

The political role for the Iraqi tribes in 1914 - 1932

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The role played by the tribal community in the modern political development of Iraq,

a very important page in the political history of this country, and the point of its importance is that it has taken its final form during the first formative period in the emergence of the modern Iraqi government .

In order to accurately understand the movement of clans and measure their effectiveness in an accurate manner, it will be clarified that the contribution of clans in political events.

Where the research studies the stressful and double historical relations between the government and the clan in Iraq, By the clan we mean a social unit based on ethnic solidarity with a fanatical content that justifies belonging to the clan.

This research falls within a set of axes, the first of which is the policy of control

on the Iraqi tribes, and this section discusses how to control the capabilities of Iraqi tribes by successive governments and use them for their own benefit.

As for the second axis, it dealt with the role of the clans in passing the Iraqi-British treaty, through which we explain the reasons for the delay in this agreement and how the votes of the tribes were used to sign it.

As for the third axis, it is entitled Iraqi tribes, preparing the constitution and elaborating its points in favor of the politicians.

Then we move to the fourth axis, in which we discussed the role of tribal leaders in the parliamentary elections.

The fifth axis comes under the title of the role of clans in political parties, and it includes an explanation of the participation of tribal leaders to try political parties and belong to them, in order to support some of the existing ministries.

As for the sixth and last axis, it deals with the role of clans in theregion, and how this position was used for the benefit of influential tribal sheikhs.

The policy of controlling clans

The tribal society was based on a type of social relations and ties that revolved around the unity of blood or (nerve) that imposed some reciprocal rights and obligations , and the tribal societies had judicial and administrative influence and exploitation, which depends on customary right and not civil right , and the members of the tribes did not feel by the necessity of submitting to a political and administrative organization other than the clan (1). The clans in general have become accustomed,

by the nature of their lives, to not be subordinate to others, believing that there are no limits to their freedom, so they have become convinced of their ability to resist the central authority .

The Ottomans worked hard to break up tribal relations based on a security concern that assessed the dangers of tribal violence, regardless of its form, without a deliberate interest in changing the tribal culture.

However, certain measures and events, such as settlement, education, proficiency in agriculture or immigration, and work in the city, led to some variables that touched the criteria for personal evaluation of tribal standing, such as honor and adherence to the traditions of family defense such as revenge (2) .

As for the British, their policy was different, as they realized since their occupation of Iraq the nature of the tribal community or the possibility of using its leaders as a political and social force influencing the political process, Miss Bell the Eastern Secretary of the House of accreditation made an effort in this regard , establishing personal relationships with the sheikhs, and said about them.(" They are the people that I love and I know every clan chief has some measure of importance in the length and breadth of Iraq and I think they are the backbone of the country ") (3) .

Based on this, the British invented a theory on governing Iraq that says "(Whoever controls the sheikhs of the tribes can control the clans, and whoever controls them rules Iraq easily) " (4) .

Where the British authorities began working to implement this policy by installing the sheikdom system and strengthening the authority of the sheikhs over their clans by all means, and involving them in administration, including maintaining security and collecting taxes, delegated lands to them,

And the tribal society was organized according to tribal customs and traditions under the (Civil and Penal Clans Claims System) issued at the beginning of September 1916, Which excluded tribesmen from the scope of the powers of the national courts, and the opinions of the sheikhs were taken in resolving disputes, and tribal councils or courts were formed consisting of sheikhs, taking into account in their election tribal custom (5).

The sheikhs and dignitaries were appointed in the Civil Administration along with the British military officers in the administrative units that were annexed by Iraq at the time, but this policy proved its failure, as some sheikhs went beyond the limits set for them, and used their authority to obtain special benefits in taking another section on the side of the opponents of the British rule (6).

Thus, they failed to achieve the security and stability that Britain wanted, and this was evident during the Twentieth Revolution, as many sheikhs participated in that revolution, and the British report on the functioning of the Mandate administration referred to that failure by saying (During the occupation period, the policy of the Civil Administration was to reduce Matters of administrative chaos inherited from the Turks by restoring power to tribal sheikhs and using them in government, so the British presence was entrenched in the country and the orders issued by the higher authorities were implemented, but the 1920 revolution destroyed what had been successfully built and the clans returned to chaos (7) .

