

ROZHOVORY A MATERIÁLY /INTERVIEWS AND ARTICLES

The British mandate in Iraq (1920 - 1932). Considered history of formation, existence and liquidation the British mandate of The League of Nations in territory of Iraq (1920 - 1932). /Britský mandát v Íráku. Z historie formování, existence a likvidace britského mandátu Společnosti národů na území Íráku (1920 - 1932)

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Abstract

The following text provides insight into the development of the situation in today's Iraq during the postwar British mandate. It deals with issues of political relations with imperial issues of international politics, security issues, the problem of the phenomenon of oil and modern international history.

Abstrakt

Následující studie přináší pohled na vývoj situace v oblasti dnešního Íráku v době poválečné britské mandátní správy. Zabývá se souvislostí otázek politických s otázkami imperiální mezinárodní politiky, bezpečnostními otázkami, problémem fenoménu nalezišť ropy a moderních mezinárodních dějin.

Key Words: Mesopotamia, Persian gulf, oil, Great Britain, the mandate, Arabs, Sunnis, Shiites, Kurds, Iraq

Klíčová slova: Mezopotámie, Perský záliv, ropa, Velká Británie, mandátní správa, Arabové, sunnité, šíité. Krdové, Írák

Events in the North Africa and in the Near East in 2011 – 2012 especially a situation in Libya and Syria, active participation in these events of the leading countries of the West, such as the USA, Great Britain and France, again compel us to remember history of mutual relations of the East and the West especially in XX century the item.

After all the history teaches us to estimate correctly present events, leaning against examples of the past and so we can correctly understand in what the essence of that occurs in region presently consists.

The majority of the states of the North Africa and the Near East, for example such as Libya, Tunis, Syria and Iraq, were formed on the basis of former colonies or under control territories of the European states therefore it is not surprising, as after declaration of their independence former mother countries haven't lost the political and economic interests in these countries.

Interesting and indicative the history of occurrence and functioning of system of mandates of The League of Nations in former territories of Ottoman Empire is especially indicative. Proceeding from aforementioned, the given research had for an object consideration of a theme of formation, existence and liquidation, the British mandate of The League of Nations in territory of Iraq (1920 – 1932) and the analysis of the general consequences of the British mandatory management for this country.

Among problems of the given research, the following was:

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1. Revealing of the reasons from which Entre Rios the Tiger and Euphrates has got to a focus of interest of the British imperialists and process of realization by them of the aspirations, reception of the mandate of The League of Nations in Mesopotamia became a consequence of that.
2. Consideration of circumstances because of which London has been compelled to begin construction of the Iraq state and process of formation of its state institutes and registration of frontiers.
3. Consideration and the analysis of consequences of the British mandatory management in Iraq (1920 - 1932).

The Ukrainian researchers, both in Soviet period, and at the time of the independence, the given problem was not consider. Almost, however the considerable attention to it given by other Soviet researchers, among the first there was S. Kechejjan – the author of analytical research “Mandates of The League of Nations in the countries of the Arabian East” [1] which has been given out in the Baku in 1930 that is even at the time of existence of mandatory system. In the small monography the author considers history of occurrence new to system of the international relations of the phenomenon, analyzes the reasons of its occurrence and its nature, separately considers features of each mandate, including in Iraq.

As to research of the British mandate in Iraq, already exclusively as historical problem it is necessary to note in the book of A. Menteshashvily “Iraq in days of the English mandate” [2], published in 1969. Research is devoted all aspects of the British mandatory policy, attempt to state an estimation to it and its consequences, and national-liberation movement of the people of Iraq, during this period becomes.

On the post-Soviet territory the problem was studied by Russian researchers, among which it is possible to note dissertations on reception of scientific degree of the candidate of historical sciences of Ali Oda Ali “Iraq-English relations (1914 – 1932)” [3] and M. Musorina “Formation of the Iraq society in the British mandate of The League of Nations (1920 – 1932)” [4]. The first research is devoted consecutive

consideration of history of an establishment, functioning and cancellation of the British mandate in Iraq; the estimation given to results and value of the British mandatory management. The second research represents the detailed analysis of consequences of influence of the British mandatory policy on the Iraq society.

The book of the E. Tikhonova “Ethnic and confessional communities of Iraq in days of the British mandate” [5] and the dissertation on reception of scientific degree of the candidate of historical sciences of G. Valiahmetova “Struggle of the great states and the oil companies for the Iraq oil (1912 - 1928)” [6] is devoted separate aspects of a problem.

