

The Turkmen and the Establishment of the Republic in Iraq 1958

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Abstract

The Turkmen are considered one of the principal components of Iraqi society, as their presence has been linked to Iraq's political, social, and cultural history for many centuries. They have formed an active part of the demographic structure in several provinces and cities of Iraq, particularly Kirkuk, Mosul, Erbil, Tal Afar, Khanaqin, Kifri, Tuz Khurmatu, Mandali, and other cities. Their geographical location, extending between central and northern Iraq, has granted them political, social, and economic importance, in addition to their role in cultural, administrative, military, and artistic life throughout the historical stages Iraq has passed through.

The Turkmen presence was not limited to the demographic aspect alone; they also had a significant influence in administrative, commercial, educational, and cultural fields. They preserved their national and linguistic identity within the framework of Iraqi national belonging. Their political and social conditions were affected by the transformations Iraq witnessed during the Ottoman, monarchical, and republican eras, making the Turkmen issue one of the important questions tied to the nature of ethnic, political, and social balances in the modern Iraqi state.

Keywords: Turkmen, Iraq, identity, politics, Republic.

First: The situation of the Turkmen before the revolution of July 14, 1958

The political consciousness of the Iraqi Turkmen, in particular, grew at an early stage of Iraq's contemporary history as a result of their awareness of systematic plans aimed at excluding their national presence and marginalizing their political and cultural status⁽¹⁾, which prompted the elites of young people and intellectuals to raise their voices to protest against these discriminatory measures⁽²⁾. This movement was actually embodied in the days leading up to the parliamentary elections in the autumn of 1947, when the city of Kirkuk witnessed intensive political movements represented in the holding of a public meeting in the open air to support the Turkmen candidates, ensure the integrity of the electoral process, and prevent the falsification of the will of the voters. The locality of (Al-Musalla) in Kirkuk, with the wide participation of young people and students, turned from a mere consultative meeting to an organized meeting that resulted in the launch of a mass demonstration that received great social and professional solidarity for the Turkmen, as the owners of crafts and vendors took the initiative to close their shops as an expression of their absolute support for the national demands and for the actual field participation in the protests, and accordingly, the participating forces merged to form a massive human mass of the people that set out With great momentum from the Musalla area towards the old greenhouse of the city and up to the Grand Market, it clearly declares its rejection of the policies of marginalization and its demand for fair political representation⁽³⁾.

In continuation of this mass movement, the demonstration continued its organized march from the old greenhouse towards the old stone bridge, intending to cross and move to the new greenhouse from the city of Kirkuk, but as soon as the demonstrators reached the area opposite the "grain market",

(1) Alaa Ismail Saleh, op. cit., p. 66.

(2) Shaker Saber al-Officer, op. cit., p. 131.

(3) Arshad Al-Harmazi, History of the Political Struggle of the Turkmen of Iraq 1923-2003, Kirkuk Waqf Foundation, Istanbul, 2020, p. 123.

they were confronted by the police forces, who in turn completely blocked the entrances to the bridge and placed barricades and fortifications in front of the market to prevent it from crossing. In the face of this ban, the intensity of agitation and emotion escalated among the assembled people, whose voices began to be raised with patriotic and nationalist chants in support of the Turkmen candidates and affirming their political merit. Sticks and batons resulted in severe and serious injuries to a large number of demonstrators, forcing the rest of the participants to disperse and withdraw after the repression and assault by police officers intensified⁽¹⁾.

In a related context of human rights demands, the year 1949 witnessed a new escalation in the movement of Turkmen citizens who demanded the change of Ghanem al-Ani, the governor of the Kirkuk district and its mayor, calling for the appointment of two Turkmen figures in their place, based on the demographic merit that proves that they constitute the majority of the city's population. To promote and popularize this demand, thousands of students, professionals and craftsmen organized a series of intensive meetings and rallies that roamed the streets of the city in support of this endeavour⁽²⁾.

Although these demonstrations were again met with a ban and dispersal by the police forces that began to pursue the organizers, these popular efforts ultimately succeeded in making a powerful political appeal to the government, which did not seem to respond even partially to these demands. In the face of this public insistence, two months after those events, the Government changed the mayor and appointed Mr. Shamil al-Yaqoubi⁽³⁾, a Turkmen personality, as mayor of Kirkuk, in a move that enshrined the administrative presence of the Turkmen in their city⁽⁴⁾.

In the mid-1950s, Iraq witnessed a series of events, including the outbreak of the uprising in 1952 and the wave of demonstrations that accompanied Iraq's entry into the Baghdad Pact⁽⁵⁾, which⁽⁶⁾ led to the emergence of a major opposition fueled by the positions and speeches of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, nationalist and leftist movements. The effects of the political movement aimed at extending control over the city of Kirkuk began to emerge at this stage, given its strategic position as one of the most important sources of oil in Iraq and the region, and the heroic roles played by the Turkmen military emerged, especially in the Palestine War of 1948, when the Amir of the General Mustafa Ragheb led the

(1) Subhi Saatji, *The Turkmen Entity in Iraq*, translated by Habib Al-Harmzi, Kirkuk Endowment Foundation, Istanbul, 2014, p. 191.

(2) Sobhi Sa'atji, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

(3) Shamil al-Yaqoubi (1913-2000): A prominent Turkmen administrator and journalist, he belonged to the ancient Yaqoubizadeh family in Kirkuk, a family known for its great administrative and political role during the monarchy. He served as mayor of Kirkuk for the period (1949-1953), during which the city witnessed a significant urban and organizational renaissance, including the modernization of streets and parks. He was known for his media activity through his presidency of the editorial board of the official newspaper "Kirkuk", where he contributed to the development of its sobriety and the expansion of its spread in cooperation with literary elites. He then moved to work as an administrative inspector in the Ministry of Interior until his retirement in 1958, a year that witnessed a radical transformation in Iraq's political trajectory, and he remained a resident of Baghdad until his death in 2000. Sabah Abdullah Al-Kirkukli, *Encyclopedia of Turkmen Flags*, vol. 1, p.253.

(4) Arshad Al-Harmazi, *History of the Political Struggle... Ibid.*, p. 123.

(5) Baghdad Pact: This alliance was established on February 24, 1955, after Iraq and Turkey signed it, then Britain joined it on April 5 of the same year, followed by Pakistan on September 23, 1955, while Iran joined the alliance on November 3, 1955, while the United States of America joined some of the committees emanating from the alliance and kept itself as an observer, the alliance was later known as the Baghdad Pact after the Iraqi capital, Baghdad. It was founded with the encouragement of Britain and the United States in order to counter communist influence in the region and protect the West's oil interests, as well as to stem the national tide after the 1952 revolution in Egypt. For more information, see: Fouad Dawara, *Allies of American Aggression*, Cairo, 1967, p. 128.

