IRAQ AFTER MOSUL'S FALL BY DAESH, A STRONG STATE OR DISINTEGRATION

By

Rahman, Saad Saleh

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY

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ABSTRACT

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BY

Rahman, Saad Saleh

Iraq is an inheritor of the civilizations of Mesopotamia (Tigris and Euphrates); the region extends in history for thousands of years BC. It witnessed the invention of writing; the Iraqis wrote the first legal laws (obelisk of Hammurabi) in the world. As well, the Muslim Arabs built Baghdad city, which is the capital of the largest empire ever known. The Arabs Muslims ruled for centuries, with their states stretching from China to the Atlantic Ocean. Contemporary Iraq lived a dark and painful era, but this does not reflect its immortal image in history. It has witnessed devastating wars, variable systems from a monarchy to the Republic, which mostly ruled the country by force and dictatorship. Because of this, the people suffered from poverty even they live in a region very valuables natural resources.

In 2003, Iraq saw a significant shift, when US forces entered and fell the Baath Party regime. With the regime change, Iraqis aspired to live real experiences of freedom and democracy that they had not seen before. This shift, accompanied by the mistakes and problems, wrecked the country as a whole and prevented it from becoming a unified state. There was controversy about foreign intervention, the legitimacy of the new political system, the form of the State, the rights and representation of the Iraqi components, and more.

In 2014, the Iraqi city of Mosul fell into the hands of Daesh, and it was followed by important Iraqi cities within a short time. Very quickly, the occupied territories amounted to an area equivalent to one-third of Iraq. The fall of Mosul was the result of accumulated mistakes. It is important to understand the real causes of the fall, and what deadly mistakes made by political leaders in the current political process. They misunderstood their people, problems and the appropriate ways to solve them. Mosul represents an important study subject on how terrorism can successfully control a very large city by exploiting the wrong political and social conditions. Therefore, this study highlights the importance of a historical review of the stages of contemporary Iraq. Iraq suffered from lethal wars and terrorism, and that a deeper analysis needs to understand the main causes and real problems. What are the appropriate ways and proper solutions that will produce a stable state?

The terror suffered by the world today does not come from a vacuum; Wrong political practices did not reinforce the foundations of freedom and democracy. As well, the corruption that sapped the Iraqi state from the inside. Mosul is not just a city that fell, but it is also a great title for the failed phase where the political elite, who founded the current Iraqi state in 2003, failed to unite the people and to develop constitutional and legal solutions that would ensure full rights for all citizens. On the other hand, even though the political elite failed, that does not mean that the current political system failed.

The current political conditions are better than all previous political systems that ruled in the early stages of Iraq's modern history. Thus, the preservation of the current system should be a top priority, but it should strengthen the procedures and reconciliations of the real problems that caused the great collapse. The problem of global terrorism makes it a good material to research, as it leads to understanding the causes of growth and prosperity and the effective ways to fight it.

The facts and events that happened in Iraq are a clear example, so this study based on a historical and analytic descriptive approach.

This study will examine the causes of the problems that have plagued Iraq in general, and examine the reasons that led to the collapse of the city of Mosul and the subsequent regions. The results of this study indicate that the current reform of the political process is still in reach of the Iraqis. The political leaders need to adjust to the real problems and determine to open a new page of constructive dialogue. A unified Iraq is the best solution for all the Iraqi people while disintegration means a loss for everyone. In addition, disintegration will reflect negatively, on the whole, region. The events that happened to Iraq after the fall of Mosul might allow Iraqi decision-maker to open a door wide to turn around the failures and problems that produced this catastrophic situation.

On the other hand, the sectarian and ethnic divisions continued leading to failure and prolonging the age of terrorism. Iraq must try to increase the lethal capabilities of the innocent to take advantage of those divisions in Iraq. Iraq is not alone, and the problems with Daesh affect everyone in the world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dedication

TO

The sake of Allah, my Creator and my Master

My great teacher and messenger, Mohammed (May Allah bless and grant him), who taught us the purpose of life

My homeland IRAQ, the warmest womb

My great father, I could not be as him

My great mother, source of liberality

My dearest wife, who leads me through the valley of darkness with light of hope   and support

My beloved brothers and sisters

My beloved kids

To all my family, the symbol of love and giving

My friends who encourage and support me

All the people in my life who touch my heart

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I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The fall of Mosul is an important topic for researchers interested in Iraq or the Middle East; it has precipitated the need to unite Iraq and control terrorism as significant parts of the country's strategy and mission. Recently, Iraq suffered many difficulties, especially foreign wars, which have exposed its societal and economic structure to the fragmentation and destruction. This has made Iraq one of the worst countries to live in despite the advances the country had made in prior periods. Iraq's history and geographical location, in the heart of the Middle East, as well as its enormous resources make it important not only for the stability of the region but also for the entire world. The control that Daesh has over parts of Iraq has led to a large international coalition standing beside Iraq to combat this threat

Accompanied the building of modern Iraq by many coups and the lack of a permanent Constitution. Furthermore, Iraq's possession of huge natural resources, including vast amounts of oil and gas, has become an anathema for the country. Its fragile economy suffers from major problems due to the internal war with the Kurds, the first Gulf War with Iran, and the 1991 Gulf War with Kuwait. Iraq's occupation by American forces made it the focus of Al-Qaida, which developed a foothold in the heart of the Middle East.

The current study discusses the fall of Mosul on 10 June 2014 as a major event with repercussions that affect Iraq and its unity as well as the future of the entire region. Iraq may come out stronger than they were before the fall if the Iraqis understand the lessons from history and succeed in rebuilding their country as an independent State, in which the values of freedom, democracy and tolerance between communities and ethnic groups promoted. This is necessary to achieve stability in the region and for Iraq to become a modern, advanced State.

Problem of the Study and Research Questions

This study centers on understanding the history of Iraq since 1921 and the nature of its political and social power in the region. It approaches this problem by asking the following questions:

1. How was built Iraqi modern State, and what problems accompanied its construction until 2003?

2. How was Iraq's 2003 occupation an important event in its history?

3. How can Iraq build a new political process? Despite several pros, what are the factors that make it susceptible to major catastrophes?

4. What were the causes of the fall of the actual connector, and what were the repercussions on Iraq and on the region?

5. What caused the fall of Mosul?

Objectives of the Study

To achieve the desired goals and to try to anticipate the possibility of Iraq is reinventing itself as a modern State, this study will attempt to look at the following topics:

The impact of the fall of Mosul on Iraq's survival as a united and strong State;

The history and reasons for this event, through research on the systemic and structural aspects of the modern Iraqi State;

The positive and negative factors in the political process after 2003; and

The results discovered on the ground after the fall of Mosul, and Daesh's ensuing declaration alleging that it had formed a State.

Significance of the Study

The study will provide Iraqi politicians and decision makers with insight into the problems and underlying causes of the fall of the city of Mosul. This will accomplish by developing an understanding of the accumulated errors in nation building and it will serve to illustrate specifically how Mosul fell.

According to the study, the fall of Mosul warrants increased attention on the part of political specialists as to the causes and consequences of the incident.

Study Hypothesis

The fall of Mosul on 10 June 2003 disrupted the State of Iraq as a whole. A comprehensive review of Iraq's situation after 2003 will provide the ultimate goal of assisting politicians to overcome mistakes and build a unified and strong Iraq.

Limitations of the Study

The study has two limitations:

A spatial boundary: States in the Middle East (Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Kuwait, and Syria) and

Time limits: from 1921 to 2015.

Definitions of Procedural Terminology

Iraq

The Republic of Iraq is a federal parliamentary Republic consisting of 18 provinces. It is part of the Organization Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Iraq is situated in Southwest Asia; the Tigris and Euphrates rivers pass through it and converge in the city of Basra to form the Shatt al-Arab, which flows into the

Arabian Gulf to the South. The States of Iran, Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait surround Iraq.

Arabs in Iraq comprise 75%-80% of the population, Kurds are 5%-15%, and Turkmens, Assyrians and Shabaks make up the remaining 5%. In Iraq, the majority (95%) of the population is Muslim; religious minorities (Christians, Mandaeans, Yezidis, and others) account for less than 5% of the population.

Map 1: Iraq Provinces

Daesh

The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant emerged from the Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. It organized based on radical ideas and aims to restore the Islamic Caliphate. According to their belief, the Iraqi leader is Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi. The writer will refer to the Islamic State as "Daesh", an Arabic term that, by denying the group the status of a State, is part of the war on ideas, as the majority of Muslims are not represented by this extremist organization. Daesh occupied the strategic city of Mosul in Iraq on 10 June 2014, and it has taken over a number of important cities since then.

2003

In 2003, the United States entered Iraq to overthrow the Baath regime led by Saddam Hussein, who had ruled Iraq since 1968. Although the United States had formed an alliance with the United Kingdom, it did not receive considerable support from the international community or get approval from the Security Council before performing this action. After that date, the United States helped form the political process of the current regime. The occupation formally ended on 15 March 2011, but it left problems: it facilitated the spread of terrorism and divided the community, both of which were important factors in the fall of Mosul.

The fall of Mosul

On 10 June 2014, Daesh occupied the strategic city of Mosul in the province of Nineveh, which lies in northern Iraq and has the second-largest provincial population. This was a huge victory for Daesh, enabling it to expand in Iraq. The subsequent collapse of security in important cities in central Iraqi provinces makes the fall of Mosul the defining moment in the history of modern Iraq. It proved the Iraqi political system established after 2003 had failed to build a strong State, and now the threat of Iraq splitting is stronger than ever.

Theoretical Framework

The study tracks Iraq's nation-building efforts through different stages, using historical methodology and a descriptive analytical approach. On this basis, the theoretical framework of the study will focus on:

A title search on Iraq after Mosul's fall to Daesh, a strong State or Disintegration, and Previous studies on the subject.

