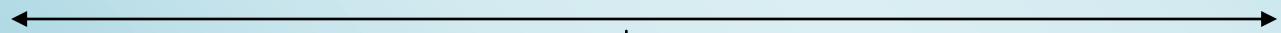


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BRITAIN POLICY TOWARDS IRAQI TRIBE ELITE DURING THE WORLD WAR I YEARS

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PROBLEM:

Tribes constitute, among others, an important order of the Iraqi society. They carried out various roles on both social and political levels; their stands of view were positive sometimes; negative other times regarding the governmental administrative system. Thus, the problem addressed by the current study is to identify the decision makers within the tribal elite and to employ it as a factor supports the state administration; on the economic level (to refresh the agricultural activity) as a factor which support the national income of the country, on the social level holding the textile of the rural and villager society which, in turn casts its shadows on the unity of the country and its security and economic stability.

HYPOTHESIS:

The current paper hypothesis set forth within the context of the following questions:

- Did the British administration succeed in the application of the policy of containment of the tribal elite in Iraq during the years of the World War I?
- What are the means and methods used by the British to penetrate the tribe system in Iraq? What is the application and reaction level on the basis of the place distance of the study society?
- What was the response of the tribal elite toward the British policy during the period of the military occupation 1914- 18? What is its description, positively and negatively?

METHODOLOGY

The present paper is based on a historic society stands upon event and deed historic review, and then, reshape them, making use of the analysis society sometimes, and deduction other times, analogical to the available information in the references adopted by this study and employed by the researcher so that they harmonize the steps of the society of the historic research.

First: Historic Introduction: The British Policy toward the Iraqi Tribes during the Late Ottoman Era 1869- 1914

British had been concerned in the tribal and clan structure in Iraq and the other Arab countries before the World War I. They studied their social conditions regarding their life style, customs, and traditions. For this end, they employed the most famous intelligence figures who were known for their skillfulness and ability to deal with such components. They employed the Jewish (Sarah Onson) to carry out her trip in Palestine, the Syrian Desert and East-Jordan Emirate. She went around the desert as a botanical scientist who checks the land nature looking after strange plantsⁱ.

Miss Bell came to Iraq as a nurse who abandoned cities to serve humanity. In 1908 smallpox spread in some spots Iraq. It had been sever in Diwanayah eradicating people heavily. Means to fight such diseases during the Ottoman era had almost been unavailableⁱⁱ. Miss Bell inoculated a person for a (piaster), if this had been unavailable, she would receive a little quantity of wheat or barley. Officials themselves received her warmly to inoculate them and their families against smallpox. No one doubted her. As she made a tour in Diwanayah and its desert, she moved to Dagharrah county of Ifag constituency pretending to inoculate people and Bedouins, while she was studying the state of the tribes and what concerns her secretly.

The British comprehended well enough the power of the Iraqi tribes and their control of trade and navigation routs, therefore they adopted peaceful policy toward the tribes. They particularly exploited the request of the Iraqi tribes to support them against the Ottoman government which persecuted them by then.

Sheikhs of Al-Sa'adoon established their relations with Britain. Sheikh Nasir Al-Sa'adoon was among them. He had been appointed as a ruler of Al-Mintifig province after the deposition of Madhat Pasha. He remained heading the administration of the said province until early 1874. By then he had a distinct attitude regarding the attack the British ship, Kashmir had exposed to an attack in summer 1872 when it departed Basra heading to Baghdad launched by Al-Mintifig and Ka'ab tribe's people. They attacked its crew and captured its properties. British sources assign the reason behind this tribal attack against the mentioned ship to the hostility against the British existence among them. The British felt that they interpolate themselves in a Muslim country, a matter which had been reflected on their commercial activityⁱⁱⁱ.

Sheikh Nasir Al-Sa'adoon, chief of Basra dignitaries reassured the British consul that the necessary measurements against the attackers were taken. After a while, Sheikh Nasir had been able to capture the attackers, (30- 40) persons, sent them to the Ottoman court in Basra. Seven of them were sentenced to death^{iv}.

This attitude granted Sheikh Nasir Al-Sa'adoon the trust of the British for his role. The British Commissioner in Basra grated him a gift reflecting the British impression about Sheikhs' love of Bedouin life, a two-pole tent, in the name of the Government of India^v.

The British government kept friendly relations with Al-Sa'adoon tribe and had good relations to it. It had mediated at the Ottoman government by then, to re-appoint Nasir Al-Sa'adoon as a ruler of Basra when the Ottoman government deposed him from his occupation and re-appointed Falih Al-Sa'adoon as a ruler of Al-Mintifig province^{vi}.

