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THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION OF IRAQ AND THE TURKMEN FACTOR  
IN IRAQ

Asst. Prof. Dr. Elnur Hasan MİKAİL  
Expert Andaç KARABULUT  
Cavit Emre AYTEKİN

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*Abstract*

*In this study the process of change in recent world political history and its reflections to Middle East is discussed and the political-cultural relationship of Iraq and Iran as two of the Middle Eastern countries with the Ottoman Empire in the history are examined. The present political structure of Iran was analyzed from various dimensions of the Iranian regime. Likewise, the politics of Iraq was also analyzed with different political, economical and cultural dimensions.*

*The genuine about this study among other factors contributing its importance is the empirical methods used throughout the observations from the region for clarifying the obscure events and affairs. In this framework, the democracy of Iraq and the history of Iranian state tradition are examined. During the study, some original reports were achieved and through translations they are compared with other corresponding reports. The actuality of this study on the politics of Iran and Iraq from a comparative perspective is also contributes its uniqueness.*

*Keywords: Iraq, Comparative Politics, Analysis, Democracy, Political History, Original Reports*

## I. A BRIEF POLITICAL HISTORY OF IRAQ

Today's Iraq was consisted of Mosul, Bagdat and Basra provinces of Ottoman Empire. In history, the name Iraq was given to the region below the line between Tikrit and Rumadi in the south-west of Bagdat. A major part of the Mesopotamia which was a cradle of civilizations throughout the history constitutes the current Iraqi territory. The Sumerian civilization which includes the territories of the southern and northern part of Iraq and a part of Syria has existed for about a thousand years. Between 3500-2500 years BC the Sumerian civilization continued turning point in the history of mankind. Sumerians a very advanced culture, they have an excellent management facility that can be accepted from civilization and politically. Sumerians have left the political history through a very rare form of withdrawing their place to Akaddian Empire. Akaddians have protected the unity of the country, albeit for a short time and further developed an advanced level of civilization. The civilization has reached the summit of power era in 1792-1750 years BC in Hammurabi's period after short intervals fragmentation and consolidation periods. These periods were important milestones in the history of mankind. The demographic structure of the country has undergone significant changes as a result of migrations, incursions and military occupations from the east. This situation was continued until the establishment of Assyrian state whose the capital Ninav



(Mosul). In the South, the Babylonian Empire was established. Assyrian Empire fell apart in the face of the east of the Iranian interventions. Babylon strengthening the region was dominated by the Mediterranean Sea. Later, the country respectively came under the rule of the Iranians, the Macedonian and Byzantines. The country was conquered by Muslims in 637. Iraq which was in political turmoils was became the center of Caliphate state by the fourth Caliph Ali (R.). The Caliph Ali (R.) has moved the capital from Medina to Kufa during this period.

The complicated ethnical and sectarian structure of the region was occurred after the Saff'ayin war, an important event in the history of Islam, which took place between Hz. Ali and Muawiya army. As a result of the dramatic martyrdoms of the childs and grandchilds of the Prophet Muhammed and Hz. Ali in Karbala, the country became a center for Shiite and other groups, and sometimes became a central location for socially or politically motivated rebellions (Canantan., Y., 1986).

Iraq, continued to be an inhabited center for the opposition and the distinction in the Umayyad Period despite the grim applications such as hard governor Hajjaj. After the fall of the Umayyad Empire in 749 the country became the center of the Abbasid Empire state. Baghdad, the capital of the new state was built by Caliph Abu Jafar al-Mansur. The fighting of Caliph Harun al-Rashid's sons Emin and Mamun, Maun's seizure of Baghdat with the help of the Pharisees, Iranian influence over Baghdad has increased. This case has created discomfort in the people of Baghdad, mainly Arabs and including other people. Mamun made the Turkish groups closer to the Caliphate center and the state governments in order to stabilize the situation, The point worth noting is that: Abbasids never trust the Arabs. Turkish population in the country reached in the period of Caliph Mu'tasim in between 813-833, whose mother was Turkish. Now, the management of the state is completely past the Turks.

