

BULLETIN
of the
REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

August

1964

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Front cover photograph :

Archaeological Museum, Baghdad
Left to right: Winged Bulls from Nineveh; reconstruction
of Babylon's Ishtar Gate

Embassy of the Republic of Iraq,
21 Queen's Gate, London, S.W.7.

Editorial

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ISRAEL AND ANTI-COLONIALISM

"Israelis sometimes make a similar claim of anticolonialism; to it they attribute (in part) the success of their aid to Africans and Burmese. They too asserted their independence against the British colonial power, but theirs too was a settlers' revolt. *Zionism was, in fact, the last successful surge of European colonialism into alien territory.*"

(Editorial in *The Guardian* of 1st August, 1964.)

In the lines which we have italicized, *The Guardian* exposes the fallacy in the Zionists' truly astonishing pretensions of anticolonialism—pretensions which have given Israel a sort of forged passport to the sympathy and welcome of certain states in Asia and Africa. "We are like you, an ex-colonial people," say the Israelis to these Asians and Africans. "We too suffered under British rule. We too had to fight our way to freedom, against the British colonial power in Palestine."

Like every other argument by which Zionism, and now the state of Israel, try to whitewash themselves and justify what they did in Palestine, this is not merely a distortion of the truth, but a complete and precise reversal of it. For though in the very last phase of their fruitful association with British imperial power the Zionist settlers in Palestine turned against Britain, it was to imperialist Britain that they owed their very existence as a political entity in Palestine. It was to imperialist Britain that they appealed during the First World War for help to establish themselves in Palestine, arguing in their approach to British politicians that a "Jewish National Home" in Palestine would be a useful outpost of the British Empire and an important base in its system of communications. It was imperialist Britain that issued the Balfour Declaration. It was imperialist Britain that obtained the Mandate for Palestine and had the Balfour Declaration written into it, whereby she undertook to further the invasion of Palestine by Jewish settlers against the wishes of the Arabs, the indigenous people of the country. It was imperialist Britain that occupied and ruled Palestine for thirty years, holding the Arabs down by force and giving the Zionists every facility to enter Palestine and colonize it. And if the Arabs resisted the invasion of these colonizers they were suppressed by the force of British arms.

Far therefore from being a subject colonial people who struggled for their freedom against British colonial

rule, the Zionists in Palestine were a creation of British colonialism. They were imposed on Arab Palestine as colonizers by a colonial power. And their colonization was the most terrible form of colonization for the native Arab population, for it meant the forcible settlement in their country of an alien people coming with the intention of possessing the land permanently and eventually dominating or kicking out the native population.

The mystique and policy of the Zionists was one of racial colonization and domination exactly comparable with that of the European settlers in Algeria before its recent liberation, and with that of the whites in South Africa. Indeed the whites in South Africa colonized the country and established their domination over its native population without the help of a European power. But the Zionists would have never been able to colonize Palestine had not Britain sponsored their invasion and nursed and protected their settlement through its formative years and until they were strong enough to seize the country from its people by a military initiative of their own.

Only then did the Zionist settlers turn against Britain. And they did so because they no longer needed her and because Britain, having helped them nine-tenths of the way towards establishing their colonial state in Palestine had certain understandable and creditable scruples about going with them the remaining tenth and openly handing Palestine over to them. They turned against Britain not as a subject people turning against its colonial oppressors, but as a junior ally might turn against a senior when the alliance has become a hindrance to the unfettered ambitions of the former. Moreover the aim of Zionist terrorism against the British Mandatory forces was not to free a subject people in its own land, but to help an alien minority of settlers to impose their odious form of racial domination over the majority in that land.

Thus the Israelis claim of anticolonialism belongs to that category of pretensions of which Sir Winston Churchill once said that "It is impossible to state with greater exactitude the very opposite of the truth."

The most breathtaking presentation of this claim was to be seen in the play *A Flag is Born*, by Ben Hecht, which was produced in New York in the autumn of 1946. The theme of that play (calculated to appeal to American disapproval of British imperialism) was that the struggle in Palestine was entirely one between the

poor oppressed Jews who were striving for their natural rights, and the wicked selfish British Empire which was denying them their lawful patrimony. The Arabs scarcely came into the picture at all. They were mentioned only twice, and then, as "our cousins" with whom the Jews had no quarrel and would settle down to idyllic happiness and cooperation with their Jewish relatives once the wicked British were forced out! This was only two years before the massacre of Deir Yassin and the brutal eviction of the Zionists' "cousins" from their homes.

There has only been one anticolonial struggle in Palestine. It is that which was waged by the Arab population under the Mandate from 1918 to 1948, against both the Zionist colonizers and the British imperial Power that was helping them. It is still being waged by the Palestine Arabs both from outside Palestine and, as recent reports indicate, from within, by the Arab population of Israel—a population first reduced to a minority in its own country and then treated as a second class minority subject to military restrictions and racial discrimination. From this population a resistance movement is beginning to emerge and has become serious enough for the Israeli authorities to take notice of it.

MILITARY OPERATIONS AND POLITICAL MOTIVES

Towards the end of May, British forces operating against tribesmen in Radfan who were in revolt against their Sheikh launched an all-out offensive calculated to starve the tribesmen into submission. This offensive was vividly reported by a number of British correspondents and the following comment on it appeared in a leading British newspaper: "British forces in Southern Arabia are now concentrating on the distasteful but unavoidable task of tightening the economic squeeze on thousands of inhabitants of the Radfan area, who are being driven from their villages into the barren mountains. Patrols are systematically burning foodstocks and farm stockades, and destroying livestock left behind. They are also preventing the inhabitants from returning to their villages to sow their crops now that the rainy season has arrived. Hundreds of square miles of Radfan have now been declared 'areas of military control'. Leaflets in Arabic proscribing an area are being dropped over villages by the Royal Air Force. They read: 'For your own safety you should leave the district by dawn tomorrow taking your women and children with you.'"

These brutal measures of total war against the entire civil population of Radfan were severely criticized in this Bulletin at the time and drew very hostile comments from the press in several Arab capitals.

On 2nd August a leading Sunday newspaper in

London published a despatch from its Middle East correspondent who, writing from Beirut, said: "Reliable sources say this operation, the latest Egyptian offensive against the Royalists, may be compared with the recent British engagement against rebel tribes in Radfan although on a much larger scale. . . . Reports from the battle area—fully confirmed by the International Red Cross—speak of a systematic destruction of villages, crops and waterholes, and of a starving diseased civilian population, crazed by incessant air attacks."

The suggestion here would seem to be that the Egyptians are doing in the Yemen something even worse than what the British did in Radfan. But even if the two operations share an unfortunate similarity of method, they differ radically in inspiration and purpose; and to present a mere catalogue of brutalities as an account of what the Egyptians and the Yemeni Republicans are doing against the Royalists is bound to give a very distorted and unfair impression to those who are not well acquainted with, or have not been reminded of, the political situation out of which the present military operations in the Yemen have developed, or of the issues involved in this conflict.