(6) Gamal Abdel Nasser 1918-1970: Former President of the United Arab Republic, born in Alexandria from a family belonging to the country of Bani Marfa in Assiut, grew up and studied in Alexandria and Cairo, joined the Military College in 1937, was promoted to an officer in 1938, was appointed to the Infantry Corps in Assiut and then transferred to Alexandria, and was appointed a teacher at the Military College and joined the Military Academy. He participated in the Palestine War of 1948, and began to plan the Egyptian revolution against corruption and treason, and began to organize the Free Officers who carried out the revolution on July 23, 1952, and assumed the position of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior in June 1953, and in February 1954 he was appointed Prime Minister, and in 1954 he signed a treaty with Britain to evacuate British forces from the Canal Zone, and the evacuation was carried out in 1956, and on July 26 In 1956, he nationalized the Suez Canal, resisted the tripartite aggression against Egypt in October 1956, and in February 1958 the first United Arab Republic was established, and in 1967 Egypt suffered a military defeat as a result of which he resigned, and he died in September 1970. For more information, see: Buthaina al-Tikriti, *Jam Abdel Nasser*, Beirut, 2000. Abdel Wahab Kayyali and Kamel Al-Zuhairi, *The Political Encyclopedia*, Beirut, 1972, pp. 198-199; Muhammad Hassanein Heikal, *Suez Files, The Thirty Years War*, Cairo, 1986, pp. 143-144.

Second Division heading to Palestine ⁽¹⁾. The star of the Second Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Omar Ali⁽²⁾, who was immortalized as a hero of the battle of Jenin, also shone brightly, and Major General Mustafa Ragheb commanded the Iraqi and Arab forces there, but he chose to resign with a strongly worded letter in protest against the failure of the Arab officials at the time to support the Arab armies⁽³⁾.

Mustafa Ragheb recalls that during his tenure in the Ministry of Defence, he looked at his personal file and was surprised by a lengthy report praising his high competence and military experience gained in the First World War (1914-1918) and the Balkan Wars.⁽⁴⁾

The parliamentary elections during that period witnessed blatant and repeated interventions by successive ruling governments, which sought to prevent elements that did not conform to their orientations from reaching the House of Representatives. The 1952 elections in the district of "Kufri" stand out as a clear example of this approach, as the competition at the time was limited to two candidates, namely "Muhammad al-Hajj Numan al-Wandawi", who was holding the position of deputy governor, and the other candidate, "Qanbar Jayer" from the district of Tuz Khurmatu. While the voting process was underway and the population was casting their votes, the acting mayor, Mohammed al-Hajj Numan, received a direct telephone call from Saeed Qazzaz, ⁽⁵⁾Minister of the Interior in Baghdad, congratulating him on his victory and officially informing him that he had become a member of the Kafri district, in blatant anticipation of the results of the ballot boxes and completely ignoring the local voting process.

- Events of the 1957 census

The Iraqi government decided to conduct a comprehensive census in 1957, in compliance with its plan to carry out a periodic census every ten years following the 1947 census, and to make this process a success, the authorities assigned middle and high school students (other than finished grades) to participate in the organization and management of the census in the field. on how to complete the data of the census forms and train them to assist illiterate citizens in answering the questions contained therein⁽⁶⁾.

From a technical and organizational point of view, the Ministry of Social Affairs (Directorate of Public Souls - Technical Division) printed the instruction booklets for those in charge of registration in Arabic and Turkish for distribution in Kirkuk and other Turkmen regions⁽⁷⁾, and the "Registration Form - Form 1" of 1957 was designed and printed containing data in Arabic and Turkish in separate forms, while similar forms were distributed in Arabic and Kurdish in the Kurdish areas. The form applies to the languages spoken by the citizen, as many began to mention Arabic first as it is the official language, followed by local languages such as Turkish or Kurdish⁽⁸⁾.

The trial tours and the official Census Day on October 11, 1957, coincided with a sharp escalation in tensions, as huge demonstrations broke out following the discovery of manipulation of statistical data by some of the students in charge of the operation to change the answers of the population who stated that their native language was Turkish to another language. On the other hand, Kurdish elements accused some Turkmen students of practicing a similar act as a form of self-defense, and this tension

(1) Major General Mustafa Ragheb Pasha Al-Sari Kahih (1895-1960): Born in Basra to Turkmen parents, he participated in the Turkish War of Independence, he was not allowed to enter the Staff in 1938. He headed the Customary Council in 1941 to try the officers who rebelled against the Chief of Staff of the Army and aligned themselves with Rashid Ali Al-Kilani. Khalil Saeed, *History of the Iraqi Army's War in Palestine 1948-1949*, Vol. 2, (Baghdad, 1967), pp. 155-156.

(2) Lieutenant Colonel Omar Ali (1910-1972): He entered the Staff in 1938 and succeeded with the distinction of the first. He was not awarded the mark of Staff (Kafawa Rakan Mark), i.e., with salary only because he is Turkmen, after 1941 and his valor in hindering the progress of the British was restored to him by the Minister of Defense (Nuri Al-Said) who said: You have done your military duty and defended the homeland. For more information, see: Alaa Ismail Saleh, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

(3) Abd al-Razzaq al-Hasani, *History of Iraqi Ministries*, vol. 10, 7th edition, Dar al-Aqsa al-Aqsa al-Aqsa al-Aqsa al-Hasani, Baghdad, 1988, p. 156.

(4) Alaa Ismail Saleh, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

(5) Arshad Al-Hormuzi, *The History of the Political Struggle... Ibid.*, p. 124.

(6) Sobhi Saatji, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

(7) Instructions for those in charge of registration, the Arabic text was printed at the Al-Tamadon Press, while the Turkish text was printed at the Association's Press in Baghdad, 1957.

(8) Alaa Ismail Saleh, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

spread to the streets of Kirkuk. Cars carrying Kurdish demonstrators began to pass in front of cafes frequented by Turkmen youths and chanted slogans against the Turkmen presence in the city, which led to fights and clashes that resulted in injuries and mutual arrests on both sides, and they were released only after the intervention of the authorities to calm the situation and contain the crisis. ⁽¹⁾

Second: The Revolution of July 14, 1958

On the morning of July 14, 1958, the Iraqi people woke up to a pivotal historical event, represented by the end of the monarchy and the declaration of the establishment of the republican system. This change was the result of a military action led by the "Free Officers"⁽²⁾, which resulted in the death of members of the royal family and a number of royal tycoons, and among the leaders of the revolution was the leader Abdul Karim Qassim⁽³⁾.

Colonel Abd al-Salam Muhammad Aref⁽⁴⁾. Despite the magnitude of the event, the July 14 Revolution was a surprise event for the Turkmen component by all accounts⁽⁵⁾, who received the news with astonishment and cautious astonishment. This initial attitude is due to the state of political isolation and indifference that the Turkmen adopted at the end of the monarchy, which left them ill-equipped to deal immediately with the new transformations. This Turkmen silence was interpreted by political opponents and rivals as dissatisfaction or veiled hostility to the revolution, based on the historical background and close relations between the Iraqi monarchy and Turkey, culminating in King Faisal II's marriage to Princess Fadela (Fadila), the granddaughter of the Ottoman Sultan, as well as the influence of Iraqi politicians at the time on the model of the Turkish Republic and the reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk⁽⁶⁾.