The British aimed, through that approximation to the tribes, to protect their economic interests in Iraq and to secure their navigate ships in the Tigris river against the attacks of tribe people who were out of the control of the local authority^{vii}.

Ottoman government continued its opposition to the Sheikhship of Al-Sa'adoon family and destroyed them in 1881, so Al-Sa'adoon requested the support of the British government to protect them and secure their interests^{viii-ix}.

Worth mentioning, in the context of viewing the historic evidence of the attitudes of Britain to support some tribe Sheikhs is that some Iraqi tribes were refrain to pay taxes to the Ottoman government. This led the government to adopt decisive measurements which spurred those tribes to resort to the British Consuls in Iraq. Among these tribes there were Al-Jubour and Sultan Family in Hilla 1878. Tribes of Khuza'a, Saqr family and Beni Aridh in Simawa had refrained to pay taxes in 1891, Hindia tribes refrained in 1905 too. The government used to either to call some tribe chiefs and convince them to pay the taxes and have them to give commitments to pay, or to use force against them which led to clashes between tribe people and the governmental forces leading to crucial relations between the parties^x.

The British consul in Karbala intermediated between the two parties and an agreement on several terms had been concluded. Among those terms were to deliver the citizens of Hindia the properties which were taken from them, to burden the leader of the attacking Ottoman military force with the responsibility of the attack, to initiate a case against him and to reduce the tax tariff percentage posed on them^{xi}.

In Nasiriyah, too, some tribes refrained from paying taxes, so the Ottoman government assigned the mission of Al-Mintifig state reformation and to discipline its tribes to a high rank officer. The mission failed as the tribe attitude which rejected those taxes continued as the tribes resorted to cut off transport roads intrude upon the movement of the military forces which led to the loss of the government power^{xii}.

The state of affairs is described by the British consul who depicts the situation at Suk Al-Shiyoukh during summer of 1909. The report mentions, (The government has lost its power totally; Turkish soldiers cannot browse in the markets without the protection of tribe people)^{xiii}.

Second: British Strategy towards the Tribes of Iraq during the World War I (Maneuver and Military Mobilization)

Iraqi tribes participated in the battles of Shi'aiba and Ahwaz when the Ottoman launched their attack to return the city of Basra and drive the British away on three axes, the left one whose forces had been decided to march on the River of Karoon aiming to occupy Al-Muhammara in Arabistan, the middle axis with its power marches on the River Tigris toward Qurna, and the right axis with its powers on the River Euphrates opposite to Zubair. To execute this plan, the Ottoman leader, Sulaiman Al-Askari Bey distributed the tribes among these axes making them under the leadership of Army officers^{xiv}.

According to this mobilization plan, the Ottoman leader set the tribes of Beni Lam and of Arabistan which responded to the call for Jihad in the left axis; of Beni Mouhammad, Siwa'id and of Albu Darraj in the middle axis; of Al-Mintifig in the right axis^{xv}.

Tribes of middle Euphrates, Rabi'aa, Zubaid, and of Beni Lam participated, at the same time in the battles of the Tigris during the British first advance toward the Tigris after defeating the Ottoman Turks in Shi'aiba, Ahwaz, occupation of Omara and Nasiriyah before their withdrawal to Kut and the Turkish siege upon them which led to the British surrender later on. The Turk formed up a cavalierly brigade out of the tribes^{xvi}.

Tribes of Al-Mintifig and Al-Simawa took place in the battles of Al-Simawa when the British marched to occupy it. The Turkish leader, Nooruldeen Bey formed up a confronting front out of the tribes of Al-Mintifig and Al-Simawa making use of their support to hinder the march of the British. Al-Mintifig tribes, under the leadership of Sheikh Khayoon Al-Ubaid, fought in the battles of (Bahira) and (Al-Butnija) when the British aimed to occupy Al-Gharaaf to break the siege posed on their forces in Kut. Tribes of Shatra fought the British with cold steel. Fighters of the tribes were more than 17.000 people^{xvii}. Groups of Shammar Al-Jerba took place in the battles which followed the occupation of Baghdad up to the British occupation of Mosul^{xviii}.

The tribes joined the Turkish forces, their role in the battle field was not a decisive one although due to their lack of an organized military training and the difficulty of confronting an organized modern forces. Yet, their role was within the moral frame which affected the British. Moreover, the roles of some tribes and individuals had been remarkable. A telegram by Sir Percy Cox^{xix}, the political consultant of the British Military campaign on Oct. 22nd says that the British Campaign includes many advantages among which there are the mobilization goals, occupation of Qurna, and the moral effect on the spirits of Iraqi tribes^{xx}. Another telegram by the Imperial Commander in Chief, the General leader in India dated on Sep. 30th 1916 mentions what the political and military considerations relating to the tribes of Al-Mintifig and Beni Lam were among the ones which suggested to the British to keep their state quo, i. e., to keep on the occupation of Basra province. Both Gen. Nixon, the leader of the campaign and Sir Monroe, the General leader in India recommended the importance of the occupation of Nasiriyah and Simawa as by then it would be possible to control the tribes of Al-Mintifig and Al-Simawa^{xxi}.

