care only about obtaining their daily bread without any interest in civilization, social life or political involvement. This is the lifestyle that most dictators and tyrants favor for their people!

We never expected that the fertile lands would be given to secret policemen or their hired agents, who had no experiences in agriculture whatsoever. From this point of view, the Kurds and Turkmen who agreed to work with these oppressing governmental organs were given such facilities as reward for their treachery. It’s really saddening to find people

A Short Introduction by the Author

Throughout history, my Kurdish nation has never worshipped according to just one religion, has never lived in a single state, has never spoken a unified dialect and has never followed a single ideology.

They have always had different principalities, multiple dialects, chosen numerous religions and lived on divided lands. But one thing united them and they refused any compromise on it: their ownership of Kirkuk City. To every Kurd, this is historically a Kurdish city, and remains so now and into the future!

Facts speak for themselves: that during their oppressive 35-year rule and in spite of their mad methods to change the nature and demography of the city, their expulsion of its’ original inhabitants, their mass killing and their re-settlement of hundreds of thousands of Arabs in their place, the Ba’ath Regime was unable to change the Kurdish identity of city.

SADDAM HUSSEIN PREVENTED THE KURDS TO WORK IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE

From the dawn of history until the present time, cultivating land is the first means of our life. Kurdistan herself is known to be among the first places to practice this tradition in human history. Agriculture was and is still a source of living for a large number of Kurds, and the plains and the slopes of our mountains are productive for grains, fruits and vegetables. In addition, Mother Nature provide its children with so many natural products.

Based on these facts the Iraqi government should have done its best to develop this rich economic sector by arranging every modern means to increase production: providing farmers with new machines, giving seeds and money to them, and buying their products to make them live prosperously. These are common measures even undertaken in third world countries. But Saddam Hussein regime is the only one that neglected these principles.

Even during Ottoman rule, the Arab farmers were urged to move to Kurdistan and cultivate lands that did not belong to anyone except the Kurds. After the fall of Turkish rule, pro-British Arabs came to power which used the same policy but also promoted the Bedouin to go and pasture their cattle. As far as Saddam Hussein was concerned, he followed this unjust program very intensively. He signed several decrees to change the neighboring Kurdish territory's demography, to expel the Kurdish and Turkmen from their homes, sending them to

who work with such dirty thugs. It's saddening because they did that which they would have never done under normal circumstances; but what could they do when faced with no other means of making a living for their families!

We didn't know either, that the regime was so stubborn as to put such irresponsible behavior, such wrongdoings, into an official archive and keep proud records in an Iraqi Republican Palace! However, our purpose here is to just publish further irrefutable evidences of the ill-treatment of our people. We also, as Kurds, must review our negligence and our failure by trusting untrustworthy people who used every means to disappoint our nation. Parallel to other nations, our history must also be enriched by keeping all important documents. Such documents must be perfectly kept, translated to Kurdish and other important languages such as English, French, Spanish and German.

History is an important science, it teaches us vital lessons. The old history of our Kurdish people is either disfigured or concealed. We cannot do much about this, but as for recent history which is still in the memory of every adult, hard work is needed to record it. We are able and we have the facilities; we must work it out. It is better to light a candle than swear at the darkness.

Just like Part One of this book, we publish whatever documents are available and add our comments and analysis to them. This time we start with the head of the regime.

Year by year, the arabization process was intensifying. Many committees were established to enact the orders of the Revolutionary Command Council and the Iraqi cabinet. The number of Arabs in Kirkuk had risen dramatically. It reached a level close to the combined numbers of Kurds and Turkmen together. All top official positions were occupied by Arabs, especially those who were party members or secret policemen. Had the regime stayed longer in power, the number of the Kurds, Turkmen and Chaldean would have fallen tragically.

This book, exactly like Part One, is enriched with documents that were produced by the Regime. All the documents carry the signatures of the President of the republic, the head of the Revolutionary Command Council and other top leaders of the party and government. Besides this, there were several establishments created to carry out the sinful process of turning the heart of Kurdistan into a cancerous body that would paralyze the whole of Kurdistan.

The first letter to start this book is from the second highest ranked man in the Ba'ath party, Ezzat Al- Duri. He asks all the top ranking officials in Kirkuk and the north of Iraq to enact the instructions of his boss concerning the arabization of Kirkuk (Kirkuk's name was changed to AL-Tamim). Al-Duri, who had never had any schooling, was one of the most loyal men of Saddam Hussein and was ready to fulfill whatever orders he received from him. Al- Duri, as Saddam's deputy in the Revolutionary Command Council is the writer of the first letter of this book. The letter is directed to his top comrades, informs them about the will of the Supreme President to divide the lands of one of the Kurdish counties in Kirkuk.

The letter is directed to the party chiefs in the Governorates of Kirkuk, Tikrit and Sulemaniyah, to the Minister of Agriculture and the Governor of Kirkuk. He sends a

remote parts in the south, and deprived them of being able to enjoy their national culture. Different kinds of pressure and temptations were used to promote the process of 'correction.' Idiotically the correction meant repenting of the fact that you were a Kurd and to say, "Sorry, actually I am an Arab!"

The process of changing the demography, ethnic culture and national identity practiced by the Ba'ath regime is one of the widest chauvinist campaigns in recent memory. It is strange to find that dozens of Revolutionary Command Council and Cabinet meetings were dedicated to drawing plans to arabize Kirkuk and its surrounding area, to follow every inhuman means to make life unbearable for the original citizens and to force them hand over whatever they had to Arabs.

There are clear instructions to expel Kurds to non-Kurdish cities and towns and, in some cases, to the heart of the desert to the west of Baghdad. There were innumerable methods to consolidate the presence of the Arabs in Kirkuk. We better let the facts speak for themselves as we have done in Part One of this book. As you observe the methods for Kurdish expulsion and demographic change, you will discover that as the years progressed the methods worsened and were even pursued at the time of partial invasion and control by the United Nations and the Allied Forces following Kuwait's liberation.

With this presence of the international media, Human Rights organizations and the international community, the regime made some cosmetic changes in the terms and style of the arabization decrees. On the ground, however, things went from worse to worse. The presence of these international bodies did not help the Iraqi people much. They were more interested in their own western interests - like the flow of oil from the region to their countries. One cannot deny that some formal deeds were accomplished but they were just too little.

SUBJECT: THE AGRICULTURAL LANDS IN
TOOZKHURMATOO

OUR COMMANDING PRESIDENT (GOD SAVE HIM)
HAS EXPRESSED HIS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE
PROPOSALS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO DIVIDE
LANDS. HIS ORDERS ABOUT THE MODIFICATIONS WHICH
HIS HIGHNESS (GOD SAVE HIM) HAD ORDERED, WHICH
ARE FIXED WITH THE MAHZAR, MUST BE CONSIDERED.

PLEASE BE INFORMED AND DO WHATEVER
NECESSARY

ACCEPT MY REGARDS

ATTACHED: MODIFIED PROCEEDINGS

EZAT IBRAHIM

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND
COUNCIL

COPY TO:

VICE-PRESIDENT TAHA RAMADAN/ SENDING YOU A COPY
OF MODIFIED MAHZAR.

THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AFFAIRS: TO TAKE WHATEVER
STEPS POSSIBLE.

THE GENERAL DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE (TIKRIT
GOVERNORATE): TO TAKE WHATEVER STEPS POSSIBLE

copy to the Vice-President Taha Al- Jazrawi and the Minister of
Internal Affairs. Al-Duri also points out a modification on
previous decisions. These modifications were seemingly
instructed by Saddam Hussein himself. But what comes directly
after Al- Duri's letter is a report of a local committee in Kirkuk
and other concerned Governorates. The report explains the
means taken to enact their bosses' instructions about the lands
in Tuzkhurmatoo District. This town was a part of Kirkuk but it
was separated and annexed to Tikrit (Tikrit was changed into a
Governorate and given the name Saladin Governorate).

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE MOST
MERCIFUL

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL REF: 30/ 259

THE VICE PRESIDENT DATE: 1ST DEC. 1999

CONFIDENTIAL AND PRIVATE

-COMRADE MUHAMMAD AHMAD YOUNIS, THE
MEMBER OF REGIONAL LEADERSHIP IN IRAQ/ IN-CHARGE
OF THE ORGANIZATIONS IN SALADIN, AL-TA'AMIM AND
SULAIMANIYA.

-THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE

-THE GOVERNOR OF SALADIN

According to plans drawn by the northern branch of the commanding Ba'ath Socialist Party, the arabization of Tuzkhurmatoo was intensified. They were urged by the commanding President (God save him). The party's branch was ordered to change the identity of the district but the agricultural lands must be efficiently cultivated, either by new Arabs or by those who responded to become Arabs. The enacted decree was issued by the secretary of his Majesty the President on 1st January 1995 carrying the reference number 4239. The decree of Saddam Hussein says: Give those lands to those Arabs who were suffering privation, who were underprivileged and denied lands. For more information, the Vice-President Al-Duri gave clear instructions to the north organizations to proceed according to the complaints of the citizens, saying, that the lands are possessed by people who are not residents of the district. He added that due to the old rules and regulations: non-residents can own large areas and they are allowed to go or live wherever they want. Such liberal rules create security gaps which must be filled with loyal Arabs, with those Arabs who have no lands.

Arabs and converted Arabs will fill the social gaps created by those who do not have correct nationalities. Leaving such gaps will affect the security of Al-Ta'amim Governorate. Therefore, to achieve the justice and to apply the instructions of the Commanding President, Mr. Saddam Hussein (God save him), this policy will lead to consolidating social justice and promoting the concentration of the Arab population. This step is in parallel to similar regulations applied in Kirkuk and Mosul Governorates, where settlements had been established for Arabs and the presence of corrected people is consolidated. Thus the district of Tuzkhurmatoo will undergo the following modifications:

A REPORT BASED ON THE DIRECTIONS GIVEN BY THE HIS HIGHNESS, THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL

The committee that had been established under my supervision and the membership of comrade Muhammad Younis Ahmad- the member of the regional presidency of the Ba'ath party and in charge of the party organization in Sulemanyah, Saladin and Kirkuk , and the Minister of Agriculture and also the Governor of Saladin, with participation of the secretary of (our great leader) along with the comrade the in-charge of the secret branch of Al-Anssar, with the qaim and the comrade, the representative of the farmer union. The committee held a meeting to discuss the agricultural lands in Tuzkhurmatoo of Saladin Governorate. Those lands are used by people who do not reside in that district. Moreover they own wide areas of lands. This deprives the resettled Arabs and those who have corrected their nationalities and become Arabs.

After an intensive field study, we agreed on the same principles that have been adapted by the Committee of the North (Iraqi Kurdistan) for dividing the lands to Arab tribes especially in those regions that come under the decision of the arabization campaigns. Needless to mention here, that the Tuzkhurmatoo district was a subject for arabization. Thus these actions are compatible with instructions given to us by his Highness the Vice-President of the Revolutionary Command Council.

of the tribe who are living outside of the district. They may also choose others from tribes other than their own with the precondition that they have not received lands elsewhere. The tribes must live in harmony without having troubles.

c- Priority is also given to those who terminate the contracts that contradict the terms mentioned above. The relatives and tribesmen of such people will also get advantages but they shouldn't benefit by having received lands before.

d- The size of the area must be decided separately for the Chieftains and sub-Chieftains of the tribes but it must not exceed double the decided measure. All justifications must be mentioned.

e- All those who are given lands must transfer their civil registration paper to the district. If this is not done, no land to be given, no production will be allowed to begin.

f- The beneficiaries must be farmers by profession.

g- Those who somehow received got more than one piece of land can choose which one of them they want.

h- The users must agree on terms for not using non-Arabs workers in their fields.

j- The Committee should leave certain areas to build houses for the incoming farmers.

k- The contracts may also be signed by the wives of martyrs who look after children.

5- The inclusion of those who have corrected their nationality to become Arabs before the circulation of this

1- The cancellations of all agricultural contracts signed with farmers of the district prior to these instructions, and the lands should be returned to the official location such as: Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Religious Affairs and the local administration of Saladin Governorate. These lands all belong to the government and cannot be viewed as private land.

2- Considering the principles of establishing housing settlements in the district, and in the security area and the economic area. Seven sites have already been specified for these purposes. These points have to be observed and be compatible with the attached map.

3- Granting lands in the district will be to the underprivileged farmers of Arab tribes but according to contracts for the following area measurements:

Fifty Donums of irrigated land (a Donum is 2,500 square meters)

One hundred and twenty Donums rain-dependent land

One hundred and fifty Donums of land in the security zone

4- Distributions of lands need to be on conditions adapted by the Northern Committee. Here are these conditions:

a- Arab tribes loyal to the Ba'ath party who live in the area will have priority. The measures mentioned in the 3rd paragraph of this report. Take into consideration that members of one tribe must get lands together in one area.

b- When there is an excess of undistributed lands, the concerned tribes may provide candidates from other members

D- The head of the farmers' union of the party / branch of the magnificent leader.

E- The Director of the agriculture department in the Governorate.

10- When it happens that land has remained under ownership, the committee must give it to others according to the terms mentioned earlier. Such lands may either be added to a nearest of the seven settlements of the district or establishing a new one with it.

11- Prohibitions, if found, set by the Commanding Person in the Kirkuk Governorate must be fully observed concerning all economic and military aspects.

12- The executive committee, represented by its chief, must co-ordinate with the Minister of Agriculture to appoint a team of land surveyors and special technicians to survey the cultivated lands in the district and prepare the procedures of making contracts as soon as possible.

13- The executive committee must observe the priority of giving land in the settlements to their inhabitants with regards to the security and other observances. Their work must be finished before the beginning of next winter.

14- The underprivileged farmers must be provided with all facilities that include seeds, fertilizers and any other necessary materials after signing the contract. These facilities must be in line with the contracts made to the underprivileged farmers of Kirkuk Governorate and Makhmoor town. This will not make any burden on the process of arabization because it continues only for a short time and is within the capacity of the Ministry of Agriculture.

decision but must be in line with the instructions of our Commanding Officer that cover the certain people of the district. Those who are covered with these noble deeds must be the inhabitants of the collecting settlements of the above-mentioned areas. Their distributions must be studied and performed in a way that allows them to merge with each other.

6- New contracts are to be signed with those who are living permanently in the district besides their old contracts, thus giving them double areas of lands. The only condition is that they must accept to stay in the district.

7- Contracts to be signed with all the underprivileged people of the district according to the same principles adapted by the Northern Committee in the Governorates of Mosul and Al-Ta'amim. The contracts must be made individually so each farmer should have his own contract. The Governor of Saladin must supervise the signature of these contracts. A contract sample is available with report and can be taken as an example.

8- In the case of the absence of the farmer beneficiary or proven uncommitment to the terms of the contracts over six months, the contract will be terminated and whatever property he has on the agricultural farm will be confiscated. He will be deprived from his right to compensation.

9- A committee headed by the Governor of Saladin is to be established to include:

A- Comrade, the secretary of the Al-Anssar branch of the Party in the district.

B- The district commissioner.

C- The Security Director of the Governorate.

THE USE OF ARAB FARMERS IN THE ARABIZATION PROCESS OF KIRKUK

Although the notorious Ba'ath party's plan for arabization had extended to massive areas of Kurdistan and badly affected many Kurdish communities, it had several psychological impacts nationwide. The disorders caused by expulsions, confiscation of land, houses and, in some cases, whatever properties people had. On top of these wrongdoings, the regime of Saddam Hussein employed the toughest methods for adopting these oppressive measures.

The process of arabization was going on such at such an intensive pace that it exceeded the ideology and the institutions of the party and the organs of intelligence system and secret police; it exceeded the range even of the large Iraqi budget and engaged almost every section of Iraqi society. Farmers, workers, Bedouins, media workers and even foreigners were used to take part in this criminal process. Bringing any non-Kurd to any part of Kurdistan was meant to reduce the proportion of the original population in favor of Arabs. Of course Kirkuk was chosen in the first instance. It was likely that it would also spread to include other parts of Kurdistan.

Iraq had a very large army, many of its units were sent to impose the campaigns of expelling Kurdish and Turkmen citizens. On top of that, Arabs were brought in to serve two purposes: to be there as elements of demographic change and as security guards to protect the Arabs. In the meantime, they prevented the expelled Kurds to come and visit their homeland. It's estimated that the regime brought as many tribesmen to Kirkuk as there were army troops based in the city.

15- By the very nature of the land users, the situation needs strict supervision by the executive committee similar to other areas under the control of the Northern Committee, supervised by the comrade in charge of the party's affairs. These restrictions are to be taken to avoid any difficulties facing the executives. For safety sake, his Highness the deputy of the President of the Revolutionary Command Council will personally take care of the matter.

