



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

**January/February**

**1966**

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Front cover photograph :

Tanks of the Iraqi Army on parade in Baghdad  
during recent celebrations of Iraqi Army Day

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## **THE PRAVDA, THE OBSERVER, AND THE KURDS IN IRAQ**

Somewhere else in this issue of the *Bulletin* we have published a television interview made recently by the Iraqi Premier al-Bazzaz. In replying to a question on the Kurdish problem, the Iraqi Premier stated that, "We are ready as we have declared many times, to recognize the Kurdish entity and to recognize the Kurds as a distinct nation with its own language, heritage, and glory." These words confirmed once more the sincere, constructive, and realistic attitude of the Iraqi government and raised new hopes in those who want to see an end to the senseless bloodshed in Northern Iraq. A country like Iraq which is engaged in extensive development plans and spectacular projects can ill afford such a waste of capital, time, and human resources. Foreign firms and international concerns, British and otherwise, which participate in the Iraqi economic development efforts do not want it either. Supporters of peace and justice throughout the world and friends of both the Arabs and Kurds look with gloom at this fratricide.

Fighting in the north of Iraq is not a new affair. It has little to do with the question of Arab nationalism or Kurdish nationalism. It certainly has nothing to do with racial discrimination and national persecution as some misinformed or hostile propaganda organs suggest. The Kurds and the Arabs in Iraq have lived, and still do, as equal and free brothers within the national unity of the Iraqi people and territory. The Iraqi Premier al-Bazzaz has never tired of repeating that his government is ready, willing, and able to settle the problem peacefully within the limits of preserving the territorial and national unity of Iraq, crushing the secessionist attempt by a criminal, selfish, and unrepresentative clique as well as recognizing the legitimate national rights of the Kurds within the fraternal unity of both Kurds and Arabs in an indivisible, independent, non-aligned, and positively neutral Iraq. But the Iraqi government has its duty to do as any other government, maintaining law and order as prerequisite conditions of achieving prosperity and progress in the interests of all

the Iraqi people, including both Kurds and Arabs. The Iraqi people, army, and government stand firm and united in their resolve and determination. Iraq, Arab nationalism and mankind can no longer afford this kind of fratricide imposed on Arabs and Kurds by a criminal selfish secessionist clique which is representative of neither.

The Kurdish question has been manipulated, exploited, and indeed deliberately distorted by certain sections of the press in many Western and other countries. There is no better example of this than the "usual" manner in which the question is presented as the opposition of Arab nationalism to the Kurdish national aspirations. The present rebellion was not started or even remotely caused by Arab nationalists. It started by the dictator Qassim as a result of his personal differences with the feudalist al-Barzani. The outrages and suffering of Arabs and Kurds alike at the hands of Qassim and Barzani should have made a common front between them. No one could have expressed the Arab nationalist view better than Professor al-Bazzaz in his remark on Kurdish heritage and personality. "It is their right to preserve them as a distinct entity, but they should form part of a single homeland within the framework of national unity." The sincerity of this appeal is confirmed when taken in conjunction with another statement. Professor al-Bazzaz declared that a democratic and parliamentary life would start in Iraq within the next six months. *Pravda*, the Soviet newspaper, did not miss the significance of our Premier's words. In a long article published on 7th February, it expressed satisfaction and pleasure with his statement. Together with the amendment of the Iraqi provisional Constitution which recognized the national rights of the Iraqi Kurds, the Soviet official organ considered the move of the Iraqi Government as a new hopeful development leading to a peaceful settlement of the issue. It said; "Some moves towards a realistic settlement have been made recently. This is evidenced by the amendment of the Iraqi provisional Constitution of 1965. The new Constitution includes an article confirming the national Kurdish rights and recognizing the Kurds as part of

the Iraqi people and the fraternal national unity of the country. Public opinion received with satisfaction the statement of Mr. Abdul Rahman al-Bazzaz, the Iraqi Premier, on the legitimate Kurdish rights and the peaceful solution of the Kurdish question." At the same time the *Pravda* article attacked and chided the Kurdish extremists who set their demands in such a way as to undermine the sovereignty and unity of the young Republic. "Pro-Imperialist circles instigated extremist elements amongst the Kurds to serve notice to the Iraqi Government and put unreasonable demands to it." said the Editor of *Pravda*. The *Sunday Observer* published on 13th February a selective and incomplete item by its Diplomatic correspondent, Robert Stephens, entitled "Soviet Offer to Kurds" dealing with the *Pravda* article and the Soviet attitude. The omission of these parts of the *Pravda* article, no less indicative and revealing of the Soviet attitude, by the distinguished diplomatic correspondent of the reputable British weekly, is rather surprising and very regrettable indeed. The Soviet Union and, we hope, all the major powers, know too well what a burden, threat to peace, useless and wasteful such internal strife may become. The only people who can conceivably rejoice at the human losses in North Iraq, and probably anywhere else including Yemen, are the racial Zionists in Israel, as plainly, but privately, admitted by Abba Eban in London on the 16th January, the reactionary forces in the area and their imperialist masters as well as the war-mongers and arms smugglers everywhere.

Despite all the distortions, the British press could not conceal the fact that the Kurds in Iraq are in a far better position and enjoy more national rights than anywhere in the neighbouring countries. Mr. David Adamson, himself a pro-Kurd and anti-Arab, said in his book *The Kurdish War*: "The Kurds of Iraq were better off than their brothers elsewhere and most of them knew it, except perhaps the Barzanis who were in a more or less continual state of mutiny from 1930 onwards." (*The Kurdish War*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964, p. 21).

It is sheer political cynicism that Iraq should be made to appear bearing the brunt of its own liberal approach.

### ARAB NATIONALISM : THE FALLACY OF DECLINE

The British have the heroic quality of rising magnificently to the occasion when they face a crisis. But having triumphed, they have the habit of lingering in apathy, indifference, and carelessness. Thus, more often than not, they face another crisis almost as a certainty. This is particularly true of certain British politicians, diplomats, and strategists who have less of the heroism and more of the apathy when dealing with the affairs of the Arab world and the Middle East. They seem unable or unwilling to do their homework, learn their lessons, and face their facts. This has been, and is still so.

The long and painful road to disaster, defeat, danger, and shame started with the Sykes-Picot agreement and the Balfour Declaration in the First World War, through the tri-partite aggression on Egypt in 1956 and the collapse of the so-called Baghdad Pact in 1958, to their present diabolic plans and imperialist designs in Aden, South Arabia, and the Gulf area. The legacy of British presence and Western imperialism in the Arab homeland may appear to have only a purely historical value and academic interest. But not so to the present generation of young and dedicated Arab nationalists. They are still living with the unacceptable and repugnant consequences, the last traces, and the receding remnants of which they are determined to liquidate at any cost come what may. No one has inflicted greater damage on British and Western vital interests in the Arab world than the British and Western governments, political leaders, diplomats, and strategists. Every plan they have devised supposedly to protect and preserve these interests has backfired.

Compare the careful planning and successful culmination of the visit of Field-Marshal Amr, Vice-President of the U.A.R. to Paris with the haphazard and blundering visit of Mr. Thompson, Minister of State at the British Foreign Office, to Cairo, and you will deduce the proper conclusions. But this is not the full story. Let us complete the picture. As recently as 15th February, 1966, no less a British newspaper than the *Guardian* published a leading article entitled "Britain and the Islamic Rivalries". The British paper commented on the statement of Mr. Christopher Soames, Conservative M.P. and a member of the shadow cabinet, who blandly expressed his elation, before his departure on a visit to Israel, that the centre of power is shifting from Cairo to Teheran. The paper candidly described his elation as premature and misplaced. Mr. Julian Amery, Conservative M.P., enjoys recounting the imaginary defeats suffered by the Iraqi army at the hands of the Kurdish rebels and by the U.A.R. Republican forces at the hands of the Royalists in the Yemen. He too, like his colleague, wants us to believe that Arab Nationalism is declining. This is a wasteful exercise on their part in political wishful-thinking and day-dreaming: a dangerous, costly, and potentially explosive political aberration.

The *New Statesman* of 7th January, 1966, published an article by Joan Morgan entitled "Is Nasserism in Decline?". The British weekly had the courage to unmask the false contentions of Messrs. Soames and Amery. The paper, speaking of the situation in the Arab world and the U.A.R., stated clearly; "It is superficially, a situation which delights President Nasir's enemies in the Middle East and which offers some—and misguided—pleasure to those in Britain who detest Egypt's attitudes not only towards Israel but towards our presence in the *Arabian Gulf*\*. In my view,

\* Italics are mine—ED.

the pleasure is misguided . . . but all this caginess in Cairo does not mean that President Nasir loses his influence in the Middle East unless you happen to take the view that all would be quiet were it not for the deliberate fermenting of uproar by Egypt's army and propaganda agencies . . . time is on Egypt's side." Thus the decline of Arab Nationalism is shown conclusively as a misleading dream produced by the whimsical imagination of Messrs. Soames and Amery. Those who have pinned their hopes on a rift between Cairo and Baghdad have now to swallow their assertions and eat their words. The recent visit paid by President Arif of Iraq to his brother President Nasir of the U.A.R., and the official communiqué on the meetings of the Joint Iraq-U.A.R. Political Command, have dashed such forlorn hopes to the ground. Baghdad will always remain on the side of Cairo. Baghdad will never again oppose Cairo.

A futile characteristic of British and Western attitudes to the Middle East is the permanent and unrealistic underrating of Egypt and thereby Arab Nationalism. This is the root of Britain's trouble in the Middle East, as has been asserted by Miss Elizabeth Monroe, a British authority on Arab affairs, in a documentary on A.T.V. entitled "The Road to Suez" shown on 29th September, 1965. The Middle East is unstable, restless, and explosive not because of President Nasir and Arab Nationalists but because of Imperialist interference and Zionist intrusion.

You may talk to the Arabs as much as you like of democracy and communism, freedom and slavery, or anything else. But if you point your guns at them, as you have often done in the past and still do, they will object and resist. It is misleading and unrealistic to talk of a balance of power between the 2,500,000 Zionist colonizers and European settlers in occupied Arab Palestine on the one hand, and 100 million indigenous Arabs on the other hand. This is nonsense unless you mean the prolongation of Arab backwardness and the preservation of Arab fragmentation. Try to divide the Arabs on lines that suit your diabolic designs, Zionist pressures and Imperialist interests, and cut across issues on which the Arabs basically agree, and you will find, as you have found so often, that you unite them where you want them divided and divide them where you want them united. British and certain Western governments wanted to unite the Arabs against Russia

and divide them against Israel. They succeeded in dividing them against Russia and uniting them against Israel.

These may seem sad, unfortunate, and painful facts. No matter. What is required is not a strategic stagnation and only tactical modification, but a realistic and agonizing reappraisal of President Nasir and Arab Nationalism. The persistence of thinking in terms of false promises will ensure the repetition of the old sordid chain of action and reaction, inflicting further, grave, incalculable, and even greater damage on British and Western initial interests.

The British, as well as the Arabs are masters in the gentle art of forgetting the harm they have done to other nations and the harm done to them by other nations. Let Britain understand the lesson of France. Arab Algerians supported morally and materially by all Arab Nationalists fought a seven years terrible war against France in defence of their Arab national identity and the preservation of their human liberty. Nearly a million Arab martyrs gave their lives in this sacred battle. President de Gaulle, a grand French statesman and soldier, assumed power in a grave moment and implemented a realistic, brave, and wise policy in settling the Algerian conflict peacefully. To-day, Algeria is a free and independent part of the Arab homeland. Arabia now enjoys friendly, close, and cordial relations with France. We did not fight because we hated France. We fought because we love freedom. Even while fighting, we continued to admire French literature, art culture, and history. We do so even more now. There is a lesson in this fact at the disposal of the better brains in all Western countries including the United Kingdom. Let us not minimize the disappointments of the past, the difficulties of the present, and the dangers of the future. But let us have faith in life and hope in reason and let us open, if we can, a new clean page. The Arabs observe with grave concern the continuous and massive flow of Western arms to Israel, and they deduce the proper conclusions. This is a direct threat to Arab security and world peace. The Western countries are free to do so if they wish. But having done so, they have no right to expect Arab friendship, they have no right to try to win Arab support and they have no right to even think of convincing them of the excellence of Western ideas and ideals. The decisive alternatives and the vital issues at stake are crystal clear.

# President Arif's "18th November Revolution" Anniversary Speech

**P**RÉCIS of broadcast by His Excellency F.-M. President Abd as-Salam Muhammad Arif of the Iraqi Republic, on Baghdad television and radio, on 18th November, 1965:—

In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate. Brothers and children of the great Iraqi people, to-day we observe the anniversary of this glorious day, and remember the painful events which preceded it and which unmasked the destructive plans which were being prepared in secret against our people. It also revealed to us the evil intentions of the deviationist agents who wanted to destroy the revolutionary progressive principles for which we revolted on 14th July and 14th Ramadan. By those plans they wanted to destroy the wealth and freedom of this country. Furthermore, they wanted to liquidate the loyal members of the army and the state machinery. You saw for yourselves the dark era of the nightmare of the deviationists and the anti-National Guards. They robbed, violated sacred things, spread chaos and disturbances, and shed blood, until the people felt they were no longer safe. They tried to humiliate the people and sell them to imperialism and its agents. But God humiliated them, and right triumphed over wrong.

As a result of all this, and to protect your revolution, independence, and freedom—for which you have sacrificed so much—there came your revolution of 18th November, 1963. With the 14th Ramadan revolution, we destroyed all the signs of corruption and tyranny. We did not know at that time that deviation was lying in wait for us, but God supported your brave army and strengthened us, and your glorious revolution followed.

Brothers, you are aware of the misery which party adherence inflicted on this country. They conspired against the principles of the revolution, and were nothing but obedient tools in the hands of foreigners, imperialism, and its hirelings. The revolution of the people and the army was against those who wanted to impose a formula based on their odd ideas, unity based on their secession, socialism based on their exploiting, and freedom based on their oppressing. From this place I declare that the era of tyranny and oppression has gone, never to return. Iraqi soil cannot be anything but an Arab, Unionist, Islamic, springboard, and a giant stronghold for rising Arab nationalism. Our people resisted dictatorial tyranny and genocide for their Islamic religion, freedom, and independence.

Brothers, we have undertaken to lead this country to safe shores. By the grace of God and with your help, our sublime aims will be fulfilled. In the cabinet's policy statement we drew the outline of economic, social, cultural, and political activities. You all know that in our Constitution we state that the people are equal in their rights and general responsibilities without discrimination

of race, colour, or creed. On this basis of equality, the Socialist Union will be formed. We shall make efforts to form it on popular and well-studied scientific foundations so that it may become a strong organization, above all group interests. We want to unite the efforts of all the people and make them work for our public interests. Only through the fulfilment of this will the people have rule by themselves for themselves. This is our justice and this is our democracy.

From this will emerge our Parliament, which will determine the trend of rule in the country and will prepare legislation in accordance with which the provinces will be governed, and on the basis of which the local administrations throughout the country will perform their duties for the building and progress of Iraq. At the same time it will preserve the unity of the country from north to south. With the general census we have paved the way for our parliamentary life. We have also formed a ministerial committee and entrusted it with the task of studying and seeking the help of wise and knowledgeable organizations and persons, and preparing a law on elections, which will take place at the time specified in the provisional Constitution.

Brothers, we have decided to base our economic policy on the material and manpower wealth of our country. We are determined to achieve prosperity for all the people within a wise Arab socialism emerging from our traditions, presence, and divine creed. Through this socialism we seek an increase in production, fair distribution, and an end to exploitation and monopolism. We want the social justice advocated by Islam. For the achievement of this we have prepared the five-year plan, expanded it, and prepared the means for its success. We have prepared the necessary plans to encourage the private sector to participate in economic development. The Government has undertaken to supply this sector with all available technical assistance. From the mobilization we are carrying out to-day, the country will witness a strong industrial movement in the economic industries, such as the petroleum and the petro-chemical industries. The agriculture sector will also witness a strong movement. The Agrarian Reform Law will be implemented with amendments which we shall introduce in the interests of the peasants.

Iraq has great potentialities. It has great wealth and undeveloped capacities, which require co-ordination and work. Our water, which is running into the sea, and our fertile lands are capable of giving us a rich agricultural and animal wealth. From the dams which we have already built, and which we shall build, we shall have electric power to turn the wheels of industry. The scientists, workers, peasants, and all the people are called upon to work and persevere in helping us implement the five-year plan.



President Arif of Iraq during recent celebration of the Iraqi Army Day in Baghdad

We are proceeding with the implementation of our plan and are seeking with firm steps to get rid of backwardness. We want to catch up with world civilization in the 20th century. In the field of culture, in our five-year plan, we want to review our educational programmes at the various levels of education so that our schools will bring up a strong generation, capable of research in industry and all fields. We are the bearers of a heavy legacy of poverty, ignorance, sickness, and backwardness. We have a great duty to perform, the task we have taken upon ourselves. Our trust in God and ourselves will enable us to overcome this legacy, and lead this country into a glorious and prosperous era.

Our legislation guarantees for the worker and his family after him a good life and protection from unemployment. The Agrarian Reform Law provides every farmer with land to work. Our union laws enable the trade unions, workers' unions, co-operative societies, and farmers' organizations to carry out their duty to society in the best way possible. We want a good society full of happiness and prosperity.

