

Conflicts in Iraq and its Accumulated Disputes: (Coups and Wars)

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Abstract

The years between the Second World War represented, the revolution of July 14, 1958, a decisive stage in the contemporary political history of Iraq, which resulted.

The desire of the political class and the Free Officers to the radical change of the existing situation, the revolution of 1958 Which sought to achieve national independence and build a system a republican. The period of Abd al-Karim Qasim's reign was greatly influenced by great on the political, military, economic scene the social situation of Iraq, especially since this country has, it is of great importance in the Middle East region.

The goal is from this study, the contributions of Abdul Karim to the construction of the frameworks of the national state, after getting rid of hegemony a foreign country that is represented by a cooperating regime, and this is from in order to be dedicated to achieving the aspirations of the popular masses, from during the National choices of the Iraqi state.

The results reached were that Abd al-Karim Qasim was a patriot aiming to achieve a state of citizenship and social justice, as he believed that the interest of Iraq and its people is above all consideration, seeking to make it a separate state in its Arab surroundings and this is what the revolution came for, but soon the goals of the coup deviated and political pressures increased among political figures, which led to the end of the period of Qasim's rule by a military coup by Abd al-Salam Arif.

Keywords: *Internal conflict, Coup, Establishment of the Republic.*

Introduction

Iraq was for four centuries under the weight of Ottoman rule, and in the early twentieth century, the Ottoman Empire witnessed a significant decline, and this is what made European countries aspire to get parts of their lands, including Iraq, which Britain aspired to control completely due to its distinctive strategic location and natural wealth lies in its territory, where Britain completed the occupation of Iraq after the first World War, and due to the growing revolts of Iraqis against the British, especially the revolution of 1920. The British authorities formed a monarchy to serve their interests and enable them to implement their policy in Iraq, and this is what actually happened, as the monarchy was at the service of Britain and protect its interests even after the end of the mandate on Iraq, where the period from (1921-1958)ad in Iraq represented the official alliance of the Iraqi Kingdom with Britain, and this is what led to the emergence of political parties and intellectual currents clearly such as: the nationalist current, the Communist Party, as well as religious currents, which were calling for reform and the return of the Islamic caliphate, The role of Shiite religious references and the extent of their impact on society also emerged, especially after the changes that took place in Iraqi society in the

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nineteenth century from an increase in the percentage of urban and rural residents, all this led to Iraq witnessing a number of conflicts, revolutions and coups, the beginning of which was the coup in 1936 called (Bakr Sidqi movement) and then the revolution of Rashid Ali al-Kilani in 1941, Although the British were able to put down the Kilani coup, the national spirit and the desire to obtain independence and live under Iraqi national sovereignty precipitated another revolution against the prevailing rule, which was on July 14, 1958, which is a decisive turn in the history of Iraq because it represented a transitional stage from a monarchy to a republican system of government and expressed the strength of the National Administration, and the subsequent other coup movements left their traces in the arena of Iraqi reality.

Iraq has witnessed a political history full of changes and events since its foundation to this day, but what we highlight the most is the Republican era and the events it witnessed and the features it carried that drew the political map and left their imprints and traces in souls and heads to this day.

Therefore, during this study, we will discuss the first Republican era in Iraq and the events that took place during it at all social, cultural, economic and political levels.

In the following discussion, we will talk about the coups and wars in Iraq for the period (1958-1968) ad.

The importance of the study

The importance stems from the personal interest in the subject of conflicts in general, and internal conflicts in Iraq in particular, especially that Iraq has suffered many wars and conflicts that have exhausted it, with finding solutions to get rid of those conflicts in the long term.

The problem of the study

Despite the many wars suffered by Iraq and the root of conflicts in IT, decision makers have not been able to develop a comprehensive and integrated strategy to avoid these conflicts, which leads to achieving security and stability in the country.

The hypothesis of the study

The more decision-makers master the construction of preventive prevention measures and find effective strategies that are compatible with the surrounding environment of the state, this led to a decrease in conflicts, wars and crises, and made them more prepared and adequate to adapt in overcoming crises and conflicts, and led to the development of a country aware of its challenges and risks and investing for the opportunities it faces.

The first topic: Iraq and its accumulated conflicts for the period (1958-1968) ad

At the beginning of the fifties, Iraq witnessed serious events, the conditions of the national movement improved, the National Democratic Party resumed its political activity in 1950, new organizations appeared such as the Arab Baath club, labor and trade union activity returned, a new political party was founded, the United Popular Front, and a secret organization emerged under the name of the Arab Socialist Baath Party.

The period from 1958 to 1968 constitutes a period of volatility in the Iraqi state, as well as the period of the eruption of political ideas and their organizations, whether Baathist, communist, nationalist, and even Islamic (1). In 1958, the Army leaders staged a coup against the monarchy and the establishment of the Iraqi republic, ending the existence of the royal family and some politicians in a bloody way (2).

