

# Iraq Today

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Vol. II No. 30, Dicembre 1-15, 1976



**Celestial Bull "Babylon",  
Symbol of Fertility (700 B.C.)**



## A Women's Festival

## Iraq Today

Celestial Ball "Babylon",  
Symbol of Fertility (700 B.C.)

Fortnightly Magazine  
Vol. II No. 39  
December, 1976

Published by the  
Ministry of Information  
Directorate General of  
Information,  
Baghdad, Iraq

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Depository number at the National  
Library, — 226/1975  
(al-Hurra Printing House —  
Baghdad, Iraq)

Correspondence to be addressed to:  
"Iraq Today" magazine,  
Directorate General of  
Information,  
Baghdad, Iraq

Designer: Waleed Sheet  
Photos: INA

## EDITORIAL

### BIASED AND PRECARIOUS PEACE IN LEBANON

In its note presented to the Lebanese President, the national and progressive movement has spelled out the doubts that have long been lurking in our minds. The Syrian regime, under the guise of the forces of deterrence, has confined its "peace keeping" efforts to occupying all positions other than those held by the isolationists.

The movement warned that the imbalance in the distribution of Arab deterrent forces would endanger peace in Lebanon and keep the state of tension alive for long.

The note explained that out of the six Arab battalions which moved to the north, five reached Tripoli where they dominated that city completely. At the same time strict military measures were taken involving the offices of the parties and popular organisations. The sixth battalion was dispersed for the sake of appearances in the isolationist areas and the areas into which the isolationists entered by force, especially the Korah where violations and provocations continued against its remaining inhabitants.

The assessment of the national leadership of A.B.S.P. about the Riadh conference has been confirmed by this note. The A.B.S.P. stated then that the so-called deterrent forces were nothing but an invading army belonging to and making part of the forces of the Syrian regime. They were given the legitimate cover by the conferees. These forces ensure military hegemony of the Damascus rulers over the areas under the nationalists and the Palestinian resistance.

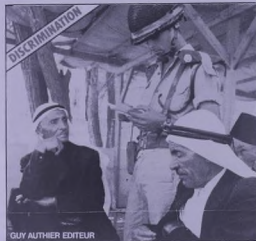
As to the areas dominated by the isolationists, deterrent forces have nothing in them except a nominal presence while it is from there that another flare-up is expected.

All this emphasizes the suspect role entrusted to the Syrian regime this time under the umbrella of the participants in the Riadh conference. The purpose for all that is to liquidate the nationalist forces and the resistance movement and subjugate them to the Zionist and imperialist plan.

It is not for the capitulationist Syrian regime to keep peace or to protect the Palestinians. Every day that passes increasingly proves the right stand of the leadership of the A.B.S.P. Southern Lebanon has been abandoned to both the isolationists and the Israelis. The potential consequences of this should alarm every conscientious Arab.

The renegade Syrian regime makes no bones about its readiness to solve the Palestinian question the way the Zionists and Americans want Lebanon was in the way and the regime, with the blessings of the Riadh conference, is working hard to put out its resistance by all the means it has with military force being the most cruel and the harshest one.

# LE RACISME DE L'ETAT D'ISRAËL



## Baghdad Has Its Reply to Zionist Racism

I have received your recent letter which moved me back to the atmosphere of your home in Paris. It also reminded me of a December night when soft rain was interfering with our serious conversation.

## A Message to a Prominent Intellectual

It seems to me that you are still repeating the name of Jean Paul Sartre and some other European intellectuals who opposed the United Nations resolution branding zionism as form of racism and racial discrimination.

You are undoubtedly aware that a few signatures on the Zionist Petitions cannot change the essence of a movement having a specific nature, attitudes and practices in life. Those deceived signatures which supported Hitler's programme in 1933, could not change the racist essence of

the Nazi movement or give it any expression other than fascism, violence and destructiveness.

Upon the announcement of the UN historic resolution, the Zionist circles promptly declared public mobilization in the West unleashing an unprecedented campaign of publicity to undermine the international decision. But what was the result of all that frenzied campaign waged in the absence of the real objective information in the West? The resultant was a new hate campaign and a new racism conducted against all peoples of the world.

Here I would like to quote excerpts from certain Western papers which were very "democratic and eloquent" in their answer to the resolution. Such papers say "The United Nations became an obnoxious centre. The UN decision was libelant. The United States described the decision considering zionism tantamount to racism as dirty. The decision was passed by eccentric majority. The resolution is a symbol of the adultery of the world. The human rights commission was starkly mad and the "logic" of the general assembly was much wilder. Those who voted for the decision are pygmies. The decision was dictated by bare-footed and illiterate people on the civilized world. It is an absurd decision. It is a blot...etc".

As for the New York Times, it published an advertisement by a Zionist organisation titled "A decision issued by criminals, killers and gangsters". But, nonetheless, one of the Western papers overstepped this "broken eloquency" by saying "The UN decision cannot be judged except after an extensive survey and scrutiny to be conducted on the nature of zionism to bring truth into light and enlighten the public opinion. An arduous work like this in countries where press and other mass media are under the influence of the Zionist elements will inevitably conflict with many obstacles".

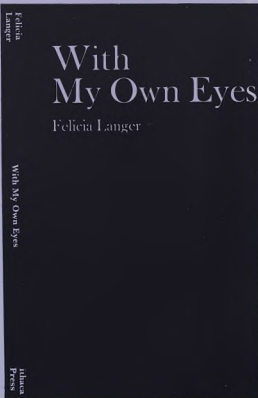
by Kadhim Jawad

As you are aware some personalities like Mendes France, and Sartre have pretended to forget those who annihilated millions of Europeans during the World War II, including thousands of European Jews, were themselves Europeans, but not Arabs or Africans or Asians. Anti-semitism began in the Inquisitions of Spain and ended in the Third Reich. It is to be recalled that those who have planted the Zionist-racist colony into the heart of the Arab homeland were the arch racists of Europe, namely Hertzl, Rothschild, Ben Gurion, Hitler, Balfour, Weismann and Eichmann. Hence, I would like to enquire about the definition of racism in the European dictionaries and lexicons which Sartre and the like are handling.

The Petit Larousse dictionary defines racism as a doctrine favouring one racial group over another and calling for the separation of that group from other groups within a certain country, (racial discrimination) or even aiming at annihilating the others.

As for Petit Rebert Dictionary, it defines racism as "a theory of categories of races aiming at the necessity of preserving the best race detached from other races and giving this race the right to dominate the others. The Encyclopedia Universele defines racism as a clear and general evaluation of biological differences, realistic or illusionary, in favour of the accused at the expense of his victim for justifying the aggression. Such definitions could be found in the texts of the dictionaries of the language in which Sartre wrote his works such as his play "The Dirty Hands".

Don't you see that the claims that Jews are "a world nation", "chosen by God" "causing horrors" and portraying other peoples among which the Jew lived as anti-semitic are all falling under the above definitions?





Will Zionists' crimes against peaceful Arabs awaken world conscience?

I mention here some quotations from the sayings of the founders of the Zionist movement so that the signatories to the Zionist petitions grasp the facts and objectives of that movement:

Moses Hess wrote, "The most touching about these Hebrew prayers is that they are really an expression of the collective Jewish spirit. They do not plead for the individual, but the Jew who denies the existence of the Jewish nationality, is not only a deserter in the religious sense but is

also a traitor to his people, his race and even his family".

Another Zionist, Ahha Am, spoke about the "Jewish Chosen people", "the maximum superiority", "the International Jewish people" Martin Bauber talked about "The Jewish cultural unity", their "peculiar historical record" and their "peculiar mentality", and their special historical past, their special way of thinking". As regards this cultural unity, Max Nordau proclaims, "We shall maintain the European culture but we can smile at the suggestion that we should become Saxons in an anthropological sense, as the Anglo-Saxons in North America have become Red Indians".

Another example was Zionist L. Pinsky who spoke frankly and loudly about Zionist racism. He said, "there is no people who sympathizes with the aliens... This phenomenon is based on racism and no one can blame any of the people for this.



Absolute purity does not exist, but relatively the Jews are doubtless the purest race among civilized nations".

In a public statement in 1897, Max Nordau characterized the Jews as "more industrious, and more able than the average European not to speak at all of the inert Asiatic and African". He added, "We cherish these qualities which are not enjoyable by any other nation in the world".

Some European intellectuals intentionally ignore the fact that racist Zionism is utilizing religion

for some political purposes, as well as those states which stuck, in the past, to theological teachings and the result was more wars and more massacres in Europe. And what about the Zionist "Law of Return" which aims at destroying the legitimate relationship of citizenship between the Jews and the countries they belong to? What do Sartre and others say about a racist entity whose political institutions are established on the religion of its immigrant settlers? Doesn't that entity require Lebensraum to assimilate those "Israeli citizens" all over the world? How that Lebensraum could be achieved? Doesn't Sartre and the like remember the Hitlerite Lebensraum whose victims were France in particular, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union? Nazism is the backward type of Zionism. Before Nazism and even at the present time the question of the purity of the "Jewish blood" takes a specific stamp which has much more adhesion to racism. The parents of any Zionist and all his family members should be Jews. The second class settlers are the Jews who should prove by official certificates that their mothers are Jews. Jews who were unrecognized as being Jews by the Zionist entity are those who did not produce any convincing evidence of their descentance from some "Jewish race". While the Zionist entity laws and regulations treat the indigenous people of Palestine, the Arabs, as second class citizens for the reasons that "non-Jew" word means homelessness and expulsion and deportation. In the meantime the Zionist entity's legislation grants the opportunity to the new Jewish settlers to obtain the nationality soon after their emigration. While a Palestinian refugee who was born on the soil of his own fatherland is not allowed to return to it, he will remain struggling until his homeland is completely liberated. Nazism was built on chauvinism and racial discrimination and on the loyalty of all Germans living outside Germany and so does Zionism, with the difference that the Nazis allowed the Jews to leave Germany carrying with them their belongings by an agreement reached between Heydrich and Eichmann on the one hand and the Zionist organisation on the other, but the Zionists did

not allow the Palestinians who were expelled from their own fatherland by force and violence to take any of their belongings with them except what they had on. Now the Zionists have been occupying their houses, lands and fields and confiscating their properties since 1948.

One wonders what is the difference between the laws of the racial discrimination which were legislated by the Nazi Germany and the laws enforced by the Zionists in the occupied territories. Above all, the government of Western Germany paid a flow of reparations to an entity that was not existing at the time of enforcement of the Nazi legislation. The German Jews were able to return to Germany and recover their estates and properties which they alleged to have been obliged to sell out at that time. The Nazi racist leaders were executed after the war for the crimes they committed against European peoples, but despite this fact you great as heroes the other racist killers such as Moshe Dayan, M. Began, Sharon, Ailon etc. I shall remind you of the crimes they committed at Deir Yassen, Kafir Qasim, Bahir al-Baqar and of the halls of their bombs that fell on the Palestinian camps over the past 30 years.