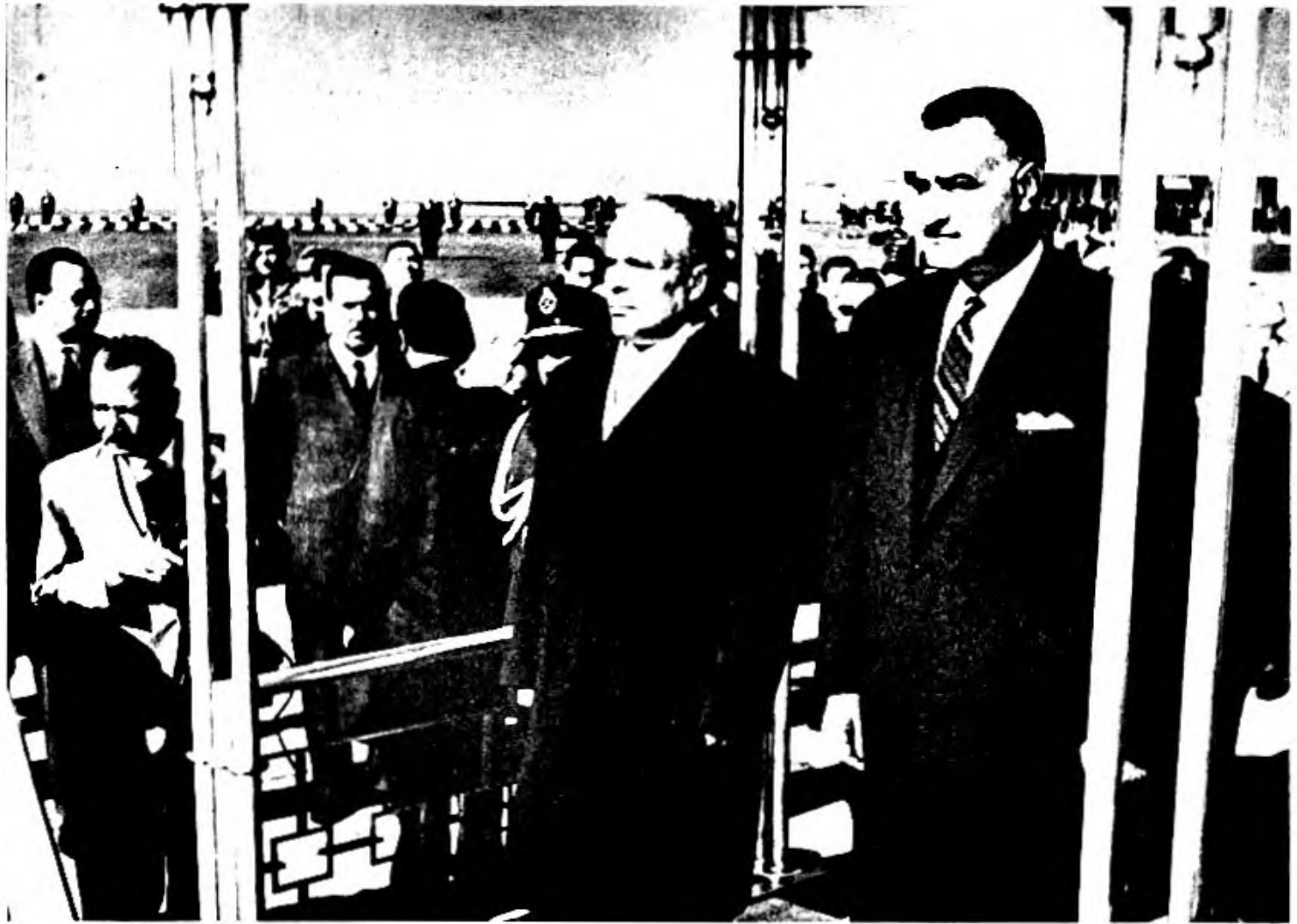
In Yemen the Egyptian and Republican forces are fighting to complete the overthrow of a barbarous and medieval tyranny (whose partial survival till now has been made possible by help from Saudi Arabia and the British-protected Sheikdoms in the Arabian South, encouraged by the British non-recognition of the Republican regime) and ensure the triumph of the progressive forces now operating everywhere in the Arab world.

In Radfan, on the other hand, the British forces were fighting on the side of reaction, to support regimes which do not differ basically from the archaic and despotic rule of the overthrown Yemen Imamate, because in the mistaken view of the British Government British interests in the area can only be safeguarded by the maintaining and the strengthening of Britain's alliance with the forces of the past.

All Arab nationalists see the difference between the Egyptian action in the Yemen and the British action in Radfan in these terms. It is to be hoped that enlightened people in this country will support their view.

PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA ON ISRAEL

It is not surprising to any Arab that President Bourguiba should have uttered—from the platform of the Organization of African States meeting in Cairo towards the end of July—a vehement denunciation and indictment of Israel. But it is interesting to note the comments on this fact by the special correspondent of *Le Monde* who was attending the conference, and who had a special interview with President Bourguiba after he had made his speech. This is what the correspondent of



President Nasser with President Bourguiba

Le Monde says: " Finally I had to ask M. Bourguiba why he had pronounced from the tribune of the Organization of African States a violent indictment of Israel which caused considerable surprise. For the first time since the beginning of the interview, the Tunisian leader became animated and even carried away: ' I have always said that Israel was a problem of colonization. Israel is the policy of colonial settlement pushed to the degree of paroxysm. In the middle of the twentieth century you haven't got the right to usurp the land of a people who had been in it for 2,000 years on the pretext that another people had been in it 3,000 years ago. It is an ugly thing on both the moral and political planes. It is now a situation from which there is no way out. It is enough to see the Arabs ceaselessly and bitterly brooding over their wrong. I said from the tribune that the countries of black Africa collaborated with Israel without realizing that the problem of Palestine was the same as that of South Africa. In saying that I was not expressing any anti-semitic

or racialist sentiment. In fact I have a great esteem for the Jews; in Tunisia they have always been well treated. I only denounce an injustice, a colonial injustice! ' "

What is significant in the comment made by the correspondent of *Le Monde* is that President Bourguiba's denunciation of Israel should have caused " considerable surprise ". This surprise only shows the failure of many Western observers to appreciate the depth and universality of the hatred which all Arabs feel for the injustice which is Israel. Obviously the correspondent of *Le Monde* had thought that an Arab leader as moderate and as Western in his manners and friendly to the West as President Bourguiba would be less hostile to Israel and less inclined to indict her publicly than other Arabs. President Bourguiba showed him how wrong he was.

PERVERSION OF A PROGRAMME

In our last issue, under the heading " Lift Up Your Hearts " we protested against the insertion into this daily religious programme put out by the B.B.C., before

the 8 o'clock news, of a blatant political propaganda talk for Zionism and Israel. We reported that the Iraqi Embassy had officially protested to the highest quarters at the B.B.C., and that it had received in reply a semi-apology in the form of an admission that the talk to which exception had been taken "may have been open to misconstruction", and an assurance that the B.B.C.

LIFT UP YOUR HEARTS

Fruitful Dust

A SERIES OF TALKS BY
THE REVEREND WERNER PELZ
BROADCAST IN THE BBC HOME SERVICE
4 to 9 MAY 1964

BBC

PRICE ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE

would "be making clear on the air that Mr. Pelz* has been giving his personal impressions of the religious significance of the story of the Jews of Israel".

We expressed our appreciation of the B.B.C.'s reaction to the Iraqi Embassy's protest and would not have

* Mr. Pelz is by origin a Jew, who became converted to Christianity and entered the service of the Church of England as a priest. We have nothing whatever against his Jewish origin. Our sole objection is to his marked and acknowledged Zionist sympathies, and to the opportunity given to him by the B.B.C. to broadcast pro-Zionist propaganda, as a minister of the Church of England and on a Christian religious platform.

returned to the subject had the matter rested there. But it did not. Indeed when we first drew attention to this abuse of the B.B.C.'s "Lift Up Your Hearts" programme for partisan political ends, we had no inkling of the full extent of the abuse. This was only revealed in the following days. For not only one such talk was broadcast by Mr. Pelz, but six—one daily from 4th to 9th May. The chronology was very significant, for this week came just before 15th May, which is the anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel. The broadcasts were therefore obviously intended as a commentary on that event. They could indeed be taken as the B.B.C.'s participation in the Zionist celebration of that fact, and that date. To say that Mr. Pelz was expressing his "personal impressions" was meaningless. The B.B.C. had given him a religious platform from which to broadcast the most emotive propaganda for the Zionist cause and the State of Israel. Lastly—and after the B.B.C. had admitted that the talk against which the Iraqi Embassy had protested, was "open to misconstruction"—the six talks, all of which, to put it mildly, were certainly open to the same misconstruction, were published as a B.B.C. pamphlet. For this act there can be no excuse whatever, and no apology that would be acceptable. The assurances given to the Iraqi Embassy had not been honoured. The identification of the B.B.C. with the theme of the talks became complete.

The entire incident was reported by a number of Palestine Christian Arabs, now resident in Britain, to Bishop Najeeb Qub'ain, the Arab Anglican Bishop in Jordan, who replied to his correspondent expressing his sense of deep shock at this perversion of a B.B.C. programme and saying that he had raised the matter with the Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem, and asked him to bring it to the notice of the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

It is very much to be hoped that there will be no repetition of this sort of thing.

The B.B.C. has an extensive Arabic service which has over the years gained much good will and respect among Arab listeners. The Corporation has also been respected in the past for the fairness and objectivity of its news handling in its English overseas broadcasts—notably at the time of Suez. But if once the impression spreads through the Arab world that there are hidden Zionist influences perverting B.B.C. programmes to serve their ends, the Corporation's prestige in the Arab world will suffer a mortal blow.

* Since then Bishop Qub'ain has written to his Arab friends in Britain informing them that he received a reply from the Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem, in which the Archbishop told him that he had written both to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the head of religious broadcasting at the B.B.C., and that he had had replies to both his letters, from which he understood that there had been a tremendous number of protests from all over England and that action had been taken to bring this matter to the notice of the B.B.C.

The U.A.R.-Yemeni Agreement

ON 13th July an agreement between the United Arab Republic and Yemen was signed in Cairo by President Gamal Abdul Nasser and President Abdullah Al-Sallal. As will be seen from the text which we give below, this Agreement follows closely the one signed on 26th May by Presidents Nasser and Arif and providing for a Joint Presidential Council for the two countries, as a first concrete step towards political and economic integration on the way to Arab unity.