The rise of the revolution and the participation of the sheikhs did not prevent the continuation of the policy of the British authorities to strengthen the authority of the sheikhs, but also exploited it to reward those who stood beside them during the revolution, they granted them wide lands that they seized from those who used weapons against them.(8)

Exploitation of tribal sheikhs to pass the Iraqi-British treaty

The British dependence on tribal sheikhs in administration increased, and as they began to form

The national (temporary) government which included a number of sheikhs in that government, and a number was appointed among them as a minister without a ministry. (9) The sheikhs stood by the nomination of Faisal bin Al Hussein as a constitutional king over Iraq in 1921.

When the British authorities began working to bring together the first Iraqi National Assembly to take on the task of organizing the new government's relations with Britain, mandated to Iraq, approving the permanent constitution, and holding elections to select members of the Constituent Assembly, they took into account the class, sectarian and ethnic representation, but gave greater attention to tribal representation as The sheikhs made up a third of the (constituent) assembly, according to a newspaper correspondent London Times (10).

The British authorities wanted to rely on them to accept the treaty, especially after some of them went to mediate the King Faisal at the British High Commissioner to help them regain their lands that were taken from them. (11)

In return, they pledged to support the government's plan and the success of its efforts to continue the election process, which faced severe opposition from clerics and national forces, which led to delaying it for a few months .The King Faisal made his personal efforts to continue the elections and visited the brigades of Mosul, Kut, Amara, Basra, Nasiriyah, Diwaniyah and Hilla and met with the sheikhs and chiefs of tribes and showed them the importance of gathering (the Constituent Assembly) in achieving stability and entering Iraq into the League of Nations, and urging them to participate in the elections, and the sheikhs welcomed this and swore that they were cooperating in following his policy and complying with his orders, and fighting every intrigue that affected the country's interests and assured him that they had no desire to delay the elections.

They will crush every promoter of harmful advertisements and every obstruction to the conduct of the elections. (12)

some of the sheikhs of the tribes informed the king of their desire to go to the religious authorities and clergymen in Najaf, Karbala and Kadhimiya, and urged them to abandon their fatwas, which they had issued it regarding the prohibition of elections, and they said that if the religious authorities did not agree to that, then they wouldn't pay attention to these fatwas and participate in the elections according to the desire of the government.

Because of that, the king reassured the position of the sheikhs and indicated to the High Commissioner) that (I am absolutely certain that if we were able by appealing to the sheikhs and separating them in this way from the scholars, we will reach what we want from success in the elections and ratification of the treaty without concern. The policy of kindness and fairness with all the sheikhs alike, no one can stand up for the election path against the overwhelming majority of clans.(13)

The government was seeking to approve the treaty before the constitution was approved, which was supposed to be the priority of the Parliament's concerns. Elections were resumed with the support of the sheikhs in mid-1923, and the government wanted to ensure a majority supports the treaty, so

twenty seats were allocated to the sheikhs in the Constituent Assembly, that is, five members of the council, which consists of one hundred members (14) .

Nevertheless, the sheikhs objected to this percentage as it does not represent the number of their tribe members in real terms, and it may lead to the loss of their votes among the voices of the city delegates. In response, on the ninth of August, members of the tribes were heard to participate in the elections with the people of the cities while keeping the previous percentage(15) .

This is in order to increase the number of their representatives . The increase in this percentage was justified that the tribal host is a better place to train citizens than cafes in the city(16) .

In the sense that the sons of the tribes are better qualified for representative and democratic life than the people of the cities because they learned in the host the etiquette of speech and the method of directing speech, defending the right and adhering to norms.

These procedures did not prevent the nomination of all members of the Constituent Assembly in advance and imposing them in formal elections, after taking a pledge from each candidate to support laws and treaties that the government wants (17). The elections that took place on February 25, 1924 resulted in the victory of all government candidates. Except for four, two of them are in Baghdad and forty candidates from Arab and Kurdish tribal representatives won (18) .

