

I
656.75

1217

117 APR 1976

Iraq Today

Vol. 1 No. 21, July 31, 1976

Iraq. 5
IRT

**YES TO NON-ALIGNMENT
NO TO MILITARY PACTS AND
BASES**

**OUI AU NON-ALIGNEMENT
NON AUX PACTES ET BASES
MILITAIRES**



**FIFTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE
OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS**



Akra Town In The North of Iraq

Iraq Today



Fortnightly Magazine
Vol. 1, No. 21
July 31, 1976
Published by the
Ministry of Information,
Directorate General of
Information,
Baghdad, Iraq.

IN THIS ISSUE:

- President Bakr addresses the Nation, p. 4 ● Non-alignment: Development of concept into a movement, p. 6 ● Colombo conference: Tasks and obligations, p. 15 ● Whither economic discrimination, p. 17 ● Iraq exploits national resources, p. 21 ● Can the Zionist entity survive? p. 24.

Review:

- "Israel" and South Africa, p. 29
- Culture and Poetry, p. 22.

Front cover:

Fifth Summit Conference of Non-aligned Nations (Poster by Waleed Sheet)

Back cover:

Shatt-al-Arab River in Basrah
Depository number at the National Library — 39/1975
(al-Huria) Printing House —
Baghdad, Iraq

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

EDITORIAL

Non-alignment: An Active Force

Non-alignment has greatly and effectively contributed to the prevention of a third world war. In turn, the threat of a devastating third world war has enhanced and strengthened Non-alignment.

Newly emerging nations, wanting peace in which to build themselves and make up for the time lost under imperialist domination when they had their development arrested, have taken the course of Non-alignment.

Non-alignment has become a balancing factor and a force to be reckoned with. The Third World nations are having a greater say in the conduct of their affairs than was the case before. In the past their fate was being decided in a few capitals and mostly against the wishes of the indigenous populations. The only criteria for policy making were the interests of colonisers and imperialists with scarcely any heed to the welfare of the oppressed peoples under their rule.

While Non-alignment is aiming to consolidate peace in the world, it does not proclaim acquiescence to injustice, aggression or isolationism in the face of imperialist intrigues.

The leadership in Iraq has repeatedly announced and acted in such a way that makes of Non-alignment an active force opposing all imperialist manoeuvres and conspiracies. It was in this spirit that Iraq gave its support to the M.P.L.A. in Angola as imperialist powers, including the racist regime of South Africa, were vainly attempting to nip that liberation movement in the bud. It was also through this conception of Non-alignment that the Arab call for the liberation of Palestine from the Zionist usurpers is getting support from the Non-aligned world.

Iraq shares with the staunch advocates of Non-alignment the determination to defend the true independence of Third World nations and the removal of military bases which constitute a grave danger to that very independence.

Iraq calls also for more understanding, cohesion and co-operation among the nations of the Third World. Such good relations among liberated peoples and liberation movements would certainly give Non-alignment an impetus and a greater scope for contributing towards the building of a world free from exploitation, fear and backwardness.

It is hoped that the forthcoming conference in Colombo, to be held on 16 August 1976, will prove a step forward towards deepening the concept of Non-alignment as well as a practical means in realising its lofty aspirations and objectives. The Iraqi Foreign Minister, Dr. Saadoun Hammadi, has clarified the Iraqi stand on this issue in a way that will give Iraq a significant role to play in the service of the freedom of mankind.



ALL SURRENDER SCHEMES REJECTED

JULY REVOLUTIONS REFLECT ARAB ASPIRATIONS

President Bakr Addresses The Nation

- IRAQ FOR FREE NAVIGATION IN ARAB GULF
- STRONG SUPPORT TO NON-ALIGNMENT
- SYRIAN REGIME'S ROLE IN LEBANON LINKED WITH AMERICAN IMPERIALIST SCHEMINGS
- OUR FORCES ARE STANDING ON BORDERS AWAITING THE HOUR OF BATTLE
- SOCIALISM IS THE CENTRAL GOAL OF OUR REVOLUTION

In his address to the nation on the occasion of 18th anniversary of 14th July Revolution and the 8th anniversary of 17th July Revolution, President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr reaffirmed that the policies and attitudes against which Iraq had warned, particularly following the October War,

were now constituting grave danger to the Arab nation and its principal issues.

The President said that the bloodshed taking place in Lebanon cannot be isolated from the general policies and attitudes currently prevailing in the area. The dangerous and large-scale dimension assumed by the bloody conflict in Lebanon provides an irrevocable evidence that the Lebanese events are an integral part of the whole conflict in the Arab area.

The President pointed out that these events "are part and parcel of the conflict now raging in the area between the anti-imperialist forces on the one hand and the imperialists, their stooges and agents on the other hand". "The Syrian regime", he said, "resorted to a policy of evasion and deceit from the beginning, feigning at one time to be a

supporter of the resistance movement and the Lebanese patriotic movement and at another time rendering effective support to the isolationists".

Reviewing the 8-year march of 17th July Revolution and the tremendous achievements so far realized by this Revolution, the President said:

"The Revolution has reflected the aspirations of millions of Arabs in Iraq and the Arab homeland at large. Its outlook provides for constant march forward and does not permit interruption, no matter how much achievements have been realized".

"What has been achieved by the Arab Baath Socialist Party represents a series of major steps forming an interlinked chain stemming from the 8th Regional Congress of the Party which was held in January 1974.

"The revolutionary experiment of Iraq has become a shining torch and a beacon for the entire Arab area and an article of confidence for all Arab freedom-fighters. It is an experience enjoying the confidence and respect of all friends"

The President's speech also dealt with the international aspects of the Revolution in the political, economic and cultural fields, emphasising that the course of the socialist revolution is the central goal among the revolution's targets. "We shall continue to struggle and persevere to realize that".

Referring to the situation in the Arab region, the President said that the crime the Syrian regime is perpetrating in Lebanon constitutes a fundamental, malicious link in the American sponsored settlement plan sought for the area. The President reiterated the determination of Iraq to reject all settlement schemes regardless of their sources and forms. "Our present attitude emanates from our principles and is based on our analysis of the factors in the area and the nature of the settlement plans".

Concerning the movement of Iraqi troops to the Iraqi-Syrian borders the President said: "We took the decision to move our armed forces to the front on the understanding that after completion of their concentration on Syrian soil the Syrian government would declare a clear attitude vis-a-vis

the settlement schemes. Our condition is that the Syrian government declare its adherence to a militant programme of liberating the entire Arab and without giving any territorial concessions".

Co-existence and cooperation

President Bakr reaffirmed Iraq's keenness to maintaining close relations with all countries of the area and for co-existence and cooperation with all countries regardless of the nature of their social systems.

Free navigation in Arab Gulf

"In accordance with our present policy of co-existence and cooperation with neighbouring states we have called for guaranteed free navigation in the Arabian Gulf in view of its being a vital artery for littoral countries and a main oil supply route for the entire world", the President confirmed.

Support for Non-aligned movement

In his speech the President dealt with the Non-aligned movement saying: "The policy of Non-alignment proved through the experiences of the past years, its soundness and necessity for promoting peace and stability in the world.

"We have strongly supported the cause of Non-alignment and actively worked during the past year for the good preparation of the conference of the Non-aligned countries in a way enabling the Non-aligned community to enhance its prestige". The President expressed the hope that the forthcoming Non-aligned conference scheduled for Colombo, Sri Lanka, August next, would "achieve the success expected of it".

Labour gains

The President revealed in his speech that the Revolution Command Council took several important resolutions aimed at ensuring full equality and complete social security for the workers, employees and countrymen in general. The revolutions also aimed at raising the living standard of a large section of the people.

NON-ALIGNMENT

Development of a Concept into a Movement

The Fifth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned nations is taking place in Colombo at a time when the world is witnessing a grim battle between the forces of status quo and the forces of change. This battle has become most acute in the economic field. The hitherto privileged nations have been desperately trying to maintain their position by all means including threats, coercion and blackmail, and the exploited nations have been earnestly endeavouring to bring about a better economic order through their unity, determination and national awareness. The Non-aligned nations have been espousing the cause of change since their first collective deliberations in Belgrade in 1961. And through Cairo, Lusaka and Algiers conferences these nations have effectively influenced the course of events in international relations in favour of economic justice, national independence, social progress and world peace.

GENESIS OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Though the first conference of Non-aligned nations took place only fifteen years ago, the idea of Non-alignment stirred the minds of statesmen and political thinkers much earlier. The behaviour of the victorious Allied Powers of World War II and the subsequent cold war situation gave these statesmen sufficient cause for concern.

When the war was coming to a close, the latent differences between the Anglo-Saxon Powers and the Soviet Union were unfolding themselves with dangerous forebodings for the future of the world. The big monopoly capitalists of the United States of America who aimed at dominating the world, urged for containing the growing Soviet Power. Vice President Henry S. Truman, Supreme Commander Dwight D. Eisenhower and Prime Minister Winston Churchill acquiesced.

A genuinely anti-fascist President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, hoped for ushering in an era of fruitful cooperation with the Soviets during the post-war period. With that end in view, he cooperated with Joseph V. Stalin and signed the Yalta Agreement

on February 11, 1945, on the question of Allied control over Germany. But as Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945, on the eve of the opening session of the San Francisco Conference, subsequent events took a turn for the worse. The decisions taken at Potsdam in July, 1945, regarding the future of Germany and peace in Europe, could not be smoothly implemented by President Truman because of his dependence on anti-Soviet forces. The seeds of cold war were thus sown.

During the war the Allied Powers held out assurances of granting national independence to colonies, dependencies and mandated territories. But they went back on their promises in most cases, and in the case of others, while the right hand gave away freedom, the left hand snatched it back either by direct intervention or by indirect neo-colonial presence.

Another scenario was being witnessed during this period at the Eastern European theatre. The Soviet leaders, having been faced with the hostile attitude of Western Powers, became increasingly intolerant and looked upon with suspicion any attempt at non-conformism by their own erstwhile comrades-in-arms. The relation between Soviet Union and Yugoslavia reached almost a breaking point as a result. Yugoslavia was finally expelled from Cominform in June, 1948. The portents of polycentrism in the Communist movement was clearly visible in the eyes of farsighted statesmen outside Power blocs.

ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

Under these international conditions the first Asian Relations Conference was held in New Delhi in March, 1947. This was followed by a second conference, at the same venue, in January, 1949. Promoted by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru both conferences denounced imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, demanded early transfer of power to national liberation movements in the colonies in Asia and Africa, called upon the Dutch and French authorities to withdraw forthwith from

Indonesia and Indo-China respectively and lent unqualified support to the Chinese national liberation struggle against Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique backed by the imperialists.

An independent voice was heard at the international theatre and the idea of future Non-aligned policy was taking its shape.

ERA OF CONFRONTATION BEGINS

Meanwhile, the Anglo-Saxon Powers with the United States at their head, having consolidated their position in Western Europe, embarked on fulfilling their grand designs of dominating the whole world. They brought into being a springboard of aggression in the oil-rich Middle-East in the garb of a "Jewish national home" on May 15, 1948; and they cajoled the subdued European nations into accepting an aggressive anti-Soviet military alliance on April 4, 1949, under the title of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

But, side by side, positive developments also took place. Within a span of two years, the countries in the Indian Sub-continent attained independence. China overthrew Chiang Kai-shek along with his imperialist backers; the Dutch had to finally withdraw from Indonesia; and an anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist wave of struggle swept through the Arab world against the usurpation of Palestine. Though an armistice was imposed on the Arabs in 1949, the cause of the Palestinian people thrown out of their homeland and the blood and tears of thousands of their compatriots continued to remind the world conscience that the Arabs and the Palestinians would never accept the situation as a fait accompli.

On the South East Asian and Far Eastern fronts, the US imperialists, unnerved at the triumph of national liberation forces, hatched a conspiracy to unleash a war at the door of China. President Truman declared war on Korea on June 25, 1950, and US troops crossed into the Chinese mainland. The United Nations was manipulated into sanctifying US aggression. But the forces of peace the world over rose to a man to oppose aggression and condemn imperialist adventurism. Finally an armistice was signed in July, 1953, only to prolong the agony of Korea.

In Indo-China the Vietminh forces led by Dr. Ho Chi Minh, scored a series of victories against French colonialists backed by US imperialists. France, however, decided to withdraw after the Dien Bien Phu defeat. But US Foreign Secretary John Foster Dulles, in a statement issued on March

29, 1954, threatened "united action against Chinese Communist expansion". In the circumstances, Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, visited New Delhi to confer with the neutralist Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. They came out with the historic proclamation of their adherence to "Panchasheel" — the five pillars of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence — which was enshrined in the Bandung Declaration of Afro-Asian leaders the following year.