Previous Studies

The researcher did not find any studies that addressed the same vocabulary that will addressed by the study. However, a number of documents, including books, papers, letters, and patrol transcripts, focused on nearby topics, so the researcher extracted information from those studies.

Research Methodology

The researcher used on the scientific method (descriptive analytical approach) through the induction and elicitation of events, analysis, and development.

This methodology led to the articulation of results and a discussion exploring the future of Iraq.

Structure of the Study

The study is divided into an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, and recommendations that address the conclusion.

Difficulties in Study

In conducting this study, the difficulties encountered included the lack of studies on the subject, especially a scarcity of books that dealt with such a recent event.

II: IRAQ BEFORE 2003

On 23 August 1921, Iraq emerged as a modern monarchy, with the coronation of Prince Faisal Bin Hussein King of Iraq. Established as an independent State comprised of three Ottoman States (Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul), among which Baghdad was dominant. Since that time, Iraq has seen developments, and political events. The nature of the political regime is the main cause of the difficulties of the modern Iraqi State.

The transition from one political system to another is difficult to control or to accurately track, due to the interactions of internal and external factors. Such factors can create major problems that are hard to predict and solve.

There are several definitions of a political system. According to Tharwat Badawi, a political system is a set of rules and consistent interrelated devices, showing the system of governance and providing the means of exercising power, achieving objectives, defining the nature and status of the individual, and establishing safeguards, as defined by the various forces that dominate everyone and how they interact with each other. Max Weber provided a more simplified definition of a political system as the power monopoly of violence by valid means.

A political system will define as a governance model that determines the form of government and the way the society and economy functions. It is developing in light of the circumstances of the historical, cultural, and ideological State. In terms of form, political systems divided into three models:

Democratic systems in which the authorities are elected by the people; Individual systems controlled by an individual and not subject to any law; this category includes Royal (legacy) systems and dictatorial, totalitarian or autocratic systems (power by force, not by inheritance), and revolutionary coup regimes; and Hybrid systems, consisting of elected bodies and other non-elected officials.

a. Governance Systems before 2003

Iraq has witnessed many political transformations since 1921. The parliamentary

monarchy, which began in 1921, ended with the 1958 revolution of Abdel Karim Kassem. Thus,

the royal regime replaced by a republican regime, which has continued to the present time. The

diversity of the republican system encouraged dictatorial presidents to seize power through coups

beginning in 2003. Despite the succession of leadership of various political persuasions, this form

of governance was able to achieve political stability.

1. Monarchy

Iraq's monarchy began with the coronation of King Faisal Bin Hussein, King of Iraq in

1921. The ruling Hashemite family ensured its dominance for 37 years through the succession of

the three kings to the throne of Iraq: King Faisal I, King Ghazi Bin Faisal I, and King Faisal II

formed thirty-nine Governments within the monarchy rule.

Despite all the difficulties, it was possible to build the rules of the modern Iraq State. The

monarchy established a successful foreign policy and formed a national army with the

Organization of Internal Administration. King Faisal I focused on consolidating internal factions,

finding convergence and balance among communities, nations, tribes, and intellectuals and

aligning them with the same goal (Iraq) and slogan (building everyone's responsibility).

In 1932, after 13 years of being ruled by kings, Iraq, sacrificed the foundations of the

modern independent State when the British imposed a League of Nations mandate on Iraq. Iraq

became a member of the League of Nations in the same year and obtained formal independence,

becoming the first Arab country to acquiesce to European demands and enter an international

forum. After the death of King Faisal I in 1933, King Ghazi Bin Faisal I was crowned. He

continued to build the Kingdom of Iraq on the same grounds on which it had been founded. King Faisal II crowned after reaching the legal age, and in 1953, he took the throne from his uncle, Prince Abdul Al-Ilah, who was guardian of the throne. He established the Council of Reconstruction Plans and continued to develop the capital of Baghdad and other Iraqi cities.

At the political level, the country enjoyed stability during the reign of its last king; an increase in Iraq oil imports came with improved regional and international relations. The monarchy came to a tragic end in 1958 when the Royal Family was murdered by a group of army officers who proclaimed the Republic of Iraq. Despite the assassination, this does not mean that there were problems within the country that led to the tragic end. Due to the particular nature of the treaties, like the Baghdad Pact, revolutionaries considered the kingdom to be British Iraq, believing that Iraq had lost its independence.

2. Republic

The coups that followed the monarchy eliminated the opportunity for Iraq to evolve and improve. They cracked the system, and only the elite mastered the rules of the political game. Five men headed the Republic of Iraq from 1958 to 2003:

- Najib Al-Rubaie (in the time of Prime Minister Abdel Karim Kassem),
- Abdel Salam Aref,
- Abdul Rahman Arif,
- Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, and
- Saddam Hussein.

However, the Republican leaders did not form a legitimate democracy, since they came to power through military coups and exercised their dictatorship. As a result, the State eroded gradually until the 2003 occupation of Iraq.

Regardless of the 1958 revolution, the events that accompanied the overthrow of the monarchy, the declaration of the new Republican regime, and many significant achievements, the motto "Make Karim the only leader" proclaimed the uniqueness of Prime Minister Abdel Karim Kassem, who went into fierce competition between political parties, each of which sought to wield power.

After ousting Abdel Karim Kassem, the Republic of Iraq headed by Abdel Salam Aref. On 8 February 1963, a coalition of nationalists and members of the Baath party seized political rights and public freedoms, and they practiced harsh authoritarian procedures rather than democratic ones. The coalition did not allow political parties and banned the publication of newspapers that were not loyal to the system.

Abdel Salam Aref formed the National Council of the Revolutionary Command, and the president given exclusive legislative and executive powers that became absolute. Upon Abdul Salam Aref's death in a famous plane crash, his brother reformed the system of military courts and abolished the legislative institutions, thus restructuring the political system that had relied on a relatively traditional separation of powers.

In 1968, Abdel Rahman Aref overthrown during the revolution of the Baath party, and a new political system was instituted based on one-party leadership, with Commander Power law. The State has promoted the dominance of the economy and imposed a cultural monopoly system. The Baath party's Revolutionary Command Council assumed all of his powers (legislative, executive, judicial), made a declaration of public mobilization, and confirmed the ratification of treaties.

On 11 March 1974, during the time of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, a declaration made that granted the Kurdish people the national component of the second leading Iraq to Kurdish-majority areas. The Iraq Oil Company nationalized on 1 June 1972.

On 16 July 1979, Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr relinquished power to Saddam Hussein, who had filtered most of the leadership of the Baath party and its task in the party and the State. Hussein entered Iraq in a war with Iran throughout the 1980s. In 1991, Iraq under Hussein invaded the State of Kuwait. Because of these actions, the United Nations imposed an economic embargo on Iraq, which bedeviled the country and made Iraqi citizens live in their worse conditions since the State founded.

Iraq's period as a republic has been the most difficult phase in its modern history, and its continuous errors have undermined the State (including national unity, homeland security, military, and foreign policy).

b. Highlighted Problems

Prior to 2003, Iraq's Royal and Republican regimes in Iraq left a legacy of problems that made Iraq a ticking time bomb. Once the U.S. occupying forces appeared in 2003, those deep problems in the body and the structure of the State of Iraq revealed. Perhaps the most notable problems that have accompanied Iraq since its inception as a nation are:

- The ever-changing form of governance and the identity of the State,

- The absence of a permanent Constitution,

- The Power of dictatorship,

- The status of minorities, and

- The frequent wars, which have led to the militarization of society and the destruction of infrastructure.

The Iraqi nation established through a referendum or other means was not stable. The colonists in the Middle East imposed the monarchy on Iraqis at the time. Britain and France expressed these at the conventions of the Sykes Picot in 1916 and the San Marino Convention in 1920 between; this monarchy followed each influence identified in the region of the Levant (Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Palestine).

To gather three Ottoman States (Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul) under the control of new Iraqi State (Monarchy). In addition, choose the King from outside the geographical boundaries of Iraq at that time; Sharif Hussein's family instigated Arabs to revolution against the Ottomans, who had an alliance with Britain, So that his sons be kings in Iraq, Syria, and Jordan. This did not mean that the new king was disrespected in Iraq; because they descended from the family of the Prophet Mohamed Messenger of Islam, peace and blessings upon him, from his daughter Fatima and her husband Imam Ali bin Abi Talib, who is buried in Iraq.

Blending sectarian and nationalist components, the Constitution (Basic Law) adopted in 1925. As described in Section, the King is inviolable and irresponsible; he approves and publishes laws and orders, overseeing their implementation; issues decrees with the force of law while Parliament is not in session (the first Iraqi Parliament, known as the Constituent Assembly, was opened by the king on 27 March 1924), and chooses the prime minister.

Despite a number of military coups under the monarchy, the composition of the government and the powers of the king remained intact.
The most recent coup, on 14 July 1958, marked a serious shift in the Iraqi State that founded in 1921. A more logical criticism of the final coup is that the monarchy had not exceeded the red line, and that the coup did not produce positive results. The declaration of the new Republican regime, its many achievements, and the dictatorial behavior of the leaders of the revolution

distanced them from the methods of democracy, peaceful trading power, elections, and writing a permanent constitution.

With the State's continued uniqueness and authority in all subsequent revolutions, the problem of Iraq from the modern State in 1921 until now has been the lack of a fixed constitution that unite the parties to the nation. Without a constitution that brings together teams, parties, ethnic groups, castes and communities, any effort by the State to build a homeland will be unsuccessful. Since the founding of the Iraqi State, Iraq has several constitutions, which had been using as tools to serve the leaders' goals and aspirations, and disregarding the interests of the Iraqi people. These include the first constitution written in the Covenant (the Basic Law) and the constitutions of 1925, 1958, 1963, 1968, and 1970. However, to reinforce those constitutions, leaders of the revolutionary powers introduced authoritarian dictatorial systems.