Country entered into Seljuk domination between (1055-1200). Iraq after remaining Seljuk rule at a time after exposure of the Islamic world to the Mongol invasion, Baghdad in 1258 entered the sovereignty of the Iranian Buyids for two centuries. In the later periods, parts of Iraq came under the rule of Ak Koyunlu, Kara Koyunlu and Ilkhanate states, the Zengis in Mosul, and Atabeks in Erbil and Kerkuk established dominance as Turkish states or Turkish principalities. Baghdad came under rule of the Safavids in 1508 and entered into the rule of the Ottomans in 1534. Ottoman rule continued until 1918. When the First World War had ended, the Turkish Forces were still in Mosul. Turkish forces were in good condition both militarily morally. After the second British siege of Kut Al Amara The Turkish forces withdrew to Baghdad through freeing Iraq's north. now the headquarters of the Turkish army was in Mosul. There was a recession in Iraq Front between 1916 and 1918. Halil Pasha rescued Turkish artillery from the British siege with superior tactics and planning and had secured the succession to Mosul. from August 1918, Turkish Forces in good condition in Mosul was commanded by Ali Ihsan (Sabis) who was commander On October 22, 1918 The British started attacking.

On October 30 Dicle Group of the Army was taken prisoner. As a painful coincidence, the truce was held in the same day. This incident has been discussed for a long time in public. Ataturk gave place that incident in the Nutuk and accused Ali Ihsan pasha. Despite everything the British's goals had not be fully achieved. British forces were located 60 km south of Mosul. General Marshall was commanding the British forces. Marshall chose the path of threats and blackmail to achieve their English goals. General Marshall sent a letter to Ali Ihsan Pasha, and



in the letter if the Ottoman army do not abandon Mosul until the November 15 noon, abandoned Mosul, Ali Ihsan Pasha would be responsible for the flow of blood and he added: was writing would be ve ekliyordu: (Leave the Mosul, otherwise you will be a prisoner of war.). Ali Ihsan pasha who had accepted the bluff of general Marshal, and submitted the threats of Marshal as contrary to the truce and withdrew to Nusaybin in November 9. As a consequent, Mosul was withdrawn without a fight. Ataturk explained that incident in Nutuk and made heavy criticisms of Ali Ihsan Sabis.

The Britishs, tried to govern Iraq directly at the beginning, however they face with hard opposition made by the Iraqi population. In 1920 a general uprising was blowed in Iraq. The southern center of the Iraq was Najaf, in the northern part, Tal' Afar was conducting connections with Ankara government. The uprising was initiated after the fatwas of Shiite religious scholars (the Ayatollahs) against Britishs. While the Shiites in Iraq was revolted against Britishs for religous reasons, the Turkmens participated the uprisings for national reasons. Iraqi Shiites were against Britishs since the beginning. The Britishs have failed to realize a cooperation with Shiites as opposed to their cooperation with Sunni notables in against Ottoman Empire in Arabia. Insomuch that, during the ocupation of Kuwait, Sunni tribal sheiks (including the Al-Sabah family, the governors of Kuwait) were sided by Britishs while Shiites were supporting the Ottomans.

British realize they can not manage to Iraq, therefore a descendant of the Prophet from Mecca, Sheriff Hussein's son Faisal made king of Iraq. with a series of agreements signed in the kingdom, they ruled Iraq with a mandate until 1930. Iraq's independence was adopted with an agreement signed in 1930, it ended in 1932. mandate. In the same year became a member of the League of Nations in Iraq (Canantan. Y., 1986).

Mosul was the biggest problem facing the Iraqi state. Mosul issue, has been resolved in favor of Iraq by the League of Nations. Afterwards The Treaty was signed in Ankara between Turkey and Iraq in 1926. Good neighborly relations and friendship between Turkey and Iraq has improved since then. Baghdad Pact were established in 1956 with the participation of Turkey, Iraq and Iran. Slain Iraqi King Second Faisal was engaged with a Turkish girl.