Dulles followed up his threat of united action by sponsoring the South-East Asian Collective Defence Pact which created the South-East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) by a treaty signed in Manila on September 8, 1954.

Africa also was in ferment during this period. The whole continent, which was groaning under ruthless colonial subjugation, exploitation and suppression, witnessed the unfolding of national liberation movements on an unprecedented scale. In this situation Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser, whose Free Officers Movement overthrew King Farouk in July, 1952, turned Egypt into a bastion of anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist struggles in the Arab homeland and a fountainhead of inspiration for national liberation movements in Africa. After assuming Presidency in 1954, Nasser proclaimed his foreign policy as neutral and independent.

AFRO-ASIAN BANDUNG CONFERENCE

Asian and African leaders who felt the imperative need for consolidating and coordinating the struggles of the peoples of Asia and Africa against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for peaceful co-existence of nations with different political systems, sponsored an Afro-Asian Conference which was held in Bandung (Indonesia) on April 18, 1955, under the patronage of President Sukarno. The conference, attended among others, by Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser, brought the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces of the two continents much closer. The conference incorporated in its Declaration the Chou-Nehru Panchasheel. These five pillars or principles were:

- Respect for the fundamental human rights and the purpose and principles of the UN Charter;
- Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
- Abstinence from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries;

- d. Recognition of the equality of all races and the equality of all nations, large and small; and
- e. Abatement from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force.

In a Declaration on Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation the conference urged the nations to live together in peace, "free from mistrust and fear and with confidence and goodwill towards each other"

The conference branded colonialism as an evil which should be brought to an end, deplored the policies of racial segregation and discrimination, and declared in favour of general disarmament and the prohibition of manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons. The conference condemned the conclusion of the South East-Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and the Baghdad Pact.

The concept of the future of Non-aligned movement was laid in its roots.

In the meantime, the British imperialists, acting as brokers for the US imperialists, undertook to conclude an aggressive regional military alliance in the Middle East in line with the North Atlantic Treaty under the pretext of containing Soviet Communist Power. The Baghdad Pact was signed on February 24, 1955. After Iraq's withdrawal from the Pact following the 1958 Revolution the alliance was renamed as the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO).

The NATO, CENTO and SEATO, the numerous US military bases encircling Soviet Union and China and the bilateral military pacts entered into by US with a large number of countries heightened cold war tension. These measures were taken primarily in the context of Big Power conflict. However, these were also used as instruments of interference in the internal affairs of member-countries. The so-called anti-subversion operations of these pacts were also directed against the nationalist aspirations of the people of the respective regions. It is worth recalling in this connection that the plot for Anglo-French invasion of Suez in 1956 was reportedly drawn up at the Ministerial Council meeting of the Baghdad Pact held in London.

The Soviet leadership, under the circumstances, concluded the Warsaw Pact on May 14, 1955, two years after the death of Stalin on March 5, 1953. Stalin sincerely strived for a lasting peace during the postwar period.

The stage was set for Big Power military confrontation.

POSITIVE NEUTRALISM AND NON-ALIGNMENT

These alarming developments brought many independent heads together. President Tito of Yugoslavia, President Nasser of Egypt, President Sukarno of Indonesia and Prime Minister Nehru of India held series of consultations. They agreed that under the existing international conditions marked by acute rivalry between East-West Power blocs, the best course for the newly emerging countries to pursue was an independent foreign policy which would be neutral in form, but positive in content. The independence of action in foreign affairs would allow them to keep from joining any military alliance. And the positive content of the policy would enjoin upon them to keep alive the Bandung spirit and follow more vigorously the path of struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, interference, Big Power rivalry and for a lasting peace.

The newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America learned from their own experience that when a country joins a military pact based on power bloc rivalry, she gives rise to a war psychosis which runs counter to democratic aspirations of the people. Her defence system becomes tied to Big Powers' war machine and she loses her independence of action. On the other hand, her development programmes remain unimplemented owing to the ever rising demands of military budget. The situation also creates conditions favourable for the infiltration of foreign monopoly capital that conspires to suppress all initiatives at developing national economy. In these circumstances internal dissensions mount steadily, economy collapses and finally, destabilisation process starts. In its wake, peoples' miseries increase further and social upheavals take place. The vicious circle operates in almost all developing countries that tie themselves to any Power bloc or multi-lateral military alliance. This experience drew larger number of adherents to the policy of positive neutralism and Non-alignment.

The Non-aligned nations held their first conference in Belgrade in 1961 where only 28 countries and provisional governments were represented as full-fledged participants or observers. Since then adherents to the policy have steadily been increasing. The number of the two categories of participants was 77 at the Algiers Summit, Arid at the Lima Foreign Ministers Conference the number rose to over one hundred including "guests". The number of full-fledged participants alone was

81 at Lima. This situation has added a new dimension to the policy which has now developed into a movement of universal significance. The success of the movement lies in the fact that it has substantially contributed to the relaxation of tensions by creating public opinion against the threats of war and division of the world into opposing blocs, strengthened the principle of peaceful co-existence among states regardless of social systems, acted constructively in the maintenance of peace in all crisis situations and initiated a number of measures through the United Nations and its appropriate agencies, with a view to establishing a new international economic order based on justice, equality and self-determination.

THE FOURTH SUMMIT: A MILESTONE

The development of the policy of Non-alignment under an international movement reflected adequately on the Fourth Summit Conference held in Algiers in September (5-9), 1973. The conference made objective assessment of international political and economic conditions and drew correct conclusions. The Summit called for complete withdrawal of Zionist aggressors from occupied Arab lands, restoration of the national rights of Palestinians, decolonisation of Africa and bringing to an end white minority rule and racial discrimination. The conference also urged the liquidation of the Diego Garcia military base in pursuance of the UN resolution declaring Indian Ocean a zone of peace. The conference expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Indo-China for national independence against imperialist aggressors and their local collaborators. The Summit denounced neo-colonial exploitation and called for a new international economic order aimed at bridging the gap between rich and poor nations.

The Middle East War of October 6, 1973, broke out less than a month after the Algiers conference had concluded. The Non-aligned countries, being true to the policy of the movement, came out with all-out support to Arabs and unqualified denunciation of the imperialist-Zionist aggressors. At the United Nations the Non-aligned nations built up a massive campaign to isolate the enemy and force him to retreat.

However, it remains a hard reality even today that the aggressors have not yet vacated their aggression and the situation has receded into a stalemate again. This is a serious challenge to world public opinion. One may reasonably expect that the leaders at the Colombo Conference will formulate measures to further intensify their strug-

gle for compelling the aggressors to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories.

The oil-exporting countries among the Non-aligned nations effectively applied oil-embargo with a view to isolating the Zionist enemy and her accomplices. Threats held out by the US imperialists to use force to break the boycott failed to cow down the OPEC. The Non-aligned countries backed them unflinchingly at that hour of crisis.

The decision of oil-exporting countries to raise the price of crude oil was the most significant event of the period. This was for the first time that the producers of raw materials exercised their sovereign rights over their produce without submitting to the dictates of international price manipulators. This independence of action of OPEC set an example before other raw material producing countries of the Third World to take appropriate measures for securing fair export price of their primary products. A firm foundation of cooperation between the members of OPEC and other Third World countries was also laid, when the latter wholeheartedly supported the former on the issue, even against heavy odds.

The Algiers Summit lent total support to the cause of the Palestinians. During the post-Algiers period the struggle of the people of Palestine for the restoration of their national rights reached a new high. The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was admitted into the UNO as an observer. With the full backing and active cooperation of the Non-aligned and other developing countries the Palestinians succeeded in isolating 'Israel' and unmasking Zionism. The General Assembly of the UN determined Zionism as a form of racism. Besides, on bilateral level, a large number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America severed their diplomatic relations with 'Israel'. The Palestinian people's armed struggle, which scored one victory after another during the period, prepared the ground for radically changing the international public opinion for the better. A number of developed nations also supported the initiatives of Non-aligned countries at various stages of Palestinian diplomatic offensive. The Colombo Conference will be in a much better position now to draw up a programme of action for the final phase of struggle of the Palestinians.

The Algiers Conference extended wholehearted support to liberation movements of Asia and Africa. The call was crowned with success in Africa and Indo-China. African colonies of Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique and Angola have achieved their national independence. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian

peoples for national salvation have scored final victory. The Non-aligned nations will undoubtedly do their best to help rebuild these nations on the basis of mutual concern for each others' development.

The peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and other remaining colonies have been looking forward to Colombo Summit for moral and material support to their struggle for national independence and bringing an end to neo-colonial exploitation of their resources. If the Non-aligned nations actively help these liberation movements to win final victory, the dangers of Big Power intervention in these areas will recede substantially.

DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIAN OCEAN REGION

The Colombo Summit is taking place at a time when the developments in the Indian Ocean region are posing a serious threat to peace and security. The US Administration is strengthening and expanding the military base at Diego Garcia. For this purpose the entire indigenous population of the British colony has been uprooted. The British base at Masirah Island, off Omani coast, has been placed at the disposal of the US Navy. The Anglo-US military planners are also seeking naval facilities in the East Coast of Africa, on the pretext that the Soviet Union is allegedly increasing her military activities in the region.

All these disturbing developments are taking place in the area against the wishes of the peace-loving people of the world in general and those of the littoral countries in particular.

Back in 1971 Sri Lanka and Tanzania urged the 26th Session of the UN General Assembly to declare the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. At that session the General Assembly adopted a Declaration according to which the Indian Ocean, within limits to be determined, was designated for all time as a zone of peace. The Assembly called upon the Great Powers the littoral and hinterland states and other maritime users of the Indian Ocean to enter into consultations with each other with a view to realising the aims of the Declaration.

At its 27th Session, the General Assembly established an Ad Hoc Committee which was subsequently enlarged, to prepare a report on the Indian Ocean. The 28th Session of the General Assembly, having considered the report, requested the Ad Hoc Committee to continue its work. The session also requested the Secretary-General to prepare, with the assistance of consultant experts, a factual statement on the Great Powers' military presence

in the Indian Ocean in all its aspects with special reference to their naval deployments, conceived in the context of Great Power rivalry.

The Ad Hoc Committee considered the factual statement and decided to annex the same to its own report to the General Assembly.

The 29th Session of the General Assembly adopted the draft resolutions recommended by the Ad Hoc Committee. By this resolution the General Assembly, inter alia,

- called upon the Great Powers to refrain from increasing their military presence in the region of the Indian Ocean;
- requested the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean to enter into consultations with a view to convening a conference on the Indian Ocean;
- invited all states, especially the Great Powers, to cooperate with the Ad Hoc Committee;
- requested the Ad Hoc Committee to continue its work.

In the mean time the Algiers Summit of the Non-aligned nations unequivocally demanded the liquidation of the Diego Garcia base and called upon all concerned Powers to end their military activities so as to make the Indian Ocean region a zone of peace in accordance with the Declaration of the UN.

All these pleadings have fallen on deaf ears. Therefore, the Colombo Conference will have to initiate further moves with a view to ensuring the implementation of the UN and Algiers Declarations on the Indian Ocean. A conference of the littoral countries, as envisaged in the UN Declaration, may be convened in the near future to study the case in depth and prepare concrete and effective recommendations for the implementation of UN Declaration.

It may be convenient for the Colombo Conference, in consultation with the Non-aligned members of the UN Ad Hoc Committee, to prepare its own evaluation of the factual situation in the Indian Ocean region. The Conference, if necessary, may also appoint a committee of experts to brief the Non-aligned nations, both on the present situation and future developments in the Ocean area.

NEW ECONOMIC ORDER: THE BURNING ISSUE

The most pressing but difficult issue that the Colombo Conference will tackle is the question of bridging the gap between richer minority and poorer majority of the peoples of the world. The Non-aligned nations have all along pursued a pragmatic policy in this regard and pleaded for a meaningful dialogue between the developed and developing nations. The Algiers Summit called for a special session of the UN General Assembly devoted to development and international economic cooperation. In the meantime, at the initiative of President Boumediene, the co-ordinator of the activities of Non-aligned nations, the 6th Special Session of the UN General Assembly was held in April, 1974. The Session adopted a Declaration and a Programme of Action for the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on equity, sovereign equality and cooperation among all states. The Session highlighted the balance of payments difficulties of the most seriously affected developing countries. The 7th Special Session of the UN General Assembly, held in 1975, discussed the problems in further details and prepared the ground for the Paris Conference on Economic Cooperation and other international conference aimed at implementing the Declaration and Programme of Action of the 6th Special Session of the Assembly.

