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Land Tenure and Rural Social Organization: a Study in Southern Iraq.

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SOUTHERN IRAQ.

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LAND TENURE AND RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION:

A STUDY IN SOUTHERN IRAQ

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by

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DEDICATED

TO THE MEMORY OF

DR. PAUL H. PRICE

LATE PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	ii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
ABSTRACT	xi
 CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.	1
The Significance of Land Tenure Studies	1
Major Objectives of the Study	2
The Scope and Procedure of the Study.	3
II. DESCRIPTION OF IRAQ	5
Physical Characteristics.	5
Demographic Characteristics	8
Number of People.	8
Residence	13
Urban Life.	13
Rural Life.	14
Nomadic Life	16
Vital Statistics.	21
Religious Composition	23
III. DEFINITION OF TERMS AND TYPES OF LAND TENURE SYSTEMS.	26
The Concept of Land	26
Definition of Land Tenure	30
Types of Land Tenure Systems.	31
Agricultural Ladder	33
IV. THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AS A THEORETICAL MODEL FOR THE STUDY OF LAND TENURE.	35
Introduction.	35

CHAPTER	PAGE
Fundamental Attributes of Social Systems	38
Land Tenure and Rural Social Organization.	40
The Nature of Land Tenure Problems.	43
V. HISTORY OF LAND TENURE IN IRAQ.	45
Ancient Iraq.	45
Islamic Period.	47
Mongolian Period.	50
Ottoman Period.	52
British Period.	55
VI. LAND TENURE IN SOUTHERN IRAQ.	58
Iraq as an Agricultural Country	58
Land Settlement	61
Relation of Land Survey and Settlement to Land Tenure.	62
Predominance of Large Holdings.	75
The Concentration of Holdings in Muntafiq.	80
The Concentration of Holdings in Amarah.	83
The Concentration of Holdings in Kut.	87
The Concentration of Holdings in Diwanayah	93
The Concentration of Holdings in Basrah.	94
The Share-Tenancy System.	100
The Dispute Over the Land	111
VII. THE RELATION OF LAND TENURE TO THE FAMILY SYSTEM	116
Marriage.	117
Polygyny.	120
Divorce	121
The Status of the Woman	123
Relation of Family Problems to Land Tenure.	126

CHAPTER	PAGE
VIII. THE RELATION OF LAND TENURE TO EDUCATION.	128
Defects of Education in Rural Iraq.	132
IX. THE RELATION OF LAND TENURE TO HEALTH	143
Major Diseases.	144
Preventive Services	148
Curative Services	150
Social Services	151
Attitudes Toward Medical Treatment.	152
X. THE RELATION OF LAND TENURE TO SOCIAL MOBILITY: SOCIAL STRATIFICATION.	154
Rural Class Structure	155
The Criteria of Evaluation.	157
Social Mobility	162
Class Consciousness	163
XI. THE RELATION OF LAND TENURE TO SOCIAL MOBILITY: MIGRATION.	164
Causes of Migration	165
Conditions of Migrants.	166
Effects of Migration.	167
The Government Policy	169
XII. LAND REFORM: BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.	171
Solutions and Recommendations of the Experts: Analysis and Evaluation	171
The Government Policy	179
Dujaila Project: An Experiment in Land Reform	183
Distribution of Land.	184
Educational Service	186
Health Service.	187
Rural Industry.	188
Agricultural Service.	189
The Cooperative Movement.	190
Evaluation.	193

CHAPTER	PAGE
The Revolution and the Agrarian	
Reform Law.	197
Evaluation.	202
XIII. CONCLUSION.	204
BIBLIOGRAPHY	211
BIOGRAPHY.	217

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
I. Population of Iraq by Sex and Province, 1957.	10
II. Population of Iraq by Age and Sex, 1947	12
III. Population of Iraq by Residence and Province, 1947.	15
IV. Land Utilization in Iraq, 1956.	60
V. Land Classified in Southern Iraq According to Types of Tenure by Cadastral Survey up to February 8, 1951 (Cultivable Land)	64
VI. Land Classified in Southern Iraq According to Types of Tenure by Cadastral Survey up to February 8, 1951.(Uncultivable.Land).	65
VII. Area of Land the Settlement of Which was Completed by the End of 1956.	69
VIII. Survey and Registration, 1920-1930.	73
IX. Distribution of Holdings According to Size in Muntafiq Province, Iraq, 1952-1953.	82
X. Numbers of Donums by Land Categories in Muntafiq Province, Iraq, 1952-1953	83
XI. Distribution of Holdings According to Size in Amarah Province, Iraq, 1952-1953.	84
XII. Number of Donums by Land Categories in Amarah Province, Iraq, 1952-1953.	85
XIII. Distribution of Holdings According to Size in Kut Province, Iraq, 1952-1953.	88

TABLE	PAGE
XIV. Number of Donum by Land Categories in Kut Province, Iraq, 1952-1953	89
XV. State Land Granted to al-Yasseen Family . . .	90
XVI. State Land Granted to Mohammed al-Ameer . . .	90
XVII. State Land Granted to Ali al-Ameer.	91
XVIII. Distribution of Holdings According to Size in Diwaniyah Province, Iraq, 1952-1953	93
XIX. Number of Donums by Land Categories in Diwaniyah Province, Iraq, 1952-1953	94
XX. Distribution of Holdings According to Size in Basrah Province, Iraq, 1952-1953. .	95
XXI. Number of Donums by Land Categories in Basrah Province, Iraq, 1952-1953.	96
XXII. Number of Holdings by Size Categories, Southern Iraq	97
XXIII. Tribal Quarrels Over the Land	113
XXIV. Marital Status in Garmat Beni-Said.	122
XXV. Literate and Illiterate Persons in Southern Iraq	130
XXVI. Number of Primary Schools, Teachers, and Students in Southern Villages	132
XXVII. Literacy in Garmat Beni-Said.	134
XXVIII. Causes of Bilharzia, Ankylostomiasis, Malaria, and Trachoma in Southern Iraq. . .	145
XXIX. Number of Causes and Deaths of Infectious Diseases for 1956	147

TABLE	PAGE
XXX. Classification of Population of Garmat Beni-Said by Infirmities.	149
XXXI. Classification of Population of Garmat Beni-Said by Type of Residence.	161
XXXII. Distribution of Field Crops and Vegetables (According to the Agrarian Reform Law).	201

ABSTRACT

The major purpose of this study is to analyze the land tenure system and problems in southern Iraq up to 1958. In Iraq, as in many other agrarian countries, the question of land tenure is a matter of life and human dignity to great numbers of people. Land tenure problems are, thus, in a broad sense of the term, social problems. They are social problems of man-to-man and man-to-society relationships with reference to the use and control of land; they are also concerned with human traditions, values, behavior and attitudes toward the land. The theories which deal with land tenure problems are, therefore, social theories because they deal with social interaction.

This study, which is largely based on participant observation (and informal interviews), represents an attempt to show that social problems arising out of land ownership have a long history in Iraq. In brief, the confused state of the land tenure system was created by the Ottoman government, maintained by the British Army, and inherited and encouraged by the former Iraqi governments.

The main point in this study is that the land owned by the large landlords, or shaikhs, was held in what might be described as an illegal tenure. The tribes of southern Iraq have for many decades been exercising a customary right of land ownership. The shaikhs were able, with the help of the government authorities, to register the whole tribal land in their names, without investigation or consideration of the right of the tribesmen. As a result, the relation between the shaikh and his tribesmen became a relationship of landlord-share tenants. The shaikhs became not only the sole owners of the land but also the masters of the land and the most influential people of rural Iraq.

The share-tenancy system gives the landlord a say in arranging the contract with the peasant, or fellah. The latter who receives less than one-third of the produce, has to pay many illegal contributions to the shaikh. These contributions leave the fellah always in debt. Law No. 28 of 1933 gave the shaikh the right to keep the fellah on the land as long as the latter is indebted. This state of affairs led the fellah into the position of serf-tenant. On the whole, this system has great effect on the rural social organizations of southern Iraq such as the family, education, health, and social stratification.

Many problems have resulted from this system, such as:

1. The extreme inequality of land ownership.
2. The depressed economic condition of the fellah, because of his extremely low income.
3. The poor health of the fellah, because of the unbalanced diet and the relatively lack of medical care.
4. The high rate of mortality.
5. The illiteracy which is a result of the lack of schools in the villages.
6. The growing discontent of the fellaheen who occupy an inferior position.
7. The lack of cooperation between the landlord shaikh and the sharecropper fellah.
8. The discouragement that the fellah faces which prevents him from improving the plot of land which he cultivates.
9. The migration of the fellaheen to the cities, a movement which has social, economic, and psychological repercussions.
10. The breakdown of the tribal system and the tribal solidarity (assabiyah).
11. The continuous dispute and quarrels between the tribes over the land (which disturb public security).

12. The deterioration of economic life, resulting from this system which is an obstacle to agricultural development.

13. The political and administrative corruptions caused by the system.

The former governments did not seriously attempt to solve the problem. Improvement of the land tenure conditions requires not only an equitable distribution of holdings but also a better landlord-tenant relationship. This is precisely what the revolutionary government is seeking by its Agrarian Reform Law of 1958.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Significance of Land Tenure Studies

It is a truism that all human beings depend in one way or another on the land. The majority of the world's population are farmers and are closely attached to the land in an occupational sense. This fact alone demonstrates the importance of land tenure studies.

This study focuses on land tenure patterns in Iraq. Its significance has grown out of the problems created by the unequal distribution of land during the rule of dynasties prior to the revolution of 1958.

It must be noted that Iraq is rich in natural resources. Land is fertile and water is abundant. In view of this, and the fact that the country has a low population density one would expect the Iraqi to be highly advantaged. Nevertheless, the former governments of Iraq did not utilize such resources for economic development because of political and administrative corruption. This fact explains the low level of technology, the low income, the malnutrition,

the poor sanitation, the disease, and the extreme poverty found in the nation today.

Major Objectives of the Study

The major purpose of this study is to analyze land tenure in Iraq. The significance of this study is found in the fact that the problems of land tenure in southern Iraq differ from those in other old agrarian countries.

Few studies of the land tenure system and problems of Iraq have been made, and no sociological analysis of these problems has been attempted.

The specific objectives of this study are threefold:

1. To determine and describe in a systematic fashion the culture and social organization of the peasants of southern Iraq,
2. To study and describe the land tenure system and land tenure problems of southern Iraq. In this connection, special emphasis has been given the social consequences of these problems. The writer also has attempted to identify the conditions which led to extreme poverty and social conflict in the agricultural villages of the region,
3. To determine and describe socio-economic changes currently taking place in peasant society. The purpose was

to identify principles governing social change.

The Scope and Procedure of the Study

As mentioned, this investigation deals primarily with the land tenure system and problems in southern Iraq, and attempts to analyze them up to 1958.

The data for this study were gathered principally by participant observation. Information was also obtained from informal interviews and from secondary sources, such as Iraqi government documents. Beyond this, pertinent empirical and theoretical literature was consulted.

The locale of the study was south Iraq, in particular, the area called Muntafiq. The writer was able to complete the survey while employed as a high-school teacher in this locality for two periods from 1953 to 1955.

Being an Arab himself, the writer spoke the Arabic language and had no difficulty communicating with the rural people. His prior knowledge of peasant culture was also helpful in the implementation of the field study. Both of these factors facilitated his field research.

In actual field procedure, the writer befriended the head, or shaikh, of one of the tribes in a village. (The peasants have a tribal society.) After the purpose of the

study was explained to him, the shaikh gave his permission for the writer to make inquiries and observation among his tribe. The people in the villages were friendly and cooperative informants.

The leader mentioned above and other informants, such as teachers in the primary schools (especially in Shatra and Soug al-Shioukh) provided the writer with valuable insights. Some of the writer's high-school students who belong to different tribes in Muntafiq also provided him with essential information. One of these students, the Shaikh of a tribe in Muntafiq, provided important information about his tribal peasants. The writer also visited al-Chibayish in Muntafiq province where the marsh-dwellers (Ma'adan) live.

The data have been scrutinized very carefully as to the impartiality or reliability of source. In informal interviews, the writer posed questions to the informants on various relevant topics, noted their answers, and probed the replies given.

It is felt that general inferences may be drawn from the findings of this study, and that general principles may be established regarding certain aspects of social relations in this part of the world.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF IRAQ

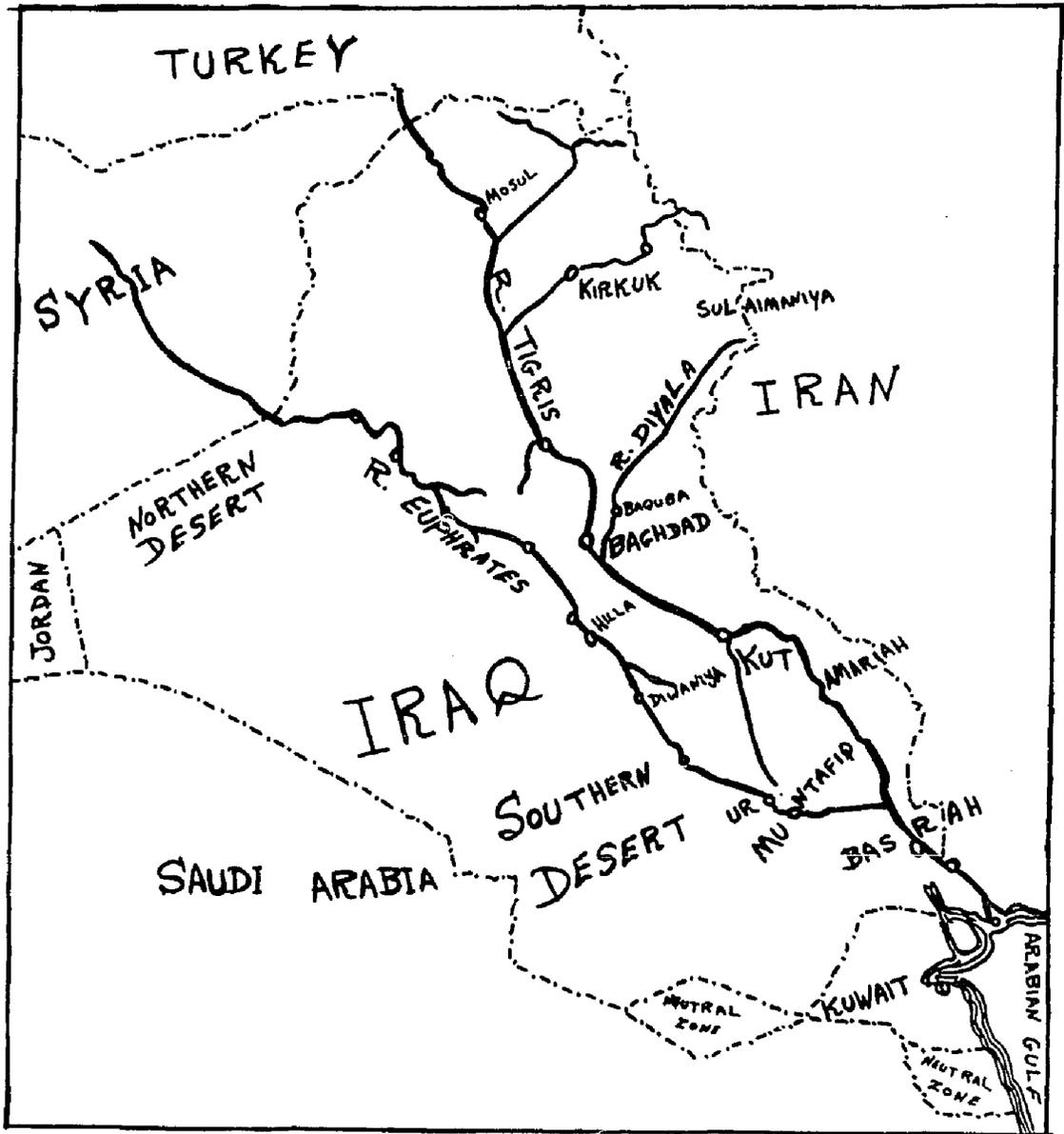
The relationship between population and land is very significant in all societies. The heights to which any people may rise and the extent of the benefits they reap from their environment reflect "(1) the nature of the human resources found in the population, (2) the quantity and quality of the land resources available for use, and (3) the interaction of such other factors as the culture of the people, the state of the arts, and the use of technology."¹

This chapter will present a brief study of the physical characteristics of Iraq as well as the cultural features of its people.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Iraq, or Mesopotamia as it has been called by the Greeks, is one of the Arab countries of the Middle East. This country is referred to by archaeologists and historians

¹v. Webster Johnson and Raleigh Barlowe, Land Problems and Policies (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954), p. 166.



MAP OF IRAQ

as "the Cradle of Civilization," because the great civilizations of Babylonia, Assyria, and the Arab Empire once flourished in this area.

Iraq covers an area of 168,040 square miles, and is bounded on the east by Iran, on the west by Syria and Jordan, on the north by Turkey, and on the south by Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait. It includes the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Both of these rivers originate in Turkey, but the Tigris rises farther to the east and north. These rivers mostly lose themselves in the marshes of southern Iraq, but their remaining waters unite at Qurna in Basrah, and they flow as the Shatt al-Arab into the Arabian Gulf.

The geographical regions of Iraq are as follows:

1. The upper valley or the upland plains stretch from Mosul to Sulaimaniyah. Mountains are found in the north and northeast of this region. This region of ancient Assyria is a rain-fed zone. Wheat and barley are the main crops. The average height of the land in this area is approximately 1,000 feet. Al-Jazirah, located in this region is an undulating plain. It is situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates, where they cut themselves deep valleys. Al-Jazirah is inhabited by the Bedouins.

2. The lower valley consists of alternating marsh areas and low mud plains. This region is flat and has swamps scattered here and there in southern Iraq. It is here that the Euphrates joins the Tigris. Dates and rice are the principal crops. The latter is grown mainly in the marshes.

To the south and the southwest of the lower valley or the irrigation zone are found the desert areas of Iraq. These areas make up approximately 40 per cent of the country's total land.

The climate of Iraq varies from one extreme to another. During the summer, in some parts of the country, particularly the south, the temperature may register 125°F., but the mean maximum in August is usually 105°F. In the winter the mean maximum is 54°F. in the north and 64°F. in the south.

Oil, the key to Iraq's potentialities for economic development is symbolically called the third great river of Iraq. Other important minerals are salt, gypsum and lignite.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Number of People

Population statistics for Iraq prior to 1947 are

unreliable. Because of the fear of conscription for men and because of the seclusion of women, it was practically impossible to obtain accurate figures.

In 1930, Sir Ernest Dowson estimated the total population of Iraq as 2,824,000.² Another estimation was also made by Hashim Jawad. He estimated the total population of Iraq in 1935 to be 3,352,000; and in 1942 as 4,146,000.³

Iraq has had only two Official Censuses, those for the years of 1947 and 1957. The data collected in the 1957 Census have not been published yet. However, the writer was able to obtain some of the preliminary results of this Census from the government of Iraq.

According to the Census of October 19, 1947, the population of Iraq was 4,816,185. Males made up 46.9 per cent of the population and females 53.1 per cent.⁴ The total population in 1957 was 6,538,109 persons. There has

²An Inquiry Into Land Tenure and Related Questions: Proposals for the Initiation of Reform (A report printed for the Iraqi Government by Garden City Press, Ltd., Letchworth, England, 1931), p. 12.

³The Social Structure of Iraq (Baghdad: New Publishers, 1945), pp. 9, 11.

⁴According to the Census of 1947 the density of the population was 20 persons per square kilometer. In the major cities of Iraq, the density of the population in Baghdad, the capitol, was 64.1; and in the south, it was 25.1 in each Muntafiq and Diwaniyah, 16.7 in Amarah, 30 in Basrah and 13.6 in Kut.

TABLE I
POPULATION OF IRAQ BY SEX AND PROVINCE, 1957

Province	Population*		
	Male	Female	Total
Mosul	363,331	354,169	717,500
Sulaimaniyah	156,165	143,813	299,978
Arbil	137,602	134,924	272,526
Kirkuk	196,548	192,364	388,912
Diala	166,506	163,307	329,813
Rumadi	119,306	114,956	234,262
Baghdad	670,161	636,443	1,306,604
Kut	137,432	152,638	290,070
Hilla	177,543	176,071	353,614
Karbala	105,347	111,668	217,015
Diwaniya	246,467	261,081	507,548
Amara	162,188	167,459	329,647
Muntafiq	210,654	244,990	455,644
Basrah	252,382	250,502	502,884
All Provinces	3,101,632	3,104,385	6,206,017

Source: Census of Iraq 1957.

*Nomads and Iraqis outside the country are excluded.

been an increase of 1,721,924 persons since October, 1947. The number of desert Bedouins, however, decreased from 250,000 in 1947 to 68,562 in 1957. This apparent decrease is not only due to the migration to rural areas, but also to the lack of accurate information on the Bedouins. The number of nomadic Bedouins mentioned in the 1947 Census was (merely) an estimate of the Ministry of Interior.

The writer will discuss the major features of the composition of the population in the chapter dealing with rural social organization. Here, a brief discussion of the age-sex distribution is presented.

The Census of 1947 shows a surplus of females. Excluding the nomadic people, there were 2,438,840 females, comprising 53.4 per cent of the total population. Ten years later, there was a slight surplus of males. The Census of 1957 shows that there were 3,294,074 males and 3,244,036 females.

No recent data are available on the age distribution of Iraq. The only official data concerned with this matter are those of the 1947 Census.

Table II shows that the population is mainly concentrated in the following age groups: 0-4 (18.4 per cent; 9.0 males and 9.4 females), 5-9 (16.1 per cent; 7.4 males

TABLE II
POPULATION OF IRAQ BY AGE AND SEX, 1947*

Age	Number			Per Cent		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Under 5 Years	409,039	430,101	839,140	9.0	9.4	18.4
5 - 9	337,433	399,231	736,664	7.4	8.7	16.1
10 - 19	317,967	415,448	733,415	7.0	9.1	16.1
20 - 29	201,224	285,468	486,692	4.4	6.3	10.7
30 - 39	250,650	301,695	552,345	5.5	6.6	12.1
40 - 49	252,224	232,262	484,486	5.5	5.1	10.6
50 - 59	148,176	144,576	292,752	3.2	3.2	6.4
60 & Over	209,561	228,980	438,541	4.6	5.0	9.6
Unknown	1,071	1,079	2,150	---	---	----
Total	2,127,345	2,438,840	4,566,185	46.6	53.4	100.0

Source: Census of Iraq 1947 (Directorate General of Census, Baghdad, 1954), Statistical Abstract, 1956 (Ministry of Economics, Iraq, 1957), pp. 16-17.

*Nomadic tribes are excluded.

and 8.7 females), and 10-19 (16.1 per cent; 7.0 males and 9.1 females). The lowest percentage was those between the ages of 50-59; this group composed 6.4 of the total population (3.2 males and 3.2 females).

Residence

Iraq may be characterized in terms of three main ways of life: urban, rural or agricultural, and nomadic.

Urban life. According to 1947 Census data, 34 per cent of the people of Iraq lived in towns and cities. Nearly a third of the total urban population lived in Baghdad. Other big cities are Mosul and Kirkuk in northern part of Iraq and Basrah in the south.

Commerce and administration are very important in the large towns and cities. Iraq is predominantly an agricultural country. However, a few factories are found in big cities as Baghdad, Basrah, Mosul, Kirkuk and Hillah.

As will be subsequently shown, urban-rural differences can be clearly observed as evidenced by the different type of housing, means of living, and ways of life. Though the kinship organization of the urban centers is similar to that of the village, and even to that of the desert Bedouin tribe, social solidarity is much stronger in the rural areas and among the desert Bedouins than among the inhabitants of the city. The urban people are becoming more "secular," while the rural and Bedouin people are maintaining their traditions from one generation to the next. The material aspects

of culture change more rapidly in the urban centers than in the rural areas.

Rural life. More than two-thirds of the population of Iraq live in rural areas. The small village community typifies rural Iraq.

The rural population of Iraq consists of many tribes and the rural structure is thus a tribal one. The shaikh (head) of the tribe is usually responsible for the conduct and activities of his tribesmen.

The assabiyah, or social solidarity which is based on blood ties, is very strong among village community members. The rural people, like the desert Bedouins, have learned to maintain their strong awareness of the tribe by placing a heavy emphasis on maintaining kinship lineage. This solidarity is also expressed in mutual aid practices. The rural inhabitants, however, are hospitable towards both tribal members and outsiders.

Schools and such modern conveniences as electricity and running water have only recently begun to reach into the rural hinterlands. The Iraqi villages thus are becoming increasingly influenced by the "secular" way of life.

In southern Iraq, one can find the marsh dwellers,

TABLE III
POPULATION OF IRAQ BY RESIDENCE AND PROVINCE, 1947

Province	Rural Population	Urban Population	Per Cent	
			Rural	Urban
Mosul	389,280	205,910	65.4	34.6
Kirkuk	191,364	94,641	66.9	33.1
Sulaimaniyah	172,307	54,093	76.1	23.9
Arbil	190,150	49,626	79.3	20.7
Diala	221,093	51,320	81.2	18.8
Baghdad	266,808	550,397	32.6	67.4
Rumadi	155,322	37,661	80.5	19.5
Hilla	187,036	74,170	71.6	28.4
Karbala	158,009	116,225	57.6	42.4
Kut	175,379	49,559	78.0	22.0
Diwaniya	299,124	78,994	79.1	20.9
Amara	245,735	61,286	80.0	20.0
Muntafiq	317,252	54,615	85.3	14.7
Basrah	223,029	145,770	60.5	39.5
All Provinces	3,191,888	1,624,297	66.3	33.7

Source: Census of Iraq 1947, Vols. 1, 2, 3, passim.

who are rice cultivators and live in reed huts built on flooded land. The primary sources of food of marsh dwellers are rice, buffalo milk, and fish.