Historians have differed in assessing the period of the monarchy in Iraq, and they also differed in naming the movement between the "coup" and the "revolution"*, despite the

different arguments and evidence in this opinion, but some of them believe that the coup of 1958 was the beginning of a phase of coups, wars and political liquidations between the opponents themselves, and its negative impact on the Iraqi Street, which made some nostalgic for the monarchy, while some believe that the monarchy caused the poverty of Iraqis and the ruling power was under the domination and influence of Western powers, especially the United Kingdom.

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* Coup: it is the control of an individual or a group of members of the armed forces over the government for the purpose of personal gains without popular participation and without public support, thus ending the existing system and replacing it with military rule.

* Revolution: it is the change of the regime according to the will of the mass and National People for many reasons, through the use of all peaceful means or by force, and the army will support this revolution against.

The first requirement: Internal conflicts

Having familiarized ourselves with the conflict in general, it is worth mentioning the clarification of internal conflicts being the subject of research. Some researchers define internal conflict as "the conflict between different groups ethnically, politically, religiously and others, through irrational violations of the norms of the daily life of society," but its irrational practices do not prevent the fact that there are logical reasons, goals and demands behind them, as is the case in the demands of many religious, ethnic and political minorities (components), and it has been reported in Islamic our societies have internal conflicts (3).

James Dougherty and Robert balstgraf also defined internal conflict in terms of terminology as: a situation in which a certain group of individuals, be it a tribe, religious, ethnic, cultural, social, economic or political group, engages in a conscious conflict with another group or groups, and these groups pursue actually contradictory goals or as if they were (4).

We can define an internal conflict as "a dispute over a certain interest, over power, over scarce resources or claims to certain situations, and the goal of the conflicting goals is not only to obtain that desired benefit, but also to neutralize the damage or get rid of the competition of the other"(5).

It has also been defined as "the collapse or disruption of the existing social and political system without being accompanied by the emergence of an alternative system" (6). He was also in Lebanon and Somalia (7). We believe that this definition is not comprehensive, that is, it focuses on one case of conflict and neglects the rest of the cases, because it focuses on the case of the collapse of the ruling power and neglects the conflict situations with the existence of that ruling power and this situation is the most present in the world.

Finally, internal conflict is defined as "violent behavior between two or more groups in order to achieve special interests or to change existing situations for political, economic and social purposes" (8).

The nature of internal conflicts varies according to their subject, and although each internal conflict is unique in its characteristics, level of intensity and nature of its subject, these conflicts often correspond to each other with common features such as, feeling angry, frustrated, tendency to blame the other, escalation in the use of violence and others, the form may change but the characteristics are somewhat similar (9).

When focusing on the nature of internal conflicts, we see many of them are not ethnic, but are political conflicts and sometimes violent as a result of internal factors and not

interstate conflicts, where it happens within one state, and the most important causes of which are disputes over influence between civilian and military leaders, and challenges related to state sovereignty by organized crime organizations sometimes, in addition to ideological and ethnic conflicts and attempts to secede, there are many non-violent conflicts and their resolution is achieved through political, economic and social mechanisms, and in most conflicts governments, opposition and revolutionaries are the main parties(10).

The second requirement: the coup of 1958 and the proclamation of the first Republic

First: the reasons for the 1958 coup

When returning to the roots of this coup, we note many reasons and factors that were behind its occurrence, historians and researchers have multiple opinions about the reasons for the coup of 1958 between internal and external, and in fact, those circumstances have combined with some of them and led to its occurrence, and when mentioning the reasons leading to the coup exclusively, we mention:

1- The growth and rise of the Arab nationalist movement

Where Arab nationalism appeared and expanded further after the Second World War, and coup nationalist parties appeared that worked to call for coups and change through blood, and to call for Arab unity, such as the Baath Party, which was founded in Syria in 1947 and others (11), and these ideas began to spread in Iraq, where the first cell of this bloody coup party was founded in Iraq in 1947 (i.e. in the same year of its foundation), as well as the Communist Party, which began its activity before the Second World War, reorganized after the war, and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, which was founded in 1946, he confirmed the national goals of the Kurds within the Iraqi unity, These parties have aligned themselves with the wave of Arab nationalism and have taken it upon themselves to call and prepare coups (12). As this Arab nationalism was led by young people of the rising generation who had great ambitions in their countries and from the occupation and the difficult conditions that their countries were living in, they sought to attempt a coup by resorting to military methods, and the coup of July 14, 1958 can be considered a response from Iraqi officers to this Arab nationalist tide (13).

2- Isolation policy

The policy that was imposed on Iraq and pushed it away from the Arab knees (practiced by some free officers who were considered an outlet for British interests in the region), and the economic and trade policy was serving the interests of Britain (14).

3- The Palestinian issue and the seizure of the land of Palestine by the Jews in 1948

The result of the war in Palestine disappointed the hopes of the people who were shocked by it, the people had hoped that the army would achieve victory in this war, but the hopes of the army officers were disappointed and left a negative impact on them, and they revealed their hatred for the royal family in both Jordan and Iraq, and accused them of serving British interests and cooperating with the Jews against Palestine (15).