The role of the pro-government sheikhs became clear, When the council's president was elected, Miss Bell met the King Faysal and his chief minister, Jaafar al-Askari, one day before the opening of the council . She assured them of the necessity to elect Abd al- Mohsen al-Saadoun as president of the council because he represents one of the powerful clans.she said (I told everyone that they should elect him) This was a factor in Al-Saadoun winning the presidency of the Council with the majority of votes, and Bill commented on this result, saying" Some sheikhs carried their ballot papers directed towards us when they were about to put them in the box so that we could see that they wrote the name of Al-Saadoun" (19) . In fact, Al-Saadoun secured his victory through the organizations responsible for elections in the tribal areas linked to the Ministry of Interior,She was instructing her employees to ensure that the candidates she wanted won. Especially since its employees were the ones who filled out the papers for voters from the clans who did not know how to write, and they were the ones who put them in the boxes without the voters knowing who they elected(20) .

The Iraqi-British Treaty of 1922 was presented for discussion in the Council in April 1924, and the prevailing belief was that most of the deputies were supporters of the treaty, and only fifteen representatives knew of those who were definitely opposed to it.Representatives of the forty clans met on March 24 and pledged to support the treaty, and that none of them would take any other position without everyone's agreement, and they agreed to introduce some clauses in the Basic Law that guarantee their interests (21) .

The council's proposal to form a committee to audit the treaty and report on it from the specialists and ministers who participated in the negotiations around, A strong reaction from the tribal grouping in the Council promised him an approved exclusion and transgression of their rights. They indicated that their connection to the treaty is no less than others, and that their efforts regarding it cannot be forgotten, and that they sacrificed themselves and bought the country with their blood.

The council had no choice but to respond to their request, and a committee was formed, most of whose members were representatives of the tribes, as their percentage was nine out of a total of fifteen membersand as soon as the opposition became active against the treaty inside and outside the council,

many representatives of the tribes changed their positions and refused to support the treaty, which only six representatives support it (22) .

Some of them had sided with the opposition, while another part negotiated with the king and the government to obtain some gains in return for supporting the treaty, And they demanded that the constitution guarantee them special privileges, such as expanding the application of the tribal lawsuit system, permanent authorization of government lands at their disposal, Consultation with a tribal council consisting of twelve sheikhs in each district declaring martial law.

These situations did not reduce the confidence of the accreditation house and the British advisors in the Council's ratification of the treaty and the ability to thwart the opposition project .

And Miss Bell mentioned that she advised some of the sheikhs in case that they failed to ratify the treaty, they should take into account the proposal to postpone consideration of it, which is the proposal made by the representatives of the northern region until the League of Nations finishes resolving the Mosul issue that Turkey is demanding (23) .

These events coincided with the assassination of the two members of the Council and the treaty audit committee, namely Sheikh Adai al-Jaryan and Sheikh Salman al-Barrak, on April 20, and they were among the six sheikhs who support the treaty (24) .

Some of them were forced to change their position due to the constant threats and advertisements that the opponents put up in the markets to the extent that some of them refused to attend the council meetings, claiming their poor health, and others submitted their resignation (25) .

Henry Foster states that the policy used by the opposition authority against the supporters of the treaty made the delegates sit shivering in the Council hall (26) .

Meanwhile, the government intensified its repressive actions against opponents of the treaty outside the council and the House of Accreditation intervened and asked the King Faisal to order the dissolution of the parliament starting from midnight on June 10, 1924, and that the Ministry of the Interior issue its orders to close the building of the Council immediately if it did not ratify the treaty.

Thus, the government was forced to gather the deputies by force on that date in an emergency session, attended by only 69 deputies, as the vote was held on the treaty, which was approved by 37 deputies and 24 opposed, while eight deputies abstained from voting (27) .

Some noted that during the discussion, there was no objection or suggestion from the sheikhs about the treaty. Rather, fear seized those who voted for it, and declared that they would not dare to return to their homes for fear of being killed. The thing required one or two policemen to be sent with each one of them, and that Nuri al-Saeed had escorted, as Miss Bell says, in his car, one of the sheikhs (28) .

Iraqi clans and constitution preparation

After the ratification of the treaty was completed, the council began discussing the items of the constitution on the fourteenth of June. As for the tribal leaders, they agreed on items related to their interests, neglecting the political differences (29) .

