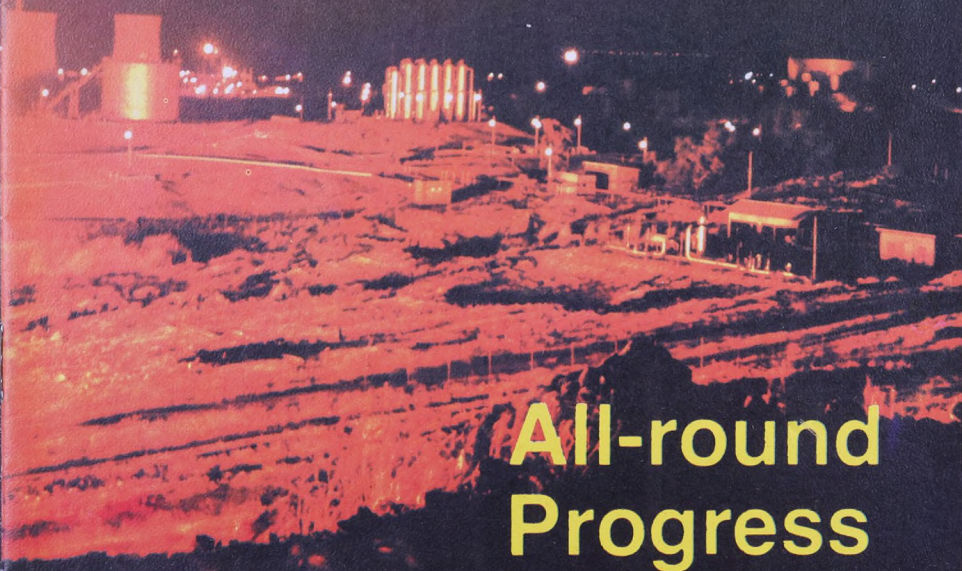


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# Iraq Today

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## All-round Progress



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## EDITORIAL

### The Army as Symbol, Reality and Hope

**C**ertain quarters in some Third World countries are regrettably defining their existence within the concept that their army sets down for them. That concept changes with the change of the structure of the upper echelons of the army. Upheavals frequently occur as a result. Iraq is one of the countries where the army is led rather than leading, and led with a progressive vision towards an end that encompasses the whole nation.

It has become under the leadership of the ABSP, the source of stability of a dynamic nature. To be simultaneously on the move and stable is all that a developing nation requires to really develop.

The virtue of the Iraqi army in the past was that it obeyed no master, hence its rescuing the people from its oppressors. At present its greatest merit is that it allows for the steady building of the country to proceed without the threat of collapse.

The Iraqi army was, by and large, and notwithstanding certain contrary elements, pan-Arabist in its identity and aspirations. Its pan-Arabism has now taken deeper roots for the political leadership puts the question of Arab unification in the forefront of its programme.

Protecting the country means, in the case of Iraq, protecting a land and a vision along with taking care lest that vision should be reduced to self-aggrandisement.

By continuous training and education, by constant modernisation in all aspects, Iraq now has an army to be reckoned with in the whole area. It is ready to defend the ideals of the nation and its dignity. When the time comes for it to perform its role in the liberation of the Arab homeland its performance will be no less admirable than the past, notably in the October war of 1973.

Now more than ever before the army is called upon to be alert to the intrigue being worked out against the nation. As it never let the nation down in the past, it will surely shoulder its responsibility in a future pregnant with all sorts of possibilities.

Iraq Today





Field Marshal Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, President of the Republic and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, and RCC Vice-chairman Staff Lieutenant General Saddam Hussein.

## An Advanced Iraqi Army Marks 57th Anniversary

January 6 is a red-letter day in the history of modern Iraq. On this day, 57 years ago, the nucleus of the Iraqi Army was founded. Since then it has developed, over the years, as an inseparable part of the people and national patriotic forces, and as a defensive instrument and a striking force for the maintenance and enhancement of national security and sovereignty.

This cohesion between the people and the army was further strengthened in May 1941 when the people, backed by its faithful army, rose against the pro-British royal puppet regime, strongly shaking the throne of Prince Abdul Ilah and his Prime Minister Nuri al-Said and creating stern reactions among their British protectors.

It was this very army that gallantly defended the Arab cause in Palestine in 1948 in the wake of Zionist aggression. The Iraqi Army also took part in the subsequent wars of 1967 and 1973 between the Arabs and the Zionist entity. Its role was of vital importance on all levels, particularly in 1973 when it steadfastly confronted the Zionist forces in the Golan Heights, thus protecting Damascus from the hands of the enemy.

The Iraqi Army also played a leading role in the national revolutions of 1958, which toppled the monarchy, and of 1968 which toppled the Arifite regime.



A new batch of Air Force graduates

This year's anniversary celebrations have special significance in view of the fact that these are being held, in the words of Col. Adnan Khairallah, the Minister of Defence, "when the forces of imperialism and world Zionism are intensifying their onslaught on the Arab nation, encouraged by the Arab reactionary forces".

After the July 17 Revolution, the Iraqi Army entered a new stage of modernisation and advancement. Its

fighting strength has remarkably developed and its scientific and structural techniques have advanced along with the promotion of the ideological and cultural consciousness of its personnel. "The Political Leadership in Iraq is sparing no effort to enhance the educational and revolutionary standard of the army personnel and we are on the way of building an army of ideology and of supreme calibre and power", the Minister added.

### Women Enters Army

For the first time in Iraq's history, women are being accepted as commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the army. According to a law enacted by the Revolution Command Council (RCC) on October 18, 1977, women holding a college degree in medicine, dentistry and pharmacy, have become eligible for appointment as officers in the army.

The law also stipulated the appointment of nurses as non-commissioned and warrant officers in the Army Medical Corps.

### Army Day Celebrations

This year's celebrations began with the laying of wreaths at the Unknown Soldiers' Monument by RCC member and Minister of Works and Housing Mr. Taha Yassin Ramadham, who represented Field Marshal Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, President of the Republic and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

The ceremony was attended by the RCC members.

Cabinet Ministers, heads of diplomatic missions, military attaches in Baghdad and high-ranking officers of the armed forces.

On this occasion, a number of industrial and agricultural projects were inaugurated and the foundation stone of other projects were laid. Besides, republican decrees were promulgated on the occasion providing for increase in the wages and salaries of several categories of personnel in the armed and internal security forces as well as of public sector workers.

### Tributes by the Press

The Iraqi press paid rich tributes to the Iraqi Army on the occasion of its 57th anniversary.

The leading Iraqi daily Al-Thawrah, organ of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, said, "The Revolution and the Party have rendered exceptional attention to the development and promotion of the armed forces and the army in particular". The paper added that "qualitative changes have taken place in the army - in training, armament and acquisition of most up-to-date advanced military science and technology".

The Baghdad mass circulation newspaper, Al-Jumhuriyah, writing on the occasion, said that this year's army anniversary marked an increased cohesion between the Revolution and the masses and the country's emergence as more powerful than ever before both in its defence capabilities and revolutionary social transformations.

## 4th Anniversary of ABSP 8th Regional Congress

Iraqi press on January 8 greeted the 4th anniversary of the convening of the 8th Regional Congress of the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP) which was held from January 8-12, 1974. The Congress adopted a Political Report which has since become the guideline for building a prosperous socialist society in Iraq.

Commenting on the anniversary, Al-Thawrah, said that the ABSP "has efficiently discharged the national and pan-Arab tasks and has successfully erected the pillars of an advanced society and built up a strong base for confronting the enemy in its battle of destiny".

The daily, the organ of the ABSP, said the Iraqi experiment "represents a shining revolutionary turning point in the history of modern Arab struggle and a bulwark for countering deviation and the imperialist-Zionist onslaughts".

The daily pointed out that the Revolution, during the period that following the 8th Regional Congress, translated the practical formulas, principles and slogans of the Party into action for winning historic victories.

Concluding, the daily called for turning the occasion into determination to carry on the struggle for the successful application of the plans and the programmes of the Party and the Revolution and for promoting democratic practices along the road of achieving the great objectives of Unity, Freedom and Socialism.

Commenting on the same anniversary, The Al-Jumhuriyah daily said the Political Report of the 8th Regional Congress "has become a programme for a comprehensive national action and a guideline in the struggle for progress and prosperity along the road of socialist construction".

The daily reviewed the successes scored by Iraq in the economic field after the convening of the Congress. It also spoke of the growing prestige of Iraq at the international level.

It called for carrying on the struggle to convert Iraq into a more powerful and prosperous country.

by Abdul Razzak Fahmi



RCC Vice-Chairman Mr. Saddam Hussein chairing a Planning Board meeting

## Saddam Hussein Calls for Socialist Fiscal Controls

**M**r. Saddam Hussein, Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council (RCC), has stressed the importance of working out socialist fiscal controls for governing the development activities.

Mr. Hussein who was speaking at a meeting held under his chairmanship at the Planning Ministry on December 28, to discuss the 1978 general Budget said, "We want the Ministry of Finance to lay down new and socialist rules for the policy of taxation. The accumulated income of certain parasitical elements must not be allowed to grow at the expense of general planning within the socialist line". He said that private ownership "is not going to be abrogated and private enterprise will continue in accordance with the line we envisage. But both the private ownership and enterprise will be governed by the central law of the socialist society, as well as by the evolved plans which are essential in this regard. What we are after is to abolish exploitation and concentration of excessive wealth,

while retaining incentives for the purpose of promoting production".

The RCC Vice-Chairman urged the various organs of the State to assist the Leadership, each from its own position, to supervise the application of socialism and take initiatives and effective means for strengthening this course.

Mr. Hussein underlined the importance of introducing practices in the functions of different ministries and other organs of the State. "The Minister is a political leader in his own right. The government official acts within the jurisdiction of activities assigned to him. In this context, frequent meetings and mutual dialogues will inevitably enhance the efficiency of the official and benefit the minister who will gain first hand information and observations concerning the function of his ministry, a matter which will enable him enrich his theoretical vision of the movement of society", Mr. Hussein said.

## ID 7,457 million Iraq's Budget for 1978

The country's general budget allocations for the year 1978 is ID 7,457,000,000 (25 billion US dollars approximately).

The ordinary budget allocations for the year amounted to ID. 1,850,000,000, while the budget of the government and semi-government organisations and public sector amounted to ID 2,807,000,000.

Allocations of the ordinary budget represented an increase of ID 197 million over the allocations of the

year (1977), that is an increase of 12 percent.

Allocations for the annual investment plan which amounted to ID 2,800,000,000 provided for an increase of production and capital productivity and for optimum utilisation of means of production and human energies.

The plan, designed to expand the base of the socialist sector, can be regarded as the first integrated, comprehensive plan pressing with continuity of developing the industrial and agricultural sectors.

# 1977:

## A Review of Achievements

**T**o acquaint ourselves with the achievements being accomplished in Iraq since the July 17, 1968 Revolution, it has been customary to review annually the progress made in comparison with previous performance. This comparison indicates the tempo of work and the viability of the trends that are contributing to the new society building.

Iraq is today racing with time and using every cent it receives from its oil in speeding-up the process of economic and social transformation for the welfare of the people and in order to catch up with the progress attained by other advanced countries.

During last year, and particularly in the oil sector, the Iraqi-Turkish crude pipeline was inaugurated. The annual capacity of the 1005 km. joint pipeline is 35 million tons of crude; and the cost of the 345 km. pipeline which runs across Iraqi territories amounted to around \$ 192 million. The other part of the line runs across Turkey.

The first phase of Iraq's oil tankers fleet was completed with the arrival of "Al-Mustansiriyah" tanker early November last, thus facilitating the marketing of crude running through the strategic and Iraqi-Turkish pipelines. Iraq's fleet of tankers today number 15, the total annual capacity of which is 1.5 million tons.

All indicators prove that the industrial sector has achieved quantitative growth. A noticeable increase in production value within the range of 32 per cent has been recorded last year. Many bottlenecks in the field of cement and brick industries were eliminated; total cement production is expected to reach 5100000 tons annually, the quantity required by the development plan.

Also, an important event took place in the country, namely, a comprehensive population census on October 17. The census showed that Iraq's population is 12,171,470.

In the field of higher education and scientific research, the implementation of the University Service Law No. 142 of 1976 and the issuance of the amendment to University Service Law No. 125 of 1977 were the most significant event which aimed at laying down new foundations for the establishment of educational institutions. The law is an advanced step towards uplifting the standard of university personnel and staff ensuring the soundest and best methods of orienting students educationally and intellectually within the

revolution's perspectives in building the unified Arab democratic socialist society and in accordance with the scientific and revolutionary precepts contained in the Political Report of the 8th Regional Congress of the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP).

