



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF DEVELOPMENT IN SOCIAL
SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES

e-ISSN:2455-5142; p-ISSN: 2455-7730

The Problem of Mosul and Political Parties (1918-1926)

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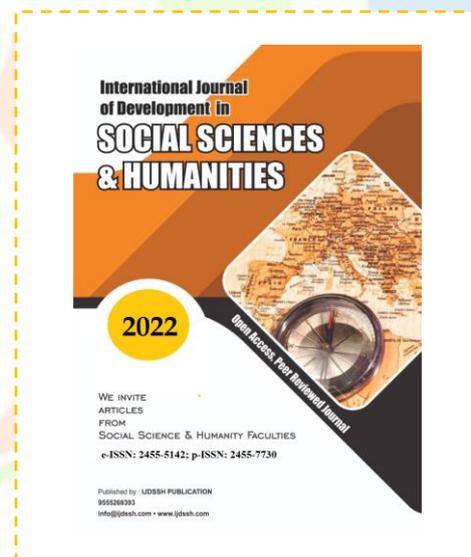
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Paper Received: 10th February 2022; **Paper Accepted:** 29th March 2022;

Paper Published: 29th June 2022

How to cite the article:

Raheem O.I.(2022), The Problem of
Mosul and Political Parties (1918-1926),
IJSSH, January-June 2022, Vol 13,
39-74



ABSTRACT

Britain followed a contradictory policy in the days of the outbreak of the First World War (1914-1918) through its agreement with the Arabs on unity and independence from the Ottoman Empire, then it agreed with France (Sykes-Picot Agreement) to divide the countries of the Arab Mashreq, and this contradicts their agreement with the Arabs. The Supreme Allies on April 25, 1920 in San Remo Mandate system and the Treaty of Sèvres and Lausanne. The contradiction of the colonial states in the San Remo conference and the establishment of the mandate system that contradicts international promises and the Joint Declaration (French - British) and with principle a report Self Determination and the principles of the American President and the age of fourteen. The British occupation of Iraq and the start of the occupation of Al-Faw then Basra and the advance of the British forces towards the cities, then (the Siege of Kut), the advance towards Baghdad and its occupation in March 1917, and the follow-up of the advance until the British forces reached a distance of (12) miles from Mosul when the Armistice of Mudros (Mudros) was held on October 30 The first, 1918, was clear evidence that Britain had hidden interests, ambitions and strategies towards Mosul, and this is what we understand from the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 and then the agreement that the Wilayat of Basra and Baghdad would be under direct British rule and the Wilayat of Mosul under indirect French rule, and this is what we understand that Britain has interests She hid it even on her ally in the war, France. But the twentieth revolution in Iraq forced Britain to end the mandate and form an Iraqi government, so Britain took Mosul as a trump card to pass its policy in the event of not recognizing its existence and concluding a treaty with Iraq.

Keywords: *Mosul, political parties*

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of modern times, Iraq has received the attention of international powers, especially Britain, which sought to take possession of it since it was under Ottoman control (1516-1918). The methods of Britain, major countries and international powers varied in reaching it and controlling

its capabilities and looting its wealth. The First World War (1914) paved the way for Iraq. And it revealed the ambitions of the colonial states, the war, for Iraq is a country of wealth and a strategic and vital location that many aspire to control. Wealth, ingredients and factors of industry from raw materials, whether agricultural or industrial, fertile lands and other ingredients.

The outbreak of the First World War led Iraq to be subjected to occupation and mandate and the emergence of the problem of Mosul and the problem of its independence as a result of the competition that accompanied British policy from European countries and the Ottoman Empire, which was looking for crises to erase the shame of defeat in World War I and the fall of its empire and its sharing between Britain and France under the Sykes Agreement Pico 1916, as amended by the San Remo Agreement, April 25, 1920, and the London Conference. As for the European countries, a competition arose to acquire the resources located within the areas of influence of the defeated Ottoman Empire, and among those properties was Iraq. Britain tried to make its intervention in Iraq and its acquisition of its lands, wealth and oil resources to be officially By obtaining from the Ottoman Empire privileges that guarantee it that control and obtaining from France over Mosul after giving it all of the Levant in front of Mosul and controlling Iraq. The sources of oil and the threat to the Iraqis of losing Mosul opened new horizons of international conflict Li that precious vital area.

Secondly, the renewal of the Mosul problem through Turkey's demands and the division of the Iraqi political scene after 2003 between Iraq and Kurdistan and Turkey's

demands and incitement to return the Mosul problem. The problem of 2015 when it is 1918, and this is the time frame in which this problem began after the Mandros armistice and ended in 1926 with the conclusion of a treaty, while its consequences remained until the declaration of Iraq's independence in 1932, and as a result of the announcement of the British Mandate system on Iraq and the rise of the Twenty Revolution and its impact, an Iraqi government was formed on 23 August 1921 and the installation of Faisal I at its head and the conclusion of the first Iraqi - British treaty 1922 and the formation of parties in July 1922 after the decision to form parties and associations was issued within the requirements of parliamentary life and presented the problem to the Council of the League of Nations and the role of the national movement and the parties all seeking the independence of Iraq and rid it of British restrictions and consequences.

The research was divided into two chapters with a number of investigations:

The first chapter included (the problem of Mosul and the international movement and the Imam's League in it) the first topic (the Wilayat of Mosul) and the second topic (the British occupation and the beginning of the Mosul problem), the third topic (the problem of Mosul at the level of international forums) and the fourth topic (the problem of Mosul in

the League of Nations, the Dispute Resolution Committee As for the fifth topic (settling the dispute, the problem of Mosul in the League of Nations).

As for the second chapter, it was called (the position of the Iraqi political parties on the problem of Mosul), and in it the first topic (the position of the political parties on the problem of Mosul at the beginning of party life in Iraq). As for the second topic, entitled (The formation of the parties that accompanied the Mosul problem (the Mosul parties), the third and final topic came (Parliamentary political parties and their position on the Mosul problem).

This study relied on unpublished documents from the Iraqi National Library (Dar al-Kutub and Documents) (DKW) File No. C1 (Mosul Problem), as well as published documents from the League of Nations related to the study of the arguments and pretexts - the British structure that was presented in the Imam League and was titled (League of Nation, Question of the frontier Between Turkey and Iraq, Report submitted to the council by the commission in situated by the Resolution of September, 1924).

The most important books in the forefront of which are Fadel Hussein's book (The Problem of Mosul, a Study in Iraqi - British - Turkish Diplomacy and Public Opinion),

which is originally a doctoral thesis from Andriana University, and a book (The History of Ministries and the Political History of Iraq) by Professor Abdul Razzaq Al-Hasani as well as the book by Jaafar Abbas Hamidi (The History of Contemporary Iraq 1914-1968), and the book by Pierre Mustafa Rif al-Din (British policy towards Turkey and its impact on Kurdistan 1923-1926), and the book was originally a master's thesis published in the Arab House of Encyclopaedias.

As for the other sources adopted by Farouk Salih al-Omar's book (Political Parties 1921-1932), the book was originally a published master's thesis, and the book (Political Parties in Iraq 1908-1958) by Hassan Bishr, as well as university theses such as (The Mosul State A Study in its Political Developments 1908-1922) by Ibrahim Khalil Ahmed, an unpublished master's thesis, the thesis of Sabah Mahdi Rumayd al-Quraishi (Al-Kut, a study of its administrative and political developments, 1914-1939), and the letter of Adnan Harir al-Shjari (the administrative system in Iraq 1920-1939), as well as the letter of Safanah Hazaa al-Tai (Mosul in the Mandate years 1920-1932) and a number of newspapers to review the role of the parties, including Al-Ahed, Al-Alam Al-Arabi and Al-Istiqlal.

We have to admit that the study has many lapses that can be corrected through correction and accuracy of historical information. This is the work of researchers. The more there is a possibility, the higher the quality and accuracy of the study. One has to strive hard, and one does not have to be successful even.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. **The problem of Mosul, the British - Iraqi-Turkish international movement, and the League of Nations:**

The first topic: Wilayat of Mosul (Jaafar, 1933):

Iraq underwent Ottoman control from 1516-1918, during which a short period of Persian occupation was interspersed, and the Wilayat of Mosul was directly subordinate to the Sublime Porte in Astana, like the states within the subordination of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1850, Mosul was moved from a state to a Mutasarrif degree, and then in 1879 it became a state with two Sanjaks, Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah. Iraq consisted of three states (Mosul, Baghdad and Basra). Rawanduz, Kifri, Sulaymaniyah, and Shahrazor (Ibrahim, 1986), the population of Mosul reached 1789 eight hundred thousand people (3) and it was administratively affiliated to

the governor of Baghdad and the situation continued until the outbreak of the Second World War 1914-1918. Its area, the abundance of its souls, and its abundance of bounties (4) and this is what prompted the British side to pay attention to Iraq and Mosul in particular, and the favorable opportunity came for the Ottoman Empire to enter the war on the side of Germany on November 5, 1914, and this is what the British Resident in the Persian Gulf stated on November 31." The Ottoman Empire entered the war at the instigation of Germany, and this war will be its end" (Eiland, 1949). The colonial European, especially in the fields of trade and transportation, Britain, among its European counterparts, sought to have continuity of British interests in Iraq (Jassim, 1986) as an extension of the Arabian Gulf and for its fear of controlling these strategic sites, cutting off its trade and interests in India, and controlling the Abadan Oil (Stephen, 1988) In addition to the presence of oil sources in the states of Baghdad and Mosul and the presence of raw materials that would feed its British industry in the event of its control, and made Iraq a market for its goods and industry, and this was stated by Lord Gurzon, Deputy Minister of India in the British House of Lords, saying: It is a misguidance to think that our political interests are limited to Baghdad and Basra, but rather extend forward as far as Baghdad

itself and north of Baghdad (8) meaning Mosul.