Al-Mintifig tribes forced the British forces to withdraw after combating them in the battle of Al-Butnija forcing them to withdraw to the city of Nasiriyah, preventing their advancement to break the siege imposed on the main force in the city of Kut. Badr Al-Rumaidh, Seikh of Albu Salih tribe had been a prominent figure in that battle. The Ottoman government presented him with an ornamented sword and several medals. The British admitted their defeat in this battle and posed fines on the tribes which fought them, including Al-Azairij tribe^{xxii}.

Tribes of Shatra resisted a British chivalry squad which was marching to occupy the city of Hay on Nov. 10th 1917. People of tribes fighting on the front of Tigris hindered traffic of British caravans^{xxiii}.

Some tribe chieftains continued their loyalty to the Ottoman government and resisted the British in spite of the latter successive victories against the Ottoman forces, the extension of their occupation of Iraqi lands. Sheikh Ajmi Al-Sa'doon refused in Basra to display his loyalty to the British rule and continued fighting in the Turkish front to the west of River Euphrates, rejecting the idea of the Iraqi officers of Al-A'ahd to abandon the Turkish army, form up a seed of independent army remains in the territory. He rejected the offers of the British to abandon the Ottoman Army and the call of Ibn Saud upon him to work against the Turks as well^{xxiv}. After the British occupation of the city of Baghdad, Sheikhs of Rabi'aa, 'Azza and Al-Dilem to present loyalty for them, just like Sheikhs of Basra province^{xxv}, others had had still continuous secret communications with the Turks^{xxvi}.

Tribes of Baghdad resisted the British in contact areas^{xxvii}. On the Euphrates line, a group of Zawba' tribe attacked a British camp at the beginning of Radhwaniyah channel. Their attack continued for several days before the British troops hold a counter attack against them. A group of Dilem tribe confronted the commander of a British platoon as it was conducting an explorative tour and killed him, but the British captured two people of the group, issued a death sentence against them. The decision executed on Jan. 9th, 1918^{xxviii}.

Some chieftains of Euphrates, together with the people of Najaf, managed the murder of the political ruler of Najaf in May 1918^{xxix}.

As a result for the occupying British administration advancement, overweigh of the British military status after the occupation of Baghdad, their forces advancement northward along the river Euphrates, occupation of Himreen Mountain in Diala, launching their successful attack in spring 1918, the resistance of the tribes against the British occupation seized. Many Sheikhs declared their loyalty to the British^{xxx}.

Third: Iraqi Tribes and the British Administration Strategy in the View of Differences and Approximation

Some tribes manifest their support to the British campaign against the Turks and their aliens before and after the fall of Baghdad. In Basra province, tribes of Bdour and Ghazzi united in 1915 against Sheikh 'Ajmi Al-Sa'adoon. They received military weapons and ammunitions from the British to resist Sheikh 'Ajmi Al-Sa'adoon^{xxxi}.

Sheikhs of the tribes of Beni Lam, Balasim and Abu Risha joined the British colonel Lichman in the attack against Sheikh Kadhim Al-Musa between Badra and Jassan. Sheikh of Beni Lam, Fahad, joined the British officer on Dec. 22nd 1916 to attack Qassab, Sheikh of Sarrai tribe^{xxxii}. Some people of Omara tribes joined the British officer Lichman to break the siege of Kut city^{xxxiii}.

Three thousands armed men of Al-Azerij declared in Omara in July 1915 that they comply to the call of the British administration authorities to resist the Turk attempts to march toward the city of Omara^{xxxiv} for the British cooperation with the tribes and providing them with weapons and granting them plots of land for their cooperation.

Sheikh Ghadhban and another Sheikh of Aziziyah^{xxxv} provided the British army with its needs of sheep during its march toward Baghdad^{xxxvi}.

After the fall of Baghdad the tribes of 'Iniza and Al-Dilem manifested their cooperation with the British military authorities hitting the Turk communication lines. The tribe of 'Iniza confiscated under the supervision of the desert political ruler Lichman^{xxxvii} the caravans heading to Damascus and Ha'il^{xxxviii}. The same had been true for the tribe of Dilem. It confiscated the goods of the caravans passing between Mosul and the desert^{xxxix}. Some tribes in Diwaniyah cooperated to send out a Turkish military force in response to a request by Sir Percy Cox^{xl} as the British had not send any forces to Diwaniyah after the occupation of Baghdad until Oct. 1917. A small military remained in Diwaniyah after the Ottoman withdrawal the leader of which effused to surrender to the British, so Sir Percy Cox asked the Sheikhs of tribes to out him, and then the British made use of their air force to out him. They sent two airplanes forced him to surrender. The tribes of Sikuk and Bayat in Diala supplied the British army, at the same time, with its needs^{xli}.