Such practices were daily routine in the intelligence and security centers all around Iraq. Boldly they put all their crimes in writing. They referred to their crimes as ‘party instructions’ or ‘the orders of the chiefs’ which included “May God save him, the Commanding President.” The crimes were so numerous and the evidences were so large in number that the Americans could take home tens of tons of such cogent documents.

Parallel to this, thousands of clear proofs of the arabizing of Kurdistan came to light. This campaign was taken so seriously in places like Kirkuk that a simple worker in an agriculture field or in a bakery shop ought to be an Arab or he or she must be converted to be an Arab. These practices were planned by the top leaders and undertaken by everybody, even the Bedouin Shepherds.

The document of this chapter shows clearly the facts that we have mentioned earlier. It’s about bringing Arabs to Kirkuk, granting them lands belong to the Kurds, ensuring circumstances to live in places formerly owned by Kurds or Turkmen and giving them generous amount of free ‘baksheesh’ money.

Even the strict rules and regulations of the regime were violated or ignored to urge and speed up the process of arabization. Every rule of law or of the constitution that did not concur with the process of arabization of Kirkuk or senselessly promoting Arabs were set aside. Regulations were either modified by unqualified people or conformed to the instructions of Saddam Hussein. A word from him was enough to cripple the constitution of the country!

The illegal Ba’ath decisions were double-edged. On the one hand, they were set to deprive the Kurds of their properties,

In Part One of this book, we learnt that Arab farmers and Bedouins were used as a security belt around Kirkuk. We also learnt that this belt was vast and that the army needed help from civilians to cover every part of it. Imagine the foolishness of the system of Ba’ath Regime rule: men were used to fight their brothers, to deprive them of enjoying the prosperity of the country, and to deprive them of living in harmony and helping each other rebuild the war-torn infrastructure of the country.

This is the common element of chauvinist powers in the world. They use men, power and the resources of the country for their own dirty purposes. Manpower was always used for serving the regime, protecting the bosses and silencing the people. Development of the nation or strengthening the economy of the country was never their aim. They were only interested in development securing their position of power and making it an eternal reign!

The whole world knew that Saddam Hussein’s regime was tyrannical, was practicing autocracy and treating the Iraqi people with an iron fist. But only after its fall in 2003 was the real criminal nature of the regime revealed. The sense of atrocity shocked the whole world when literal tons of written documents came to the light. Indeed, after the brave uprising of our people and the liberation of several cities and towns, a number of security offices and party headquarters came under the control of the people, and an important common factor was discovered: all of these places had been used for torturing and killing innocent people. They were innocent in the sense of their refusal to join the Ba’ath party – which the regime considered a crime! To the Ba’athists tyrants, freedom of belief or even people’s refusal to join the party was a red line or a justification for torture and forcing people to join the party or work as informers and secret police.

to be born of Kurdish parents was designated to cause the biggest harm to his nation. Therefore, he was engaged in the Northern Committee, which was in charge of the ethnic cleansing of Iraqi Kurdistan.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE MOST
MERCIFUL

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

THE PRESIDENCY

THE MEMBER OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND
COUNCIL

THE VICE PRESIDENT

TAHA YASIN RAMADAN

THE COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH/ THE
SECRETARIAT

CONFIDENTIAL AND PRIVATE

TO; THE GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK/ THE
SECRETARIAT

THE GOVERNORATE OF MOSUL/ THE SECRETARIAT

SUB; LOANS/ DEVELOPMENTS

THE COMMITTEE OF THE ECONOMY HAS AGREED
THAT THE COOPERATION BANK OF AGRICULTURE CAN
GIVE LOANS TO THE FARMERS OF THE ARAB TRIBES WHO
HAVE BEEN ACCOMMODATED IN THE NEIGHBORING AREAS
OF THE AUTONOMOUS REGION / WITHIN AL-TA'AMIM
GOVERNORATE AND DISTRICTS OF MAKHMOOR, FAYEDA

and on the other hand, they granted the Arabs all the possessions of the Kurds from the smallest household to larger real estate. The country's wealth was at the disposal of the regime's men. Bank loans, gratuities and agricultural equipments were given to the resettled Arabs. All these benefits and threats were applied to force the reluctant Arab farmers to stay in Kurdish homes. Weapons were given to loyalists so they could act like police to defend the so-called 'security belt' around Kirkuk. Banks were ordered to give mortgages to those Arabs who were building houses in Kirkuk and its surroundings. To make the process more attractive the agriculture bank, too, showed similar generosity by giving them advance payments.

Over one hundred thousand Arab families were brought and settled in Kirkuk. A larger number of Kurdish families were expelled. Some were forced to live in the Kurdish autonomous region to further reduce the living standard in Kurdistan; others were sent into semi-desert regions and were forced to deny their children the right of education in order to further weaken their cultural identity. Some were forced to live with Bedouin in order to rob them of their own culture.

It's worth mentioning that the coming letter clearly points to accommodating Arabic tribes in Kirkuk and nearby places such as Makhmoor, Fayeda and Shekhan. While the first article of the letter is about breaching the instructions of the commanding President Saddam Hussein because he had frozen the mortgages. However, every illegality was legalized and every illegal method was modified in a way to serve the crimes of arabization and ethnic cleansing in Kirkuk.

The letter is from Taha Yasin Ramadan, the second ranked man in the government and the third in the party after Saddam Hussein and Ezat Al-Duri. Ramadan, who was known

THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE PRESIDENCY OF IRAQ IN THE PROCESS OF ACCOMODATING ARABS IN KURDISTAN

Mankind would need dozens of books to analyze and understand the mentality of the Ba'ath leaders and their strange plans for arabization. However the study must start with the Bedouin man who was used against his will as a tool for arabizing Kurdistan by the criminal think-tanks of Saddam Hussein's regime who employed all governmental departments and the party organs to consolidate and accelerate these racist operations.

Saddam Hussein as President had passed whatever rules were needed to replace Kurds with Arabs. Sometimes these rules were illegal or unconstitutional but he ordered his guys to forget about laws and whatever else was necessary to achieve the racist goals of the party. Incredible amounts of money and manpower were devoted to carry out the process of changing the genuine nature and pure demography of the Kurdish homeland. Committees were specified to locate the place for arabization; others were ascribed to choose unlucky Kurds and Turkmen to be expelled, another committee' duty was to select the new destination for relocating the displaced Kurds, and a fourth one was for selecting the replacing Arabs.

As a matter of fact, many other groups were used to study the various aspects and stages of the dirty campaign. The campaign needed military troops, disciplinary bodies, intelligence services, police stations, financial institutes, heavy agricultural machines and whatever else was needed for cultivating the lands and pasturing the cattle of the Bedouin.

AND SHEKHAN. THE COMMITTEE'S ACCEPTANCE CAME ON 4TH JAN. 1997/ LETTER NUMBER 2997 BASING ON THE DECREE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL NUMBER 9 FOR THE YEAR 1996 AND THE LAW NUMBER 10 OF BANKS REGULATION.

THESE TERMS TO BE OBSERVED;

1- THE BENEFICIARIES THAT ARE MENTIONED IN THIS DECISION WILL BE EXEMPTED FROM THE DECREE OF THE COMMANDING PRESIDENT (GOD SAVE HIM) CONCERNING THE SUSTAINING OF LOANS.

2- THE AMOUNT OF THE LOAN SHOULD BE BASED ON REAL ESTATE GUARANTEES.

3- THE MINIMUM INTEREST RATE MUST BE 15 % OR OVER. THE AMOUNT MUST BE WITHIN THE PERMITTED LIMITS SET BY THE CENTRAL BANK OF IRAQ/ LOAN DEPARTMENT.

PLEASE BE INFORMED AND DO ALL NECESSARY STEPS.

WITH RESPECTS OF

MAJOR GENERAL

TARIK ZIADA SALIH

NORTHERN COMMITTEE/ SECRETARY

8TH DEC. 1997

amounts of money to fabricate false indicators. They hired cheap writers and the boulevard press to write the way they were paid for. If the original Kurds or Turkmen were being expelled and replaced by Arabs, then there were many false accusations prepared that claimed that they were Iranians, Syrians, or even Israeli agents! When Arab families or tribes were brought in from a village far in the south, they were named as real inhabitants of Kirkuk even before changing their registration documents.

Kirkuk, one of the oldest and richest cities in the region, was changed into a city of great tragedy. For almost one century, the oil pumped out there is sent to the international markets. The return income could have turned the city into a paradise, could have raised the living standard of its citizens to the highest. The huge income could have been used to further establish the petroleum industry and strengthen the infrastructure of the city. The inhabitants should have enjoyed a prosperous life and the multiethnic people should have left to live in harmony. But on the contrary, ethnic disputes were promoted, prejudicial thoughts were fuelled, the economy was sunk and happiness became a story of the past. All these evil thoughts were planned by the heads of the Ba'ath party. The Kurdish citizens suffered the most. Thousand of families were forcefully extracted from their homes and had to leave them empty-handed. All these sufferings were produced by Baghdad rulers who claimed socialism, patriotism and liberalism.

Now the time is here to see some of these facts in another letter of the ill-fated Taha Yasin Ramadan Al-Jazrawi, who held several sensitive posts in Saddam Hussein cabinets and the Revolutionary Command Council. Just like his comrade Chemical Ali, he enjoyed the full authority of Saddam Hussein to act as a tyrant in Kurdistan or, as they called it, the North of

Otherwise, how could it have happened that a Turkmen Shiite village be completely replaced with Sunni Arabs, while Sunni Kurdish villages were given to Shiite Arabs?

In a bureaucratic government as we have had in Iraq, normal official paperwork takes ages to process especially if it needed the endorsement of higher authorities. But where the matter of arabization of Kirkuk was concerned, no time was wasted. At times, a simple telephone call from a leader was sufficient for people to work on the necessary steps, and in other cases, the instructions of the President were violated. These accelerations can often be seen in those letters exchanged or orders issued concerning different aspects of the demographic changes. Normally, official routine work was strictly centralized. Severe punishment would be faced by anyone who dared to jump over any formality.

Doubtless, such measures were no doubt wouldn't have taken place without prior investigation, and must have been chosen in a way to create as much conflict as possible between the inhabitants instead of creating sympathetic reactions between people of the same creed: a Shiite farmer might have hesitated to replace his kinsman and so on.

The multi-ethnic populations were also used to serve the propaganda of the Arab identity of the Kirkuk region. Had that regime stayed longer in power, these steps would have helped their argument about the mosaic nature of the society and the existence of a multicolor Arab culture. They might have fabricated Arab archeological sites in Kirkuk to claim old Arab civilizations in the area, and that the city had belonged to their forefathers!

By all means the regime was hypocritical and a pathological liar: they denied clear facts and paid enormous

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE MOST
MERCIFUL

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

THE PRESIDENCY

THE MEMBER OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND
COUNCIL

THE VICE PRESIDENT

TAHA YASEEN RAMADAN

THE COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH/ THE
SECRETARIAT

REF; 20/ 1042

DATE; 29TH JUNE 1997

CONFIDENTIAL AND PRIVATE

SUB; ORDER

1- CONSTITUTE A COMMITTEE UNDER THE
SUPERVISION OF THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER. THE
FOLLOWING PEOPLE TO BE MEMBERS:

A- A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NORTHERN
COMMITTEE

B- THE DIRECTORS OF DUBZ, ALTUN-KOPRI
AND TAZA.

Iraq. Al-Jazrawi was appointed as the party chief of the north and was directly in-charge of running the affairs of arabization, changing the demography of the region and oppressing a nation he belonged to. His letter number 20/ 1042 dated on 29th April 1977 is described as top secret and private, sent to the Governor of Kirkuk telling him that the economic committee had agreed to give financial support to Arab farmers who occupy strategic parts of Kurdistan. Those Arabs were expected to form a security belt around the arabized districts like Makhmoor, Fayeda and Shekhan. And informing him about the special committee that had been set up to review the affairs of transferred Arabs to districts belonging to Erbil and Kirkuk.

This letter became a reference for dozens of other similar orders for people to act in favor of the arabization campaign, and to continue oppressing non-Arabs in the region. The following is the full text of the letter:

THE INVOLVMENT OF EGYPTIANS IN THE ARABIZATION CAMPAIGN OF KURDISTAN

The process of demographic change is a racially motivated procedure; no matter where, when, for what reasons, and by whom it's executed. This example of such racism that took place in Kirkuk has seldom been seen in recent times; but it also occurred earlier in several Kurdish cities and towns of the Kurdistan in Turkey. The only difference is that the Turks didn't import others from Turkish-speaking countries, while the Iraqi regime did that for arabization and for many other purposes.

The plan set up by the Iraqi regime has its beginning in the Ba'ath military coups: firstly in 1963 that only lasted for few months and secondly when they came again to power in 1968. Their Syrian Ba'athist comrades had a ready-made plan to terminate the Kurds people in western Kurdistan. Both here and there the fascism was the same, there were also fatal differences between these two parties but they were born of the same father when it came to getting rid of the Kurds in the both countries. As we are concerned about Iraq, the campaign of arabizing the heart of Kurdistan the city of Kirkuk was very intensive and long lasting one. One finds it difficult to decide where to start. Do we speak first about the dismissal of qualified Kurdish officials and preventing them from working even as simple laborers! Or do we relate the issue of the innumerable families forced out from their forefather lands. For them too, all means of living were blocked if they didn't agree to convert their nationality to become Arab!

The intensity of these campaigns was beyond imagination. It was so far-reaching that there were insufficient

C- THE LEADERS OF THE PARTY BRANCHES IN THOSE COUNTIES.

D- THE DIRECTOR OF LAND DEPARTMENT IN KIRKUK'S DIRECTORATE OF AGRICULTURE.

E- THE LEADING SECURITY OFFICERS OF THE COUNTIES.

F- THE LEADERS OF AGRICULTURE OFFICES IN THOSE COUNTIES.

2- THE TASK OF THIS COMMITTEE WILL BE TO FOLLOW-UP THE ACCOMMODATION OF ARAB TRIBES IN ALTUN-KOPRY AND SHWAN/ KIRKUK. DUBZ/ ERBIL'S DIRECTION AND ALSO KIRKUK- LAYLAN, AND TO KNOW THE EXACT NUMBERS OF EACH TRIBE MEMBER LIVING IN THOSE AREAS AND IF THEY HAVE PRACTICALLY TRANSFERRED THEIR REGISTRATION PAPERS AND FOOD RATION FORMS

3- COMMITTEES MUST PROVIDE US WITH SECURITY REPORTS AND ENACTMENTS OF EARLIER INSTRUCTIONS.

4- THE WHOLE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE WILL BE UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF KIRKUK'S GOVERNORATE. HE MUST BE PERSONALLY AWARE OF THAT'S GOING ON.

TAHA YASEEN RAMADAN

THE VICE PRESIDENT

THE HEAD OF THE NORTHERN COMMITTEE

Ramadan, in his capacity as Vice-President of the Republic, held several positions and was authorized to act as the main person in charge of Kurdish affairs for the government and party. He acted against his Kurdish nation for more than decade. Numerous documents either carry his signature or refer to his orders.

To one letter signed by Major General Tarik Ziada Salih, there is a list of Egyptian names attached. This list contains the names of sixteen Egyptian men who had earlier received Iraqi citizenship and were being transferred from different Iraqi cities to Kirkuk. Naturally these Arabs were to be treated the same as their cousin Iraqi Arabs. They were to get generous gratuities at the expense of the city and were to enjoy their happiness built on the misery of the original citizens because they were placed in houses and territories belonging to Kurds and Turkmen. Here it is worth remembering the old Ba'athist slogan that said, "The petrol is for Arabs, all Arabs."

As those Egyptians and Palestinians were given Iraqi citizenship and were most probably forced to join the fascist party. Being an Arab and a Ba'ath party member, or a member of the secret police, meant qualification for enormous benefits. When we come to discuss any letter of this kind, from any member of the gang, you will find the same reality that those henchmen had no sense of principle and no patriotic sympathy whatsoever. Moreover, they showed no solidarity with young non-Arabs who served in the Iraqi army during the destructive war against Iran or the occupation of Kuwait.

There are many countries all over the world who welcome people of other nations and will, according to the United Nations rules and regulations, give them enough benefits to live peacefully, providing them with everything necessary to enjoy a normal live; but no country, except for the Iraqi

local Arabs to fill all the gaps and so the idea of bringing non-Iraqi Arabs came to being. In the beginning, the party chiefs thought of bringing Palestinians and making facilities for them to replace the Kurds. They could have done so under the pretence that they want to provide shelter to homeless Palestinians and serving a humanitarian cause. They could have done so under the normal argument that Iraq was home for every Arab. Using these claims, they called on Arabs from everywhere to come and work in Iraq, to feel at home. They also promised them Iraqi nationality.