As they contributed to the discussions and decisions taken on the items of the constitution, especially with regard to the conditions that must be met by a member of the House of Representatives or The Senate , which stipulated that a member of it should not be a member who has a direct or indirect

material benefit, with one of the Iraqi public departments, and that he is not a member. In them there are those who cannot read and write, so the representatives of the tribes objected because this means that none of the sheikhs will be elected because most of them are village owners and farmers and are committed, and most of them do not know how to read and write. And there was noise inside the council, and some of them discussed that the sheikhs have wide experiences because they decide in many matters better than the educated, and therefore they should not be deprived of the election just because they are illiterate. This item was amended to exclude those who are obligated to tithes and government lands and their property from considering them as owners of material benefits, and tribal representatives are excluded from the conditions of literacy (30) .

The representatives of the tribes also took advantage of the opportunity to discuss the items of the constitution to assert their rights to dispose of the lands by inserting texts confirming a greater use of the law of tribal claims, and not transferring ownership of government lands that they own, or the application of martial law to the clans (31) .

When one of the items stipulating the permissibility of establishing special courts or committees to separate clan issues and disputes related to the disposal of lands and their borders was discussed, the tribal chiefs demanded that the article be transferred and made it more secure for their rights so that the government was required to form courts and special committees that look into these disputes according to their customs in a manner that preserves the rights of disposition.

They affirmed the desire of their clans to secure their rights to dispose of the lands on which they live, and they made clear that stability in the country depends on preserving these rights, and these demands were met by opposition from the city's representatives and there was noise within the council, bad words were exchanged between them and the representatives of the clans, and representatives of the clans and landlords who had failed their demands expressed their indignation, and some of them left the assembly in anger, and declared that they were able to acquire their rights without the approval of the Council, which did not agree to amend the demand related to the separation of civil penal clan cases according to a special law that takes into account their usual habit. Among them, Representatives of the tribal assembly within the council became louder when trying to introduce the draft of compulsory conscription into the Basic Law. And considering the defense of the country as an obligation on all its people and they were able to thwart the polls and compel the council to accept another proposal stating that considering the issue of conscription is not considered a duty of the council by a majority of 28 votes against 24 votes and some of them mentioned that defending the homeland is the duty of every Iraqi, but on the condition that Iraq is for the Iraqis, and therefore conscription cannot begin, and independence has not yet been achieved(32) .

In fact, tribal sheikhs are afraid of recruitment because it deprives them from the service of their tribesmen they had. When the issue of giving the king the right to appoint members of the Senate and confirm it in the law was discussed, the opponents said that this would open the way for the executive authority to fill this council with loyal members, while the sheikhs defended this item and stressed the need to give the king the right to choose members of the Senate and when voting on the item was accepted by the majority (33) .

This is considered the contribution of the representatives of the tribes in amending some paragraphs of the Basic Law, which the Council unanimously approved on the tenth of July 1924, and it must be made clear that when the list of the Parliament's Election Law was discussed, a proposal was made to give the right of representation to nomadic clans for whom there are no records of their own, and the

council rejected the proposal considering that these people could register in cities, and that many city dwellers were originally nomadic clans, but they settled and urbanized (34) .

The role of tribal leaders in the Parliament

During the mandate period, three parliamentary areas were formed after the Constituent Assembly, the first being elected on June 8, 1925 and dissolved on January 13, 1928, and the second elected on May 9 of that year and was dissolved on July 1, 1930. The third was elected on September 10 of the same year and dissolved on November 8, 1932 (35) .

These councils included a number of tribal sheikhs, landlords, city leaders, and some intellectuals. The government and the House of Accreditation sought to reconcile between the sheikhs and owners on the one hand, and the notables of cities and the intellectuals on the other hand, and to form a social base in support of the government. The representatives of the tribes formed the majority in these councils, as they occupied between 20 to 24 Of the 88 seats, that is, 23 and 27 percent (36) .

In the elections for all these councils, the government was pressing its local employees for the victory of its candidates, taking advantage of the ignorance of the vast majority of the population to read and write, and the employees were the ones who filled out the electoral papers.