It seems that cooperation of tribe people with the British due to their admission of occupation as a matter of fact in addition to obtain economic advantages and merits, not to mention the effects of the Arab movement which stirred a response against the Ottomans project^{xlii}. Although the British did not support the Arab movement on a wide range for reasons relate to the British tendencies which aimed to attach Iraq to India, yet, the news of the Sherif of Mecca have reached Iraq and the tribes had heard them as Sir Percy Cos had sent letters and bulletins to the Sheikhs of Khaza'il in Diwaniyah informing them about the revolution^{xliii}.

The British recognized the chieftainship when they formed the administration in Iraq, admitting the authority of Sheikhs on their tribes and appointed a Sheikh for each tribe^{xliv} and a Sheikh for each agricultural district taking into consideration the loyalty and submission for them. They admitted elections of Sheikhs of some tribes and formed tribal councils for this end, assigning many responsibilities for the appointed Sheikhs in return of financial grants^{xlv}. Monthly grant in Al-Mintifig had been 200 rupee. This might meant to keep law and order within the tribe, to collect taxes, settlement of disputes assigned to the tribes by the British political rulers, continuous supply with workers on demand, collect annual rents of lands for the landlords as far as possible^{xlvi}.

Moreover, the British began to nominate some Sheikhs of tribes at certain places as members of councils specified to them in order to help them administrating their sectors awarding them monthly grants. A monthly grant of a member of Council for Sheiks in Hilla amounted to 300 rupee. The British had also appointed some Sheikhs a officials at their occupying administration. They appointed them as directors who work on behalf of the political rulers but under their command for monthly salaries of 12 Pounds.

At Qurna, Sheikh 'Ati As-Sa'ad, a chieftain of Sa'ad tribe had been appointed as Director of Dair constituency^{xlvii}. At Suk Al-Shioukh, Salim Al-Khayoun, Sheikh of Beni Asad tribe had been appointed as Director of Chibaish^{xlviii}; Hamad Al-Mghamis, a Sheikh of Sa'adoon family Director of Khamisiya. At Baghdad province Hamad Al-Hasan, Sheikh of Beni Tameem tribes had been appointed as Director of Baladrooz; Ali Abdul-Lateef, Sheikh of 'Azza tribe Director of Deli 'Abbas. Salman Ad-Dhahir and Mohammad Al-'Abtan were appointed as agents at Al-Shamiyah^{xlix}.

Worth mentioning that except for a little number of Sheikhs, the others performed their duties in such a manner that the officials of the British Administration had been thankful for them^l. Miss bell says in this respect about Sheikhs of Omara: "They adhere to their loyalty to us, accepted the responsibility to secure water transport routs which pass through their lands, accepting the restrictions imposed by war condition without unjustified complaint"^{li}. Arnold Wilson, in the context of praising some Sheikhs of the tribes of Albu Mohammad and Beni Lam in particular says: "Prominent Sheikhs in the tribes of Albu Mohammad Al-'Iraibi, Majeed Al-Khalifa, Osman and Falih Al-Saihoud had been in a state of continuous loyalty and support".

The assistant of the political ruler, assessing the role of the Sheikh of Beni Khaiqan, Farhood Al-Mighashghash, says: "He is a man who stands still with his shoulders higher than the others', a man who enjoys high power and great characteristics, he is the one who is similar to an English man concerning his style and his unfamiliar modes in spite of the difficulty of his status due to Mizhir Pasha's plots^{lii} at Shatra in 1916", adding "One of the characteristics of Sheikh Farhood is his ability to suppress those who compete him on the level of the tribe. In other tribes there are always four or five men who are almost competent at the same level. Such a case does not exist in the tribe of Sheikh Farhood^{liiii}".

Fourth: Methods of British Penetration of the System of Iraqi Tribes

The British employed tribe people making use of Sheikhs in the local forces of Shabana established by them in the provinces of Basra and Baghdad to replace the Turkish jinderma. The British made them under the supervision and administration of political rulers assigning to them missions of keeping security and common order at their districts, forbid royalty pay to Sheikhs, protect transport lines. They extended their missions assigning to them such missions which were assigned to the military forces such as the protection of roads, rivers, capture of criminals, prevent tribal disorders^{liv}, to collect the revenues and letter transmission^{lv}.