Although these perceptions did not fully reflect the truth, led to the Turkmen being accused and their patriotism questioned by the parties opposed to them, but the rapid developments of events did not leave any room for continued neutrality, as Turkmen leaders and personalities realized the need to act quickly to keep pace with political changes and protect the Turkmen presence from smear campaigns⁽⁷⁾.

(1) Habib al-Harmzi, *Memoirs of a Turkmen Journalist*, Kirkuk Waqf, Istanbul, 2016, p. 75.

(2) The Free Officers Organization in Iraq is a clandestine political-military movement formed within the ranks of the Iraqi army in 1952, influenced by the revolutionary climate prevailing in the region at the time and the success of the Free Officers experiment in Egypt. The organization consisted of national military elites of various classes and ranks, united by discontent with the continued British influence and the deterioration of the political and social conditions under the monarchy. The organization was characterized by its composition that reflected the national and social diversity of Iraq, and through its higher committees and secret coordination between its military units, it was able to carry out the decisive move that led to the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the republican regime on the morning of July 14, 1958. For more information, see: Laith Abdul Hussain Jawad Al-Zubaidi, *The Revolution of July 14 in Iraq*, Dar Al-Rashid Publishing, Baghdad, 1979, p.136.

(3) Abdul Karim Qasim (1914-1963): Born in the Mahdia neighborhood in the Rusafa side of Baghdad on 21 T2 1914, in the seventh year he moved with his family to the city of Essaouira, where he entered primary school in 1921, and in 1926 his family returned to Baghdad and Abdul Karim completed his primary and preparatory studies in its schools, and in 1931 he was appointed a teacher in the Shamiyya district of the Diwaniya Brigade, in 1932 he joined the military college and graduated from it With the rank of second lieutenant in 1934, and in 1940 he entered the Staff College and graduated with excellent grades, and in 1950 he participated in the senior officers course in Britain, Abdul Karim Qasim participated in the Middle Euphrates movements in 1935 and prominent movements in 1945, participated in the Palestine War in 1948, and in 1958 he was the commander of the Nineteenth Brigade that participated in the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq on July 14 of the same year, and was executed after the overthrow of his government on February 8, 1963. For more see: Laith Abdul Hussein Jawad Al-Zubaidi, *Ibid.*, p. 375.

(4) Abd al-Salam Muhammad Aref (1921-1966): Born on March 21, 1921 in the Karkh area of Baghdad, where he completed his primary and secondary studies, he entered the military college in 1938 and graduated with the rank of second lieutenant, he participated in the Mays movement against the British occupation in 1941. He contributed to the Arab war against the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories in 1948, and he is one of the group of free officers who overthrew the monarchy in Iraq in 1958, and Abd al-Salam is known for his nationalist tendencies, loyalty to Gamal Abdel Nasser and his opposition to the national policy of Abdel Karim Qasim, and he did not have a clear policy during his rule, he tried to join the unitary project between Iraq, Syria and Egypt, but he was killed in a helicopter crash in April 1966. Laith Abdul Hussain Jawad Al-Zubaidi, *Ibid.*, pp. 401-426.

(5) Habib al-Harmzi, *Memoirs of a Turkmen Journalist...* *Ibid.*, p. 83.

(6) Arshad Al-Harmzi, *Turkmen and the Iraqi Homeland*, 3rd Edition, Arab House of Encyclopedias, Beirut, 2005, p. 164.

(7) Habib al-Harmzi, *Memoirs of a Turkmen Journalist...*, *Ibid.*, p. 84.

The tone of the official political discourse of the leaders of the revolution has had a significant impact on changing this landscape, with both Abdulkarim Qasim and Abd al-Salam Aref making repeated radio statements in which they stressed that Iraq is composed of "three main nationalities (Arabs, Kurds, and Turkmen).⁽¹⁾ These statements were widely praised and welcomed by the Turkmen masses, who considered them an official and explicit recognition of their existence as the third major nationality in the country and a partner in the homeland.⁽²⁾

As a result of this transformation, the Turkmen became engaged in intensive political and national activity, and Turkmen delegations began to flock to Baghdad to offer congratulations and congratulations to the leaders of the revolution and to send a torrent of telegrams of support to the leader Abdul Karim Qasim. These delegations were not only intended to congratulate them, but also to actively seek to interview officials in order to present legitimate national and national demands, thus beginning a new phase of the Turkmen's movement and political activity under the first republican era⁽³⁾.

The Turkmen in Iraq, during the transition from the monarchy to the republican era, did not have party organizations capable of formulating a unified position towards the new authority, so the revolution of July 14, 1958 was a surprising and confusing event for them, and this confusion was attributed to the Turkmen elite's retreat from political action at the end of the monarchy and their preference for political isolation, which made them unprepared to deal immediately with a transformation of this magnitude⁽⁴⁾, as mentioned above.

Researcher Aziz Qadir al-Samanji points out that this retreat gave the impression among the rival powers that the Turkmen were hostile to the revolution or dissatisfied with it. This view was reinforced by the close relations between the Iraqi monarchy and Turkey in the 1950s, which reinforced the idea that the Turkmen position was positively and negatively affected by the nature of "Iraqi-Turkish" relations⁽⁵⁾.

The most important obstacle faced by the Turkmen was the absence of political parties capable of formulating their strategic choice, so popular leaders emerged represented by notables and social figures produced by the events on the ground, in addition to the fact that these leaders did not initially enjoy the consensus of all Turkmen circles, but the dramatic acceleration of events and the political vacuum pushed the Turkmen to catch up with these notables.

Hence, it can be concluded that "apathy" was not the only reason for the delay in the Turkmen reaction, but also the absence of organized leadership⁽⁶⁾.

The reluctance of some Turkmen to support the revolution due to Turkey's efforts to intervene directly to restore its influence in the former Mosul province was an attempt to exploit the Turkmen file as a political pressure card, but these intentions were met with a categorical rejection by the major powers (Britain and the United States) for fear of Soviet intervention, which threatened to land troops in Iraq to support the revolution. British documents confirm that Turkey was forced to retreat due to the insufficient capabilities of its army and the lack of American cover⁽⁷⁾.

In this context, the delay in the Turkmen reaction can be described as "political intelligence", as anticipation was the decisive factor in waiting for the clarity of the international and local vision, especially since countries such as Turkey and Jordan were strongly opposed to the revolution in its early⁽⁸⁾ days.

(1) Sobhi Saatji, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

(2) Arshad al-Hormuzi, *Turkmen and the Iraqi homeland ...*, *Ibid.*, p. 165.

(3) Habib al-Harmzi, *Memoirs of a Turkmen Journalist...*, *Ibid.*, p. 83.

(4) Aziz Qadir al-Samanji, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 155.

(6) Consider the details of isolation and popular leadership: Arshad al-Harmzi, *The Turkmen and the Iraqi homeland.*, *Ibid.*, p. 67.