The first coup took place in 1936 in Iraq. The leader of the coup was Colonel Bekir Sıtkı (Kurdish). In 1941 the second major coup in Iraq was took place known as Operation May. The Regent has fled the country. British forces occupied Baghdad organized military action in Iraq. The majority of the coup leaders were tried and executed. Held on 14 July 1958 with a bloody coup toppled Kingdom, the Republic has been declared. General Abdul-Karim Qasim was President. The Constitution was changed and the country has been governed by the new temporary constitution was prepared. The new Constitution contained extensive freedoms. However, in subsequent periods, in accordance with the policies of the ruling government the Constitution was changed frequently.

The rapid spread of the Communist movement and ethnic nationalism has caused chaos and confusion in Iraq four years to live. Massacres happened in Kirkuk and Mosul. Mullah Mustafa Barzani who was in USSR, was allowed to return to the country. KDP activities were released. Despite the broad rights, the Kurds rebelled in 1961. (See the section Kurds) 1963 General Abdul Salam Arif overthrew Qasim through coup. Arif had made an alliance with the Ba'ath Party.



Communist hunt has been launched across the country. Thousands of people were killed. Arif died in a mysterious plane crash in 1965.

President Abdurrahman was replaced by his brother Arif. Abdurrahman Arif period Turkmens took a deep breath. July 17, 1968 the Baath Party seized power in a coup, General Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr became president. The country began to be ruled by the Revolutionary Command Council. In July 1979, Saddam Hussein was toppled al-Bakr became president. The country so far continued full internal and external war, entered the bloodiest period in history.

That almost everything is known about the period. Law has been shelved. The country was a bloody dictator's rule. human rights were violated. responsible for ensuring people's life and property security the state has threaten the safety of the people's life and property.

Iraq attacked Iran, in September 1980. 8 years of Saddam's continuing this meaningless war has led to the loss of the two countries, with over a million people and at least two countries in economy and destruction of infrastructure go back twenty-five years. Kuwait was attacked in Iraq on 2 August 1990 and until today the drams of the people continues because of these attacks. As a result of wars and embargo economic loss to the country is estimated to be over one trillion dollars.

## II. GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAQ

The Arab Socialist Baath Party who seized power with a coup in 1968, established a bloody dictatorship in the country. One-party rule, penetrated into every part of the country, and established a structure of the Party, Security Organization Armed Forces In 1979, along with that of President Saddam Hussein, appealing the experiences of the management of the former socialist countries, the intelligence and party organizations were reorganized. The persons were trained in East Germany, Romania and Bulgaria. To benefit more from the experience of oppression of these countries, the Iraqi Intelligence Service (al-Mukhabarat) and other security units have used the experts from these countries. Therefore, the establishment of another party or development of opponent ideas were impossible. The only solution to have dissenting opinion in this case, was to go out of the country. Today, the number of Iraqis living outside Iraq is estimated to be around 3 million. the number of well-trained skilled workers is much higher among Iraqis who are abroad. Distribution of the political movement of Iraqis as refugees in various European countries which are as follows:

- Syria: Arab Nationalist, some Islamic groups and the left fractions.
- Iran: Islamic (Shia) Groups
- England: Liberal-Social Democrat, Sunni Muslim Arabs and non-pro-Iranian Shiite Islamic groups.
- Turkmen Groups: to be the center of Arbil, although the intensity of some marginal groups in Turkey, Syria, and Iran are in the UK.
- Northern Iraq's Kurdish region, after being declared a safe area, the Kurds formed their own administration. However, the economic, social and political reasons, this region is still split.

While in Duhok and Erbil were under the Massoud Barzani's control, Sulaimaniyah was under the control of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan led by Jalal Talabani





Saddam Hussein's management finds \$ 1 trillion in economic losses in 1980 as a result of attack on Iran. Iran is demanding \$ 900 billion in war reparations from Iraq.

Before the Iraq-Iran war, Iraq had \$ 70 billion of foreign currency deposits in 1980, Today Iraq's \$ 100 billion on infrastructure has been destroyed, and the amount of compensation due to the Gulf War in Kuwait and demanded of other countries is 270 billion dollars. Due to the embargo, oil is around 175-200 billion loss in question cannot be sold since eight years. Iraq's infrastructure has been largely destroyed condition. Due to reparations and UN operations and other reasons, it is estimated will be made in future UN control of Iraq's oil sales.

