



**BULLETIN**  
of the  
**REPUBLIC OF IRAQ**

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Front Cover photograph :

Arab Heads of State, Kings, and Presidents at their 3rd Summit Conference in Casablanca, Morocco, 1965

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## Editorial

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### IRAQ AND BRITAIN IN 1941 : FACT AND FICTION

Obituaries on the Iraqi leader Rashid Ali al-Gaylani, who died recently in Beirut at the age of seventy-two, have appeared in *The Times* of 28th August, 1965, as well as in the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian* of the 30th. Certain unfair remarks made in this context have been read with interest, concern, and not without some feeling of dismay by many British and Arab men of goodwill engaged in, or associated with, Middle Eastern affairs and Anglo-Arab relations. These remarks deserve a closer look and a deeper scrutiny in the interest of better Anglo-Arab relations as well as in the interest of historical objectivity and truth *per se*. Present problems bedevilling mutual relations in this respect have their roots in past events. A great disservice, misunderstanding, and harm can result by relying solely on sentimental opinion and outright fiction. Serious and extensive research on the subject of Anglo-Iraqi relations in 1941, their significance, role, and impact on the development of wider Anglo-Arab relations, has long been overdue. Many hitherto unpublished documents have since become known. Some research has already been done and published in both Arabic and English, though intermittently and tentatively. For the time being, a few relevant remarks are not out of place.

War propaganda in the 1940s is one thing. Historical truth in 1965 is another. Arab nationalists were not Nazi agents then nor are they communist agents now. The feelings of violent hate that held the opposing combatants in their tight and implacable grip during the Second World War, have been buried long ago. The sands of human fortunes have radically shifted. Former enemies have become close friends. Let us place history where it belongs in a fair, impartial, and unbiased perspective. This is the concern of scholarship and the domain of truth. Some magnanimity would not have been improper or unwelcome. But unfortunately none has been extended by the British press to the heroic memory of Rashid Ali al-Gaylani on the sad occasion of his sudden death.

The events that took place in Baghdad during the early years of the Second World War, culminating in Iraqi-British military confrontation in May, 1941, constitute, strictly speaking, neither a coup nor a revolt but a declared and official war. The government of Rashid Ali al-Gaylani was, and is, known in Iraq as the "Govern-

ment of National Defence". That government enjoyed, at the time, the overwhelming, enthusiastic, and selfless support of the majority of the Iraqi population and all the Arabs. This was a purely Arab nationalist affair, neither pro-Nazi nor part of an intrigue with German envoys in the Middle East. These are facts of history which nothing can change and no one can deny. Yet many British media of information persist in adopting this unfair and misleading attitude. The collapse of the Iraqi Arab nationalist resistance and the eventual restoration by British arms of the Royalist régime in Iraq on the ruins of the Iraqi Government of National Defence headed by al-Gaylani, are described by Iraqi and Arab nationalist historians and scholars as "The second British occupation of Iraq", the first having taken place during the First World War. These events produced far reaching consequences. The manner in which this Arab movement of National liberation was crushed by the British, fatally damaged the already strained relations between the ruling Royalists and the Arab nationalists in Iraq. Thus, we can see in retrospect that what happened in May, 1941, was one of the main causes that produced the 14th July, 1958, revolution in Iraq, following which the world witnessed the amazingly rapid collapse of the so-called Baghdad Pact, the cornerstone of British and Western presence in the Middle East.

Hostilities were opened on 2nd May, 1941, when the R.A.F. bombed Iraqi units in the vicinity of Habaniyah, forcing them to take military measures in self-defence. There is ample evidence in speeches, statements, and public utterances made then or subsequently by British officials, as well as correspondence between the British Embassy in Baghdad and the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to support our contention that Great Britain, rightly or wrongly, had adopted the attitude at the time of viewing Iraq as a threat to British vital interests in the Middle East, a boil that had to be removed by surgery. This British action against al-Gaylani's Arab nationalist Iraq in 1941 was not unlike the British-French-Israeli action against Nasser's decidedly Pan-Arab, non-aligned and independent Egypt in 1956. The causes and motives were somewhat similar, though the circumstances and consequences were basically different. We were independent only so long as we did not act independently. In the jungle of the world, the British and the Arabs had friends and enemies. The gentlemen at

Whitehall were supposed to know better. Arab elementary rights and legitimate demands were ruthlessly, unreservedly, and unquestioningly subordinated to, and identified with, British vital needs, imperial interests, and strategic considerations. The conflict formally evolved around the difference in interpreting the Iraqi-British Treaty of 1930. This Treaty stipulated, amongst other things, that Iraq would facilitate the passage of British troops through her territory in case of war. But it also stipulated that a limited number of British troops would pass, that these troops would surrender their arms on entry and receive them on departure, and that no additional troops would enter Iraqi territory till the previous units had already left. Iraq maintained this position to the end, insisting that her attitude did not violate the Treaty. But Britain, for understandable reasons of her own, ignored these conditions. Furthermore, official documents show that Iraq was ready and willing to participate actively in the Western war efforts if and when legitimate and specific Arab demands were favourably received and effectively implemented. Arab nationalists insisted on the liquidation of the Jewish national home in Palestine. Rashid Ali, having replaced Nuri Pasha as Prime Minister on 31st March, 1942, made a semi-official offer to the British to declare war on Italy if Britain agreed, as a *quid pro quo*, to accelerate the fulfilment of the Palestine white paper of 1939 by immediately setting that country on the road to independence. The British government refused. The Western countries did not show their readiness to face these demands fairly and justly. Instead, they referred these issues to the Peace Settlement following their victory in the Second World War. The scene was set. The first step on the long road to Suez was thus taken. The wounds of Sykes-Picot were still open in the hearts of the Arabs who did not wish to be deceived twice. The fact is that solemn promises had been made by the allies to the Arabs in the First World War and that these promises had been neither honoured nor kept. The Arabs deeply resented the fact that they had been cheated. This was actually the very first, though crude and rudimentary, appearance of a neutralist platform in Arab politics in the twentieth century. The Iraqi Government of National Defence in emerging and collapsing was the major Arab political event, apart from the Palestine disaster of 1948-49, that preceded the 23rd July, 1952, Revolution in Egypt.

Official documents on Iraqi-German talks show clearly that the axis powers had no prior knowledge of any Iraqi aggressive designs or hostile intentions towards Great Britain. Such German knowledge did not exist simply because Iraq had not harboured any intentions or designs of this kind. Official Iraqi documents of talks between the special Iraqi envoy and Von Papen, German Ambassador in Ankara at the time, show clearly that Germany went even as far as advising Iraq to arrange a reasonable settlement with Britain. German military

assistance to Iraq, as all experts know and agree, was limited and ineffective. This assistance, however, was requested and given *after*, and *not before*, the R.A.F. actually bombed the Iraqi army at dawn on 2nd May, 1941, in the vicinity of Habaniyah.

Mr. Patrick Seale, in his recent informative and valuable work entitled *The Struggle for Syria: A Study in Post-War Arab Politics, 1945-1958*, p. 9, admits frankly that Rashid Ali was first and foremost an Arab nationalist. "He had no sinister Nazi predilections and was not playing a part in a German master plan for seizing the eastern Mediterranean. He was driven to the British for the Palestine Arabs." Active Pan-Arab leaders at the time may have failed to appreciate the wider issues at stake in the war, concentrating their attention almost entirely on the local objectives. Britain, engaged in a struggle for survival, accused them of being wavering and disloyal. Was Britain more justified than Iraq in seeking the assistance of the devil in a time of grave danger and great need? Or do we have two separate standards, one of which we use in measuring and judging the affairs and interests of Britain and another we use unjustly and unfairly in measuring and judging the affairs and interests of Iraq and the Arabs? Ethiopia, having been unjustly attacked by Italy, sought help from Britain. Iraq, having been unjustly attacked by Britain, was forced to seek help from Germany. The circumstances were more or less similar, though the camps which they joined were different.

Finally, Rashid Ali al-Gaylani did not live in obscurity in Beirut since 1961, as *The Times* states. He lived in Baghdad enjoying the full reverence and respect due to a veteran Arab nationalist and statesman of his stature, standing, and stamina. He was in Beirut for a short summer vacation when he passed away. The young, rising and new generations in Iraq and throughout Greater Arabia, will always hold his heroic memory and valiant stand in lasting admiration and living gratitude as a national ideal and a sacred trust.

#### ANGRY OLD MAN

"Much of our own work . . . was swept away in the gale of the world."—

MR. JULIAN AMERY, M.P.

Certain British circles sank twice in deep waters, first in the Suez Canal and then in Lord Astor's swimming pool. Since then a third plunge has been made. 'This time in a swamp of vulgarity. On 24th August, Julian Amery, M.P., and former Minister of Aviation in the Tory government, wrote in the *Daily Telegraph* an article on the situation in North Iraq entitled sarcastically "The Power of the Kurds". He said, "Iraqi officers *while* service in Kurdistan. They resent particularly that, while they are at the front, Egyptian officers and advisers are firing with their wives in Baghdad." What the

British people think of this is a matter which requires no speculation. In fact we would have let this article pass unanswered, which we did for some time, were it not for the urging of some people in this country.

We could think of no comparable wanton and irresponsible statement made by a presumably responsible British politician. Having kicked a dead horse by presenting a deliberately distorted picture of the Kurds in Iraq, he added insult to injury by making this vulgar remark most harmful to the good name of his own country.

Before dealing with his article we have to introduce him to our Arab readers since he is in the habit of paying dubious visits to troubled parts in the Middle East. His first contact with the Arab world occurred during the war when he was sent on "special" missions. Earlier, he landed by a submarine in Yugoslavia to enhance Mihajlovic's chances. Later on he dropped by parachute into Albania to bolster Abas Kupa. Another plane flew him to China to tighten the grip of Chiang-Kai Shek. In 1956 he led the "Suez Group" in support of Eden. With this unbroken record of failures, it seems that your first requisite for success is not to have Julian Amery on your side. He settled down to write a book about his adventures with the melancholic preface, "Much of our work . . . was swept away in the gale of the world." His father-in-law, Harold Macmillan, a much older man, was less pessimistic than the young Tory. He did not call it a gale. He called it "A Wind of Change". Mr. Amery must be a very frustrated man. Even his aviation projects were swept away by the gale of the world, the Socialists. He ever warred with freedom and the free. Yet he did not grudge himself the liberty to talk about the "freedom fighters" of Kurdistan, which came out of his pen like two king size hot dogs straight from the fridge. It is always a tragedy to live before your time. What is it like to live behind your time I do not like to imagine.

What prompted Mr. Amery to write his article? Agreement for restoring peace in the Yemen became imminent when Nasir-Faysal's meeting was announced by Cairo on 20th August. This understandably must have upset the apple cart of the imperialist and Zionists, and On 2nd March he wrote in the same paper, "But for the Royalist resistance in the Yemen, Nasir would already have been free to concentrate all his energies on the disruption of the South Arabian Federation." The *Jewish Observer*, expressing the Zionist view, kept up a chorus about the sacred survival of the Royalists and the continuation of their fighting capabilities. Cease-fire, however, was declared in the Yemen at the end of August to the horror of all forces of reaction. Western Press reported that some 50,000 Egyptian soldiers would be released from the Yemen to confront Israel. At the same time the Barzani gangs in North Iraq were gradually brought to heel. Early in August the Iraqi army successfully cleared the Safin mountain, the Barzani stronghold.

The end of the Barzani rebellion was in sight. The Socialist camp realized that friendship with the Arab peoples and their progressive governments is more rewarding than encouraging secessionist chauvinism. The agents of the Barzani were desperately looking for arms. To the disappointment of all critics the Republican Arab nationalist régime of Iraq under President Arif extended its roots deeper and wider. Peace and stability were in the air. The arms traders and manufacturers with whom Mr. J. Amery is connected were stricken with fear. Israel called up her reserves of whom Mr. Amery tops the list. The cry from Tel Aviv went up "Arms, arms, arms!" though this time not for the Zionists but for the rebel secessionists in the North of Iraq. This modern Tory Don Quixote put on his armour, closed his visor, raised his shield, and with a lot of clattering and rattling sat, not on an Arabian mare, but at a Victorian writing desk most unfit for Gothic armour and the article envisaged. He sat and levelled his pen at the Arabs. The result was an article unread by the Arabs as it was in English, disowned by the English as it had a French accent and ignored by the rest of the world as it happened that on the day it went to press and by a sheer coincidence on which he could have no control, glamorous Lana Turner gave a resounding statement to the *Daily Express* on women's hair-dos.

Mr. Amery's thesis is that were it not for the Kurdish rebellion, Britain would have lost the Kuwaiti oilfields. Were it not for the Royalist resistance she would have lost Aden. Whether this was the case or not, he persuades the reader that for the sake of British interests blood must flow, destruction must go on, and rebellion must be maintained at the cost of Western taxpayers. As the Eastern camp is reluctant to supply arms to the Kurds, the West must do it. In short, Mr. Amery's article is giving some Afro-Asian circles a living proof of their claim that Britain has written the blackest chapter in the history of crime and wicked selfishness. Fortunately the interests of the various nations do not clash as readily and as sharply as pessimists like Mr. Amery try to make out. Why worry about the Kuwaiti oilfields when the British did not lose, at any rate, those which are already under the sway of the Iraqi army? If there is any serious danger to the flow of oil it will be in the disruption of the territorial integrity of Iraq or the spread of secessionist rebellion as was shown by instances in the days of Qasim when oil pipelines were sabotaged by separatist outlaws.