One of the most contradictory features of the Zionist thought is this demagogic dogmatized confusion between Zionism and anti-Semitism. The Zionists, in their traditional European make-up, are the anti-Semites. The Zionists who are of European origin are non-Semites and anti-Semites. You, however, may refer to their sayings that were being published in Nazi Party organ Voelkischer Beobachter. But what about the Jews who are against the "racist Judaism" and those who are against Balfour Declaration? Are they on the side of the anti-Semites? What about Lord Montague, Chancellor Kreisley, Einstein, Fried and the American Rabbi Berger... are all these anti-Semites, just because they defended the emancipation cause of the Jews and their full assimilation in the whole society?... or because they have said exactly as Adolf Ox, the founder of the New York Times, once said, "I am

a Jew by religion, but I do not go farther than that. But the Zionists wanted to stick to the Jewish traditions essentially alive. Its result was segregation. Nevertheless they get the impression of surprise when they are discriminated". The Arabs are all semites but the Jews are not all semites.

As you know the struggle of Arabs, Indians, Chinese and Africans against Western imperialism does not mean that they are hostile to European nations at all, so the struggle of those nations against fascism of Hitler and Mussolini, did not mean enmity against the Germans or the Italians. Why then are you entrapped by the Zionist racial prejudices? They portray this kind of struggle against them, as a form of anti-semitism.

Zionism in its desperate attempts was a challenge to the liberated and the assimilated Jews who refused categorically the idea of a national Jewish homeland. Lackewa mentions in this respect that the history of the Jews does not rule out the assimilation of Jews in any respective society. Morgentau was the father of an American ex-finance minister. He presided the committee which was studying the situation of the Jews in Poland after the end of the World War I. He wrote that it was obvious that the misery of the Jews was caused by the Zionists themselves, because they misinterpreted prophecies and the estimations of the holy scriptures in order to win supporters over to their side for their "national" aspirations!

The Zionist superstitious prophecies which caused much bloodshed and displaced hundreds of thousands of victims were an integral part of a vast imperialist operation. Europe in the last century was flooded with accumulated goods and surplus manpower. As it became overpopulated they were confronted with a crisis which obliged them to look for new settlements and colonies outside Europe, to get rid of those elements which were undesirable, so colonial pockets of settlements had been founded in Algeria, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa.

The Zionist "European" Balfour's declaration which was inspired by a Zionist-imperialist conspiracy, did not mention the Arab people of Palestine. Moslems and Christians were mentioned only as non-Jewish communities. Their racial aim was to subjugate the indigenous people to the European surplus represented by the Zionist minority.

It may be a mockery of the fate and a sort of a savage contempt that such a meagre minority which was some thousands of Zionist settlers in 1917 deprived, by force, the Canaanite Arab indigenous people of Palestine of their historical homeland. The settlers became prosperous, protected by the bayonets of British mandatory forces. This racial entry practised in the broad daylight the principles of "Ahad Ha'am's oriental savagery" and the notions of other elders of Zionism, who raised the motto of the Jewish superiority. This entity will remain something strange and artificial inside this area for ever as it is connected to the European fascist, and has no spiritual or historical relation with either Asian or African continents. Judaism is a religion according to the Arabs and they have no sense of guilt towards the Jews until the emergence of Zionism at the end of the last century in Europe. Zionism characterises all the Jews all over the world as a pure "superior nation" which mingles with no other "races".

Herzl said from the very beginning: "My most zealous supporters are the anti-semites". The only objection to Balfour Declaration was from a Jewish Minister in the British Cabinet in 1917. Lord Montagu said that behind this declaration was an entity towards semitism. Zionism created for the Jews a problem of dual loyalty so that it will be able to contribute to the advancement of its racial objectives. The German writer Hoehne said: "The Zionists did not consider a firmly established Nazism in Germany as a national calamity, but as historical possibility to realize the Zionist aims.

The American Journalist Morris Cohen said: "Zionists share the ideological principle of anti-

ALTERNATING PRIORITIES

semitism". Let us remember here the Jewish historian Lackewa who said when Hitler seized power, "In order to realise Zionist dreams, the European Judaism must be destroyed first". A cooperation was achieved between the Nazis and the Zionists for the sake of that morbid dream through stopping the assimilation process of the Jews in Europe and denouncing the emancipated Jews who had already been assimilated in Western societies.

This cooperation took different shapes such as the financing of the Nazi party to force Jews to emigrate to Palestine and the Nazis achieved this when they assumed power in the thirties.

Zionism succeeded to impose some certain obligations on all the Jews in other countries for the advantage of the Zionist entity. But this will not last for a long time. Since 1922, as Walter Ratinau, the Jewish Minister of Weimar Republic for foreign affairs was well aware of that who he said, "Zionists are asking for self-help, but "Zionist Palestine" will be obliged to ask for help from other non-Zionist Jews. This cannot go on and is not accepted as an endorsed concept".

Now talks are being circulated about "nuclear racial cooperation" between the Zionist entity and South Africa. These two entities have more than one thing in common. First of all both of them are settled on a foreign land, i.e., they both are intruders to lands which never belong to them. Besides they stick to the creed of superiority to the others. They are racists, and harshly practising the measure of racial superiority to other "races". In brief they are nothing but regimes of colonialists and immigrant settlers.

The Zionist authorities' practice is based on the provisions of the "Law of Return" which grants only the Jews the right to emigrate to Palestine, the "Law of the Absentees' Properties" according which the Palestinians' properties and estates have been confiscated, and "the provisions of the law of the military zones" according to which the military governors are empowered to arrest any

Arab citizen and confiscate his estate, and his properties under any pretext and in violent measures.

Practically the eastern Jews "Staridim", are suffering from discrimination in the Zionist entity. Aba Eban in 1957 once warned the Zionists of the dangers of the possibility of accepting association and mingling with those elements with their eastern cultures, and he insisted on the threatening "domination of the neighbours' culture". So it is clear that the psychological and cultural make-up of the eastern Jewish settlers in Palestine can bring those Jews into normal life, under the rule of an Arab democratic and secular state, which is the righteous basis for peace.

Now I may add that for the first time, Baghdad has retaliated against the racist Zionism by holding the "Symposium on Zionism". This is the first of its kind and level since the Basel Conference which was held in 1897, since the collapse of the European fascism in May 1945, and since the UN resolution of November, 1975, which determined Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination. One of the major tasks of this Symposium was to enrich ideologically all the liberation movements which are struggling against racism, fascism and imperialism. This will be of great benefit for the strugglers, scholars and students all over the world.

Baghdad has retaliated and has ideologically refuted, through discussions and deliberations, the bases of Zionist racism. Baghdad has been fit for this ideological task because of its ancient heritage which goes back in history for more than fifty centuries. This Symposium was an opportunity for those who are acquainted with the roles of the great cultures in Canaan, Babylonia, Assyria, ancient Egypt and the Arab culture in the middle ages, great cultures to prove that the racial conception had been introduced to Europe, in the mid of the last century, by those Zionists who autically stuck to the ossified Jewish traditions.

Until we meet again, my greetings to you.

## ALTERING PRIORITIES



In an article recently printed by the New York Times (and reproduced by the International Herald Tribune, November 22, 1976), Mr. Walter Laqueur, chairman of the research council of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, said about the Middle East that "innumerable conferences, speeches and position papers deal with the future of the region, but most of them labour under the delusion that peace in the Middle East is a synonym for the resolution of the Arab-"Israeli" conflict. According to him "the issues at stake are territorial as well as ideological, social, religious and political; these are conflicts between states, as well as within societies and the resolution of one does not necessarily diminish the intensity of others. In some cases, it may, in fact, have the opposite effect..."

The chairman of the centre that analyses the highly important intelligence reports and assessments with regard to the most vital areas of US

## U.S. think-tanks try in vain to confuse issues

By Our Political Commentator

Of late a section of the US think-tanks are driving home a new point that the question of resolving the Arab-"Israeli" conflict is not that important for peace in the Middle East. They are even going to the extent of suggesting that if the Arab-"Israeli" conflict is resolved today, other conflicts will engulf the region tomorrow and the prospect of peace will remain as bleak as ever.

Not that these suggestions are being put forward by political Toms, Dicks or Harrys. These are being coked up by those who usually influence the thinking process of the State Department, the Pentagon and even the White House.

interest has tried, certainly not unwittingly, to confuse issues and alter priorities at a time when a new set of functionaries are going to take over the affairs of American administration. He has discussed at length the possible unfolding of conflicts among the various components of Arab nation, among Palestinian resistance groups and within the society of respective Arab countries. According to him, these conflicts pose much more serious threats to peace than the Arab-"Israeli" conflict which, acting as a catalyst, prevents the other conflicts from taking a dangerous turn. He said:

"It is an inescapable fact that the Middle East contains a great amount of flammable material, and for a long time to come it will remain an area of political turbulence. That a settlement of

the Arab-"Israeli" conflict would be desirable goes without saying. But this is true only if the cure is not worse than the disease; no one would be helped by a "peaceful solution" that transforms, with almost mathematical certainty, a regional dispute into a superpower confrontation"

This is the crudest possible argument in favour of shelving the most burning issue of the day — that of vacating "Israeli" aggression and restoring to the Palestinian people their inalienable national rights. The acts of aggression committed by the Zionists since 1948, the occupation of Arab territories, the expulsion of almost the entire Arab population of Palestine from their homeland and turning Palestine into a settler-colonial racist ghetto are gross violations of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and its directives. The international community has an unescapable responsibility to remedy the situation. But, the internal conflicts of Arab societies or the resistance movements are not international disputes. To suggest that because of the existence of these internal conflicts no action should be taken against those who mounted wars of aggression and violated international law, Charter of the UN and its directives, is tantamount to challenging validity of the accepted and respected norms of international behaviour and extending an open invitation to interference in the domestic field of countries.

The international community has not been misguided by such mischievous logic. On November 24 last the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution calling upon "Israel" to withdraw, by June 1 next, from all the Arab territories it occupied during and since the 1967 War. The Assembly which endorsed the report by the 20-nation UN Committee on the "exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people", asked the Security Council to consider, as soon as possible, this and other recommendations made by the committee.

The committee, inter alia, recommended that in the first phase the evacuated territories would

be taken over by the UN and in the second phase the UN would give them to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole representative of the Palestinian people. The committee urged the UN and the PLO to "make necessary arrangements to enable Palestinians displaced between 1948 and 1967 to exercise their right to return to their homes and property". The committee held that "the Palestinian people should decide when and how its national independence should be expressed within an independent entity of its own and its territory, Pales "nt".

These recommendations were earlier placed before the Security Council last June, but the United States vetoed them. This time the General Assembly, by almost two-thirds majority (90 in favour, 16 against with 30 abstentions) endorsed the Committee's recommendations and urged the Council to consider them once again taking into account the fact that the Assembly supported them overwhelmingly.

