

IRAQ, TURKMENS AND KIRKUK AFTER BRITISH
OCCUPATION IN 1918



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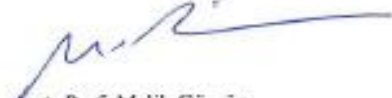


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PLAGIARISM

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Esra YILDIZ



ABSTRACT

Across the world, there are very few communities that have lost their sovereignty and rights in a region and become minority by constitution in less than a hundred years. Evaluating the history of the world from past to present, it can be observed that many communities started to claim their rights and establish their countries after the French revolution.

The Iraqi Turkmen are one of the rare communities in history who lost their rights in a short time since they completed their identity formation processes late. Another reason for losing their rights in such a short time is that they reside in a geography that harbors conflicts of interest among great powers of the world. By the late 19th century, the majority of the population in Kirkuk and Mosul consisted of the Turkmen who adopted the principle of living peacefully with minorities in the society. Nevertheless, they began to lose their constitutional rights as of the 20th century due to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the eastern policies of the Great Britain and the United States. And today, they are accepted only in minority status in the current Iraqi Constitution.

This postgraduate thesis will elaborate on how Kirkuk and the Turkmen have suffered losses in terms of their constitutional rights since the beginning of the 20th century. In addition, answers of the following questions will be sought: What kind of foreign policies were followed by Turkey in this process with regard to the Turkmen and Kirkuk? At what stage did the Kirkuk Turkmen suffer loss of rights? What was the situation of the Turkmen in the region as the Iraqi governments had changed over time?

Key Words: Turkmen, Turkey, Iraq, Kirkuk

ÖZET

Dünya üzerinde yüzyıldan az bir sürede bir bölgede mevcut hâkimiyetini ve haklarını kaybedip yapılan anayasalarda azınlık statüsüne düşen çok az topluluk mevcuttur. Geçmişten günümüze dünya tarihine bakıldığında halklar Fransız devriminden itibaren buldukları coğrafyada hak sahibi olmaya başlamış ve kendi ülkelerini kurmuşlardır.

Irak Türkmenleri, gerek kimlik oluşum sürecini geç tamamladıklarından gerekse buldukları coğrafyanın büyük güçlerin çıkar çatışmalarının yaşandığı bir bölge olması dolayısıyla mevcut haklarını kısa sürede kaybeden tarihteki nadir topluluklardan birisidir. 19. Yüzyılın sonlarında Kerkük ve Musulda hakim unsur olan çoğunluk nüfusu elinde bulunduran ve diğer azınlıklar ile birlikte barış içinde yaşamayı düstur edinmiş olan Türkmenler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun çökmesi, Birleşik Krallığın ve ABD'nin doğu politikaları gereği 20. Yüzyıldan itibaren anayasal haklarını kaybetmeye başlamışlar ve günümüz Irak Anayasasında ise sadece azınlık statüsünde kabul görmektedirler.

Bu yüksek lisans tezinde Kerkük ve Türkmenlerin 20. Yüzyılın başlangıcından itibaren nasıl sorunlar yaşadıkları detaylı olarak incelenecektir. Bununla birlikte şu sorulara cevap aranacaktır: Irak Türkmenlerinin sorunları ve çıkış yolları nelerdir? Türk dış politikası bu süreç boyunca Türkmenler ve Kerkük ile ilgili nasıl politikalar gerçekleştirmiştir? Değişen Irak yönetimlerinde Türkmenlerin durumu ne olmuştur?

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkmenler, Türkiye, Irak, Kerkük

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, the Turkmen living in Kirkuk are the only community that lost their sovereignty rights most rapidly without emigrating from their geography. Nonetheless, the Turkmen did not leave their lands and continued to live in the same geography.

The Turkmen are a part of Iraqi people. As a result of the policies implemented by the great powers in the region after World War I, the Turkmen were systematically exposed to violence, forced migration pressure and racist policies. As a consequence, many the Turkmen villages were evacuated while land registry deeds were destroyed, and civil registries were changed.

Dominating the region after World War I, the Great Britain basically aimed to remove the Turkmen from the administration and destroy or conceal their records in order to show their number less than the actual. Furthermore, the Great Britain built cooperation with Arabs during World War I and as a result, developed common policies against the Ottoman Empire. It is only natural that the Great Britain advises Arabs to follow policies to dominate and assimilate Turkmen. Although the Turkmen population was higher particularly in the Mosul and Kirkuk regions – which were rich in oil resources – before the invasion of Brits according to the existing records, various policies were implemented to conceal their civil registry and show their number lower than actual in order to pose an image that the Turkmen were minority in the region.

With the end of the British mandate in Iraq, the Turkmen became one of the groups that advocated the territorial integrity of Iraq and took the clearest attitude on this issue. Yet, they did not engage in armed struggle against the changing government and

tried to gain their rights through peaceful means. On the other hand, the changing Iraqi governments continued to implement the policies of the British against Turkmen. Although certain rights were granted to the Turkmen from time to time in line with Turkey's demands, those rights were taken back by the unstable Iraqi governments in a short period of time.

Even though the Iraqi governments systematically exerted pressure on Turkmen, the Turkmen did not pursue armed struggle. Claiming their rights through democratic means, the Turkmen could have a voice in the changing governments.

When Saddam Hussein came to power in 1979, the Turkmen felt the effects of Arabization as the basic policy pursued by Iraq. During the Iran-Iraq War and the Kuwait War waged by Saddam to pay off the debts of the former war, the pressure on Iraqi the Turkmen increased and they were subject to forced migration and their leaders were executed.

In 1995, the Turkmen in the region managed to organize for the first in real terms and established the Iraqi the Turkmen Front by the support of Turkey. The Iraqi Turkmen obtained the opportunity to raise their voice against their suffering in the international field after the establishment of the Iraqi Turkmen Front by the help of Turkey as Turkey started to generate policies regarding the Turkmen in the region.

Following the USA invasion of Iraq in 2003 the Turkmen had to carry the headquarters of the Iraqi the Turkmen Front (ITF) to Kirkuk in order to be able to take their position in the new political conjuncture. Nevertheless, the Turkmen lost the majority of their rights due to the changing governments and the repercussions of this

political instability. Although they firmly rejected the enforcement of 2005 Constitution, they were removed from the administration and their status was lowered to minority by this constitution.

Despite their suffering, the Turkmen did not pursue armed struggle except when they had to use arms for safety of life and their families. In this regard, they stand out as the most peaceful group living in Iraqi territory. Their status was lowered from administrative partner to minority in a century. However, the Turkmen still claim their rights peacefully through democratic means.

In this vein, the first chapter of the thesis consists of a theoretical infrastructure based on realism and theory of international relations. Realism is elaborated as the best approach to explicate the subject matter. Indeed, realism is a substantial theory in explaining the situation of Iraqi the Turkmen as its structure is based on interests, accepting states as the basic actors in the international system, prioritizes the concept of security, applies the self-help methodology and attributes great importance to the concept of power. Therefore, the sub-titles of this chapter will be state, interest, power and system for further elaboration.

The second chapter of the thesis will dwell upon background information pertaining to Iraq and the situation of the Turkmen during World War I within the framework of the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

The third chapter of the thesis will focus on Iraqi governments starting from the period of British Mandate until the end of Saddam's term. Peculiar characteristics of each period will be evaluated in detail together with the changes taking place in these periods.

The fourth chapter of the thesis will include analysis of the situation of the Turkmen and the changes they have undergone over time. This chapter will primarily start with the definition of Turkmen. In reference to the previous chapters, the problems that the Turkmen have encountered will be scrutinized in this chapter as well.

The fifth chapter will give space to the perspective towards the Turkmen in Turkish Foreign Policy and the relevant policies developed by Turkey. Turkish Foreign Policy will be examined in detail in terms of the states in the region, power, interest and the overall system.

Finally, in the conclusion of the thesis, the following questions will be answered: What kind of policies were developed within the framework of Turkish Foreign Policy with regard to the Turkmen and the Kirkuk region? At what stage did the Kirkuk Turkmen suffer loss of rights? What was the situation of the Turkmen in the region as the Iraqi governments had changed over time?

The objective of this thesis was to analyze the challenges and loss of rights that the Iraqi Turkmen suffered as of the early 20th century in details. Regional policies of great powers demonstrate that the realist theory is the best approach to describe the developments. Therefore, this theory will be benefited in this dissertation. Indeed, realism, which is based on the concepts of interest, state, security and power, stands out as the best policy to reveal the situation of Iraq and the Turkmen as well as the Turkish foreign policy. Thus, the realist doctrine and realist international relations theories will be benefited in-depth.

The hypotheses of this theses are determined as follows: The Iraqi Turkmen had lost their status every time the Iraqi administration changed from 1925 to 2005. In addition, they had lost their rights gradually with every amended constitution from the 1925 Constitution to the 2005 Constitution.

Within this framework, the case study method will be used as the principal research method. The reason for choosing this research method is that it provides the opportunity to obtain detailed information about the subject matter as well as in-depth analysis. At the same time, the case study approach will be supported by several interviews conducted with the Iraqi Turkmen Front leaders and political figures who have active roles in the region.

CHAPTER I

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The emergence of international relations as a concept corresponds to the Treaty of Westphalia in the 17th century. For the first time in history, France supported the Protestants even though it was a Catholic country, putting state interests before religious concepts and Papacy policy. This approach adopted after the Enlightenment changed the destiny of Europe in many ways while concepts such as interest, and power evidently started to appear in the discipline of international relations.

In this vein, the transformation of international relations from a concept to a discipline took place at the end of World War I (Gözen, 2017, p. 67). Indeed, in the immediate aftermath of World War I – the world’s greatest destruction – the general opinion among academics and politicians was that no state would ever accept such a great destruction and loss again. In fact, this idea laid the foundation of idealism departing from the assumption that human beings are humanistic and peaceful. Yet, the collapse of this idealist approach took place in a very short time. Following the World War I, conflicts of interest began again in the world due to the expansionist and invasive approaches of Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy, paving the way for World War II.

In this regard, realism entered the literature during this same period. Realism was the opposite of idealism as this new approach rejected the overly optimistic attitude of idealism.

The clash between realism and idealism paved the way for the emergence of “The First Great Debate” in international relations. Until 1945, many of idealist authors ignored the concept of power in international relations (Osiander, 1998, p. 412). One of

the founders of idealism, Woodrow Wilson advocated the principle of open diplomacy and international institutionalization. According to this principle, states shall not make secret agreements among themselves as the League of Nations planned to implement the principle of collective security. Another role assigned to the League of Nations was the establishment of a new world order based on peace and prevention of conflicts (Kissinger, 1994, pp. 218-219).

By this means, a new approach was adopted with regard to inter-state relations, where;

- people, decision-makers and states will behave rationally,
- there will be no more wars thanks to such rational attitudes,
- League of Nations will intervene and prevent conflicts,
- actors will act rationally,
- and the practice of confidential diplomacy will come to an end.

Although this frame of mind was deemed as an approach that could be accepted and sustained by everyone when the destruction of Europe after World War I was considered, two important developments changed the overall situation: First the Great Depression of 1929 and second was the fact that Japan and Germany opposed to the existing status quo after both countries were defeated in World War I.

In this context, it is known that Germany failed to pay its debts to France and Great Britain including war damage compensations. Similarly, France and Great Britain could not pay their debts to the United States. Due to the debt burden, trade relations came to a full stop leading ultimately to the emergence of the Great Depression. With this

effect, the international economic system collapsed. Thus, the rising wave of nationalism in Germany in the face of difficulty in paying the debts combined with the desire to change the status quo and led to an increase in the sense of extreme nationalism.

With the outbreak of World War II, a new system replaced the system of the League of Nations and focused on the concept of power instead of focusing on how a system should be. This paved the way for realism to gain power in the international order.

The new system emerging after World War II:

- Attributed importance to military and economic power,
- Underlined the anarchic structure of the system,
- Revealed the fact that states were the principal actors,
- And made interests the most important concept in international relations.

The realist approach in international relations emerged and developed under these circumstances. In the aftermath of its emergence, realism has managed to protect its position as the most effective and dominant international relations theory until today. The reasons for realism to be the most effective and dominant theory of international relations are given as follows in the literature:

- The anarchic structure of the system has not changed since the beginning of realism.
- Power has maintained its importance as a concept. Even though power is divided into two categories as soft and hard power, the importance of hard power (military and economic power) still remains to be effective in the international system.

- The self-help system continues to exist today. In this regard, the United Nations and other organizations have often failed to dominate and influence states' decisions in the face of crises and conflicts.
- Although many institutions and organizations other than states have taken their places in international relations, states have still remained as the leading actors and decision-makers in the international system.
- In addition, interests remain as the most important concept for states and decision-makers. Hence, states act in accordance with their interests and consider protecting their own interests as a priority.

1.1. Realism

1.1.1. Classical Realism

Classical realism has a holistic approach to international relations. Accordingly, classical realism does not accept individuals and human beings as separate concepts from international relations. The most important theoreticians of classical realism are:

- Thucydides,
- Niccolò Machiavelli,
- Thomas Hobbes,
- Carl von Clausewitz,
- Edward H. Carr,
- and Hans J. Morgenthau.

1.1.1.1. *Thucydides*

Thucydides was a General who fought on the side of Athens during the Athens-Sparta Wars. He was charged with defending the city of Amphipolis during the wars, yet he failed and was exiled. Upon this development, he wrote his book, *Peloponnesian War*. According to Thucydides, the main reason for this war was the rapid strengthening of Athens and consequently this development spread fear in Sparta. When explaining the 29-year War, Thucydides emphasized the balance of power, alliances, power, interests and decision-makers' approaches. In the book chapter referred to as the *Melian Dialogue*, Thucydides explicated the concept of power in detail and uttered the following words pertaining to the concept of power on behalf of Melosians: "*Since you know as well as we do the right, as the world goes, is only in question between equal power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must*" (Thucydides, 1951, p. 331).

This dialogue was one of the first conceptual thinking structures regarding state behaviors in relation to power dynamics and formed the foundations of classical realism.

1.1.1.2. *Niccolò Machiavelli*

The author of the book *Prince*, Machiavelli brought a different perspective to the concept of power as well as the understanding of administration. In his book, Machiavelli advised executives as follows: "*You must know there are two ways of winning, one by the rules, and the other by force. The first method is suited to men, the second to beasts. But because the first is frequently not sufficient, it is necessary to use the second*" (Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 1532, p. 102).

As it is stated above, Machiavelli's main contribution to the realist theory is that he argued rulers could act against the morality if necessary for the survival of the state.

Furthermore, Machiavelli advocated the idea that rulers might act in violation of religious and humanitarian rules in order to rule the state (Machiavelli, 1998, pp. 59-60).

1.1.1.3. Thomas Hobbes

As the author of *Leviathan*, Hobbes conducted one of the most comprehensive works of his period regarding power, state and politics. Hobbes described the pre-state political system as a state of nature uttering that human life is short, savage and selfish (Hobbes, 1998, p. 84).