So long as the Barzani rebellion continued the Iraqi Air Force would be of no use to Nasir in the Arabian Gulf, the argument went on. Why should Nasir need the Iraqi Air Force in the Gulf, whom does he want to bomb, are questions which I leave to people more competent than I and, apparently, the ex-Minister of Aviation who was, and may be again in charge of the gigantic work of running his too short-lived squadrons of metal-fatigued Victory bombers and too long-tended fleets of mentally fatigued TSR 2 designers.



# The Arab Summit Communiqué

**T**EXT of joint communiqué of Arab Kings and Presidents, read by Abd al-Khalq Hassunah, Secretary-General of the Arab League, on 17th September, 1965:

The resolutions of the Council of Arab Kings and Presidents in the Casablanca session held from 13th to 17th September, 1965:

## I. REPORT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS

The Council of Kings and Presidents of the Arab League member-states considered and approved the report of the council of Foreign Ministers at their meeting 9th to 17th September.

## II. REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE ARAB AND INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Council took note of the contents of the report of the Secretary-General on the Arab and international situation.

## III. THE STRENGTHENING OF ARAB SOLIDARITY

The Council approved the Arab Solidarity Pact, signed in on 15th September, 1965, and lodged it with the Arab League Secretariat-General after each state had received a copy. They agreed that it should be effective as from today. The following is its text:

Believing in the necessity of solidarity between the Arab states and the strengthening of the Arab ranks in the opposition to imperialist and Zionist plots which threaten Arab existence; confident of the utmost need to spare Arab potentials in preparation for the mobilization of energies for the battle to liberate Palestine; convinced of the need for harmony and conciliation between Arab states, enabling them to play an effective role in establishing peace; desirous of providing an atmosphere pervaded by a spirit of friendship and brotherhood between the Arab countries so that the enemies cannot weaken the Arab nation; we Kings and Presidents of the Arab states, meeting in Casablanca from 13th to 17th September, have declared ourselves bound by the following:

(1) To try to realize solidarity in dealing with Arab questions, especially the question of the liberation of Palestine;

(2) To respect the sovereignty of each of the Arab states and their existing régimes in accordance with their constitutions and laws, and to refrain from interfering in their internal affairs;

(3) To observe the principles and ethics of political asylum in accordance with the principles of international law and conventions;

(4) To use the Press, radios, and other organs of the information media in the service of the Arab cause;

(5) To keep discussion objective and criticism constructive in dealing with Arab questions and to end the campaigns of suspicion and slander in the Press, radios, and other information media;

(6) To review the Press laws in each of the Arab states with a view to enacting the necessary legislation that will make it an offence to use words or engage in actions which go beyond the limits of objective discussions and constructive criticism and are prejudicial to relations between the Arab countries or make direct or indirect wounding reference to heads of Arab states.

## IV. REVIEW OF THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Council of Arab Kings and Presidents considered the report of Foreign Ministers on defining Arab policy in the international field in accordance with the Declaration issued by the third session of the Council of Arab Kings and Presidents and approved it.

## V. THE TECHNICAL SIDE

The Council considered the report of the Secretary-General reviewing the progress of work on the unified Arab project to exploit the waters of the River Jordan and its tributaries, and the report of the Board of the Project made during its meeting on 26th August, 1965. The Council decided on the following measures:

(1) The states concerned to continue work on the unified Arab project to exploit the waters of the River Jordan and its tributaries in accordance with the plan laid down and with earlier decisions on the necessary military protection;

(2) To authorize the Board of the Project to transfer some allocations already made from one section to another in accordance with the new time schedule laid down on the basis of the progress of work and in the light of the protection available during the various stages of the project;

(3) To postpone consideration of supplementary funds required for the Jordan and Syrian sections to the next session so that the available funds of the Project organization are spent in the current stage;

(4) The Board of the organization to discuss with the Lebanese authorities concerned the question of the loan required for Nabatiyah dam and what sums the organization can contribute to the loan earmarked for the Lebanese section.

## VI. MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF PREMIERS

The Council reviewed the procedure for the meetings of the Premiers of member-states and decided that these meetings should take place in March every year.

## VII. THE PALESTINE ENTITY

The Council studied the demands put forward by the Palestine Liberation Organization which call for complete freedom in the popular organization of the sons of Palestine and for direct general elections to the Palestine National Assembly. The Council decided that the Organization should contact the member-states concerned to reach an understanding on the necessary measures.

## VIII. THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY

The Council decided to instruct the unified Arab command, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Army command, to proceed with the formation of Palestine forces as envisaged for the second phase of the plan of formation.

## DECLARATION OF THE COUNCIL OF KINGS AND PRESIDENTS OF ARAB LEAGUE STATES AT THEIR THIRD SESSION IN CASABLANCA

The Council of the Arab League Kings and Presidents met at the Prefecture in Casablanca from 13th to 17th September, 1965, and was attended by King Husayn of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan; Hawasri Bumadyan, President of the Council of the Revolution and Premier of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic; Isma'il al-Azhari, President of the Sovereignty Council of Sudan; F. M. Abd as-Salam Muhammad Arif, President of Iraq; King Faisal Al Sa'ud of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom; Lt.-Gen. Muhammad Amin al-Hafiz, Chairman of the Presidency Council of the Arab Syrian Republic; Jamal Abd an-Nasir, President of the U.A.R.; F.-M. Abdullah as-Sallal, President of the Yemeni Arab Republic; Amir Abdullah as-Salim as-



King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and President Nasir of the U.A.R.—The recent Jeddah agreement on Peace in the Yemen.

Sabah, Ruler of the State of Kuwait; Charles al-Hilo, President of the Lebanon; Amir Hasan ar-Rida, representative of H.M. the King of Libya; King Hasan II of the Kingdom of Morocco; and Ahmad ash-Shuqayri, President of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The first topic of discussion was the question of Arab solidarity: the basic principle of unity of action in working for liberation from imperialism and Zionism and all aspects of foreign domination and in strengthening Arab social and economic progress. The Arab Kings and Presidents declared themselves bound by the Arab Solidarity Pact as an affirmation of the unity of principles and aims and as a unification of all Arab efforts and energies in serving the basic questions and the supreme national interests. They also pledged themselves to preserve the national territorial integrity of the Arab countries while condemning every imperialist and

separatist attempt to encroach on some of them. They decided to support the Arab countries with all their energy and to repulse any attempt of this kind.

The Council also dealt with the various aspects of the Palestine question and approved the Arab plans to liberate it and to strengthen the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Liberation Army. It also approved the unified Arab plan to defend the Palestine cause in the U.N. and international gatherings and to resist the attempts to liquidate the refugee question. The Council affirmed support for the national struggle in the occupied South and adherence to the intention to liberate this Arab region and to carry out the resolutions of the U.N. It also affirmed support for the struggle of the Omani people for freedom and to help the Arabian Gulf towards liberation and progress. The Council of Arab Kings and Presidents resolved to strengthen the unified Arab

command and to proceed with the exploitation of the River Jordan and its headwaters in accordance with the plan laid down.

Learning from the experience of the historic Arab struggle for liberation from Zionism and imperialism in its various forms; prompted by the principles to which the Arab states are committed by the charters of the Arab League and by the resolutions of Bandung, of the non-aligned conferences of Belgrade and Cairo, and of the international conference on trade and development: animated by their belief in peace based on justice and in the need to promote international economic and social co-operation: rising to their indefeasible international responsibility in the present-day world with all its extensive developments and various systems: the Arab Kings and Presidents affirm that the causes of freedom are indivisible and that aggression against any one of them is tantamount to aggression against the whole, and call once again for the renunciation of the policy of force, for the solution of international questions by peaceful means and for respect for the right of self-determination.

Accordingly they express deep anxiety at the armed dispute between India and Pakistan and call on the two states to hasten to stop the fighting and settle the dispute by peaceful means in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the U.N. They also express deep concern at the serious situation in Vietnam and call for solving the problem in accordance with the 1954 Geneva agreement. They have agreed that Afro-Asian co-operation is a firm principle of Arab policy. Arab governments

should follow a concerted course in this field and work with the Algerian Government for holding the second Afro-Asian congress on 5th November in Algiers and ensure its success in the interest of the two continents and all mankind.

The Arab Kings and Presidents reviewed the situation in the African continent and praised the positive role undertaken by the Organization for African Unity to liberate the continent and to ensure its progress. They support the peoples' freedom struggle in Angola, Mozambique, and so-called Portuguese Guinea. They denounce apartheid in South Africa and the attempts to declare Southern Rhodesia independent while a minority monopolizes power. They support the efforts of the O.A.U. to solve the problem and express solidarity with the resistance against attempts of imperialism and Zionism to infiltrate into Africa and Asia. They support disarmament and the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons and demand the liquidation of foreign bases which threaten the security of the Arab region and the peace of the world. They affirm the need to establish just economic relations between states in order to achieve economic and social progress. They declare their satisfaction at the easing of the crisis which faced the U.N. and their conviction of the need to work for strengthening this international organization by every means in the interests of peace and international co-operation.

At the invitation of Hawwari Bumadyan, President of the Algerian Council of Revolution and Premier, the council decided to hold its next session in September 1966 in Algiers.



King Faisal of Saudi Arabia shaking hands with President Sallal of the Yemeni Arab Republic—at the recent Arab Summit Conference in Casablanca. Standing with them: Mr. Ahmad ash-Shuqayri, Head of the Palestine Liberation Organization. On the right: President Helau of the Lebanon.

## Iraq Oil— September Production Figures

The Iraq, Basrah, and Mosul Petroleum companies' crude oil production figures for September, 1965, and the totals for the first nine months of 1965, are as follows:

	Production, September, 1965.	Production, Jan.—Sept., 1965.
	Long tons.	Long tons.
Iraq Petroleum Co., Ltd.	3,281,000	31,120,000
Basrah Petroleum Co., Ltd.	1,004,000	13,639,000
Mosul Petroleum Co., Ltd.	115,000	993,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4,370,000	45,752,000

## President Arif's Letter to the New Iraqi Premier

IN his letter of designation to Professor Al-Bazzaz, President Arif stressed the following seven points, and requested the new Cabinet to adhere to them:

(1) To work persistently to achieve the complete prosperity of all the sons of the people under the aegis of wise Arab socialism, which aims at increasing production and just distribution and takes care simultaneously of both public and private sectors.

(2) To hasten the realization of permanent constitutional life, establishment of the parliamentary system, and enactment of the electoral bill as soon as possible in order to end the period of transition and to lead the country towards a state of stability within the period laid down in the provisional constitution.

(3) To realize the principle of the sovereignty of the law in a complete manner, so that all members of this

nation shall have equal rights and duties without discrimination and so that the structure of the State may be established on a sound basis by eliminating reasons for discrimination and abuse of power.

(4) To preserve the unity of Iraqi territory in order to realize national (Regional Arabic: wataniyah, i.e. Iraqi) unity which is the basic starting point for a national (Arabic: qawmiyah, i.e. Pan-Arab) unity.

(5) To take care of the popular organization on a new basis so that the Socialist Union may become the national foundation on which all loyal national forces will meet.

(6) To take care of the army and the armed forces, for they are the shield of this homeland and work to realize our nation's sublime aims.

(7) To adhere to the statement of the joint political command issued on 25th May, 1965.

## The New Iraqi Cabinet

ON 21st September, 1965, F. M. Abd as-Salam Muhammad Arif, President of the Republic of Iraq, entrusted Professor Abd ar-Rahman Al-Bazzaz with the forming of the new Iraqi Cabinet, stressing the seven articles which he committed to the former Cabinet. The new Iraqi Cabinet was formed as follows:

Professor Abd ar-Rahman Al-Bazzaz, Premier and Foreign Minister; Shukri Salih Zaki, Finance Minister and acting Oil Minister; Abd al-Aziz al-Ugayli, Defence Minister and acting Communications Minister; Abd al-Latif ad-Darraji, Minister of the Interior; Kazim ar-Rawaf, Justice Minister; Khadr Abd al-Ghafur, Education Minister and acting Waqfs Minister; Faris Nasir al-Hasan, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs and acting Agrarian Reform Minister; Dr. Abd al-Latif al-Badri, Health Minister; Dr. Muhammad Nasir, Culture and Guidance Minister; Isma'il Mustafa, Minister of Municipal and Village Affairs and acting Works and Housing Minister; Akram al-Jaf, Agriculture Minister; Dr. Abd al-Hamid al-Hilali, Economy Minister; Mustafa Abdullah, Industry Minister; Salman Abd ar-Razzaq al-Awwad, Planning Minister; Dr. Abd ar-Razzaq Muhyi ad-Din, Unity Minister; and Salman as-Safwani, Minister of State.

During the swearing-in ceremony, the President emphasized the contents of the letter of designation, and stressed the importance of implementing them and of taking sound and firm steps to establish constitutional life and form the National Council. We shall thus fulfil our obligations to our country and conscience.

His Excellency further stressed the importance of national unity, considering its attainment the most important issue and the main pillar of the unity of our Arab nation. He also emphasized the necessity of abiding by it in form and spirit. He added: We must proceed united. The people attach great hopes to you. Personally, I have full confidence in you. We are unionists working and striving to attain our national aims, not heeding opportunists and imperialist agents. In conclusion, the President invoked God to grant success to all the loyal persons inside and outside the Government in guiding the country to the shore of safety.

Premier Abd ar-Rahman Al-Bazzaz then made a statement in which he thanked the President for the confidence he bestowed upon him and the Cabinet members. He said: I sincerely hope that I and my colleagues will succeed in implementing the principles contained in the letter of designation. We promise you to march forward to restore tranquility and prosperity to dear Iraq and to restore to it its integral identity to become a living nucleus in a unified Arab entity. I have referred to many subjects. I assure you that my colleagues and myself understand and well appreciate these points. We shall do our utmost to make every sacrifice for the people's sake. I also assure you that we all appreciate the great responsibility laid upon us.