However, despite of the considerable contribution of the Soviet and modern Russian science officers to this point in question research, unlike the western countries, on the post-Soviet territory this problem isn't investigated yet to the full and has the subsequent prospect of the studying.

On the eve of the First World War, British Empire still was on the peak of the power known as period Pax Britannica. Its possession stretched on all occupied continents and made almost a waterless valley quarter. The empire population totaled about 400 million persons that also equaled almost quarters of all humanity.

The British fleet actually supervised all important shipping routes especial value among which had the shortest sea way from Europe to South East Asia that lay through Suez canal. In the world distribution of English language which gradually selected at French status Lingua franca, and also the English right, technologies, English system of measures.

In the XX-th century beginning British Empire has taken hold of new territories, in 1902 Transvaal and the Orange Free State in Southern Africa have been annexed. Economically also other independent states such as Persia, China, Argentina have politically been subdued. Near-Eastern possession of Ottoman empire, especial value among which had Palestin which was in immediate proximity to Suez canal and

Mesopotamia which left to Persian gulf were one more region which used special attention of the British imperialists.

Mesopotamia was a part of Ottoman empire with 1534. To 1869 in its territory there was a unique administrative unit – the Baghdad pachalik which has been divided into three vilayets later: Baghdad (it is formed in 1869), Mosul (is allocated from structure Baghdad in 1879) and Basra (is formed in 1884) [2, p. 11].

On the eve of the First World War the population of Mesopotamia fluctuated from approximately 2 million 500 thousand to 2 million 700 thousand persons [2, p. 11; 5, p. 37]. Mesopotamia was a residence of Arabs, Kurds, Turkmens (Turcomens), a Turks, Moslems-immigrants from Caucasus, Persians, natives of India, Jews, Armenians, Assyrians and Lures [7].

Arabs were the greatest ethnic community in region, their quantity made approximately 75 % from the population [2, p. 38]. Kurds made about 18 %, and others among which Turkmens, Assyrians were the numerical, Jews and Armenians made no more than 7 % from the population of Mesopotamia [7].

Moslems were the greatest religious community of region. Under the different data, they made from 94 to 96 % of the population of Mesopotamia. Number of Ummah as of 1914 – 1920 it agree approximate calculations, made from 1 million 800 thousand to 2 million 65 thousand persons [5, p. 68].

The population of northern and northeast of Mesopotamia practiced Sunnis, and the majority of the population of the south and the center – a Shiites [2, p. 15].

In the social and economic relation, Mesopotamia was backward area of Ottoman Empire. The basis of its economy made by agriculture, thus on village dominated foundations similar to the feudal. Moreover, at small population density and favorable conditions for such forms of agriculture, as cultivation of grain crops, dates, a cotton, tobacco and grapes. The region agriculture was in the XX-th century beginning on the decline. Crops were low and unstable. For example, the mesopotamic farmer received no more than 8 quintals wheat from hectare.

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Such position of local agriculture has been caused: shortage of an area under crops (on the eve of the British occupation from 12,5 million hectares of the suitable earth to processing it was processed only no more 0,5 million hectares that is approximately 4 %), decline of irrigating system (became nothing as for the sake of restoration of ancient dams which regulated periodic flooding of the rivers and their current, and networks of channels on which water got to crops), backwardness of instruments of labor and methods of processing of the earth, high governmental taxes, severe conditions of the renting, an awful road condition and vulnerability of peasants-felahov from attacks of nomads-bedouins.

Turks did not show a particular interest concerning use of local natural and human resources and almost did not undertake real steps, which would directed on a raising of local economy (the exception makes a small complex of reforms of Midhat-Pasha, which were spent in XIX century). That according to A. Menteshashvily: “Prevented to start up it deep the root in Iraq. Therefore, they made impression of time governors which have aimed to squeeze out of the country as much as possible juice, while it under their power” [2, p. 21, 58].

British Empire began to strengthen gradually the trade and economic and political positions in the valley Tiger and Euphrates from middle of XIX century. Together with all colonies and first of all India, Great Britain confidently kept the first place in export of Mesopotamia, on the eve of the First World War its destiny will approximately make 60 % [8, p. 269].