If we consider that the Royal Iraq era, which lasted until the late 1950s, represented the beginning of shaping Iraq as a nation, the successive republics failed to strengthen national unity with the Kurds; they are 15%- 20% of Iraq's population and since the beginning of the last century, they have tried to establish an independent national State. On 11 March 1970, in an agreement between the Iraqi Government and the Kurdish leader, Mullah Mustafa Barzani, the government recognized the national rights of the Kurds. It issued the Autonomy Act of 1974, which is the greatest accomplishment of the Iraqi Government in the history of its tense relationship with the Kurds, which have problems, and has seen a long war between government and the Kurds.

Other problems that have troubled Iraq since its inception as a State include the development of components and their rights. This has made the second Kurdish nationalism in Iraq one of the most important images of the conflict that exhausted the Government in Baghdad for years. The conflict stopped when the Declaration of Autonomy signed. It resumed in 1974, only to extinguish by the signing of an agreement between Iraq, and Iran in Algeria 1975.

Iraq, then entered a war with Iran from 1980-1988, and subsequently they fought in the 1991 Gulf War following their occupation of Kuwait. This resulted in an internal popular uprising against the regime of Saddam Hussein and the imposition of an economic embargo on Iraq as punishment for its occupation of Kuwait. The third Gulf War in 2003 aimed at overthrowing the Baath regime. These wars led to a dramatic deterioration in the social and economic conditions of the population and destroyed the foundations and values that built the Iraqi State. Poverty and need became prominent features of the community and of individuals.

II: IRAQ AFTER 2003

Iran-Iraq war allowed Iraq to build a privileged relationship with Arabic countries and the big powers, particularly the United States. Two years later stopped, the regime of Saddam Hussein occupied the State of Kuwait on 2 August 2 1990. This was the ending of the system.

Iraq occupied Kuwait and breached the Charter of the United Nations, which gave authority to use all means to eject them, including force. Saddam Hussein refused to comply with the U.N. demands, So operation Desert Storm for the liberation of Kuwait commenced on 17 January 1991. Iraq decided to withdraw from Kuwait after destroying most of capabilities and military system. This caused withdrawal and defeat of a large army, and it may have influenced the people and army forces to stop defending Saddam Hussein 12 years later, in 2003. After departing Iraqi troops from Kuwait, the U.N. imposed an economic blockade that cut off Iraq from the international community completely, which led to the army collapsing and the Iraqi people were greatly disappointed when had hoped for security and stability after eight years of war with the Republic of Iran. In 1991, there was an uprising among the Iraqi people, but the Republican Guard quickly extinguished it and control of the situation. The occupation of Kuwait and its consequences was beginning of the end of the regime, as it led to the occupation of the State by an international coalition on 9 April 2003. In addition, the events of 11 September 2001 led to America's "war on terrorism" to implement new political strategy and to begin a comprehensive economic and military effort to control on the region. Furthermore, the (New Middle East) project was the first stage to redrawing the maps of Middle East countries, so that the energy sources would strictly controlled by the United States over the coming decades. Everyone knows the importance of Iraq's geographical location near important oil resources, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait and UAE. Which has huge stocks of oil and gas estimated at 64% of the world's oil.

Administration of George W. Bush, President of USA 2001-2009, justified invading Iraq by claiming that the Iraqi regime possessed weapons of mass destruction and Saddam regime have relation to Al-Qaeda, which bombing the Twin Towers on 11 September 2001 in New York. The American has claimed that the Iraqi people should liberate from the bondage of Saddam Hussein. U.S. forces and their allies launched a sweeping operation on 20 March 2003 to dislodge Saddam Hussein. The Iraqi army could not withstand this onslaught for long time because of reduced the morale of the Iraqi people, most of whom felt that is was not an Iraq's war, but the war of President Saddam and his regime. The political and economic pressure as a result assisted in the success of international sanctions on the regime over the years preceding the occupation.

When the U.S. troops entered the Paradise Square and removed the statue of Saddam Hussein, there was an almost total vacuum of authority. With the collapse of the institutions and the fragmentation of structures, all denominations and nationalities emerged after have been repressed for so many years. After the regime of Saddam Hussein fell on 9 April 2003, there was a great sense of concern because of the unknown future. While this was the end of the era of dictatorships and the militarization of the people, the end of corrupt members of the governing authority, and the end of ongoing wars and very bad living conditions. At the same time, there were fears that the United States' motivation behind of toppling Saddam Hussein was not to provide freedom to the Iraqi people, but to ensure they had access to the vast reserves of oil. Additionally, Iraqi individuals had worries about future State building and social equity issues. The new generation wants to build a country that would be stable and would avoid devastating upheavals. Iraq's new politicians promised that they would build withstanding the past mistakes.

A. New Political Process and Stages of Composition

Represents the Iraqi political process since 2003 important model for study and follow-up utilized to find a model of governance, particularly for countries transfer from authoritarian rule of totalitarian regime to a pluralistic democratic regime. In addition, Constitution of the country represents the Supreme and highest law that the stability of the state is steadily progressing by respect it. Political Process is the interaction between the set of variables, within the limits of the community-based data and constitutional data, to finalizing the political decision-making. It is natural that any political process will face structural and organizational problems, and confrontations between the Old, who want to keep what was, and the New, whose are looking forward to what should be. So, the process continues until the consolidation of its corners, and its persistence in the new political system. Therefore, we can say that a political process is a well-formed political project intended to consolidate and stabilize the political system, and the whole operation will continue until the political system embodies the principles articulated in the Constitution.

1. *First authority after 2003*

After 9 April 2003, the United States and its allies found that they must convince the Iraqi people that they were not occupation forces and their objective is to liberate Iraq from Saddam Hussein regime. They therefore worked to establish mechanisms to manage the country until they could deliver it to the Iraqi people. On 6 April, the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) formed. The U.S. Administration chose a retired United States Army lieutenant general (Jay Garner) to supervise the ORHA, and U.S. Soon the U.S Administration abolished the Office, instead it form the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in Iraq, and the first authority to manage affairs in Iraq based on U.N. Security Council resolution No. 1483 (2003). Considering the United States of America invaded Iraq, matters managed by the laws of

war and occupation agreed at the United Nations. Thus, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) had power from 21 April 2003 to 28 June 2004.

Ambassador Paul Bremer, Director of the CPA (Coalition Provisional Authority), had streamlined control over Iraq's three authorities legislative, judicial and operational. Bremer issued a series of laws and decisions that had a significant impact on the political process as a whole after 2003. These orders published in Al-Wakaee Gazette (the first official Iraqi newspaper). Iraq has entered a new stage where the actual ruling power is Ambassador Paul Bremer as Director of the Coalition Provisional Authority. He issued several laws and decrees, including a solution to the Arab Baath Socialist Party. He also stipulated the functions of the entities that play an important role in the Iraqi State, such as the Ministry of Defense, the Intelligence and National Security Office, and the Directorate of Public Security and Special Security Apparatus and Military Organizations (army, navy, air force, air defense forces, and the Republican Guard. Bremer gave himself the supervisory authority to establish, manage, and disburse funds on behalf of the Iraqi people, as cited in Regulation No. 2, on 15 June 2003. The repercussions and consequences of those resolutions and Bremer's other 2003 decisions, which had a great impact on the future of nation building in Iraq were not considered at that time.

1. The Governing Council

Bremer issued the CPA's decision to establish it on 13 July 2003. This defines the duties and responsibilities of this Council to appoint interim ministers to work with the Coalition authority to set the country's general policies and general budget, and to work to establish the necessary procedures for setting up a permanent Constitution for the new Iraq. The 25 members of the council represented most political, ethnic and religious groups in Iraq, nine of them was choosing for the Council Presidency along 9 months. In the first public scene, American Vision

selected Iraqi representatives from partisan and ethnic groups to proportion

of each component (Shiites 13 members, Sunni Arabs 5 members, Kurdish, 5 members,

Turkmen 1 member, Christian 1 member), Knowing that these percentages were not through a

formal census, but depended on the estimated proportion of Iraqi communities by the United

States. The Arab League, United States and other countries considered the Iraqi Governing

Council as the legitimate representative of Iraq on 1 June 2004. Ambassador Bremer had control

veto power over the Council, which gave to people feeling of absence Iraqi sovereignty.

Decisions issued by the Council were not popular, such as making 9 April, the day of the

occupation of Iraq, a national holiday . On 8 March 2004, the Iraqi Governing Council issued a

statement legally confirming that the transitional period that began on 30 June 2004 would end

by 31 December 2005, with the formation of an elected Iraqi government under a permanent

Constitution. The Iraqi Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority authorized

this law. They determined that the form of government in Iraq would be a democratic, pluralist,

federal system, incorporating the doctrine of separation of powers, including equality among

Iraqis, and introducing a degree of decentralized management. It gave the transitional

government the following powers:

- Foreign police, diplomatic representation, negotiating international treaties in addition to conventions signed and concluded.

- Financial policy and issuing the national currency, customs and trade policy and the General State budget, drawing monetary policy and the creation of the Central Bank.

- Legislative authority named the (National Assembly) and the task of legislation and supervision over the work of the Executive.

- The judiciary is independent and not run from any form of executive power.

- The Executive Branch consists of the Council Presidency and the Council of Ministers.

- Establishment of a national human rights body, public integrity, and public authority to resolve property disputes and the National Commission for de-Baathification.

2. *The Iraqi Interim Government*

The Interim government formed on 28 June 2004 to replace the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Iraqi Governing Council, under the auspices of the United States, which maintained broad powers. The Iraqi interim government consisted of a President and Vice-President, the prime minister, 1 deputy, 13 ministers and 5 ministries of state. Mr. Ayad Allawi nominated a Prime Minister through a vote of the Governing Council. The interim government of Iraq chosen through a U. N. -Led consultation process that lasted for 7 months before the election of the Transitional Government.