Since the convening of the 6th Special Session of the General Assembly, all international conferences held under the aegis of UN supported the cause of the Non-aligned and the developing countries. The World Raw Materials Conference held in Dakar, Senegal, (February 3-8, 1975) reaffirmed that it would be impossible to assure more stable supply of raw materials to the world market unless an international mechanism was developed and income distributed in such a way as to guarantee the speedier and unhampered advancement of developing countries. The second conference of UNIDO on the industrialisation of developing countries held in Lima, Peru, (March 12-26, 1975) concluded that neither optimal food production, nor rational utilization of natural resources in the interest of all, would be possible unless a determined approach was made to industrialise the developed part of the world inhabited by over two-thirds of mankind. The World Population Conference held in Bucharest (August 19-30, 1974) and the world conference relating to International Woman's Year held in Mexico City (June 19 July 2, 1975) came to the conclusion that it was impossible to solve any world problem in isolation, outside the context of development strategy and without introducing the New International Economic Order. The Third UN Conference on the Interna-

tional Law of the Sea held in Geneva (March 17-May, 9, 1975) also arrived at the same conclusion. But the Western industrialised nations, whose policies are determined by multi-national companies and big monopoly houses, will not be convinced. They will not appreciate the need for changing the economic system that seeks to perpetuate the present state of affairs in the international economic field.

INCREASING MISERY OF THIRD WORLD

According to a survey conducted by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), during the first few months of 1975, the prices of raw materials registered a fall of 17 per cent, while the prices of manufactures during the same period leapt upward by 7 per cent. The industrialised nations refuse to take this factor into consideration. The apologists of neo-colonial exploitation cry hoarse over the rise in price of crude oil. The impact of increased price of oil on the gross income of industrialised countries amounts to only 2 per cent or less according to their own estimates. But the impact of declining prices of raw materials on the gross national income of developing countries is colossal because of the fact that earnings from raw materials account for 90 per cent of their national income.

The economists of developed nations claim that 70 to 80 thousand million dollars have been transferred to the oil exporting countries since the rise in oil prices in late 1973, and this massive transfer of wealth is responsible for the present world economic imbalance. They conveniently fail to point out that the above figures are actually the indicators of the extent of exploitation the oil-exporting countries were subjected to in the past. The extent of exploitation of other raw material producing countries is also staggering.

According to recent estimates, in 1975 alone 16 thousand million dollars flowed out of the developing countries into the coffers of developed nations through unjust terms of trade. The balance of payments deficit of non-oil producing countries amounted to nine thousand million dollars in 1973, around 24 thousand million dollars in 1974 and 45 thousand million dollars in 1975. The burden of their foreign debt rose from 38.1 thousand million dollars in 1965 to around 150 thousand million dollars at the present time. These figures testify to the increasing misery of the developing countries resulting from their cruel exploitation by developed nations through the mechanism of the existing un-

workable economic system. Only by changing this system drastically, ending further exploitation and taking measures for transferring part of the plundered wealth back to the hitherto exploited countries can the present economic imbalance in the world be remedied.

RESTRUCTURING COMMODITY TRADE

The Third Ministerial level meeting of the "Group of 77" held in Manila recently discussed the above dismal situation. The Non-aligned nations contributed substantially to the discussions at the conference which adopted an Integrated Commodity Programme. The Programme formed the main topic of discussion at the UNCTAD-IV session at Nairobi, Kenya, from May 5 to May 30, 1976. The Manila Programme, *inter alia*, recommended,

- a. The establishment of a common fund for financing of international stocks of commodities.
- b. The setting up of international stocks for suitable commodities, such as sugar, coffee, cocoa, copper, tea, jute, sisal, cotton, rubber, tin, bananas, bauxite, vegetable oils etc.
- c. The improvement of facilities for the compensatory financing of fluctuations in the export earnings of developing countries.
- d. Multi-lateral trade commitments by governments on commodities.
- e. The removal of trade barriers and other impediments to the expansion of commodity processing in developing countries.

Besides the above other key issues that came up before the 154-nation UNACTAD Fourth Session were:

- a. New indexation of prices of primary products based on linking the prices of raw materials to the industrial import cost of developing countries.
- b. Writing off and rescheduling of debts of Third World countries.
- c. Transfer of technology and resources to poor countries with a view to helping them achieve accelerated pace of development.
- d. Industrialised world free its patents for the immediate use of developing world and extend facilities for marketing the latter's industrial manufactures.

After encountering stiff resistance from some of the most advanced countries the UNCTAD session was successful in adopting a programme to restructure global commodity trade in order to stabilize and increase earnings of developing countries. The adoption of the resolution on an Integrated Programme for Commodities — viewed by many countries as a key element in the creation of a new international economic order — came on the final day of the Conference. The proposal envisages ensuring to the primary producers "remunerative and just" prices which will take into account world inflation, monetary changes and cost of manufactured imports.

As part of the Integrated Programme, the Conference agreed that steps will be taken "towards the negotiation of a common fund" for the financing of buffer stocks. The operation of buffer stocks, which could be held or sold as conditions required, would help end the wide fluctuations in commodity prices.

A detailed time-table was set up for negotiations on the common fund and on individual products, from September, 1976, through the end of 1978, when commodity negotiations "should be concluded". An UNCTAD conference for negotiations on the common fund will be held "not later than March, 1977".

Earlier in the session, more than 20 countries had expressed readiness to contribute to a common fund. Specific pledges amounting to 156 million dollars were made by the Philippines, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Norway, Yugoslavia and Kenya.

A list of 19 commodities was approved for coverage under the programme, with the understanding that other products could be added.

In addition to its decisions on the Commodity Programme, the Conference:

- a. called for expansion of manufactured exports of developing countries by methods including duty free entry of such products into developed countries as well as adaptation of the generalized system of preferences so as to respond to developing countries' needs;
- b. asked developed countries to encourage shifts in their domestic production which are less competitive internationally, to permit re-deployment of such industries to developing countries;

- c. urged that the continuing multilateral trade negotiations in GATT provide special and more favourable treatment for developing countries;
- d. set up an expert group to draft a code of conduct on transfer of technology, for adoption at a conference in 1977;
- e. outlined measures to strengthen the technological capacity of developing countries, and set objectives for revision of the international patent system; and
- f. asked for international support for the efforts of developing countries to increase their economic cooperation among themselves.

The Non-aligned group of nations played a very significant role in the deliberations of UNCTAD Nairobi session. The conference achieved only partial success; but certainly it witnessed a major struggle by the Third World, led by the Non-aligned nations, for a better economic order.

Admittedly, the task of introducing a new economic order, accelerate the pace of industrialisation of developing countries, ensure just and fair price of commodities and help developing countries overcome their balance of payments difficulties require active cooperation of developed countries. The basis of this cooperation lies in the realisation that gone are the days of piracy and plunder. Any solution based on economic blackmail backed up by big stick diplomacy is doomed to failure. By dismissing the demands of developing countries as mere slogans, as has been done by some powerful quarters, will not help the industrialised nations either. If the industrialised nations sincerely cooperate with developing countries to implement the decisions and recommendations of the UNCTAD-IV, the task of introducing the New International Economic Order will become much easier to the advantage of all nations, rich or poor, developed or developing.

In this connection, the role of socialist bloc countries deserves consideration. There is no denying the fact that these countries render moral and material assistance to most developing countries during their struggle for national independence. But during the period of national reconstruction and consolidation of independence, they regrettably fail to match their political support with economic aid. On the question of international actions to accelerate the pace of development of backward countries, the socialist countries do not seem to be willing to involve themselves deeply. The developing countries voiced their disappointment over this

issue at the Manila Conference of the "Group of 77" recently. The Colombo leaders will undoubtedly consider the situation and seek greater involvement and participation of socialist countries in the struggle for establishing a New International Economic Order and ending the backwardness of developing countries.

The Colombo Conference, acting as the vanguard of struggle for achieving justice for all the developing nations, is likely to consider it imperative to draw up a programme of action in order to face up to the intransigence of developed countries. The Conference may also study the feasibility of evolving an organisational mechanism on the pattern of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in order to strengthen the collective bargaining capability of the producers of non-oil primary products. The Colombo Conference is expected to take follow-up measures regarding the Economic and Social Development Fund for Non-aligned countries which was set up at the Algiers Conference. The question of forging closer economic cooperation among Non-aligned states and other developing countries will also receive due attention at the conference.

STRUGGLE AGAINST MONOPOLIES

The Non-aligned countries, since the inception of the policy in the 1950s, has been waging struggle against neo-colonial exploitation. The Fifth Summit of the movement this year will be called upon by the circumstances discussed above to further intensify the struggle particularly against the exploitation of primary products by monopoly capital and multi-national companies. The ruthless plundering of resources by multi-national companies in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been thoroughly exposed by studies conducted by UNCTAD as well as independent investigators. There are still people who will argue that the developing countries cannot afford to shut their doors to multi-national companies for the sake of achieving the take-off stage of their economy. But very few countries of the Third World have reaped long-term benefits from the operations of these companies, or for that matter, from the investments of other foreign monopolies. The countries that fall victim to temptations of these investors find themselves placed in a vicious circle: their domestic capital accumulation suffers a set-back, balance of payments difficulties mount, industrialisation hampers and further dependence on foreign capital increases. In some cases, however, per capita GDP goes up as a result of increased income of a handful of comprador-bourgeoisie. But these cases do not reflect the relative prosperity of the concerned

countries where the widening gap between the incomes of the privileged few and the masses only aggravates social tension.

However, it will be unrealistic to expect that all the concerned Non-aligned nations will be able to carry forward the struggle against neo-colonialism unwaveringly in the face of machinations by imperialists, domestic pressure groups and their foreign principals. Some countries successfully withstand all pressures, while others tend to make a compromise. As for example, the Revolutionary Government of Iraq, headed by President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, successfully brought Iraqi petroleum under national ownership, control and management by nationalising all foreign interests (June 1, 1972 and Dec. 8, 1975) and thus strengthened the base of national economy. But, most other oil-exporting countries could not do so. In spite of this weakness on the part of many OPEC members, all of them collectively exercised their sovereign right over the pricing of their primary product. While Iraq has achieved total victory over neo-colonialists, others have scored at least partial victory. It proves that given the orientation, determination and organisation, the struggle against monopoly capital and multi-nationals can be successfully accomplished. The development and welfare activities that are now going on in Iraq following the nationalisation of oil, should serve as pointers to those who question the wisdom of keeping the foreign monopolies and multi-national companies at bay.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

As the Non-aligned nations have been tackling complex economic and other problems of worldwide import, they are required to forge greater co-ordination among themselves and keep more attentive watch on the development of events in world affairs. So, the need for setting up some kind of a permanent organisational structure of the movement is being strongly felt by a large number of participant-countries. However, care should be taken to make this organisational structure basically different from the bloc-style organisational set-ups. The very nature of the movement suggests that its organisational set-up should be a functional institution which will facilitate the processing and distribution of documents, resolutions and decisions of conferences; collect and compile statistical data on various economic and other technical issues as reference materials for the conferees; maintain liaison among the participant-countries whose number has been increasing every year. The issues that usually come up before the Non-aligned conferences have multiplied and become much more technical and complicated than before. Therefore, it may reasonably be expected that the Colombo Conference will realistically consider these new factors and opt for setting up a suitable permanent organisational structure of the movement.

EXPANSION OF CRITERIA

The Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned nations, in their conference held in Lima, Peru, from August 25-29, 1975, decided to expand the criteria for participation in the Non-aligned conference. Besides 'Full-fledged Participants' and 'Observers', a selected category of countries tied to military alliances were accepted as 'Guests'. This decision of the Lima Conference gave rise to some questions.

Those who support the addition of this third category of participants hold that as a result of the growth of Non-alignment as a movement of universal significance over the years, it has become possible for some countries to follow an independent foreign policy even though they are tied to military alliances of Power blocs. This phenomenon reflects the strength of the Non-aligned movement. With the change of time, particularly in the era of East-West detente, Non-aligned movement also is undergoing some change without, however, compromising its basic character.

Those who do not agree with this argument feel that the principles of Non-alignment are really being compromised by such moves. Detente, they hold, has not basically changed the conditions of conflict among Great Powers and their military blocs. The Non-aligned movement, therefore, by strictly adhering to its principles, should try to create conditions in which countries willing to join the movement will find it possible to come out of the shackles of military alliances or Power blocs. The successive victories scored by national liberation movements and the growing awareness of peoples to renounce hegemonism have made it alliances to exercise independence of action and possible today for unwilling partners of military pull out of such alliances. Iraq is a case in point. The seat of a very strong military alliance — the Baghdad Pact — was turned into a bastion of struggle against imperialism, Zionism, exploitation and interference through the revolutionary campaigns of 1958 and 1968. On the ruins of Baghdad Pact emerged the Non-aligned, independent and self-respecting Iraq of today. The international situation is much more favourable today for others to withdraw from military pacts than it was for Iraq in 1958.