This practice of using non-Iraqi Arabs to consolidate the arabization process was only discovered after the defeat of Saddam Hussein in the 2003 war of liberation for Iraq. Before this time, we only knew that Kurds and Turkmen were subject to expulsion and replacement by Iraqi Arabs. These practices came to light after discovering mountains of documents and formal orders that the fallen regime had left behind. It seems that the regime had no sense of loyalty to the nation. We have heard of many stories of dictatorial rule but none have shown so much hatred for its citizens!

We also learned that the regime brought thousands of Egyptians to the country. For political and military analysts, this measure was to compensate for the great numbers of Iraqi youth who were killed or taken prisoner during its unjustified war with Iran, or in some cases, to fill the empty workplaces left by Iraqi workers who joined the war. Taha Yaseen Ramadan's letters tells us another story. The Northern Committee of the party shows this fact in a letter sent to the Interior Ministry, informing them that Ramadan had given his instructions to transfer the registration papers of a number of Egyptians from the southern cities of Iraq to Kirkuk. The committee's letter was on 24th august 1977 with reference number 20/ 1415.

SUBJECT: TRANSFERRING CIVIL-STATUS
REGISTRATION PAPERS

FOLLOWING OUR PREVIOUS CONFIDENTIAL LETTER FROM THE 20TH JUNE 1997, NUMBER 20/ 885, THE VICE PRESIDENT, THE HEAD OF THE NORTHERN COMMITTEE HAD GIVEN HIS ORDERS TO TRANSFER THE FILES AND REGISTRATION RECORDS OF THOSE EGYPTIANS WHO HAVE RECEIVED IRAQI CITIZENSHIP AND THEIR NAMES ARE LISTED IN THE ATTACHED LETTER, THAT STARTS WITH (HINDAWI AHMAD AL-AZAWI) AND ENDS WITH (ABDUL MUSIN MUSTAFA) FROM THE CITIES MENTIONED IN FRONT OF THEIR NAMES TO THE KIRKUK CITY.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND ACTION,

WITH RESPECT:

GENERAL TARIK ZYADA SALIH

SECRETARY OF THE NORTH COMMITTEE

26TH AUGUST 1997

Regime, has ever expelled their own citizens to put foreigners in their places. Now, here are the instructions of the chief gangster Taha Ramadan:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE MOST MERCIFUL

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

THE PRESIDENCY

THE MEMBER OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND
COUNCIL

THE VICE PRESIDENT

TAHA YASEEN RAMADAN

THE COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH/ THE
SECRETARIAT

REF: 2/ 1415

DATE: 26TH AUGUST 1997

TO: THE MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS/
MINISTERS' OFFICE

| | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| Hasani Jalal Ahmad | Commercial School | Basra |
| Mahmmud Ibrahim Esa | Primary School | Basra |
| Nouradin Jabber Hamada | Commercial School | Basra |
| Saeed Muhsin Ali | Commercial School | Basra |
| Jamal Hussein Ali | Unqualified School | Basra |
| Abdulmuhsin Mustafa | Commercial School | Basra |

THE LIST OF EGYPTIANS EMPLOYEES FOR KIRKUK

| <i>Full Name</i> | <i>Qualifications</i> | Address |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| Hindawi Ahmed Al-Azawi | BSc General Engineering | Mosul |
| Samir Yusuf | unqualified | Mosul |
| Nabil Muhammad Yusuf | Management Institute/ Accountant | Mosul |
| Maher Khalid Ali | Commercial School | Mosul |
| Mustafa Salih Al-Sayed | High School | Mosul |
| Ahmad Muhammad Ahmad | Commercial school/ Health Service | Mosul |
| Redha Abdulmunaim | High School | Mosul |
| Farweez Abdulredha Zayed | Commercial School | Mosul |
| Muhammad Al-Said Mahmmud | Unqualified | Basra |
| Taha Saeed Selman | Industrial School | Basra |

the Presidential order number 42 to impose financial punishment on those leaving their new homes in Kirkuk and renting or selling their houses. The financial penalty was double the mortgage money given and the interest paid would jump to 100% as well! Committees were established to estimate the price of the land and the houses given to them.

Most of the farmers were poor people. They would not be able to pay back those heavy penalties. Therefore they did not have any chance to go back to their own homeland. They also knew that breaking Saddam Hussein's orders would be much more costly than just a financial penalty!

Such was the tyranny of the ruling Ba'ath party and such was the obedience of the empty-headed men in his circles. Orders given by the big chief would have been blindly followed and no-one could break them. But it seems that every rule has an exception. Hussein's orders could only be broken when the matter served the arabization of poor Kirkuk!

A letter from the Kirkuk Governorate is in clear violation of Decree 42. The letter signed by Lieutenant General, the Governor of Kirkuk, proves that nothing was too low in the dirty campaign of denying the natural rights of citizens. In his letter, the General points out the importance of excluding the resettled Arabs from the punishment imposed by Decree 42 of the Revolutionary Command Council and allowing them to sell the houses given them by the government, when they wanted to move to the nearby security belt established around the city. Those Arabs were being obliged to invest their money gained in cultivating their lands in the security belt area.

One can understand to which extent the Arab citizens of Iraq were being forced to leave their own areas, their own workplaces and their children's schooling to live in

VIOLATIONS OF DECREE 42

This decree was issued by the so-called Revolutionary Command Council on 11th January 1984 but was signed by Saddam Hussein because he was the head of this Council and President of the Republic.

This decision is considered the strongest basis for the arabization process of Kirkuk Governorate because before having this strict punishing law, the Arab beneficiaries were receiving Baksheesh (free) money for moving to Kirkuk and free land (and properties) for housing and agriculture but then they often left Kirkuk, returning back to where they had come from and pocketing the money from the sale of houses and land. This was because they lacked the money and incentive for building and furnishing property and for the considerable cost of farm machinery and seed.

This defiance by ordinary Arabs frustrated the Ba'athist leaders in Baghdad for two reasons: firstly, they weren't showing loyalty to Arab nationalism or to the arabization of Kurdistan, and secondly, they had broken moral convention by ignoring all those bonuses and advantages. The problem thus needed a disciplinary solution. Naturally, Saddam's direct orders were the most risky if they were to be broken: execution was often a sudden consequence.

It was the regime's tradition that where seduction doesn't work, then punishment would! And if the smallest members of the Party had such power, how much more the head of the Party himself!? Death under torture was the most likely way of punishment but if the person was considered beyond these methods, then a well-constructed secret plan for elimination was arranged. Therefore, Saddam himself signed

SUBJECT: CIRCULATION

BASING ON THE LETTER OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL, THE OFFICE
OF THE VICE PRESIDENT, TOP SECRET, PRIVATE AND
URGENT – REF: 144, DATED 9TH JUNE 2001, THE
FOLLOWING HAS BEEN DECIDED:

THE RESIDENTS OF THE SECURITY BELT, WHO
WERE BENEFICIARIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
COMMAND COUNCIL DECISION NUMBER 42 OF THE
YEAR 1986 ARE ALLOWED TO SELL THEIR HOUSES IN
KIRKUK, BUT THEY MUST INVEST THE MONEY MADE
IN DEVELOPING THEIR CULTIVATION BUSINESSES IN
THE SECURITY BELT.

ALL CASES ARE STUDIED INDIVIDUALLY BY A
COMMITTEE HEADED BY L.G. AND THE MEMBERSHIP
OF THE GOVERNOR OF KIRKUK AND COMRADE, THE
SECRETARY OF THE PARTY'S BRANCH OF THE AREA.

PLEASE BE INFORMED

BEST REGARDS:

LIEUTENANT GENERAL

QAIS MUHAMMAD JAWAD

GOVERNOR OF AL-TA'AMIM

18TH JUNE 2001.

circumstances they were not accustomed to. A huge moral and
material stimulus was behind the resettlement campaign. They
wanted to persuade them that Kirkuk belongs to them - but this
was proved wrong on the first day of the Fall of Saddam's
Regime. Most of the Arabs hurried to back to their original
places. The Governor's letter comes on the next page:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE
MOST MERCIFUL

TOP SECRET

AL-TAMIM GOVERNORATE

THE DIRECTORATE OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

THE POPULATION INFORMATION
DEPARTMENT

REF: 1111

DATE: 20TH JUNE 2001

TO: KIRKUK HEADQUARTERS OF
COMMANDING PARTY

THE HEADQUARTERS OF AL-TAMIM'S
BRANCH OF THE COMMANDING PARTY

THE HEADQUARTERS OF ABU-OBEIDA
BRANCH OF THE COMMANDING PARTY.

EXTRAVAGANT GIFTS FROM THE PRESIDENT TO CONSOLIDATE ARABIZATION

Within the framework of the horrible campaign of arabization of the people and land of Kurdistan, certain methods and many means were followed. A chauvinistic nature is visible in all of them. Categorically speaking, these steps and stages have all been followed:

- The first stage was bringing Arabs to Kirkuk from everywhere in Iraq and employing them in different area.

- Following the importation of Arabs, they turned to find the victims - the Kurdish and Turkmen employees to be sacked or transferred to create working places for these resettled Arabs.

- These stages were worsening in nature. This large collection of Arabs now needed accommodation in a city that suffered from a lack of a housing system. So the easiest way to solve it was to expel Kurds from their living places and put these unwanted guests in their places. Of course the hospitality wouldn't be complete without confiscating the Kurdish furniture and household goods.

- Other stages were characterized by bringing in Arabs from outside of Iraq, granting them citizenship and then according to already established laws giving them the same opportunities as Iraqi Arabs to settle down in Kirkuk. All of these steps needed rules and regulations, and large amounts of money needed to be pumped into the oil-rich city of Kirkuk to give all these newcomers mortgages to build houses and to cultivate lands. At the end of the day, these large sums of

COPIES TO: REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL,
THE OFFICE OF VICE PRESIDENT, TO BE INFORMED
WITH MY RESPECT

: COMRADE THE MEMBER OF THE IRAQI
REGIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, IN CHARGE
OF ORAGANIZATION IN MOSUL AND KIRKUK, TO BE
INFORMED WITH MY RESPECT

:THE HOUSING DEPARTMENT - TO DO
WHATEVER IS NEEDED

cities than Kirkuk must be excluded from the provisions of the housing rules and regulations, for the housing law states the condition of being born in the city where the land or the house is given.

In the Ba'ath Party' mentality there is no appreciation for those who fight at the Front in deadly wars. It is also not appreciated that they could work for them as secret police or even as personal bodyguards. This should not surprise anyone because such is the empty-headed mentality of the fascist. This reminds us of a line of poetry from the great poet Al-Mutanabi when he said, "When you respect the ignoble, you get nothing but unappreciation."

money were practically lost since most Arabs were desert people lacking any experience in agriculture.

In any case, the Kurds and Turkmen were the losers. They were forced out without any compensation for their homes and other properties. Even the families of the victims of Saddam Hussein' crazy wars were differently treated. Documents indicate that martyrs' families were rewarded according to their nationality. The families of Kurdish' victims had to leave their Kirkuk birthplace and move to remote areas in the South and get some crumbs in the name of the bountiful "God-Worshiper President".

Innumerable decrees and orders were issued from both the Republic' Presidency Office and the Revolutionary Command Council. They are either signed by Saddam himself or they refer to his instructions. Concerning his honoring of war victims, in some way or another, the Kurds and Turkmen were all ill-treated. Several documents showing such realities have come to light, many of them have been published in Part One of this book. But the one we show now is from a small security department in the Governorate of Kirkuk, numbered 4674 and issued on 23rd November 2000, and addresses the Municipality Department of Kirkuk.

We concentrate on this letter for two reasons: first, it's issued from a very small department but addresses a very sensitive issue, and secondly, it shows that discrimination is the main idea of the letter mentioning Kurds and Turkmen without any hesitation. The security department bases its letter on the directions of the Revolutionary Command Council concerning giving land to house the internal security forces in Kirkuk, but at the cost of the original inhabitants of Kirkuk, who had to leave the city and find accommodation for themselves elsewhere. In the same letter, the Arabs who are born in other

PRESIDENT (GOD SAVE HIM), ON THE MILITARY PERSONNEL AND THE INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES' STAFF ON THE KURDS AND TURKMEN WHO ARE BORN IN KIRKUK PROVIDED THAT THEY ARE GIVEN LANDS OUTSIDE OF KIRKUK.

2- THOSE ARABS WHO ARE BROUGHT IN TO KIRKUK WILL BE EXEMPTED FROM THE TERMS GETTING LANDS IN THEIR PLACE OF BIRTH. THEY SHOULD BE GIVEN LANDS IN KIRKUK.

3- PRIORITY IS TO BE GIVEN TO THE DESCENDANTS OF BENEFICIARIES WHO WERE SINGLE AND HAVE BEGUN FAMILIES IN KIRKUK.

TO ACT AS REQUIRED, AND INFORM US OF YOUR PROGRESS,

WITH THE APPRECIATIONS OF:

GENERAL HUSSEIN MUHAMMAD AHMAD

THE DIRECTORE OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

23RD NOVEMBER 2000.

CONFIDENTIAL, PRIVATE
& URGENT

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE MOST MERCIFUL

TOP SECRET

AL-TAMIM GOVERNORATE

THE DIRECTORATE OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

THE POPULATION INFORMATION
DEPARTMENT

REF: 4674

DATE: 23RD NOV. 2000

TO: THE DIRECTORATE OF KIRKUK
MUNICIPALTY

SUBJECT: INSTRUCTIONS

BASED ON THE LETTER OT THE
REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL/ OFFICE OF
THE VICE PRESIDENT/ TOP SECRET, URGENT ANT
PRIVATE/ ON 1ST OCTOBER 2000. THE FOLLOWING
HAVE BEEN DECIDED:

1- COORDINATION WITH MAIN COMMITTEE TO
DISTRIBUTE THE BOUNTIES OF THE COMMANDING

they support the revolution led by the “God save him” President?

We did know that a petition-writer sitting at a small desk in front of a governmental bureau also needed such permission from the freedom-fighter Taha Al-Jazrawi! The lives of individuals parallel the fate of the whole Kurdish people and was, day by day, becoming more difficult. The nation was suffering under the rule of an irresponsible gang. This rule was unique in the world because it's impossible to find another government displacing her people and depriving them of the simplest means of living, and practicing a rotten procedure of discrimination between ethnic communities.

This apartheid also came at a time of prolonged war, and against a people with long history of helping Islam and Arabs. Tens of thousands of Kurdish youth had served in the Iraqi army or in the People's Militia during several unjustified wars initiated by a mentally-sick man who obtained power by a military coup. Another side of the contradictions in Saddam Hussein's personality appears in his attitudes when it concerned giving lands to some soldiers, while true war victims received apart from further misery and suffering. Shamelessly, this prejudice was put in writing and was circulated all around the country. Those soldiers were truly unfortunate that had spent long years fighting on the front, bearing atrocious conditions, to return home and discover that their families had already been ejected!

Traditionally, the Ba'ath party was equally bad to all the different ethnic minorities and groups. They waited for the opportune time to effect different groups. For example, observing all groups closely, when they saw one group was more loyal to their own heritage than the party's methods, then they would trick them to reveal their true position through the

ALL THE TOP OFFICIALS WERE INVOLVED IN ARABIZING KIRKUK

It is true that we, as the original people of Kirkuk, having been born there and having had our basic education there, we know much about our own city. It's also true that we were closely watching what was happening to our people through the expulsion of our families by arabization and the ethnic cleansing of non-Arabs. But there were still several measures and actions that we were not aware of until the fall of the regime in March 2003.

In 2003, we were shocked by the extent that the party and governmental organs had been involved in the campaign of arabization. We hadn't known that the President was following these measures with such criminality and had given orders to intensify them! We also didn't know that there were so many committees set up to execute this hell of prejudicial decisions in a single city. Nobody knew that Vice-President of the Republic, the second man in Iraq, was so busy expelling poor Kurds during the fiercest fighting with Iran and other countries.