At this stage of the Arab-"Israeli" conflict it is against the interest of all including the US to try to stall the issue by bringing in irrelevant and peripheral matters as are being done by some US think-tanks. These wise men in Washington should better know that the Arab-"Israeli" conflict is a conflict between the whole people of the Arab homeland and the Zionist enemy. And the Arab people, on their part, will surmount all their internal predicaments in order to resolve the main contradiction of the present historical stage — the contradiction between themselves and the Zionist enemy who is backed by imperialists and other reactionary forces. The behaviour of one or two persons in authority at the given moment in this or that Arab country is not indicative of any change in the main contradiction. Similarly, the position of the US or any other power does not affect the fundamental nature of this antagonistic contradiction either. The alignment of forces only makes the task of resolving the contradiction either easier or harder.



by Sayed Yassin  
 Director of "Al Ahram" Political  
 and Strategic Studies Center, Cairo

# Zionism as a Racist Ideology

The Resolution passed by the U.N. General Assembly considering Zionism a form of racism has evoked world-wide repercussions. In fact, this decision underlines the importance of an in-depth analysis of the Zionist phenomenon which formed the basis of colonial-settlement in Palestine. This study focuses on Zionism as a racist ideology and therefore requires, at the outset, a definition of both ideology and racism.

## 1. IDEOLOGY

We can say that there are various trends in defining the concept of "ideology". According to Adam Schaff, these definitions may be generally divided into three categories: genetic, structural and functional.

— The genetic definition underlines the environmental factors leading to and accompanying

## THE GENETIC DEFINITION OF IDEOLOGY

the emergence of an ideology.

— The structural definition springs from the features distinguishing one ideology from another from the viewpoint of logic and epistemology; in other words, the judgements and propositions that set one ideology apart from other ideologies on the one hand, and from other intellectual structures, such as scientific theories, on the other.

— Finally, the functional definition focuses on, and draws attention to, the functions of ideology vis-à-vis society, social groups and individuals.

Adam Schaff tended to adopt the functional definition of ideology, regarding it as the most descriptive and neutral. As such, this definition might prove to be the most acceptable to different points of view. In this light, Schaff suggests the following definition: "Ideology is a pattern of ideas which, by being based on a specific set of values, serves to delineate the orientations and conduct of men in relation to the development of society, social groups or individuals".

Though this functional definition might be acceptable on general terms, in that it is applicable to Zionism as well as to other ideologies, Adam Schaff's exclusion of genetic and structural definitions is not acceptable for it is not sufficient to solely indicate the function or functions of a given ideology. Rather, it becomes necessary, particularly in a critical context, to define the genetic origins of the ideology under discussion. We also have to bring out the basic intellectual components. This applies in particular to Zionism. We cannot understand the functions of Zionism in relation to Zionist groups without determining its origins and internal structure.

## 2. RACISM

Racism is based on the central idea that a certain race of people is naturally superior to others. The distinguishing characteristics of the chosen group are usually defined on physical bases, i.e. physiognomy, or on purely cultural bases of that chosen group. In addition, there exists a number of attributes and values which are often regarded as marks of superiority and distinction: like military ingenuity, technological superiority or, as the Zionists claim, divine predestination, leading them to regard themselves as God's chosen people. The racists, more often than not, claim that the race to which they belong is superior from the biological viewpoint, which superiority shall continue for ever.

Nazism, which is one of the most prominent racist ideologies of modern times, had set itself the task of achieving a world peace, "based on the victorious sword of a race of masters which shall put the world in the service of a superior civilization. Japan, before its defeat in World War II, also based its extreme nationalism and expansionist policy on a nationalist-racist myth.

Africa is a further example of the manner in which racism is attempting to create unbridgeable gulfs between the white colonial rulers and the indigenous black population. Sarah Millen, writing on South Africa in the 'twenties', declared that "the gap between black and white had become too wide to be filled". Similar ideas may also be found among ultra-Zionist thinkers who believe that there are basic differences between Jews and Gentiles, hence the predominant psychological attitude among the Jews and their mistrust of anyone or anything non-Jewish.

Racism has been employed to justify a diverse range of economic, political and social situations. In reading of the early days of American colonialism, for example, one may discern that the American society, which was dominated by powerful religious tendencies at the time, had to search for a justification for the system of slavery imposed on negroes, particularly after the latter's conversion to Christianity. As the Christian faith does not allow one Christian to possess and enslave another, racism became a handy justification of enslavement on the premises that negroes were a race inferior to the whites, which renders enslavement justifiable; and, as someone stated with formidable candour that property is property, and it is therefore in no need of protection by reasonable pretexts. It is worth noting in this context that German racists had often spoken badly of the Japanese in their mention of the "Yellow Danger" describing them as "trained monkeys". But when political expediencies made it necessary to include Japan in the axis-group, German anthropologists unabashedly stepped forward to say that the Japanese belonged, after all, to the Aryan race.

Modern racist ideology derives its origins from the writings of the French author, Count De Gobineau, who, in 1855, published a famous work entitled "Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines"; De Gobineau's racist theory saw the real causes of the rise and fall of societies and human civilization not in economic, political, religious or social circumstances, but only in racial factors. Gobineau also held that the human race could only be classified into superior and inferior. Whereas the former was capable of progress, the latter was condemned to eternal backwardness.

Gobineau's theory was taken up by some other writers and researchers, chief among whom was Chamberlain in his book *The Foundation of the 19th Century*, the French anthropologist and biologist, V. de la Bouge, and the German anthropologist Otto Amun.

The fact that modern racism emanated from Gobineau's ideas in the 19th Century is by no means a coincidence. We have learned from the social sciences that ideas do not crop up, develop and mature in a vacuum. They have to be linked to the specific historical moment as well as to the type of social structure prevailing in the society. If we adopt this procedure we should recognize that the development of racist ideology corresponds to the emergence and expansion of international imperialism based on the colonialization of the Third World. Thus the need arose to contrive a cover-up for justifying this colonial system. Hence the claims like 'the white man's burden' to civilize backward nations and similar formulas were meant as an ideological support for the colonial process.

The above serves to point out the close association between racism and colonialism. It is small wonder therefore that Zionism, as a racist ideology, was the moving political force for settler-colonialism in Palestine.

#### FORMATION OF RACIST ISRAELI SOCIETY

The appearance and development of Jewish society in Palestine resulted from the efforts of Zionist groups which were forming in East and Central Europe towards the end of the 19th century. These Zionist groups operated under the slogan that 'no proper Jewish life could be led in any society outside Palestine'. Zionism held that life in the shadow of modern European societies could lead the Jews to be split between spiritual and cultural oppression (resulting from the disappearance of their traditional and social way of life, under the yoke of modern political and economic systems), and physical extinction, through "absolute assimilation" in society. Thus Zionism claimed that only in Palestine could appear a modern Jewish society, through a blending of Judaism and human civilization at large, or by a mixture of tradition and modernity.

Jewish society in Palestine adopted a well-rounded ideology, consisting of a set pattern of coherent ideas, and moulded them into one overall guiding norm. The "pioneering ideology", spurred on the pioneers, who were in reality the spearhead of colonial settlement in Palestine. Zionism went to great lengths to present an ideal image

of the pioneer as an example of the ideal Jew. Thus, early Zionist leaders took special pains to emphasize that early settlers be in their conduct and tendencies an example of the pioneer, especially in sacrifice. The pioneer was described as a man willing to suffer deprivations, forsake the pleasures of life and renounce material gains. He is capable of rigid self-discipline and a life of austerity, not for its own sake — though this later became a predominant tendency — but for the sake of pioneer objectives of creating a Jewish community in Palestine.

Another attribute of the pioneer is his readiness to work alone, since exploiting labour is prohibited. This had its influence on the type of activities pursued in the creation of a Jewish society in Palestine. Non-exploiting labour was emphasized in agricultural and manual fields, on the assumption that in this manner, it was possible to regenerate the youth of "the Jewish Nation" and create the new Jew.

The "pioneering" ideology centered on two basic points: self-sufficiency and self-defence. An analysis of this ideology which, through its principles, values and strategies, was the main force motivating the early Zionist settlers in Palestine, may throw light on the beginnings of racist ideas, which were later to give birth to the Zionist movement. This may be discerned in the goals which Zionism pursued in its efforts to create a Jewish society in Palestine, in the way the Zionists regarded the Arabs, the indigenous population of Palestine, and, finally, in the settlement policies, the most prominent of which were the usurpation of land, labour, self-defence and production:

1. Zionism's first claim was that it intended to take upon itself the onerous message of "civilizing and modernizing" Palestine. Such a claim dovetailed perfectly with the 19th century racist orientations of European capitalism, which sought a cultural justification through the claim that it was "colonizing backward nations" with the purpose of "civilizing" and "preparing" them for self-rule. The Zionist thinker, Moses Hess, put it this way: The mission of the Jewish nation and of the Jewish state in Palestine is to stand guard over "the area of intersection between three continents". Elaborating on this mission, Hess says: "Your capital will bring back life to this arid land. Your efforts and labour will once more turn this ancient land into fertile valleys after you have saved it from the clutches of the desert sands. The world will present you once more with allegiance and respect". Herzl, amplifying the same idea, wrote: "Over

there, we shall be the barrier protecting Europe in Asia. We shall pose as an outpost of civilization in the face of savagery. As a neutral state, we must maintain our contact with Europe which we under-write our existence". Max Thordeau elaborated this point further: "We shall, in the Middle East, endeavour to do what the British did in India, namely, undertake cultural activities and not foster domination. We are going to Palestine as an expedition on behalf of civilization. Ours is the mission of spreading Europe's ethical code out to the Euphrates". In brief, Zionism based itself from the beginning on European racist ideology, in order to justify its colonization of Palestine. The "Jews" were regarded as a race superior to the Arabs, who had failed to cultivate their own land. The Jews, with their unique skills, had come to lead them along the road of advancement and social progress.

2. This racist view, which set the stage for colonial settlement in Palestine, entailed a negative attitude towards the native Arabs.

This finds its expression not only in the Zionist indifference as regards the Arabs' fate, but also in the belief in the necessity of exterminating or driving them out of the country if they were to resist colonial settlement operations.

Zionist settler-colonialism pursued this policy relentlessly both before and after the creation of the Jewish state. This is evidenced by the campaigns of terror planned and executed by Israeli leaders, in order to expel as many Palestinians as possible from their homes in 1948. There is much evidence to refute the Zionist claim that the exodus of the Palestinian Arabs was instigated by Arab leaders. Israeli settler-colonialism continued to expand, particularly in the aftermath of the June 1967 War. Since then, the world has been standing witness to the seizure of the Palestinians' land, the dynamiting of their houses, their expulsion from their villages and the prevention of their return. These are the politics pursued by racist colonial settlement systems.