It may be recalled here that the preparatory meeting held in Cairo in June (5-12), 1961, for the Non-aligned Nation's Summit in Belgrade defined the criteria for participants in two categories — 'Full-fledged Participants' and 'Observers'. According to the Cairo criteria, if a country meets the following conditions, she will be invited to participate at the Non-aligned conference either as a Full-fledged Participant or as an Observer:

- acceptance of an independent policy based on the principles of co-existence and Non-

alignment, or the tendency to pursue such a policy.

- extending lasting support to national liberation movements;
- not belonging to multi-lateral military alliances, agreements or pacts, formed in the context of the conflict between the Big Powers.

However, in the case of parties to bilateral military agreements or pacts and countries conceding military bases, conditions have been laid down that such countries cannot be invited unless it can be established that these agreements or pacts have not been concluded and military bases have not been conceded in the context of conflict between the Big Powers.

The Cairo criteria were reaffirmed at the preparatory meeting held in Colombo on March 23, 1964, for the Second Summit in Cairo. The Colombo meeting also decided to extend invitation to all countries, provisional governments and liberation movements which had joined the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) or had been recognised by OAU. Besides, all participants of the Arab Summit Conference held in Cairo in January, 1964, were invited. Invitations were also extended to a number of Latin American countries and neutral European nations like Austria, Sweden and Finland. The Rio Pact of 1947 concluded among Latin American countries was not considered to be a pact concluded in the context of Big Power conflict.

The preparatory meeting held in Dar-es-Salaam (April 13-17) in 1970 for the Third Summit Conference in Lusaka, decided that invitations should be sent out to countries which met the criteria defined by the 1961 and 1964 preparatory meetings held respectively in Cairo and Colombo. These criteria, being so comprehensive as they are, should be able to meet demands of changing international relations of today also. The concept and content of Non-alignment do not call for revision.

NON NEED FOR REVISION

However, in the interest of unity and solidarity among Non-aligned nations, the category of "guests" as defined by Lima conference should be maintained with a view to helping guest participants withdraw from multi-lateral military pacts and alliances. But the criteria of Full-fledged Participants and Observers as defined by the preparatory meetings held in Cairo and Colombo and upheld at Dar-es-Salaam should not be revised.

The Colombo Conference is commencing on August 16 this year. From Colombo the movement of Non-alignment will emerge stronger than ever before, and the period between Colombo Conference and the Sixth Summit, to be held in Havana in 1978, will witness greater unity, cooperation and understanding among the Non-aligned nations in their common struggle for peace, progress and economic and social justice.

TASKS And OBLIGATIONS

Colombo Conference

by Moheyyeddin Ismail

In a fifteen-year period of world organized activities, the Non-aligned movement has acquired significant dimensions, despite all the challenging problems of the world of today. The emergence of this movement was in keeping with the historical process for the struggle for freedom, equality and progress.

This period has witnessed great radical changes in the lives of the nations and opened new prospects for the future of mankind.

These fifteen years witnessed the collapse of old colonialism and the emergence of a large number of newly-free countries marching towards development and progress — although there are a number of countries in the Third World which are still striving to free themselves completely from imperialist influence.

During this short period, and to some great extent, mutual understanding and negotiations have replaced tension in international relations, thereby contributing to the elimination of the cold war and the threat of global nuclear war between the two opposing blocs. Adoption — in a constructive way — of the principle of peaceful coexistence and peaceful settlement of disputes has created a healthy climate in international relations and has opened a new and ever widening horizon for the peoples.

The principles of Non-alignment has been tried and tested during the critical circumstances and crises in international relations and had shown

its ability to lay down solid broadbased foundations for new international political and economic relations.

However, despite all the doubts and suspicions that prevailed for some years since the emergence of the Non-alignment movement, its concept now is viewed exclusively as an international influential force playing a constructive and positive role in the international political sphere and creating a healthy atmosphere for the total abolition of the division of the world into blocs. At the same time it was an expression of the aspirations of all the nations and their objective to create new, equitable international relations, in the interest of, the greatest portion of mankind, peace and progress.

But to realise this objective is not an easy task. It has always been necessary for the Non-aligned countries to oppose bloc politics which leads to the division of the world into contradicting forces that threatens all mankind and hinders progress and prosperity of peoples and frustrates the aspirations of humanity at large. It has also been necessary for the Non-aligned countries to be always aware that the political and economic interests of all the peoples cannot be fulfilled and realised only through equitable international relations.

Despite all those suspicions and charges forged by imperialism against the motives and objectives of the Non-aligned movement, this movement has been able to withstand all kinds of pressures, challenges and desperate attempts to weaken the influence and efforts it exerted in building the unity and solidarity of the Non-aligned countries in the face of bloc logic. Some of the industrially developed countries tried, out of their own logic, to instigate new forms of confrontation and impose a third bloc between the opposing two as a response to the activities of this movement which is aiming at obliterating all causes of disruption in the world.

Throughout this fifteen-year period, the Non-aligned doctrine steadily progressed in dissolving the blocs as a step towards establishing new harmonious political and economic relations in the world, based upon facts and realities, in the light of the key problems of the world community. The economic-political attitudes of the Non-aligned countries are, unequivocally, underlining the great importance of the principles of the Non-alignment on the one hand, and eradicating the bases of the division of the world into two or more opposing blocs, on the other hand.

In the field of international politics the Non-aligned countries have always been the true and faithful proponent of democratising relations among all the nations. This resulted, to a great extent, in

liquidating the outdated colonial forms of relationship between the developing and developed countries and in giving new initiatives and guidelines to many sensitive and pressing problems concerning international peace and security. As a reaction to this, the imperialist quarters employed all subtle means and methods of intimidation to undermine Non-alignment and erode the anti-imperialist doctrine of this movement.

Now, it is indisputable that these quarters assailed audaciously this movement because it always irked them and threatened their interests in the Third World. But despite all these aggressive attempts the Non-aligned movement remained unshaken. Furthermore it became a tangible force and a growing influence in the international arena, accelerating the march of the peoples on the road of freedom and progress.

It is, however, needful to assert here the fact that there is no true political emancipation without economic independence. To thoroughly comprehend this fact one has to trace and analyse the deep changes in the international economic order during this decade. These changes have crucially and profoundly effected the general economic position of the developed countries as well as the developing ones.

The developed countries suffered during this period from acute crises such as inflation, deficits and economic stagnation. Although these countries have been trying to put the blame on the abrupt rise of the oil and raw material prices, it was clear enough that the rise of prices contributed a negligible percentage to the rise in inflation and in finished products.

When these developed countries found no specific solution for the crises in their hegemonistic ambitions by holding on to their privileges in the developing countries.

Now it is evident that the solution for all these morbid symptoms in the international political order is to re-arrange the whole political-economic system in the world.

But it should be pointed out here that the different political and economic status of the Non-aligned countries mean nothing but gradation in responsibilities and commitments.

There is no doubt whatever that this is the proper process of reconstructing international relations in the world of today.

Iraq is well aware, in this context, that it is among the few countries in the Third World that is totally liberated and has begun its march successfully along the road of socio-economic progress. So an immense role is waiting Iraq in the just struggle of the peoples of the Third World to shatter the imperialist yokes and monopolies, in order to realise the fundamental lofty aims of the peoples in a new international order.

WHITHER ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION



The haves and the have-nots

by Kamal Butti

The economic crisis that is currently sweeping and besetting the capitalist world is not a new or strange phenomenon. Capitalist economists and ideologists persistently claim and often attribute this crisis to the increases in the prices of oil and raw materials. It is a well known fact that this crisis has been the result of events and developments that have been in the making for quite some time. The present crisis was preceded by a period characterised by an ostensible weakening of the U.S. position within the framework of capitalist economy and international trade.

Surely there is a dialectical relationship between the crisis and a number of political, economic and financial factors; chief among which are the U.S. war of aggression on Vietnam, the militarisation of the American economy, and the intensification of the contradictions in the monetary-economic and trade relations among the capitalist countries, and between the industrialised capitalist nations and the developing world. The monetary crisis (1971-73) was a significant indicator on the chart of events that led to the present deteriorating capitalist economic situation. The monetary crisis accelerated the inflationary process of the capitalist world; hence, recession, unemployment, production confusion, rise in prices, etc.

The U.S. in August 1971, stopped the convertibility of the dollar into gold and imposed an additional 10 percent surcharge on imports. The developing countries, mainly the Non-aligned countries, rather low in gold reserves and with a considerable bulk of cash currency, lost more than 1000 million dollars as a result of the 1973 dollar devaluation. This situation prompted the developing countries producing raw materials, especially the oil-producing countries grouped in the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to protest against the unfair and unequal terms of exchange and exported commodities prices that the capitalist industrialised countries had imposed on them. Consequently, OPEC raised the oil prices in an attempt to save the economies of member-countries and to offset the soaring prices of commodities imported from the industrialised countries.

The so-called energy crisis that was then brewing and happened to surface following the rise of oil prices became the scapegoat of American and pro-American officials and economists, ignoring the fact that the international monopolies — the oil monopolies in particular — were reaping soaring profits.

The present day inflation, unemployment, recession, food crisis, drop in production and other

NEWS IN PICTURES



President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, paying, on July 19, a visit to the Ministry of Oil where he conferred with the Minister of Oil, Mr. Tayeh Abdul Karim, on several oil projects being built in Iraq and stressed the importance of oil exploration and petrochemical industries.



18 Mr. Adnan al-Hamdani, Minister of Planning, receiving on July 21, the Brazilian Minister of Energy and Mines, Mr. Shigeak Ukie. Relations of cooperation between the two countries in the economic field and means of developing them were discussed.



Solidarity Week in Iraq with the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese National Movement. Comrade Na'eem Haddad, Member of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and Secretary General of the Progressive Patriotic and National Front addressing the rally at al-Shaab Stadium on July 27.



Mr. Flayeh Hassan al-Jassim, Minister of Industry and Minerals, signing on July 19, a contract with an Italian firm for building 400,000 volt transmission lines of higher tension cables.

convulsions are not an isolated phenomena, but rather signs of one and the same crisis: the cyclic crisis of the capitalist world. In an attempt to salvage the suffocating condition, magnates of the capitalist world met, argued and reached agreements to repair the capitalist machinery, protect their interests, and to sort out the riches, natural resources, markets and spheres of influence.

Undoubtedly, the leap forward of the national liberation movements in the last thirty years has greatly contributed to shrinking the area in which imperialists and neo-colonialists have found outlets for their goods and have looted raw materials. While wresting their political independence, small nations have gradually recovered their economic sovereignty. They have been building their own national industry after discovering — following World War II — that capitalism no longer represents the only economic system in the world.

From 1950 to the present day, countries of the Third World have effected an increase in production (five-fold in industry and nearly two-fold in agriculture). This reality has plagued the world's monopoly capitalism with acute problems. Markets for goods are quickly being narrowed down and competition among the industrialised countries is growing sharper as a result of the shrinking of outlets for manufactured goods. The raw-materials producing countries are no more dependent nations. The United States and other capitalist countries, which used to build the prosperity of their empires upon the exploitation of cheap raw materials and the sale at exorbitant prices of industrialised products to Third World countries, are facing immense difficulties arising from the awakening and the strength of newly-liberated nations.

The capitalists are trying to deceive world public opinion, and that of the Third World in particular, by circulating a fallacy saying that the economic crisis of the capitalist world is a result of the rise in the prices of oil and raw materials (mainly produced by the developing countries) and the

surplus of oil funds. These economists intentionally overlook the spiral rise in the manufactured, semi-manufactured goods and foodstuff, as well as the devaluation of the major currencies, which in turn have considerably reduced the purchasing power of all developing countries. This phobia campaign, actually aims at splitting the Third World and dividing it into two groups: the rich and poor. This would make matters easier for industrialised countries to embroil the poor countries against the so-called rich.

In the face of the current acute crisis tearing the capitalist system, social unrest and eruption of violence is bound to lead to more lamentable failures of mythical and demagogic doctrines of capitalism. Suspicion and frustration is spreading like epidemic in the capitalist society. The US is shifting the burden of inflation and recession onto its "allies"; people are becoming sceptical about the whole system and no longer trust the institutions of their countries. Amidst this turmoil, a call is being heard for a new order, a new monetary system, a new relationship between the rich and poor nations and a fair distribution of human prosperity.