Your valiant and beloved army, which stood against oppression, corruption, deviation, and the Shu'ubiyah plots, and which is the shield for the protection and defence of the homeland, and for the confrontation of the enemies of Iraq who harbour evil against it, this army is our pride, and in it is our glory. We shall supply it with the most modern weapons and provide it with whatever modern armies need. It is the refuge of the people, after God, in times of catastrophe. It is the ammunition for the last round in the campaign for the liberation of our usurped homeland. I take this opportunity to greet our army everywhere in the country and to praise its part in all the revolutions it has carried out.

Our Arab policy is based on solidarity with our sisters, the Arab states. Iraq has played an important part in the purification of the atmosphere among the brothers at the summit conferences and on other occasions. With regard to our relations with our great sister the U.A.R., we are bound by the statement of the unified political command, issued on 25th May, 1965, which said that national unity, which is the alliance of the forces of the working people, was the power upon which the people should depend in strengthening their political and social gains. It is also the principal pillar for the establishment of Arab unity. Unity is our sublime aim, and we shall never deviate from it. However, national (Arabic: watani) unity is the first prerequisite for our patriotic (Arabic: qawmi) unity. The unity and solidarity of one people is a guarantee for the strengthening of the basis of this unity. Every brick we lay to strengthen our cultural, economic, and social relations will be a strong factor in the building of our patriotic unity. We have taken firm steps in these fields. Our political tendencies are the same. Our cultural programmes are proceeding towards full co-ordination. Iraq is a charter member of the economic unity, and a member of the Arab common

market. The unified political command is continuing its studies to lay the basis for strengthening unified relations between the two fraternal Arab peoples. Unity is an imperative destiny. Its implementation has [word indistinct] path. He who hinders its implementation is a traitor and has no place in an entity which rejects division and which believes in unity. We want this country to establish a strong and unbreakable unity, and to remove all borders for ever. Unity is in our blood and in our minds. We were born with it, have lived with it, and shall live and die with it. It is the hope of all people. We do not want to discourage your hopes. We promise to be worthy of your beliefs, and even more than that, God willing.

Compatriots, our international policy with friendly states is based on respect and mutual interest for Iraq and the Arab nation. We have signed economic, cultural and technical agreements with many friendly states in which we have taken into consideration the interest of the people. Iraq has co-operated with its sister Arab countries against Federal Germany's stand because the latter supported Israel and gave it deadly weapons for use against our nation. However, we harbour love for the German people, who have a traditional link of friendship with the Arab nation. We hope the German people will induce their Government to reconsider its hostile attitude to the Arab states. Moreover, our relations with our neighbours and the Islamic states are developing from good to better. We are a non-aligned state which believes in peaceful coexistence and calls for disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons. We believe in the principles of the U.N., and hope that this organization will grow stronger in order to achieve justice, uproot imperialism from the world and support the peoples in their right to self-determination. We believe in and support the legal right of our brothers in usurped Palestine. We support the struggle of the people of Oman and the Arab South for freedom and to defeat imperialism.

Brothers, the imperialists and their lackeys do not like so see our beloved Iraq strong and prosperous. They exploit agents and hire lackeys to create disorder and trouble. However, we are proceeding to establish stability and security, and to industrialize the country. Industrial distribution will include all Iraqi provinces. Electricity and drinking water will be extended to villages and the urban areas. A prosperous future awaits us but it depends on the people's vitality and enthusiasm for serious work.

Great Iraq people, these are our clear and frank aims. We want to unite, not divide, build, not destroy, perform deeds, not speak words. Our principles spring from our country, state of affairs, and religion. Compatriots, live for your country and nation. Do not give the enemy any opportunity. On this blessed occasion, I beseech God to unite us, strengthen our ranks, make us understand our affairs, destroy our enemies, and grant us progress, peace of mind, prosperity, and peace.



# President Nasir's Address to Arab Trade Unionists

**T**EXT of address by H.E. President Nasir of the U.A.R. to Arab trade unionists at their conference at the Republican Palace in Cairo on 20th December 1965 :—

A meeting with the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions is naturally a touching and emotional occasion, for if it is a real and effective Confederation of Arab Workers and not merely a paper organization then it can do a great deal for the Arab nation.

The working class, that is to say, the Arab workers, represents the vanguard of the Arab nation. To-day the worker is playing a leading rôle in his nation's struggle. Workers should be in the front rank of their peoples to help them achieve their national aspirations and I hope that the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions will provide an example for the entire Arab nation—an example of ideals and aspirations for the working forces of the people throughout the Arab world.

When I say the working forces of the people, I mean the people proper, because the non-working groups of the people cannot have ideals and aspirations as they have already achieved their aims and hopes, unlike the working forces which represent all the workers in the Arab world.

The International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, providing an example, can prove that aspirations can be accomplished and fulfilled. Intellectual unity among the Arab workers can help to create Pan-Arab unity and so can Arab workers' unity in struggle, of which we know many outstanding examples. In its broad sense, Arab unity may not necessarily mean constitutional unity, but a unity of aims and feelings. The opposite to the concept of unity is when each Arab people is shut off and isolated in its own country, thus losing touch with and concern about, what happens elsewhere in the Arab world.

Thus Arab unity, in its broad concept, is the unity of peoples and objectives, quite apart from constitutional unity, because constitutional unity may encounter many obstacles and may not be attainable for a long time. It behoves us, therefore, to work towards the achievement of Arab unity in the sense that each Arab people should share in the hopes and problems of other Arab peoples and that Arab peoples should defend each other when the need arises, as in 1956 when Egypt suffered the triple aggression. At that time there was no constitutional unity, but the Arab peoples in each Arab country rose in defence of Egypt because they were interlocked by the ties of Arab unity.

In Iraq, then under the Nuri as-Sa'id régime which blessed the aggression and hoped for the collapse of the

régime in Egypt, the Arab people rose and braved the bullets of the authorities. Many Iraqis were martyred because of this, which shows that there is a true sense of unity embracing the sons of the Arab nation from the east to the west, regardless of constitutions.

There is something else which I would like to say. The reactionary forces and the quislings of imperialism throughout the Arab world are cementing their unity based on their common interests and their common objective of smashing the national, progressive forces in the Arab world. Who will then defend the gains of the Arab peoples? Who will fight reaction and the lackeys of imperialism to safeguard the achievements of Arab struggle? What is needed then is progressive national Arab action without fanaticism. That is to say that all the progressive forces and elements in the Arab world and in each individual Arab country should unite to confront the agents of imperialism and the reactionary forces. All the national forces should unite and abandon their selfishness, otherwise the reactionaries and the imperialist agents will be able to strike at them in their very bastions.

Who should safeguard the struggle? The struggle should be safeguarded by the people. The working forces, that is to say the workers, are the vanguard of the people. Progressive principles mean that the working forces of the people, or the working class, should obtain their rights, stolen from them by exploitation or by foreign capital. Progressive principles also mean that the working class and the working forces should obtain an equal share, that we should develop into a society in which all people are equal and in which class distinction no longer exists. These are the hopes of the working class and the working forces of the people. If you have aspirations, then you must be in the frontline of the struggle. Your leaders when they have reached good positions should not separate themselves from the workers' rank and file because by doing so they would be pushing the rank and file of the workers into the clutches of reaction and the lackeys of imperialism. We all know that workers are good people who accept little and who have a simple mentality. Reaction and imperialism and their agents may be able to mislead the working class, divert it from its aims and dupe it with various slogans and concepts. I expect you all have had experiences in these matters.

It is our duty, therefore, to mobilize the working forces. It is our duty to be the vanguard of the struggle. It is the duty of all workers in the Arab world to oppose reaction, imperialism, and the agents of imperialism. It is the duty of all workers in the Arab world to play a basic rôle in unifying the national, progressive forces and



President Nasir of the U.A.R. when presiding at the last Arab Summit in Casablanca. On his right : Abd al-Khaliq Hassouna, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States

enabling them to undertake a vanguard rôle in the struggle. The workers will be the first to suffer the consequences of any setback. When secession took place in Syria and a reactionary régime took over, the workers were the first to suffer. I think that our Syrian brothers who are here now were present in the factories which were nationalized and later denationalized. The minute reaction came to power in Syria, it put an end to all the workers' gains and privileges.

Therefore, who is the first to suffer if reaction and imperialist agents succeed? The working forces, the working class, the peasants—that is the forces which are part of the progressive and national forces. Whose duty is it to safeguard the Arab revolution, the Arab gains, and the Arab struggle? It is the people's. The people alone can safeguard the revolution and its aims and aspirations. The people alone can achieve the aims of the struggle. The Syrian delegation tells me: you are responsible for Arab unity. My answer is: No, I am not. It is the Arab

people in every Arab country that is responsible for unity.

I say this for a simple reason. People come and go. Everyone reaches his end one day, but not the people. The people are immortal. They are there to the end of life, and they can work miracles.

Your duty as Arab workers is to be truly and effectively the vanguard of the Arab struggle and progress—the vanguard of Arab nationalism. You should provide an example for all the Arab peoples by sacrifice and by work for the eminence of the Arab nation because you are the soldiers who can enhance the prestige of the Arab nation. Soldiers on the battlefield score victories and defend their soil, but workers are soldiers who can build the Arab homeland and the Arab power and who can raise the Arab states from backwardness to become developing and advanced states. By doing so we can accomplish what we want without depending on foreign forces and sources.

May God grant you success and peace be with you.

# Television Interview with Professor al-Bazzaz

**P**RÉCIS of relay of television interview with the Iraqi Premier Abd ar-Rahman al-Bazzaz, on Baghdad television, on 19th January, 1966 :—

In this programme I want to meet the people and answer the questions which interest them. Other officials should also speak to the people frankly and clearly as if speaking to their own families.

*Question :* I believe the topic now is the living and economic conditions in the country. Undoubtedly, the country is in a transitional period marked by the rule of law and order which the Government has been able to enforce. Also undoubtedly, many people grumble and complain about their living conditions. Could the Premier clarify the Government's programme and its plan to deal with unemployment ?

*Answer :* This is an important question. I take every opportunity to deal with this problem. I know that there is economic instability. I do not want to say that the crisis has been solved completely. We have tried very hard to reduce as much as possible the impact of this crisis. The unemployment has been comparatively reduced. The basic solution of the problem requires more time, study, and effort.

*Question :* As we are speaking about the economic situation, it is appropriate to raise the subject of the high cost of living. Despite the Government's economic measures prices continue to rise. Can you please explain it ?

*Answer :* The problem of the high cost of living is world-wide. I do not say this to shirk responsibility for it in Iraq. When wages go up, prices go up. Nevertheless, I admit that the Government should oppose this trend with proper measures.

*Question :* The people would like to hear from you about the latest developments in Iraqi-Iranian relations.

*Answer :* Relations have in fact improved. The effects and extent of the improvement remains to be seen. We have been anxious to maintain strong relations with Iran and have followed a policy of not severing any of the threads of friendship. I am glad to say that our neighbour Iran has responded to our three demands and has accepted them in principle. We are now preparing the means for strengthening these relations. The instructions issued to our Ambassador are precise, namely to investigate the incidents which occurred in the past weeks between us and our neighbour Iran. We have claims against them and they have claims against us. These claims led to critical developments. We told them we were ready to use any means to settle the dispute, including the formation of joint committees.

*Question :* The Iranian press has not abided by the Agreement reached between the two Governments. I noticed that some Iranian newspapers have been publishing rumours and fabrications about the situation in Northern Iraq. I do not think it is right for our Iranian brothers to continue this.

*Answer :* When I was asked about this not long ago, I said that even if Iran did not abide by the agreement we should. I believe we should not complicate matters further. It is hoped that the Iranian press will also abide by the agreement. The basic problem will continue to be, in my opinion the attitude of our neighbour Iran towards the rebellion in the north. Our duty is to convince Iran that this is not the right way. Our duty also is to persuade our brothers the rebels to return to the right path. If they are sincere in what they say about wanting no secession but only safeguards for their existence, we are ready—as we have declared many times—to recognize the Kurdish existence and to recognize the Kurds as a different nation with its own language, heritage, and glory. It is their right to preserve that, but they should form a part of a single homeland.

*Question :* Recently there has been talk about an Islamic alliance.

*Answer :* I emphatically stress that we have never thought of joining any alliance unless it is an Arab alliance or an alliance demanded by Arab nationalism. This is our policy and we will continue to abide by it. As for His Majesty King Faysal's visit to Iran, I understand it was a courtesy visit in response to a number of invitations. I personally do not see any harm in that. It is in the interest of the Arabs and Muslims to exchange views. I hear that the King intends to visit Pakistan, Afghanistan, and other states. That does not mean an alliance but rather strengthening the existing ties among Islamic states. In my opinion, there is no Islamic alliance. However, every country is free to do what it wants. What concerns me is that we in Iraq do not believe in the idea of an Islamic alliance. We believe in Islamic brotherhood. We believe in Islamic solidarity, in good neighbourliness. But Iraq is a positively neutral country. We have no intention either at present or in the future to join or think of even remotely participating in any alliance, pact, or organization whether Islamic or foreign.

*Question :* On Iraqi-Syrian relations ?

*Answer :* We have always wished to establish the best of relations between us and Syria. It is left to Syria to decide. We are ready to resume normal diplomatic relations. When the former Syrian Government told us that they wanted to raise diplomatic representation to

embassy level, we agreed without hesitation. If Syria nominates an ambassador to us, I will accept him and I will send an Iraqi ambassador to Syria. If the Syrian leaders ask us to meet we shall meet.

*Question* : On the elections : can you fix the date for elections and for the parliament to begin work ?

*Answer* : We spoke of this in the policy statements. I think these elections will take place in the first half of this year, in the next four or five months at the latest. We shall have a parliament and a sound parliamentary life before the end of this year. This we have accepted as an obligation.

*Question* : About the question of the press and its problems.

*Answer* : The press has always been exposed to intimidation. We want to enact a publications law to protect the press and enable it to carry out its mission. I appreciate that the press has a mission to perform and that there must be a law to protect it. I would like to confirm the fact that what protects the press is the officials' conviction that the press is important. You know that the present law gives us sufficient powers. You know well that, on certain occasions, the press has exceeded its limits. I will work to enforce the law. What is more important than the law is a sound understanding of the mission of the press, its co-operation with officials, and the conviction of the officials about the importance of the mission of the press.



From right to left : Lt.-Colonel A. A. al-Amin, Acting Iraqi Military Attaché, and Mrs. al-Amin, Major A. al-Azzawi, Iraqi Air Attaché, and Mrs. al-Azzawi. Receiving their Iraqi, Arab, British, and foreign guests at the official reception they held on the occasion of the Iraqi Army Day at the Iraqi Ambassador's residence in London on 6th January, 1966

# President Nasir's Speech at Port Said on the Anniversary of Suez

**P**RÉCIS, with quotations, of speech by President Jamal abd an-Nasir of the U.A.R., at a popular rally in Port Said on 21st December, 1965 :—

Brother citizens, we are moving into the tenth year of the post-Suez era. The battle, victory in which we are now celebrating, began on 29th October, 1965. I am sure, brothers, that the national Egyptian and pan-Arab history of struggle will mark Suez as a major landmark dividing history into the pre-Suez and post-Suez eras.

You, the brave and struggling people of Port Said, take most of the credit, because you were the shield that received the blow and suffered the brunt of the aggression. You were a great example to the people, the Arab nation and the whole world, an example showing that, if ever a people resolve to accomplish victory, then they can win it, even against Great Powers. In 1956, Port Said was the turning point in the Suez battle. I have told you on past occasions, and I tell you again with all certainty, that the real revolution of freedom in Egypt was in particular the 150 days between 26th July, 1956, and 23rd December, 1956, that is, between the nationalization of the Canal and the withdrawal of the Powers which committed the triple aggression against us. These 150 days created a deep-driving political, social, and military transformation in the Arab world. They were the decisive phase in the 120 years which began in 1840, the year they forced Egypt to her knees.

From 26th July, 1956, to 23rd December, 1956, we lived through 150 glorious days that effected all the political, social, and military changes. On 23rd July, 1952, the revolutionary forces' accession to power was in essence a revolutionary change, but not the decisive one. The four years between July, 1952, and July, 1956, were more like a period of preparation and readiness for the inevitable collision with imperialism and with all the forces inside this homeland who were in league with imperialism. In June, 1956, the British left and our country gained its freedom for the first time in more than seventy years from the occupation forces, the forces of imperialism, which had fed us with endless promises of evacuation.

Because there was a conflict of wills, the will of the homeland and the will of the usurpers, that is, the will of freedom versus the will of the usurpers of freedom, we

expected an inevitable clash. Also, we had to expect bloodshed to accompany this clash. Imperialism understood, and so did we from the first day of the revolution, that Egypt's freedom, as the outcome of the triumph of Egypt's will over the will of imperialism, would have far-reaching effects, on Egypt itself, on the Arab world to which Egypt belongs, on Africa, and on the entire anti-imperialist movement of national liberation in the world. To-day, if all of us review the nine years after the bloody and violent collision had actually occurred between us and imperialism, we see in Egypt how we moved from a capitalist society, an exploited society, to a socialist society; how class rule came to an end and was replaced by the rule of the people's working forces; how the régime of exploitation came to an end; how the imperialist-reactionary alliance came to its end, and how the imperialist lackeys ended up. Following our victory in Suez in 1956, our revolution became a decisive revolution, free of several fetters which existed on 23rd July, 1952, especially the shackles of imperialism and of British occupation.