- Berlin railway projects and the possibility of threatening its interests in the east and its colonies in the Indian subcontinent, as well as the presence of oil sources in Mosul. To achieve its goals in Iraq, Britain declared war on the Ottoman Empire on 5 November 1914 and began preparing its forces to maintain its occupation of the Arabian Gulf from any European competition, so Lieutenant-General Sir Edmund Barrow, the Military Secretary of the Ministry of India, called for directing a British military force to Iraq (9).

The British forces were assigned to Brigadier General SW Deleamin and set their framework for maintaining the oil refineries and the pipeline and covering the landing of supplies, as these were considered necessary. Indeed, the British forces landed in Bahrain and headed towards Al-Faw and landed on November 6, 1914 (10) after the cannons of the ship Odin were fired (Odin) bombs on the fortress of Al-Faw, then the British forces continued to land under the leadership of Rocher and managed to occupy the Qasbah of Al-Faw after the Ottomans retreated on 19-20 of the same month from Basra towards Qurna, so the British entered the state of Basra on November 22 and worked to dam the Shatt Al-Arab by flooding Commercial ships and the German consulate became the

headquarters of the British military forces command (Sabah, 2009).

The British forces headed towards Qurna and entrenched themselves in the areas of (Al-Sahel and Kut Al-Zein). The British commander, General Friy, began the attack on January 17, 1915 from the left side, while Dilamine and his forces from the other side, so the Ottoman forces withdrew towards Nasiriyah to prepare for the battle of Shuaiba, which lasted four days 12- April 15, 1915 ended with the withdrawal of the Ottomans and the suicide of their leader in the battle. They withdrew under the leadership of Muhammad Fadel Pasha towards Amarah, then Kut, and other Ottoman forces withdrew under the leadership of Ali Bey through the Gharraf River (Sabah, 2009).

The Ottomans tried to reconsider the organization of their forces to gain the support of the Iraqis by proposing the idea of (holy jihad), but that idea quickly faded after the Ottomans turned away from the appropriate behavior with those who cooperated with them in this direction, but they held out in the city of Kut after the battle of Salman Pak in April 1916 They besieged the British in this city for five months, which resulted in the surrender of the besieged forces, including their commander, General Townshend, on April

29, 1916, but the English resumed their attack on Baghdad under the leadership of General Stanly Maude (13) so they captured the city of Kut on March 11, 1917, due to the advance of the forces The Russians in Iran and their arrival in the city of Kermanshah and then threatening the north-eastern borders of Iraq (14), as well as the secret Sykes-Picot agreement (Bashar, 2003) and to restore Britain's prestige after the setback in the Siege of Kut (16) as well as the importance of Baghdad and Iraq for Britain (17). But the Ottomans did not seize the opportunity of their victory over the British forces in Kut, so they underestimated the British forces and thought that they could defeat them, so they pushed part of their forces towards Iran. The British army in February 1917, then the British forces advanced towards Al-Aziziyah and occupied it on March 11, 1917. Khalil Pasha withdrew towards the Diyala River. The British forces pursued him. On March 8, 1917, it was 4 miles away from Baghdad. Then the latter decided to evacuate Baghdad on March 10-11, 1917. On the morning of March 11, British forces occupied Baghdad (18) and entered the political circle led by Percy Z. Cox (19) Baghdad with the occupying army's staff for the purpose of directing the organization of civil administration, which aroused Maud's indignation that the Ottoman danger is still present and it is wrong to give

up the administration However, the decisions of the Administrative Committee of Mesopotamia (20) decided on March 27, 1917, a set of decisions, the most important of which was: that the occupied territories would be administered by the government of His Majesty the King, and it is not from the Government of India to keep the area between Basra in the south and Kut in the north under direct British administration and replace the chief political ruler with a high commissioner to be at the head of the administration in Baghdad, but Percy Cox went to London and objected to that, so the Administrative Committee of Mesopotamia returned its decision and decided on 4 July 1917 Percy Cox raised the status of Chief Political Ruler to Governor-General, Civil Commissioner, authorizing him to communicate with the British Government through the Minister of India and specifying his duties as follows: Administrative sufficiency to maintain security and order and provide the needs of the military force" (Adnan, 2005).

The occupation of Baghdad by the British had political, military and psychological effects on the Ottoman presence in other regions of Iraq, and the British took advantage of that and advanced towards Samarra on April 22, and Ramadi on September 29, and Tikrin on the 6 of the

second of the year 1917. The British army remained at the Al-Fatah area (120) miles south Al-Sharqat until the end of October 1918, meaning 12 miles away from the city of Mosul, and the Ottomans had evacuated the city of Mosul before the Mudros armistice (22) which stopped military operations and then returned to it after the armistice (Hussain, 1987).

2. The British occupation of Mosul and the start of the Mosul problem:

The Ottoman army was so defeated that the Ottoman federal government was forced to flee and resign, and a new government was formed under the leadership of Ahmed Izzat Pasha on October 14, 1918. Colonel General Leachman (CE Leachman) On the second day, he asked the Ottoman commander, General Ali Ihsan Pasha, to meet in the south of Mosul the English commander Sir. Willim Marshal, who received instructions from the British High Command to occupy the whole of Mosul in the light of the two articles of the armistice (7, 16) which states that the allies have the right to occupy any strategic point in the event that a situation arises that threatens the security of the allies (24). In addition to its military importance in preserving and securing land roads because it is the meeting point of the Kurdish mountain ranges with the mountains of Armenia, and this geographical location affects the military

importance of Mosul and Britain (Safana, 2002).

The British and Ottoman leaders argued about evacuating all of Mosul to the British side. The Ottoman leader Ali Ihsan Pasha refused to evacuate the city and returned to his headquarters in Mosul and raised the Ottoman flag over the city. On November 3, the British advanced towards Mosul and warned the Ottomans, so Ali Ihsan Pasha contacted his supreme leadership. He asks for her instructions, so he receives an order to evacuate Mosul and hand it over to the British, and leave the civilians to work in their departments in the name of the Ottoman Empire, and he leaves an agent for the governor in Mosul, Shakir Effendi, the Mosul judge (Ahmed, 2011).

The British occupied Mosul on November 10, 1918, and it is the last Iraqi region to occupy within the handover agreement signed on November 7 between William Marshall and Ali Ihsan Pasha. But the British appointed Sir CE Leachman as political governor and Sir CE Naldar as military governor, and the political governor's department consisted of the chief and assistant governor, Captain Minchin, but the administration remained under its Ottoman administrative staff (28).

But the Ottomans, after the end of the First World War, targeted (Ottoman) Turkey to

raise the problem of Mosul, as it was occupied after the armistice, so the modern (problem of Mosul) emerged, liberating the Anatolian lands, liquidating foreign privileges, extending Turkish sovereignty over the Dardanelles and Bosphorus straits, and challenging the terms of the Mudros truce as it was taken from the state. In an attempt to win over the Turkish patriots and unify the home front, a national resistance movement for the Turks developed a program for the national movement known as the National Pact (Misak-ı Milli) led by Mustafa Kemal (29) to unite the ranks of the armed forces and popular forces to fight international conferences, especially since the peace conference was held in Paris (January 18, 1919 - January 21, 1920), and it was natural to discuss the situation of the Ottoman Empire and the issue of its possessions and to bring the old problem back to its feet within the European interests in the Ottoman Empire (Bernard, 1968).

And when the Turkish (Ottoman) delegation attended Paris headed by Prime Minister Alfred Pasha on May 11, 1919 to represent the Istanbul government in the peace conference, but he was shocked when he was briefed on the terms of the treaty that the allies set on his country, and he said: "A group of calamities aiming at the complete

destruction of my country." by making amendments thereto (31).

After the formation of the interim Iraqi government headed by Abd al-Rahman al-Naqib in 1920, Britain thought of finding a stable system of government headed by an Arab ruler, and this idea was presented at the Cairo Conference held on March 12, 1921, and Prince Faisal was chosen to be King of Iraq, but the British side wanted the choice to be legitimate, so Percy made Cox elections in which Faisal won the majority and the reason for this is Britain's will to stand up to France because there are secret agreements on Iraq such as the Sixis Biccio Agreement and San Remo (32) which put Mosul under French control, but the replacement by colonial policy and bargains made Bilad al-Sham from France's share, and Iraq as a whole from Britain's share, including Mosul (Raja, 1984).