From agriculture, products to Britain took out barley, wheat and rice, to India took out mainly rice, corn, lentil and beans. Trade grain with ports of Red sea and India has been concentrated in hands of firms from Baghdad and Basra which had the representations in London, Manchester, Bombay, Cairo and other big shopping centers of British Empire [2, p. 36, 54, 55; 3, p. 100, 103]. However, the monopoly for export of dates belonged to only British trading companies, which had branches in Baghdad and Basra. Dates had wide demand in America, Europe, Indus and East Africa [2, p. 54]. As to livestock products to India took out the Arabian horses and the cleaned off

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fat, to Britain and the Western Europe – skin and fur, to Egypt – a horned cattle [9, p. 29].

Among the import goods, which filled market of Mesopotamia the overwhelming majority as, made developed on spaces of British Empire. Therefore, three quarters of import occupied cotton fabrics [9, p. 28] which majority carried from Manchester and India. From India in Mesopotamia also carried jute bags, tea, a yarn and indigo, from the Wales in Mesopotamia coal, from Egypt – sugar, from Persia – tobacco delivered.

Besides the British firms carried out supply on a Mesopotamian commodity market from other countries which had considerable demand of local population. So from Brazil and Yemen imported coffee, from the USA – kerosene, from France and Austro-Hungary – wood, from other countries of Europe and Asia – a paper, paints, candles, tarbushes and other goods [2, p. 54].

It is necessary to notice that Mesopotamia together with other regions of Ottoman Empire as commodity markets absorbed a considerable part of the European export to Asia here again decades was stored stably a great demand on production of those branches of manufacture of the European countries which felt on itself demand falling in home markets, especially it concerned the textile industry [10, p. 137].

In region conducted the vigorous activity the British companies The British India Steam Navigation Company Ltd – an actual monopolist in transportation of cargoes and passengers in Persian gulf, The Euphrates and Tigris Navigation Company which belonged to a family Lynch and there was a monopolist on transportation of cargoes and passengers on the Tiger, a company of the Indian textile magnates of Sassoon (that had an origin from Jews of Mesopotamia) and others.

90 % of cargoes with the import goods passed through port of Basra, whence they were delivered to Baghdad, and then distributed on region [2, p. 54, 55]. It in turn did Basra by one of key points of a sea way: Britain – Gibraltar – Suez – Red sea – Bab-el-Mandeb – Arabian sea – Persian gulf – Indian ocean which was the shortest

route from Europe to India and all Southeast Asia and was under control of Great Britain [11, p. 148].

Some influential British colonial figures actively supported realization of building of a trunk-railway from Cape Town through Cairo to coast of Ganges. This «the iron hoop» should unite all British colonies, which had an exit to pool of Indian Ocean. Mesopotamia at the decision of this grandiose problem should become one of the major links in this chain [11, p. 147 - 148].

However, in the beginning of the XX-th century British Empire in region has a strong contender to its political and economic domination in the name of Germany for which Mesopotamia as becomes a zone of geopolitical interests.

Especial threat for the British domination represented by the project of the Baghdad railway, which realized from 1903 by the Anatolian union of the railways, which belonged Deutsche Bank. It, in the long term, should connect the Central Europe and coast of Persian Gulf.

Germany aspired to win the markets of the Central and Southeast Asia where its positions were weak in comparison with British or Russian therefore the project of the Baghdad railway should open a direct way to the German goods and capitals, and in the future and to German armies to these regions [12, p. 18 - 19].

Opening in 1901, near to the city of Mosul of major fields of oil, worthy for industrial working out became one more factor of an aggravation of struggle for Mesopotamia. These deposits became at once object of heightened interest from London, which has tried to achieve the right to their working out through The Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC). The requirement for it has been connected first of all with transition of the Royal Navies of Great Britain from firm (coal) on liquid fuel which has been predetermined by race of arms between the leading sea states, first of all Great Britain and Germany. The Anatolian union of the railways applied for their working out for which also stood Deutsche Bank and the German government. It will be created Turkish Petroleum Company (TPC), almost 75 which % of actions will

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appear in hands The Anglo-persian Oil Company (APOC) and the British-Dutch company Royal Dutch Shell and only 25 % will get Deutsche Bank that caused an indignation wave in Germany, but through the beginning of the First World War the company and has not begun work [13, p. 10 - 12; 14, p. 129 - 130].

Realizing importance of Mesopotamia, the British command began to prepare for fight for it for a half-month to the official introduction of Great Britain into the First World War, having thrown on islands of Bahrain the Indian forwarding case “D” under Arthur Barrett’s command. It has been predetermined by consolidation of Shiites and Sunnis region for the sake of jihad against “Kafirs” both strong and desperate resistance Ottoman armies.