We are all aware that Egypt's freedom, as an outcome of the victory scored by Egypt's will over the will of imperialism, bore great fruit in the Arab world.

The Suez battle was a turning-point for Africa, and we set the example for all Africa. Any people who are willing to live, and who are determined to triumph, are able to score victory, even if confronted by the big states, the great states, and the fleets. You set the example here, in Port Said, when you were exposed to aid raids and to aggression. In 1956, you set an example to the entire world. Egypt's victory in 1956 was the greatest encouragement and example to these states, that they could fight without fearing the big imperialist states. Your battle had a great impact on the entire national liberation movement and on the resistance to imperialism throughout the world.

The imperialists were not prepared to surrender easily. A few months after the evacuation, they returned. They perpetrated aggression against us and occupied Port Said. The Egyptian people were never prepared to surrender, and they resisted desperately, until all plans of aggression were smashed and their objectives failed. The Egyptian people recovered their dignity and their complete will, to use them in achieving the freedom for

which our fathers and forefathers had struggled. There was no freedom before the revolution. How could we claim that there was freedom, when there was a foreign base here in the Suez area? There was no freedom at all, nor was there any political freedom of any sort. How can we talk about the freedom of that time, when the keys of the Egyptian economy, including the cotton trade, the banks, the estate companies, insurance and foreign trade were in the hands of foreign interests? The country's wealth was not in our hands but in the hands of foreigners. The economy was never in the hands of the people, but in the hands of foreign interests. How can we claim that there was freedom before the revolution when a half per cent of the Egyptian people were raking off 50 per cent of the national income? That was the class which ruled, exploited, infiltrated the parties, and took part in every cabinet, it was the class which represented the alliance of feudalism with capitalism and which co-operated with imperialism. The rest of the population was in the service of the half per cent. Under the circumstances, we cannot say that there was freedom, never. There was exploitation, class domination, and an alliance between feudalism and capitalism and between these two and imperialism.

This state of affairs continued till the revolution erupted on 23rd July, 1952. Even after the revolution's success, freedom did not come automatically. The British did not leave the country immediately, we did not restore our rights, which were exploited by local and foreign exploiters. But it can be said that the government which took power after the revolution was not one which took its orders from the British ambassador or from others, nor was it taking its orders from the alliance of feudalism with capitalism. Despite the fact that the British forces remained in Egypt from 1952 to 1956, after 23rd July, 1952, British control in Egypt came to an end. We were ready to fight, and resolved to see imperialism leave our country. We were determined that, if imperialism refused to leave, then we would make our soil a battlefield. In the four years that preceded Suez, the years that we described as years of preparation and mobilization, the counter-revolutionary forces used all methods, including bargaining and temptation, to exhaust and undermine our resistance and endurance, but the brave Egyptian struggle mustered all its strength and held fast to its aims, until imperialism was forced to commit aggression against us, in order to occupy our country. The biggest surprise imperialism received in the Port Said battle was that the Egyptian people did not cower, retreat, or succumb, but stood up courageously to ultimatums, plots, armies, fleets, and air raids. Aggression foundered, and the sea, which had thrown the aggressors on to our shores in a whirlpool of mad frenzy, soon swallowed their defeated armies.

As I have said, in the four years which preceded the battle of Port Said, all the forces hostile to the revolution tried through all means to weaken the revolution, crush

it, or drain its energy, but they failed. The Egyptian people did not retreat and did not surrender. The inevitable outcome of our firmness and determination to obtain real and complete freedom was that the bloody collision and the aggression occurred. After the failure of the aggression came the real beginning of the century of freedom. Brothers, your victory in Port Said left no shadow or spectre of foreign occupation, presence, or influence on the soil of the homeland. They went out at the same time, never to return. We nationalized all French and English property. We actually recovered the economic interests which were open to plunder. Work began to make the economy a national economy. The battle of Port Said itself defined the criteria of the redistribution of wealth. The victory which you won in Port Said fortified this battle. It was a travesty that the great majority who were living in and for the homeland did not own the homeland. The Port Said battle was conclusive: the people who live in and for the homeland are those who must and who have the right to own the homeland. The half per cent who were looting and exploiting can never continue to possess the homeland's wealth.

A half per cent lived on 50 per cent of the country's wealth. As long as they had 50 per cent of the country's wealth, what did they care whether those who were born were employed or unemployed? There was an army of unemployed. All that they cared for was to go abroad on holiday or for recuperation for one, two, or three months. The money they saved was abroad in banks. All luxury life was theirs. For the people, they established a public insurance authority which gave charity to the needy. That was the society of the half per cent. Could we, who have acclaimed revolution, independence, and freedom, have accepted the half per cent in society? Would we have accepted to live in the society of the half per cent? To live in this society would mean that we would not industrialize, reclaim land, or build the High Dam. The High Dam blueprints had been available since 1920. Had anybody thought of implementing this project? The process was an easy one. They would tell you "This is a free society. Everything in it is free. The Government is not concerned. If people want to set up factories, let them do that." Well, if I could not find food to eat, how could I build a factory? Who would be able to do that? Those who have the money, in other words, the half per cent. Those who would rush to work in the factory are the unemployed, who, because they are so many, would accept any wages offered them. Who would benefit? The exploiting class, the feudal-capitalist alliance.

"After the revolution it would have been easy for us to join the upper society of half per cent, to save ourselves the troubles and pains of rebuilding, planning, and developing. It would have been easy for us to opt for such comforts and tell you: we do not care, we shall rule you and join the upper class. This class welcomes us,

its society is a nice and cosy one, and not a society of toil, misery, and sweat. Theirs is a society of fun and dancing. So if one wanted to choose the easy way after the revolution, he would have joined them and lived in luxury and comfort, and would not have gone grey. If we were that type of people we would not have made a revolution. . . . It was the call of revolution and sacrifice. We were going out to die and sacrifice ourselves, and not to profit. These are the principles for which we sacrificed ourselves and which put us on the road which we are now following. If we had joined the society of parties, it would have been more comfortable for us personally. But if we were that type of people we would have never thought of and conceived the revolution. . . . The six principles which were declared on revolution day, and all that has been done was done for your sake. We refused to let things run as they were running. We refused to allow the privileged minority to stay at the top. We refused to allow the class rule to continue. We resolved to destroy this rule and the alliance between feudalism and capitalism, destroy the alliance between reaction and imperialism, and build on their ruins the alliance of the working forces of the people, the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, the soldiers and national capital. Class rule did not want planning and industrialization, nor did it want factories, new land, electric power, atomic reactors or any of the things we are now doing. . . . But the Egyptian people rebelled. They were driven by the will to revolution and freedom, which they inherited from their fathers and forefathers, who used to shout proudly 'Long live independence!' and fall."

The Egyptian people, driven by the will to revolution and freedom, had resolved to refuse the absolute privileges and rights of the society dominated by one half per cent as well as its tyranny and exploitation. The Egyptian people have determined to build the society of the 100 per cent.

This hard choice was not merely confined to within the borders of our homeland, but transcended them. In the post-Suez era, the Egyptian people came out as the champions of the ideal that life and the future belong to the entire people, not only to the feudalist and capitalist class. After the Port Said battle, the Egyptian people grew firmer in their belief that they are of and for the Arab nation, and they espoused the cause of freedom, peace, and justice everywhere. All these are interlinked principles stemming originally from the rejection of the concept of the society dominated by one half per cent, in which we were living before the revolution.

The country's domestic situation determines its influence abroad. What was our actual influence before the revolution? We had none because, knowing that the British were ruling us, no one respected us. After the revolution we began acquiring international influence. This is because we became free at home and, therefore, all the world respects us.

A régime ruled by a privileged class does not tackle the

problems of development. In whose interest should development be carried out? The development we talk about in our country is for the sake of the future. A privileged ruling class would, of course, try to obtain maximum benefits for itself. Exploitation does not involve the building of heavy industry, of dams, or of electric power stations. A society ruled by the privileged half per cent does not face the problems of consumption, in particular, who would be able to consume the goods. The national income has increased [since the revolution] from £E800,000,000 to £E1,762,000,000 at 1959 price levels. It is not for the half per cent but for the whole population.

By their revolution of 23rd July, 1952, the Egyptian people have rejected all that society. They are determined to establish a society of the working forces' alliance—the society of the 100 per cent and of the people as a whole. The Egyptian people have chosen a difficult course, which will achieve freedom and dignity for all. The Egyptian people of the post-Suez and Port Said era have drawn up two lines of action to achieve sufficiency and justice. Sufficiency means production. We shall produce until each of us obtains his sufficiency. Justice means fair distribution and elimination of class distinction. How could we achieve this in a day? On the day of the revolution our population was 20,000,000 and now, thanks be to God, it's 30,000,000. We are now seeking sufficiency after we have brought about justice, fair distribution and have worked to remove class distinction. When sufficiency is achieved we would then say that we have achieved socialism.

As regards political action, the distribution of political authority to secure stability and the peasants' authority and representation in all popular councils and the National Assembly as well as in the Arab Socialist Union has been effected to give power to the people. We have marched forward from 1960 to 1965. These were the years of the first Plan, which we called the years of the great transformation.

The first plan has ended; now we have begun the second plan. We have confronted problems. What problems? Were these the problems of success or of failure? Let us calculate. Naturally, our difficult choice of freedom was the cause. By God, had we remained the society of the half per cent, we would not have encountered problems. Those who eat sugar now were not eating it then; he who drinks ten cups of tea could barely drink one, because there was none, he had no work. Of course, had we not chosen this difficult path, we would have wasted the freedom which we acclaimed and for which the revolution took place, and for which our fathers and forefathers were martyred. We would have wasted life and the future. The people would have remained in the society of the half per cent.

Naturally, we have problems: the increase in population from 21,000,000 to 30,000,000. Of course, I cannot prevent the increase in population by a decree,

but had we not invested and increased production in step with the increase in population, the situation could have been worse.

There are problems; we could say there are some bureaucratic difficulties and there are complications in some companies. But all these are problems which can be solved, the most important thing is that we have worked. We have worked as a society of 100 per cent unlike the previous half per cent society. We have produced for the 100 per cent and not for the half per cent society. We have consumed for the 100 per cent and not for the half per cent. We have educated the 100 per cent and not only the half per cent.

We have confronted problems. To-day, shall we stop? If we do, we shall go back to one of the following courses: no one would work: not your brother, son, or anyone, because how could I provide him with work? From where would I pay his wages? This is no charity from which one could come and take wages. One works and obtains wages. Where would I employ him except in a factory, dam, road, building, trade, and in similar enterprises? You would not employ university graduates. If someone wanted to work as a labourer, regrettably, there would be no work. I mean that this unemployment would prevail if we stopped. We shall then return to the situation which prevailed under the former society.

If we do not export we cannot import. The loans we obtain must be repaid; we must pay for the factory. Therefore, in order to build our country we should increase our exports and cut our consumption. This is a difficult choice to make, but since we have decided on a society of justice and equity for 100 per cent of the population we must follow this path, to which there is no alternative and from which we cannot deviate. I envisaged this situation and said so clearly. I found it therefore necessary to put this picture before the people.

The first time I accepted to be re-elected for the Presidency, I went to the people in Asyut on 8th March and told them literally: Brothers, I do not wish to stand here to ask you for your vote nor do I wish you to give me such a vote, because I promise to do this or that for you; nor do I wish to draw a rosy picture of the future for you. I would like to tell you truly and sincerely that it is not in my power to achieve your dreams and your hopes.

Brothers, the new stage calls for work in every aspect, serious and hard work. This is if we, in Egypt, wish to establish a society in which man lives in honour and dignity. This is especially important in view of the increasing population. Therefore, we have to industrialize and work in order to meet the increase in consumption.

"At the forthcoming stage you, the people of Port Said, have a special rôle to play—to bring about the success of the free port project. This, however, does not mean that we are going to exclude Port Said from the

socialist society, as was alleged by some pamphlets distributed recently. We are a socialist country and we follow socialism in accordance with our principles. As I said before, there is no papacy in socialism. We do away with the exploitation of man by man; in everything we do we seek gain for the people and not for individuals and groups. This is the socialist society as we understand it. There are no defined things; we do what suits us. We are going ahead; there is a private sector and a public sector. We would not attempt to nationalize, for instance, barber's shops, shoe shops, or tailors. Never! This thing is not part of our national charter and cannot happen in our society. This is the socialism we understand. We cannot possibly nationalize the shops, although we will increase the co-operative societies. This may lead to problems, but we shall solve them. We will go ahead in our socialism in accordance with our interests and the good results we obtain from it. Some people contend that the free port project is contrary to socialism to which I reply: never. Anything we profit from is socialism as long as there is no exploitation of man by man.

"There remains one small thing to say, as I have said, we are a people who have no great resources, but have great principles. For the sake of these principles we went to Yemen where we carried out our duty as we felt it should be. In Yemen we carried out our duty as Arabs. We are now trying to solve the problem by peaceful means. Unfortunately, the Harad conference achieved no solutions. Therefore, we must persist in order to reach agreement in accordance with the Jiddah agreement. At seven o'clock this morning I heard London radio quoting a statement by the Royalists to the effect that they will fight the Republicans in a month's time. By God, we shall strike at them if they begin the fight. It is a simple matter. But we again say that we want peace and we wish to solve problems peacefully. These are our principles. I say again that we are people who do not possess big resources but have great principles. Last week we broke off our relations with Britain in accordance with the resolutions of the O.A.U. conference; we are one of the nine countries who did this. This is our duty, which we will not hesitate to carry out.

"We are working and building our army for the sake of Palestine, and because of Palestine we agreed on the unity of Arab action. The Arab countries are now arming themselves because of Palestine. May the Almighty guide all the Arab countries so as we all will be able to liberate Palestine in accordance with the hopes of the Palestinians and the Arabs as a whole. Our battle with imperialism and Zionism is a big battle and we have immense tasks before us at home and abroad. The Government and myself cannot shoulder these tasks without mobilizing the efforts of this good and great people. May God grant you success and peace be upon you."



# Shukri Salih Zaki on the Iraqi Government's Economic Policy

PRÉCIS of report on 18th January, 1966 :—

The Finance Minister, Shukri Salih Zaki, held a press conference to-day, explaining the reasons for the Government's adoption of its present economic policy. He also disclosed the most important points contained in a report drawn up by a ministerial committee on the economic situation in Iraq. It was approved by the Cabinet and adopted as a basis for economic policy. The Finance Minister indicated that the Iraqi people had had enough of statements, promises, and casual talk, and that they now believed only in tangible facts. He said that the people had the right to know about the steps taken in various fields according to the statement of policy and the Premier's statements. Zaki said that the Government's economic and financial policy was characterized by new ideas and factual understanding of the country's problems. He said that the policy declared in the statement of policy was based on an objective study of our economy.

The Minister then gave a summary of the economic situation report drawn up by the ministerial committee. The report said that a country with the enormous economic potential of Iraq could achieve the objectives of its economic policy by seeking to increase production, guaranteeing just distribution, and establishing economic stability. Financial policy should aim to ensure suitable circumstances to achieve these aims. Economic and financial policy should proceed along lines conducive to swift and large-scale exploitation of the available economic and human resources to effect a constant increase and a just distribution of the national income. The need to diversify national production should, however, be taken into consideration in such a manner that reliance on oil revenue as the source of foreign currency was reduced. No research worker could propose solutions in this connection unless he reviewed Iraq's economic situation and its economic and financial policy during the past ten years and derived from Iraqi economic experience the broad basis of a sounder economic and financial policy to achieve desired aims.

The Minister said that the report dealt with a study of the manner of the development of national income over ten years. As national income was the result of economic and financial policy, the report dealt with the influencing factors in this policy. Foremost of these

influencing factors was foreign trade affairs. The second factor was the state's ordinary budget. The third factor was the development and economic plan budgets. The Minister added that the report also dealt with economic policy adopted at various times and drew attention to the aspects of danger and points of weakness in the present economic situation. In conclusion, the report pointed out certain bases and perspectives for a sound economic policy.

1. The development of national income from 1953 to 1963: The report says in this respect that national income in 1953 was estimated at 252 million dinars; in 1954 it was 322 million dinars; in 1955 it was 299 million dinars; in 1956 it was 334 million dinars; in 1957 it was 348 million dinars; in 1958 it was 363 million dinars; in 1959 it was 368 million dinars; in 1960 it was 412 million dinars; in 1961 it was 468 million dinars; in 1962 it was 503 million dinars; in 1963 it was 489 million dinars. The report says that it can be seen from the statistics available that the three most important sources of national income are the agricultural, industrial, and oil sectors. Thus we find that national income from agriculture was 115 million dinars in 1954, compared with 81 million dinars in 1963; and from industry 23 million dinars in 1954, compared with 62 million dinars in 1963; revenue from oil has risen sharply from 75 million dinars in 1954 to 140 million dinars in 1963.

The following facts can be deduced from the above figures :—

(a) The national growth average did not exceed 6 per cent per annum, a poor average, which is proportionate neither with the increase in public expenditure in the ordinary budgets and the economic programme budgets, nor with the increase in imports. (b) Oil constitutes the biggest source of national revenue compared with other sources of revenue. (c) National revenue from agriculture has not increased in recent years. Quite the contrary, it tended to drop.