During his accession to the throne of Iraq on August 23, 1921, Faisal faced a set of tasks, foremost of which was ridding Iraq of the British Mandate (34) and concluding a treaty with Britain and preserving Mosul, which Turkey began to claim. Faisal wanted to conclude a treaty with Britain on the basis of two equal contracting states, On September 28, 1922, he entrusted Abd al-Rahman al-Naqeb with the formation of the third cabinet (September 30, 1922 - November 16,

1922), which took upon itself the task of signing the first Iraqi - British treaty that actually took place on October 10, 1922 (Raja', 1984).

Everyone was convinced that Britain used force and threats, especially since the Mosul issue had not been resolved, so Britain used it as a trump card to pass the treaty, as it threatened the Iraqis to lose Mosul (36) and even with the adoption of the treaty, the deputies stipulated approval of the treaty on the condition that Mosul remain within Iraq (37) and this is what he stated By the High Commissioner of King Faisal, "Strengthening Iraq's position on the issue of Mosul" (38).

As for Mosul, the government appointed Rashid Al-Khawaja (39) as its administrator on March 5, 1922. He proceeded to implement the government's policy of not giving up any inch or declaring what is going on about the problem of Mosul. So the administrator held a meeting attended by five thousand people on the occasion of the Renaissance Day (following the launch of Sharif Hussein, the announcement of the Great Revolution 1916) He urged the people of Mosul to adhere to their rights and informed them of the message of the Minister of Interior Ramzi Bey (40) that the Mosulis should adhere to their right and resist the Turkish allegations and not be

influenced by them, then Rashid Al-Khawaja was transferred from the Mosul Mutasarrifate on November 4, 1923 to be succeeded by Jaafar Al-Askari (41) because the latter is more sophisticated Political and military knowledge, especially after the Turkish claim to Mosul appeared, so the latter worked to take over the military leadership there and increase his powers in order to preserve Mosul (Liq, 20066).

3. The problem of Mosul at the level of international forums:

The Allied Powers invited Turkey to attend the peace conference, and Turkey attended, led by its Prime Minister, Farid Pasha, who was shocked by the Treaty of Seaver (43) which he described as a set of calamities and stated that the national movement and Turkey opposed it, so his government resigned and was replaced by the government of Ali Reza in October 1920. Paris Colonial settlements and international conferences were made and to give legal status according to Article (94) of the League system, Iraq was placed under the British Mandate in accordance with Article 22 of the League's Charter. Between Turkey and the allies and in the context of the Arab region.

The two parties agree that Syria and Iraq, in accordance with the fourth paragraph of Article 22 of Part One of the League of Nations, shall be provisionally recognized

independent countries, provided that they shall receive assistance and advice in administration from the British Mandate until such time as the two States find themselves in need of such assistance. and advice (44).

The Treaty of Seaver was concluded, which provided for the independence and sovereignty of Turkey over its lands, the recognition by the allies of the sovereignty of eastern Turkey, the straits, Istanbul and all the islands located within 3 miles of the Asian-Turkish coast, the evacuation of the Allied forces from the straits as well as the lands that were not subjected to the occupation of the allies and the concession of Turkey from any claim or any right it has in Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and Egypt (45).

With regard to Mosul, the Turkish delegation objected to its annexation to Iraq and opposed Britain's policy of being a mandated state on Iraq and wanted to annex Mosul to Turkey because its seizure was illegal after the Armistice of Mandros, which prompted the British side to respond that the control of Mosul was done by legitimate and legal methods in the light of Article (7) 16) From the articles of the Mandros Armistice, which states that "the allies have the right to occupy any strategic point in the event of a threat to the security of the allies, and the text of

Article (22) of the League's Charter (Ibrahim, 1975).

Based on the Treaty of Sevres, a committee was established to determine the Iraqi - Turkish border line described in Article (27), which extends east from the Turkish - Syrian border to a point on the northern border line of the Wilayat of Mosul. After six sessions, the deliberations ended and they agreed to postpone the issue of Mosul until a future agreement between Britain and Turkey (47).

Turkey deliberately increased its military and propaganda activities in northern Iraq and Mosul to achieve some victories before commencing negotiations on the future of Mosul in the first Lausanne Conference to be held on October 27, 1922. Britain welcomed those Turkish attacks on the Iraqi border (48) in order to put pressure on the Iraqi side, so Britain rushed With the publication of the Iraqi - British treaty on October 12, 1922, and with it the statement of Colonial Secretary Winston Churchill (49), in which he asserted that the British government would exert all its energy to delineate the borders of Iraq (Fadil, 1967).

4. The Treaty of Lausanne

The Allied Powers invited Turkey to attend the Lausanne Conference in Switzerland, i.e. the invitation to the Ottoman Constantinople government and the Grand National Council government in Ankara both. During the time

of the invitation and the conference meeting October 20, 1922, the Ottoman Constantinople government ceased to exist and the Ankara government remained the only legitimate government in Turkey. The Turkish delegation attended Headed by Ismet Inonu Pasha (51) and Hasan Bey, deputy of Trabzon, and Reza Nur Bey, deputy of Sinop, and the Iraqi delegation attended after the decision of the Council of Ministers held in November 1922 to choose Defense Minister Jaafar Al-Askari and Tawfiq Al-Suwaidi, one of the employees of the Ministry of Justice as observers who provide the Iraqi government with what is going on in Lausanne. Secondly, the Council of Ministers set, in its session, the tasks of the work of the Iraqi delegation in Lausanne with the help and assistance of the British Colonial Minister in bringing materials related to Iraq and appointing him (Jaafar al-Askari) temporarily as a delegate to Iraq and to attend the Iraqi delegation with the representative of the British government to the conference center to hear matters related to Iraq, despite That the position of the government of Abdul Rahman Al-Naqeeb was worried and that it felt that it could not solve the problem of Mosul alone (Abdul-Razzaq, 1988).

The conference opened its work on November 20, 1922. The talks took place in

two phases. The first took place on November 20, 1922 - February 4, 1923, and the second until July 24, 1923, during which many issues related to the property of the Ottoman Empire were discussed. The work of the conference was divided between three committees:

The first: related to border issues, minorities, straits, and military matters.

The second: related to the issue of foreign privileges in Turkey.

As for the third, it discussed economic and financial issues (53).

The discussions were sharp between the Entente countries and the head of the British delegation, George Nathanael Curzon (54), who wanted to impose conditions on Turkey / his country to preserve its interests in Turkey and elsewhere (Iraq), and Ismat Inonu Pasha, who demanded recognition and independence of Turkey for being a victorious country. after the War of Independence. Karzan responded to Ismat Pasha, "It is a heresy and a hollow claim that a defeated state dictates the way in which they administer the lands that were taken from them" (Liq'a', 2006).

Jaafar al-Askari wrote a report to the king in which he stated that he had met Lord Curzan on November 25 and asked him about the details of the borders of Iraq, the mixed

elements residing in the Wilayat of Mosul, and the views of the Kurds in the Sulaymaniyah Brigade. He told Karzan that leaving some parts of northern Iraq might lead to the Turks interfering in Iraq's affairs and persisting in acts of intrigue, which would pave the way for chaos in the country and make the Iraqi government's position very critical. Leaving Mosul requires leaving Baghdad and leaving Baghdad requires leaving Basra. Britain has to monitor the safety of the Persian Gulf. Karzan replied that maintaining Iraq's natural borders is the goal of what Britain adheres to, but the Turks claim that the northern part of the Wilayat of Mosul is inhabited by Kurds and Turks, and they are asking for brothers. The military replied, "If we leave the Kurdish region, it is difficult for us to manage the northern region of Iraq." For military and economic reasons, as for leaving the Wilayat of Mosul, it will lead to the destruction of the Iraqi government from its foundations" (56).

Before the end of the month of November, Ismet Inonu Pasha, head of the Turkish delegation and its foreign minister, asked Lord Curzen to postpone the public discussion of Turkey's claim to the Wilayat of Mosul, on the condition that there be a personal exchange of views between the two parties and that it be in written notes that were distributed to the delegations of the

allies on December 14 and 30 containing The two sides argued about the reasons why Iraq should keep it or give it to Turkey for political, historical, geographical and military reasons (57).

Within the racist arguments, the Turkish delegation claimed that the Kurds in Mosul are the majority and that they constitute four-fifths of the state's population and that they are the descendants of the Assyrians and the Kardakhis and that they are of Turanian origin. As for the political arguments, it was mentioned that Turkey did not recognize the mandate system and that there is no legal and legitimate character of the Iraqi-British treaty that Iraq is a part Legally from the Ottoman Empire (58).