(7) Khalil Ibrahim Hussein, *Iraq in British Documents 1958-1959, Part I*, Baghdad, House of Wisdom, 1st edition, 2000, pp. 23, 60, 101. A. Wani Abd al-Rahman al-Sabawi, *Iraqi-Turkish Relations 1932-1958*, University of Mosul, Center for Turkish Studies, 1986, pp. 209-210.

(8) Details of international positions are contained in British documents Nos. 133795/371 and 1331919/371, published in Khalil Ibrahim Hussein, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 253.

After the success of the revolution and the recognition of it by the major countries, the Turkmen were quick to declare their absolute support for the new era. This was evident in the sending of a large popular delegation from Kirkuk to meet with the leader Abdul Karim Qasim, in which the delegation delivered a speech in which he affirmed the blessing of the revolution for the eradication of the "era of injustice and tyranny", referring to their previous suffering from marginalization despite the fact that Kirkuk was the "aorta of Iraq". For his part, the leader reassured the delegation that the new rule would ensure that the rights of all nationalities were protected. ⁽¹⁾

The Turkmen officer and writer Shaker Sabir al-Officer expressed this transformation in his book *A Brief History of the Turkmen*, attacking the monarchy as a bad term for its supporters, while describing Abd al-Karim Qasim as the leader who broke the chains of slavery, returning on July 14 as "Akram Eid". ⁽²⁾

- **The Turkmen's Position on the Revolution of July 14, 1958**

In response to the major political transformation that Iraq has witnessed, the Turkmen masses decided to organize a mass delegation to Baghdad and meet with the leaders of the revolution to congratulate the new regime. On the evening of August 2, 1958, the delegations set off in dozens of cars from the city of Kirkuk, and were joined by popular delegations from Erbil and Altun Kobri. Due to the anti-curfew law at the time, the organizers obtained special permission to continue the march at night, as the security forces ordered the opening of only one café along the road linking Kirkuk and Baghdad to serve as a stop for the delegation. On the outskirts of the Tuz Khurmatu district, the delegation got its first break as they were joined by the sons of the judiciary, and the delegation turned into a huge march of thousands Delegates, the delegations arrived in the New Baghdad area at dawn on 3 August 1958 to await the end of the curfew hours before entering the capital⁽³⁾.

Sheikh Atta Khairallah, a prominent Turkmen native, met with senior organizers to explain the arrangements made and the route of the support march that was scheduled to start from the Bab al-Moazzam area in front of the Faculty of Engineering to the Ministry of Defense. The march started at 10 a.m., led by Atta Khairallah, and banners were raised with phrases congratulating the revolution and calling for "Arab-Turkmen brotherhood" Amid popular chants in support of the republic. Upon entering the main lobby of the Ministry, the leader Abdul Karim Qasim received the Turkmen well-wishers and delivered a long speech in which he welcomed the delegation and appreciated their patience in travelling, praising the positions and sacrifices of the Turkmen people as a key component of the Iraqi people, promising them to safeguard their rights and facilitate their service to the country⁽⁴⁾.

The meeting witnessed a speech delivered on behalf of the delegation by the lawyer of "Tahsin Rafat", which included the demands of the Turkmen and a poem in Turkish by the poet "Muhammad Sadiq".⁽⁵⁾

The members of the delegation spent several days in Baghdad to communicate with the members of the constituent there to unify their positions towards the new transformation, and the visit received wide coverage from state television, which broadcast excerpts of the delegation and gathered them that morning⁽⁶⁾.

Third: The Repercussions of the Revolution of July 14, 1958 on the National Status of the Turkmen

(1) Arshad al-Hormuzi, *Turkmen and the Iraqi homeland...*, Ibid., pp. 67-68.

(2) Shaker Sabir al-Officer, *op. cit.*, pp. 140, 149-161.

(3) Habib al-Harmzi, *Memoirs of a Turkmen Journalist...* Ibid., p. 83.

(4) Arshad al-Hormuzi, *Turkmen and the Iraqi homeland...*, the previous source, p. 67. Habib al-Hormuzi, *Memoirs of a Turkmen Journalist...* Ibid., p. 84.

(5) Muhammad Sadiq: One of the most prominent Turkmen poets, he was born in Kirkuk in 1891, he completed his education there, he was famous for his book *Ghazal Poetry*, through his poems he gained great fame and a prestigious status, among his fellow poets who lived in his period, and he was loyal to the current of classical poetry throughout his life, his poems were characterized by a realistic tone of sadness, he has many published works, including *(My Thoughts)* and *(My Strong Feelings)*, he died in Kirkuk in 1967. For more details, see: Atallah Tarzi Bashi, *Kirkuk Encyclopedia of Poets, Turhan and Sami Library*, Kirkuk, 2000, vol. 7, pp. 24-70.

(6) Habib al-Harmzi, *Memoirs of a Turkmen Journalist...*, Ibid., pp. 84-85.

As part of the policy of radical transformation, the Revolutionary Government issued a decree of general amnesty for prisoners and political exiles, including Mullah Mustafa AlpArzani⁽¹⁾ of the Soviet Union. On October 24, 1958, while Barzani was returning from Sulaymaniyah to Kirkuk on a military plane to Baghdad, the convoy was accompanied by hundreds of his supporters who roamed the streets of Kirkuk in their cars, and they chanted some provocative slogans calling for the Turkmen to leave their city. ⁽²⁾.

In light of the tension in the city ⁽³⁾, the commander of military discipline, Lieutenant Colonel Hidayat Arslan (a native of Kirkuk), was tasked with maintaining security at the airport and securing the departure of Al-Berzanito prevent a large-scale collision.

Arslan's death sent shockwaves in Kirkuk, accompanied by rumors by a number of anti-Turkmen claiming that he had tried to place a bomb under Barzani's car or plane, allegations that have not been substantiated by any official investigation and have not revealed the identity of the "Kurdish soldier" who was said to have foiled the plot. On 25 October, a solemn funeral was held for the deceased in which thousands of people from different neighborhoods of the city participated, and ended with a silent march in front of the Second Division building, where commander Nazim al-Tabqajali delivered⁽⁴⁾ a speech in which he called for calm and tranquility, "Atta Khairallah" intervened to release some of the students who had been detained during the demonstration. On the fortieth anniversary of the deceased on 5 December 1958, demonstrations spread throughout Kirkuk and the ceremony of constructing his grave was held with the wide participation of young people and school students, while the newspaper "Al-Bashir" issued a special issue that included articles and poems of lamentation by the writers and writers of the city in commemoration of the status of the deceased, and this incident was the first real challenge facing the social structure of the population in Kirkuk, including the Turkmen in particular⁽⁵⁾.

- **The Interim Constitution of the Republic of Iraq of 1958 and the Turkmen's Position on it**

After the establishment of the Republic of Iraq, and in a move aimed at legitimizing the new regime⁽⁶⁾, the Sovereignty Council announced on 27 July 1958 the abolition of the "Iraqi Basic Law of 1925" and all its amendments, and its replacement⁽⁷⁾ by the "Interim Constitution of 1958" to administer the country during the transitional period.