2. Imports and exports: The report says that, as a result of the expansion in government expenditure and the increase in national income, the citizen's purchasing power increased. This led to a wide demand for imported consumer and producer goods. Import figures

during the past 15 years rose steadily. On the other hand, export averages did not retain their level, but continued to drop. In 1950, imports amounted to 37 million dinars and exports 20 million dinars. In 1951, imports rose to 50 million dinars and exports to 27 million dinars. In 1957, imports amounted to 122 million dinars and exports dropped to 13 million dinars. In 1958, imports amounted to 109 million dinars and exports to 14 million dinars. In 1959, imports rose to 116 million dinars and exports dropped to 11 million dinars. In 1960, imports rose to 139 million dinars and exports dropped to 8 million dinars. In 1961, imports rose to 145 million dinars and exports remained at 8 million dinars. In 1962, imports amounted to 129 million dinars and exports 19 million dinars. In 1963, imports amounted to 114 million dinars and exports 17 million dinars. In 1964, imports rose to 147 million dinars and exports dropped to 15 million dinars.

The report says that we can deduce from the above figures the following facts :—

(a) The increase in imports and the decrease in exports year after year has widened the gap between the values of imports and exports. This in turn had led to further dependence on oil revenue which continued to be the main source of foreign currency.

(b) The huge sums allocated for the development board programmes before 14th July, 1958, and those allocated for the provisional development programme under Abd al-Karim Qasim's régime, were not used in developing agriculture and industry, as they should have been. Quite the opposite, priority was given to housing schemes and road and bridge construction. For all these reasons, Iraq continued to depend on imports of various manufactured commodities and foodstuffs. In certain years, Iraq was actually compelled to import wheat and rice.

(c) Analysis of the import and export figures shows that consumer goods represent a large part of our imports, invariably amounting to over 50 per cent of all imports in any given year, while producer goods range from 20 to 25 per cent. Construction materials, which constitute 15 per cent of all imports, come next, followed by raw materials for industry, which amount to 10 per cent. This clearly means that our industrial and agricultural development was not proceeding normally, and that the economic policies of the various régimes did not give enough attention to this important matter. Hence this frightful difference between import and export figures.

(d) What attracts attention is the fact that import figures rose sharply during 1960, 1961, and 1964, whereas export figures fell to the lowest minimum. The reason was the poor performance in agriculture resulting from the fumbling and improvisation which accompanied the application of the Agrarian Reform Law, and also the

fact that the majority of the peasants ignored agriculture to devote their time to slogans and processions, which led to a serious drop in agricultural yields. During these years, Iraq was compelled to import large quantities of rice and wheat to meet the great demand for them.

3. The ordinary budget : The report reviewed budget revenue and expenditure. During the 1955-56 fiscal year, revenue amounted to 65 million dinars and expenditure to 55 million dinars. In the 1956-57 fiscal year, revenue amounted to 62 million dinars and expenditure to 70 million dinars. In 1959-60, revenue amounted to 89 million dinars and expenditure to 100 million dinars. In 1960-61, revenue amounted to 103 million dinars and expenditure to 114 million dinars. In 1963-64, revenue amounted to 126 million dinars and expenditure to 149 million dinars. In 1964-65, revenue amounted to 113 million dinars and expenditure to 127 million dinars. In 1965-66, revenue was estimated at 190 million dinars.

Remarks contained in the report regarding the ordinary budget and its relation to economic policy :—

(a) Greater reliance on oil royalties. The ratio of reliance has varied from 19 per cent in 1952-53 to about 50 per cent in 1959-60. Whereas oil royalties were divided between the development budget, later the economic plan, and the ordinary budget at the rate of 70 and 30 per cent respectively, the rate was amended in the 1959-60 fiscal year and one-third of the royalties was divided equally between them. Moreover, the Finance Ministry was compelled to transfer the sum of 25 million dinars from the economic plan budget to the ordinary budget, thus increasing its share from oil royalties.

(b) There was a huge increase in expenditure in the past few years. Some of the increase was warranted, due to the expanded medical, cultural, and social services offered by the Government to the people. It was also warranted by the increase in defence expenditure and other expenses made necessary by expanded Arab and international commitments. It is, however, certain that there were unjustified increases in expenditure, such as the expansion of Government departments and an increased number of officials. The Government thus found itself paying out more than half its budget for salaries.

(c) Most of the expenditure in the ordinary budget is confined to consumption. A small part is spent on production. Moreover, the fact that the implementation of development projects and the economic plan proceeded and are still proceeding very slowly indicate that the gap between revenue and expenditure will widen every year, because we cannot anticipate any important increase in revenue if there is no large increase in national production.

(d) In most years, the ordinary budgets were not organized in a manner helpful to the economic plan budget or the economic development operation. On the

contrary, fiscal and taxation policies in particular contradicted the prerequisites for the creation of economic growth and prosperity.

4. The development board and economic plan budgets: With regard to the budgets of the development board and the provisional and detailed economic plan and the annual exploitation programmes for the period from 1951-52 to 1963-64, the report contained the following remarks:—

(a) The budgets of the development board from its establishment during the 1951-52 fiscal year up to 1957-58: The sums allocated for the development board's budgets during the above-mentioned period was in the range of 319 million dinars. However, the sums actually spent during this period amounted to 172,700,000 dinars. Some 60,600,000 dinars were allocated to the agricultural sector, 19 million dinars to the industrial sector, which included electrification, 44,700,000 dinars to the transport and communications sector, and 48,800,000 dinars to the building and housing sector.

(b) Some 698,500,000 dinars were allocated from fiscal year 1958-59 to 1963-64 in accordance with the budgets of the provisional and detailed economic plan and the annual exploitation programmes. The actual sum spent during this period was 317,500,000 dinars. Some 57,700,000 dinars were allocated to the irrigation sector, which included irrigation and agrarian reform, 45 million dinars to the industrial sector, which included electrification, 74,700,000 dinars to the transport and communications sector, and 140 million dinars to the building and housing sector.

These figures indicate the following: (i) The failure of the responsible sides to implement productive and development projects according to the above-mentioned programme. (ii) Most of the sums allocated to the agriculture and industrial sectors were carried forward from one year to another and occasionally struck out and the sums involved transferred to the transport and communications and building and housing sectors. Perhaps the main reason for this was the failure of the administrative and technical departments of the various ministries and of the planning and development departments to meet the conditions required to implement agricultural and industrial projects.

The following are the consequences of the development policies adopted by the various governments:—

(a) The growth of national income in the agricultural and industrial sectors has been and is still very slow and is not up to the standard of the country's potentialities and needs. (b) Lack of balance in

industrial growth in the various sectors achieved with national income resources. (c) All of these policies led to the reduction of exports and increase of imports, thus causing a deficit in the trade balance. (d) Reliance on oil as the best source of foreign currency increased. This is a serious matter, since oil is a source which is affected by political considerations and various circumstances which cannot be controlled.

5. The five-year economic plan for the years 1965-69: The report says the total value of projects under the plan, to which are added international commitments, productive defence projects, and expenses of the planning and follow-up departments, is 821 million dinars, distributed among the various sectors as follows: agriculture, 157 million dinars; industry, 159 million dinars; electricity, 45 million dinars; transport, 119 million dinars; building, 274,500,000 dinars; trade and services, 4 million dinars; international commitments, settlement of loans, 25 million dinars; Defence Ministry's productive projects, 35 million dinars; and planning and follow-up departments, 2,500,000 dinars. The plans law says that the government sectors' contribution to the implementation of the plan's projects will be 78 per cent, that is, 640 million dinars, while the private sector's contribution will be 22 per cent, that is, 181 million dinars. The main contribution of this sector will be to the sector of housing and buildings, which will amount to 140 million dinars and will be followed by the contribution to the industrial sector, which will amount to 17 million dinars.

The report makes the following observations regarding the five-year economic plan:—

(a) Estimates of the sources of financing and of the central government investments were over optimistic. The various financing resources such as oil revenue and internal loans did not reach the figures of revenue contained in the plan. (b) [Indistinct passage.] (c) Allocation of 181 million dinars for private sector investment was not the result of a realistic study. At the time of the formulation of the plan and the approval of the plan, the atmosphere was not favourable for expecting such a large contribution by the private sector. (d) The plan does not include all the requirements of Iraq, particularly the projects for production of commodities. These commodities require large sums to import them from abroad. (e) Attention should be paid to the implementation of the agricultural and industrial sectors' projects within the bounds of the sums allocated for them and within the period set out for them under the plan. Otherwise the error committed by former régimes in neglecting these two sectors will recur.

# Press Conference by the Iraqi Premier Professor al-Bazzaz

(a) *Statement :*

**P**RÉCIS of recorded press statement made by the Premier Dr. Abd ar-Rahman al-Bazzaz, on Baghdad Radio, at the National Assembly building on 12th January, 1966 :—

You will recall that when we took over the responsibilities of government three months ago, the country was in a serious financial state. We inherited a budget with a heavy deficit which made the task of the Finance Minister and of the Cabinet in general a difficult one. I do not claim that his task has now become less difficult, but we are fighting hard to achieve the minimum for the smooth running of this state.

When we came to power the national economy was in a critical state. Once again I do not claim that we have finally solved the crisis, but I am justified in saying that we have begun tackling this crisis. I am pleased to announce now that there has been an improvement in economic conditions. Proof of this is the appreciable increase in bank savings during the past three months, the growing number of requests for permits to build factories and the expansion in commercial transactions. Other proofs are the citizens' renewed confidence in the state and the rise in the value of the Iraqi dinar in world markets.

Once again I want to say that we have not worked miracles but we have worked persistently and sincerely, while fully aware of the true requirements of this country, without sacrificing the socialist principle to which we have committed ourselves. We believe in socialism as a political-social doctrine. Socialism is the social front of Arab nationalism. However, I want every dedicated Arab nationalist to know that our socialism is neither imported, nor is it contradictory to our national thinking. Put clearly, socialism means achievement of the higher goals, foremost of which are : social justice, the impartial removal of unreasonable class distinction, and the establishment of a consolidated society in which prosperity prevails.

Thus, we had to pursue the principle which we have called rational socialism. The idea was to distinguish our kind of socialism from those which are based chiefly on Marxism and class war, and others which cannot possibly harmonize with our national thinking. To apply our rational socialism, we have enacted various laws of which you are already aware. We have eliminated centralization, embodied in a group of persons, and sometimes a single man, assuming absolute control of such sectors as economic planning, and have also passed laws for proper economic planning. In our statement of

policy, we said we would encourage the public, private, and mixed sectors and that we would endeavour to create a society governed by social justice and prosperity, a society which did not believe in extremism or which sacrificed the rights of the workers, peasants, and people of limited income.

Allow me here to answer those—especially in the sister Arab states—who claim that we have moved to the right. To start with, let me state quite clearly that the terms right and left are alien to the plain and distinct Arab nationalism in which we believe. Therefore, we do not care for such terms. Our socialism is neither rightist nor leftist, and we have neither moved to the right nor to the left. We are Arab nationalists and socialists who believe in social justice and try to achieve the goals of our nation and people completely ignoring the theories and terminologies which could easily render a government incapable of carrying out its mission.

The other task which has occupied the Government in the past months was to restore Government prestige and to assert the supremacy of the law. Some have described this as a backward step and a killing of the revolutionary spirit. I want to say in this connection that true revolutionary spirit can only exist where certain human values also exist. These values are the maintenance of law and the achievement of social justice. A society which calls itself revolutionary in the sense that it does not respect the law is one which heads towards self-destruction. If being revolutionary means extreme fanaticism, violation of existing regulations, and disrespect of the law, then we are not revolutionaries. These are some of the basic things which we have honestly tried to achieve. And we have achieved a great deal, as you probably know. We passed several Bills and removed all sources of anxiety through the setting up of a fact-finding commission whose task is to consider the citizens' complaints.

There is a domestic question about which I feel somewhat embarrassed to speak. A group of citizens, fortunately a small group, has tried to exploit the spirit of tolerance and justice and the sense of a rational state in order to provoke communal strife and create a rift between citizens of one country. We are pleased to say here that their attempts have failed. The Iraqi people have again proved that they are citizens of one country and one nation.

We believe that we are serving our society out of our sense of duty. We also believe that our mature people can now distinguish between sincere men and those who uphold false slogans. I assure you that if we were to resort to repressive measures we could have easily

dealt with those men who provoke strife, because we know who they are.

I said that I and my colleagues could not achieve all the things we wanted to achieve. Naturally, you cannot expect us to achieve miracles within three months. We are faced with important matters which we are trying to achieve in accordance with the Government's programme. One of them is the electoral law. You have undoubtedly read that a ministerial committee has been formed and has held several meetings. We will soon meet again. The [electoral] law will soon be promulgated. I assure you that the elections will be held as scheduled and full parliamentary life will return to our people within the limits mentioned in the Government programme and as specified in the provisional constitution.

We are also concerned about reorganizing the Socialist Union and co-ordinating its work. Frankly, this is an urgent question but other priorities such as maintaining security, restoring Government prestige, and settling the financial question have taken up most of the Government's time. We are now in the second stage which will see the reorganization of the people within the Socialist Union, the materialization of parliamentary life, and the continued implementation of the Government programme in various fields.

One basic problem remains unsolved. This is the problem of our brothers in the north, or to be precise, the problem of a group of citizens, for I know that the vast majority of the people in the north are peaceful citizens. They are a part of this homeland and care about its unity. Another group, however, still resorts to violence. I now address my remarks to that group: If that group means what it says, namely, that it does not seek secession but wants to be a part of this homeland, and that it only wants our Kurdish brothers to preserve their national existence, then I say to that group that there is no longer any valid excuse for the present acts of violence.

We have already declared that objective and are now striving to achieve it. We have stated in the amended provisional constitution that the Kurds have the right to promote their national existence, and that we respect their national existence. We have also declared in the Government's programme that we will promulgate a local administration law under which the people of the north will have a larger share in running their own affairs.

We have already announced, and do it again now, that as soon as violence ends the Government will do its best to reconstruct the north, compensate the victims, and restore normal life. I have already said, and repeat it here, that I consider every bullet shot and every bomb dropped in any part of the homeland as a double loss. The bomb which is dropped is a loss, and the target it hits is an even greater loss. We do not want to destroy a single village, demolish a single house, or kill a single

animal or person, because we believe that they are all part of this homeland. Our duty is to look after their interests and to reconstruct the north. Destroying the north means destroying our homeland.

However, when there is violence and mutiny, no government has any choice but to use force. I am pleased to say that the rebels do not constitute the majority of the people in the north. Moreover, most of the rebels feel deep within their hearts that there is no sense in killing others to justify this illogical situation, unless they are secessionists masquerading as non-secessionists, which is something else. In such circumstances, we cannot possibly part with one inch of our soil. We will strive to preserve the territorial integrity of this homeland. That is our sacred duty which we will not abandon.

We do this not for the sake of the Arabs alone, but for Arabs and Kurds alike, because the overwhelming majority of those brothers do not seek secession. If out of personal ambition or foreign instigation some of those brothers are working against the interests of this country, then all citizens undoubtedly condemn and reject their actions and their violence. This is a summing up of our domestic policy.

You have the right to ask me to explain certain aspects of our foreign policy. In the statement of policy and other statements, we said that the policy of any government is based on the country's geographic and historic conditions and the interests of the people. Iraq is bordered by non-Arab Islamic countries as well as by sister Arab countries.

Iraq's policy towards the neighbouring non-Arab countries is based on a true desire for peaceful co-existence and sincere co-operation in the cultural and economic fields and by neighbourly requirements. Our policy towards the Arab countries is clear. We are part of the Arab nation. Our fate is linked to it in such a manner that it cannot be ignored by any thinking person. We certainly realize that the ultimate fate of the Arab nation is one and the same and that the requirements of Arab nationalism make it incumbent on Arabs in all their countries to work to achieve their common sublime aims, to co-operate, and to march with firm but continuous steps towards the ultimate goals of establishing their common general entity and achieving comprehensive welfare. We believe in and are diligently working towards this end.

On this occasion, we assert that our relations with all the Arab countries, without exception, are good. Recent events have strengthened this and confirmed the unity of the Arabs. They have also affirmed that the occasional differences which arise among brothers do not continue to the point of estrangement. No non-Arab should exploit these differences for his own interest, because when things become serious, we respond together and march as one.

Sister Syria's attitude is perhaps an example of this. I say with profound regret that there has been certain

vituperation—primarily by one side but certainly not by us—and attacks which we have heard from time to time or read in certain fanatic newspapers. All this did not prevent Syria from responding to us and declaring its full support for Iraq at a time when it was exposed to pressure or to possible aggression by a foreign state. Iraq also had a minor problem with another Arab state, namely Kuwait—I reaffirm that it was a very minor problem—but when things became serious, Kuwait also responded harmoniously and asserted its Arab feeling and its preparedness to aid Iraq.

I believe that I need not say that our ties with the U.A.R. have not weakened and cannot be weakened. The common ideals which bind us and the U.A.R. are based on strong conviction. We believe that we and the U.A.R. people share ideologies and commitments which will always lead us to march in one line to achieve the common aims and principles.

What remains now is our problem with our neighbour Iran. I would like you to remember that the disputes between Iraq and Iran are very old—as old as Iraq itself and indeed they preceded the establishment of the modern Iraqi state. From the time of the Ottoman Empire, border disputes existed between that empire and Iran. This is natural, for there are long borders between Iraq and Iran, and Kurdish tribes live on both sides of the border, and as there are some Iraqi tribes in Iran, naturally there will be friction, conflict, and hostility between them. Moreover, many of our small rivers have their sources in Iran. Disputes over water, grazing land, many other questions are therefore numerous. Without exaggeration I can say that half of Iraq's disputes with the outside world are with Iran. The correspondence, contacts, and protests are continuous. It is unfair, then, to say that disputes are something new or even that they receded during the period while Iraq was a member of the Baghdad Pact. They were frozen, perhaps, but were never solved.