State law for the transitional period formed the legal framework for the interim Iraqi Government, which was to serve as an interim Constitution. Ambassador Paul Bremer, head of the Coalition Provisional Authority, and the corresponding resolving Iraqi Governing Council, signed it voluntarily when the interim Iraqi Government formed. The Coalition Provisional Authority disbanded itself and formally ended the occupation, but multinational forces remained to help ensure security; the Iraqi interim government had a say in the strategic political guidance, while multinational forces kept control over field commanders.

3. *The Iraqi Transitional Government*

The fourth authority governing Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime was the Iraqi Transitional Government, which formed on 30 January 2005 and approved by the National Council on 28 April 2005.The most notable event was the election of Mr. Jalal Talabani as

president. An opposition politician to the Saddam regime and general secretary of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. In addition, had chosen secretary general of the Daawa Party from Shiite Arab, Ibrahim Jaafari to be Prime Minister, while Hajim Al-Hasani, a Sunni Arab and member of the Iraqi Islamic party, had chosen to head the National Council. The aim of the transitional government was to gradually transition to a government and parliament through the writing of a permanent Constitution that would put to referendum on 15 October 2005. It approved by the majority of the Iraqi people, despite the clear opposition from Sunni Arabs who did not engage in the political process. After adopting the Constitution, the first parliamentary elections were held on 15 December 2005to elect a permanent Iraqi government and parliament.

4. *The First Iraqi Government, 2006-2010*

The new government took over in May 2006. As its predecessors built this government on nationalist and sectarian quotas, the distribution maintained. Kurdish Jalal Talabani was elected as president, and his two deputies were selected, one Arab Sunni and the other a Shiite Arab. The post of prime minister went to Nouri al-Maliki of the Daawa (which was the Party of Prime Minister Ibrahim Al-Jaafari's transitional government). Ibrahim Al-Jaafari disqualified because of the objection of the political blocs to his performance in the transitional government, particularly after the bombing of the (Askaraian Imams) in Samarra and the ensuing violence. In addition, there were two deputy prime ministers (a Sunni Arab and a Kurdish), a parliament speaker (Mahmoud Mashhadani, a Sunni Arab) as well as two vice-chairmen (one Shiite Arab and one Kurd). This strengthened the government's power distribution among the core components of the ministries and public offices of the State.

This period witnessed the emergence of security failures; the most intense conflict was the bombing of the shrine of (Askaraian Imams) in 2006-2007. With the help of tribal sheikhs in Anbar, the Iraqi government and U.S. forces launched project Sahwat to accommodate Sunni tribal fighters within the security establishment, to fight terrorist groups and to fight the Shiite militias that posed a threat to the State's prestige in that period. The government managed to limit the conflict and to unite Iraqis. Hope returned, while kidnapping and murder rates fell after 2008.

5. *The Second Iraqi Government, 2010-2014*

In the parliamentary elections of 2010, the first attempt to break the three basic components of quotas and representatives of political parties. Mr. Ayad Allawi, a secular Arab Shiite with Arab Sunni leaders and prominent Shiite figures as well as Kurdish figures were established the Al-Iraqia list. This list went beyond sectarianism and the momentum of the big media, which succeeded to obtain the first 91 seats. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki took advantage of the momentum obtained after the successful establishment of relative stability and got 89 seats. After eight months of disagreement, al-Maliki took the post of prime minister for the second time in a row. He tasked with forming a government by 25 November 2010, before the expiration of the constitutional term granted to the president.

The Federal Court interpreted that the largest bloc must formed in a timely manner, before the elections or after. Mr. Ayad Allawi failed in his task to form a Government. As a result, a high percentage of Arab Sunny Street participated in the parliamentary elections for the first time and gave the (Al-Iraqia list) most of their votes. It is consider a success to attract Sunni Arabs to the political process with high participation after opposition and political downturn, even

withstanding numerous acts of violence against American troops and Iraqi security forces. The hope was that a national Government that did not promote sectarian and national quotas would pay dearly because of the lack of effective participation in the political process or because of the conviction that change in Iraq could not be without force and coups. The second Government of Mr. Maliki did not have political or security stability in his rule, it witnessed many problems faced him and caused the fall of Mosul.

B. **Pros and Cons Generated by the Political Process after 2003**

a. PROS

 1. Pros

 Through the peaceful alternation of power, procedural democracy is a means that relies on a democratic society. Political forces possess within them the spirit of democracy, and an understanding democracy as a governance philosophy and a way of life. In all decision-making, participation is confirmed by the Koran, the Muslim holy book in verse (و شاورهم في الأمر) its translation "and consult them in the matters". This speech addressed to a religious and worldly authority Summit at the time of Islam's Prophet Muhammad, to be the relationship between the community based on the Shura and on freedom of opinion. The legal construction in the State has focused on the most important element's the Permanent Constitution. This requirement achieved through the writing of the Constitution and the referendum on 15 October 2005. This has been the first legal document since 1924 to approve by the elected constituent assembly and a national referendum.

The Constitution was adopting with the approval of 78.59% of voters, with a massive boycott in the Sunni Arab regions. A big challenge is how to join Sunni Arab boycotts to Constitution in

future political processes based on the Constitution itself. On the other hand, higher voting rates of Arab Shiites' and Kurds' reflected their wish to take part actively in future Iraqi decision-making. Despite this disparity in turnout between the basic components generally recognized, there were many pros, including the high turnout on a national level and the important materials that emphasize the basic concepts in building the new Iraq based on democracy and freedom, including the following:

- Separation of powers and Guarantee of Rights and Freedoms

- Peaceful alternation of power and Political Pluralism.

- The control provisions of the Act and that people are equal in front of it

- The decentralization of governance and giving wider powers to the provinces

- Strengthening the role of civil society organizations

- Focus on the promotion of a culture of human rights and the freedom to express information and opinion

In addition, parliamentary elections held twice with the National Assembly elections, and Iraq witnessed a peaceful transfer of power and a separation of powers. There is a Council of Representatives, a Council of Ministers, and a Supreme Judicial Council, which results in greater freedom. Freedom of expression guaranteed, with a major role for civil society organizations and a multiplicity of parties.

2. Lifted Restrictions on Iraq

After the 1990 invasion of Kuwait, the UN Security Council issued more than 60 special resolutions imposing political and economic sanctions on Iraq. They called on all States to refrain from any trade with Iraq, except for medical supplies and food. Nevertheless, five years later, the

suffering of the Iraqi population had increased because of the above sanctions. To relieve the suffering, UN resolution 986 issued in April 1995, which included a goal to provide humanitarian needs for the Iraqi people, known as the Oil-for-Food Programme (OIP). This decision did not meet the basic needs of the people, and the economic situation worsened. The siege continued until 2003. On 15 January 2010, the UN Security Council voted to abolish three major international sanctions on Iraq: the first was about the freedom of Iraq in regards to a peaceful nuclear program; the second resolution terminated the OIP; and the third and most important decision was to restore Iraqi government control over oil and gas revenues beginning in July 2011. These important decisions would support Iraq's sovereignty, independence and recovery. However, dealing and interacting with Iraq continued under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, despite the demise of international justifications. Finally, on 27 June 2013, the UN Security Council voted to authorize the Iraq out of Chapter VII. Thus, Iraq regained full sovereignty as an active member of the United Nations.

In short, the results of this chapter will bring significant economic and political gains to Iraq, notably:

- Recovered about $50 billion dollars were in the Iraq Development Fund
- Ability to administrate without international tutelage
- The ability to equip itself in all areas, including military and industrial
- Strengthened rule of Iraq political entities

The Iraqi diplomatic efforts have yielded this resolution. Iraqi diplomatic relations have become important to most countries in the world, especially after the opening of Iraq embassies globally, stressing Iraq's positive presence after prolonged isolation.

B. Cons

1. Ditching the Sectarians and Nationalists

After 2003, most parties dominating the political scene were Islamism parties. This political Islam certainly pulled on the basic denominations of Islam as a religion (Shi'a and Sunni). If we follow the major Shiite parties that find their strength based on the Shiite community (the Daawa party, the Supreme Council, Daawa organization inside, the Sadrists, the Fadhila Party, etc.), Despite national emblems, these parties have not been able to change the organizational structure of the party and exit the surroundings. Other nationalities attempted to form electoral alliances by finding people from the other communities to diversify the main interface for the campaign. In an attempt to get more votes than its rivals from the political blocs.

In contrast, Sunni Arabs did not resemble their Arab Shiite counterparts. They have one Islamic party in interface with a many of political powers that compete vigorously. It managed to win in the 2010 parliamentary elections, when the crowd chose the Arab Sunni (Al-Iraqia), led by secular politician Ayad Allawi.

And other powers tried to stop the political transformation after 2003, believed in armed opposition, this view of almost of radical Islamic movements, and its benefit from whose affected by the new system, especially members of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and forces linked by the Saddam regime, who lost their jobs because the decisions of Bremer. The variable situation of the Sunni community in the political scene so clearly between the Islamic party who participated in the political process earlier and other parties that practices opposition position.

If we review the reasons for consolidating political sectarianism after 2003, we can highlight several important things that made political confessionalism profitable to their parties'

authority and a major obstacle to the country's progress. This resulted in the loss of Iraq, as a unified State after if did not address real work reforms. One of the most important things that pulled into the community is Saddam Hussein rule was in the name of Sunni Arabs. The fact that he was representing himself and his regime to preserve his own power. The media hostile to the political process and try to firm that. In addition, some efforts need to reduce their entry into the political process, to obstruct them from forming groups in opposition to the political process, and to construct a political process that would crumble and break down the country. Sunni Arabs were not happy with the fall of Saddam Hussein, but they were wary because the new landscape was very confusing, almost of the opposition came from Shiite and Kurdish nationalism. This resulted in them not interacting with the political process overall. Despite trying, the Islamic party and the national dialogue formed a powerful and prominent gap. The void was too large and could not accommodate this component to represent them socially and politically. There were complaints that they not treated with a genuine partnership in the political process. Their leaders stated this more than once, which benefited their opponents in the political process. Their interaction with the new Iraq has not encouraged other non-political communities, but other practices have strengthened this feeling.