3. Racism is also manifested in the policies of colonial-settlement, formulated and practised by early Zionists. The most significant aspects of these policies were the usurpation of land, of labour, of self-defence and of production facilities.

#### a. USURPATION OF LAND

The Zionist settlement programme pursued a number of policies, chief among which was the usurpation of land. This specifically meant the



Even old Arab Palestinians are left homeless to the mercy of nature!



seizure of Palestinian land, in order to exploit it and wrest it from the control of the gentiles, namely the Arabs. The Zionist leadership strove to give this principle a psychological as well as an economic connotation. By conquering the land, the Jew purified himself, relinquishing the parasitic behaviour to which he had become so accustomed in the Diaspora, as a result of separation for many generations from agriculture, industry and various productive activities. Yet, it is quite important to emphasize the terroristic aspect of the conquest of Arab land in Palestine. The land was not purchased from its owners, nor was it acquired by deceptive means. It was forcibly taken from the Palestinians by the Hagana. Thus, 76 per cent of the whole area of Palestine was seized in less than one year, i.e. in 1948.

#### b. MONOPOLIZATION OF THE LABOUR MARKET

Zionist colonialism in Palestine was not only of the settler-type, but also a substituting one. In other words, this type of colonialism aspired — in order to realize the dream of building a pure Jewish



state — to replace the Arabs of Palestine by Jews. Conquest of land was therefore not sufficient and had to be supplemented by the monopolization of the labour market. The latter was, in effect, the racist economic facet of Zionist settler-colonialism, camouflaged with an ideological mask. Some of the advocates of this line, in particular the Zionist thinker Jordan, held that the Jewish worker should work for work's own sake. Labour, in particular agricultural and other types of manual work, has the effect of fostering ties between the Jew and the land, a bond of which the Jew had been deprived for many generations as a result of the parasitical activities which he was forced to take up in the Diaspora.

Apart from all these abstract ideas about the purity and indispensability of work in reviving a Jew's personality, the principle of manual labour revealed itself as a racist one in that it entailed, on the one hand, the introversion of the Jews and, on the other, denial of work to the Arabs and forcing them out of the labour market.

#### c. TAKE-OVER OR SELF-DEFENCE

This principle is the practical implementations of the slogan of self-defence, as expounded in the ideology of the early Zionist settlers. Conquest of land and monopolization of labour-market meant wresting Arab land from its owners, thus weakening their economic position in the labour-market by propagating the slogan of Jewish labour.

This obviously entailed the possibility of provoking the Arabs' resistance. Hence, the above-mentioned principle meant that the Arabs must not be trusted with the defence of Zionist settlement or Zionist interprises. Only Zionist guards should take on this vital job.

#### d. MONOPOLIZATION OF PRODUCTION

After land, labour and self-defence, there comes, in a natural sequence, the principle of monopolizing production. This means boycotting Arab products and banning any dealings with Arabs. The Histadrut played a prominent role in imposing the principle of Jewish labour, of boycotting Arab products and of purchasing only Jewish products.

During the first stages of Zionist colonial settlement in Palestine, racism played a prominent role in the creation of this Jewish society. This found its expression in the assertion, by various means, of the identity of the first settlers at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs.

It can be said that the first wave of Jewish settlers, who succeeded in building a Jewish society in Palestine, were aided by diverse historical circumstances. The most important of these were the encouragement received by world colonialism, personified by the major powers, (particularly Britain), the support of European capitalist Jewry and, finally, the Arab inability, at that stage, to offer organized and effective resistance. Almost all Arab states were then under foreign control.

The Jewish settlers' successful efforts were intensified through the establishment of various institutions and organisations, which subsequently became the nucleus of the state created in 1948.

With the creation of Israel in 1948, many of the specific problems and ideas, associated with the early stages of settlement, disappeared. But problems of a new kind appeared in their stead.

The creation of the Jewish state was linked to three major events: a new inflow of immigrants, the appearance of disparities within the economic and social structure and the conversion of the "pioneer" elite into a ruling elite. These events combined to leave an indelible imprint on the ideological identity of the Israeli society, the heir of the former Jewish community in Palestine. One of the most important consequences of this might be seen in the disintegration of the pioneer ideology during the process of transformation from a basically agrarian into an industrial society. This transformation was marked by the predominance of the private sector, which has remained at the helm of the Israeli economy, in spite of the untruthful-claim about the socialism of the Israeli society.

Without delving into details concerning the process of ideological disintegration accompanying the social decomposition of Israeli society, it must be pointed out that one essential change following the creation of the state was the Israeli leadership's realization of the necessity of working out a social strategy for the education of new generations of Israelis, to enable them to adapt to the new environment. The creation of Israel meant the emergence of disparities among the nationals of the new state on the one hand, and among the Jews in general, on the other. This gave rise to complicated problems concerning the new Israeli identity and the extent to which this identity was attached to, or detached from, the traditional Jewish identity. These points will be taken up in more detail later in this essay.

But first, what are the psychological and social features of the strategy worked out by the Israeli ruling elite to fulfill its ambitions regarding the process of social education of the Israeli society?

This strategy, in the words of the Israeli psychologist George Tamarin, led to "the Israeli dilemma". Tamarin outlined the main characteristics of this dilemma as consisting of the contradictions in social and spiritual realities in Israel. On the one hand was the "Israeli ideology", which called for the creation of a democratic, progressive and enlightened society, in which equality reigns supreme — and which Israeli propaganda claims has already been realized — and, on the other, the theoretic-racist laws, the bigotry-saturated atmosphere, the narrow-minded culture and the repressive measures carried out by the Israeli authorities.

This dilemma reflects, in reality, the failure of Zionism to realize its declared programme, which claims that the creation of the state of Israel was the fulfilment of the Zionist dream of gathering the Jews together, for the first time in their history, to live in an environment marked by the absence of anti-Semitism. In such an environment, God's chosen people, which had been exposed to all kinds of dangers throughout their history, would at long last settle down together. Tamarin puts his finger on the root of the problem when he says that the conflict within the Israeli society is betrayed through the basic contradictions between those who advocate an Israeli society in the form of a "ghetto" in the physical and spiritual sense of the word; and the others, who are striving to build an open and free society. This fundamental contradiction, in addition to the advocates of an open versus an isolated society, is at the root of what has come to be called the "Israeli problem". In Tamarin's opinion, the solution of this problem will not only define the basic social and cultural features of the state, but, more important, it will prove decisive in determining its political future.

To summarize Tamarin's view, which is fairly accurate: the plan worked out by the Israeli ruling elite to make of Israel a fortified military bastion in the face of its Arab neighbours, contributed a great deal to Israel's cultural isolation and to converting it into a "big ghetto" marked by isolationist and reactionary cultural trends. This in turn constitutes the appropriate environment for the development of racist ideas and the spreading of racist policies which are directed against the Arabs.

The reactionary character of the Israeli social strategy is betrayed by a number of facts, chief among which are the following:

#### 1. THE ISOLATION OF ISRAELI SOCIETY

Contact between Israeli youth and the outside world has been severed, except through conservative educational programmes and local sources of

## NEWS IN PICTURES



President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, Secretary of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, Regional Leadership, and Mr. Saddam Hussein, Deputy Secretary of the A.B.S.P. and Vice Chairman of the Revolution Command Council are being received by the founding leader Mr. Michel Aflaq and Mr. Shibli al-Aysami, Assistant Secretary General of the National Leadership of the A.B.S.P., on the occasion of 'Id al-Adha.



Mr. Saddam Hussein, Vice Chairman of the Revolution Command Council receiving the Bulgarian Premier Mr. Sanko Todorov.



Dr. Zaid Halder, Member of the A.B.S.P. National Leadership, in charge of the Foreign Relations Bureau, receiving a Soviet Party delegation led by Mr. Flaslav, Candidate Member of the Politbureau of the Soviet Communist Party.



Dr. Izat Mustafa, RCC Member and Chairman of the Higher Council for Adult Education and Eradication of Illiteracy opening the symposium of Arab experts on eradication of illiteracy in the Arab homeland.

information. This is a result of the fear that the values, which the Israeli authorities have been pouring into the minds of the Israeli youth, might be undermined if the latter should have the chance of comparison on a wider scale.

By propagating the fear of the assimilation of Israelis into other societies or the needs of security measures, imposed by the military situation with the Arab countries, a cultural blockade has in fact been set up around the Israeli youth. Nonetheless, quite a few have managed to slip out to go abroad and settle, particularly in the United States.

This cultural blockade has led to an aversion against any criticism of political and social practices in the Israeli society, to xenophobia, to ideological fanaticism as well as to wide discrepancies between theory and practice in the enforcement of the law. The above-mentioned phenomena resulted in fanaticism and racial discrimination within the Israeli society, as George Tamarin puts it, a legal basis was laid for the practice of fanaticism and racism in the Israeli society. It is worth noting that these manifestations of fanaticism and racism were not only directed against the Arab population inside Israel. They were also expressed by the Israeli treatment of Oriental Jews as well as certain segments of Western Jews.

The understanding of the many aspects of racism in Israeli society requires an in-depth analysis of the multitude of ideas, ideologies and social norms prevailing in this society. We shall, for the sake of brevity, confine ourselves to the discussion of the manner in which the type of racism prevailing in Israeli society affects the attitudes of Israelis towards the Arabs. Our analysis will also include the legal foundations, on which this fanaticism and racism depend.

## 2. RACISM AND ISRAELI ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE ARABS

It can be stated that the racist character of Israeli society has markedly influenced the attitude adopted by the Israelis towards the Arabs. Although this aggressive attitude remained unchanged over a long period of time, there are discernible signs of certain changes, particularly in the aftermath of the war of June 1967, which brought about an increase of contact between the Arabs of the West Bank and the Israelis; and also as a result of the policy of 'open bridges'. Change here must not be construed to mean that the Israelis have become less aggressive towards the Arabs. What is meant essentially is that the Israelis came into contact with segments of an Arab population differing to some extent from the Arabs in Israel, whom the

Israeli authorities had physically confined to an existence under military rule.

The most dangerous of all trends, however, is the one which has taken root in the minds of Israeli youth, as a result of a systematic racist strategy, which uses school, army and mass media to propagate negative ideas about the Arabs.

A study by George Tamarin managed to uncover all these negative trends. His aim was the examination of certain impacts fanaticism has had on the ethical code, from the following points of view:

1. Fanaticism in the ideology of the youth population.
2. The uncritical teaching of the Torah, and its effects in terms of encouraging fanatical trends, such as the doctrine of the 'chosen people', of propagating the superiority of the Mosaic law and the citing of mass extermination as practised by biblical heroes.

Tamarin chose to concentrate on the most extreme form of fanaticism, namely the stories of mass extermination of the enemy. He prepared 1066 questionnaire forms, which were distributed to students of various age groups. The questionnaire, which was answered in writing by 563 boys and 503 girls, referred to the Book of Joshua, taught in Israeli schools from the 4th to the 8th grades.