In the course of interviews conducted by the writer, many Arab fellaheen⁵ of southern Iraq expressed contempt toward the marsh dwellers, for they believe that they are not "pure" Arabs. As a matter of fact, the marsh dwellers who are called Ma'dan (yokel), are, racially, of mixed origin. This is probably the main reason for the absence of inter-marriage between the marsh dwellers and other rural people, particularly the fellaheen and the desert Bedouins.

Marsh people are also a tribal people, and their social life is similar to that of other tribal people in southern Iraq.

Nomadic life. According to Price, "It is still possible to find in the world many groups that have not yet advanced to the stage where the wheel is used."⁶ The desert Bedouins of Iraq may be included in these groups. The

⁵The word fellaheen means peasants, cultivators.

⁶Paul H. Price, "Selected Aspects of Rural Transportation in Southern Brazil," Inter-American Economic Affairs (Washington, D. C.: The Institute of Inter-American Studies), III (Spring, 1950), 31.

nomadic Bedouins are tribal people. According to the Census of 1957, the total population of the desert Bedouins was 68,562 persons; of these, 58,963 live in the northern deserts; the remaining Bedouins (9,599) live in the southern desert.

It is the writer's impression that each tribal member of the southern desert Bedouins eventually has personal and direct contact with almost every other tribal member. More definitely, however, it can be said that each member of the tribe is aware of all the other members. He is not only able to distinguish them from outsiders but also knows almost everything about them. This awareness is expressed by the Bedouin term assabiyah, which implies solidarity based on blood ties. This sentiment is stronger among tribal groups than among other rural and urban people. In fact, the awareness of the tribe as a whole (vs. the awareness of each member) is one of the most conspicuous features of the desert Bedouins.

The Bedouins give careful attention to their lineage, traditions, and fame.

The observation of Oppenheimer⁷ and other writers⁸ that everything in life has for the desert Bedouin "a pacific and war-like, an honest and robber-like, side; according to circumstances, the one or the other appears uppermost" is not correct. Dickson⁹ also claims that "raiding is the breath of life to the Bedouin." It must be stated here that the Bedouin is honest and not a robber. The Bedouin regards thieving as a shameful thing. Moreover, raiding is not thieving in the usual sense of the word. Lack of rainfall, drinking wells, and nourishing pastures lead the desert Bedouin to raid. The desert Bedouin resorts to raiding only as a means of sustenance. Furthermore, before his tribe conducts a raid it is necessary for it to send a formal notice to this effect. From this point of view, raiding is not equivalent to thieving nor to war. Although raiding has certain social ramifications, it has a definite economic

⁷Franz Oppenheimer, The State (New York: Vanguard Press, 1922), p. 45. See also pp. 47-48.

⁸See, for example, article "Arabia" in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. I; Carleton S. Coon, "The Nomads," in Sydney Nettleton Fisher (ed.), Social Forces in the Middle East (New York: Cornell University Press, 1955), p. 31; Carsten Niebuhr, Travels in Arabia (Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World, Volume 10), (London: 1811), p. 132.

⁹H. R. P. Dickson, The Arab of the Desert (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1949), p. 341.

base. That it does not happen except when there is a famine demonstrates this emphasis. In addition, one can see reflected in this attitude the difference between sentiments directed against an individual form of behavior (as in theft) and the group act (the raid), indicating again the importance of the tribe as an entity to the Bedouin.

It is necessary to point out that in spite of their hard life in the desert, the Bedouins are hospitable people.

The simplicity of the Bedouin's life is to be noted: his food, drink, clothing, personal possessions, and his life in general. The future is not important to him--his trust in this matter is to the will of God (iradat Allah) and His mercy (rahmah).

Mutual aid, including mutual protection, is one phase of tribal solidarity. Mutual aid appears very clearly in the economic and political phases of tribal life. If a tribesman is attacked by outsiders, all members of the tribe will be expected to defend him. In time of famine or depression, each tribesman rallies to the support of the other, and food and drink become the property of the whole tribe. In fact, mutual aid is at times extended beyond the social limit of the tribe. In time of raiding or fighting between tribes, each tribe would welcome the refugees of the others.

Are the desert Bedouins, then, a community? Many would undoubtedly say yes. The answer, however, would depend upon the manner in which community is defined. We can say that the desert Bedouins are not villagers. The differences are clear and sharp. If the village is defined as a community, then it follows that the Bedouins cannot be so defined. The desert Bedouins are a social system--a folk society which is isolated, homogeneous, close-knit, and oriented toward traditional goals and values. But to call it a community in the same sense as the village is to attempt to equate two social systems which are not easily equated. Some may argue that the community is a generic term; this may well be true. But two points follow from such a usage: (1) the "generic" term includes qualitatively distinct phenomena, things which are sharply different, and (2) if the term is used in a sense which is so generic as to include the kind of social systems here discussed, then community becomes to that extent indistinguishable from society. The writer would prefer a more limited concept. In brief, therefore, regardless of the stereotype which some of us may hold, the evidence collected by the present writer leads him to believe that the Bedouins do not form a

community.¹⁰

Vital Statistics

The Certificates issued by the government, along with the Official Censuses, Statistical Abstract, and the Annual Bulletin of Health and Vital Statistics, provide vital statistics and other data on the population.

Fertility. According to government sources, the crude birth rate of Iraq's population in 1953 was 32 per thousand. D. G. Adams, however, estimates the crude birth as between 50 to 55 per thousand, and "it may be as high as 60 but is certainly not below 50."¹¹ In the Shaikh Omar Maternal and Child Health Center in Baghdad, "2,000 mothers answered a questionnaire; from their answers a crude birth rate of 48 per thousand was computed by World Health Organization experts. The people of Shaikh Omar district, although generally poor, are not the poorest element of Baghdad's population."¹²

¹⁰For more information see Fuad Baali and George A. Hillery, Jr., "The Desert Bedouins of Iraq: A Comparison with the Village" (unpublished manuscript, 1959).

¹¹Iraq's People and Resources (California: University of California Press, 1958), p. 69.

¹²Loc. cit.

Factors explaining the high fertility of Iraq are: early marriage, lack of systematic knowledge concerning antinatal practices, and the encouragement of high fertility because of religious beliefs. (See Chapter VII.)

Mortality. One would expect that, because of the low income of the rural population, the poor sanitation, the lack of medical facilities, and so forth, the rural people would have a higher mortality than those living in the cities. However, the fact is that the major cities of Iraq have the highest mortality rate found in the nation.

The crude death rate in Iraq, according to the Ministry of Health, was 10.5 for 1952 and 10.6 for 1953.¹³ Adams believes that the crude death rate ranges from 25 to 40 per thousand.¹⁴ In the Shaikh Omar Maternal and Child Health Center, "the survey of 2,000 families [in a lower-class district of Baghdad] revealed an infant mortality rate of 135 per thousand."¹⁵ This, however, is not a high rate, compared with those of some other Middle Eastern or Asian countries.

¹³Government of Iraq, Ministry of Health, Annual Bulletin of Health and Vital Statistics for 1953 (Baghdad, 1955), p. 6.

¹⁴Adams, op. cit., p. 69.

¹⁵The survey done by World Health Organization, ibid.

Factors explaining the high rate of mortality in Iraq can be summarized as: poor health (malnutrition, poor sanitation, diseases), low income, and ignorance.

Religious Composition

Iraq is inhabited by a diversity of ethnic and religious groups, which are characterized by various ways of life. However, Arabic language is spoken by all the people.

The Muslims: Almost 95 per cent of the population of Iraq are Muslims, the majority of whom are Arabs. The Arabs are found mainly in the central and southern portion of the country.

The other Islamic ethnic groups are the Kurds and the Turkomans. The Kurds comprise nearly 20 per cent of the total population. These non-Arab people speak Kurdish as well as Arabic languages. The Kurds live in the northern part of the country. Agriculture is their main activity.

The Turkomans, who were originally Turkish, settled in northern Iraq, especially in Kirkuk, Arbil, and Tal Afar. They form about one per cent of the total population. Their chief means of making a livelihood is through agriculture. The Turkomans speak both the Turkish and the Arabic languages.

Besides the Kurds and the Turkomans one finds also

the Iranians, who came from Iran and settled near the religious areas in central Iraq. They are largely urban people, and comprise almost one per cent of the total population.

The Christians. The estimated number of Christians in Iraq is 200,000 or almost 5 per cent of the total population. Except for 12,000 Armenians, the remaining Christians are Arabs. Almost half of them live in the north, especially in Mosul; they are also concentrated in Baghdad and Basrah.

The Jews. Before 1951 the Jewish community numbered some 150,000 persons. In 1950-1951 a majority of the Jews left Iraq, most of them going to Israel. About 10,000 are still in Iraq. The Jewish communal life was and is still well organized.

Other ethnic and religious groups. The other primary ethnic and religious groups are the Sabaeans and the Yazidis. The Sabaeans (or Mandaeans) constitute an urban-dwelling group. In 1947, they numbered 6,597 persons. The Sabaeans are concentrated in southern Iraq, especially in Muntafiq province. According to their religious teachings, they must live near running water. The Sabaeans are sometimes called "the Christians of St. John" or the "followers of St. John." They claim that they are the descendants of the

ancient Sabaeans, and this explains why they call themselves "Sabaeans." Most of them are silversmiths.

The Yazidis are known as "devil-worshippers." They hold their religious ceremonies in strict secrecy. They have a highly organized communal life. They are located between Jabal Sinjar and the Shaikhan district north of Mosul. According to the 1947 Census, they numbered 32,434. They speak a Kurdish dialect, although their sacred books are written in Arabic.

CHAPTER III

DEFINITION OF TERMS AND TYPES OF LAND TENURE SYSTEMS

THE CONCEPT OF LAND

The term land is relative. It has different meanings to different people. From a legal point of view, land (or real estate) may be defined as "any portion of the earth's surface over which ownership rights might be exercised."¹ Rights of ownership may, of course, relate to other things made by men, like buildings and bridges. For this reason we need to go further in our conceptualization of land.

The economic concept of land, as defined by Barlowe, is "the sum total of the natural and man-made resources over which possession of the earth's surface gives control."² In this definition, the importance of human wants is not brought out. The satisfaction of these wants to the greatest possible extent is, economically speaking, very significant.

Historians usually look upon land as mere area. On the contrary, geography, particularly political geography,

¹Raleigh Barlowe, Land Resource Economics (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), p. 8.

²Loc. cit.

considers area or territory as something having specific geographic conditions.

Insofar as the writer was able to determine, few sociologists have ever tried to define the term land. The only definition from this field which could be found was that in the Dictionary of Sociology. Here, land is defined as "the sum total of the material components and configuration of the globe. . . . The basic source of all material wealth, and the spatial setting for human beings. From the point of view of human utility, land presents two main aspects--area and productivity. . . ." ³ It can be seen that this definition borrows from both the legal and economic definitions quoted before.

Apparently, although it is hard to find a definition of land acceptable to all social scientists, most scholars accept the idea that land, as property, has legal connotations.

The concept of land may be further elaborated from a sociological point of view. Land is very significant to most tribes, communities, states, or nations over and beyond

³Henry Pratt Fairchild and Associates, Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences (Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1955), p. 171.

its mere locational aspects, and its economic worth. It is true, of course, that human beings are interested in land because they must utilize it for the production of food and fiber, for recreation, and so forth. However, the satisfaction of human wants and the welfare of human beings does not tell the whole story insofar as sociological considerations are involved.

Sociologists, first of all, are concerned only with inhabited areas of land. Thus land gains sociological significance only because of the people who occupy it. One cannot study social groups and their activities apart from the land which they inhabit. Bedouin tribal members, for example, will always refer to a group of people and a bit of land (dirah) or desert (badiyah) together.⁴ It must be noted that Morgan distinguished between the political civitas (which is based upon land) and a theoretically landless societas (which is held together only by the bond of common blood). However, land is present in the latter concept also. Semple points this out as follows: "Though primitive society

⁴Spatial integration seems to be particularly weak among the Bedouins. Space, of course, is an important thing to these people as it is to the members of any other social system. But space, per se, has little integrative power. Baali and Hillery, op. cit.

found its conscious bond in common blood, nevertheless the land bond was always there, and it gradually asserted its fundamental character with the evolution of society."⁵

Sociologists are directly interested in many processes relating to land. For illustration, the five major processes of human ecology, concentration, centralization, segregation, invasion, and succession, may be cited. These ecological processes through which competition operates are described as "dynamic forces of change causing continual adjustment of population numbers and forms, and adaptation of the institutional structure. A knowledge of these processes is very useful in explaining the migration of people and their distribution on the land."⁶ It can thus be seen how social interaction gives more meaning to land.

Man-land relations are, as noted above, an important aspect of culture, but particularly the rural culture. In other words, the accumulation (and integration) of customs,

⁵See Ellen Churchill Semple, Influence of Geographic Environment (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), p. 51, 54. See also Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1878), Chapter II; Edward H. Graham, Natural Principles of Land Use (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 225-26.

⁶Roland R. Renne, Land Economics (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1958), p. 316.

mores, folkways, norms, and other knowledges and activities of any people cannot be separated completely from land. Hence, the study of man-land relations represent a central part of sociology.

DEFINITION OF LAND TENURE

Land tenure is an area of study which is common to almost all the social sciences. However, each of these sciences has its own interpretation. Sociology emphasizes the study of human relationships with reference to the use of land, and sociologists concentrate on the study of people: their traditions, values, behavior, and attitudes toward the land. The sociological approach assumes that land tenure relations are, in reality, social relations. Most rural sociologists define land tenure as the rights of people to the land. Smith, for example, defines land tenure as the social relationship between the people and the land.⁷ According to this definition, the concept of land tenure is not limited to the rights of people to the land but includes

⁷T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life, (third edition; New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1953), p. 274.

as well "the many ramifications of these rights in human relationships."⁸ The rural social relations associated with land tenure problems are of great interest to the rural sociologist. Rural sociologists have, in fact, classified land tenure systems on the basis of varying patterns of human relationships. The major types of land tenure systems are briefly described below in an effort to further clarify the concept.

Types of Land Tenure Systems

Formal patterns for the use and control of land are not new in the history of the human race. Bertrand lists major types of tenure systems as follows:⁹

1. Restrictive rights to the land: This pattern is found in certain primitive and pre-literate societies. An example from Iraqi culture will illustrate this type of system. The Bedouin of the desert, who lives by moving from pasture to pasture, consider all land as the property of God. Although desert lands are worthless except at rare times

⁸Alvin L. Bertrand (ed.), Rural Sociology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958), p. 171.

⁹Ibid., pp. 174-76.

when rainfall is abundant, it can be anticipated that one Bedouin tribe will fight other tribes who might trespass on its special tribal place or dirah.

2. Communal arrangements for tilling the soil: This land tenure system is also a very old one, which has existed in many societies. For example, such patterns were found in the time of Kassites, about 2000 B.C. Here, the tribes were organized collectively for the purpose of tilling and irrigating the land, and the control of a parcel of land was temporary.

3. Independent classes of small-farm owners: Such tenure systems were (and in fact still are) in existence in many societies. Examples can be found in Assyria, Babylonia, and the Islamic Empire. Islam gave the Karaj (tax) lands to the army officers in lieu of pay. Those officers formed an independent farmer class. Owner-operated family size farms are also found in the United States, as well as many other countries.

4. Large estates owned by church, state, city, or other public bodies: Bertrand states that "holdings of this type have generally been operated by dependent peasants or serfs. In some instances, these 'workers' cannot be separated from the land and thus have certain rights.

However, they have little opportunity for advancement."¹⁰
In most of the Arab countries, one finds the Waqf (religious trust lands) which are held for private and public benefits. This type of tenure is under the control of the state.

5. The large private estates: This type of tenure system can be found in many societies. According to Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin, the population of such a system "consists of the owner or his substitute and a large number of free or unfree laborers and employes [sic] of various ranks with special duties and with a division of labor. Sometimes a few tenants are found in such an aggregate."¹¹

The Agricultural Ladder

A study of social relations as they relate to land definitely includes consideration of social stratification, i.e., the status, criteria of evaluation, and the privileges of landlords and tenants as well as the landless workers. In connection with stratification studies in the various

¹⁰Ibid., p. 176.

¹¹Pitrim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1930), I, 563.

rural societies of the world, rural sociologists have used the concept of the agricultural ladder.

The agricultural ladder denotes the vertical social mobility between the agricultural social classes, "and more specifically the process by which a farm youth commences as a hired hand and passes successively through the stages of renter and part-owner"¹² Until he has achieved ownership of a farm. This phenomenon is well illustrated in the family-farm areas of the United States.

The agricultural ladder, however, does not imply a permanent opportunity for vertical movement. The farm-family may slip back, especially in times of depression or similar crises.

¹²Dictionary of Sociology, pp. 7-8.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AS A THEORETICAL MODEL FOR THE STUDY OF LAND TENURE

Patterns of social interaction, whether relations of the people to the land, relations of person to person, or the institutional aspects,¹ are the main concern of sociologists in their study of the rural environment. A conceptual scheme must be devised if one is to understand these patterns from a theoretical standpoint.

In regard to the study of tenure, as Bertrand proposes, social scientists "must confine themselves to the study of customary and codified rights which individuals have to land and to the behavior characteristics which directly result from these rights."² Bertrand suggests further that,

. . . phenomena associated with tenure [can] best be understood and explained in terms of the social system concept. This is true because the component

¹T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (third edition; New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1953), p. 197; and Alvin L. Bertrand (ed.), Rural Sociology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958), p. 402.

²Alvin L. Bertrand, "The Social System as a Conceptual and Analytical Device in the Study of Land Tenure," Land Tenure Research Workshop (Chicago: Farm Foundation, 1956), p. 87.

parts of social systems, the social structure and value orientation, both account for the particular behavior observed.³

Loomis and Beegle believe that the term social system is far superior to "social organization" or "social structure" in the study of systems of social interaction.⁴ Social system they define as being "made up of unique networks of social relationships."⁵ In order to attain the system's objectives, members of the system interact more with each other than with non-members.⁶

From the above it is clear that it is the value orientation of the society and not the specific form of tenure, which is important.⁷ Accordingly, in the study of a tenure social system two things should always be remembered: the specific actors and their pertinent behavior.⁸ In this regard, Bertrand suggests that the "social system"

³Ibid., p. 92.

⁴Charles P. Loomis and Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), pp. iii, 4.

⁵Bertrand, "The Social System as a Conceptual and Analytical Device in the Study of Land Tenure," p. 85.

⁶Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 33.

⁷Loc. cit.

⁸Bertrand, "The Social System as a Conceptual and Analytical Device in the Study of Land Tenure," p. 85.

is worthy of consideration by tenure researchers,⁹ but does not agree with Loomis and Beegle in certain aspects. He states that "the mere fact of noting role and status differentials [as Loomis and Beegle do] does not identify tenure groups as social systems."¹⁰ Bertrand believes this is a weakness in the presentation of these two scholars, because "readers must rely too much on their own interpretation."

The writer believes a further criticism of Loomis and Beegle should be made to the effect that they have treated role and status as one element in their structure of social system.

It may be helpful in understanding the social system concept as it applies to land tenure if a concrete example is used. Bertrand provides such an example in connection with the acceptance of innovations, which is actually a neglected area in tenure research. He states that:

If the tenure system approach can shed light on such a problem then its usefulness to tenure researchers will be apparent. In this regard, it is well known that much of the effort of agricultural workers, after discovery of an advanced agricultural technique or tool, is devoted to getting farmers to accept the innovation. In fact, the lapsed time between discovery and use has been

⁹Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 85.

so long in certain areas as to cause considerable concern among agricultural scientists and workers.¹¹

As far as Iraqi society is concerned, the social system concept can be readily and clearly applied to land tenure forms. However, some of the elements of the social system differ from that found in the United States and elsewhere in the world. For example, territoriality is the most important element in the rural life of southern Iraq. It is from territoriality that all other elements of the social system derive. Also, we cannot discuss the land tenure system and problems in southern Iraq without reference to the social values which are reflected in the social organization of the society.

FUNDAMENTAL ATTRIBUTES OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

The fundamental attributes of social systems are presented by Loomis and Beegle¹² and will be applied to the rural Iraq insofar as possible.

1. Non-rational versus Rational Action: Action can be considered as human behavior to which the acting person attempts to attach subjective meaning. Traditional and

¹¹Ibid., p. 90.

¹²Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 18-25.

emotional types of behavior characterize rural Iraq. Although the people place a high value upon kinship ties, the social relationships and interpersonal bonds are not the only significant ends. In this environment the landlord may cast off the peasant if the latter does not produce as efficiently as other peasants. In fact, the landlord may insult him in any way he likes!

2. Functional Specificity versus Functional Diffuseness:

The range of activities of members of social systems and the extent of the superior's rights over and responsibilities to subordinates may be general and diffuse, or they may be narrowly limited and specific.¹³

In southern Iraq, the landlord's rights over and responsibilities to subordinates may be general and diffuse but do not seem paternalistic in nature. As a result of this relationship, clashes between landlords and their subordinates may occur from time to time.

3. Community of Fate versus Limited Responsibility:
Rural Iraq, as a whole, cannot be considered as a "community of fate," for the gains or hardship in southern Iraq are not shared by all members in the system.

¹³Ibid., pp. 22-23.

4. Integration of Roles Within and Outside the System: This is the only attribute which, to some extent, could be applied. The landlord may prevent the peasants from playing other roles outside the system which conflict with their roles within. With the rigid land tenure system the Iraqi peasants cannot occupy any other position. They have to stay peasants just as their ancestors were before them.

LAND TENURE AND RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Though the land tenure system in Iraq has unique features, and in spite of the fact that some of the elements of the other types of social organization can be found in rural Iraq, nevertheless the Gemeinschaft¹⁴ type more specifically corresponds to rural southern Iraq than does any other type of social organization.

It is not the "in-group" of Sumner which can be

¹⁴Rudolf Heberle believes that the use of the German words, Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (society) is quite arbitrary. "One could coin a new English word for each of these concepts, but since words like kindergarten, sauerkraut, and blitzkrieg have been incorporated in the American language, the adoption of these quite venerable words seems to be justifiable." "The Application of Fundamental Concepts in Rural Community Studies," Rural Sociology, VI (September, 1941), 204.

applied to rural southern Iraq, because the attitudes of rural people of Iraq toward outsiders are not "hostile," "contemptuous" or those of "hatred." The people of rural Iraq are, on the contrary, very friendly, hospitable and generous to all people. This fact has also been cited by many scholars (including Americans) who visited these areas.

The writer also believes that Durkheim's mechanistic type of social solidarity cannot be applied easily to rural Iraq. Although there is a "division of labor," rural Iraq is not an "earlier" and simpler stage of "social development." Moreover, it is not "small" and not "separated."

Becker's concept of the sacred society also does not apply to rural Iraq. The rural people of Iraq are not "mentally and socially isolated," nor are they "geographically separated" from other groupings.

"The folk-society" type of Redfield likewise does not apply to rural Iraq. For rural southern Iraq is not, like the ideal folk society, "small," isolated, and "what man knows and believes is the same as what all men know and believe."¹⁵ Redfield, of course, admitted that "no known

¹⁵Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," The American Journal of Sociology, LII (January, 1947), 297.

society precisely corresponds with it (folk-society)."¹⁶

Neither the "primary group" of Cooley nor the "familistic relationships" of Sorokin apply readily to rural Iraqi culture. Nor do the "nomadic and sedentary" types of Ibn Khaldun.

Of all the above theoretical constructs it is Tonnies' Gemeinschaft concept that can be applied most easily, readily and clearly to the Iraqi rural society. It is important to note that the three structural elements which are considered as the essentials of a village gemeinschaft (kinship, neighborhood, and unity of mind and spirit) are existent in rural southern Iraq. The peasant society of southern Iraq is very homogeneous. The peasants here have a strong sense of solidarity. Mutual aid is a duty among them "given without thought of accurately calculated compensation."¹⁷ Furthermore, among the southern peasants of Iraq there is one accepted religion, "one code of custom and morality, one dialect, and a common store of material culture traits such as house-types, dress and patterns in furniture, tools and belongings."¹⁸

¹⁶Ibid., p. 294.

¹⁷Heberle, op. cit., p. 208.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 208-209. See also Ferdinand Tonnies, Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)

THE NATURE OF LAND TENURE PROBLEMS

Land tenure problems are among the most crucial problems which people face everywhere. They can be understood in terms of social theories as they deal with social interaction, human attitudes, behavior, and group actions.

The "conditions that prevent maximum efficiency in production,"¹⁹ and make for "ill-kept homes and farm buildings,"²⁰ are tenure problems. They cannot be adequately studied and evaluated without considering their social impact.

The most significant land tenure problem in Iraq and many underdeveloped countries is the concentration of land in a few hands. One of the consequences of this problem is the undesirable living conditions of the peasants, including poor housing, inadequate diet, and poverty. The large holdings or latifundium are regarded by some writers as an obstacle to the improvement of conditions of the peasants. This obstacle is "fatal for economic and social progress,"

(translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis; East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State University Press, 1957).

¹⁹Bertrand, Rural Sociology, p. 186.