Some Shiite politicians invited to establish the southern territory, referring to the sectarian divided country with Sunni Arabs and many Shiites as well. The drafting of the Constitution was a matter of urgency. It highlighted the features of the sectarian majority and the Sunni Arabs and larger segments in the vote in order to get it adopted. Incubators of terrorism appeared first in Sunni areas, which began with the killing of the sectarian identity and which led to the emergence of so-called militias by the other parties.

There was a chance for stability after years of sectarian strife increased after the bombing of the revered shrines of Al- Askaraian imams, particularly in 2007-2008. The first Government of Nouri al-Maliki hit the takfirists groups, terrorism and terror, and the militias by force. This led to its emergence as an Iraqi national leader, trying to build a project out of sectarianism called (State of law). Iraqi dreamed of a period of stability and feared building the State and community level. Project "Sahwat" contributed to the elimination of terrorism in the Sunni areas, targeting Sunni youths who participated in the tolerated terrorists and corrupted the community. They did not respond to the demonstrations in provinces predominantly Sunni, and Arabic, which initially called for legitimate peace, before intersecting terrorist groups and opponents of the political process, and intersecting with Government protests and using force to resolve conflicts.

Part of Iraq's internal suffering and political instability stemmed from external interference, so-called axis conflict between different countries in the Middle East region, whose interests intersect with one another. The New Middle East that the United States envisioned during its war on Iraq was a matter of the horror of the regulations of the region. They tried to move the project that succeeded in Iraq to further the invisible conflict among the world powers in order to control the sources of energy in the region. This represents another aspect in the durability of the violence and different causes. The conflict between Arabs-Iranian on the region, especially in Iraq has assisted to increase the tension. The reins must be kept on Shiite Arabs to keep them from entering Iran. The occupation forces, through their support for the political process, strengthened political and economic relations with the new Iraq. In return, the Arabs themselves perceive regurgitation with fear of the new realities. They fear that the political process that succeeded in gathering the most varied Iraqis will be reproducing in the region. They cannot accept their States adopting this system. Iran when enlarging its role at the expense of the Arabs

cause a big tension. In this case, these prominent features of the conflict were the battleground. No sane individual could disrespect Shiites and Sunnis, because intolerance is bad and offensive and will instill hatred and hostility that will disrupt the civil peace. Sectarian affiliation is an affiliation to a group of participants in community history and interests, and thus being a significant tribe sectarian or nationalist-like to be a kind of bigotry that is unacceptable at present times and that break the restrictions between humans. There is no doubt that Iraqi society was more consistent between two communities or even among its ethnic groups. In most families and clans from North to South, you find in children of the two communities. When visiting a mixed city, they barely discriminate between their son's nationalism and national ones, because they speak most of their languages.

When you switched from religion to political sectarianism and confessionalism, will rejected by the wisdom. The moderation and openness of political configurations, like the one on all denominations and nationalities, is one of the main keys to solving the problem of ridding Iraq's national day.

2. Terrorism and Corruption

Terrorism works on a target of hitting and failure the political process from its beginning. Terrorist groups exploited the US occupation of Iraq to make it a base for the hostile activities that resulted after the occupation. Al-Qaida objectives are to defeat the political process as a whole. With presence of other forces, they resisted the occupier without infringing on other Iraqis in the political process, and produced strong cooperation with some Iraqi political leaders in the Government and made Sahwat, which had most of the elements of leadership and youth associated with Militant groups. From 2003 until the fall of Mosul, Iraq lived with daily images

of terrifying explosions and violence. All aspects of life and all sectors of society affected by increased terrorism and insecurity.

With deteriorating security, Iraq has become one of the most dangerous countries in the world, Scientists and intellectuals were also targeted A large number of people, especially higher education diplomas in medicine, engineering and science were murdered, kidnapped or subjected to extortion, so many of their colleagues fled Iraq. Arrests by US troops and Iraqi security forces were often random, and a significant number of innocent people were tortured. Most of the detainees arrested under (article 4 terrorism). Arresting someone was easy and simply by claiming that he was a terrorist or helps terrorists. This tactic used by many peoples to filter problems from each other or for material gain or other.

There were accusations existence of secret detentions by some foreign agenda that wanted to dismember the State. More of the arrested people were innocents that are giving the citizens the State image is not a protector and keeper for them.

Women and children faced tragic situations as well. Three million women widowed, 5 million orphan, and more than 70% of girls and women of Iraq remained outside the education of schools and colleges. This significant number of illiterate people were very worried, and led to a large decline in the level of Iraqi University education compared to prior periods. The number of unemployed reached four million people, especially young graduates from colleges and universities. This problem of unemployment had disastrous effects and exploited by terrorism. Iraq ranked first in the number of journalists slain, and worse, in the assassinations of journalists. In 2010, Baghdad was the worst city in the world in terms of quality of living. In addition, according to the results of a business study conducted by the World Bank for the year 2015, Iraq

was the third most difficult country in the Middle East and North Africa in terms of doing business.

By following the number of martyrs from the terrorist operations for the period 2004-2013, noted the rise in 2013 before the fall of Mosul, after dropping the previous years to its lowest level since the start of the new political process, as shown in the table below:
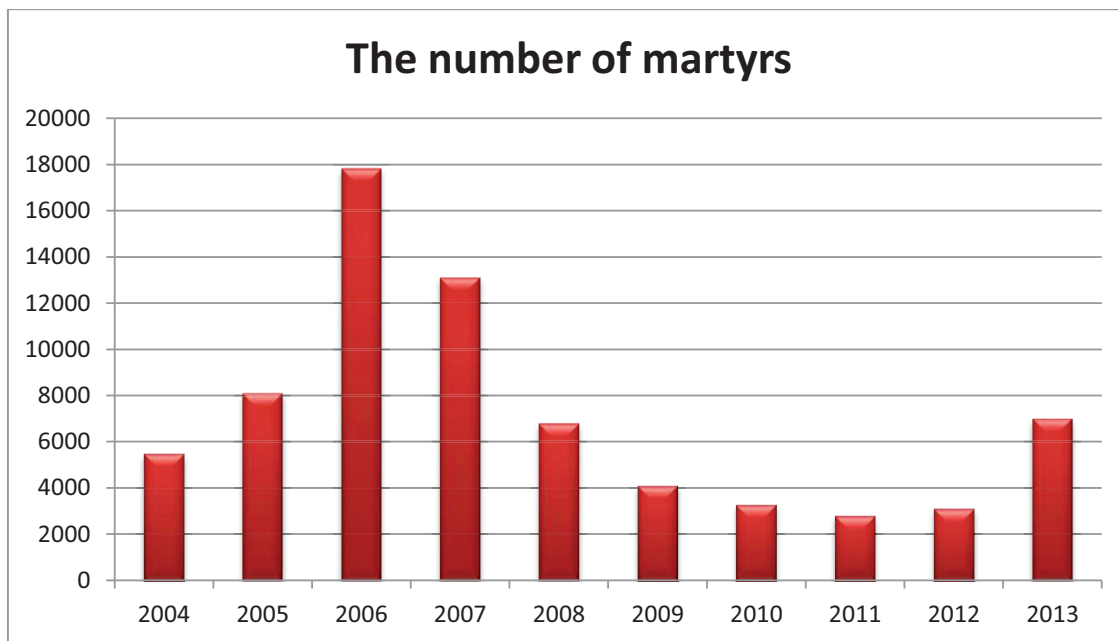
The number of martyrs

Table 1: Death Toll, 2004-2013

The return of violence and the rising death toll were signs that the security situation would be harder than ever before. Difficult days happened after the fall of Mosul.

Meanwhile, corruption has increased dramatically, and it became another kind of terrorism threatened the future of the country. There were reports of corruption and nepotism in ministries and governmental bodies, which was very concerning. Phantom posts in security institutions were one of the biggest scandals, MP Ammar Toama revealed in a press statement that 66 thousand fake functions detected in the Ministries of Interior and Defense, and only in Ministry

of Interior, more than 50 thousand fake jobs cost the State nearly five billion dollars. Former Chief Judge (Musa Faraj) reports that the lack of integrity in Iraq surpassed the combined budgets of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Palestine. While Iraq has less than a twenty-third of Egypt's population, the poverty rate in Iraq beats the poverty rates in those States. It was not surprising that Iraq's parliamentary integrity Committee ranked fourth among the ten most corrupt countries in the world, according to index transparency. This confirms the financial audit report issued in March 2013 that suggested significant indications of mismanagement and corruption, and the insistence of many government administrative formations that laws do not apply to the State, wasting public money. The office of financial supervision could not fight this phenomenon. The bodies concerned with accounting oversight and punish defaulting did not cooperate. Acts of embezzlement, oil smuggling, money laundering and bribery were rampant in the bureaucratic administrative apparatus, making Iraq one of the most corrupt countries in the world.

A United Nations report released in 2013 stated that Iraq was unable to provide sufficient basic services. More than 23% of Iraqis were in dire poverty, and the economy outside the oil sector remained weak. The State was unable to create jobs for the developmental work forces. There were hotbeds of corruption prevalent in State organs that protect the corrupt. There were unanimous reports that the most corrupt constituencies in Iraq were the security ministries, trade and electricity, and municipalities and public works. Corruption in all its forms is a major obstacle in achieving the aspirations of society. If the circle widens, it will reflect negatively on the economic development of the country.