This call was heard in recent international conferences voiced by the Third World nations. But it seems that the capitalist world is still trying to cling to the straw floating in the ocean of nowhere. It is time for the Third World countries to unite for the purpose of protecting their natural resources, re-scale the prices of their raw materials and try to reach a new method of dealing with the industrialised nations. The antagonism between the drive for higher production and the reduction of sources of supply of energy and raw materials from the Third World is one of the causes which impels the all-sided crisis of capitalism. It is unfair, in a world where science has taken man to the farthest horizon of civilisation, to find a particular section of humanity enjoying the bliss of progress, whereas the majority remain languishing in the world of darkness not of its making, but created by its fellow men.

SELECTED ARTICLES

From Fa'o, at the entrance of the Shatt-al-Arab, it is some 40 miles northwest along the coast to Um Qasr on the border between Iraq and Kuwait. Off-shore, shimmering across the channel in the heat haze, lies Bubiyan Island in Kuwait.



by Hal Griffin
(A Canadian Journalist)

This short stretch at the head of the Arabian Gulf is Iraq's sole coastline. Confined to a peninsula built up over the centuries by silt from the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, it would seem to offer little scope for development of a fishing industry.

Yet one of the surprising facts about this ancient land, whose rivers nourished the first civilisation, is the extent to which its people have depended upon fish as a staple of their diet.

In the old bazaar at Basrah in the South of Iraq and again at a truck stop on the outskirts of Arbil in the North, I watched fishermen selling freshly caught fish and cooking it for buyers in the hot embers of wood fires on the street — a custom which has persisted through the rise and fall of empires.

The west bank of the Tigris, where it flows through Baghdad, is lined with open air eating places, gaily lit with coloured lights at night.

After the fierce heat of the day — it was 45 degree when I was in Baghdad — supper on the river bank is a pleasant way to spend the evening.

Watching the light darken on the water, you understand the fascination the river held for the poet Abu Nuwas, whose seated statue, glass in hand, broods over this spot where he composed his work 12 centuries ago when the Baghdad of Caliph Haroun al-Rashid was a centre of learning for the civilized world.

For more than 5,000 years the people of Mesopotamia — "the land between the river", as the Greeks named it — have harvested fish from the country's rivers and huge inland waters.

Among the display in the Iraq Museum at Baghdad depicting the successive empires of Sumerians and Semites, Assyrians and Chaldees, and Arabs, are copper fish hooks found during excavations at Ur, the city built by the Sumerians on the Euphrates 4,500 years ago, although the marshes, palm laden islands, lakes and waterways — stretching some 70 miles south to Basrah on

river since has shifted its course six miles away.

About 25 miles from the ruins of Ur and equidistant from the modern city of Nasiriyah on the Euphrates, the river flows through the Hor al-Hammer, a vast area of wetlands — reed fringed

Exploiting National Resources

Iraqi Efforts Highly Appreciated

the Shatt-al-Arab.

Farther north are other areas — the Hor Saniya paralleling the Tigris, the Hor Dalmaj, the Hor as-Suwaigiya. With the country's rivers they constitute the waters of an inland fishery whose potential capacity even the government does not yet know.

Fishing Plan

In the Baghdad offices of the General Fisheries Company, established only three years ago, I talked with the assistant Director General, about the country's fisheries and the government's plans for developing them.

"Until now our fisheries have been neglected", he told me frankly, "and our inland stocks have been exploited without regard for the future. No survey has yet been made of our resources and consequently we lack biological data. But we are making a start. We have one experimental hatchery for carp and barbes and as we develop our plans for river and lake fisheries we intend to build more".

As an indication of the hazards of experimentation without adequate research, he related what had happened some years earlier when catfish were imported from India in an attempt to control a parasitical worm which, by invading the human bloodstream, caused widespread sickness.

"The catfish thrived and multiplied", he said. "Unfortunately, they ate the eggs of food fish and themselves became a pest".

The General Fisheries Company also has ambitious plans for expanding its deep sea fleet. Within the next few years, as new vessels are acquired, trawlers flying the twin starred tricolor Iraqi flag will be fishing the Arabian Gulf and through the Gulf of Oman into the Arabian Sea.

Iraq's fishing fleet is still small, consisting of three ground fish trawlers and some 300 privately owned small craft. About 25 species are fished, notably sole and sardines in the Arabian Gulf, and the deep-sea industry employs perhaps 500 people.

The first expansion will come with delivery of six shrimp trawlers now being built in Spain.

To prepare for further expansion, the General Fisheries Company already has started on a programme which calls for construction of fish processing plants at Basrah and establishment of a network of cold storage plants, ranging in capacity from 50 to 1,000 tons, in various parts of the country. This network will be served by a fleet of refrigerated trucks in the five to 20 ton range, 15 of which are now on the road, with another 30 on order.

Iraq-Soviet cooperation is an important factor in this development. Recently the Iraqi government ratified an agreement with the Soviet government which provides for formation of a joint Iraqi-Soviet fishing enterprise, the al-Rafidain Fishing Company.



The old al-Rashid Street in Baghdad

This carries a step further the cooperation between Iraq and the Soviet Union initiated six years ago when the latter undertook to provide Iraq with fishing vessels, processing and storage facilities, to assist Iraq in developing fishing parts and to train Iraqi fishermen and shoreworkers.

Expansion of the fishing industry, however, is only one aspect of the programme launched by the Baath Socialist Government of President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr to industrialise the country and lift it out of six centuries of stagnation, first under the Mongol and then Ottoman Turkish rule.

New Attitudes

On my way south from Mosul to Baghdad I saw wheat and barley fields in which modern machinery was at work stretching beyond the horizon. Along the roadside, old men, women and boys herded sheep and goats as they have done through the centuries.

It was at once symbolic of how far the country has advanced in a few years and how far it has

still to go.

Feudal land ownership has been abolished. Not only is the physical appearance of the countryside changing as new yellow brick houses replace the old mud-walked compounds, all part of the campaign to make rural life more acceptable and halt the exodus to the cities, the old feudal relationship and attitudes are changing too.

By chance, I had a glimpse of this in Basrah. The canal-laced river port in the south where deep-sea freighters anchored in the Shatt-al-Arab tower above the palm trees on banks awash when the tide backs up the river waters.

Oil Nationalisation

Although much of the country's industry already was state owned the decisive action was nationalisation of the oil industry, carried through

between June 1, 1972 and March 1, 1973 in what the government recognised as "a direct confrontation with imperialism at its nerve centre".

The oil companies used every means to obstruct and defeat nationalisation, for it is said that Iraq has one of the largest crude oil reserves in the world and the stakes were high. They cut back production, reducing the revenue on which the government depended for its development programme.

The government responded by issuing a two-week ultimatum to the companies.

Assured of overwhelming popular support, the government enacted its nationalisation decree when the ultimatum expired. And with that one stroke, Iraq attained economic and political independence with far reaching consequences.

As the Arab Baath Socialist Party subsequently reported to its Congress:

"The nationalisation decision in Iraq contributed effectively to expose the energy crisis in the



Abhar River in Basrah

West and revealed its grave political and strategic dimensions.

"Nationalisation was, rightly so, the beginning of a new international era paving the way for basic changes in the balance of world power in favour of the movement for the people's liberation.

"On the national level, nationalisation in Iraq had a very important dimension. It was the first real blow by the Arab people to imperialism since the defeat of June, 1967.

"It was also the first taste of triumph for the Arabs in a long time. It rallied the people and created a widespread spirit of enthusiasm amid a climate that hitherto had been dominated by a sense of despair and defeat".

Development

After oil, Iraq's major resources are crude sulphur and phosphates. For years foreign monopolies tried to gain control of the sulphur resources and one, Pan American, almost succeeded during the Aref regime.

For the past six years, however, following an agreement with Poland for cooperative development, sulphur too has been nationalised with several plants in operation and others under construction.

France has agreed to build a 400,000 ton steel plant for Iraq, the raw materials for which will be imported from India. An aluminium smelter is planned for the Basrah area.

Over the next five years \$2.5 billion will be spent on the transportation system, including extension of the rail network linking the Gulf ports with Baghdad and Mosul, expansion of air services, truck transport, deep-sea and river transport.

On the outskirts of Baghdad and other cities I saw fleets of trucks, construction and farm machinery, steel pipe and girders, much of it bought from abroad and all of it essential to the country's reconstruction programme.

Canada could share in this trade, for Iraq is interested in buying pulp, farm machinery and pharmaceuticals from this country.

Workers

In the realisation of Iraq's national programme, the role of the workers is decisive.

Gone are the days when trade unions were illegal, when workers faced jail and execution for

organising. The great strike struggles of the oil workers in 1948 and 1952, the cigarette workers in 1955, have become part of the people's history.

Now the General Federation of Trade Unions, reorganised in 1958, in the creation of which hundreds gave their lives, has 1.2 million members. It is part of the International Union of Arab Workers and affiliated to the world Federation of Trade Unions, on whose executive it is represented.

Its members sit on government central planning bodies. It maintains its own technical training institute which sends graduates where they are needed.

Two hospitals in Baghdad constitute the beginning of a programme to establish its own hospital system. Housing schemes for workers in conjunction with big industrial projects have been added to its widening area of responsibility.

The new role of the trade unions, as Bedan Fadhil defined it for me, "is a socialist relationship in which it is the workers responsibility to increase production in order to assure their rights".

One of these is the right to education and the need to produce the scientists, engineers and technicians required by modern industry.

All university education in Iraq is free. Students who pass the entrance exams pay no fees, get their books free and, if they come from outside the university city, receive their board and lodging.

Subordinate only to nationalisation of oil in its bearing on the government's ability to unite the people around its programme was democratic solution of the conflict in the north.

Since I returned from Baghdad, however, the CIA has been compelled to divulge in testimony before the US Congressional Committee on Intelligence that it supplied millions of dollars' worth of arms to the Kurdish rebels.

The CIA also has been forced to reveal it has used newspaper correspondents overseas for intelligence work "and some planted stories that the CIA wanted".

Once foreign support was withdrawn, the armed insurgency collapsed, for it was not supported by the majority of the Kurds.

If further proof were needed, our own daily press which so short a time ago, was full of the conflict, has lost all interests.

The rapid development transforming Iraq is leaving no part of the country's life untouched and the contrasts between the new and the old are everywhere.

In Iraq the past is everywhere... in the very dust under your feet. It's in the ruined brick foundations and reconstructed temples of UR and Babylon and Hatra.

But the future is taking visible shape in new industrial complexes, new universities and schools, new hospitals and housing, new irrigation projects.

CAN THE ZIONIST ENTITY SURVIVE?

by Professor George Hajjar
College of Law and Politics
University of Baghdad

The Jerusalem Post, the organ of the liberal conservative establishment of world Zionism, published a special supplement on the "28th Independence Day, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow" of Israel.

Under the caption of "yesterday", the J.P. sub-headed "Ploughshares and Guns" for Sarah Honig. The article is devoted to study on an historic symbol the "Mikve Yisra'el". The first "agricultural school" ever built in Palestine by the Zionists. According to its founder, Charles Néltor, as Honig tells us, "Mikve Yisra'el" was intended as an institution to "teach the children of Israel to work the soil" based on the firm conviction that "only through agriculture can we reinherit the only land of our fathers". She informs us further that Ben-Gurion pronounced the establishment of the school in 1870, by the Paris-based Alliance Israëli universelle, as "the first step towards the ingathering of the exiles".

So far so good for the unsuspecting observer who would see nothing wrong with the undertaking since we are merely dealing with sand, agriculture and dispersed people looking forward to escaping persecution.

But suddenly the historic value of the project dawns upon us especially as Honig's motivation for the signaling out of "Mikve Yisra'el" for a special article hits us in the teeth. Yes, it was not agriculture and the mere love of the land that prompted the Zionists to found Mikve: it was alaya and the plan to found a state like all states on the ruins of the Palestinian people. Consequently the school of the Zionists "turned out not only farmers, but also soldiers" and by 1926, it became "an official Hagina base" where youngsters, trained and "took active part in the defence of Galilee during the 1929 riots". Indeed, Honig reveals that the Mikve was the first Israeli explosives factory where David Leibowitz invented his infamous "Davidka", the mortar named after him.

This weapon had a shattering effect on the Palestinian population and was in part responsible for driving them out of their homeland. In Honig's

words, the Davidka's "most effective feature was first used on the night of March 13, 1948 against Abu Kabir. The explosion was loud enough to shake up the residents of Tel Aviv, Holon, and Mikve. Abu Kabir was panico-stricken".

And what is the central of "Ploughshares and Guns"? Is it the mere celebration of an historic site? No it is a call for the revival of the "Zionist pioneering spirit", the merger of the plough and the gun and the expansion of Israeli settlements in the occupied areas; it is a call for arms underpinned by an historic symbol and justified as legitimate in the defence of erez Israel.

Secondly, under the title "Partition and the State Idea", the Jerusalem Post's Mordechai Nis-siahu relates how the year 1937, is a watershed in the history of Zionism insofar as Ben-Gurion's "inner consciousness" was concerned: "It was the year when the British Mandate died, and the Jewish state born as a realistic political programme".