²⁰Smith, op. cit., p. 291.

and "antisocial in the sense that it does not fulfill the function of producing sufficient food products for the subsistence of the people."²¹ In some parts of the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America the landless agricultural workers are at the mercy of the large landowners. In these areas great social and political power is attached to land ownership and political stability is very closely related to social and economic inequalities.

Summing up, land tenure is a complex subject. Land tenure problems are, in a broad sense, social problems. Although tenure studies revolve around these problems, more sociological research is needed to understand them fully. It is hard to believe that there is not a single text in sociology on these specific problems, written from the theoretical point of view. It is hoped that in the near future more theoretically oriented research will be conducted in this significant area.

²¹Moises Poblete Troncoso, "Socio-Agricultural Legislation in the Latin-American Countries," Rural Sociology, V (March, 1940), 9-10.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF LAND TENURE IN IRAQ

Social problems arising out of land ownership have a long history in that part of the world known as present-day Iraq. A brief historical review sets the stage for understanding these problems.

The Ancient Iraq

Babylonian land was fertile and rich. Fifteen hundred years after Hammurabi's time, the Greek Herodotus wrote that the "soil of Babylonia yielded wheat crops of two hundred to three hundred times the land."¹

About four thousand years ago, in the reign of Hammurabi, Babylonian records testify to the existence of a land ownership issue. Those documents reveal that the types of land ownership at that time were as follows:

1. Private ownership.
2. Tribal or collective ownership.

¹See C. V. Van Sickle, A Political and Cultural History of the Ancient World (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), I, 53.

3. Religious ownership.

Private ownership, especially the crown property and the land owned by nobles, continued to dominate. The law of Hammurabi distinguished between private possession and ilku possessions. "The latter, granted by the king by way of reward for public service, could be neither sold nor seized, nor mortgaged, nor transmitted on any terms whatsoever except to the male heir, and on condition of the fulfilment of the appropriate duties."²

Tribal or collective ownership existed in the time of Kassites (2000 B.C.) and also during 1500-1200 B.C. This type of land ownership is evident from the purchase contracts of that time. The tribes (bitu) were organized collectively for the purpose of tilling and irrigating the land.

It is only with the rise of the great Sumerian dynasties that the third type of tenure patterns, religious ownership, came into being. Supposedly religious land belonged to the temple only, but actually it belonged to the King.

²L. Delaporte, Mesopotamia, The Babylonian and Assyrian Civilization (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), p. 101. Translated by V. Gordon Childe.

Hammurabi stamped in clay the rules and regulations concerning land ownership. The Code of Hammurabi dealt with the relationship between the people and the land. Hammurabi, who was definitely responsible for the distribution of the land, created a landed aristocracy. The land was largely in the hands of the crown, nobles and merchants. The slaves comprised a large percentage of the population; they were responsible, mainly, for the cultivation of the private land.

Urukagina, the Sumerian prince of Ligish, led a revolt for redistribution of lands and sought to protect the agricultural laborers from exploitation by the landowners.

The period extending from 1200 to 1000 B.C. corresponds to the phase of political domination of the Assyrians. In Babylonia the slaves were attached to the land. There is no other recorded evidence of land problems during this period. As far as is known, the Assyrians developed an agricultural system which relied principally on rainfall.

The Islamic Period

The Arabs occupied Iraq in 641 A.D. They refrained from interfering with the prevailing conditions of farm management, and allowed the existing peasantry to remain on

its land and even encouraged continuance of accustomed activities.³ The right of tenancy in this period has been established as follows:

1. Kharaj Land: In the countries conquered peacefully, the land which belonged to non-Muslim people was left in their possession, provided that these landowners paid the Karaj or jizyah (land-tax).

2. Ushr⁴ Land: In the countries conquered through warfare, the land was divided among the Muslim people unless the owner of the land adopted Islam. In this instance, one-tenth of the revenues must be paid. The revenues from ushr (tithe) were devoted to the zakat (alms for the poor people). These revenues cannot be bestowed.

It was mandatory that the Karaj tax (up to half the amount of the produce) be paid to Bait al-Mal (treasury).

The state gave the Karaj lands to the army officers instead of pay "because the settlement is easy in this case."⁵

³Alfred Bonne, State and Economics in the Middle East (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1948), p. 113.

⁴Ushr means tithe. See A. Fahmi, A Report on Iraq (Based on an official report submitted to the Ministry of Finance). Baghdad, 1926), pp. 28-29.

⁵See The Encyclopedia of Islam (Leyden, Holland: Late E. J. Brill Ltd., 1927), II.

Al Mawardi in his book Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyah (Constitutional Law) pointed out that granting Karaj lands was especially suitable for the military officers. And in actuality the military fiefs did develop from it.

Soldiers and amiers (princes) were given the rents either as a guarantee of their pay or as part of it. When the rent came in with increasing irregularity, they were gradually given the estates themselves. This state of affairs lasted about 130 years from the time of Buyids to the reign of Sultan Malik Shah (465-485 = 1072-1092) under the administration of his visier (minister) Nizam al Mulk. The latter distributed the estates as fiefs to the troops and allotted them as revenue and income. The Suldjuks introduced an innovation inasmuch as they made the fiefs hereditary in return for military service.⁶

The lands which were not divided among the Muslim soldiers or did not have any possessor or heirs became the property of the state. These lands are called "Aradhi Ameeriyah."

The uncultivated land (mawat) might be granted to the people if they promised to cultivate it, irrigate it, and never neglect it. If they neglected to cultivate the land, it could be seized from them "at the close of three years" unless they gave satisfactory reasons for their neglect. At any rate, during these three years they paid

⁶See The Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. II. See also Fuad Baali, Social and Ethical Philosophy of Ikwan al-Safa (Baghdad: al-Ma'rif Press, 1958), p. 25. (In Arabic.)

nothing to the government. Otherwise, they were granted the land on a long lease. They had the right to dispose of it, but were required to pay a certain amount of money to the government in the event they did.

During the Abbassi Period, particularly between A.D. 750-A.D. 1257, the classification of land became as follows:

1. King's or Caliph's estates: Private lands.
2. Feudal estates: Lands granted by the Caliph to the civil and military officers in return for their services.
3. Common lands (musha'a): Lands are common to the public (i.e., parks), but in reality they belonged to the state.
4. Religious trust lands (waqf): This trust was held for private and public benefits.
5. Mulk (private land): Land other than the Caliph's estates.

The Mongolian Period

In A.D. 1258 the Mongols invaded Iraq. This period was characterized by chaos, destruction, hunger, and extreme poverty. The desert Bedouins encroached on the rural lands. Clashes between Iraqi tribes and the Mongols or among different Iraqi tribes occurred from time to time over the use and

control of the agricultural land. In fact, Iraq has not yet well recovered from the deterioration and corruption which became nascent during the Mongolian occupation and was nurtured by it.

* * *

In the time of Sultan Kala'un (A.D. 1279-1290), lands were granted as fiefs to the guards of his palace, and also to many civil and military officials. Abuses prevailed in the granting and redistribution of the land. The consequences were: a few princes and other members of the Sultan's family "got hold of very large estates and introduced a latifundies system."⁷

This period lasted until A.D. 1508, and was subsequently followed by Persian occupation. This occupation was marked by the same problems of land tenure and constant clashes between the local tribes.

⁷The Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. II. For more information on the land tenure problems in the Islamic period and Mongolian occupation period, see Al-Kawarizmi: Mafateeh Al-Illum (Cairo: 1919-1922); Miskawaih, Tajarib Al-Umam (Cairo: 1920-1921); Al-Sabi (Abu Is'hak), Rasail Al-Sabi (Lebanon: II, 1898); Al-Sabi (Hilal), Tuhfat Al-Umara'a bi-Tarik Al-Wizara'a (Beirut, Lebanon: 1904); Yakut, Mujam Al-Buldan, 1866-1870; Ibn Al-Atheer, Al-Kamil Fee al-Tarik (Leden: 1851-1876), Hassan Mohammad Ali, Land Reclamation and Settlement in Iraq (Baghdad, 1955).

The Ottoman Period

The Ottomans, like the Mongolians, were a military dynasty. When the Ottomans occupied Iraq in 1534, some Turkish Sultans claimed a part of the conquered lands as their property. In the main, the Ottoman Empire consisted of military fiefs.

In 1857 the Ottoman government classified lands into:

1. Musha'a (Public domain).
2. State lands.
3. Waqf lands (Religious trust lands).
4. Private lands.
5. Waste or uncultivated lands.

In 1858 the Ottoman government sought the elimination of intermediaries between the government and the cultivators. The purpose behind this step was to reduce the power of the shaikhs. However, this attempt was fruitless and aided the shaikhs to gain more lands and increase their power.

The year 1863 can be considered as the beginning of land reform. The governor of Baghdad, Namiq Pasha, attempted to break the tribal power. His attempt was successful in some places; and some shaikhs lost their status as land-

owners. During this period, Madhat Pasha came to Iraq as wali (governor) and reformer. Madhat attempted to solve the problem of land by his firman (code) of 1868. The main articles in this code are:

1. That the cultivated lands having river-water supply within the vilayets (provinces) of Basrah and Baghdad, which have become Government lands on account of the extinction of the offspring and kins of most of their owners and tenants shall be transferred and given over (by auction) to persons desiring to possess them.

2. That owing to the vastness of the lands, this privilege shall also include the Government officials provided that the land is taken by them for the purpose of cultivation.

3. That, in case where they are far from the cultivated area or lack the supply of river-water, these lands shall be freely given and transferred to persons desiring to cultivate them.

4. That the conditions by which such transactions are carried out shall be based on the principle that the costs of the works of re-digging and re-cleaning the canals by which such lands are irrigated must be borne by the person who offers to possess them, or that such expenses, in the first instance, must be defrayed by the Public Treasury and thereafter any subsequent cleaning expenses to be met by the owners of the lands themselves.⁸

These articles and several other regulations failed to solve the problem of land ownership. Moreover, Madhat

⁸See Fahmi, op. cit., pp. 29-30. Also, Phillip Hitti, History of the Arabs (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 738; Bonne, op. cit., pp. 190-91.

Pasha and many other previous governors could not achieve the submission of the tribal shaikhs.

In 1880 and 1891 the Ottoman government issued two Imperial Ottoman Iradas (codes). The first concerned the prohibition of further grants in tapu⁹ tenure, and the other abrogated the right of acquisitive prescription of such tenure. These Codes were useless because of the impracticability of applying such tenure under the confused conditions of unstable southern Iraq.

From 1883 to 1908 Sultan Abdul Hameed purchased vast agricultural lands. These lands called Sanniyah (Crown Lands) were administrated by his private Treasury. In 1908 these lands were transferred to the state when the Abdul Hameed regime was abolished.

In 1908 Sir William Willcocks was engaged by the Ottoman government to study the irrigation system in Iraq.¹⁰ This step was probably the greatest accomplishment of the Ottoman government.

⁹Tapu a Turkish word meaning a certificate (or a right) given by the government, showing that a person owns certain land.

¹⁰See Sir William Willcocks, The Irrigation of Mesopotamia (London: Spon, 1917).

In brief, the Ottoman conquerors did not attempt seriously to solve the land tenure problems. In fact, the confused state of the land tenure system was created by the Ottoman government. There were not any serious reforms because the Sultans and Governors were more interested in collecting taxes. These taxes were generally very heavy and created tense relations between the conquerors and the native people. Bonne believes that "the great State reforms attempted by the Ottoman rulers failed owing to a lack of understanding, and often also to the actual resistance of the Oriental feudal class."¹¹ This statement is true, but he forgot to add that most of the Ottoman rulers were hostile to the landowners. Besides, they were not neutral, for they destroyed the land documents and cooperated with only a few big landowners. This includes Madhat Pasha, the reformer, who sold the lands to the "feudal class" and aided in creating a new power in Iraq--the tribal shaikhs.

The British Period

During 1917-1918 British troops occupied Iraq. The British Government not only maintained the confused state

¹¹Bonne, op. cit., p. 125.

which characterized the land tenure system left by the Ottomans, but also encouraged the absentee landlords and the tribal shaikhs of the rural areas to strengthen their power by claiming they had the rights to the lands they used. Moreover, some shaikhs were given high positions in the administrations although they were not qualified for such incumbencies. Furthermore, in order to carry out their Colonial policy, the British created a new civil law which was designed to settle the tribal disputes. This step was undoubtedly one of the worst things done by the British. For Iraq had until very recently two constitutions: one for the tribes and the other for the rest of the people. The consequences of this tribal law will be discussed in Chapter VII.

The claim by the British that the settlement of land titles in Iraq cannot be solved unless adequate study of the land tenure system be made cannot be accepted. During the fifteen years of their occupation, 1917-1920, and the Mandatory, 1920-1932, the British did not make any serious effort to settle the problems of land tenure system in Iraq. This was the case because such reform might endanger their colonial policy and their control over Iraq. For this reason they were dependent upon the tribal feudal system,

and this explains why the British maintained this confused state of land tenure until they declared the independence of Iraq in 1932.

CHAPTER VI

LAND TENURE IN SOUTHERN IRAQ

In agrarian societies land tenure is one of the most important rural social organizations. In southern Iraq the land tenure system is very complex, and the land problems are very acute. Confusion arising with respect to the land rights and the resulting insecurity are the main characteristics of the land tenure system. Moreover, the large absentee landowners were very powerful under the Ottoman and British controls. Under the new Kingdom, they continued to increase in number and influence.

Hence, the problem of southern Iraq is the feudal-like character of the land tenure system. The concentration of large holdings in a few hands is a significant factor responsible for the major problems existing in the Iraqi society.

Iraq as an Agricultural Country

Iraq is predominantly an agricultural country. It is estimated that almost three-fourths of the population depend for their livelihood on the produce of the land.

Although this country has rich land and an abundant water supply, the agricultural productivity is low; it is lower than that of many other Arab countries. The reasons underlying the low productivity are: (1) the fact that vast amounts of the land (about 4,000,000 acres in the southern irrigation zone) are still uncultivated and (2) the land tenure system. In 1931 Dowson wrote:

It proved to be common knowledge that the tenure of some four-fifths of the cultivated land in the country was not governed by law, was not amenable to the jurisdiction of the Courts, and was not regulated in any methodical way at all. It was also common knowledge that the land law was defective and uncertain in its application to the other fifth.¹

According to an official source, the land planted with crops in 1956 amounted to somewhat over 10,000,000 donums,² i.e., about 40 per cent of the total agricultural holdings area. Nearly 44 per cent remained fallow during the year. The uncultivable land amounted to 10 per cent, and the land which was utilized for growing fruit trees and vines amounted to 2 per cent; pasture land consisted of

¹Dowson, op. cit., p. 5.

²One donum covers an area of 2,500 sq. metres or 0.618 acres.

about 4 per cent. Woodlands covered slightly over one per cent.³

TABLE IV
LAND UTILIZATION IN IRAQ, 1956

Nature of Utilization	Donum
Area planted during the year	10,108,118
Area lying fallow during the year	11,178,594
Uncultivable land	2,577,077
Fruit trees and vines	512,651
Pasture	923,465
Woodlands	207,230
Total	25,507,135

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1956, p. 83.

Warriner states: "It is water, not land, which is lacking in Iraq," for she supported this proposition on the basis of Sir William Willcoks⁴ and Ahmed Soussa's findings. Willcoks considered that the amount of land which could be

³See Government of Iraq, Statistical Abstract, 1956 (Baghdad, 1957), p. 83.

⁴Willcoks, op. cit.

cultivated in the irrigation zone would be 7,410,000 acres. Soussa, the former Director General of Irrigation in Iraq, estimated the total winter crop land area "with the existing water supplies" at 3,900,000 acres, "an increase of one million acres on the present area cropped."⁵ It is apparent that Willcoks and Soussa emphasized the significance of irrigation for the increase of production. Moreover, it is well known that Iraq has an abundance of water, but the water is a hindrance in certain areas due primarily to poor drainage. It is true, however, that water is very essential to Iraq, and that agricultural development depends to a large extent on water.

Land Settlement

After the withdrawal of the Ottomans and the British in the first half of this century, the new state of Iraq found that many land registers were either destroyed or lost. To cope with this chaotic state of land registration, the government invited Sir Ernest Dowson to study this problem. In his report to the government he suggested that in order

⁵Doreen Warriner, Land and Poverty in the Middle East (London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1948), p. 102.

to insure greater security of tenure, an office of land settlement must be established.

RELATION OF LAND SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT
TO LAND TENURE

As a result of Dowson's suggestion, the government of Iraq passed, through its Parliament, Law No. 50 of 1932, concerning the land settlement. This was later replaced by Law No. 29 of 1938 and its Amendments. This Law recognizes the following types of tenure:

1. Mulk (private) land: Land held in absolute private ownership. It is private because a person does not have only the right of absolute ownership (raqabah), but also usufruct rights (tasaruf). The allocation of land under this tenure type was 223,264 donums in 1955.
2. Matroukah land: Unreclaimed land, usually reserved for public purposes. In 1955, the total area under this category was 3,928,115 donums.
3. Waqf lands: Religious trust land. This land was held for private and public benefits; there were 765,915 donums of this type of tenure in 1955.
4. Miri (government) land: There are three types of government lands:

a. Miri tapu: land held in permanent tenure. The government grants the right of usufruct, but it retains the right of absolute ownership.

b. Miri lazmah: land held under the same conditions as miri tapu, with the exception that under this tenure the government has the absolute right to veto the transfer of land if the government realizes it may disturb the peace. Actually, the government uses this veto to prevent the transfer of tribal land to people other than tribesmen.

c. Miri sirf: vacant or idle land. This category includes also lands which are not covered by the other types.

Actually, this Law was based on the Ottoman Code of 1858, which recognized five categories of land (see Chapter V). As far as the waqf tenure is concerned, there is a controversy as to whether or not it should be abolished. The origin of this type of tenure is attributed to Omar, the companion of Prophet Mohammed, who left vast areas of the conquered territories to the Muslim community (as a whole) for religious purposes. The great number of abuses and the corruption in the administration of waqf, the restriction and opposition of waqf to reform or change, and the

TABLE V

LAND CLASSIFIED IN SOUTHERN IRAQ ACCORDING TO TYPES OF TENURE
BY CADASTRAL SURVEY UP TO FEBRUARY 8, 1951

Cultivable Land (in donum)

Province	Total area of Province	Area Classified						
		Mulk	Matrukah	Waqf	Miri-Tapu	Miri-Lazmah	Miri-Sirf	Total
Amarah	7,496,800	--	--	22	7,991	47,043	1,914,865	1,969,921
Muntafiq	5,832,400	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Diwaniyah	5,981,600	28	92	--	187,791	840,588	307,405	1,335,905
Basrah	4,908,400	63,067	--	15,181	84,576	3,041	61,608	227,473
Kut	6,208,325	66	--	203	618,974	1,595,466	2,535,439	4,750,149

TABLE VI

LAND CLASSIFIED IN SOUTHERN IRAQ ACCORDING TO TYPES OF TENURE BY
 CADASTRAL SURVEY UP TO FEBRUARY 8, 1951

Uncultivable Land (in donum)

Province	Total area of Province	Area Classified						Total
		Mulk	Matrukah	Waqf	Miri-Tapu	Miri-Lazmah	Miri-Sirf	
Amarah	7,496,800	258	9,271	57	202	7,595	836,648	854,032
Muntafiq	5,832,400	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Diwaniyah	5,981,600	8	23,924	2	31,578	98,093	75,474	229,081
Basrah	4,908,400	4,447	21,372	441	6,613	113	748,587	781,575
Kut	6,208,325	20	54,148	192	127,504	152,311	1,124,000	1,458,176

continuous reduction of the importance and significance of the religious motives of this type of tenure, led many people to believe that it is useless to demand the secularization of waqf property. Actually, rapid decline in waqf tenure appears inevitable, for this type of holding is no longer deemed as desirable as mulk category lands.

Land Survey

The mere classification of land for purpose of settlement is not enough. It is significant, however, to have a dependable land record. This record will help to define and locate lands unambiguously, not only for land surveyors but for landowners as well. The government of Iraq has realized that settlement cannot be accomplished without the delimitation of boundaries, definition of areas of land, and localization of the rights of people to the land. It should be kept in mind that the Ottoman regime did not undertake a survey, or even an inspection of the land. When the British occupied Iraq, the Land Survey Department was a military department. In 1920, this Department was transferred to the government of Iraq. Until then, the Department was controlled by Indian personnel. Within recent years the government has gradually replaced the Indians by Iraqis who have been trained

by them.

Although the Survey Department was not well equipped and staffed for map making, however, in 1922, there were 37,139 copies of maps. This number increased to 113,485 copies in 1930.⁶ It is required by law that, following the completion of a survey, duplicate copies of the survey must be placed on file and kept in the Survey Department.

Only 1,206 square kilometres had been surveyed in 1922. By 1930, 34,000 square kilometres had been surveyed.

Dowson has pointed out that "the survey framework of the country is in a very unsatisfactory condition." He recommended that a detailed cadastral survey be required to make the land tenure and land revenue systems more satisfactory. He also stated that,

Only on the basis of such a survey can the unqualified stability and security of tenure be attained which is required to stimulate the development and productive capacity of the country fully.⁷

Dowson, however, believed that "the Survey Department is rightly recognized to be a specialist scientific service,

⁶Great Britain, Progress of Iraq During the Period 1920-1931 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931), pp. 202-203.

⁷Dowson, op. cit., p. 40.

and good work has been done in organizing and equipping it for its duties."⁸

After Dowson submitted his report to the government, land surveys of 78,913,857 donums were completed by 1956. The claim and complaints of the Survey Department that "it has not enough surveyors for its works" does not appear to be sound. The fact is that after the passage of the Land Settlement Law in 1932, four committees of settlement were established. The number of committees, branches, and even the scope of operations continued to increase. Until 1956, there were 17 committees distributed in all the provinces of Iraq, with the exception of Kut and Hillah (where the settlement was already completed). Thus, the question is not the number of surveyors but the adequacy of the survey. It was understood when the Survey Department was established that its primary duty was to assist the government in carrying out the plan of land reform. One of the main features of the Land Settlement Law of 1932 was the introduction of lazmah tenure. Supposedly, this form of tenure was designed to "recognize the prescriptive

⁸Ibid., p. 64.

TABLE VII

AREA OF LAND THE SETTLEMENT OF WHICH WAS COMPLETED
BY THE END OF 1956 (IN DONUM)

Year	Mulk	Matruka	Waqf	Miri granted in Tapu	Miri granted in Lazmah	Miri Sirf	Total
1933-1943	108,576	564,918	324,572	3,633,628	4,892,827	12,183,370	21,707,891
1944	8,223	148,709	14,104	409,535	439,420	3,049,647	4,069,638
1945	1,577	103,972	16,712	309,516	382,527	923,091	1,737,395
1946	6,622	174,830	39,855	1,059,573	401,663	1,404,949	3,087,492
1947	4,897	176,754	30,403	930,955	344,263	2,898,550	4,385,822
1948	5,998	117,060	67,323	687,735	354,087	7,086,542	8,318,745
1949	20,051	141,691	21,010	897,530	554,351	1,113,857	2,748,490
1950	4,481	353,049	76,951	888,140	424,257	3,028,427	4,775,305
1951	7,038	301,840	77,857	969,911	876,637	3,718,471	5,951,754
1952	47,944	413,451	30,650	517,224	828,111	2,054,995	3,892,375
1953	8,741	597,881	12,485	617,762	797,307	1,794,198	3,828,374
1954	5,640	736,140	53,676	669,162	691,015	779,185	2,934,818
1955	4,960	567,704	31,156	381,157	329,359	4,226,222	5,540,558
1956	4,227	737,833	43,743	376,525	333,624	4,439,248	5,935,200
General Total	238,975	5,135,832	840,497	12,348,353	11,649,448	48,700,752	78,913,857

Source: Directorate General of Land Settlement.

rights to tribal land." In actuality, the tribesmen have not benefited from this type of tenure, and the only people who have benefited are the shaikhs (heads of tribes) who, later, became the absolute masters of the land.

Registered Tenure

The most important phase of land settlement is the registration of rights to the land. Maps and other evidences are useful, for they give security to the landowners and they facilitate land transactions.

If registration of land rights is to be effective, it must be compulsory. A system of registration of deeds is not an adequate substitute for registration of title, since it does not establish title. The register of deeds is frequently the only public record of existing rights in land even in the more advanced countries.⁹

In Iraq the Tapu (Land Registry) has two main functions:

1. It is primarily concerned with the registration of land ownership. It is also concerned with the recording of all transactions of other immovable property, i.e., mortgages, sales, and so forth.

2. It is further concerned with "the protection of

⁹Renne, op. cit., p. 578.

government lands and the prevention of encroachments upon them."¹⁰

Iraq, however, did not have strong system of land registration before the withdrawal of the Ottoman and the British. The Ottoman authorities considered all the land of Iraq (except private property) as the property of the Ottoman government. In the beginning of their invasion, there had been no general registration. In 1880 and 1892 the Ottoman government issued two firmans (codes) in an attempt to enforce the registration, especially in Basrah and Baghdad. In practice, the Ottoman government failed to apply these codes and many influential individuals, as well as corrupt officials, were able to register vast land in their names.

When the British Army occupied Iraq, it was found that the registration of land had been very defective, principally because of the local Tapu (Land Registry) officials.

The registers were incomplete and the entries were unsupported by any form of surveyed maps. The boundary descriptions of properties, which were used to replace plans and maps, were so vaguely and

¹⁰Great Britain, Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government on the Administration of Iraq for the Year 1925 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926), p. 97.

inaccurately worded that it was frequently impossible to identify the properties concerned with any certainty.¹¹

In spite of all these limitations, the Tapu Department was able to function with the help of aerial photographs. Some progress with mapping and registration was being accomplished.