THE U.A.R.-YEMENI AGREEMENT OF 13th JULY

Out of belief in true Arab being and in assertion of the unity of the Arab nation which emanates from one thought, one conscience and one destiny, and in fulfilment of the hope which derives its spirit from the facts of history and actual conditions, the Arab nation, which has worked steadily for the fulfilment of its great aims, finds it necessary to hold fast to its unity by thought and struggle, and to work for the return of life in its land to its true perspective and correct nature.

In its struggle, the Arab nation realizes, from faith and experience, that the present partition of the Arab homeland is only a false picture which represents a broken condition of society and which is seen in the barriers imposed by imperialism to suit its greed to exploit and dominate the Arab nation.

The hope of the Arab nation was rightly and evidently established when the pioneering Arab unity was fulfilled by the will of the Arab people in Syria and Egypt, and the U.A.R. was established by the true Arab will to assert that unity was not an impossible dream but a fact present in Arab being with all its dimensions and assets. The forces of imperialism and reaction which allied themselves against the cherished hope of the one Arab nation and evil elements rallied together to commit the crime of secession in order to retain the artificial conditions in the Arab homeland as they had imposed them and thus continue to usurp the right of the Arabs.

As a result of the crime of secession, a rich lesson presented itself which threw more light on the road of the Arab struggle and clearly identified its minute details to the Arab people, thus enabling them to equip themselves with all the means for the protection of their unity during its future stages. The forces of evil, oppression and imperialism imagined that the tide of Arab struggle was bound to recede and disperse after the accomplishment of secession, but the liberation revolution of the Arab people in Yemen against the rule of domination, exploitation and backwardness came as a definite proof asserting the vitality of the Arabs and showing the nobility of the Arab people and their unshakable determination to grasp the freedom and social justice stipulated by divine law and the Prophet's teachings. The Yemeni

revolution was a great turning point in the history of the Arab struggle.

The Yemeni people's revolution took place despite the difficult conditions which enveloped them and the various kinds of terrorism used against them. The Yemeni revolution asserted the strong will of the Arab people, their revolutionary determination and their insistence on the need for a radical change of their life in order to fulfil their broad Arab hopes.

The elements of evil, allying themselves with imperialism, moved to counter the Yemeni revolution and to throw in all their weight to destroy it and to commit a new crime against the legitimate right of the Yemeni people to revolt, develop and attain freedom. But the road of struggle before the Arab nation had been immunized by the experience gained as a result of the crime of secession. From its belief in its responsibility as a base for the Arab struggle, to buttress Arab freedom and protect the legitimate right of the Arab nation against any aggression on its sanctities, the U.A.R. hastened to support the Yemeni people's revolution from the very first moment the evil aggressive forces revealed their intentions.

The U.A.R. provided the Arab revolution in Yemen with every support, help and means of strength, and fought with it the battle of life, freedom and right against the armed reactionary imperialist aggression until victory was achieved for the Arab Yemeni people. The blood of the heroes of both the Egyptian and Yemeni peoples have written the lines of true unity which will remain for ever, as well as those of victory for the great Arab revolution and the Arab man.

The joint battles over the land of Yemen imposed a strong unity between the two peoples when the blood of the heroes mingled together on the battlefield against the enemies of the Arab nation. This profound unity was established on the battlefield before any talks were held for the co-ordination of the steps of unity and its constitutional establishment. The two peoples are bound by one revolutionary understanding aiming at the establishment of a self-sufficient and just society which is sought by the unanimous Arab struggle with the help of God and the guidance of the teachings of Islam, so that Arab unity may have a social meaning in addition to its political meaning and thus express the Arab people's determination to establish a new free future for the free Arab man.

In pursuit of all this, starting from a basis with strong foundations, in the name of God and with His help, and on behalf of the people and Governments of the U.A.R. and the Yemeni Arab Republic, President Abdullah Al Sallal of Yemen and President Gamal Abdul Nasser of the U.A.R. have agreed on the following.

Article 1.—A Joint Co-ordination Council for the U.A.R. and Yemeni Arab Republic shall be formed of the U.A.R. President, the Yemeni President and a number of members.

Article 2.—(a) The Joint Co-ordination Council shall meet once every three months, and also whenever necessary by agreement between the Presidents of the two contracting Republics.

(b) Cairo will be the headquarters of the Joint Co-ordination Council, but the Council may be convened at any other place by agreement between the two Presidents.

Article 3.—Decisions taken by the Joint Co-ordination Council shall be binding and operative as soon as the Council ratifies them, except decisions which require the promulgation of a law. Such decisions will be implemented after their ratification in accordance with the constitutional rules in each country.

Article 4.—Procedure in the Joint Co-ordination Council shall be in accordance with the internal rules which the Council will lay down. These rules shall become operative as soon as they are ratified by the Council.

Article 5.—The Joint Co-ordination Council shall perform the following :

(a) Study and carry out the necessary steps for setting up unity between the two countries.

(b) Plan and co-ordinate the policy of the two countries in political, military, economic, social and cultural fields, as well as the sphere of information.

(c) Achieve ideological unity between the peoples of the U.A.R. and of the Yemeni Arab Republic through the two popular organizations in the two countries, and seek the unification of the two organizations in the future.

Article 6.—Each of the two Governments will appoint its members of the Council on the following basis : (i) three full-time members who will hold the rank of Minister ; (ii) three part-time members from among members of the Government.

(b) The full-time members will follow up the implementation of decisions adopted by the Joint Co-ordination Council, co-ordinate work between joint committees, and submit studies and recommendations to the Joint Co-ordination Council at its meetings.

(c) The Joint Co-ordination Council or the joint committees may, if necessary, invite experts and technicians from both countries to attend meetings.

Article 7.—The following joint organizations shall be formed : (a) a political committee ; (b) a military command ; (c) an economic committee ; (d) a cultural and information committee ; (e) a committee for ideological (Arabic : fikri) unification between the two countries ; (f) a committee for popular organization ; (g) any other

committees whose formation becomes necessary. These committees will undertake study and preparation of various subjects essential for accomplishing the purpose of this agreement, as well as matters referred to them by the Joint Co-ordination Council.

Article 8.—(a) The joint military command will undertake the co-ordination of the arming, training and equipment of the armed forces of the two countries and the planning of the deployment of the armed forces, and will also command these forces in wartime.

(b) The joint military command will adopt the necessary measures to meet war or the danger of war. Any aggression or threat of aggression against either of the two States shall be considered as directed against the other State.

Article 9.—The Council will have a secretariat-general situated in Cairo. It will be run by a secretary-general with the rank of Minister. It will perform the following.

(a) Issue invitations to meetings of the Joint Co-ordination Council.

(b) Prepare the subjects which the Council will discuss.

(c) Keep minutes of the meetings of the Joint Co-ordination Council and of the other joint organizations, and publish decisions after their ratification through the constitutional methods in each country.

(d) Draft the budgets of the Council, the secretariat-general and the joint organizations which will be set up under Article 7.

Article 10.—(a) The budgets of the Joint Co-ordination Council and of the joint organizations will be contributed by the two contracting Governments. The U.A.R. will provide 90 per cent of the Council's budget and the Yemeni Arab Republic the remaining 10 per cent.

(b) Each State will be responsible for the salaries and indemnities payable to the members and staff appointed respectively by each of them in accordance with its own financial regulations.

Article 11.—Nothing in the provisions of this agreement will prejudice any rights or current or future obligations which may arise with regard to each of the two States under the U.N. Charter. Likewise, nothing in the above provisions will prejudice the provisions of any agreement concluded within the sphere of the Arab League.

Article 12.—This agreement will remain in force until the necessary arrangements are made for setting up unity.

Article 13.—This agreement will become operative as soon as it is ratified by the current constitutional methods in each of the two countries.

This agreement was written in Cairo on 13th July, 1964, in two original copies, one of which is kept by

each of the two sides. A copy of this agreement will be deposited at the Arab League Secretariat-General.

(Signed): For the U.A.R., Gamal Abdul Nasser; for the Yemeni Arab Republic, Abdullah Al-Sallal.

SPEECHES BY SALLAL AND NASSER

The following are excerpts from the speeches made by the two Presidents on the occasion of the signing of the agreement.

From President Sallal's speech.—Brother President Jamal Abdul Nasser, brothers, the agreement we are signing today to implement joint co-operation between our two Republics is merely the signal to proceed along the course of Arab unity, which is the hope of our people and the aim of their struggle. When we sign this agreement we merely submit to an historical inevitability resulting from the development of the Arab people in Yemen ever since the beginning of the popular movement some thirty years ago until its glorious victory was won on 26th September, 1962. Yemen's search for Arab unity is not a passing event, or a new trend in its policy.