### III. STRUCTURE OF THE BAATH GOVERNANCE

Baath Party, 1958 Revolution made its name heard after street fights with the Communists. The Baath Party began building an assassination team consisting of young people to eliminate President General Abdulkarim Qasim, because of the broken relations between President General Abdulkarim Qasim who was the leader of the revolution and the Baath Party. Hayrullah Talfah one member of the party, called his nephew, Saddam Hussein and ensured his entrance into young man hit team in street fights. So Saddam's name was heard for the first time in this event. Saddam fled to Syria after the event, then went to Egypt (Canant that. Y., 1986). After the split that occurred in 1966 in Tikrit clan members of the Baath Party seized one flank, Saddam has improved his position in the party administration. In 1968 the Tikrit group in which Saddam is working came to the power. In Iraq, a Middle Eastern power structure was emerged which came into being in this century and became a tradition: (President (dictator) - Family - Clan (clan) - Intelligence and Police Force - Party - Government.)

### IV. SEIZURE OF POWER

The Socialist Baath Party which came to power for the first time at 8th February 1963 with a bloody coup together with the Arab nationalists (the Nasserist); has initiated an atmosphere of terrorism during nearly eight months in the country and eliminated its opponents in a bloody way, thousands of people were executed without trial. The Nasserist wing of the government was overthrown from the Baath Party in October 1963 via an internal coup.

The members of Tikriti clan members such as Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr (President) Saddam Hussein, Harden al-Tikriti, Hammad sehab, Sadun Gaydar, Hayrullah Talfah, although Salah Omar Ali had at the same time a kinship and family ties. as well as their membership to the Tikrit Clan. Sammara Group which was close to this group and Abdulhalik Sammara who represents the group were overthrown from the power in the second year. Then it was purged other groups. After the liquidation of other groups Tikriti clan, the clan members of Saddam's family liquidated others and stayed in power alone.

Especially in 1979, al-Majid family from the Albu-Nasir group of Saddam's Tikriti clan has dominated the state administration following the liquidation of Bakr by Saddam. Usually ending with the bloody power struggle, in the first ring of power struggle while El-Gafur al-Khattab's groups were liquidating the penultimate step of liquidation was erupted in Al-Majid family. Saddam's children, Qusay and Uday, killed their uncles Hussein Kamil and Saddam Kamil who fled to Jordan in 1995 and returned to the country in 1996 in exchange for a number of safeguards and a special amnesty, after their step-uncle, Barzan, Vatban and Sebavi The



current fighting continues between brothers Uday and Qusay. Power struggle is developing so far in favor of his younger brother Qusay Saddam.

Uday was exposed in an assassination in December 1996, and he became paralyzed as a result. The bloody Qusay governing intelligence agencies of the country was appointed as Deputy Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces with decision made in August. The authorities of Vice President of Revolutionary Command Council Izzat Ibrahim al-Douri who was sick were transferred to Qusay Saddam Hussein. In addition, Saddam, receives a secret decision to the emergency (in exceptional circumstances) is handing over powers Qusay. In this case, Qusay will help an advisory committee (bridged. Z., 1998). This decision took place as reported in the media. Not denials by Iraqi authorities were declared. According to information from the country Baghdad no longer actively managing Qusay Saddam Hussein. Uday is waiting for developments. Saddam, in this case the least satisfied itself as cruel, experiencing the happiness and peace of mind to hand this task to one of its descendants (Stoel. M., V., D.: 1995).

#### V. QUSAY SADDAM HUSSEIN

While the regime was governed by Uday in appearance the management of the invisible and the dark interior of the rest parts was held by Qusay. Uday was administrating the Youth Organizations, Sports and Olympic Committee, the country's first and only private TV and also the first and only private newspaper and some clubs and associations. The Intelligence and Security Services, Republican Guard and the Special Protection and management of organizations such as the Fedayeen of Saddam was left to Qusay in a row. He was also Deputy Chief Commander of the Armed Forces. (Commander in chief is Saddam Hussein). He was the Vice Chairman of the Command Council of Revolution which was the highest legislative and executive bodies of the country. In May 2000, Qusay Saddam Hussein's Baath Party, was appointed to the executive council membership and deputy Chairman of the Military Bureau. That appointment made Qusay the second strongest person of the country as well as the country's armed forces.