Shabana people provided with weapons and ammunitions; received monthly salaries. Some of them were put under Sheikh control, others distributed in various districts. At Suk Al-Sheikh, for instance, the 200 Shabana people were distributed along the road between Suk Al-Sheikh and Hammar Marsh, between Suk Al-Sheikh and half way to Nasiriyah, on the two banks of Euphrates River and in the desert adjacent to Khamisiyah where the Basra- Nasiriyah railways established by the British lie, in addition to the city of Suk Al-Sheikh itself^{lvi}.

Worth mentioning that tribal Shabana forces, in some districts, violated the duties assigned to them. They committed looting and robbery actions exploiting their occupation. In Faluja, for instance, people of Shabana of Tameem tribe looted 4.000 rupee at (Nuqta) area from some merchants. The British authorities captured and sentenced one of them to death, the others were punished for five years labour, other ten people were fined 2.000 rupee to compensate the merchants^{lvii}.

It seems that the British ask for tribe assistance had been due to their need to soldiers in the battle fields and the difficulty of sending additional troops to Iraq, particularly as the number of the British forces amounted to 400.000 soldiers. The British used sons of Mintifig tribes as soldiers in the chivalry force at Mintifig^{lviii}. A part of the military intelligence had been put under the command of one of Al-Sa'doon Sheikhs supervised by the military authorities^{lix}. The mission of collecting military information, carrying out explorative operations, organizing patrol missions and work as guiders were assigned to these soldiers^{lx}.

Commenting on the veterans of tribe sons, Miss Bell states "They proved their extreme benefit to the 15th squad at Nisiriyah which became later on the seed of the Euphrates 5th battalion^{lxi}".

The British took into considerations the rules and norms common in each tribe to judge disputes among tribe people. Thus, they issued in Feb. 1916 the Tribe Criminal and Civil Disputes Bylaw after the approval of the Gen. Commander of the army, Gen. Almerharden^{lxii}. According to this bylaw, the political rulers were granted the authority to hold tribal councils to judge the disputes according to the tribal norms. A tribal council should be held by the attendance of the Sheikh the people of which are disputed. The political ruler had had the decisive word in all the attribution procedures. The political rulers or the general royal ruler may approve the decisions according to his authorities, neglect or add to them whatever he may see appropriate^{lxiii}.

The British executed the law of tribe cases and made it to cover the best part of the occupied lands in Iraq. So in July, 1918 they issued "The Bylaw of Tribe Civil and Criminal Cases^{lxiv}". According to this law the political rulers and their assistants were able to apply the bylaw of tribe cases, so they settled many disputes making use of the Sheikh assistance. They also made use of people of Alewives people to conceal among some tribes. Some political rulers assigned some of the disputes among Shiite tribes to the religious reference in Najaf. They took into consideration the rules of blood and partial blood money, imposed fines on some parties of disputes to secure non resort to disputes in the future.

Nevertheless, some cases in which the British rulers issued judgments of jail or execution to secure order control were contrary to the tribal stand of view. In murder cases, for instance, people of tribes think that pay of blood money and its admission terminate avenge, partial blood money which includes an arbitrary girl to be married to the nearest male relate to the murdered person to settle down the case and terminate avenge of. Thus, they think that punishments of jail or execution are hard; Capital sentence issued on a killer of a woman who had committed adultery is too hard as such a sentence contradicts their common norm^{lxv}.

Tribe Sheiks received the application of tribal case bylaw easily and felt always comfort to it^{lxvi}. A comment on the tribal case bylaw by Ireland states "Its application proved that it answers the wills of the tribes because it had facilitated the termination of conflicts by means familiar to them a long time ago, helped in tribe settlement and calming them down as it gave importance to the tribal opinions which result during arbitration, exulted the importance of Sheikhs granting them a recognized position in the political and judiciary system. The political rulers found that a heavy burden on their part had been moved away off their shoulders^{lxvii}".

It seems that acquisition of landlord, particularly Sheikhs of tribes, making them a social base on which the British may stand in ruling Iraq had been in the first instance the motive for the issue of the tribal case bylaw^{lxviii}.