In order to get rid of this situation, he mentioned that people transferred certain rights. He defined the mechanism to which those rights were transferred as a gigantic underwater monster – Leviathan (Hobbes, 1998, p. 95).

Hobbes' main contribution to the international relations approach was in his arguments that the international environment was anarchic, the actors were in competition and the actors in international relations lived in distrust (Hobbes, 1998, pp. 83-84).

The book *On War*, written by Carl von Clausewitz, a Prussian general, is one of the cornerstones of modern strategy. In his analysis of the nature of war, Clausewitz claimed that war was a part of politics, and played a leading role for the writers of the realist school (Clausewitz, 2007, p. 28). At the same time, Clausewitz advocated the idea that wars break out due to political reasons (Clausewitz, 2007, p. 28).

I E. H. Carr is considered as the pioneering figure in the acceptance of international relations as a discipline after World War I and his works contributed in realism's gaining its basic dynamics. Another reason for Carr's acceptance as one of the leading realists is that he was one of the forerunning realists who were involved in the

conflict between realism and idealism known as the great debate. According to Carr, the reason for the outbreak of the World War II was the utopian understanding of World War I that neglected interests (Carr, 1981, p. xi). Carr argued that countries pursuing their own interests caused the outbreak of World War I as a result of this negligence of interests. Stating that the idealist-liberal tradition with utopian ideas failed to maintain the status quo in international relations, Carr strongly criticized these policies (Carr, 1981, pp. 22-94).

One of the most important authors in the institutionalization of realism, Hans J. Morgenthau defined six principles of realism and these principles are as follows (Morgenthau, 1985, pp. 4-12);

1. Political origins are governed by objective laws that derive from the human nature.
2. The main sign that helps political realism find its way into the international political realm is the concept of interest defined in terms of power.
3. The concept of interest, defined as power, which is the key concept of realism, is a universally valid objective category.
4. In political realism, there is awareness of the moral significance of political action.
5. Political realism refuses to identify the moral laws governing the universe with the moral aspirations of a nation.
6. Realism believes in the autonomy of the political sphere.

1.1.2. Structural Realism

In structural realism, the fundamental system of international relations is scrutinized departing from the structure of the system. Within this framework, this theory assumes that the structure of the international system is the main element that shapes international systems. The most important theorists of structural realism are:

- Kenneth Waltz
- and John Mearsheimer.

1.1.2.1. *Kenneth Waltz*

Waltz's outstanding work, *Theory of International Politics* dwells upon the structure of the international system. There are 3 elements that define this structure:

- The international structure is self-regulating. In this vein, there is no set of rules or power to regulate this structure.
- Units have different structures, tasks and functions.
- Distribution of capabilities between units is also of great importance (Waltz, 1979, pp. 78-88).

According to Waltz, what is defined as an international system arises from the interests and behaviors of states. In this anarchic structure, the primary purpose of states is to survive. Even though states fundamentally aim to survive in this system, there are many other goals besides this goal. Nevertheless, the basic prerequisite for achieving these goals is survival within the anarchic structure (Waltz, 1979, pp. 81-90).

1.1.2.2. *John J. Mearsheimer*

In his analyses, Mearsheimer largely referred to a power-oriented structure in his theory. In this line, his theory suggested that the main purpose of the state is to have power within the international system. Mearsheimer put forward five basic assumptions about realism:

- The international system is anarchic.
- Great powers have a number of aggressive military capabilities by their very nature.
- States can never be sure of the intentions of other states.
- The ultimate purpose of the great states is to survive.
- Great powers are rational actors. (Mearsheimer, 2007, pp. 30-33).

As a result of this approach, new concepts emerged in Mearsheimer's realist understanding. Accordingly:

- Since there is not any system to assist states, the self-help system is valid in the international system.
- States fear each other and this fear forms the basis of inter-state relations.
- States must be strong in order to survive.

1.1.3. Main Elements of Realism

There are common elements of realism that apply to all sorts of realist assumptions including the classical and structural realism. These elements compose the foundations of the realist perspective towards international relations. These elements are:

- Power

- System
- System
- Interdependence

1.1.3.1. Power

Power is the most basic concept for realists. Yet, power does not have a common definition among realists despite being the basic concept. Within this context, two different definitions emerged. According to the first definition, power is the sum of state capacities including military, economic, diplomatic, technological and cultural capacities. In the second definition, it is propounded that the above-mentioned capacities are not sufficient on their own and it is necessary to define power according to other states and particularly competitors. In this regard, if a state's relative power is above than the power of another state, that state has the capacity to impose the weaker state to realize its wishes. This concept of relative power, which will be elaborated in the next chapters, formed the basis of Turkish foreign policy for many years. Indeed, Turkish foreign policy has long been shaped by policies derived as a result of comparing the exiting Turkish power and capacity with other actors in the international system as a requirement of the realist world.

However, it is not right to measure the power of states only by their capacity. As a matter of fact, whether states are willing to use this capacity is another point to consider. One of the most outstanding and rightful achievements of Turkish foreign policy, the Cyprus Peace Operation is a good example that can be pointed out to advocate this argument. In this sense, Turkey completed the Cyprus Peace Operation despite the opposition of the USSR and the US, the capacity of which were significantly higher than

Turkey. Realizing that these two countries were unwilling to use their capacity in preventing the operation, Turkey intervened in Cyprus with the right granted by international law.

When defining the concept of power, it can be observed that there are two major approaches in the literature taking long-term and short-term power as basis. In this sense, power is often defined and measured by short and long-term elements. Accordingly, short-term elements are accepted and economic and military capacities, while long-term elements are conducts accepted by the international community such as values, traditions, political culture and democracy (Pevehouse & Goldstein, 2017, pp. 41-42).

1.1.3.2. System

According to the realist assumption, the international system is in anarchic structure. Anarchic system refers to absence of an authority that regulates the system (Bull, 1977). States are ranked according to their power within the anarchic structure of international relations and their influence is also determined by their relative power.

Another reflection of the anarchic structure of the international system on states is the need for states – as the main actors – to have sufficient power in order to avoid the control or domination by others (Aydın, 2004, p. 39).

Realists argue that the structure and validity of the system are universal as well. In this case, realists claim that their view is not periodic but permanent (Aydın, 2004, p. 41).

Realists further argue that states are the dominant actors within the system and non-state actors are of secondary importance. Therefore, the main decision-makers who influence the system are deemed as states by realists (Bull, 1977).

Consequently, the realist theory underscores that states need to continuously increase their power due to the anarchic structure of the system in international relations. Increasing state power is thus essential for their survival in the international system.

1.1.3.3. Interest

According to realism, one of the most important concepts in international relations is the concept of interest. In this sense, states observe and endeavor to increase their interests and act in accordance with their critical interests. And the most important way for states to protect their interests is to increase their power (Gönlübol, 1978, p. 4).

The realist theory departs from the idea that humans are selfish by nature. In this line, realists argue that individuals act with ambition of power and rule. Realists assume that states act on the same basis and pursue ways to maximize their interests (Beitz, 1979, pp. 15-27).

In this context, nation-states act in accordance with their interests and thus determine their foreign policies based on their goal to maximize their interests in the international field. Hence, it can be fairly uttered that states determine their moves in international relations on the basis of their interests.

1.1.3.4. Interdependence

Although the concept of interdependence is defined within the framework of the theme of liberal theory, it is also used in realist theory, yet with a different meaning. Indeed, realists consider that interdependence is only possible between two or more states. Moreover, realism tends to explain interdependence within the framework of

balance of power. Hence, realists predominantly believe that the structure formed to establish balance of power paves the way for interdependence.

Looking from the perspective of this definition, international dependence is in fact resulting from the structure where weaker states are vulnerable against more powerful states while these weaker states often fail to have a voice or express their opinion. In other words, this type of relationship which is defined as interdependence or international dependence is a hierarchical relationship between the more powerful and weaker actor (Viotti & Kauppi, 2012).

1.1.4. Interpretation of Realism

Realism has maintained its position since World War II as the dominant theory in the literature of international relations. Although many theories such as constructivism, English school, feminism, critical theory and economic structuralism have taken their place in the literature, realism still maintains its place in the field of international relations.

The main reason why realism maintains its position as the dominant theory in international relations is that it provides a comprehensive explanation to the concepts of power and interest which are the basic elements of relations between states. Even though the view that states' foreign policies are determined on the basis of these two concepts is criticized by other opposing views, it can be propounded that this view provides comprehensive explanation to various state actions.

At the same time, realism has maintained its validity almost from 1945 on in reference to the anarchic structure of the international system. In this regard, although the

United Nations established after World War II took more active role than the League of Nations, it have not been able to restrain states within the anarchic international system¹.

In the same line, the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the definition created in response to the balance of powers approach within the anarchic structure of the international system is still valid. This approach, which can be defined as interdependence or international dependence, is in fact the relationship between powerful and relatively less powerful states.

In the light of these explanations, it can be deduced that state realism is shaped around 4 elements:

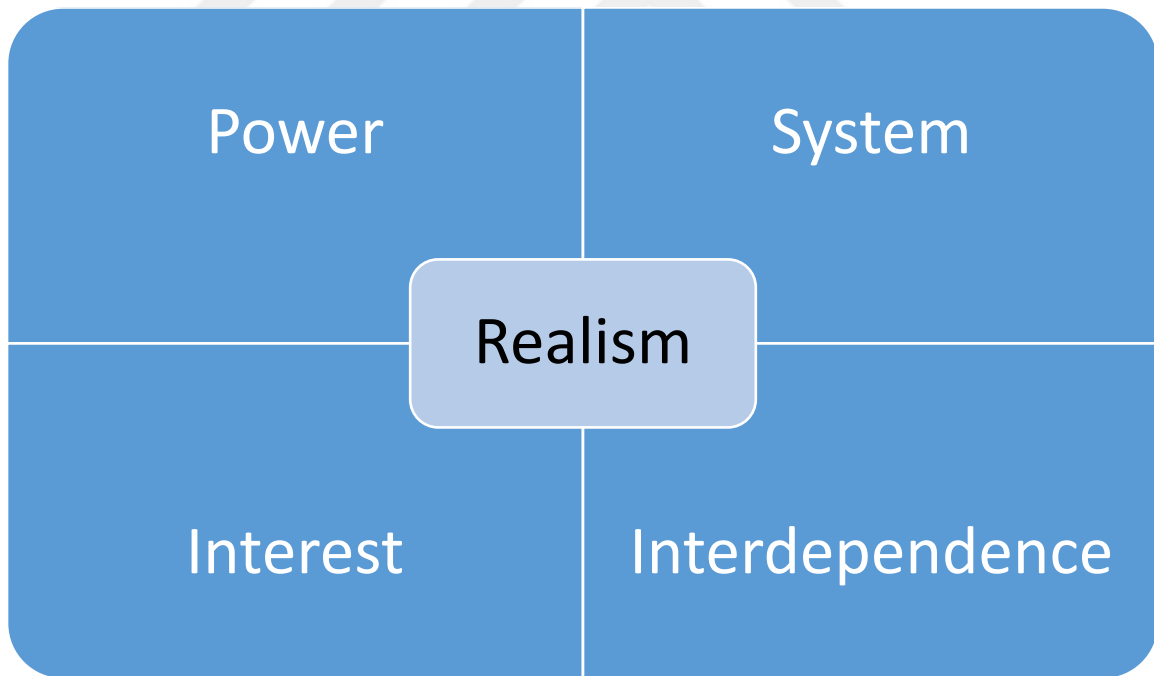


Figure 1: Realism and Its Key Themes

¹ For instance, although the United Nations took several resolutions to stop the Israeli-Palestine conflict and prevent Israel from advancing its occupation, the result did not change.

CHAPTER II

2. IRAQ'S HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Throughout history, Iraq has experienced stability only under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Arabs who betrayed the Ottoman Empire before and during World War I always dreamed of establishing an independent state in the region.

In fact, Arabs acted together with the British as of the beginning of the war. Mecca Commander Sharif Hussein offered the British his military help against the Ottomans in return for establishing a state in the entire Arabian peninsula and handing over the control of that state to Arabs together with transferring the caliphate from Ottomans to Arabs. In return, Arabs stated that they would recognize and accept the British control and sovereignty over Basra and Baghdad.

With the Paris Treaty signed in 1856, the Ottoman Empire was considered a European state and its territory was guaranteed by Great Britain. In light of this information, it is known that Great Britain did not want the division of the Ottoman Empire from 1856 to World War I since territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire was in its own interest. However, the outbreak of the war changed the attitude of Great Britain as the Ottoman and the British sided in different camps in World War I. Hence, the treaty between the two states was annulled as well.

Although Great Britain removed the Ottoman lands from its guarantee prior to World War I, no agreement could be reached between the allied states on the dissolution of the Ottoman state. Despite the fact that there was disagreement among the allied states pertaining to their regions of influence, the opening of a new front in the Dardanelles brought this issue back to the agenda. Russia thought that it would lose its control over

the straits and the Balkans, which the federation accepted as its domain, when a new front was to be opened in the Dardanelles. Thus, Russia demanded the straits to be handed over to its own control. Against the risk of an alliance between Russia and the central powers World War I, Great Britain announced that they would fulfill the wished of Russia on condition that the British aspirations on the Ottoman lands would be respected. In addition, France accepted the Russian demands provided that Mersin, Adana and Antep provinces were handed over to France. Upon these secret negotiations, Istanbul Agreement was signed among the relevant states and the straits, the Sea of Marmara, southern Thrace, the region up to the Gulf of Izmit, Imbros and Tenedos were left to Russia. In this line, Russia accepted to leave the relevant regions to Great Britain and France and recognize the independence of the Arab country that was to be established.

Despite the wrong expectations and strategies of Lemon Von Sanders in the Dardanelles War, Mustafa Kemal determined the right place to initiate attacks by undertaking all the responsibility and managed the Ottoman army with great achievements. As a result, the allied powers suffered from a great defeat and offered Greece İzmir and its surrounding region on condition that Greece joined their side in the war and fought against the Ottoman. With the London Treaty signed with Italy, Great Britain also committed to recognize Greece's future occupation in the Dodecanes and Tripoli. In addition, it was decided to give certain lands from the Mediterranean region to Italy. In return, Italy agreed to side with the Allies in the war.

After these agreements, Great Britain requested a representative from France to share the remaining region of Anatolia. For the purpose of mutual negotiations and treaties, the former France appointed François Georges Picot, former French consul in

Beirut, and Great Britain appointed Sir Mark Sykes, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The parties agreed on the following articles as result of the agreement.