For this reason, when the victory has been reached and the armistice of Moudros on October, 30th in 1918 that has stopped operations between armies of The Triple Entente and Ottoman Empire is concluded, British could promote only to a line Tikrit-Ramadi-Hanakin [15, p. 89 - 96, 270 - 273]. That is vilayet Mosul, actually remained out of a limit of the British occupation.

9 – 16th May in 1916, in London the secret agreement between Great Britain and France about distribution of the Asian possession of Ottoman Empire entered into. This agreement concluded in the form of an exchange of notes between the French ambassador P. Cambon and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain E. Grey that has received the name “Sykes-Picot agreement”, formed from connection of surnames of diplomats, which have prepared its project, British Sir Mark Sykes, and Frenchman François Georges-Picot. According to the contract the most part of Mesopotamia entered into “the Red zone” (the Part Baghdad and Basra vilayets) where direct British control was established. Last part would enter into “Zone B” on which political and economic influence of Great Britain extended. However, the most part Mosul vilayet, including the city of Mosul, entered into the “Zone A” that was submitted to political-economic influence of France [16].

But Great Britain wasn't going to give France a province rich with oil therefore considering that Syria and Cilicia (where France had regions strategic

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interests) were under control of the British armies, using inconsistent positions of the armistice of Moudros, British occupied also Mosul vilayet in the beginning of November in 1918 [17, p. 117; 18, p. 4].

However on the First World War outcome on international scene the United States of America, which introduction into war start to play party The Triple Entente actually more and more considerable role and has led to definitive crisis in war in interests of this block.

On January 8th in 1918 US president Thomas Woodrow Wilson at joint session of both chambers of the Congress has acted with the message in which the so-called program of the world presented in the form of theses, received the name «Wilson's 14 points contained.

The concept affirmed as first five points of "the open world»: discussion of peace treaties in the conditions of publicity, refusal of secret interstate arrangements, freedom of trading seaworthiness in peace and a wartime, destruction of economic barriers to international trade, reduction of national arms, the passionless and fair decision of colonial disputes.

Following eight points concerned post-war political arrangement in territories of the states, which took part in war, and mainly granting to the right people, on self-determination. Point 12 concerned a situation in Ottoman Empire where it told: "Turkish to parts of modern Ottoman Empire the strong sovereignty, but to other nationalities, which at present are under the Turkish power should guaranteed, the present guarantee of life and safe guarantee of independent development should be provided..." [19, p. 275].

To object the statement of principles of Wilson in a post-war world policy, Great Britain, which has had in war considerable losses in human, military and financial resources, as well as France, any more had no possibility that in turn did impossible realization of positions of the agreement of Sykes-Picot. Therefore, for Great Britain the important task is search of other way of fastening of control over

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Mesopotamia who would not contradict principles of a new world order and excluded direct annexation of this territory [1, p. 6, 9].

The destiny of Near-Eastern possession of Ottoman Empire and colonies of Germany has been solved at the Parisian peace conference which has opened the work on January, 18th in 1919 These territories left from under jurisdictions of Istanbul and Berlin and fell under system of mandates which gave the League of Nations – the international organization which creation was provided by the Versailles peace treaty for offers of US president T.Wilson.

Article 22 of the charter of the League of Nations where it noticed became a legal subsoil of creation of mandatory system that “the advanced nations of the world” receive guardianship over the people which occupy former territories of the won states and which are yet capable to supervise over itself in especially severe conditions of the modern world.

Mandates of the League of Nations divided into three categories:

“A” – territories of Ottoman Empire, including Mesopotamia, which have almost reached to development, which allowed them to become the independent states, with administrative and economic support of the state-mandatory.

“B” – the former colonies of Germany in the Central Africa that were subject to direct management of the state-mandatory state.

“C” – former German colonies in South West Africa and Oceania that directly coped the states-mandatory with distribution on them of their national legislation [1, p. 10 - 12].

The question on transfer of Mesopotamia under mandatory management of Great Britain has been solved at the international conference, which passed in the Italian city of Sanremo 19 – 26th April in 1920 then there was a solved question and about Mosul vilayet [19, p. 299], the ex-British agreement on April 24th has been

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entered into, agrees, which France conceded Mosul vilayet in exchange for the confiscated part of Deutsche Bank in TPC [13, p. 14].