4- The Dart of December 1948

Later, the December dart occurred in 1948 in Iraq, where popular demonstrations swept all the cities of Iraq, as a reaction to the attempt of the government (Saleh Jubeir-Nuri al-Said) to impose the Portsmouth treaty* with Britain, and as a reaction to the government's position on the Palestinian issue, and those demonstrations were met with the bloodshed of hundreds of people who were determined to continue the struggle and were able to overthrow the ministry and cancel the Portsmouth Treaty (16).

5- The impact of the Egyptian revolution on July 23, 1952

The Higher Committee of Iraqi Free Officers was formed in the image of the Egyptian Free Officers (17), where the committee developed a program based on the goals of

ending the monarchy, declaring a republic, getting rid of dependence on Britain, forming a popular democratic government and other goals set out in the first statement of the Iraqi coup in 1958 (18).

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Portsmouth: this is the treaty known as the Anglo-Iraqi treaty, and it was signed on the fifteenth of January 1948 under Prime Minister Saleh Jabr, which provided for allowing the British armies to enter Iraq whenever it engaged in a war with the Middle East(Iran)as well as the Treaty concluded that Iraq should provide these armies with all facilities and assistance in its territory, waters and airspace, and was rejected by the Iraqi people.

6- Iraq's accession to the Baghdad Pact* in 1955

Another reason for the July 14 coup, which has increased the anger of the officers and the opposition, is that Iraq joined the Baghdad Pact, an alliance that included Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Britain and the United States was an observer (19), which was established with the idea of Nouri said, and was opposed by Egypt, Syria (20), Saudi Arabia, followed by an alliance working to help the British-American colonial policy in the Arab world.

7- The position of the Iraqi government on the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956, which played a role in the rapprochement of the parties in 1957 and their union into one party, and on the basis of this, the United National Committee was formed

It was also one of the reasons for the coup and prompted the Iraqi people to come out in large demonstrations, and the Iraqi oil workers blew up oil pipelines in Kirkuk, and this led to an increase in the enthusiasm of the officers, as they held several meetings, through which they decided to start the coup, but difficult circumstances prompted them to postpone their movement until later (21).

8- The unity between Egypt and Syria in 1958

The establishment of the Arab Republic, represented by the unity between Egypt and Syria in 1958, had a great impact in pushing the officers and the Iraqi people to join this union, but the Iraqi government led by Prime Minister Nuri al-Said refused to do so, as the political parties and Arab peoples saw in it an opportunity to strengthen the national struggle against colonialism, where the nationalist parties, the unity between Egypt and Syria was the embodiment of the interests

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* The Baghdad Pact: it is the alliance established by Britain in the Middle East allegedly to confront the Soviet Communist tide, which threatens the countries of the Middle East in 1955, and included Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan in its membership, and this alliance stipulated certain points.

of the Arabs to achieve comprehensive unity, which led to awakening the feelings of Iraqis and weakened the monarchy, which tried to call for the Hashemite Union* but did not like the Iraqis and failed to win their satisfaction because they are the enemy of a union against pan-Arabism and comprehensive unity (22). We can say that the coup of July 14, 1958 was the result of accumulated reasons, grievances and socio-economic and political requirements at the internal and external levels exercised by the monarchy in Iraq, in addition to the emergence of multiple parties and the intervention of the army (which was not satisfied with the policy of the government at that time), all these factors led to the rejection of this rule and work to overthrow it, as well as the British influence in Iraq.

Second: the launch of the July 14 coup and the declaration of the establishment of the First Republic in 1958

The idea of a republic was not new to the Iraqi people. It was first put forward in opposition to the plan to establish a monarchy in Iraq, following the first World War, which led to the separation of Iraq from the Ottoman Empire and its fall under the occupation of British troops (23). The idea adopted patriotic elements that made it one of its main demands, along with the demand for the right of self-determination of the Iraqi people, and their freedom to choose the system that they deem appropriate to their general conditions, and there were many meetings about this, some of which faced opposition, as well as resistance and opposition in other meetings held throughout Iraq (24). However, the call for the introduction of the republican system was formed before the referendum on the system of government in Iraq in December 1918.