(1) Mustafa Barzani: Born on March 14, 1903 in the Barzan region of northern Iraq, his elder brother Ahmed Barzani participated in leading the Kurdish revolutionary movement to demand the national rights of the Kurds, but that movement was suppressed by the Iraqi royal government in 1935, after Barzani was exiled to the city of Sulaymaniyah, and in 1942 Barzani fled the Nefeh region to start the second revolutionary movement, which was unsuccessful, and with the support of the Soviet Union, the Kurds of Iran formed the first. After the July 14, 1958 revolution, the Iraqi government pardoned all AlpArzani's followers, and the latter returned from the Soviet Union to Iraq, Barzani participated in the Kurdish autonomy agreement in 1970, and the armed conflict began in 1974, where he was supported by the Shah of Iran who cut off his support for Barzani, and following the Algiers Agreement, Barzani ended up in the United States where he died in 1979, Read More See: Abdul Khaliq Nasser Al-Ameri, Barzani Mustafa and the Kurdish Issue in Iraq (1931-1975), Dar Al-Jawahiri for Publishing and Distribution, Baghdad, 2018, p. 13.

(2) Habib al-Harmzi, The Kirkuk Massacre of July 1959, Kirkuk Endowment Foundation, Istanbul, 2020, p. 77.

(3) Ibid., pp. 78-79. Arshad al-Hormuzi, the Turkmen and the Iraqi homeland... Ibid., p. 79.

(4) Nazim al-Tabqajali: One of the most prominent commanders and officers of the Iraqi Armed Forces, born in Baghdad in 1913, completed his military studies in Britain, and was one of the members of the national officers, during the July 14 revolution, after the revolution, he became the commander of the second division of the Iraqi army, in the city of Kirkuk, he was charged with participating in the planning of the 1959 Shawaf coup, and he denied that charge defying the court live after the transfer of his trial session with his comrades, and on September 20, 1959, al-Tabqajali was executed in the um al-Tubul area of Baghdad, for more For details, see: Ahmed Kazim Mohsen, Nazim al-Tabqajali and his military and political role in Iraq 1935-1959, Arab House of Encyclopedias, Beirut, 2002.

(5) Al-Bashir newspaper, Kirkuk, issue of 5 December 1958. Habib Al-Harmzi, Turkmen in Iraqi Legislation, Kirkuk Endowment Foundation, Istanbul, 2019, p. 34.

(6) The Sovereignty Council (1958-1963): The supreme presidential body established in Iraq following the success of the revolution of 14 July 1958 and the fall of the monarchy, to serve as an alternative to the position of "King of Iraq" and a representative of the sovereignty and presidency of the State. It was formally established in the Interim Constitution of 27 July 1958, and consisted of a president and two members whose selection took into account the representation of the main social and national components of Iraq. The team included Lt. Gen. Mohammed Najib Al-Rubaie (Chairman), and the membership of Mohammed Mahdi Kubba and Khaled Al-Naqshbandi. The council's tasks were primarily "sovereign and protocolary", including ratifying laws and decrees issued by the Council of Ministers, representing the state on official occasions and accepting the accreditation of ambassadors, while the actual executive power remained in the hands of the prime minister. The Council continued to perform its duties until its dissolution following the coup d'état of February 8, 1963. Laith Abd al-Hussein Jawad al-Zubaidi, op. cit., p. 260.

(7) Nouri Abdul Hamid al-Ani et al., History of Iraqi Ministries, Part One, Bayt al-Hikma, 2002, p. 124.

The preamble to this constitution reads: "We, on behalf of the people, declare the abolition of the Iraqi Basic Law and all its amendments since 14 July 1958, and in order to establish the rules of government and regulate the rights and duties of all citizens, we proclaim this provisional constitution to implement its provisions during the transitional period until the permanent constitution is enacted."⁽¹⁾

The 1958 constitution is the first interim constitution in Iraq's modern history, and it was very concise, as its articles did not exceed thirty articles distributed in four chapters that dealt with the state entity, the source of powers, public rights and duties, and the system of government. This constitution is understood to have been hastily prepared in just two days to fill the legal vacuum, but the "temporary state" it enacted in Iraq has continued for more than forty-five years through subsequent interim constitutions, as a result of political instability and successive military coups.⁽²⁾

From an organizational point of view, the constitution does not refer to the existence of an independent legislative authority or a parliament, but rather article (21) of the constitution merges the legislative and executive powers, represented by the Council of Ministers, which represents a concentration of powers in the hands of the executive branch during the transitional period⁽³⁾.

Although Part II of the Constitution (articles 7-12) establishes the principles of equality before the law without distinction as to sex, origin, language or religion, and safeguards personal freedoms, the inviolability of the home and the independence of the judiciary, the legal wording of article III has set an "exclusionary precedent" that has been established to legitimize the national marginalization of the Turkmen and other components⁽⁴⁾.

Article 3 stipulates that: "The Iraqi entity shall be based on cooperation among all citizens to respect their rights and preserve their freedoms, and the Arabs and Kurds shall be considered partners in this homeland, and this constitution recognizes their national rights within the framework of Iraqi unity."⁽⁵⁾

Scholars of Turkmen affairs believe that this constitutional text limited the "national partnership" to only two nationalities, which led to the denial of the national existence of the Turkmen people, whose history in Iraq stretches back more than a thousand years. This text also excluded other components such as Assyrians, Armenians, Yazidis, and Sabians, turning them into "second-class citizens" constitutionally⁽⁶⁾.

The limitation of national rights to Arabs and Kurds in the body of the constitution was not only a drafting flaw, but also had harsh practical applications, as the text was interpreted as a limitation of political partnership and national representation, which initiated campaigns aimed at trying to change the demographic nature of the Turkmen regions. This deliberate constitutional marginalization is one of the legal implications that later paved the way for the tense political climate that led to the bloody events of the Turkmen in Kirkuk in 1959. The aim was to eliminate and abolish the Turkmen entity in its historical geographical area⁽⁷⁾.

- **The Challenges Faced by Turkmen Nationalism at the July 14 Revolution**

Signs of the conflict over the identity of the city of Kirkuk began to manifest gradually between the Kurds and Turkmen since the first months of the declaration of the republic in Iraq, but the efforts of the Kurdish parties to colonize the Kirkuk region were much earlier, as were the efforts of some Arab parties to Arabize those areas, which we can say began in the 1930s. Perhaps the clearest example of the efforts to Arabize the region is the implementation of the project by the Iraqi Prime Minister at the time,

(1) Iraqi Chronicle, No. 2, 28 July 1958. (See preambular text).

(2) Gamal al-Din ibn al-Zein and Imad al-Din Khalif, *The Problem of Minorities in the Arab World*, Dar al-Kitab al-Hadith, Cairo, 2004, p. 112;

(3) Iraqi Interim Constitution of 1958, article 21.

(4) Ibid., arts. 7, 9 and 12.

(5) Iraqi Interim Constitution of 1958, article 3.

(6) Arshad al-Hormuzi, *Turkmen and the Iraqi homeland...*, Ibid., p. 28. Aziz Qadir Al-Samanji, Ibid., p. 201.