It has been, and still is, Iraq's policy to solve its problems with Iran in a friendly way. I regret to say that Iran has not always been interested in peaceful solutions, and the history of Iraqi-Iranian relations is proof of this. However, I can assure you that Iraq was not responsible for the recent crisis. This crisis began when Iran claimed that Iraq had violated its territory and air space, and that some Iranian villages had been strafed by aircraft, etc. According to our information, the incidents did not take place in the manner described by the Iranian Government. Nevertheless, we say that we are ready to meet and discuss these disputes and to form the necessary fact-finding commissions. If it then transpires that such things did happen, and if they did then they certainly happened inadvertently and without malicious intentions, then Iraq is ready to shoulder the responsibility and to compensate the Iranians concerned.

We said this to our neighbours but instead of responding, they used violence and sent reinforcements to

the border. Statements were made, and although some of them expressed a desire for peace and a love for the Iraqi people, yet between the lines they carried a threatening tone. This is regrettable, because Iraq is Iran's neighbour and has historical, social, and religious ties with it. It is also keen on maintaining these ties. The Iranian Government should therefore have followed the friendly way by protesting. The use of violence and threats was not justified.

Ever since this Government took office it has sought in every way to convince the Iranians of our sincere wish to solve our problems by peaceful and friendly ways. I tried to use my personal friendship with the Iranian Premier. I wrote him a personal and friendly letter and told him that he should visit the holy places in Al-Hillah to fulfil a solemn pledge made by his mother during his youth. He replied that he would make this visit. However, my friend Hoveyda turned this personal letter into an official document and he took the liberty of publishing it without asking me. Nevertheless, his statement about the letter, as I learned from the press, did not reflect the feelings I expressed in the letter.

However, I repeat here, and I am sure that my friend Hoveyda will hear of this press conference, that this fraternal invitation still stands and my assurance to him that we will explain and welcome him, and my belief that this meeting will be useful and beneficial also stand. As for saying that the invitation was rejected or made conditional, I read his reply. Actually he did not reject my invitation, but said that in order for the meeting to be useful, it was preferable for it to be preceded by a friendly atmosphere and that committees should be set up to study the problems. Naturally, we do not oppose the setting up of joint committees and we are always ready to meet and discuss matters in a friendly way, since this is the best and safest way between two neighbourly states. But it is incorrect to assume that there were conditions laid down by Iran for entering into negotiations with us. I did not mean that, and I do not wish in any way to enter into official negotiations.

I call for meetings between friends to discuss problems and to create a cordial atmosphere for their solution. In my opinion, and this was what I told him, there are no disputes between us, between Iraq and Iran, which would be difficult to solve with good intentions on both sides. I assured him that we have good intentions and expressed the hope that they did as well. So if we meet we will definitely make progress because this in itself would be a beneficial way to exchange feelings and views, particularly as I said, since we are closely linked.

Earlier, our Ambassador in Tehran made three proposals which were accepted in principle by Iran and we too welcomed them. The three proposals are: (1) That Iran withdraw its troops a reasonable distance from the border; (2) that the propaganda and verbal campaigns be stopped by both sides, whether in the press, television, or radio; and (3) that committees be

formed to study minor and particular problems connected with border disputes.

Regarding the radio and television, which are under state control, we of course committed ourselves to that. As for the press, I appeal to you, while you are here, to do likewise. All we can do is appeal, as everybody must know that the press here is free and the Government has no control over it. But on the other hand, I feel that you too, as citizens, have a sense of responsibility and appreciate your overall duty. I sincerely appeal to you to respond by stopping everything that might harm our neighbour in any way be it in a report, commentary, or by quoting damaging reports from other quarters.

The opportunity has not been lost and we can solve our disputes in friendly negotiations. I know that some citizens may describe this policy as a weakness. But I want to say to these citizens that we do not lack courage, but wisdom is greater than courage. We appreciate our responsibility and we love peace. Those who are in control of the country are responsible for the safety of the people. Hot-headedness, vituperation, and war cannot solve the problem. It can be solved by logic, wisdom, flexibility, patience, and hard work. We are following this path in order to achieve peace with our neighbours.

I am glad to say that the citizens have responded to our appeal to refrain from demonstrations and to leave the matter to the Government to settle. I do not deny that there is some tension, but the warm welcome accorded our Ambassador by the Shah of Iran, the Iranian Ministers, and the Premier, the opening of the dialogue, the continuation of correspondence and the desire to solve the problem cordially still exist. We should therefore be patient and persevering, even if hope fades, but even much more so now that hope is still strong.

Before ending my statement I want to touch on another subject. I have learned that some compatriots, out of ignorance rather than bad intentions, claim that I visited Saudi Arabia to negotiate on entering new pacts, particularly the so-called Islamic pact. I want to reaffirm to them that our policy, which is based on positive neutrality, non-alignment, and non-participation in any pact save that which emanates from our Arab existence and our national Arab requirements—I say that this policy of ours is firm and still in force. We will not deviate from it in the least. However, it is our duty to contact all Arab states, and Saudi Arabia is a sister state which is linked with us by strong ties. I seized the opportunity of my pilgrimage to visit King Faysal. A cordial and fraternal discussion took place between us. The discussion touched mainly on explaining our policy towards Iran and at our request—he [King Faysal] had earlier promised to speak to them on our problems—and we asked him to exert more fraternal efforts, at least to reduce the Iranian pressure and to talk to Iran, since he is a friend of Iran, and it is his right to be a friend of every Muslim and non-Muslim state. We

asked His Majesty, and he responded willingly, to use his good offices to bring our views and those of Iran closer together. As for the allegation about pacts or the Islamic pact, the King did not discuss this subject at all. And I do not think that he (?seeks the creation of a pact) of this kind. Anyhow, he is free to set up whatever pact he wishes.

We shall remain anxious to co-operate with the other Arab states and will explain our policy and state of affairs to them, because, although our systems of government may differ, yet we remain Arabs and whenever the need arises, an Arab will respond to the appeal of his Arab brother.

This is the truth about our foreign policy. We did not betray our policy of non-alignment, and we did not retreat from our strong link with the U.A.R., and we will never retreat. We shall respond to the calls of all sincere Arab states for achieving the common aims. We shall not be swept by recklessness and we shall not be frightened by accusations. Let our enemies say whatever they want. We know who we are, and we are confident that the people know what we are doing.

*(b) Questions and Answers :*

When the Premier concluded his statement press and news agency correspondents asked him a number of questions which he answered with complete frankness.

Asked whether Iran had stopped the propaganda campaign, he said that he had learned from the Foreign Ministry that Iran had stopped it. He added : It will be better if we continue to abide by this decision.

Asked about the exchange of Ambassadors between Iraq and Syria, the Premier said : If Syria appoints its own Ambassador, we are prepared to appoint ours. We are aware of the present conditions in Syria and we wish it well and every success in its new policy.

Asked whether the Government would publish a white paper on the Iraqi-Iranian border incidents, Bazzaz said : We have not considered such an action so far. However, we shall do so if necessary.

Replying to a question on Iraq's attitude towards the Iranian Government's announcement about the abrogation of the 1937 agreement [on Shatt al-Arab], the Premier said : The agreements are binding and no one party can abrogate it. We have not been officially notified about this [abrogation]. However, we assert that we adhere to international treaties and consider the agreement valid. If every state were allowed to cancel whatever treaties it wished, treaties would then become paper cuttings.

In reply to a further question on whether a date had been fixed for the President's visit to Cairo, he said that when the date has been finally fixed, an announcement would be made.

Asked about developments in the oil negotiations, the Premier said that there were no developments and that the position was unchanged.



**Tanks of the Iraqi Army passing on parade in front of President Arif of Iraq and high-ranking officials and officers of the Iraqi Army and Government, celebrating Iraqi Army Day**





President Arif of Iraq taking the Salute at parade of Iraqi Army units in Baghdad on Iraqi Army Day

The correspondent of the Soviet news agency Tass asked the Premier several questions including one on relations between Iraq and the socialist countries. Bazzaz replied: We are seeking to develop these relations and to strengthen the existing trade, cultural, and economic relations.

Answering another question on Iraq's attitude towards Federal Germany, the Premier said: Federal Germany has tried to contact Iraq and has sought to restore diplomatic relations. We were, and still are, of the opinion that these relations should be discussed on a pan-Arab level and on the basis of a frank and clear policy by the Federal German Government towards Israel.

Answering a question by a Jordanian correspondent on the highway between Iraq and the U.A.R., the Premier said: Discussion on this subject has now been postponed. In principle, we welcome every move to strengthen and increase the ties between any two fraternal countries. Replying to another question by the same correspondent on the demarcation of borders between Iraq and Jordan, he said that there was nothing new concerning this matter.

The Premier then answered questions by the G.D.R. news agency correspondent including one on Iraq's attitude towards the existence of two German Governments. He said: The Germans can solve their own problems and decide whether Germany will remain divided or unified as one state. Replying to another question by the same correspondent on the co-operation of Western Germany and Israel in the fields of nuclear armament as a joint threat to the Arabs and democratic

Germany, Premier Bazzaz said: We are naturally against this. We consider any co-operation in the field of nuclear armament to be against our interests. We hope that all the peace-lovers will share this view with us. Asked by the same correspondent about the proposal by the chairman of the G.D.R. State Council Ulbright calling upon Western Germany to issue a joint disarmament declaration, Bazzaz welcomed the proposal and said: We hope that Western Germany will agree to this offer.

Asked if political isolation will be applied when promulgating the elections law, he said: The law has not been enacted yet. The drafting committee has not completed its activities. Therefore we prefer to leave this question to a final decision. Generally speaking, we believe in the expansion of the base as much as possible. He added that he believed that it was necessary to apply certain restrictions but it would not necessarily mean political isolation. He said: Frankly, a number of revolutions did not erupt in Iraq so the old faces who raise their fingers in support of every issue should return to the parliament. We want a parliament of responsible revolutionaries and rational socialists.

Asked if new economic measures would be introduced, Bazzaz replied: The laws have been drafted in a manner which allows expansion of the decisions adopted according to them. The economic departments can make decisions according to the country's conditions.

The Premier concluded his press conference by thanking the journalists present and expressing his hope to meet them at intervals.

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*Iraqi Government Changes.*—President Arif has signed a decree on 11th December, 1965 accepting the resignation of Akram al-Jaf and making the following appointments: Mahmud Hasan Jumah, Minister of Agrarian Reform; Hasan Thamir, Minister of Municipal and Rural affairs and acting Minister of Agriculture; Ahmad Adnan Hafiz, Minister of Communications and acting Minister of Works and Housing; Muslih an Naqshabandi, Minister of State; Adnan al-Pachachi, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

# The U.A.R.'s Severance of Relations with Britain

(a) Text of statement by Muhyi ad-Din, the U.A.R. Premier, to the National Assembly, on 22nd December, 1965:—

Members of the National Assembly, I wish to speak to you to-day about the developments in our African continent. These developments compelled us to break off diplomatic relations with the British Government on 16th December.

Imperialism is now repeating in its ugliest form in Southern Rhodesia the tragedy which it has perpetrated in several parts of the world. The crime which imperialism committed in Palestine is about to be enacted again through what it is perpetrating against the people of Southern Rhodesia. Imperialism brought with it thousands of foreigners and aliens and enabled them, through force and arms, to impose their will on millions of the indigenous population and to plunder the wealth of this country's people. By all these actions, imperialism has been carrying out a racist policy contrary to all ethical and humanitarian values.

British imperialism has made it possible for the European minority to seize power in Southern Rhodesia and persecute millions of its struggling people. It is for this reason that the U.A.R. and its African brother states have strongly demanded that Britain shoulder its responsibilities and take measures to ensure that the indigenous population recover their usurped rights and legitimate powers. But the British Government did not take the initiative in adopting any effective or serious measures concerning the proclamation of independence made by the minority government with the object of usurping authority and continuing to exploit the African people in Southern Rhodesia.

My concern here is to give you some facts about the racist and imperialist policy which has led to the serious situation confronting the Rhodesian people, and, even, the peoples of the entire African continent.

The region of Southern Rhodesia is located in the imperialist belt which circumscribes the south of the continent. This belt consists of the colonies of the Portuguese Government and the South African Government, with whom the African states had earlier decided to break off diplomatic relations.

These are the areas in which imperialism is now barricading itself in its quest to drain this continent's resources and to impoverish its inhabitants and keep them in a grave state of backwardness and isolation from the other African peoples who are now working with determination and honour to eliminate the dangerous

colonialist remnants, to catch up with the caravan of progress and to seek to establish an international society founded on peace and justice.

British imperialism arrived in Southern Rhodesia a few years following its occupation of our country at the end of the last century. Imperialism found Southern Rhodesia to be a land abounding in minerals. Accordingly a number of colonialists, now numbering approximately 200,000 persons, emigrated to it. They are exploiting the country's wealth and serving the interests of imperialist capitalist monopolies. For this purpose, they are utilizing the four million indigenous inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia.

Britain long ago fashioned her policy in Rhodesia in a manner that would enable the settlers there to obtain a sham independence akin to that of South Africa—an independence not intended to grant freedom to the indigenous people of the country but to insulate and isolate them in order to subjugate them to a racist policy that conflicts with all moral and human values. In Southern Rhodesia, Britain aims to set up an imperialist dam in the area to stem the flooding of the liberation movement in Africa into the richest areas which are being exploited by the imperialist capitalist monopolies.

Under this master plan, Britain first sought to set up a federation in Central Africa comprising Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. But in 1963, under the pressure of the national movement, Britain was compelled to concede independence to the peoples of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Thus the states of Zambia and Malawi came into being, while imperialism continued to barricade itself in Southern Rhodesia where the greatest number of European settlers live. Furthermore, Britain, handed over to these settlers all the arms and equipment which formerly belonged to the Central African Federation, an action which the African states, including the U.A.R., protested against and condemned. The minutes of the December, 1963, meetings of the Security Council bear witness to the warnings which the U.A.R. and a number of African states made, drawing attention to the serious consequences which would result from such an action—consequences which we are now witnessing.

After being supplied with these arms, the settlers' government in Southern Rhodesia continued to arrogate power in the country, to ignore the rights of the indigenous people, and cement the establishment of a state which is ostensibly independent but actually tied to imperialist interests—as occurred in Palestine in 1948.

The African states opposed this arrogation of power on many occasions. They were joined and supported by the liberated states throughout the world. In July, 1964, the first African summit conference held in Cairo passed a resolution calling on Britain not to transfer power and sovereignty to the minority government which the settlers are trying to foist forcibly upon the African people, and emphatically demanding the application of the U.N. resolutions which aim at enabling the majority to gain their freedom and assume legitimate power in their own country.

The conference of non-aligned states held in Cairo from 5th to 10th October, 1964, also adopted a resolution deploring Britain's failure to implement the U.N. resolutions on Rhodesia and urging Britain to invite all the political groups in Rhodesia to an immediate constitutional conference to draw up a new constitution which would enable all citizens to vote on an equal basis and thus ensure majority rule.

The African states later called for a meeting of the security council in April, 1965. At this, the Council adopted a resolution calling on Britain not to grant independence to or agree to a declaration of independence by the minority government which is controlling the fate of Rhodesia, and urging her to take the necessary measures to this end. On 21st October, 1965, the U.N. General Assembly invited the United Kingdom Government to adopt all measures to forestall this usurpation of power and urged it to take into account the need to transfer power to a government representing the majority of the people.

In October, 1965, the African summit conference in Accra reviewed the situation in Southern Rhodesia in view of the indications that the imperialist plan there had been completed and that the minority government was on the verge of proclaiming U.D.I. The African Heads of State accordingly passed their resolution on Rhodesia which stipulated the need to use all means to counter this situation. They also requested Britain to fulfil her responsibilities and use force to prevent the settlers' government from taking this step. The resolution provided for: (1) Reconsideration of the African States' relations with Britain if she were lax with the settlers and allowed them to attain their goal of taking over authority in the country. (2) A request to the Security Council to consider the situation in Rhodesia as a threat to international peace and security and to make use of the sanctions provided for in this case by Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter. (3) The offer of all aid to the Zimbabwe people to liberate themselves by every means. (4) The imposition of a complete boycott of the present government in Southern Rhodesia in the political and economic fields.

But Britain ignored all these resolutions. She did not take any serious action in this connection. She then announced that she would not use force against Ian Smith. This encouraged him to proclaim the false independence on 11th November, 1965, because he was

certain that Britain would not intervene in a serious and effective manner in order to prevent him from usurping authority.

On 3rd December, the Foreign Minister of the O.A.U. member states held an emergency meeting in Addis Ababa. They passed their resolution giving Britain another opportunity to fulfil her responsibilities and use force to overthrow Ian Smith and his illicit government. The Foreign Ministers gave Britain until 15th December to do this. The African states would otherwise sever their diplomatic relations with Britain from this date.

Members of the National Assembly, the things which the imperialist and racist forces are now doing in the heart of Africa are the same things as they did earlier on the borders of Africa, in Palestine. Because it has begun to retreat before the forces of liberation and progress, imperialism is seeking to set up and maintain bridges to use later for penetration, with the object of retaining its control and domination over the peoples struggling for their freedom. Imperialism will also use these bridges as a foothold for every form of neo-colonialism, so that these states and peoples will remain under imperialism's sway and within its spheres of influence.