In January 1919, there was a significant intellectual current in Iraqi political life (25), after which the Republican regime's talk about the Iraqi theater was removed due to the policy of the monarchy taken at that time. Then the call for a republic

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 * The Hashemite Union is a union between the kingdom of Iraq and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which was announced on February 14, 1958, and both King Faisal II of Iraq and King Hussein bin Talal of Jordan agreed to chair the Union alternately, and came in response to the Syrian-Egyptian unity.

emerged again when the movement of 1941* and the escape of the Regent Abd Al-Ilah, some suggested abolishing the monarchy basically and declaring a republic, in addition to the demonstrators in the night of December 1948 cheered the life of the Republic and were demanding the overthrow of the monarchy as well and the establishment of a mass government (26). After the formation of the Free Officers' Organization, whose idea dates back to Rifat El-Haj Seri* (internal secret organization) and after the coup of 1952 in Egypt, the Supreme Committee of them was formed in 1956, headed by Abd Al-Karim Qasim, and the political parties united their ranks to work against the monarchy, which led to the establishment of the National Front party in 1957, which is inclusive of opposition parties such as the Democratic Party, the Baath Party and the Communist Party, in addition to external support from Gamal Abdel Nasser and the Soviet ambassador when there is a response from the government he put forward the idea of a republican system to the Free Officers, and took them to it, Due to their conviction that achieving Arab unity cannot be achieved with the existence of the monarchy in Iraq because it is opposed to the Republican regime in both Syria and Egypt (27), therefore, Iraqi officers rejecting the monarchy sought an organization that defines their goals and principles on the basis of the secrecy of their activities(28).

The implementation of the July 14 coup did not come directly, but its implementation came after several attempts, as this was preceded by plans and other attempts to overthrow the monarchy, but they were not always delivered due to an emergency order, in addition to differing opinions about the date of implementation, and after several attempts since 1955 to carry out the coup, an opportunity appeared for FREE officers to carry out the coup after the chief of staff decided to send July 14 to Jordan to suppress the revolution in Lebanon (29), Abd al-Karim Qasim saw it as an opportunity for the twentieth brigade to pass from Baghdad on its way to Jordan to carry out the coup (30).

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 * Movement of 1941: a coup launched by Rashid Ali Al-Kilani and the four colonels to overthrow the rule of Regent Abd Al-Ilah.

* Rifat al-Haj Seri: founder of the National Officers Organization, which began organizing them in the Palestine war in 1948, and participated in the coup of 1958.

After these multiple attempts, the coup of July 14, 1958 occurred, which was initiated by the army led by Abd Al-Karim Qasim and Abd Al-Salam Arif to overthrow the regime, the Army, founded by Faisal I in 1921 to unify Iraq, and established the ruling family in Iraq, was in 1958 the only category capable of putting an end to the monarchy (31).

The day of July 14, 1958 represented a detailed event in the history of modern Iraq, where the army staged a coup led by the commander of Major General Abd Al-Karim Qasim (who was not present during the coup, but was observing the situation while in his camp in Diyala province, until he heard the coup statement announced by Abd Al-Salam Arif from the radio and television headquarters through the first statement of the coup, which was broadcast at six in the morning and provided for the end of the monarchy and the transition to Republican rule, on the basis of which Abdul Karim moved to Baghdad to take charge), and he was able to the putschists killed the royal family, and then the leader Abd Al-Karim Qasim became prime minister and interior minister, The British embassy and consulate were looted (32). Thus, the Free officers managed to overthrow the monarchy, and Abd Al-Karim Qasim became the first prime minister of the new Iraqi republic, commander-in-chief of the armed forces and acting minister of Defense, and Abd Al-Salam Arif became deputy prime minister and deputy commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces (33).

Thus, the end of the era of the monarchy in Iraq took place as a result of the overlap of a set of internal, regional and strategic factors in playing a major role in creating objective conditions favorable to the overthrow of the regime and the proclamation of the First Republic in the country.

The third requirement: the results of the coup and its repercussions

First: the results of the 1958 coup

The goal of the coup was to change the situation at all social, economic and political levels in Iraq, get rid of the monarchy and achieve achievements with a national and international dimension.

After the coup, Iraq entered a new phase of its long and eventful history, and the results of the coup can be divided between political, economic and social.

As for the political consequences of the coup, they can be summarized as follows:

- 1/ ending the monarchy in Iraq and declaring the republican system in it.
- 2/ Iraq's withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact on March 24, 1959.
- 3/ Strengthening political independence through the issuance of the interim constitution drafted by a ministerial committee formed by a ministerial decision on July 27, 1958, which was designed to establish the rules of government and regulate the rights and duties of all citizens in the transition period until a constitution is legislated, and the interim constitution contained 28 articles (see Appendix II) (34).
- 4/ cancellation of the policy of bias towards the West and military alliances, the coup derived the policy of neutrality and the political parties believing in democracy were authorized and laid the foundations for the abolition of sectarian discrimination (35).
- 5/ the coup was able to achieve political results with a national and international dimension. at the level of Arab politics and national positions, it declared its recognition of the United Arab Republic, and also supported liberation movements in the Arab world materially and morally (36), it supported both the Algerian revolution and also recognized it, the coup government helped the Arab Emirates, and supported the Lebanese Patriots against American intervention through a certain financial specialization, but at the level of foreign policy, the July 14 coup freed Iraq's foreign policy from all authority and external guidance, and that policy became aimed only at the interest of Iraq and the interest of Arabs, freedom and peace in the world (37). The international policy of the coup

government also tended to support the liberation movements in the world against colonialism, where it provided moral support through its support at the United Nations, especially at the anti-colonialism committee of the United Nations General Assembly, and also provided financial support ranging from (3000\5000) dinars annually (38). The coup was also able to gain the support of most foreign countries that were on friendly terms with the royal reign, after Abd Al-Karim Qasim announced that Iraq would respect its obligations in accordance with international agreements and privileges, as the countries announced their recognition of the new regime (39).