(7) Habib al-Harmzi, *The Turkmen in Iraqi Legislation...*, Ibid., p. 35. Arshad Al-Hormuzi, *the Turkmen and the Iraqi homeland...*, Ibid., p. 29.

Yassin al-Hashimi, to implement the project of irrigating the Hawija area and housing thenomadic tribes Arabic in it with the aim of Arabizing it⁽¹⁾.

Another example of the efforts to consolidate the region is what Said Kazzaz, the Minister of the Interior at the time of the monarchy, was planning in this regard, as Mohsen Dze Yeyi says⁽²⁾ in his book entitled "The Events of its Era"⁽³⁾: "Sa'iYad Qazzaz visited the resort of Salahuddin, who was the Minister of the Interior at the time, on Nowruz on 21 March 1945 and we went to visit him. The district of Koysanjak was administratively annexed to the Kirkuk district and disconnected from the Erbil district, and we expressed our objection and protest against this measure, Saeed Qazzaz laughed and addressed us with a kind of nervousness and said that you are young people and do not appreciate the results of these actions and do not know their motives, so I want this measure to vaccinate the Kurdish majority in the Kirkuk district and I want to guarantee this majority in all circumstances and in the future."

After the declaration of the republic, demonstrations in support of the revolution were held by a group of young Kurds who raised slogans and chanted slogans that included support for the revolution and others aimed at demonstrating Kurdish nationalist aspirations characterized by provocative phrases to Turkmen citizens, the most dangerous of which were chants in the Kurdish language such as "Kirkuk Shahri Kordana, Turkmenkan Bu Dra" which means "Kirkuk is the city of the Kurds, get out of it, Turkmen."⁽⁴⁾.

Tension increased in the city, which was known for its calm and peaceful coexistence, as Kurdish extremists took advantage of Mullah Mustafa Barzani's visit to Kirkuk, and hundreds of his recipients from northern villages and cities flocked to Kirkuk, and began to provoke the Turkmen, whom they described as "Turanis" and "agents of the oil company." Tensions increased after confrontations with Turkmen groups that confronted these provocateurs, and tensions intensified in the city following the death of the commander of military discipline, Major Hedayat Arslan, this evening 25 October 1958 following a sudden heart attack caused by stress, tension and anxiety about the fate of the city, as mentioned earlier⁽⁵⁾.

Researcher Shihab Ahmad Rahman, a Kurdish nationalist, believes that during the period 1921-1958, the city of Kirkuk was an example of peaceful coexistence between the various national, social and religious components, and the city did not witness major clashes and tensions, and the city did not witness scenes of mass killings and assaults. The researcher adds that the city did not remain the same, especially after the success of the July 1958 revolution, but he notes the intensity of tension between its components, and only a year after the revolution, the dissonance and clash began. They are visible, especially between the two components (Kurdish and Turkmen).⁽⁶⁾

The researcher also states that this dissonance and collision was not a spontaneous event, but rather it occurred with the planning of external parties that were not satisfied with the political situation that accompanied the July 1958 revolution on the one hand, and internal parties whose interests were harmed, so they had no choice but to stand up to the revolution by spreading division between the components of the city of Kirkuk on the other hand, and the researcher had to be precise and neutral in most of what he mentioned in his book entitled "Political Assassinations in Iraq", he has neglected or

(1) Habib al-Harmzi, The Kirkuk massacre of July 1959, Ibid., p. 21.

(2) Mohsen Dzeyyi: Born in 1932 in the village of "Dogarkan" in Erbil, a prominent Kurdish politician, human rights defender and diplomat from the ancient Dze Ye family, graduated from the Faculty of Law in Baghdad in 1955, and joined the Kurdish revolution in 1963 as a close associate of Mustafa Barzani. He held senior sovereign positions, including Minister of Northern Reconstruction and Minister of Works, and represented Iraq as ambassador to Czechoslovakia and Canada, and was active in formulating political understandings between Baghdad and the Kurdish leadership. For more information, see: Mohsen Dze Yee, Contemporary Events, Part One, Aras Printing and Publishing House, Erbil, 2001.

(3) Mohsen Dzeyi, op. cit., p. 57.

(4) Aziz Qadir al-Samanji, op. cit., p. 143 Al-Samanji mentions here that he heard these chants personally.

(5) Habib al-Harmzi, Memoirs of a Turkmen Journalist..., Ibid., p. 73.

(6) Shihab Ahmed Rahman, Political Assassinations in Iraq, Al-Hajj Hashem Press, Erbil, 2013, p. 219.

neglected to describe the events mentioned in this chapter and the factors that created the state of disharmony between the Kurdish and Turkmen components in the city⁽¹⁾.

The first spark that led to the outbreak of the crisis, namely the identity crisis of the city of Kirkuk, which was the beginning of the turmoil between Turkmen and Kurds in the city, was the Kirkuk Hotel incident. In the few months before (2)the revolution of 14 July 1958, the municipality of Kirkuk decided to build a huge hotel – by the scale of the time, consisting of several floors on Majidiya Street. Sirwan), which was inspired by the name of the Sirwan River, a river located in the Kurdish region of Halabja in northern Iraq. The people of Kirkuk considered this action a provocation to their feelings and a message to them that this city is a Kurdish city. Debates and polarization intensified as a result, and that attitude was the first sign (3)of national strife in that city. The problem ended only after the municipality acquiesced to public opinion and decided to cancel the name of the hotel and change it to the "Kirkuk Hotel".

This incident was followed by another incident that also ignited the flames of conflict in the city of Kirkuk. Shortly after the proclamation of the republican regime in Iraq in 1958, some Kurdish parties printed a greeting card ahead of Eid in the form of photographs at one of the city's photography studios. The card contained a map of the Kurdistan region, including Kirkuk and its vicinity, a picture of a cannon and a soldier in Kurdish clothes protecting the area with weapons, and symbols suggesting that Kirkuk was part of the The borders of Kurdistan and the fact that Kirkuk oil(4) belongs to the Kurds.

When this card was distributed, the news spread among the people of the city, who considered it a provocation to the Turkmen and a message addressed to them that this area was a Kurdish area that would be taken over by force of arms⁽⁵⁾. The condemnation and agitation reached such an extent that the command of the Second Division in Kirkuk sent a letter to the Directorate of Military Intelligence In Baghdad, it described it as "confidential and personal", explaining the repercussions of this attempt and requesting that the matter be presented to Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassem, describing the card as being on the list of sedition to which (6) Kurdish extremists have contributed, including the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), the Independent Communists and the National (7)Union Front. It is propaganda aimed at confirming the capture of the Kirkuk (province) district, which has a Kurdish minority for Turks, Arabs and Christians⁽⁸⁾.

The commander of the Second Division, Nazim al-Tabqajali, made great efforts to de-escalate tensions in the city following a conflict between the Turkmen on the one hand and the Iraqi Communist Party and the Kurdish Party on the other. Although the Iraqi Communist Party was able to control some state facilities and unions, unions, and popular organizations in most of Iraq, the opposite was the case in the city of Kirkuk and other Turkmen regions. The Communist Party, which had been supporting,

(1) Shihab Ahmad Rahman, *Ibid.*, p. 219.