When in Mesopotamia it known about the conference decision in Sanremo, in the country the enormous wave of the Anti-British moods has risen that, as a result, splashed out in mass revolt by summer-autumn of 1920.

In the beginning of July revolt has captured all area of Average Euphrates, the main force of revolt were fellahs, especially from area of dwelling of seminomad tribes which have risen against the British policy of expropriation the earths of a breeding society.

Sheikhs of tribes and spiritual leaders of the Shiites over whom the coordinating committee of revolt created by the organization «Haras al-istikljal» supervised headed revolt mainly.

Attempts of British to suppress revolt in its local phase have tested failures. Within July insurgents have put to the British armies a number of defeats and in the beginning of August have grasped considerable territories in the central and northern parts of the country. For suppression of revolt by British, it has been involved 65 thousand armies, and within autumn, using difficult relations between breeding leaders and extremely strict measures they were possible manage revolt.

However, despite defeat, revolt in 1920 has considerably affected the subsequent destiny of the country; its serious consequences have forced London to change the administrative policy in Mesopotamia. At first, there was a given consent to formation of a national transition government, and in 1921 the kingdom Iraq under the British mandatory management [4, p. 49; 20, p. 96, 186 - 190].

In the begun policy directed on kingdom creation, British have organization support of “Al-Ahd al-iraki” which supported a gradual way of Iraq to a direction of construction of statehood under the British protectorate. It has affected and election of Feisal – the son of the sheriff of Mecca and the leader of the Arabian revolt against Ottoman Empire Hussein al-Hashimi as the king of Iraq who to it has made

unsuccessful attempt to become the king of Syria, and expelled by the French armies. Its nominee confirmed in June in 1921 at conference of the Supreme commissioners in Cairo [4, p. 52].

Despite resistance of many representatives of a breeding top and various strata of society of Iraq, on August, 23rd 1921 under protection of the British bayonets the stranger for the country emir Feisal bin Hussein al-Hashimi has been proclaimed by the king of Iraq [4, p. 54; 20, p. 190].

On September 12th the first constant government of Iraq at the head by Abd ar-Rahman al-Gaiyani, former nageeb of Baghdad, the leader of the organization «Al-Ahd al-iraki» [4, p. 56]. Major-General Sir Percy Zachariah Cox, the skilled colonial figure became the first High commissioner – the head of the British mandatory administration.

It is necessary to pay attention that British have counted on Sunnis, but in the country the majority there were Shiites, after all the majority of secular elite was in numbers Sunnis, supporters of a direction in Islam, which was the state religion of Ottoman Empire [4, p. 31]. In the future, it will lead to new splashes in intensity between Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq.

On October 10th in 1922 was the first treaty between Great Britain and Iraq which has legalized the British mandatory management in Iraq by the bilateral agreement is concluded.

In the spring in 1925 the constitution of Kingdom Iraq, which proclaimed its sovereign, independent state with the constitutionally monarchic form of government, accepted, however the state sovereignty was limited to the contract in 1922.

According to the constitution, the legislature in the state belonged to a parliament of two houses, which consisted of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and to the king. Thus, members of royal family could not be senators and deputies. The Chamber of Deputies selected on general election, by ballot. The king appointed

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senators. The senate had large powers, including could cancel the lower chamber decision.

During mandatory management parliamentary elections have taken place in 1925, 1928 and in 1930 [2, p. 108].

Men who have reached twenty years` age had a vote only, that is the considerable part of the population has been deprived the right to will. Thus, the result of will considerably deformed, after all the considerable part of the population was uneducated.

Ministers of the government were appointed by the king, however the government was accountable before the lower chamber of parliament which had the right to put forward to it impeachment. The government had the right to demand from the king of dissolution of parliament at “force majeure”, exact definition that, the constitution did not give.

The king of Iraq had no right to make any decision without council with the British High commissioner, last through the king had influence on the government, senators and loyal deputies [2, p. 110].

Thus, independence of the Iraq state institutes was only formality while the real power belonged to the British mandatory administration. However, the Iraq state institutes were only on stages of the formation, in due course their role in political life of the country will grow.

Enough difficult there was a problem of formation of borders of Iraq, there was especially sharply a question on an accessory Mosul vilayet, claims on which were put forward by Kemalist Turkey. The Mosul question became a subject of fierce debate between Great Britain and Turkey at the Conference of Lausanne (1922 – 1923), further, within several years the Mosul question was considered at sessions of Council of the League of Nations, and later it has been taken out and on consideration of Constant chamber of the international justice in the city of Hague [2, p. 149].