Proceeding from the pan-Arab outlook of the Party and Revolution the law applies also to Arab professors who are on the teaching staff of Iraqi universities.

On the other hand, the school meals programme which was enforced throughout the country, has been given due attention by the Party and government. The programme feeds 750,000 children belonging to 2000 schools and kindergartens. The \$ 6.4 million project is a complementary measure to the system of compulsory education being implemented in Iraq since 1976.

The agricultural sector witnessed an obvious transformation in which the Khalis agricultural project effected huge qualitative leap in productivity which recorded a 150 per cent increase. The total crops output of 724,000 donums (one donum = 2500 sq. m.) project amounted to 352,365 tons. The project adopts the method of collective work as it is a socialist sector having state, collective and cooperative farms.

Among the most distinct irrigation projects that were materialised during last year is the digging of a river in between the Tigris and Euphrates. The 156 km. river will be an important drainage network. Work in this \$ 66 million river commenced in May 1972 and completed in 1977. It will reclaim some 420000 donums and turn them into cultivable land, thus raising the farmers' standard of living and supporting enormously national economy.

In the field of communications, the expansion of the two ground tele-communication stations could well be considered the most important achievement. The stations' share of international lines has been raised from 94 to 136 and that of telex from 96 to 336. This expansion will provide better and more services and also facilitate the transmission of daily international events. Moreover, Iraq is now connected directly with 14 countries instead of 9; in other words some 400 million telephones are at the reach of Iraqi citizens.

The most important achievement in public health sector was the full control of the cholera epidemic which swept the Middle East last summer. Iraq was the only country to check this epidemic within a very short time and with only 130 cases.

K. B.



## Emphasis on Removing Disparities Between Urban and Rural Areas

# Integrated Plan for Building Socialism



Planning Minister Mr. Adnan Hussein

Under the guidance of the Revolution and the Party leadership, headed by President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and Revolution Command Council (RCC) Vice-Chairman Mr. Saddam Hussein, the central planning machinery advanced theoretical and practical experience and was able to translate the thoughts and directives of the Party and the leadership into a comprehensive action programme. The 1978 plan was one of its fruits.

The 1978 plan which commenced on January 1, is the third part of the 1976-80 National Development Plan (NDP). The integrated and comprehensive plan includes:

1. The Investment Plan for the central government sector and the socialist self-financed sector as well as investment indicators in the private and mixed sectors
2. The sectoral production plans for the organisations of the socialist sector.
3. Plans for manpower in different sectors including all related training and rehabilitation programmes.
4. Export, import and internal trade indicators.
5. Current expenditure in connection with investment expenditure.



Finance Minister Dr. Fawzi Abushubbah presiding over a budget meeting

### The Annual Plan as Part of NDP

The goal of the 1976-80 National Development Plan is to boost the rate of growth of total and sectoral development in the national economy, to increase the national income, to raise the standard of living of the citizens, to improve public services and to remove every obstacle in the way of development required to achieve the highly developed and civilised society.

This mainly depends on boosting the productivity of the invested capital, improving the methods of production and the full utilisation of the available potentials, projects and the new investments.

The aim of the 1978 plan which is a part of the NDP is also to continue building the infrastructures of the national economy as a main base for fulfilling the political, social, and economic requirements for building socialism and for enhancing the role of socialist sector in various fields of economy. Thus the socialist sector will be able to take a leading and instructive role in effecting a qualitative change in methods and ways of work and hence will open the scope for wider relations in socialist production.

### Investments Allocations

The annual allocation of investments was made on the basis of the following considerations:

a. The actual executive capacity of the competent organs.

b. The volume of investments to be allotted for projects under implementation.

d. The new investments required to restore the balance to the development process and remove the bottlenecks that impede the growth of economy.

e. Special stress on the development of the services in the governorates and various local administrations, the development of the countryside and to increase its share in the development efforts witnessed in the country in accordance with the directives of the political leadership, apart from implementation of the decisions of the Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Baath Socialist Party.

f. Concentration on projects which benefit all social sectors.

Taking into consideration the above mentioned, the annual allocations for the central government sector amounted to I.D. 2800 million, an increase of 18% over last years' programme allocations.

This increase reflects the concern of the political leadership in scientific research, education and teaching in order to bring up a generation armed with knowledge which will enable it to actively participate in the development and construction of the country. This sector obtained an increase of 49% over its last year allocations. As to buildings, public services and housing they received an increase of 32%; the agricultural sector 28% and transport and communication 25%. The allocations for new projects mainly concentrated on buildings, housing, transport and communication sectors.

As for the self-financing investments, the industrial sector received I.D. 250 million, the buildings and services sector I.D. 36 million, and the transportation and communication sector I.D. 4 million.

The mixed and private sectors occupy a secondary position in the development efforts. Investment in the industrial sector is estimated to be I.D. 50 million, and about ID 130 million in the buildings and housing sector.

### Geographical Distribution of Annual Investments

The imbalance of investments in the previous plans created wide and clear gaps between the country's regions and to a great extent between the countryside and the city. As a result there was a great population influx to the main cities and their suburbs which offered better educational, health and social services and employment opportunities. In order to restore the balance and create stability in the market of goods,

services and employment and in the productivity factors, the National Development Plan of 1976-1980, and the 1978 plan stressed the development of regional planning and creation of stronger coordination and balance in the distribution of the fruits of development in order to bridge the gap between the governorates, the rural areas and the city, and to create a local economic balance. A special consideration is therefore given to investments in the projects in operation, strategic and economic significance, density of population, the possibilities of development available and the novelty of some administrative formations. Proceeding from these considerations, four groups of governorates which constitute a heavy burden on the annual sectoral investments, were singled out for special allocations.

A. The annual investments in the agrarian sector in Wasit, Dyalah, Babel, al-Kadisiya, and al-Ta'ameem governorates, were at 75%, 66%, 45%, 43, 41.5% consecutively of the total annual allocations for them.

B. The annual investments in the agrarian sector in Wasit, Dhiqir, Salalahuddin, Najaf and Musayib were 66%, 58%, 47%, 43%, 32% out of total annual allocations for these governorates consecutively.

C. The annual investments in the transport and communication sector in Dehok, Arbil, Al-Anbar, and Sulaimaniyah were at the rate of 52%, 47%, 41%, and 40% out of the total annual allocations for them.

D. The annual investments in the building and services sectors in Karbala, Baghdad and Nineveh were at 48%, 44%, 32% of the total annual allocations for them.

### The Important Projects in the Annual Plan

a. In the agricultural sector, special stress was laid on land reclamation, irrigation, dairies and services.

b. In the industrial sector the annual plan stressed on accelerating the execution of the heavy industrial projects such as petrochemicals, iron, steel, cement and other construction materials, electricity, especially in the rural areas, and food industries projects.

c. In the transport and communication sector special stress was given on paving roads, building bridges, improving land transport especially between the governorates, development of the capacity of ports and telecommunications. Also to expand the building of the Baghdad International Airport and the road to Mecca.

d. In the buildings and housing field, it is hoped to complete the construction of 20,000 housing units and commence the construction of 46,000 new units in addition to the rural and industrial housing projects,

apartment houses and prefabricated houses. In the field of services, especially in the governorates and rural areas, the annual plan stressed the need for wider health and social services, the supply of drinking water and youth welfare. The annual plan attempted to reflect the ambitions of the Party and the Revolution in providing public services to all the citizens through increasing allocations for this year compared to last year in the following rates:

Water projects 72%,  
Wage system 69%,  
Projects for Public Services in governorates 66%,  
Housing projects 47%,  
Summer Resorts and Tourism 24%,  
Youth Welfare Projects 22%,  
Social Services Projects 14%.

Great importance and special priority were given to education and to preparation of manpower. The plan stressed the importance of the requirements of education in general, compulsory education, boarding schools for secondary classes, especially for the wards of those who serve in villages and rural areas. The construction and expansion of kindergartens, nurseries, technological and agricultural institutes, industrial schools and teachers' training institutes have also been stressed.

#### Indicators and Targets of the Production Plan

For the first time, the annual plan of 1978, included a special section for production planning and requirements of the socialist sector along with comprehensive planning for private and mixed sectors. The socialist sector plan for production contained the qualitative target for the production of staple goods, in addition to the value of production, sale price, value of the requirements of production such as training, research, quality control, etc.

Following are the most important indicators of

## Fresh Rise in Wages and

Salaries

An important step for further raising the general standard of living of people has recently been taken in Iraq. The Revolution Command Council (RCC) decreed a substantial rise in the wages and salaries of workers, teachers and members of the armed and internal security forces. Sometime ago, the earnings of a wide segment of public servants (including workers, university teachers, engineers, medical officers) were substantially increased. And prior to that, a general rise in all wages and salaries was given in 1974.

The latest increase exceeds all previous increments in that it benefits a broader social base, embracing hundreds of thousands of families. Moreover it is more rewarding for lower income groups. For instance it ensures a rise of more than 50 per cent in the minimum

sectoral production plans.

A. Agricultural sector: The target of the plan is to produce about 1.7 million tons of wheat, 804,000 tons of barley, 358,000 tons of rice, 41,000 tons of chicken, 855 million eggs and about 23,000 tons of fish.

B. Industrial sector: The plan aims at the production of 5.1 million tons of cement, 720 million units of bricks 93000 tons of dairy products, 134000 tons of vegetable oil, 320000 tons sugar, 124 million square metres of various textiles, 164000 tons of iron and steel, and the manufacture of 4000 tractors and 14750 trucks and buses.

C. Transport and Communication sector: The socialist sector aims at transporting 4.1 million tons of goods by cars, 2376 million tons by railway, in addition to supplying means of transport for 1.5 million persons between the cities, 278 million inside Baghdad, and 180 million inside the governorates.

D. Construction and Services Section: In addition to the housing projects mentioned above, the annual plan of 1978, aims at supplying water to about one million people in the rural areas and to continue the construction of 34 hospitals and 136 health centres and clinics and 26 public health laboratories and medical stores. The plan also includes the continuation of constructing various Iraq universities and technical institutes, schools for different educational levels, along with various sewage systems, public gardens, markets, department stores and various artistic, cultural, information and touristic projects.

The 1978 plan contains special recommendation on boosting trade, increasing the working power and construction material, improving quality of the various economic sectors. It also points out that the increase of production does not depend on investment only but also on organisation, administrative control and continuity so that productivity rises to full capacity without the need of extensive investment spending.

salary of an unskilled worker and an ordinary soldier and security man as well as a monthly allowance of ID 20 for every schoolteacher.

While prices are rocketing everywhere, it is amazing that the successive increase of earnings have led only to a minor rise in the cost of living in Iraq. Thanks to fair pricing of domestic products, subsidising of staple commodities and effective market control, cost of living index has been maintained at a reasonable level.

The great socio-economic advancement so far accomplished, the radical agrarian reform and the significant growth of income — all have combined to change production relations in a drastic manner.



ABIS National Leadership member and member of the RCC Mr. Naim Hadad led the Iraqi delegation to the Arab Popular Conference.

## Need for a Militant, Steadfast Arab Resistance Front

Efforts are under way for the creation of progressive pan-Arab political front, comprising all desirous revolutionary forces in the Arab homeland. The step is in fulfillment of one of the main resolutions of the Arab Popular Conference — a representative gathering, attended by delegates from most progressive political parties as well as trade unions, mass and professional organisations, held in Tripoli, Libya, early last month. At the time of writing this article, the Permanent Secretariat General of the Arab Popular Conference is meeting in Baghdad to work out, among other subjects on the agenda, a draft charter for their progressive pan-Arab front.

Iraq has submitted to both the Tripoli Summit Conference (attended by Libya, Iraq, Syria, Algeria, Democratic Yemen and PLO) and the Tripoli Arab Popular Conference its conception of the envisaged political front.

The Iraqi plan calls for "the creation of steadfast Arab front for confrontation and resistance comprising all parties dedicated to the time of struggle against imperialism and Zionism and for liberation". In the opinion of Iraq, the front must not be a fragile coalition set up today only to break down the next day. Nor should it be a formal front devoid of specified revolutionary substance. To ensure its continuity and well-defined objectives emanating from the aspirations of the Arab nation for full unconditional liberation of the occupied Arab territories and for progress and prosperity, this means in the first place, the rejection of any defeatist settlement with the enemy and steadfast struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

On the other hand, the leader of the Iraqi delegation to the Tripoli Summit Conference assured participants of Iraq's readiness to play its full role within the framework of a truly progressive front based on a sound guiding charter and a programme for longer struggle. "But we are not prepared to join a front based on policies

By Awad Brair

of settlement, Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and on a Geneva conference", categorically declared the Iraqi delegate.