Saddam's younger son Qusay who had the most important voice in country after his father was born on two months after the revolution of July 17 of 1968 which brought the Baath Party to the country's government. The people had recognising him from a photography in which as the person behind Saddam Hussein with Kalashnikov rifle to protect him while reading an announcement at Radio House. This photo was published in the press on the anniversary of the revolution in the early years, it was taken down in later years.

Saddam in July 1979 came to power after going down the former President Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, shot over forty people consisting of Ministers, the Revolutionary Command Council and the senior members and the Baath Party. Saddam also calling representatives of the Baath Party Provincial Organization for that murder of and made them a partner in crime with servitude fire to their friends. At the time, he asked the his half-brother Barzan who was chairman of the Mukhabarat al-Tikriti to bring his son Qusay. And Qusay, who was in 10 years old in that time, has taken place in the squad in ceremonies of shooting training and fired live targets. The ministers and relatives of the people killed there were friends dating to Saddam's younger years. Qusay were joking playing away to small arms in the home visit. 10-year-old Qusay, has



recognized with murder, party and politics in this way for the first time acquainted farewell to childhood. Qusay, also attended the torture sessions often on his father's request. Qusay while governing a part of the Republican Guards he also became the chief of Emnül Al-Alhas, a special organization which was the head of the executive management of the security services. by entering into formality examination of Politics and Law he graduated from the Faculty of Science. Then he became the secretary general of National Security Council and through the power received from the organizations he govern and his father he became the most powerful member.

#### **VI. SUBORDINATE FORCES OF POWER**

Saddam or his son Qusay, were ruling the country through their established bloody organization. The form of government did not follow a top to bottom (vertical) shape it had a side by side (vertical) structure. At the core of the system, the Intelligence and Security Organization are checking each other, and are positioned above the Ba'ath Party government in the state administration. Another element of that complex system was (Stoel. M., V., D.,: 1995) the guardians of the republic. As opposed to other examples founded for ceremony in many countries often in teasing levels, those units in Iraq had approximately 60,000 personnel and composed of 11 divisions. The task of this association, which is above the regular Army is to protect Saddam and his regime. In addition, there is an organization called Special Protection. This organization was founded with the purpose of protection, it expands and is equipped with armored vehicles and air elements and materials. The task force still has assumed the defense of Baghdad, serves as a kind of emergency power. 30,000 of these troops commander is said to consist of the staff makes Qusay Saddam. Another force that manages Qusay Saddam Hussein was the "Saddam's Fedayeen" organization which was founded by Uday Saddam Hussein. This organization was organized in Militia order and equipped with T-72 tanks, Aircrafts and Combat Helicopters (bridged. Z., 1998).

Saddam's regime has neglected the Armed Forces which he do not trust for external defense because it was not needed at this stage. Even most basic need of Armed Forces (Army) was not meet. The slovenly attire of members were immediately noticeable, most of the members were working in other jobs after working hours. In contrast, the organizations such as Republican Guard, the Special Protection and Saddam's Fedayeen were attached importance. A member of the Republican Guard were given at least ten times more salary than of an army officer belonging to the same degree. From the foregoing it is understood that system; coup was organized to resist the popular uprising and internal turmoil.

#### **VII. IRAQI OPPOSITION AND HISTORICAL PROCESS**

Socialist Arab Baath Party seized power with a coup, established a bloody dictatorship in the country. Individuals and groups with different opinions were often disposed of in a bloody way. Bloody purge operations in the country began after clearing Saddam Hussein's former President Ahmad Hassan Bakr in 1978 whom he shared power. Saddam Hussein's Baath Party on its forty Manager, Secretary, fusillade Revolutionary Command Council brought together with other members of the Baath Party members. From this period of liquidation it became a part of everyday life. Opposing persons fled the country to save their lives. Iraqi opposition



accusations that they are not directed at the largest union. To understand the causes of this situation, the secret service of the order every year to be used in operations related to the opposition is allocated \$ 1 billion. We think this stunning example is sufficient to grasp the situation.