Iraq is going through a financial crisis and was in dire need of money to sustain the war on terrorism. Reinforcing those fears was a big drop in global oil prices. The oil sector contributed

more than 70% of the gross domestic product, compared to 18.7% in previous years. Note that the oil sector does not contribute to the operation of the labour force, with only 2% of the total workforce. The other 98% of work absorbed by other sectors does not exceed 30% of the GDP. Terrorism benefited from this corruption, and corruption was open to tampering with the State security of Iraq. The elimination and destruction of Iraq and the fall of Mosul was inevitable because of the alliance between the terrorists and the corrupt.

III: THE FALL OF MOSUL

The city of Mosul is located in the Nineveh Province in northern Iraq; the population of the province estimated at 3,521,000 people, with nearly half of them in Mosul. Nineveh was the center of the Assyrian Empire and is an important Islamic region known by scholars and writers. It holds strategic significance and contested by neighboring Turkey, when want to establish the Iraqi State; this dispute concluded that the province would remain part of the modern State of Iraq.

The province consists of different nationalities: Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen and Syrian, and religions including Muslim, Christian and Yezidis. Because of this diversity, there were a number of districts in the province in dispute between the Federal Government and the Kurdistan Regional Government, under the title of the disputed areas.

Nineveh contains the Mosul Dam, located on the Tigris River, which divides the city into Right and Left. It reflects the vast agricultural lands in the Nineveh province and has great influence on middle and southern provinces.

As well as maintaining four productive oilfields (Al Qayyarah, Ain Zala, Burtuma and Safia), it has other fields that do not work yet. Because of the importance of the largest oil

reserves in the province, in 2010, former Planning Minister Ali Baban explained that the body would turn to the Nineveh Oil Company in the future.

MAP 2: Nineveh Province and its Center Mosul City

A. The Reasons for the Fall of Mosul

When we examine the real causes of the fall of the conservation status of Mosul, we can separate it under two Presidents and two political conflicts and securities.

1. *Political conflict*

With the importance of its position, Nineveh may be one of the most varied provinces nationally and ideologically. It is a second most populated province in Iraq, and have many Educational competencies that have a big contribution in the history of Iraqi State. Iraqi politicians failed to build a State of law and governing institutions to make citizens trust them. In fact, the face of the opposition shown in the province of Nineveh in rejecting the Constitution by voting against it, but the highest percentage of rejections also came from Anbar at 96.95% and the Salahuddin province at 81.75%. The Sunni Arabs majority opposed the political process because they are feeling it is carry mistakes of Saddam's regime to them. Their refusal to Constitution articles, especially to article of federalism which misinterpretation of it led to the division of the country.

Al-Qaeda had sent a group of Arab fighters from Afghanistan to Iraq, led by Jordanian Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, who founded Tawhid and Jihad group in Iraq in 2004. Going from occupation to starting a global war against enemies of Islam needed a fertile environment to increase extremism because of injustice and unfairness. Despite the results of the referendum on the Constitution, politicians from all actors in Arabs Sunni tried to involve. At the beginning of the political process, Kurdish lists got 31 seats of 41 seats in the election by choosing members of the provincial Council in January 2005. The political landscape in the province transformed in the 2009 provincial elections, where won list of Mr. Atheel Al- Nujaifi. The Nujaifi brothers (Osama and Atheel) were not able to build a solid relationship with the Centre, while initially they opposed the expansion of Kurds and refuse article 140 and its implementation to the distinctions of the province. They advocated for the preservation of territorial integrity maintenance, and strengthened the role of the Federal Government.

This position changed to contrast with the Federal Government, and their relationship worsened after Atheel Nujaifi taking the post of governor, Osama Al-Nujaifi had a strained

relationship with Al-Maliki and his Government, Osama Al-Nujaifi Speaker of Iraqi Parliament at this Year selected. The post of Speaker is a symbolic representation of Sunni Arabs part, according to political understanding between political forces. Due to his bad relationship with the Central Government, the arrests and the marginalization of the role of their politics, and believed their rights stolen, argued that their population was greater than the proportion of legal persons in the Government because of the widespread boycott of the political process after 2003.

On the other hand, Mr. Atheel suffers of two conflicts, with Kurdistan region because of the national conflict over disputed mixed areas, and the implications of having a brother in the post of representatives of the Sunni Arabs in the Federal Government. Atheel Al-Nujaifi damaged his relationship   with the Central Government and security forces in Mosul led to increased arrests and security breaches in the province. In addition, he was head of the Security Committee in the province. One of the reasons for the fall of Mosul is the intersection between administration of local governments and the security leaders with financial corruption. The arrival of Osama Al-Nujaifi as speaker of COR and survival of Nouri al-Maliki for a second session in 2010 started the conflict, which took place between the characters and largely reflected at the province. The regional role in the conflict between Turkey and Iran in Iraq particularly. The Turkey relation with Al-Nujaifi brothers reinforced the intersection with the Central Government, especially to Iran's relationship with the Federal Government and the very strong leaders. The conflict grew after the Arab spring revolution and control Islamic parties on governments in their countries' close relationship with leaders of Turkey.

In the conflict between the Sunni Arabs component, the Federal Government produced a great disappointment and a sense of marginalization. Rafi Al-Issawi Minister of finance in second Government of Nouri al-Maliki from Anbar. This has led to the emergence of what he called the Sunni Arab component of the folk movement, which was largely consistent in the way it

appeared with demonstrations in the Arab world and the change in so-called revolutions of the Arab spring. In Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Yemen, which transfer to bloody in It was a popular movement in six provinces (Anbar, Baghdad and Diyala and Salahuddin and Nineveh and Kirkuk), and it highlighted the demands of mobility. Under the roof of the political process, then withdrew to serious ends. This encouraged the Government to quit the movement on a Friday, which is a holy day for Muslims. People collect to express outrage at the current situation; religious speeches turn into political rallies in giant theatres.

The Government feared that the movement would be beyond the Syrian situation, and that the conflict would extend to Iraq. Mr. Nouri al-Maliki argued that mobility will be a danger to Iraq and causes a sea of blood. With the Government position declared, this doubled the frustration after they did not answer the demands and failed in their attempts to finish this peaceful movement Syria. The Militias began targeting worshippers at the mosque in Baquba on 17 May 2013, which wounded and killed at least 86 worshippers. Iraqi governmental forces then stormed to Hawija in Kirkuk on 23 April 2013, arguing that there were wanted men inside the arena who had hit Government troops. Iraqi Education Minister, Mohammed Tamim, in the Government of Nouri al-Maliki, noted among the 38 people dead were his uncle, sons and relatives. He refuted the Government's claim about the presence of weapons in the area and announced his resignation from the Government, calling for a fair investigation into the incident in order to prevent strife in the country.

This incident had a major fallout and causes to drop security situation at important cities dramatically and painfully. The greatest beneficiaries of failure peaceful people's movement were those opposed to the political process, especially those follow Al-Qaeda. All of internal political problems in the province, nation and region. It make from Mosul big target to extremist groups.

2. *Axis security*

When reviewing a series of terrorist incidents targeting Iraqi provinces since 2003, Mosul was the second goal after Baghdad. If we look at the sample for 2008 and 2013, we find that the province was second in the number of victims and wounded, again after Baghdad.

Table 1: Injuries and Martyrs by Province for 2008 and 2013, Excluding the Kurdistan Region.

Provinces	2013		2008	
	Wounded	Martyr	Wounded	Martyr
Baghdad	7622	1628	9001	1641
Nineveh	3455	1657	4294	1479
Diyala	2602	1626	1825	1117
Basrah	244	52	1929	527
Kirkuk	1914	443	760	310
Salahuddin	2814	1367	609	309
Anbar	720	297	208	166
Dhiqar	210	17	440	498
Babylon	938	233	379	188
Wasit	344	36	254	192
Karbala	177	70	171	113
Najef	95	6	21	46
Maysan	222	20	237	126
Muthanna	86	9	0	0
Al Qadsia	148	12	50	22
Total	21591	7473	20178	6734

Terrorists' targets were Government security forces, participants in the political process and citizens who refuse to cooperate.

In 2007-2008 Iraqis defeated Al-Qaida after years of violence, through cooperation between government security forces and Sunni Arab tribes in the attribution of projects called "Sahwat"

The security situation worsens before the fall of Mosul, due to turning Mobility movements into a place of open confrontation with the Government. An incident in Hawija was foreboding that there was a significant deterioration in security in Iraq. Terrorist organizations were the only ones who benefited from the failure to draft reform from the peaceful political situation for Sunni Arabs in Iraq after 2003.

Relationships between the citizens and the security forces is lack of trust between them who charged them to pay royalties to terrorists and uncooperative with the security forces to detect these sleeper cells. A big part of responsibility upon security forces and corruption of their forces, which arrested dozens of people without warrants, stripping people from weapon, while prone innocents on public opinion that they were terrorists.

This compounded a sense for citizens that corruption of State and the injustice of its security services had made tackling terrorism difficult. Also the disgruntled of local officials over federal government policies increase the gap between citizens and security forces, which made it easy for terrorists to infiltrate it, especially in the months leading up to the fall of Mosul.

If values security from the top leadership to the lower positions, we can observe the following clearances:

- Appeared weakness in the high command, due to the untrue perception of the situation, and did not follow the official guidance in its contexts. The choice of leaders doesn't have efficiency, they lack accountability and follow-up to the military aspects of the Mission (training, Armament, efficiency, control). There is a semi-financial corruption related to select leaders.

- At the level of the security forces inside the province, there is administrative and financial corruption of all kinds. They did not give true information on terrorists and their whereabouts.

- The intelligence effort was misleading, and there is a lack of cooperation among those responsible for the security in the province. Due to its absence spirit of fighting between military fighters and their leaders that have not, even contemplated withdrawing forces in order to collect and rearrange the forces for repelling the attack.