Iraq's plan proposed a front of the five states that attended the Tripoli Summit Conference, empowered to decide on questions of war and peace and to provide all economic, political and military pre-requisites for liberation. Parties to the front should recognise the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians and should render all possible support to the Palestinian revolution.

The Iraqi proposals are a genuine translation of a long-cherished pan-Arab desire. As a matter of fact, sincere endeavours were made in the past few years by many a progressive force for setting up a common political front. Such a front has always been regarded as a strategic need for the attainment of the triple Arab aim of unity, freedom and socialism.

At the present juncture, the building of a truly progressive front is perhaps imperative. It is dictated by the need to defeat the whole imperialist-Zionist-reactionary designs as represented in the attempts for the liquidation of the Palestinian issue; the ceding of Arab lands to the Zionist enemy and the extension of recognition to the expansionist aggressive Zionist entity. It is needed to defeat the counter-revolution that works for the destruction of all hard-won progressive gains and the transformation of the entire rich and strategic Arab region into a neo-colony. In the face of the counter-revolutionary camp, there has to be a progressive camp. Otherwise, the revolutionary forces of the Arab world will suffer division, disunity, thus becoming individually, easy prey to looming enemies.

Hence the Arab masses resolve for creating a militant front capable of mobilising their formidable potential and leading them along the path of liberation and progress.

It is true that the Arab progressive forces in the different Arab countries do not agree on all issues among themselves. But it is equally true that they do hold similar views on the crucial issues. They share a common stand against imperialists and Zionists. They are all for a united free socialist Arab state, notwithstanding the ways and means for realising this goal. As a matter of fact there is a lot in common between them, and, as the struggle victoriously intensifies, all secondary differences are apt to give way to closer and more unified struggle.

The political awareness in the past three decades has greatly advanced. Many progressive gains were also attained in many countries. And the experiences gained will all combine to help build a promising progressive front. Betterstill, there is an objective understanding of present conditions and future possibilities.

The steps taken so far by the counter-revolution forces indicate more weakness than strength. And the rise of the Arab nation against them reflects a confident will for continuing the fight to its inevitable victorious end.





International symposium on information taking place in Baghdad

Iraqi News Agency building

## For a Just Information System

by Kamal Butti

It is generally accepted that mass communication media are instrumental factors in the process of society build-up and of progress, or regress, if improperly used, of nations. Colonialists and imperialists have always given special attention to them and considered them an integral part of their covetous designs aiming at the continuous plundering and domination of peoples, and also at checking and liquidating peoples' aspirations for political and economic emancipation and social progress. With such an end in view the imperialists have developed various methods and techniques of mass deception. They also seek to the growth of any competitive advanced mass media that might unmask their designs.

In a study prepared by UNESCO in 1961, it was revealed that about 70 per cent of the world's population lacked the simplest means of mass media, and that around 100 African, Asian and Latin American countries possessed the very minimum in this respect. This study pointed to a staggering fact, namely, the monopoly of imperialist quarters over the information channels of the majority of Third World countries.

In view of this assertive design which was drawn up in respect to the strategic existence of imperialism, peoples of the developing nations, our Arab people in particular, were kept away from factual information and cultural orientation not only during the colonial periods, but also after their emergence as independent states. These newly independent states found themselves handicapped mastering no cultural and information prerequisites that could cope with the masses' consciousness or create sound grounds for political, economic and social transformation. Moreover, they found themselves obliged to provide the means of living and other pressing social services for their citizens as a priority.

It is obvious that the developing countries which have achieved political liberation should seek the promotion of the welfare of their prime concern — the

man — in their social and economic development process. They should work on enlightening him to be able to play his role in the society build-up. Here the importance of the information media comes to the forefront in uplifting the consciousness of people. The mass media can effectively bring home to the people the importance of social and economic development for making the political liberation meaningful.

Can the developing countries do the job with their present modest means? The studies prepared by UNESCO and other information circles have concluded that if such means were used together with full comprehension of environment and society and the psychological impact of time on the citizen, then the mass media will be more effective in driving the wheels of progress forward, notwithstanding the lengthy years of oppression and backwardness which are not easy to overcome overnight, but require hard work and enough time when compared with the volume of effects left behind by imperialism.

Here comes the importance of coordination of the available means of developing countries on the information and cultural level to confront the imperialist propaganda design.

### Non-aligned Movement

In the late fifties the concept of non-alignment came into being. The imperialist mass media stood against it and waged an intensive campaign to tarnish this concept. And because the western information media fall under the complete control of monopolies and imperialism, they spared no time and effort in maligning peoples' struggle for freedom and independence. The word "terrorist" was coined by these media when reporting the struggle of nationalists against imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Palestinian Arab freedom-fighters were no exception. Furthermore, these media played and are still playing a well-planned role in depicting the Third World peoples as being

primitive and unfit for self-rule.

One need not elaborate more on the biased role of most of the western information media vis-a-vis the needs of struggling peoples whether in Chile, South Africa, Eritrea, occupied Palestine, and elsewhere. All what we read, see and hear in these media serve not these peoples but those who control and finance the media under the false slogan of "freedom of the press". The media played and continue to play the hated role of disseminating the spirit of hatred, animosity, national prejudice among emerging peoples as a prelude to imperialist reactionary coups. While beating the drums of exaggeration and sensationalism, western imperialist mass media ignore news and reports that help or reveal initiatives towards peaceful solution of international issues, or those which communicate the voices of oppressed, colonised peoples.

### Bid to Confront Media Monopoly

In view of this situation, the non-aligned summit conference, which was held in Algeria in 1973, voiced the need for reorganising the existing information channels in the Third World. In 1976, the International Information Symposium which was held in Tunisia, called for putting an end to the western information monopoly. And in the Colombo Conference of Non-aligned nations held in August 1976, a union of news agencies was approved as a step towards establishing a new international information system. This was followed by Baghdad's Third International Symposium on "curbing imperialist impact on developing countries' information media and enhancing the role of these media in creating a new international economic order", which recommended the establishment of an information pool for non-aligned countries.

It goes without saying that the promotion of mass media will ultimately check the influence of imperialist forces and accelerate the process of national development on all levels.

In Iraq as in other Arab and developing countries, the mass media in the past remained backward unable to perform its role in serving and enlightening the masses despite the fact that Iraq was among the first Arab countries to start radio transmission in 1936 and TV network in 1954. These two vital sectors lacked the necessary national cadre, in addition to serving the pro-imperialist ruling clique as reflected in their programmes. They were mere platforms encouraging western-oriented tendencies.

With the exception of very few newspapers through which some sincere dedicated pens tried to communicate with the masses, the rest of the press were pro-government which in turn was an imperialist fellow-traveller. Despite this fact, some clandestine bulletins, leaflets, and posters issued by particular

political parties and groups, were able, to a great extent, to mobilise the masses politically, educationally and ideologically. The people were able then to read what was actually taking place in the factory, the farm, this or that government department, and the like. This press played a vital role in exposing the reactionary and dictatorial regimes and agents and their pro-imperialist policies and practices. The Arab Baath Socialist Party played a distinctive role in this respect and was able to create a public opinion prepared to accept the changes heralded by the July 17, 1968, Revolution.

### Post-Revolution Press in Iraq

Following the revolution, the Party and Revolution leadership gave due attention to mass media out of conviction in the importance of this sector in building the new man in the new society. Intellectual and technical manpower was recruited to do the job under the direct supervision and guidance of the Party. New powerful micro-wave transmitters and radio and TV stations were established throughout the country. Special stress was laid on developing and uplifting the standard of the press, both in form and content. Iraq's national news agency was equipped with the latest devices to boost the image of Iraq abroad. Multifarious books and publications found their way on bookstands. People's organisations and their cultural activities received every support.

As a result of this support, the mass media in Iraq played a tangible role in the national development process, particularly in facing up the propaganda campaigns waged against the revolution by the oil monopoly companies during the oil nationalisation period, and by the Zionist-imperialist-reactionary quarters which tried hard to cast doubt in the ability of the Party and Revolution leadership to score victory.

Iraq's mass media are not confined to the country alone. Because of their past Arab outlook, they are playing an impressive part in exposing all the conspiracies designed against the Arab people vis-a-vis the Palestine issue and the so-called peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis. Moreover, the media with their special programmes beamed to particular world regions, have offered valuable support to 'liberation' movements, whether in the Horn of Africa, Southern Africa, Vietnam or Chile. The media stand by peoples' struggle against imperialism. Thus, the importance of coordination among the developing countries in this field is a dire need.

We are at present in the midst of a bitter fight; a fight that will take us to the highest degree of self-confidence in defying imperialist challenges and consequently put us on the threshold of peace and progress.

# Who is Fooling Who?

by our Political Analyst

**P**rime Minister Menachem Begin of "Israel" threatened on January 8 that he would withdraw his so-called "peace plan" if President Anwar Sadat of Egypt continued to speak against the Zionist settlements in Sinai. The Begin threat came in the wake of "Israeli" Cabinet decision to "maintain, expand and further strengthen" these settlements there.

The Begin plan (Iraq Today, Dec. 15-31) has been scornfully rejected by all the Arab quarters including the apologists of Sadat treachery. It has found favour only with the rulers in Washington who have all along been underwriting Zionist intransigence. Begin has dared put up this document of occupation and expansion on bargain counter because he has measured up an Anwar Sadat who has burnt all the bridges on his road to surrender. When the Egyptian ruler isolated himself from the main current of Arab revolution, he lost his power base — the revolutionary Arab masses. And when a ruler loses his power bases, he turns out to be a caricature of history. That is why terrorist boss Menachem Begin is now holding Mr. Sadat in utter contempt.

Mr. Sadat for his part is reciprocating Begin contempt with more concessions. On his return from Sudan on January 8 he told newsmen in Cairo that he agreed in principle with Carter's thinking on the status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Mr. Carter categorically stated recently that he was opposed to the establishment of a Palestinian state "in between Jordan and Israel". He did not retract this statement. Instead, during his tri-continental tour he stopped over at Aswan on January 4 only to tell Mr. Sadat the same thing albeit couched in diplomatic parlance. In a prepared statement the US President said:

"There must be a resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. The resolution of the problem must recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and enable the Palestinians to participate in the determination of their own future" (Guardian, Jan. 5).

Mr. Sadat who had earlier expressed his "disappointment" publicly at Carter's "no Palestinian state" pronouncement, now feels satisfied with Carter's Aswan statement possibly because Mr. Carter has provided the Egyptian President with the kind of face-saving phraseology the latter has been looking for. In his present mood of total surrender Mr. Sadat does not like to note that President Carter has meticulously avoided pertinent expressions like "right to self-determination", "legitimate national rights", "right to return to their motherland". These expressions do not belong to the vocabulary of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) whose name is an anathema to Carter-Sadat-Begin axis; these expressions have repeatedly been used by the United Nations General Assembly in its various resolutions on Palestine and Palestinian people.

When Mr. Carter speaks about "the Palestinian problem", he has in mind the problem of individual Palestinians, not of the Palestinian people as a people. Or else he would not have taken shelter behind the smokescreen of a cumbersome expression like "enable the Palestinians to participate in the determination of their own future". Instead he would have used the term "self-determination" — a terminology used in Article I of the UN Charter — if he had the minimum of sincerity of purpose.

Mr. Begin knows the mind of his patron better than any one else. After receiving a radio telephonic message directly from Mr. Carter, who was travelling to Paris from Aswan, the "Israeli" Premier said that he had

"no doubt whatsoever" that Mr. Carter still regarded the "Israeli" plan (limited administrative autonomy under Israeli sovereignty) for West Bank and Gaza Strip as a "fair basis for negotiations". Begin was also glad that Carter did not use the term "self-determination". He said, "There cannot be any self-determination, as the term is understood under international law and practice, for the problem of Palestinian Arabs. There is self-determination for the Arab people, expressed in the existence of 21 sovereign states". Begin loudly spelled out what Carter tried to hide behind involved phraseology.