In 1920 the Tapu Department, with all its defects and problems, was transferred to the Iraqi government. In 1921 the registration of agricultural properties was begun. It was a rule that no transactions would be accepted unless they were supported by a survey and a map. In 1927, the Iraqi government was able, under the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne, to obtain from Turkey over 250,000 photographic copies in order to "make good some of the worst deficiencies in the department's registers."¹²

The work done by the Tapu Department during 1920-1930 is illustrated as follows:

¹¹Special Report, pp. 203-204.

¹²Ibid., p. 204.

TABLE VIII

<u>Survey Section</u>	<u>Donums</u>
Area surveyed	11,407,080
Blue prints issued	12,290
Documents checked	157,618
Gardens and land surveyed	68,809
Houses measured	36,303
Investigations of properties	102,485
Plans for owners	28,858
Traces for prints	1,048
<u>Registration Section</u>	
Agricultural lands	6,446
Foreigners (sales to)	2,388
Inheritances	19,647
Mortgages	45,065
Mortgage redemptions	17,537
Mortgage foreclosures	2,462
New registrations	16,555
Sales	83,271

Source: Special Report, p. 205.

Dowson indicated that land registration in Iraq has never been practicable or systematically attempted. It is not the unreliability of the Tapu (Land Registry) records which is confined to this crucial weakness and impracticability, but also that these records "are commonly out of date, and/or incomplete, and/or conflicting, and/or unintelligible, and/or of questionable validity."¹³ He realized that this state of affairs is generally and rightly "to be mainly a heritage from the past."¹⁴ He believed that there are two decisive external obstacles to the construction and maintenance of an effective register of titles;

The first of these is the obstacle of a dependable cadastral survey. The second obstacle is the absence of practical provision to make the extreme multiplication and subdivision of shares upon inheritance of mulk (freehold) property and tapu holdings economically workable.¹⁵

Thus, it would have been impossible, under these circumstances, to maintain a reliable register of tapu tenure. To permit the tapu Department to perform its intended national function and constitute the general and dependable custodian of land tenure that is needed, Dowson stated:

¹³Dowson, op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁴Loc. cit.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 39.

Not only must its administration and procedure be drastically reformed, but the scope of its operations must be steadily extended until they include at least all privately held land of every recognizable category.¹⁶

For this purpose, he suggested the need for an efficient land register recording clear and unimpeachable rights to definite and locatable parcels of land; and that such register has never existed, does not exist, and cannot be quickly and easily created.¹⁷ Accordingly, the government passed the Land Settlement Law of 1932. This Law gives the government the right to register all properties and to settle titles to land. As a result, there is at present a Directorate of Tapu (Land Registry) in each province of Iraq, and all these offices are ruled by the Directorate General of Tapu located in Baghdad. In 1939, the government passed Law No. 29 of Land Rights Settlement. The purpose of this Law is to protect the exercise of personal property and to stabilize usufruct legally on a permanent basis.

PREDOMINANCE OF LARGE HOLDINGS

The writer firmly believes that the registration of land ownership was one of the main reasons for the creation

¹⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 21-22.

of the feudal-like system in Iraq. Only the shaikhs (the heads of tribes), rather than the tribesmen, benefited from the land registration, for the shaikhs registered the whole tribal land (dirah) in their names. Moreover, they were able to expand their holdings by illegal subterfuges. Furthermore, the granting of tapu tenure was without investigation or consideration of the rights of the tribesmen. As a result, most of the cultivated land of southern Iraq, was held on no legal tenure. The situation can be summarized as follows:

1. The tribes of southern Iraq have been, for a long time, exercising a customary right of land ownership called dirah. The unit of cultivation was the tribe as a whole.

2. The tribal shaikhs opposed registration during the Ottoman occupation, but the Ottoman Laws of 1830 and 1892 forced them to register their tribal land.

3. The Law No. 50 of 1932 (and its amendment--Law No. 29 of 1938) demanded that all people must register the land they possess.

4. The tribesmen were not fully aware of this law, and their shaikhs found an opportunity to register the whole tribal land, solely, in their names.

5. The government has realized this situation. Instead of permitting those shaikhs to register the tribal land in the name of the tribe, the government encouraged them to strengthen their power.

6. The shaikh-tribesmen relations became a relationship of land-share tenants.

7. As a result, the shaikhs became more powerful than at any time before.¹⁸

It should be realized that all lands of Iraq are, theoretically, considered to be the property of the State, but in practice, the situation is otherwise.

¹⁸The term "shaikh" confuses many writers who believe that all the shaikhs are heads of nomadic tribes. See for instance George Harris, Iraq (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1958), pp. 196, 199. I would like here to point out that: (1) the word shaikh means a leader of a group or a tribe, a religious leader, an elder man, and a landlord. In southern Iraq this word has come to mean a landlord, (2) the shaikh in the desert differs extensively from the shaikh of rural areas. The desert shaikh is always with his group, or tribe, and the individuals feel they are equal, believing that the desert, or the land, is for all--not for the few (it is the land of God). In rural areas, the shaikh is the only person among his tribe to own land. In southern Iraq, members of tribes are usually fellaheen (peasants, cultivators); while the shaikh seldom lives with his tribal members. He is, thus, an absentee landlord, and his assistant (sirkal) stays in the village as manager of the shaikh's land.

Probably four-fifths of the cultivable area of the country is in law fully and freely owned by the State and when cultivated held in practice under the general administrative control of its representatives. And even the legal ownership (raqaba) of the balance is vested in the State although, subject to important conditions, its usufructury possession is held on a permanent heritable and assignable tenure. This tenure (known commonly as tapu) is applicable under the provisions of the Land Code to all State land. The Ottoman Administration persistently sought to give effect to these provisions, but failed to do so because the successful operation of this tenure is impossible without an accompaniment of effective survey and land registration, which the Administration were unable to provide. And even if this radical defect had been remedied the application of this advanced tenure would have been premature throughout the majority of the country. So that today--more than half a century after the introduction of the Ottoman Land Code in the country--only a fraction of the cultivated region is somewhat uncertainly held on tapu tenure, while throughout the overwhelming balance, land is for the most part occupied and cultivated on no legal tenure at all.¹⁹

The resulting confusion and disorder in the right of tenancy in southern Iraq led to a deterioration of the economic life of the whole country, and paved the way for political and administrative corruptions, and also for a continuous dispute between the tribes. Fahmi believes that this complicated state of affairs cannot be extricated by means of temporary and administrative measures, but by "the

¹⁹Dowson, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

establishment of well-defined and permanent ruler."²⁰ Actually, the government did not attempt any serious step to solve this problem. In fact, the new Kingdom maintained the land problems, in order to centralize and strengthen its power. The policies of the former Iraqi governments of enlarging big feudal ownership led to the increasing and strengthening the political influence of tribal shaikhs. Some shaikhs were given high positions in the administrations although they were not qualified for such incumbencies. Moreover, most of the strong shaikhs became representatives in the Parliament, and were major obstacles to the development of the country. Because of their domination here, no reform law could be passed if that law endangered their interest and position. Furthermore, the government ignored the fellaheen (cultivators, peasants), by communicating only with their shaikhs. In only a few instances did the government communicate with the fellaheen.

The shaikhs do not fear being threatened unless there is a revolution; otherwise, they are always the masters of the land, and always dominate the government. The revolution of 1936 endangered their interest, particularly when the

²⁰Fahmi, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

authorities tried, by passing a new act in 1938, to weaken the power of the big landlords. But the political situation was changed when Nuri al-Sáid, the last premier, came to power. It was Nuri al-Said who declared that there is no feudalistic system in Iraq, and "the tribal system is patriarchal and the shaikh must be considered as a father to the tribesmen." During his regime the shaikh became stronger than ever; and they continued to be strong and influential until the revolution of July 14, 1958 which endangered their position again.

The Concentration of Holdings in Muntafiq

In Muntafiq Province, only a few influential shaikhs own most of the cultivable land. The most influential individual, in the history of Muntafiq, was Nasser al-Sadun who was the governor of the province. His family has dominated three tribes. Those tribes formed the Confederation of Muntafiq under his leadership. Nasser al-Sadun purchased the whole province from the Ottoman government, and, consequently, the tribesmen were reduced to the position of share-tenants, paying taxes to the shaikhs. The Iraqi government, theoretically, however, never recognized their ownership. This state of affairs created

chaos in this province, and in many cases led the peasants to revolt against al-Sadun.

The Iraqi government attempted in 1929 to settle the disputes over Muntafiq land by passing a law. However, no settlement has been made, and the large holdings continued to be in the hands of a few influential individuals.

Another law which dealt with the land tenure problem in this province was No. 40 of 1952, for the Settlement of the Disputes Concerning State Land in Muntafiq. This Law provided for the compensation of holders of tapu title. This attempt also failed, because the government did not consider making provisions for the rights of the peasants.

According to the Principal Bureau of Statistics in Baghdad, there were 2,500 holdings in Muntafiq in 1952-1953, covering an area of 1,772,692 donums. The average size of the holdings was 709 donums. Large holdings predominated in two administrative sub-divisions of the province: Baṯha and Diwayah. The average size of holdings was 8,953 donums in Baṯha, and 6,517 donums in Diwayah. Large holdings also existed in Qalat Siker, the average size being 3,822 donums.

TABLE IX
 DISTRIBUTION OF HOLDINGS ACCORDING TO SIZE IN
 MUNTAFIQ PROVINCE, IRAQ, 1952-1953

Size group (in donum)	Number of holdings in size group
Under 4	464
4 and under 20	866
20 and under 40	251
40 and under 60	81
60 and under 80	43
80 and under 100	18
100 and under 200	132
200 and under 400	117
400 and under 600	77
600 and under 800	65
800 and under 1,000	37
1,000 and under 2,000	135
2,000 and under 3,000	58
3,000 and under 4,000	39
4,000 and under 5,000	29
5,000 and under 10,000	50
10,000 and under 20,000	26
20,000 and over	12

Source: Principal Bureau of Statistics.

According to the types of land holdings, Tapu and Lazmah were the predominant forms of land tenure.

TABLE X
 NUMBERS OF DONUMS BY LAND CATEGORIES IN
 MUNTAFIQ PROVINCE, IRAQ, 1952-1953

Tapu	803,128 donums
Lazmah	915,666 donums
Other tenures	35,774 donums
Rented lands	18,124 donums
Total	1,772,692 donums

Source: Principal Bureau of Statistics.

The Concentration of Holdings in Amarah

In Amarah, the tribal shaikhs possess most of the cultivable land. To be specific, only four shaikhs held most of the cultivated area; while the rest of the tribesmen were fellaheen who suffered, for many years, from the exploitation of their shaikhs.

In 1952-1953, according to the Principal Bureau of Statistics in Baghdad, there were 483 holdings in Amarah;

TABLE XI
 DISTRIBUTION OF HOLDINGS ACCORDING TO SIZE
 IN AMARAH PROVINCE, IRAQ, 1952-1953

Size group (in donum)	Number of holdings in size of group
Under 4	nil
4 and under 20	20
20 and under 40	31
40 and under 60	15
60 and under 80	13
80 and under 100	3
100 and under 200	52
200 and under 400	44
400 and under 600	24
600 and under 800	14
800 and under 1,000	20
1,000 and under 2,000	58
2,000 and under 3,000	43
3,000 and under 4,000	28
4,000 and under 5,000	18
5,000 and under 10,000	55
10,000 and under 20,000	16
20,000 and over	29

the total area being 3,324,671 donums.²¹ The average size of each holding was 6,884 donums.²² According to the same source, large holdings of 20,000 donums or more were found in each of the administrative sub-divisions of the Province. "Among the 29 holdings in this size group, seven holdings were over 50,000 (donums)." This means that 20.7 per cent of the holdings were 50,000 donums or over. (See Table XI).

According to the types of land holdings, over 97 per cent were rented lands.

TABLE XII

NUMBER OF DONUMS BY LAND CATEGORIES IN
AMARAH, IRAQ, 1952-1953

Tapu	28,858 donums
Lazmah	61,100 donums
Other tenures	nil
Rented lands	3,234,713 donums
Total	3,324,671 donums

²¹This number of donums forms 44.5 per cent of the total area of the province. The rest are either desert, waste lands or marshes.

²²This average is very high comparing with the average size of holding in Basrah of 25 donums in the same year, 1952-1953.

One of the four big landlords in Amarah is the ex-Senator Mohammed al-Araibi who has over 8,000 tribesmen,²³ about 200 of them are members of his own family. The following illustration gives a clear picture of his wealth. When the late King Faisal II visited this province, al-Araibi provided bedding for over 2,500 visitors and others. Meanwhile, thousands of his tribesmen were discontent and living under intolerable conditions.

The discontent of the fellaheen in Amarah led the government to pass Amarah Law No. 42 of 1952. This Law sought the settlement of title, and gave the fellah the right to receive land in his name. The articles of this Law were very flexible; the big landlords rather than the fellaheen eventually benefited from it. They received more cultivable land than they were entitled to. Many fellaheen of Amarah, however, expressed, to the writer, their acceptance of this Law, but as they said, "we would accept the Law if the government acts quickly to distribute the land of Amarah to all peasants and protect them from their landlords' power."

²³Most of the landlords in southern Iraq reckon their position not only by acres but also by fellaheen or pumps, and so forth.

Those fellaheen are quite right, for there was no security at all in the province. A few years ago, when the fellaheen expressed their growing discontent and their demand of security, the big landlords forced the fellaheen to evacuate their huts, and then destroyed all of the huts. This action was one of the reasons for the revolt by the fellaheen in 1952 against their shaikhs; but the latter asked for aid from the police forces. The revolt was suppressed. Many of the fellaheen fled to the cities, especially to Baghdad.

This revolt, and the continuous unrest, were the main reasons for the government to replace the Law of 1952 with the Law for the Distribution of State Lands in Amarah Province No. 53 of 1955.

The Concentration of Holdings in Kut

In Kut, which the writer includes here as one of the southern provinces, there were, in 1952-1953, 1,531 holdings, covering an area of 1,664,676 donums. The average size of holding was 1,087 donums.

According to the Principal Bureau of Statistics, the predominant form of land tenure is the tapu, for almost two-thirds of the land was held on this tenure.

TABLE XIII
 DISTRIBUTION OF HOLDINGS ACCORDING TO SIZE
 IN KUT PROVINCE, IRAQ, 1952-1953

Size of holding (in donum)	Number of holdings in size group
Under 4	46
4 and under 20	34
20 and under 40	11
40 and under 60	17
60 and under 80	14
80 and under 100	20
100 and under 200	1,079
200 and under 400	56
400 and under 600	33
600 and under 800	25
800 and under 1,000	25
1,000 and under 2,000	61
2,000 and under 3,000	25
3,000 and under 4,000	16
4,000 and under 5,000	17
5,000 and under 10,000	23
10,000 and under 20,000	18
20,000 and over	11
Total	1,531

TABLE XIV
 NUMBER OF DONUMS BY LAND CATEGORIES
 IN KUT, 1952-1953

Tapu	1,042,949 donums
Lazmah	391,229 donums
Other tenures	117,562 donums
Rented Lands	112,936 donums
Total	1,664,676 donums

Kut is dominated by two families, or, in other words, by four shaikhs belonging to two different families: that of Balasim and Abdullah al Yaseen, and of Mohammed and Ali Habib al-Ameer. These four men are the absolute leaders of the province.

The former governments have constantly encouraged those shaikhs to strengthen their power, by granting them more land, which simply means that they are ruling more peasants. To illustrate this, the writer presents the following documents:

TABLE XV

STATE LAND GRANTED TO AL-YASSEEN FAMILY

Name and No. of holdings	Size of holding (by donums)	Day of granting
Jamila and Baruk (11)	8,091	Aug. 16, 1937
Garbawiah and Ageebah (12)	14,558	April 11, 1938
Selaimaniah (1)	174,250	Oct. 9, 1939
Rashidiah (14)	9,364	March 18, 1940
Merian (13)	26,213	May 13, 1940

Source: The Iraqi Government Gazette, 1936-1940.
See M. Ali al-Souri Ikta in Kut (Baghdad, 1958), pp. 34-37.

TABLE XVI

STATE LAND GRANTED TO MOHAMMED AL-AMEER*

Name and No. of holdings	Size of holding (by donums)	Day of granting
Abu-Zufer and Abu Hamar (3)	13,056	Nov. 14, 1938
Mateejah and Abu Kumais (1)	14,965	Nov. 14, 1938
Inad and Um al-Fak (1)	12,052	Dec. 26, 1938
Nafeesh and Abu Dakhn (1)	8,661	Dec. 26, 1938
Albu Jabir (1)	12,568	Dec. 26, 1938
Hussainiyah Al-Sharkiyah (1)	16,806	Dec. 26, 1938
Abouki (1)	18,140	Dec. 26, 1938
Abu-Zufer and Abu Hamar (1)	7,069	Dec. 26, 1938
Al-ahdab (1)	10,364	May 15, 1939
Al-tarihiyah (1)	5,274	May 15, 1939
Al-Zahrah (1)	19,880	May 15, 1939
Hussainiyah-Shimaliyah (1)	8,020	May 15, 1939
Al-mizak and al-Jarah (1)	16,478	July 3, 1939
Al-tawawish (1)	13,138	Oct. 9, 1939
Magalta and Slemah (2)	18,991	Oct. 23, 1939

Source: Ibid.

*This is in addition to nearly 163,000 donums which he obtained through encroachment.

TABLE XVII
STATE LAND GRANTED TO ALI AL-AMEER

Name and No. of holdings	Size of holding (in donums)	Day of granting
Al-rageelah (13)	10,353	Nov. 14, 1938
Um-alnabi (15)	13,181	Nov. 14, 1938
Nahr Damuk (29)	4,290	May 15, 1939
Al-Balgah (18)	19,780	Sept.28, 1939
Um-alsidood (19)	13,499	Oct. 16, 1939
Bizayiz al-mizak (20)	17,818	May 13, 1940
Daiblah and abu Kalil and Um-alson (17)	18,495	July 15, 1940
Al-faheel (40)	96,115	Nov. 18, 1940

Source: Ibid.

The four shaikhs were well known to have great power not only over their tribesmen but the government as well. The writer, through field survey and participant observation, was able to obtain some evidences illustrating their power. In Iraq, people, customarily, use soil to pave the roofs of their houses. Al-Yasseen, the powerful shaikh who occupied the whole area surrounding Hay City, prevented people from using the soil for this purpose. When the government attempted to secure some of the soil, from Hay area, for construction purposes, Al-Yasseen refused, and the authorities kept silent, in spite of the fact that the government has the right to the land of this area. Another example: A few years

ago, the government paved one of the streets of Hay City. Al-Yasseen protested against the government action, because, as he claimed, the government did not get his consent. As a result, he built a high fence in the middle of the street to prevent people from using it. The government did not take any serious step to stop him. Actually, according to the cadastral survey, this street should have been 40 metres wide, but the government paved only 6 metres.²⁴

In Kut, as in Amarah and other southern provinces, no fellah could claim or protest against his shaikh, for the latter often resorted to various means of torture.

The income of those shaikhs, as that of most of the landlords in the south, is in the thousands of dinars income bracket. (Each dinar is equivalent to 2.8 dollars.)

The other powerful influential family in this province, Al-Ameer, owns vast land and numerous modern agricultural equipment. The late Crown Prince Abdul Illah chose his bride from this family, and her father became a prince, although he was called before, by some Iraqis, the Second King of the country. An additional illustration of his

²⁴The best cultivated area in the ancient city of Wasit was owned by this family, in spite of the fact that this land is registered in the government Treasury.

influence can be seen by the fact that he forbade the tribesmen on his land to wear the same headdress (Ikal) as he did.

The Concentration of Holdings in Diwaniyah

In 1952-1953, there were 4,595 holdings in this province which covered an area of 2,028,636 donums; the average size holding was 441 donums. But there were 303 holdings of 1,000 donums, and 16 holdings exceeding 20,000 donums. The concentration of large holdings were found in the administrative sub-divisions of Hamzah and Shinafiyah.

TABLE XVIII
DISTRIBUTION OF HOLDINGS ACCORDING TO SIZE IN
DIWANIYAH PROVINCE, IRAQ, 1952-1953

Size of holding (in donum)	Number of holdings in size group
Under 4	325
4 and under 20	1,781
20 and under 40	702
40 and under 60	338
60 and under 80	173
80 and under 100	98
100 and under 200	316
200 and under 400	319
400 and under 600	124
600 and under 800	80
800 and under 1,000	36
1,000 and under 2,000	105
2,000 and under 3,000	59
3,000 and under 4,000	40
4,000 and under 5,000	23
5,000 and under 10,000	39
10,000 and under 20,000	21
20,000 and over	16
Total	4,595

According to the Principal Bureau of Statistics in Baghdad, "over half of the area of holdings was held as Lazmah land" and almost over a third as tapu, as shown in the table below:

TABLE XIX
NUMBERS OF DONUMS BY LAND CATEGORIES,
DIWANIYAH, 1952-1953

Tapu	714,168 donums
Lazmah	1,264,568 donums
Other tenures	15 donums
Rented lands	49,885 donums
Total	2,028,636 donums

The Concentration of Holdings in Basrah

The number of holdings in Basrah, in 1952-1953, was 18,103. This includes an area of 448,233 donums. The table below shows that this is the only province in the south in which nearly 94 per cent of the holdings are less than 20 donums.

TABLE XX
 DISTRIBUTION OF HOLDINGS ACCORDING TO SIZE
 IN BASRAH, IRAQ, 1952-1953

Size of holding (in donums)	No. of holdings in size groups
Under 4	10,614
4 and under 20	6,287
20 and under 40	445
40 and under 60	156
60 and under 80	104
80 and under 100	67
100 and under 200	141
200 and under 400	78
400 and under 600	30
600 and under 800	17
800 and under 1,000	4
1,000 and under 2,000	35
2,000 and under 3,000	4
3,000 and under 4,000	6
4,000 and under 5,000	4
5,000 and under 10,000	16
10,000 and under 20,000	5
20,000 and over	nil

According to the Principal Bureau of Statistics, land held in tapu was predominated among the types of land tenure; but "land held in Lazma was a very small proportion."

TABLE XXI
NUMBERS OF DONUMS BY LAND CATEGORIES
IN BASRAH, 1952-1953

Tapu	220,201 donums
Lazmah	1,730 donums
Other tenures	176,847 donums
Rented lands	49,455 donums
Total	448,233 donums

The tables presented above show that the average size of holding varied greatly from one province to another; the largest holdings are in Amarah (6,884 donums average) and the smallest are in Basrah (25 donums average). (See Table XXII.) In Iraq, there are 104 very large holdings, exceeding 20,000 donums in size, also 168 holdings from 10,000-20,000 donums, and 424 holdings varying from 5,000 to 10,000 donums.

In southern Iraq many problems have resulted from the concentration of large holdings in a few hands, such as

TABLE XXII

NUMBER OF HOLDINGS BY SIZE CATEGORIES, SOUTHERN IRAQ, (IN DONUMS)

Province	Number of small and medium holdings			Number of large holdings			Total holdings
	Very small	Small	Medium	Less than 5,000	5,000-20,000	More than 20,000	
Amarah	66	68	68	181	71	29	483
Muntafiq	1,198	193	194	363	76	12	2,502
Diwanayah	2,821	587	443	343	60	16	4,595
Basrah	6,888	312	108	70	21	--	18,013
Kut	62	1,113	89	169	41	11	1,531

the increase in the power of some tribes at the expense of others. There are many tribes who own no land, for instance: Al-Hameed, al-Sharifat, Ikwailid, and so forth. Additional problems stemming from the concentration of large holdings include the breakdown of the tribal system and the continuous dissatisfaction of the fellaheen because of their low income, poor health and illiteracy. Subsequently, these problems will be discussed in detail. However, relevant to the discussion of tribal shaikh's authority, is the following recorded interview made in 1954 between the writer and one of the southern shaikhs:

The writer: What is your opinion about the land question in Muntifiq?

The shaikh: The problem of land here and everywhere in the south is very complicated; all the governments failed to solve it.

The writer: I know that you are, in comparison to the other shaikhs, a well-educated man. Have you tried to raise the level of living of your fellaheen and to improve their social conditions?

The shaikh: Yes, I did. In order to realize this, you have to observe our dirah (tribal place); but do not give any judgment until you observe other dirahs too.

The writer: Why do the shaikhs not pay any attention to their fellaheen?

The shaikh: The shaikhs, usually, spend most of their time in the city. They do not care since

they live well themselves, and since the fellaheen cannot say anything.

The writer: They cannot say anything! Why?

The shaikh: The contracts between the shaikh and the fellaheen are very hard. They must stay on the land as laborers.

The writer: What do you mean by "very hard" contracts?

The shaikh: The fellah cannot get enough food, enough shelter and in general enough money, so he is obliged to get loans from the money lenders or from the shaikh himself. As a result, he cannot leave the land as long as he is indebted.

The writer: Have you tried to restrict the movement of the fellaheen?

The shaikh: No. I feel that "my" fellah does not need any loan, and his level of living is better than that of "any other" fellah on other lands.

The writer: Does this vast land belong to you only, or to your tribal members as well?

The shaikh: The land was registered, after my father's death, in my name, but "my" fellaheen regard the land as theirs!

The writer: I understand that your father was always quarreling with other tribal shaikhs; do you know what was the reason?