The Premier and Ministers then took the constitutional oath before the President and afterwards dined with His Excellency.

## Statement by Professor Al-Bazzaz on Iraq's Foreign Policy

H.E. PROFESSOR ABDUL RAHMAN H.E. AL-BAZZAZ, on 7th September, 1965, made a statement on Iraq's foreign policy.

At the outset of his statement Al-Bazzaz said: Iraq's social, political, and historical reality and its people's interests determine Iraq's foreign policy. Iraq is the neighbour of non-Arab Muslim states and fraternal Arab states. Our policy towards the neighbouring Muslim states is based on good neighbourliness and a sincere desire for economic co-operation and the development of spiritual ties. Our policy towards the neighbouring and all the Arab states is based on the principle that Iraq is an indivisible part of the Arab homeland and that the Iraqi people is a part of the Arab nation. Whatever befalls any of these parts will undoubtedly have its effect on Iraq. Therefore, Iraq supports all the liberation movements in the great Arab homeland and diligently works to enable those parts which have not yet achieved full sovereignty to obtain complete independence.

Al-Bazzaz pointed out that Iraq opposes the continued existence of military bases in any part of the Arab homeland. He affirmed the principle of recovering Palestinian Arab rights and of restoring the usurped homeland to its owners. Iraq will continue to adhere fully to the resolutions of the summit conferences.

## Iraqi Premier's Press Conference

(a) Statement:

PRECIS, including quotations of statement delivered by Premier Abd ar-Rahman Al-Bazzaz at press conference held at the National Assembly on 23rd September:

I promise to speak to you often. You should know what we are thinking of and what we have done. If we err you should correct our steps, addressing to us the criticism and the guidance which we will accept with a good heart so long as this is in the interest of the public and our nation.

I should have liked my first meeting with you to be confined to speaking in my capacity as Foreign Minister about the achievements of the third Arab summit conference in Casablanca. Even though other events have overridden what I wanted to say I will all the same say something in this connection and then move on to other things.

Referring to Iraq's foreign policy in the Afro-Asian field, Al-Bazzaz said: As a developing country, Iraq has links with the African, Asian, and Latin-American states and responds with them in their desire for development and in their policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment. Al-Bazzaz added: Our policy toward other states of the world is based on the principle of respect and on the basis of mutual interests and full respect and of abiding by the fundamental principles of the U.N. Charter and of observing international treaties.

Abdul Rahman Al-Bazzaz also declared that Iraq will remain loyal to the Arab nation's mission, which aims at establishing agglomeration (Arabic: at-takattul) and a unified Arab structure. He added that the Iraqi Government believes that the practical step to be considered at this stage should be the implementation of the unified political command's statement issued on 25th May, 1965, and constant and firm work for the establishment of a union with the U.A.R. to serve as a nucleus of the comprehensive structure. In conclusion, Al-Bazzaz said: The Iraqi Government considers the U.A.R. as the great sister with whom it has the closest ties and with whom it fully responds to achieve the joint sublime aims of our Arab nation.

The Iraqi delegation to the Arab summit conference played its part. In particular "President Abd as-Salam Arif played a noble role, for which he deserves thanks, in bringing closer the view not at the official public or closed meetings but at the private meetings. The apartment in which the President stayed was the meeting place of the Arab leaders, the Kings, and the Presidents. We worked strenuously night and day to bring about the success of the conference". Iraq was looked on as the Arab country playing the part of mediator.

What happened while we were in Casablanca has disturbed us as it disturbed all sincere men, yet the calmest among the Iraqis, the one who had the most patience and readiness to bear the news without alarm or apprehension was President Abd as-Salam Arif. He alone remained calm until the last moment, feeling sure that the army and the people were on his side, and that what happened cannot affect Iraq's Arab, Islamic, national liberation course.

Let me repeat that not a single drop of blood was spilled and that the allegations of battles and killings put out by some radios were completely untrue. The incident is regrettable. It has harmed the reputation of this country. But the Government will differentiate between the guilty and the innocent, and not deviate from the course of justice. " Thus we assure you and the people that the matter is proceeding normally and ordinarily." I assure you that nothing has happened in Iraq.

The Government policy is based on the seven principles contained in the letter of designation which are regarded as the basis of the Cabinet programme. A committee will try to explain these principles and will add to them what is necessary. We want to take the country into a truly revolutionary stage. In other words, we want to develop the country to the farthest possible point by establishing complete stability and a firm parliamentary system. We have had revolutions and *coup d'état*. Now it is for the citizens, all citizens to choose their rulers, their régime, and the policy which the country must adopt. We are in a stage of transition. We want to restore to the people their full right and shall work day and night to attain this goal.

Time is ripe for the country to restore its normal life and normal conditions in which there is no room for military courts, military rulers, extraordinary situations, tanks in the streets, or anything that may give the citizens a feeling of lacking stability. We want to realize all this.

We believe that the socialism which is good for Iraq is the one that emanates from the Arab nature of the Iraqi people—a socialism that aims at raising the standard of living of the individual and that realizes social justice. We are socialists, but we are not Marxists. In other words, we do not believe that the Marxist solution is the only one that solves our problems. We believe in socialism as a means and not an end. We are not afraid to nationalize. The state had nationalized in the past. I do not say that we have an intention to nationalize in future. " If it becomes evident that it is in the interest of the country to nationalize, we shall do so without hesitation and if it becomes evident that it is not in the interest of the country to nationalize, we shall not do so."

Regarding the popular organization, we have declared that we believe in the Socialist Union. While expressing my appreciation of the efforts made in the past to make this organization effective, I do not believe that there is anyone in this country who believes that this organization was able to embrace all the sons of the people. Therefore there must be a new approach. " There must be popular enlightenment and a popular force which works for the Government and supports it. These forces are the Socialist Union. Naturally, we shall proceed with clear and studied steps. We shall proceed in co-operation with our eldest sister the U.A.R., taking into consideration at the same time the nature of this country and its special circumstances. I repeat this expression which may pain

some of our brothers who believe that any such reservation, even in this case, is against the principle of absolute Arabism. I do not think so because I believe that the enlightened and absolute Arabism should realize the nature of every step and should not overlook this fact."

We and the Socialist Union seek to mobilize public opinion so that it may be the natural popular pillar of the existing Government. This will provide the field in which efforts exist for joint national action. Thus the Government will not have to depend on the army alone but also on an enlightened popular force which responds to the Government. The purpose is clear. We want to make this establishment embrace all the people.

Regarding the Government machinery, we shall go ahead slowly. Posts will not be filled on a party basis but on the basis of the interest of the Government and the people. Some regulations and laws are a hindrance. There is a committee now working to ease these problems and to give wider powers to the ministers and the departments. There is also a study in progress regarding the independent establishments.

As for the economic organization, we did believe in the fundamental idea on which it was founded. But today even the men in charge realize that mistakes have been made and must be remedied. Certain establishments should have been attached to other departments or quarters. Also some individuals have been appointed to posts which they do not deserve.

We call for socialism and social justice. But we do not on any account call for the creation of a new class to replace an old one. If the former owners of factories exploited the workers—and some undoubtedly did—we do not want to make out of the white-collar workers, directors, and officials who receive exorbitant salaries in the name of socialism, thus overburdening the budgets of these establishments. The government will study all these issues.

Regarding our foreign policy, I have nothing to add to the statement issued by the Foreign Ministry before our departure for Casablanca. But it may be good to clarify this. " I had said in that statement: ' The practical and useful step . . . is to set up a federation with the U.A.R. so that it may be the nucleus of a more comprehensive unity. If we succeed in making a step forward by setting up a federal union I will be one of the happiest of God's creatures. When I say this I do not just utter words haphazardly. I know that a union must be with another state. Who is this other state? Of course it is Egypt. What is Egypt's policy? Egypt's policy was declared by Abd an-Nasir more than once in public and private and in his special interviews, that during this stage it is impossible for anything to materialize other than federation. During the tripartite unity talks, Nasir said in front of all: read the book of Abd ar-Rahman Al-Bazzaz."

Brothers, let us be realistic. Being realistic is not a violation of Arab nationalism or Arab unity. We shall go

on upholding unity as our main watchword and final aim. We are one nation with one destiny. But constitutional action and political relations require practical steps. In any case we are committed to the charter of the joint leadership and the series of measures to be taken.

" I should like to say at the conclusion of my general statement now that our relations with the U.A.R. are not as alleged by certain tendentious quarters and radios. The relations between us are sound, indeed more than sound: they are cordial. And I know this from the relations between President Abd an-Nasir and President Abd as-Salam Arif, and from the generous welcome accorded us in Cairo. F.M. Abd al-Hakim Amir welcomed us when we arrived. Fraternal and generous measures were adopted by the U.A.R. authorities to safeguard our security. Contacts continue. I do not think that anyone can sever the solid bonds which link us to our brothers in the Nile valley." There are also between Abd an-Nasir and Arif bonds of brotherhood and friendship which will defeat all tendentious rumours.

#### (b) Questions and Answers:

The reporters then addressed their questions to the Premier. In answer to a question about the stage reached in the oil negotiations, Al-Bazzaz said: No negotiations are in progress now. A draft agreement is being studied. When the studies are completed we shall take the necessary decision in accordance with the country's interests.

In answer to a question about the Afro-Asian conference the Premier affirmed that President Abd as-Salam Arif will attend the conference and will do his best for the success of the conference. His Excellency held talks with Chairman Bumadayan on this subject and welcomed the invitation to the conference. The relations between Algeria and Iraq are now friendly and fraternal.

Asked about the situation in the north, the Premier said: We are not hostile to our Kurdish brethren in the north. The matter is simply that there are some saboteurs who, regrettably, are organized by foreign circles. We believe that the Arabs and Kurds can live peacefully in one country. We respect the Kurdish nationality and language. I wish to point out that there is a Kurdish minister in the present Cabinet and we hope

that another Kurdish personality will join the Government. We recognize the rights of the Kurds but we refuse to give away a part of the homeland. I met many Kurds and all of them expressed the desire to live with the Arabs as brethren in this homeland.

Answering a question about the mission of the British Minister Thomson who intends to visit Iraq and about the Government's opinion as to what Britain should do to improve its relations with the Arab countries, Premier Al-Bazzaz said: The problems with Britain are not few. One of these problems is the outcome of Britain's negative attitude to the events in northern Iraq. We believe that a neighbouring state instigates mutiny movements and that Britain, by adopting this negative attitude, helps to keep the situation confused. As a gesture of goodwill we asked the British to intervene and do what they could to put an end to this situation. We have other disagreements with them regarding the Arab South and other Arab questions. I wish to say—some may think that we have said nothing about Palestine—that in the statement on foreign policy we said that we believe in the Palestine people's right to return to their home and regain their country. All the Arabs agree on this. It is a stolen land which should be returned to its people.

Premier Al-Bazzaz was asked to elucidate the constitutional amendment on the rights of the Kurds. Al-Bazzaz said: The amendment contained the phrase included in the President's statement following the true negotiations. The Kurds thought that there had been a fault in the formulation. We tried to respond and to pave the way. The meaning here is clear. We believe that Iraq is an indivisible unit and at the same time believe that the Kurds have their legal rights. Within the framework of these two facts we are ready to negotiate and talk.

Asked if he expects any developments in the relations between Iraq and West Germany, Premier Al-Bazzaz said: The matter depends on West Germany. We like the German people, appreciate their abilities, and wish them all the best. The harm that was done, was done to us by Professor Erhard's Government. If Germany is anxious to have our friendship, it should show regret and redeem the harm, after which we shall discuss the matter with the Arab countries.





Professor A. Al-Bazzaz :  
Premier and Foreign Minister of Iraq

His Excellency has recently formed the new Iraqi cabinet. He is the first civilian Iraqi premier since the 14th July, 1958, revolution. Until he assumed his present responsibilities, he was ambassador in London. The "Bulletin" has often had the honour of publishing his lectures and articles on Anglo-Arab relations and Middle Eastern affairs. A special issue of the "Bulletin" for the months of March and April, 1965, has been published in the form of a book entitled: "al-Bazzaz : on Arab Nationalism". All the members of the embassy staff, as well as his many friends in London, will miss him here, bid him farewell and sincerely wish him every success in the service of Iraq and Arabism

## Broadcast by Professor Al-Bazzaz to the Iraqi People

**P**RÉCIS, with quotations, of broadcast on Baghdad radio and television by the Premier Professor Al-Bazzaz on 2nd October, 1965 :

Brother citizens, I chose to speak to you tonight before my departure tomorrow on a mission for the country and nation. I must also make it clear to you right from the start that I did not come here to preach to you. However, I felt it my responsibility as a responsible official to speak frankly to the people.

At a recent press conference I explained the broad lines of Government policy. Judging from the letters, telegrams, and telephone calls I have received, I am pleased to say that public reaction to that press conference was good and encouraging and that I and my colleagues have won the people's confidence. But some people have misunderstood some of our intentions. I will now direct my words to this particular group. The overwhelming majority of our beloved people will at the same time know what is in the minds of others. Some people say that we aim at liquidating the people's achievements and gains in the fields of socialism and social reform. Some have spread incredible rumours, and others have published leaflets in which they have made all kinds of accusations. I won't say I am angry with these people, who are really a few, praise be to God. At any rate, the majority of the people were aware of our intentions and have given us their confidence.