And in this, Ahmed Mukhtar Baban, who was one of the prominent men of that era, says ((that every prime minister holds elections in agreement with the country and agree on the names, that this is the election method that prevailed from the beginning)) (37) .

As mentioned by Tawfiq Al-Suwaidi, a former prime minister of the 1925 elections)) the election process continued and the hype and squabbling over it continued until it ended with candidates who were agreed upon to appoint the king and the prime minister, and the nomination list remained in writing until election day, it was reported by phone to the administrators and asked them to exert their efforts to make it a success, and it has been signed more than once if the candidate was asked to give a written pledge that he would keep with the prime minister that if he was elected a deputy as a candidate from the government, he would support the government (38) .

The king also added to the list of names of official candidates the names of the people he wanted to see as members of the Council, and to write off others who were not personally acceptable to him. Thus, in the 1925 elections, all government candidates with the exception of four of them succeeded. In 1928, all the representatives of Basra, Diyala, Al-Dulaim, Hilla and Arbil were government candidates, and all of Baghdad's thirteen MPs, except for five of them, were government candidates, and in these two elections, as is the election in 1930, the government intentionally included in its list a small number of opposition candidates, on the basis of the king's rule that talented opposition MPs are stirring up more problems outside the National Assembly than if they were deputies. Accordingly, half of the twenty-two opposition deputies returned to the House in 1928 after they had obtained the government nomination (39) .

In addition to these transgressions, the sheikhs and landholders used to attend the strength of the first elected men, and give incorrect figures for the number of their clans' members. Of course, the members of those clans, most of them farmers, could not vote for anyone but their sheikhs, and the election supervising organization sometimes gave several papers for one person or gave election papers to people who had not reached the legal age for elections (40) .

This is because the sheikhs, in their pursuit of glorifying themselves and strengthening their status, used to present exaggerated statistics on the number of members of their clans, and in fact the prosecution became a way for personal use, as it meant a guaranteed incoming, and more than that an attractive influence (41).

In the Senate, the sheikhs, the owners, and the notables of the cities shared the seats between them and for the same percentage that was left in the House of Representatives (42), that is, the sheikhs were the center of gravity that supported the government on the one hand and enabled them to guarantee their interests and pass laws that the government wanted to pass.

The role of clans in political parties

The record of laws and regulations issued between 1925 and 1932 clearly shows that the sheikhs and owners did not fail to fully benefit from their representatives in the National Assembly in terms of taxes, financial affairs, land ownership and others, as for the second role of the clans in the National Assembly, it is the emergence of so-called parties, whether governmental or opposition, if their leaders in partisan life, and Realizing the importance that constitutes the tribal assembly in the National Assembly, the leaders of these parties raced to draw close to them and include them in their parties. Many of the founders of these parties were representatives of the clans and owners. These parties strengthened their links with the sheikhs outside the council and established branches for them in the tribal areas.

In spite of the sheikhs 'interest in party work, which is a new phenomenon in the tribal society, the problems of the lands and the pursuit of favor remained a reason for the difference in the loyalties of the sheikhs and the owners of the party and the speed of their change to it. Whereas the special benefits were behind the formation of the party or belonging to it, some of them belonged to the Free Iraqi Party, which was the first governmental party established with the support of the British on September 3, 1922 to support the ministry of Abd al-Rahman al-Naqib , and to hold elections for the Constituent Assembly. Its founders made attempts to draw the sheikhs to it , and the party urged their support and sent telegrams declaring their support for it and introducing themselves under its banner, and this includes the sheikhs and members of their clans.

Some of them belonged to the Umma Party, which was approved by the Ministry of Yassin Al-Hashemi on April 20, 1924, and Al-Hashemi (the Prime Minister) was its honorary president, and he was the plan for the establishment of the party. The goal of establishing the party was to create a parliamentary bloc to support the Hashemite Ministry and to obtain a majority in the new House of Representatives elections in 1925. The party established branches for it in Najaf, Abu Sakhir, Souk al-Shuyukh, Hilla and Karbala where strong tribal gatherings were aimed at winning the tribal sheikhs there. Belonging to the party's ideas was not so much as belonging to a purely tribal affiliation, but the party failed to obtain the majority in the House of Representatives, causing opposition to the king and the House of Reliance, who wanted the majority for Abdul Mohsen al-Saadoun, which led to the division of the party, Some of them joined the Progress Party (Al-takadm party) , while others joined the opposition People's Party.