As for the historical arguments, Ismat Pasha said that the Turks had ruled Mosul before the advent of the Ottoman Empire since the time of the Abbasid state, and Mosul was part of Turkey eleven centuries ago. Naturally, to demarcate the borders between the two regions. He added that Iraq's trade and markets are more connected to Diyar Bakr than Baghdad, and it is closer to the Mediterranean than the Arabian Gulf (Mohammed, 2000).

Ismat Pasha presented the arguments and pretexts that he deems appropriate to make Mosul the share of Turkey, but those excuses clashed with the British pretexts that Karzan

presented at the conference and presented to Britain and accepted by them. January 23, 1923 (60).

5. Britain's response to the Turkish arguments and the position of the Iraqi government:

The brother of the British Foreign Minister in Lausanne discusses Ismat Pasha's point of view point by point and said that he would be pleased if the British and Turkish point of view were printed alongside it and presented to public opinion. Karzan summarized the Iraqi - British relations (1914-1922) and said, "Britain's connection with Iraq is three things." A promise to the Arab people not to return it to Turkish rule, and secondly, a promise to the Arab king, Faisal, not to abandon the Iraqi land, including Mosul, and thirdly, a promise to the League of Nations, which cannot leave the mandate over part of the land it supervises without its consent" (Pierre, 2006).

Karzan presented his arguments and pretexts with a memorandum on Iraq and its entitlement to Mosul from the British point of view as it is directly responsible for Iraq and Mosul before the international community and before the international legitimacy represented by the League of Nations within the conclusion of the Iraqi-British Treaty on October 10, 1922, and Karzan challenged the racist arguments

presented by Turkey and followed by Ismat Pasha, being inaccurate statistics and not carrying a specific year, and there are British statistics that are more accurate than them (62).

Karzan said: The Turkish delegation was not accurate in describing the Kurds, some of them spoke Iranian and Ismat Pasha returned them to the Turanian origin, and this is not true. Karazan mentioned that Turkey did not recognize the Mandate system and that it has no legal status. Moreover, Arabs, Christians and Yazidis voted unanimously in favor of King Faisal I and accepted to join the Iraqi state (63).

As for Ismat Pasha's historical presentation about Mosul, Karzan rejected that because Mosul was an Arab city built by the Arabs and was Arab when the Turks occupied it for the first time and that the Kurds owned Kurdistan before the time of the Ottoman Empire. He added that the long Turkish control of the region did not change Arabs and Kurds into Turks, nor They likened the Turks by gender or language. As for the strategic and geographic grounds, Karzan refuted them and said: "Mosul cannot be divided, and the Hamrin and Makhoul mountains are just a series of hills of no importance and cannot be considered a barrier between Iraq and Turkey" (64).

Karzan suggested referring the problem to an independent investigation to issue a decision on the condition that the two parties undertake to implement the decision and he opposed holding a referendum for the residents of the Wilayat of Mosul (65).

Kurzan wanted to present the problem of Mosul to an international committee of the League of Nations, to which he pledged to study the problem, and that his government would accept its decision, because in general the most impartial and trusting judicial body. The delegations present at the Lausanne conference supported the British proposal and urged the Turkish delegation to accept the proposal. January 25, 1923, referring to Article Eleven of the League's Charter and requesting that the matter be included in the agenda of the League Council, which will be held on January 30 (66). The Turkish side agreed to the British proposal and thus the solution to the problem was referred to the Second Lausanne Conference after the end of the first Lausanne Conference on February 4, 1923, and it did not find a solution to the problem of Mosul (67).

The Second Conference of Lausanne and Constantinople:

Britain and Turkey agreed to discuss the problem of Mosul in Lausanne and set a period of (9) months starting from October 4, 1923.

1- To determine the border line between Turkey and Iraq in a friendly arrangement between Britain and Turkey within (9) months.

2- If he does not reach an agreement, the dispute shall be referred to the League Council, and the two parties undertake not to make any changes or military movements on the borders (68).

After the founding of the modern Turkish Republic on October 29, 1923, three months after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne and the tension of the border problem between Iraq and Turkey, talks took place in Istanbul within what was known as the (Constantinople Conference) between Percy Cox, the British High Commissioner in Iraq and Ali Fathi Bey Okyar Chairman of the Great Installation Council (Edith, 1989). A representative of Iraq, Taha al-Hashemi, Chief of Staff of the Army, as an advisor, also attended. The Turkish delegation presented many arguments calling for the return of Mosul to Turkey. Percy Cox and Taha al-Hashemi did not respond to these arguments. Percy Cox only raised the problem of the Assyrians (70) immigrants and the need to form their own national homeland under British protection, knowing that Britain was not serious about raising this problem, but rather used it as a pressure card on Turkey to extract a quick Turkish

recognition of the annexation of the Mosul state to Iraq (71). Cox mentioned a proposal to annex the Hakkari state in Iraq because it would cause problems for Turkey in the future.

Negotiations continued in Istanbul (Constantinople Conference) from May 19, 1924 - June 5, 1924. Fathi Bey responded to the British proposal in the second session, May 21, 1924, saying: "You did not realize that the Assyrians are but a very small minority in the Wilayat of Mosul. We believe that hundreds of thousands of Turks and Kurds cannot be extracted from their countries in order for a small minority of the Assyrians to be under the protection of Britain." Percy Cox responded in the session of May 24, 1924 to Fathi Bey by defending Karzan in Lausanne and that the issue of the Assyrians was put on the table for research because of its topographic and logistic relationship. On the problem of Mosul, Cox renewed his demand to find a home for the Assyrians within the borders of the State of Iraq by extricating the Hakkari province, Beit al-Shabab and Gulla Merck from Turkey to integrate them in Rawanduz (72). On June 5, 1924, Fathi Bey rejected the British proposals even on principle (73) and since that date the matter began. As if the negotiations between the Turkish and British side were going in a dead end, then Percy

Cox suggested pushing the issue of Mosul to the League of Nations at a single request from the British side on August 6, 1924, that is, two months after the end of the nine-month period set by the Treaty of Lausanne, and that was in recognition of the failure to solve the Mosul problem in the Constantinople conference (74). Because the Turkish side was evasive, while the British side was determined to maintain the Wilayat of Mosul in Iraq through diplomatic and military means as well. Since the conclusion of a treaty with Iraq on October 10, 1922, Britain has carried out military operations on the Mosul fronts to expel the Turkish Kemalist enclaves before and during the convening of the first Lausanne Conference. The purges began in early October and continued during the First Conference of Lausanne, on November 20, 1922, until February 4, 1923, as well as during the Second Conference of Lausanne on April 23, 1923, until July 24, 1923. Britain occupied Koysinjak and after six months occupied Rawanduz (75).

King Faisal sent a letter of thanks to Britain and its foreign minister, Karzan, following the efforts he made for Mosul, in which he said: "Dear the Marquis, the British Foreign Minister, I learned with great pleasure of the ratification of the treaty between the Government of Ankara on the Treaty of

Lausanne. The glorious endeavors you made in order to achieve peace... I thank you for the troubles you incurred in defending the rights of the Iraqi people” (Al-Waqa’i Al-Iraqiya, 1923).

6. The Problem of Mosul in the League of Nations (Dispute Resolution Committee):

After Britain asked the League’s Secretary on August 6, 1924, to put the issue of the Iraqi - Turkish border (Mosul) on the League’s agenda and when it met in September 1924, the British delegate suggested that the League Council appoint a committee of neutral and impartial persons to settle the problem after studying the documents presented And any other evidence necessary for that (77) in implementation of the second paragraph of Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne related to the appointment of an international committee if the governments are unable to find an amicable solution within nine months from the date of the conclusion of the treaty, which ends on June 5, 1924, and indeed the League decided on September 3 1924 Appointment of an international committee to solve the problem (78), especially since Turkey began hostilities against the Iraqi borders, confusing the security in those areas, so Britain considered referring the issue to

the League of Nations as one of the best solutions (Abdul Razzaq, 2008).

On September 30, 1924, the League Council unanimously approved the appointment of an international committee to investigate the facts and study the situation in the Wilayat of Mosul and to know the opinion of the people, provided that its decision is after the approval of the League Council, and thus it is binding on all parties (80).

The international commission consisted of Count Paul Teleki (P. Teleki), the famous geographer and former Prime Minister of Hungary, AF Wirsén, Minister Plenipotentiary of Sweden in Bucharest, and A. A. Poulis is a retired colonel in the Belgian Army.

It is noted that the members of the international committee belong to small countries, one allied to Britain, the other allied to Turkey, and the third neutral (82). As for Britain, it chose AR Eve Garden as an assistant to accompany the committee and help it in its work in Iraq. The UN committee also accompanied Sobeih Nashat, the former Iraqi minister of works and transportation. As for the Turkish side, it chose Jawad Pasha, the inspector general of the army in Diyarbakir, as an assistant along with Kamel Bey, Nazim Bey, and Fattah Bey. Two Iraqis from Mosul (83).