The shaikh: The reason was very evident. Those shaikhs wanted to expand their land at our expense. In comparison to other tribes our tribe is weak. I might add that the government helped those shaikhs. (Silence.)

The writer: You did not mention why the government helped those shaikhs.

The shaikh: I think the government helped the strong shaikhs only in order to centralize its authority.

The writer: Have you raided any other tribes?

The shaikh: Never! I am satisfied.

Following this interview, the writer observed the social and economic conditions of the tribe. Like the other tribes observed, the writer found the same sarifah (hut), the same poverty and the same ignorance. The tribe was not strong, as the shaikh had mentioned, but there were no apparent signs of a reformation on the land. When asked if they liked their shaikh and if they accepted their position, the fellaheen answered without hesitation "yes." But their replies lacked a sense of conviction. However, the writer is convinced, after the investigation, that the tribe did not engage in raiding.

THE SHARE-TENANCY SYSTEM

As it has been noted, the shaikhs were able to register the whole tribal lands in their names only without considering the rights of the tribesmen. Under these conditions, the shaikh-tribesmen relation became a relationship of landlord-share-tenants. Consequently, the share tenancy system became the predominant type of farm operation.

The basic elements in the share-tenancy system are the shaikhs and the fellaheen. Some writers confuse the tribal nomadic Bedouins of the desert and the tribal fellaheen of the rural areas. Bonne, who has written books and articles on the Middle Eastern economy, states that in the southern part of Iraq "tillage was carried on predominantly by the nomad tribes. . . ." ²⁵ Harris also made the same mistake by describing the landlords in the rural areas as "the shaikhs of the more powerful nomadic tribes to acquire use title to huge tracts of territory." ²⁶ The tribal structure of southern Iraq is divided into two main segments: that of the unsettled tribes of the Bedouin nomads who live in the desert, moving from pasture to pasture, ²⁷ and the settled tribes who live in rural areas, cultivating the land. It is true, however, that a large number of peasants here were originally nomadic Bedouins, who, because of the hardships of the desert, have migrated to rural areas.

The most significant features of the land tenure

²⁵Bonne, op. cit., p. 190.

²⁶Harris, op. cit., p. 196. Also pp. 195, 197.

²⁷The people of the desert are called Bedu (singular, Bedoui) which derives from Badiyah (desert).

system in Iraq are enumerated in Law No. 28 of 1933 Governing the Rights and Duties of Cultivators. The Law consists of 52 articles regarding the duties of the landlord, his agent (sirkal), and the fellaheen.

The rights and duties of the landlord are: determining a suitable land to be used for cultivation, giving the fellah the amount of seeds needed, the right to use irrigation facilities, and also discussing with the fellah methods of farming (such as ploughing, threshing and winnowing).

The rights and duties of the fellah are: sowing and harvesting (and protecting) the crops; and also accepting suggestions from the landlord or his agent (sirkal).

The rights and duties of the sirkal, who has been defined by this Law as the person who organizes the tribesmen on a share-tenancy basis, are: to follow the arrangements made between the landlord and the fellah, and to direct the latter and cooperate with him in protecting the crops.

This Law gave the shaikhs great authority over the fellaheen, for the suggestions, recommendations, and decisions concerning cultivation and employment are actually determined by the shaikhs.

According to this Law, the fellah is a sharecropper, and he should receive half of the produce. It was known some

years ago that each of the fellah and the shaikh receives 40 per cent of the produce. The remaining 20 per cent is divided between the government and the sirkal and other agricultural workers.

The government's share, which is, in fact, a tax, was 45 per cent of the produce before the British occupation and was reduced later to 30 per cent. Then Law No. 73 of 1936 regulated the amount of the government's share according to the area of cultivation, i.e., 10 per cent in the south (irrigated zone), and 5 per cent in the north (rain-fed zone). Usually, either the shaikh or the sirkal collects the government share of the produce. This produce is sold and the government receives the money. Tax collectors make profit from both the government and the fellaheen.

The sirkal takes his share from the shaikh as well as from the fellah. The fellah may pay 10-15 per cent of his share to the sirkal, as in Muntafiq province.

After the government and sirkal receive their shares, the landlord should get half of the produce. Actually, he receives three-fifths or two-thirds of the produce, depending on the use of irrigation implements which he supplies the fellah, and also on his power and authority. The more powerful the shaikh, the larger the share he receives. It is

obvious that the shaikh did not follow the law (Law Determining the Share of the Cultivator in the Produce of Land) which prohibited him from taking more than 50 per cent of the produce.

The fellah's share is one-third or two-fifths of the produce. The Report of a Mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at the request of the government of Iraq shows that "when the land is pump-irrigated, the fellah's share is generally only two-sevenths or three-sevenths of the crops."²⁸

In spite of this small share, and the fact that he exerts much effort in cultivating the land, the fellah has to pay the following contributions:

Some of his share to the shaikh's agent (sirkal).

The wage of the coffee man who serves the shaikh.

Special levies to cover the coffee expenses for the shaikh's guests.

The wage of the shaikh's guard.

Part of the wage of the shaikh's secretary.

Some of his share to the Sayid (religious man).

²⁸I. B. R. D., The Economic Development of Iraq (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1952), p. 143. In contrast with the south, the peasant in the north usually receives 90-95 per cent of the winter crops.

Some sheep, or their value in currency to the shaikh for using his land. (The case in al-Rifái in Muntafiq province.)

One meal a day for the agricultural workers who move the crops from the cultivation area to the threshing floor.

Some of his share to the shaikh for keeping up the canals which irrigate the cultivation area.

These unofficial taxes or contributions are called bartil.

Besides, the fellah is responsible for any damage to the crops, whether the damage is natural or man-made. For this reason, and in order to protect his shaikh, the fellah has to buy a rifle. (Some shaikhs sell rifles--on their own terms--to the peasants).

These illegal contributions leave the fellaheen always in debt.

Some of the fellaheen in Muntafiq, when they were interviewed by the writer, expressed their conviction that debt is one of the great problems they face almost always. When they were asked regarding the origin of their debt, the fellaheen agreed that after paying the rent to the shaikh, there was practically nothing left on which to live until the next harvest. Usually, the fellah gets a loan from the shaikh or his agent. If they refused, then he may go to the

moneylenders who are usually found in rural areas. Because of the small share they receive, the heavy illegal contribution or taxes they pay to the landlords and their agents and others, and the occasional bad crops due to natural damage or disease, they often find themselves unable to pay their debt. Moreover, because the Agricultural Bank cannot give a loan to the fellaheen, since they are unable to offer security (of mortgages); they have to turn again to the shaikhs, their agents, or the moneylenders.

Usury is forbidden by Islam. Law No. 28 of 1933 Governing the Rights and Duties of Cultivators also prohibited the "claim of an interest," and any credit must be free of interest. Therefore, the landlords or the moneylenders advance money against the crops. The "interest" in this case is seldom less than 50 per cent of the crops, and it may exceed 150 per cent, which simply means that the fellah cannot escape from the lenders. The fact is many fellaheen live and die under debt. They do not realize (when they get loans) that they will be one day tied to the land. The movement of the indebted fellaheen is absolutely restricted by Law No. 28 of 1933. Article 15 states that the landlord has the full power and right to keep the fellaheen on the land as long as they are indebted. The fellaheen

may be indebted to more than one at a time. This state of affairs forces the fellaheen into a state of virtual serfdom and to the position of serf-tenants.

Because of the shaikh's resistance to any reform, and the fact that he has complete domination over the fellaheen, the latter did not have the "right" to form unions in order to protect their rights and interest on the land. Abdul Razzak al-Hilali believes that there are two reasons for the absence of such unions in rural areas: (1) the small share of the fellah, (2) the ignorance of the shaikh of the significance of such unions.²⁹ This is not true. Actually, the small share is the main reason which encourages the fellaheen to form unions in order to defend their rights, and to prevent the injustice on the land; but the shaikhs, who are, however, not ignorant of the consequences of such unions prevent the fellaheen from doing so.

Under such circumstances it is difficult to improve the status of the fellah. Warriner wrote in 1957: "Without an expropriation of the very large holdings no legislation can succeed, for the problem of reform is problem of

²⁹Nadharat fi Islah il-Rif (Reflections on Rural Reform), (Beirut: Dar al-Kashaf Press, 1954), pp. 111-12 (in Arabic).

political power. Iraq needs serf emancipation."³⁰

The big shaikh landlords pay no tax on land, and the majority of them do not pay income tax. In spite of the changes in taxation which benefited these shaikhs, they insisted on refusing to pay taxes. The former governments did not take serious measures to inforce them to pay taxes. In 1954, when the government submitted a bill requiring landlords to repay (in installments) the cost of drainage work which affected their lands, the bill was rejected by the Senate, where large landowners predominated.

It is true that the fellah is not a tenant in the sense that this word is used in the United States or in other parts of the Western World. The land to be planted, the quantity or quality of seed to be sown, the time of sowing and harvesting, the methods of plowing and watering, and so forth, all are decided by the shaikh landlords or their agents, who also control the irrigation facilities. The sharecropper fellaheen, thus, are laborers, and instead of a fixed wage they receive a very small proportion of the crops of the land they cultivate.

³⁰Doreen Warriner, Land Reform and Development in the Middle East (London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1957), p. 157.

One would expect under the share-tenancy system some advantages for both, landowner and tenant, for such a system is dependent on mutual cooperation. This would especially be true in time of depression or in bad crop years. However, the system in southern Iraq is defective in this sense as follows:

1. There is a lack of cooperation between the shaikh landlord and the sharecropper fellah. For instance, instead of sharing equally the loss of or damage to crops, the fellah has to assume sole responsibility for this damage, whether it is caused by nature or raiding of Bedouin tribes or by any other means.

2. The share-tenancy system gives the landlord and his agent a say in arranging the contract (i.e., determining the kind and quality of seed to be sown, the time of sowing, and so forth).

3. The fellah has a very low status and almost always is near the level of serfdom.

4. The system is an obstacle to the agricultural development of Iraq because:

- a. Most of the landlords supply the "tenant" with bad seed.

- b. The system discourages the fellah from

improving land, for the landlord usually gives the fertile lands to whom he chooses. Consequently it is seldom that a fellah cultivates the same plot of land from one year to the next.

c. The system discourages the fellah from practicing good management such as fertilizing, since he realizes that the majority of the produce will belong to someone else.

d. There is a lack of implements, machinery, and capital necessary to operate a farm efficiently.

5. Because of the small share of the fellah, he is obliged to use the labor of his wife and children.

6. The system restricts social and economic progress and leads to the destruction of the national wealth:

a. The shaikh landlord does not care to improve the land since he always receives its revenue and since he spends most of his time in the city. Moreover, he is ignorant about the agricultural activities on his land.

b. The fellah exists in a state of hopelessness; he realizes that the system is always contributing to the meagerness of his income and his very low status.

The Dispute Over the Land

The problem of the right of tenancy in southern Iraq has created another problem: the continuous disputes and quarrels between the tribes. The main reason for these quarrels is that the shaikhs always seek to expand their holdings at the expense of their neighbors. In some cases the dispute may be decided under the Tribal Civil and Criminal Disputes Regulations. This happens if the dispute disturbs public security. In actuality all of these disputes and quarrels affect the public security. "The Arabs are not quarrelsome; but, when any dispute happens to arise among them, they make a great deal of noise."³¹ These quarrels between the tribes are usually bloody.

Land disputes began during the Ottoman occupation and increased during the British occupation and the Iraqi Monarchy regime. One of the early quarrels occurred in Muntafiq between the al Sadun tribes (under Shaikh Sulaiman al-Mansoor al-Sadun) and the Kafajah tribe (under Shaikh Ali al-Fadhil). The former tribe was able to defeat the latter and to retain its tribesmen as fellaheen. However, in 1911,

³¹Carsten Neibur, op. cit., p. 144.

the al-Bidoor tribe fought Shaikh Sadun and forced him to flee.

Some quarrels may be caused by an insult to a tribe, but land disputes are the sources of most quarrels. The writer has documents evidencing this. (See Table XXIII.)

The dispute may be settled by the intervention of some neutral tribe, which customarily would approach both sides in an effort to halt the clashes and to reach a peaceful solution satisfactory to both of the parties. If the two sides do not arrive at a peaceful solution a big flag will be hoisted over the shaikh's castle, indicating that the fighting forces (harbiyah) are ready for the battle. This is considered, by the tribes of southern Iraq, as an ultimatum. In fact, there are still many tribes who do not fight or raid others unless they send them a declaration of fighting (niga), for the Arabs do not like to make surprise attacks. Moreover, refugees, in such fighting, may seek help or protection in any other tribe including the "enemy" tribe which, according to the tribal traditions, offers them protection (unconditionally), and give them all the rights which the members of the tribe have. Hospitality, in peace or war, is the outstanding virtue and an imperative social duty of the tribe.

TABLE XXIII

TRIBAL QUARRELS OVER THE LAND

Date of quarrel	Name of tribes	Number of persons killed*
1922	Between al-Hashma and Albu Hassan (Beni-Temim)	8
1925	Between al-Ziyad themselves	20
1926	Between al-Fatlah themselves (Rak al-Haswa)	10
1935	Between Awlad Sayid Nur (in Diwaniyah)	20
1939	Between al-Izairij and al-Bazoon (in Amarah)	100
1940	Between al-Dawalim	19
1942	Between al-Ziyad and al-Shible (in Gamas)	25
1943	Between al-Dawalim and al-Jayash	4
1943	Between al-Hanan and Albu Muhammed (Beni Tamim)	40
1945	Between Sadun al-Yaseen themselves	more than 10
1947	Between al-Arid and al-Jayash (in Samawah)	15
1947	Between al-Tawalih and Albu Hassan	5
1948	Between Beni Tamim themselves	3
1949	Between Beni Hijeem themselves (in Samawah)	30
1949	Between Ayid themselves	not estimated
1949	Between al-Dawalim themselves	18
1952	Between al-Izzah and al-Ubaid	100
1952	Between al-Jawabir and al-Toba (in Samawah)	15

*The number of injured persons was not estimated.

Clashes occur not only between different tribes, but also within the same tribe. The clashes which occurred in 1951-1952 between the fellaheen and the shaikhs in Amarah and Diwaniyah constituted a step in the direction of breaking the tribal solidarity. Many of those fellaheen were able to escape the oppression of their shaikhs by migrating to the cities, especially to Baghdad and Basrah. Conflicts exist also between the shaikhs and their agents (sirkals) within tribes. The clashes within Dawalim tribe as well as among Sadun al-Yaseen, Beni Temim and Beni Hijeem were, in fact, between the fractions of the shaikh and his supporters and the sirkal and his supporters.

The government through Law No. 47 of 1927, has forbidden raiding of any kind. In Article 1 it is stated that the raider shall be punished by jail (not exceeding seven years), or fine, or both. Article 2 stated that all the possessions, which had been taken, must be returned to their owners.

One of the shaikhs of a small tribe in Muntafiq, gave the writer his opinion of this Law as follows:

This Law did not help the government to combat the reasons of raids or clashes. We are always afraid of big shaikhs. If they attack us, in order to get more land, then we have to defend ourselves and our property.

We want the government to stop those big shaikhs
--that is all!

This shaikh was quite right. In spite of the government prohibition of such clashes, some strong tribes continued greedily to raid and fight other tribes in order to expand their land. Such clashes would evidently endanger the public security and peace, as long as those tribes remain very strong and influential. In his report to the Ministry of finance, Fahmi pointed out that government officials are at present compelled to spend a great portion of their time in dealing with disputes and cases arising over questions of the right of tenants.

In view of the fact that these rights are not based on clear principles or laws, a just and satisfactory solution of the disputes and differences arising therefrom becomes almost impossible.³²

³²Fahmi, op. cit., p. 24.

CHAPTER VII

THE RELATION OF LAND TENURE TO THE FAMILY SYSTEM

The family is regarded by sociologists as the most important primary group. Family is not only the first social institution with which each individual has contact, but also "the central nucleus for all other social institutions."¹

The Iraqi family may be considered as the main agency for the socialization of the individual, and for economic cooperation and division of labor. The rural Iraqi family is traditionally an extended one; the household unit usually consisting of grandfather, grandmother, married sons, their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. Because the fellaheen are tribally organized, their kinship ties are very significant. The fellaheen give careful attention to their lineage. It is not rare to find a village where all the population belongs to one lineage, i.e., one common male ancestor. It is the writer's impression that

¹Marion B. Smith, Survey of Social Science (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1956), p. 160.

each member of the same lineage has direct contact with everyone else. They are all aware of each other. The most important factor for this awareness is expressed by the Arabic term assabiyah, or the solidarity which is based on blood ties.

The rural family is patriarchal, the authority and power being vested in the elder male. It is also partilineal, the reckoning of descent being through males. It is also patrilocal, for the newly married girl has to live with her husband's family. However, there are certain rare cases of matrilocal marriage, especially in al-chibayish district.

MARRIAGE

One of the most important features of the Muslim marriage is the contract system. Although the marriage contract is civil or secular in character, it has some sacred characteristics, too. For example, it is usual that certain Quranic verses are recited before the marriage is completed.

The most important phase of the marriage contract is the mahr (dowry) which has to be paid to the bride's guardian. The marriage may be considered invalid if the dowry is not mentioned in the contract.

No particular age is specified for marriage. However, it is usual that marriage takes place at an early age, particularly among farm girls, who usually marry between the ages of 14 and 17. It happens sometimes that parents arrange the marriage of their children during early childhood. In such cases, children, after puberty, must complete the ceremonies of marriage.

Marriage is usually arranged by parents. The fellah-
een encourage marriage in the same lineage. More specifically, they emphasize the marriage of paternal parallel-cousins. A girl always expects that a cousin, on her father's side, has the right to marry her. She may actually endanger her life if she marries any other man without her cousin's consent. Therefore, if she fell in love with another man, elopement is required. Actually, the practice of marrying cousins existed before Islam,² and the Muslims have perpetuated it.

Usually, villagers do not indulge in pre-marital sexual relations or adultery. Islam demands a severe penalty for such a culprit. Customarily, the women who

²See for example, Kitab al-Aghani (Bulaq, Egypt), Vol. XIV, p. 161.

commits such an act would face death by her brother or her relatives. For this reason, the marriage contract may include a statement whether the bride is a virgin or not. Moreover, the unmarried farm woman who has had a romance with a man, has very little opportunity for marriage. In conjunction with this statement, the writer would like to point out that the observation of Westermarck that "in no circumstances is a Mohammedan³ woman permitted to marry a man who is not a Moslem,"⁴ is not correct. Lane, Nahas, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes also state that marriage between non-Muslims is forbidden.⁵ Actually, a Muslim man may marry any woman except an idolatress. The Quran states clearly (5:5), "and the chaste from among the believing women and the chaste from among those who have been given the Book

³The people who belong to the Islamic faith prefer the word Muslim, rather than Mohammedan; for they (the Muslims) worship Allah (God) rather than Prophet Mohammed. Mohammed was a man, who married, earned a living, and died like the rest of us.

⁴E. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage (New York: Allerton Book Company, 1922), Vol. II, p. 59; A Short History of Marriage (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 59.

⁵E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians (London), p. 137; Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1954), p. 130; M. Kamel Nahas, "The Family in the Arab World," Marriage and Family Living, XVI (November, 1954), 294.

before you, when you have given them their dowries, taking [them] in marriage." It is interpreted that the Quran meant by this the people who believe in God and who already have received revealed books like Jews and Christians might be taken in marriage by Muslims. Moreover, the Iraqi civil laws do not prohibit the marriage between non-Muslims.

Polygyny

Islam permits the Muslim to marry as many as four wives at any one time. All wives must be treated equally.

And if you fear that you cannot act equitably towards orphans, then marry such women as seem good to you, two and three and four; but if you fear that you will not do justice [between them], then [marry] only one. . . .⁶

It must be noted that polygyny was known in neighboring countries to Mecca before Mohammed had introduced it to Muslims.

Actually, the economic conditions and the growing conscience of urban people prevent them from having more than one wife. As for the rural people, the situation is

⁶Quran, 4:3. For thorough translation and interpretation of the Quran see Maulvi Muhammad Ali, The Holy Qur-an (Pakistan, 1920).

otherwise. Polygyny prevails among landlords as well as among peasants. For the former, plural marriage is regarded as a symbol of wealth. There are some shaikhs who have more than four wives. The fellah marries more than one woman because he needs their help and the support of his children on the farm. Moreover, a large number of children is regarded as a symbol of prestige. The married couple, whether fellaheen or others, prefers boys. Although adoption is known among the fellaheen, almost all of them believe that it is "undesirable."

DIVORCE

In rural Iraq a man can divorce his wife at any time, if he has cause and wishes to do so, by saying anti taliq (thou art dismissed) three times. It is preferable that he pronounces this dismissal in the presence of at least two people. The wife has the right to protest before the religious court if she has enough evidence to prove her innocence. However, since males are so dominant, most of the women do not protest. Also there are very few religious courts in southern Iraq.

Despite the ease of obtaining a divorce, divorces are rare in rural areas. For instance, in 1955 there were only

TABLE XXIV
MARITAL STATUS IN GARMAT BENI-SAID

Quarter or Village	Sex	Unmar- ried	Married with 1 wife	Married with 2 wives	Married with 3 wives	Married with 4 wives	Divorc- ed	Widow- ed	Separat- ed
Beni Saad	M	274	511	52	9	2	--	17	--
tribe	F	455	674	--	--	--	7	268	4
Albu-Khalifah	M	147	311	28	2	--	--	34	--
tribe	F	250	386	--	--	--	4	174	2
Um-Nakhlah	M	282	615	91	7	3	--	19	--
	F	580	869	--	--	--	3	392	6
Beni Muslim	M	45	133	11	--	--	--	7	--
tribe	F	134	162	--	--	--	11	59	--
Al-Gerbathiyah	M	178	377	63	1	--	--	13	--
	F	309	550	--	--	--	--	225	4
Emsharejah	M	211	467	56	4	2	5	19	--
tribe	F	508	645	--	--	--	26	220	--
Al-Mumineen	M	110	180	18	6	1	4	--	--
	F	163	273	--	--	--	7	107	--
Al-Hameedi	M	58	181	24	3	--	1	3	--
tribe	F	131	255	--	--	--	3	93	--
Al-Ziad	M	49	122	28	1	--	--	8	--
	F	114	201	--	--	--	7	94	--
Al-Sada	M	46	133	15	--	1	--	11	--
tribe	F	93	167	--	--	--	7	81	--
Al-Jabair	M	309	753	94	10	3	2	21	--
	F	599	1,005	--	--	--	7	348	4
Different	M	252	543	83	5	--	3	31	--
Villages*	F	481	760	--	--	--	20	308	3
Total (M)		1,961	4,326	563	48	12	15	183	--
Total (F)		3,817	5,947	--	--	--	102	2,369	23
General Total		5,778	10,276	563	48	12	117	2,552	23

*This group includes 11 villages; 10 of which with a population of more than 200 persons and the remaining are less than 200 persons.

47 divorce cases registered in the religious courts of Muntafiq (37 caused by husband and 10 by wife), and 53 cases in Amarah (31 caused by husband and 22 by wife). Muslims dislike divorce, believing in the Quranic verse which says "it may be that you dislike a thing while Allah has placed abundant good in it."⁷

THE STATUS OF THE WOMAN

Islam recognizes the equality of both sexes in all respects. "They [wives] have rights similar to those against them in a just manner, and then men are a degree above them and Allah is Mighty Wise."⁸ The reason for this "degree" is the responsibilities which Quran imposed on men: "Men are the maintainers of women, because Allah has made some of them to excel others and because they spend out of their property. . . ."⁹

"Keep them [women] in good fellowship," "let [them] go with kindness," "do not retain them for injury," "treat them kindly," are some of the many orders of Quran. In practice, however, the husband is the only one in the rural

⁷Ibid., 4:19.

⁸Ibid., 2:228.

⁹Ibid., 4:34.

family who has great authority. The wife, or other women in general, are not treated "kindly" as Quran demands, and in many cases a woman does not have the right to consult her husband about the arrangement for their son's or daughter's marriage. She is in many respects regarded as the husband's "property," and sometimes can be used for compensation in such cases as murder. Moreover, it is not rare to find a young boy having more authority than his mother. Furthermore, wife beating is not regarded as "shameful." To many rural men, respect for women is not considered desirable.

Usually, peasant women are not veiled. In fact, there is no such word as hijab (veiling) in Quran. Accordingly, the statement by Levy that "Muhammed wished to follow the ordinary custom of his tribe [veiling]"¹⁰ is not correct. A similar incorrect statement has been made by Gaudefroy-Demombynes¹¹ and others. The Quranic verse which Levy uses to support his statement is "O Prophet! say to your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers that they let down upon them their over-garments; this will be more

¹⁰Reuben Levy, The Social Structure of Islam (Cambridge: University Press, 1957), pp. 124-25.

¹¹Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit., 133.

proper, that they may be known, and thus they will not be given trouble. . . ."12 This verse was revealed to Mohammed because he, his wives and daughters, and his supporters (the believers in Islam) were "liable to insult and outrage" and the "over-garments" which has been used in the verse meant, actually, the protection of the Muslim women so that they may "not be given trouble" or annoyed by the unbelievers. Islam, however, did enact some rules concerning women's chastity. This is clearly stated in the following verse:

And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms. . . .13

Therefore, Islam permits Muslim women to leave their faces and hands uncovered. Jeffery has correctly stated that none of the veiling, seclusion, and harem life of women originated with Islam. "The seclusion of women was common in Persia long before Islam, and both seclusion and veiling were well known in the eastern parts of the Byzantine Empire."¹⁴

¹²Quran, 33:59.