- They did not know the military orders, so that they were defeated, and not rely on impartial constructive competencies to enhance the army's value.

B. Repercussions and Consequences

The fallout from the fall of Mosul has had a significant impact on local and regional, because the looting of Mosul by the terrorist gangs, it's effects on the whole Middle East, which has become a dangerous precedent. This event represents a milestone in the history of modern Iraq. The consequences of the fall of Mosul, especially on security forces that collapsed in conservative districts. They bolted it to a Mosul in Kirkuk and most parts of the Salahuddin province such as Tikrit and Baiji and further eastward to the border with neighboring Iran in the Diyala towns Jalawla and Al-Saadia. These areas fell one after the other until reaching the occupied land area approximately to 40% of the area of Iraq in a short period.

This is a larger area than Britain after you merge the Syrian territories previously under its control. The security collapse included murder, abduction and the grisly massacres. The "Spiker massacre" on 12 June 2014 killed at least 1700 students in the Iraqi air force. In addition, thousands of families displaced from the cities that desecrated Daesh. According to official

statistics, the number of displaced people reached to 2,519,849 persons displaced after the event and subsequent issues. Daesh forced Christians either become Muslims as (Islam of Daesh) or to pay the Jizyah (money you pay the Islamic State for defense and protection and to stay on its territory). Otherwise, they would have to get out of Mosul. The Yezidis had a harder attitude; they killed many people, so most abandoned their villages and it withdrew to Shiites in Tal Afar where they faced Daesh that had withdrawn into northern Iraq.

Most of Sunni Arabs leave their houses to prove to Daesh that they could not depend on. Thus, Daesh lost the popular support of those cities. They paid attention to this and prevented people from exiting and detained them as hostages. This does not preclude that some people had sympathy and worked with them for different reasons, usually poverty and retardation the main reasons.Daesh destroyed by blasting and demolishing mosques for Muslims, Christian churches and temples of historical Yezidis that were important in Mosul. These images add to the humanitarian catastrophe of what happened to people in the areas occupied by Daesh

The significant outcomes derived from the fall of Mosul summarized as follows:

1. *State of Daesh*

In 2004, Jordanian national Abu Musab al-Zarqawi swore allegiance to Al -Qaida, led by Osama bin Laden, and founder of Qa'idat al-Jihad in Bilad al   Rafiden as a branch of Al-Qaeda in Iraq.

The organization has intensified its operations in Iraq, exploiting the discontent Sunni Arab component. To simplify its influence on large areas in Iraq, Zarqawi appeared in a video announcing the formation of the Mujahideen Shura Council, an umbrella militant faction fighting over the occupation and security forces under his command.

Zarqawi killed in a U.S operation in the Hebhb city in the Diyala province. An armed faction formed the Islamic State of Iraq on 15 October 2006. They chose Abu Omar al-Baghdadi as leader until his death on 19 April 2010. Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi then led the organization, styling himself as Khalifa on Muslims, with the thought of organizing Daesh. After the occupation of Mosul, there was the crisis in Syria and the emergence of armed groups linked to Al-Qaida, especially the organization under the leadership of Abu Muhammad Abu Bakr. On 9 April 2012, Al-Baghdadi Al-Joulani attempted to cancel the country of Iraq and the Islamic Front victory in Syria. He hoped to develop one Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, which the world now calls Daesh.

He made this decision without consulting Al-Qaeda, led by Ayman al-Dhawahiri, who took office after the death of Osama bin Laden. This did not show him the importance of the regulation, but it was his plan to control Iraq and Syria actively.

There was a change in management structure building when Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi took the leadership. His fingerprints are evident throughout the organization, through his control of direct regulations and joints that are contrary to what had occurred in the past three generations (Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and Abu Ayyub Al-Masri and Abu Omar al-Baghdadi). He also gave immigrants from the Arabs and other regulation dolly's roles of advocacy to make Shura fighters and collect donations. They had careful money management even before controlling Mosul, thus becoming one of the richest terrorist organizations in the world, especially after taking control of the oil fields in Syria and other Iraqi areas tasks. It is hundreds of miles away from Baghdad and outside the control of Iraqi security forces, and it is a symbolic crossing of power management.

They were quick to add areas beyond the two countries, which controlled by Iraq and Syria. An official spokesperson said the organization's leader, Abu Mohammad Aladnany, canceled the names of Iraq and the Levant to become the Islamic state. He removed the State

border between Iraq and Syria using bulldozers, and days after Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi showed up at the mosque in the al-Nouri (Al-Hadbaa mosque) wearing Islamic clothes historical. He delivered the Friday sermon, pointing out the receipt of succession and calling for jihad, saying he must obey by those who obey Allah.

These symbolic steps were sufficient for the UN to send Nicolay Miladenov to Iraq as a Special Envoy. He called on Iraq's leaders to meet quickly and agree on a national security plan to confront the threat of terrorism, including political and social initiatives. Daesh represents a real threat to the future of Iraq and to the entire region. It is the greatest threat to Iraq's sovereignty and unity, warning that Iraq will not be back as it was before the fall of Mosul, and that Iraq will not be able to stop the united organization that threatens Baghdad.

The strategy of Daesh is to expand. They plan to battle the world through three clear objectives:

• The defense within Iraq and Syria

• Processes annexationist in territory

• Widen international sphere

Iraq is the most important patch of their State, for it is the source of most of the advanced management staff. In addition, it has great history that will attract supporters to the making the Islamic nation unified as in former times. Iraqi community leaders and the Government called for a popular support of the security forces and later renamed the popular crowd. They internationally formed an international alliance with the United States of America that helps Iraqis fight this terrorist organization. The judiciary in Iraq wants to stop Daesh and its branches in the world.

2. *The popular crowd*

The fall of Mosul and the ensuing events from other regions are dramatic and worrying to the Iraqi Government in Baghdad and the southern Shiite areas. The top Shiite spiritual leader Mr. Ali al-Sistani issued a statement calling on the Government and political leaders to unite to stand up against terrorism. He urged the Government to support the armed forces, and requested they have patience and fortitude in the face of their aggressors. He described the Prime Minister in ugliest words and told him, "You lost a historic opportunity for control Iraq people".

On Friday 13 June 2014, Mr. Ali al-Sistani responded firmly and historically. That is what Iraq is going through and the risk makes it imperative for all Iraqis to defend honor and duty as best they can., He added, "It is the responsibility of all Iraqis, not dedicated to another range, the challenge is too big, the courage and the foot of the Iraqis in the face of this significant terrorist attack."

His opinion focused on the things that changed the nature of the confrontation between the two communities that photographed. I have focused on the general lines that are important to preserve Iraq as a nation:

- It is important that it is a national confrontation by Iraq citizens, without distinction.

- Fighting is primarily the task of the armed forces; any popular effort will supported by Volunteerism through formal mechanisms and in coordination with the Iraqi government.

- It is not for all citizens, only those who can carry weapons and are capable of them.

- The last command was a harsh message to politicians that they should unite.

The idea of supporting the people of the armed forces has been an afterthought of the Iraqi people. Examples include 1950-1963, the National Guard from 1963, popular army in the 1980s, and "Sahwat" in 2007.

The citizens responded to the Government regarding this free public opinion forming. Over time,

the crowd became from all spectrums of society.

The crowd was able to keep "Daesh" from Baghdad, but can it maintain the important regions of the provinces of Salahuddin, Diyala and Kirkuk, like great rock cliff and Amerli, Tikrit, Baiji, karma, Jalawla, and Al Saadia?.

Nevertheless, the popular crowd is not part of the Iraqi Government forces. The biggest challenge emerging how to prevent big cities from dominating by Daesh? Which is predominantly Sunni Arab, for fear of deepening the societal divide that was the reason behind the fall of Mosul?

Reinforcing this fear is what keeps areas of killing and burning, and the emergence of gangs who are exploiting the name of crowd to kidnap and extort. The Chairman of the parliamentary security and Defense Committee indicating that there are hidden hands working to distort the image of the popular crowd.

The Sadrist leader has warned Mr. Moktada Al-Sadr of dangerous practices of some factions of the popular crowd, describing the brazen and militias that will prevent the progress of victory in important areas.

At the same time, some factions of the popular crowd are accused human rights violations. In the months of March and April 2015, they acted in violation of the laws of war, calling on the Iraqi authorities and the accountability law-breakers.

With the assistance of certain factions of the popular crowd, Qassim Soleimani, Commander of the Iranian army, the IRGC Commander, and a man affiliated with the Islamic revolution Guards Corps, may be entering Iran. There is a lack of absorbing clan fighters of Sunni Anbar, Arabic and Nineveh, which easily facilitated by the Government. Future-armed factions of the popular crowd will be the biggest danger to Daesh itself, as it may prevent the Sunni Arab component from being an active part of eradicating Daesh.

In the same context, the Human Rights Watch warned the Kurdistan Regional

Government for what it called acts involving the apparent distinction. Kurdish Peshmerga forces prevented Arabs from returning to the disputed areas between the Federal Government and the territorial Government.

3. *International Alliance*

Before the fact that terrorists controlled big lands in Iraq, the international government asking to ensure the Iraqi Government met the military and economic fundamentals. On 5 September 2014, the United States announced the formation of the Alliance to combat Daesh in Iraq, while stressing they would not be using ground forces.

This invitation has seen the same controversy raised by inviting the United States to expel Iraq from Kuwait in the 1991 State Gulf war and 32 States was participating in this Alliance, although the proposal itself was from the United States. However, the objective has changed. During the first war, the goal was to eliminate Saddam Hussein., While today the unknown enemy target; the war might extend for years.

Varied methods and tools have used by States to support the Alliance, including air strikes, supplying and equipping military gear, the proliferation of military training and intelligence, and logistical assistance provided by other States and other countries. Humanitarian aid has displaced persons directly to the Office for the coordination of Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations.