As for the economic results achieved by the coup, they can be summarized as follows:

1/ the coup played an active role in the establishment of the organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and the signing of a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union and socialist countries (40).

2/ the coup liberated the Iraqi dinar and disengaged from the pound sterling and ended the economic dependence of Britain, which began since the British Mandate of Iraq in the early twenties (41).

3/ the coup government canceled the petroleum concessions in the Iraqi territories except the areas actually exploited, and issued the law of 1961, according to which it liberated (99.5%) of the Iraqi territory from the control of international oil companies, and enacted the law establishing the National Oil Company (42).

As for the social and cultural aspects, we summarize the results of the coup as follows:

1/ return dismissed teachers, pupils and employees to their jobs (43).

2/ the coup government has universalized primary and secondary education, expanded vocational and higher institutes, and created equal opportunities for all (44).

3/ the coup government worked to reduce taxes on the Iraqi people, reduce the rent of Housing and shops, increase the salaries of employees and workers, set price controls, distribute land plots to low-income individuals, cancel mud houses around Baghdad, open Institutes for orphans and homeless children, reduce working hours to eight hours, apply the law of the social system for workers, which was issued in 1956 and was not implemented until the coup, expand and develop health and educational services, build roads, bridges and industrial projects, and open the University of Baghdad (which was established in the royal covenant) (45).

We note from the above, that the coup of July 14, 1958 has achieved political, economic, social, cultural and health achievements and reforms, that is, it has made changes in all fields and sectors (even if these changes were few relative to what was suffering from the economic and social side in Iraq), where one of the most important goals of the coup government was to narrow class differences and equality between members of the people, in addition to amending many laws, including the agrarian reform law and the Personal Status Law, The coup government would have continued to achieve other achievements in order to accelerate the progress of the country forward had it not been for the differences that occurred between the political forces that carried out the coup as well as the interference of external parties, which led to conflicts between the parties and then those conflicts led to the government deviating from its course and neutrality from its real goals for which it was established.

Second: the repercussions of the 1958 coup

Despite the achievements achieved by the government of the 1958 coup during the five years, the most important of which was the removal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact and the oil law in 1961, which was continuing to achieve other achievements, but it knew a deviation in its course and began to move away from its goals as a result of the struggle

for power between its leaders Abd Al-Karim Qasim and Abd Al-Salam Arif, and what complicated the matter.

The reason for the deviation of the government of the coup of 1958 was the presence of several factors that combined for the coup of 1963, including the contradictions of the coup of July 14, 1958, and the isolationist personality of Abd Al-Karim Qasim to think about the upcoming change (46), and his attempt to annex Kuwait to Iraq in 1961 is a good example of the unrealistic climate that prevailed in the last years of his reign, in addition to his belief that all members of the Arab League are working against Iraq (47), and in 1961, the leaders of the Kurdistan party, who fully supported Qasim, hoped to obtain autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi republic, which Qasim did not like, As a result, in 1960, thanks to the Kurdish employees of their actions and arrests, he stressed the hostile campaign against the Kurds who took up arms in 1961 in defense of themselves against Qasim's army, which committed heinous massacres against the Kurds (48), and also established the people's court headed by his cousin Colonel Abbas Fadel Mahdawi, which was known as the "Mahdawi court" to avenge his opponents, as this court became an example of political brutality, with 57 accused 17 of them were sentenced to death and the rest were sentenced to prison (49), in addition to spreading the Baath Party's incitement ideas a few years after the founding congress in 1947, and began to take an interest in the military sector since 1954, He has been encouraging his members to join the Military College (50).

It became clear after 1960 that the coup government, after completing its most important tasks in establishing the republican system and the subsequent changes in the National, national and international spheres, began to aggravate the manifestations of decline and faltering, as decay and decay intensified in all fields of public activity and the blatant deviation that precipitated the second coup began to be clearly visible (51).