The British continued granting agricultural plots and sectors to the Sheikhs of tribes by the system of observance which had been valid in the ear of the Turks^{lxix}. They required, to grant observance, the loyalty of the Sheikhs who are going to observe. On this basis they deprived the majority of the Sheikhs who had been loyal to the Turkish government, including Mohammad Al-Hattab, Sheikh of Albu Darraj as they deprived him his sector in 1915, granting it to Sheikh Mtashar Al-Faisal^{lxx}. They deprived also Sheikh Ghadhban of his sector granting it to Sheikh Joi Al-Lazim, but when Sheikh Ghadhban announced his loyalty to the British administration, they granted him Dwaireej sector; deprived Mohammad Al-Zuboon, Sheikh of Albu Mohammad of his sector in 1916 granting it to his brother Osman; deprived Finjan Al-Sa'ad and Mohammad Al-Sa'ad, Sheikhs of Sudan tribe, grantin their districts to other Sheikhs. Sheikhs Finjan and Mohammad Al-Sa'ad wrote petitions to the general military ruler in Baghdad complaining of unjust measures of the administration in 1918, and another petition in 1919 on the same subject^{lxxi}.

The British showed comfortable treatment with the observing Sheikhs in tax pay. They canceled a great deal of past taxes and decreased current due taxes of 1915-16^{lxxii}.

Land plots which were under the control of Al-Mintifig tribes, listed at estate registration under the names of Al-Sa'adoons had been one of the problems the occupying British authorities faced. A report presented to the British authorities in Basra, 1916 by the political ruler of Suk Al-Sheikh had pointed to the fact that the only problem which may effect the tribes lie in a decision we may make concerning immense landlord of Sa'adoons^{lxxiii}.

Having viewed the two stands of views, the owners of Sa'adoon tribe and of tribe people, he had suggested to his responsible his idea stating "If we are after peace, coolness and settlement on the land plots of Mintifig tribes, liquidate all our problems, we have to coupe with the Arab tribes, regardless to the rights of landlords, we may not permit the absent landlords to continue their persecution of tribe people. We have to respect changing tribe people into landlords and permit them to have the concerned papers from the estate registration office^{lxxiv}".

He points out that another solution lies in the adoption of the documents of the estate registration office held by the landlord if the plot borders are clear, the remaining part of the land plots should be delivered to the tribe people and should be registered at the estate registration under their names^{lxxv}.

Anyhow, the British freed Sheikhs and their assistants to deal the land, resorting to a contemporary solution which is to pay the landlords of Sa'adoons living allowances on need, waiting for a final settlement of the subject. Worth mentioning that among the Sheiks who were given living allowances as a temporary settlement of the estate registration question were Abdulla Al-Salman, Fahad Bey, Saud Al-Fahad, and Faisal Al-Mshari^{lxxvi}.

As for the disputes among Sheikhs and among tribes, the British forbid Sheikhs from disposal with a land plot which is not under his possession, taking into consideration the traditional tribal disposition with land, resorting to divide the land plots between the disputing people and fixation of land plot borders. They did not consider absolute justice in this respect concerning some tribes for loyalty reasons^{lxxvii}.

So, when a dispute broke out between Zoba' tribe and Beni Tameem tribe concerning the land of Dwairtan, Abu Ghraib, 1917, the British showed a clear partiality as they sided with the tribe of Beni Tameem as they fixed the borders in such a manner that forbid the tribe of Zawba' to plant the best part of the land as they used to do previously because Zawba' tribe did not submit to them as Beni Tameem did^{lxxviii}.

CONCLUSIONS:

1. Iraqi tribes under the burden of the circumstances of the British military occupation during the World War I confronted two choices, first: to confront and challenge. This was the common state. The second: reconciliation and approximation to the new administration according to the given circumstances.
2. Patriotic spirit of some tribe Sheiks matured. They presented several legitimate requests, when these denied, they announced their volunteering to defense homeland for various motives.
3. Readings of some tribal elite of Iraqi reality during the British military administration had been, according to their stand of view, that confront is useless; therefore, the other way is conciliation to achieve the goals.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Activation of the role of Iraqi tribes being a big component of the society system, particularly in the fields of economy and society.
2. The study recommends the importance of taking care of the tribal elites, trying to share them a part of responsibility toward the administration of the state. The state, on the other hand shall accomplish its obligations toward them.
3. It is necessary that the tribal leadership understand the reality of the circumstances and the changes the county passes through.
4. Work on setting plants and programs which activate the role of tribes in achieving issues of security and economic support should start.
5. The importance of making the tribe texture feels its responsibility toward its own tribe, the other tribes, and toward homeland regarding the national stands of view.

SUGGESTIONS:

1. The researcher suggests conducting similar studies concerning the Britain stand of view regarding the Iraqi tribes during the second British war in Iraq, 1941 showing stables and changes of stands of views and how to deal them.
2. It is possible to conduct studies on other social elites, such as educated people, the administrative and official institutions in the light of what the British documents revealed in Iraq.
3. Taking care of the study of the local history, including the subjects of the Iraqi country side, its various social compositions.