The reunion between Yemen and Egypt has taken place on a scale beyond what could have been foreseen. Sincere and clean aid has come in various fields and above what was expected. The U.A.R. has gone to the utmost extent a man can go to in aiding his brother. It has not only extended technical experience, material aid and political support, but has also crossed the borders and barriers, and given Yemen the dearest thing that man can give. It has offered the souls of its sons to defend Yemen's freedom and independence, and to consolidate Yemen's revolution.

Today, as we sign the co-ordination agreement between the two countries, we aim at achieving equal standards of mutual understanding and to narrow down the historical inequalities between two differing sectors in our two countries: Yemen which is coming out after its long imprisonment; and Egypt, which has its feet firm on its honourable progressive march, so that we may bring nearer the day of complete reunion within a complete unionist framework.

From President Nasser's speech.—Brothers, the truth is that unity between the Arab people in Yemen and the Arab people in the U.A.R. has been established ever since the first day of the glorious Yemeni revolution, since President Abdullah Al-Sallal announced the crushing of the rule of tyranny, reaction and corruption. We have felt that there was a unity bringing us together, and that we must seek with all our might to support Yemen's revolution. When the Yemeni revolution was exposed to imperialist and reactionary aggression, and it asked us to give it aid, we did not hesitate because we

believed in the inevitability of the reunion between free revolutions, that free revolutions must co-operate and support each other in order to eliminate reaction and imperialism.

Unity between the Arab people in Egypt and the Arab people in Yemen was established when this revolution succeeded. This unity has been confirmed and emphasized by the innocent blood of our Arab martyrs who went to Yemen willingly because they felt that their action was for the sake of the entire Arab nation to raise on high the banner of Arabhood and Islam. The blood of the Egyptian soldier mingled with the blood of the Yemeni soldier in repulsing reaction and the plots of imperialism.

Today, as we feel that the revolution, which is about to complete its second year, has become strong and firm in Yemen, we sign this agreement. In fact, co-ordination is nothing new for us, because we have been successfully co-ordinating our work, particularly on the military side, otherwise we should not have been able to crush the plots of imperialism and reaction. The Yemeni people, the Yemeni forces and tribes, and the Egyptian forces have given the best examples of working together and of co-ordination to achieve the great aim of defeating reaction and imperialism.

Today, as we sign this co-ordination agreement as a step towards unity, we wish the fraternal Yemeni people success in all their affairs. The regime of tyranny and of reaction has not left in Yemen any trace of progress. You have a great duty. The entire Arab nation must co-operate to carry Yemen along the course of progress and prosperity. We in the United Arab Republic believe that we have a duty to support Yemen in all fields, just as we have supported it in the military field. I wish to emphasize on this occasion that the United Arab Republic will always stand by the Yemeni revolution against any imperialist or reactionary plot.

This reunion between the Yemeni and Egyptian revolutions has already been preceded by a reunion between the Iraqi and Egyptian revolutions. Today we sign this agreement, and to-morrow Iraq celebrates the day of the revolution. The valiant Iraqi people have fought for freedom. They stumbled as a result of the plots of imperialism and reaction and the enemies of nationalism, but finally they won. We feel that Iraq's victory is a victory for us, and that the Iraqi people's victory is a victory for us. We wish fraternal Iraq all success, progress and prosperity under the leadership of President Abdul Salam Arif.

In talking of unity, we must remember the valiant Syrian people, who have always raised the banner of unity. This people have preserved the mission of unity because unity is not an invention by any one person but the creation of the Arab people.

Excerpts from President Arif's Speech

at the Opening of the Arab Socialist Union Conference in Baghdad

Brother citizens and honourable guests: on this great day—the immortal July revolution's sixth anniversary—we have the pleasure at this historic gathering of meeting sons of the people representing all sectors and of blessing this national popular conference, the Arab Socialist Union conference, which represents the most splendid revolutionary organization leading our Arab nation to the attainment of its aspirations.

We also have the pleasure of greeting the delegations attending this celebration, foremost among which is the delegation of our great sister, the United Arab Republic, led by Vice-President Husayn Al-Shafi'i, who is responsible for the Arab Socialist Union in the U.A.R. and is the representative of our brother, President Gamal Abdul Nasser.

Dear brothers, we thank God who granted us victory in our revolution of 14th July, when our beloved Iraqi army destroyed the palaces of reaction and corruption and did away with the military alliances and imperialist bases. We thank God who gave us victory on 14th Ramadan against a totalitarian dictatorship. Praise be to God who granted us victory in our national progressive revolution on 18th November, 1963, against hateful dictatorship, mass massacres, partisan domination, anti-national deviation and atheism. Today, we greet our martyrs who fell in our national battles for the sake of God, elevating the nation and building its national prestige.

Brother citizens, your nation witnessed the greatest and most glorious victories when the call of Islam was heard on the Arab horizon. The rancorous forces joined ranks to oppose the holy Arab march. Their aim was to destroy Arabism and Islam. These forces succeeded in their desire until the Arab giant rose from his slumber in the modern age to declare to the whole Arab world the reawakening of the Arab nation and its surge to liberate itself and build the unity State. The Arabs realized that the road to dignity and prestige lies in unity, and that unity is the motivating force for liberating the Arabs and restoring the usurped Arab lands.

The revolutionary vanguards in Egypt, led by Presi-

dent Gamal Abdul Nasser, destroyed the strongholds of the corrupt monarch and agent reaction, and gave the Arab nation revolutionary momentum in consolidating its dignity and prestige. The Arab battle in Egypt in 1956 was a great turning point in contemporary Arab history because it revealed the co-operation of Arab reaction with Zionism and imperialism. The nationalist forces in the Arab homeland realized that it was necessary to liquidate reaction in order to establish unity. The revolutions led by your great army against corrupt monarchy, rancorous shu'ubiyah, and anti-national partisanship were a necessity dictated by your popular will.

The Yemeni revolution was only a response to the national call which emanated from the U.A.R. when the imperialist and secessionist forces wanted to contain and destroy the national unionist tide. The Arab people in Algeria have proved the ability of the Arabs. They wrested victory to join the Arab liberation movement in establishing the one Arab State.

Brother citizens, in addition to its national victories, the Arab nation suffered some setbacks in its unionist course. The secession in Syria was an abominable crime concocted by reaction, imperialism, opportunism, exploitative capitalism and anti-national partisanship, which still practise evil and deception, believing that the revolutionary unionist victory can thus be contained and destroyed. The deviation in Iraq, instigated by the local communists and agent Ba'thists, was also an abominable crime. Shu'ubiyah and the secession forces joined hands against the Arab nation. To counteract this, the sincere national leaderships believed in a single, national, Arab action as a means to avoid setbacks, deviation and domination and to lead the Arab nation towards unity.

It was necessary for the sincere working forces of the people to unite their ranks and have a joint ideology and creed. This can only be done through the formation of a popular organization deriving its spirit and thought from the heritage of the Arab nation, its Islamic creed, and from the true conditions of the modern Arab world. The One Arab Movement is the popular organization of

the people's working forces constituting the main pillar for the consolidation of the foundations of unity emanating from the will of the Arab nation. It is the force capable of establishing the Arab socialist society based on justice.

The One Arab Movement is the factual revolutionary instrument for the establishment of the one Arab society, because it believes in Arab nationalism and comprehensive unity as an ideology, programme and course of action. It also believes in Arab socialism as a course for the achievement of a society of sufficiency and justice, adopting the teachings of Islam and the divine messages as a base and starting point to avoid ideological perils, secularism (Arabic: *ilmaniyah*), enmity and Marxism. The One Arab Movement in Iraq also believes that it is a part of the single Arab movement in the Arab homeland. Therefore it must benefit from the Arab Socialist Union, because we believe in the adhesion of the national popular organizations in the Arab homeland to achieve one Arab society. The plan of the One Arab Movement and the Arab Socialist Union is only strong proof of our belief in the unity of the national organizations and their national charter. We have therefore worked to make the charter similar to the National Charter in the U.A.R. because we believe in the unity of ideology, of organization, and the aims which our Arab nation seeks.

The national unionist movement in Iraq seeks to set up the popular organization because it works for the establishment of sound democracy, Arab socialism and comprehensive unity. We do not believe in class democracy but in the democracy of the working people, because we believe that the people should rule themselves after delivering them from the domination of feudalism and reaction. Our democracy also believes in freedom and social equity. It also believes in the fraternity which fuses all the good forces in the crucible of national unity.