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The ethnic and religious structure of the population of a province and the right of its ethnic and religious communities to self-determination and free, gradual development was one of primary factors to which the parties constantly appealed.

The Turkish side insisted that overwhelming majority of the population of a province have a Turkic origin and practice Islam, in this connection aspire to association with Turkish Republic and to self-determination within the limits of this state.

However, the British side in turn not only challenged statements of opponents, but also actively tried to get support of the Assyrian and Christian, Arabian and Jewish population of region [2, p. 156; 5, p. 181 - 182]. As the majority of the population of Mosul vilayet was made by Kurds who ethnically and linguistically have not been connected with other population of area and aspired to the national sovereignty and creation of the independent Kurdish state [5, p. 182], dispute, round an accessory of vilayet became the aggravation reason in relations between ethnic and confessional communities in region.

The diplomatic conflict has been settled because of treaty signing between Great Britain, Iraq and Turkey in Ankara on June 5th in 1926 according to which Turkey has refused harassments to Mosul vilayet, recognizing the Turkish-Iraq border established by the League of Nations (“the Bruxelles line”). In exchange for the refusal of territorial claims, Turkey should receive 10 % of incomes of Iraq from the Mosul oil within 20 years [2, p. 149; 13, p. 71 - 96, 109 - 131]. At the same time, contradictions between ethnic and confessional communities, which were, pointed as a result Mosul the political and diplomatic conflict, not only haven't been settled by its termination, but also have received the continuation in tragically events of the next years.

The Kurdish problem has appeared most sharply, during the period of the British mandatory management in Iraq three Kurdish revolts led by sheikhs Mahmud Barzandji in 1919 – 1925 [2, p. 192 - 193; 22, p. 34 - 38, 43] both brothers Mustafa and Ahmed Barzani in 1931 – 1932 [23, p. 9 - 10]. Nevertheless, the aspiration of the

Kurdish people to acquisition of the national sovereignty in this or that form, in the mandate and next years and remains unsatisfied.

Before the First World War Assyrians lived generally in vilayets Van, Diyarbakir, Bitlis, Kars and also in the Persian province Azerbaijan (generally around Lake Urmia), quantity of Assyrians was considerable smaller, nevertheless, they lived in Mesopotamia there a compact community. War has introduced the corrective amendments, Assyrians have lifted revolt against Ottoman Empire and have been compelled to run in large quantities to Persia where were at war at first as a part of Russian army, and in 1917 have incorporated to British.

After the termination of operations, Assyrian leaders have mentioned a question on returning in native places, but the British command, referring to adverse political conditions of the moment, has suggested them to lodge temporarily in territory of Mesopotamia under control to the British armies. They placed in camp for refugees under the city of Baqubah. When there was a question on the status of Mosul vilayet, and Assyrian refugees and did not manage to return home, the British mandatory administration has offered it to lodge in territory of a disputable province and to generate special subdivisions for protection of vilayet from intrusion of Turks and Kurdish insurgents. British promised to Assyrians an autonomy in Mosul vilayet, but promise performance was postponed without day. Opposition during time of the Mosul political conflict, struggle against Kurdish insurgents, have essentially complicated position of Assyrians for many long years. [2, p. 218, 224 - 229; 24, p. 32, 84 - 106; 25, p. 47 - 108].

In 1922 emir of Najd bin Saud has refused the suzerainty rights in relation to the Arabian tribes in territory of Iraq after that in 1925 made boundary delimitation between Iraq and the Saud`s state [26, p. 144].

British have accepted a number of economic measures, among which definitive fastening of the breeding earths to sheikhs what they began to lease and sell therefore market relations on village became stronger. Modernized tax system, having

divided taxes to four groups: small taxes, the tax to cattle, to property and agricultural activity [2, p. 120 - 128].