NOTES

- ⁱ . Bell, Miss. (1971), Chapters of Recent Iraq History, Translated by Ja'afar Al-Khayyat, p. 80.
- ⁱⁱ Ireland, Philip, Iraq: Study of Its Political Development (1949), Translated by Ja'afar Al-Khayyat, Beirut, , p. 675.
- ⁱⁱⁱ G. Geary, through Asiatic turkey, Vol. I.P.98-102.
- ^{iv} Administrative report for Nasiriyah and Suk District, 1917, No. 50, Office of the Political Officer, Nasiriyah, Jan, 4th, 1918.
- ^v Lorimar, Gulf Guide, Vol. IV, p. 2170.
- ^{vi} Nawar, Abdul-aziz (1968), British interests in the reveres of Iraq, Cairo, p. 30.
- ^{vii} Lang Company for navigation in the rivers of Iraq, particularly in Tigris had been representing the widest British interests in Iraq. It obtained a privilege from the Ottoman government to work in Iraq. The company had been carrying out the transport of goods,

- individuals and the private mail of the government of India. The company had been corporate in London 1860 and had had an agent in Baghdad 1860. Refer to Zaki Saleh, (1957), Mesopotamia, Baghdad, p. 47 ; B. Thomas (1931), Alarms and Excursions in Arabia, London, p. 77.
- viii Main, E. (1935), Iraq from Mandate to Independence, London, p.20.
- ix Ibid.
- x F.O. 602/21, Disturbance in crowd to O'Connor, Oct. 14, Nov.11, 1905, No.66 and 73, Pp.28-31.
- xi F.O. 602/21, Disturbances, Grow to O'Connor, May, 24, 1906, No. 36, P.39.
- xii Ibid, P. 9.
- xiii At-Tahir, Abdul-Jaleel (1972), Iraqi Tribes, Vol. I, Dar Libnan printing house, Beirut, p. 86; Abdul-Qadir Bash (1969), Dignitaries of Basra during Its Historic Eras, Baghdad, p. 80.
- xiv At-Tahir, Abdul-Jaleel, previous reference, p. 166.
- xv Nadeem, Shukri Mahmood, 1967, War of Iraq, 1914-18, Al-Tadhamun house, Baghdad, p. 148.
- xvi Ibid.
- xvii Al-Wardi Ali, 1970, Social Glimpse of the Modern History of Iraq, Vol. 4, p. 137.
- xviii Wadi Al-Attiya, 1954, History of Diwaniyah: Ancient and Modern, Najaf, p. 448.
- xix He had been the head of the British Governors in Iraq. He came, after the fall of Baghdad to be called as (the Royal General Governor).
- xx Wilson, Arnold (1971) Mesopotamia between two loyalties, Tr. Fouad Jameel, pp. 106, 366.
- xxi Al-Omari, Mohammad Ameen (1935), History of Iraq War, Vol. 1, Al-Arabia printing house, Baghdad, p. 374.
- xxii Al-Wardi Ali, previous reference, p. 171; Wilson, Arnold, previous reference, p. 374.
- xxiii Al-Askari, Tahseen (1938), My Memo on the Arab Revolution, Vol. 1, Al-Ghari printing house, Najaf, pp. 81-2.
- xxiv At-Tahir, Abdul-Jaleel (1958), Secret Report for the British Intelligence Office about the Tribes and Policy, Az-Zahraa Printing house, Baghdad, p. 200.
- xxv Among these 'Ajeel Al-Samarmed, Sheikh of Zubaid tribe, Hardan, Sheikh of Dilem tribe who had been arrested by the British and exiled to India, see: At-Tahir, Abdul-Jaleel (1958), Secret Report.
- xxvi The British had had three military lines after the occupation of Baghdad. The first line stretches from Baghdad to Ba'quba on the river of Diala; the second from Baghdad to Samarra on the river Tigris; the third was to the west of Baghdad on the river Euphrates between Faluja and Hindia dam. See Percy Cox and Henri Dopes (1951), A page of Modern Iraqi History 1914-26 and Formation of National Rule in Iraq, Tr. by Basheer Faraju, Mosul, p. 25.
- xxvii Miss Bell, previous reference, p. 125.
- xxviii Ibid.
- xxix This does not apply to the Sheikhs of Al-Sa'adoons for they remained standing with their Turk masters until the announcement of the truce. Sheikh Badr Al-Rumaidh remained in the marshes refusing to represent loyalty. So the British sent two armed boats which fired his castle and killed some of his men so that he represented his loyalty in 1919. See Wilson, Arnold, previous reference, p. 201.
- xxx Miss Bell, previous reference, p. 80; At-Tahir, Abdul-Jaleel, Iraqi Tribes, p. 178.
- xxxi At-Tahir, Abdul-Jaleel, Iraqi Tribes, p. 297.
- xxxii Ireland, Philip, previous reference, p. 67.
- xxxiii At-Tahir, Abdul-Jaleel, Iraqi Tribes, p. 301.
- xxxiv The reference does not mention the name of the Sheikh.
- xxxv This had been done by the efforts of John Philippi, a British politician and the efforts of Colonel Lichman. See Philippi, John, Philippi's Days in Iraq, Tr. Ja'afar Khayyat, Dar Al-Kashaf, Beirut, 1950, pp. 6-7; Abdul-Hameed Al-Alawchi and Aziz Jasim Al-Hijjia, Sheikh Dhari: Killer of Colonel Lichman, Al-Sa'ad printing House, Baghdad, 1968, p. 19.
- xxxvi It is known that the desert had acquired a significant mobilizing importance during the war period as the Turk fought the French, the British and their Arab Aliens from lavent territory due to the Turk communication with their allied in Ha'il, Ibn Rasheed. See Miss Bell, previous reference, p. 13.
- xxxvii Fahad Al-Hathal, Sheikh of 'Iniza had had visited Baghdad in May 1917 and concluded an agreement with the British who specified a financial grant for him, He undertook to keep peace along the British lines, to deal their enemies as his own ones and to hinder the pass of goods through the desert. See: Al-Hayik, Yousuf Iskander, A Travel in the Desert, 1936, p. 25.
- xxxviii -Tahir, Abdul-Jaleel, Secret Report, p. 57.
- xxxix Miss Bell, previous reference, p. 113.
- xl Ibid.
- xli Ibid.
- xlii Miss Bell, previous reference, p. 99.