But Mr. Sadat, who seems to be confusing illusion with reality, thinks that Carter's concept of "self-rule" for the Palestinians of West Bank and Gaza Strip will eventually lead to "self-determination" in five years time. He is blissfully ignoring the influence of Zionist lobby on US Administration as well as the impact of the presence of "Israeli" troops and the continued expansion of Zionist settlements in West Bank and Gaza Strip. It is not without significance that Mr. Sadat expressed his optimism about the development of self-rule into self-determination on January 8 and the next day Begin government authorised the setting up of four more settlements in the West Bank and decided to establish twenty new military outposts across the occupied territories.

In the circumstances Begin's self-rule formula and his policy with regard to occupied territories, will only lead to complete annexation by "Israel" of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and permanent occupation of most of other occupied territories, if the Arab revolutionary forces remain as silent spectators. The redeeming feature of the situation, however, is that these forces are not sitting on the fence; they have taken up position against Sadat's policy of surrender and Carter Administration's connivance with the crimes of Begin. They have also forged a pan-Arab front of resistance and confrontation on mass level. The impact of the emergence of this front has already been brought to bear upon the Carter-Sadat-Begin axis which has so far failed to impose an unjust solution of the Arab-Zionist conflict on the Arabs. As a matter of fact, the euphoria that was built up during Sadat's journey to occupied Jerusalem and on the eve of Begin's return visit on Christmas day appears to have died down. This initial success of the forces of Arab resistance augurs well for their future victory in their just struggle for compelling the Zionist aggressors withdraw from all occupied and usurped Arab lands and for creating a unified democratic Palestine in place of the present racist ghetto.

## The 'Terrorist Rabble-rouser'



**M**enachem Begin or "Faqin" — which rhymes with his name — was a man of no scruples or "theology" about anything. This man who was accepted as an honoured guest to the U.K. was once according to Patrick Donovan of Spectator refused entry there. Those who knew him well during the 26 years said that he was fit for nothing except to be "a terrorist rabble-rouser". Even his colleagues relegated him to the category of terrorist by conviction.

When he came to power last June, the news came as an astonishment to everyone who knows his unescapable record, as might be expected, for he has been described as "one of the most hated men of recent times". The most infamous act which the world remembers well was the bloody attack on the village of Deir Yassin in which about 300 men, women and children were killed, burned and mutilated.

Some western journalists said that the "civilised West" used to forgive even its enemies. A civilised world should have a retentive memory, and through memory a fair judgment could be given.

The whole world remembers well Begin's belief in hatred... "You cannot fight unless you hate". This is the axiomatic principle on which the whole Begin "philosophy" of the value of hate is based. He hated the Arabs, he hated the Europeans, he hated all the gentiles all over the world — he hated the rights of the peoples everywhere. Once he said, "Our needs should override the Arabs' rights!" So he called for using arms not for self-defence but for conquest.

A number of western journalists have been acquainted with Begin, with his Chaplinesque self-conscious walk and affected old-fashioned courtesy... with his character. They quoted his infamous sayings which confirmed his mistrust of the world conscience and all the ethics of the gentiles. Some of them tried to exonerate him from the black record of the crimes which he committed on Palestine immediately prior to the emergence of the Zionist entity. They mentioned that, during the short pause of the armistice the mission of Begin's group "Irgun Zvai Lumi" was not to create a Jewish state only but to annex the West Bank and Jordan. The whole world remembers that to this end nothing was permitted to stand in his way... no life, no treaties, no connections, no agreements.

This is what the world remembers well, although it forgets too much!

M. I.



Sadat, Begin "Who is fooling who?"



## Political challenges in the Middle East and some early responses by Arnold Toynbee

I was in 1968, when I enjoyed the privilege of interviewing the eminent professor Arnold Toynbee at the Chatham House in London. Arnold Toynbee was then already 79 years old, but I well remember his almost boyish delight in being questioned about the Arnold Toynbee at the age of 26 and 28, when contemporaries regarded him as a radical young man with "Bolshevik leanings". Arnold Toynbee's memories and answers, although referring back more than half a century, were spontaneous and lively, exceptionally accurate, almost frighteningly computer-like — so as if he were keen on proving to himself the successful maintenance of his life span as a kind of meaningful unit and well planned edifice of cosmopolitan dimensions. At the age of 79 Arnold Toynbee struck me as surprisingly young and when he referred to the future of mankind and the world-plan of C.A. Doxiadis,<sup>2</sup> he never sounded utopian but promising.

Arnold Toynbee was good to young researchers. At first my heart throbbed. Being a foreigner as well as feeling the tremendous intellectual integrity and cordiality of this distinguished personality I suddenly feared that the subject of my interview questioned this very integrity by pinpointing sins in his early career.

I was then in the course of writing my study on the "Birth of the mandate idea and its fulfilment in Iraq"<sup>3</sup> and I had come to the conclusion that an analysis of the intellectual profile and political commitment of Arnold Toynbee at the time of the First World War would be helpful for a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of those strands of thought and cross-fertilizations of ideas that gave shape to the mandate concept — a concept which as we all know was ambiguous in the extreme, alien to the Arab people and soon serving as a good cover for the colonial appetite of the Entente powers, which victoriously emerged from

the war. In fact, was I not asking the celebrated professor Toynbee, because as a young man he had made a compromise with imperialism — a compromise not made out of opportunism but rather stipulated by his particular vision of the rise and decline of civilisations in the specific and historic circumstances of internationalism and the industrialisation of the world?

Philosophically, Arnold Toynbee was committed to the mandate concept; politically however he fought against the way, how the mandate was executed.

Let me illustrate, what I mean, by referring to some of Arnold Toynbee's intellectual companions and masters such as Jan Christian Smuts, to whose philosophy of holism he owed so much in his formative years. In one way or another all these men set about to contribute to the shaping of a new world order, when the prospects of peace were still dim.

In 1924 Smuts wrote to his close friend at Oxford, Gilbert Murray, the well-known Grecian, liberal and by-the-way father of law of Arnold Toynbee (I quote): "You will remember the first conversation we had in April 1917 when I said that our intellectual reserves ought to be mobilized for the spiritualization of the war and its great results... The great causes, once well started, push through by their own inner momentum".<sup>4</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum there is the speculation, whether something had gone wrong with that push.

In 1928 in New York, Salvador de Madariaga and H. N. Brailsford, two more spiritual founding fathers of the League of Nations and the mandate concept, took part in a debate on whether the League of Nations could cope with imperialism. Salvador de Madariaga confessed that at first sight he had considered the mandate article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations as "the worst fig leaf of the whole show", but that later he had come to entertain hope, because the mandate concept signalized that imperialism would be temporary only, because it was limited in times.

Nevertheless, there surely was a mood of defeat and resignation, but also of defiance among the ranks of these men. Arnold Toynbee, who in the latter part of the war had sat on the Labour Party's advisory committee of international questions, was later on particularly outspoken in a series of pamphlets on the League of

Nations, where he criticized the curtailment of the sovereignty of the international body. Shortly before, in 1920, he had been dropped as a prolific contributor to the empire-devoted Round Table magazine<sup>7</sup>, for which he had until then anonymously written all articles on Islamic and Ottoman affairs. The Round table apostles had banned him for his criticism of British policy in Turkey.

These biographical details well testify, that the thinker Arnold Toynbee was also a pragmatist, who skillfully disseminated his ideas and by doing so enhanced the inner momentum of the causes he advocated.

We now can go further and ask what precisely it was that Arnold Toynbee advocated for the East, once peace had come? Granted that this is a question, which possibly cannot be answered conclusively. For there is the problem, that whereas we paradoxically know more about his interpretation of the MacMahon-Hussein correspondence and the Sykes-Picot agreements, less is known about his earlier views on the Arab Middle East.

Indeed, the best possible approach seems to me to take a look at his book "Nationality and the War", which appeared in 1915. Of course, we must make the reservation, that this study was largely engendered by the Balkan war and the Turkish problem; nevertheless, the book refers more than once to the Arab Middle East. Furthermore, Arnold Toynbee spoke in general terms of East versus West and he already and very early advocated a sovereign international authority as an agent of mankind and of different civilisations.

In this book "Nationality and the War", which he published at the age of 26, Arnold Toynbee formulated a law in history, which later on he tried to underpin by scientific and poetical means in his voluminous "Study of History". Accordingly, the inherent law of history was that units in the positive phase, i.e. states who showed up economic growth, rise in population, spiritual energy, material surplus inevitably absorbed the fibres and tresspassed upon the environment of units that had passed over into the negative phase. The process could be reversed, once units in the negative phase were sparked off by new vitality again. Toynbee's vision of peace was that this law in history should not be interfered with by imperialism, by which he generally meant expansion of existing empires. Instead, an international authority should step in and assist this harmonization of the two rhythms: growth and decay and decay and growth.

At the age of the publication of this book, Arnold Toynbee had not yet explored the spirituality and religiosity of the East. In contrast he seems to have been much impressed by the industrialisation process in the West as a generator of new forms of national co-existence. Thus, materially he put post-war Europe high up on the ascending line. Yet judged, in particular, by his

definite commitment to the Arab cause in the wake of the peace conferences at Versailles, San Remo, Sevres and Lausanne, Arnold Toynbee certainly had visualized the Arab world as sparked by new vitality.

Due to his assessment of expanding industrialization in the world and to the experience in the Balkan Wars, he was against the division of the East along the line Western-type nation-states. His refutation that the sovereign national state of the West not applicable to the East followed the theme that the state ideal of the West had emerged before the industrial revolution and before extensive economic calculation had become prominent. In the East, where no independent nation-states had so far existed, the economic calculation called for somewhat "complex" multi-national molecules.

Surely, themes such as the German or Balkan Zollverein or else a Danube federation were current in those years<sup>11</sup>. But again, judged by his early and persistent commitment to the Arab cause as well as by the zeal, which led him to scrutinize the Arab World and Islamic in the first volume of the Survey of International Affairs<sup>12</sup>, Arnold Toynbee was in the West one of the first champions of the unity of the Arab world.

Helmut Mejcher  
University of Hamburg  
Talk given at the Toynbee Memorial  
Conference, Baghdad 20-30 October 1977

1. e.g. William Tyrrell, head of the Foreign Office intelligence department, to Sidney and Beatrice Webb, s. Beatrice Webb's Diaries, vol. II, p. 119 (20 April 1918).
2. A. Toynbee: Experiences. London 1969, pp. 41-44.
3. A version of the study has been published meanwhile under the title: Imperial Quest for Oil. Iraq 1910-1928. London 1976.
4. J. C. Smuts to Gilbert Murray, July 1924, in: Gilbert Murray Papers. Oxford Bodleian Library.
5. Can the League Cope with Imperialism? Discussion before the Foreign Policy Association, New York 1928.
6. A. Toynbee: The League in the East. League of Nations Six Pamphlets, No. 2, A-Mandates. London 1920.
7. As A. Toynbee told the author.
8. A. Toynbee: The McMahon-Hussein Correspondence. Comments and a Reply to Issaha Friedmann, in: Journal of Contemporary History, vol. 5, No. 4, London 1970, pp. 185-193.
9. A Toynbee: Nationality and the War. London 1915, p. 491ff.
10. *ibid.*, p. 477.
11. Cf. L. Woolf: International Government. London 1916.
12. Survey of International Affairs. The Islamic World after the Peace Settlement. R. I. I. A. London 1925 vol. I.



Arnold Toynbee

"Iraq Today" — January 1-15, 1978

"Iraq Today" — January 1-15, 1978

## News in Pictures



President Houari Boumediene of Algeria holding talks in Baghdad on January 3 with President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and Vice-Chairman of Revolution Command Council Mr. Saddam Hussein on ways and means of steadfastly confronting the imperialist-zionist-reactionary schemings in the Arab area.



President Siad Berre of Somalia discussing in Baghdad on December 29 with President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr the situation obtaining in the Horn of Africa.



Talks being held in Baghdad on January 6, between the delegations representing the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP) led by Mr. Shibly al-Aysami, Assistant Secretary General of ABSP and the Lebanese National Movement. The two sides discussed measures for defeating the conspiracies hatched by Lebanese rightists and the zionist expansionists who are trying to liquidate the Palestinian resistance and Lebanese progressive movement.



Dr. George Habash, Secretary-General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) being received at the Baghdad International Airport on January 3 by Mr. Tareq Aziz, member of the ABSP National Leadership. Dr. Habash discussed with the Iraqi political leadership the measures for strengthening the popular resistance against surrender solutions that are being dished up by Carter-Sadat-Begin axis against the interest of Arab masses and Palestinian revolution.