- Britain abandoned the proposal of Beirut to be included in the Arab state to be established in Syria, and France abandoned its desire to make Palestine a part of Syria.
- France renounced its claim that the region was under its sovereignty and agreed to establish an international regime in Palestine and give the region extending from Basra to Palestine to the control and sovereignty of Britain.
- Britain approved the French take-over of Syria's coastal region and Cilicia, as well as leaving the region extending to the Iranian border to French influence.
- In exchange for giving up the claim on Kirkuk, France took over the lands between France, Aladağ, Kayseri, Akdağ, Yıldızdağ, Zara, Eğin and Harput.
- Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Muş, Siirt and Trabzon were left to Russia in exchange for ratification of the secret agreement. Thus, Russia agreed to share Syria and Mesopotamia between Britain and France (Küçük, 2019).

Although the status of Mosul Province was shaped by the Sykes Picot Agreement, it was Ottoman territory when World War I ended. According to Article 7 of the Mondros Armistice Agreement, Britain demanded the evacuation of Mosul claiming that Christians were massacred in the region. Although Ali İhsan Sabis Pasha, the commander of the

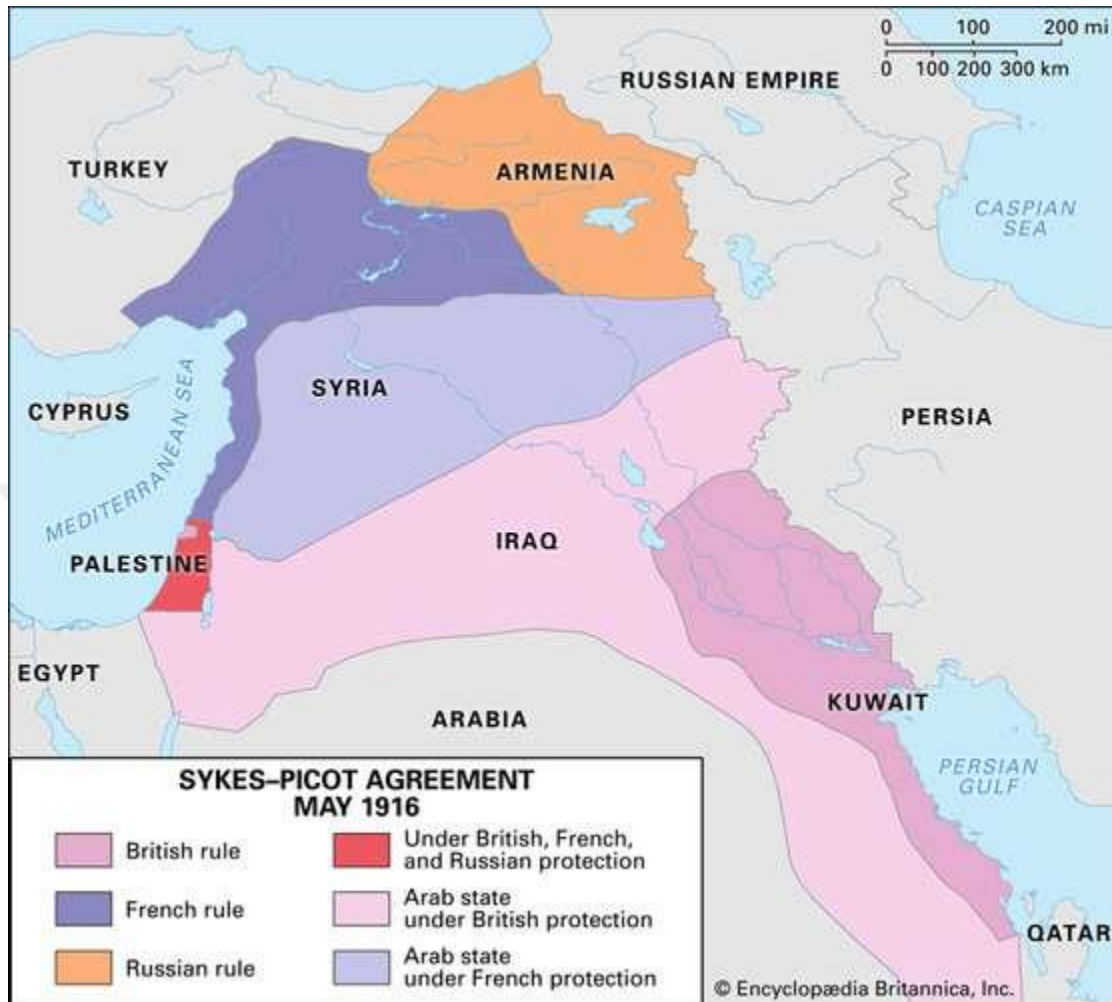
province, rejected this demand, he withdrew to Nusaybin from Mosul with the order from Istanbul and the British occupied Mosul on November 15, 1918, completing the operation they started on November 3, 1918 (Kılıç S. , 2008, p. 320).

Within this framework, the Mosul province and thus the position of Kirkuk are critical. Even though Mosul and Kirkuk were Turkish territories at the end of the war, Britain created sort of an unlawful de facto situation in order not to give up its ambitions on the regional oil and occupied the Mosul Province.

Although the British occupied Mosul on November 15, they could not establish their dominance over the region for a long time. As a matter of fact, the Turkmen living in the region rejected the British rule and supported the National Struggle with the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on April 23, 1920. In reciprocity, the British took the Nestorians and Assyrians under their protection while France mobilized Armenians against the local Ottoman community (Kemal, 2007, p. 665). Further, the British also bombarded the local people.

As a result of the success of the National Struggle, the Mosul Issue was discussed in Lausanne and the negotiations were taken forward since it could not be reconciled.

Figure 2: Sykes-picot Agreement Map



(Zeidan, 2018)

2.1. The Period of Mandate and Kingdom (1920-1958)

Mosul and Kirkuk were still Ottoman lands when the Ottoman Empire signed the Mondros Agreement. This geography, mostly inhabited by Turkmen, was occupied on

the basis of Article 7 of the Mondros Agreement. Mostly inhabited by Turkmens, this geography was occupied on the basis of Article 7² of the Mondros Agreement.

The northern part of Iraq was under French control as a result of the Sykes-Picot Agreement. France gave up its claims in Mosul in return for the complete withdrawal of Britain from Syria at the San Remo conference held in 1920 in order to ensure the control of Syria along with this region.

Britain made its final decision on Iraq after the conference held in Cairo. According to this decision by Britain, a constitutional monarchy was to be established in the kingdom of Amir Faisal who was a member of the Hashimi family in Iraq (Öke, 1991, pp. 32-33).

On the other hand, there is ambiguity and confusion with regard to the province of Mosul today. Indeed, the province of Mosul was used to refer to modern Mosul, Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah regions during that period. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, the Turkish Grand National Assembly was closely involved with the issue of Mosul. As a matter of fact, the Turkish Grand National Assembly aspired to add Mosul to Turkish territory after the invasion of the region following the Mosul Agreement as this region was included in the Turkish National Pact.

The British asserted the following arguments in order to object to annexation of Mosul to Turkish territory:

² The Allies had the right to occupy a strategic point in the event of any threat to their security.

- In response to the Turkish side's plebiscite demands during the Treaty of Lausanne, the British opposed this demand by claiming that local people living in the region did not know what plebiscite meant.
- Great Britain also stated that they guaranteed the territorial integrity of Iraq by signing the Anglo-Iraq Treaty in 1922 (Wilks, 2016, pp. 342-350).
- Another thesis of Great Britain in this regard was almost the same as the reason put forward for the Ottoman Empire since the Imperial Edict of Gülhane: Since the Imperial Edict of Gülhane, foreign states always used Christian minorities as an excuse whenever they wanted to interfere in Ottoman internal affairs. During this period, the British put forward the same excuse and asserted that they would not abandon Mosul to protect the Christian minority (Kaymaz, 2003, pp. 274-276).
- When Mosul was taken out of the Ottoman rule, it was claimed that the actual war continued since there was not any peace treaty signed yet. On the other hand, the British claimed that Mosul was invaded based on the authority derived from the Mondros Agreement.
- The British further considered control of Mosul by Turks as a threat to the security of the Iraqi government established within Ahmed Faisal's kingdom.

On the other hand, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) purported the following arguments in contrast to the above-given British arguments:

- The population of Mosul was over 500,000 and the majority of this population was composed of Turks and then Kurds. The Arab population in the region was very small.
- The occupation of Mosul was carried out after the Armistice of Mondros and this occupation had no legitimate basis. Since Arabs were a minority in the region, it was wrong for Mosul to be ruled by Arabs.
- Mosul had been under the control of Turks since the Seljuk State (11th century).
- The aim of protecting the Arab and Christian minority was unfounded. Turks had been living together with Arabs and Christians for a long time without any problem.

Following the Lausanne Conference, Britain applied to the Turkish government in October 1923 and stated that it would like to start bilateral talks with regard to the Mosul issue. Yet, both parties presented similar arguments after the bilateral talks started. A different offer came from Turkey, though: Turkey suggested giving a share from the oil resources in the region to Britain. However, to take the issue to the League of Nations, the British further demanded Hakkari from the Turkish to protect the rights of Nestorians as well. It was not possible for Turkey to accept this and thus, the conference started on May 19, 1924 and ended on June 5 (Uzgel & Kürkçüoğlu, 2013, p. 263).

With regard to the issue of Mosul taken to the League of Nations, Turkey demanded a plebiscite while the British demanded that a commission be established by arguing that this was a border issue and that the plebiscite was not possible as the local

people were uneducated (Uzgel & Kürkçüoğlu, 2013, p. 263). Upon this development, a commission was established, and that commission took the following decisions:

- The country would remain under the mandate of the League of Nations for 25 years.
- To ensure justice, Kurdish officers would be appointed to schools.
- In case autonomy was not granted to the Kurds when the mandate ended, the local people would prefer Turks instead of Arabs. Since Turkey's situation was better than Iraq, it would be necessary to hand over the region to Turkey.
- If it was decided to divide the region, the Small Zap river would constitute the border. Mosul would remain in the Turkish territory while Kirkuk would be left to Iraq (Uzgel & Kürkçüoğlu, 2013, p. 264).

Even though Turkey first stated that it did not recognize the decision of the League of Nations, Turkish authorities later requested negotiations with Britain in order to finalize the solution of the Mosul issue. As a result of these negotiations, the treaty was signed in 1926. The Treaty consisted of 3 chapters: Borders, good relations with neighbors and general provisions. According to this treaty, it was decided to pay royalty³ to Turkey for 25 years. However, Turkey received 3.5 million pounds in this period although it was supposed to be paid 29.52 million pounds (Uluğbay, 2003).

On the other hand, on July 4, 1920, a general uprising was initiated, and the British administration took several steps to suppress the incidents. Despite the measures taken, the uprising in Rumeysa could not be suppressed. Later, the two-week uprising

³ 10 percent share.

was suppressed in Rumeyse, however, the uprisings spread to other cities of Iraq. The uprisings started in the Kizlarbat and Hanelin regions, which were predominantly populated by Turks, and continued until August 14.

Later, the Turkmen who opposed the British rule were organized in Talafar. Gathering in Talafar with the decision to revolt, the Turkmen clashed with the British upon the raid on the British barracks. The British administration then set out to prepare a great force to suppress the rebellion.

When the British administration entered the city, they destroyed many houses and set food stores on fire. Later, the leaders of the Turkmen who had returned to Talafar were arrested, tortured and exiled.

The Turkmen living in Mosul province opposed British occupation and domination during the period as well. On the other hand, the British developed a project after the uprising to establish a kingdom in Iraq and bring Emir Faisal, son of Sharif Hussein to the kingdom. Opposing to Turkey's demand of plebiscite on the grounds that people in the region were uneducated, the British later made a plebiscite on Emir Faisal's kingdom.

As a result of the plebiscite, the Turkish provinces Mosul, Kirkuk, Sulaymaniyah and Erbil voted against Emir Faisal. Indeed, the largest reaction broke out in Kirkuk among these provinces. The Kirkuk Turks stated that Emir Faisal would not be allowed to have sovereignty over Turkish territories. However, on August 28, 1921, the British declared Emir Faisal the King of Iraq, claiming that the result of the popular vote provided legitimacy to his kingdom.

The plebiscite of 1921 and the opposition of the Turks in many ways changed the fate of the Turks. The British army started to provoke the Turks in Kirkuk as the British soldiers regularly exerted pressure on Turkish artisans and craftsmen.

After Emir Faisal became the king, the British provided support to spread Arab nationalism in the region. In this vein, Arabization of the education system was one of the first steps taken. Furthermore, Emir Faisal decided to form an army with a Sunni Arab perspective and started to work in this direction. Kurds and Shiites living in Iraq, as well as the Turks, opposed this attitude and did not join the army.

Iraq became an independent member of the League of Nations with the end of the Mandate regime in 1932. During this period, Iraq continued to face difficulty as it could not fully achieve internal stability due to the Sunni-Shiite conflicts. In the same period, the security problem, bringing together many countries on the same ground as the common denominator, emerged with the occupation of Ethiopia by Italy. The countries of the region perceived a threat against themselves upon the occupation of Ethiopia.

In line with the Turkish foreign policy built on the basis of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's principle of "Peace at Home, Peace in the World", a pact was formed for security in the region encompassing Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. Known originally as the Covenant of Reconciliation since it was signed in Iranian Shah Reza Pahlavi's summer palace named Saadabad (Covenant of Reconciliation and Advisement signed by and among the Republic of Turkey, Iran and Iraq/Saadabad Pact, 1938) this treaty was recorded in history as the Saadabad Pact (Bilge, 2008).

When Faisal died of a heart attack in 1933, Gazi became the king. A coup under the leadership of Bekir Sıtkı took place during the reign of Ghazi who was in power for 6 years. A year after the coup in 1936, Bekir Sıtkı passed away. After his father's death in 1939, Gazi's four-year-old son, Faisal took the throne and Emir Abd'ulilah b. Ali b. Hüseyin was assigned as his guardian (Hüseyin, 2006).

In 1941, the army brought the hyper-nationalist Rashid Ali to power. In May, the British entered Baghdad and overthrew Rashid Ali, and brought Prince Abdullah to power until 1953, when Faisal would reach his maturity (Hürriyet Newspaper, 2005).

In 1955, Iraq signed the Baghdad Pact under the leadership of Turkey and the support of the USA and Britain. In this regard, Baghdad Pact aimed to form a barrier against the Soviets in the region while Turkey's efforts to take active role in the region coincided in the same period.

Three years after the signing of the Baghdad pact, General Kasim ended the monarchy in July 14, 1958 after the military coup.

Iraq followed a policy under the guidance of Britain between the years 1920-1958. During this period, the British supported Faisal in coming to rule as he was close to the British and capable of implementing British policies. Moreover, Faisal endeavored to build stability until 1933 with the support of Great Britain. Nonetheless, stability could not be ensured sufficiently after the death of Faisal, and Iraq was constantly struggling with internal disturbances.

2.2. The Republican Period (1958-1991)

This period is divided into three periods as Abdulkerim Kasim's period, Aref Brothers' period, Baath period and Saddam Hussein's period. The first period started when Abdulkerim Kasim seized power via a military coup and ended in 2003 with the USA invasion of Iraq.