The question ran as follows: You are well-familiar with the following excerpts from the Book of Joshua:

"So the people shouted when the priests blew with the trumpets; and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, and the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city".

"And they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword". Joshua VI, 20-1.

"And that day Joshua took Mak-kè-dàh and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof he utterly destroyed them, all the souls that were therein; he let none remain; and he did to the king of Mak-kè-dàh and unto the king of Jericho".

"Then Joshua passed from Mak-kè-dàh, and all Israel with him, unto Lìlè-nah, and fought against Lìlè-nah".

"And the Lord delivered it also, and the king thereof, into the hand of Israel; and he smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls

that were therein; he let none remain in it; but did unto the king thereof as he did unto the king of Jericho". Joshua X, 28-39.

Two questions were put to the students:

1. In your opinion, did Joshua and the Israelis act right or were they wrong? Amplify your view on this matter.
2. Suppose the Israeli army captured an Arab village in the war, is it right or wrong for the army to behave in the like manner with the population of the village as Joshua did with the population of Jericho?

Tamarin explains that although the Torah contains many examples of mass extermination, he chose the Book of Joshua in particular because of the special significance it is given in Israeli school curricula.

The students who answered the questionnaire were from Tel Aviv, from a village near Ramla, from the town of Sharon and from the Mochet settlement.

Following is a sample of the answers given:

A student from Sharon wrote: "The aim of the war was the capture of land for the sake of the Israelis. Therefore the Israelis did the right thing in capturing towns and killing its inhabitants. It is undesirable to have foreign elements inside Israel, as people of other religions might have untoward influence on the Israeli society".

A girl from the Mochet settlement wrote: "Joshua was right in killing the whole of the people of Jericho. As it was necessary to occupy all the country, he had little time to waste on captives".

Answers of this kind formed 66-95 per cent of the answers depending on the school, settlement or town.

To the question: "Is it permissible in our day and age to liquidate the entire population of an occupied Arab village?", 30 per cent of the students replied in a categorical affirmative.

A 7th grade student had this to say: "Everything, I believe, was done in the right way. What we are after is to vanquish our enemies and expand our frontiers. Like Joshua and the Israelites, we also have killed Arabs".

A student of the 8th grade wrote: "In my opinion, our army should do to Arab villages what Joshua did to Jericho. This is because the Arabs are our enemies and will, even in captivity, look for ways to harm us".

As Tamarin rightly puts it, the answers derived from such a psycho-sociological fieldwork

imply a complete indictment of the Israeli educational system which, in collaboration with other social institutions in Israel, has sought to implant racist and fanatical ideas in the minds of Israeli youth.

When first published, the results of Tamarin's research caused an uproar in Israel, simply because they unmasked, in a scientific and objective way, the racist character of the Israeli society. Tamarin paid the price of his moral courage. He lost his job as Professor at the University of Tel Aviv. Nevertheless, his study gained popularity and came to be known as the 'Tamarin Affair'. This is an example of the destructive influence of the racist social strategy practised by the ruling elite in Israel.

## 3. LEGAL FOUNDATIONS OF RACISM IN ISRAEL

It is an established fact in social psychology that fanaticism, as a social phenomenon, may be found in many societies. It is the result of the interaction between various social systems and different political practices. Nevertheless, with regard to Israeli society, we are faced with a peculiar situation, once which we may define as 'legalized fanaticism'. For the Israeli legal system clearly tends to encourage racial discrimination inside Israel and, as such, may be regarded as a faithful replica of Zionist racist ideology.

In a study on this subject, Tamarin explains that the danger of such legal texts lies in the effect they have on people's minds. People tend to respect the inherent values and to believe in the validity of these laws in spite of their racist and reactionary values.

Discriminatory practices in Israel, — in a large and comprehensive sense — which have legal bases, may be grouped under three main headings:

1. The denial of some basic human rights by discriminatory legislations.
2. The violation of the freedom of belief by means of religious coercion.
3. Legislations containing racial discrimination against the Arab minority.

In Tamarin's view, the most dangerous, undemocratic and reactionary of these laws was the one promulgated in 1953, providing for the recreation of rabbinical courts, which is a modified version of the legislation of the days under the British mandate on Palestine. Under this law, all matters relating to personal status are judged in accordance with Jewish laws.

Tamarin considers this law as the most reactionary for these reasons:

- a. The law encourages racism by prohibiting mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews, as well as between Jews and certain other Jewish groups. As such, it constitutes a glaring violation of Paragraph 2 of the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights. From a socio-psychological point of view, this law constitutes a source for fanaticism. It also influences the non-religious segments of the Israeli society by fostering an aversion towards Gentiles.
- b. The law allows the formation of an independent group of theoretic judges not bound by the laws of the state. At the same time it discriminates against women by disqualifying them from becoming judges. It also discriminates between two groups of lawyers: those who can practise their profession in religious courts and those who cannot.
- c. The law suspects the authenticity of marriages and divorces contracted under civil law outside Israel. In this way it also violates the established rules of International Private Law.
- d. The law asserts the principle of inequality between Jews and non-Jews, as the latter are disqualified from appearing as witnesses before religious courts.
- e. The law violates the freedom of belief by obliging the religious to marry or divorce in accordance with the traditional religious rites. Sometimes, such persons are asked to renounce their own belief in order to be allowed to marry.
- f. The Israeli Supreme Court is denied its right to legalize a marriage which is prohibited by religious law.

Tamarin attributes the difficulty of changing this law, (in which a racist and reactionary judgment of non-Jews is implanted), to the dogmatic mentality of the elder generation among the ruling elite.

This elder generation, which continues to cling to the principles of Zionism, still holds that the encouragement of religion will foster the ties among those Jews who are members of the Israeli society.

When we add to the above the iniquitous laws that have been, and still are, applied against Palestinian Arabs in Israel, we may obtain a clue regarding the kind of treatment meted out by Israeli society to the Arabs, who at one time formed the majority of Palestine's indigenous population.

#### A POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF ISRAELI RACIST PERSONALITY

A racist ideology, such as Zionism, which has an illusory and fictitious basis, cannot but leave its imprint on the social group formed during the development of settler-colonialism. Thus, the enforcement and encouragement of a racist and reactionary social strategy culminated in an Israeli personality deeply influenced by the racist roots of Zionism.

Naturally, we can hardly understand the racist character of Zionist ideology without having a thorough knowledge of its effects on society as well as on the individual. Therefore, aside from the analysis of the aggressive social structure, imposed by the ruling Israeli elite on the Jewish public in Israel, it is also extremely important to analyze the main characteristics of the Israeli personality which is the result of Zionist ideology.

A careful analysis of the collective Israeli personality will show that there is a nascent Israeli identity, differing in varying degrees from the predominant Jewish identity in the various Jewish communities of the Western world. A number of questions arise concerning the political implications of the characteristics of this Jewish identity, as well as the plans pursued by the ruling elite to link the traditional Jewish identity with the emerging Israeli one. Such questions cannot be answered without a political analysis of the Israeli personality. An in-depth study of this personality is indispensable for a genuine assessment of Zionism. It is also vitally important to analyse the impact of this type of personality on the Arab-Israeli conflict, from a social as well as a political point of view. For to confine ourselves to pure psychological research or to a limited social study without profiting from their scientific implications with regard to current and future political conflicts, amounts to a drastic failure in understanding the Arab crucial struggle against the aggressive Zionist State.

#### PROBLEMS OF THE FORMATION OF ISRAELI IDENTITY

A number of scholars have tried to specify the problems related to the formation of the present Israeli identity. Foremost among these problems is the transformation of "traditional Jewish characteristics" into the "emerging Israeli identity". In the opinion of certain psycho-analysts, the above-mentioned characteristics, which may be derived from the analysis of Jewish history, is linked to the self-image of the Jews as a persecuted minority. These characteristics include: anxiety, a feeling of inferiority and suspicion and

mistrust of non-Jews. Some American psychoanalysts believe that some of these characteristics have been transmitted to present-day Israeli society.

They noticed the prevalence of suspicion, which on the one hand is based on their feelings of uniqueness and superiority, and, on the other, is the result of their subjection to periodical persecutions. However, this feeling of inferiority has been transformed into a feeling of Israeli superiority towards the rest of the world. This superiority is illustrated through the laws favouring the Israelis, which go against the established principles of international law. The Israeli Law of Return, which gives every Jew the right to immigrate to Israel, thereby automatically qualifying him for Israeli citizenship, is a pertinent example.

In his remarks concerning the Jewish personality the Jewish psychologist Rubenstein, stresses the fact that the Israelis, both as a society and as individuals, are marked by a deep suspicion of others. In his opinion, these suspicions have left their mark on the personal relationships of Israelis with one another. They come particularly to the foreground during any contact with the outside world. According to Rubenstein, this suspicion and rejection manifests itself in three different ways: The First is directed against the Arabs, the second against non-Jews and the third against international systems and organizations.

Rubenstein concludes from his study that the Israeli personality is characterized by an extreme form of paranoia, emanating from the traditional mistrust which Jews bear towards gentiles. This found its way to the psychological formation of the contemporary Israelis as reflected against the Arabs in particular, and is clearly felt in Israeli policies in theory and practice.

The decisive factor affecting the social relationships within Israeli society is closely associated with the problem of identity. Researchers differentiate here between the "traditional Jewish" and the "emerging Israeli" identities. As the American scholar Margret Main put it in her book, *Israel and the Problems of Identity*, "the preservation of Jewish identity has always depended upon the existence of non-Jewish groups. The only thing that was absolutely necessary to distinguish a Jewish group is the existence of some gentiles. Main pointed out that Israelis are very much preoccupied with, and highly sensitive about, matters relating to their identity. They are also very concerned with the special mission of Israel, as well as the situation of its people, which is distinguished from other societies. All this corresponds to the characteristics of the racist ideologies we have pointed out above.

In a study on the Israeli identity, published in 1971, the Jewish sociologist Herman arrived at conclusions similar to those which Margret Main had propagated in the 'fifties'. He wrote that the division of the world between Jews and non-Jews was one of the essential elements of the Jewish identity. The image of the non-Jew occupies a central position in the mind of the Jew. The barriers between these two worlds have an immense importance in Israel.

In talking of the emerging Israeli identity, due attention should be paid to the diverse personalities prevailing in Israel, due to the different generations to which the Israelis belong. Researchers focus particularly on the Sabra generation, (those born in Israel), in an attempt to uncover their personality structure. The researcher's interest is motivated by the qualitative differences between the social and psychological experiences of immigrant Jews as compared to the Sabras. In the opinion of a number of researchers, the Sabras may be characterized by the following:

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- Their clustering around Israel (in the sense of time and place).
- Their non-concern with modern Jewish history, even that relating to their fathers.
- Their ambition to attain material security and a comfortable living standard.
- The solid attachment to their country.