Bellow with T. Kollek, Mayor of occupied Jerusalem



## How to Visit Jerusalem and Win a Nobel Prize

**Author:** Saul Bellow  
**Publisher:** Secker & Warburg - London  
**Reviewer:** F. El-Manssoury

Mr. Saul Bellow, American novelist, Nobel prize winner, ardent Zionist, has been to Jerusalem and back. Result: A book of impressions in 182 pages. Any reader acquainted with Mr. Bellow's novels which are mainly peopled by Jewish protagonists, would know what he is in for even before going past the first few pages of this small book.

Mr. Bellow's journey to Jerusalem is a journey into a mythladen past as is symbolised by the two hundred Hassidic fanatics who are on the plane with him. One of them gets into conversation with him and Bellow discovers that this man who works with his fellow Hassids in a sweater factory in New Jersey, doesn't speak a word of English. He doesn't know what a mathematician is (Bellow's wife a mathematician) and has never heard of Einstein. However, Bellow's wife likes these relics of the past: she finds them cheerful, warm and natural. She also loves their costumes, especially their 'beautiful hats'.

"You might find them a little hard to live with", her husband warns her. "You'd have to do everything their way, no options given".

Reading on, one gets the overpowering impression that Bellow himself wants the gentile world to do everything the Israeli way or at least, to give the Zionists a carte blanche, condoning everything and opposing nothing.

Mr. Bellow's blacklist of villains is not a short one. It includes Le Monde (which he accuses of openly siding with the Arabs since 1973) and the New York Times ('a government within a government'). Even that old and tried friend of 'Israel'-the well-known columnist, Joseph Alsop, doesn't come off well in Bellow's book, for he had the temerity to criticise 'Israel's attitude towards Dr.

Kissinger. And needless to say, Kissinger is not one of Bellow's favourite politicians.

Another devoted friend of the Zionist entity who gets short shift from Mr. B. is Monsieur Jean - Paul Sartre; I wonder whether he really knows what he is saying' writes Bellow.

All these men - the New York Times and Le Monde people - the Sartres, Kissingers and Alsops are castigated for not giving the Zionist entity their WHOLEHEARTED support. They had not done everything 'Israel's way'. Their friendship was not

enough blind devotion was required of them.

The reader is surprised to find even Senator Hubert Humphrey does not back in Bellow's sympathy, but then the reason for this has nothing to do with this politician's attitude towards zionism. During a reception in Washington, the Senator is too busy greeting people to give much time to the famous novelist. He ('Humphrey') was in one of his public states... He touched our hands, he looked beyond us and was gone... Nelson Rockefeller suffered from the same disorder....

Mr. Bellow was so hurt that he devoted two pages to this snub.

'To Jerusalem and Back' is one of those books which one reads with mounting distaste. It is a hatchet job. On page 108 Mr. B. reminisces about Professor Marshall Hodgson, his late colleague at the University of Chicago. A pacifist and a quaker, Professor Hodgson was an Arabist whose three-volume study 'The Venture of Islam' was published posthumously.

B. writes about him. 'He was romantic about Islam. He told me, and probably was right, that I didn't understand... He had no sympathy whatever with zionism. After the war of 1967 he cried out, "You have no business in Arab lands, you Jews!". In the heat of argument he then said many rash things'.

Bellow never forgave these rash things, so he digressed to talk about Hodgson's 'small daughters who had a congenital disease of the nervous system, which eventually proved fatal... They didn't sleep well. He and his wife were up with them in the night... so his sleepless face was often swollen, congested; his eyes bulged; and he was hoarse, almost incomprehensible, because he had been reading fairy tales to the girls. He said, nearly voiceless, how heartbreaking it was, how much the children understood. They seemed to realise that they would die. Then with tears in his eyes he hurried back to his studies'.

Finally, we are told that 'some years ago, Hodgson went out to jog on a boiling Chicago afternoon and died of heart failure'.

Somehow, all this reads as if Bellow thought that

Hodgson was being punished by Jehovah for being against zionism.

At any rate Bellow has his heroes too; and prominent among them is Elie Kedouri, the Zionist propagandist living in England. Another hero is Teddy Kollek, mayor of occupied Jerusalem. Still another is General Yehoshafat Harkabi, the former chief of military intelligence who now poses as a professor and specialist on Arab affairs. Apparently, Mr. B. only knows him as a professor (I think he is General Harkabi as well he writes). Many pages are devoted to the views of Kedouri, his wife Sylvia Haim and Harkabi. All are specialists in things Arabian and B. does not question the validity of their views. However, Bellow provides unintentional comic relief from all the earnest conjecture and pontification of these personages when he writes that Kedouri 'accuses the Zionists of injecting 'national folklore' into Judaism.

Folklore?! Now really Mr. Bellow!

Alas, these moments of relief are rare in Bellow's little book. But the important thing is that his apologia of 'Israel' and zionism is unconvincing, not that any such convincing apologia is at all possible. Like Hitler's Reich, 'Israel' cannot be defended on any grounds, though this fact does not deter men of Bellow's ilk from trying.

P.S. We found pages 17 and 18 of particular topical interest. Commenting on Sadat's visit to the US, an indignant 'Israeli' asks Bellow, 'How do you account for it!... Don't Americans know that Sadat was a Nazi?'

To this, we say gewalt, which is a Yiddish word used to denote pleasure at hearing a good joke.



A research paper prepared by Iraqi Ministry of Oil and introduced to Baghdad World Oil Conference (December 15-18, 1977).



A deep sea terminal, in Fao, southern Iraq



A scene of an oil degassing station

Drilling operations are going on extensively in Iraq

## Multinational Corporations and Petroleum

The question of multinational corporations has been the subject of increasing concern since the term "multinational corporations" was used for the first time at the beginning of 1960. It should be noted that economic and political sciences had discussed the content of this phenomenon of international economy, though under different names, quite long before this date when capitalism began to turn into monopolistic capitalism, precisely by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. World economic thought (political economy) discussed the question of transfer of capital from the more developed capitalist regions or states to the less developed ones, particularly to the backward ones. Political economy necessarily treated the question of transfer of capital, i.e. local capitalist companies, later on big international monopolies, which started to seek outlets throughout the world, in order to find other markets, besides their local markets in pursuance of big monopolistic profits encouraged by high profits these multinational big monopolies can make in these markets. While revenues of capital in west Europe amounted to 7.1% American multinational monopolies realised in 1970 revenues of 22.3% of their invested capital in Africa, and 34.7% of their invested capital in Asia. Each dollar that went to developing countries in 1970 realised revenues for the companies under discussion that amounted to 3.3 dollars against 2.4 dollars in 1965. There are many examples in this respect. The late Chilean President Allende said: "The companies which became the owner of our copper invested 15-18 million dollars 50 years ago and gained during the same period 4500 million dollars". He added: "While rates of profits of these companies in the world ranged between 7% and 9%, they realised in our country (Chile) and in different

periods 60%, 70% and 90%.

Calculations of Mexican economists showed that industrially developed capitalist countries had transferred profits of 22 billion dollars from developing countries to their countries in the period 1965-1970, that is double the sum these countries abided themselves to offer to the developing countries as aids in the ten years 1960-1970. Thus, the transferred capital and its transferor international monopolies became a main factor in the process of redistribution of the wealths of the world in favour of the industrially developed capitalist countries and against the interest of the economically backward countries (former colonies).

By the beginning of the 20th century the phenomenon of monopolistic groups was reinforced, and multinationals began to develop gradually. But the real dimensions of the big development and the quick qualitative and quantitative extension of these companies, have appeared after the 2nd World War, particularly during the last twenty years. For example the number of subsidiaries of American multinationals amounted, according to U.N. published statistics 7417 in 1950 which rose to 10472 subsidiaries in 1957, then to 23282 in 1966. This means that the annual development rate of subsidiaries of these companies was about 10% in the period 1957-1966 against nearly 5% per annum during the previous period 1950-1957. These figures give us the clear evidence on the geographical expansion of subsidiaries belonging to multinationals.

To show the great economic strength of these multinational monopolistic groups it is sufficient to know

that the estimations of a number of economists in capitalist countries expect that 300-400 big corporation

To show the great economic strength of these multinational monopolistic groups it is sufficient to know that the estimations of a number of economists in capitalist countries expect that 300-400 big corporations will dominate 80% of the industrial production of the capitalist world in 1985, and to know that the value or production of overseas subsidiaries and companies belonging to American multinational groups amounted to 16.5% of gross national product of the U.S.A. in 1973. This percentage reaches 56.5%, in the case of subsidiaries and companies belonging to Swiss monopolies. The value of production of subsidiaries and companies belonging to British monopolistic groups amounted to 35% of the gross national product of Britain in 1973.

Comparing the value of annual sales of some big monopolies with the gross national product of several countries of the third world it becomes evident that the sales figures of these corporations greatly exceed the figure of the gross national product in the developing countries, and sometimes exceed the gross national product of some industrially developed countries. Sales figures of American Exxon Corporation, the biggest oil monopoly in the world, amounted to about 45 billion dollars in 1975, thus exceeding the gross national product of Indonesia, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Pakistan and the Philippines together. The value of the sales of General Motors, the biggest world car monopoly surpassed by its 36 billion dollars, the gross national product of Denmark, Norway and Austria in 1975.

Despite the role played by the multinational world monopolies in the process of world wealth distribution in their favour and in favour of imperialist countries, the contribution of those corporations to the process of

economic growth of developing countries was passive nor did they contribute to the national development of these countries. They were, and still are an obstructive factor in this respect. Also, the contribution of these giant corporations is very small as regards workmanship and work opportunities they have created in the capitalist world in general and in developing countries in particular. According to the figures published in the U. S. A. itself to which the biggest portion of multinationals belongs, only three million people worked in American monopolistic corporations outside the U.S.A. in 1970.

By adding the total number of working people in all other non-American multinationals, the number will not exceed 13-14 millions, which is only a small portion of total working-people of the world. Furthermore the share of developing countries in this small part is 2 million only. No wonder since 74% of the investments of multinational monopolies in 1970 were in the industrially developed countries, while the share of the developing countries of these investments was 26% only.

Examination of the position of workmanship in extractive industries which need big capital and are the main industries in the economies of developing countries and are dominated by big international monopolies, would clearly show how meagre is the contribution of these corporations in this field. For instance, despite the highly important position of oil and copper in the national economy of Venezuela and Chile the total working people in oil and mining industries in both countries in 1960 did not exceed 2.3% and 4.1% of total population at work age successively. Furthermore, growth of workmanship in multinational monopolies, owner of the big extractive industries, is very slow.

Organic amalgamation of both multinational monopolies and their imperialist states should also be mentioned and examined. This amalgamation constitutes, at present, the economic mix of imperialism which is the output of interrelatedness of



two forces, i.e. the monopolistic state and the monopolistic capital. The interrelatedness of these two forces aims at trying to stop the collapse of the capitalist system on one hand, and on the other to redistribute the national income in the industrially developed capitalist countries themselves and at the level of the capitalist world as a whole (including the Third World) in favour of monopoly capital and multinational monopolistic groups. As it is stressed by the two American progressive economists Baran and Sweezy in their book (Monopoly Capital): "the Predominant and motive factor in the whole of monopoly capitalist system is the giant corporation".

#### Oil multinational monopolistic corporations:

The biggest multinational monopoly group is the international oil monopoly group which got the name of World Petroleum Cartel. Because this cartel is formed of seven big monopoly corporations it is sometimes called the big seven or the seven sisters and it is also called the oil empire.

Much has been said and written about this big monopoly group and about the great profits it gained and is still gaining. Also, much has been said and written about the role of these monopolies in the past and present process of imperialist plunder, and about their manoeuvres and ways of deceiving the governments and peoples, and on how they brought governments to power to conclude with them whatever transactions they wanted, and removed governments whenever they felt that they might threaten their interests. These companies have always sought being a state within the state and also being the stronger state which directs political and economic affairs in each country they ever entered.

After we have briefly reviewed the multinational monopolies in general, we shall tackle the role played by oil monopolies in Iraq and the struggle launched by our people and working class against these monopolies until the July 17 Revolution decided to nationalise our oil wealth and put an end to the domination of these corporations over the wealths of our people.

#### Oil concessions in Iraq:

The oil of Iraq was the most important target of old and neo-colonialism. Its first aim since establishment of the Iraqi state was hegemony over this state and putting its big oil wealths under its control. It can be rightly said that these attempts started even before the establishment of the Iraqi state at the era of the Ottoman empire.

Extraction and possession of Iraqi oil was the subject of the worst exploitation ever exercised by multinationals and their imperialist states. This was carried out through unjust oil concessions given to them

in conditions of flagrant imperialist intervention and in unequal conditions. They drained huge profits that surpass all the known rates of profits in international trade and economy.