The British companies have kept the monopoly in those spheres of economic activities where they dominated before the First World War. One of the main and most difficult economic problems there was a question on working out of the Iraq oil; struggle for it lasted during all period of the British mandatory management in Iraq, and has passed in two stages: 1918 – 1928 and 1928 – 1932. The first period connected with dispute of Great Britain with France and Turkey round an accessory Mosul vilayet about what it told earlier. In addition, attempt of the USA to achieve independent working out of the Iraq oil by the American companies thanks to principle upholding “open doors and equal possibilities” of which infringement Washington accused London. Division of actions TPC between D’arcy Exploration Company (affiliated structure APOC), French paragonovernmental *Compagnie française des pétroles*, Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company (affiliated structure Shell) and Near East Development Company that represented interests of the American companies, all of them have received on 23,75 %. Company of C. Gulbenkian received also 5 %.

On July 31st 1928 participants of the TPC have signed “the Group agreement” or “the Agreement on the Red line”. It provided the admission to participation in oil working out on any site, which was in region limits outlined by “the red line” all shareholders of the multinational corporation in that proportion which, they had in the company capital if the concession on this site was received by one of them. The area, which was outlined by “a red line”, included Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, Cyprus and Arabian peninsula, except Kuwait. The same agreement fixed the non-profitable status of the multinational corporation, which only extracted oil in territory of Iraq and transported it to Mediterranean Sea, also it definitively fixed share distribution resulted earlier [6, p. 154, 183, 184 - 187]. In spite of the fact that APOC has received only equal part of actions of the multinational corporation (with 1929 Iraq Petroleum Company) on a number with the French, American and private holders of shares, the British diplomacy as a whole, could receive a victory in ten years' struggle for the Iraq oil. After all Mosul rich with oil, vilayet kept beyond Iraq. The multinational corporation actually became the exclusive

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owner of the rights to working out of the Iraq oil, which has received an exit to Mediterranean Sea thanks to pipelines and the railways, which steels to erect according to agreement conditions in Sanremo. Requirements of British Empire for oil completely provided. At last, the formula of distribution of actions in the multinational corporation and “the Agreement on the Red line” steels though also compromise but favorable alternative to a principle “open doors and equal possibilities” which completely satisfied Great Britain.

The second stage of struggle connected with attempt of the companies which were not included into group of shareholders of the TPC / IPC to achieve redistribution of the rights to working out of oil deposits of Iraq and all Near East.

In 1928, the TPC / IPC have a competitor in the name of The British Oil Development for which there were powerful financially industrial groups of Great Britain, which interests ignored at creation of TPC / IPC. In addition, the Italian paragonovernmental company Azienda Generale Italiana Petroli (L'Agip) and financially industrial groups of Germany, Switzerland and France. They managed to achieve redistribution of concessions in Iraq; however, IPC reserved the most part of oil deposits [27, p. 14 - 19].

In 1930, the new treaty between Great Britain and Iraq on which Great Britain recognized independence of Iraq signed and was obliged to achieve its acceptance in the League of Nations. The treaty consisted for 25 years; on its conditions, Iraq has been obliged to consult to London on all foreign policy questions, and to render it the all-round military help [3, p. 139 - 170].

Iraq accepted in the League of Nations in 1932 therefore, action of the British mandate stopped. Thus, the establishment of the British mandatory mode in Iraq was some kind of the compromise between British imperial aspirations and a new political conjuncture of the post-war world.

At the same time, to use the mandate of the League of Nations as cover of annexationism also it was not possible to overcome definitively through an

inconsistency of London powerful resistance of national-liberation movement of the people of Iraq therefore London has been compelled to begin process of construction of the Iraq state.

Creation of the independent state, which connected, with Great Britain favorable to last agreements, which guaranteed protection of its political and economic interests, completely satisfied London, however it promoted also to gradual development of Iraq, its formation, the state institutes, to registration of its borders and protection of its political and economic interests. It is possible to name occurrence and gradual formation of independent Iraq the main and most important positive consequence of the British mandatory management.

Among negative consequences it is necessary to note an aggravation of mutual relations between Sunnis and Shiites, and also Arabs, Kurds and Assyrians which has been caused by advantage which British gave to Arabs-Sunnis in establishment formation, and also Mosul crisis and unsuccessful struggle of Kurds, for acquisition of own sovereignty. Strengthening of economic dependence of Iraq from Great Britain and its actual elimination from distribution of the main riches of the country – oil.

Shrnutí

Autor ve studii vykresluje situaci v Iráku po první světové válce, v kontextu celého region. Zabývá se zákulisím britské mandátní správy a snaží se postihnout význam ekonomických otázek v soudobé politice, zejména otázek spojených s iráckými nalezišti ropy. Vychází z uvedené literatury a vydaných pramenů citovaných v závěru studie.

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