In 1980, the Iran-Iraq war broke out, met in Damascus scattered Iraqi opposition groups after several months of discussions and meetings Iraqi Patriotic Nationalist Democratic Front (IYMDC) was formed. The Front was consisted of the following parties and organizations:

- Turkmen National Democratic Organization.
- Socialist Arab Baath Party (Saddam dissident wing).
- Patriotic Union of Kurdistan.
- Kurdistan Socialist Party.
- Iraqi Communist Party.
- Arab Socialist Movement.
- People's Liberation Army of Iraq.
- Independent Figures.
- Socialist Unity Party (Nasserist Arab nationalist).

Surely this front, while the PUK owns military power, political power was belong to the Socialist Arab Baath Party because of the central position of Syria Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), has been excluded Front with the pressure of PUK. Because of that pressure, the KDP and Kurdistan Socialist Party have left Iraqi Communist Party (IYMDC) and together with the leadership of the KDP they found the Patriotic (National) Democratic Front (YUDC).

Turkmen National Democratic Organization (MDTO) which was representing Turkmen in the opposition have been exceptionally beneficial for Turkmen through making the voice of the community heard and advocating the the role of future Iraq structuring and the worked for making administrative, political and cultural rights of Turkmen recognized. The MDTO also ensured the recognition of imposing the issue of Turkmen's place in declarations and statements.

Among other reasons the KDP-PUK conflict which wasturned into armed clashes from time to time was affecting negatively the opposition Movement. In 1983, Libya intervened to combine the two fronts. The two fronts brought together in Libyan capital Tripoli in Libya, under the auspices of Syria and the PLO representatives However, this initiative, other initiatives have also failed.

An important document on the future of Iraq was considered at the meeting. As a result of the insistence of the Turkmen delegation KDP, the PUK and the other major political parties in this important document signed by the Turkmen they have adopted the administrative and cultural rights. These rights as an independent agent took part in a joint statement.

The relationship between Iraqi Opposition (Secular opposition), and Syrian regime became broken especially after concernng the Syrian government in 1986 when Iran invaded the Fawr peninsula to condemn and these events has led to the surfacing of the existing deep disagreements in a way.

From this date, the weakening of the opposition in Syria and Iraq entered into disintegration. the Turkmen National Democratic has put aside its activities because of the lack of support. The





opposition groups in Iran have operated in Islamic-Shiite line. The organizations in that group are listed below (Canantan. Y., 1986):

- Dawa Party.
- The Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution.
- organization of Islamic Studies.

Islamic parties by staying out of the confrontation movements in Iraq described above, have carried out organizationing, suicide bombings, informatic and armed actions. The combination of secular and religious opposition was held in 1990 with the invasion of Iraq in Kuwait. Iraqi opposition was held in Beirut in March 1991." No practical and enforceable decisions were taken at the meeting held under the name of "Beirut Congress". Later efforts came together in Vienna in June 1999 by an Iraqi opposition group, the Iraqi National Congress (INC) was established. INC was boycotted by the major opposition groups. The above-mentioned Islamic Party and the Syrian Arab nationalists, did not attend the meeting. The liberal groups in London, and the groups that found other parties after broking off from the Islamic parties as well as Kurdish parties have joined the meeting.

Kurdish parties have acted in order to obtain the right to Self-Determination through abusing that low participation. According to the prior informations received by the Iraqi National Turkmen Party executives, it was known that Kurds would join the meeting with a crowded group as well as their intentions. The Kurdish party members who has an negative view of IMTP because of its boycott on the Kurdish parliamentary elections held on 5 May 1992 started to take action after foreseeing possible obstacles could be taken out by IMTP committee. And they started to seek an alternative Turkem delegation. Despite everything IMTP delegation was able to attend this meeting. The delegation blocked the resolution of the Kurdish parties, with the support of Islamic groups. Along with the participation of other groups that did not participate in the meeting in Vienna in October 1992, the INC meeting was held in northern Iraq's Salahuddin City. The INC has continued its activities until 1996 in Northern Iraq. On 31 August 1996 the raid of Iraqi forces in northern Iraq has caused numerous losses, and the rest were taken to Guam Island in the Pacific with an operation organized by the United States.