This imperialist policy which, in the Arab world, was carried out on the soil of Palestine and which has victimized the Palestinian people, is now recurring in Africa. We must counter this imperialist technique by maintaining solidarity with the liberated states and the struggling peoples. We must bear in mind that, as the defeat of imperialism in Suez nine years ago meant a defeat for it everywhere, its success in this attempt against the people of Southern Rhodesia will enable and encourage it to make other attempts.

In the light of this, in its belief in the indivisibility of the cause of freedom, in deference to the resolution passed by the African Foreign Ministers' conference, in accordance with the unswerving principles of our international relations, and through loyalty to the principles of the U.N. and O.A.U. Charters, the U.A.R. announced on 16th December, 1965, the severance of diplomatic relations with the British Government.

(b) Text of a resolution passed unanimously by the U.A.R. National Assembly:—

The National Assembly, after having heard the statement by H.E. the Premier about the severance of diplomatic relations with the British Government because of its attitude towards the action taken by the white minority Government in Rhodesia—proclaiming unilateral independence against the will of the African majority, the rightful owner of the true right to its homeland—and as the National Assembly believes that this stand by the U.A.R. Government is an implementation of the decision of the O.A.U. member States' Council of Foreign Ministers and an expression of the principles agreed on at the recent African summit conference

regarding imperialist plots in Africa, the Assembly supports this step which conforms to the principles on which our foreign policy is based, i.e. fighting imperialism in all its old and new forms, and which confirms our adherence to African unity, to making a positive contribution to the confrontation of the continent's causes and to shouldering its responsibilities.

The National Assembly rejects the British Government's weakness and hesitation over taking decisive action against the white minority Government which has set up a racist régime through which it has deprived the Africans, who are the true owners of their rights, of all their political and social rights. The U.N. has denounced this act by the white minority Government and requested the British Government to take conclusive action in order to meet its responsibilities toward the African people of Rhodesia.

The Assembly recalls the similar attitude shown by the British Government towards the racist minority in Arab

Palestine in 1948, and the British Government's plotting against the Arab people in Palestine in order to support the rule of the racist minority in it. The Assembly gives warning that the continuation of this situation in Rhodesia brings a positive danger to the African entity and to the independent African states for the situation supports imperialist conspiracies which are geared to removing a part of the African continent and establishing a racist régime in it which would serve as the spearhead to be directed against the independent African states. The racist régime will also be a springboard for imperialist and monopolist infiltration into the continent and for menacing Africa's freedom and independence.

Therefore, the National Assembly calls upon the Government to continue to contact the African Governments to expose this plot and to take common action by all African states in order to thwart and crush this conspiracy. The Assembly requests its secretariat to convey this resolution to the African Parliaments.

## Iraq Oil-Production Figures

### JANUARY 1966

The Iraq, Basrah, and Mosul Petroleum companies' production figures for January, 1966, are as follows:—

	<i>Production, Jan., 1966. Long tons.</i>
Iraq Petroleum Co., Ltd.	4,656,000
Basrah Petroleum Co., Ltd.	1,861,000
Mosul Petroleum Co., Ltd.	116,000
	<u>6,633,000</u>

### DECEMBER 1965

The Iraq, Basrah, and Mosul Petroleum companies' crude oil production figures for December, 1965, and the totals for the year 1965, are as follows:—

	<i>Production, December, 1965. Long tons.</i>	<i>Production, Jan.-Dec., 1965. Long tons.</i>
Iraq Petroleum Co., Ltd.	4,697,000	43,899,000
Basrah Petroleum Co., Ltd.	1,480,000	17,975,000
Mosul Petroleum Co., Ltd.	67,000	1,275,000
	<u>6,244,000</u>	<u>63,149,000</u>

### NOVEMBER 1965

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

	<i>Production, November, 1965. Long tons.</i>	<i>Production, Jan.-Nov., 1965. Long tons.</i>
Iraq Petroleum Co., Ltd.	4,088,000	39,202,000
Basrah Petroleum Co., Ltd.	1,392,000	16,495,000
Mosul Petroleum Co., Ltd.	104,000	1,208,000
	<u>5,584,000</u>	<u>56,905,000</u>

### OCTOBER 1965

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

	<i>Production, October, 1965. Long tons.</i>	<i>Production, Jan.-Oct., 1965. Long tons.</i>
Iraq Petroleum Co., Ltd.	3,994,000	35,114,000
Basrah Petroleum Co., Ltd.	1,464,000	15,103,000
Mosul Petroleum Co., Ltd.	111,000	1,104,000
	<u>5,569,000</u>	<u>51,321,000</u>

# Joint Communiqué on Merger of South Arabian Liberation Movements

TEXT of report on 14th January, 1966 :—

Here is the text of the joint communiqué issued by Ali as-Salami, member of the Command of the National Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Yemeni South, and Abdullah al-Asnaj, member of the Command of the Organization for the Liberation of the Occupied South, in which the merger of the two organizations into one Front, called the Liberation Front of the Occupied Yemeni South, has been announced. The communiqué says :—

Compatriots, great people of the South, there is no doubt that you know that our country is passing through a serious stage of hard national struggle. In the past few days a new Colonial Secretary was appointed, who announced the birth of a sham constitution for our country in a period not later than next February. Colonialism is trying by this to speed up time, in order to carry out its colonial plans, to plot for the liquidation of the revolution and to strike at the people from behind the screen of deception and delusion in the name of an amended constitution and sham independence. All this took place while the national forces were divided and hesitant in getting together, because of doubts and obstinacy in attitudes : friends became enemies, quarrels and grudges seeped in and the family quarrelled among itself, because of shortsightedness in dealing with matters. Even individuals, began to exert huge energies which were not in the interests of the cause. Colonialism is very pleased with this and it executes its plans through its agents with great calmness, ignoring the people's sacrifices in the towns, villages and the valleys, and ignoring world public opinion, which has often denounced its presence on our soil.

Brother compatriots, we are one people, this is our country, and this is our people. The British are intruders among us. The question of the South will be solved only if the sons of South unite, and only if their mentality is stripped of personal whims, personal feuds, and scandalous superiority. Our cause has since 1950 been held back by irresponsible personal greed, which is incapable of rising to the level of public interest, and thus the cause stumbled in the midst of divisions and quarrels and greed led to the weakening of all resources and energies, which became insufficient to foil the plans and schemes of colonialism.

In view of the present situation in the South and the recent developments in our cause, many meetings took

place between the National Front on the one hand, and the Organization for the Liberation of the South on the other. Both sides studied the developments of the problem and the necessity of unifying and rallying efforts in order that all should flow in one course, that is lead to the liberation of the country from colonialism and corrupt conditions. As a result of these meetings the National Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Yemeni South and the Organization for the Liberation of the Occupied South declare the following in their own names, in the name of the martyrs and deported, in the name of the prisoners, detainees, and destitute and in the name of all the sons of the South, east and west :—

*One* : Agreement has been reached between the National Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Yemeni South and the Organization for the Liberation of the Occupied South, that they should merge into one national revolutionary organization which will lead the people's revolution against British colonial tyranny and which will obtain for the Arab people in the South their full rights in liberation, unity, and progress.

*Two* : This new organization is to be called The Liberation Front of the Occupied Yemeni South.

*Three* : The organization held a number of meetings and consultations and reviewed the present situation in the country, in view of the solid popular will and the many victories achieved by the peoples in all their groups against the colonialists and their executioners, in spite of the circumstances surrounding the people. Let all understand that the enemies of the people, colonialists and opportunists continued to play a dangerous rôle against the interests of the people and the homeland, exploiting the mistrust among the national leaders, and working to keep the nationalists apart in the interests of colonialism and its hostile policy in the Arabian Peninsula.

*Four* : Thus it was natural that the two national organizations should respond to the demands of the present battle so as to surmount all obstacles and overcome all difficulties, in order to put a speedy end to the aggressive colonial presence on the soil of the South by a quick and complete merger and amalgamation.

*Five* : The agreement of the two organizations, in addition to being an inevitable result demanded by the decisive stage through which the cause of our people and country is passing, also came about through the insistence and the support of the masses which was expressed by our people through appeals and demands and the calls made by the sincere free and the noble struggling sons of



A protest demonstration staged in London, on British aggression in Aden and South Arabia, staged by Arab Students, and Workers, Unions in the U.K. as well as their Afro-Asian and British friends, sympathizers, and supporters, on 24th October, 1965

the occupied South, at home and abroad, and by their various tribal, workers', students', and women's sectors.

*Six* : The Front and the Organization, as they express the popular will in all parts of the occupied South, appeal to the sons of the South to shut out their differences and to reorganize themselves so as to be sure that the Liberation Front will develop the organization of the popular sectors which believe in the right of our people to destroy the unjust colonial conditions which have shackled the whole of our country for more than a century. The masses of our people within must raise the slogan of to-day's present battle : Freedom or death."

*Seven* : National unity is a pressing necessity and a sacred duty ; and this unified organization is the first and last resort for the achievement of the unity of our people and our nation, under a national, integral homogeneous command, readily reacting to events.

*Eight* : The unified organization of the people's revolution against old and new colonialism is the only example capable of fulfilling the aspirations of our people which are summarized in ending colonial presence in all its political, military, and economical forms, destroying all signs of despotism and autocracy and in achieving popular rule based on right, justice, and democracy.

*Nine* : The Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South, while affirming its adherence to the principle of "war till victory" would like to declare, to public opinion at home and abroad, that the U.N. resolutions of 5th November, 1965, are considered the only basis for ending the bloody clashes between our people, struggling for the restoration of their freedom and dignity, and the oppressive British colonial authority.

*Ten* : The Liberation Front on this immortal occasion, while making an appeal to the fraternal and friendly peoples and governments for increasing support and aid, also directs a final warning to anyone who allows himself to oppose the aims and the aspirations of the people or who co-operates directly or indirectly in the carrying out or in the call to carry out colonial schemes aimed at declaring a sham constitution and a régime which does not meet the interests of the people and the homeland. The people's sentence is carried out on the likes of these without hesitation.

*Eleven* : The Liberation Front is the property of the people of the South from east to west and is not limited, command or base, to one group of people more than any other. It is the people's Front on their wide basis, open to every free struggling citizen. We beseech God to guide our feet along the path of victory and well-being. Long live our national unity ! Long live the Arab people in the South ! Long live the Liberation Front of the Occupied Yemeni South !



Another scene of the same demonstration

# The Kurdish Problem

## Who is right and who is wrong?

"The Iraqi citizens are equal in general rights and duties without any discrimination on the grounds of race, origin, language, religion, or any other cause. This constitution confirms the national rights of the Kurds within the Iraqi people in a fraternizing national unity."

Article 19 of the provisional constitution of the Iraqi Republic.

WHILE Kurdish minorities living in Turkey, Iran, Syria, and the Soviet Union are only recognized as nationals of the country where they live, and enjoy no special rights and privileges, Article 19 of the Iraqi provisional constitution specifically recognizes their national rights, and the Central Government fully agreed that its Kurdish population should enjoy this special status within the framework of the national unity of the country.

Iraqi Kurds have distinguished themselves in maintaining the country's national unity ever since modern Iraq was established. They have served their country, and still do so, with honour, devotion, and without discrimination in the political, economic, and administrative fields.

They resisted, with heavy sacrifices, the adventurers among their people who repeatedly tried to force them to revolt against the legal authority in the land. On many occasions when adventurers like Mullah Mustafa al-Barazani carried arms and fought the army, their powerful tribes took the side of the army and forced the rebels to flee the country. Because of this unwavering loyalty, the Central Government had decided that its Kurdish population should enjoy a special status, and not because the government, as the rebels like to claim and would like us to believe, was at any time afraid of or forced by the rebels and their adventurous leaders.

The Central Government proved beyond any shred of doubt that she was determined to respect the 10th February, 1964, agreement's terms, especially by amending the provisional constitution and recognizing the national rights of the Kurdish population. The majority of the Kurdish tribes, fearing or doubting the intentions of the previous governments, joined the rebels during the Qassim and the Baath régimes, have now decided to rally behind the Central Government, and their loyal and brave men are fighting along the army's side.



Premier al-Bazzaz shaking hands with his Iraqi Kurdish brothers during one of his recent visits to the North of Iraq



Out of about one million Iraqi Kurds, only the Barazani tribe of which Mullah Mustafa is the leader, tried in vain to fight and win a decisive victory over the Iraqi government and army. The tribal leaders who continued to support his mutiny control a negligible number of Kurds. The rest of the Kurds stood all the time against the rebels for several reasons including:—

(1) Traditionally the Kurds consider the Barazani tribe as a tribe of outlaws, smugglers, and bandits.

(2) The Barazani's inhuman and merciless attempts to dominate the other Kurdish tribes, though repeated and unsuccessful, have driven the overwhelming majority of the Iraqi Kurds into a position of intense resentment and active hostility.

(3) This resentment is felt by a large section of the Barazani tribe itself. This section is led by Sheikh Ahmad al-Barazani, an elder brother of Mustafa al-Barazani, who is recognized and respected as their religious and tribal chieftain by the rest of the Kurds as well as by the Central Government. He pledges his

genuine and unreserved loyalty to the national unity and the Central Government of Iraq.

(4) The majority of the Kurdish chieftains oppose Mullah Mustafa, and resist his ill-fated attempts to impose his own haphazard administration on them.

The Kurds are noted as being genuine believers in, and devout followers of, the Islamic heritage and Koranic teaching. This is not true of some of the followers of Mustafa al-Barazani. Thus the former look upon the latter with disfavour and suspicion.

The overwhelming majority of the Iraqi Kurds are confident and convinced that their best interests require defeating the Barazani Secessionist attempt and preserving the national unity of Iraq. The Kurds share this determination with their Arab brothers, come what may.

This explains too why Mullah Mustafa al-Barazani enjoys so very little support from other Kurdish tribes as well as his own.

*(to be continued.)*

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## American Jews versus Zionist Nationalists \*

WHAT David Ben Gurion has stated in his article ["The Facts of Jewish Exile," September] is neither new, nor is it a personal, political, or national testament. The article cites deliberated legislated policies of the state of Israel which, in support of an abnormal concept of nationality (Zionism), impinge substantively on the lives of all Jews regardless of their legal citizenship and/or nationality. . . .

Among those American Jews who *know* Zionism there is an organized and responsible programme of rejection and repudiation of Zionism's basic propositions. These Americans hold they are identified as Jews by virtue of a religious commitment to a spiritual covenant of universal dimensions. They believe, as Americans, they are entitled to pursue this religious identification entirely free of Mr. Ben Gurion's and the state of Israel's

Zionist nationality legal-political claims and pretensions. And they believe they are entitled to the full power and prestige of the U.S. government to insure such freedom in the face of the deliberate policy of aggression practised by Israel through its Zionist organism.

On 20th April, 1964, in response to a formal petition from such anti-Zionist American Jews, the U.S. Department of State declared it "does not regard the 'Jewish people' concept as a concept of international law". . . .

ELMER BERGER,  
Executive Vice-President,  
American Council for Judaism,  
New York, N.Y.

\* Reproduced, with grateful acknowledgments, from the *Harper's Magazine*, November, 1965. Vol. 231, No. 1386.

## **Iraq Represents the U.A.R. in the U.K.**

The Iraqi Minister Plenipotentiary and Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*, Dr. Muhammad Noori Kadhim, submitted a memorandum to the British Foreign Office on 17th December, 1965, informing them that the Government of the Republic of Iraq had agreed to the request of the Government of the United Arab Republic to represent her interests in the United Kingdom, through the offices of the Embassy of the Republic of Iraq in London, subsequent to the severance of diplomatic relations between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United Arab Republic.

# Popular Ignorance Concerning Palestine

By Ethel Mannin \*

THERE is no subject of major importance in the world to-day concerning which the mass of people in the West is as ignorant about—and, for the most part, as uninterested in—as Palestine. This ignorance is not confined to the non-politically minded, the housewives and office girls who “couldn’t care less” what goes in the world as they thumb through the pages of the women’s magazines devoted to domesticity, fashions, or romance; or the men who seem to regard it as a virtue to have no “interest in politics”. Not at all. This ignorance is found in members of Parliaments and of political organizations; it is rampant among the intelligensia, particularly of the Left.

The British Labour Party and the trade union movement are riddled with Zionism. Why? To Arabs of all nationalities the answer is, as I know from experience in the Arab countries, and in contact with Arabs in England and America, always baffling. The answer is always the same: It is to the effect that throughout history, from ancient times, the Jews have been persecuted by all nations. With Hitler and the Nazis, the persecution reached a peak; therefore (the argument goes) it is right that the Jews should have their own country where they can feel safe and be independent. Palestine, it is averred, is the Jews’ country since Biblical times; therefore, if they want to fill it up with their own people and call it Israel, we should give them our support and blessing.

That Palestine is the Jews’ country since Biblical times is the generally accepted myth—so generally accepted as never to be questioned. It is pointed out that at the time of the Balfour Declaration the Jews were a minority of 10 per cent of the population of Palestine, the rest Moslems and Christians; and, that as late as 1947 when Palestine was carved up for the creation of the Jewish state, even with all the Zionist-actuated immigration the Jews were still only a third of the population, though two-thirds of the country was given to them. If this is pointed out *as simple historic fact*, easily checked, it is either shrugged off with disbelief or with indifference.