When Abd al-Mohsen al-Saadoun won the Ministry of Interior the majority in the House of Representatives after the formation of al-Hashemi for his ministry, al-Saadoun formed from this majority a parliamentary bloc, which was later known as the Progress Party, which was approved on August 22, 1925. The representatives of the tribes in the parliament announced their joining it due to the importance represented by Al- Saadoun clan in the southern Euphrates regions, and al-Saadoun

continued to rely on this party throughout the rule of the ministries that he formed until his suicide in 1929, as the party remained the majority in the National Assembly, It was a governmental party representing the influential tribal assembly (43) .

While a number of sheikhs and owners belonged to the Covenant Party, which was formed by Nuri Al-Saeed in 1930, in order to obtain the majority in the National Assembly, his ministry would base and ratify the Iraq-British Treaty of 1930. Al-Saeed tempted them with many privileges, including the amendment of the Land Law and the abolition of the condition of public bidding on the lands, and making the government free to give princely lands without bidding for those who support it from among the sheikhs (44) .

And this same desire of the opposition parties, they also want to drag tribal representatives to their side in government parties, after the National Assembly meeting in July 1925 and the formation of Yassin al-Hashemi, leader of the opposition to the People's Party opposing the Progress Party, he included some tribal leaders and landlords who visited him in the Constituent Assembly to his side(45) .

Others belonged to the National Brotherhood Party, which was established in 1930 to lead the opposition against the Nuri al-Saeed Party, which is called the Covenant, and tribal leaders in the Middle Euphrates made their efforts to establish this party (46) .

Others, most of whom were leaders of Al-Muntafak (the southern tribes in Iraq) , belonged to the National Party that Jaafar Abu al-Taman had chaired in 1922 and re-activated in 1928, due to their desire to obtain seats in the parliament to increase their control over their clans (47) .

Then the National Party boycotted the 1930 elections, which Nuri al-Saeed wanted from behind to come with a majority in support of the new treaty in the National Assembly, due to the government's interference in the elections, and after the conclusion of the treaty, the two opposition parties fraternized with the National Brother, and decided to hold tribal conferences to oppose the treaty. Party leaders toured the cities of the central Euphrates at the beginning of 1931, and met with tribal sheikhs and agreed to form their opposition to the treaty(48) .

The party activity of the sheikhs, and the affiliation of some of them with opposition parties in the National Assembly, have aroused the government's resentment and concern about the possibility of these parties exploiting the clans and organizing movements against them,so it started working to end the party of the sheikhs and cut off their association with the opposition, sometimes through propaganda and intimidation at other times. He preferred the government pressures on the tribal leaders and their representatives in the National Assembly that were able to pass laws and conclude a treaty with Britain, such as the 1926 treaty discussed by the House of Representatives, and the Progress Party was led by Abdul Mohsen Al-Saadoun, who signed the treaty and relied on the sheikhs to form 60representativesfrom a total of 88 in the parliament.The British-Turkish Treaty of 1926 was concluded and gave ten percent of Iraq's share of oil for a period of 25 years to Turkey in exchange for the latter's recognition of the mandate of Mosul, subordinate to Iraq, unanimously by the House of Representatives and the The Senate(49) .The House of Representatives approved the 1930 treaty with Britain, and the representatives of the Covenant Party, headed by Nuri Al-Saeed, occupied 70 seats out of 88, so 69 deputies approved it, and the sheikhs approved it by the majority (50) .

It should be noted that the Al-Saeed government had taken from its candidates in the elections of that assembly a pledge to agree to the treaty, enter the Covenant Party, and support the government's policy. Thus, representatives of the tribes and owners in the National Assembly took advantage of

their position to defend their interests and continue to receive aid and the bodies that the National Assembly decided to stop in 1926, but Accreditation House prevented that (51) .