#### **VIII. THE IRAQ POLICY OF THE US AND IRAQ RECOVERY ACT**

After the second Gulf War, the United States has started to move for constructing a new system in order to revise its Middle East policy starting with Iraq. That new system could prestige to contemporary values such as human rights and democracy The US preferred to pursue a policy to control Saddam rather than replacing him (Dual Containment).The methods chosen for this application were embargo, no-fly zone and safe region zone.

US is implementing this policy since 1991. Since 1998, there were oppositions against this policy, or at least discontents began to emerge. From time to time they raised their voices against this policy as allies of the US. Alliance formed against Saddam in 1991 entered into a process of disintegration. The Weapons of Mass Destruction of Destruction Commission (UNSCOM) which is a UN-created and organization and supported by the US failed to get a desired success and in that point the US has changed its Iraq policy and adopted to change the Saddam Regime (Stoel. M., V., D.,: 1995).



Former US President Bill Clinton approved the law on "Iraq Recovery Act of 1998" adopted by the Congress on 31 October 1998. The law was aimed to overthrow of the Saddam regime in Iraq and establish a democratic government and included a comprehensive aid program for Iraqi people. For the Iraqi opposition groups supporting those aims, the US would provide 97 Million dollars financial supply and demands the assignation of opposition groups who will take the aid from the administration. For the use of aid and to bring the opposition groups together, a senior diplomat (Frank Riccardone) was appointed as co-ordinator. With this law, the Change Project prepared by the Iraqi National Congress "INC" was adopted by Congress. According to the project, Iraq Recovery Act, is not considered as the action plan instead it is seen as a declaration of intent. The project in summary contains expanding the Safe Zone that will be created in the South, and the realization of regime changes in Iraq. Republican wing of the Congress supported this plan, administration (management) opposes the performance of the Iraqi opposition and doubts that represents each occasion. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Elizabeth Johns in his speech in the Senate has clearly stated this situation date of 02/06/1999.

#### **IX. CONCLUSIONS**

The approach of the US administration to the issue of Iraq was not hasty and by based on past experience it was careful and very cautious. US did not aimed to realize this action alone with the exclusion of Iraqi public and neighboring countries. In a speech of former President Clinton on Iraq on 20 January 1999, this policy is understood. In that speech Clinton says "The change in Iraq will take time. We should have to close this matter carefully to achieve guaranteed result . We have to be careful for the safety of life of Iraqi opposition in case not to risk their life unnecessarily. We must not take the US Forces and and those who share the same objectives with us into a danger that we are not sure of the success. Our approach to this problem assets and be cautious" The Assistant Secretary of State Martin Indyk, says "There is a need for assistance of the neighboring Arab countries and Turkey therefore, it must take into account the thoughts of those countries about the Iraq in post-Saddam era, Any form of government will not imposed to the Iraqi public." These words were conveying a reassurance for Turkey who concerned the division of Iraq and Iran and Syria who concerned about coming of a pro-American government. The aim was to get the contributions of those countries to the plans for Iraq. It is known that the US government spend great efforts to convince these countries. While an intensive effort was made in the Middle East peace talks for initiating the Syrian-Israeli part, at the same time the sensitivities of Turkey regarding the Northern Iraq were tries to be overcome. Madlein Albright In his meeting with representatives of the Iraqi opposition in last May said that "We do not accept any proposal for solution that is not accepted by Turkey." When analyzed carefully the following developments related to Iraq Turkey's key role is understood. The US has supported the demand of Turkey to arrest and judge Abdullah Ocalan in Turkey unwaveringly.

The US has also failed experience related to Iraq and has been wasted a variety of opportunity. At least the people of Iraq and Iraqi dissidents carry these ideas. The views and opinions, as well as the Middle East peace process without entering a secure channel, we think Iraq will not



be allowed to play an active role in the region again. If everything go as planned, we believe the change will take place in early 2001 in Iraq.