In addition to these differences between the generations, Herman points out other factors which have a far-reaching effect on the emerging Israeli identity. The most important among these, in his opinion, is the question of lineal descent. (In the sense of being an Oriental or an Occidental Jew) and the degree of religiosity (i.e. religious versus secular Jew).

Now, the main question is: What influence does the emerging Israeli identity have on the Arab-Israeli conflict and to what extent is it influenced by this conflict?

It should be noted that the Israeli ruling elite is employing a coherent psycho-social strategy in order to form a prototype Israeli identity, so as to

carry out its military and economic policies effectively, precisely and pragmatically. One may argue here that the psychological characteristics of the Israeli masses, such as suspicion, rejection, aggressiveness against Arabs and the non-Jewish world, as well as against international organizations and institutions, is not necessarily characteristic of the Israeli ruling elite in the same manner as it is of the Israeli public, which in turn is conditioned by this elite.

Granting the fact, agreed upon by socio-psychologists, that each nation has its distinctive characteristics, it does not follow that the ruling elite would necessarily share these characteristics. Even if this should be the case, the elite's decisions are generally the result of their personal effective power in addition to being the consequence of geographical, historical and economic conditions.

The above-mentioned fact is best revealed by the Eichman Trial in Israel. On the one hand, this Trial brought into perspective the gap between the Israeli elite strategy for the formation of an Israeli identity which is strongly linked with the Jewish identity — specifically as regards suspicion of non-Jews — and, on the other hand, the psychological state of Israelis who, for many reasons, are no longer much interested in fostering ties with Jews living outside Israel.

In her *Eichman in Israel*, which provoked the wrath of the Israeli ruling elite, the well-known Jewish researcher, Hannah Arndt, maintained that the ruling elite put on trial not Eichman the individual, but Eichman the symbol. This is revealed by Ben Gurion's declaration on the eve of Eichman's trial: "The person who fell into the trap and is about to face a historic trial is not a mere individual, nor even the incarnation of the Nazi system. What is now on trial is the anti-Semitic ideology throughout the history of the world".

Daniel Bell, in his "ABC of Justice", listed a number of motives behind the Eichman trial. In his criticism of Arndt book, Bell thinks the motives aimed that:

1. The world should be a witness to the fate of Jews.
2. The Israeli elite wanted to arouse in the nations of the world a sense of guilt, thereby impelling them to come to the defence of the interests of Israel
3. They further meant to give the Israeli Jews a proof of the kind of life led by the Jews in the Diaspora, as a result of being a minority group.
4. Finally, they intended to prove to the Israelis the soundness of the Zionist solution of the Jewish problem.

Hannah Arndt, in her above-mentioned book, reported that Ben Gurion had mapped out the whole trial from beginning to end, well before it had started. He betrayed his objectives in a series of articles published in the Israeli newspaper "Davar". One of these objectives asserted that "contemporary Israelis were in danger of losing their ties with the Jewish people, and thus with their history. They therefore needed to be reminded of what had befallen the Jewish people".

The planning of Eichmann's trial by the Israeli ruling elite reveals how this elite is systematically striving to form an Israeli personality conforming to a racist prototype which is characterized by mistrust and rejection of gentiles, as well as aggressiveness towards the Arabs. This is all based on the fundamental racist theory propagating that the Jews are God's chosen people, and therefore superior among races.

Having shown that the Israeli ruling elite had worked out a strategy for the social education of Israeli generations on the basis of the fundamentally racist Zionist ideology, we will now proceed to cite certain Israeli social and psychological field-studies in order to display how this reactionary strategy succeeded in throwing light on the basic implicit and explicit racist tendencies of the Israeli personality. These tendencies are also confirmed in a number of field studies carried out by the Israeli psychologist Simon Hermann and published in his book *Israelis and Jews*. The importance of these studies may be attributed to the fact that it involved a sample of students in the 16-17 age-group, including some first-year university students. Hermann carried out the main part of his research in 1965, which was completed by the end of 1968.

For the second part of his study, Hermann prepared a questionnaire which was distributed to secondary school students in Jerusalem and Haifa. The questionnaire was addressed to three different groups: The devout, who regularly observe religious rites; the traditionalists, who do not regularly practise their religion and finally those who are non-religious.

Hermann's theoretical standpoint is revealed by the type of questions he formulated in his study of the Israeli personality. These questions, in fact, contain basic racist slogans implicit in Zionism.

Thirteen questions were formulated and covered the following subjects:

- The Israelis as a continuation of the Jewish people.
- The Israeli state as a continuation of Jewish history.

- The negative aspects of Jewish conduct at the time of the Jewish massacres in Germany.
- The positive aspects of Jewish conduct at the time of the massacres.
- Sympathisers with the long suffering Jews during the massacres.
- Sympathisers with Jews subjected to persecution in Islamic countries.
- The possibility of a recurrence of these massacres.
- The duty of the Jews to consider themselves the survivors of the massacres.
- The abstract definition of Zionism.
- The self-image of Jews as Zionists.
- The extent of their affinity regarding those American Jews willing and those unwilling to immigrate to Israel.
- The prospects of rooting out anti-Semitic trends.
- Anti-Semitism in relation to Jewish characteristics and behaviour.

A comprehensive look at the results of this research, enables us to point out the fundamental racist elements of Zionism:

1. The emphasis on the continuity and the uniqueness of the Jewish people throughout history.
2. The emphasis on the persecution which the Jews faced in Western societies.
3. The emphasis on alleged persecution of Jews in Islamic countries.
4. Keeping alive the fear of the danger that anti-Jewish pogroms might recur.
5. The emphasis on the continuing anti-Semitism in the world.

The Israeli ruling elite succeeded in implanting these crucial ideas in the minds of the Israelis, which led to the latter's pathological attitudes. As previously mentioned, this manifested itself in mistrust, rejection and aggressiveness against Arabs, gentiles as well as against international organizations and institutions.

This Israeli strategy of social education led to a clearly authoritarian Israeli personality, as George Tamarin has confirmed. The formation of this racist Israeli personality was encouraged by the consolidation of values advocating violence and aggression against the Arabs, both those who remained in Israel after 1948 and those now living in the Arab States bordering with Israel. This is revealed

in Ben Gurion's dissuasive policy during the fifties, a policy which was based on the assumption that the Arabs "understand nothing but force". It is easy to prove that this judgement is identical with those propagated by all racist systems, which discriminate between a superior race, personified by the colonialists — whatever their origin —, and an inferior or degenerate race, by which is meant the indigenous population. This racial discrimination is presented as a justification of the practice of violence and terrorism against the native population. This happened in Algeria and is being currently practised in Africa, South Africa and Israel which was planted by the colonialists in the heart of the Arab World.

#### CONCLUSION

In the light of our brief study on Zionism, as a racist ideology, one may infer that the racist character which marked Zionism since its appearance in the 19th century has led — after the creation of Israel in 1948 — to the emergence of a racist society in every sense of the word. Therefore the publication of *The Racism of the State of Israel*, (by the Israeli scholar Yesrael Schahak, chairman of the Israeli Committee on the Human Rights) came as a shock to many cultural quarters in the West that have long been misled by claims of Socialism, Democracy and a Society of Equality in Israel. The field studies of the Israeli psychologist George Tamarin, published in his book *The Israeli Dilemma*, which caused his discharge from his work as a professor at Tel Aviv University, prove beyond doubt that racist Zionist ideologies and enforced policies have all led to the formation of an Israeli personality which is aggressive, domineering, fanatic and narrow-minded.

It is useful to note that these qualities are common among a great number of settler-colonial systems which survive at present. Hence the special importance of comparative studies of these systems, since those studies reveal the basic structure of those systems on the one hand, and underline the components of settler mentality on the other. The conclusions of those comparative studies may be of vital importance to policy-makers in the countries which resist these colonial systems. In the light of those studies it will be possible to draw counter-revolutionary policies whatever the colonial systems think about their ability to survive. Through this strategy it will be possible — though in the long run — to disperse these imperial illusions by means of intellectual activity, and political and military struggle.

## FACTS ABOUT PALESTINE

### How to Make It "Legal"?

Suddenly, it appeared that "Israel" is once more "threatened"! However, this time the threat does not come from the adjacent Arabs; "Israel" alleges to be threatened from the inside. And to one's astonishment, it is not the catastrophe of counter-migration, the tumbling economy or the scandalous social structure, but it is, and we are supposed to believe it, the miserable panic-stricken owners of the country — the Palestinians!

In spite of the "Israeli" reports confirming that the Arab population in occupied Palestine and the territories has considerably been reduced since 1967 and is likely to continue so in the future (IRAQ TODAY, September 1-15, 1976), the "Israeli" government is now doing its best to give the lie to this official report issued by her Central Office of Statistics. As a matter of fact, soon after realizing that it was a mistake publishing such reports as to admit that Arabs are being killed and dismissed, the "Israelis" are now performing a new play called the "Yisrael Koenig's Secret Report to the "Israeli" Government" in which Koenig is playing the role of the hero who, out of loyalty and caution, sees that the rest of the Palestinian Arabs must be instantly deported, or, in case they show objection, exterminated!

Legalizing things in "Israel" does not seem to be difficult task; sanction the murder of Arabs the Zionists must, at least, have some "reason" for it. Moreover, how else could they have ready answers in case world public opinion should protest, unless they allege time and again, until it becomes an unquestionable fact, that because the Arabs are "outnumbering" the Zionists in Palestine something should be done about it. This is exactly what Mr. Koenig is paving the way for.



Awaiting new Zionist settlers

The chief administrator in Galilee did not feel "satiated" with his report. Koenig even went to the absurd extreme of proposing detailed solutions to the "problem". Being a "reasonable" man, he saw that imposing more racial measures upon Arabs is better than dismissing them altogether. For example, starvation, further deprivation of educational rights, enacting new laws with regard to their employment, letting them abroad and forbidding their return to Palestine would do for a start. For, after considering the matter, Mr. Koenig was convinced that dismissing all the Arabs without adequate preliminaries would be bad credit to "Israel".

The play of "Yisrael Koenig's Secret Report" actually did not end at that. To give some more dramatic effects to the performance, the Zionists saw it fit to send to the stage some responsible who are to object to Koenig's report and to condemn the man as racist. The so-called leader of the "liberal party" and a "Labour Party" member in the Knesset were prepared, and, while all this was taking place, a Zionist magazine, Mokid, reported that preparations are being made to "kick out" 400,000 Arabs from Galilee and... from Palestine!