Another popular myth is that the Jews are a nation or a race. The myth of the Jews as a race is, of course, at the very heart of Zionism, central to the whole philosophy of the “return” to the Promised Land. Any reminder that a Yemeni Jew, for example, has nothing in common with, say, an American Jew, not even a common language, only the religion they had both inherited and been brought up in and may not practise, does little or nothing to dissolve the myth. To assert that being a Jew is a matter of religion, like being a Christian or a Moslem or a Buddhist, is to meet with the demand, “Then why do all Jews look alike?” The answer, of course, is that they do not. The idea that all Jews are short, dark, squat, is as fallacious as the other idea that all Arabs are tall, with aquiline features. There are tall Jews with blue eyes and fair hair; just as there are blue-eyed Arabs; and why not, since both are of Semitic stock? If anything further is needed to explode that being a Jew is a matter of nationality or race, it has only to be pointed out that there are Jewish Arabs—Jews born and bred in the Arab countries and for whom Arabic is their mother-tongue; but when this is pointed out your Zionist sympathizers become no longer capable of the willing suspension of disbelief. It is simpler to go on insisting on the Jewish race and the “Jews’ country”.

An educated Englishman, very willing, for “anti-Semitic” reasons, to be on the side of the Palestinians if only he could get the hang of the situation, asked me recently, “If Palestine isn’t the Jews’ country, as you say, what *is* their country?”

I explained to him that they had no country, any more than Christians had, but belonged where they were born, as Christians, or Moslems, or Buddhists did, but though he listened politely, being an old-style English gentleman, it was clear he was not convinced. Nor are most people to whom one presents this simple fact. The truth is they do not *want* to be convinced, because once you accept the fact that being a Jew is a matter of religion and not of race it becomes obvious that Palestine is not the Jews’ country and that Jews belong where they were born and are of that country’s nationality. The acceptance of the state of “Israel” becomes untenable—and it is one of the more popular fallacies that to be against the state of “Israel” is to be against Jews, and therefore what is popularly known as “anti-Semitic”.

\* Ethel Mannin a well-known and internationally famed British novelist, writer and author of *The Road to Beersheba*, *A Lance for the Arabs*, *Aspects of Egypt*, etc.

And that is something which the Westerner, particularly the intellectual and Left-winger, has a horror of being labelled, even wrongly, above almost anything else. Because of what the Nazis did to them, all decent people "love" the Jews—whether they do or not. This hardly makes for straight thinking on Palestine and "Israel".

In Germany to-day the dread of being thought "anti-Semitic" is such that (as reported not long ago in *The Times*) if a Jew and a Gentile put in for the same post, the Jew gets it even if his qualifications are not as good as the Gentile's, because not to give it to the Jew might be construed as being anti-Jew. For this reason, guilt over the Jews because of the Nazi horror, my Palestine novel, *The Road to Beersheba* cannot be published in the German Federal Republic (and probably not in the German Democratic Republic either) and Germans, who are allowed, and even encouraged, to read *Exodus* must not be told the story of the *other* exodus—the exodus of a million people, almost the entire population, from Palestine in 1948, which was the bitter price of the creation of the Jewish armed state in the heart of the Arab homeland.

People say—they have said it to me—that Palestine was only a desert when the Jews took it over, and that the Palestinians who "left" (which is a nice piece of understatement, since thousands were forcibly ejected, many, as at Lydda, at machine-gun point) were after all only shepherds, weren't they, with plenty more deserts to go to. They had only neglected the land, and look what the Jews have achieved there in a few years!

When such people are told that there were flourishing orange and olive groves in Palestine long before it became Zionist Occupied Territory and was renamed "Israel", and that fully half the Palestinians who either fled in terror from their homes or were expelled from them were educated, Westernized people, business and professional people, many of them with university degrees, there is again the look of incredulity and often barely disguised disbelief.

Finally, in this depressing catalogue of the myths that make up the general ignorance about Palestine *vis-à-vis* "Israel", there is the wearisome belief that the "Palestine problem" is fundamentally a refugee problem, which could be disposed of by the absorption into the host-countries of the half million or so Palestinians in the camps. Coupled with this belief in the conviction that they could be so absorbed, but for the wicked Arab governments who keep them there for "propaganda!"

Dr. John Davies, until recently the head of

U.N.R.W.A., disposed of this myth effectively in an address to the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism in May, 1964. He strongly refuted the popular notion that the Arab governments opposed the absorption into their countries of the refugees, pointing out that all who had skills needed in those countries quickly found employment, and that, as might be expected, they were mostly town people, whereas the people in the camps were the country people who could not be absorbed in countries which already had a surplus of people in their rural sectors. He pointed out that in 1948 Palestine was about 70 per cent rural. Even more importantly, he pointed out also that "even a full solution of the Palestine refugee problem, however, would not resolve the Arab-Israelite conflict". Amplifying this statement, he pointed out that the "existence of the state of 'Israel' in the Middle East far more than the existence of a refugee problem . . . engenders Arab bitterness", adding that it was his considered judgment that "if now by some magic the refugee problem could be suddenly solved in total, the resistance and opposition of Arab peoples to Israel as a state would continue virtually unabated. The Western world," he declared, "had never really understood either the nature of Arab thinking or the depth and universality of Arab feelings on the issue."

All who oppose Zionism, that is to say the entire Arab world and the handful of people in the West who see the Palestine tragedy for the clear-cut issue that it is, of justice versus a monstrous injustice unparalleled in history, know that this is true. Our problem is how to break through the barriers of ignorance, preconceived ideas, stubbornly cherished myths and fallacies, and open the way for understanding. The Arab world, unfortunately, has not, at its disposal, anything like the powerful propaganda machinery of the Zionists. It is able to make very little impact on the press, radio, or television of the West, whereas international Zionism is influential in all these spheres. When the Arabs exercise their right to boycott, as in the Mancroft case, they are misunderstood and accused of "anti-Semitism". When they announce their intention of taking action over the Israeli diversion of the Jordan waters they are grossly misrepresented as being spiteful and unreasonable, despite the fact that the Jordan is an Arab river flowing through Arab countries, and for Jordan itself is the very lifeblood.

Palestine was for millennia an Arab country. It will be Arab again. Palestine has to be liberated like any other occupied country, *and it will be*, through the irresistible force of the unified Arab world, and in the foreseeable future.

# He Does Not Die a Death of Shame

By Gilgamesh

ON Christmas Day the world was stirred by the death of an East German youth who was killed while trying to cross the Berlin wall. Nearly all Western newspapers expressed their horror and indignation, but none stopped to examine his immediate motives, whether he was escaping from a sadistic teacher, avoiding a pressing creditor, or running away from an ageing mistress. It was enough that a man had taken his life in his hand and risked all for no other reason than to leave his homeland.

Only three weeks before Christmas the church bells of the Orthodox Church of Shfa Amr near Haifa were not sending the seasonal message of joy, life, and love. The priest could only speak to the crowded Arab congregation of tragedy, death, and suffering. A Christian Arab student living in Israel had thrown himself from a fast moving train at a short distance from the Jordanian border in an attempt to escape from the land of milk and honey. He had a very slim chance of succeeding in his venture. His death was almost a certainty. But he made the attempt and paid with his life. He left a letter to his father saying that as an Arab he could find no place among the Israelis and no hope of a decent life in Israel. The incident was hardly mentioned anywhere in the world. He was only an Arab. He was not escaping from the communist camp. The Zionist press both inside and outside Israel stooped to its usual standard of immorality and stabbed a man after his death. True to their opportunist and egotistical spirit the journalists of Israel did not bother to analyse the real issues behind such a macabre incident but satisfied themselves with references to past petty offences, rebelliousness, exam failures, etc.

The people of Shfa Amr gave the right reply to such mean and cowardly slanders. According to reports from Tel Aviv they gave their son, twenty-four year old Badran Jamil Mish'al, a hero's funeral. The church could not accommodate all the Arabs who flocked to it. Loudspeakers were put to relay the service to the crowds outside. Schools and shops were closed. Uniformed scouts led the long funeral procession.

Badran Mish'al was a law student at the Hebrew University. What immediate and direct reasons he had or had not is a question which we may never know. We all have our private griefs and sorrows. We all fail exams and quarrel with parents. But how many of us jump from trains and abandon homes and families for just such reasons? The real jest of Mish'al's tragedy does not lie in his own heroic letter nor in the Zionist analysis. It lies in the tumultuous funeral accorded to him by the Arabs in the district and the heart rending speeches given in his memory. The event left no doubt that Mish'al's tragic attempt was a tortured expression of the frustration, bereavement, and oppression felt by the Arabs in Occupied Palestine. His funeral was an

occasion seized by these unhappy people to voice such feelings, which they could not otherwise do. The whole affair was an agonized human cry for justice and freedom. No example shows the cruel pressure applied by the Zionists better than the futile and sorrowful words of the speakers: "Many of us will follow the footsteps of this heroic young man."

A great deal has been said by many neutral observers about the third class position of the Arabs in Israel. Nearly twenty years have passed since the end of the armed hostilities in Palestine. Yet the Arabs in Israel are still suffering under the yoke of military régime and emergency rule. It is certainly a phenomenon which adds to the "uniqueness" of Israel. To give one example of how the Arabs are treated there we mention that the bulk of the Israeli press, together with the *Jewish Chronicle* which is supposed to express the opinion of the British Jewry of democratic Britain, suggested to the Israeli authorities to ban and liquidate the Arab Students Union in Israel because it had supported the peaceful funeral of a fellow student. None of the speakers defied the authorities of Tel Aviv. No call for rebellion, strike, or any act which the Eshkol government might find unlawful, was made. Their words were less vociferous against Eshkol than many others made by opposing Zionists. Yet the Arab Students Union is threatened with liquidation. If an Arab student decides to flee the country we are callously told he did so because he failed an exam!

The Zionists always want things both ways. In this context they want us to believe that the Arabs in Israel are a happy and contented lot. At the same time they want us to believe that they are conspiring against the State and that military rule in the Arab areas is a security requirement. Furthermore they also want us to believe that the Christian Arabs have nothing to do with the issue. Brave Badran gave his blood to refute the Zionist equivocation on all three counts. His suicidal escape is a crushing evidence against the alledged Arab contentment. His pathetic school map of Israel was the only evidence which the police could find on him to justify their military rule. Thirdly, this far reaching symbolic sacrifice was given by a Christian Arab and not a Muslim. Throughout the history of Palestine, I cannot recall anyone who with simple unpretentious act of individual self-sacrifice defeated the Zionists on so many fronts. The wrath of Tel Aviv does not surprise us. The name of Badran Jamil Mish'al will live in the hearts of all Palestinians to the shame of the cowardly slanderers.

He does not die a death of shame  
On a day of dark disgrace,  
Nor have a noose about his neck  
Nor a cloth upon his face.

OSCAR WILDE.

# Baghdad Newsletter

## PROFITABLE PROJECTS

**P**REMIER ABDUL RAHMAN AL-BAZZAZ, in an effort to develop the country and help the nation enjoy prosperity, ordered that development, economic, industrial, and irrigation projects which the previous government shelved must be re-examined and be enforced.

Among the many productive and profitable projects are :—

(1) The Hadithah High Dam on the Euphrates. This the Government is determined to build.

(2) The Council of Ministers has approved early in January the allocation of ID(£) 16 million to be spent this year on small irrigation projects in Kut Liwa. Similar funds were also made available for irrigation and agricultural projects in five other liwas.

(3) More than ID(£) 10 million was allocated for projects in the North of Iraq, including Kurdistan. The allocation is for building roads, hospitals, schools, and houses.

(4) Sayid Salman al-Aswad, Minister of Planning, announced that the tender for the construction of the first paper mill in Iraq was granted to a reputable contractor.

The mill, which will be built in Basrah, is estimated to cost ID(£) 20 million and be ready for production within 30 months.

The mill will provide work for at least 4,800 workers, and it is designed to produce 40,800 tons of different kinds of paper and carton paper.

## IRAQI TRADE CENTRE IN CAIRO

An Iraqi Trade Centre will be opened soon in Cairo to facilitate the sale of various Iraqi products, including industrial and foodstuffs products. The Centre is entrusted also to explore African markets for the country's products, especially in North African Arab States and the Sudan.

Sayid Talib Jamil, Iraq's permanent delegate to the Economic Unity Council, stated while he was on a short visit to Baghdad on 29th January that all the necessary preparation to open the Centre had been completed and the opening will take place very soon.

He pointed out that it becomes essential for both Iraq



**Ambassador Talib Jamil, Iraqi Permanent Delegate to the Arab Unity Council in Cairo**

and Egypt to increase substantially the volume of their import-export as well as barter trade as part of the two countries' economic co-ordination policies.

The Centre will exhibit various Iraqi products and will regularly help the Egyptian and other African countries' firms, businessmen, and importers to buy Iraqi goods with all possible facilities.

The Government agreed, according to Sayid Talib Jamil, to the idea of an Iraqi Trade Exhibition in Cairo twice a year.

## RECORD NUMBER OF TOURISTS VISIT IRAQ LAST YEAR

A record number of tourists visited Iraq last year. Tourists totalled 332,004, compared with 192,547 for 1964 and 86,836 for 1963. The majority of tourists came from *Jordan* and *Kuwait*, although 4,611 were from *Britain*, 6,480 from *U.S.*, and 2,734 from *Western Germany*.

# Iraq's Population 8,261,527

## General Census Records 2,000,000 Increase Since 1957

IRAQ'S population has been officially put at 8,261,527, according to a recent statement issued by Sayid Abdul Latif al-Darraji, Minister of Interior, on the results of the general census held all over Iraq last October. This represents an increase of about 2,000,000 over 1957.

Following is the text of the Minister's Statement No. 5 :—

"In accordance with the provision of Article 26 of Civil Affairs Registration Regulation No. 26 for 1965, and pursuant to our statement No. 4, and in accordance with the explanation of the Director General of Civil Affairs Registration that general census has been completed all over Iraq and abroad, we announce the conclusion of the general census for 1965 in its first stage, namely the field operation. "Population of rural areas has been

higher by about one million than population of metropolitan areas. The population of Baghdad stood at 2,124,323, i.e. about one-quarter of the total population of Iraq, Mosul came next with 954,157; followed by Basrah, 673,623; Diwaniya, 548,830; Nasseriya, 500,033; Kirkuk, 462,027; Hilla, 448,023, Sulaimaniya, 408,220; Diyala, 400,049; Arbil, 360,285; Amara, 346,663; Karbala, 339,692; Kut, 335,495, and Ramadi, 319,289.

"Iraqis and Iraqi communities abroad amounted to 40,818.

"All liwas (Governorate) have actually registered increases in the total population over 1957. The biggest increase was in Baghdad, followed by Mosul, Basrah, Karbala, and Sulaimaniya.

"While the number of males over females in 1957 amounted to 30,000, it has increased now to 149,000, indicating a record increase of males."

# Iraqi Airways—Symbol of Modern Iraq

## Captain Jaweed Umar Draz, Chief Pilot of Iraqi Airways

ONE of the world's main centres of archaeology—the ancient site of Jamdat Nasr—the hanging gardens of Babylon—the spiral minarets of Sammara—the land of the two rivers; of the Tigris and the Euphrates; Mesopotamia—of date palms and oil fields—this is the Republic of Iraq.

In this land, the development of known civilization has extended over more than 10,000 years. During much of that time Iraq has been occupied by one or another of the world's great powers. In recent years of emergent nationalism Iraq has taken her rightful place as an independent republic and during the last decade, has made great advances in the modernization of its cities, its public services, and its trade. Iraq now effectively and efficiently competes with her fellow countries of our twentieth century world.

The whole of the current effort is based on a truly nationalistic policy of filling all responsible positions in Iraq with Iraqi personnel. Iraqi students have flooded into the world's technical training centres and have returned to take over from foreign personnel the running of their country. This process is now largely complete, especially so in the case of Iraqi Airways. The Iraqi Airways was formed in 1946 as a branch of the State Railways, its first aircraft were De Havilland Rapides and its route structure was internal and confined to Iraq only with pilots and engineers supplied by B.O.A.C. In 1948, the first Iraqi students were sent to the U.K. for technical training. Since then there have been regular intakes of trainee pilots and engineers so that there is now a considerable number of trained Iraqis in all branches of the airline. In 1958, the Iraqi personnel, having reached the necessary standard of experience, took over the majority of duties in the airline thus replacing the seconded B.O.A.C. staff.

In those years of growth, the aircraft used by the airline included De Havilland Doves, Vickers Vikings and Viscounts and its routes became international. Iraqi Airways was one of the first overseas operators of Viscount aircraft, which it has operated since 1955. This long period of operation of one type of aircraft has permitted a steady consolidation of experience. In 1961 Iraqi Airways separated from the railways and became an independent government corporation. Now in 1965 we are ready to move on to the second generation jet liners and have chosen the Trident 1E as the best suited to our particular requirements.

The 1E is a longer range version of the Trident 1 which has been in operation with B.E.A. since March,

1964. The major differences between the two types are an increase in the fuel tankage (from 3,840 to 6,000 imp. galls.), improved high-lift devices and more powerful Spey engines (from 9,850 to 11,400 lb. static thrust at sea level). The all-up weight limit is increased from 115,000 to 134,000 lb. The range is such that with maximum payloads, stage lengths of over 2,150 statute miles can be achieved, with normal reserves available. This range admirably suits Iraqi Airways needs.