While this minority group has erroneously believed that we intended to liquidate the people's gains in the socialist field, another group wanted us to correct overnight all the defects caused by past régimes. That is a rather unreasonable request. We must have adequate time to study the problems and to find the right solutions for them, taking everything into consideration and without encroaching upon the rights of any citizen.

We have not taken over responsibility for the sake of the capitalists or feudalists alone, as they claim, but for the sake of all the people. It is our duty to take care of the peasant, worker, student, soldier, officer, and every citizen. Unlike our predecessors, we want to give credit to everyone. We do not intend to discriminate against anyone. We will not repeat our predecessors' mistake of turning one group of people against another. All citizens are equal and we are here to serve them.

Brothers, every passing day in the course of duty has made me and my colleagues realize more and more the heavy legacy we have inherited. I do not deny that the previous Governments have made useful achievements. That, however, does not prevent me from disclosing certain facts to you.

"Our economic and financial conditions are unenviable. The State is exhausted by heavy spending. We are

doing our utmost to provide all citizens with the means of livelihood, like any other responsible Government. Unfortunately, however, the resources which God has bestowed on Iraq have been wasted. Looking at the Budget, we find that most of the funds go on salaries, pensions, services, unproductive work, luxuries, or items which cannot possibly achieve the desired prosperity. This is something unheard of in an advanced or even developing country anywhere in Asia. Those in power, therefore, must work day and night to put these things right.

The proportion spent on some of these services is extremely unreasonable. I do not want to bore you with figures."

"The dispatch of delegations and missions abroad has become a farce. Abd al-Karim Qasim encouraged missions and delegations, and those who came after him could not put an end to them. I know officials who went to certain countries abroad simply because they said they had not yet seen them. All this has cost the Government immense sums.

Solutions must be found to all these problems, but it is a question of time and patience. Those who think that the present Government can immediately solve these problems by some sort of miracle are mistaken. But we know the remedies for these problems and have the resolution to apply these remedies, and that is the most important thing.

"I have seen Baghdad University professors and deans and its board of directors. I am pleased to have heard their views because they represent a special sector. I was also happy to meet the Chamber of Industry. I shall endeavour to meet the peasants, workers, students, merchants, and all sectors of the people, for as long as we are from the people and for the people we must open our doors and listen to them to see the problem in its true form. But mere listening does not mean that we are capable of accomplishing everything or that we should adopt decisions hastily." In my view our first task is to restore confidence to the people.

When the President charged me with shouldering the responsibility, I made my personal excuses clear to him but I felt that I should accept the responsibility. We shall not retreat from what we have determined to do but we want enough time to achieve a sound rule.

With regard to economy in expenditure, some have asked why some of the Ministries remained vacant. One of the aims is economy. Some Ministries were established unnecessarily. It is possible to merge more than one Ministry and lessen the number of Ministries. We have started to do this; the Waqfs Ministry will be abolished by a law to be issued today or tomorrow. We

also intend to merge more than one Ministry. We intend to put an end to the confusion of salaries, to the special grades, and to the salaries which are given haphazardly. It is necessary to reconsider many of our laws. Many ministerial committees have been formed. These committees will draft reports which the Cabinet will study. When these reports receive the President's approval the Cabinet will issue its legislation. I can say without hesitation that we shall also reconsider many financial laws. In my view the Treasury will become rich when individuals become rich and are reassured. Pressure and excessive taxes lead to a freezing of conditions and the hamstringing of the Treasury. We shall seek the help of experts from Arab and other countries so that the taxes will be just and reasonable.

Economic conditions have been studied at many Cabinet meetings. Some initial decisions have been adopted with which you are undoubtedly acquainted. We have reduced imports, especially in connection with consumer goods. We have restored to many public establishments their freedom to import direct without reference to the economic organizations. Today we have laid down a law dealing with the problem of working hours.

I have said many times that Socialism is facts, it is justice, it is additional production, justice in direction and the enablement of all classes of the people to benefit from the resources of this country. But if it led to results opposite to what is required we should not

consider it our duty to adhere to it so that it should be said about us that we are so and so. Our policy is studied. We consult people and if we are convinced that there is a better and more just road we follow it without fear. We believe that the socialism we mean is the socialism which I called wise Arab socialism. This name has angered some of our brethren. I say we shall adhere to the socialism that aims at good, at building, at further production, at co-operation between the public and private sectors, at educating youth, and not at destroying individuals.

I do not want to make this a long talk but I know that there are many problems which the listeners wanted me to touch on. There are internal problems. There is the question of the elections, trade union and student unions' affairs. These are under study.

"In connection with our promise to hold elections, we are insisting on it. A ministerial committee has been formed. In a period of not more than three weeks this committee will submit its report to the Cabinet, which will adopt the final text after seeking the views of those who count in this country."

It is my right to say that we work for all, and the people have the absolute right to express their presence. We are not here to dictate to people but are guardians in this transitional period. It is with this spirit that I have taken on the responsibility and it is with this spirit that I and my colleagues serve this country.

Peace be with you.

## President Nasir's Speech to the Arab Students in Moscow

TEXT in parts of President Jamal Abd an-Nasir's speech to the Arab Students' Union in Moscow on 29th August, 1955.

Brothers, It is a happy opportunity to meet you here in the Soviet Union. Thank you for your presence; it makes me glad. Our meeting here includes not only Egyptians but also representatives of all Arab students; this is a sign of the Arab unity we advocate. Talk about Arab unity is an easy thing. But work for Arab unity is long and hard. This work is required not only of the leaders but of every member of the Arab nation. Your meeting here in Moscow as Arabs constitutes work for Arab unity. This is because this meeting brings you together and binds you together throughout the different Arab countries.

Work for Arab unity is hard and difficult and takes a long time. This is because the factors which work against unity today are still strong and because the socialist meaning of Arab unity affects many elements which may be opposed to socialism or afraid of it. For

this reason, obstacles arise in the path of Arab unity day after day and it is the duty of every Arab to overcome them. We must never despair. On the contrary, these obstacles must make us more and more determined.

As regards our Egyptian brothers who are with us here today, we say we are proceeding on our road of construction. This road is the basis of our intrinsic power (Arabic: quwwat dhatiyah). There are too many obstructions around us. But in no way will this prevent us from proceeding on our course. You are some of the elements in the building up of this intrinsic power. Everyone of you studying here, or elsewhere in the world, will return to his homeland to build up a pillar of this intrinsic power in any particular field of construction.

The building up of the intrinsic power too is not an easy thing. When we started the revolution, our national income amounted to £E80,000,000. Today our national income amounts to £E1,800,000,000. Our production was £E1,800,000,000 but today our production amounts to £E3,500,000,000. This means we have performed

tangible work which has shown results. We have increased our annual national income by 7.2 per cent. We have succeeded in realizing almost all the aims of the five-year plan. Today our budget amounts to over £E1,200,000,000. The budget of the army and the war factories, amounted at the beginning of the revolution to £E40,000,000. But today the budget of the army, the war factories, and the aircraft and rocket factories, amount to £E200,000,000.

Thus there is development. If we wish to talk about the realization of our aims we must consider that we cannot realize these aims except by building up this intrinsic power. If we speak of Palestine without building up the intrinsic power, then our words will be mere words in the air intended only for local consumption. We cannot liberate Palestine until we build up our intrinsic power. As Arabs, we cannot recover Palestine until we acquire power. We cannot acquire power except by building up industry—heavy industry—and developing agriculture, so that we may be able to face Israel and those behind it.

At the beginning of the revolution, we were confronted with problems of unemployment—of the unemployed workers and the unemployed educated people. These are problems every one of you is aware of. But today these problems do not confront us with the same strength or form. Today we are confronted with housing problems. You here in the Soviet Union have the chance of seeing a great example of a state, or a revolution, which is fifty years' old. The whole people here are mobilized for work. But no matter how hard man may work, his needs will continue as long as the standard of living continues to rise. The higher the standard of living rises, the greater the needs grow.

We have naturally pursued a course of socialism in our work for development. In our work to transform our industry into a heavy industry, we have always faced obstacles and problems. We have also continued to adopt the policy of Arab liberation and the idea of Arab unity.

As I said on 23rd July, the Americans began to grant us aid in 1959 and in 1960. They began to increase their aid until it reached £E80,000,000 annually. Last year we received £E80,000,000 in aid in order to purchase wheat and maize or other food with Egyptian pounds. We will then take the Egyptian pound as a loan spread over thirty years at an interest of 4 per cent. But soon they made certain demands on us last year and the year before. But we rejected all these demands. On 23rd July I said these demands were: (1) that we should not produce any atomic weapons, (2) that we should stop our production of rockets, and (3) freeze the Egyptian army at its present level and not be beyond that. All these demands were naturally in the interest of Israel and the U.S.A. We were naturally in the interest of Israel and the U.S.A. We refused it all. It was clear that what was meant was that we were spending on these projects from American aid or from the money we save through our acquisition of American wheat.

When we helped the Congo, we were subjected to pressure too. We were also subjected to pressure when we provided help to the Yemeni revolution. Naturally, we accept no such pressure. We said we were ready to live without this aid and that we would not die if American aid was cut. The aid was withheld from us from last July, but we succeeded in purchasing wheat and in saving hard currency and have also succeeded in purchasing maize. We concluded contracts with Mexico when we were in great need of wheat. We had enough wheat for forty days only. We asked the Soviet Union for help and the Soviet Union agreed to help us. It supplied us with wheat. We purchased from the Soviet Union the wheat which it had purchased from Australia and Canada. Thus we proceeded on our course and did not die. We can live without any aid and we can build up our country at the same time. We may get a little tired but this does not worry us. The work we have to do in five years can be done in six years.

In addition to the cost of the Yemeni campaign and in addition to the cut in American aid, we faced a difficult situation. But we managed to overcome this situation. We managed to support ourselves and to proceed on our course. In the course of all this we were naturally confronted by some problem connected with hard currency. You here can feel these problems. The solution of these problems might be easy for us if we were to stop one, two, three, or four of the factories we intend to build. For in this way we could save the cost of these factories and thus get enough, and more than enough, hard liquid currency. But this will at the same time increase the number of unemployed workers. It is actually a choice between hard currency and unemployed workers. We prefer to exert all efforts and set up industries and go ahead with our development in all fields even if we are faced with hard currency problems. This year in Egypt we have saved some hard currency from housing and from public services on the ground that this is a year in which we face economic pressure. We have told the people in Egypt of this and they fully understand it in the right way. Next year, we will be free of the problem with which we are faced this year.

Nevertheless, we say we will reclaim about 120,000 feddans this year. We will give priority to this so that the High Dam water will not be available without being put to use.

As regards industry, we are proceeding with our industrial programme according to schedule. As regards transport and communications, we are also proceeding on schedule. As regards public facilities, we have reduced them a little. As you have seen here in the Soviet Union, they have lived for many long years without facilities in order to build up heavy industry and establish their agriculture. But today you can see here the buildings going up and utilities available.

I visited the Soviet Union in 1958. There were no cars in the streets then. Some of you may have been

here in 1958. But today the streets are full of cars. I have seen more cars than I saw in 1958 and this has surprised me. What does this mean? It is an example we have to learn. It teaches one must be patient and concentrate on work and efforts and thus succeed in achieving what one wants. As regards us today, if we get facilities we may provide them for some well-to-do people.

Naturally class-consciousness still exists in Egypt. We cannot say we have destroyed class-distinction or that we have obtained socialism in the full sense of the word. We are still living in a period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The transition period in our country will take longer than it took in other countries because the road we are following is different from that followed in other countries working for socialism. The nature of our people and our country are different from the others. Perhaps in 1970 we may feel that we have actually laid down the basis of socialism.

We think the people in our country cannot possibly bear to be comparatively deprived of luxury goods if we ask them to make this sacrifice for the sake of heavy industry. Our start has been unlike the Soviet Union's. We started with the production of consumer goods and with heavy industry simultaneously, and we are now carrying out the process of transformation on the basis that we have, in addition to heavy industries, consumer good industries which satisfy our needs.

Let us move on to international politics. We have faced economic pressures and imperialist plots in almost all the Arab countries. They were all designed to isolate Egypt. In this endeavour, imperialism co-operated with reaction.

We were ready to forget everything because all Arabs must regroup themselves in order to face Israel. For just as we were deprived of freedom of action in Palestine, so a state of affairs may come about in which we may be deprived of freedom of action inside our own countries. This will be detrimental to the Arabs. We must, therefore, work concertedly and forget our differences.

The conference of Kings and Heads of State adopted a resolution calling for diversion of the River Jordan tributaries, the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the formation of the unified Arab military command, which we have always needed to co-ordinate inter-Arab military operations.

If, in fact, we are capable today of destroying Israel, why wait till tomorrow? I say this frankly and clearly. I told them inside the conference: if you are today capable—if all we Arabs are capable today of destroying Israel, why then wait till tomorrow? But let us see what Israel is. Israel consists of itself and those who are behind it. What was Israel in 1956? In that year, Ben Gurion went to Paris and said he could not launch an attack on Egypt unless France supplied him with aircraft and naval units. The aircraft which attacked us on 29th October, 1956, were Israeli and French aircraft. Those who have read the book *The Secrets of the Suez Campaign*

will have learned that three French Mystere squadrons were stationed at Lydda and other Israeli airports.

On the first day of the battle our air officers stated that there were more aircraft fighting on the Israeli side than Israel owned and that Israel must have obtained foreign assistance. We were astonished by this. And when one of our naval units went to sea it did not encounter Israeli ships. The Israelis claimed that they had shelled the warship *Israelim* but it transpired later that the battle had actually been between the *Israelim* and French naval units anchored off Haifa. All these facts have already been exposed. The parachutists who landed at Al-Kuntillah pass were totally supplied with vehicles, mortars, and even food flown from Cyprus by French aircraft. All these secrets are now common knowledge. Israel therefore combines itself and those who stand behind it.