A new Zionist onslaught send the Arabs to jails and bulldoze their houses

In some places of the world there are certain ominous-looking bastions where people are taken, for one reason or another, to be kept in storage over a period of time. If those people ever have a chance to see daylight again, they do so from different eyes and sometimes they have different features which are often mutilated. Ranging in number and size, and in such places as "Israel", Southern Africa and Chile, among others, these bastions are always the direct target of investigation by the international committees concerned with the subject of human rights. There is, however, a specific underground jail which the U.N. these committees may have never heard of or, maybe they have, but have not yet "given it its due"! It is called Ar-ramlah Central Jail.

In fact, there is no need for any such jail to exist in any place other than "Israel". This is exactly what makes it unique. In other words, it is only in "Israel" that a special place should be constructed to function solely for the purpose of swallowing up, away from the public eye, the production of mutilated human beings that were discharged out of the back doors of the countless "Israeli" factories whose only profession is maiming the Arabs.

In itself, the place is enveloped in a particularly foreboding atmosphere. Suffice it to say that the electric front gate opens, as the first sight it opens on, on a large gallows known by the name Eichmann (the Nazi war criminal who was probably liquidated on it). To enter the huge underground dungeon of Ramlah the victims have to pass through 7 electric gates, which by passing through each of them, the captive is simply leaving behind the chance of ever seeing daylight again. Through the long narrow corridor, on each side, the proximity of the small anterior doors actually give the impression that the cells, whose air is unbelievably damp and putrid, do not give the prisoner any moving space. Most of these

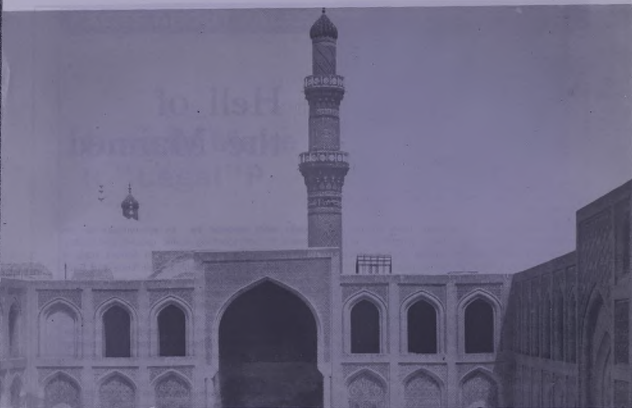
## Hell of the Maimed

cells were reported by an eye-witness to be made of soft-touching walls, ground and ceiling. In fact, similar cells exist on a limited scale in such jails as Central Nabulus, Kfar Yuna and Gaza. In the utter darkness and the terror atmosphere which pervades the place lie the "dwellers" of the jail: motionless men whose ages range from 16 to 70, and who have been reduced to the essential minimum of existence by the ingenious Zionist mind. Why those people are still kept in solitary confinement is a question without any possible answer!

Among the prominent cases which still survive in the clandestine horror of Ramlah, is William Nassar, a 27-year-old Jew whose father is an Arab. A product of masubia jail in Jerusalem, Nassar has been rendered permanently deaf, his back skin and his left cheek were excoriated and his spinal column has been damaged so he could not support standing for more than five minutes. Ibrahim Sakhrî al-Masdra 18, was detained 9 years ago without any charge. It sounds incredible that because the boy's features look so sharp he was taken and tortured in Kfar Yuna jail until his right "tibia" was crooked in a U-shape. This was used later on as a major method of torturing him by bending the injured leg further. It is worth mentioning that Ibrahim's belly is covered all over with deep burns. Jacob Maraggi carries over his neck a head whose skin has been excoriated against the walls of a cell in Masubia jail.

The foregoing were just for-the-record cases. Out of the grisly repertoire of torture victims who are still suffering slow death within the Ramalah cavity of the maimed, an exact figure could never be produced. It is just perhaps the question whereto are all the mutilated torture victims taken after being discharged from the various Zionist jails, that can be a proof and a very good one too.

(M.M.)



Al-Mustansiriyah

## Institutes and Centres of Learning in Old Baghdad

Iraq, under the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258), wrote one of the most brilliant chapters of its history. This was especially true under Harun al-Rashid (786-809) and his son al-Mamun (809-813). In this period the capital Baghdad had attained the zenith in glory and power and had become a major city of the world. In its heyday Baghdad stood alone as the rival of Byzantium.

However, it is surprising that in old Baghdad considerably fewer traces are left now of those days of accomplishments. The famous circular city built by al-Mansur in 762 A.D. on the right bank of the Tigris was so thoroughly destroyed that hardly a trace of it remains and even the site of his famous palace with its green dome, the Golden Gate Palace, is difficult to locate.

On the opposite bank of the Tigris — The east bank — a suburb has begun to grow up at Risafa. This was the nucleus of Modern Baghdad, and it was enclosed by a wall with four gates; the Bab al-Wastani is the only gate that was saved from destruction. It is now being restored and it throws interesting light on the early principles of military defence.



The other surviving buildings date from the Abbasid period are the famous college building called al-Mustansiriyah and the Abbasid Palace to the south of the Ministry of Defence to-day. The ruins of both buildings are under restoration by the Department of Antiquities. The college derived its name from the next-to-last Caliph al-Mustansir (1226-1242). It was founded in the year 1234 A.D. and was designed to contain four large law schools for the four orthodox sects of Islam, a magnificent library, a medical college and a hospital.

This college was distinguished by some sort of a large clock,

which enabled the students to know the appointed hours for lectures and prayers. Furthermore, the college had its own commissariat and kitchens, its own water supply and baths.

As it stands now the building of this college is best seen from the river front where there is a fine Arabic inscription all along the facade. The admirable quality of the brick masonry and the feats performed in vaulting make the halls of this building as beautiful as a palace.

History tells us that the first prominent institution for higher learning at Baghdad was the Bayt-al-Hikma (the house of wisdom) founded by al-Mamun 830 A.D. Besides serving as a translation bureau, this institute functioned as an academy and public library, and had an observatory connected with it.



Section from the Abbasid Palace

But the other academy at Baghdad that became a model of institutions of higher learning was the Nizamiyah School founded in 1065-7 by the enlightened

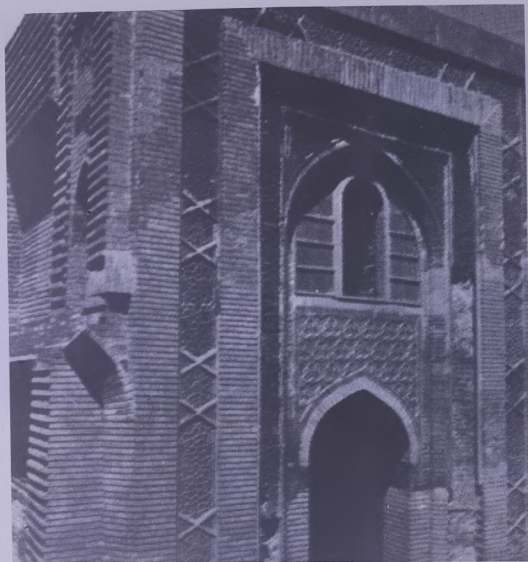
Nizam al-Mulk, the vizir of the Saljug Sultan, Alp Orslan and Malikshoh. The school made provision for the physical needs of its students, and many of them held endowed schoolships. It is claimed that certain details of its organization appear to have been copied by the early universities of Europe.

Al-Nizamiyah survived the catastrophe that befell Baghdad at its capture by Hulaqu in 1258, as it survived the later invasion by the Tartars, but was finally merged with its younger sister, al-Mustansiriyah, about two years after Timur-Lane captured Baghdad in 1393 A.D.

The other surviving Abbasid building is known by the public as the Abbasid Palace and its style suggested to a certain historian to be another institute of learning, founded in 1230 by Sharaf Aldin Ikb al-Sharabi, the vizir al-Mustansir and his successor, and it is, therefore, called al-Sharabiya School.

Founding a school (Madrasah) is always considered a meritorious act in Islam. This explains the large number of such institutions established by Abbasid Caliphs, vizirs and governors. According to one historian their number in Baghdad was about thirty, and in Mosul six or more.

Adult education was nowhere carried on a systematic way, but the mosques in almost all Moslem towns served as important educational centres. Mosques also functioned as repositories for books. Through gifts and bequests mosque libraries became especially rich in religious literature.



Marjan Mosque

Libraries were used as meeting-places for scientific discussion and debate. Literary saloons (Majalis al-Adab) in houses of the aristocracy and cultured society began to appear early under the Abbasids. In the presence of several early caliphs poetical contests, religious debates and

literary conferences were often held.

The bookshops as a commercial and educational agency also made their appearance early under the Abbasids. The capital Baghdad boosted over a hundred book-dealers congregated in one street, some of them were undoubtedly large enough to act as

centres for commissioners and bibliophiles. The book-sellers themselves were often calligraphers, copyists and literati who used their shops not only as stores but as centres for literary discussion also.

Sherif Yusuf

## HAMMURABI



Hammurabi was no less a great king and statesman than a lawgiver, though his name, which means in Babylonian language the great master or head of the family, went into history as one of the greatest lawgivers. He secured by diplomacy and statesmanship what he had failed to secure by the sword. He was equipped with what present day political terminology calls tact and opportunism.

During his rule of 43 years from 1792 to 1750 B.C., he was able to bring about the unification of Mesopotamia under the rule of the Babylonians.

## The Proud Lawgiver and Tactful Statesman

The borders of this kingdom went far beyond those left by his father. The first Babylonian dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged and which came from the Arabian peninsula, had the greatest impact on the Mesopotamians, who were eastern Semites. According to Dr. Mahmud Al-Amin, the Iraqi archaeologist, the first Babylonian dynasty which represented the western Semites had influenced the Mesopotamian civilization and forged an everlasting tie between the western Semites and ancient Iraq. Until our age this tie has withstood all waves of foreign invasions which were intended to dissociate eastern from western Semites.

Hammurabi carried out a large number of irrigation projects and made many social and administrative reforms. Among the reforms which were to have far-reaching effects was the standardization of the then valid laws, as the kingdom was made



of different races with different social and religious customs. Before Hammurabi, Ur-Nammu, Urukagina and others promulgated such codes.

However, Hammurabi's code was regarded as more important because it was complete and it fully dealt with all aspects of life in Babylon. In addition Hammurabi took a lot out of the old laws of the land after having them amended to suit the exigencies of the state and the nature of the age. For instance, the Sumerian penal system which provided for compensation in kind or cash was repealed by Hammurabi and replaced by death and other strict punishments.

In the late years of his rule, Hammurabi ordered his code of laws to be carved on steles which were erected in temples throughout Mesopotamia in order to be read by the public. One of



these steles was found in Susa. It was originally erected in the Shamash temple at Sippar. It was taken to Susa by the Elamites in the twelfth century B.C. as a war booty. This stele which was well preserved was unearthed by the French in 1901

who took it to the Louvre Museum. Its replica is displayed at the Iraqi Museum. It is 225 cm. high and 60 cm. in diameter and roughly conical in shape.