All this was the reason for the coup of February 8, 1963, which was led by the Baath Party supported by the Nationalist forces malevolent against the Qasim regime, which ended with the trial of Qasim and the death sentence by firing squad, and Abd Al-Salam Muhammad Arif was appointed president of the Republic and commander-in-chief of the army (52). One of the first institutions of The new political system after the overthrow of the rule of Abd Al-Karim Qasim was the formation of the National Council for the leadership of the revolution, which consists of members of the organization of free national officers for the coup of July 14, 1958 with the officers contributing to the coup of February 8, 1963, and the leadership of the council was dominated by members of the Baath Party, as the ministries were assigned to twelve Baath ministers and the rest of the ministries were taken over by independent figures or from other currents (53), while the powers remained in the hands of the prime minister, which was in the hands of Abd Al-Karim Qasim and before him in the hands of the heads of ministries of the monarchy, where the post was assigned to Major General Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, one of the most prominent leaders of the Baath Party, The post of President of the Republic was assigned, as we mentioned, to marshal Abd Al-Salam Arif, who was very popular, as he was chosen to win the affection of the masses for the movement, but he did not have any other authority except that of a member of the National Council for the leadership of the revolution, like the rest of his comrades from the members of the organization of national officers and ministers (54), that is, he is a president without powers, and perhaps this identification is what prompted Abd Al-Salam Arif to lead a coup on November 18, 1963, because Arif, by virtue of his his psychological structure aspires to control everything (55).

The new BA'athist government decided to avenge what happened to the Nationalist forces in 1959 at the hands of the communists and the Qasim regime, so it ordered the elimination of communists, socialists, supporters of peace and supporters of Qasim, and these groups were not able to defend themselves because Abd Al-Karim Qasim prevented arming them during his reign, while the armed irregulars of the BA'athists and others

maintained the after the success of the 1958 coup, they became an actual military force on the ground outside the army and security forces, The Iraqi Baath Party had understood in its analyses of the history of Syria and Iraq in the twentieth century that the army would always be a source of coups, so it established a parallel alternative force and awarded its gunmen from two parties (Baathists, supporters and others) (56), and a number of civilians with green badges written on the National Guard*, which carried out widespread violations against opponents and practiced arrest, torture and assassination (57), the National Guard shed many blood and killed thousands of citizens, whether wanted or not, in addition to and random raids. The arrival of the National Guard on the street and its violent actions led to inciting hatred towards the Baathists and giving justification to Abdul Salam Arif to overthrow them (58), and this actually happened on November 18, 1963.

The fourth requirement: the third coup in 1963

The third military coup on November 18, 1963, is a corrective movement, according to the opinion of its leaders (59), which was carried out by the president of the Republic Abd Al-Salam Arif (to prepare his second coup during the same year) to oust the BA'ath party, it is not the result of a process without any beginnings and no roots, but it was a coordinated and organized movement to remove the BA'ath from the arena of work and the sole authority (60).

The chaos and Bloodshed caused by the Baath Party after the second coup in the

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 * The National Guard: armed factions with a bloody impact affiliated with the Baath Party in Iraq, formed after the coup of February 8, 1963.

country, and the naive tactics that sought to strengthen the hand of the military and exclude organized and educated groups in society reached the opposite result, as it weakened the Baathists and deprived them of a wide popular base and gave President Arif the opportunity to strengthen his position(61), so Abd Al-Salam Arif took advantage of the preoccupation of the party leaders with the conflict, which reached on November 13 to the extent of using aircraft and heavy and medium-sized weapons to resolve the conflict, so he began contacting some military nationalists who stood against the chaos that the country has reached, these contacts resulted in the development of a plan for a military coup that overthrows the Baath Party and enables Abd Al-Salam Arif to be the first man in the state and the Armed Forces (62).

On the night of November 17/18, Abd Al-Salam Arif arrested many Baathist officers in the Air Force and tank battalions, and according to the plan, Arif moved at dawn on November 18 to radio transmitters, and at six in the morning he broadcast with his voice the coup statements: the first issued by the president of the Republic and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and the second issued by the National Council for the leadership of the revolution (63).

Arif became the strongman of Iraq for the first time since 1958, at first Arif tolerated the BA'ath party because he was the head of the military freedom that overthrew Qasim and appointed al-Bakr as vice president, but after he settled in power and groups that suffered and complained about the arbitrariness of the BA'athists resorted to him, he began a counter campaign to remove the BA'athists from power, he dismissed Al-Bakr and ordered his arrest under house arrest at his home, Arif found wide public support when he disbanded the National Guard and issued a comprehensive file on the crimes of these factions the resurrection of the massacres (64).

After the success of the coup and the exclusion of the conflicting currents of the Baath Party from power, Arif formed in early 1964 a constitutional committee of legal experts to amend the Iraqi constitution and the ministry was formed of well- known civilian and military figures politically or professionally (65), and then the differences began between

Abd Al-Salam Arif and the nationalist officers who are described as Nasserists after these officers changed their view of Abd Al-Salam Arif, he became in their eyes an adventurous officer by appointing officers loyal to him to the main posts and transferring the Nazarenes to less responsible posts, Where Arif worked on the division of the national officers Unit (66).