This is the situation we discussed frankly. Consequently, in confronting Israel, we must act in stages. The first stage is to increase our defence power. This will deter Israel from attacking any Arab country and at the same time provide us with a deterrent Arab force which will tackle Israel once it tries to penetrate the defence of any Arab country. This is the immediate objective. The national aim is the liberation of Palestine for which we must be fully prepared and there must be propitious international circumstances.

In no way will we accept pressure. And we are confident that the people are able to protect their revolution. There may be plots, such as the Muslim Brotherhood's recent plot which was unearched this month. We had lifted martial law a year or more ago, that is, in March, 1964, abolished the detention camps, and issued a law especially designed to reinstate the members of the Muslim Brotherhood in their jobs. They were all released from detention camps and each one returned to his job and received his salary. Then suddenly this month we discovered a plot by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. We found out that they had set up a secret organization, obtained explosives, and were receiving funds from Sa'id Ramadan, who is outside Egypt. This is proof that imperialism and reaction are helping the Muslim Brotherhood to operate from within. Can we treat this action with leniency? That is absolutely impossible. Shall we pardon and forgive again as we have done before? I say we have pardoned them once, but never again. Each person is responsible for what he does.

Finally, I thank you and wish everyone of you success. I also wish every one of you will return to his country and be a soldier there. I want to tell you that anyone, whatever his position in society, can effect change. It is not necessary to be a leader to make a change. Anyone, whatever his speciality and age, can benefit and change his society.

May God grant you success. Peace be with you.

## Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization's Statement on Aden

TEXT of statement by the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization about developments in Aden and the occupied South, released on 13th October, 1965:

The recent grave developments in Aden and in the occupied South and the arbitrary oppressive measures imposed by the British imperialists on this part of the Arab world are clear and irrefutable proof of the imperialists' malicious plans to preserve their influence in this vital area of the Arab and the Afro-Asian world, disregarding the peoples' just demands and aspirations for self-determination and freedom. By their revolutionary struggle today, the Arab people in the occupied South call on the free peoples of the world and peace and freedom-loving organizations and individuals throughout the world to support promptly, effectively, and with all their material and moral potentialities the people of the occupied South in their heroic struggle, for the realization of their liberation aims and against British imperialism in all its forms and establishments, so that it gives the people of the area the right to determine their own future by themselves.

While facing with faith and firmness the loathsome terrorist acts of imperialism, the people of the occupied South are not alone against hateful British imperialism. All the peoples of Asia and Africa support them in their stand. Britain must halt immediately all arbitrary measures against the people of the occupied South, who are struggling for their just rights. She must end the conditions of emergency law and curfew, which have put the people of the occupied South in a state of terror, and prevented them from expressing freely their national and (? political) beliefs. The British government must put a stop immediately to the mass arrest of peaceful citizens, sons of the occupied South; halt the loathsome torture of the political detainees in the prisons of Aden and the emirates, and release all political detainees, who number

thousands, from the dreadful detention centres.

The Arabs, the Afro-Asian peoples, and the freedom-loving peoples in the world cannot but condemn this provocative imperialist move by the British government, which utterly ignores the lawful demands of a people looking forward to peace, independence, and the right to self-determination. They strongly condemn this new plot by neo-imperialism. Consequently, they undertake to continue giving their material and moral support to the struggle of the people of the occupied South. They call on the U.N. to seize this opportunity to affirm its existence by compelling the London government to reconsider and abandon its aggressive policy in this part of the Arab world and grant its people their just rights to self-determination and freedom.

By his refusal to receive the British Labour envoy to the Middle East, George Thomson, the U.A.R. President Jamal Abd an-Nasir has again shown Britain that the improvement of British-Egyptian relations can never be at the expense of any other Arab cause. Arab causes, in fact, are linked and cannot be separated. We are also confident that this noble stand reflects also the views of the Afro-Asian and peace-loving peoples in the world in their relentless struggle against imperialism and neo-imperialism.

The Permanent Secretariat condemns British imperialist policy in Aden and the occupied South, and calls on all Afro-Asian peoples to give definite effective material and moral aid and help to the struggling people of the occupied South. The Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization denounces the savage measures being taken by Britain against the Arab citizens of the occupied South. The peoples of the two continents will not allow Britain to continue her terrorist methods which are contrary to the simplest principles of human rights and the U.N. Charter.

## Baghdad, Ancient City: New Face

### Iraqi-British Consortium Plan to Reconstruct Tahrir Square

THE Municipality of Baghdad, the Capital of Iraq (the ancient land of the two rivers called Mesopotamia by the ancient Greek historian Herodotus), promoted an international competition to reconstruct the Tahrir Square. The results of this competition have recently been announced in Baghdad, and the first prize of ID. 1,500 has been awarded to a consortium of British consultants, engineers, architects, and quantity surveyors, in collaboration with Iraqi architects. Last year, entry to the competition was invited from firms of consultants of international standing. The subject set was the problem of a traffic bottleneck at an important point in Baghdad adjacent to one of the main bridges across the River Tigris. As well as entries from the Middle Eastern countries, entries from Britain, America, West and East Germany, and Poland were received. The

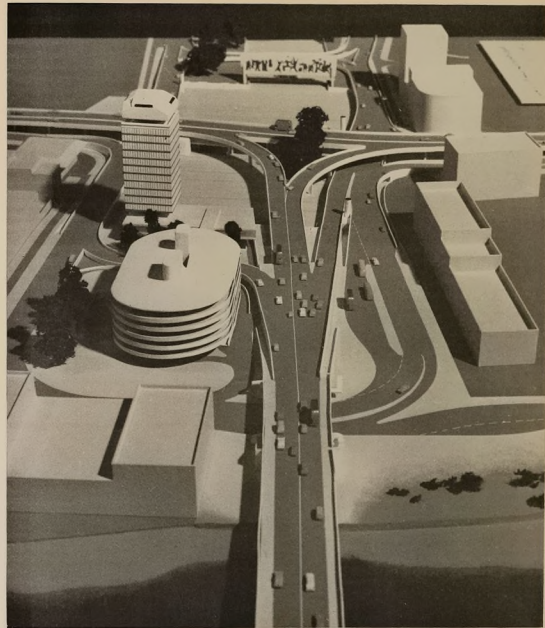
winning scheme is estimated to cost a total of nearly £1½ million; as well as improving the traffic capacity of the existing road system by at least 100 per cent through an arrangement of high-level roads and a flyover which will double the traffic capacity, a new pedestrian concourse will be created including water gardens, shops, casinos, and bus stations. The scheme has been designed with great attention to climate and to achieve high standards of both traffic architecture and engineering.

The prize-winning consortium comprised: Parsons Brown and Partners, Consulting Engineers, Bristol/London; Whicheloe Macfarlane and Towner Hill, Architects, Bristol/Nottingham; Anthony D. Stock and Partners, Quantity Surveyors, Bristol/London; D. Al Yawir and B. Hakim, two architects from Baghdad.

The British winners were aided at the Baghdad end by



Tahrir Square, Baghdad : at present, facing the monument of the Revolution



Tahrir Square, Baghdad : when reconstructed, facing the monument of the Revolution

two architects, Duraid Al Yawir and Besim Hakim, *who carried out detailed site surveys and advised on local conditions and planning problems.*

*Mr. Al Yawir is a former student of the Royal West of England Academy School of Architecture, Bristol.*

With their help, the Bristol team produced its prize-winning plan "blind"—without any of its members actually visiting the site they were replanning.

In a little over two months, the scheme was drawn up, illustrated and submitted to Baghdad city authorities. A model was made by architectural modeller Mr. Hugh Watson at his studio in the village of Upton Noble, Somerset.

Then the team waited for a year in suspense until a telegram from Baghdad gave them the good news that they had won.

The Tahrir Square plan involves a solution to one of Baghdad's worst traffic bottlenecks, where an important highway meets a junction connecting with a new bridge over the River Tigris.

Baghdad planners envisaged an underpass scheme with

a central subway-concourse for shops and pedestrians.

The Bristol team decided this was the wrong approach, proved it by a trial scheme, and then produced a dramatic plan for a vastly improved traffic network flying across a broad pedestrian square, with shops in shady, well-ventilated areas beneath the flyovers.

Water will cascade down sculptures at the side of the square and down gullies at the side to provide a cool relief to the dusty Middle East heat. A multi-storey car park and prestige multi-storey building are suggested for the river end of the square, and from there a broad paved area will sweep between high-level roads to link with sunken gardens.

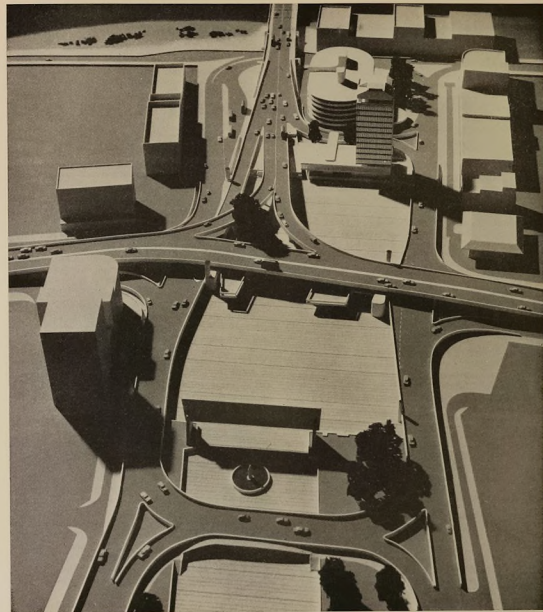
It is thought to be the first time a Bristol group has won an international contest of this kind, involving replanning of roads and open spaces as well as buildings.

Why did the Bristol consortium decide to enter a contest for such a faraway place?

"We didn't decide to enter," said one of the Bristol planners. "We decided to win."



Tahrir Square, Baghdad : at present, rear view of the same monument



Tahrir Square, Baghdad: when reconstructed, rear view of the same monument

# The Arab League on Aden

## Message Goes to Mr. Wilson\*

MR. TAHSEEN BASHEER, the Acting Director of the Arab League Office in London, yesterday held a press conference which was in effect a public protest against the British Government's decision to suspend the constitution of Aden.

Mr. Basheer read a telegram which, he said, he had sent to the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool, deploring the British action and claiming that reports from all sections of the Arab world condemned it as a return to colonial policy. The telegram called for the carrying out of United Nations resolutions as the best guarantee of freedom in the area, the protection of Arab and British lives, and the strengthening of Anglo-Arab understanding.

We publish below the text of cable sent on 28th September, 1965, to the Chairman of the British Labour Party Conference at Blackpool:

"We deplore the course of policy the British Government adopted in Aden. Reports reaching us from all sectors of Arab public opinion are condemning it as a return to colonial policy. In the name of the League of Arab States I like to reiterate to you that the Kings and Heads of Arab States have supported early this month the national struggle for liberation of the people of the occupied South and the application of the United Nations resolutions in this regard. The implementation of these United Nations resolutions offer the best way to guarantee the freedom of the area, the protection of Arab and British lives, and the strengthening of Anglo-Arab understanding."

TAHSEEN M. BASHEER.

Arab League Office,  
London.

### ADEN: WHAT KIND OF INDEPENDENCE?

We republish below, with grateful acknowledgements, a letter sent to the editor by Mr. T. M. Basheer, Acting Director of the Arab League Information Office in

London, which appeared in the *Guardian* of 29th September, 1965:

Sir,—Your leading article "Terrorism in Aden" (27th September) tends to portray the Aden and the South Arabian Federation in a way that confuses the central issues at stake. To use terrorism as an excuse to suspend the constitution of Aden and to resort to a direct colonial rule is too meagre a reason to be accepted by people of goodwill. The real issue is not whether independence will be granted or not, for most people would grant that independence will inevitably come, no matter what circuitous ways were adopted. The central issue is what kind of independence and what kind of conditions and procedures would be adopted to create an atmosphere conducive to reflect the free choice of the people of Aden and South Arabia.

The United Nations in its resolution No. 1949 (XVIII), adopted on 11th December, 1963, has outlined in detail the necessary steps to create such conditions and to arrange for a U.N. presence to safeguard the implementation of this resolution. Unfortunately, the U.N. sub-committee on Aden in its report of 10th September, 1965, expressed serious concern regarding the policy adopted by the United Kingdom and said that these steps "have been inadequate and have fallen short of the minimum requirements set out in General Assembly resolution 1949 (XVIII)".

The Arab countries in their summit meeting in Casablanca have supported the national struggle for the liberation of this part of the Arab world and the application of the United Nations resolution in this respect. The British Government does not have to deal with the dilemma it created for itself; rather by applying the U.N. resolution, it can both effect the best conditions for granting independence, the protection of Arab and British lives, and last but not least strengthening Arab-British friendship on the basis of independence and equality.

Yours truly,

TAHSEEN M. BASHEER,  
Acting Director.

League of Arab States,  
Arab Information Centre,  
London W. 1.

### BRITISH TASK IN ADEN

We reproduce below the text of a letter to the editor, which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of 5th October, 1965, sent by Mr. Basheer, the Acting Director of the Arab League Information Office in London:

Sir,—Your leader "Britain's Task in Aden" seems to offer the best advice on how to lose Arab goodwill and perpetuate a colonial position. The United Kingdom has a commitment to grant the people of Aden and South Arabia their freedom. The United Nations as early as 11th December, 1963, outlined the conditions necessary for creating an atmosphere that would result in free self-determination of the people of the area.