What is critical in this article however consists of two major points: (1) The alleged weaving of the "Zionist Labour Party" from the class concept to the all-nation concept, and (2) the political stratagems that Ben Gurion contrived from time to time, and the final alliance he consummated between the Yishuv, American Jewry and US imperialism.

Class Concept versus All-nation Concept.

The abandonment of the class concept in favour of the all-nation concept cannot be considered a serious historic departure since it was never the starting-point of Zionism. In fact, Zionism was the very negation of class analysis. But the class concept was propounded by a small section of Zionism, the Hashomer Hatzair, who pretended they were "socialist-Zionists". However, by definition this concept was also repudiated at the source since the Zionists of the Borochov stamp, thought they could manipulate history and society to serve their views. Thus they tried to reconcile Zionism and class and sought to postpone the period of class struggle until the Zionist nation was founded. Hence no great mental anguish was required to ban the concept of class from Zionist circles.

As to the "real content of Zionist politics and strategy, Ben Gurion put it (in 1924) quite neatly: "If there is any real content in the Zionist idea, it is the state idea", he said and added "Zionism is the desire for a Jewish state, the desire for a country and national sovereignty". If this were the case, the question is then how can Zionism realize or help actualize "national sovereignty"? Ben Gur-

ion and company addressed themselves to the question intelligently and were able to adapt themselves to changing times. They first sought, fought and wrought the Mandate over Palestine. Having done so, they took "maximal advantage of the Mandate for the purpose of increasing aliyah (immigration) and settlement and building up the real Jewish strength in the country". They also excelled in concealing their real aim: the establishment of a Jewish state. In the name of political strategy, the first Zionists congress had used the term "safe haven", instead of "state" just as the Zionist movement used the term "national home" during the Mandate period. But according to Nissiahu, Ben Gurion "irrevocably abandoned" the idea of the Mandate in favor of the state on July 1, 1937, in a letter to the Mapai Central Committee in which he stated in part: "Forgo British rule? Yes! I appreciate British rule, even when it is not ideal. But I prefer Jewish rule even though I am aware of how much struggle and trouble awaits us when Jewish rule becomes a reality. But as a Zionist, I do not fear the Jews".

In Quest of an Umbrella

The final point in this analysis is: if Jewish rule were to be attained, under whose auspices it must be carried out? Here the Zionists differed. Weizmann's wing favoured British tutelage, but Ben Gurion's placed its fate and destiny in America's then thriving empire. The Yishuv, world Zionism, and US imperialism joined hands together in an unholy imperial matrimony and produced a monstrous offspring — Israel.

As a result, Zionism hitched its wagon to America, imperial locomotive whose derailment and final explosion are inexorable.

With such selective backgrounds as precursors to the present, it is possible to deal with overlapping points. Here the Jerusalem Post inserts two articles under the titles "Then and Now" and "The Rough Passage". Under "Then and Now" an historic relic is resuscitated. His name is Dr. Dov Joseph, the former president of the Canadian Young Judea of Yesteryear. Dr. Joseph's career spans a long period. He is a "pioneer" who had joined the Jewish legion in 1918 and from then until now he has been a settler. Besides he underwent the travail of being a great and determined Jew who came to Palestine to redeem the land, and stayed. Well, to go on the author, Aryeh Rubinstein, gives us a biographic sketch of this historic figure who has served Zionism with distinction when he was the military governor of Jerusalem in 1948 and the

minister of "supply and rationing" during the formative early years. Dr. Joseph also held the portfolios of transport, commerce and industry, and development until he was removed from office in 1966 by Eshkol. With this parade of portfolios, the moral authority of Dr. Joseph is established. He is in a position to pronounce judgements regarding Israel's present political stance, consequently, we learn that Dr. Joseph is a hardliner within the Israeli political spectrum. That is, he calls for Ben Gurion type strong government, for no withdrawal from "Judea and Samaria" and for an imposed peace on the Arabs. Commenting on the present government, Dr. Joseph says "They're so concerned with tactical manoeuvring that they have no time for working out and adhering to overall strategy. But the government's fatal error was to abandon the position that we would settle for nothing less than peace. If we give the Arab states what they want in stages, why after that should they make peace?" And Dr. continues: "Moshe Dayan once said if Israeli ships could not pass through the canal, no other ship would either. I agreed with him... What is of the essence is the Israeli flag. But the men at the top evidently have no adequate sense of statehood, of mamlichut".

The Role of Uncle Tom

From Dr. Joseph, the sturdy Zionist, we move quickly to an Uncle Tom, as the Blacks in America classify the negro integrationists there. Here we are introduced by Yacov Ardon, to Mr. Sohaly Shukri of Haifa. Shukri is apparently the scion of a bureaucratic Arab family which has served its masters well from Ottomans, to British, to Zionists. We are given a glimpse of the "greatness" of Mr. Shukri who has to his credit, a series of lectures he has given on the "Arabs in Israel" at the request of the Israeli foreign ministry in America. This "outspoken" Arab according to Ardon, had the audacity in 1957 to send a memorandum to the Israeli government which made two points: "One was a demand to settle the Arab refugees inside Israel. The second was to settle the claims of those whose land had been expropriated after that war". Needless to say, Mr. Shukri was ignored by the Israeli authorities but such a memorandum qualified him as an "outspoken" Arab in Israeli eyes and entitled him to speak on behalf of the Arabs and to plead their cause before the imperious Zionist tribunals. Says Mr. Shukri who calls for full Palestinian citizenship within Israel, "had the Arabs been admitted to senior posts in the administration, the reaction

of the Arabs in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza strip to Israeli rule... would have been different". Lest we have any doubts as to where Mr. Shukri's loyalty lies, he informs us: "I believe that the Israeli Defence Forces should have been opened to all moslems" etc. But the crowning passage that totally unmasks Mr. Shukri and reaches metaphysical heights in its elegance is the following:

"It is true that Israeli Arabs live in a kind of material paradise. But the problem for us is not material. It is how we feel. We want peace. We can't see our relatives and friends across the border. We have an interest in peace. And we want to feel we are part of the country. We are not. And it depends on the Government, especially the bureaucracy, whether we can become part of it. My view is that there is not an Arab problem in Israel. There is a Jewish problem — the attitude towards the Arab people in Israel".

The Jerusalem Post with its "objective" and intellectualist approaches to investigative journalism drops the subject of the Arabs completely and moves on to "Today", acting as if nothing has happened in the past several months in the territories the Zionists occupied in 1947-48 or in 1967. It ignores totally the massive uprising of the Palestinian Arabs and makes not a single reference to a civil war that has raged for nearly a year without interruption. Had the post done to, Mr. Shukri would have become irrelevant and the post would have had to cope with the collapse of Dayan's bridges and Israel's own theory of "minorities" and have to "integrate" them anew.

A Distinct Feeling Of Malaise

"The 'Israel of Today' according to the Jerusalem Post is an Israeli whose citizens 'are experiencing a distinct feeling of malaise, if not of apprehension for the future'. Furthermore, the Post states: 'the feeling of malaise centres around the theme of disappointment in ourselves; in our apparent inability to achieve the original Zionist dream of creating a new Jewish society, which was to serve a model to humankind, and new Jew, who was to serve as a model for Diaspora Jewry'".

To help diagnose the malaise and prescribe the right medicine for it, the Post called upon a team of Israeli "doctors" whose expertise ranges from law and management to politics, history, soldiering and to foreign affairs and security matters and to civil service and government consultations.

The "doctors" are Binyamin Azkin, Meir Amit, Ariel Sharon, Yehoshua Arieli and Yitzhak Navon. Admittedly, the Post reports, the "doctors do not

have sure-fire solutions to all our ills", but it adds: "They are surprisingly unanimous, however, in the feeling that action towards bringing about profound changes in our political system and behaviour is urgently needed". But the "doctors" examined the politics, not the metaphysical-theological convictions of Israelis. As a result, they consider their patient... Israel — quite healthy though its politics is messed up. And they saw no relationship whatever between the political and behavioral malaise of their patient and its socio-economic and biological structure. That is, they compartmentalized the superstructure and substructure and kept them separate but, differently, the moral foundation of the Zionist project and its moral rectitude were not put to the test in the "doctors' laboratory. Consequently, they were unable to answer the puzzling question: Why hasn't Israel become "the model Jewish society to humankind", and the Israeli Jew the model for Diaspora Jewry? Thus the "doctors" dealt with the symptoms of the malaise, not the underlying causes of the disease. And as a by-product of their superficial medicine, we have a prescription that says Israel must reassert its moral claim to the country and rid itself of "hide-bound hierarchies" that rule it; that the politicians of Israel must abandon their games of personal power balances; that government paralysis will end once the "quasifederal confederation of separate baronies-ministries"; is broken up and "political pigmies" are jettisoned; that the political crisis can be solved if teamwork replaces individual leadership; that the multi-party system can be weakened by a presidential system and the territorial constituency; and, that all can be cured by the revival of the old "revolutionary elan" of zionism. So much for quack medicine and Zionist witchcraft! But let us make an effort and come to the crux of the matter of "Today's" Israel, which is, that the Israelis — citizens and "doctors" alike—are suffering from a collective form of amnesia, and the demise of the critical spirit of Jewish history; and, it seems as if the entire Zionist population is indeed trying to live in a make-believe world and hoping that the world and its "insoluble" problems would go away. The latter, of course, won't happen because the aroused Palestinians are effectively around and plan to remain so, and the Arab revolutionary torch is aloft and cannot simply be put out. Besides, the Americans, for their own reasons, — such as oil, finance, strategy, markets, etc., may not be prepared, all the time to fight the Arabs to the last Jew. But much more importantly, the Israelis have to answer an historic question: Can a society, as Lincoln once put it, "live half-slave-half-free, and remain united"? This is the essence of the Israeli dilemma and NO "all-nation concept can forever suppress this elementary truth. The

"haven" the Zionists projected has become 'the hell of world Jewry: If the unpleasantness of "Today" is a passing phenomenon that can be mitigated by the greatness of "yesterday", it can also be papered over and, bypassed by the competing vision of a promising future. Indeed it is left over. Here myth-making and the energizing of myth play a predominant role in propelling the Zionist ship onward.

Requirements of Post-Industrial Society

Moreover, Mr. Zeev Katz enumerates the requirements of post-industrial society and finds that the Jews possess the qualifications for its attainment. The qualifications are: "almost total higher education of the young; almost total urbanization; a socio-occupational structure centred not on production, agricultural or industrial but on human services (education, medicine, research, tourism welfare), a very high degree of professionalisation, not only in terms of occupation, but also as the prime content of a person's life interests and identity; very intense involvement in socio-political and cultural activity; an intense crisis of traditional religious beliefs and value system, and a search for new forms of faith". Katz states his future vision of "besieged and embattled Israel": thus: "History shows that it was not always the strongest, richest and most secure societies that have become creators of great model civilisations. It is not necessarily true that only the US or the Soviet Union can meet the challenge of the post-industrial world, merely because they are big, powerful, technologically developed, and rich. Perhaps they become such models precisely because they are so, and because they are ideologically structured, with huge, solidly entrenched interest groups which may prevent any fundamental change. Perhaps a smaller country only recently established, with a more fluid structure and atmosphere, has a better chance of becoming a pioneer in post-industrial development".

No people can measure up to this challenge unless it has in its history sufficient evidences of an innate drive and as-it-were inborn predilection for moral, theoretical, and social pioneering and experimentation. Jewish history contains a telling record of precisely such a drive and predilection".