Arab socialism is a social, economic and ideological revolution drawing its inspiration of spirit and action from the conditions of the Arab nation and the principles of Islam. It aims at building a society of sufficiency and justice, rescuing the Arab from his backward situation and providing him with a great opportunity to participate in the construction of the industrial, agricultural, scientific and social structure.

Our faith in Arab unity springs from our existence and conscience, provided that this unity is based on popular support and liberation. That is why we united with President Gamal Abdul Nasser to consolidate the foundations of the unity, because we consider the U.A.R. the base of national liberation in the Arab homeland. In view of our faith in the Arab people's genuine desire for unity, the national government issued the provisional constitution, which defined the landmarks of freedom, democracy and Arab socialism, and which is almost similar to the U.A.R. Constitution. This is because we believe in the constitutional unity of the two countries.

The 26th May unity agreement was an inevitable result of the aims of the national unionist movement. This agreement was a national necessity to achieve unity. It stressed the necessity of co-ordinating work to establish an ideological, organizational and struggling unity between the two Arab republics. The unity of ideology, organization and aims is the actual force guaranteeing the unity against setbacks and deviation and safeguarding its strength and ability to confront the reactionary, imperialist and Zionist challenges. Through your popular organization, brethren, comprehensive unity between the Iraqi Republic and the U.A.R. will be accomplished. May God grant us and you success to serve and achieve the unity of this glorious nation.

Dr. Kheir Al-Din Hassib Explains Nationalization Laws

DR. KHEIR AL-DIN HASSIB, Governor of the Central Bank of Iraq and Head of the Economic Organization set up by the Iraqi Government to implement the nationalization laws and direct Iraq's socialist economy, gave a television talk in Baghdad shortly after the promulgation of these laws on 14th July, in which he explained at some length the object of the new laws and the manner of their implementation.

He began by emphasizing that the Government did not intend to enact any further legislation similar to the laws promulgated on 14th July. The Government had preferred to promulgate all the nationalization laws at once and not to do so by instalments, in order to obviate the speculation of rumour. He then went on to say that those who were affected by nationalization and whose property rights were restricted were persons of dignity and status in society, that the present economic transformation meant a change in the social functioning of their property and that if it was the right of the State to organize this social functioning, the State had a duty also to preserve the dignity of all its citizens and the Iraqi Government had undertaken by these laws to preserve the dignity of the shareholders whose holdings had been nationalized. He added that in fulfilment of this obligation none of the assets of those whose shareholdings had been nationalized had been frozen, and none of the persons concerned were prevented from travelling abroad despite the existence of special cases which would have justified the taking of such action. The Government acted in this manner in order to honour its commitments and inspire confidence in the undertakings it had made. Dr. Hassib went on to point out that a clause in the nationalization law provided that the profits realized by the companies and already declared would be considered as part of the liabilities of the companies and distributed among the shareholders. He said that the Economic Organization had instructed the nationalized companies to pay out all profits that had not been already paid in order that they might be distributed among the shareholders, and that this had in fact been done by some of the companies.

Answering the speculation concerning the reasons for which the banks and insurance companies had been nationalized, and why some industries and not others had been brought within the scope of the new law, Dr. Hassib said that as far as banks and insurance companies were concerned, their nationalization was con-

sidered absolutely necessary in the interests of economic development which required financing. Most of the banks and insurance companies held numerous deposits which could not be left at the disposal of the private sector to be exploited in the manner which it wanted. It was imperative to give the State complete supervision and control of such deposits so that they might be directed to the financing of economic development. Any plan of economic development had to be preceded or accompanied by the nationalization of banks and insurance companies. For this reason the Government made it perfectly clear in its statement that the banks and insurance companies must come under the public sector, and that the private sector could not have any share in them.

As for industries, Dr. Hassib explained that there were primary industries such as cement and tobacco, which the Government considered must come under the public sector, and in these there was no room for the participation of the private sector. Alimentary and clothing industries and some other industries were considered by the Government as a mixed sector. The industries that had been nationalized in this mixed sector belonged to the category of large primary industries such as the factories of vegetable oil, large flour mills, and the principal spinning and weaving companies. The smaller companies in these same fields were left to the private sector, which had ample scope to develop and evolve side by side with the public sector and subject to only general direction from the state. All small and medium-sized projects in this field or in other industries would remain the property of the private sector which could also establish new industries and expand within the limits of the general development plan.

The Head of the Economic Organization stressed that the selection of the industries for nationalization had not been haphazard or arbitrary, but had been decided upon after a detailed study of the budgets of the companies concerned, of the length of time that had passed since their foundation, and of their importance and activity. In addition to the vital importance of these industries for economic development they were realizing very high profits, amounting in certain cases to exploitation. In fact the shareholders of some of the nationalized companies had recovered their capital several times over. He gave as an example the Iraq Cement Company, founded with a paid up capital of £1,750,000, which had

during the last seven years made a profit of £4,050,000 after paying income tax. Similarly the Rafidain Cement Company, with a paid-up capital of £1,493,000 had made in the same period of seven years a net profit of £1,343,000.

Dr. Hassib went on to give numerous other examples of the excessively high profits made by other nationalized companies, adding that these companies, in addition to the profits they had made, were going to be compensated under the nationalization law, for their paid-up capital. The total paid-up capital of the nationalized companies and projects was £25,000,000, of which £17,300,000 was the capital of industrial companies, £5,100,000 was the capital of the banks, £2,000,000 was the capital of the insurance companies, and £1,100,000 was the capital of trading companies.

Discussing the nationalization of the banks, Dr. Hassib said that the nationalization applied only to the banks' capital and did not touch deposits, as all those with money in these banks had had occasion to find out. The Government had honoured its pledge and no restriction had been placed on the withdrawal of money from the banks, whereas in some countries where the banks had been nationalized the withdrawal of money was restricted, as for instance in Syria where the depositor was allowed only a certain amount to be drawn in any one month. He added that the Central Bank did not reduce the amount of money allowed to a traveller going abroad, which had been and would continue to be £300 a year per person.

Answering the many questions that were being asked about the compensation of the shareholders in the nationalized companies and banks, the Head of the Organization said that the nationalization law made this clear in Articles 2 and 3. According to the provisions of these two articles the capital of the establishments would be changed into nominal bonds payable in fifteen years from the date of the promulgation of the law and bearing an annual interest of 3 per cent.

Twenty-five per cent of the net annual profits made by the nationalized companies and establishments would be allocated for the compensation of the shareholders, and priority would be given to those who hold shares not exceeding £500 in nominal value. This did not mean that holders of shares exceeding £500 would not be compensated. It only meant that the Government was anxious to give special consideration to shareholders of limited incomes. Dr. Hassib said that in addition to that, the Economic Organization and the General Organization for the Banks were now studying the possibility of taking other measures to give relief to shareholders of limited incomes, as for example the possibility of advancing loans to these small investors against the security of the bonds that were going to be issued to them in place of their shares.* The law had also provided for the redemp-

tion of these shares before the expiry of the full period of fifteen years.

With regard to the giving of a 25 per cent share of the profits of the nationalized projects to the workers and officials, Dr. Hassib said that this would not apply only to nationalized companies and establishments but was intended to embrace equally the private and the public sectors, and would apply to all limited liability companies whether industrial or commercial, and to all services whatever their particular activity. The same rule would also apply to industrial projects that were not in the form of joint stock or limited liability companies; and that every individual industrial project which employed ten or more workers would be subject to this law even though not a limited liability company and would have to pay a 25 per cent share of the profits to the workers, employees, and officials employed in it. As for the manner of distributing the workers' share, Dr. Hassib said that 10 per cent would be paid to the workers and employees in cash, 5 per cent in the form of social services and housing and 10 per cent in the form of general social services, provided that the 10 per cent cash share of each worker did not exceed £100 a year. If the share of a worker exceeded this maximum, the excess should be distributed among those workers whose share did not reach the £100 maximum; and if after such distribution there still remained an excess, the amount should either be paid into a special fund by a decision of the Council of Ministers, or should be distributed on workers employed in projects that do not realize a profit, as for instance in the first year of their operation.

With regard to the participation of workers and officials in the administration of the companies, this was to be by the inclusion on the board of directors of each company—whose number was fixed by the law at seven—of one member representing the workers and another representing the officials, both of them to be elected by the bodies they represented. Dr. Hassib announced that a cultural organisation was to be set up which would hold study courses for the workers and officials to instruct them in their duties.

In order to limit disparities in wealth as much as possible the law fixed a maximum of £10,000 for the share which any individual might own in a company—this limitation to apply to companies which had been in existence for five years, and to come into force with regard to younger companies when five years had passed since their establishment. The law also required limited liability companies with a paid-up capital of £70,000 to convert themselves into joint stock companies, which would be subject to greater control and whose profits would be distributed among a larger number of shareholders. Likewise the law prescribed that industrial projects which were not in the form of limited liability companies should convert themselves into such if their net assets were of the value of £70,000 or more.