The United Nations sub-committee on Aden reiterated its support of this resolution on 10th September, 1965. The resolution calls for an end to emergency regulations, free elections throughout the territory, and the creation of a U.N. presence to supervise the full implementation of the content of this resolution.

The recent course of British official policy has been in a contrary direction.

The Arab Heads of States summit meeting in Casablanca in September, 1965, supported the rights of the people of Aden and South Arabia, and supported the U.N. resolution in this regard. The task for Great Britain is to respect this resolution, if international principles and the friendship of the Arab people are the best long-term guarantee for the safeguarding of Anglo-Arab interests.

Yours truly,

TAHSEEN M. BASHEER,  
Acting Director.

Arab Information Department,  
League of Arab States,  
London, W. 1.

### ADEN: WHEN WILL THE U.K. AWAKE?

We reproduce below the letter to the editor sent by Mr. Basheer, Acting Director of the Arab League Information Office in London, which appeared in the *Financial Times* of 6th October, 1965:

Sir,—Your article on Aden titled "The End of the Line at Last?" (30th September) illustrates some of the difficulties brought about by the deterioration of the situation in Aden. As you stated, "it is hard to escape the feeling that for Britain's colonial raj Aden is the end of the line," but one wonders from past colonial history if we have learned how to make this final transition more

peaceful and orderly. Fortunately, in this case the U.N. adopted resolution No. 1949 (XVIII) on 11th December, 1963, which outlines the necessary conditions to create an atmosphere conducive to reflect freely the opinion of the people of South Arabia. It was also reiterated by the Sub-Committee on Aden in its resolution of 10th September, 1965. The Arab Kings and Heads of State, at their Summit meeting in Casablanca, also endorsed these resolutions.

The U.K. by applying these resolutions could clear the situation by letting the people decide their future, saving Arab and British lives and definitely improving Anglo-Arab understanding.

TAHSEEN M. BASHEER,  
Acting Director.

League of Arab States,  
Arab Information Centre,  
1-11 Hay Hill, W. 1.

### THE U.K. AND ADEN

We reproduce below, with grateful acknowledgements, a letter to the editor, sent by Mr. T. M. Basheer, Acting Director of the Arab League Information Office in London, which appeared in *The Economist* of 16th October, 1965.

Sir,—Your article "The Aden Mess" in the issue of 2nd October, 1965, fails to take into account that the vital issue in this problem is not the requirements of defence, but, in the first order, what the people of Aden and South Arabia want to do with their country and their future. Fortunately, in this case the United Nations adopted resolution No. 1949 XVIII, on 11th December, 1963, which outlines the necessary conditions to create an atmosphere conducive to reflecting the opinion of the people of South Arabia. It was also reiterated by the sub-committee on Aden in its resolution of 10th September, 1965. The Arab Kings and Heads of State, at their summit meeting in Casablanca, also endorsed these resolutions.

The United Kingdom by applying these resolutions could clear what you call a "messy problem" by letting the people decide their future, saving Arab and British lives and definitely improving Anglo-Arab understanding.

Yours faithfully,

TAHSEEN M. BASHEER,  
Acting Director.

League of Arab States,  
Arab Information Centre,  
London, W. 1.

\* Reproduced, with grateful acknowledgements, from *The Times* of 29th September, 1965.

## Republican Yemeni Premier's Statement to Iraqi News Agency

TEXT of report on 11th October, 1965:

In an exclusive statement to the Iraqi News Agency, Yemeni Premier Hasan al-Amri said that the Yemeni revolution had achieved most of its objectives, and had it not been for the obstacles laid down by reaction and imperialism, it would have achieved all these objectives, which generally aimed at raising the living, cultural, and social standards of the people. However, the extensive aid offered by the Arab states, and particularly by the U.A.R., had enabled the revolution to resist reactionary and imperialist challenges. Thanks to all the peoples rallying around it, the revolution in Yemen had found its way amidst all these challenges. Replying to a question by the agency's correspondent, Amri said that one of the most important aims of the Yemeni revolution was the realization of Arab unity because the revolution did not believe in the fabricated borders set up by imperialism to divide the Arab countries, which constituted an indivisible

whole. Amri added that the Jiddah agreement was a strong blow to imperialism and Zionism because it constituted a victory for the Arab revolutionary forces.

On the nature of the talks that his delegation is conducting in the Arab countries, Amri said that these talks aimed at explaining the Yemeni question and exchanging views with our Arab brothers regarding what they could offer to the Arab revolution in Yemen to enable it to attain its full objectives. Amri added: "We found full response from responsible Iraqis, particularly from President Abd as-Salam Muhammad Arif, who expressed Iraq's full support for the Yemeni revolution."

In conclusion, Amri expressed his gratitude to the Iraqi people and government headed by President Staff Field-Marshal Abd as-Salam Muhammad Arif for the great welcome accorded the delegation and for the sincere attention of the Iraqi people to the Yemeni revolution.

## Joint Iraqi-Yemeni Communiqué

TEXT of report on 11th October, 1965:

A delegation from the Yemeni Arab Republic, headed Lt.-Gen. Hasan by al-Amri, Premier and member of the Republican Council, and consisting of member of the Republican Council Qadi Abd ar-Rahman al-Iryani and the Minister of State for Economic Affairs Dr. Hasan Makki, visited Baghdad between 9th and 12th October, 1965. The President of Iraq, Staff Field-Marshal Abd as-Salam Muhammad Arif, received the leader and members of the delegation. The delegation, which was accompanied by the Yemeni Arab Republic's ambassador in Baghdad, Ahmad Abd ar-Rahman al-Mu'allami, had discussions with the Minister of Culture and Education and Acting Foreign Minister, Dr. Muhammad Nasir, in the presence of Kazim Khallaf, Foreign Ministry under-secretary and senior officials of the Iraqi Government.

During these meetings and deliberations, the Yemeni

delegation explained the policy and views of the Yemeni Arab Republic's Government. The Iraqi side expressed its warm welcome to the Yemeni Arab Republic's delegation. It also expressed the support of the Iraqi people and Government for the efforts of the fraternal Yemeni people, for their Government and their struggle for development and construction, and for the preservation of the revolution's gains and the republican régime. The Iraqi side also expressed the readiness of its Government to help the fraternal Yemeni people and offer to them material aid in the various fields, to enable them to acquire rapid and comprehensive development and complete their modern renaissance. The Yemeni delegation expressed its profound gratitude and appreciation for the warm welcome accorded it in the Iraqi Republic by the President, people, and Government. It expressed its sincere good wishes for the fraternal Iraqi people and its appreciation for their noble sentiments.

## "The Iniquitous State of 'Israel'"\*

Ethel Mannin

ALL this I have intensely at heart; and the tragedy of the Palestine Arabs, a million of them living in camps, caves, and the wilderness, their homes and lands in the hands of the "Israelis". This tragedy is for the present a lost cause, since "Israel" exists, but I do not believe that if the mass of people knew the truth about the creation of this Jewish armed state in the heart of an Arab country, in opposition to the wishes of the people of that country, they would give it their moral support. There is a fixed idea that "Israel" had to be created because of the Nazi persecution of the Jews, and a curious unwillingness to face the fact that Zionism, not Nazism, is responsible.

Let us briefly recall the historic facts—for the facts speak for themselves to all men of goodwill. The idea of a Jewish nation living its own life goes back to the nineteenth century and the "back to Zion" movement, Chovev Zion, the object of which was Jewish colonization in Palestine. In 1896 Theodore Herzl, the founder of Zionism published a pamphlet entitled *The Jewish State*, which envisaged a Jewish autonomous commonwealth in Palestine, subject to the sultan. Negotiations with the sultan came to nothing and Herzl approached the British government for territory in the Holy Land. A site in the Sinai peninsula was suggested, but the idea was abandoned because of lack of water in that area. Joseph Chamberlain suggested the uninhabited Highlands of the East African Protectorate, but the idea was unacceptable because the object of Zionism, stemming as it did from the "back to Zion" movement, was always a Jewish national home in Palestine. Rothschild money was poured into the movement, and there were 45,000 Jewish immigrants into Palestine between 1882 and 1914. World War I brought a respite, but by 1916 the British Government was taking serious Jewish aspirations in Palestine—for strategic reasons. A declaration in favour of Zionism would rally 3,000,000 Jews in America alone to the side of the Allies, and when Palestine was considered a "Little Ulster" in the shape of a substantial Jewish population "attached to Great Britain by ties of sentiment and interest" would guard the approaches to Suez. So that on 2nd November, 1917, Mr. Balfour, then Foreign Secretary, wrote to Lord Rothschild the famous letter subsequently known as the Balfour Declaration. He wrote:—

"Dear Rothschild.—I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with

Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation."

The "non-Jewish communities" referred to, it might be noted, were the Arabs, who constituted more than 90 per cent of the population. The Jews in Palestine at that time were a small minority of about 50,000. The Arab population, Moslem and Christian, was about 670,000. It was like calling the British people in Great Britain the "non-continental" communities. But by 1919 Dr. Weizmann, then the Zionist leader, had roundly declared that the purpose of Zionism was that "Palestine would ultimately become as Jewish as England is English."

In spite of the successive waves of Jewish immigration the Palestine Arabs offered no objection as Ben Gurion admits in his *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*\* until the Zionists began to dispense with and boycott Arab labour; then they began to see in this continued migration a threat to their national existence, and Dr. Weizmann's declaration left them in no doubt of it. Nevertheless in 1920 the Balfour Declaration was incorporated in the terms of the British Mandate for Palestine. An attempt was made to control immigration by visa but there was an increasing illegal immigration, with a forged passport bureau in Berlin. The hostility of the Arabs, as may be imagined, was intensified; there was rioting and martial law was proclaimed. In an attempt to restore order Sir Herbert Samuel, in his role as High Commissioner decided to suspend immigration entirely. Nevertheless it continued, illegally, accompanied by violence and bloodshed and the deaths of both Arabs and Jews. Various commissions of inquiry were sent to Palestine, but there was no ease in Zion, Arab hostility to the Zionists being bound up with their intensified nationalist struggle for independence.

Just as World War I had held up Zionist aspirations, so World War II held up Arab nationalist aspirations; the Jewish national home in Palestine was not yet a reality in terms of a self-governing state, but the Jewish

\* Reproduced by kind permission of the author and her publishers, Messrs. Hutchinson, from the latest volume of her *Autobiography, Brief Voices*.

\* New York, 1954.

population had increased from 50,000 to 600,000, with its own hospitals and schools and political institutions, and preferential treatment from its British sponsors. Arab land was acquired at high prices from absentee landlords, and the Arab tenants evicted. Peasants sold their lands, unable to meet the increased taxation the imposition of the National Home demanded. Arab villages were demolished to make place for Zionist settlements. Zionist industries were government protected. The operation of the mandate gave the Jewish community a predominating economic hold on the country.

The Nazi persecution of the Jews in Germany was a powerful ally of Zionism. An Anglo-American committee—three of the six members of which were ardent Zionists—visited Palestine in 1946 and in their report recommended the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine, the figure President Truman had urged, with the door left open for further immigration—thereby assuring a Jewish majority in this Arab country. When the Palestine Conference in London in 1946-47 reached no agreement, because the Arabs represented at it demanded an independent democratic Arab state in Palestine, with safeguards for minorities, the "Palestine question" was taken to the United Nations and a special session was convened to deal with it. Under Zionist pressure, and with United States backing, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine recommended the Partition of Palestine; special provisions in the Partition Resolution guaranteed the rights of Jews and Arabs respectively. Nevertheless, the 175,000 or so Arabs who remained in that part of their country which was not the State of "Israel" have been subjected to a discrimination which can only be compared with Hitler's discrimination against the Jews in Germany.

In the Arab-Jewish war which followed Partition the "Israelis", as we know, won. Hundreds of thousands of Palestine Arabs fled—when they were not driven for security reasons—into an exile from which they have never returned. . . . there being nothing to return to, the "Israelis" being in possession of their homes and lands. Those who remained have been registered as second-class citizens; they must carry identity cards marked with the letter B (the Jews certainly learned from the Nazi pattern) and must get a military permit to move from place to place, even if only for a day, to visit a relative. Arabs in Jaffa—there are now 5,000 there where there were once 75,000—and other big towns are required to live in separate areas, like the black people in South Africa, and the confining of Jews to Ghettos. About 800,000 acres of Arab-owned land have been taken over by the "Israelis". Custodian of Absentee Property. Nearly half of this land belonging to Arabs who fled from one part of the country during the fighting, or who were removed by the Jewish authorities. These are only a few of the bitter facts as to what obtains in the State of

"Israel", which so commands the world-wide popular sympathy to-day—a sympathy born out of compassion for the terrible sufferings of the Jews under Hitler, and out of ignorance as to how "Israel" came into being, and what it means for the people whose country it once was.

Arnold Toynbee, in his great work, *A Study of History* writes:

"If the heinousness of sin is to be measured by the degree to which the sinner is sinning against the light that God has vouchsafed him, the Jews had even less excuse in A.D. 1948 for evicting Palestinian Arabs from their homes than Nebuchadnezzar and Titus and Hadrian and the Spanish and Portuguese inquisition had for uprooting, persecuting and exterminating Jews in Palestine and elsewhere at diverse times in the past. In A.D. 1948 the Jews knew, from personal experience, what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learnt by them from their encounter with the Nazi German Gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews."