Despite Arif's emphasis on the theme of Arab unity as the basis for relations between Iraq and other countries, especially Egypt, which he advocated in 1958, but this political unity remained far from being implemented in practice, and Taher Yahya's military Ministry (the ministry formed after the dismissal of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr's ministry) faced difficulties in implementing its programs to achieve reforms because political repression increased under it and this led to increased chaos and unrest in society (67), and with all the steps that were implemented by Arif or not implemented, the political situation, But the regime began to lose people's sympathy and support for the poor economic conditions and people complained about the government of Tahir Yahya, and Arif began touring the country and speaking in every city and village until this (wandering) was the cause of his death, where he was visiting Qurna on April 13, 1963 when the plane crashed and he and those with him died (68), and soon the death of Abd Al-Salam Arif led to the emergence of conflict between the military and civilians, and between the military themselves to reach the presidency of the Republic (69).

The fifth requirement: the second martial law and the coup of July 17, 1968

First: the second secular era 1966-1968

After the death of Abd Al-Salam Arif, Abd Al-Rahman Al-Bazzaz (who was appointed prime minister by Abd Al-Salam Arif after Abd Al-Razzaq was relieved of that post) issued a statement to the Iraqi people announcing the death incident and assumed, under the Constitution, the powers of the president of the Republic temporarily (70), until a joint meeting of the National Defense Council and the Council of ministers was held to discuss the election of a civilian or military candidate, and the session was held on April 17, 1966, after which his brother Abd Al-Rahman Arif was installed as president of the Republic, distinguished by his calm, peaceful and acceptable personality many internal political parties and Arab and international powers, He is described as taciturn, socially shy, not a good orator, loves a simple life, adheres to social customs and traditions (72).

President Abd Al-Rahman Arif announced immediately after assuming the presidency that he was seeking to implement the promises made to establish a sound constitutional government, and pointed to the government's intention to hold parliamentary elections around the end of 1966 to take over the new parliament to enact the Permanent Constitution of the country and determine the form of Government (73), and also pledged to achieve the principle of the rule of law to fully achieve equality among the people in rights and duties without discrimination or discrimination on the basis of religion, nationality or sect (74), in addition to promises of other changes at various levels. In the mid-sixties (during the reign of Abd Al-Rahman Arif), Iraqi Prime Minister Abd Al-Rahman Al-Bazzaz tried to solve the Kurdish issue through dialogue and mutual respect, and the military and militants in the regime prevented this (75).

must be said, that President Abd Al-Rahman Arif's calls for the principle of the rule of law and equality have run into many obstacles from those with special interests and aspirants to reach power, so it was the second attempt of Brigadier General Pilot Arif Abd Al-Razzaq (after his failure in the first coup attempt against the government of Abd Al-Salam Arif) on June 30, 1966, that movement led to destabilization and the president fell under the influence of some of the military who contributed to the suppression of the coup (76).

As for the external level, Abd Al-Rahman Arif has shown a wide activity and has made several visits to Arab, regional and European countries with the aim of strengthening

Iraq's position at various levels, where France's visits resulted in strengthening bilateral cooperation in the field of oil and armament and Iraq's international status has risen among various countries of the world . Not all the tasks that Abd Al-Rahman Arif undertook and promised to the people were fulfilled during his reign, which led to increased disagreements between nationalists, Nasserists and other political parties. The political and security climate became suitable and fully prepared for the movements of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and his group of officers again, thus setting the political stage for the reception of a bloody dictatorship of one opinion in the history of Iraq led by al-Bakr and Saddam Hussein later (77).

There was no political stability in Iraq in the second martial law era due to the struggle of the civilian and military wings. During the years of Abd Al-Rahman Arif's rule, leftist activity began to grow in Iraq again under the leadership of the Communist Party, and the dissident wing of it, which was called the (Central Command), which was calling for an armed struggle to take power, which raised the fears of the British and Americans that the communists would succeed in overthrowing the government of Abd Al-Rahman Arif and gaining power, and the attempts of Egyptian-backed forces to overthrow the regime were continuing to pressure him to accept unity (78), the second customary regime faced a noticeable decline in popular acceptance, as the economic crisis in 1966 was the best evidence of the fragility of the system at all levels, as a result of the decline in oil revenues, the government resorted to increasing direct taxes that affected people with limited income, which led to a decline in the popularity of the regime (79).

Later, the Baath Party was able to recover and its ability to promote its ideas again and apply its principles after it was ousted on November 18, 1963, in developing a plan to get rid of the government of Abd Al-Rahman Arif, in addition to the weakness of the latter's government and the crisis of Israel's attack on Egypt, Jordan and Syria, all factors precipitated the overthrow of the government of Abd Al-Rahman Arif.

Second: the coup of July 17, 1968 and its repercussions on security and stability in Iraq

After the apparent weakness that marked the power of Abd Al-Rahman Arif in its final stages, practical preparations began to pounce on power by the Baathist current, which was led by Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and his group of military and civilians, despite the large number of aspirants to seize that weak government, and among the ranks of the young Saddam Hussein, who would play an exceptional bloody role not in the formation of the new government, but in the history of Iraq and political relations between the countries of the world (80), the Baath Party was looking for opportunities to return to power after the hand of Abd Al-Salam Arif and the weakness of Abd Al-Rahman Arif tempted them to easily drop him .