More than 60 countries are participating in the coalition of, notably America, Britain, Australia, Germany, France, Italy and Albania, Denmark, Poland, Estonia, Spain, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Canada, Japan, South Korea and Switzerland, among others.

The motive of the United States and Westerners is to secure oil resources and to protect allies in the area. This included Presidents who feel a considerable threat, especially in the Gulf States, due to the increasing gap between Arabic countries, Iran and Turkey regarding the Syrian and Iraqi issues.

States that fight "Daesh" have different agendas, but up to the jarring at times, thus affecting the effectiveness of the international coalition in the rapid elimination of regulation, but gone to accuse Iraqi Prime Minister Haidar Al-Abbadi's current coalition not to do enough to tackle Daesh, especially in supporting Iraq in arming and providing intelligence.

To form an Alliance of this size requires a number of different countries to agree on many issues, especially on how to resolve the crisis in Syria and Iraq. The strangest international alliances in the world lacked efficacy of its observations. This slowed the progress of the Iraqi forces on the ground, with little actual support for the Iraqi forces because many members of the International Coalition justified Baghdad's obligations to implement. On political reforms, it attracted Sunni Arabic clans to confront and eradicate Daesh definitively. The organization established its presence on earth to delay the liberalization of Nineveh and other areas.

C. New phase of internal understandings

At the beginning of the great collapse of security forces, the military responded as soon as possible. The long-term stability of Iraq requires a solution to the problems and the causes that produced the growth of extremism and fostered prosperity. There is paramount importance to rearrange the position of the military, to fight corruption and to eliminate the sectarian quotas and nationalism that caused this extremism.

The political agreement by the representative of the political blocs signed and adopted important values. Most important were the teamwork and collaboration between the three powers. In order to move forward in the national reconciliation project, all three must stand in the face of terrorism and resolve outstanding issues between the Federal Government and the Kurdistan Regional Government. They need to review the laws and legislation that led to hurting many Iraqis, such as the law of accountability and justice. They must adopt important laws like the amnesty law, the Federal Court, the parties and other things that will send hope to Iraqis that the new phase will start exceeding the pitfalls and calamities of the past.

The first Government formed for a short time. , As political blocs failed to form a Government for more than eight months after parliamentary elections on March 7, 2010, Maliki selected as prime minister on 25 November 2010.

Although there is a heavy legacy, the faces associated with stage changed since the fall of Mosul. Iraqis feel things are going in the right direction, because the political and economic stability will lead to harmony between the country's leaders, with a greater understanding between the President of Iraqi Republic, the speaker of the Parliament and the Prime Minister. These points too positive not seen in previous Governments.

Mr. Haidar Al-Abbadi's Government focused on fighting Daesh. Along with that appropriate strategy, he promises to shrink the Government to combat corruption and the financial decay that comes with it.

There was also the issue of integrating the popular crowd forces and tribesmen into the security establishment, under the cover of an official named b (National Guard), which vowed to hold the delinquents accountable in regards to the security setback in Mosul and beyond.

Despite this optimism, it must acknowledge that the previous Governments caused the political and economic problems and security concerns. This is not easy on the new interface for

the country. Although there is harmony among unseen Governments, many cities are out of control and need to equip security forces with weapons and ammunition as soon as possible. The government has a lesser budget due to falling oil prices, which constitute most of the Government's revenue.

After 2003, the new Government got the support of all political blocs, with the pledge to support the Government and start a new phase in building this country.

Regionally and internationally, Iraq welcomed by all States to form such a Government. This was especially true of its neighboring countries, and some Arab countries that were interacting with other Governments after 2003.We cannot hold the Government hold the government responsible for the disastrous conditions and all the problems inherited from previous Governments, since the founding of the Iraqi State. However, you must put the proper foundations for positive change, so that home building will continue even with slow steps.

V: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

a. Summary and Conclusion

The fall of the Nineveh province and Mosul city status, by an Organization of the Islamic State (Daesh) on 10/06/2014 an unusual and exceptional occurrence, an Iraq fragile entity that may falter quickly after a decade of US Intervention. This terrorist organization's military gain, financial and political abilities cannot underestimate. So that, Daesh become one of the richest terrorist organizations and have enormous military equipment took behind the Iraqi army. Daesh organized in Syria, and occupied large parts of Iraq and that happened because of the Government's wrong, which led to social divisions and sectarian between the people of those States. This event has attracted world attention, over important issues and other crises because of

dangerous probable sequence. In Iraq, The fall of Mosul is the biggest challenge facing new political process and its sponsors. Therefore, the possibilities of dividing the country increased. The origin of the problem lies in the accumulated political regimes that ruled Iraq before and after 2003.Which led to deterioration of the political situation and the security and made differences between social components.

Demonstrations before the fall of Mosul caused an indescribably indignant FROM society with rejecting interact with the new political situation, which affected their area and Iraq as a whole. It is not impossible to change the current reality on the ground in the interest of the survival of the State of Iraq. Firstly, Iraq must expel extremists from those lands, which they occupied, and this comes through a radical reform process in sundry aspects of the quandary. To start a new stage, there must be respect democratic and multilateral Federal foundations and an establishment of fundamental freedoms, and balance in a partnership and Constitution of Iraq mentioned it. Iraqis either build a strong prosperous Iraq or will see its collapse into warring States on everything from land, water, and wealth; and it would lead all the States of region into conflict, and Iraq will become the center of terrorism on over.

Conclusions

- Building a form of Iraqi modern State was not an Iraqi decision from the outset, and forced the Iraqis to deal with the British nation-building vision.

- Changing the shape of the political system since the founding of the modern Iraqi State and making the idea of a central Government that controls all aspects of life was difficult on the Iraqi mentality. This idea has made people unable to accommodate democratic political life after the occupation in 2003.

- The country's strength comes from the stability of its political system. Firstly, it guarantees the rights and freedoms of all and with harmonious authorities to each other. It operates its terms of reference, and the current political process of its successes that can build upon great things. Failures are opportunities for correction due to the problems from the outset; failure can accommodate those opportunities, but they will be very dangerous to the future of Iraq and its unity.

- After 2003, Iraqi forces not built in the right way. The Iraqi military foundation, which known by its high fighting spirit, has observed that the fighting spirit of Iraqi forces broke their power and increased losses.

- Regional intervention and conflict between powerful hubs in the region have had a big impact on the instability in Iraq.

- Mosul's fall did not come from a vacuum. It represents the culmination of political errors perpetrated by the founders of the political process, especially in the matter of accommodating the lack of an important element and an actor, the component of the Arab Sunni, from starting date.

- Terrorism and conventional methods handling things, through only using security solutions, cannot end extremist ideas forever. They must confront them through the dissemination of the correct values of Islam, which call for moderation.

- The size of the loss suffered by Sunni Arabs was considerable. They were absent from the opinion of the collector and did not share in the political process. Giving them the opportunity to restore themselves in the political process would be a great success for all. Iraqi components should support them to help to build the nation. All the ingredients must use to build Iraq, and the loss of any component means Iraq's stability and disunity.

- The areas under control of Daesh can liberate through its people, taking into account the importance ensuring that setbacks, like Sahwat, do not recur, and by giving them real guarantees to engage in Iraqi forces and political decisions.

- After defeating Daesh, it may become even more difficult to accommodate combatants and undertake their rights.

- Corruption in Iraq parallels the dangers of Daesh, and must addressed with the same determination and force.

- Any additional day Daesh controls land on Iraqi territory complicates its liberation. There will be tremendous implications for the future, because the people are hostages under their rule, which will force the generations to bear the idea of extremism.

- The humanitarian situation is very worrying as millions of people were displacement. Because of it is a human disaster that has received inadequate aids, and because Iraq is the inability to absorb such big numbers, it needs more efforts from UN agencies.

- It is important to give confidence in the population when their land liberated from Daesh. They must quickly compensate and given control of their cities and villages.

- Their harmony tainted with some kind of fear in the mentality of most of the political elite. They must understand that national reconciliation and rebuilding Iraq on a strong foundation is a historic decision that needs great courage to attain a final settlement, not simply an appeasement.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The current political process, with its failures, represents a strength that must invoke to develop future solutions. The power of Iraq and its unity comes from its success in dealing with errors and problems that have encountered since 2003.

- When the political decision-makers sit around a table and put one goal in front of them, it is to build Iraq by eliminating political sectarianism. This requires practical steps, through legislation, which safeguards the rights of the sect and deprives sectarianism.

- Increasing interest needed from the government to train on perfect and solid foundations, to raise fighting spirit, and to supply advanced equipment for Iraqi forces.

- They must establish an Islamic council that is competent to fight terrorism intellectually, and to uncover their black thought in front of the community.

- Political decision-makers in all countries must recognize that they have interests in Iraq, and the time has come to help Iraqis to stand before their enemy. Taking into consideration, building relationships with other countries should base on common interests and mutual respect, without prejudice to national sovereignty.

- The Arab Sunni component should supported through legislation. They should rely upon to help liberate their regions. It is urgent to develop a plan from the government and stakeholders to liberate the big cities such as Mosul, which are under the control of Daesh.

- Develop a plan to accommodate those who are fighting "Daesh" today, such as Popular Crowd and fighters in the current Iraqi forces. Another option is to create a new security establishment to benefit from their experience and their fighting spirit when confronting terrorism.

- The judiciary must take its role in the fight against corruption with the support of the Council of Representatives and the government.

- Government must put in support for displaced people, because it represents a response to "Daesh" and strengthens citizens' confidence in the state. They must work to return the families to their liberated their areas as soon as possible.

- There is an excellent opportunity for the current political elite, who laid the foundations the political process. It must seize as soon as possible to achieve comprehensive national reconciliation and to overcome all the mistakes and previous lapses; otherwise, if Iraq disintegrated, history will not have mercy on them.

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