The security situation on the Iraqi - Turkish borders deteriorated during the work of the international committee, so the League of Nations held an emergency meeting in Brussels, the capital of Belgium, from 27-29 October 1924, in which it was decided to set a line representing the maximum limit for each party to allow its occupation, and the two sides must respect it militarily and administratively before the Council's decision was issued. And this line became known as (Brussels Line), which is a line built on the basis of the Belgian international mediator (Monsieur Brantethik) with his international assistants, one of whom is Spanish and the other Uruguayan, to visit the disputed areas and to find a compromise solution to the problem, representing the Brussels line:

A- It extends over riverbeds instead of mountain tops.

b- It matches between the states of Mosul and Hakkari.

C- It extends somewhat to the south of the line claimed by Britain, with the exception of some revolutionary areas (84).

Before addressing the work of the International Committee in Iraq, the work of the International Committee can be identified, which began its work on November 17, 1924 in Geneva and elected

AF Wirsén as Chairman of a group of works before heading to Iraq represented in (85):

1- Studying the documents prepared by the League's secretariat, the minutes of the sessions of the Lausanne conference, and the memoranda of the British and Turkish governments.

2- She wanted to obtain documents and information from the British and Turkish states.

3- I sent a list of questions about a topic, then travelled to London and Ankara before traveling to Iraq and Mosul.

After the committee arrived in Baghdad on January 16, 1925, it was composed of six members and went to the High Commissioner, Henry Dobbs (86). The rest of the committee members stayed in hotels in Baghdad, the capital of Iraq (Henry, 1939).

The committee went to visit the King of Iraq, Faisal I, the day after its arrival in Baghdad. During the meeting, King Faisal reviewed the events of Mosul since the conclusion of the Mandros Armistice on October 30, 1918, and indicated the necessity of setting natural borders for Iraq to protect it from external dangers. Giving up on it because the borders and security of Iraq are threatened and it is not possible for large military forces to remain in Iraq to carry out that task, especially since Iraq's economic situation in

terms of oil projects and agreements and others are all based on the need to preserve Mosul (88).

The king submitted a memorandum to the UN committee in which he clarified Iraq's right to the Wilayat of Mosul, which for him is a matter of life or death, because stripping Iraq of its natural borders means a fatal blow to its future (89).

After its meeting with King Faisal, the UN Committee headed to meet with Prime Minister Yassin Al-Hashemi, following a dinner invitation he addressed to it on January 25, in which a number of ministers and important government figures attended. On information about its relationship (Baghdad - Mosul), economic conditions, and knowledge of the consuls' reports on Mosul and Baghdad before the First World War (Hazem, 1989).

The government of Yassin al-Hashemi has laid down many reasons for defending Iraq and Mosul and trying to find solutions with regard to Iraq's borders and taking the necessary measures in northern Iraq. As a result, the Minister of Interior, Abdul Mohsen al-Saadoun (91), encouraged the need to hold elections for the Constituent Assembly and missed the opportunity for Turkey because it rejected the elections Encouraging the opposition against the Iraqi government gives Turkey the argument in the

northern regions of Iraq, so Turkey must miss the opportunity. Abdul Mohsen al-Saadoun prepares public opinion and the minds of Iraqis in general against Turkish ambitions in Iraq and Mosul (92).

Subsequently, the Council of Ministers decided to authorize the Minister of Interior with a ministerial committee headed by Prime Minister Yassin Al-Hashemi to take decisions before the arrival of the international committee to Mosul. It stated (93):

Authorizing the Minister of Interior and Finance to have full authority to take the measures they deem appropriate with regard to administration and expenditures in order to facilitate the work of the Committee from its entry into Iraq until the completion of its work.

That the associations, with the encouragement of my home, issue statements clarifying Iraq's right to the Wilayat of Mosul, and submit the statements to the United Nations Committee during the exercise of its work in Baghdad, Mosul and other places.

Show the appropriate celebrations and demonstrations to bring the sympathy of the Committee to Mosul.

To take all facilities on the part of the government to bring in the delegation from

the northern regions to present their grievances as a result of the policy of the Turks with them as much as there is a need for that.

Mobilizing efforts and preparing all the information that serves the work of the UN Committee and to show the developed economic situation from the conditions during the former Ottoman rule.

The International Committee travelled to Mosul on January 26, 1925, accompanied by Mr. Jardine, the British expert, and Mr. Edmonds, the assistant advisor to the Ministry of the Interior, as a liaison officer with Sobeih Nashat, representing Iraq, and met with the administrator of Mosul, Abdul Aziz al-Qassab (Abdulaziz, 1962).

Members of the UN Committee began to spread out in the various areas of Mosul in disguise. They reviewed the opinions of the residents and some personalities with experience and knowledge about the formation of the Mosul Mutasarrifate. They visited the local and political committee and some professional associations. They obtained the largest possible number of residents' views. They conducted an investigation in the sections far from Mosul and located on its outskirts. To find out their views, then they travelled to the northern regions of Iraq, Colonel Paul to the Kirkuk Brigade and Count Teleki to Erbil and

Dohuk (95). The international committee proceeded to visit the disputed areas and asked a set of provocative questions (96), then studied the social conditions in those areas, the economic conditions, the transportation routes and commercial matters (97).

As for the Iraqi government headed by Prime Minister Yassin al-Hashimi, it objected to the questions presented to the population as being provocative, so it sent a protest telegram to the High Commissioner Henry Dobbs, who in turn sent a telegram to the UN Committee on February 6, 1925, which stated: "To the Chairman of the Investigation Committee in Mosul... the Prime Minister of the government has requested me Al-Iraqiya, I would like to inform your Excellency that he has received news that a large number of witnesses have been asked by the committee questions that it is feared that these questions may lead to misunderstanding among the people" (98). The UN committee responded to the High Representative's message related to Prime Minister Yassin al-Hashemi's words: "It does not interfere in Iraqi affairs, and that it, as an international committee, has the right to ask the population about their relationship with the Iraqi government, their future, their ideas, projects and opinions. The committee indicated that the questions raised

do not meet the prime minister's objection." (99).

The committee prepared its report regarding historical, political, geographic, social, strategic and military arguments on April 20, 1925 and submitted to the League Council on July 16, 1925. The report consisted of 113 pages with maps. It was stated in the historical arguments that the Wilayat of Mosul was subject to the control of multiple peoples. The mandate of its inhabitants, Kurds, Arabs, Turks and Kurds, has ended. They are the majority of the population and speak the Aryan language, and that the Ottoman control, which lasted for more than four centuries, was administered by the Pashas of Baghdad during the period of Ottoman rule and the Ottoman control over the Wilayat of Mosul was not It is always effective and does not include the whole state. It includes areas larger than Mosul, which is well known (Mardin, Jazira Ibn Omar and Diyarbakir), which Turkey acquired after the First World War (100).

The report referred to the political arguments that include Turkey's right to Mosul because it did not give up on it, but morally and politically, it is the right of Iraq and the people of Mosul to be their state and their political and economic entity. An Iraqi government and the development of the scientific, knowledge, and health level of the

Iraqi individual. This development is due to British assistance. The Iraqi individual has become proud of himself and his government and calls on Britain to provide greater assistance to the Iraqi government. The mandate system must continue over Iraq until the desired welfare is achieved (101).

The economic and strategic arguments included the dependence of the people of Mosul on Iraq for their economic conditions, and it is wrong to separate Mosul from the motherland, Iraq, because it is linked to one destiny and economy, and that most of Iraq's merchants and the economic interests of the population are linked to Baghdad, and that they have drawn their fate to the fate of those lands, and it is not possible to separate Kirkuk, Kifri and Sulaymaniyah from Baghdad. Erbil suffers from greater economic problems in the absence of the recommendations of the international committee, and the best solution to the problem of Mosul is to annex it to the motherland, Iraq (102).

The report added that the problem of Mosul was not a border dispute, but rather the self-determination of a people and a large region, and that the Brussels line is very important for defining the Iraqi - Turkish borders and the necessity of responding to Turkey regarding its claims to the south of Mosul and its borders because it is not valid as a

border in the eastern section, and that the best line for dividing the Wilayat of Mosul is an area The Little Zab (103).

After studying the geographical, racist, historical, economic, military and political arguments, the committee left for Geneva at the end of March 1925. Before its departure, King Faisal I sent a telegram to the head of the committee dated March 20 in which it said: "Your Excellency Fersan, head of the International Border Committee for Mosul, I am sorry that I was not able to meet your Excellency and your colleagues. Distinguished guests, and I want to express my many thanks to you for the great efforts you have made for the sake of your mission." (104) The Prime Minister also sent a telegram to the International Committee after the end of its work in late March 1925, thanking it for the efforts you made for the mission of the Mosul problem (105).

7. The problem of Mosul in the League of Nations:

After the UN Committee submitted its report to the League of Nations, it included 113 pages with (11) maps and a recommendation that Mosul should remain a part of Iraq, and kept its northern borders somewhat similar to the old borders. By granting the Kurds self-administration and allowing them to develop their cultural identity, the Committee drew the attention of the League of Nations to

three things: that the Iraqi government should care about tolerance and turn a blind eye to the past, the need to take care of economic interests, protect minorities (such as Judaism, Christianity, and Yazidis) and grant the old privileges that were them before World War I (Charles, 2006).