On the other hand, the most unstable period for Iraq between 1920-1958 was in 1957. The government had changed 5 times in this year and the country struggled with instability to a great extent.

2.2.1. General Kasim's Period

In 1958, a coup by young officers led by Abdulkerim Kasim ended the monarchy regime in the country and the Republic was established instead. In this context, Iraq announced that it had withdrawn from the Baghdad Pact after the military coup. This was the period during which Arab nationalism began to rise again in Iraq (Daban & Daban, 2018, p. 88).

Figure 3: Military Coup against King Faisal in Iraq

News article: “*Coup d’état in Iraq*” – the Middle East in Turmoil

“Coup d’état to the Iraqi Government: King Faisal is captured by the revolutionaries. It is possible that Jordanian King, the leader of the Federal Union” will ask help from the West.

1. Announcing that the Republic of Iraq is proclaimed, Baghdad radio also reported that Abdullillah and Nuri Saif Pasha were killed by the revolutionaries.
2. The Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the new government became the Brigadier General, Kasim.
3. The government telegraphed to Nasir and announced that they proudly recognized the United Arab regime.
4. Certain tribes are responding with armed conflict as they do not recognize the new regime.



(Milliyet Newspaper, 2019)

In this context, external factors had a major impact on the road to the coup. The first external factor was the proclamation of the Republic of Egypt in 1952 by *ed-Dubbâtü'l-ahrâr* (Free Officers). The proclamation of the republic in Egypt led to the initiation of anti-monarchy movements in the Iraqi army and the organization of Free Officers was established while Abdulkerim Kasim was appointed as the head of the central committee.

Cemal Abdunlasir, who wanted to be the leader of the Arab World and deemed Iraq as one of his biggest rivals, started a campaign against the Iraqi rulers due to his involvement in the Baghdad Pact.

Furthermore, Cemal Abdunlasir advocated the unification of the Arab world under a single state and united Syria and Egypt while he called on other countries to join them.

Indeed, the process that led to the coup in Lebanon was triggered with the desire to involve Turkey and Iraq in the conflict resolution with the fear of intervention in Lebanon's internal affairs by other states. The Iraqi government decided to dispatch military troops to the west of the country. Thus, the Iraqi government decided to dispatch military troops to the west of the country. During this dispatch on July 13-14, 1958, Brigadier General Abdulkerim Kasim and Colonel Abdülislam Aref conducted a coup during their passing through Baghdad and seized the administration. As a result of the coup, King Faisal II and the royal regent Abdülillah and Prime Minister Nuri al-Said were killed. Ultimately, the leader of the coup, Abdulkerim Kasim, became the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Pursuing pro-Western policies in the Middle East, Iraq gave up these policies as a result of the coup, which caused great uneasiness in Lebanon and Jordan. Following the incident, the United States sent troops to Lebanon and Britain to Jordan. Kasim was

hesitant over the fact that there would be interventions against him, and thus he guaranteed he would not follow policies against the USA and Britain by withdrawing from the Arab League. In this context, according to the provisional constitution adopted on July 27, 1958, the State of Iraq was declared to be an independent and sovereign republic. And the first country to recognize the newly established state was the USSR.

The rulers of the coup followed a pro-Nasser policy immediately after the coup. Although it was thought that Iraq would also join the United Arab Republic as a result of this policy implemented by the effect of Arab nationalism, this expectation by Nasser did not realize. After Iraq's withdrawal from the Arab League, Abdülislam Aref, the second man after Kasim as removed from the administration on the grounds that he was in favor of joining the Arab League and the United Arab Republic. After this development, the administration began to pursue policies against Nasser (Dursun, 2001)..

This period was also the period when the communists became stronger in the country. In this regard, the rulers who adopted an anti-Nasser attitude was supported by the Soviets. Hence, the communists gained power under the rule of Kasim and their influence incremented as well (Dursun, 2001).

The dismissal of Nasser supporters by Kasim as well as the incrementing power of the communists in the country lead to a great reaction by Nasser supporters. As a consequence of this development, a revolt broke out in March 1959 in Mosul under the leadership of Colonel Abdülvehhâb eş-Şevvâf, who raised the flag of the United Arab Republic to the post of the garrison. On the other hand, demonstrations began in Baghdad against Nasser while Kasim suppressed this uprising with the support of communists. This incident caused pressure on Nasser supporters and Egyptian diplomats were deported (Dursun, 2001).

The Kirkuk Massacre also coincided with this period where the Turkmen populations were systematically destroyed and left leaderless. As a matter of fact, hundreds of the Turkmen who participated in the event organized in Kirkuk on the occasion of the first anniversary of the proclamation of the republic on July 14, 1959, were massacred by the Baath regime and the forces led by Mullah Mustafa Barzani on July 14, 1959 (Garip, Karaalp, & Baqal, 2018). To provide background for this massacre, it is known that in 1959, it was decided to organize various events in Kirkuk to celebrate the first year of the Republic and the Turkmen majority in Kirkuk aimed to participate in the celebrations. However, terrorist groups belonging to Mullah Mustafa Barzani entered Kirkuk on July 14th and led to a massacre. Terrorist groups affiliated with Barzani family who killed the Turkmen on Kirkuk streets by shouting the slogan, “Kirkuk belongs to Kurds!” particularly targeted intellectuals and military class member the Turkmen (Yeniçağ Newspaper, 2019).

As a result of the massacre, prominent the Turkmen such as Retired Colonel Ata Hayrullah, Retired Doctor Colonel İhsan Hayrullah, Kasım Neftçi, Selahattin Avcı and Abdullah Beyatlı were killed and hundreds of other the Turkmen were killed.

Figure 4: The Turkmen Leaders Martyred in the Kirkuk Massacre



(July 14, 1959, Kirkuk Massacre, 2018).

The Kasim administration did not prevent the Kirkuk Massacre and did not show the expected reaction. Furthermore, Kasim removed the communists from important posts in order to consolidate his power and dictatorship. Mullah Mustafa Barzani was not punished for the Kirkuk massacre but found more power. In this line, the Kurds revolted under the leadership of Barzani for autonomy in March 1961.

In September 1961, armed clashes began between Mullah Mustafa Barzani, who declared the establishment of an independent Kurdish state, and Kasim. In the same period, the relations between Britain, Saudi Arabia and Kasim deteriorated, while instability increased exponentially due to Kasim's policies. As a result of military and political contradictions, the coup took place on February 8, 1963 with the support of the Baath Party and Kasim was overthrown from power and executed together with those around him.

2.2.2. Aref Brothers' Period (1963-1968)

1961 was the period when General Kasim's relations with the people around him deteriorated and his administration became increasingly authoritarian. Removing first Nasser supporters and then communists from administration during his reign, Kasim started to have difficulty in controlling the situation in Iraq as a consequence of instability up to 1961.

Therefore, Iraq entered the path of destabilization together with the increasingly autocratic government. Although General Kasim parted his way from communists, he believed that there were still communists in important positions of the government. Combined with the uneasiness due to the reviving Arab nationalism, instability reached an overwhelming level in the country. As the nationalist officers in the Iraqi army were disturbed by this situation, these officers cooperated with the Baath Party and the Nasserist groups to overthrow the administration of Abdulkarim Kasim on February 8, 1963 with a military coup led by General Abdülislam Aref (Saatçi, *Tarihi Gelişim İçinde Irak'ta Türk Varlığı*, 1996, p. 225).

Abdülislam Aref was appointed as president after the coup and the executive power was granted to Council of National Revolutionist Command. In the new term, Ahmed Hasan Al-Bekr served as prime minister. Although Abdülislam Aref decided to pursue a Nasser-like policy in Iraq, he reinforced his authority after the coup (Marufoğlu, 2002, pp. 603-610).

After Abdülislam Aref came to power, prominent the Turkmen and administrators of the Turkmen Brotherhood Association visited Aref and informed him about the Kirkuk Massacre as well as the injustice and cruelty they had to endure (Demirci, 1991, pp. 25-

26). On 8 March 1963, the Turkmen met with Arif under the leadership of Ata Terzibaşı and they forwarded their demands as well (Şimşir, 2004, p. 143).

During this period, it can be said that the Turkmen were relatively more relieved. There were demands from the Iraqi government to grant autonomy to Kurds as well as the right to education in their mother tongue. The term's Turkish government inquired whether the same rights would be granted to the Turkmen as well and it was stated the same rights would be affirmatively granted to the Turkmen living in Iraq. Nevertheless, these demands have never been met (Şimşir, 2004, p. 144).

With the help of his brother Abdurrahman Aref and the Republican Guard Regiments, Abdülselem Arif strongly suppressed a pro-Nasser coup attempt in September 1965. President Abdülselem Arif died in a helicopter crash in April 1966, less than a year after the coup. Abdurrahman Arif continued this duty until 1968, when the Baath party came to power through a bloodless coup. He lived in Istanbul for 11 years until the end of the 1980s, when the overthrown leader Saddam Hussein allowed his return to London as a result of the coup. Before the invasion of Iraq in 2003, he left Iraq and settled in Jordan (Hürriyet Newspaper, 2007).

2.2.3. The Baas Period (1968-1979)

The foundations of the Iraqi Baath Party were laid by three Syrians who went to Baghdad after the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. These Syrians were:

- Feyiz İsmail
- Vasfi el-Ganim
- Süleyman el-Eysa.

Under the leadership and influence of these three Syrians, the Iraqi Baath Party was established in 1949. Based in Damascus, the Baath National Leadership⁴ also recognized the Baath Party in 1951 (Al Jazeera, 2005).

When the Iraqi Baath party was established, its members were mainly students and intellectuals. Over time, those who would be important in Iraqi politics later became members of the Baath Party. In this line, Ahmed Hassan al-Bekir and Saddam Hussein later became important figures in Iraqi politics.

On July 17, 1968, the Baath Party seized power by overthrowing Abdurrahman Arif. The leader of the coup was Ahmed Hasan al-Bekir who assumed the post of head of state after the revolution. In addition to this task, Hasan al-Bekir, who gathered the power in his hands, also assumed the presidency and chairmanship of the Revolutionary Command Council. Saddam Hussein, who was to rule Iraq for a long time, became Hasan al-Bekir's assistant.

One of his first actions after the establishment of the Baath regime was the removal of suspected persons from administrative posts. Removed previously from power after two military coups, the Baathists followed the same policy though.

Two years after the coup, membership to the Baath Party was introduced as a precondition for membership in the Revolutionary Command Council in order to ratify the single-party regime (Erenler, 2016, p. 155). After that, a single-party regime was established in Iraq and all other political parties were banned.

Within this framework, careful analysis of the leaders of the Iraqi Baath Party demonstrates kinship ties. Indeed, one of the two leaders of the coup was Saddam

⁴ The Baath doctrine is a pan-Arabist nationalism advocating only one and unified Arab nation. The foundations of this ideology were laid by Christian Michel Wallach and Muslim Salah Bitar, who grew up under the influence of French culture.

Hussein's uncle and Hasan al-Bekir's aunt's son. Thus, *Tikriti* (relatives of these two leaders) were brought to the key points (Pirinççi, 2016, s. 45).

The Baath Party imposed pressure on the opposition groups to strengthen its power (Ertuğrul, 2006, pp. 144-145). In this vein, one of the main ideologies of the Pan-Arabist party was the assimilation of minorities living in the country (Yenerer, 2004, p. 114).

2.2.4. Saddam's Period (1979-2003)

Although Saddam Hussein's ruling era should be examined under the Baath Party, his policies and the way of administration are considered as a separate since his regime is considered to rank under bossism.

Saddam Hussein was the second man when the Baath Party came to power, yet he managed to place his relatives or supporters in important positions within the party. Thanks to these appointments, he quickly gained power within the party. Born in 1937, Saddam became a member of the Baath Party at the age of 20. He was exiled following the assassination of General Kasim in 1959 and remained in exile until 1963. Despite his return to Iraq in 1963, the Baath Party again removed him from administration, and he was imprisoned. Serving in the secret organization of the Baath Party until 1968, Saddam Hussein had an important power within the Baath Party when it came to power.

In parallel to that information, Saddam followed an aggressive policy with the power given to him by Iraqi oil. In 1972, the Baath regime announced that it nationalized the Iraq Petroleum Company. In this line, the British company was nationalized, and this paved the way for a relative prosperity for Iraqi people through various economic policies and increasing the share of the Iraqi State in the wells of foreign companies.

With the revenue from the sales of oil, the society was restructured, new infrastructure and superstructure projects were implemented along with modernization and expansion of the armed forces (Stratejik Ortak, 2017). Moreover, the employment problem was solved with many new job opportunities thanks to the investments made via oil revenues. Besides, the army was modernized with weapons from the Soviets. One of the basic policies of this period was to establish industrial facilities and arms factories.

Consolidating his power in such a prosperous term, Saddam as well as those close to him were the ones who benefited the most from the wealth generated during that time. While increasing his power, Saddam removed all those he saw as a threat of opposition by means of an aggressive policy.

In this context, Saddam's fundamental priority in removing those who could oppose him was based on the fact that there were enough ammunition and weapons in the war environment. Saddam Hussein, who also established facilities for the development of chemical weapons, purchased intense weapons from western states (Daban & Daban, 2018, p. 93).

As these developments continued, the Iranian Revolution broke out and posed a great threat perception against Iraq. Iraq, the majority of which consists of Shiite, had seen this development as a major threat. With the uprisings in Najaf and Karbala, the perception of threat intensified. With the assassination attempt to Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Azize in 1980, the perception of threat was maximized, and Iran was held responsible for this attempt.

In response to the attempted assassination, Saddam Hussein executed Ayatollah Muhammad Bekir As-Sadr, the leading Shiite clergyman on April 1, 1980. In addition, the sister of Ayatollah Khomeini, whose real name was Ruhollah Moussavi Khomeini,

was arrested and killed. As a result, these incidents had broken the relations between the two countries (Gündoğan, 2011, pp. 93-99).

Upon these developments, Iranian leader Ruhollah Moussavi Khomeini asked the Shiite Iraqi people to revolt to overthrow Saddam. Saddam unilaterally terminated the Algerian Treaty due to Iraq's preparing for war for a long time and declared that the Shatt-ul Arab waterway was under Iraqi rule.

Immediately after the announcement of this unilateral termination of the treaty on the morning of September 22, 1980, the Iraqi Jets began to bombard Iran. At the same time, Iraqi Land forces entered Iranian territory from north and south and started to advance.

Saddam expected victory in a short time and this expectation was predominantly based on 3 assumptions which were:

- Saddam expected the Sunnis living in Iran to support him and participate in the war against Iran.
- He thought that the war would end quickly thanks to the ammunition accumulated in Iraq. a
- He believed that the Iranian army, which weakened by the purges after the revolution, could not resist the Iraqi army.