It is unbelievable to discover that Taha Yaseen Ramadan Al-Jazrawi could find the time in the midst of exchanging so many letters with his fellow gangsters - to stop and consider whether or not to allow a woman to open a small cosmetic shop in Kirkuk! It seems that such a shop needed the direct permission of the leadership in Baghdad; then after the investigations had started, to see whether she was an Arab or not, and whether she had corrected her nationality or not! And if she had done so, had her children been also corrected? Were they registered as members of the Ba'ath Socialist Party? Did

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE
MOST MERCIFUL

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

THE PRESIDENCY

THE MEMBER OF REVOLUTIONARY
COMMAMD COUNCIL

THE VICE PRESIDENT

TAHA YASEEN RAMADAN

THE COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH/ THE
SECRETARIAT

REF: 20/ 3

DATE: 26TH DEC. 1995

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: THE GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK

SUBJECT: YOUR OPINION

WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR CONFIDENTIAL
LETTER (17/12361 ON 13TH DEC 1995) AND IN
CONNECTION WITH OUR TOP SECRET AND PRIVATE
LETTER (20/1133 ON 13TH SEPT. 1995).

papers of the intelligent department then mass-killing followed. This happened to some political parties and minorities. Turkmen were observed to check their loyalty to Ankara, then they were quickly forced to change their nationality or face the same as was happening to the Kurds. In some cases they were allowed to buy and rent real-estate but this happened only after they had accepted Arab nationality or a deal had been struck with the Turkish government that made the Turkmen victims of bilateral interests. The same kind of dirty deals were planned against Chaldeans and Assyrians. It was only a matter of time before their oppression started as a separate category.

However the idea behind allowing non-Arabs, such as Turkmen and Christians, to buy Kurdish properties or take part in auctions had yet another purpose. This was to allow the claim that the sale of Kurdish houses and shops was a normal legal process with the participation of all sections of society. It also meant that, if one day, Kurds should seek to regain what had been taken from them they would have to stand against other communities and deepen ethnic conflicts. In the meantime, the intellectual people of those minorities knew that the Ba'athist oven was not being fueled to only burn one part of the Iraqi people. They had no doubt that their turn would come sooner or later; that's why many Christians left the country at the first opportunity and sought asylum.

The letter that follows concerns the division of property that had been confiscated from the Kurdish citizens of Kirkuk. They claimed it had been returned to the state and therefore, these properties would be auctioned - but only Arabs and some Turkmen were allowed to take part.

INSULTING TURKMEN UNDER THE PRETEXT OF GRANTING BASIC RIGHTS

It became very clear that the process of arabization of Kirkuk was going on in a very tough way. There was pre-planning under the direction of several institutions and being enacted with utmost seriousness. Top-ranking officials of the ruling band were closely supervising and did not miss any details. In most of the related communication, the orders were given by the Great Father of Iraq.

It is also crystal clear that no consideration was given to any people-group that made up the city. They were all targeted to change their ethnic identity and accept Arab nationality against their will. Those Arab nationalists loved nobody, not even their own people. This fact became obvious when the world witnessed the uprising of the entire Iraqi population against the regime in 2003 and how the regime reacted by wildly shooting whatever moved.

Now, one may ask, why this campaign of arabization was necessary when they didn't like Arabs either. The answer would need extensive analysis; but in short, Saddam Hussein was a megalomaniac. To the Iraqi people's worst luck, the West had known and had encouraged this characteristic in him. He loved power and wanted to subjugate all Iraqis, starting with Kurds, and then turn to others nations such the Iranians and the Arabs of Kuwait. Another strong reason was that this historical Kurdish city of Kirkuk was and is rich in oil. This meant that he would have lost this important resource had the Kurds established their own state and taken full control of Kirkuk.

WE WOULD LIKE TO INFORM YOU THAT HIS EXCELLENCY, THE VICE-PRESIDENT, HAS LEARNT ABOUT THE CONTENT AND ACCEPTED YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE TURKMEN TENANTS (INCLUSIVE) AND OTHERS FROM THE ARAB NATIONALTY IN THE OPEN AUCTION TO RENT THE HOUSES AND SHOPS THAT HAVE BEEN RETURNED TO THE STATE. OTHER NATIONALITIES SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO ENTER THE AUCTION.

PLEASE BE INFORMED AND WORK ACCORDINGLY.

WITH RESPECT OF

TARIK ZIADA SALIH

THE SECRETARY OF NORTH COMMITTEE

26TH DEC. 1995

permissions for small-businesses were not approved to allow Arab outsiders get the biggest portion of everything.

To shed light on this matter, we take a look at another strange order from Taha Yaseen Ramadan. In this letter, he gives permission to the Governor of Kirkuk to exempt Turkmen comrades of Ba'athist party and the families of Turkmen martyrs from provisions issued three years ago from his very office!

The Turkmen well understood that discrimination was being practiced against other non-Arabs. Certainly they hated to see such official apartheid being practiced in the Twentieth Century in the oldest land of civilizations, Mesopotamia. Against whom? Against its' original people! It is true that if any part of a nation is degraded for no reason, all parts will be injured.

A truly progressive leadership, as the Ba'athists described themselves, would have created equal opportunities for work for every citizen. Posts should have been given according to one's qualification and experience, not according to which party or which ethnicity one belonged to. No-one would have rejected to have non-Kirkuk people work in their mosaic city but not without appropriate qualification and not at the expense of others!

Iraqis have lived and worked in every part of Iraq in harmony. They have shared each other's feasts without invitation being necessary. There was no disturbance whatsoever in the whole country before it was instigated by the Ba'athist regime. Here is letter as it is:

Saddam Hussein's pleasantness to the small minorities in Kirkuk and to a neighboring country was nothing more than political maneuvering. While he was conducting a crazy war against Iran, he improved relations with Arab countries, especially Kuwait, so that he could draw hundreds of thousands of dollars from them. But as soon that war had finished, he occupied Kuwait and threatened the other Arab countries! Now what could have been behind his pleasantness with Kirkuk's Turkmen or Assyrians? The matter was not so different from feeding up a lamb to prepare it for slaughter. Force was the only language Saddam had understood and the Turkmen had never been in power. He also knew that Turkish noise about the Turkmen of Kirkuk was nothing other than an appeal for petrodollars!

Most Turkmen understood this. Those who could, escaped from the country and turned to being in opposition, indeed some of them even condemned Ankara's stance; others just wanted to settle down in Turkey and have a good future. However, they were disappointed by the hypocritical position of the Turkish government and were denied proper jobs. In the end, many of them were obliged to take refuge in Europe, finding places especially in Scandinavia.

It is clear that conscientious Turkmen didn't want to take any property from his neighboring Assyrians or Kurds. He wouldn't have liked either to see the Decrees from the Palace of the Republic allowing them to do so! They simply realized that there was something behind them. They would certainly have been disappointed to see similar orders telling the Kirkuki officials that Turkmen were allowed to serve in hotels or work as a petition-writers in front of the governmental departments. Turkmen were also discriminated against in that their

GOVERNORATE AND WORKING IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, PERMISSION FOR OPENING COFFEE SHOPS, BEAUTY SHOPS AND BAKERIES. THEY ARE ALSO ALLOWED TO WORK IN HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS, OR AS PETITION WRITERS.

PLEASE BE INFORMED AND WORK ACCORDINGLY.

WITH THE APPRECIATIONS OF:

TAHA YASEEN RAMADN
THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE HEAD OF THE NORTHERN COMMITTEE

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE MOST MERCIFUL

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

THE PRESIDENCY

THE MEMBER OF REVOLUTIONARY
COMMAMD COUNCIL

THE VICE PRESIDENT

TAHA YASEEN RAMADAN

THE COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH/ THE SECRETARIAT

SECRET AND PRIVATE;
TO BE OPENED ONLY BY AUTHORIZED PERSON

TO: THE GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK
SUBJECT: AUTHORIZATION AND PERMISSION

WITH RREFERENCE TO YOUR LETTER, NUMBER 2209
ON 19TH MARCH 1995, THE FOLLOWING HAS BEEN
DECIDED:

1- THE TURKMEN FAMILIES OF MARTYRS
AND PARTY'S COMRADE WHO INHABIT KIRKUK
MUST BE EXEMPTED FROM THE PROVISIONS OF OUR
CIRCULAR NUMBER 632 FROM 3RD AUGUST 1993.

2- NO PREVENTION TO GRANTING
TURKMEN CITIZENS, WHO ARE LIVING IN YOUR

Kurdish deprivation was associated with dull instructions and foolish regulations to make wrongdoing appear logical and legal. One of these steps was the fabrication of statistical record of the inhabitants. These records were produced to register only Arabs in a certain area. Without such records, a Kurdish or Turkmen citizen couldn't have any access to register lands or houses on his or her name.

By this policy, four Districts and more than ten Sub-districts were struck off from Kirkuk Governorate. There in those places, only Arabs could get official documents while the others were denied access to this service. Ten years later some other Kurdish districts were arabized in the same way. Such methods along with several others were designed to serve the chauvinistic ideals of the Arabic Socialist Ba'ath party.

No matter when, all such crooked decisions were either signed by the President of the Iraqi Republic or by the Revolutionary Command Council. As time passed by, more and more Arabs were brought in. None of them had such statistic records and that stupid joke came to an end! A clear document on the negation of the statistical allegations is available and it's shown in a letter written by the Governor of Kirkuk. The letter is sent to the Real-estate Department of the city ordering them to forget about the statistical records when Arabs need to obtain lands or houses in Kirkuk.

The more such decisions to came into being, the deeper the misery of Kurds, Turkmen and Christian groups became, and the greater the unfair privileges were passed on to Arabs. This is the letter of the Governor; it's short but serves the purpose:

NUMBER; 1186

THE STATISTIC RECORDS

The Ba'ath regime employed every possible evil method and criminal means to change the demography of Kirkuk. Day by day, year by year, they fabricated new ideas to demolish the natural and historical constituency of the city and all the towns and villages bordering the Arab region.

They worked full strength to dismantle the Kurdish entity in the Arab furnace. They fabricated rules and regulations to bring as many Arab tribes as possible into the Kurdish area, such as the right to breed their animals in Kurdistan, or the right to search for water sources in Kurdistan to escape drought areas in their region. The transfer of Arabs from South to North continued to take different shapes; groups were brought in for cultivating the lands, others to teach Arabic, the national curriculum and Ba'athist philosophy. Whatever excuse they made up, the plan was the same: to promote the arabization campaign!

This process was going on over a wide horizontal line starting at Khanakin in the south east, and reaching to Sangal in the far west of Kurdistan, and going through Kirkuk and Tuzkhurmatoo. The more the place needed arabized, the more pretexts were made up. In the 1970s, Iraq had the second largest budget for propaganda in the world! This budget was haphazardly spent on media expenses. Parallel to this, large amounts of money were assigned to persuade Arabs to stay in places not belonging to them. Incredible privileges and prerogatives were allocated for the new occupiers. Everything was put at the disposal of Arabs, while in contrast the Kurds and other ethnic inhabitants were deprived of the most basic rights and put under the poverty line.

CHANGING HISTORICAL AND LOCAL NAMES TO ARABIC

In the whole world, people choose the names of their working or living places in the way that they like. Many villages, towns and cities have been named after historical changes or important events that happened in that area. Sometimes, a place has different stories on how the name came to be chosen.

In the same way, parents and relatives choose special names for their newborn children. They may name them after national heroes, social or religious leaders, or even musicians, artists, poets and scientists. The inhabitants of a new place may together choose names for the streets, parks and public places; and of course, local authorities do whatever is necessary to achieve the will of the people.

Nevertheless, this story differs with racist rulers. They choose place names according to their agenda, which emerges from their racist nature. Almost all the Kurdish names in Turkey and Syria are changed to Turkish and Arab ones prospectively. Similarly, in the mid-1960s, Kurdish parents were obliged to either choose Arab names for their kids or an Arab name in addition to their Kurdish one. If the parents didn't agree then registration and access to school was denied to the child. The Ba'athists in Iraq not only changed place names but often chose the most hated names, such as *Al-Qadisia*, for Kurdish and Turkmen places. The birth place of the Kurdish revolutionary Chami Rezan was altered to *Al-Rafidain*. And *Al-Bakir* was chosen to replace the name of the most prominent Kurdish poet-philosopher, Piramerd.

DATE; 30TH JUNE 2001

TO THE DIRECTORATE OF THE HOUSING
DEPARTMENT,
SUBJECT: STATISTIC RECORDS

IT HAS BEEN DECIDED THAT THOSE
ARABS WHO ARE SENT TO KIRKUK SHOULD NOT BE
ASKED FOR THE STATISTIC TERMS WHILE THEY AND
THEIR SONS FORWARDS APPLICATIONS INTO YOUR
DEPARTMENT.

TO DO WHATEVER NECESSARY
KEEP US INFORMED

30TH JUNE 2001

COPIES TO:
TO THE HOUSING DIRECTOR/ SAME
PURPOSE
SECRET CONTACTS/ SAME PURPOSE

THE DECISION NUMBER 11944

BASED ON A RESOLUTION ISSUED BY THE GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK, NUMBER 55, DATED 2ND JUNE 1976: WE HAVE DECIDED TO CHANGE THE NAMES OF THE FOLLOWING VILLAGES IN QARA HASSAN DISTRICT BELONGING TO KIRKUK GOVERNORATE.

SIGNED BY THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AFFAIRS

| No. | The former names | The new Arabic names |
|-----|------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | Shrnja Bulak | Al-Yrmuk |
| 2 | Zinana | Al- Nassr |
| 3 | Yarimcha | Jadda |
| 4 | Quaralu | Al- mikdad |
| 5 | Sary Tapay Gawra | Al-Razi |
| 6 | Sary Tapay Bchuk | Sina |

Just as in other chauvinistic measures, these activities were supervised by the regime's leaders in Baghdad and signed-off by the Minister of Interior Affairs. In some cases, the names were so odd that the inhabitants had never heard of them before and were even unfamiliar with the pronunciations. This caused many troubles for those Kurds and Turkmen who wanted to follow up on official paperwork at governmental departments.

As a matter of fact, Turkmen places received the worst changes. And to be fair, in our follow up we chose the changes that occurred in Kara Hassan near Kirkuk. Let the facts speak for themselves! Let's see the letter:

MANIPULATION OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM TO BE IN LINE WITH THE PLANS FOR ARABIZATION

By the beginning of 2003, the Ba'ath regime had almost finished the arabization of all governmental departments, and civilian institutions were dominated by the members of the Party. Anyone who refused to accept membership was considered a traitor and disloyal to the country. After such an accusation, punishment would follow: no employment, no good chances of studies and no higher qualifications. Besides this, posts in the Ministries of Education, Information, Defense, Foreign Affairs and Interior Affairs were all limited to Party members or relatives of the Party chiefs only.

This discrimination was widespread in the functioning departments. Principles of efficiency were ignored and general productiveness was paralyzed. Worst of all, was the butchering of the Educational Institutions: here the problem wasn't only an employment issues but also what was being taught through the schools. Children were expected to sing anthems for the President, new topics under the name of "National" or Ba'ath principles became the key curriculum and the standard for evaluating the progress of the pupils and students. As a matter of fact, the most intensive programs of nationalism were applied in the arabized zone. All from the school principal to the domestic staff were of Arab nationality. This was also applied in the educational printing houses; a normal temporary worker would need a recommendation from the Party before getting a temporary working place.

Indeed the number of the Arab teachers in the Kirkuk Governorate was comparable to the number of the Arab farmers and Bedouin tribesmen. Kurdish teachers were transferred to

| | | |
|----|------------------|------------------------|
| 7 | Sary Tapay Yunis | Al- Walid |
| 8 | Rejebati Saru | Al- Mutanabi |
| 9 | Rejebati Khuaru | Al- Kndi |
| 10 | Tokmaklu | AL-Khansa |
| 11 | Tarjeel | Al- Qadisia |
| 12 | Panja Ali | Abu mihjan al- Thakafi |

education system was run by the secret police and how non-Arabs were dealt with:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE
MOST MERCIFUL

THE COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH/ THE SECRETARIAT
THE GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK
THE DEPARTMENT OF SECRET COMMUNICATIONS

FOR THE ATTENTION OF THE
GOVERNOR

PLEASE BE INFORMED THAT THE DIRECTORATE
OF THE EDUCATION IN THE GOVERNORATE HAVE
OUR PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS AND THEY NEED NOT
SEEK THE OPINION OF THIS GOVERNORATE WHEN
THEY WANT TO EMPLOY OR TRANSFER THOSE WHO
ARE NOT ARABS, BECAUSE MULTIPLE ANSWERS ON
ONE QUESTION MAY PRODUCE COMPLICATIONS.

ADIL RAJAB ABDUL-GAFOUR

IN CHARGE OF THE SECRET
COMMUNICATIONS

GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK

other cities. Refusal meant losing one's job and, even if they accepted the work in these remote places teaching the chauvinistic topics was still obligatory. Teaching Kurdish language and culture was a capital crime. Teachers and students had to avoid any discussion other than on programs drawn up by the Party. The real management of schools was organized by Party members who held the roles of national education chiefs. These chiefs had a say over everything; they left no room for the real directors or teachers to play their roles properly. A report from the Chiefs would have meant the dismissal of anyone in the education system, and the political evaluations of students were more important than the learning capacity.

