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FIGHT
MONOPOLY
FOR
SURVIVAL





Sunset on the Tigris



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EDITORIAL

The Suicidal Victory of Likud

Is it a suicidal urge that makes the "Israelis" choose at this juncture in history a government which defies everything and everybody? It defies the U.N. resolutions, though they were minimal as far as the full rights of the Arabs are concerned. It defies the faltering and weakening of the will of some Arab leaders who were about to give up the fight once and for all and settle for what some big powers think as a good solution. The victory of Likud, if victory it is, also defies the new American administration which was edging towards being induced to believe, for various motives, that the protection of "Israel" should not go as far as recognizing the stark expansionist philosophy of the Zionist movement. It was there all along for all eyes to see except those of the Americans. They were affirming, in spite of every evidence, that the only thing "Israel" wanted was to live in peace within defensible borders. Would the Americans, after so many setbacks when they challenged the world in Vietnam and elsewhere, be able to adopt the change of defensible borders into the Biblical borders that Likud claims? The Arabs had no doubt, of course, that the Zionist movement, having been based on false historical tenets, would declare false historical borders, openly, shamelessly, daringly and suicidally, as the borders and the only borders.

Let us suppose that the June War had not stopped where it did, and suppose that other parts of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon were swallowed up in that blitzkrieg. Likud would naturally find one sentence in the Torah to corroborate its claim. If the Torah is to be the authority in referring to rights, why not let the Zionist dream advance to the whole area between the Euphrates and the Nile? If history is to be the infallible judge of what right is, then Mongolia would now claim all the land covering Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq. The Arabs would extend that claim to Spain and Portugal, not to mention Sicily and Malta. Others would do the same. The world would then be a furnace of flimsy historical evidences with all that the furnace means in terms of war and tragedy.

The Arabs were not only instinctively sensing the instability of "Israel". They had proofs of it in almost everything the Zionists said or did. The voice of the Arabs was not heard then, for it was submerged in the seemingly more persuasive voice of the Zionists which had all the undertones of arrogance that very few keen ears were able to hear.

The Jews are known to be good accountants. In their letting Likud pronounce yet another tragedy for them, for tragedy, I will definitely lead to, they have proved to be the worst. If they are good accountants, they should arrange their balance sheet more properly. They began with all the world, but the Arabs, backing them: Gradually they lost the Third World, then the socialist countries and then France. It is now the turn of other countries to perceive how much damage "Israel" is capable of inflicting on them. By disregarding every article in the law of nations they have proved that they are below all nations, as to be above all nations would require a much greater entity than "Israel". In fact, no nation can claim to be above all nations, unless it is ready to face the face of Hitlerism.

It is suicidal to defy all the world. It is suicidal to defy the weakness of some Arabs. One of the strong points of weakness is that it has limits.

The unreality of the Zionist dream is reaching its apex of self-delusion. They will awaken from the dream of self-complacency and omission by the nightmare of reality of the Arabs who are only relatively weak, but the relative is more capable of growth than the absolute. The absolute sense of superiority of "Israel" leaves no room for any action except waging wars and wars can be lost by the Arabs until they win one. The "Israelis" cannot lose a single war and this is another aspect of the confrontation between a flexible reality and the intractable nature of the absolute. The Arabs can partly be occupied and partly conquered and this is their real invincibility compared to it already demythologised invincibility of "Israel" in war is small fry indeed. The Messias complex is so deeply ingrained in there that, with such an insensible fascist as Begin at the helm, "Israel" is sinking further and further not into a sea but a quagmire of trouble of its own digging.

Prague-Baghdad Call for liberation of all occupied Arab lands

Concern Over Explosive M-E Situation

Iraq and Czechoslovakia expressed their serious concern over the explosive situation in the Middle East as a result of the expansionist policy of the Zionist entity which denies the Palestinian Arab people their inalienable national rights.

This was contained in the joint communique issued on June 3 following the 4-day official visit paid to Iraq by Dr. Gustav Husak, President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia. Dr. Husak arrived in Baghdad on May 30.

The two countries expressed their conviction that not just and durable peace could be achieved in the Arab region unless all occupied Arab territories were liberated and the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to self-determination, were realised.