¹³Ibid., 24:31.

¹⁴Arthur Jeffery, "The Family in Islam," in Ruth Nanda Anshen (ed.) The Family: Its Function and Destiny (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1949), pp. 56-57. Jeffery, however, speaks of circumcision as if it is

RELATION OF FAMILY PROBLEMS TO LAND TENURE

On the whole, the rural family has many characteristics which are related to the land tenure system. Among these are:

1. Lack of economic security because of the prevailing poverty among the peasants.
2. The great authority which is vested in the hands of males.
3. The low status of peasant women.
4. The relative lack of education of family members.
5. Lack of proper medical care for the rural family.
6. The conspicuous lack of recreational facilities for the rural family, especially for children.
7. The persistence of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," or a life for a life law in spite of the civil law which has the authority to investigate and settle such matters. This can be illustrated as follows. If a man kills another man, then the family or the tribe of the slain

legal for Muslim women. He says, "In Islam it is practiced in both male and female children," pp. 67, 68. As far as the females are concerned it is prohibited, by traditions and teachings of Islam, to circumcise women. Accordingly, Jeffery's statement, which has not been supported by a single source of evidence, is not true.

man will eventually seek revenge, i.e., killing the transgressor or one of his family or tribe members. Sometimes, settlement by conciliation (fasl) may occur, and in this case compensation must be arranged to the satisfaction of both sides.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELATION OF LAND TENURE TO EDUCATION

Education, in reality, is an essential social service. It is a basic condition for the agricultural, industrial and technological progress of any country "as well as for the development of a fuller cultural life and the sound growth of democratic institutions."¹ Like other major social organizations, education is a system of social practice "oriented primarily around a valued function of the society, in which the persons who participate, the interaction pattern, and the manifest ends and means of the system are culturally specified and approved."²

Before discussing the problem at hand, a brief account of the educational background of the Arabs is presented.

The Arabs, according to many Western scholars, were "the bearers of the torch of civilization," and they actually made possible the European Renaissance.³ The President of

¹IBRD, op. cit., pp. 62, 385.

²Bertrand, Rural Sociology, p. 222.

³See, for example, Harold B. Minor, "Contributions

the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, states,

As I look into the future I see the emergence of modern Arab states that would bring to this century contributions surpassing those we cannot forget from the past. We remember that Western arithmetic and algebra owe much to Arabic mathematicians and that much of the foundations of the world's medical science and astronomy was laid by Arab scholars.⁴

Almost all the mosques served as educational centers. They also served as repositories for different types of books.

In years past, education of women was universal throughout the Muslim Empire. In fact, a great number of this sex were teachers, and some of them instructed a large number of men students. Since the thirteenth century the Arabs have lost much of their institutionalized education.

When a great people like the Arabs have declined and been subjected for centuries to one foreign power after another, it is not to be expected that they can immediately create or establish well-organized forms of education with any sort of unity.⁵

We Cannot Forget, "Arab World, (January-February), 1959, p. 3. Mr. Minor spent twenty-two years in the Middle East, and was formerly United States Ambassador to Lebanon. See also Rom Landau, Arab Contribution to Civilization, American Academy of Asian Studies, San Francisco, 1958.

⁴President Eisenhower's address before the United Nations General Assembly, Summer, 1958.

⁵S. C. Dodd, Social Relations in the Middle East (Beirut, 1940), p. 129.

TABLE XXV

LITERATE AND ILLITERATE PERSONS IN SOUTHERN IRAQ

Province	Literate			Illiterate		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Amarah	13,013	2,593	15,606	94,910	135,465	230,375
Muntafiq*	11,112	1,348	12,460	94,775	169,164	263,939
Diwaniyah	14,292	1,431	15,723	113,700	178,824	292,524
Basrah	32,316	7,691	40,007	121,356	148,440	269,796
Kut	8,793	1,420	10,213	72,231	96,442	168,673
General total	79,526	14,483	94,009	496,972	728,335	1,225,307

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1956, p. 15.

*Excluding nomadic tribes.

However, some mosques continued to serve as educational centers, but with much emphasis on the interpretation of the Quran.

From the thirteenth century and until the beginning of this century, education was built largely around the Quran (reading, writing and interpretation), and was given in special places called "Kuttab." Some of these centers were adjuncts of the mosques. Religious teachers (mullas) were granted payment in kind from their pupils' families. It must be noted that some of these educational centers are still in existence, and can be found in rural southern Iraq.

In rural southern Iraq, the educational system is largely and directly affected by the land tenure system. The absence of schools is conspicuous in the areas dominated by a few large landowners. In the academic year 1956-1957, there were 49 co-educational primary schools in Muntafiq, 29 in Amarah, 10 in Basrah, and none in either Kut or Diwaniyah. Table XXVI shows the small number of all-boy and all-girl primary schools in rural southern Iraq.

The writer believes that Garmat Beni Said district in Muntafiq can be regarded as a good example of education in rural southern Iraq, though the effect of the land tenure system here is less than in Amarah and Kut. This district

TABLE XXVI

NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS, TEACHERS, AND STUDENTS IN SOUTHERN VILLAGES

Province	No. of schools			No. of teachers			No. of students		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Amarah	12	--	12	47	--	47	1,322	--	1,322
Muntafiq	19	2	21	64	--	64	2,905	161	3,066
Diwaniyah	54	--	54	174	--	174	7,569	--	7,569
Basrah	47	6	53	202	14	216	9,432	565	9,997
Kut	37	2	39	193	9	202	4,416	185	4,601
Total	169	10	179	680	23	703	25,644	911	26,555

Source: Government of Iraq, Report on the Education in Iraq for 1956-1957 (Baghdad, 1958), p. 35.

includes some villages and settled tribes with a relatively small percentage of literates, as shown in Table XXV.

The peasants cannot be blamed for their illiteracy and ignorance of reading and writing. There are many factors beyond their control. The first, and the most important factor, is the land tenure system which has been imposed on them for centuries. The big landowners or shaikhs are aware of the fact that education is the main channel of vertical social mobility. They realize that education may raise the fellaheen's level of living, and fear that the fellaheen may then not be willing to live under prevalent land conditions. As a result, the big landowners resist any change which might benefit their peasants, and generally oppose establishing schools on their land. Their influence on the government, as pointed out before, has always been great. The following is a concrete example of what can be found in rural Iraq as well as other Arab countries of the Middle East:

An educational inspector of a large rural district created among the peasants of his area a desire for schools and willingness to cooperate in the matter of expense. He then proceeded successfully to meet this rapidly growing demand. It was not long, however, before the landowners who controlled the villages and their adjacent farm properties made serious objection. The movement for schools was rapidly gaining headway; it would not do to allow such a vigorous leader to

TABLE XXVII
LITERACY IN GARMAT BENI SAID

Quarter or Village	Sex	Literate	Illiterate
Beni Saad tribe	M	44	1,007
	F	1	1,804
Albu-Khalifah tribe	M	34	615
	F	--	996
Um-Nakhlah	M	127	1,201
	F	--	2,443
Beni Muslim tribe	M	15	237
	F	--	496
Al-Gerbathiyah	M	75	741
	F	--	1,393
Emsharejah tribe	M	47	962
	F	--	1,915
Al-Mumineen	M	145	278
	F	17	695
Al-Hameedi tribe	M	26	326
	F	--	650
Al-Ziad	M	4	255
	F	--	560
Al-Sada tribe	M	27	241
	F	1	458
Al-Jubair	M	112	1,363
	F	1	2,676
Different villages*	M	68	1,103
	F	1	2,054
Total (M)		724	8,329
Total (F)		21	16,140
General total		745	24,469

*This group includes 11 villages; 10 of which with a population of more than 200 persons and the remaining are less than 200 persons.

remain in the place. The case was forthwith put before the Minister of Education and the inspector was eventually removed.⁶

The second factor retarding education is poverty. Most parents cannot afford to send their children to school, for they are regarded as an economic asset in that they help their parents till the land. Some children who start primary school do not finish for this same reason. Girls as well as boys work on farms. In fact, women's responsibilities start when they become eleven or twelve years of age. Usually, women play a very important role in the economic life of their community and home. They are a very important and vital force in the life of rural Iraq.

The third factor relating to the educational program is the Ministry of Education, which is responsible for the level of education in rural areas. The Ministry of Education under the old regime did not consider the problem of illiteracy seriously. Its budget, compared with budgets of other departments of the government, was always small. In 1920-1921, for example, it had only 2.3 per cent of the State

⁶H. B. Allen, Rural Education and Welfare in the Middle East. A Report to the Director General of the Middle East Supply Center, 24 pp. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946), p. 6.

budget. Its budget increased to 7.3 per cent in 1930-1931, 11.8 per cent in 1940-1941, 13.8 per cent in 1950-1951, and to 18.2 per cent in 1955-1956. The increase in the budget represents mostly the salaries paid to its employees. However, the number of elementary schools increased, mainly in the urban centers.

The small number of primary schools is only one problem of education in rural southern Iraq. Other major problems are:

1. The relative lack of elementary schools for girls: Education of young girls has always lagged behind the education of boys. This is also true in urban centers. The first government girls' school was established in Baghdad in 1920,⁷ and the first secondary school for girls was opened in Baghdad in 1929. It is only recently that the co-educational system was established. Those schools have increased rapidly in the last five years. The statement made by some writers that Islam does not encourage female education is not correct. As noted earlier, women in the Islamic era, could be found

⁷Accordingly, the statement of Coke that "the first government school was opened in Baghdad in 1919" is wrong. See Richard Coke, The Heart of the Middle East (London: T. Butterworth, Ltd., 1925), p. 275.

in educational centers. Some were able teachers, poets, and thinkers. To give more concrete illustration, Hafsa was asked by her husband, Prophet Mohammed, to learn the art of writing under Al-Shaffa. It was only after the Arab civilization declined that women's education ceased to be universal throughout Iraq and other Islamic countries.

2. The curricula of primary and secondary schools are crowded with subjects other than those related to agriculture or rural education: The curricula of rural schools are the same as those of urban schools. The curricula are not designed to meet the needs of village life. No courses in agriculture are available, and technical training is generally neglected. Rural schools do not even have gardening plots where students can learn simple agricultural processes or the use of agricultural tools. On the whole, the environment of these schools is not "rural." Thus, it would be more beneficial to the rural people if the curricula were revised, for "education is not simply a collection of skills and aids in preparation for a government or clerical job, but the acquisition of sound values which need to be applied in all walks of life whether professional or

manual."⁸ A knowledge of practice and principles of good husbandry by those who work on the land is an important need for sound character training.⁹ Therefore, elementary agriculture, rural sociology, health and hygiene are the most important subject matters which are needed in the curricula of rural schools. Health courses are also a very important need because of the fact that such diseases as malaria, bilharzia, hookworm, and trachoma are found throughout rural southern Iraq.

3. The ill-planned and over-crowded schools: The rural schools in Iraq are small and crowded. Moreover, schools do not generally have proper ventilation and lighting; some of them also do not have water. All these factors force many teachers to seek transfers to urban schools.

4. The great lack of adequate educational facilities, such as libraries, laboratories, and workshop facilities: Some schools do not have libraries; others have only a small number of books, which are not suited to children, accumulated in small rooms or classrooms without arrangement.

⁸Victor Clark, Compulsory Education in Iraq. A Report to the Government of Iraq (UNESCO, 1951), p. 18.

⁹Loc. cit.

5. Distance between schools and most villages:

Usually schools are found in large villages. As a result, the cost of transportation and boarding prevents many rural people from sending their children to school.

6. The relative lack of agricultural colleges and secondary schools: There is only one agricultural college and one agricultural secondary school in Iraq. The College of Agriculture was opened in 1950-1951 with 23 students. The number of students had increased to 234 by the academic year 1956-1957. The Secondary School of Agriculture was established in 1927 and closed in 1931, and then reopened in 1939-1940 with 25 students. The number of students increased to 133 by 1956-1957. No female student has enrolled in either of these institutes. The International Bank suggests that "these schools should be in the position to train forward-looking men for actual farming as well as for posts in the agricultural administration and the extension and educational service." Unfortunately, the teaching staff and curricula "have been deficient in many respects. The teaching staffs should be strengthened by recruiting additional qualified teachers abroad and by using specialists engaged in agricultural research to teach their specialties."¹⁰

¹⁰IBRD, op. cit., pp. 253-54.

Because of the prevailing land tenure system, the graduates of these schools usually remain on the government farms or hold some clerical job; that is to say, they are not enlisted by the owners of the large farms.

7. Adult education is almost wholly neglected: Adult education in rural Iraq has received very little attention. There are a number of evening elementary schools run by the government, which have the same curricula as other elementary schools. There are also a very small number of literacy centers which are attended by illiterate youths and adults who are taught the art of reading and writing and some elements of arithmetic. In 1956-1957 there were only nine literacy centers in Amarah with 561 students, and nine centers in Muntafiq with 333 students.

Actually, what Iraq needs is the introduction of compulsory elementary education. This is the only way to eliminate illiteracy, provided that the curricula are more realistic and practical and have a "rural bias." However, compulsory education in rural Iraq may face two main difficulties. First, many peasants, because of the land tenure system, cannot afford to send their children to school, as they need their support on their farm. Possibly the school terms could be adjusted so that children could go to school during

slack seasons. Secondly, there is a shortage of trained teachers. This problem is also one that can be solved in the long run.

8. The relative lack of fundamental education: Rural Iraq needs a broader approach to education, different from the regular schoolroom curricula. Fundamental education is the master-key to rural improvement and development. One of the main objectives of such type of education is to let the children, as well as the adults, meet their daily problems in the village where they live. "It is essentially a community where young people should learn the basic art of living through actual experience. It should afford opportunities for cooperative and group work, for leadership and discipline. . . ." ¹¹ As the UNESCO put it:

The main purpose of fundamental education is to help people to understand their immediate problems and to give them the skills to solve them through their own efforts. It is an emergency solution designed to help masses of illiterate adults and children in countries whose educational facilities have been inadequate. It is an attempt to salvage a generation by giving it the minimum of education needed to improve its way of life, its health, its productivity and its social, economic and political organization. ¹²

¹¹Ibid., p. 391.

¹²UNESCO, Courier, June, 1951.

As it will be mentioned, fundamental education on the Dujaila Project was successful. Therefore, it would not be too difficult to extend this type of education to other rural areas of southern Iraq.

In addition, agricultural extension education is needed. Rural southern Iraq is almost wholly deprived of this type of education. The five-year program of agricultural extension service which was initiated in December of 1953, with the help of FAO, did not go far enough. Rural Iraq needs more of such services to extend scientific and practical information to the peasants.

CHAPTER IX

THE RELATION OF LAND TENURE TO HEALTH

The influence of the land tenure system on rural health is always very strong. In Iraq the land tenure system paved the way not only for the ignorance and poverty, but also for the poor health prevailing in the rural population. Because of the low cash income of the fellaheen, it is very difficult for them to pay for medical treatment. Malnutrition also can be regarded as a major health problem. The inadequate nutrition and unbalanced diet of almost all the rural population lower their resistance to disease.

The health conditions are dramatically shown by the relation of the number of births and deaths in southern Iraq. In 1955, we find that the province of Basrah with 404,308 people had an excess of births of only 5,612 persons. Amarah province with 310,141 people had an excess of births of 835 persons. In Muntafiq province the number of deaths actually exceeded the number of births. The latter is obviously a strange and unusual condition as it is rare that deaths exceed births. The Directorate of Vital Statistics explained the

reason as follows: "People report deaths so that they may obtain a license for burial at the holy places [in Iraq], but they do not bother to report the births." Even with under-registration, it seems quite clear that health conditions are exceedingly poor.

MAJOR DISEASES

Among the common and most widely spread diseases of rural southern Iraq are bilharzia (schistosomiasis), ankylostomiasis (hookworm), malaria, and trachoma. Almost the entire population of these areas is, at one time or another, stricken with one of these diseases. Bilharzia and malaria are particularly common.

Bilharzia, a parasitic ailment, is a debilitating disease. The existence of blood in the urine and low vitality are major symptoms of this disease. Muntafiq, Amarah, Kut and Diwanayah have high rates of bilharzia. In 1956, the number of cases of bilharzia treated in Muntafiq was 5,255 compared to three cases in the northern province of Mosul.

Malaria is another debilitating disease. Iraqi doctors estimated that malaria causes some 50,000 deaths a year. The disease-carrying mosquitoes are to be found

largely in marsh areas and near irrigation schemes. Muntafiq has the highest number of cases of malaria in southern Iraq. In 1956 there were 32,811 cases reported in Muntafiq, 24,909 in Diwaniyah, and 13,762 in Basrah.¹ It is estimated that almost one of every two babies born in the malaria-area of southern Iraq dies of this disease. This simply means that the infant mortality rate in these areas is higher than any other areas of Iraq.

TABLE XXVIII

CASES OF BILHARZIA, ANKYLOSTOMIASIS, MALARIA AND TRACHOMA IN SOUTHERN IRAQ

Province	Bilharzia	Ankylosto- miasis	Malaria	Trachoma
Amarah	2,220	2,038	4,740	20,399
Muntafiq	5,255	575	32,811	16,508
Diwaniyah	4,162	3,434	24,909	41,083
Basrah	4,060	1,907	13,762	31,007
Kut	7,250	830	5,546	12,752
Total	22,947	8,784	81,768	121,749

Source: Compiled from published and unpublished data supplied the writer by Iraqi Government.

¹George L. Harris states that the highest incidence of malaria in Iraq "has been in Mosul province, the lowest in Al Amarah." *Op. cit.*, p. 262. Harris does not mention the source of his statement. The statement is not correct as far as Amarah is concerned. In 1956, the lowest incidence of malaria was in Kirkuk (3,781), while the number of incidences in Amarah was 4,740 (see Table XXVIII).

Ankylostomiasis (or hookworm--a parasitic ailment) is another common disease of rural southern Iraq. In 1956 there were 1,907 cases of ankylostomiasis in Basrah as compared to nine cases in Kirkuk (a northern province) and none in Sulaimaniyah (another northern province).

Trachoma is another disease which seems to prevail in the south. In 1956 the number of trachoma cases treated in Basrah was 31,007 and in Amarah, 20,399.

Bejel, a venereal disease, can also be regarded as one of the major diseases of the south. This disease prevails among the tribal people. In 1956 the number of bejel (and other venereal diseases) cases treated in Muntafiq, Amarah, and Basrah was 11,871.

In addition, there are some other diseases which cause relatively great number of deaths, such as tuberculosis, mumps, dysentery, and acute ophthalmia. These diseases are caused mostly by the unbalanced diet and crowded housing conditions.²

As for the infirmities, the number of rural people who have one or more infirmities is large. The Census of 1947 and other statistical data show that the number of people who

²In the village, the average number of persons per room is 4.5.

TABLE XXIX

NUMBER OF CASES AND DEATHS OF INFECTIOUS DISEASES FOR 1956

Disease	Case and Death	Amarah	Muntafiq	Diwaniyah	Basrah	Kut
Small Pox	C	26	82	88	240	26
	D	--	13	10	37	2
Diphtheria	C	51	8	29	116	21
	D	1	1	4	4	2
Measles	C	275	225	140	594	179
	D	--	1	--	1	--
Whooping Cough	C	765	562	199	925	47
	D	--	--	1	--	--
Mumps	C	628	2,170	2,793	1,428	971
	D	--	--	1	1	--
Chicken Pox	C	125	25	6	217	--
	D	--	--	--	--	--
Phthisis	C	686	231	990	624	431
	D	1	5	2	14	5
Dysentery All Forms	C	1,468	1,192	2,474	2,552	2,130
	D	--	--	--	3	--
Syphilis	C	1	4	26	268	6
	D	--	--	--	--	--
Acute Ophthalmia	C	1,032	806	4,745	2,597	619
	D	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1956.

are afflicted with infirmities is increasing. (See Table XXX.)

PREVENTIVE SERVICES

The attempt of the Iraqi government to improve health conditions has been concentrated almost wholly in urban areas. The Endemic Disease Institute has recently begun preventive activities in an attempt to control bilharzia, anklostomiasis and malaria. A considerable decrease in the incidence of these diseases, particularly malaria, was noted as a result of the Institute's activities.

The Anti-bilharzia Project began by the government in 1955 stresses both sanitation and social environment at the same time. However, despite the government's preventive measures to reduce the cases of bilharzia, a considerable increase in the incidences of this disease was noted, principally because of the newly-developed irrigation schemes.

The Endemic Disease Institute also recently began its campaign against ankylostomiasis and malaria. For the latter, Iraq was divided into three zones. The northern zone, the southern zone, and the intermediate zone. In the southern zone, anti-mosquito control operations were carried on. A mixture of equal portions of black oil and gas oil, in

TABLE XXX

CLASSIFICATION OF POPULATION OF GARMAT BENI-SAID BY INFIRMITIES

Quarter or Village	Sex	Deaf	Totally blind	Dumb	Blind of 1 eye	Insane and feeble minded	Totally or partially paralyzed	Lame and Help- less	Having more than 1 infirmity	Miscel- laneous
Beni Saad	M	--	17	--	22	--	8	13	1	3
tribe	F	--	10	--	3	--	2	5	--	1
Albu-Khalifah	M	1	8	--	4	--	1	7	--	2
tribe	F	--	6	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
Um-Nakhlah	M	8	20	3	45	4	7	24	4	28
	F	5	62	2	27	--	9	--	2	15
Beni-Muslim	M	1	4	--	6	1	2	3	--	--
tribe	F	--	1	1	1	--	--	1	1	--
Al-Gerbathiyah	M	5	10	4	21	2	9	18	1	32
	F	4	19	--	16	--	--	11	--	22
Emsharejah	M	1	4	1	10	--	--	4	--	4
tribe	F	2	4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Al-Mumineen	M	1	4	--	3	--	1	2	--	2
	F	--	5	--	--	--	2	1	--	--
Al-Hameedi	M	3	8	1	12	--	--	3	--	1
tribe	F	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--
Al-Ziad	M	--	3	--	2	--	--	3	--	--
	F	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Al-Sada tribe	M	--	2	--	2	--	1	2	--	--
	F	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Al-Jubair	M	3	18	--	25	1	15	12	--	2
	F	--	19	--	8	--	1	--	--	--
Different	M	--	8	1	26	--	7	20	1	10
Villages*	F	2	26	3	12	3	1	--	--	11
Total (M)		23	106	10	178	8	51	111	7	84
Total (F)		14	153	7	69	3	16	19	3	49
General total		37	259	17	247	11	67	130	10	133

*This group includes 11 villages; 10 of which with a population of more than 200 persons and the remaining are less than 200 persons.

addition to one per cent of pure D.D.T., was used in Basrah. Wet D.D.T. was used in both Amarah and Muntafiq. A considerable diminution in the incidence of malaria was observed. For instance, in Basrah there were 238 cases of malaria in 1954; in 1955 the number of cases dropped to 169.

In addition, investigation and control measures were also made to check some other diseases, such as bejel (venereal disease). The campaign against bejel has already begun in the various contaminated areas of Amarah and Basrah.

Actually, rural Iraq needs health education, for the time has come to give it an important place in the curricula of rural schools. Moreover, the prevention of diseases cannot be done unless there are well-equipped village dispensaries, trained public health nurses for these dispensaries, and adequately trained midwives. The latter play a very important role in village life. All these are lacking in rural southern Iraq.

CURATIVE SERVICES

Generally speaking, preventive health services always lag behind curative services. Although health services are developing in rural areas of Iraq, the main activities and efforts of this nature are concentrated in urban centers.

In 1955, there were 115 hospitals in Iraq, 17 of them were private and the remaining were owned by the State. In southern Iraq there were, in the same year, 21 State hospitals with 1,039 beds. There was also one chest hospital in Basrah (60 beds) and one in Diwaniyah (40 beds). These hospitals are, in addition to the dispensaries, including five land mobile dispensaries and one river dispensary in Basrah, Amarah, and Muntafiq respectively.

In 1955 also there were only 143 Iraqi doctors in southern Iraq, the largest number being in Basrah, and the smallest in Muntafiq. There were just 132 trained and qualified midwives. The doctors in Iraq are not well distributed, for more than half of them are concentrated in Baghdad. In 1955 there were 906 Iraqi doctors, 517 of them were found in Baghdad, and the remaining (389) were distributed among the other 13 provinces.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Social services in the field of health are concentrated mostly on maternity and child hospitals and the school feeding project.

In 1955, there was one child welfare hospital in each of the provinces of Amarah, Diwaniyah, and Kut.

The school feeding project started in 1950. The purpose of this project is to serve free meals to a number of students who are undernourished, especially those in primary schools. The government requested the UNICEF to participate in this project. Accordingly, the UNICEF supplied the government in 1950-1951 with ten tons of cod-liver oil, and allocated \$122,000.00 for the period 1954-1955. In 1953-1954 the government decided to feed 40,000 students between seven and fourteen years of age with cod-liver capsules and milk. Two years later, the project was expanded to include some 120,000 students.

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEDICAL TREATMENT

A large number of the fellaheen believe that sickness is willed by God, and that human beings are weak and unable to do anything about it. Moreover, they believe that some diseases strike people because an evil eye falls upon them, and this evil eye comes only through bad people. Furthermore, they believe that some days are good and some ominous. With respect to the latter, they have to be very careful and cautious in everything they do.

Contrary to Western nations, the fellaheen believe that tuberculosis and some other diseases are shameful, but

that no stigma is attached to bejel, a mild form of syphilis.