In Kirkuk, the schools were turned into instruments for arabization, for recruiting new Ba'ath Party members, for fuelling the discrimination between the different nationalities of the city, and for favoring the resettled Arabs at the expense of the original peoples - the Kurds, the Turkmen, and the Assyrians and Chaldeans. In our book, "Why does Kirkuk belong to Kurdistan?" we published tables showing the number of Arab teachers were more than ten times greater than the Kurdish teachers in the Kurdish districts!

The conditions of the teaching system forced many Kurdish students to leave their schools and remain unemployed. Others finished school and university, but were either denied equal opportunities to get suitable posts or were sent to remote areas in the Arab-speaking areas of Iraq, far from their families, many were even asked to join the fascist party before getting any employment.

Here is a short confidential letter from a man with a relatively low-level post by which we can understand that the

the lightheadedness of the Ba'ath gang. In normal conditions, the annexation of a small town to another district needed different studies looking at sociology, demography, geophysics and other scientific perspectives being taken into consideration. When everything was compatible, then a referendum would be held to canvas the opinion of the inhabitants. The annexation may cause unexpected results that why real follow-up was also necessary to avoid social or political troubles.

In addition to these tyrannical changes, waves of Arabs were brought in to reside in the remaining parts of Kirkuk Governorate and to be registered as original citizens of Kirkuk during the comedy show of this census! Transferring in Arabs was also used to arabize the educational and administration systems of the city. Of course, these measures were followed by many more other steps regardless of the achievements arranged through the census because the plan was designed to change the identity of one of the largest Kurdish cities and, consequently to deprive the inhabitants of the whole Governorate of the Oil rich resources.

As if divisions were not enough, subdivisions followed. If we take Kalar as an example, it was turned into other smaller parts and annexed to other cities - as if they were dismembering a dead body!

Al-Bakir decision came out on the 6th November 1975 and was circulated in the official newspapers of 15th December of the same year. This Decree has been followed by several others. The texts of other documents are available and their consequences are traceable: important parts of Kirkuk were given to the Governorates of Mosul and Tikrit.

The following is the Decree of the ousted boss, Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakir:

THE APPROPRIATION OF THE GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK

When the Ba'ath party succeeded in gaining control of Iraq through their second military coup in 1968, a man named Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakir was appointed as the President of Iraq. However, the country was run practically by his deputy Saddam Hussein. Hussein was the real ruler of Iraq, he was only using Al-Bakir to reach his goals. He used him as a high ranked military man to keep the Iraqi army content and as a front to make him responsible for the regime's crimes.

Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakir was used to sign Decrees planned by Saddam Hussein. The plan that we have here concerned its' cutting off the Kurdish districts of Kirkuk. This plan was set to isolate the highly Kurdish populated areas of the Governorate before the census of 1977. The main original aim of this statistics was to decide the Kurdish Identity of Kirkuk. Saddam and his racist rulers of Baghdad wanted it as Arab and hence to change its irrefutable identity. Just like the other plans of the arabization campaigns, reducing the number of the Kurds was the main procedure to change the population balance.

However, the Decree prepared by Saddam Hussein's gang and put in the name of Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakir (signed in November 1975) was then followed by two years of intense preparation work to make Kirkuk like a real Arab city. According to the decree, three administrative districts were to be cut from Kirkuk and connected to other Governorates. Kifri, Kalar were attached to Bakuba while Chamchamal was attached to Sulemaniyah. These three towns were one hundred percent Kurdish and caused a big difference to the population balance of the whole Governorate. Besides these, several other smaller towns and villages were annexed to these districts

The decision of remove these three main districts came on the same day and on the same little piece of paper. This reflects

TRANSFERRING CIVIL RECORDS TO KIRKUK

When we look at the steps of arabization in their order or we try to see what steps had priority given them, then we discover that consecutive Iraqi governments started this process of transferring people from other Governorates and cities to Kirkuk. In order for someone to settle down in this new place and be considered a real inhabitant of Kirkuk, a registration record was needed.

Therefore the first step was giving false papers to those who were willing to leave their original places and reside in Kirkuk. The forgery was done in a way that the newcomer, he and his forefathers were recorded as citizens of the Kirkuk Governorate. Such wrongdoing was used as part of the so-called national census. Censuses in Iraq were never carried out for the purpose of gathering statistics. The main aim of the census was to make arabization of the most important part of Kurdistan look like a natural phenomenon.

The process of arabization was a long one. Tens of thousands of Arab citizens needed to be transferred to their new destinations, to different places in Kirkuk. Many benefits were given to these newcomers and in the meantime they were ordered to transfer their civil status registration papers. So this step was a two-phased one: first of all, all traces of the original birth place were rubbed out, and in the second phase, new documents proving citizenship of Kirkuk were provided.

Despite these waves of transfers, the identity of the city remained Kurdish due to the large numbers of inhabitants and its characteristics remained Kurdish as well. To overcome this phenomenon, the Ba'athists started to expel the Kurds to

THE REPUBLICAN RESOLUTIONS DECREE NUMBER 608

BASED ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE FIVE OF THE GOVERNORATES LAW, AND IN LINE WITH THE PROPOSAL OF THE INTERNAL MINISTRY; WE HAVE TAKEN THE FOLLOWING DECISIONS:

1- SEPARATION OF BOTH KALAR AND CHAMCHAMAL DISTRICTS FROM KIRKUK'S GOVERNORATE AND ANNEXING THEM TO THE GOVERNORATE OF SULAIMANYA.

2- SEPARATION OF KIFRI DISTRICT FROM KIRKUK GOVERNORATE AND CONNECTING IT TO BAKUBA.

THE MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS MUST ENACT THESE ORDERS.

AHMAD HASSAN AL-BAKIR

PRESIDENT OF IRAQ
NOVEMBER 1975

6TH

Historians say the Royal British Army occupied Kirkuk as early as 1918; three years before the establishment of the puppet Iraqi government in the capital Baghdad. Some years later, after the foundation of the Iraqi army, the military control of Kirkuk was handed over to an Iraqi brigade commanded by the officer who wrote the letter about the arabization of Kirkuk. The authorities in Baghdad had realized that military occupation was not the same as a civil process of arabizing the city because the army was likely to withdraw one day. Hence the idea of bringing civilians to the city and providing them with registration papers and this facilitated their ability to make their living.

However, there are no reports about expelling Kurdish inhabitants until the Ba'athist regime's control on power. This regime intensified the arabization process and dedicated incredible privileges to reward those Arabs who agreed to move to Kirkuk. The only condition that the regime wanted from them was that they would transfer their civil registration from their former locations to Kirkuk in order to make the deception look like a normal process. Thus any employees who were transferred from Arab cities and towns to Kirkuk had his civil data immediately transferred too. The same applied to those unfortunate Kurds who were forced to leave Kirkuk or were administratively transferred - they had to take his registration documents onto this new unwanted place.

There was even the more ridiculous process of transferring the dossiers of thousands of Kurdish families from Kirkuk to other cities such as Erbil and Sulemanyah without the knowledge of the concerned people! The same number or even more files of Arabs were transferred into Kirkuk to aggravate the situation and to doctor the census in the way they wanted.

outside the Governorate, and in order to make this step appear normal, they started transferring their registrations papers elsewhere and erasing the traces of their Kirkuki identity.

The number of Arabs who came to Kirkuk in the 1920s were insufficient to change the population: neither during the establishment of the pro-British government in 1921, nor during the rule of the Ba'ath fascism that started in 1968. Fortunately older documents are also traceable. A report has been uncovered from 1929 written by the Army Division Commander in Kirkuk. The man is asking his headquarters in Baghdad to send more Arabs to Kirkuk because their number was not large enough to arabize the city.

Two very important points are found in this army officer's report: firstly, is the use of the word "arabization" which indicates that the government in Baghdad had secretly planned for the arabization of Kurdistan from its early days in 1920s; secondly, is the admission that the Arabs in Kirkuk were not sufficient to arabize a single city.

It seems that there was a large response to officer's request as there is evidence that a number of Arab tribes and Bedouins were sent to Kirkuk and civil registration papers were arranged for them. Another important point here is the stance of the pro-Arab British Authority in Iraq that it sought demographic changes in Kurdistan in favor of the Arabs. Therefore, this Mandated authority didn't move to stop arabization – in fact, some Kurdish historians accuse the British government of initiating the transfer of Arab tribes to West Kirkuk in an attempt to consolidate the governing powers of its Sunni Arab allies in the country.

breaking up families and transferring them to unwanted destinies. Al-Bakir also signed Republic Decrees relating to how to deal with lands confiscated from Kurdish citizens. In 1976, he signed a decision to register those lands in the names of resettled Arabs.

In the meantime, Arabs had to bring along their civil registration to Kirkuk to get the housing privileges (to build houses), but they would only acquire the right of selling those houses after ten year of residing in them. It's clear that those measures were observed to enforce the arabization process of Kirkuk and to constrain the Arabs to stay in Kirkuk forever.

The three highest authorities in Baghdad, the Presidency, the Revolutionary Command Council and the Cabinet were busy issuing hundreds of decrees and appendices to make the wrongdoings look legal. The next two letters concern the facts mentioned above. The first one is from the President Al-Bakir in his authority as a head of the Revolutionary Command Council. He abuses the Iraqi Constitution and modified previous decisions in ways that promoted the arabization process. The second one comes twelve years later and is also from the same Council – however, by now it was no longer headed by Al-Bakir for he was removed and killed by the Arab-Knight, Saddam Hussein. This letter, similar to many others, speaks about depriving the Kurds of their basic rights in favor of the campaign to change the demography of Kurdistan. Let's look at the letters:

The Arab files were often those belonging to the members of the secret police and experts in tortures.

Expelling Kurds and replacing them with Arabs had become a daily routine. Those Kurds who were deported to Kurdistan were the fortunate ones: despite the poverty and misery, they could send their children to the Kurdish schools, maintain their culture and practice their national customs far from the oppression of the Ba'athist gangs. Eventually expulsion of families to Kurdistan was stopped not because of humanitarian reasons but due to the presence of human rights organizations and representatives of the international community. In the end, this didn't work out for the favour of the Kurdish people. Instead, transfers now happened to the south of the country – where their situation was much worse. Many of them lived in remote areas among the Bedouin without access to schools and any kind of cultural life. Some were sent to cities and towns and could send their children to Arab schools and had the occasional possibility of stealthily visiting their homeland and meeting other members of their families.

The tragedy of Kirkuk' people was multi-faceted. From one aspect, we have those poor employees within the process of change who were moved South, ordered to take with them their families and house furniture – becoming almost homeless or facing an expensive journey back home because they received so little financial compensation. From another side, Arab workers were ordered to do the same in moving to Kirkuk. Although they received better salaries they couldn't go home either.

The documents show many strange stories of ill-treatment. The first Ba'ath President of Iraq who was an old Marshal of the military, Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakir, was also engaged in

COMMAND COUNCIL. THIS TERMINATION OCCURRED BECAUSE OF THE ENACTMENT OF A NEW LAW THAT WAS ISSUED ON 2ND DECEMBER 1975 CARRYING NUMBER 1381.

C- LOANS TO BE GIVEN ACCORDING TO BANK RULES AND THE REGULATIONS OF THE KIRKUK GOVERNORATE.

D- PERMISSION TO BUILD HOUSES UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF DECREE 226 AND THE MODIFICATION DECISION 1381 WILL ONLY BE GIVEN AFTER THE TRANSFER OF THE CIVIL STATUS OF FAMILY MEMBERS FROM THEIR ORGINAL LOCATIONS TO KIRKUK.

ALL CONCERNED MINISTERS SHOULD CARRY OUT THIS DECREE

AHMAD HASSAN AL-BAKIR
THE HEAD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE MOST MERCIFUL

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

THE PRESIDENCY

THE MEMBER OF REVOLUTIONARY
COMMAMD COUNCIL

DECREE NUMBER 945

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ
THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL

BASED ON THE PROVISIONS OF SECOND ARTICLE OF THE TEMPORARY CONSTITUTION, THE COUNCIL HAS, IN ITS SESSION ON 20TH AUGUST, DECIDED THE FOLLOWING:

CANCELLATION OF ARTICLE 2 OF THE DECISION, NUMBERED 226 AND ISSUED BY THE COUNCIL ON 4TH JANUARY 1975; REPLACING IT WITH THE FOLLOWING NEW DECISIONS:

A- NO CHANGES OF THE OWNERSHIP OF LANDS MENTIONED IN THE PREVIOUS DECISION ARE ALLOWED BEFORE COMPLETING TEN YEARS AFTER THE DATE OF THE FINISHING CONSTRUCTION, AND ONLY IN CASES OF URGENT NECESSITY. THIS NECESSITY HAS TO BE APPROVED BY THE GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK. EXEPTIONS INCLUDE THE PAPERWORK OF THE MORTGAGE BANKS. THE COURTS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO APPROVE ANY CONTRACTS OR AGREEMENTS ABOUT CHANGING OWNERSHIP OR BUILDING HOUSES ON THEM OR INVESTIGATING ANY FINANCIAL CASES CONCERNING THOSE LANDS. ANY CONTRACTS OR AGREEMENTS THAT OPPOSE THIS DECREE WILL BE CANCELLED AND WILL NOT BE RE-ENACTED.

B- TERMINATING ARTICLE 5 OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED DECISION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY

CORRECTION OF NATIONALITY

As we have already learned, the arabization process went through several stages including, transferring Kurdish and Turkmen employees to other cities and expelling tens of thousands of local families to outside the Governorate of Kirkuk, and replacing those employees with Arabs who built their happiness on the misery of Kurds, Turkmen and Christian groups. All these were bad enough, but worse was yet to come: forcing people to change their ethnicity (nationality). It was if they would have to say, "Sorry, we are born of the wrong parents, we have to correct it, we would be better to become Arabs"!

As we have seen, arabization started in the 1920s and that many of the rulers of Baghdad followed this policy, but the cruelest campaigns were undertaken Saddam Hussein's regime. His regime lasted 35 years, during which the oil price increased sky high and Iraq became one of the richest countries of the region. This blessing for the whole land was totally misused. Unnecessary weapons of mass destruction were bought. Most of the youth were recruited into the army and used in local wars against our peaceful neighbors. Parallel to this, half of the nation was forced to spy on the other half and serve the dirty plans of the regime to oppress the whole nation and to arabize Kurdistan.

The necessary forms to 'correct' nationality were available in every governmental department and became a routine step for the non-Arabs in Kirkuk to get employment or to even stay in their workplace. The Ba'athist instructions to activate the campaign of demographic changes were being circulated through the Party and official governmental channels.

THE VICE PRESIDENT

TAHA YASEEN RAMADAN

THE COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH/ THE SECRETARIAT

REF: 33/193

DATE: 22ND JANUARY 1998

TOP SECRET AND PRIVATE

TO: GOVERNOR OF KIRKUK,
SUBJECT: TRANSFER OF CIVIL STATUS RECORDS

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR TOP SECRET LETTER (DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING INFORMATION) 1286 ON 31ST JANUARY 1997, THE VICE PRESIDENT, THE HEAD OF THE NORTHERN COMMITTEE HAS REFUSED THE TRANSFER OF THE CIVIL STATUS OF ANY CITIZEN OF THE KURDISH AUTONOMOUS REGION TO YOUR GOVERNORATE. WE ARE NOT READY TO SEE ANY SUCH FILES.

PLEASE BE INFORMED AND PERFORM WHATEVER IS NECESSARY.

WITH THE APPRECIATION OF,

TARIK ZIADA SALIH
THE SECRETARY OF NORTHERN COMMITTEE,
22ND JANUARY 1998

countries. In addition to their secret programme known within the party circle, books for this very purpose were published and actions were undertaken accordingly.

Plans for arabization had widened to cover several aspects. Meetings were held by the top leaders of these two countries, including the Presidents. Many details of these plans have already been published by the author and translator of these books. The arabization plan in Iraq reached its peak when nearly 200,000 Kurds were exterminated in the Anfal genocide campaign and the chemical bombardments of Kurdish towns and villages.

The mass killing only stopped when, in 1991, the Western allies arrived in Kurdistan and other parts of Iraq. In that year, both Arabs and Kurds rose up against Saddam Hussein's regime, the main part of Kurdistan was liberated but roughly forty percent of the Kurdish homeland remained under the rule of the dictator. It was here that the regime intensified the old method of forcing non-Arab nationals to declare their so-called, 'corrected' nationality and become Arabs.