The role of sheikhs in the emergence of the phenomenon of feudalism

The government issued a set of legislations, according to which tribal sheikhs were granted privileges such as exemption from taxes and debts, and the right to dispose of lands and register them in their names, and in 1926 a law was issued (Marketing farmers to use pumps) under which the increase in production due to the use of pumps was exempted from the government's share, the efforts of the sheikhs and landlords in 1927 resulted in legislating laws to reduce taxes on them and confirm their ownership of lands, and until that time they were exempt from property tax (52).

They nullified the attempt to impose the compulsory conscription system as it would lead to a tribal revolution, and when it submitted its list to the House of Representatives, there was a stir about it in the newspapers, so the king decided to suspend the parliament before discussing it.

When they re-discussed the draft conscription a year later, the sheikhs announced in a meeting attended by their representatives that their men preferred to leave Iraq rather than send them for conscription (53) .

Therefore, consideration of the law was postponed as al-Saadoun was unable to obtain the support of the majority for him, and some of the Progress Party's representatives opposed it, as Tawfiq al-Suwaïdi said that the parliament was ready to accept the conscription law, but the high representative was discouraging some of the tribal leaders in the council to support Law and its approval (54) .

It was only in 1929 that the sheikhs and owners cooperated to draft a special law called the rights and duties of farmers, the sheikhs were given the right to dispose of the lands and the law was not passed in 1933, and 48 deputies and the majority of the notables approved it as a way out to save the country from the chaos that controls agriculture. They replied on the opponents' criticism that the law was in favor of the sheikhs and owners, the King also issued the Land Rights Settlement Law and the Necessary Law of 1932, and the law authorized the sheikhs and owners to have legal disposition rights taken from the members of their clans, and according to which the sheikhs put their hands on most of the lands that were rented to them.

The deputies welcomed the settlement law that was presented to the National Assembly, and some of them demanded to amend one of its articles requiring the retrieval of the areas in excess of the area specified in the document, they demanded to give it (Non-owned lands) to the person who had been handling it for a long time. After the Minister of Finance reassured them of that, the deputies approved the law by majority. The law won the support of 61 deputies, two disagreed with it, others were absent, and it was approved by the Senate by majority (55) .

As for the law of Non-owned lands , it gave a legal description of the rights of Non-owned lands and tribal behavior that was based on the basis of custom and habit . The deputies indicated that the land will not be obtained by those who are not entitled to it in an inherited way, and it has received the approval of the House of Representatives and The Senate .

Then, the Land Law No. 55 of 1932 came , which established the rights of tribal disposition and deprived most members of the clan from their rights to contribute to the land of the tribe, the law authorized landowners to dispose of their land, whether they own holdings or not, provided that they

give appropriate monetary compensation (56) .the deputies and The Senate approved the law by majority (57) .

Conclusion

Since the Iraqi tribes are considered an important and distinct part of the total population of Iraqi society, with their economic and social conditions, they have thus become the object of the ambitions of the occupiers, especially after the submission of Iraq to the British occupation and its administration of Iraqi society.

The new phase witnessed a different strategy from its predecessor and set its sights on following a conciliatory approach towards the clans, as it set the foremost of its priorities is how to win the sheikhs to their side and create a language of dialogue between them and the sheikhs, because its last goal is to achieve security in the areas they control.

After the formation of the new Iraqi government and the assignment of power to the new political entity, which was called the Kingdom of Iraq to political elites that were not united by their cultures or orientations, some of them were military men who studied Ottoman colleges, including civilians and some tribal leaders, noting the difference in ambitions between the two parties.

This difference shows us that the tribal leaders have exploited the political elites by legitimizing the ministries that were formed as a result of what was done within the political establishment, or by military actions in the tribal areas.

Thus, it can be said that the stability and inconsistency of the ministerial formations was due to the action and support of the Iraqi tribes, which became in the hands of the politicians.

We conclude from the above that the Iraqi tribes have contributed to the political life of contemporary Iraq, and here a question comes to mind about what is the Iraqi tribes 'gain from that? Upon research, it becomes evident that the achievement you have achieved is some material gains, and this is what the tribal chief thinks.

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