The standard mixed class passenger seating arrangement for Iraqi Airways caters for 12 first and 73 tourist class passengers, but can be quickly converted to 109 tourist or 115 economy seats when needed for special occasions such as the annual Holy Islamic Pilgrimage to Mecca.

Operating cost of this aircraft is extremely low because of:—

- (a) High cruise speeds—over 600 m.p.h.
- (b) Low fuel consumption.
- (c) Long component overhaul life.
- (d) Advanced methods of maintenance planning.

Break-even load factors as low as 40 per cent can be achieved on stage lengths of 1,000 statute miles or more.

The crew normally comprises of three pilots and four cabin staff as compared with a total of six on the smaller currently operated aircraft.

Iraqi Airways with a 100 per cent safety record behind them, now look forward with eagerness and confidence to the continued development and progress of our young airline.

Our plans for the future include taking over completely the repair and overhaul of all aircraft components. Already the whole cycle of aircraft maintenance checks are being carried out at the Baghdad Airport maintenance base. But up to the present the majority of components are overhauled by the manufacturers themselves.

A completely new international airport is now in the process of being built at Abu-Churaib, some 15 minutes only from the business centre of Baghdad: the modern buildings will include an overhaul and maintenance base for Iraqi Airways. The construction of this airport has been unavoidably delayed. But it is making good progress at present and should be fully operational before the end of 1968. With the advent of the new base and the inevitable build-up as well as the adequate pooling of skilled and experienced engineers, the component overhaul work will be



embraced by the nationalistic policy of " anything that needs doing can, with the correct preparation, be done in Iraq by Iraqis ".

It is clear from what has been stated that the Iraqi Airways have always bought British, its personnel are British trained and most of its resident technical advisers have been British nationals. The Iraqi Airways look confidently to their past, present, and future British friends and associates in the firm hope that they will extend to the Iraqi Airways the necessary support in the form of services and facilities that will keep the airline a commercial and technical success in the hard and competitive business of civil aviation.

The routes and frequency of Iraqi Airways' services for the winter of 1965-66 as are follows :—

One per week : Baghdad-Istanbul-Vienna-Frankfurt-London

One per week : Baghdad-Beirut-Rome-London

One per week : Baghdad-Istanbul-Prague-London

Two per week : Baghdad-Damascus-Cairo

One per week : Baghdad-Cairo

One per week : Baghdad-Beirut

Two per week : Baghdad-Tehran

One per week : Baghdad-Basra

One per week : Baghdad-Kuwait-Bahrain

Plus seasonal traffic to Jeddah.

When the Trident is firmly established on these routes, it is intended to extend services to other countries in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa and increase frequencies on existing routes.



The first of three Tridents to be delivered by Hawker Siddeley Aviation to Iraqi Airways



Major General Hamid Tawfiq, Director General of Iraqi Airways (centre) is pictured in the first-class cabin of the airlines Hawker Siddeley Trident. The picture was taken during a half-hour flight for officials of Iraqi Airways, the Iraqi Embassy in London and members of the Press after the aircraft had been handed over to Iraqi Airways. The interior of the aircraft is decorated with ancient Mesopotamian designs.

#### EDITORIAL NOTES

The first Trident aircraft has already been handed over to Iraqi Airways. The occasion was marked by a short ceremony at Hatfield, which was attended by the British press and representatives of the Iraqi press in this country.

The aircraft was handed over by Air Commodore Banks, Assistant Managing Director of Hawker Siddeley Aviation and Chief Executive at Hatfield, to Major-General Hamid Tawfiq, Director-General of Iraqi Airways.

The last of twenty-one Iraqi Airways Pilots, Captains, and First Officers to attend conversion courses on the

Hawker Siddeley Trident 1E completed their training at the Hawker Siddeley factory at Hatfield in August, 1965.

Training began with theoretical work on the aircraft and its systems at the Hawker Siddeley Service School at Hatfield, followed by practical demonstrations and initial handling experience in a Trident Simulator belonging to B.E.A., and was completed by a practical flying course on the aircraft itself.

Iraqi Airways have ordered three of the Trident 1E 600 m.p.h. regional jetliners, each powered by three Rolls-Royce Spey engines. The second Trident will be delivered in the near future.

# Iraqi-U.A.R. Talks in Cairo: Reports in Brief

## THE UNIFIED POLITICAL COMMAND MEETING

IN implementation of the Joint Political Command Agreement, it has been finally decided that the Iraqi side will be composed of President F. M. Abd as-Salam Arif; Premier and Foreign Minister Abd ar-Rahman al-Bazzaz; Defence Minister Shukri Salih Zaki; Economy Minister Abd al-Hamid al-Hilali; Culture and Guidance Minister Muhammad Nasir; Planning Minister Abd ar-Razzaq al-Aswad; Education Minister Khadr Abd al-Ghafur; Unity Minister Abd ar Razzaq Muhyi ad-Din; Minister of State for Press Affairs Salman as-Safwani; Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Adnan Pachachi; and the Iraqi Ambassador to the U.A.R., Rajab Abd al-Majid.

## BAZZAZ'S ARRIVAL IN CAIRO

The Iraqi Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Abd ar-Rahman al-Bazzaz arrived in Cairo on 7th February accompanied by an Iraqi delegation to attend the Iraqi-U.A.R. Unified Political Command meeting.

Text of Statement by Bazzaz to the Cairo *Al-Akhbar* on 9th February, 1966.

The Premier and Foreign Minister, Abd ar-Rahman al-Bazzaz, has made an important statement to Cairo's *Al-Akhbar*. The Premier declared in his statement that Iraq did not believe in alliances, not even in Islamic alliances, that we believe in positive neutrality, that we have asked Iran to create a friendly atmosphere to settle our differences with it and to establish friendly relations between us, and that we will not enter into negotiations with Iran except on this basis.

In his statement to the paper's correspondent, Bazzaz said: We came to Cairo prepared to discuss all that is of interest to our two countries, the Arab nation and Arab nationalism, without committing ourselves to a specific programme, because the joint political command has the objective of exchanging views which will ideally serve the national idea and pave the way for our basic objective of establishing our unified Arab entity. The Premier added that numerous ideas would be put forward at the meetings. We will choose those ideas which we believe are more necessary in this important phase and which require urgent remedy.

Speaking about the development of the situation between Iraq and Iran, the Premier told the correspondent that this problem had not been completely solved so far, but that tension had eased as a result of the

calm and sound policy adopted by Iraq on the one side, and the moral support we received from our Arab brothers and certain neighbouring and friendly States on the other. The Premier said that this was not a new problem, but a series of deep-rooted historical problems. He said that what we now asked for was a solution based on mutual respect and within the limits of the existing charters and the principles of the U.N.

Speaking about the call for the Islamic alliance, the Premier said that Iraq did not believe in alliances, not even Islamic ones, because we adhere to positive neutrality, which is alien to military alliances.

## PRESIDENT ARIF IN CAIRO

(i) With the help of God and under His care, President of the Republic F.-M. Abd as-Salam Muhammad Arif left Baghdad for Cairo on 12th February to head, with his brother President Jamal Abd an-Nasir, the meetings of the unified political command of the two fraternal countries. The President was accompanied by the Minister of Culture and Guidance and member of the command, Dr. Muhammad Nasir, and by the Minister of Education and member of the command, Khadr Abd al-Ghaffur. Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and member of the command, Dr. Adnan Pachachi, also joined the delegation. His Excellency was also accompanied by the Secretary-General of the President's office, Abdallah Majid, the Presidential A.D.C. Brig.-Gen. Zahid Muhammad Salih, the deputy chief of protocol, Abd al-Jabbar al-Haddawi, the Foreign Ministry first secretary, Ibrahim Wali, and a number of officials of the Presidential Palace.

According to a dispatch by the Iraqi News Agency from Cairo, the Iraqi delegation to the preparatory discussions of the unified political command, led by the Premier and Foreign Minister, Abd ar-Rahman al-Bazzaz on 10th February, 1966, met President Jamal Abd an-Nasir at his residence in Manshiyat al-Bakri at the request of the Arab [U.A.R.] President. The meeting lasted about three hours. A spokesman for the Iraqi delegation told the Iraqi News Agency in Cairo after the meeting that the discussions which took place during the meeting with President Jamal Abd an-Nasir turned about questions and matters discussed at the [command's] second meeting. The dispatch adds that President Abd an-Nasir suffered from a slight cold before the Iraqi delegation's visit, but that he insisted on receiving the delegation.

(ii) The third meeting between the U.A.R. Premier,

Zakariya Muhyi Ad-Din, and the Premier and Foreign Minister, Abd ar-Rahman al-Bazzaz, began at 17.30 on 10th February, 1966, at the Foreign Ministry building in Cairo. Members of the Arab and Iraqi delegations attended the meeting, which ended at 19.15. The U.A.R. Minister of National Guidance, Amin Huwaydi, said that members of the two sides had completed discussion of the agenda [of the unified political command meeting], which will be submitted to Presidents Abd as-Salam Muhammad Arif and Jamal Abd an-Nasir at their forthcoming meeting. It has also been agreed to form a sub-committee to prepare the regulations of the secretariat-general of the unified

political command. The Iraqi side will be represented in the committee by Unity Minister Dr. Abd ar-Razzaq Muhyi ad-Din, and the Arab side will be represented by Fa'th ad-Din, the Arab Affairs Secretary in the Arab Socialist Union.

(iii) On his arrival in Cairo, President Arif of Iraq was welcomed at the airport by his brother President Nasir of the U.A.R. President Arif was accorded a very warm popular and official reception, confirming the living bonds of Arab unity and nationalism that bind Baghdad and Cairo. We will publish the text of the communiqué of the unified political command in our coming issue of the *Bulletin*.



Arab Students Union in the U.K. Thirteenth Conference held at Kensington Town Hall in London, on 28th December, 1965. From right to left: Mr. N. al-Bahrani, the new Secretary-General (Iraq). Mr. F. abu-Hatab, the former President (U.A.R.). Mr. T. M. Basheer, Acting-Director of the Arab League information office in London reading a message to the Conference from the Secretary-General of the Arab League. Mr. M. al-Qabhani, former Secretary-General (Syria), and Mr. H. al-Aynaji, former member of the Executive Committee (Iraq)

# The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time\*

By Qishtaini

MY grandmother used to tell me that when God wants to destroy a colony of ants he gives them wings. They become so proud of their new wings that they stop doing their daily work. It becomes impossible for them to walk side by side with the rest of their fellow creatures. I used to watch the phenomenon with my childlike eyes seeing the wretched things do nothing but hop around and then fall flat on their backs or fly a short distance and then dive into the water. When the cold winter of Baghdad came I used to see them dead in hundreds outside their anthills which they could not enter because of their pretty silvery shining wings. I did not know that the metaphor about ants and men could be true to such a limit until some of the Jews decided to have pretty little Israel as a new racial state. For years the Jews have been noted for their hard work, industriousness, purposeful effort, and fruitful orientation. They accumulated unlimited wealth which became the envy of all peoples. They held the world in wonder by their miraculous business of converting trash into gold. Billions of dollars and gold sterling are now being poured into Israel to reclaim uneconomical rocky slopes, issue millions of propaganda prints, and acquire tanks and guns to hold the world in wonder by another miracle of showing us how to convert gold into trash. Having a country of one's own is like having a wife of one's own. It is an expensive luxury and an unnecessary liability into which we all fall. But a few more shrewd people manage to avoid having one, or better still, having either.

Such are the thoughts which haunt the reader once he puts down Mr. Moshe Menuhin's worthy book. The author often accompanies the reader along the same path of cynicism. He quotes for us this chauvenistic rhapsody from the Yiddish *Daily Forward* of New York: "I went out in the streets of Tel Aviv and for the first time saw a mounted Jewish policeman. . . . I confess that I thought I'd like to do something silly so that he would arrest me and send me to prison. I wanted to have a tangible experience of Jewish power, even if it were in the form of a Jewish prison. . . . isn't it wonderful?"

Our own policeman, a horse all our own." The Jews who know too well what prisons and concentration camps are, feel jubilant now because they have their own prison and their own policemen who can, and actually did, smash the heads of not only Arabs but Jews as well.

Mr. Menuhin is the father of the renowned musician Yehudi Menuhin. Despite the father's assurance that his book has nothing to do with Yehudi, the *Jewish Chronicle*, instead of replying to the book's ideas, lapsed to the ungentlemanly and most unJewish approach of setting son against father and father against son by carrying a statement by the distinguished violinist disapproving of his father's opinions. The *Jewish Chronicle* forgot that politics is no fiddle.

*The Decadence of Judaism* is a book which should be read by both Arabs and Jews as well as all other Gentiles. By Arabs to see for themselves that not all Jews are Zionists, and many Arabs do make the mistake. By Jews to discover how their old Jewish problem is being ruthlessly and artificially regenerated by the Zionist leaders. The book derives special value from the fact that its author comes from a renowned Jewish Russian Rabbinical family. He himself was sent to the Zionist School of Jaffa, the Hebrew Gymnasia Herzilia, which was opened to prepare cadres for the Zionist movement. After graduation he went to America to complete his university studies in political science and education. Unfortunately for Zionism, Mr. Menuhin proved his true metal and inward humanism by rebelling against the falsehood poured down his throat by "Jewish" nationalists. He wrote: "My conscience had been bothering me ever since the Balfour Declaration came out in 1917 to undo the normal course of evolution of the Jews and of Judaism. I felt then that I could no longer belong to the "gang" of which I was a dedicated member by indoctrination and brainwashing. I hope that this book will contribute to healthier and more independent thinking by innocent but misguided American and English Jews, as well as by Jews in other countries."

The author was deeply impressed by the way America was absorbing and integrating its new immigrants. American Jews have no more problem than American Catholics. It pointed the way to a real and universal emancipation of all minorities including the Jews. This

\* Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism In Our Time*, published by the Exposition Press Inc., 368, Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10016. 497 pages at \$6.00. 1965

cause was soon harassed by "Jewish" nationalists. The ensuing battle between integrated spiritual Judaism and Zionist "Jewish" nationalism is the theme of four hundred pages in which the latter is shown conclusively as the real villain. Mr. Menuhin could not use the words "Zionist nationalism" anywhere in his book without prefixing it with a minimum of two adjectives from an assortment extending from aggressive to malignant, political, illusory, artificial, violent, barbaric, xenophobic, predatory, reactionary, neurotic, paranoid, etc. He lashes left and right at Zionist nationalist leaders. Herzl is megalomaniac, machiavellian, egocentric and sensationalist. Ben Gurion is aggressive, pathological, fanatical, and diabolic. The author is not just an admirer of the American way of life, but a thinker who saw that integration and emancipation is the natural universal course of our time. He refers to integration in the Soviet Union with the same convictions with which he refers to it in the U.S.A. He denies that there is discrimination against Jews in Russia, which he ought to know better than most of us.

The relations of Jews with Palestine had become since the Babylonian exile spiritual and not physical. A Jew can practise his religion anywhere he happens to be. The insistence of living in Palestine is a political distortion bringing decadence to Judaism particularly when it violates the rights of other people, the Arabs in this case. In a chapter on Zionist organizations in America we are shown how this kind of decadence leads even to more excesses. With the help of evidence gathered by the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate we see the kinds of means and methods applied by the Zionist organizations in raising funds, in disposing of them and in deliberately distorting facts and figures.

As an Arab reader I found the main shortcoming of the book is that after the long accounts of the diabolism, aggression, lawlessness, and crimes committed by the Zionists, the author fails to reach the logical conclusion of his arguments and premises. He submits that Israel is now an accomplished fact which we have got to accept. Had the book been written during the reign of the

colonial jungle law and right of conquest we might have accepted it. We are living in the era of the United Nations and after a world wide democratic struggle against the dark forces of fascism. Mankind can no longer accept the right of conquest. The values of the U.N. and principles of international law must be upheld if the world is to enjoy peace and justice. It is the duty of all states to see to it that Israel does not create a dangerous precedent and that the right of all peoples to self-determination is firmly upheld. The Arab states are doing great service to the cause of international law and order by refusing to embrace what is wrong and illegal. It is the kind of appeasement suggested by Mr. Menuhin which enabled the Zionists to get away with murder and gave them the upper hand over the spiritual and anti-Zionist Jews. They were able to show the community that aggression, inhumanity, and deceit pay.

One more flaw in the book is a common error, i.e. that the Arab refugees left Palestine partly on the prompting of their leaders. Mr. E. Childers made extensive research on the matter and came to the conclusion that Arab leaders had not called on the Palestinians to quit their country, that the opposite is the truth and that it was the Zionists who expelled them by force. These findings were challenged by the Israeli authority Leo Cohn and a long debate followed. The result, according to C. Sykes, not a pro-Arab authority by any means, "Completely disposed of the Zionist allegation" (*Crossroads to Israel*, p. 420).

Jewish history has always been marked by long periods of decadence, iniquity, vain pride, and worship of golden calves, periods of false prophets, of the Menassehs, the Sabbetai Zevis, the Herzls, and the Ben Gurions. Against such sins and such charlatans there always arose a lonely voice who thundered fearlessly with prophetic reckoning, a Jeremiah who warned the Jews of their crimes. Our present time is just one more of those periods and Mr. M. Menuhin is undoubtedly one of such few voices. His emotional outraged utterances sweep with the same torrent of the old Biblical prophets who taught all peoples so much and benefited their own people so little.