Attempt At Reviving The Myth

Need I make any further comment? I doubt it, for the blind can see, Mr. Katz's attempt at reviving the myth of the uniqueness of the covenant people whose central historic function is to teach, to give laws, to rule, and to found the "third commonwealth" of the future. But the Zionist dream is not likely to materialise since the "Third Reich" which produced it, did not last a thousand years and since the children of the "Holocaust" have given the world, and particularly the Arabs, a foretaste of their commonwealth and thereby produced its own antinomy... the Arab-Zionist. Hence it is improbable that many would be so confused as to take myth for reality and medieval, chauvinistic millenarianism for the coming of the messiah: As if it sensed its own self-made pitfall, the Post set up to counterbalance its own myth-making, by posing the question of "Endless Conflict"? To answer itself, the Post marshalled the brains of Mr. Max Singer, an American policy analyst living in Israel. But like most American Zionists, Mr. Singer, mixes his religiosity with his science, but as a founder of the Hudson Institute, his package has to be tied with an historic — analytic — psychological magical knot to make itself credible. Singer's psychology informs him that the Arabs have been "insulted and wounded" by continuous defeat at the hands of the mighty Israelis. He offers his sympathies to the Arabs, but wittingly or otherwise, he adds insult to injury by referring to the "so-called Arab nation" whose history spans a mere 1300-years as compared with Jewish history which exceeds 4,000. At any rate, Mr. Singer expects the "Arab-Israeli conflict" to go on for "decades" but he is hopeful that at the long end of the tunnel "peace" will be achieved. This question is how? Singer states his case succinctly: "Some of us had hoped that the material considerations would dominate, and the Arabs would be moved to co-operate with zionism and Israel because of the help to modernization and prosperity that this would bring them. We had also hoped that the Arabs' realisation of the costs and dangers of war and the appeal of peace would lead to reconciliation. But the intangible and emotional elements have proved decisive". It is to the latter point that Mr. Singer addresses himself. Here he introduced such western concepts which prevailed in 1900, regarding family, church, state. He notes that the guiding principles were loyalty, authority and duty and claims they are of less importance nowadays. That is, the principles have lost their im-

"Israel" and South Africa

by Peter Heller

A paper submitted in October 1974 to the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid and inscribed as an official document of the 1974 UN General Assembly. Published in London by the Palestinian Action Group.

Reviewed by Medhat Magar

It must have been gratifying to Peter Heller to witness the public spectacle of the racist get-together of "Israel" and South Africa last April. Events were proving him right sooner than he had expected. By any standard, the visit was revealing at least to the general public. For, in point of fact, it was the natural culmination of the little published and quite natural alliance that has existed for over 25 years.

In his introduction, the editor finds an apparent incompatibility between the two entities: "The state of Israel, founded at least in theory to provide a refuge for the Jews of the world from antisemitism, particularly in its Nazi form, is a state which has consistently, in international forums, expressed its opposition to racialism... Yet the present leaders of South Africa with whom (the Israeli leaders) are so keen to strengthen ties, were often Nazi sympathisers during the Second World War. Vorster, for example, was interned because of his pro-Nazi activities". Naturally, the "apparent incompatibility" arises from the now proven false assumption that Nazism and Zionism are opposites. Anyone who subscribes to this view would argue that Nazism and Zionism fought a

pitched battle. True. But what sort of battle? Surely, there are many who have to come to realise that this strife was fratricidal, and nothing else.

"Any links between Israel and South Africa", says Heller, "appear, on the surface, to be unlikely". Then he goes on to tell us that links between the two (racist) "states" have existed, in fact, since 1948, when "Israel" was founded and when the Government of South Africa fell into the hands of the National Party, led by Dr. D. F. Malan. Those links, not widely published, existed throughout the period from 1948 to the June 1987 war, and have, since that war, rapidly expanded, particularly in the aftermath of the October 1973 war.



Rabin and Vorster: Development of racist relations

The author traces a very interesting history of typically Zionist chameleon policy towards black Africa and racist South Africa. Outwardly, the Zionists adopted the 'humanitarian anti-racist' mask. In international forums, "Israel" paid lip service to the anti-racist stance. And this was not really difficult, for, as Heller tells us, the voice of black Africa was muted in world forums, especially the UN, and the resolutions condemning "apartheid" (the name given to South Africa's racial discrimination and segregation policy) were all lip service, anyway. However, from 1950 on, Africa gained a real and an increasingly powerful voice, and the old fox, Ben Gurion, came out and said, quite candidly: "After 1960, we changed because we did not want to alienate the new African countries. We knew the Jews there (i.e. in South Africa) wouldn't suffer very much. The South African Government was very angry (at the deflection of "Israel" no doubt), but not against the Jews there — against Israel".

Even at the time when "Israel" was adopting anti-apartheid policies, in order to placate the nascent African states and prepare the ground for

pace and power on the multitudes and have been eroded by the passage of time and replaced by more vibrant ideas. Invoking this historic western process Singer expects Dar el-Islam and its worldview to suffer the same fate and disintegrate, thus making Arab-"Israeli" reconciliation possible or as Singer puts it, "it seems entirely possible that these ideas may lose much or all of their force", thereby preparing the grounds for Arab-Israeli amity. He adds further: "Certainly this set of ideas, attitudes and feelings is no stronger, no more valid, no more useful for their society than were the ideas... Which dominated the west in 1900 and have since fallen from power". Need I say banking on nonlinear development and expecting uniform application on worldwide basis is historically false.

A Wish, Not a Historical Truth

Finally, as if to console himself, if his formula fumbles, Mr. Singer resorts to the hackneyed notion of world Jewish hatred. He points out that "throughout Jewish history nations have found reasons to hate us and perhaps we have to accept that we will continue to be (a people that dwells alone)".

On this pessimistic note on the human prospect and the intangibles that govern it, the Jerusalem Post leaps to the year 2000 and looks back at Israel in terms of consumption, population and the market economy. But the data are too far-fetched and too illusory to deserve much comment. However, the concluding article "like all Nations?" by Rabbi Berkovits, cannot be dismissed as lightly. Berkovits, the Jewish-Zionist philosopher bemoans two facts: "Externally we have become once again a lonely nation; internally, the erosion of values and the crisis of the spirit puts us in our darker moods — wonder whether, we have not become a people disintegrating from within".

Prior to establishment of "Israel", Rabbi Berkovits contends that the Jews chose their own destiny and "there was forever confrontation" though with the destruction of the "Second Temple" Sovereignty was lost, nevertheless "we remained captains of our souls". How was this achieved? By "self-imposed internal disciplines" the Rabbi declares and points out that the Jewish people "derived its national identity from its commitment to the transcendental dimension of the covenant with God". Now with such a premises one would imagine that the Rabbi is about to launch a vitriolic

attack on Zionism and its deeds, regarding it as a deviationist renegade movement that distorted and falsified Judaism. No, he doesn't. He simply deplores secularisation and proceeds to exculpate Zionism instead of condemning it.

"Zionism's rejection of the uniqueness of Jewish peoplehood was a mistake, but a good and fruitful one. Zionism, in its secularised rebellion was the necessary instrument in the hands of destiny to guide our people further along its historic course". Thus the Rabbi justifies Zionism, sanctifies its stupendous deed, the creation of Israel. What is damning, however, is that his justificatory analysis turns that human monster into an "instrument" realising divine purposes and making God march on earth in a Hegelian fashion: Israel is the embodiment of the world spirit". At this point, what else remains for the Rabbi but to mount his pulpit and deliver a homily exhorting secularized "Israel" to return to the Jewish fold. First he describes the present, then he prescribes for the future:

"This society of the moment, without historic continuity, without national memories to identify with, without commitment to values that are recognisably Jewish and, thus, Jewishly inspiring. The place of the visionaries has been taken by the party secretaries. The idealists of the rebellion have been followed by the technicians. Instead of leadership, we have management. All this had to come in a society that intentionally alienated itself from its own historic identity. The blood of the fathers in our veins is not enough to make us Jewish. And if we are not Jewish, what are we? And if it is only "Now" that counts, how long can it be that it will count at all? "Rising to a high crescendo" the Rabbi continues, "we have to turn to each other in order to find ourselves.

"To discover that we are because of what was, though not for the sake of what was;

"That we are for the sake of what to be not just because we happen to be". Arab poets take note!

Some final questions: can "Israel" as a human project endure? Can the darling of America escape the judgment of history and avoid facing its fate indefinitely? Can Ashkanazi European "Superiority" maintain its dominance in Israel and suppress Sephardim and Arabs alike forever? I doubt it. And if I were a Jew, I would certainly take sides now before its too late, and in the name of self-preservation, if not, in the name of history, I would join the revolution of the oppressed Third World and turn myself into a battering-ram against the imperial fortress of the metropole. I would refuse remaining a Jewish obstacle to human liberty as "Israeli citizens do.

its subsequent economic and cultural invasion, which was brought to an end only in 1973, it was sorely divided on the issue of antagonizing its natural ally, South Africa. The Director General of the 'Israeli' Foreign Ministry from 1960 to 1964 tells us: "On no issue do I remember more discussion than on apartheid, among issues not directly concerning Israel's vital interests. Since 1951, this has been so". Peter Hellyer tells us that "since that time, the debate (on whether or not Israel should align itself openly on the side of South Africa) has been won by those supporting close ties with South Africa, who now include not only the right wing opposition parties, but also important leaders in the Government, the trade union movement and commerce". Obviously, Hellyer forgets the most important of all: the military establishment.

The bulk of Hellyer's paper is dedicated to tracing the various aspects which reflect the community interests and close affinities between the two racist "states", from 1967 to the 1973 wars and after.

South Africa was the seventh "state" to recognize "Israel", in 1948. In 1950, Moshe Sharett, the "Israeli" Prime Minister, visited South Africa and Dr. Malan, South Africa's Prime Minister, returned the visit, in 1953. Hellyer points out that this made him 'the first western prime minister to (visit) "Israel" while still in office'. Without realizing it, in all probability, Hellyer has put his finger on the root of the matter, when he said, 'western prime minister' of Malan. Western, here, stands for a community of interest and a shared outlook between Afrikaaner South Africa, and 'Western Democracy' an outlook which has a very real racist basis.

Thus, support by "Israel" for South Africa, and support by the latter 'western' nation of racist whites for "Israel", were a foregone conclusion from the outset. However, Hellyer tells us, the real impetus came with the June 1967 war: "Support for Israel was scarcely less widespread among the ranks of non-Jewish whites... the United Party's spokesman on defence, in Parliament, said that Israel should be an example to South Africa".

Hellyer supports his arguments and analysis of various events with numerous quotations from both "Israel" and South African sources, however, the following quotation from the 1970 issue of

"Jewish Affairs", the official organ of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, speaks for itself:

"The argument that Israel and South Africa have a basic community of interest in the Middle East and further south has more than a grain of truth in it. There is nothing secret or sinister about it. The strong ties between the two countries, closer than ever since 1967 war, are inseparable from their geographical and strategic positions, from their anti-communist outlook, and from all realities of their national existence... In short, the destinies of the two countries, so-different in many ways, but so alike in the fundamental conditions of their survival, are interwoven in a much more meaningful sense than any enemy propagandist could conceive, or, for that matter, would be happy to see".

"Israeli and South African interests converge not just on the eastern fringes of the African continent itself. Both share an interest in the material and social development of those among the 200 million Africans who wish to seek their help and co-operation... It is on African soil that the paths of Israel and South Africa are certain to cross in the 70's, and, to an increasing extent, in the more distant future. It is not, and never has been, a question of rivalry, but rather of the one complementing the other where they happen to meet".

Hellyer follows, step by step, the ever increasing body of evidence which shows the extent and widening scope of the ties between the two racist entities. His report includes quite a number of useful indicators to the various aspects of economic, financial, commercial, industrial and military cooperation between them:

"Today, in contrast to most other states of the world community, the state of Israel is stepping up ties with South Africa. This is true in the political, economic and diplomatic fields. It is also, alarmingly, true in the military field as well".

Hellyer may have wished his paper to steer away from the pitfalls of polemics and safeguard against the very facile accusation of partisanship. But one cannot help feeling, especially through the very impressive body of evidence he has managed to accumulate with regard to "Israel's" stance towards apartheid, that, for all his objectivity, he may have soft pedaled the very fundamental issue of racism in his exposition a bit too strongly.



NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERY

1975 seems to have been a good year for archaeology and epigraphy in the Near East. Whereas at Tell Mardikh, in Syria, the Italians discovered "the oldest archives in the world", the Belgian archaeological mission in Iraq, which has been active there since 1970 under Professor Leon DE MEYER of the University of Ghent, with financial grants from the two Ministries of Education, has recently discovered the archives of a high-priest of the temple of the goddess Annumitum, at Tell-ed-Deir.

The current excavation have uncovered the high-priest's house, including rooms containing several thousand texts — written on clay tablets in cuneiform characters — describing the economic and social activities of this influential member of society at that time.

The house was set on fire in about 1635 B.C. for the tablets do not mention any date later than the twelfth year of the reign of King Ammi-Saduga. The disaster proved to be a boon for the archaeologists of today, as it enabled them to see the documents in their original order of classification: in

labelled baskets and in wooden boxes, of which burnt fragments and bronze rivets have survived.

Most of the texts consist of day-to-day book-keeping, giving concrete examples of economic life as it was at the time. There are some contracts (some of them were kept in containers and most of them show traces of cylindrical seals) recording purchases of real estate, several of which had been in the archives for more than a hundred and fifty years. Some of the documents are business letters, and there are personal prayers drawn up by the high-priest. The discovery of a set of prayers of this kind is fairly unusual, and they will be an interesting new source of information about religious feeling in ancient Babylon. Now that this significant architectural complex has been discovered, the Belgian mission hopes to find in the vicinity vestiges of the temple of the goddess Annumitum, about whom relatively little is known.