The League's Council met on September 3, 1925 to study the report of the International Committee and decided on September 19 to seek the Permanent Court of International Justice for its advisory opinion. The decision is collective, or is it permissible to take the opinion of the majority, and is it permissible for representatives of the disputing parties, Turkey and Iraq, to participate in voting (107).

The International Court of Justice met on November 21, 1925 and decided:

It shall be taken by unanimous vote, and the votes of the two parties to the conflict, Turkey and Iraq, shall not be counted in unanimity.

That the League's decision that it issues is binding on the two parties concerned with the Mosul problem and that it definitively defines the boundary line between the two countries (108).

The response of the Turkish delegation was great, as it completely rejected the report of the international committee and submitted on

September 19, 1925 an urgent request to the Permanent International Court of Justice in The Hague regarding the fate of the report, but the political situation in Turkey was not reassuring following the outbreak of an armed Kurdish movement and Turkey's deportation of the Assyrians in Hakkari north of the Brussels line, damaged Turkey's reputation in the League of Nations, in addition to sending the League of Nations a committee to find out the causes of the combined attacks headed by Lieutenant-General Laidoner on September 23, 1925. their villages towards the Iraqi border, causing the death of many of them." This prompted the League of Nations report to keep Mosul within Iraq, which prompted Turkey to hold talks between Britain, Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister, and his Turkish counterpart, Tawfiq Rushdi Aras, to conclude the June 4 treaty. 1926, and on the following day, then signed between the three (Iraq, Britain and Turkey) (109).

The people of Mosul welcomed the League of Nations decision, as it kept Mosul within Iraq, despite the League's decision to extend the treaty's term for 25 years, which was unfair to the Iraqis. Towards playing its role to restore Iraq's independence (110), especially since the international committee that was sent to Iraq was taking into account

British interests, and the evidence is that that committee did not decide on the Mosul issue until after it was confirmed by the Turkish Oil Company (111) that it had obtained the oil concession on March 14, 1925 and after Five days, the international committee decided to end its work in Iraq (112).

The United States of America also recognized the British Mandate over Iraq after settling the problem between the American oil companies and the Turkish Oil Company following the April 1926 agreement in which the United States of America obtained 25% of the shares of the Turkish Oil Company in light of equal opportunities for British - American interests (113).

As for the Iraqi government and the Prime Minister decided to put the Iraqi Basic Law into effect after the oil agreement was concluded, after which the UN Committee left Mosul two days (114).

As for the Iraqi Council of Representatives, its position was characterized by rejection and acceptance, especially since the second government of Abdul Mohsen al-Saadoun (June 26, 1945 - November 1, 1926) submitted to the Council of Representatives the list of the treaty concluded on January 18, 1926 for the purpose of discussing and approving it. And Thabet Abdel Nour) and they said that the treaty was unfair to Iraq as

it kept the mandate system for 25 years, but the treaty was approved in the council unanimously by the present (58) deputies out of (88) and left the hall (18) deputies, including the three protesting deputies of Mosul (115).

Thus, it can be said that the Mosul problem affected the Iraqi political arena as a whole, the people, the government, the parliament, and parliamentary life in Iraq. It was a direct cause for the conclusion of a British - Iraqi treaty, and another direct cause for the establishment of political parties in Iraq.

8. The position of the political parties on the problem at the beginning of party life in Iraq

During the British Mandate over Iraq (1921-1932), eleven political parties occupied the Iraqi arena, including (the Iraqi Ennahda Party, the National Party, the Iraqi Free Party, the Umma Party, the People's Party, the Iraqi National Party - Mosul, the Independence Party - Mosul, the Defense Society The National - Mosul, the Progress Party, the National Brotherhood Party), and it was the most secretive party before the enactment of the law on forming parties and associations issued on July 2, 1922 (Hassan, 2010).

1- The Iraqi National Party:

It is a party formed by Jaafar Abu al-Tamn, who submitted a request to the Ministry of Interior on March 8, 1922, that is, before the Iraqi Associations Law was issued on July 2, 1922, but the Ministry of Interior did not respond to his request, which made the party work in secret. It was one of the party's most important principles and political ideas that it followed. Prior to his dismissal (117) at the hands of the High Commissioner, maintaining the unity of Iraq, including Mosul, and not compromising any part, and then fighting Turkish claims and British consensual ambitions between interests and its international masters, as a state committed before the League of Nations regarding the mandated territories (118).

2- The Iraqi Free Party (Farouq, 1978):

This party was formed at the instigation of the High Commissioner of the eldest son of Abdul Rahman Al-Naqeeb (Prime Minister), so his son Mahmoud formed the Free Party on September 3, 1922 after the closure of the Iraqi National Party and the Renaissance Society on August 23, 1922 by the High Commissioner. The Free Party is the first government party to be formed in the history Iraqi kingdom.

In its platform, the party called for preserving the independence of Iraq and its democratic,

parliamentary, constitutional monarchy and advancing it to the ranks of the elite nations and seeking the exchange of economic benefits provided that it does not prejudice the entity of the Iraqi nation and its national sovereignty (120).

The Iraqi Free Party became active on October 20 when it sent Prime Minister Abdul Rahman Al-Naqeeb a report that the latter discussed in the Council of Ministers held on November 2, 1922, in which he stated that the Iraqi kingdom came out by signing the first Iraqi - British treaty from the phase of occupation to the phase of alliance with Britain. Thus, Britain became the biggest supporter of its ally, the Iraqi kingdom, in defending its rights. He also said: "Iraq has known borders since antiquity.

Al-Naqeeb declared that the Iraqi people and their government are firmly committed to the original borders of Iraq, and asked the Prime Minister to study the means that understand the Western world, especially the Allied countries and the League of Nations, that Iraq is an independent Arab kingdom composed of the three states (Mosul, Baghdad, Basra) with its original borders before World War I (122).

The Free Party sought to open centers for it in the Iraqi brigades, as the British High Commissioner asked the administrators and employees to urge the people to belong to the

party. The party had an important activity within the Mosul issue, especially since the party issued two months after its formation the newspaper (Al-Asimah), which spoke in its name. The newspaper emphasized the independence of Iraq and the preservation of Iraq's independence. Against him from the Turkish allegations, and because the party is a front for the Ministry (the Captain) in its second and third ministries, it sought to preserve Mosul against the interference of Turkish secret parties and societies (123).

But the truth of the matter for the Free Party, and specifically the position of Captain Mahmoud's son, sees that Iraq alone cannot win the cause of Mosul. He was even afraid of sending Jaafar al-Askari to Lausanne and saw no need to send him, but rather to transfer the entire Mosul issue to the British side responsible for Iraq (124). Especially since Britain became responsible for preserving Iraq (Mosul) after the conclusion of the first Iraqi - British treaty, but Abdul Rahman Al-Naqeeb sees in his government weakness in front of Turkey and that he cannot solve the problem of Mosul and the Turkish aggressions on the Iraqi borders (125).

The members of the Free Party were characterized by several characteristics, as the elements affiliated with it were moderate opinion and supporters of relations and

agreements with Britain since the occupation period, and that the British political ruler Wilson had nominated some of them to attend the interview requested by the fifteen delegates elected by the masses of Baghdad, as well as his members, some of whom entered into The formation of the interim government, which Percy Cox formed in ministerial positions without a ministry, and the atmosphere was ripe for the formation of parties from the moderate elements, and that time did not make their politics difficult for them (126).

3- The Umma Party:

After the conclusion of the first Iraqi - British treaty on October 10, 1922, it was necessary to have a Constituent Assembly to ratify the treaty because Article 18 says: "The treaty becomes effective as soon as it is ratified by the two contracting parties after being accepted in the Constituent Assembly). The College of Law and a number of lawyers welcoming the parliamentary life and the constitution in Iraq to hold a ceremony honoring the council's delegates in the Cinema (Royal) building on April 18, 1924, on the occasion of the emergence of parliamentary life in Iraq. The National Party decided to form a political party, but the incident of attacking the two representatives from Hilla (Adawi Al-Jaryan and Suleiman Al-Barrak) and injuring them with gunfire,

especially since the meeting was to denounce the treaty and its weight. Because of the Royal Cinema incident, his request was suspended until Yassin al-Hashimi wrote his ministry and allowed the party to take a leave on August 20, 1924 (Abdul-Jabbar, 1978).

The party consisted of (Naji Al-Suwaidi, Abdullah Thunayan, Daoud Al-Saadi, and Ali Mahmoud Sheikh Ali), in addition to the presence of Antoine Shammass and Youssef Al-Yas. And the Sheikhs market in Dhi Qar, Hilla and Karbala, and the party also took upon itself the defense of Iraq in internal and external issues, especially the issue of mother Iraq (the problem of Mosul), the defense of Iraq's northern borders from Turkish aggression and the call for unity and brotherhood (128).