Iraq captured Hürrem City (a coastal city) in 2 months and surrounded the oil facilities in Abadanda. In addition, Saddam started to use the poisonous gases produced in the chemical factories he set up in this war.

Arab countries of the period supported Saddam against the Iranian threat and at the same time, Saddam was also supported by western countries as one of the largest

arms and weaponry buyer in the world. Donald Rumsfeld, who was commissioned by the then US President Ronald Reagan, told Saddam that the United States was on the side of Iraq in this war.

With the expectation that the Iranian people would turn their backs on the regime, though, this expectation of Iraq had been in vain, and Iran had to put into effect the territory size and manpower of its short-term power elements. The soldiers who had previously been imprisoned or removed from the army returned to the army and balance was ensured in combat with manpower.

On the other hand, immediately after the recovery of Iran, it started to bomb Iraqi troops. As Iran bombed the port of Basra, Iraq attacked Tehran in response. As Iran started to advance, the war began to turn into a destructive factor for both two sides.

Feeling that they could no longer continue the war by 1988, the two belligerent sides ended the war by accepting Resolution 598 of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 1988 (UN, Resolution 598, 1987).

Every year, Iraq spent 15 billion USD in this war and borrowed from almost all Arab countries, especially Kuwait, and dragged the country into debt. The only return of the war for Iraq was the failure of the demobilized soldiers to find jobs and as the economy was devastated.

On the other hand, Iraq did not delay in waging another war under Saddam Hussein by invading Kuwait that did not want to pay billions of dollars and thus, Iraq declared that it annexed Kuwait as its province (Galbraith, 2007, pp. 28-29).

Indeed, it might be observed that there were other reasons than debts in Saddam's invasion of Kuwait. Saddam believed that Kuwait was a natural part of Iraq and that it

was separated from Iraq by the British. He thus stated that Iraq and Kuwait must unite in order to ensure their historical integrity (Baram, 1993, pp. 5-8).

Sheikh Jabir Al Ahmad Al Sabah, the Emir of Kuwait at the time, lent billions of dollars to Iran, which he perceived as a threat to his regime during the Iraq-Iran War. On the other hand, Saddam stated and demanded that El Sabah family should erase the Iraqi debt on the grounds that he fought on behalf of all Sunnis during the war. As the El Sabah family opposed this demand, Saddam entered Kuwait on August 2, 1990. In August 8, Saddam announced that he had annexed the country and declared Kuwait as the 19th province of Iraq.

There were principally two results Saddam had wanted to achieve as a result of the invasion of Kuwait:

- Non-payment of debts and seizing the Bubiyan and Varba islands and have a more favorable site for oil transportation in the Gulf region
- Seizing 20% of the world's oil reserves and more than 7% of the world's oil production in 1990 and thus to determine oil prices.

The country that perceived the biggest threat from the invasion of Kuwait was Saudi Arabia. In order to eliminate this threat and maintain the current status quo, Saudi Arabia asked the United States for help. This meant that Iraq was well strengthening in the Middle East and becoming the largest player in the world oil market. In order to prevent this from happening, the USA and Western countries decided to intervene

The USA set out to form an international coalition against Iraq by launching the UNSC resolution (Cleveland, 2008, p. 527).

The UN adopted Resolution No. 660, which demanded the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait which was followed by several other resolution:

- Resolution No. 661: The resolution envisaging economic sanctions (UN, Resolution 661, 1990)
- Resolution No. 665: The resolution stating that all economic sanctions were under UNSC supervision (UN, Resolution 665, 1990)
- Resolution No. 666: The resolution stating that all economic sanctions were under UNSC supervision (UN, Resolution 666, 2019)
- Resolution No. 670: The resolution to implement an air blockade (UN, Resolution 670, 1990)
- Resolution No. 678: January 15, 1991 was determined as the deadline for Iraq to abide by UN resolutions. In case of failure to comply with this decision, an International Peacekeeping Force would be established. (UN, Resolution 678, 1990).

In accordance with Resolution 678, the USA congress gave the President full authority on implementing measures against Iraq on 12 January 1991. With this authority, an air operation called Desert Storm was started on January 16, and land operations started 8 days later.

The operations were terminated on February 27 for fear that Iraq could be fragmented, and Iran could unite with the Iraqi Shiites (Bozarslan, 2015, pp. 224-225).

On 3 April 1991, Iraq adopted Resolution 687 (UN, Resolution 687, 1991) adopted by the UNSC. This resolution entered into force by stipulating the conditions of the ceasefire of the Gulf War. According to the resolution, Iraq;

- waived from its nuclear, biological and chemical weapons,
- recognized the right of Kuwait to sovereignty,
- accepted the destruction of IBRM missiles,
- and agreed to be audited by the International Atomic Energy and UN.

As a result of the embargoes applied to Iraq as of 1991, people had difficulty in accessing basic food ingredients and medicines. People were impoverished due to such difficulties as well as successive wars.

Saddam did not want to abide by the UNSC Resolution 687 and controlled by the International Atomic Energy and the UN, thus he was subjected to an air attack again with the Desert Fox Operation in December 1998. Furthermore, the field of operation was expanded with the resolutions of 1154 and 1205 of the UNSC (UN, Resolution 1154, 2019; UN, Resolution 1205, 1998).

Defined as the frozen conflict until 2001, the dispute reappeared with the changing US policy on September 11, 2001 with the attacks on the World Trade Center. Iraq, Iran and North Korea, which were allegedly trying to obtain weapons of mass destruction, were introduced as the Axis of Evil by US President Bush.

In October 2002, Bush received approval from the Congress for the use of force against Iraq and in his speech to the UNSC, he alleged that Saddam, who refused the audits since 1997, produced weapons of mass destruction.

On March 17, 2003, the United States asked Saddam and his sons to leave the country and consecutively, the USA launched the invasion of Iraq on March 20, 2003.

2.2.5. Post-Saddam Era (2003-)

After the invasion of Iraq, the country fell into ethnic and sectarian conflicts as a result of the failure of the occupation forces to fully control.

The fact that the Baath regime established a single-party administration and did not allow any opposition movement led to the lack of an organized structure after the occupation, which, in turn, paved the way for major problems regarding the administration of Iraq.

After the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, the US-run Provisional Coalition Administration and the Iraqi Governing Council ruled the country until July 2003. In June 2004, the Council delegated its powers to the Iraqi Provisional Government, whose Prime Minister was Iyad Allawi.

For many years, the Shiites who were the majority in Iraq ruled by the Sunnis, wanted to seize the government. On January 30, 2005, parliamentary elections were held for the preparation of the constitution. As the Sunni Arabs boycotted the elections, Shiites gained a majority in parliament.

The constitution which recognizes the Iraqi Federal Republic and the Kurdistan Regional Government, was adopted by a referendum on October 15, 2005. In the December 2005 parliamentary elections, three groups came to the forefront: the State Commission of Law, the Al-Iraqiya List and the Iraqi National Alliance. The Law State Commission (Sunni Arabs), Shiite Arabs and Kurds merged under coalition to form the government.

In the consecutive years, though, Iraq became a failed state, for which 4 main reasons are uttered:

- Lack of national identity: Iraqi citizens define themselves on a sectarian basis. The only group with national identity here is the Turkmen who are aware of Turkishness. Although Kurds define themselves as a nation, this is a tribal-based low culture definition and does not fall into the national identity classification.
- Autocratic Tradition: Iraq has long been governed by a single man or bossism regime. Previously, it was a province of the Ottoman Empire and ruled by a single-lane lieutenant officer (Geçer, 2012, p. 69).
- Brutal Mentality: Every leader who ruled Iraq was brutal to several groups. Although the Turkmen have been exposed to such behavior in general, other communities have been partially exposed to this brutal act as well. For this reason, the ethnic groups that came to power or had a say in the administration continued the same understanding to other ethnic groups.
- Irreversible corruption: When the Baath Party came to power, Ahmed Hassan al-Bekr and Saddam Hussein began to bring close relatives to the party and the state. Under Saddam Hussein's rule, this situation continued and the people around Saddam Hussein benefited the country's resources the most. This has not changed today either.

Thus, Iraq is a failed state for the reasons listed above and it can fairly be stated that the state's situation is not improvable.



CHAPTER III

3. IRAQ POLICIES OF THE COUNTRIES THAT INFLUENCE THE REGION

The realist perspective provides solid foresight with regard to the preponderant state against others by categorizing states according to their material power capacity, range of motion and relative power when it comes to conflicts of interest.

Since Iraq has strategic importance in its region due to oil resources, several states aspire to intervene in the Iraqi administration, decision-making processes and leaders' behaviors. As of 1914, there has been six countries that have been taking active roles in the region and developing policies pertaining to Iraq. Although the effect of these countries on the region have sometimes decreased due to reasons such as lower power capacity or failing to protect their interests in Iraq at a sufficient level, these countries' effect in the region has not changed much in the last century.

These countries are as below:

- Great Britain
- USA
- Russia
- Turkey
- Iran

Figure 5: Why do foreign states try to influence Iraq?



3.1. Regional Powers' Iraq Policies

According to William Thompson, there are three basic characteristics that define an area as a region, which are:

- The interaction between actors in the same geography is intense and deep enough to affect other regions.
- The countries are geographically close in the given area.
- There is awareness of the distinctive characteristics of the region.

Thompson further states that the countries that share the claim to be the primary and leading powers in the same geographical cluster are called regional powers.

Stefan Schirm expanded this definition to provide a fully comprehensive idea on regional power:

- Countries that claim to be regional powers must have a specific role definition and make other countries feel or accept their role.
- They must have military and economic power in addition to diplomatic capacity.
- Actors that claim to constitute regional power must be recognized by other countries.
- Finally, they must be able to apply hard and soft power elements simultaneously.

According to this definition and main characteristics, it can be observed that there are two regional powers in the Middle Eastern region, which are Turkey and Iran.

3.1.1. Boundaries of Regional Powers

When analyzing the core elements of realism and Turkish and Iranian policies on Iraq, it can be clearly observed that Turkey and Iran are deemed as great powers in the spectrum of power, while they are not endowed with the material capability that would suffice to compete against superpowers or hegemonic powers of the world. Therefore, Turkey and Iran are often observed to generate policies when there is a conflict of interest with the other superpowers or hegemonic powers pertaining to their policies.

In light of this insight, it can be uttered that analysis of great powers, superpowers or hegemonic powers is significant since their conflicts of interest open space for several actions by regional powers. In this regard, according to the realist perspective, Turkey and Iran can be effective on Iraq to the extent that great powers allow them.

As elaborated before in the analysis of theoretical assumptions, each state acts on the principle of self-help system as a result of the anarchic structure of the international system. While Turkey and Iran can develop policies on Iraq, these countries must be attentive to the policies of great powers, superpowers and hegemonic powers within the framework of the system.

Years	Hegemonic Power	Superpower	Great Power
1800s	Great Britain	France, Russia	Japan, Germany, USA
1914-1918	Great Britain	USA, USSR	Japan, Germany, France
1945-1990	USA	USSR	Japan, Germany,

			China
1990-	USA		China, Russia, Japan, Great Britain, European Union (Germany, France)

Table 1: Categorization of States according to their Material Capabilities

(Yilmaz S. , 2008, p. 35)

3.1.1.1. Iran

As of the invasion of Iran in 2003, Iran has had the common goal of territorial integrity with Turkey. However, Iran is also observed to have aspirations to gain influence in areas evacuated by ISIS in Iraq (Tamer, 2016, p. 104). Therefore, a conflict of interest has arisen between the two countries.

Moreover, Iran aims to gain influence over the Shiite majority in Iraq.

3.1.1.2. Turkey

Until Iraq gained its independence, Turkey carried out its relationship with Iraq through Great Britain. Iraq, a British colony, acted in the region according to British policies and interests during that period.

In the period after 1958, Turkey endeavored to build relations with Iraq over the Iraqi leaders. In this vein, Turkey has applied two basic policies with regard to Iran from past to present: Protecting the territorial integrity of Iraq and preventing massacre or any other type of abuse of the Iraqi Turkmen. As a consequence to these two dynamic

policies, Turkey has endeavored to attain its goals within the scope of its power and capability.

3.1.2. Boundaries of Great Powers

There are three countries in the region that can be described as great powers: Great Britain, France and Russia. These countries are generally able to carry out their own independent policies, yet they are in a position of reciprocity in the sense that they compete against equivalent states. Having capabilities above these countries, hegemonic powers constitute the only factor that can limit the policies and powers of these countries.

3.1.2.1. Great Britain and France

Great Britain had been the sole hegemonic power of the 18th century when it gained the title of “*the empire on which the sun never sets*”. When World War II broke out, Great Britain peaked its power and had taken its place in international relations as a hegemonic power. With the end of World War I, the United States became a rising power in international relations while the mandate administrations of Great Britain started to disappear over time.

As per the British policies in the Middle East, literature review demonstrates that Great Britain considered the following points when rendering Faisal I as the king of Iraq:

- Mosul and Kirkuk should not be handed over to Turkey.
- Great Britain should have the control of the Iraqi oil resources.
- Great Britain should ensure the security of oil and Saudi Arabia regime.

Although Great Britain lost its claim to be a hegemonic power after the end of World War I, the country did not waive from the above-given policies in Iraq and the region overall. In this sense, Great Britain continued its presence in the region thanks to British Petroleum and Royal Dutch Shell during the decolonization process.

On the other hand, France was one of the victorious countries in World War I as they allied with Great Britain and thus, obtained colonies from the Middle Eastern geography. Indeed, the lands of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East were divided between Britain and France. At the end of the World War II, France gave Syria its independence and withdrew from the region in the context of the decolonization process. Nonetheless, France maintained its relations with Lebanon. During the Cold War, France was not directly involved in the policies of the region due to the support of Israel in the Suez Crisis and the Algerian War.

France set out to establish direct relations with Arab leaders when General de Gaulle came to power in France and started to implement the so-called principles of Gaullism in French foreign policy. De Gaulle was attentive to establish good relations with Iraq as well. On the other hand, France remained a major power but a non-critical actor in the region due to its inability to develop politically sufficient strong arguments with the effects of the EU limitations during the crisis of trust emerging after the invasion of Iraq by the USA although France tried to take an active role to solve the crisis.

Consequently, although Britain withdrew its de facto presence from the region, it maintained its strong voice in Iraq thanks to the British oil companies and its relations with the USA, while France failed to generate common policies with Great Britain with regard to Iraq.

As it is known, a part of Iraq was occupied by creating a de facto situation after the Armistice of Mondros. In this regard, Mosul and Kirkuk – which were not occupied during World War I – were later invaded by creating a de facto situation and these provinces were not left to Turkey's control although they were Turkish lands. Immediately after the invasion, three Ottoman provinces (Mosul, Baghdad and Basra) were forcibly merged according to British interests and an artificial state was established called Iraq. Combining these three regions with socially and politically different approaches, the main objective of Great Britain was to control the rich oil reserves of the region.