Abdul Razzaq Al-Nayef (who was later sent out of Iraq by a plan drawn up by Saddam Hussein) hastened to prepare a plan to carry out the coup jointly with Ibrahim Abdul Rahman Al-Dawood, Saadoun Ghaidan, Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, Saleh Mahdi Amash, Hardan Abdul Ghaffar Al-Tikriti and Anwar Abdul Qadir Al-Hadithi, where they agreed among themselves on the details of the coup Plan (81), where they planned to carry out the coup on July 17, 1968.

At dawn that day, Saadoun Gaidan brought the aforementioned officers (representing the Baath Party) into his own car, and they immediately took control of the Tank Battalion, surrounded the palace and fired five shots from tank guns as a warning step to Abd Al-Rahman Arif, who woke up to find the palace surrounded by tanks, announced his surrender immediately and asked to be sent out of Iraq and secure his eldest son Qais, who was an army officer, at the same time Abd Al-Razzaq Nayef moved towards the Ministry of defense with the help of a number of officers loyal to him he took control of the ministry effortlessly, While Al-Daoud went to the radio house with a number of tanks and a company of the Republican Guard and took control of it without a fight and

broadcast the first statement of the coup at half past seven in the morning of that day, July 17, 1968 (82).

During the early hours of that morning, the putschists took complete control of the country and everything ended, and there were widespread arrests of the men of the secular regime, headed by Prime Minister Tahir Yahya (83), and the president of the Republic, Abd Al-Rahman Arif, was deported outside Iraq (84), where he was deported by military plane to London, where his wife was being treated there, then he moved to Turkey and took up residence for many years (85).

We believe that the period of Abd Al-Rahman Arif's rule was one of the quietest periods in the history of Iraq, which aroused the anger of the entourage around him out of fear for their positions, especially after they sent many warnings and criticisms to Abd Al-Rahman Arif because of his policy followed at the time, in addition to the bitterness of the previous experience and the loss of government from them on November 18, 1963, entrenched in the memory of the Baath Party, these concerns and fears formed the basis of the factors that prompted them to develop a plan to get rid of Abd Al-Rahman Arif's rule, and this is what it really happened.

Conclusion

Internal conflicts are one of the most important threats to national security because of the ensuing repercussions that affect any country partially or completely, and their causes are multiple from one country to another, and the consequences of them are great, where the structural structures of the political system are being dropped and sagging in terms of the Constitution and the state's political authorities, even the unofficial components of the political system, and this leads to societal instability and spreading chaos and insecurity, and from the social and humanitarian side causes many residents to move away from places of conflict to protect themselves, as well as the economic effects, which include unemployment, job loss and the collapse of the local currency and stop the production, so that the consequences Conflicts include all aspects of influence in society that may lead to the collapse of the state. In order to truly reconstruct a collapsed state from all sides, which is not an easy process, but it is complex and intertwined, Because the process of political reconstruction after conflicts and wars is a process dominated by determinants and interactions that determine the paths to nation-building and requires the conflicting parties to find common spaces and awareness that enable them to cooperate and agree to reach acceptable formulas to build on towards political reconstruction, even if those parties have different ideologies and interests so that this difference is not exploited by, The challenges faced by the state after the conflict vary from one country to another according to the internal variables of each country and the appropriateness of addressing the crisis, and this is the most important thing that requires focusing on when planning reconstruction programs. According to the experiences of rehabilitation and reconstruction of post-conflict countries, the challenges they face have been prominent in a way that hinders the effectiveness of rehabilitation and reconstruction, such as Iraq and Syria, where reconstruction operations were assigned to foreign countries, after which they were rewarded for overthrowing the regime, as happened in Iraq during the fall of the regime of President Saddam Hussein by the coalition forces or supporting the existing regime, as happened in Syria to support the regime of President Bashar al-Assad by Russia.

Iraq is one of the most countries in the region that has gone through events and developments and witnessed unrest and changes in the system of government that has entered wars and conflicts at all local, regional and international levels, and in every era that passes over it or the regime that rules it tries to form state institutions in a way that suits its ideology and orientations, but this does not prevent us from saying that Iraq witnessed real trends to build different state institutions commensurate with the existence

of a state of institutions and citizenship in the royal era, until it ended with a change of government in 1958, after which the orientations of the ruling authorities in the various Republican covenants aimed at creating institutions that consolidate individual rule (the power of one individual) and represent an idea Unilaterally, it was not able to be a state that embraces various societal components and achieves stability for them, which led to the existence of counter-trends, which ended up leading to continuous authoritarian struggles, which made the country suffer from the phenomenon of political instability alternately and became more confused after 2003.

On the basis of this, we have concluded that preventive prevention is one of the most important requirements applicable in Iraq, given the crises and conflicts that have led to widespread chaos, destruction and destruction since its establishment, in order to mainstream peace and achieve sustainable development.

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