(2) Fadhil al-Talabani: An administrator and social figure from the Talabani family in Sulaymaniyah, who became the mayor of Kirkuk in 1953, succeeding Shamil al-Yaqoubi. His administration was characterized by the follow-up of the implementation of service projects and the expansion of the city's urban plans, which witnessed increasing population growth in the mid-1950s as a result of the oil boom. He continued in his position until the revolution of July 14, 1958, and is considered one of the administrative leaders who represented the social influence of the Kurds in the local administration of Kirkuk before the transition to the republican era. For more, see: Taif Sawadi Sayyah Al-Baraki, *Kirkuk: A Study in its Social and Economic Conditions 1968-1979*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Faculty of Education, University of Al-Qadisiyah, 2019, p.122.

(3) Habib al-Harmzi, *The Kirkuk massacre of July 1959*, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

(4) See: The text of this book, numbered H-3-5-1960, dated 6/12/1958, quoted by: Jassim Mukhlis Al-Muwaqami, *Memoirs of Nazim Al-Tabqajali and Memories of Jassim Mukhlis Al-Muwaqi*, Al-Zaman Press, Baghdad, Second Edition, 1985, pp. 37-4-375.

(5) Sobhi Saatji, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

The Kurdistan (6) Democratic Party (KDP): One of the Kurdish parties was founded on January 17, 1945 in Mahabad under the leadership of Mustafa Barzani, the party sought to internationalize the Kurdish cause within the framework of international organizations to defend its national rights and guarantee the right of the Kurdish people to live in peace and not to be subjected to dispersion and oppression. Saman Kamal, *The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)*, Erbil, 2005, pp. 48-50; Abdullah Shakaki, *The Kurdish Democratic Republic (Mahabad)*, Euphrates Center for Studies, B.M., 2005, p.2.

(7)The National Union Front (PUF): An opposition political bloc formed in Iraq in February 1957, which included the main political forces opposed to the monarchy, British policies and the Baghdad Pact, namely: the National Democratic Party, the Istiqlal Party, and the Iraqi Communist Party. The PUF aimed to coordinate national efforts to overthrow the government of Nuri al-Said and achieve public freedoms and national sovereignty. The PUF paved the way politically for the July 14, 1958 revolution, but began to disintegrate after the revolution as a result of the revolution. The ideological and political conflict between nationalist and leftist forces, especially over the position on unity with the United Arab Republic. For more information, see: Laith Abdul Hassan Al-Zubaidi, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-118.

(8) See: The text of this book, No. H-3, dated 2/12/1958, quoted by: Jassim Mukhlis Al-Muwaqi, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

failed. The Kurdish nationalist movement was instrumental in achieving any success in the elections held in Kirkuk during that period, including the elections of the Students' Union, the Teachers' Syndicate, the Secretariat of the Bar Association, the Iraqi Red Crescent Society, the Employees' Club and others⁽¹⁾.

The commander of the second division initiated a series of attempts to remove the anomalous conditions in the city, so the National Cooperation Committee was formed, which worked to achieve reconciliation, understanding and rapprochement between the nationalities and the conflicting groups in the city, and the committee included five members from the Turkmen, namely retired officer Atta Khairallah, lawyer Muhammad al-Haj Ezzat, lawyer Tahsin Rafat, lawyer Hossam al-Din al-Salehi, pharmacist Majid Hassan, and five members of the Kurds, Makram al-Talabani, Abdul Karim al-Barzanji, and lawyer Omar Mustafa. The committee issued a ⁽²⁾ statement under the direction of the division commander addressed to the people of Kirkuk in an attempt to reunite and heal the rift.

The principal was Lubiba Ahmed, the director of the Teachers' House located in the Musalla neighborhood of Kirkuk, who was described as a very extreme communist and known for her extreme hostility to the Turkmen, and it happened that the principal gathered the students in the school yard and gave a harsh speech in which she attacked the Turkmen and described them as "reactionary and backward" in the ranks of democracy. In response, the verbal altercation increased and chaos took place inside the school, forcing some students to leave the school and tell their families what was happening inside. A group of young Turkmen men then gathered in large numbers and surrounded the principal after allowing the students and teachers to get out. The young men threw stones at the door of the school, so the principal appealed to the police, so a number of police and military discipline officers came to the rescue, and she was able to break the siege and take the principal out and take her home in a police car. ⁽³⁾

The crisis situation between Turkmen and Kurds in Kirkuk has moved this time from nationalism to an ideological conflict with the Iraqi Communist Party, which has also begun to open a front of the media conflict with the Turkmen, as the Communist Party in Kirkuk sent a delegation to meet with Abdul Karim Qasim to convince him that the Turkmen were taking up arms and that there were weapons and equipment stores hidden in the Turkmen's houses, and they presented him with a list of the names of 27 Turkmen houses with three Turkmen villages where they claimed that weapons were stored. Qasim sent a committee to Kirkuk to inspect some Turkmen houses to verify the authenticity of these news, and the houses belonging to Ibrahim al-Naftji, Atta Khairallah, and Colonel Shlimon, who is of the Assyrian nationalist and was chosen to suggest that there was a conspiracy thread linked to the oil company. The result of the search was the discovery of knives in the kitchen, a licensed pistol, a hunting rifle in the houses of Ibrahim al-Naftji and Atta Khairallah, a sword and a slingshot Old smoke in Colonel Schlemon's house. The planners of this allegation tried to create an atmosphere that suggested the existence of a conspiracy, as all party organizations and organizations entered with the alarm, and a group of "popular resistance"⁽⁴⁾ rushed to set up points to control the roads, while groups of them consisting of Chief Pilot Mohamed Ibrahim Adham, President Ahmed Abdullah, First Lieutenants Ahmed Mohsen and Thamer Nouredine, and the Commissioner of the Forestry Centre, Commander Siddiq Ahmed by attacking the houses that were being searched⁽⁵⁾. An atmosphere of terror and panic prevailed in the city, and people who were not members of the Committee, both civilian and military, intervened in the search process, and surrounded the houses of Ibrahim al-Naftji and Atta Khairallah, and robbed a number of

(1) Jassim Mukhlis al-Muhamak, op. cit., p. 338; Habib al-Hormuzi, The Kirkuk Massacre of July 1959..., ibid., p. 2-6.

(2) Habib al-Harmzi, The Kirkuk massacre of July 1959. , Ibid., p. 24.

(3) Jassim Mukhlis al-Muhamak, op. cit., p. 339; Habib al-Harmzi, The Kirkuk Massacre of July 1959..., op. cit., p.2-5.