3.1.2.2. *Russia*

For Russia, Iraq is important for two main reasons: The first of these reasons is to ensure close relations with the countries in the Green Belt such as Egypt and Syria, and the second is to have a voice in the Mediterranean region with the Tartus naval base built in 1971.

3.1.3. Boundaries of Hegemonic Powers

Hegemonic power is defined as a state that can implement the policies freely without any limit unless there is another competitive and equivalent hegemonic power. Other states, on the other hand, can develop two policies: Balancing or bandwagoning, a method to balance against a powerful country. In the second case – bandwagoning – countries follow policies parallel to the policies of hegemonic powers (Kalaycı, 2018, p. 101).

3.1.3.1. *The USA*

The USA reached the position of hegemonic power with the start of the Cold War. In this regard, the USA supported several formations such as the Green Belt countries and the Baghdad Pact by cooperating with Middle Eastern countries and Turkey in order to prevent the Soviet expansionist policies.

After the Islamic revolution in Iran, the USA supported Iraq during the Iraq-Iran War. Yet, they launched the Gulf War against Iraq after the Iraqi attack on Kuwait and the destabilization of the region. The USA intervened in the region after Iraq invaded Kuwait with the fear of losing the control over the majority of the Middle East oil reserves to Iraq and thereby, ensured the security of the Persian Gulf, the outsource of oil for the entire world.

The basic dynamics of the USA interests in the region included securing the oil resources, providing seamless transportation to the world and controlling the oil reserves as the sole authority. Hence, the USA took part in the Gulf War against Iraq and seized the control of the oil resources with the invasion of Iraq.

CHAPTER IV

4. THE IRAQI TURKMEN

4.1. Who are the Turkmen?

The Turkmen are members of the Oghuz Tribe and they come from the Turks who had migrated from Central Asia to Iraq. There are two prominent views as for their naming after the Turkmen. According to the first view, they were called as the Turkmen after accepting Islam (Saatçi, 2003, pp. 20-25). According to Turkmen historian Ziyat Köprülü, the name Turkmen was first started to be used during the period of Seljuks (Köprülü, 1996, p. 3).

4.2. Origins

The Turkmen established various states or autonomous structures in the region during the course of the history. The first settlements of the Turkmen in Iraq coincided with the Hijri year 54 and Gregorian year 674 (Saatçi, 1996, p. 39). In this context, Ubeydullah bin Ziyad brought 2000 Turkmens to Basra and the settlement of the Turkmen started. The Turkmen always stood out with their mastery in archery, sharpshooting and discipline (Ertuğrul, 2006, pp. 125-126).

The Turkmen served in the army during the Abbasid period as the Caliph al-Mansur included the Turkmen in the army for they were reliable and good fighters with disciplines manners (Hürmüzlü, Türkmenler ve Irak, 2003, p. 13). Nearly 40,000 Turkish soldiers were settled in the city of Samarra which was established during the reign of the Caliph Mutassim (Ertuğrul, 2006, p. 126).

After this period, the Turks entered Iraq in larger groups during the term of Tuğrul Bey. With the arrival of Tuğrul Bey to Baghdad in January 1055, thousands of more

Turkmen flocked into Iraq with the effect of Caliph al-Qaim's transfer of the sultanate to Tuğrul Bey (Hürmüzlü, *Türkmenler ve Irak*, 2003, p. 13).

Until Sultan Selim the Stern conquered the region after the Caldiran War, the Turkmen lived in the following states:

- Buyids (945-1055),
- Seljuks (1055-1194),
- Atabegs (1127-1233),
- Ilkhanids (1258-1344),
- Calayirs (1339-1410),
- Karakoyunlus (1411-1468),
- Akkoyunlus (1468-1508),
- Safavids (1508-1534) (Ertuğrul, 2006, p. 126).

After Sultan Selim the Stern conquered Mosul in 1514 with the Caldiran War and Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent conquered Baghdad, Baghdad and Mosul provinces were established. After these lands were taken under the control of the Ottomans, a great Turkish migration started from Central Asia to Iraq.

After Baghdad was annexed to Turkish lands in 1534, Iraq remained in the hands of the Ottoman Empire until 1918 despite occasional changes of those who dominated the country due to conflicts.

4.3. The Iraqi Turkmen between 1920-1958

The first Iraqi government after 1920 was established on October 25, 1920 under the prime ministry of Abdurrahman Al-Geylani. The Minister of Education and Health of the same government became İzzet Kerküklü, who was a Turkman. Kerküklü was

appointed as Minister of Public Works in the second government established in January 1921. Despite this appointment, Kerküklü passed away in two months and another Turkman was not appointed to the cabinet to replace him (Hürmüzlü, *Türkmenler ve Irak*, 2003, p. 43).

In this context, policies with regard to the Turkmen during the rule of King Faisal were based on rejecting and destroying the existence of the Turkmen. One of the reasons underlying the Turkmen policy of Iraq's King Faisal was that he thought the Iraqi Turkmen would fall under the effect of Turkey and aspire annexation to Turkey by means of rebellion. Due to this mindset, he initiated a policy that rejected the existence of the Turkmen and even exacerbated to genocide.

Evaluating the infrastructure of King Faisal's policy, it can be observed that he aimed to purify Iraq from Turkmen and Shiite Arab elements under the Sunni administration. In this context, rejection of the Turkmen existence was the product of this infrastructure. In response to this situation, the Turkmen rejected to participate in the referendum held in 1921.

Indeed, the Turkmen not only boycotted the referendum to show their reactions but also resigned from all their duties.

A new social structure was formed after Faisal became the king. Sunni Arabs were close to the government and they were positioned in administrative levels. The Turkmen deemed it suitable to reject the existence of the new administration. In the new structure, the Turkmen were continuously alienated and abused, and it became rather difficult to live under these conditions. In addition, the Turkmen were isolated by the new government. This isolation caused the Turkmen to become withdrawn in many areas of

life. As the isolated Turkmen were outcast from the new government, they weakened in political terms over time.

On the other hand, the fact that Mosul and Kirkuk were the focal points for negotiations of the Lausanne Peace Treaty caused uneasiness for the British as they thought the Turkmen who were close to oil resources would threaten the British.

As Turkey achieved remarkable success in the War of Independence and crowned the military achievements with diplomatic victory in the Lausanne, the national sentiments of the Turkmen also came to the foreground. On the other hand, these developments caused the British to impose graver pressure over the Turkmen.

In 1924, the Tiyaris, who were under the rule of the British, began massacres against the people of Kirkuk (Hürmüzlü, *Türkmenler ve Irak*, 2003, p. 43). As a result of the looting and attacks of the Tiyaris, 280 Turkmen leaders were killed (Ertuğrul, 2006, p. 134).

The attack in 1924 was the first massacre of the Turkmen. After this incident, the violent incidents and the killing of Turkmens continued throughout Iraq's history. Within this context, Britain granted Iraq its independence in 1930 and ended the mandate regime in 1932 (Saatçi, 1996, p. 135).

When Iraq gained full independence in 1932, it became a member of the League of Nations. The guarantees provided by Iraq to the League of Nations on the issue of the Turkmens in the country were as follows:

- The rights of the Turkmen will be protected.
- The Turkmen presence in the country will be recognized.
- The Turkmen will be allowed to have education in their mother language.

- Turkish language will be the official language in Turkish regions.
- Officers who will work in Turkish regions will be of Turkish origin as much as possible.

With the failure to fulfill these guarantees and death of King Faisal in 1933 religious, sectarian and ethnic conflicts incremented within the country.

On the other hand, Tevfik Rüştü Aras, the term-Minister of Foreign Affairs visited Kirkuk due to the establishment of Saadabad Pact in 1937 and was welcomed with enthusiasm and joy in Iraq. Nonetheless, this situation frightened the Iraqi authorities. With the idea that the Iraqi Turkmen would attempt separatist movements and demand annexation to Turkey, the Iraqi government did not allow Turkish authorities go to Kirkuk thereafter.

Consequently, the Iraqi authorities expelled most of the Turkmen living in Kirkuk to the south of Iraq. Furthermore, Turkish publications were prohibited in Kirkuk to prevent causing any effect on the Turkmen (Bademci, 2014, p. 2).

In the same period, the oil fields in the region where the Turkmen lived were taken from their hands and Kurdish administrators were appointed to these regions.

In 1946, the Turkmen were subjected to a massacre called Gavurbağı Massacre. As a background to this massacre, it can be pointed out to the historical fact that the workers of the Kirkuk Oil Company applied to the company managers to improve wages, working and living conditions. The demands of the workers of the Iraqi Petroleum Company in Kirkuk and the attempt to strike were put forward for innocent and humanitarian reasons.

However, their demands were not taken seriously, and the workers published their requests in the newspapers and left their work collective on July 1, 1946 for protest. The workers gathered in Gavurbağı Square and began to make speeches and demonstrations.

At the request of company executives, the police arrested some of the pioneers in the strike. Furthermore, the police besieged Gavurbağı Square to break the resistance of the workers on July 12, yet this development caused the workers to become even more agitated. The police opened fire on the crowd to break down the resistance, and 20 civilians were killed, one woman and the others children (Türkmeneli, 2019).

Upon this situation, the Iraqi Government sent Ahmet al-Taha, the Vice President of Appeal as one of the high judicial bodies to Kirkuk for an investigation. According to the report given by Ahmet al-Taha:

- “The workers involved in the strike acted amenably, not aggressively.
- The workers’ meetings did not pose a danger to safety.
- The police knew the location and time of this meeting and everything was under control
- There was no exuberance on the last day of the events.
- None of the workers carried weapons.
- All the workers did was to throw stones at the police after the police opened fire.
- Most of the dead and wounded were shot while escaping.
- The police went beyond the rational actions to disperse the workers.
- The persons arrested by the administration had no role in provoking incidents” (Saatçi, 2019).

On the other hand, although the Minister of Interior, Abdullah al-Kassap suggested that the Governor of Kirkuk and the Police Director should be taken from Kirkuk, he did not receive any confirmation to his proposal. The Minister of the Interior wanted to punish those responsible, however he resigned from the ministry when his request was not accepted (Saatçi, 2019).

After this period, the pressures on Turkmens continued increasingly. Indeed, the Kingdom period was a painful period for the Turkmens as they were subjected to massacres twice. In this period of repression and exile, the Turkmen leaders were killed or imprisoned in a systematic way. The Turkmen were ignored and isolated from the rest of Iraq as the general policy.

Therefore, none of the guarantees given by the Iraqi administration to the League of Nations regarding the protection of the rights of Turkmen, recognition of their existence, granting the right to education in their mother language, the Turkish language to be the official language in the Turkish regions and appoint Turkish-origin officers in these regions were fulfilled.

Moreover, the Turkmen also encountered the problem of the appointment of Kurdish rulers to Turkish regions. These appointments, which were the result of the policy of assimilating the Turkmen and causing discomfort, further led to psychological oppression against the Turkmen living in Iraq.

4.4. The Iraqi Turkmen between 1958-1963

As a result of the coup on July 14, 1958, General Kasim came to power by overthrowing the previous administration and proclaimed the republic. The coup plotters announced to people that all the ethnic groups in Iraq including Turkmen, Arabs and

Kurds would live without discrimination, violence and isolation within the framework of equal rights.

In this regard, the fact that the Turkmen were included in this declaration was perceived as a sign of the end of ignorance of the Turkmen after the end of King Faisal's rule (Ertuğrul, 2006, p. 140).

Hence, the Turkmen started to believe that the Republican regime would bring equality, justice, transparent management and a democratic order. At the same time, the Turkmen expected that their political weakening, which was the result of the exclusion from administration in the previous period, would end in this new period.

Despite these expectations and goodwill, none of the above hopes had come true. As a matter of fact, the new order turned into a system in which the competition between the two major groups was fierce and the Turkmen were crushed between them. In other words, both the efforts to transition to the new system and the confrontation as well as the conflict between the communists and the Nasserist Arab nationalists frustrated all Turkmen expectations from the new regime (Saatçi, 1996, p. 209).

In the conflict between the Arab nationalists and the communists, the Turkmen still showed that their level of education and culture were high when compared to the other regions. In this regard, they demonstrated that the Turkmen could advance democratic practices even during this period. For instance, although the communists won the teachers' union elections in entire Iraq, they lost the elections in Ramadi, Mosul and Kirkuk where the majority of the residents were Turkmen.

Therefore, the Turkmen expressed their will without fear in an environment where democracy was not yet fully operational in the 1960s and showed that they could use democratic instruments when granted the opportunity to do so.

Furthermore, the will that the Turkmen showed in the elections attracted the attention of the communists and other groups in the administrative level. Together with this demonstration of will, Turkmen started to be taken into consideration with regard to participation in the administration (Silleli, 2005, p. 125).

Nonetheless, the Turkmen could not find a place in the new Iraqi Constitution despite this view. In the same period, the only subject that almost all of the controversial communists and the Nasserist Arab nationalists agreed was not to include the Turkmen in the constitutional order and in the new constitution.

In this sense, the policy that General Kasim applied in this period was similar to Stalin's policy of renaming the Central Asian Turks in an attempt to assimilate. Similar to Stalin's separation of the Central Asian Turkmen by creating artificial races such as Azeri, Uzbek and Kyrgyz, Kasim qualified the Iraqi Turks as Turkmen on the purpose of putting distance between Turkey and the Iraqi Turks.

According to this ideology that did not yet flourish and accepted nationalism in its raw form, Kasim and the Iraqi administration firmly believed that putting distance between Turkey and the Iraqi Turks by changing their names into Turkmen would benefit him in the long term.

Thus, the Iraqi Constitution drafted during the rule of General Kasim did not include the Turks. In this regard, the Turkmen reacted against this attitude by the government neglecting their existence and denying constitutional rights. While the Turkmen thought that an egalitarian, fair and democratic order would be established in the new period, the Nasserist Arab nationalists and Communists, who were fighting for power, agreed only on one thing: To exclude the Turkmen from administrative representation.

Another factor that caused discomfort in the Turkmen was the return of Kurdish leader Mullah Mustafa Barzani who fled to Iran in 1945 under General Kasim's order. Barzani came to Kirkuk – the Turkish province – and he was met by the statesman protocol.

Together with Barzani, armed militants came to Kirkuk as well and these armed militants, who shouted anti-Turkish slogans against the Turkmen, increased the tension in the city. On their arrival, attacks were immediately made against the Turks sitting at Yıldız Café.

The attacks continued on the next day and the Turkmen stores, shopping places were looted while Turkmen houses were heavily attacked as well.

As the regime did not protect the Turkmen and the law enforcement officers remained silent on this situation, the Turkmen had to take certain measures for self-defense which caused armed conflicts between the Turkmen and armed Kurdish militants (Saatçi, 2006).