One of the direct products of these concessions and of the policies of oil multinationals, which later became a state within the state, was a one-sided deformed and generally backward national economy. For a long time the people of Iraq were deprived of any control over their rich oil wealth. The Iraqi working class has also suffered, for a long period, from the policies of oil monopolies.

#### Iraqi working class and oil monopolies:

As previously mentioned, monopolies care to the oil industry in Iraq was restricted to the stage of extraction and exportation of crude oil without being locally processed. As for the formation of Iraqi man-power and the development of Iraqi technical cadres, the labour-chances made available by such policies were very few since the stage of production of crude oil is characteristic of the few number of people working in it in comparison with the stage of processing of crude oil (refinement and petro-chemical industries) which is characteristic of employing bigger man-power.

In spite of this fact, oil monopolies used to make their best not to be bound by any text in the concession agreements that might force them to employ Iraqi personnel only for their operations. That is why all texts concerning man-power in these agreements were general and not obligatory. For instance article 29 of the agreement of 1925 with I.P.C. which was nationalised in 1972 read as follows:

"Employees of the company in Iraq should be, when possible, subjects of the government. Managers, engineers, chemists, supervisors, mechanics and other technical workers and clerks can be employed from abroad in case it is not possible to find such qualified persons in Iraq, and on condition that the company will, as reasonably practical as possible and within the shortest possible time, train Iraqis on these jobs".

The text of the article is general. Even when it stressed that the company's personnel in Iraq should be subjects of the government it confined it to the possibility. The company was not bound to train Iraqis in the period between granting the concession and starting the production, which is sufficient period for this purpose. The company alone was to decide whether this or that sort of man-power is available or not in Iraq, it had also the final decision of training the Iraqis within reasonable limits!

Even when I.P.C. was forced under pressures of

the public opinion and the national forces' demand that the board of directors agree to employ as much Iraqis as possible in the company - to propose that the government select some Iraqis to study all branches of engineering in England so that it might, later, find jobs for them in the company it stressed that it would not be bound to appoint the graduates in the company, and stated that it would have the right to employ those whom it considers fit for employment (Letter S/2 dated 29 July 1938).

Even when oil monopolies operating in Iraq, committed themselves - under the pressure of the growing national feeling against domination exercised by these corporations - to define the number of Iraqis whom they want to send for training in the U.K. by 50 students every year they included the costs of training in the costs of production and put as a condition that they would not be obliged to appoint all graduates but would appoint only those whom they would consider fit.

After the outbreak of July 14, 1958 Revolution the corporations were forced to accept the principle of Iraqization which stipulated that the corporation should not renew the contract of any of its foreign personnel after their contracts' termination unless they offered a written pledge that they would train an Iraqi to substitute him after one year.

In case of any vacancy the corporations should, before offering it to a foreigner, inform the Ministry of Petroleum and advertise in local papers, hence appointing for this vacancy the most suitable Iraqi applicant provided that he had the required qualifications and of good behaviour. Here also the corporations tried evade this by transferring some of its main functions in Iraq to their centre in London, and giving a part of their operations to foreign companies through sub-contracts, thus preventing Iraqis from having those jobs and getting trained on them.

The aforementioned shows that it was the corporations that planned and defined the policy of employing the Iraqis according to their own considerations, and that they made their best to obstruct the development and training of Iraqi man-power. Even after forcing the Iraqization policy on them after the July 14, 1958 Revolution, the oil monopolies could evade this because of the absence of obligatory terms, in this context, in the concession agreements.

This policy of corporations resulted in delaying the development of national human potential both numerically and qualitatively at all levels, and in the continuous dependence on imported foreign cadres in accomplishing the operations required by oil industry.

The corporations made their best to keep the Iraqis away from decision making centres and concentrated on employing them in clerky and executive jobs without having them participate in planning or directional work.

The practices of these corporations always aimed at keeping the operations of planning and co-ordination of the existing oil industry in the producing countries, including Iraq, in their main offices in their own countries. Iraqi citizens and the citizens of other producing countries had no role in elaboration of plans, and were only executors of dispersed parts of these plans.

It should be asserted in this context that in addition to the policies pursued as regards the formation of national technical and skilled cadres, these corporations pursued another arbitrary policy against our Iraqi working class. Their policy was of inhuman character reflected in strict supervision over workers, imposing fines on them, planting spies in their ranks, and punishing them by delaying their annual increments and bonuses... etc. The company was not committed to the nationally applied labour laws such as building houses for the workers, and establishment of medical units in work locations. Furthermore, despite the fact that wages of workers of oil industry were higher than the wages of their colleagues in other sectors, yet they were low compared with high labour productivity in this industry.

Corporations also adopted a policy of religious and sectarian discrimination through relying on certain sects and religions on the account of other sects and religions with the purpose of implanting the spirit of disunity and division in the ranks of the Iraqi working class. They planned to create a labour-aristocracy. In co-operation with the monarchal ruling circles they resisted all sorts of trade-unionist organisation, depriving the workers of their right to establish such an organisation. They violently and intimately attacked the strikes and processions organised by our courageous workers protesting against arbitrariness and greed of oil monopolies.

The struggles of the people and the working class of Iraq against monopolies continued till the outbreak of July 14, 1958 Revolution which created the suitable conditions for the working class to gain its rights. This working class gained their complete rights only after the elapse of other ten years and the outbreak of the July 17, 1968 Revolution which completely freed our oil wealth from the control of monopolies and their imperialist countries, after the courageous nationalisation decision.

—To be continued—



## Scientific Aspects of Arab Travels

Taken from "Historic Origins of Islamic Arab Civilisation in the Far East" by

Before dealing with this topic, we would like to answer the question: to which extent were the Arab and Muslim travellers and geographers true to fact in describing the eastern seas and countries on the way that Arab trade took to the Far East?

Despite the fact that the precursor pioneers and travellers lacked capability for scientific thinking, they, nevertheless, jotted down many observations which are useful scientifically. On the other hand, that category of travellers, whose names are identified with the fields of geography and meteorology, appeared on the scene later on, i.e. since the second half of the third century A.H. They certified and complemented the Greeks and Romans in theory and fact, enriching world knowledge with encyclopaedic, detailed, and

extensive data.

Here pops up a significant truth which should not escape reckoning. It lies in the fact that many of the achievements of the Arabs and Muslims in the realms of civilisation, culture, literature and the arts were directly connected with the Muslims' ardour to disseminate their religion wherever they went in abidance by the message of Islam to become the religion of the entire humanity. This vim by its own definition, impelled many Muslims — merchants, scholars, legists, travellers, and seamen — to travel far and wide with their minds hitched to the objective of spreading the Islamic mission.

These achievements were similarly attached to another target explained in that economic and commercial activity which accompanied the expansion of the Arab state to remote territories, east, west, north and south. Here again we must keep in mind a basic

Dr. Faisal as-Samir

truth which says that the Muslim Arab merchant, while seeking profit in business, was always exerting efforts to transmit his creed to all those whom he happened to encounter in his movement.

In the huge piles of volumes pertaining to travel and geography, we find detailed descriptions of the land or sea routes followed by the authors of these works; of the cities, the regions and the islands they passed by or through; of the human races they encountered, their social customs and creeds, foods, drinks and costumes, the architectural styles, the economic systems and business methods and commercial exchange. In short, they leave no stone unturned in describing the countries they visit. Their work was tremendously enhanced by the length of their residence in these lands, mingling with the population in various aspects, including marriage with native women. Then came the time for founding Arab-

Islamic settlements and colonies of emigrants in these countries. Hence, the Arab traveller, whether merchant or religious preacher, wishing to travel or migrate to these territories had already a community to welcome him and supply him with facilities of abode.

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The trip of Suleiman, the merchant from Siraf, is one of the earliest Arab journeys to China (A.H. 237 - A.D. 851). Little is known about his life, but we are certain that he visited China several times on business. His narrations however, were augmented by a later traveller, Ibn Wahb al-Qurashi, who left Basrah after its devastation by the negroes, (A.H. 257 - A.D. 870) and ultimately reached "Khanqu" (Canton). In the fourth century A.H. (tenth A.D.) an author from Siraf, Abu Zeid al-Hassan as-Sirafi from Basrah wrote down the stories of both Suleiman and Ibn Wahb and

and the Arabic, Persian and Turkish geographic texts pertaining to the Far East, which he translated into French with comments in two volumes.

The book of Suleiman with its supplement is the first book published in the west about China. When it appeared, some fanatic European researchers were struck with awe and amazement, so they attacked the translator severely and accused him of forgery. History, however, was just to the man as the original copy which Ferrand relied on was preserved in Gilbert's library, the contents of which fell, after the decease of the proprietor into the hands of Count de Soigny and then into the ownership of "The French National Library". A well-known French scholar, "de Genier", stumbled on it and published several articles about it in the *Asian Society Journal* (vol. 33). Since then scholars and researchers were satisfied with the authenticity,



gave them the shape handed down to our generation.

The journey of Suleiman the merchant, with its supplement made by Abu Zeid as-Sirafi is considered among the most important Arab works on their tours in the Indian Ocean and the China sea. This combined work was printed by orientalist Langeley in A.D. 1811 and then published by orientalist Ferrand in the collection of journeys



genuineness and scientific estimation of the work.

Suleiman, the merchant, describes the navigational route to the Far East in a strictly scientific manner which helped Ferrand to trace on the modern maps from the point of boarding the boat from Siraf to Kelam (on the coast of Malabar), passing through the Talk Strait (north of Ceylon), crossing the Bay of Bengal and reaching the Lingballos Island (one of the

Nekobar islands), advancing to Kelah-Berah (on the western coast of Malay) and from there to Teomen Island in the southwest of Malacca and thence to Cape St. James near Saigon, then to Hainan and finally to Khanqu (Canton). Capital of Kwangtung province in China through Hainan Strait. The journey lasted a little more than four months.

It is quite likely that Suleiman's journey is on record as the first Arab work that speaks with objectivity and personal experience about the coasts of the great eastern sea and the nautical routes leading to them. Yet this journey was an affluent source of information utilized later by Ibn Khoradadhaba, Ibn al-Faqih, Iskhakuri, Ibn Hawqal and Mas'udi, all of whom were, noted travellers and authors.

Suleiman left a vivid description of the coasts, islands, harbours and products and trade commodities. It is however a fact that Sinologists have asserted that Suleiman's data on Canton are accurate and elaborate.

We find in this exquisite and unique journey a description of the sea waves, the shells and ambergris.

He described the islands and their valuable minerals and talked about matrimonial ceremonies and traditions in some remote islands, the food of the natives and their "strange" habits. In describing the city of Khanqu, Suleiman says that its governor was a Muslim whom the ruler of China (the emperor) authorized the task of administering justice among the Muslims who betake themselves to these destinations. He was also the one who led prayers and delivered sermons to the congregation. He also described the Arab colonies and mosques which they were permitted to build in order to perform their cultic practices.

About the Chinese people, he cited some particular information which is scientifically valuable, as



one can judge from the following:

\* The women of China uncover their heads and keep up their hair by combs.

\* The Chinese learn reading and writing without exceptions whether rich or poor, young or old. They take great interest in calligraphy.

\* The king was hearing complaints of plaintiffs, examining their cases and restoring their rights.

\* The Chinese have a science of medicine and knowledge of the stars and the arts. Their painting displays skill and acumen. He relates that one of them had painted an ear of grain on a bird in a silken raiment, the viewer never suspected that it was an ear with a bird on it, but another artist indicated misgivings therein and criticised it in the presence of the King. So, the maker did not obtain the award granted on such occasions.

\* Perhaps as-Sirafi (Suleiman) was the first traveller to refer to tea in China. He said that it was a kind of herb which the Chinese drank hot. It is in great supply and demand in all their cities and they call it "Sakh".

Another question is properly raised in this connection as who were the forerunners who prepared the way for the Arab travellers like Suleiman, Abu-zaid and Ibn Wahb to undertake such ventures. The Polish scholar "Levisky" alighted on evidence confirming the visit to China by some Arabs in the first half of the eighth century A.D. (second A.H.) where one of the "Abadhi" Kharijite Sheikhs — Abu Ubaidah Abdullah ben Qasim al-Umani (who was a scholar and merchant) — was dealing in Myrrh. He went to China on his business and it seems that his presence there antedated the plunder of Canton in A.D. 756. The other Abadhi merchant is

an-Nadhr bin Maimon who lived in Basrah and departed to China about this time. So it may be possible to consider these "Abadhi" merchants as the harbingers of the succeeding travellers. Ibn Rustah quotes someone he calls "Abu Abdulla bin Ishah" who spent two years in "Qamar", (the old name of Cambodia). Barthol considers this fellow as the basic source on India for the Arab geographers.