Explaining the smoothness and success of the operation

* See page 20 for measures already taken.

Joint U.A.R.-Algerian Communiqué

WE publish below the text of the joint communiqué issued on 26th June, 1964, on the talks held in Algiers between the Arab Socialist Union and the Algerian F.L.N. Party :

In order to strengthen the ties of struggle between the peoples of the U.A.R. and the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, in order to assert their joint struggle along the road of socialism and progress, and in order to implement the agreement between President Gamal Abdul Nasser, President of the Arab Socialist Union, and Ahmad Ben Bellah, Secretary-General of the Algerian National Liberation Front, regarding the need to hold periodic meetings between the two popular organizations in the two republics and to organize steady contacts between them through the exchange of views, the explanation of experiments, and the co-ordination of opinions, a delegation representing the Arab Socialist Union arrived in Algiers at the invitation of the Algerian National Liberation Front Party.

During its stay in Algiers, the Arab Socialist Union's delegation had the honour of meeting President Ben Bellah, the Secretary-General of the Algerian National Liberation Front Party, who expressed the feelings of personal friendship which he holds for President Gamal Abdul Nasser and the friendship between the Algerian and U.A.R. peoples, who have chosen the road of socialist building. In the name of the Algerian National Liberation Front Party, he greeted the delegation of the Arab Socialist Union.

The delegation of the Arab Socialist Union visited some centres of the Algerian National Liberation Front Party and some of the self-managed establishments of the socialist sector. The chief delegate of the Arab Socialist Union delivered a lecture about the 1952 revolution experiment to the party's elements in Algiers.

The two delegations held continuous meetings in the

period between 17th and 26th June, 1964. These talks were characterized by complete frankness, and a spirit of true Arab brotherhood. The two delegations exchanged views in detail on the two people's struggle against imperialism and reaction, the revolutionary experiences of the two countries, the meaning of socialism and methods of applying it in each of them, Arab socialism, Arab unity, the Israeli problem and the current world situation.

The talks have shown that there is no vital difference between the two socialist experiments, either in their aims or in their basis. The agreement of views between the two sides has shown that, although the methods of its application differ according to the conditions of each society, the meaning of socialism is one : namely, the elimination of man's exploitation of man in any form by means of control by the people of all means of production and just distribution of the national wealth. The two delegations believe that man is the aim of socialism and not a means for its realization.

The talks have also shown that socialism in both countries adheres to Islam as being a progressive force for the liberation of man and society, and declares that it is based on its firm basis of freedom, justice and equality.

The two delegations have reviewed the question of the application of the two socialist experiments of the Algerian Democratic People's Republic and the U.A.R. The points of agreement show the following :

- (1) The socialist application of both experiments works for the division of production among the producers according to their work. This necessitates their effective and democratic participation in the running of projects.
- (2) The application of socialism necessitates comprehensive planning based on factual studies.

(Cont. from page 11)

of laying hands on the nationalized banks and companies Dr. Hassib said that this was due in the first place to the fact that the nationalization laws were prepared according to a master plan which paid as much attention to the details of execution as to the substance of the laws. Secondly, the greatest secrecy was maintained and nobody knew anything about the laws until their promulgation, which took everybody by surprise, so that there was no time for any hostile forces to be mobilized against them. Thirdly, Dr. Hassib ascribed the success of the implementation to the high efficiency of all the State organs which were entrusted with the task of laying hands on the nationalized establishments.

Finally Dr. Hassib emphasized that new rules had

been drawn up for the Economic Organization and the General Organization for Banks, the object of which was to ensure that the nationalized projects were run on a commercial basis far removed from bureaucratic routine. Assuring the Iraqi public that the Economic Organization would be open to constructive criticism, Dr. Hassib said that the most important thing now was that the Government should prove its ability to administer public projects as efficiently as private management, if not more so ; and he appealed to workers and officials in all projects, whether nationalized or not, to co-operate in increasing production and improving quality, so that their own share of the profits would rise and the socialist experiment in Iraq would prove a success.

(3) The two sides feel that the socialist change does not prevent the establishment of unexploitative private ownership, side by side with public ownership by the people which should have the control and supervision of production as a whole. The two sides feel that, in the stage of socialist change, the State can play a vital role in destroying the reactionary forces which oppose the revolution both internally and externally, and can play a big part in development, industrialization and planning. Hence, the State must have an efficient, revolutionary, and developing machinery, and the State's machinery must be organized in a manner free from centralization or bureaucracy. The machinery must function under the supervision of the people by democratic means.

After the exchange of views on the necessity of Arab unity, it became clear that the two delegations agreed that Arab nationalism is a deep-rooted historical fact and that Arab unity, which stems from this nationalism with its progressive concept, is the effective weapon in the hands of the Arab masses for the consolidation of national independence and the realization of social progress.

The two sides agreed that the realization of Arab unity will be the fruit of the masses of the working people in their struggle for the setting up of socialism. Socialism is the course which will truly develop the Arab world, and Arab unity is a support to African unity and to consolidation among the emerging peoples.

The two delegations reviewed the problem of Israel, which they consider to be a protégé and a base of imperialism, which initiated the aggression against the Palestinian Arab people. Israel was set up as an imperialist bridgehead which threatens the Arab revolutionary movement. The two sides agreed that there should be a clear distinction between the Jewish faith and the Zionist movement, and that the struggle against Israel should not take a racial or religious form, for the Arab liberation movement throughout its long history has reaffirmed its tolerance towards all races and religions.

The two sides drew the attention of the progressive forces in the world towards Israel's false socialist slogans which conceal their racial nature. The two sides urged the Arab people and the world progressive forces actively to support the Arab Palestinian people and their revolutionary structure in their struggle for independence.

The two sides reviewed the world situation and agreed that this situation is witnessing a contradiction through the massing of wealth in the prosperous States while other States remain in the backwardness imposed on them.

The two sides announced that the struggle for peace should be based, first, on aid to peoples who are fighting for their liberation; that peace does not mean submission; and that emerging States should unite their efforts in the economic and political fields under the slogans of peace, socialism and equality.

The two sides agreed that the struggle should continue in order to eliminate the wrong which makes some States provide raw material while giving others the control over the markets.

The two sides also agreed that all foreign aid should be unconditional, and they warn against the dangers of neo-imperialism which takes the form of economic infiltration into the newly independent States. The communiqué said that the two sides stressed the importance of the national liberation movements in opposing racial segregation, particularly in South Africa, which resembles Israel in its racial policy. The two sides stressed the people's right to self-determination without any foreign imperialist interference. They also expressed their condemnation of the attempts of reactionary imperialism against the revolution of the Arab people in Yemen.

The two sides stressed the legal right of the Cuban people to defend their destiny. They also condemned the attempts of imperialist aggression against the Cuban people.

The two sides supported the struggle against hostile pacts and foreign military bases. They also supported all efforts exerted towards the halting of nuclear tests and towards disarmament.

Realizing the necessity of strengthening effective co-operation between the Arab Socialist Union and the Algerian Liberation Front Party and their organizations, the two sides decided to set up a permanent joint committee, which will meet three times a year. The definition of the committee's membership was, however, left to the leaderships of the two organizations.

The Arab Socialist Union delegation extended an invitation to the Algerian Liberation Front Party to send delegates to the forthcoming meeting, which will be held in Cairo in October.



The First Locomotive to operate in Iraq before World War I

Arab Unionist Forces In Syria

AN important statement was issued in Beirut on 19th July by all the Arab Unionist organizations and groups in Syria at the conclusion of a general congress which they had been holding for five days and which ended with an announcement of the resolutions adopted.

The statement began with an analysis of the history of the Arab revolution, the setbacks it had suffered and the lessons that had been learned from them. In this exposé, it was emphasized that the Arab revolution was one movement, aiming everywhere at liberation, national unity and a socialist society; that the Egyptian Revolution of 1952 opened a new chapter in the history of the Arab struggle and the Arab cause; that unity was the most important aim of the present phase of the Arab revolution; and that the revolutionary leadership which had stood the test of time and always proved its capability was the leadership of the Revolution of 23rd July, 1952, personified in President Gamal Abdul Nasser.

The statement went on to say that the Baath party had

by its conduct in power, by its hostile attitude towards unity, and by practising Fascist methods in its government of the people, removed itself finally from the current of the Arab revolution and placed itself as a reactionary force in opposition to it, which made it incumbent on all Arab revolutionaries to strike at it relentlessly until its rule in Syria was overthrown.