Former Assistant Secretary of State Martin Indyk, in his speech on 22 April 1999 in the US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee explained the outline US' Iraq policy as follows:

- Lifting the embargo depends on leave Saddam in power. Saddam will not be allowed to control oil revenues.
- Iraq's territorial integrity will be respected.
- not imposed any government on the Iraqi people.
- eliminate the constitutional basis of the Saddam administration, it will be trial for his crimes.
- proposals regarding the future of Iraq in order to create an alternative Iraq to protect the peace of respectful and civil society will be clarified.

It is impossible to change Saddam Hussein's behavior. Therefore he should be kept under constant control in order to restrict his ability to threaten its neighbors and the Iraqi public.

- The difficulties of Iraqi public caused by the Control would be alleviated
- After removing the government of Saddam Hussein, the cooperations between Iraqi public and the internal and external forces and neighbours will be enhanced to ensure the return to Iraq of the international community and Iraq it will be rehabilitated.
- Saddam Hussein will be taken following a steady force in the region to exceed the red lines.

1- His possible attempts to rebuild or filling the WMD weapon arsenals.

2- Possible threatenings of its neighbors or the US Forces in the region.

3- Possible actions against the Iraqi public, especially if the action against the zone to the north or flight.

Martin Indyk accept a reality; Saddam is still strong despite the nine-years of embargo, Iraq is a threat to locals and neighbors. Therefore, the United States, adopted a policy in place of Change its Control Policy with the regime-change policy and President Clinton stated that "We now have a responsibility for changing the government in the eyes of the Iraqi people, We are committed to changing the government issue." Clinton recalls the words of the United States as evidence and shows the determination on this issue. Indyk says, "Because of those reasons the Iraq Recovery Act was adopted in 1998." Today the situation is like that but it is impossible to predict the directions of developments from stage. Turgut Ozal in one of his speech has said us that "The president Bush has negotiated with himself in all stages of the Second Gulf War in Iraq however in the last stage when the Allied forces progressed towards Iraqi territories the negotiation was interrupted." The process mentioned by Ozal was the most important process. If the Allied Forces had threatened Saddam when they move to the outskirts of Baghdad, the Iraq crisis would not happen today. The US has disabled its allies, especially those directly affected by the issue at this stage.

According to the law called "Iraq Recovery Act of 1998" Congress adopted in 1998, r \$97 million was allocated to the Iraqi opposition and a coordinator was appointed to bring the opposition groups together. Iraqi opposition meeting aims to be merged and since March 1999 they regulated meetings. The most concrete cases performed by the opposition group was to choose the seven temporary presidential council to the Iraqi National Congress, meeting with US



Foreign Minister twice, making negotiations with the UNSC members between 20 September -1 October 1999, and the activities they did against Iraq Management in the EU. Iraqi National Congress did not held on Jun 1999 as planned because of the differences of opinion about the choosing of the competent authorities related with the INC. The meeting was held in New York October 29, 1999. Because of filing to remedy the differences of opinions some important persons and groups like Arab nationalists, the Iraqi Communist Party as well as efficient Islamic organizations such as the Islamic Dawa Party and the Islamic Labour Organization. The Kurdish groups demonstrated the crowd and active participation. The expression of "is covered with Respect" for Kurdish federation decision which was seen in earlier reports has changed as "Accepted" in this meeting. It should not be expected to have efficiency in the process of change from this meeting of INC because of the controversial processes of arrangement, attendance and decision-making. The US administrators have already stated that Iraqi opposition groups would not have an important role in the process of change in Iraq openly. In this regard there are deep disagreements between Congress and the US Administration. The US Administration is contrary to the Convention doubt the strength of the Iraqi opposition. In the meetings of opposition held in April, May, and June the Iraqi Turkmen Front has also participated. In the negotiations with US foreign Minister and other officials, the Turkmen representatives were also presented. In July, the following principles of ITC were declared to the Group Leaders of the opposition (Canatan that. Y., 1986):

- The ITC is supporting the territorial integrity of Iraq
- The ITC is the only legitimate representatives of the Iraqi Turks.
- The Turkmen will be represented by 13% in the all kinds of commissions, boards and General Assembly created in the new structures
- The appointment of represents a rate of 13% will be made by the ITC.

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