(4) The Popular Resistance is a civilian military organization (militia) established in Iraq by Law No. 33 of August 1, 1958, following the success of the July 14 Revolution. The organization officially aimed to train citizens to bear arms to defend the new republican system and support the armed forces in maintaining internal security and confronting external threats. The organization was organizationally affiliated with the Ministry of Defense, but it was effectively under the control and direction of pro-leftist elements (communists), and played a prominent and controversial role in political conflicts which were witnessed in Iraqi cities, especially in Mosul and Kirkuk in 1959. Nuri Abdul Hamid Al-Ani and others, History of Iraqi Ministries in the Republican Era, Part One, House of Wisdom, 2000, p. 148.

(5) See the text of this book, No. 3-17, dated 4/1/1959, quoted by: Jassim Mukhlis Al-Muhamak, Ibid., p. 386.

them of money, gold jewelry, and other houses, and the anarchists issued a decision to arrest the three persons mentioned and they were taken to Baghdad, but they were released after the intervention of the division commander Al-Tabqali and his understanding of the truth of the matter to Abd al-Karim Qasim, and this narration was narrated by an eyewitness in his memoirs⁽¹⁾.

These events were accompanied by an organized campaign to demilitarize the Turkmen in Kirkuk and other Turkmen areas, the task of which was entrusted to the Iraqi Communist Party and members of the organizations established by the Party, as well as the State organs themselves, i.e., military units, after the assumption of the Communist officer Daoud al-Janabi⁽²⁾ The position of commander of the second division in Kirkuk following the dismissal of the division commander Nazim al-Tabqajali from his post and his accusation of participating in the movement of Abd al-Wahhab al-Shawaf⁽³⁾ in Mosul, and during that period organized campaigns were carried out that included the Turkmen's houses and workplaces to inspect and confiscate weapons, and woe to those who found any piece of weapon in possession, even if it was an unemployed or antiquarian pistol. The Turkmen became afraid to acquire any weapon Under this pressure, they began to dispose of their pistols or hunting rifles by throwing them into the water wells that were in some of the old houses, or by hiding them at best between the walls or burying them underground in the gardens of their homes⁽⁴⁾.

On the first day of his arrival in Kirkuk and the start of his work, the new division commander, Daoud al-Janabi, took the initiative to issue orders from the military governor-general to exile some Turkmen figures to the southern provinces for all those who considered an obstacle against the activities of the communists in the city. The first meal of these deportees included five from different nationalities of Kirkuk: lawyer Muhammad al-Haj Ezzat, pharmacist Majid Hassan, al-Wajih Hadi Oji, lawyer Nur al-Din al-Wa'ez, and lawyer Habib al-Harmzi The aforementioned commander also issued orders to close all the newspapers that were published in Kirkuk at the time, namely "Bashir", "Al-Afaq", and "Kirkuk". This was followed by the arrest of dozens of young Turkmen and their imprisonment in Kirkuk or their deportation to prisons in Baghdad, and the atmosphere of the Iraqi Communist Party was emptied and its supporters and the Kurdish organizations to exercise their activities in Kirkuk and control the entire city⁽⁵⁾'s capabilities.

During this period, lists were issued to refer a number of Turkmen officers with the rank of "colonel" and "lieutenant colonel", and perhaps their lower to retirement for various reasons, while dozens of other low-ranking officers and even non-commissioned officers and Turkmen soldiers were transferred to military units spread in the far reaches of northern Iraq and other remote places in the center and south of Iraq, while dozens of Turkmen civil servants were transferred by ministerial or administrative orders from "Kirkuk" to brigades (provinces), districts and remote areas, and those who

(1) Aziz Qadir al-SamaNaji, op. cit., p. 146. The text of the book numbered H - No. 3 - 17 dated 4/1/1959 quoted by: Jassim Mukhlis Al-Muhamali, previous source, p. 386.

(2) Daoud al-Janabi is an Iraqi officer with the rank of brigadier general, one of the most prominent military commanders close to leader Abdul Karim Qasim and known for his leftist (communist) tendencies. He served as commander of the 20th Infantry Brigade and was appointed commander of the Second Division in Kirkuk in March 1959, succeeding leader Nazim al-Tabqajali. His name is closely associated with the turbulent political and security events in northern Iraq, especially his controversial role during the events in Kirkuk in July 1959, where he faced accusations of bias towards organizations and militias affiliated with the Communist Party and facilitated its control of the city, which later led to his removal from office as part of Abdul Karim Qasim's measures to reduce the left's influence in the military. For more information, see: Nouri Abdel Hamid Al-Ani and others, *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 242-245.

(3) Abdul Wahab al-Shawaf (1916-1959): An Iraqi officer with the rank of colonel, he is considered one of the first descendants of the "Free Officers" organization that contributed to the overthrow of the monarchy in the revolution of July 14, 1958. After the revolution, he was appointed commander of the Fifth Brigade in Mosul (commander of the Mosul garrison). He is best known for his leadership of what was known as the "Shawaf Movement" or "Mosul Uprising" on March 8, 1959, the first organized military attempt to overthrow the rule of leader Abdul Karim Qasim, as a result of sharp disagreements between the nationalist and leftist currents. Iraq's Political Identity and Its Relationship to Arab Unity. Al-Shawaf was killed in turbulent circumstances during the bombing of his headquarters in Mosul by air force planes, and his movement caused widespread bloody repercussions that led to the deepening of the political and social division in Iraq. For more information, see: Mahmoud Al-Durra, *The Mosul National Revolution of 1959*, a chapter in the contemporary history of Iraq, Dar al-Waqqa Arabi, Baghdad, 1987.

(4) Habib al-Harmzi, *The Kirkuk massacre of July 1959*, *Ibid.*, p. 25.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 26.

dared to object or Failure to implement or procrastinate was referred to retirement , dismissal from the job, or exclusion from service, all in order to replace Kurdish employees or a small number of Arab or Assyrian communists and others, who were brought to Kirkuk in their place, and in June of the same year, the communist tide began to retreat in Iraq, and Abdul Karim Qasim summoned the division commander Daoud al-Janabi to Baghdad, and rejected the demands of the communists and the partisans to return him to Kirkuk and the second division was handed over to Brigadier Mahmoud Abd al-Razzaq on behalf of the Agency, and decisions were issued for the general amnesty of the detainees and deportees who were under compulsory residence in the southern cities, and the Turkmens in Kirkuk were calmed and they were happy⁽¹⁾ with these measures.

The hatred between the Communist Party and the Kurdish parties on the one hand and the Turkmen on the other hand was exacerbated by the Turkmen's victory in all the trade union and professional elections in the city of Kirkuk on the joint lists of the Communists and Kurds by virtue of their being the majority among the population, which increased the rift and the Turkmen became in direct confrontation with the Communist Party allied with the Party Party, in harmony with the deterioration of the Iraqi political situation and the unity of the national-communist conflict. This was accompanied by some clashes between the two sides in a number of areas From the city. However, the commander of the Tabqajali division was quick to contain the matter and issue a statement from the National Cooperation Committee urging calm and tranquility in the city, but the calm did not take place, the conflict was not over, and most people expected an explosion on the horizon in the city, which culminated in the events of Kirkuk a few months later⁽²⁾.

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(1) Habib al-Harmzi, The Kirkuk Massacre of July 1959, op. cit. , p. 26.

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