This plan mainly targeted the Kurds but some minorities like the Assyrians, Chaldeans and Turkmen weren't safe either. The intense campaign of changing the nationality had come after the strong criticism of the allied forces gathered in the area that condemned the expulsion of the Kurds to Arab regions of Iraq. Indeed, life became difficult for the non-Arab inhabitants of the oil-rich city of Kirkuk who persisted in refusing to give up their pride by changing their own glorious nationality. This was because, in case of refusing Arab nationality, the most minor punishment was to be sacked from one's workplace. In Iraq, the oil rich country, there was nothing called Social Security, so remaining unemployed meant starvation for the

Bedouins and Arab tribes were never concerned about their nationality, race or creed. They were only encouraged to take up the financial benefits by following the political party's plan without even understanding it. However, their presence was a key physical factor to increase the number of Arabs and to replace the expelled Kurds. When those tribes come to Kurdistan under normal circumstances, they came to breed their cattle in the summer season and left the region again at the end of the season.

Some historians say that even the first Muslim occupier armies brought Bedouins with them to live in Kurdistan and to supply the troops with meat and dairy products and spread the Islamic religion in Kurdistan. In the Kurdish political literature, these Arabs are recognized as the original Arabs of Kurdistan and they were welcomed to stay in their ordinary places.

Medhat Pasha, the Ottoman Empire ruler of Baghdad had also urged Arab shepherds to cross the Hamrin Mountains at the southern border of Kurdistan to pasture their sheep in the green areas of Kurdistan. Most probably this was not a political step as much as an administrative one. However, whatever the reason might be, the process hurt the Kurdish situation because the presence of Arabs anywhere in Kurdistan was interpreted by them as their taking up a hereditary land and was an expression of the extent of the Pan-Arab World!

Sending Arabs to Kurdistan, especially for political purposes, increased exponentially in the Twentieth Century. This process was known as arabization even by Arabs themselves. This was especially the case for the last forty years of the Twentieth Century, when the same chauvinistic Party came to power in Syria and Iraq. In both countries, they planned intensive campaigns to exterminate the Kurdish people in both

THE TEXT OF THE FIRST DOCUMENT

DECREE: 199

DATE: 6TH SEPTEMBER 2001

DUE TO ACCUMULATION OF INHERANT PROBLEMS IN THE REGISTRATIONS DOSSIERS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE'S RULING OF IRAQ, AND IN ORDER TO GRANT EVERY IRAQI CITIZEN THE CHOICE OF CHOOSING THEIR NATIONALITY, AND ALSO IN HARMONY WITH THE ARAB SOCIALIST BA'ATH PARTYS' PRINCIPLE THAT ASSURES EVERY PERSON WHO LIVES IN ANY PART OF THE ARAB WORLD AND CAN SPEAK ARABIC, THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE ARABISM (OURUBA) AS HIS NATIONALITY. AND IN THE MEANTIME, BASED ON THE PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE 42 OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL DECIDES THE FOLLOWINGS:

FIRST: EVERY IRAQI WHO REACHES 18 YEARS OLD WILL HAVE THE RIGHT OF CHANGING HIS NATIONALITY TO BECOME AN ARAB.

SECOND: THE REQUEST FOR ACQUIRING ARAB NATIONALITY WILL BE FORWARDED TO THE CIVIL STATUS DEPARTMENT WHERE HE / SHE IS REGISTERED.

THIRD: THE DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD STUDY THE CASE WITHIN 60 DAYS.

whole family. This explains why so many people in Kirkuk, especially Turkmen, were obliged to change their nationality despite their unwillingness to do so.

This chapter reveals three important documents. The first one is a Decree signed by Saddam Hussein himself about the harmony between the correction of the nationality and the principles of his racist party. The second one is a petition written on behalf of a poor widow in Kirkuk begging for cancellation of the deportation order; while the third is from the Ba'ath party chief of its Kirkuk branch suggesting to exempt this petitioner from expulsion because she had already corrected her nationality and attended a training course to fight in line with the 'God save him' President Saddam Hussein's instructions.

THE SECOND DOCUMENT

A LETTER FROM A WIDOW IN KIRKUK

IN THE NAME

TO THE KIND ATTENTION OF THE SECRETARY OF
KIRKUK BA'ATH PARTY BRANCH

SIR,

I AM A CITIZEN LIVING IN KIRKUK SINCE THE 1950'S. I AM AN ARAB BY NATIONALITY, AND A COPY OF THE STATSTICAL RECORD IS ATTACHED TO THIS FILE. MY FAMILY'S MEMBERS ARE ALL SUPPORTERS OF THE REVOLUTION, THE PARTY AND THE VICTORIOUS LEADER BY GOD'S WILL, SADDAM HUSSEIN (GOD SAVE HIM). WE HAVE PARTICIPATED IN SADDAM HUSSEIN'S GLORIOUS WAR AGAINST IRAN AND IN THE MOTHER OF WARS AGAINST AMERICA AND THE ALLIED FORCES. MY SONS ARE CURRENTLY SERVING AS TROOPS IN SADDAM' COMMANDOS, A SUPPORT LETTER IS AVAILABLE IN THIS DOSSIER.

SIR,

AN ORDER HAS BEEN ISSUED TO EXPEL ME FROM KIRKUK. THAT IS WHY I AM FORWARDING THIS PETITION TO YOUR JUSTICE PORT
HOPING THAT YOU WILL BE KIND ENOUGH TO

FORTH: THE DECISION OF CHANGING THE NATIONALITY WILL BE AFFIXED IN THE CIVIL STATUS FILE. THE DECISION WILL BE A PRINCIPLE FOR CHANGING ALL OTHER CONCERNING OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

FIFTH: THE MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS WILL ISSUE INSTRUCTIONS TO FACILITATE THE ENACTING OF THIS DECREES' PROVISIONS.

SIXTH: THIS DECISION WILL BE ENACTED FROM THE DATE OF ITS PUBLISHING IN THE OFFICIAL NEWSPAPERS.

SADDAM HUSSEIN

THE HEAD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND
COUNCIL
THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

TO THE GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK/ INTERNAL
AFFAIRS/ THE CONFIDENTIAL DEPARTMENT

SUBJECT: REQUEST

COMRADE GREETINGS,

SENDING THE REQUEST OF THE CITIZEN HALWA
YASEEN FATAH ALONG WITH THIS LETTER IN WHICH
SHE ASKS TO CANCEL HER DEPORTATION ORDER.

HERE IS OUR INFORMATION ABOUT HER:

- 1- SHE RESIDES IN HOUSE NUMBER 4/ 261 AZADI
- 2- HER FAMILY WAS EXPELLED IN 1995 BECAUSE HER
SON SALAM MUSTAFA HAD DESERTED THE ARMY
- 3- THE ORDERED EXPULSION WAS NOT ENACTED
DUE TO THE SUSTAINING OF THE EXPULSION ORDER.
- 4- THE DEMANDER IS A WIDOW AND A HOUSE WIFE:
HER HUSBAND HAD DIED IN 1987.
- 5- SHE TOOK PART IN THE PEOPLE'S MILITARY
TRAINING RESPONDING TO THE GALLANT TRAINING
ASKED BY THE COMMANDING LEADER (GOD SAVE
HIM) PRESIDENT.
- 6- HER SON SALAM MUSTAFA REJOINED THE ARMY
AND COMPLETED HIS SERVICES. AT PRESENT HE IS A
COMMANDO IN SADDAM'S TROOPS AND A MEMBER
OF PRO-GOVERNMENT KURDISTAN REVOLUTIONARY
PARTY IN KIRKUK.

EXEMPT US FROM THE DEPORTATION ORDER, IN
ORDER TO GRANT US A CHANCE TO SERVE OUR
LOVELY COUNTRY AND IT'S GREAT LEADER.
PLEASE ACCEPT MY SINCERE GREETINGS AND
GREAT RESPECT, SIR,

CITIZEN,
HALAWE YASEEN FATAH
RESIDENT OF IMAM KASIM 2 OF KIRKUK
HOUSE NUMBER, 4/261

The third letter comes from the Party Chief in response to the
Kurdish lady' request, who had changed her nationality to avoid
the oppression of the barbaric regime, that showed no mercy to
widows and fatherless children. The party chief is asking for
her expulsion not for humanitarian reasons or because of her
rights as a citizen, but because she had corrected her nationality.
Here is the full text:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE
MOST MERCIFUL

THE ARAB SOCIALIST BA'ATH PARTY
THE REGION OF IRAQ
KIRKUK BRANCH HEADQUARTER

REF: 19/ 8054
DATE: 26TH AUGUST 2000

HOUSING ARAB TRIBES THROUGH THE ARABIZATION PROGRAM

Bringing Arab tribes to Kurdistan and accommodating them in the southern parts of Kurdistan was nothing new. The Ottoman Ruler, Medhat Pasha, had done the same thing when he was the 'Wali' (Governor) of the Baghdad Vilayet.

Turkish rule in Iraq came to an end after their humiliating defeat in the First World War. Iraq fell under the Mandate of the British. In 1921, an Arab government was established in Baghdad. The British authorities then helped Sunni Arabs to maintain power for half a century. In the beginning, southern Kurdistan was not included in Iraq but influential British companies had always had an eye on the oil fields of Kurdistan especially in Kirkuk and Khanakin. Initially, southern Kurdistan was known as the Mosul 'Vilayet' (region) and was under the authority of the then weak Turkish government. In 1925, the British could annex this Vilayet to Iraq as well. Big promises concerning autonomous rule, free elections and opportunity for self-determination were given to the Kurds; but none of them were fulfilled. Instead, Kurdistan became a colony of both Britain and the Arabs!

The British intelligence services had long gathered information about the mineral resources of Kurdistan. The richness of oil resources was the main reason for them choosing Iraq in the carve-up of the Middle East after their and France' victory in the Great War. However, British occupiers could win neither the hearts nor minds of the Shiite Arabs and the Kurds. The only pro-British sect was the Sunni Arabs who comprised less than one quarter of the Iraqi population. The Sunni Arabs were rewarded by being granted the kingdom and the rule of the country. The majority of Arab tribes were Sunni Muslim, and

7- THE FAMILY HAS RATION CARD NUMBER 47938.

8- SHE CORRECTED HER NATIONALITY TO BECOME AN ARAB IN 1998.

PLEASE STUDY HER CASE AND CANCEL THE EXPULSION ORDER DUE TO THE ABOVE MENTIONED ADVANTAGES.

PLEASE ACCEPT OUR GREETING.

REMAIN FOR THE HARD WORK.

PLEASE FIND HERE ALONG WITH LETTER HER REQUEST.

COMRADE ATTIA SHINDACH
THE SECRETARY OF THE BRANCH
26TH AUG 2000

Authorities in Baghdad wouldn't dare to do such a thing unless they were being given the green light from Western powers. They simply took advantage of what their British masters had done some decades previously. All of these crimes were carried out in front of Western intelligent services, and satellite and AWAC monitoring. One important reason why Saddam Hussein was able to keep the Superpowers quiet was that he could play out the favored tune of attacking their shared enemy, the Shiites!

Arabization policy had seen different ups and downs, but those 35 years of Ba'athist rule (1968 to 2003) were characterized by extremity and the vilest human rights violations. Indeed, the longer they had in power the more inventive they became in pursuing this terrible policy. It seems that 80 years of experience had qualified the Arab chauvinist as professional tyrants.

It's worth relating again the stages of Kirkuk' arabization in the 20th century:

1- Kirkuk' occupation by the British Army in 1918 wasn't to protect anyone in the region but to ensure the exploitation of economic resources at the expense of the city' people. To achieve such a prospect, normal human values were set aside.

2- In early 1920s, Bedouin and Arab tribes were urged by Britain and Sunni Arab rulers to move to the Western parts of Kirkuk Governorate. This is how the campaign of peaceful arabization started.

3- In 1929, the British commander of the Iraqi Army Division in Kirkuk sent a report to his bosses in Baghdad telling them

they too were rewarded by being able to settled down in the rich grassland of Kurdistan. In return, these Bedouins gave their support to the central government of Baghdad, enlisted their sons in the army and gave their votes to pro-British candidates in parliamentary elections.

From 1921 to the fall of Saddam Hussein in 2003, dozens of Governmental Cabinet were in power and almost all of them, in one way or another, oppressed the Kurds and the Shiite Arabs; both of whom were subject to mass killing and extermination. There were no plans for (Sunni) arabization in the South but there was a similar campaign executed by Saddam Hussein's gang as most of the Shiite Muslims, although Arab, were considered of Iranian origin. Therefore they were expelled to Iran. They were treated in disgusting ways, families deprived of their men were forcibly gathered at midnight to be taken and thrown out of the country, to the other side of the border. Many women told horrible stories of rape. This happened at the same time as their husbands and brothers were serving in the army, fighting Iran, whom Saddam called the 'the Persian enemy.'

So mass deportation of Arabs also happened in the south of Iraq. Marsh Arabs were forced out of their traditional living places, their water sources were dried up and their sources of living were destroyed. Humanitarian and ecological disasters resulted from these insane measures. Al-Garraf River was erased from the face of the earth just because it was irrigating the land of those poor Shiite Arabs.

Despite this, the Kurds suffered the worst. They had no powerful kinsmen in the surrounding countries capable of supporting them. Kurdistan had seen arabization of her land, and the original inhabitants both Kurds and Turkmen were expelled to make rooms for aliens.

expelled need to be resettled to their own places, and they must be allowed to reclaim their land and resume an honorable life in a tranquil atmosphere.

The wrongdoing of Saddam Hussein' regime raised the situation to a level of genocide and others similar categories of crimes against humanity. For this reason, the subject must be studied at schools and universities, both here in Iraq and abroad. Lessons have to be learned from all the aspects of these crimes: how they came to power, who supplied them with intellectual information and weapons (including the weapons of mass destruction), etc.

As we have seen, Saddam Hussein received strong moral support from the Superpowers because they either turned a blind eye to his crimes or they even justified his crimes. In some cases, the responsibility for Saddam' crimes was deliberately laid on others; such as with the bombardment of Halabja with poisoned gases, they accused the neighboring country of being responsible for that crime. So this fact must be recorded in history: without the efforts of that neighboring country, the tragedy of Halabja would never have been publicized worldwide nor without their medical and humanitarian relief, the figure of 5,000 victims would have been much higher!

It is very unfair to leave criminals to do whatever they want in their own countries just because the criminals serve a very narrow set of interests of others. The whole world is responsible when any such case concerns the whole human race, our being humans and our ecology. Those permitted to execute a crime against an innocent child will do exactly the same against others in the world given a suitable chance.

that the number of Arabs sent to Kirkuk was insufficient to arabize the city. The campaign, although secret, needed to be accelerated. (Unfortunately, neither the original text of this report, nor the reply mentioning 'acceleration' are available at the time of publishing this book.)

4- The Ba'ath party staged a military coup in Baghdad in 1963; although it only held power for a few months, it inflicted a lot of damage on Kurdistan - starting with the demolishing of Kurdish villages near Kirkuk and turning them into Arab settlements, and thus the arabization process found a new turning point.

5- To the greatest misfortune of Kurds, the Ba'ath party returned to power in 1968 and started one of the bloodiest campaigns against the peaceful Kurdish people. The campaigns included: ethnic cleansing, expulsion of Kurds, giving Kurdish houses, lands and work positions to resettled Arabs, arabizing Kirkuk and any several other Kurdish towns, forcing Kurds and other non-Arabs to give up their own ethnicity and become Arabs, forging the civil status of Kurdish citizens to deny them their votes in their Kurdish cities and towns, and of course, changing the demography of Kurdistan.

The amount of the damage hitting Kurdistan would need much more intensive study and subsequent publishing in book form. The Ba'ath party was indeed skilful in producing the most up-to-date models of violating human rights, executing war crimes, torturing people, cleansing communities and groups, and destroying the environment. All of this damage needs repairing. The environment needs cleaning and the elimination of all harmful elements. The tormented people need psychological and social treatment, the victims need rehabilitation and financial compensation, the homeless and the

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE
MOST MERCIFUL

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

THE PRESIDENCY

THE MEMBER OF REVOLUTIONARY
COMMAMD COUNCIL

THE VICE PRESIDENT

TAHA YASEEN RAMADAN

THE COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH/ THE SECRETARIAT

REF: 20/ 1046

DATE: 28TH AUGUST 1995.

TO/ THE GOVERNOR ANG THE HEAD OF THE
SECURITY COMMITTEE IN KIRKUK
SUBJECT: PLAN OF SETTLING DOWN TRIBESS

THE VICE PRESIDENT- THE HEAD OF THE
NORTHERN COMMITTEE FAVORS TO DO THE
FOLLOWING:

1- ARRANGE AN ANALYSIS TO CHECK THE PROBLEMS
THAT FACE THE ACCOMMODATION OF ARAB TRIBES
IN YOUR GOVERNORATE AND PLEASE SPECIFY TO
THE (KIRKUK/ LAYLAN) AND (KIRKUK/ DUBZ) AXES.