As for the foundation system of the Umma Party, it is support for the independence of Iraq, spreading the constitutional spirit, strengthening the bonds of affection and brotherhood among the classes of the people, maintaining the unity of Iraq, and all administrative units will be affiliated with one administration, amending the treaty in the best way that suits the country's interest, and eradicating the roots of foreign calls that are tampering with the country, especially calls for the division of Iraq or to forfeit any part of his land (129).

The party played a major role in defending the cause of Mosul and formed a committee of members (Naji Al-Suwaidi, Antoine Shamma, Youssef Elias, Ahmed Sheikh Daoud, who was the head of the delegation, and Daoud Al-Saadi) and submitted an extensive report to the International Border Committee (the UN Committee) explaining Iraq's historical right to The Wilayat of Mosul, in addition to the geographical rights of Iraq in Mosul, and attached to the study a map that Marshal Moltke (Ali, 1991) had drawn up in the middle of the Ottoman Empire in 1572, making Mosul a part of Iraq. Recognized, the party report came with a study of (55) pages (131).

In addition to the meeting of the party members and the delegation formed by the international mission at the British Accreditation House, where the party delegation took advantage of its members' knowledge of the French language, so they conveyed their point of view with ease and understanding that served the Iraqi cause. And the government of Ankara in 1924. They made it clear that what came on the map in the former state of Baghdad includes (Basra and Mosul), which is colored in one color, which indicates and confirms that Mosul is part of Iraq (132).

Among the party's other activities during the arrival of the International Committee to

Mosul, two Christian elements (Antoine Shamma and Youssef al-Yas) presented a full explanation and prepared a report explaining the unity of the unified Iraqi sects (for the unity of Iraq) as they enjoy the same rights as their fellow citizens of Arabs, Kurds and other sects (133).

The party was not satisfied with those efforts to support the cause of Mosul, but cooperated with the Iraqi government by assigning its position in supporting the parties, as well as urging its members to write a lengthy report on Iraq's right in Mosul and encouraging the popular masses to push the national and partisan movement and support it in order to demand Iraqi rights and not to compromise any part of the movement. Iraqi soil and resistance to Turkish propaganda (134).

The party raised its discussions to what Britain demands about bargains and what it bargained for (the Mosul issue) with regard to the oil concessions.

9. Formation of the parties that accompanied the Mosul problem (the parties of the Mosul problem):

The idea of forming parties in Mosul accompanied the emergence of this problem at the level of international forums, and there are many reasons for the emergence of these parties because the political situation in Mosul is scattered and worried for the Iraqi government and Britain (136). There is a

great opposition to the British Accreditation House with the encouragement of the Turks and the possibility that they will conduct secret societies in Mosul, in addition to the idea of forming parties in Mosul to encourage the government with its various pillars (the King, the High Commissioner, the Ministry) to support it on the basis of the claim for Iraqi rights (137).

The people of Mosul encouraged parties and their formation to mobilize public opinion to play its national role in defending Mosul and to raise slogans (independent and indivisible Iraq) and to mobilize the masses to present Iraq's legitimate demands before the UN committee and to combat Turkish propaganda (138).

It can be said that the parties that were formed in Mosul are of great importance through their role in defining Iraq's historical and geographical rights in the Wilayat of Mosul, educating the masses and holding demonstrations, especially after the arrival of the UN Committee in 1925, as well as holding parties and gatherings, issuing statements and detailed reports on Mosul (139) and giving an idea On the development of the Iraqi political reality, on the political reality in the era of Ottoman rule, and the emergence of Iraq's evolving appearance towards parliamentary and constitutional life, and to clarify the historical importance and

its connection to political developments in Mosul, being a historical city with a long history and in which loyal men can defend their rights and defend their history and country. Among the most important of those parties:

- The National Independence Party:

This party was formed on September 11, 1924, and it included Asif Wafai as president, Muhammad Seddik Effendi approved, Makki Al-Sharbati as secretary, Saeed Thabet, Ibrahim Attar Bash, Abdullah Al-Hajj Ali Al-Farouqi and Dr. Ahmed Mahfouz. Attention was drawn to the importance of the Wilayat of Mosul in Iraq, and he had a slogan (Independent Iraq is indivisible) (Al-Ahed Newspaper, 1925).

After its approval, the party issued a statement saying: "Your party is the party that opens its doors only to sincere citizens and calls for complete independence." The party's mouthpiece, Al-Ahed newspaper, clarified Iraq's right to Mosul and exposed Turkish means and methods to mislead international public opinion by claiming that Mosul is part of Turkey and that the Mosulis They support the Turkish policy and look forward to joining it with longing (141).

The party opened its activities with an article written by Asif Wafai Qassem on the importance of Mosul in relation to Iraq,

describing Mosul as the proud head of Iraq and its great gateway to glory and steadfastness.

The party began its activity by stirring up public opinion, organizing demonstrations, presenting statements and raising slogans. The party focused its efforts on Mosul, especially after the arrival of the UN Committee, so it opened branches for it in the districts and districts of Mosul. It began issuing statements urging the Iraqiness of Mosul and its antiquity. It aims to refute the arguments of the Turks and their demands for the restoration of the Wilayat of Mosul (143) and the party has drawn up a lengthy report on Mosul and the relations between Britain and Iraq since the beginning of the war in the light of the evidence and evidence, all of which support Iraq's right to the Wilayat of Mosul, which was printed in the form of a (20) page booklet in Al-Istiqlal newspaper Baghdadiyah in 1925, and these articles affected public opinion in Mosul and changed the convictions of many of them towards national unity (144) so that King Faisal I provided material support in order to help the party in motivating the masses and moving party and parliamentary life in favor of the Mosul cause and in front of international public opinion And the International Committee (145) The party was not satisfied with issuing the Al-Ahed

newspaper, but also issued the newspaper (Fat Al-Iraq) to support the cause of Mosul (146). The work of the Mosul parties was not limited to this party with 1 Another party form is the National Defense Association.

- National Defense Association:

The mass integration, movement, and demonstrations leading to Mosul prompted a group of people to hold a meeting in the municipality of Mosul on January 25, 1925, with the aim of preserving the Wilayat of Mosul within its natural borders and taking the possible measures to consolidate this goal (Al-Alam Al-Arabi Newspaper, 1925), and they elected (40) people to form An administrative committee, and this committee elected (15) members on behalf of the executive body, which they called (the National Defense Society), which included (Ahmed Fakhri, Habib Al-Obaidi, Mustafa Al-Sabounji, Amin Al-Jalili, Fathallah Sarsam, Abdul-Ghani Al-Naqib, Nazem Al-Omari and Arshad Al -Omari, Ibrahim Kamal, Ali Al-Imam, and Diao Sharif) and a representative from Mosul who joined the association is Thabet Abdel Nour, then a number of members of the Mosul Independence Party joined them (Asif Wafai, Jamil Dali, and Muhammad Sidqi Suleiman) (148).

The Society distributed a statement in Mosul calling for "everyone who belongs to the

Wilayat of Mosul is a natural element in it” (149) and carried out activities, including a report on February 6 on Mosul and its importance and its connection with Iraq. 1925 The international committee arrived in Mosul on the 27th of the same month, so the association chose a committee to meet the international committee, which included (Ahmed Fakhri, Arshad al-Omari, Habib al-Obaidi, Ibrahim Kamal, and Thabet Abd Nur) (150).

That association represented a national religious gathering that demonstrated national harmony and unified efforts to help the UN committee to understand the problem of Mosul in all respects, the most important of which was the bishop (Youssef Ghanima), the Chaldean bishop (Krikor), the Armenian bishop, Saeed Al-Jalili, Mustafa Fakli and Mr. Yahya, with the help of the UN committee, and they described the Iraqi situation and painted It has a clear picture of the Iraqi religious, sectarian and political scene, and that the Iraqis are one body and their spirit is the unified Iraqi spirit that is superior to sectarianism, racism and sectarianism (151).

The National Defense Society worked with the Mosul Independence Party in holding demonstrations in Mosul and presenting protest petitions, which had a significant impact on the success of the Mosul cause

(152). The committee presented a long report in the form of a brochure (20) pages that included the importance of Mosul and its location in relation to Iraq economically, politically, socially and geographically. They demanded that Iraqis be given their rights and complete independence (153).

- The Iraqi National Party:

Following the Mosul issue, this party was formed after the municipal assembly on May 21, 1925. The ceremony was opened by Abdullah Suleiman, then Abdullah Al-Omari followed him. They demanded the unity of Iraq and not to neglect the rights of the people of Mosul., Ahmed Al-Sharbati, Tawfiq Al-Nabeeb, Majdi Al-Nabeeb, Majdi Al-Omari, and Estrogian) (154).

The Iraqi National Party called on Mosul to adhere to unity and complete independence, and the party explained the purpose of its formation in a circular issued (that we live happily in one homeland), and the circular stressed the need to reconsider economic issues. It should not be the monopoly of anyone and that service to the homeland is the duty of everyone.” (155). The party participated in issuing statements and forming a committee to meet with the international committee upon its arrival in Mosul (156).