The maritime route later followed by the Arabs perfectly coincides with that described by Suleiman al-Mas'udi. On the other hand, Mas'udi relates that a Muslim merchant from Samarkand supplied himself with goods in Basrah, went on board to Oman and thence to Kalah, "halfway on the route to China, and the destination of Sirafi and Omanite Muslim ships. Then this merchant boarded a ship from Kalah to the city of Khandu, which is an anchorage".

Geographic and ethnic observations on the maritime route are tremendous and travel books are full of them. Therefore we would content ourselves with relating some facts which prove the truth of the observations which the Arab travellers and geographers recounted about the eastern seas and the countries of the Far East.

Mas'udi, who is one of the most brilliant Arab travellers, geographers and historians, presented a splendid and elaborate description of the eastern seas. According to his classification, they were — the sea of India (or the sea of Larva), the sea of Herkand, then the sea of Kalah (the sea of Kalah and its islands), the sea of Kardang, the sea of Sini and then the sea of China (the sea of Sini). He speaks about the ambergris extracted from these seas, the peoples that live along this route, the languages and dialects they use. Talking about the islands

of the sea of Herkand he says that they number about 2000 all of which are inhabited "and their palm trees are cocoanuts". They are skilled in the crafts and professions. Some of them have "strange" figures, in boats carrying ambergris and cocoanuts to barter for silk and some clothing". He adds saying that in the "Indman" islands there was a black people with strange figures and frizzy hair. In the sea of Kalah (Kalahbar) there were numerous islands whose inhabitants had the same kind of hair. Then he describes the islands of Sini sea — perhaps he means the Indonesian islands — and says that they are many and abound in varieties of perfume, aromatics, camphor, sandalwood, frankincense carnations and the like. At the ends of these islands opposite to the sea of China there live many white peoples with punched ears, flattened faces... who clip their hair....

These descriptions do apply to human life and anthropological characteristics of the natives in some islands of the Far East.

Reference to comparisons between Arab sources and others pertaining to the islands of the East Indies and the Far East proves the high degree of accuracy of Arab geographic data. In the description that Sheikh-ar-Rabwa recorded for the East Indies, he mentioned that the equator passed south of "Sarandib" (Ceylon) between Sri-Bazza island in Sumatra and Kalah Island (in Malaya) through Zaig island (Borneo). He also mentioned two places, "Jimkut" and "Astiphon" which seem according to his definition that they mean Iryan and Australia.

The trip of Ibn Battuta to India, the East Indies and China in the first half



The Abbasid building known as the Abbasid Palace

of the eighth century A.H. is considered one of the greatest trips undertaken by Arab and non-Arab travellers in the mediaeval history as a whole. It teems with discerning observations of, and valuable comments on, historical, social or human manifestations. It is true that Ibn Battuta's journey to the Far East (and especially his tales about China) roused the doubts of some orientalists about the truthfulness of his visit to that country, yet this view has been refuted as groundless, particularly as studies by reliable scholars and comparisons of data and names of sites have supported and established that Ibn Battuta's knowledge of that country was personal and direct.

The most striking observations made by Ibn Battuta about China may be summed up as follows:

1. He indicated that the Chinese used paper money in their business dealings, that the robes bore the emperor's seal and were replaced by new ones when worn out.

2. The Chinese used to draw the picture of every foreigner that passed through their country so that, should he commit some offence, they would be able to trace and bring him before the court. This security control applied to merchants as well; the officials used to record the names of the captains,

mariners and merchants and then check up these names when the ship terminates its stay. Should someone be found missing, the captians had to conform either his decease or desertion.

3. Ibn Battuta spoke of Chinese social security and institutions of social care. He described the health centres for the blind, physically disabled, aged, orphans and widows, where they were supplied with food, clothing and shelter. He also said that craftsmen about 50 years old were relieved of work and pensioned by the state.

Ibn Battuta visited India and the East Indies as aforementioned and his observations there are not less accurate and significant:

1. He gave interesting accounts of the trees in the East Indies and their characteristics. So he described the frankincense of Java, camphor, Indian aloes and carnations. He also described the economy of the Maldive islands and that the staple food of the natives was a kind of fish with red flesh together with coconuts, citron, and lemon.

One of the most exquisite observations of Ibn Battuta on women of the Maldive islands (southwest of the Indian coast) was his portrayal of their clothing, make-

up and costumes in weddings and accompanying celebration formalities.

3. In his talk on India he daintly described people's food and the Hindu religious precept of banning the killing of cows and said that if a cow died, it would be buried; if it were taken ill, it would be referred to special attention and care and spared from work until it died.

4. He meticulously spoke of the rites pertaining to cremation together with the accompanying formalities and ceremonies.

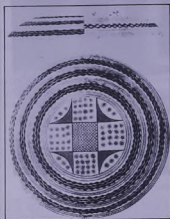
5. He wrote about the social classes and said that the highest was the Brahmins and nobles and described Indian ethnic groups, their professions industries and economic efficiencies.

In conclusion we would be contented with the above glimpses of Ibn Battuta's journeys, referring the reader who wishes to know more about them to the very exciting work of this illustrious personality which is published in Arabic several times as well as in many other languages.

Translated from Arabic Original

by  
Adil I. Yacoub

## Archaeological Exploration in Mesopotamia



Polychrome pottery bowl, Halaf culture

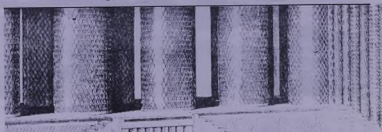
According to the Bible (Gen. 2:10-14) the Garden of Eden is blessed with the five rivers of Paradise, two of which are generally recognised as being the Tigris and the Euphrates. The historians of antiquity had good reason for giving the name 'The Beautiful' for these two rivers. Both of them carry life through a hot and arid land called Mesopotamia (the land between the rivers).

### Prehistoric Settlements in Mesopotamia

Depending on the fertility of such land a permanently occupied settlement was established here, which in turn, would accentuate the need for agriculture. Better food increased the birth rate of both humans and tamed animals, and quite soon groups of people settled in clusters of dwellings which we may best term villages.

Here, eight thousand years before Christ, men were building houses, using bricks of sun-dried clay on stone foundations. Such cluster of houses were arranged in a definite plan consistent with some kind of social organisation. One of the buildings in these villages has been found to be evidently linked with religious practices. Religion certainly must have played a great part in the primitive society. The various burial customs, such as the presence of funerary offerings or the position of the bodies testify to a definite belief in the hereafter.

Prehistoric settlements have been uncovered at a site called Jarmo, a village to the east of Kirkuk. Here agriculture must already have been in an advanced state by 6500 B.C., to be judged from the various sorts of grain found along the kitchen middens. Useful objects such as axes, slingstones, mortars and bone implements were discovered.



Restored face of a temple unearthed at Uruk

Of interest, too, are several cult figures of animal and mother goddesses. For all information concerning prehistory in Mesopotamia, we are indebted to the researches of Mr. and Mrs. Braidwood, at Jarmo and Hassuna.

### Pottery and Stage of Civilisation

No one knows the birthplace of pottery. The ceramics of Hassuna, together with early examples of Jarmo, can be included among the earliest in Mesopotamia. After an initial stage of undecorated, crudely fired pots, we find vessels painted with red paint or scratched with fishbone motifs. For the first time, in the so-called Samarra pottery, humans and animals are represented. Tell Halaf has given us fine examples of this sort of work. Great achievements were also made in geometric decoration — witness the discoveries made at Arpachia, near Mosul.

### Sumerian Civilisation

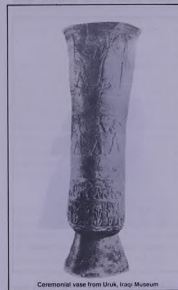
In the region later on known as Sumer three principal stages of prehistory led up to Sumerian civilisation. These are the so-called Eridu period (5500-4500 B.C.), followed by the Ai-Ubaid period (4500-3500 B.C.), and finally the Uruk period (3500-3000 B.C.). The first three centuries of this period are generally grouped under the title of Uruk period, while the closing phase is known as the Jemdet Nasr period.

In Uruk innumerable quantities of coloured clay cones, like nails with large heads have been found, which were used as wall decoration in the house of Inanna, goddess of love and war. Numerous objects have been discovered in the temples: they include vessels, small sculptures, cylinder seals and stamps. The sculptors of the Uruk period were of special distinction. The highest peak of

artistic achievement was reached in the representation of a female head, the so-called "Lady of Warka". The lady attracts attention by her gentle beauty; it is a work which shows the great ability of the early Sumerian master who made it.

The ceremonial vases which were discovered in Uruk probably intended for libation. One large vase, in the Iraq Museum, is decorated with four circular bands showing naked sacrificers coming to offer first fruits to the goddess Inanna or her priestess.

For information concerning Uruk period we are indebted to the Germans who took great interest in Warka, the ancient Uruk. In this site the work has been carried out in the most systematic and consistent manner in the campaigns of 1912/13, 1918/39, finally in



Ceremonial vase from Uruk, Iraq, Museum



The statue of Abu from Tell Asmar, Iraq, Museum



The bearded head of deity of Enlil, Uruk, Museum

the investigation that began in 1954.

### The Akkadians

After Uruk and Jemdet Nasr period came the period of the Early Dynasties which shows an unbroken cultural continuity with the preceding era. New immigrants from the northwest and north had settled in the south of Mesopotamia and added fresh blood into the Sumerian art. These people who were Semites laid the foundation for an empire which was to go down in history under the name of Akkad.

In the Akkadian period the cities of Lagash and Umma had been at strife with varying success for either

side. King Enatum of Lagash, after a successful expedition against Umma, put the foe to flight and subjugated Ur and Uruk. A few generations earlier Ur must have had a very different position — witness the discoveries made in the so-called Royal Cemetery there.

The sculptures of the Early Dynastic period show marked differences between the style of the sculptors in the southern and those in the northern Sumer who exhibited a greater realism. In the temples of Tell Asmar, Khafaje, Nippur, Lagash and Uruk many statues have been found. The form and execution of these sculptures may strike us as somewhat awkward, naive and abstract. Even though abstract in form the character of the figures is, however, realistic. The largest figure of a group of votive statues found in the temple of Abu at

Tell Asmar may possibly depict the divinity himself.

The Sumerians at this period were also familiar with casting bronze. A fine example of bronze works of art, head of a Semitic prince, probably Sargon I, was discovered in Nineveh. The splendidly modelled bronze head reveals a totally different conception and style from the more conventional Sumerian art of the preceding period.

Sargon I, a young ambitious man was the cupbearer of the king of Kish; he dethroned his prince and ruled the country for the next fifty-six years. With great energy Sargon was able to extend his empire from



the Mediterranean Sea to the Arabian Gulf. His capital Akkad has not yet been discovered, but is probably to be sought along the Euphrates, between Babylon and Kish.

Naramsin, the grandson of Sargon, was the last truly great king of Akkad. Yet even a man of great power could not prevent the downfall of the Akkadian empire. A powerful barbarian people, the Gut, conquered Akkad and razed the city to the ground (2200 B.C.).

#### Gudea King of Lagash

Just about the time these conquerors disappeared a monarch was reigning in Lagash who truly merited the title of "great king". In the twenty years of his reign he brought the land of Sumer to a powerful eminence once more. Under his patronage arts, sciences and architecture received new encouragement. The doleful statues of Gudea will always remain the principal



discovery connected with the name of De Sarzec's, the French Vice-Consul at Basrah, who conducted two campaigns in 1880 and 1881.

#### Third Dynasty of Ur

In 2111 B.C. Ur Nammu, the military governor at Ur, declared himself independent. He called himself King of Sumer and Akkad, and founded the third dynasty of Ur. One of his greatest accomplishments was the rebuilding of the Ziggurat dedicated to Nannar (moon god) at Ur. This ziggurat is today one of the best preserved templar structures in Mesopotamia, and has recently been restored as far as possible.

The year 1922 saw the start of a combined Anglo-American expedition at Ur, under the direction of

celebrated Sir Leonard Wooley. It led to the discoveries that are among the most spectacular ever made in archaeology; they include not only the treasures brought to light in the royal graves of Ur, but also the tangible evidence of the Great Flood.