The fellaheen also do not exercise birth control. When asked the reason, many fellaheen replied that "this is an action against God." They regard children as economic assets. In case of a childbirth, the fellah does not take his wife to the nearby hospital, simply because, traditionally, they believe that midwives are the best for child birth. Midwives are very respected women in the village, and are also recognized by the government. In contrast, nursing is not regarded by the fellaheen (or a great number of Muslims) as a respectable profession.

CHAPTER X

THE RELATION OF LAND TENURE TO SOCIAL MOBILITY: SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

One of the major characteristics of the human society is the existence of rank differences between people. This characteristic is a universal fact. In this chapter an attempt is made to present the relation of land tenure to rural class structure.

The Statistical Abstract of Iraq does not refer to the social stratification which actually exists in Iraqi society. Identifiable social classes include large landowners, bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, workers, and peasants. Some writers speak of a sixth group of people as comprising still another class in Iraqi society, which is called the "affendi" or "affendi class." According to those writers, the "affendi" or "affendi class" represents the "educated class" or, as Cooke and others put it, the "newly educated class."¹ The present writer does not believe this group represents a bona fide class. In this

¹Hedly Cooke, Challenge and Response in the Middle East (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 173.

regard, it may be noted that "affendi" is a Turkish word and does not appear in the Arabic language. A group known by this name has always existed in Turkey. It includes a "proud" class who especially boasted of Turkish victories over other nations, including Arabs.² Finally, there are many "educated" people among the different classes of Iraq. Because of the above, the writer believes that the term "affendi class" is not useful in discussing the class structure of Iraq.

RURAL CLASS STRUCTURE

There are two distinctive classes in rural tribal society of southern Iraq: the large landowners (shaikhs) class and the peasants (fellaheen) class.

Large Landowners

The Kingdom of Iraq followed the British policy, and encouraged large landowners in order to centralize its power. The large, or absentee, landowners have been for a long time the most influential class in Iraq. Before dissolving the Parliament, they were always able to control the

²See Ali Wardi, The Iraqi Character (Baghdad, 1951), pp. 66-68. (In Arabic.)

voting behavior of the fellaheen. This is the main reason why the shaikhs were the only representatives of rural areas in the Chamber of Deputies. In fact, their influence has extended even to the cities.

The Peasants

The fellaheen comprise the majority of the population. The fellaheen have never benefited from the complicated land tenure system. The fellah, as a sharecropper, receives less than one-third of the produce. The shaikh receives the remainder of the produce. (See Chapter VI.)

The Middlemen

The Sayids (religious men), the Mullas (who perform the duty of secretaries), and the sirkals (the shaikh's assistants or the middlemen) may constitute a class, but they are very small in number and some of them are outsiders. Some religious people, for instance, travel from tribe to tribe in rural Iraq delivering religious sermons and advice. They are, however, highly respected people.

THE CRITERIA OF EVALUATION

Income

Income here includes wealth of all types. Standard of living and level of living are two terms which often confuse people. Standard of living refers to the desired condition of life, while level of living is the actually attained condition of life. Although there is a reciprocal relationship between the material and non-material possessions of a family, level of living usually denotes the former. Money income is one of the most important factors affecting level of living. Other important factors, which also relate to money income, are the land tenure system, mechanization, organization of credit, organization of production and marketing, government services to rural people, and taxation. Since the writer is discussing the actual conditions of the rural population, the term "level of living" is used here.

The level of living of the rural population definitely affects the national income, since this constitutes two-thirds of the total population of the country. In 1949, the Statistical Office of the United Nations estimated the annual average income per Iraqi family head at \$85.

The level of living of the fellah is very low. The

fellah is aware of this fact. The landlord shaikh, who is the main reason for his poverty, generally feels no responsibility for the fellah's low level of living. As it has been noted before, a great percentage of the fellah income goes to the shaikh for "his" land and for other contributions which do not benefit the fellah, and which leave him always in debt.

The fellah usually spends his income on food, clothing, and low-priced domestic tobacco. His food consists of rice, vegetables, onions (and fish in the marsh areas), bread, milk and dates. Meat is a "luxury" and is eaten occasionally. Clothing is very simple and consists of a garment made of cheap cotton, an aba (mantle), and a headdress. Some individuals may have second-hand coats or jackets. A few fellah-
een wear shoes and the remainder walk barefooted. Very little income is available for education and medical care. On the contrary, the shaikh always has the best food, drink, and clothing. The level of living of the shaikhs is very high. Their wealth, however, cannot always be interpreted as a mark of achievement. The members of this class do not care about education, for instance, as much as they care about finding the best means of spending their money for personal enjoyment.

Residence

In conjunction with income, residence can be regarded as another criterion of prestige. The shaikh's house, which is known to fellaheen as maftul (castle) is usually large and built of bricks. In contrast, the fellaheen live in mud houses or sarifahs (huts made out of reeds) and have poor furniture. Many fellaheen live with their livestock in the same sarifah. The sarifahs are to be found near irrigation schemes and along streams. The great part of rural southern Iraq lacks a pure water supply, which is the most important key to the rural health problem. Moreover, there is no proper sewage disposal unit for waste water. As a result, the sarifahs are by no means healthy.

Actually, the problem of housing is acute throughout Iraq. In 1956, there were only 111,871 brick houses, in comparison to 194,629 sarifahs, 304,296 mud houses, and 15,282 tents. The average number of persons per room (excluding small villages of less than fifteen houses each) was 2.73. There was only a small percentage of houses with baths (10.2), with toilet (33.4), with electricity (16.9), or with piped water (20.8). The number of houses which used rivers or streams as sources for domestic water supplies was 370,785, and only 154,395 houses used piped water.

Table XXXI shows the type of residence in rural southern Iraq.

Education

Education is related to a great extent to the income level of the people.

Some of the fellaheen who send their children to school in nearby towns use education as a channel for upward vertical mobility. It should be emphasized that nearly 80 per cent of the population of Iraq are illiterates, and the fellaheen comprise the majority of this group. Illiteracy among the fellaheen class does not mean at all that they do not like to send their children to schools. Actually, the shaikhs resist establishing schools on their land, because such change may threaten their interests.

Personal Qualities

Almost all Iraqi people look to bravery, hospitality, generosity, and honesty as desirable and important personal-ity qualities. Accordingly, the writer does not agree with Barber, who has pointed out that personal qualities, such as bravery, pleasantness and honesty are a secondary criterion

TABLE XXXI

CLASSIFICATION OF POPULATION OF GARMAT BENI-SAID BY TYPE OF RESIDENCE

Quarter or Village	Houses and buildings		Mud-houses		Multi-family houses			Huts, other	
	No. of families	No. of persons	No. of families	No. of persons	No. of houses	No. of families	No. of persons	No. of families	No. of persons
Beni Saad tribe	--	--	3	20	--	--	--	716	3,515
Albu-Khalifah tribe	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	439	2,043
Um-Nakhlah	6	47	36	259	--	--	--	827	4,712
Beni-Muslim tribe	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	184	999
Al-Gerbathiyah	--	--	7	57	--	--	--	507	2,863
Emsharejah tribe	--	--	1	7	--	--	--	571	3,739
Al-Mumineen	1	17	2	7	1	4	41	218	1,309
Al-Hameedi tribe	1	18	--	--	--	--	--	229	1,305
Al-ziad	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	192	1,072
Al-Sada tribe	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	163	993
Al-Jubair	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	980	5,338
Different villages*	1	13	4	40	--	--	--	726	4,046
Total	9	95	53	391	1	4	41	5,752	31,934

*This group includes 11 villages; 10 of which with a population of more than 200 persons and the remaining are less than 200 persons.

of status.³ In the tribal system of Iraq, these qualities are a primary criterion of prestige. The head of a tribe must be brave, honest, and hospitable. Others who acquire these qualities, whether in cities or rural areas, usually have good reputation and esteem. This is, perhaps, one of the results of the influence of the Bedouins, who put these qualities above all things.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

Social mobility is more conspicuous in cities than in rural areas. In rural areas, there is no social mobility as far as the fellaheen themselves are concerned, unless it comes through their children. The fellah who always occupies an inferior position spends all his life as a fellah, not by choice, but by circumstances. Changing occupation is the only opportunity for upward mobility. This may happen when the fellah is able to migrate to urban centers. In fact, such migration can be regarded as the major channel for vertical social mobility in rural Iraq.

Recently, the fellaheen have begun to send their

³Bernard Barber, Social Stratification (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957), p. 46.

children to schools in nearby towns. Primary and secondary schooling is practically free. Children usually do not return to their homes after they finish high school, as they would occupy the same position as their fathers. Instead, they stay in the towns or cities in order to find jobs and improve their status.

In rural areas, then, the social status of a person is determined, to a great extent, by criteria of income and education.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Class consciousness is conspicuous in Iraqi society. The fellaheen are aware of their position and conditions. They have often expressed their resentment in clashes with their shaikhs or in migrating to cities. Thus, one can say that the class conflict between these two classes (shaikhs and fellaheens) is very strong.

CHAPTER XI

THE RELATION OF LAND TENURE TO SOCIAL MOBILITY: MIGRATION

Migration, or the movements of people from one locality to another, is socially significant. Sociologists are interested in migration for the following reasons:¹ "(1) it is the means by which the individual finds, or attempts to find, a better adjustment in the social and economic order; (2) it is the means of correcting the unbalance between population and the natural resources; (3) by disturbing the age and sex composition of a particular segment of the population;" (4) it breaks the social bonds and institutional ties of the individual, and therefore influences some major institutions and agencies; and "(5) it affects the economic order because the movement of individuals involves the movement of economic goods."

Hence, migration affects not only the cities, but the rural areas and the migrants themselves as well. Moreover,

¹Lowry Nelson, Rural Sociology (New York: American Book Company, 1955), p. 123. See also Max Sorre, Les Migrations des peuples (Paris, 1955), pp. 9-10.

migration requires adjustments to problems, not only in terms of housing and vocational skills but also in terms of personality. In its simplest terms the migration of an individual "places him in a situation involving social adjustments greater in degree than he is accustomed to making, and often they are new in kind."²

This chapter will deal with the internal migration of rural population within the national territory of Iraq.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

The predominant factor for the migration of the fellaheen to the major cities is the hard conditions of life which are created by the land tenure system. This includes the continuous tension between the landlords and the fellaheen, depressed conditions of the latter, and lack of facilities for medical care, pure drinking water, and schooling. In addition, the city attracts the rural people because of the promise of industrial employment or other work, and because of the promise of a better, or more convenient life.

²Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953), p. 280.

CONDITIONS OF MIGRANTS

Most of the rural migrants are youth adults.

Migration from the country to the city is characterized by the concentration of migrants at a few places, for instance, al-Asima in Baghdad. The main reason for this concentration is the different level of living, way of life, customs and folkways of the city inhabitants from those of the migrants. Because of social adjustments, which are greater in degree than they are accustomed to make in rural areas, the migrants move to places where they can maintain their tribal traditions and their own way of life. Actually, one can find a small replica of tribal life among recent migrants. Each individual is proud of his own tribe, and the members of a certain tribe live together. The migrants solve their problems according to their tribal traditions. No one should deviate from the tribal agreements or decisions which are taken by the whole tribe; otherwise, the disobedient will be punished or neglected.

The migrants live in mud huts or sarifahs (huts made out of reeds). In 1951 the International Bank³ estimated

³Op. cit., p. 55.

the number of sarifahs in Baghdad at 60,000, in addition to 20,000 in Basrah. According to an official estimate, the number of rural migrants to Baghdad in 1956 was nearly 120,000 persons.⁴ According to the same source, most of the migrants were from Amarah province, belonging to many tribes such as Beni-Lam, Albu-Mohammed, Azairij, and al-Sawáid.. Actually, many migrants also belong to other tribes of Amarah including al-Mayah, al-Bahadil and albu-Amer. Large numbers of rural migrants also came from Muntafiq and Kut.

A great number of rural migrants who settled in Baghdad, are now workers and have jobs as policemen, soldiers, janitors, guards, and so forth. Although their level of living is still low and they can not attain their desired conditions of life, they are, as many of them put it, "at least safe from the oppression of the shaikhs."

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

The migration of rural people has its social, psychological, and economic effects on the city, the village, as

⁴Ministry of Interior, Letter No. 2388, February 11, 1956.

well as on the migrants. Some of these effects are:

1. The cultural gap between the rural tribal people and the urban people which delays the process of assimilation.
2. The concentration of the migrants in a few specific localities, and the ethnocentric feeling which clearly appears in their behavior and attitudes.
3. The ignorance prevalent among the migrants.
4. The great percentage of illiterates among the migrants.
5. The competition between the migrants and the city workers over jobs, which forces the former to accept low wages. The consequence is the lowering of the level of living of other workers and a reduction in the national income.
6. The poor sanitation of their slums, which become suitable places for disease.
7. A high rate of infant mortality among the migrants' families.
8. A decrease in the number of children born in the rural areas.
9. A decrease in the number of agricultural laborers.

The Government Policy

The past governments did not have a forward looking policy relating to the increased migration of the rural population. Actually, no serious steps were taken to solve this problem. Instead of providing suitable housing for the migrants, the government attempted to clear the slum areas and force its dwellers to go back to their villages. This unrealistic action failed. Then, the Ministry of Social Affairs, in its Letter No. 6441 of August 3, 1955, consulted other ministries on the causes, effects, and solutions for this problem. The replies concentrated on finding a suitable solution to the problem, and agreed the main causes for the problems were the land tenure system.

The International Bank, in its report to the government of Iraq, has recommended that the government "is required to take the initiative in providing suitable housing for the lowest economic strata of the population, such as the Baghdad sarifa dwellers. This is a special kind of problem, which cannot be expected to be undertaken by other agencies."⁵ Although this recommendation was made in 1951,

⁵IBRD, op. cit., p. 451.

the government, or to be specific the Ministry of Development, has not undertaken to solve the problem as yet.

The migration of the rural population is increasing, and will continue to increase as long as the land problems prevail.

CHAPTER XII

LAND REFORM: BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Land reform is a change in rural community, which ostensibly leads to the improvement of social and economic conditions of the people who work on the land. Therefore, reforms are social in nature, and are of significance to the rural sociologist because they deal in one way or another with human relationships.

The under-developed countries have a predominantly agricultural economy. This is true in Asia, Africa, and most of the Latin-American countries. Here the relationship between land tenure and land reform is obvious, since agriculture is their main source of income. Demands for agrarian reform become a matter of life or death to a great number of peasants throughout the world. This may explain, to some extent, the social unrest in most of the under-developed countries.

Solutions and Recommendations of the Experts:

Analysis and Evaluation

Many solutions, recommendations, and suggestions have been advanced as to how the land tenure system and problems

confronting rural southern Iraq might be overcome or minimized.

1. The first of these solutions was presented by the late prime minister Yaseen al-Hashimi. In his report to the Ministry of Interior, when he was then the governor of the Muntafiq province, al-Hashimi stated that not only the landlords are the obstacle to the agricultural development of the country but also their agents (sirkals). He recommended that cropper fellah's share "must not be less than 60 per cent" of the produce.¹

2. Fahmi, in his report to the Ministry of Finance, has pointed out that the large holdings which some individuals possess should not be an obstacle in the way of the right of tenancy.²

It is impossible to admit the right of enjoyment of the benefits of the lands to those landowners who did not formerly participate in the activities relating to cultivating them.³

Fahmi stated also that the right of tenancy which some landlords exercise on the land cannot be considered as valid. He recommended that the land "should go back to those who

¹Official Report No. 4966 (August 20, 1924).

²Fahmi, op. cit., p. 27.

³Ibid., p. 25.

used to cultivate them in former years before they passed into the hands of the present landowners."⁴ His proof that the present alleged rights of tenancy are incorrect "is the fact that the lands in question stretch in certain part over a vast area and in some cases their boundaries are fictitious."⁵ Fahmi, however, did not agree with the opinion that the land in question and the right of tenancy which belong to certain individuals should be granted to their present sirkals (agents) and fellaheen on the sole contention that the latter are still cultivating and plowing them. He believed that:

If the motive behind this view is the desire to safeguard the rights and welfare of the class of the 'Fellah,' I am not convinced that this hope can be fulfilled. So far from achieving real improvements in this country from an administrative and social point of view an attempt to attain the desired effect through this method would very likely not ensure to the cultivator any more than he is enjoying under the present conditions.⁶

Fahmi suggested that in order to extricate this complicated state of affairs, "the establishment of well-defined and permanent rules, is essential."⁷

3. In 1929, the government of Iraq had requested Sir

⁴Loc. cit.

⁵Loc. cit.

⁶Ibid., p. 26.

⁷Ibid., p. 24.

Ernest Dowson to make his recommendations on the problem of settlement of title. Dowson admitted, in his report to the government, that the general absence of reliable information was baffling.⁸ However, "the lack of a well-documented collection of information about existing conditions of land tenure throughout the country was not on consideration surprising, having regard to the vicissitudes of modern Iraq's short history."⁹ The main point which was emphasized in his report was "the injurious effect of the prevailing welter of insecurity and confusion both on agricultural productivity and on public order."¹⁰

According to Dowson, the confusion of land tenure throughout Iraq, generally, is not confined to one form of land. Therefore, the main problem of land tenure is the need to establish security and clarity of tenure by a general definition and settlement on a clear legal basis.¹¹ For Dowson believed that "a systematic settlement offers the only realizable prospect of establishing any general certainty and security of land tenure throughout the country."¹²

⁸Dowson, op. cit., p. 7.

⁹Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 75.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 6, 34, 43, 56, 75.

¹²Ibid., p. 45.

Moreover, he recommended that,

The best course would be to establish a special Land Court to operate in conjunction with settlement and to hear appeals from, or cases referred to it by, the settlement authorities. Careful provision would have to be made to limit these cases to the minimum strictly justified and necessary. . . . It [land court] would be able to deal with the cases submitted to it more rapidly and consistently and with much greater insight than the ordinary courts.¹³

Dowson has avoided, in his report, a consideration of many features or "incidentals of existing land tenure," particularly the various forms of tenure. He admitted this. He also admitted the repetition and discontinuity on consecutive reading, for he realized that "it is impossible to present this intricate question in any readily digestible form."¹⁴

Dowson's recommendation concerning the establishment of a special land court is impracticable. There were many courts in Iraq which dealt with settlement of land, but they were partial to some of the influential individuals. After all, Dowson himself stated: "Personal influence with the most effective arbiter is commonly the decisive factor at any moment in any particular land dispute: and anyone may

¹³Ibid., p. 46. See also pp. 47, 77.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 9.

find the most convincing claims set aside."¹⁵ Warriner comments on this point that "it would have been better to have proposed the allotment of a specific area of land to every adult male cultivator whose right to participate was recognized."¹⁶ Actually, the mere distribution of land to "every adult male cultivator" is not a good enough solution to settle the problems of land, for the cultivator needs draft animals, tools, and access to credit facilities, which they do not have. (See Chapter XII.)

4. Saad Salih, who was a governor of Amarah province in 1944, pointed out in his report to the government that the concentration of land in a few hands is the main obstacle to the agricultural development of the country. Salih recommended that the status of the fellah must be improved and his level of living must be raised.

5. The mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development submitted to the government of Iraq a series of recommendations covering a broad field. As for the land tenure problem, the Bank recommended that the living standard of the fellaheen should be improved

¹⁵Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁶Land Reform and Development, p. 146.

by a rise in productivity. Since Iraq is one of the Middle Eastern countries which has large reserves of cultivable land, then the increase in agricultural production, in the future, will inevitably come from the settlement of new land (by small-holders).¹⁷ The Mission, however, realizes that farmers need access to credit facilities in order to purchase fertilizer, draft animals, tools and machinery; and that the agricultural Bank "does not at present adequately serve their needs."¹⁸

In addition to these recommendations which have been submitted to the government, there are also some other suggestions advanced by certain writers and authorities. Hashim Jawad states that a drastic reform of the land tenure system is needed and that the small farmer is given a stable title to the land he cultivates. "The present system of land tenure can be condemned not only because it is out-of-date, but also because it is a brake on other possible economic developments. It is, in short, mainly responsible for the backward state of Iraqi society today."¹⁹ Jawad

¹⁷IBRD, op. cit., pp. 218, 267. Also p. 104.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁹Jawad, op. cit., p. 30. Mr. Jawad is presently the Iraqi Minister of the Foreign Affairs.

suggests also that the right of the majority (the fellaheen) must be insured too.²⁰

A. Soussa suggests in his book Irrigation of Iraq that Iraq needs sufficient increase of farm population to cultivate the whole cultivable area. Actually, under the prevalent land tenure conditions, Iraq does not need any more farm population. A large number of fellaheen work only half of the year and they are jobless in the remaining period, since they leave the land fallow approximately every other six months. Some fellaheen, who are indebted, leave the land to go to cities in an effort to seek work. This action does not solve the problem or any phase of it.

Al-Dilli states that "it is not secret to announce the backward of Iraq's agriculture," and its low productivity. He suggests that radical reform for the land tenure problem is urgent. This reform can be achieved only "if there is a solution to the continuous disputes over the right of tenancy, and also if there are more committees and courts to investigate the problem."²¹ This is not a

²⁰The Proceedings of the Conference on Middle East Agricultural Development, p. 175.

²¹"Introduction," in Abdullah al-Fayad The Problem of Lands in Muntafiq Province: Historical and Economic Study (Baghdad, 1956), pp. 6-8. (In Arabic.)

radical reform. The many committees formed to deal with the land problems could not obtain satisfactory results. As for the courts, the writer has already pointed out the impracticability of such suggestions; for there were many courts which had already partially dealt with these problems. Al-Dilli was, a few years ago, the Minister of Agriculture. During his term, no progress was made in this area.

Abdul Majeed Mahmood, former Minister of Development, states that the Iraqi government is "much concerned with the agrarian reform." He believes that agrarian reform is needed "if we create a modern fellah and also a modern village." He also recommends that the land in the south must be distributed "in small holdings, 50-75 donums each."²² These suggestions were never put into effect, and the fellah became, during this minister's term, more backward than ever.

The Government Policy

Despite all these recommendations and solutions, the government did not solve the land problems. However, many laws were passed to deal with these problems.

Some of these laws are confined to particular

²²Al-Zaman Newspaper, September 20, 1954.

provinces. Law No. 42 of 1952 concerning the land problem of Amarah provided that half of the land in this province should be leased to the fellaheen. In practice, the Law failed to fulfill its aims. As a result, a new law was passed (Law No. 53 of 1955 for the Distribution of State Lands in Amarah Province). This Law also emphasized that half of the lands in Amarah should be leased to the fellah-
een. The Law, moreover, provided that the land to be distributed must be cultivable (of flow-irrigated land) in units of 7 to 20 donums. This Law was useful in the beginning, but later failed to accomplish its purpose.

There are also some laws concerning the land problems in Muntafiq. Law No. 23 of 1929, governing land disputes, was a failure, and has been replaced by another law (Law No. 40 of 1952) which attempted to compensate landowners for their land to be leased to the actual cultivators and occupants of the land. The Law was theoretically good, but in practice it was a failure because of the resistance of the landlords. There is also the Ordinance, No. 27 of 1954, concerning land value. This ordinance depends in its practice upon the completion of the land survey of the province.

Many other laws concerning land settlement and problems in Iraq were also passed. Law No. 11 of 1940 determined

the size of land parcels which can be sold and registered officially at 5,000 donums.²³ The defect of this Law is mainly the large holdings which the government permits.

Another law, Law No. 23 of 1945, was passed for the development and cultivation of Dujaila lands which later was annulled because of the execution of the new law (No. 43 of 1951 Concerning the State Land). The latter provided that the State Land should be administered by a central committee, to distribute the cultivable land as units. Each unit should not be more than the following:

100 donums--in the flow irrigated lands

200 donums--in the low pump lands

400 donums--in the rainfed lands

Article 3 of the Law stated that areas for development shall be established, provided that the acreage of each must be:

2,000 donums--in the mountainous lands

20,000 donums--in the flow irrigated and pump lands

80,000 donums--in the rainfed lands

Another law, No. 52 of 1952 Concerning the Miri-Sirf (State) Land Development Regulation, provided that the land,

²³Law 11 of 1940, Article 4.

in order to be distributed, should be subdivided into farm units (as the case in the Miri-Sirf "State" Land Development Law No. 43 of 1951). The Law allowed the settler to apply for a loan, and the fund is lent by the Agricultural Bank.

These laws which have not been enforced were designed to offer an opportunity to the peasants for better life on the land. Generally speaking, land settlement in Iraq has been a failure. Land settlement has not only been very slow, but also helped the landlord class to consolidate its power and to resist land reform. Furthermore, personal and political influences on the settlement commissions were always strong and effective. These commissions "tended to become the resort of high officials who were neither energetic nor competent, and [who] did not stay long enough to acquire the experience needed: it is not surprising that they were corrupt."²⁴

In addition, the State lands were not distributed solely to the fellaheen. Some of the land laws (for instance, Law No. 43 of 1951 and Law No. 52 of 1952) provided that

²⁴Warriner, Land and Poverty in the Middle East, p. 112.

land should be distributed to graduates of the agricultural schools and retired officers of the army and police if the State Land Committee is satisfied with their abilities and desire for agriculture. The fact is those men are not interested in cultivating the land as much as the fellaheen.

On the whole, these many land laws were not effective. The mere passing of laws from time to time is not the complete solution to the land problems. Settlement and development of new land in Iraq involve large cost outlays. Protective measures against health hazards, essential housing facilities and the important agricultural services are all required for such a settlement. More significantly, impartiality should also prevail. Unfortunately all these have been ignored.