Upon their arrival in Iraq, the Kurdish militants immediately met General Kasim and demanded a broad autonomy for the Kurds. In an environment where the Kurds brought the issue of autonomy in so easily, General Kasim ignored even the existence of the Turkmen let alone fulfilling their demands.

After coming to power, General Kasim dissolved the Nasserist Arab nationalists as he considered them a threat and continued with the Communists. Furthermore, General Kasim tried to unite the communists and the Kurds around a common point in order to consolidate and maintain his power and to pursue a policy to maintain the status quo of Iraq.

For General Kasim, who dismissed the Nasserist Arab nationalists, the next largest threat was General Abdülselam Aref who defended the idea of the United Arab Republic like Nasser. Thus, Kasim removed Aref from administration as well to eliminate the threat of coup and power-seize (Demirci, 1991, p. 19).

This leftist policy followed by Kasim with the fear of losing control over Iraq to Nasser and hoping to gain support from the Soviets, formed the basis for Kurds' demands for autonomy. With this basis, the demands of the Kurds for autonomy in the northern region increased and began to be shared out loud.

In other words, General Kasim rejected to recognize the existence of the Turkmen on the grounds of protecting Iraq's territorial integrity as he assumed that the Turkmen aspired to annex to Turkey, he had to face other compelling demands by the Kurds.

With the dismissal of the Nasserist Arab nationalists and the elimination balance, the communists gradually increased their oppression as well. In early 1959, people began to resist the increasing communist activities in Mosul. People began to express their reactions with rallies. On March 8, 1959, General Abdulvahap al-Shevaf revolted and this revolt soon became a conflict. Brigadier General Nazım Tabakçalı, the Commander of the Second Division in Kirkuk, was dismissed on the grounds that he was pro-Turkmen and was replaced by Brigadier General Davud al-Cenabî, who was known to be anti-Turkmen.

Under the pretext of search, the Iraqi government raided homes and businesses belonging to the Turkmen and made arrests, even counting kitchen tools as criminal tools. At the same time, the Kurdish militants began to take tours around the city in order to provoke the public and instigate internal turmoil by anti-Turkmen slogans.

There had also been minor clashes in the city between the Turkmen and armed Kurdish groups. The law enforcement officers who did not intervene in these conflicts once again demonstrated that the Turkmen were totally ignored.

However, in June 1959, the activities of Kurdish militants and communist groups against Turkmen suddenly decreased. The unjustly arrested Turkmen were released, and it was announced that those who were exiled could come back.

As the first year celebrations of the Republic was approaching, the Turkmen who had internalized the understanding of democracy the most in Iraq began to prepare for the celebrations (Saatçi, 2006).

4.4.1. The Massacre of Kirkuk

On July 14, 1959, the Turkmen completed their preparations in Kirkuk and participated in the celebration. After the preparations for the official parade which would start at 19:00, the Turkmen started to celebrate excitedly. There were the following groups in the front row of the official parade:

- Mayor Maruf Berzenci,
- Progressive Youth,
- Peaceful People,
- Revolutionary Teachers and People's Resistance Organization.

In addition to these individuals and institutions, Kurdish militants also participated in the celebration and started shouting slogans against the Turkmen. Half an hour after the official parade began, armed militants opened fire on the civilians as per their plot. Osman Hıdır, the owner of July 14 Coffee Shop, was the first martyr. His body was tied behind a vehicle and dragged.

This genocide, known as the Kirkuk Massacre, lasted for three days. In this process, although it was declared by the 2nd Division Command, the curfew was put into effect only for the Turkmen. The prominent figures of the Turkmen community, army, police, civilian organizations and members of the communist party were taken from their homes to the Kirkuk barracks on the order of the 2nd Division Command. They were executed in 10-minute trials in the so-called People's Court in the barracks without even being given the right to defense.

The Turkmen, who were not taken to the barracks, were filled into other various barracks and executed collectively. While these atrocities continued, Turkmen shops, stores, trade centers and houses were looted by marauders. The Turkmen lost their safety of life and property. It was seen that the goods and commodities belonging to the Turkmen were plundered by the communists and Kurdish and transported to the northern regions by trucks.

On the other hand, the news on the Kirkuk Massacre aroused great repercussions all over Iraq and the world. The news of this genocide, also heard in countries outside Iraq, was widely reported in the foreign press. In this regards, when the Kirkuk Massacre aroused reaction and hatred in the domestic and foreign public opinion, General Kasim had to deliver a speech at the Mar Yusuf Church in Baghdad on July 20 to condemn the genocide and those responsible and to declare that the criminals would be severely punished. Upon this development, Kasim declared that the massacre was purposefully designed and that those responsible would be brought to court.

This promise by General Kasim was never fulfilled and those responsible for the massacre never served their punishment.

4.5. The Iraqi Turkmen between 1963-1968

The year 1961 was the turning point in General Kasim's rule. As General Kasim removed the Nasserist Arab nationalists from power and the communists began to take an active role in the administration, the Nasserist Arab nationalist officers began to take positions against General Kasim.

The Nasserist Arab nationalist officers began to cooperate with the Ba'ath Party against the Communists, who began to be active in the administration as well. In this line, as a result of the military coup led by General Abdülselem Aref on February 8, 1963, General Kasim was overthrown.

The overthrowing of General Kasim became a glimmer of hope for the Turkmen, who were subjected to massacre and exile in addition to other atrocities during his rule. When the new administration came to power, the Turkmen thus supported the new administration and took their side.

Within this framework, the first demand of the Turkmen from General Abdülselem Aref were to punish the perpetrators of the Kirkuk Massacre and initiate legal proceedings. This request was welcomed positively by General Abdülselem Aref and therefore those responsible were arrested and 28 people were executed in Kirkuk.

As justice was served after the incident of Kirkuk Massacre, the Turkmen took great care to establish a good dialogue with the government of General Abdülselem Aref.

Another step towards the improvement of bilateral relations was taken by the Turkmen: They supported General Abdülselem Aref against the Kurds in northern Iraq, who threatened the regime (Kılıç A. , 2011).

In 1966, General Abdülselem Aref died after his helicopter crash and was succeeded by his brother Abdurrahman Aref. Although there was no development in the rights of the Turkmen during Abdurrahman Aref's period of rule, relations had been on good course.

As matter of fact, the obstacles for the Turkmen to visit Turkey were removed during this period. The Turkmen were prevented from building relations with Turkey during the period of both Faisal I and General Kasim and they were given the freedom to go to Turkey for the first time during the rule of Abdurrahman Aref.

In addition, the Turkmen were allowed to publish books and resources in Turkish language. With these publications, even though they could fully attain their social and cultural rights, the Turkmen entered a period of partial freedom.

Thus, it can be uttered that this period was one that the Turkmen acquired partial stability in terms of rights and freedoms and political stability was achieved despite the fact that they could not obtain their rights in full terms. Additionally, it was a period when rights and freedoms were not guaranteed but at least the Turkmen were not massacred.

4.6. The Iraqi Turkmen between 1968-2003

The Ba'ath Party seized power on July 17, 1968 with a coup. The first action of the Ba'ath Party, which seized power with the military coup led by Ahmed Hasan Al-Bekr, was to transform the country to a one-party regime (Ertuğrul, 2006, p. 144).

Since the Ba'ath Party was a party based on Arab nationalism, the expectations from the party pertaining to the Turkmen were initially negative as they deemed Iraq as an Arab country as a whole.

Nevertheless, the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council issued new resolutions in 1970 to extend the rights of the Turkmen and provide them with necessary support.

These resolutions were as below:

- Turkmen language will be taught in primary schools.
- Works of Turkmen poets and writers can be published in Iraq.
- In order to promote the Turkmen culture, a Directorate of Turkmen Culture will be established under the Ministry of Promotion of Iraq.
- A Turkmen Research Institute will be established.

Indeed, the most striking point among these resolutions was the teaching of Turkmen language in primary schools. The reason for this is that by referring to the 'Turkmen' language rather than the Turkish language, the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council also aspired to put distance between Turkey and the Iraqi Turkmen similar to the previous policy followed by General Kasim arguing that there is difference between Turks and Turkmen.

As a matter of fact, the idea that Turkmen were not Turks gained ground and became dominant during this period.

On the other hand, the Ba'ath regime took great care of the appointments in the Turkmen regions in order not to enter into conflict with Turkey and to promote a good image after the coup for the international public opinion (Demirci, 1991, p. 30).

Nevertheless, the Ba'ath regime showed its true face in a short time. The rights granted to the Turkmen were tried to be taken back in a short time, yet, they endeavored to show it this time as the will of the Turkmen people to waive from their rights. In this

line, the Turkmen were forced to write a petition to give up Turkish education and switch to Arabic education by means of a letter distributed to the education directorates. Moreover, those who did not want to sign were threatened and subjected to various harassment.

The main reasoning behind the abandonment of Turkish education was to prevent the Turkmen from using the Latin alphabet. According to this mindset, it was thought that the use of Latin alphabet would cause following harmful consequences:

- The Latin alphabet might bring Turkey and the Iraqi Turkmen closer.
- The use of the Latin alphabet will isolate the Turkmen in the Iraqi society.
- Iraq is a country with territorial integrity and education with different alphabet will threaten this integrity (Ertuğrul, 2006, p. 145; Saatçi, 1996, p. 229).

Students and teachers who reacted to this development were arrested under official warrants. All students and teachers who did not attend classes were subjected to violence.

In addition, in response to this boycott by students and teachers, the government took and immediately applied the following decisions:

- Turkmen city, town and village names were changed to Arabic names.
- Turkish broadcasts on Kirkuk TV reached the point of abolition.

- The section of the journal, 'Fraternity' which was written in Latin alphabet was banned (Hürmüzlü, 1994, pp. 32-33).

On the other hand, the most striking element of the Ba'ath regime was that it showed the assimilation policy that involved curbing social, cultural and political rights only to the Turkmen. Yet, the regime was in good relations with other ethnic and sectarian groups during this period and followed assimilation policies only against the Iraqi Turkmen.

Initiating negotiating with the KDP political party to establish the Kurdish autonomous region during this period, the Ba'ath administration agreed with the Kurdish regarding the issue of autonomy in March 1970. The fact that Kurds desired to include Kirkuk in their autonomous region and demanded plebiscite by agreeing with Arabs caused reaction by the Turkmen.

In 1979, Saddam Hussein seized power and declared his rule with the support of the people he placed in the Ba'ath Party, where he had previously served as the second man.

With Saddam Hussein coming to power, quite difficult times started anew for the Iraqi Turkmen. Many leading Iraqi Turkmen were detained and executed in 1980. Since the Turkish identity was strongly internalized and the assimilation policies failed, the Ba'ath regime chose to kill the Turkmen leaders.

After these executions, the Ba'ath regime continued the arrests and executed the persons deemed important in the society.

After the start of the Iran-Iraq War, the Turkmen were forced to migrate to the Arab regions and settle in the south. On the other hand, it was decided to settle the Arabs

brought from the south in the Turkmen territory. In other words, the endeavor was to reduce the Turkmen population in their geography and to render them minority.

Similarly, some villages were evacuated on the grounds that they would be used as military bases or military facilities and the Turkmen were exiled (Ertuğrul, 2006, pp. 147-148).

The remarkable point here was that the Turkish, Kurdish and Arabian villages were located side by side, and while the Turkish villages were evacuated under various pretexts, the Arab and Kurdish villages were not touched.

In this regard, the forms used in the general census of 1987 included the options of Arab and Kurdish while not giving any space to mark Turkmen. Moreover, the Turkmen were forced to mark Arab as their nationality, which was another demonstration of the assimilation policy implemented by the Iraqi government.

Taking advantage out of the Gulf War, Kurds raided Kirkuk on March 18, 1981 and destroyed the archives of the population and land registry offices. Approximately 8 days later, Iraqi forces arriving in Kirkuk arrested Turkmen and shot them instead of those who were responsible for the raid (Ertuğrul, 2006, pp. 147-150).

On March 28, 1981 the Iraqi forces entered the Golden Bridge and began to collide with the Kurds. The Turkmen were left between the two fires, and many civilians lost their lives after the fires caused by the Kurds and the Iraqi army. Indeed, more than 100 people lost their lives in the Golden Bridge and thus, the Turkmen experienced another massacre. In fact, the brutal attitude of the Iraqi administration came to light in this incident called the Golden Bridge Massacre.

On May 5, 1992, the Kurds held parliamentary elections in the north. The Iraqi National Turkmen Party refused to participate in this election and stated that a Kurdish mobilization could not be allowed in the North.

On the other hand, after the establishment of the Iraqi Turkmen Front in 1995 by including many parties, the Iraqi Turks began to mobilize. In an attempt to benefit from the conflict between the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Saddam attacked Erbil with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan forces. During the clashes, many Turkmen were killed, and some were arrested and exiled to Baghdad.

During the Saddam government, the Turkmen struggled with great problems which are summarized below:

- It was prohibited to speak Turkish.
- Turkish publications were banned.
- Turkmen leaders and intellectuals were executed.
- Arabs were settled in Turkmen regions.
- Turkmen were subjected to forced migration.

In this period, which lasted until the USA invasion of Iraq, the Turkmen were subjected to many violent attacks as mentioned above.

4.7. The Iraqi Turkmen between 2003-2005

The 1990 Constitution confirmed that the Iraqi people consisted of Arab and Kurdish elements only. This constitutional mentality, which emerged as a continuation of rejection of the existence of Turkmen, continued until 2005.

4.7.1. Comparison of the 1925 and 2005 Constitutions

With the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, who provided authority in the country, the Kurds took action to protect their current positions and improve the situation in their favor. It is seen that Kurds, who destroyed the records of the title deeds and population registries in Turkmen regions in 1981, aspired to transform their autonomy to independence with the support of the USA.

Although the 1990 Constitution considered that the Arab and Kurdish elements constituted the Iraqi people in general, the 2005 Constitution stated that Iraq was a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-sectarian country.

The expression 'Iraq is a part of the Arab nation' in the 1990 Constitution was replaced by 'Iraq is a member of the Arab League' in the 2005 Constitution and the emphasis on Arab nationalism was abolished.

In the introduction of the 2005 Constitution, the Turkmen element was emphasized, but no autonomous region was given for them. It was stated that the rights granted to minorities would be benefited by the Turkmen as they were deemed in the minority status. This was basically the right of minorities to use their mother language.

According to Article of the Constitution, Arabic and Kurdish were accepted as official languages while Turkish was referred to as Turkmen language in the Constitution. This is a clear sign of the fear of the Iraqi government of Turkey that has come over the years. According to the Constitution, Turkmen would be able to use their mother language as an administrative language in their regions.

Although this situation was not specific to Turkish language, it was also added to the constitution that an official language change can be made through a referendum in any region.

In this vein, even in regions where the Turkmen population was high, Kurdish and Arabic were accepted as official languages. It was stated in the Constitution that Arabic education was to be compulsory and official correspondence shall be done in Arabic and Kurdish.