#### Hammourabi

Hammourabi, whose name means "the god Ammu is great", was of west Semitic origin, and like Sargon of Akkad became stamped with culture of the last Sumerian dynasty. Like Sargon, he established a great new empire. The severe but just administration of Hammourabi brought prosperity to the country. The stele on which his laws are inscribed was found in Susa, where it had been taken by the Kassites who plundered Babylon. And now it is in the Louvre, Paris.

#### The Kassites

After Hammourabi's death, his empire was

threatened by a powerful tribe — this time from the east—the Kassites. About 1600 B.C. they eventually made an end to Babylonian hegemony and imposed their own domain for four centuries.

In art, the Kassites followed in the footsteps of their Sumerian and Babylonian predecessors. In Ur they built a temple in honour of the goddess Inanna in which the Kassites' distinctive style is clearly evident. The brick reliefs adorning the niches of the temple composed of figures alternately of a bearded god and a goddess holding a vase flowing with "waters of life".

To the north-west of Baghdad the Kassites built Dur-Kurigalsu, a town whose ziggurat is now under restoration by the State Organization of Antiquities in Iraq.

In the twelfth century B.C. repeated invasions and finally a definite conquest by the Elamites brought an end to the Kassites empire.

#### The Assyrians

The region to the north of Mesopotamia seems always to have been a gathering place for many nations and tribes, out of whom was eventually forged a new warlike people — the Assyrians.

The Assyrians of the early Assyrian period were never in the forefront of the history of the Near Eastern peoples. The Assyrian art which we usually call to mind is the work of the late Assyrian period which extended from about 1000 B.C. to 612 B.C.

The first phase of the late Assyrian period was dominated by King Assurnasirpal II (884 B.C. — 859 B.C.) and his son Shalmaneser III (858 B.C. — 824 B.C.) who established their royal residences in ancient Calah, the present-day Nimrud.

King Tiglathpileser III (745 B.C. — 727 B.C.) had palaces at Nineveh and Nimrud. King Shalmaneser V also lived in Nineveh as did later monarchs except Sargon II (772 B.C. — 705 B.C.), his direct successor, who established himself in Dur-Sharrukin, the modern Khorsabad, where he had a magnificent palace built. Here the temples were built close by the palace; there were quarters for the palace staff and the troops of the royal guard, and in fact this whole complex of buildings including the ziggurat, formed a walled citadel covering an area of some five hundred square yards.

The colossal winged human-headed bulls meant to serve as gatekeeper of the palaces. The walls were usually faced with upright pictures of the king and ministers, larger than life size, and interminable series of horrific war scenes, sieges, invasions, attacks, plundering, assaults, and murder.

King Assurbanipal who was a first-rate soldier, a sharp hunter, and a great politician, was also a patron of learning — witness the twenty-five thousand clay tablets found in his palace library.

After the death of Assurbanipal, the mighty empire of the Assyrian fell fairly swiftly into decay. The situation became more confused and grave when axis of the forces of Medes and Chaldeans attacked Nineveh in 614 B.C. and razed it to the ground.

The first actual archaeological excavation in north Mesopotamia began in the mid-nineteenth century. The Englishmen Rawlinson and Layard had been systematically investigating the Tigris-Euphrates basin since 1835, but it was the Frenchman Botta, who made the first important discoveries in 1843. He was successful in uncovering various pieces of Sargon's

palace in Khorsabad.

Scarcely had Botta left the field than the Englishman Layard got to work in Nimrud. He was able to proceed with his excavation for several years originally assisted by Rawlinson and later by Hormuzed Rassam a man from Mosul.

Botta's successor was Victor Place who began to dig on the north side of Koyunjik, the ancient Nineveh, meanwhile completed the excavation of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. The result of years of labour had at last been collected together in Baghdad by the English and French in mutual agreement, and it had been arranged that a French ship due to arrive in Basrah should provide common transport for the goods. As the 235 crates were shipped down the Tigris on four rafts (kelek), the convoy was attacked by rebels near Urna, two rafts were sunk, and the other two managed to escape to Basrah. But one of these rafts capsized on arrival, the other with 80 crates aboard sailed to London and Paris.

#### Neo-Babylonian Empire

The Chaldeans who had taken an active part in the expulsion of the Assyrians, at once set to work on the restoration of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar (605 B.C. 562 B.C.) distinguished himself as an architect and restorer of temples. The temples of Esagila and Etemananki were rebuilt, the ziggurat restored and an imposing procession street with a great gate to the honour of Ishtar, was laid out.

Marvellous Hanging Gardens with terraces were constructed one above the other with a system of siphon and pumps to carry water up from the Euphrates to irrigate the gardens. The Greeks regarded this achievement as one of the Seven Wonders of the world.

When Nabuchadnezzar died there was no powerful ruler to succeed him. And in 539 B.C. Cyrus, King of Persia (Achaemenian), defeated the Babylonian army and incorporated Babylonia into his great Persian Empire. In 331 B.C. Alexander the Great occupied Babylon and replaced the Persian rule there.

The Germans, who in 1898 had founded their Deutsche Gesellschaft, chose Babylon as the starting point of their researches under the outstanding leadership of Robert Koldewey. Their excavations have afforded us much valuable information to tell the tale of Babylon's greatness at the time of the famous King Nebuchadnezzar.

The above is but the briefest of sketches of the history of archaeological exploration in Mesopotamia, the dates and main incidents may provide the reader with pegs on which to hang details which are elaborated in many books.

## Short Story

# The Game and Rules

They looked at the playground and found a huge tank standing there like a calamity. The tank was as big as a mountain. It had filled the ground with its huge bulk. They were sad. They had removed the bricks, rocks and broken pieces of glass thrown from the place, and cleared enough of it to make a narrow piece of land suitable for a little football playground. But now they lost it completely after the conquerors came to the neighbourhood. They were afraid of the tank, because they had seen how they threw out of the canon in front of it, like water flowing out of a rubber tube. This happened when they destroyed the Carantina quarter over their heads months ago, and drove them out of it by force, before they were stuffed in this collapsing building.

The smile froze on their lips. They realised they couldn't play on it anymore. They retreated to the building, then to the rooms.

When Um Salim looked out of the window and saw the tank standing there, she told her little Ahmed who feeling bored waiting, began moving restlessly towards the door.

- Death is outside. Don't get close to it.
  - Let it wait! Said Ahmed laughing.
  - What more does it want? He added.
  - Its looking for you. Said she and became enraged.
  - Why? Wasn't Salim enough?
  - You die instead!
- She cried madly running after him.

But he was faster. He jumped down the stairs like a rabbit. He put two fingers between his lips and whistled to his playmates who were to the building entrance. They discussed the situation.

- We won't play on it anymore. They will be here any time.
- Conquerors!
- Men of the Katabiy!
- No, conquerors!
- Even so, what is the difference?
- They won't kill kids.
- What are they doing here?
- Taking the weapons from the resistance.
- So that the Katabiy men will butcher us later on.
- Who knows?
- Certainly!

Ahmed squatted closing his eyes. He remembered his brother Salim, who had taken his gun and went to the mountain, and nobody knew anything about him ever since. He remembered how his brother had taught them how to use a handgrenade, and some other weapons. Then he remembered where his brother had hidden the handgrenades, which he said could blow up a mountain.

He got up suddenly and ran up the stairs. The others looked at him and laughed at his acts.

- What's wrong Ahmed?
- Let's play football!
- But where? Said they sadly.
- On the yard. They won't kill kids.
- How do you know?
- Because we are going to kill them.

by Ghazi al-Ibadi

A few moments later, he came back hitting the ball to the ground. The others rushed after him. They began playing on the remaining narrow stretch of land, as they always did, and filled the air with shouts.

The ball moved from one foot to another, from a hand to a head, heedless of the rules and regulations. There were just aimless kicks and passes. The leader of the tank emerged out of its tower and ordered them to go away. They didn't pay attention to him, as though every thing was all right and nothing really mattered.

- Will you play with us?
- You are not playing according to the rules.
- Be our referee!

The officer relaxed. He left the tower and jumped over the chairs, then got down lightly to the ground. — I will distribute the passes among you. But no fuss! The round began.

Occasionally, one of the boys shot the ball towards the tank, as if by mistake, so that it bounced back forcefully.

Ahmed's eyes were hanging on the big revolver dangling from the officer's belt. But it didn't provoke him much. The officer snouted at them continuously:

- You are not playing according to the rules. You don't know how to play.
- We hadn't been out for months. We forgot how to play.

He shook his head. A few moments later the crew of the tank put their heads out of the tower, watching the game hotting up on that little stretch of land. The ball kept flying towards the tank whose crew were occupied with the game from where they were watching. More than once, some of them grabbed the ball and threw strongly to the officer, who was standing eagerly among the kids. This time the ball flew at the heaps of ruins caused by the past shelling. Ahmed rushed after it.

- I said you didn't know how to play. Look where you have thrown the ball! Now, enough with you! Go home!
- Only a few minutes more. They begged the officer.

Ahmed emerged from among the ruins and threw the ball to the officer, who got back his enthusiasm immediately. He took the ball between his hands and threw it back to Ahmed, who poked it and threw it towards the tank. The two soldiers who were trying to climb the tower at the moment, rushed back to the ball. Ahmed, swiftly and with the lightness of a cat, crept to the other side of the tank, pulled his tin body together, and took a handgrenade out of his belt. Before throwing it skillfully and accurately down the tower of the tank, he gave the signal agreed upon with his friends, to run out of the place. And when the tank burned with its occupants, and blew up the playing ground, the game had been over, and the players had disappeared behind the ruins.

Translated from Arabic Original  
by Adil Abdil Jabbar



### President Bakr Awarded AJF Medal

Mr. Shihb Lazim (centre), Secretary-general of the Arab Jurists Federation (AJF), awarded the Federation's Medal for 1977 to President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr in a ceremony held at the Presidential Palace on December 29.

The Medal is awarded every year to those dignitaries who render outstanding services to the cause of human rights and people's freedom.

### Arab popular Conference

The Permanent Secretariat of the Arab Popular Conference opened its 2nd session in Baghdad on January 4.

The conferees discussed the Iraqi proposal of providing ways for the realisation of the Arab progressive front which is to coordinate and concert struggle against imperialist, Zionist and reactionary challenges.

The proposals of the other Arab countries which had participated in the conference in Tripoli, Libya were also discussed.

### Week of Solidarity with the Egyptian People

Dr. Abdul Majid al-Rafe'i, member of the National Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, said that all capitulationist settlement plans did not offer basic solutions; they on the contrary aimed at paralysing the struggle with the Zionists and spreading the defeatist phenomena created by American imperialism in cooperation with Arab reactionaries.

Dr. Rafe'i was speaking at a gathering held during the "Week of Solidarity with the Arab People of Egypt", which was organised from December 28 to January 3 by the National Union of Iraq Students (NUIS) and the Arab Students League in Iraq.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

He explained that Sadat's visit to occupied Palestine strengthened the Zionist entity and gave the enemy a chance to commit aggression against Lebanese Front.

### Country-wide Trade Union Elections

Country-wide trade union elections took place in Iraq early in January. Nearly 1,000,000 workers elected nearly 2,000 trade union committees, representing the labour force in the public, mixed and private sectors. Being the fifth general elections held after the July 17 Revolution, they reflected the revolutionary tradition of the Iraqi working class. They also demonstrated the ABSP's keenness for the development of a healthy and strong labour movement.

Healthy relations exist between the working class and the employers in all sectors. Progressive legislation has been promulgated to safeguard all the democratic rights of the workers. The great socio-economic transformations unfolding in Iraq are serving the best interest of the toiling masses.

Many important gains have been secured for all workers. Their terms of service have been radically improved, ensuring for example, pensions and other social securities. There is no unemployment in Iraq.

The government maintains democratic relations with the working class, because it knows that this is a necessity for the creation of a new prosperous society. And the workers appreciate their responsibility for building the envisaged society, because they know that it is theirs. Hence the strong solidarity. The labour movement in Iraq is a rapidly growing constructive power, standing firmly behind the Revolution — for accelerating socio-economic progress and for defeating any conspiracy.

### Arab Graphic Exhibition

The Iraqi Cultural Centre in London organised an exhibition of graphic works of 22 artists from eight Arab countries including Iraq.

The works reflect the development of graphic arts in the Arab homeland.

The Centre also held a symposium on the life and works of the great Arab poet Al-Mutanabbi. A number of Arab scholars and British orientalist took part in the symposium.

The exhibition and the symposium were held on January 13.



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ANNIVERSARY



JANUARY

## THE IRAQI ARMY DAY