- The National Defense Association in

Sulaymaniyah:

It is an association that was formed following the Mosul problem, but it was based in Sulaymaniyah. After the arrival of the international committee to Baghdad on January 19, 1925, that association consisted of the founding members (Ahmed Bey Tawfiq, Rashid Misti Effendi, Tawfiq Mahmoud Agha, Muhammad Agha Abdul Rahman, Muhammad Kolani, and Izzat Bey Othman, Ali Irfan, Ahmed Fattah Bey, Muhammad Qadir Pasha, Mirza Tawfiq Qazzaz, Muhammad Haj Rasul, Muhammad Effendi) and the association issued its curriculum that included the goal and the goal is to defend the homeland and its present borders for the Wilayat of Mosul, and every member of the association considers himself an Iraqi Kurd. The association issued a Kurdish-language newspaper in the name of (Ze Yanhwa) and published an article for it on February 19, 1925 on the importance of Mosul and the preservation of Iraq within its natural borders (157). The Iraqi issue through the Sulaymaniyah newspaper No. 6, 19 in February 1925. He reminded the people of Mosul of different nationalities and religions about the atrocities committed by the Turks against them, the disadvantages of their rule, and the misbehaviour of their officials and guardians during the Ottoman rule (158).

10. Parliamentary political parties and their position in the Mosul problem:

The parliamentary parties that appeared with the beginning of parliamentary life are (the Progress Party, the People's Party) following the cooperation of the King and the High Commissioner against the Ministry of Yassin al-Hashemi. The latter resigned from the ministry and was succeeded by Abdul Mohsen al-Saadoun in the ministry and worked to form his second cabinet on June 26, 1925 and it had to work directly Parliamentary life After the parliamentary elections were held during the time of the ministry of Yassin Al-Hashemi, the government obtained a royal will by calling the National Assembly to hold an extraordinary meeting on July 16, 1925 to prepare a bill of law to amend the Basic Law to be presented to the National Assembly. He called the deputies to hold a trial session in the parliament building for the purpose of training the deputies on electing the speaker of the council and the presidential office. When the session was held on Wednesday, July 15, al-Saadoun announced that he had decided to form a parliamentary political party according to the traditions followed in democratic countries to strengthen his ministry and ratify the legal regulations issued by the ministry (159) In order to make the required amendments to the Iraqi -

British treaty ratified by the Constituent Assembly on June 11, 1924, and in order for al-Saadoun to secure the supportive majority, he formed his party (The Progress Party) on June 15, 1925 (160) and the number of parliamentarians belonging to the Progress Party was (50). Members elected the administrative board and they are (Abdul-Mohsen Al-Saadoun as president, Muhammad Saeed Abdul-Wahed, Amin Zaki, and Ibrahim Youssef) (161). Thus, the party had no branches anywhere and was the first parliamentary party whose goal was to obtain the independence of Iraq with all its borders and cooperation with the High Commissioner and the House of Reliance As long as the northern and eastern borders of Iraq are not secured, as well as the internal conditions of Iraq are not solid, because the economic and financial conditions are weak and in need of British support (162) and the preservation of lands Iraq with its full sovereignty, bringing Iraq into the League of Nations, liberating Iraq from the Mandate, achieving its independence, and preserving its lands, including Mosul (163).

The party has made great efforts in order to preserve the independence of Iraq and its lands and to stand up to Turkish propaganda in Mosul. Al-Saadoun has made an effective contribution to obtaining popular support from the people of Mosul for the Iraqi

government and mobilizing public opinion. This was embodied in his visit to Mosul and speeches in Mosul, saying: “The Mosul is an inseparable and indivisible part of Iraq and the Kingdom of Iraq” (164).

The position of the party was not limited to its leader, Abdul Mohsen al-Saadoun, but the Mosul representatives had a great role in urging Parliament to give the Mosul issue priority in their sessions. Rather, the role of the party and the ministry was great in concluding the second Iraqi - British treaty and the conclusion of the Saadounian cabinet and his party as prime minister and head of the Treaty Progress Party The Iraqi - British - Turkish agreement was unanimously approved on June 22, 1926, and thus peace and harmony were established between Iraq and Turkey by concluding that treaty after Iraq ceded 10% of the share of oil revenues connected to the Republic of Turkey for a period of 25 years (165).

Turkey later waived this provision in return for receiving an amount of (500,000) pounds sterling in gold in one go (166) as stipulated in Article (16) of the Iraqi - Turkish treaty held on June 5, 1926 on Iraq's pledge to grant a general amnesty to persons who carried out political activity in the interest of Turkey until the signing of the treaty and actually concluded the treaty on June 18, 1926 (167).

People's Party:

This party was formed on November 25, 1925 to be in opposition to the Progress Party. The People's Party is the third government party before it (the Iraqi Free Party and the Progress Party), but the People's Party differs from them as it is an opposition government (168) and its leader Yassin al-Hashemi played a major role in defending Mosul and the issue of treaty scrutiny. The Iraqi-British, who discussed it item by item and recommended rejecting or amending the treaty after they held (10) sessions with the King and the High Commissioner. What was stated in it is "Speeding up the issues of borders upon which the future of Iraq depends" (169). The second person in the party is Muhammad Reda al-Shabibi, the deputy head of the party, Ahmed Sheikh Daoud approved, Fakhri al-Gamil, Rashid al-Khawaja, Nasra al-Farsi, Saeed Thabet, and Mahmoud Ramez. And Muzahim Al -Baja Ji, and Abdul Latif Al-Falahi, then he was joined by deputies from Mosul in the administrative board (Ibrahim Kamal and Thabet Abdul Nour), who are members of the National Defense Association in Mosul (170).

He also joined the party, Saeed Thabet, who was in the Independence Party in Mosul, and they worked to push the party with all strength and strictness towards the Mosul

issue and towards the correct political axis (171).

The party had a platform represented in the party's motto (sincerity, solidarity, sacrifice) and the party's goal was to preserve the entire borders of Iraq without giving up any inch of the land of Mosul, to make the Iraqi people happy, to secure the complete independence of the Iraqi state, to educate the national forces in administration, economy, education, agriculture, the army, and the strengthening of The patriotic feeling of working with the principles of solidarity with the Iraqi people. The party also seeks to bring Iraq into the League of Nations and preserve its independence, territorial integrity and dignity (172).

CONCLUSION

In light of the foregoing, we conclude:

- 1- Britain followed a contradictory policy in the days of the outbreak of the First World War (1914-1918) through its agreement with the Arabs on unity and independence from the Ottoman Empire, then it agreed with France (Sykes-Picot Agreement) to divide the countries of the Arab Mashreq, and this contradicts their agreement with the Arabs. The Supreme Allies on April 25, 1920 in San Remo Mandate system and the

Treaty of Sèvres and Lausanne.

- 2- The contradiction of the colonial states in the San Remo Conference and the establishment of the mandate system that contradicts the international promises and the joint declaration (French - British) and with the principle of self-determination and the principles of the American president and the age of fourteen.
- 3- The British occupation of Iraq and the start of the occupation of Al-Faw then Basra and the advance of the British forces towards the cities, then (the Siege of Kut), the advance towards Baghdad and its occupation in March 1917, and the follow-up of the advance until the British forces reached a distance of (12) miles from Mosul when the Armistice of Mudros (Mudros) was held on October 30 The first, 1918, was clear evidence that Britain had hidden interests, ambitions and strategies towards Mosul, and this is what we understand from the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 and then the agreement that the Wilayat of Basra and Baghdad would be under direct British rule and the Wilayat of Mosul under indirect French rule, and this is what we understand that Britain has

interests She hid it even on her ally in the war, France. But the twentieth revolution in Iraq forced Britain to end the mandate and form an Iraqi government, so Britain took Mosul as a trump card to pass its policy in the event of not recognizing its existence and concluding a treaty with Iraq.

- 4- The political parties in Iraq were sensitive to the British presence and supported the Great Iraqi Revolution of 1920, so the parties called for the first of them (the Renaissance and Independence Party) and the British Party, who emphasized ending the Mandate and preserving Iraq's borders and independence. Even the only party that supported the occupation (the Iraqi Free Party) saw the need to preserve Mosul and not to forfeit any inch of the land of Iraq, and the Prime Minister who supports this party's politics resigned to be succeeded by the new Prime Minister Abdul Mohsen Al-Saadoun and his formation of the Progress Party. (Mosuliya) stressed the need to establish parties (the parties of Mosul) and allowed them to support the main cause of Iraq, which is (Mosul) before the International Committee mandated by the League of Nations, then Prime Minister

Yassin al-Hashemi and the formation of the opposition party (the People's Party) is the qualitative opposite of the Progress Party. The basic principles of this ministry are to ensure that Iraq maintains the Wilayat of Mosul, to resolve disputes over it, and to prove Iraq's right to Mosul. During the era of this ministry, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was formed. An Iraqi for the first time, the Prime Minister assumed its duties to implement the main tasks of the ministry, which is (Mosul).

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