Translation of memorandum by His Majesty King Faisal to be handed to the 'Iraq Frontier Commission.

I do not consider it necessary to dwell long on the subject of the difference arising between the 'Iraq and British Governments on one hand and Turkey on the other hand over the fixation of the 'Iraq-Turkish boundary. The discussions carried out and the documents exchanged in connection with this question have left no point un-explained; while the British Government has on all occasions put up such a defence of the legitimate rights of 'Iraq that allows of no further defence. I am confident that after an adequate examination of the question entrusted to you by the League of Nations, you will realise the legitimacy of our claim and will find out that we have not claimed what we are not entitled to and that our ambition is to be in a situation which will enable us to grow and progress, safeguard our future existence and enable us to live a peaceful and free life which will help to revive our tradition and refresh our ancient glory. I therefore content myself with inviting your attention to the following points:

1. It is not hid from the honourable Commission that the civilization of peoples belonging to the Arab race in Western Asia has died away as result of the aggressions of the Turks against them and these peoples remained thereafter groaning under the Turkish yoke for several centuries, until the very traces of their civilization disappeared, and Baghdad, the city of the Khalifa and the centre of knowledge and civilization, is reduced to what you now behold although it is now much better than it was during and before the war. The Arab nation had almost lost its characteristics but for the memory of past civilization and ancient and everlasting literary treasures which stood it good. In the middle of the last century the Arab nation, thanks to schools and friction with Western nations, began to feel the necessity of claiming
its usurped rights, and when, following the declaration of
the constitution, the Turks committed their extremist racial
evil deeds, as is known to all, the Arabs rose up in Syria,
'Iraq and the Hijaz for the defence of their existence; they
held conferences and formed societies for the purpose of
claiming their rights. Following the declaration of the
Ottoman constitution they (the Arabs) met at the hands of the
Turks such miracles of deception and oppression as
strengthened their national convictions and made them look
out for opportunities to uphold their claims. And on the
outbreak of the world war, Arab leaders saw in that war the best
means to rid themselves of Turkish rule and Turkish tyranny,
negotiations were begun between His Majesty my father and the
British Government on behalf of the allies and ended with our
entry into the war on the understanding that no peace will be
included with Turkey unless the Arab territories, of which
Mosul is a most important part, become independent of Turkish
rule.

2. Immediately after the Armistice the Turks withdrew
behind the frontiers of 'Iraq and British Military Occupation
was established in the place of Turkish rule in the three
Vilayats of 'Iraq, namely, Basrah and Baghdad and Mosul.
Not long after that signs of actual change in the policy of
the British towards this country began to appear. In fact
Mr. Churchill, the then British Secretary of State for the
Colonies, declared in the British Parliament the intention
of his Government to fulfil the promises made to the Arabs in
territories falling under the influence of that Government and
the establishment of a national Government in 'Iraq within its
present boundaries. This Government has been actually
established.
3. The national Government in this kingdom has been in existence for about four years now; and inspite of the difficulties and obstacles which have confronted it as a young Government it has made such good progress and such praiseworthy advance in all its various branches that made believe the British Government that it was necessary to exchange the Mandate for a treaty of alliance and also made the Government declare through its chief representative before the League of Nations that the 'Iraq Government has lately made such progress as will enable her shortly to stand alone and join the membership of the League of Nations. The Treaty concluded between my Government and the British Government was laid before the League of Nations who has accepted it and thus the destinies of this country are now under the League's safe-guard and responsibility.

4. Your honourable committee will, after the enquiries to be carried out by them in this kingdom, find a great difference between the state of this country under the Turkish regime and its present state. So I consider it superfluous to discuss this phase of the question, I would only refer to the fact that Government in this country, the majority of whose inhabitants consists of Arabs and which comprises a Kurdish population of over 400,000 besides various other elements, Christians, Jews and others, has but one aim namely, to bring about happiness to the inhabitants and to prepare means for their development and progress. This young kingdom has had only one basis underlying its new establishments, namely justice and equality among all elements and sects and the respect of their traditions within the Organic principles that the Constituent Assembly drew up the Organic Law and it is on respect to these principles that we set our hope for the building up of the edifice of our renaissance. If we can enjoy a real peace and if we obtain what we desire within a line of frontiers which can ensure our existence, we will, by the grace of God, and with the assistance of our ally and the League which represents the civilised nations, recover for our country its past glory and
carry out our share of duty towards civilisation and humanity. With great pleasure I may mention to the committee that the big irrigation projects which we have proceeded with, namely the construction of two of the largest water reservoirs in the world on the Diala and the Euphrates which will irrigate about three million fiddans (acres) in summer, the completion of the Baghdad-Mosul railway which have proceeded with, and the approaching conclusion of our negotiations with one of the world's biggest firms for the exploitation of petroleum in 'Iraq - all this renders us very hopeful of a quick economic revival of this country. These together with many others yet uncompleted works bear evidence for us before the honourable committee as to the firmness of our resolution to work for bringing about happiness and prosperity to our country.