The Ba'athist leaders, for their part, expressed openly their degrading stance to Human Rights organizations, and their corrupted values and principles. Ali Hassan Al- Majeed ('Chemical Ali') and his cousin, Saddam Hussein Al- Majeed, openly stated this in front of several international correspondents.

Here are the last two documents of Part Two of the Ethnic Cleansing in Kirkuk. The are both about the arabization of Kirkuk Governorate. The first, comes again from the Presidency Bureau where Taha Yaseen Ramadan, in his capacity as a Vice-President of Iraq, headed a special committee for the affairs of arabizing the north of the country. The letter is sent to the Governor of Kirkuk in 1995, carrying the signature of the secretary of the committee, asking him to make a full study of how they can settle down the Arab tribes in his Governorate.

The second one is about that study made by the Governor of Kirkuk and sent back to the committee. He explains the type of problems that face the arabization process and the accommodation of tribes in forbidden areas. He also points out to the troubles being created as a result of dividing up the lands in Kirkuk.

Both men held high military rank, and both were obedient in carrying out commands of any nature. None of them had any experience concerning settlements or the accommodation of new settlers whatsoever.

The letter of the Committee indicates two new Kirkuk districts to be arabized. They are Laylan and Dubz and their surrounding villages. Let us see the texts of both documents:

THE SECOND LETTER: THE ANSWER OF THE GOVERNOR IN KIRKUK.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE
MOST MERCIFUL

REF: 5594

DATE: 16TH SEPTEMBER 1995

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH/ SECRETARY
DEPARTMENT

IN REFERENCE TO YOUR LETTER NUMBER 20/ 1046
ON 28TH AUGUST 1995, CONCERNING THE PROBLEMS
THAT FACE THE ACCOMMODATION OF ARAB TRIBES
IN PROHIBITED PLACES ALONG WITH THE
OBSTACLES IN DIVIDING THE LANDS BY THE
COMMITTEE OF THE AGRICULTURE, WE ARE
SENDING OUR REPORT ALONG WITH THE SUGGESTED
MEANS OF OVERCOMING THESE PROBLEMS,

PLEASE LOOK AT THE ATTACHED LETTER

LIEUTENANT GENERAL
MAHMOOD FAIZA HAZA'A
GOVERNOR OF KIRKUK
16TH SEPTEMBER 1995

PREPARE YOUR REMARKS ALONG WITH YOUR
PERSPECTIVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ONCE YOU ARE
READY, HIS EXCELLENCE WILL BE WILLING TO MEET
YOU AND WILL PAY A VISIT TO THE GOVERNORATE.

2- ONCE YOU STUDY THE PROBLEMS, FORWARD
YOUR SUGGESTIONS TO SOLVE ANY OBSTACLES IN
THE WAY OF FURTHER DIVIDING LANDS OF THE
TRIBES.

BE INFORMED; WORK IN A SWIFT WAY. FORWARD
YOUR PERFECT ANSWERS.

GENERAL
TARIK ZIADA SALIH

THE SECRETARY OF NORTHERN COMMITTEE
28TH AUGUST 1995

LOCAL OBSTRUCTIONS TO EACH SUGGESTED PLACE ARE AS FOLLOWS:

FIRST, DARMAN DISTRICT (KOPRY)

1- FROM THE SECURITY POINT OF VIEW, IT'S NOT SAFE AND THE MILITARY SITUATION DOES NOT ALLOW BUILDING HOUSES AND THE MOVEMENT OF CITIZENS.

2- THE DELAY OF ELECTRICITY CONDUCTION TO THE SETTLEMENTS. THE ONLY WORK DONE IS THE PROJECT OF THE NEW SETTLEMEN IN KOPRY, WHICH IS GOING TO BE FINISHED IN FORTY-FIVE DAYS.

3- THE SUM OF MONEY PLANNED FOR THE SERVICES WERE FIRST ESTIMATED ONE AND HALF YEARS AGO: THEY ARE NOT SUFFICIENT FOR TODAY'S COSTS.

4- AN OBJECTION ABOUT SOME OF THE LANDS HAS BEEN RECEIVED FROM THE DEFENCE MINISTRY. THE DEFENCE MINISTRY WAS INFORMED BY THE PRESIDENCY ON 23RD AUGUST 1995 ABOUT THE PLAN AND WAS ASKED TO NEGOTIATE THE IDEA WITH THE GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK TO REACH A QUICK AGREEMENT ON A NEW LOCATION FOR THE SETTLEMENT. THIS CAME AT A TIME WHEN THE WORK OF ARRANGING SERVICES IN THE OLD PLACE WAS CONTINUING. THESE WORKS HAD STARTED IN RESPONSE TO AN ORDER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL ON 12TH APRIL 1995. DUE TO THE REGULAR WORKS, A LARGE SUM OF MONEY HAS BEEN SPENT.

THE ENCLOSED LETTER:

THE GENERAL OBSTRUCTIONS THAT OBSTRUCT THE ACCOMMODATION OF ARAB TRIBES IN OUR GOVERNORATE:

1-THE ARAB PEASANTS CANNOT BUILD THEIR HOUSES ON THEIR OWN, THEY NEED MORTGAGES OR LOANS.

2-THE SERVICES SUCH AS ELECTRICITY, WATER SUPPLY AND ROADS AREN'T READY YET AND THE FINANCIAL SITUATION IS POOR.

3- THE NORTHERN PETROLEUM COMPANY IS NOT SATISFIED WITH LANDS CHOSEN TO ACCOMMODATE THE ARAB TRIBES, AS THESE LANDS WILL OBSTRUCT THE FIELD WORKERS OF THE COMPANY WHEN HOUSES ARE BUILT ON THEM.

4- THE DELAY IN CARRYING OUT THE ADMINISTRATION OF APPROVING THE PLANS AND DESIGNS OF VILLAGES IN THE AREA.

5- SOME MILITARY UNITS IN THE AREA ARE NOT HAPPY WITH THE LANDS THAT ARE PLANNED TO BE USED FOR AGRICULTURE PURPOSES, OR TO BE USED FOR SETTLMENTS, OR FOR CONSTRUCTING VILLAGES ON THEM.

FIRSTLY, FOR DARMAN DISTRICT:

1- WE SUGGEST TO POSTPONE THE HOUSNG PROCESS AT THE PRESENT TIME UNTIL THE SECURITY OF THE REGION IS STABLIZED, AS WE HAVE IT AT KOPRY. IF THIS SUGGESTION IS REFUSED THEN IT WOULD BE BETTER TO SPECIFY ENOUGH MONEY TO GIVE THE FARMERS MORTGAGES AND LOANS TO BUILD THEIR HOUSES.

SUCH A SUGGESTION WAS FORWADED FROM OUR PLANNING DEPARTMEN ON 3RD AUGUST 1995. THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY WAS ASKED TO PROVIDE ENOUGH CONSTRUCTING MATERIALS TO ENABLE THE FARMERS TO BUILD THEIR HOUSES AT THE SOONEST POSSIBILITY.

2- INCREASING THE SPECIFIED AMOUNTS OF MONEY TO COVER ALL THE CONSTRUCTION WORKS. ON 25TH JULY WE FORWARDED THE SAME SUGGESION.

3- IT IS ALSO SUGGESTED TO KEEP THE DARMAN SETTLEMENT WHICH IS REJECTED BY THE DEFENSE MINISTRY AS IT IS SITUATED ON THE HIGH WAY, NOT MILITARY ROUTES AND HAS NO EFFECTS ON THE ARMY UNITS THERE.

4- ORDERING THE MINSTERY OF INDUSTRY TO PROVIDE THE SETTLEMENTS WITH ELECTRICTY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

SECONDLY, FOR DUBZ DISTRICT:

5- THE PEASANTS LACK LEVERAGE AND POWER TO BUILD HOUSES ON THEIR OWN.

SECOND, THE DUBZ DISTRICT;

1- THE NORTHERN PETROLEUM COMPANY IS CRITICAL ABOUT THE CHOSEN PLACES FOR BUILDING HOUSES FOR THE SHAMAR AND BANI-TAMIM TRIBES IN THE KUDS TOWN. THEY JUSTIFY THEIR OBJECTION TO THESE PROJECTS BY SAYING THAT THERE ARE OIL FIELDS IN THE NEAR-BY SULAMAN, BACHSHAN, SEWKUJAN AND SHAHL TOWNS. THEREFORE, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RESIDENTIAL SETTLEMENTS WILL NOT BE SAFE.

2- SEVERAL UNITS OF THE FIFTH ARMY ARE ENCAMPED IN THE KUDS DISTRICT; THIS MAKES THE ACCOMMODATION OF THE SHAMAR TRIBES RATHER DIFFICULT.

THIRD, THE LAYLAN DISTRICT;

THERE ARE NO OBSTRUCTIONS AT THE PRESENT TIME, THE PLAN CAN GO AHEAD.

FOURTH, THE CENTER OF KIRKUK CITY;
THERE ARE NO OBSTRUCTIONS AT THE PRESENT TIME.

SUGGESTIONS THAT LEAD TO ACCOMMODATING ARAB TRIBES IN THE GOVERNORATE OF KIRKUK

IT IS BOTH DESTINY AND IRONY TO FIND THE PEOPLE OF ONE OF THE MOST PROSOEROUS AND CIVILIZED CITIES OF MESOPOTAMIA, KIRKUK, EXPOSED TO THE OPRESSION AND DESPOTISM OF ONE OF THE MOST TYRANNICAL REGIMES OF HISTORY, THE REGIME OF SADDAM HUSSEIN. IN ADDITION, TO SEE THAT, ALMOST A DECADE AFTER HIS FALL, THIS UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE OF KIRKUK ARE STILL LIVING IN MISERY!

1- WE AGREE WITH THE SUGGESTION OF THE MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL RISKS.

2- DISCUSSING MATTERS WITH THE COMMANDER OF THE FIFTH ARMY TO EVACUATE THE KUDS DISTRICT IN ORDER TO ACCOMMODATE ARAB SHAMAR TRIBES IN THEIR LOCATIONS.

THIRDLY, FOR THE LAYLAN DISTRICT:
NO SUGGESTIONS AT PRESENT

FOURTHLY, FOR THE CENTER OF KIRKUK:

1- ORDERING THE COMMITTEE TO SPECIFY LANDS BELONGING TO THE STATE / MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS TO ENDORSE THEIR APPROVAL ON THE PLANS AND DESIGNS TO ACCELERATE THE HOUSING PROJECTS.

2- DISCUSSION WITH HEAD-QUARTERS CONCERNING THE ABID FORCES IN THE AREA: THEY SHOULD SEND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES TO SET A PLAN FOR SPECIFYING PLACES SUITABLE FOR HOUSING FOR THE ARABS WHO SHOULD USE THE LANDS FOR AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS NEAR THEIR HOMES.

مجلس قيادة الثورة
نائب الرئيس

(سري و شخصي)

الرفيق محمد يونس الاحمد المحتسرم
عضو قيادة كتل العراق/ مموزل تنظيمات
محافظة صلاح الدين والتأمين والمليمانية
النسبة وزير الزراعة المحتسرم
المرزوق منافسة صلاح الدين المحتسرم

م/ الاراضى الزراعية في قضاء الطوز

حصلت موافقة السيد الرئيس القائد (حفظه الله) على ما جاء بمقتراحات اللجنة الخاصة بتوزيع الأراضي الزراعية في قضاء البسوس مع ملاحظة التعديلات التي أقر بها سيادته (حفظه الله) والمثبتة على أصول الحاضر المرفق بها.

لذلك يسر بالإنشاء والتشريع مايلي:

... مع التذرع.

انحرافات:

استاذ (معلم) :

مسند احمد بن حنبل

المندوب الرئيس مجلس قيادة الثورة

فرضت انفسه

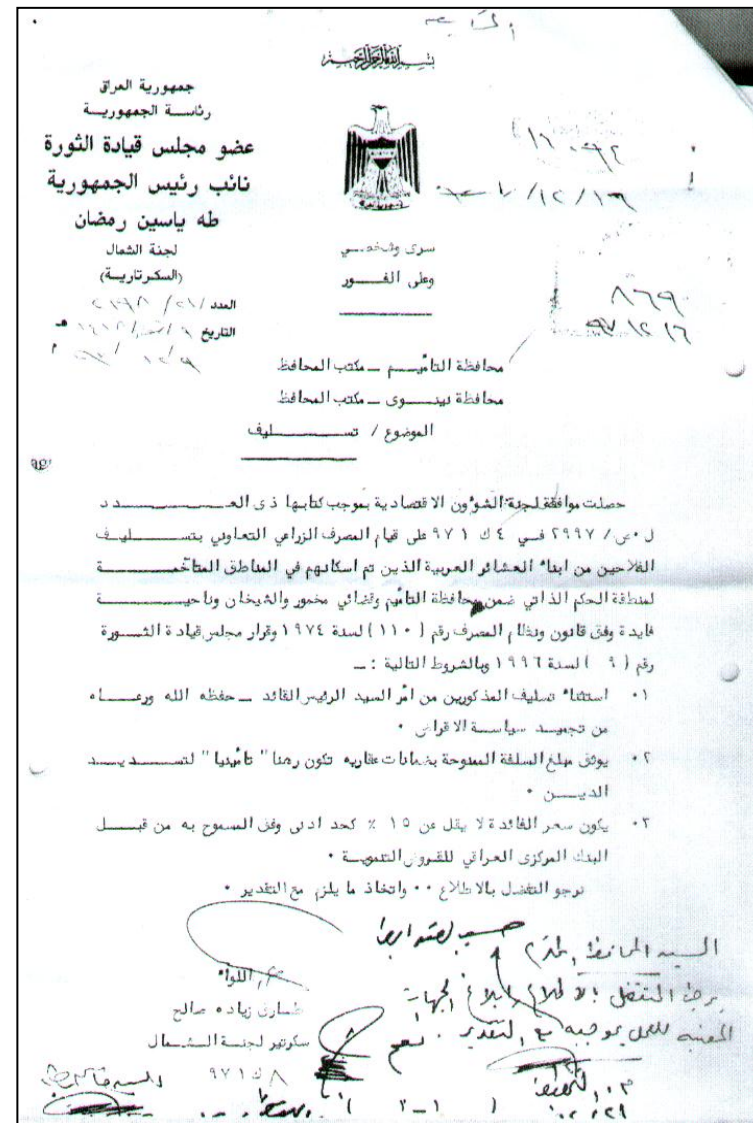
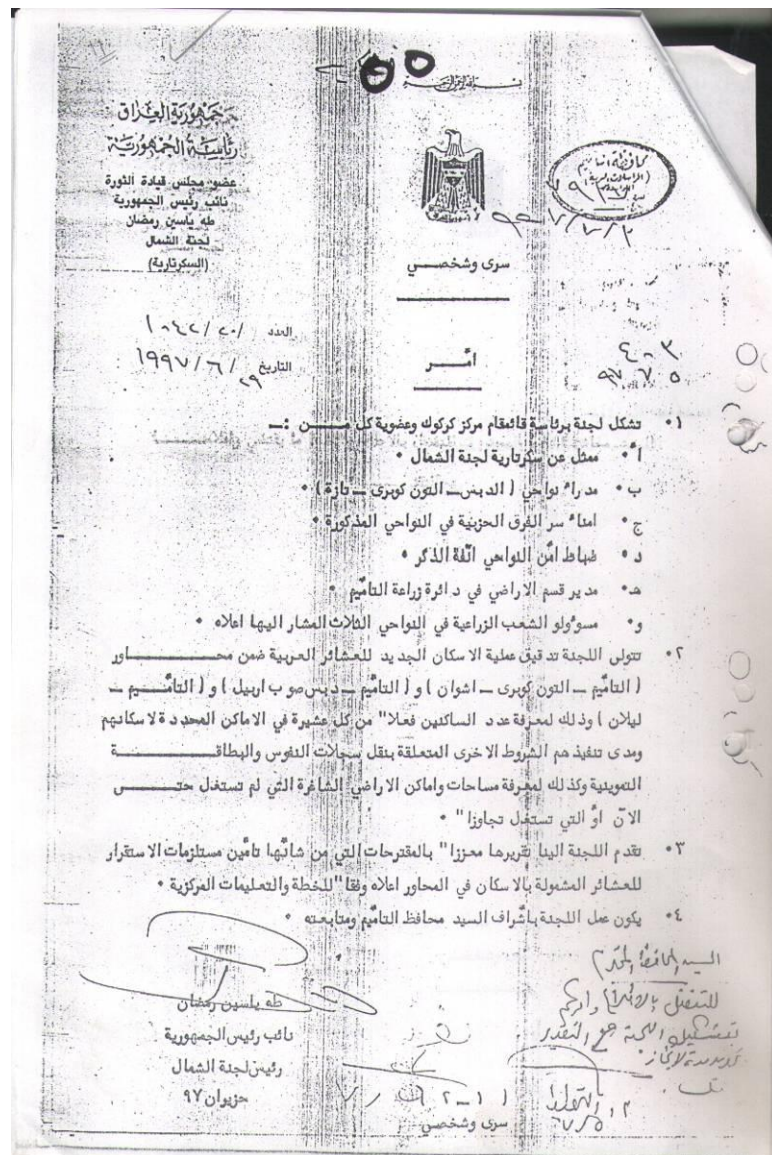
الأمين العام
الوزير العام

المسألة الأولى في بيان ما هو المشيئة



لا تخاف ما يدرك ربي الامر المذكر بجاي

This part of the Ethnic Cleansing of Kirkuk is number nine in a series of books written about the crimes of Saddam Hussein's regime against the Kurds of Iraq. These books are still too small to cover the wide Encyclopedia of Saddam's criminology. Therefore, we have still a lot to do and we are determined to continue, and hope that other writers will work with us on our unfinished projects.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
سري للغاية

محافظة التأميم
مديرية الشؤون الداخلية
شعبة المعلومات السكانية
العدد / ١١١١
التاريخ / ٢٠٠١/٦/١٠

الى / قيادة فرع كركوك للحزب القائد
قيادة فرع التأميم للحزب القائد
قيادة فرع ابو عبيدة عامر بن الجراح للحزب القائد
م / تعميم

استنادا الى ما جاء بكتاب مجلس قيادة الثورة / مكتب نائب الرئيس سري للغاية وشخصي وعلى الفور ١٤٤ في ٢٠٠١/٦/٩ . تقرر الاتي:

يسمح لساكبي الحزام الامني من المستفيدين من قرار مجلس قيادة الثورة المرقم ٤٢ لسنة ١٩٨٦ ببيع دورهم في كركوك على ان يستثمروا المبلغ في تطوير زراعتهم وسكنهم في الحزام الامني وتنتظر كل حالة على حدة من قبل الفريق الركن صلاح عبود والسيد محافظ التأميم والفريق امين سر الفرع المعني .
يرجى التفضل بالاطلاع . مع التقدير .