Concomitantly, the Turkmen lost their position in Iraq practically in every constitution drafted by Iraqi governments. Furthermore, they were politically weakened as a result of the massacres, violence, arrests and unfair trials.

Although it is of great importance that they were able to resist assimilation with strong national identity, the Turkmen population were reduced in their regions by various methods.

Overall, the Turkmen identity was defined as the dominant group among Ottoman Muslims in the history, yet they became a minority in Iraq after the rule of the British mandate.

Due to the issue of Mosul and Kirkuk between Turkey and Great Britain, Arabs became the essential group in Iraq after Arab nationalist was supported and Mecca Ruler's son, Faisal became the King by the help of the British.

In this vein, it can fairly be argued that with each new constitution, Turkmen continued to lose their rights and remained a minority. As a matter of fact, their status as a minority was made precise with the 2005 constitution.

On the other hand, the rights granted to minorities in the current constitution is quite ambiguous. It is stated that the framework of these rights will be determined by law,

and the law remains obsolete while the Kurdish and Arab majority do not pay attention to these laws.

In the Provisional Iraqi Constitution of 1920, it was stated that the Iraqi people were composed of Arab, Kurdish and Turkmen elements. Yet, in the 1925 constitution, the Turkmen were reduced to minority status. The first constitution of Iraq was the Constitution of March 21, 1925. Article 16 of the Constitution provided the right to open schools in the language of ethnic groups (Terzioğlu, 2006, p. 162).

However, analysis of the Iraqi Constitution of 2005 shows that the Turkmen face the following situations:

- The Kirkuk Issue: According to the paragraph (c) of Article 53 of the Law on Transitional Administration of Iraq, any province except Baghdad and Kirkuk had the right to unite and establish regional administration. The Turkish province of Kirkuk was left out of this scope. When the Iraqi Constitution of 2005 entered into force on May 20, 2006, it was provided that only Baghdad could not participate in the regional governments to be established. Hence, the arguments on determining the status of Kirkuk emerged with reference to Article 140 of the constitution by excluding Kirkuk. Also according to this article, those who lived here from the past until the end of 2007 would return and a census and referendum would be held to connect the problematic regions to the Iraq Kurdish Regional Government (KRG) or Baghdad. This article could not be applied due to the objection of the Turkmen and Arabs in the region. In July 2019, the Federal Court of Iraq

ruled that Article 140 of the Constitution, which concerned the status of Kirkuk and other controversial regions, should remain in force.

- **The Right to Education in Turkish:** According to the 1925 Constitution, the Turkmen had the right to education in their own language. Although this right, which was taken back from the Turkmen, seemed to be granted once again in the 2005 Constitution, the obligation to have education in Arabic and English was brought by adding the expression, 'in line with education rules'.
- **Turkish as Official Language:** Article 4 of the 2005 Constitution stipulates that the official language shall be Turkmen in the administrative units where the Turkmen population is concentrated. However, this article is partially applicable as the regions are not clearly defined in the constitution. Nonetheless, in the 1925 constitution, as the Turkmen were granted minority status, their language was not officially recognized.
- **Cultural, Administrative, Political and Educational Rights:** When the 2005 Constitution was put into force, Article 125 guaranteed the cultural, administrative, political and educational rights of various nations, such as the Turkmen, Chaldeans and Assyrians. Although these rights were to be regulated by a law to be enacted later, this law has not yet been enacted.

CHAPTER V

5. PROBLEMS OF IRAQI TURKMEN IN THE 21ST CENTURY

5.1. Forced Migration

Before the emergence of ISIS, the Turkmen lived in the provinces of Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Selahattin, Diyala, Süleymaniye, Vasil and Duhok. Among these, the Turkmen heavily populated Mosul and Kirkuk, while they were forced to migrate from their cities due to the ISIS attacks.

As a matter of fact, the majority of the Turkmen in Mosul and Selahattin were forced to leave their homes during the occupation of ISIS. The majority of the Turkmen in Talafar and Tuzhurmatu had to face forced migration and they were not allowed to return to the lands where they had lived for centuries.

In other words, the Turkmen were left between the ISIS terrorist attacks and Kurdish efforts to change the demographic structure of Iraq. Therefore, they lost their majority and dominance in the regions where they had lived for centuries.

5.2. Sectarian Conflicts

Another problem caused by ISIS for the Turkmen in the region was the sectarian conflict. Throughout history, the Turkmen had lived together with separate groups belonging to Sunni and Shiite sects by putting Turkmen identity to the forefront. However, as a result of the killing and torture of Shiite Turkmen, the Shiite identity of the Iraqi Turkmen came into the forefront in line with the social principle that ‘oppressed groups develop reaction’.

the oppressed element, which is one of the rules of society, develops reaction and the Shiite Turkmen Shiite identity has started to come to the fore. This led to sectarian disintegration among the Turkmen in some regions.

5.3. Turkmen Geography in Conflict Area

After the spread of ISIS in the region, the most intense conflict area became the regions where the Turkmen lived. All of the regions where the conflicts were intense in the north took place in areas where the majority of the residents were Turkmen.

Combined with the phenomenon of forced migration, this situation led to loss of dominance by the Turkmen in the regions where they had been living. These regions started to be dominated by either the ISIS or the PKK' different branches. The Turkmen lost their lands and houses and did not have any place to go or return.

5.4. Transformation in Social Structure

Since the Turkmen were removed from the geography and could not return, the difficulties they experienced created a major problem on the social structure of Iraq.

Within this framework, the Turkmen, who were involved in agricultural production earning their livelihood from agriculture, started to experience fracture in their familial and tribal ties due to forced migration. Concepts such as togetherness and not abandoning the land began to erode due to the fact that they started to live in camps or shire conditions in other societies. Although Turkish identity is a well-entrenched idea for the Turkmen, identity is also among the issues pf fractures in the social structure of the Turkmen. In this line, the biggest threat was assimilation in the future. The Turkmen, who have not lost their Turkish identity for many years despite numerous challenges, now face

the threat of fracture from their identity and familial ties due to the effect of assimilation policies.

5.5. Having No Expectation Left from Turkey

Turkey has been the general source of resistance and inspiration for the Turkmen in the face of assimilation and oppression policy. In this regard, Turkey has provided both moral and actual support to the Turkmen whenever need emerged. In this vein, there have been two breaking points in the relationship between the Turkmen and Turkey:

- Turkey was not involved in the USA intervention in Iraq: The Iraqi Turkmen thought that Turkey would be involved in the 2003 USA Intervention in Iraq and benefit from the power vacuum to benefit the Turkmen with higher status. The Turkmen were deeply disappointed as Turkey remained outside this process in Iraq.
- Turkey could not intervene in the processes in the early crisis period as there was turmoil due to ISIS invasion, and it did not have sufficient range of motion due to Turkey-Syria conflict and great power diplomacy. This led the Turkmen to believe that Turkey would not protect them anymore. As stated for many times by Turkmen politicians and conveyed to Turkey, the Turkmen expected Turkey to be their protector in the region. Nevertheless, Turkey could not take any step further due to narrow range of motion, which caused a second disappointment by the Turkmen.

5.6. Damage to Political Union

The Iraqi Turkmen had previously united and produced common policies under the roof of the Iraqi Turkmen Front. Indeed, the Iraqi Turkmen Front kept the national consciousness alive in the face of the massacres and problems experienced throughout history and managed to unite the Turkmen by keeping Turkish identity in the forefront.

Additionally, after 2003, the Iraqi Turkmen Front maintained its political presence and adapted to the country's politics.

Yet, the political mobility of the Iraqi Turkmen Front became limited due to the transformation of the geography inhabited by the Turkmen into areas of conflict. As they could not return the geographies they left with forced migration, the Turkmen found it rather difficult to form a strong political unity.

Due to these reasons, the area of influence of Kirkuk was limited to a great extent although this city was the heart of the Turkmen movement, consciousness and national identity.

5.7. Realist Perspective towards Problems

Despite all the problems, massacres and oppressions they have experienced, Turkmen consciousness has remained intact for almost a hundred years. Nevertheless, the Turkmen are still going through the most difficult times in history. Thus, Turkey should show strong will and develop policies in order to solve the problems of the Turkmen. Such solutions can be categorized as short and long term as follows:

As it is elaborated in the first chapter, realist doctrine puts security in front of all concepts. Thomas Hobbes, who could be considered one of the first realist theorists,

placed fear on the basis of human consciousness and emphasized that the need for security is the result of this fear.

Within this framework, ensuring the security of life of the Turkmen should be the first move in the short term. It is necessary to provide security for the Turkmen to return to the geography they had left after ISIS and to maintain their lives in safety.

Another policy that should be implemented in the short term is that the Turkmen must feel the support and presence of Turkey. In addition to the great powers in Iraq, the Turkmen also face the oppression from the Kurds and ISIS. Thus, they have lost their belief that they can get help from Turkey. Therefore, Turkey needs to refresh their trust as the Turkmen should feel the presence of both spiritual and material assistance.

Another short term solution might well be the need to ensure the safety of the families of the Turkmen who are concerned about their life safety. Turkey is endowed to ensure this safety in absolute and permanent terms.

The Turkmen, who had to migrate due to ISIS, now cannot return to their lands due to terrorist Kurdish groups and peshmerga. This situation causes the Turkmen to face problems such as losing their ancestral homeland and changing the demographic structure.

On the other hand, the first action for Turkey to take in the long term shall be to ensure the return of the Turkmen to their original lands and guarantee that no such forced migration happens again in their territory.

Another solution to be implemented in the long term would be to prevent the Turkmen from starting to fall into sectarian separation. Indeed, the Turkmen have managed to keep their Turkish identity for such a long time despite oppression and repeated massacres and separation due to sectarian conflicts would mean that they would

be divided in a way that they can never unite again. Therefore, Turkey should repair the fracturing relations rapidly and prevent division among the Turkmen.

Another problem that needs to be solved in the long run is to prevent the displaced Turkmen from being attacked on the way back and to establish a structure where they can be in financially good terms. In fact, the Turkmen who started to produce for markets will be able to have a strong voice in Iraq with their wealth.



6. CONCLUSION

Since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and establishment of the Republic of Turkey, Iraq has gone through six major periods. The first period started with Great Britain rendering Faisal the King of Iraq with the aim to keep the country under its mandate. With concerns over losing its influence in the region, the British allied with Arabs who were afraid that Turkey would gain strength again. As a consequence, they did not leave Kirkuk and Mosul to Turkey, although these two provinces were determined within the national boundaries since the Seljuks. As realist arguments explicate well, the next period was marked by Turkey helping the Iraqi Turkmen within the scope of the system, interests and interdependence.

From the realist perspective, it is argued that Turkey failed with regard to Kirkuk and Mosul issues due to several reasons. Firstly, Turkey did not have sufficient military and economic power in the 1920s and 1930s. Fighting almost uninterruptedly in the consecutive wars, the Turkish nation remained quite strained in economic terms and its production was very limited. Thus, Turkey's priority in policy generating was to increase its economic power and ensure transition to production economy. Later, Turkey could not make use of its power due to the balance between the great powers the USA and USSR despite gaining sufficient military power at later periods. Indeed, these two great powers would never allow another country to change the balance in the region, thus, Turkey strived to maintain its status quo and sought chances to change the balance in their favor via other methods.

In this regard, 'status quo supporting until conditions turn in your favor' became the basic dynamics of the realist Turkish foreign policy during that period. thus, Turkey did not prefer to take on an adventure.

Another reason why Turkish foreign policy could not make the necessary moves on Kirkuk and Mosul, which are regarded as the Turkish homeland, can be explained by the system based on realist arguments. The system remained under the British domination until 1945, and Turkey did not have much space for taking any action. After 1945, as a member of the Western bloc in the Cold War, Turkey pursued policies in line with the USA. Due to the lack of space for action, it was only able to develop policies in this region in limited time. With the end of the Cold War, Iraq was able to develop independent policies only when the system allowed with the effect of the USA domination.

From 1920 to 1945, Turkey's interests collided with those of Great Britain as the dominant country during that time. It is for this reason that the interests of Britain, a superior economic and military power, had taken precedence. In Turkey, the basic interest of security during the Cold War period was shaped by this parameter. Thus, when there was conflict with the USA interests, Turkey could not take sufficiently comprehensive moves.

On the other hand, there was not any interdependence between Turkey and the Iraqi Turkmen in the region. There was not any interdependence relation between the six different Iraqi administrations either and this has had an impact on Turkish policies. Even though Turkey was stronger than Iraq in terms of the power parameter, there was not any convenient environment to build the relationship between the powerful and the powerless.

The main reason for this is that Iraq has always been living under the umbrella of another country and cannot be independent. Indeed, Iraq remained under the effect of Great Britain until 1945 and later fell under the domination of the USSR and the USA. Finally, it has stayed under the effect of the USA in policies and thanks to the balance of power mechanism, the country has not become dependent on Turkey.

The Turkmen have faced many problems such as assimilation, oppression, violence and forced migration from past to present. In the face of these problems, the Turkmen, who have survived with Turkish identity, also face various problems today. In fact, it can be argued that these are the biggest problems that the Turkmen have faced throughout history.

In the light of this argument, the Turkmen are subject to forced migration and they have lost their lands due to ISIS. Besides, they experience problems in returning their lands after several developments and this clearly means that they have lost the lands they had been dominating since the Seljukians.

On the other hand, the elements of realism give Turkey the ability to solve these problems. As opposed to being a failed state due to not defending the sovereignty of Iraq, Turkey should use its power to ensure the safety of the Turkmen in Iraq by the virtue of its power, interests and the international law. And thus, it should intervene in the region.

Turkish identity is the main reason why Turkmen have survived without assimilation since the Seljuks. Thus, Turkey should eliminate the tension between the Shiite Turkmen and Sunni Turkmen arising out of the conflicts with ISIS. While the system is open to Turkey's intervention, this intervention is also in the interest of Turkey within the scope of its power.

As a matter of fact, Turkey is endowed with the power to intervene in the Turkmen geography that is under conflict and clean this region from ISIS and Kurdish terrorist elements. Furthermore, it will be in the interest of Turkey to intervene given the legitimacy in the international field of fighting against ISIS.

In this vein, the Turkmen with strict family and tribal structures should return to their homelands in order to prevent them from being subjected to assimilation by other communities in other regions. Turkey should remind them of their Turkish identity in order to prevent their social structure from being changed and make the Turkmen feel the Turkish support.

Expectations by the Turkmen from Turkey should not come to an end due to the developments. encountering numerous security issues in the region, the Turkmen need to maintain their trust in Turkey.

The Iraqi Turkmen Front has long been a key factor in keeping the Turkmen together and enabling them to act jointly in political terms. Thus, it is critical to keep the value of Kirkuk as the heart of the Iraqi Turkmen as well as the Iraqi Turkmen Front in political side in order to take active roles in the international system. At the same, a stronger Iraqi Turkmen Front will support Turkey in this region within the framework of its interests.

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