- xliii Ireland, Philip, previous reference, p. 61.
- xliv Miss Bell, previous reference, p. 51.
- xlv Drawer, Images and Thoughts in Mesopotamia (1961), Tr. Fouad Jameel, Shafeeq Printing House, Baghdad, p. 32.
- xlvi Lloyd, Citon (1943), Mesopotamia: A Brief History for Iraq from the Ancient ages up to Now, Tr. Taha Baqir, Baghdad, p. 70.
- xlvii Selim, Shakir Mustafa (1970), Chibaish, Baghdad, p. 190.
- xlviii Wilson, Arnold, previous reference, p. 123.
- xlix Administration report, Baghdad wilayet, 1917, Hilla District, p. 107.
- ¹ At-Tahir, Abdul-Jaleel, Iraqi Tribes, p. 47.
- ^{li} Wilson, Arnold, previous reference, p. 304.
- ^{lii} Mizhir Pasha had been the agent of the Turkish government at Shatra after the British occupation of Basra province. He used to provoke Al-Mintifig tribes under the British occupation to revolt, motivates tribes of Gharraf to resist and confront the British march. See: Basra during the Dark Period and afterward (1970), Baghdad, p. 31.
- ^{liii} Ibid
- ^{liv} The British used to describe tribal disputes or revolt as disorder. This description reflects a surface a shallow understanding of the real state of tribes and thjeir relations to the government. See: Miss Bell, previous reference, p. 58-9.
- ^{lv} Ibid.
- ^{lvi} Al-Hasani, Abdul-Razzaq (1935), Iraq in the eras of Occupation and Mandate, Sidon, p. 60.
- ^{lvii} Al-Ba'aaj, Abdul-Sattar (1959), Past and Present of Iraq, Najaf, p. 50.
- ^{lviii} It is the force called Chivalry Scouts. It consisted of 40 knights.
- ^{lix} Al-Azawi, Abbas (1956), History of Iraq between two Occupations, Vol. 7. Baghdad, p. 33
- ^{lx} Longreck, Steven Huxley, Four Centuries of Modern Iraq History (1962), Tr. Ja'afar Khayat, Baghdad, p. 22.
- ^{lxi} Gharayba, Abdul-Rahman (1960), Introduction to the Modern History of the Arabs: 1500- 918, Damascus, p. 40.
- ^{lxii} Al-Wardi, Ali, previous reference, p. 60.
- ^{lxiii} Ibid.
- ^{lxiv} Issued by Gen. Fanshow, for the General Leader of the Iraqi campaign on 27 July 1918. Some articles show the power of the British authorities over the tribes. See Al-Azawi Abbas, Tribes of Iraq (1956), vol. 4, p. 80.
- ^{lxv} Drawer, previous reference, p. 34.
- ^{lxvi} Ibid.
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- ^{lxviii} Al-Jawahiri, Imad Ahmed (1978), History of Land Problem in Iraq 1914- 1932, Baghdad, p. 25-6.
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- ^{lxxi} Ibid.
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- ^{lxxiii} Al-Fayadh, Abdullah (1956), The Problem of Al-Mintifig Province Plots, Baghdad, p. 61.
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