Finally it was announced that all the Unionist forces in Syria had dissolved their separate organizations and merged themselves in one organization which was the Arab Socialist Union and which would henceforth lead the revolutionary struggle, whose foremost aim was to overthrow the separatist Baath régime and to overcome every other separatist obstruction. The statement announced the formation of a political office, elected by the founding congress of the new organization, and entrusted with the task of undertaking, in the present time of transition, the direction of all political activity and the organization and leadership of the revolutionary struggle. The statement gave the names of the six members of this office.



First Diesel Train to Run on New Wide Gauge Baghdad/Basrah Line 10th March 1964

This Is Our Nationalism*

by Abdul-Rahman Al-Bazzaz

(A lecture delivered in Baghdad on 30th May, 1955.)

INTRODUCTION

I HAVE been asked to give an address clearly defining the meaning of Arab nationalism, as we believe in it and advocate it.

And indeed, despite all that has been said and written on the subject, there is still a great need to define some of the concepts of our nationalism in a manner which will remove all obscurity and misunderstanding and refute any accusation levelled at it. I had thought some time ago to write a comprehensive essay under the title "Liberation of Arab Nationalism", in which I proposed to treat this serious matter in all its aspects. I mean by the word "liberation" here all the extensive meaning that it has, including definition, clarification and the elimination of all alien elements that surround the conception of Arab nationalism; as well as the breaking of the bonds and shackles that sometimes make the expression "Arab Nationalism" an obscure and elusive one, distorted by numerous considerations, ideas and principles that are not, in fact, part of true Arab nationalism in the sense that we profess today.

This lecture deals with no more than a part of the extensive subject which I still hope to treat one day. I will confine myself in it to some of the positive aspects of the concept of nationalism. Naturally, the lecture will contain some generalizations that may require explanation and clarification. This is not because of a wish to evade the facts, or an inability to grasp particulars, but rather because the general nature of the lecture and the time allotted for it do not allow for more than this.

FACTORS THAT MAY LEAD TO AMBIGUITY

Nevertheless I feel that I must, before plunging into the heart of the subject, mention—though only in a brief and passing reference—the many factors that may lead to the spreading of an erroneous idea of Arab nationalism. In addition to the basic conflict between communism and nationalism and between all-inclusive Arab nationalism on the one hand and regional tendencies or narrow nationalisms on the other, there is the fact that the term 'nationalism' has been associated at different times with some of the forms of nationalism that reached their apogee in the nineteenth-century, in Europe and other countries. The term 'nationalism' has also at certain times been associated with racialism, which believes in the blood tie and often encourages self-glorification on the basis of ancestry. But Arab nationalism today is based on civilized cultural foundations, the most important of which are: a common language, the common history of the nation and its spiritual output represented in its literature and arts. This in addition to its being closely linked with many vital interests and to the fact that it seeks to realize common aspirations in the forward march of life.

For many people the meaning of nationalism came to be confused, so that they imagined that it was contrary to religious and that it was essentially a pagan call which did not give any consideration to spiritual values. With this confusion and fallacy I have dealt previously in a general lecture entitled "Islam and Arab Nationalism".*

NATIONALISM IS A DOCTRINE AND A MOVEMENT

Arab nationalism is nothing else than a social, political and economic doctrine deriving from the awareness of the Arabs, in their various countries, of the basic factors

* It was incorrectly stated at the end of the article "Islam and Arab Nationalism" published in our issue for June that that article concluded the series of articles on Arab nationalism by Mr. Abdul-Rahman Al-Bazzaz which we have been publishing since September, 1963. It is the present article which concludes the series, and we propose to publish the whole series in a special brochure which will be obtainable from this and other Iraqi embassies as well as from the Ministry of Guidance in Baghdad.—EDITOR.

* See our issue for June, 1964.

of their common identity—language, history, literature; customs and traditions and character; a common interest and a common aim.

Its aim is to free the Arab homeland from the various forms of internal exploitation and foreign colonization; to enable the Arabs to rule their countries themselves, to unite them, to develop and exploit their resources to their advantage, and to realize social justice among them.

But it is not merely a static doctrine. It is also a constant movement and an evolving idea, and we believe it to be imperative—in order to be in step with the march of time—to present its principles in new forms compatible with the nature of things, and to change the means and diversify the methods necessary to realize its ultimate purpose.

IS ARAB NATIONALISM A TRANSITION PHASE ?

Before entering into the heart of the subject it may be useful for me to answer a question which has been raised by some thinkers and has been frequently repeated by the enemies of nationalism, namely: Is nationalism an eternal idea or is it a transition stage through which nations and peoples pass on their way to a further stage? And if the latter supposition is the true one, will not the adherence to nationalism be a form of rigidity and reaction incompatible with the tidal flow of civilization.

He who looks at history in general and at modern and contemporary history in particular will see that the national idea is growing stronger in the two strongest states of the world—though opposed to and competing with one another: Russia and the United States of America. The Russians felt during World War II that neither their huge armies nor the flowing tide of American arms were sufficient to repulse the sweeping German invasion unless they were accompanied by the stirring up of the national feelings of the fighters. And so the Communists started to glorify Russia, the homeland, and exalt its history under the rule of the Czars in previous centuries. They started to tell their soldiers that in defending Russia they were not only defending the Communist doctrine, but were also defending the land of their fathers and forefathers. From then on the Russian Government has generally followed in its propaganda a clear nationalist line which, before the war, it had regarded as a form of bourgeois humbug and Capitalist nonsense opposed to the call for internationalism and to historical materialism. Perhaps Stalin was expressing this deep national feeling when he said after the collapse and surrender of Japan: "The generation in which I grew up has been waiting for this hour for forty years"—a sentiment which one would have expected to come from "extreme nationalists and not from international communists", as Najib Al-Armanazi says in his book *Syria from Occupation to Independence*.

As for the United States, the nationalist trend in it began clearly to grow stronger after World War II. The Government and the various organizations began to mobilize in the service of the nationalist idea all the intellectual influences that operate in education, in the press and in the other media of publicity and culture. It came to be considered necessary that all the races and nationalities in the United States be fused together into comprehensive 'American nationalism', based on the English language, the Christian religion and loyalty to the new homeland. Americans began to look askance at all the special national elements that did not fuse into this larger identity and which tried to direct America's strength and exploit her wealth towards realizing their special nationalist aims. Several books have appeared in recent years dealing with this subject, the most important of which is perhaps *The Iron Curtain Over America* by John Beaty; although other books have appeared on the opposite side, such as *The Fear of Freedom* by Francis Biddle, in which the writer deplors the feeling of terror which dominates Americans as the result of extremist nationalist sentiment. From all this we can infer the extent of the concern of Americans about the nationalist trend and the extent to which they have gone in developing this trend.

It is noticeable that American education today is directed towards forming 'the good citizen', not 'the good man'; and the emphasis is on discipline, obedience and duty rather than on personal liberty, individualism and independence of mind, which were the ideals of the last century and had indeed always been the ideals of American liberals.

As for the reason why some of the Western states, like England and France,* have not stressed their nationalism in a noticeable manner, it is not really because of any weakening of the nationalist spirit or absence of interest in it, but rather because all this had become for them a self-evident truth and a fundamental axiom compounded with their flesh and blood. Those who have lived in Europe—particularly England—are fully aware to what extent the English adhere to their nationalism and strive to preserve its foundations. Even those of them who claim that they do not believe in it reflect some of its influences in their conversation and unconscious behaviour.

It is interesting to recall in this connection what a certain writer related about the English lady who was travelling on a German boat on the Rhine. Trying to be friendly, she is supposed to have said to the German sailor who extended his hand to help her get on board, "I do not know what you foreigners think of us." The German sailor was stupefied by this English lady,

* It is to be remembered that this lecture was delivered before General de Gaulle's coming to power. French Presidential policy since then adds weight to what the lecturer says about the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—EDITOR.

whose national feeling was so deeply rooted that she considered him a foreigner even when he was aboard a German boat on a German river flowing through German land!

But let us suppose for the moment that nationalism is a transition stage through which nations pass during their progress towards further stages; there will still be no doubt that the Arab nation in its present condition, with its many problems and social, economic and political circumstances, has not yet outgrown this stage and reached the point at which it could dispense with it or exchange it for something else. In this sense nationalism is still a vital Arab need not only in the political and economic fields, but also—and indeed primarily—an imperative need in the cultural and intellectual spheres.

It is the nationalist idea that will realize for the Arabs a healthy political existence; and in the sense which we shall explain, it is sure to provide for us a just economic system. More important still, it is capable of saving us from the intellectual imperialism to which we have been subjected and which has all but destroyed our original characteristics, our moral standards and the foundations of our culture, transforming us into distorted images without beauty or charm.

It may be more profitable if I curtail the scope of this lecture to an exposition of the political, economic and cultural aims of Arab nationalism in some fullness, and then summarize our nationalist idea in other basic matters.