الفريق الركن
قيس عبد الرزاق محمد جواد
محافظ التأميم
٢٠٠١/٦/١٨

نسخة الى /
مجلس قيادة الثورة / مكتب نائب الرئيس كتابكم اعلاه . يرجى التفضل بالاطلاع . مع التقدير .
الفريق عضو قيادة قطر العراق مسؤول تنظيمات محافظتي نينوى والتأميم . يرجى التفضل بالاطلاع . مع التقدير .
المراسلات السرية /
مكتب الاسكان / لاتخاذ ما يقتضي
التسجيل العقاري /

سري للغاية

جمهورية العراق
رئاسة الجمهورية
عضو مجلس قيادة الثورة
نائب رئيس الجمهورية
طه ياسين رمضان
لجنة الشمال
(السكرتارية)

١٠٢٦٩١٧
٧/٩/١١
سري

العدد ١٤١٥/٢٠
التاريخ ١٩٩٧/٨/١١

وزارة الداخلية - مكتب الوزير
الموضوع / نقل قيود واحوال مدنية

الحاقا " بكتابنا السري ذي العدد ٨٨٥ / ٢٠ فـ في ١ حزيران ٩٧
وجه السيد نائب رئيس الجمهورية - رئيس لجنة الشمال
نقل قيود وسجلات الاحوال المدنية للمواطنين المصريين المتجسدين بالجلسية
العراقية المدرجة اسماءهم في القائمة المرفقة (طيا) التي تبدأ بالتسلسل
(١) هداوى احمد العزاوي وتنتهي بالتسلسل (١٦) عبد المحسن
مصطفى عبد المحسن من المحافظات المؤشرة ازا اسماءهم الى محافظـ
التأميم .
يرجى التفضل بالاطلاع . واتخاذ ما يلزم واعلامنا مع التقدير .

المرفقات
(١) قائمة

اللواء
طارق زياده صالح
سكرتير لجنة الشمال
٩٧ آب ٦

نسخة منه الى :-
السيد محافظ التأميم المحترم - نشيركم الى كتابنا ١٤١٦ في ٦/٨/١٩٩٧ بـ
التفضل بالاطلاع واتخاذ ما يلزم . مع التقدير .
السيد (١ - ١)
سري
بفضل بالاطلاع واتخاذ ما يلزم
بالتنسيق مع ما جاء في
مع التقدير

العدد ٤١٥/٢٠١
التاريخ ٩٦/٢/٢١

جمهورية العراق
رئاسة الجمهورية
عضو مجلس قيادة الثورة
نائب رئيس الجمهورية
طه ياسين رمضان
لجنة الشمال
(السكرتارية)

السيد محافظ التأميم المحترم
م / الوكالات والاجازات

كتابكم ذي العدد ٢٢٠٩ في ١٩/٣/١٩٩٦

تقرر الاتي :-

١- تستثنى عوائل الشهداء والرفاق الحزبيين من التركمان من سكة محافظتكم من التعليمات الواردة في كتابنا ٦٣٢ في ١٩٩٣/٨/٣

٢- لا مانع من منح المواطنين التركمان العاملين في القطاع الخاص من سكة محافظتكم اجازات ممارسة المهن التالية : (فتح المقاهي - المخابز أو الافران التجارية - كتاب العرائس - الفنادق - صالونات الحلاقة للسيدات)

للتفضل بالاطلاع والعمل بموجبه مع التقدير.

بصل بموجب التوجيهات
اعده

طه ياسين رمضان
نائب رئيس الجمهورية
رئيس لجنة الشمال

العدد ٢٠١/٢٠١
التاريخ ٥١/٢/٩٦

جمهورية العراق
رئاسة الجمهورية
لجنة قيادة الثورة
نائب رئيس الجمهورية
طه ياسين رمضان
لجنة الشمال
(السكرتارية)

السيد محافظ التأميم
الموضوع / بيد ان رامي

كتابكم المراسلات السريه ١٢٦٦١ / ١٢ في ١٣ / ٩٥١٣
والحافا " بكتابنا السري للغاية وشخصي ١١٣٣ / ٢٠ في ١١٣ / ٩٥١٣
اطلع السيد نائب رئيس الجمهورية (رئيس لجنة الشمال) على ماورد بكتابكم
اعلاه وقد حصلت موافقه سيادته على مقترحكم بشأن اشراك المستأجرين
السابقين من التركمان (حصرا) اضافته الى من هم من القوميه الحزبيه
بالمزايده الحليه لتأجير الصالات العائده ملكيتها للدولة وعدم السماح
لاى من القوميات الاخرى الدخول في مثل هذه المزايدهات .
نرجو الاطلاع والعمل بموجبه مع التقدير .

السيد محافظ التأميم

طارق زياده صالح
سكرتير لجنة الشمال
٩٥١٣

فهم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
باسم الله تعالى
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

رقم ١١٩٤٤
بناء على ما جاء بقرار مجلس محافظة التاميم
الرقم (٥٥) في ٢-٣-١٩٧٦ .
لترتيب تعديل أسماء القرى المدرجة أدناه التابعة
لناحية قره حسن بمحافظة التاميم : بالأسماء المبينة
أزاء كل منها : -

وزير الداخلية
الاسم الجديد

الرموك
النصر
جده
القاداد
السراري
سنياء
الوليد
المتنبي
الكندي
الخنساء
القادسية
أبو محجن الثقفي

الاسم القديم

١ - شرنجة بولاق
٢ - زندانه
٣ - يارمجه
٤ - قره لسو
٥ - صاري تبه كبير
٦ - صاري تبه صغير
٧ - صاري تبه يونس
٨ - رجببات عليا
٩ - رجببات سفلى
١٠ - طوقما قلو
١١ - ترجيبيل
١٢ - بنجه علي

الوقائع العراقية عدد ٢٥٢٠ ١٩٧٦/٣/٢٩

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
جمهورية العراق
محافظة التاميم
شعبة المعلومات المكاتب
العدد / ١١٨
التاريخ / ٢٠٠١ / ٢ / ٢٠

الى / مديرية الضجيل العقارى - التاميم
الموضوع / شريط احصائي

لسمنا عدم قيامكم بمطالبة العرب الوافدين وأبنائهم
بالشريط الاحصائي عند مراجعتكم بخصوص معاملاتهم .
لا تخاد ما يقتضي وأمرنا .

اللحق الركن
تمس يد الرزاق محمد جواد
محافظ التاميم
٢٠٠١ / ٢ / ٢٠

لمعه الى

مدير الامكان / لفن الغريز املاه
المعاملات السرية / لفن الغريز املاه

(١ - ١)

سرى وشخصي

مراسيم جمهورية

رقم ٦٠/٨

استنادا الى احكام المادة الخامسة من قانون
المحافظات رقم (١٥٩) لسنة ١٩٦٩ المعدل ، وبناء على
معارضه وزير الداخلية .

رسمنا بها هوأت :-

- ١ - فك ارتباط قضائي جمجل وكلا من محافظة
كركوك ، والحاقيما بمحافطة السليمانية .
- ٢ - فك ارتباط قضاء كفري من محافظة كركوك ،
والحاقي بمحافطة ديالى .

على وزير الداخلية تنفيذ هذا المرسوم .

كتب ببغداد في اليوم الثاني من شهر ذي القعدة
سنة ١٣٩٥ المصادف لليوم السادس من شهر تشرين
الثاني سنة ١٩٧٥ .

احمد حسن البكر
رئيس الجمهورية

بمجلس العراقية عدد ٣٥٠٣ ١٩٧٥/١٢/١٥

رقم ٩٤٥

الى احكام الفقرة (٢) من المادة الثانية
من الدستور الموقت .

مجلس قيادة الثورة بجلسته المنعقدة
السنة ١٩٧٦ مائلي :-

الفقرة (٢) من قرار مجلس قيادة الثورة (٢٢٦)
السنة ١٩٧٥ ، ويحل محلها ما يأتي :-

١- لا يجوز اجراء المعاملات التصرفية على
المرصات المذكورة ، الا عند اكمال
تشيد دار عليها ومضى مدة لا تقل عن
عشر سنوات من تاريخ اكمال البناء
ووجود ضرورة قصوى تجيزها محافظة
التأميم ، ويستثنى من ذلك معاملات
الانتقال او الرهن لدى المصرف
المقاري ، ويمتنع على الكتاب المعدول
التصديق على اي عقد او اتفاق يتعلق
بنقل ملكية العرصة او الدار المنشأ
عليها او ترتيب اي حق عيني على اي
منهما ، وتعتبر العقود او الاتفاقات
التي تبرم خلافا لذلك باطلة ، ولا يعتد
بها .

٢- مائلي الى نهاية الفقرة (٥) من قرار المجلس
الى اعلاه المدة بموجب القرار (١٣٨١)

السنة ١٩٧٥-١٢-٢٢ :-

٣- بحري التسليف ، وفقا للضوابط
والقواعد والاسس المصرفية المعمول بها
في محافظة التأميم .

٤- منح اجازة البناء للمشموين باحكام
قرار (٢٢٦) في ١٩٧٥-٢-٢٢ ، وتعديله

في (١٣٨١) في ١٩٧٥-١٢-٢٠ ، ان يتم نقل
م. وافراد عوائلهم ، الى سجلات الاحوال

في محافظة التأميم .

٥- الوزراء المختصون تنفيذ هذا القرار .

احمد حسن البكر
رئيس مجلس قيادة الثورة

١٩٧٦/٩/١٣

عدد ٢٥٤٨

رقم القرار : ١٩٩
تاريخ القرار : ١٨/ جمادى الآخرة / ١٤٢٢ هـ
٢٠٠١/٩/٦

نظرا لوجود حالات موروثة في سجلات فترة الحكم العثماني للعراق ومن أجل إعطاء العراقي حق اختيار قوميته ... وانسجاما مع مبادئ حزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي في أن العربي هو من عاش في الوطن العربي وتكلم اللغة العربية واختار العروبة قومية له ، واستنادا إلى أحكام الفقرة (١) من المادة الثانية والأربعين من الدستور ،

قرر مجلس قيادة الثورة بما يأتي :

أولا - لكل عراقي أمم الثامنة عشرة من العمر الحق في طلب تغيير قوميته إلى القومية العربية .

ثانيا - يقدم طلب تغيير القومية إلى دائرة الجنسية والأحوال المدنية المسجل فيها الشخص .

ثالثا - يبت مدير الجنسية والأحوال المدنية في المحافظة في الطلب خلال (٦٠) ستين يوما من تاريخ تقديمه .

رابعا - يثبت قرار تغيير القومية في السجل المدني ، ويتخذ أساسا لتعديل جميع السجلات والوثائق الرسمية الأخرى .

خامسا - يصدر وزير الداخلية تعليمات لتسهيل تنفيذ أحكام هذا القرار .

سادسا - ينفذ هذا القرار من تاريخ نشره في الجريدة الرسمية .

صدام حسين
رئيس مجلس قيادة الثورة

الوفائع العراقية - العدد ٣٨٩٦ - ٢٠٠١/٩/١٧

٩١

المعلومات السكائية

جمهورية العراق
رئاسة الجمهورية
عضو مجلس قيادة الثورة
نائب رئيس الجمهورية
عبد ياسين رمضان
لجنة الشمال
(السكرتارية)

سري للغاية وشخصي

١٩٢ / ٤٧
١٩٨٨ / ١ / ٢٢

ال / السيد محافظ التأميم العبد
/ نقل قيد نفوس
=====

كاتبكم السري للغاية (شعبة المعلومات السكائية)

١٣٨٦ في ١٣٢١ ٠٩٧

نسب السيد نائب رئيس الجمهورية (رئيس لجنة الشمال) - السيد
الموافقة على نقل قيد أي مواطن من محافظات الحكم الذاتي
إلى محافظكم مطلقا ولا يبرى أي طلب بهذا الصدد .
يرجى التفضل بالإطلاع واتخاذ مايقضي ٠٠٠ من التقدير *

السيد المحافظ
تفضل بالإطلاع . معكم احترام
الطلب من السيد ...


طاهر زاده مال
سكرتير له الش ... مال
٩٨ ٢ ٢٢

سري للغاية وشخصي
=====

١٩٨٨ / ١ / ٢٢

This part of the Ethnic Cleansing of Kirkuk is number nine in a series of books written about the crimes of Saddam Hussein's regime against the Kurds of Iraq. These books are still too small to cover the wide Encyclopedia of Saddam's criminology. Therefore, we have still a lot to do and we are determined to continue, and hope that other writers will work with us on our unfinished projects.

جمهورية العراق
رئاسة الجمهورية
عضو مجلس قيادة الثورة
نائب رئيس الجمهورية
طه ياسين رمضان
لجنة الشمال
(السكرتارية)



١٠٤٦/٩٠١
١٩٩٥/٨/٨
٩٩٥/٩٠٧

السيد محافظ التأميم رئيس اللجنة الامنية المحترم

م / خطة اسكان العشائر

نسب السيد نائب رئيس الجمهورية - رئيس لجنة الشمال
قيامكم بما يأتي :-

- ١- دراسة المعوقات التي تعترض تنفيذ خطة اسكان العشائر الحربية في محافظتي واسييا بما في ذلك مواقع التجمعات السكنية المقرر انشاؤها في محوري كركوك - ليلان وكركوك - ديس مع تهئية المقترحات والبيانات التي تساهم في الاسراع في تنفيذ الخطة اعلام النشاشها معكم عند زيارة سيادته للمحافظة
- ٢- دراسة السبلات التي رافقت عمل ان تزيح الاراضي الزراعية على العشائر الحربية وتزودنا بمقرر بانكم بمعالجتها .

يرجى الاطلاع واتخاذ مايلزم واعلامنا ... مع التقدير

طارق زيادة مالح
سكرتير لجنة الشمال
٩٥٥٨

قديمي معلومات لاهله يوم توفيتي في براسه نايك لمأخذ حقوقها من
اليه المنة المدة ٢٠٠٠ ووزير الزراعة ووزير الزراعة
للتعويض بالاحصاء دارتم في التقييم لعمليكم الدراسة لاهله من ايام ايتيا ٩١٩
احالة المرحوم في مكتب المعلومات لمتابعة الموضوع بالتسليم لاهله
في السيرة نائب المحافظ (السكرتير) محمد لاهله