Justice Gerald Sparrow wrote, in his *The Sphynx Awakes* †:

"The plight of the Arab refugees should shake the conscience of the world. As I visited these huge, drab camps, I was reminded, most vividly of my four years spent in a Japanese prison camp. These people . . . were without anything that could be called a life. The hopelessness and despair of feeling unwanted, useless, a burden, of being fed like beasts who cannot be allowed to die; that I saw, and felt I could have cried out to the complacency in Whitehall and the State Department which allows this great sub-nation to continue to exist in this terrible way. Nor are Britain and America only to blame . . . the United Nations, by a united imaginative effort could end this living horror."

But it was the United Nations which sacrificed Palestine on the altar of power politics when it gave a majority vote to the Partition Resolution, after two postponements.

Finally Partition was accepted by thirty-three votes to thirteen, with ten abstentions—Britain was one of the abstainers. It was an occasion when the Soviet Union and the United States voted the same way—America's attitude dictated by the impending Presidential election and the enormous Jewish vote, Russia's perhaps by the hope of a new communist state developing in the Middle East, as Glubb Pasha suggests in his autobiography,‡ with the idea of supporting any measure which would destroy the prestige of Britain and America in a vital part of the world. Glubb Pasha considers that though

Britain abstained from voting she cannot be considered innocent of the result. "It was she whose administration had produced the impasse in which U.N.O. found itself."

The U.N.O. plan gave 60 per cent of Palestine, including the most fertile areas, to a third of the inhabitants—the Jews. But even this was not enough; comparison of the map of the Partition boundaries recommended by the U.N.O. and that of Palestine as it exists to-day shows "Israel" in possession of considerably larger territory. Many Arab villages have been robbed of lands and water supplies by these artificial boundaries, and the people from where they live watch those lands tilted and cultivated by the "Israeli" invaders. Is it any wonder there are constant border raids? But the worst injustice in the U.N.O. plan, Glubb considers, was the Nequeb\* running southwards from Beersheba for 200 miles to Aqaba was given to the Jews, whereas there were none living there, nor had it ever in history been inhabited by Jews". He speaks also of the nomadic tribes who owned and cultivated the land between Beersheba and Gaza, breeding there sheep, goats, and camels, as they have done for thousands of years, but nearly all of whom have been driven out by "Israel". He considers, rightly, that the fact that these tribes prefer to live in tents rather than houses is no justification for depriving them of their land.

It is commonly believed that with the establishment of "Israel" the Jews have returned to their rightful home, the biblical land of Zion, in fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. Certainly the Zionists claim this. In point of fact what is to-day called Palestine is the ancient Philistia, the inhabitants of which were mainly Philistines with various other tribes such as the Canaanites, the Hittites, and Jebusites. "The Arabs" of to-day are the descendants of these peoples. The Biblical Israelites were a nomadic tribe living in tents when they came to the "land of milk and honey" and settled there among the considerably more advanced original inhabitants. But even if it were true that thousands of years ago what is now called Palestine belonged predominantly to Jews, is that to be considered justification for displacing the people who have lived there continuously since? How would the people of Britain like it if there were a mass immigration of people from America, coming to England and turning English people out of their homes and claiming their lands and setting up an American state, justifying it with the claim that England was originally their home, and this is the long awaited Return?

It is also popularly believed that the Palestinian Arabs made war on "Israel", flouting the adjudication of the United Nations. Certainly they did not accept that adjudication which carved up their country, but they were powerless to do anything about it, for when the British troops withdrew, with the ending of the mandate in May, 1948, they left the Palestinian Arabs totally

unarmed. The whole of Palestine and parts of Trans-Jordan, claimed as Biblical "Israel", was occupied by force of arms and the terrorist Stern and Irgun gangs were a threat to the unarmed and armless people. The Arab states intervened, as might have been expected, but the massacres did in fact take place, designed to get rid of the remaining Arab population. The massacre of the villagers of Deir Yassin, some 250 men, women and children, is too horrible to relate. The Jewish Agency confessed its horror, but it was followed by other and similar massacres. In the inquiry into the Deir Yassin massacre the leading terrorist said in evidence that Haganah, the Zionist military organization, participated in this operation against the Arabs on the order of the Jewish Agency—which subsequently became the first government of "Israel".

In his book Glubb Pasha describes how in the spring of 1948 he was driving along the main Jerusalem-Ramallah road on which was a Jewish colony, and a blockhouse manned by armed Jewish soldiers whose pleasure it was to snipe at any passing Arab vehicle. Glubb arrived to find an Arab Legion vehicle halted in front of the blockhouse and a bedouin corporal endeavouring to extricate an Arab woman and child from under the wreckage of a taxi which had been sniped at and overturned into a ditch. Glubb and the corporal succeeded in getting the woman and child out alive, whilst the men from the blockhouse stood watching, smoking and laughing as they did so.

The Deir Yassin and other massacres occurred before the ending of the mandate and fighting increased with the approach of May, 1948. The British Army was slow to intervene—it was getting out, and Jews and Arabs were going to fight it out anyhow when they had gone, seems to have been their line. And four months after they had finally gone Count Bernadotte, that great and good man, was shot dead, point blank, by a member of the Stern gang. . . . and nothing happened. Except that in America an eminent Zionist said of the murder, "A good thing too. He got what was coming to him. . . ."

And the end is not yet; the murders and massacres continue. The massacre at Qibya, as terrible as Deir Yassin, was as recent as October, 1953. No good can come out of the State of "Israel", not even for the Jews; ultimately for them least of all, because by the inexorable law of cause and effect good cannot come out of evil, and as Glubb Pasha has said, "to drive a million Arabs from their homes and country cannot be justified by any consideration."

The unthinking and the uninformed believe that the population of "Israel" is made up mainly of refugees from Hitler—or originally was so. This is very far from being the case, obviously, since the Jewish National Home in Palestine goes back to the first world war, as I have shown, and there were Jewish communities in Palestine before that; but even if it were true, would it justify this martyrdom of the Palestinian Arabs? Is one

\* Vol. VIII, 1954 (Oxford University Press).

† Robert Hale, Ltd., 1956.

‡ *A Soldier With The Arabs*. Hodder and Stoughton, 1958.



contingent of refugees to be given a home at the cost of creating a million more—not forgetting the slaughter entailed to create that home?

It cannot be too often or too strongly insisted that being anti-Zionist, “anti-Israel”, is not being anti-Jewish (“anti-Semitic” is the wrong word, for the Arabs are Semites no less than the Jews), though unfortunately, such is our world, any criticism of Jews is taken as such. French policy in Algeria, or English policy in Cyprus, may be freely criticized, even condemned outright, in the strongest terms, without the maker of that criticism being accused of being anti-French or anti-English. One may even be permitted not to care very much for French or English (or Irish or Americans or any other national grouping) collectively without being frowned upon, but to say that one does not care very much for Jews, collectively, though one wishes no discrimination against them, is to lay oneself open to the charge of “racism”. And to speak for the Arabs is to be immediately suspect of what is popularly called “anti-Semitism”.

But I have spoken here for the Arabs because my sense of truth and justice demands it and because I am convinced that very many people support “Israel” out of ignorance as to how it came to be—through Britain giving away land which it did not own and at that time had not even conquered—and what it in fact is. Fortunately by no means are all Jews pro-Zionists; in America, the stronghold of Zionism, many eminent Jews

have spoken out strongly against Zionism and “Israel”. One of the most powerful indictments to come from America, *What Price Israel?*\* is by a Jew, Ilfred Lilienthal, and no one has denounced “Israeli” treatment of the Arab minority more strongly than Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron. Elmer Berger, an American Jew, Vice-President of the American Council for Judaism, runs an anti-Zionist news-letter. The father of Yehudi Menuhin is vehemently anti-Zionist. To name only a few of the outstanding ones. I myself have known, in England, anti-Zionist Jews. And I have known the others, and had to discontinue knowing them, for Zionism is as much a political disease as Facism; it is, indeed, the other side of the coin, as the Jewish treatment of the Arabs in “Israel” demonstrates.

All this had to be said. If it gives offence I cannot help it. What is that offence compared to the monstrous offence of “Israel” itself? As Professor W. T. Stace, one of America’s leading philosophers, wrote in reply to the Zionist Dr. Bernstein, in a letter to the *Daily Princetonian*† of Princeton University. “The mere existence of “Israel” as a state in the middle of Palestine is a crime.”

Upon this I stand. Out of my passion for justice I can do no other. This, too, is part of my personal philosophy, which in this book I set out to record.

\* Henry Regenery Company (Chicago, 1953).  
† 15th January, 1954.

## Symposium on Arab Art and Literature

MR. DESMOND STEWART, an ex-lecturer at Baghdad University and the author of *New Babylon*, is a well-known man of letters and has been closely connected with the Arab world. He worked and lived in Baghdad, Beirut, and Cairo for a long time. Iraqi and their British friends who knew Mr. Stewart have deep admiration and affection for him.

On his way back to the Arab world from Moscow, where his play about the Algerian revolution was translated into Russian, he stayed in London for a few weeks. The B.B.C. Arabic Service took the opportunity and organized a symposium to which they invited Miss Emily Nasralla, a novelist from Lebanon; Mr. H. Karmi, a Palestinian scholar; Mr. Yavib Salih, a short-story writer from Sudan; Mr. K. Kishtainy, art critic from Iraq, and Mr. A. Quafash, a lecturer at Aym Shams, University of Cairo. Mr. F. Gamie for the B.B.C. was in the chair. The discussion was so lively and interesting that, thanks to the B.B.C. Arabic Service, we decided to publish the following extracts from it.

Gamie: How can the Arab artist reach Western markets? Mr. Stewart made a considerable effort in giving a series of programmes on Arab culture from the B.B.C. Third Programme. He succeeded in acquainting the British public with what goes on in the Arab cultural fields. I would like to ask Mr. Stewart what does he recommend in this regard.

Stewart: I think that one has got to start answering this question by admitting the difficulties. Even the great Russian novelists have found it difficult in England to be read widely, because of the difficulty of their names. This is well known among ordinary English readers that they find the names in Tolstoy confusing. How much more so when it is a question of Arabic names! And the barrier of language and the difficulties of translation must be confronted. One of the most important things that we in Britain should do is to study Arabic much more, in the schools and in the universities, so that this important language becomes less restricted in the group of those who know it, and can translate from it. From the Arabs side, it is so important that their modern culture should be known in the West, that their Governments should do more than they have done up to now in promoting a knowledge of Arab achievements in the arts and sciences. From the point of view of the Arabic writer, I think he too has to do something. I think that this political obsession, this social obsession, does have the

effect of making a great deal of modern Arabic writing, while often extremely eloquent in the form, extremely provincial in content, and very often the subject matter of what would be a very successful Arabic novel in the Middle East, would be alien and strange to a Western reader. In fact, I think that the Egyptian, Lebanese, Iraqi, or Syrian novelist has got to write more as a man or a woman, rather than someone too explicitly in a historical/political situation. The curious fact exists that while no modern Arabic writer has yet entered the wide consciousness of readers in the West, quite a lot of Arab painters and sculptors have been appreciated and, of course, this, I think, bears out what I said about the difficulty of language.

Gamie: In addition to the ease with which the Western public can appreciate Arab paintings there is still the problem of the necessary formalities. What is your opinion on that, Mr. Kishtainy?

Kishtainy: The formal side of the operation is simple but it is difficult to carry it out. The marketing of arts in Europe is a very complicated commercial business indeed. As Arabs, if we want to open a door for us in this market we have to learn commerce. Before trying to market our arts and theatre we have to learn how to market our dates, wool, etc. If we compare this Western world with the Eastern bloc, whose cultural relations are governed by political and ideological considerations, we find that more Arab art exhibitions were held there, for example, than there have been in London or Paris. In the Eastern bloc commercial factors are not overriding.

Nasralla: I notice from my visit to London that people are interested in learning things about us. We have been silent and it is time now to speak with courage and honesty, but the commercialization of the West destroys any hope for Arab writers. Western publishers should accept our reality. We cannot write for their market. We only write about our experiences and society. As we do not oblige Westerners to write for us they should not expect us to write for them.

Stewart: I agree with the first remark entirely but on the second point I agree on one level. If Arab writers want to be read widely they must remember that Hemingway, for example, wrote many of his books about the problems of other countries. My own favourite modern English novelist, Graham Greene, has written his recent fiction about the problems of Cuba and Central Africa. I do not mean that Arabs should stop

being Arabs or concerning themselves with the Arab world but they can also look on non-Arabs in a slightly more detached and more objective manner.

Salih: The world of Faulkner is completely different from that of Arab intellectuals but they exert great efforts to understand him. I cannot imagine any Arab subject matter more difficult for English readers than the world of Faulkner is for the Arabs.

Stewart: I would like to make a reply first, if I could, to Mr. Tayeb Salih, about Faulkner. I think it is perfectly true that Arabs go to great efforts to read Faulkner, who is totally alien in one sense, but then, I think that by a consensus of opinion, Faulkner would be regarded as a very great literary genius. I would like to quote the example of someone who is even more popular in the Arab world as a writer than Faulkner, and who is a woman—that is, Jane Austen. Jane Austen lived about 150 years ago, she wrote about nothing except English villages, and yet she wrote so deeply about these villages that although the social customs of Jane Austen's village are completely different from those of a village in the Sudan, the sincerity and human problems are really the same.

Gamie: As a translator of two Arabic novels how do you select your writers?

Stewart: That is a difficult question. I am not a professional translator, and have actually sworn an oath that I shall never translate another book again, because since I translated my last Arabic book I have had to wear spectacles. In fact, I must answer completely honestly here, and say that I translated Abd ar-Rahman ash-Sharqawi's *Ab-Ard* because I am very interested in village life and because I am a personal friend of Abd ar-Rahman ash-Sharqawi. As to the novel which I am translating at the moment, or have finished translating, *The Man Who Lost His Shadow*, I was not a personal friend of Mr. Fathi Ghanim before I read this book. I read this book and found it quite remarkable for many qualities. But although reading Arabic is an effort to me, as well as to my eyes, I could not put down the four volumes in which this book was printed; I felt if I could read it with such excitement through the medium of Arabic, then plainly English people and American people would be very interested in reading it if it was in English.