OUR POLITICAL AIM

From the political point of view, Arab nationalism seeks to realize the primary aims of the Arab nation, which can be summarized as follows: the liberation of the Arab nation in Asia and Africa, the realization of the union of all the parts of the Arab homeland, the raising of the level of the individual to the point at which he will be able to exercise his political rights and meet the requirements of our time. Arab nationalism takes a comprehensive view of the Arab homeland and is not distracted by the independence which this or that Arab country may enjoy from demanding the independence of the other parts. Its profound feeling is that so long as one part of the Arab homeland has not achieved full sovereignty it is the duty of the Arabs in all their countries to struggle for the independence of that part and the restoration to it of the bliss of freedom.

Arab foreign policy, as is dictated by our comprehensive nationalism, looks at Arab interests as an indivisible whole and deals with foreign states on this basis. A friendly state is a state which deals in good faith with the Arab nation, and an enemy state is a state which is hostile to the Arab nation, grabs any of its corners or dominates any of its parts. Arab nationalism considers every policy based on the view that the *status quo* in the

Arab countries represents the final political realities is a mistaken policy; it is nothing but a narrow regionalism totally unrelated to Arabism.

This view of ours leads us axiomatically to repudiate fragmentation and to refuse to accept the existing entities except temporarily and on the assumption that they are a means to the ultimate end, not the end itself. Therefore, every call that seeks to perpetuate the present position as a final fact that has to be accepted finds strong opposition from the advocates of Arab nationalism.

It is indeed strange that some should be so deluded as to imagine that the distorted conditions existing today in parts of the Arab homeland are natural facts that must be finally accepted. A close look will show how fallacious this view is, since there are no natural boundaries that divide any two of the Arab countries, and the history of the Arab nation in its many centuries has never known the rise of so many states, weak, submissive, and divided in this manner. True the centres of Arab civilization did move from Hejaz to Syria and from Syria to Iraq, after which great civilizations arose in Egypt, Africa, Spain and elsewhere. But that did not divide the Arab homeland into the statelets we know today with their artificial frontiers.

Stranger still, some people—and their number has been increasing in recent years—have come to believe that these existing conditions are sound and natural; and they are therefore extremely anxious to preserve them, though it was the foreign powers, in pursuance of their policies, that divided the Arab land into countries in the manner we know today! The history of the recent past suggests that the European powers sought to isolate Egypt from Arab Africa, then from the Arab East. The history of the diplomatic manoeuvres between the Western Powers before and during World War I exposes the plans drawn up by the West (in the secret Sykes-Picot agreement) for dividing Syria and Iraq (the Fertile Crescent) into statelets and numerous spheres of influence. The West succeeded in carrying out its plans, with partial modification and after some reshuffling of the controlling Powers.

It is not strange that the West should have done this. What is strange is that the Arabs today should be reconciled to a situation which thirty years ago was considered a betrayal and a mutilation of the Arab homeland; that the Arabs should forget these facts and accept the *fait accompli* which they used to denounce in the near past, accepting it as a final fact and a necessary result which they have no option but to recognize and make permanent. It is natural that the foreigner should strive to create in each one of these feeble and artificial entities a group that benefits from this new position and which, motivated by considerations of economic and social interest, changes its outlook and comes to pretend that this situation is natural and must be preserved. The interests of this group grow and become strongly entrenched, so that their pretence is transformed into

doctrines mixed with basic interests that make them ready to struggle for the sake of preserving the *status quo*. We find some of these people deceiving themselves and deceiving others by trying to prove the soundness of their view ; and behind them there are some Westerners who put in their way the various means of seduction which they receive consciously and unconsciously until they come to believe that what they say and do derives from a firm doctrine having its philosophy and rational grounds.

Thus this group of people advocates its views and opposes union sometimes on the grounds of the disparity of standards, sometimes on the grounds of the different relations existing with the Western states, or again by making spurious historical and social assumptions, and lastly by stirring up monopolistic feelings on the basis of the vast and sudden wealth which nature has bestowed on some parts of the Arab homeland.

(To be concluded.)



President Nasser Welcoming President Arif at Cairo Airport

General News

The Iraq, Basrah and Mosul Petroleum Companies' crude oil production figures for July and the totals for the first seven months of 1964, are as follows:—

	Production, July, 1964. Long tons.	Production, Jan.-July, 1964. Long tons.
Iraq Petroleum Co., Ltd.	3,303,000	23,952,000
Basrah Petroleum Co., Ltd.	1,374,000	9,771,000
Mosul Petroleum Co., Ltd.	118,000	762,000
	<hr/> 4,885,000	<hr/> 34,485,000

Dr. Kheir Al-Din Hassib, Governor of the Central Bank and head of the Economic Organization, announced on 5th August, 1964, some important decisions taken by the Economic Organization. These include the allocation of 5,000,000 dinars received by the Organization as a loan from the Iraqi Central Bank, to pay immediate compensation to holders of nationalized shares who have limited incomes and to some foreign investors. Payment will be made after the legal experts appointed by the Economic Organization have assessed the value of the shares as a basis for fixing compensation. This assessment will be made within two months. This immediate compensation will take place before the date fixed in the nationalization law, to relieve the shareholders of limited income who have been harmed by the nationalization operation. Compensation will be paid according to the basic rules to be announced by the Economic Organization at the end of this month. Payment of compensation according to those basic rules will be made to the shareholders of any company the auditing of whose accounts is completed.

Dr. Hassib also announced the decision of the Economic Organization to reduce the prices of a number of essential commodities with the sale and production of which it is concerned. He announced the reduction of the sugar price to the consumer by 26 per cent from 115 to 85 fils per kilogramme. The prices of all kinds of vegetable fats and the prices of detergents such as Tide and Surf have been reduced by

19 per cent, while the price of Lux soap has been reduced by about 15 per cent and the prices of shoes of the nationalized Bata company by 10 per cent.

Dr. Hassib also announced that the cost of reduction of prices of these commodities, not including sugar, will amount to over 500,000 dinars a year.

Dr. Hassib then announced that the situation of the banks has been restored to normal. The latest statistics of cash deposits and withdrawals in all Iraqi banks on Tuesday, 4th August, indicate that the volume of deposits was one and a half times that of withdrawals—deposits amounting to 642,000 dinars as against withdrawals of only 401,000 dinars. This rate has prevailed since the beginning of the current month. The value of deposits during the past four days averaged 622,000 dinars as against withdrawals of only 438,000 dinars. This means that deposits exceed withdrawals by 184,000 dinars a day.

The third conference of the Arab Physicians' Federation, which was opened by King Hussein in Jerusalem in the last week in July and attended by about 800 doctors from eight Arab states resolved at the close of its meetings on Friday, 31st July, to boycott medicines made in states hostile to the Arabs. It appealed to the Arab peoples and governments to strengthen their unity and solidarity against the threats that faced them. It announced its full support for the creation of Palestine as a separate entity and looked forward to the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Arab Kings and Presidents at the Cairo Summit Conference. The conference also denounced British policy in southern Yemen.

Among the medical resolutions adopted by the conference was one recommending the free distribution by Arab governments of contraceptive pills and another urging the formation of an Arab medical centre which would control anti-tuberculosis campaigns and anti-cancer research.

The restoration of the Dome of the Rock, or Mosque of Omar, in Jerusalem, was celebrated during the first week of August in ceremonies which were opened by King Hussein and in which some 200 representatives of thirty-one Arab and Muslim states were present. The cost of the restoration was about £250,000, most of which had been contributed by the Arab countries.

In a statement to *Baghdad News* (the new English daily published in Baghdad) on 9th August, President Arif announced that he had received a message from Mr. Khrushchev (handed to him by the U.S.S.R. Ambassador in Baghdad) paying tribute to the policy of the Iraqi Government and its recently promulgated socialist laws providing for the nationalization of the banks, insurance companies and major industries.

In making this statement President Arif recalled his meeting with Mr. Khrushchev in Cairo during the Aswan Dam celebrations in May, saying: "On that occasion we had many interesting and friendly conversations on a number of important subjects, including co-operation between Iraq and the Soviet Union in every field and the international situation. I told Mr. Khrushchev that our Government followed a policy of peaceful, positive neutrality in full conformity with that of the United Arab Republic. The Soviet Prime Minister expressed his complete understanding of our policy."

A spokesman of the Jordan Government said in Amman on 15th August that King Hussein was discussing with President Nasser the formation of a mixed Arab force to replace the Egyptian forces now in the Yemen. He added that the implementation of this plan, which would be discussed by the other Arab Heads of State coming to Cairo next week for the second Arab Summit Conference, would be conditional on the Republican regime in the Yemen being recognized by Saudi Arabia.