Further excavation should help to reconstruct the history of the great religious centre of Sipper, of which Tell-ed-Deir was the most important offshoot.

CULTURE

Add to Your Knowledge

LEBANON

Lebanon is a Republic (area 3,400 sq. miles, pop. 2,500,000) on the east coast of the Mediterranean. Capital Beirut.

Between the Lebanon mountains in the centre, running the length of the country, and the Anti-Lebanon mountains along the Syrian frontier lie the fertile valley of the Litani River.

Livestock: sheep and cattle.

Crops: oranges, apples, olives, grapes, tobacco and cotton.

Mineral: Iron ore.

Industries: Textiles, foodstuffs, oil refining (Tripoli in the north and Saïda in the south are the termini of the pipelines from Iraq and Saudi Arabia).

Ports: Beirut and Tripoli. (Beirut is one of the oldest cities in the world).

Lebanon became independent in 1944 and joined the Arab League and the UN in 1945.

Proverbs... and Proverbs

- By requiring one friend, we invite many.
The Arabs say: From the seed comes out the tree.
- Gain got by a lie, will burn one's finger.
The Arabs say: What are brought by the wind, will be taken by the storm.
- Kindness is the noblest weapon with which to conquer.
The Arabs say: You enslave the hearts of the people, by doing good to them.
- See, listen and be silent, and you will live in peace.
The Arabs say: In the silence of the earth, the seed grows.
- Vain glory blossoms, but never bears.
The Arabs say: Vanity has one round and then it passes away.
- A world is enough to the wise.
The Arabs say: A gesture is enough to the wise.

POETRY

Art of Life

I shall trample under foot
The champions of "art" and the pedants
The beggars and the old hags of poetry
I shall smash their poems on their heads
For lifeblood flows in my veins
And I shall not betray the cause of man
No, that I shall not betray.
So to Hell, Thou Muse of lies
Here my inspiration comes
From my great love.

Abdul Wahhab el-Bayati

The Messiah After The Crucifixion

When he brought me down I heard the winds
In long lamentation weaving the leaves of
palm-trees

And footsteps receding far, far away. So the
wounds

And the Cross to which I have been nailed all
through the afternoon

Have not killed me. I listened: The wall
Traversed the plain between me and the city
Like a hawser tied to a ship
That is sinking into the depths. The cry of grief
Was like a line of light separating morning
from night

In the sad winter sky
Despite its feelings the city fell asleep.

Badir Shakir as-Sayyab

PRESS OPINION

ATH-THAWRA (Iraq)

In a series of editorial articles devoted to comments on President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr's speech delivered on July 16 marking the 8th anniversary of the 17th July Revolution, the Iraqi daily 'Ath-Thawra', organ of ABSP, wrote:

"The remarkable and successive victories achieved by the 17th July Revolution were by no means fortuitous nor were they a result of transient, incidental circumstances. Far from this, the Revolution, right from the very beginning, came up with a clear-cut programme and based itself on scientific and analytical outlook stemming from the realities of the circumstances. It has always rested on solid popular base and derived its inspirations and programmes from the leading Party, the ABSP, thereby giving itself a distinctive character considerably varying from other revolutionary attempts.

On the situation in the Arab area, the paper went to say: "Any observer of the events in Syria and in the Arab homeland as a whole will realize that the renegade clique which grabbed power in Syria on February 23, 1966, was behind all of the grave setbacks currently being suffered by the Arab nation".

THE ARABS (Qatar)

Under the heading 'Why should the Iraqi Army be denied its national task' the Qatari daily 'Al-Arab' (the Arabs) wrote: "Iraq's desire to have its troops stationed on Syrian soil and along the battle front with the Zionist enemy is an urging national demand. If the Iraqi military drive is met with hindrances and allegations that the drive does not serve the Arab cause, then these are suspicious attempts to distort the shining militant face of the Iraqi Army which fought in three wars in defence of Arab territory".

XORMACY (Greece)

Under the heading "Palestinian Resistance Movement should remain strong" the Greek weekly, organ of Greek Socialist Movement said, "our Movement believes that no durable peace and stability can be achieved in the Middle East without

the realization of the goals of the Palestinian Revolution". The weekly magazine described the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people of returning to their native home as a "decisive factor for settling the Middle East problem".

HANDELSBLATT (West Germany)

In a lengthy article devoted to a discussion of Iraq's advancing economy, the German newspaper Handelsblatt wrote: "Other than Baghdad, the capital, Iraq builds new towns and cities and that certain major Iraqi governorates will be leading industrial centres. For instance Alexandria, 40-kilometres from Baghdad will be a huge complex for the manufacture of motor vehicles, tractors and large machines. This town will be the largest industrial centre in Iraq and will accommodate 125,000 workers".

VOLKSSTIMME (Austria)

Under the heading "Syria in the Lebanese Quagmire" the Austrian paper "Volksstimme" published an article written by Ottoyong. The article says: "the Syrian intervention in Lebanon has stirred astonishment. A short while ago Syria was a prominent supporter of Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese patriotic movement. Now Syria is the foe of these movements. Furthermore the USA and "Israel" are expressing understanding of this Syrian intervention in Lebanon". The paper wondered if Hafez Assad has shifted his battle fronts and if Syria was passing through a new stage of accepting the surrender settlement.

L'OPINION (Morocco)

The Moroccan daily l'Opinion, the French language organ of the Moroccan Istiqlal Party, in a recent issue greeted the 17th July Revolution. The newspaper said, "the 8th anniversary of this great revolution has coincided with the inauguration or laying of foundation stones of many plant development projects worth hundreds of million of dinars".

The paper saluted the Iraqi people for "remaining faithful to the Arab cause, specially the Palestinian cause".

NEWS IN BRIEF

A WEEK OF SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIAN AND LEBANESE PEOPLE

A nation-wide Week of Solidarity with the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese national movement took place in Baghdad on July 27 with a grand rally held at At-Shaab Stadium. It was attended by a number of Party leaders, Cabinet Ministers, heads of popular and professional organizations and over 50,000 people.

The Week, organized by the standing committee of recently held Baghdad Arab Popular Conference for supporting the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese National Movement, was a mammoth demonstration in solidarity with patriotic forces in Lebanon and the Palestinian Resistance.

A similar international week also began on July 20 with activities by international bodies and popular organizations expressing their opposition to the Syrian intervention in Lebanon and supporting the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese national movement.

IRAQI-CMEA ECONOMIC COOPERATION

The Iraqi Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Murtadha Sa'eed Abdul Baqi, and the Secretary of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) on July 23 exchanged the ratification of instruments of the economic cooperation agreement signed in July last year between Iraq and CMEA.

Commenting on the conclusion of the agreement with CMEA, Iraqi Foreign Trade Minister Mr. Hikmat al-Azzawi said: "This step is in accordance with Arab Baath Socialist Party and July 17 Revolution's perception to build up the strongest relations with the socialist countries on sound, solid and mutually beneficial bases."

PROJECTS COSTING ID 106 MILLIONS UNDER EXECUTION IN THE NORTH

Projects costing about 106 million dinars (250 m. US dollars) are now being executed in the Northern governorates of Iraq, including projects of ID. 58 million for the autonomous area.

These projects cover construction of road networks with a total length of 2100 kilometres, including 956 kilometres in the self-ruled area.

BRAZILIAN MINISTER VISITS IRAQ

Brazilian Minister of Mines and Energy, Mr. Shipeaki Ukie, arrived in Baghdad on July 21, leading an official delegation on a three-day visit to Iraq.

Mr. Ukie held a series of talks with the Iraqi officials on development of cooperation in several fields between the two countries.

A joint communique was issued at the end of the Brazilian Minister's visit which stated that both sides "exchanged views and discussed matters of common interest with emphasis on strengthening relations and promoting economic cooperation between the two countries".

IRAQ TO PARTICIPATE IN RAWALPINDI MEETING

Dr. Riadh Ibrahim Hussain, Minister of Health, will lead the Iraqi delegation to the 26th session of the Regional Committee for East Mediterranean due in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, next October.

The session, to be attended by delegates from East Mediterranean countries, the United Nations, and some UN specialized agencies, will discuss reports on emergency services and improvement of health services.

AVIATION AGREEMENT WITH ARAB YEMEN

An air traffic agreement was signed in Baghdad on July 26 between Iraq and the Arab Republic of Yemen under which each side will operate two regular weekly flights between Baghdad and Sanaa.

The agreement also provides for the training of Yemeni air traffic technicians in Iraqi vocational institutes.

IRAQI SULPHUR TO INDIA

A contract was recently signed in Baghdad under which Iraq will supply India with 125,000 tons of sulphur for the remaining period of this year.

With the new contract Iraq would have provided India with 200,000 tons during 1976.

Indian Ambassador in Baghdad signed the contract on behalf of his government with Iraqi officials concerned.

ID 40 MILLION FOR EXPANSION OF BASRAH PAPER PLANT

The specialized technical organs at the Ministry of Industry and Minerals are scheduled to complete next October the final stages of the expansion of the Basrah paper plant.

With the new expansions costing over ID. 40 million, the plant is expected to produce 25,000 tons of white paper and 4,000 tons of hygienic paper per annum.

SPORTS

By Gora Ebrahim

The United Nations General Assembly adopted on November 28, 1975 a resolution in which it declared its unqualified support of the Olympic principle that no discrimination be allowed on the grounds of colour, religion or political affiliation. It also condemned the actions of the South African government in enforcing racial discrimination and segregation in sports and called for the cessation of exchanges with South African sports teams selected in violation of the Olympic principle.

The Assembly, in addition, recognised that the campaign against apartheid in sports has been an important measure which has effectively demonstrated the abhorrence of apartheid on the part of governments and peoples. The UN resolution was adopted without any objection.

Apartheid South Africa, however, was first excluded from the 1964 Tokyo Games after the International Olympic Committee (IOC) ruled that the South African racists, by willfully discriminating against the majority of the African sportsmen inside South Africa, were guilty of violating the very first principle of the Olympic Charter. On the other hand it is no guarded secret that for nearly 50 years that South Africa participated in the Olympic Games NOT A SINGLE AFRICAN ATHLETE WAS EVER CONSIDERED FOR PARTICIPATION!

With the IOC opposed to apartheid South Africa's participation in Olympic Games and the UN specifically calling "for the cessation of exchanges with South African sports teams selected in violation of the Olympic principle", can any justice loving country condone countries that actively and willfully render support to apartheid and racism in sports? To condone such action would tantamount to betraying the true Olympic spirit.

It was, therefore, in pursuance of these Olympic principles that many countries called for the exclusion of New Zealand from the Montreal Games as the latter insisted on sending a rugby team to apartheid South Africa despite appeals from the Organisation of African Unity. The New Zealand action, however, not only ignored the legitimate African opposition but also violated the fundamental principle of the Olympic Charter.

Both the sports administrators and the government in New Zealand cannot claim ignorance con-

POSITIVE DEMONSTRATION OF ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID

Iraq's Withdrawal from the Montreal Olympics

cerning the abominable nature of apartheid; that they will be playing against rugby teams selected on the basis of colour; that the spectators will be seated in segregated stands; that they would have to leave out players of Maori origin from the New Zealand team and that the South African racists regard the tour as a kind of "support" to their racist policies. Equally they cannot claim ignorance of the IOC attitude to racism in sports and the UN resolution on "Apartheid in sports".

Given these facts, therefore, the insistence by New Zealand to send a team to apartheid South Africa tantamounts to violation of Olympic principle of non-discrimination in sports and the UN call for "the cessation of exchanges" with apartheid South Africa.

Consequently the countries that demanded New Zealand's exclusion from the Montreal Olympic Games were not only justified but acting within the spirit of the Olympic Charter. And since the IOC appeared reluctant to uphold its own principles many countries, Iraq included, decided to withdraw from the Montreal Olympics.

The Iraq decision to withdraw, it should be emphasised, stems from her commitment to fundamental principles. Iraq is opposed to racism in all forms and wherever it manifests itself. Iraq, however, not only opposes racism in principle but is also an active participant in the struggle against this inhuman evil.

Hence Iraq's withdrawal is a tangible demonstration of solidarity as well as an expression of identification with the legitimate struggle waged by the oppressed, exploited and discriminated against people of South Africa. At the same time it is a positive action in defence of the true ideals of the Olympic Movement.

It has, however, been rumoured that some members of the IOC are calling for "action" against those who have withdrawn from the Montreal Olympics. These misguided administrators, needless to say, would serve the cause of sports better by taking action against the racists and their collaborators — AND NOT AGAINST THOSE WHO UPHOLD THE TRUE OLYMPIC SPIRIT!

The same applies to those who have criticised withdrawal.