This stele, which is regarded as a piece of art in itself is made of black diorite. On its upper part is a carving representing Shamash the great god seated in his throne and Hammurabi is standing in front of him with a befitting look of awe and respect on his face in the presence of the deity. Shamash is handing over with his right hand the sceptre and measure to Hammurabi. In the background two rays of light imply that Shamash is the god of justice who is concerned with putting an end to darkness and injustice. Hammurabi is represented in priest attire and western Semitic headgear. He looks as if he were looking at the god.

The rest of the stele is covered with columns of text inscribed and written in the most poetic Babylonian language. The text is made of 282 preserved articles in addition to the prologue, or the preamble and the epilogue. It is believed that the code originally contained more than 300 articles. But some articles were erased by the Elamite king who overtook Babylon and inscribed instead, his name and the date he occupied Babylon.

Praising the guardian gods of the great Babylon, the prologue says:

I, Hammurabi, the pious, god-fearing prince came;  
To cause justice to prevail in the country,  
To destroy the wicked and the evil;  
To see that the strong may not oppress the weak.

Reviewing Hammurabi's feats and his pure majestic conduct toward his subjects, the prologue goes on praising the king who is called "The King of the Four Quarters of the World".

Called by Marduk,

"To guide the people on the right path, and to rule the country,

I have established law and justice in the kingdom, to promote the welfare of the people".

#### THE CODE OF LAWS

The code of laws is classified into the following twelve chapters:

Chapter 1 from Article 1 to Article 5 is related to the conduct of judges and witnesses.

Chapter 2 from Article 6 to Article 25 deals with the crimes of stealing and looting.

Chapter 3 from Article 26 to Article 41 deals with questions relating to army service or public service.

Chapter 4 from Article 42 to Article 100 deals with cases relating to fields, gardens and houses.

Chapter 5 from Article 101 to Article 107 deals with ware-houses, shops, traders' affairs and mortgage.

Chapter 6 from Article 108 to Article 111 deals with the temple's concubines and the wine server.

Chapter 7 from Article 112 to Article 126 deals with legal questions arising from sale.

Chapter 8 from Article 127 to Article 195 contains provision relating to the family, its rights and affairs. Adultery, inheritance, protection of children, guardianship, dowry, bridal gifts and status of the spouse are all covered by this chapter.

Chapter 9 from Article 196 to Article 227 deals with compensations and fines on violation of contracts and agreements.

Chapter 10 from Article 228 to Article 240 deals with the fees and responsibilities of professional men.

Chapter 11 from Article 241 to Article 277 deals with wages and rates of hire and labour.

Chapter 12 from Article 278 to Article 282 deals with the sale and purchase of slaves as well as with their duties and rights.

In general the Code deals with three classes of citizens, namely (A. *welum*) free man, (*Meskenum*) commoner and (*Wardum*) slave, and accordingly the obligations, punishments and compensation of each member of these classes were different. Harsher punishments were often passed against the slave who committed a crime against a free man. Even lower compensation was stipu-

lated when a slave was involved. Though definitely the slave might have been in a poor state, the Code made provisions which made it possible for a slave to marry the daughter of his master, to acquire property or to be adopted by a free man.

At last the long and poetic epilogue invoked the punishments of gods against those who might violate the sanctity of the laws which were legislated in the first place to promote the welfare of the kingdom and citizens. It listed Hammurabi's great deeds and efforts to secure peace and order and urged the public to read the texts carefully in order to know the right way to their redress. Succeeding laws were also advised to follow closely these laws and do everything to respect them as they would find in them the right way to justice.

The epilogue further condemned whoever would deface the laws, whether they were kings or ordinary men. A sincere appeal was made to all important gods to bring havoc, confusion and rebellion to the lands of those who would violate the laws, as well as to wipe out their names from the annals of history.

An excerpt from Meek's translation of the epilogue gives a clear picture of Hammurabi's pride in his feat:

"I rooted out the enemy above and below;  
I made an end of war;  
I promoted the welfare of the land;  
I made the people rest in friendly habitations;  
I did not let them have anyone to terrorize them.  
The great gods called me...  
So I became the beneficent shepherd  
whose sceptre is righteous;  
My benign shadow is spread over my city.  
In my bosom I carried the people  
of the land of Sumer and Akkad;  
They prospered under my protection;  
I have governed them in peace;  
I have sheltered them in my strength.

Adnan al-Himairi

**ATH-TAWRA (Iraq)**

The leading Iraqi daily Ath-Thawra, the organ of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, commemorating the 8th of December, said that on this day a year ago, the straggler President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr announced to the people the nationalization of the remaining shares of the oil companies operating in Iraq. On this day in 1975, Iraq nationalized the Basrah Petroleum Company Ltd., a subsidiary of the parent Iraq Petroleum Company Ltd. (IPC).

"The December decision which is a continuation of the historic decisions taken in June, 1972, whereby the IPC was nationalized, was another revolutionary action with which the political leadership has crowned its firm and steadfast policy and determination to liquidate all traces of foreign domination over the national economy", the paper explained.

"Immediately after the breakout of the 1973 October War, Iraq under the leadership of the ABSP, took a prompt action to nationalize the US interests in the BPC, and thus delivered another blow to the American imperialism in retaliation to its flagrant collaboration with the Zionist entity".

The paper called upon the masses to consider such occasion as incentives to "increasing production, doubling our efforts and utilizing all minutes in hand for the development of our nation" especially after "the establishment of full national sovereignty over our oil operations, production and marketing".

**JAMIYA (India)**

Under the heading "Iraq on the path of comprehensive advancement" the independent Indian newspaper, Jamiya, stated that the revolutionary government of Iraq was working with full determination towards achieving all-round social progress and comprehensive national development.

"With its recent five-year plan", the paper went on, "Iraq intends to construct a huge up-to-date scientific base which will contribute to the development of the nation both in industrial and agricultural fields".

Giving an assessment of the Iraqi industrial and agricultural projects the paper pointed out that these projects aim among others at:

1. Eradicating economic backwardness in the country and achieving rapid development.
2. Creating an agricultural revolution in the country through increasing production and expanding the areas cultivated with the use of the latest technical and technological methods.

3. Promoting and expanding the industrial sector.
4. Developing oil industry.

**YENI ULUS (Turkey)**

The Turkish newspaper Yeni Ulus quoting the Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council (RCC) of Iraq, said that: "Mr. Saddam Hussein in his discourse to the participants of the Agricultural Cooperatives Conference stressed the importance of economic planning and agricultural development in the process of socialist transformation".

In an article titled "Reliance on National Economy is a Prerequisite for Real Independence" the paper emphasized, "the Arab Baath Socialist Party which carried the slogan of unity, freedom and socialism, has been sparing no effort to realize a comprehensive economic renaissance in Iraq. Mr. Hussein reaffirmed that reliance on a strong national economy by means of using and exploiting the country's national resources for the benefit of the people, is a decisive condition for real political independence".

**NEPSZABADSAG (Hungary)**

The Hungarian daily, Nepszabadsag, an organ of the Workers Party, in a lengthy article titled "Israel, Dangerous Trends" written by a renowned Hungarian analyst Vejd Peter, said, "The deteriorating economic situation and high rate of inflation exceeding 120 per cent coupled with worst living conditions and continuous war strikes did not prevent Israel from amassing more and more sophisticated weapons to till the balance of power in the region to its side. With such an uneasy economic conditions the Israeli leaders allocate 40 per cent of the budget to military purposes".

"During the forthcoming fiscal year the United States has appropriated 6.8 billion dollars for foreign aids. Israel's share from this amount is 4.5 billion US dollars".

**COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY MAGAZINE (Dubai)**

Under the heading "Development Plan in Iraq", the Commerce and Industry magazine of Dubai wrote, "The ruling Arab Baath Socialist Party has, since assuming power in Iraq 9 years ago, realized political stability which is not something ordinary in the history of Iraq. All Iraqis are supporting the Party for its wise and successful policies. The only opposition the Party had was the Kurdish insurgency which collapsed 15 months ago".

"New revenues for Iraq mean the construction of new development projects and new buildings to change the image of old Iraq into a new modern country".

**SEMINAR ON EDUCATIONAL PLANNING**

An east Mediterranean regional seminar for educational planning, co-sponsored by the Iraqi Ministry of Health and the World Health Organization (WHO), was opened in Baghdad on December 6.

The seminar, the 6th of its kind, lasts for 12 days. It is attended by professors from medical colleges and institutes of Iraqi universities, and delegates from east Mediterranean countries.

The seminar aims at developing educational planning system, improving experience and skill by administering new scientific methods in the colleges and institutes of medicine and pharmacy in the countries of the region, encouraging research works and enhancing the efficiency in drawing up curricula and guiding procedures in assessment and examinations.

The seminar was opened by Iraqi Minister of Health Dr. Riadh Ibrahim Hussein.

**RCC RATIFIES AGREEMENT WITH UNESCO**

The Iraqi Revolution Command Council (RCC) has ratified an agreement concluded with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) calling for the establishment of a regional training centre to preserve and maintain the cultural properties in the Arab countries. The agreement was signed in Paris February last.

The centre is to train officials responsible for the maintenance of antiquities and other cultural properties and the development and promotion of museums.

**STATE-OWNED LANDS FOR DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS**

The Revolution Command Council (RCC) has authorized the Finance Minister to give on lease to foreign governments state-owned lands for the purpose of constructing on them their diplomatic or consular representation offices.

The authorization also enables foreign governments to use the leased land for the construction of residential premises or offices for their attaches. However, approval of the Iraqi government will be required in each case.

**IRAQI-CMEA PROTOCOL SIGNED**

Iraqi Foreign Trade Minister Mr. Hikmet Ibrahim returned to Baghdad from Moscow late last month after attending the first session of the joint commission of Iraq and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) of the Socialist States convened there over the period from 24-26 November.

In a statement upon arrival Mr. Ibrahim said the meetings resulted in the signing of a protocol between Iraq and the CMEA providing for the setting up of joint sub-committees to promote cooperation between the two sides in the industrial, agricultural, trade, technical and technological fields as well as in the field of training skilled workers. The sub-committees, Mr. Ibrahim added, would start their work in Baghdad next year.

**ALUMINIUM PLANT IN THI-QAR**

A 28-million Iraqi-dinar aluminium plant constructed in the governorate of Thi-Qar, southern Iraq, was put in trial operation late last month.

The plant is designed to produce 16,000 tons of aluminium plates and cables for industrial purposes. Production will start in the first half of 1977.

**AID TO TURKISH EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS**

Iraq sent emergency relief aids to victims of Turkish earthquakes. The aids, carried by two planes and a cargo train, consisted of large quantities of foodstuffs, medical supplies, clothing, blankets and tents.

The Iraqi Red Crescent Society also sent relief supplies including tea, clothing, food and blankets to its Turkish counterpart for distribution to the victims.

This initiative stems from Iraq's policy of support for brothers and friends.