DUJAILA PROJECT: AN EXPERIMENT IN LAND REFORM

The growing discontent of the fellaheen has forced the government to pass, through its Parliament, Law No. 23 of 1945 (For the Development and Cultivation of Dujailah Lands.)²⁵ Although the Law did not state the purpose or the aim for the development and cultivation of Dujailah

²⁵Later amended by Law No. 43 of 1951.

lands, one can find out by studying the Law that it aimed at socio-economic changes by allowing peasants to have a right to own land which was to be distributed by the government. This project for settlement is the first of its kind and also the largest in Iraq.²⁶ The project, which occupied nearly 142,500 donums, is situated to the south-east of Kut on the Tigris. More significantly, the project depends to a large extent upon the Dujaila Canal which irrigates an area of approximately 395,500 donums.

Distribution of Land

Dujaila lands are administered through a central committee, one of the main functions of which is to distribute Dujaila land into units of not less than 100 donums each. A peasant may not own more than one unit. Priority was given first to inhabitants of Dujaila and next to residents of neighboring provinces.

To be eligible for a land unit a cultivator should not be less than 18 years old. A cultivator should also provide the Committee a medical certificate stating that he

²⁶There are six more settlement projects, four in the north and two in the central part of the country.

and his family are in good health.

The distribution of Dujaila land was to be done by an agreement between a settler and the Committee. The terms drawn for this purpose are included in a special form called "Cultivation and Development Contract." According to this contract, a settler cannot lease, transfer or give the right of disposition of land to any one else. He must reserve five donums to plant a garden in his unit. Moreover, he should employ technical methods for the cultivation of his land. Furthermore, he should undertake to build dwelling places within his unit for his own residence and for his assistant. A settler must promise not to cause any damage to other settlers, and not do anything detrimental to security and peace in Dujaila.

If a settler repeatedly ignores the obligations specified in the contract, the unit will be taken from him. But if he does not violate the terms laid down in the contract then the unit will be allotted to him gratuitously after ten years from the date of signing the contract. In case of his death, his rights and duties will be transferred to his legal heirs.

In 1945 there were only 85 settlers. The number of settlers increased to 1,540 families in 1956. These

families were selected from different tribes, such as Beni-Lam, Albu-Draj, Al-Yassir, Al-Mayah, and Al-Magasees.

Educational Service

Although educational institutions are still developing in this area and existing institutions are not adequate for many reasons, the number of students is increasing rapidly each year. In 1954-1955 there were six primary schools with 702 students and 20 teachers, while in 1948-1949 there was only one school with 112 students and four teachers. It is expected that the number of students will increase more rapidly if schools are not situated in places so far from the project.

The UNESCO has done a tremendous effort in the field of education. After signing an agreement with the government of Iraq in 1951, the UNESCO commenced its "fundamental education" program by establishing two schools, one for boys and one for girls. This program emphasized means and ways of better living. In addition to the regular classroom work in the boys' school, the program includes extensive training in the school experimental farm. In the girls' school, cooking, sewing and hygiene are taught. Girls are also trained in agriculture. In order to improve their health

conditions, students in both schools are supplied a daily lunch and some vitamin tablets.

The UNESCO has trained Iraqis to take over the schools. In 1954-1955 there were 13 trainees, ten men and three women, preparing for this work.

In addition, the UNESCO established a clinic which provided for the treatment of minor cases. The clinic also assisted the settlers by giving them advice and directions, and served, as one of the authorities put it, "as a health education center at the same time."²⁷

Health Service

Almost all the early settlers suffered, at one time or another, from one or more of the main diseases of rural Iraq, such as bilharzia, dysentery, trachoma, and tuberculosis. This was especially true in the beginning days of the project. Bilharzia was one of the common diseases among the new settlers. Because of the lack of running water, they were forced to drink from the Dujaila Canal water. Poor nourishment was, and in fact still is, the main reason for

²⁷Hassan Mohammed Ali, op. cit., p. 95. Mr. Ali is the president of Miri-Sirf (State) Land Development Committee.

the unhealthy conditions of Dujaila settlers.

Much effort has been made recently to prevent the spread of such diseases. The two clinics in this area, along with the mobile clinic, have done great service to the settlers despite the fact that there is no doctor in the settlement and the medical facilities are limited. However, there is a doctor who comes once a week from Kut.

Rural Industry

The government has established some light industries in Dujaila including a textile plant, a carpentry shop, and a machine shop. These factories provide gainful employment for the settlers to supplement their income.

The textile plant is one of the most significant and successful light industries on the project. It is capable of furnishing the settlers and others with inexpensive locally-produced articles such as blankets. The Indian expert in rural industry, Mr. Chitra, who was also working for one of the United Nations organizations, assisted the government of Iraq in establishing this plant.

Agricultural Service

Agriculture in Dujaila, as well as in other parts of rural Iraq, is characterized by primitive farm practices. Ancient implements and other means of cultivation, which have not been modified much even today from this ancient basic form, are still used. Modern machinery has recently been introduced in rural Iraq. The Agricultural Machinery Administration is responsible for the importation and distribution of these machines. In 1956, Kut, including Dujaila, had 28 tractors, 22 ploughs, seven cultivators, eight combines, two disc harrows, one ditcher and one automatic trailer. The fellaheen are unable to buy or even to take on rent such a machinery. The system of rural credit is inadequate, and the fellah finds difficulties in getting loans to pay as rent for a modern implement or to own storage facilities to protect his produce.

However, the settlers have more advantages than other rural population, like assistance and advice in the field of agriculture, especially in the case of plant disease. One of the main diseases that hits the area is the inflorescence root of palm dates.

The chief insect pest recently has been the Spring Bollworm (*Earias insulana*) which has in

some seasons virtually ruined the entire cotton crop but now seems likely to be controlled by the latest insecticides. . . . The ministry of Agriculture is combating these diseases and pests by modern methods; in locust-fighting Iraq is among the most advanced countries in the world.²⁸

According to an agreement signed by the governments of Iraq and the United States of America in April, 1953, the United States government is to provide technical cooperation and assistance for the development and settlement of State lands, including Dujailah. The assistance includes a group of technicians to collaborate with the government of Iraq in planning and operating the program of settlement. The equipment, facilities, and services needed by the technicians are to be provided by the government of Iraq, while the salaries and allowances are paid by the United States government. This agreement remains effective through June 30, 1960.

The Cooperative Movement

The cooperative movement began in Iraq in 1944 when

²⁸Royal Institute of International Affairs, The Middle East (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 260. See also Sadiq Abdul Ghani, "Stages in the Development of Agriculture in Iraq," Iraqi Agriculture Magazine, Vols. II and III (1957). Mr. Ghani is presently Director General of Agriculture (formerly Director of Plant Protection), Ministry of Agriculture.

Cooperative Law No. 27 of 1944 was passed. This was just a century after the introduction of the movement in England by the "Rochdale Pioneers."²⁹ However, the land tenure system has restricted the spread of the cooperative movement in great part of rural Iraq. Except to some extent in Dujaila, cooperatives have not been active.

According to official data, there were only eleven cooperatives in southern Iraq in 1956: one credit cooperative in Dujaila, one housing cooperative in Basrah, and nine credit and consumers cooperatives in Kut. There were no cooperatives in either Amarah or Muntafiq.³⁰

Neither Law No. 23 of 1945 for the development and cultivation of Dujaila lands nor Law No. 45 of 1951 mentioned anything about cooperatives. However, Article 7 of the Regulation No. 12 of 1946, for the development and cultivation of Dujaila lands, stated that cooperative societies are needed for improving the conditions of farmers.

In 1947, a cooperative society was established by the settlers of Dujaila. This cooperative society was divided into two sections: producer and consumer. Thus,

²⁹See Statistical Abstract, 1956, p. 110.

³⁰Loc. cit.

the statement of Seton Lloyd in 1949 that in spite of the fact that the Dujaila project had been in effect for four years, "the mechanism of assignment has so far proved imperfect, and the cooperative organizations which would be indispensable to success are only now under discussion,"³¹ is not correct, as far as the cooperative organization is concerned. Such organizations are already in existence, and the most successful example is that of the Producer's Cooperative which was formed some two years before Lloyd made his statement. Moreover, in 1951 this cooperative owned a clubhouse, a flour mill, ten tractors, ten ploughs, and two trucks. It rented tractors to its members at a very reasonable rate. The revenues of this cooperative from February 1, 1950 to April 20, 1951 amounted to ID 6,024.991,³² and the account showed a surplus of ID 2,069.296.³³ The cooperative, therefore, offered valuable services to the settlers.

The cooperative, however, broke down in 1952. The

³¹See Cooke, op. cit., p. 189.

³²ID equals Iraqi dinar. One dinar equals to one sterling or \$2.80.

³³Dujaila Committee, Baghdad. See also IBRD, op. cit., p. 262.

reasons for its liquidation were: inexperience, mismanagement, inefficient accounting system, and the action brought by some of the members against the cooperative. The same year, the cooperative expert, Mr. Haig, recommended that cooperative organizations were needed in Dujaila. His recommendations had no response but that of silence from the Development Board. All efforts to establish new cooperatives were also met with failure.

Evaluation

Generally speaking, the social and economic conditions of the settlers of Dujaila are better than those of other peasants in southern Iraq. They are also more content. However, the project has some defects, which can be summarized as follows:

1. Technical Problems: Salinity and drainage are perhaps the most serious problems of the project. In fact, this is the problem of southern Iraq as a whole. Drainage is one of the main problems which must be solved to increase the productivity of agriculture. Because of lack of drainage facilities, salination of Dujaila land has increased and led to rapid deterioration of the soil. In his report on the development of Iraq, Lord Salter wrote, ". . . the

area was settled without detailed soil investigations and assessment of the relative merits of particular plots. Thus some settlers were allocated poor salty land."³⁴

2. Economic problems:

a. The income of the settler is, in many cases, to be shared by a tenant. This can be illustrated as follows: usually, some settlers bring other farmers to till their land or do some other work on a share-cropping basis. This may lead to what might be termed a "small-scale-landlordism," which is against the aim of the project. The reason for this is the large unit which was allotted to the settler. This is especially true as long as the implements of cultivation remain unchanged. The International Bank pointed out that "the size of the plot to be assigned to each settler seems in some cases to be too large. Fundamentally the allotment should not be bigger than that which can be managed by the average farm family without outside assistance."³⁵ The settler thus would be able to handle this large area if he has

³⁴The Development Of Iraq: A Plan of Action (Baghdad: Iraq Development Board, 1955), p. 193.

³⁵IBRD, op. cit., p. 269. See also Ali, op. cit., p. 95.

access to modern agricultural machinery.

b. Lack of storage facilities which force the settler to sell his produce immediately and sometimes at low prices.

c. Inadequate system of agricultural credit: This is a crucial problem of the whole of rural Iraq. According to Regulation No. 44 of 1946, the settler may receive a loan, not exceeding ID 100, to enable him to utilize his land, and he should repay the loan in installment within five years. However, the settler may postpone paying the installment due in case of damage to his crops. In order to get a loan the settler must apply to the Agricultural Bank. In spite of the fact that the Agricultural Bank was established by the government in 1937, it has many defects. Limited capital is one of the reasons that the Bank was unable to serve all the settlers who applied for loan. Another reason is the high interest the borrowing settler must pay. Another is adequate security, i.e., the mortgage, which the settler must offer in order to be able to get a loan. In most cases the settlers are unable to present such security. This may force them to borrow from the moneylenders.

d. Failure of the cooperative organizations.

3. Administrative problems: The number of administrative staff, which was 75 persons in 1951, seems to be very large for such a settlement. Moreover, the overlapping responsibility of different Ministries (Agriculture, Economic, Development, and so forth), creates problems of administering to the Dujaila needs.

4. Social problems: The settlers live in houses which are relatively far from their plots. They waste money, effort and time when they have to travel from and to their plots. This scattered type of settlement was ill-advised and without regard to the need for community life. If such facilities as pure water, health centers and schools are to be provided, the community pattern should be improved by a closer grouping of homes.³⁶

On the whole, Dujaila project is a courageous step forward against the power of the big landlords, who tried to prevent their fellahhen from meeting with the State Land Committee which selected the settlers and distributed the land.³⁷ The new settlers do not surrender a share of their

³⁶See IBRD, op. cit., pp. 16, 271, 437.

³⁷Some of the landlords were, however, able to obtain, in one way or another, some of the State lands of Dujaila.

output to landlords. They are much better off than the "sharecroppers" or fellaheen in other areas and they have more community facilities.

The most significant pattern of this settlement is that the settlers were selected from different tribes. The president of the State Land Committee points out that "it was hoped that by living and working together in one community, tribal prejudice will be lessened and that a national rather than a tribal spirit will dominate. This hope was concretely realized on this particular project."³⁸ In fact, establishing schools on this project was one of the successful steps in breaking the tribal assabiyah (tribal solidarity).

Dujaila project could be more successful if the authorities enforced the settlement laws and regulations fully.

THE REVOLUTION AND THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW

The revolutionary government announced August 4, 1958, that the produce must be equally shared by the landlord and the fellah, and that the landlord is responsible for the

³⁸Ali, op. cit., p. 86.

irrigation and management of his land.

On September 30, 1958, Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassim announced, over Baghdad radio, the birth of the Agrarian Reform Law. The aim of this law is not only to distribute land to the fellaheen but also "to destroy the political influence which the feudal lords enjoy as a result of their ownership of vast areas of lands . . . influence which was used to place obstacle in the way of governmental administration."³⁹ Moreover, the Law has another aim: to raise the standard of living of the peasants as well as the standards of agricultural production.⁴⁰

The Agrarian Reform Law deals with limiting agricultural landholdings, agricultural cooperative societies, organization of agricultural relationship, and rights of the agricultural worker.

Concerning the limitation of agricultural holdings, the Law states that the area of agricultural lands possessed by one person shall not exceed 1,000 donums, or 2,000 donums

³⁹From a speech by the Minister of Agriculture, Hudaib al-Haj Himoud, broadcast over Baghdad Radio, September 30, 1958. See Agrarian Reform Law of the Republic of Iraq, published by the Office of the Cultural Attache, Embassy of the Republic of Iraq, Washington, D. C., October, 1958.

⁴⁰Loc. cit.

of the land watered by rain. Holdings in excess of the maximum will be seized by the government within five years following the date of Law enforcement. However, until the time comes for complete seizure of the excess land, proprietors may continue to exploit properly the entire agricultural land they possess. Such persons will be entitled to compensation for their lands, immovable property, pumps, tools and machinery which the government may decide to seize. Compensation is to be paid in government bonds bearing 3 per cent interest and redeemable within a period not more than twenty years.

The seized lands, along with the State lands, shall be distributed among small landholders within five years of the date of enforcement of the Law.⁴¹ Each unit of holding should not be less than thirty donums and not exceeding sixty donums of the land irrigated by artificial means or by free flow, and not less than sixty donums and not more than 120 donums of the land watered wholly by rain. Smaller units may be distributed if the government desired so. Small landholder must be an Iraqi adult, a farmer by profession and an

⁴¹The government may sell to individuals parts of the expropriated land if this is dictated by the national economy.

owner of less than sixty donums of lands irrigated by artificial means or free flow (or 120 donums of land watered by rain). Priority shall be given to those who are actually cultivating the land. The new landholder must pay in return the price of land. An annual interest of 3 per cent and 20 per cent of the compensation are to be added to the price which should be paid in equal installments within twenty years. Moreover, within five years of the date of acquiring the land, the landholder should give it the necessary care, otherwise the land will be retrieved from him and he will be considered as a tenant. Those who are not remiss in any of their obligations, have the right to transfer the land title of ownership, provided that five years have elapsed since the date he acquired the land.

According to this Law, the farmers, who have acquired land, have the right to form agricultural cooperative societies. The cooperative society must provide the farmer necessary requisites for the exploitation of his land, must sell his crops on his behalf and render all other agricultural and social services.

As for the organization of agricultural relationship, the Law states that agricultural relations between the landholder, the sharecropper, and the agricultural worker must

be regulated as of the beginning of the agricultural season following the enforcement of the Law. Direct relationship between the landowner and the tenant is required. Hence, a written contract must be made. According to the Law, the landowner, who is responsible for managing the land, must provide the agricultural worker with arable land, seeds, and irrigation facilities; while the agricultural worker must undertake to carry out his duties by giving the land the necessary care, using the best possible agricultural methods, and reaping and collecting the crops. Field crops and vegetables must be distributed as shown in Table XXXII below:

TABLE XXXII

DISTRIBUTION OF FIELD CROPS AND VEGETABLES (IN PERCENTAGE)

(According to the Agrarian Reform Law)

	Land irri- gated by free flow	Land irri- gated by artificial means	Land watered by rain
Land	10	10	10
Water	10	20	--
Laborer's work and seeds	50	40	50
Protection	7.5	7.5	12.5
Reaping or collection	12.5	12.5	17.5
Management	19	10	10
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Farm laborers shall not be expelled from the land against their desire and will, and they have the right to form unions to defend their common interest.

Evaluation

Land reform is of significance to the rural sociologist insofar as it deals with human relationships in the rural environment. Actually, land reform is a change in rural community which does not comprise improvement in the economic institutions only but in the social institutions as well.

Hence, the mere distribution of land is not in itself a solution to the social and economic conditions of the rural population. "There is still so much to do in Iraq to reclaim and resettle cultivable land, that the reform by itself cannot solve the country's problems overnight. But at least it opens the door to better living and better farming."⁴² Land has to be developed. More irrigation schemes, agricultural extension services, rural education, and medical care are needed. However, the revolutionary government did not ignore these facts. Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassim stated that the new owners of land "will receive help and assistance from

⁴²Christian Science Monitor, October 1, 1958.

the government."⁴³ He also declared that modern villages will be built in different parts of Iraq; and promised new houses to all Iraqis now dwelling in sarifahs (huts) and in slum areas. These, when achieved, will certainly improve the conditions of the rural people, and lessen the migration from rural areas to cities. The distribution of land is a slow procedure. The revolutionary government realized this fact when it announced that this will be done within five years following the enforcement date of the Agrarian Reform Law.

Complaints by landowners against peasants and vice versa, concerning the share and disposition of crops, continue to reach the authorities. Quarrels between the two groups also occur from time to time.

True and sincere cooperation between the peasant and the landowner on one hand and between them and officials on the other, the work of all to raise production and to secure peace and stability, all these will have the greatest effect on the success of the agrarian reform, and its quick implementation.⁴⁴

In brief, the distribution of land is now in progress. The writer believes that the fellaheen will achieve, in the long run, great gains from the Agrarian Reform Law.

⁴³From a speech broadcast over Baghdad Radio, September 30, 1958.

⁴⁴Himoud, op. cit.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

The study of land tenure in Iraq leads to a hypothesis that under a system of large private estates, the social relations between the landowners and tenants will be rigid. It follows from the above that the more we know about the character of the landlord, the clearer will be our understanding of the position of the tenant and his relationship to the landlord. The shaikh-fellaheen relationships in southern Iraq has always been based on the extreme inequality of land ownership. The shaikhs or the large landowners, became not only the sole owners of the land but the masters of the land and the most influential people of rural southern Iraq. The lack of cooperation between the landlord shaikh and the sharecropper fellah, and the growing discontent of the latter led to the peasant uprisings of 1952 and 1956. These uprisings tended to improve the social and economic conditions of the fellaheen and to change the unsatisfactory land tenure system in southern Iraq. These uprisings paved the way for the revolution of 1958.

In this regard, the writer believes that the extreme concentration of land in a few hands, which is usually accompanied by rigid relationships between landlords and tenants, may lead to a revolution. Revolutions of this kind may or may not be bloody. T. Lynn Smith states that land reforms, as a rule,

. . . come quickly through violence, as one of the ingredients in a deep-seated revolution. Happy should be the society in which extreme concentration of land can be prevented or overcome without the necessity of undergoing the untold agonies that accompany revolution.¹

To evaluate this statement, one may say that not all the revolutions which have occurred throughout the world were accompanied by what Smith calls "agonies." Even if the revolution was accompanied by "agonies," this does not mean that the results or the consequences are always bad. The "agonies," in most cases, do not last long. Agonies are usually replaced by "welfare" to the great number of people, especially those who are tilling the land. It is the nature of the revolution that it seeks the welfare of the great majority of the population. In addition, history teaches us that the price of this welfare is expensive. I believe,

¹Smith, op. cit., p. 321.

therefore, that the society which prevents or overcomes the extreme concentration of land by peaceful or revolutionary means is a happy one, especially if these means lead to the benefit, welfare and dignity of the great majority of the population.

The revolutionary government of Iraq announced its intention of redistributing the land within the next five years. The redistribution of the land is a very important part of a land reform program in almost all the agrarian countries of the world. Karl Marx, however, prophesied "the disappearance of small-scale production in agriculture." This has been amply disproved. Almost all the peasant uprisings in the world sought the improvement of the tenure conditions, and also the redistribution of the land in order to maintain small-scale production in agriculture. Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin pointed out that,

. . . a bird's eye view of the history of many societies, especially those which have lived for a long period, shows the existence of long time cycles in which a wave of concentration of land (and consequently a growth of social stratification) is replaced by a wave of deconcentration (and a decrease of stratification), to be superseded by a new wave of concentration, etc. At one period small-scale peasant enterprises are driven out by large landholdings, exploited either in the form of large capitalist enterprises or in the form of parasitical leases of portions of the land to free or unfree tenants.

At another period the process is replaced by the opposite one, by a growth of the small peasant or farmer landholdings at the expense of the large estate of big landowners.²

These cycles suggest that small-scale production in agriculture never died. It is obvious that the trend since the second half of the nineteenth century has been towards breaking up large holdings. The Socialist movements in many European countries in the nineteenth century were actually in favor of the small-holder.³ This trend is still being carried out successfully in many agrarian countries of the world. The writer therefore believes that the small-scale production in agriculture shall not disappear in the future..

In addition to the redistribution of the land, community planning and development are needed in rural southern Iraq. The statement made by many writers that Iraq was the only country in the Middle East which had progressed farther

²Sorokin, et al., op. cit., p. 370.

³"As late as 1920 the Kassel Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party had to pass a resolution declaring that 'at present it is not possible to reach agreement on the economic importance of the various sizes of agricultural undertakings.'" David Mitrany, Marx Against the Peasant: A Study in Social Dogmatism (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951), p. 217.

along the path of economic progress, under the direction of King Faisal and Nuri al-Said,⁴ is not correct. Iraq was, and in fact still is one of the poorest of the Middle Eastern countries. It is true, however, that the economy of Iraq is based on agriculture and oil, and that land is fertile and water is abundant, but the fact is that Iraq could have been the richest of all Middle Eastern countries if the past governments exploited and utilized the many natural resources for economic development.

With the introduction of the Agrarian Reform Law, one can say that Iraqi rural society is undergoing change. It must be noted that the rural society is tribal in nature, close-knit, homogeneous, and oriented toward traditional goals and values, which cannot be easily abandoned, as they are regarded an over-all design for living. Moreover, the rural people offer active resistance to changes in their family system, for they fear that such changes would lead to insecurity and frustration. Also they do not accept any change which is in conflict with their Islamic religion. Here a hypothesis may be advanced that in the process of

⁴See for instance Robert Strausz-Hupé, "Foreward," in F. I. Qubain, The Reconstruction of Iraq, 1950-1957 (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1958).

acculturation fundamental beliefs tend to change more slowly than the material aspects of culture.

Thus, the writer agrees with Margaret Mead that "any change must be examined from the point of view of the individuals who are exposed to the change."⁵ Man's thinking has an important part in any change. The rural people do not resist changes which are to their benefit or result in satisfaction of their needs. As a matter of fact, the only people who resist changes are the big landlords, because change threatens their vested interest.

A change in one aspect of the rural culture will have greater or lesser repercussion on other aspects. For instance, establishing factories in rural areas may transform women's role. The woman would no longer need to weave cloth at home to meet the demands of her family, for she could procure factory made cloth inexpensively, or she may find a job in a factory, instead of working with her husband on the farm. Nowadays, the fellaheen who are receiving holdings from the revolutionary government began to realize the social and economic advancement. It is hoped that the revolutionary

⁵Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (New York: New American Library, 1955), p. 270.

government will not only be able to distribute holdings among great numbers of the fellaheen, but also to bring more beneficial change to them after many decades of severe suffering.

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The writer was born February 12, 1930, in the city of Baghdad, Iraq. He received his elementary and secondary education in the public schools of that city. In 1949 he attended the College of Arts, University of Baghdad, and was graduated with the Bachelor of Arts Degree in June, 1953. From September, 1953 to January, 1956 he was a member of the faculty of the Nasiryiah Secondary School in southern Iraq. During this period he taught two courses: one in economics and one dealing with social and economic problems in Iraq.

In 1956, he attended the University of Kansas, where he received his M.A. in Sociology and Anthropology in June, 1957.

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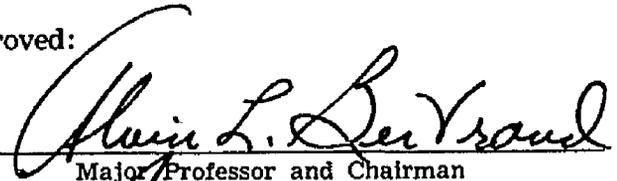
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Candidate: Fuad Baali

Major Field: Sociology

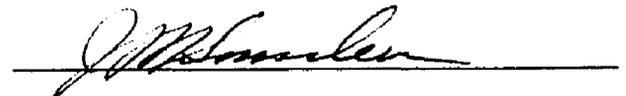
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