5. We bear no enmity towards anyone and have no desire other than to live in a state of perfect peace with our neighbours and in peace of mind as to the security of our country against foreign ambitions. We respect the Turkish people and wish them prosperity in their own country. But in the meantime we wish to live peaceful and secure and free to work for our happiness and to co-operate in the service of humanity as a whole. This is dependent on our country being preserved intact and un-dismembered and on the existence of a line of frontiers which will render it secure against aggression. This question is one of life or death. After examining the case in all its various phases, racial, geographical, economic and strategic, your honourable committee is sure to find that to deprive 'Iraq of its natural boundaries would be an annihilation of its future and a death blow from which it will never recover to make any success.
Mosul is an inseparable part of 'Iraq. The Turcomans there who belong to the Turanian race from only a very small section, and notwithstanding this they enjoy all their rights on the same footing as other inhabitants of the country, in contrast with the Arabs still under Turkish rule in Nasibain, Mardin, Jasrast ibn 'Umar and other localities, who are deprived of all rights inspite of the fact that they are many times more in number than the Turcomans in this country. I need not prove the accuracy of this statement, as the honourable members of the committee are acquainted with the situation of foreign elements in Turkey; while the memorandum and answers submitted by the British Government contain all that can be said in this connection. It is strange that the Turks should exert themselves to strip Mosul of its Arab nature and to ignore historical and physical facts and even the necessities of administration which they have themselves established. During the greater part of history Mosul came under Baghdad. Over fifty years ago Midhat Pasha came here as Governor-General of 'Iraq with Mosul as part of it. Likewise, Nadhim Pasha came to Baghdad for the reform of 'Iraq which consisted of Mosul Baghdad and Basrah. Baghdad remained the headquarters of the military, Posts and Telegraphs, Customs, Education and Justice administrations until just before the withdrawal of the Turks. These three Vilayats lived from the old as one single whole and separated only temporarily and owing to un-natural causes. In an official speech made on 2nd. February, 1330 A.H., Sulaiman Nadhif Beg, an extremist Turk, who was Vali (Governor) of Baghdad during the war stated as follows:-

"I have a somewhat old experience of this country. I was five and half years ago a government official in Basrah and one and half years ago in Mosul and when I came to Basrah the Turkish revolution had just dawned and was shedding the
lights of multi-coloured hopes in the horison of our people; and when I went to Mosul my nerves were shaking on account of the horror of the Balkan calamities. I took up the reins of administration of these vilayats of the 'Iraq impressed with two conflicting feelings: on the one hand I was not deceived with hopes and imaginations, on the other I was overcome with grief and weariness."

The Turkish Gazetteer by Shams-ud-Din Sami which stands for a Turkish Encyclopaedia and was published under auspices of the Turkish Ministry of Education contains the following information on page 4483 of Volume VI:-

"Population.
Mosul Liwa......................... 159680.
Shahrzur (Kirkuk) Liwa........... 89000
Sulaimani Liwa..................... 51600

"Total of Mosul Vilayat............. 300280.

"Who are divided according to creed and race as follows:-
Settled Arabs....................... 80000
Arab tribes living in tents........ 93000
Kurds.............................. 59380.
Turcomans......................... 16000.

Total Moslems........................ 248380.
Chaldeans......................... 18000.
Syrians & Catholics............... 7000.
Jacobites......................... 5000.

Total Christians................... 30000.
Jews (Total)....................... 6000.
Yazides (Devil worshipers)........ 14900.
Other religions.................... 1000.

Grand Total....................... 300380."

"The Yazidis and members of other religions are nominally Moslems, and Kurds by race; and with them the Kurds would number 75280 and they speak Kurdish. The Turcomans mentioned above speak Turkish, and the rest of the Moslems numbering 173000 and the Christians and Jews in general, i.e. a total
of 209,000 speak Arabic. It appears from the foregoing that the popular language of the vilayat is Arabic in the first degree, Kurdish in the second and Turkish in the third degree.

I have made the above quotation in addition to all other proofs and arguments only to remind the honourable committee that the previous acts of the Turks themselves and their own past administrative establishments in this country are a proof of the fallacy of their present claims in regard to this part of our kingdom.

It remains for me to say my last word as King of this country, it is as follows:

"The bringing into existence and consolidation of a permanent Government in 'Iraq is dependant on the preservation of the status quo, as I consider that it is impossible, both strategically and economically, for a Government in Baghdad to live if Mosul is detached from it and held by another Government. Nor can a real life be hoped for the people of 'Iraq without Mosul. What is more, my convictions and my experience of the mentality (orig. spiritual state) of the Turkish people, their historic ambition for extension and invasion and the absence of another line of frontier safeguarding to the existence of my country make me declare that it will be impossible to maintain internal peace even in normal times except by the creation of a permanent military force which it is not within the powers of the 'Iraq amputated to create either at present or in future. Likewise, I do not believe that any foreign capital will come into 'Iraq when foreign capitalists are aware that the country is constantly exposed to risks, anarchy and invasion. Therefore I consider that Mosul is to 'Iraq as the head is to the rest of the body; and it is my unshakable conviction that though the question is only one of fixing a boundary between 'Iraq
and Turkey, it is nevertheless and in fact the question of the 'Iraq as a whole. Accordingly the happiness or misery of four millions of human beings is placed at the hands of the members of your honourable commission. If for any reason the commission may consider that it should recommend to the League of Nations any alteration or modification of the present frontiers of 'Iraq, it should at the same time recommend to the League the choice of a new status for the 'Iraq in its entirety, and it shall be responsible for the destinies of this mass of human beings.