Gamie: So there is no need for the Arab writer to be a friend of Mr. Stewart to have his work published in the West. Now we should like to know Mr. Stewart's impressions of the visual arts in Arab capitals.

Stewart: I think nothing showed me, when I first went to Iraq in 1948, the vitality of modern Arab culture more than the effervescence of painting in Baghdad. To speak frankly, Baghdad in 1948 was a city which had few cultural attractions. Therefore, it was quite thrilling, quite exciting, to find exhibitions of paintings, which were, I would not say up to Western standards, but in many cases superior, more vital, more alive than the

exhibitions of paintings that I had seen in England, I think that only the term miracle can describe the difference between Jawad Salim, the late leader of the Iraqi artists and, for example, his own father who, was the very first modern Iraqi painter. There was an exhibition of Jawad Salim's works once, and it began with a picture painted in about 1910 (I may be quite wrong about dates) by his father, of a very academic and not particularly remarkable nature of some Ottoman official. The leap from this academic and rather dull work to the variety and impetuous, sometimes nihilistic, sometimes original activity of the painters in Baghdad was quite staggering. The same, I think, must be said of Cairo, though it is less surprising in Cairo, because throughout the nineteenth century Cairo had a very developed state life, and there were many openings for Western influences. So that the number of art exhibitions in Cairo and Alexandria is not so surprising to me as the sudden emergence of a school of painters by the Tigris. Having said that, I must add that I have been enormously impressed by many of the young Egyptian painters, as well as by the young Syrian and Lebanese painters that I have seen exhibited in Beirut. On the level of architecture, I cannot be so enthusiastic. I think that some attempts have been made to create a Neo-Islamic architecture or a Neo-Andalusian architecture. I can only say I view these with as little favour as I do Neo-Classical or Neo-Gothic architecture in my own country. Cairo and other Arab cities do have some striking buildings, but every time I go to Beirut I feel myself depressed by the new buildings and sad for the attractive stone-built, red-roofed houses which are being pulled down to make room for them.

Gamie: Before we turn to Mr. Kishtainy I should like to hear what defence can Mr. Karmi put for Arab architecture?

Karmi: I agree with Mr. Stewart on architecture. I have recently returned from Spain and I was impressed by Arab architectural style there. It struck me that houses in Spain are still similar to those in Damascus and other Arab cities. I agree that the style of our new buildings is not in keeping with our environment.

Gamie: The defence I put is that the whole world has been subjected to the architectural influence of America which is leading in this field and the Arab world could not be an exception. Now we should like to hear Mr. Kishtainy's comments.

Kishtainy: Mr. Stewart pointed to a freak phenomenon in the Arab world namely the upsurge of art in Baghdad. As one directly involved in this movement I could reveal its secret. The Arabs are like the English in one respect. They are all afflicted by their literature. The two nations have such a very extensive wealth of literature that it flooded over their artistic activities. Like the British, the Arabs have no outstanding place in the history of arts. In Iraq we were blessed with two apostles, Faiq Hasan and Jawad Salim who knew nothing

about Arabic literature. I defy F. Hasan to cite a single line of an Arab verse. This helped them to concentrate on colours, lines, and shapes. I must add another point, Iraq suffered more persecution than other advanced Arab countries during the last thirty or forty years. Instead of writing, acting, or reciting the Iraqis found only painting and sculpture safely open for them. Thus they simply went on painting apples and pears.

Gamie: Did you find political or social taboos restricting the cultural revival in the Arab countries?

Stewart: Every country has its own reticences, though I must say in England today there seem to be very few left. But I think the young Arab writer does live in a climate which is, for obvious reasons, for good reasons, over-political and the tradition can be hampering. One can quote several examples. Najib Mahfuz's *Siadat Haratina*, for example, was published in Al-Ahram but was not published in book form, because it offended certain theological opinions, although, in fact, the intentions of the writer were, not at all to shock orthodox opinions. Again Laila Ba'labaki was the centre of an important case in Beirut where she fought, I would say, in a diminished form the battle which was fought for *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in England. In general, I do not think that taboos or censorship are a major problem for the Arab artist. In fact, I think the remarkable thing about the modern Arab world is that in a necklace of countries with many different political systems, some more Liberal than others, there is no real attempt to force the writer or artist into a particular mould. Nevertheless, I do think that the writer, the dramatist, and the painter has certain great difficulties to compete with and confront. One of the biggest difficulties in, say Lebanon, which is one of the most active centres of modern Arabic writing, is that very few people actually read the modern writers. There is a handful of very spirited and talented poets, short-story writers, and novelists who

are read eagerly by their friends and by a comparatively small group of litterateurs. I think that until the literacy and the general reading habits of the Arabs reach totality, which they will do I am sure in another generation, it is going to be very difficult for the writer to live by his pen, and if you cannot live by your pen you have to teach or get jobs as administrators or something like this, which may interfere with your freedom of creation.

Kishtainy: The problem which faces our writers, thinkers, and artists is their individualism. The Arabs are some of the most individual people in the world. As a result of that they could not develop democratic constitutions in the past. From the artistic point of view they could not evolve dramatic literature or even epic poetry. For both require an objective understanding of the world and the points of view of other people. As regards music they could not develop anything like opera. Polyphony, or what al-Farabi called Tarkib, was unknown to them because the Arab singer likes to sing by himself and to himself and he would get extremely annoyed if another singer interrupted him. The same thing happened in regard to visual arts. They could not develop pictorial arts as these require an observation, examination, and study of the outside world. An Arab likes to live and think within himself. In the modern times new artistic movements appeared in the Arab world because the modern tendencies of twentieth-century art do not require serious objective observations of the outside world but are rather personal and subjective. A modern artist is no longer required, as was the case during the Renaissance, to study nature, perspective, and anatomy. His ideas emanate from his subjective self. Hence the Arabs began to show their brilliance. I think this problem will remain a serious matter for Arab writers. Because of the subjective quality of poetry, poetry became the art *par excellence* of the Arabs.

## Economic News in Brief

### Farewell to a Comrade-in-Arms

COLONEL KHALID HASAN FARID, Military Attaché at the Embassy of the Republic of Iraq in London, has recently been transferred to the General Staff at the Ministry of Defence in Baghdad. He left London on 30th September, 1965. The members of the Embassy staff in London as well as his many Iraqi and Arab friends gathered at London Airport to bid him farewell, wish him good luck and every success in the service of Iraq and Arabism. Dr. Mohamed Nori Kadhim, Minister Plenipotentiary and Chargé d'Affaires A.L., held a farewell reception on behalf of the Iraqi Embassy in honour of Colonel Farid on 22nd September, 1965. This reception was attended by the members of the Embassy Staff, many Arab Ambassadors in London, and a large gathering of his numerous British and Arab friends. He will be remembered by all in England for his charming personal manners, his efficiency, and his selfless devotion and dedication in the service of Iraq and the Arab nation. He will be greatly missed by all who knew him.

Colonel Farid was born in Baghdad in September, 1925. He speaks fluent English. His athletic interests include horse-riding, swimming, and tennis. He graduated from the Military College in Baghdad in 1947, joined the Staff College in Baghdad for two years and was promoted to Captain in 1953. Having graduated as Staff Officer in the 10th Iraqi Infantry Brigade. In 1956 he joined Staff Courses at Oakfield, Sussex, and having graduated he was promoted to the rank of Major. He joined the Staff College at Camberley in Surrey, and in 1958 he was appointed Instructor at the Staff College in Baghdad. In 1962 he took a course in the Armoured School in the U.S.A. In 1963, he was appointed Military Attaché in London and was promoted to the rank of full Colonel in 1964.

His friends and colleagues bid him farewell and wish him all the best and every success in his future career.



Colonel Khalid Hasan Farid, former Military Attaché, Embassy of the Republic of Iraq, London

#### STATISTICAL REPORT ON IRAQI OIL PRODUCTION AND EXPORTS FOR 1964

THE quantities of crude oil produced during 1964 at various oil fields throughout Iraq reached 66,359,313 tons. These quantities were produced by the three companies operating in Iraq, namely, Iraq Petroleum Company, Basrah Petroleum Company, and Mosul Petroleum Company. This was included in a statistical report issued by Iraq Petroleum Company (I.P.C.). It further said that the total quantities of oil produced by I.P.C. during 1964 reached 41,711,211 tons, of which 39,015,886 tons were produced from Kirkuk oil fields, 2,157,913 tons from Bay Hassan and 637,412 tons from Jambour fields.

Basrah Petroleum Company (B.P.C.) produced 17,346,733 tons distributed as follows: 13,891,055 tons from Rumaila and 3,455,678 tons from Zubair oil fields.

The total quantities of oil produced by Mosul Petroleum Company (M.P.C.) reached 1,292,369 tons of which 1,085,827 tons from Ain Zalah oil fields and 206,542 tons from Batma oil fields.

#### OIL EXPORTS

The crude oil produced from these fields was exported through four terminals: two on the Mediterranean Sea and two on the Arab Gulf. 25,900,000 tons were exported through Banias on the Mediterranean Sea by 725 trade ships and 14,100,000 tons through Tripoli by 425 oil tankers.

The quantities of oil exported through the Arab Gulf terminals were less. 1,300,000 tons were exported by 66 tankers through Fao terminal and 15,900,000 tons by 449 tankers through the floating terminal in Khour al-Amiya.

The quantities of crude oil exported abroad were distributed as follows: 45,300,000 tons to Europe 5,600,000 tons to the Far East, 3,800,000 tons to Africa, and 2,500,000 tons to the Western hemisphere.

The oil exports of the three Companies (I.P.C., M.P.C., and B.P.C.) during the same year reached 58,000,025 tons recording an increase of 5,000,000 tons in comparison to 1963. The government's oil revenues totalled 126 million Sterling pounds with an increase of 16 million pounds over the previous year.

During 1964, two oil wells were drilled, the first in Kirkuk and the second in Ain Zalah.

#### IRAQI AIRWAYS TO RECEIVE FIRST "TRIDENT" JET

The first "Trident" jet airliner for Iraqi Airways will be received at the end of September, 1965, according to Sayid Hameed Tawfiq, Director General of Iraqi Airways.

A formal ceremony will be held in Hawker Siddeley Company's Airport prior to receiving the plane.

It will start its service in Baghdad-London route immediately after the plane is received. A team of Iraqi staff were trained in the United Kingdom on maintenance, testing, and other services.

The "Trident" jetliner is one of the fastest jets in the world and Iraqi Airways are the only service which operates this type of aircraft outside the United Kingdom. We will publish a report with some pictures in our coming issue of the *Bulletin*.

#### PROJECTS OF THE OIL PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION ADMINISTRATION

The Administration of Oil Planning and Construction has thirty-five projects in different stages of implementation. The cost of these projects is estimated at ID. 12 million. One of the biggest projects of the Administration is the new Lubricants Refinery in Daura which will cost more than ID. 4 million.

#### IRAQI TEACHERS FOR KUWAIT

The Education Ministry requested on 15th September, teachers whose services have recently been seconded to Kuwait to report to the Kuwaiti Embassy to make the necessary preparations for their travel on board the Kuwaiti plane flying on Saturday and Monday, 18th and 20th September.

#### IRAQI-KUWAITI JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ON OIL TALKS

The following Joint Communiqué was issued on 26th August, 1965, in Kuwait and Baghdad on the oil talks conducted between the two countries:

An Iraqi delegation under the Minister of Oil, visited Kuwait from 22nd to 26th August, 1965, during which a number of meetings, were held with the Kuwaiti representatives headed by the Minister of Finance and Industry, Sayid Jabir Al-Ahmed Al-Jabir. The two sides agreed on the co-ordination of their petroleum policy. They discussed the question of agreement on the expensing of royalties and agreed on the bases of such an accord. It was agreed to form a joint committee to discuss former oil agreements and the possibility of their development to ensure maximum benefit for their two countries and brotherly peoples. They also stressed the continuation of activities of the Joint Committee representing the Iraqi National Oil Company and the Kuwaiti National Oil Company for the co-ordination of co-operation between them.

An atmosphere of complete understanding prevailed over the talks and there was an identity of views on all matters discussed.

**CASH COMPENSATION FOR SHAREHOLDERS  
IN NATIONALIZED BANKS**

The Central Bank of Iraq completed, 4th September, auditing the accounts of a number of nationalized banks in order to compensate their shareholders. These banks are: The Commercial Bank of Iraq, Baghdad Bank, Credit Bank of Iraq, Rashid Bank, Eastern Bank, British Bank, Bank of Lebanon, and the National Bank of Pakistan.

The Public Establishment for Banks will undertake payment of full cash compensation to Iraqi shareholders in one or more banks, whose total shares do not exceed 5,000 Dinars.

Auditing accounts of the United Bank of Iraq has

not yet been completed due to some pending legal problems. Shareholders in this bank will be compensated as soon as auditing is completed.

Payment of compensations of shareholders in the banks whose accounts have been audited will take place on 15th September. Payment details will be announced later by the Public Establishment for Banks.

Full compensation of foreign shareholders in the nationalized banks has already been completed. By completing auditing the accounts of these banks the Economic Organization and the Public Establishment for Banks would have compensated all Iraqi shareholders—except two banks—whose total shares do not exceed 5,000 Dinars in addition to all foreign shareholders.