Both countries reiterated their solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian Resistance Movement against the Zionist aggression, and declared their continued comprehensive backing and assistance to the Palestinian people in their struggle to recover their national rights, as this movement was an integral part of the Arab and world national liberation movement.

Furthermore, the two countries restated their full support to the struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against neocolonialism and racism as well as for their national sovereignty.

DETENTE

The two countries observed that international detente continued to remain the dominant trend in the current international relations despite the resistance exercised by reactionary and imperialist forces, and that this detente should be based on

respecting the principles of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs, mutual benefit, sovereignty, self-determination and freedom and independence of others. They stressed that political detente should be accompanied by a military one.



Al Baghdad International Airport — May 30: The official reception accorded to President Husak by President Bakr

DISARMAMENT

On the issue of disarmament, the two countries stressed its importance in the contemporary international relations, and declared their support to speeding up the holding of the international disarmament conference in which all countries should participate.

FIGHTING NEOCOLONIALISM

Both countries expressed their satisfaction over the victories scored by the peoples of developing countries in liberating their economies from foreign monopoly domination, and affirmed the

right of these peoples to the unhindered disposal of their natural resources. The two countries also supported the developing nations in their struggle for establishing international trade relations based on fair prices, in addition to their efforts for bringing about an international economic order guaranteeing the application of the principle of equality among nations.

NON-ALIGNMENT

On the policy of Non-alignment, both countries emphasised the importance of this movement in the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, aggression, and interference in the internal affairs



President Bakr holding talks with Czechoslovak President Dr. Gustav Husak at the Presidential Palace

of countries, and their struggle for consolidating national independence and sovereignty and for establishing a new international economic order. Czechoslovakia expressed its high appreciation of Iraq's role in the Non-aligned movement.

The two countries agreed on the necessity of keeping the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace devoid of foreign military bases.

Czechoslovakia expressed high appreciation of the accomplishments achieved by Iraq for its people under the leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party in cooperation with other progressive forces with the aim of effecting socialist transformation in the country. On its part Iraq highly ap-

preciated the outstanding achievements made by the Czechoslovak people under the leadership of the Communist Party. Both countries stressed the importance of contacts and meetings on party and official levels for further consolidation of friendship and cooperation in a way leading to long-term mutual benefits. They agreed on forming a joint Ministerial commission for economic, scientific and technical cooperation. An amendment to the second protocol of the technical and economic agreement was signed during the visit.

At the first round of talks between President Bakr and President Husak, relations between the two countries received priority. President Bakr affirmed that these relations entered an advanced stage of cooperation and pledged to continue efforts for their further development. "These relations have already established milestones following the conclusion of various cooperation agreements between the two countries", he said. President Husak said he was confident his visit would contribute to accelerating the promotion of these relations in quest for joint objectives and against imperialism, zionism and reaction.

SUPPORT TO PALESTINIANS

In a press conference on June 1 in Baghdad, President Husak strongly denounced the aggressive policy pursued by the Zionist entity which he said "constitutes a permanent and continued danger in the region". He said that his country fully supported the Arab people's struggle, especially the struggle of the Palestinian people for restoring their national rights.

The high-level delegation which accompanied the Czechoslovak President held talks with Iraqi officials on various aspects of cooperation including the supply of Czech equipment, factories and technical know-how in return for Iraqi products.

During his stay in Iraq, the Czechoslovak leader visited a number of historical sites and showed keen interest in the ruins of Babylon.



National Perspective

Saddam Hussein on Industrialization

Mr. Saddam Hussein, Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council (RCC) recently discussed the question of science, technology and industrialization from a general strategic politico-economic angle. Speaking before the Planning Council, Mr. Saddam Hussein pointed out that a number of guiding rules would have to be taken into consideration while dealing with this question. A look into the industrial world of today, especially the major industrialized states, an interpretation of their politics and moves in the field of economy in general and in the industrial field in particular, and an examination of the fundamental phenomena and trends in international politics, would perhaps reveal that these industrialized countries had come to realize that it was impossible to erect a Chinese Wall separating their scientific and technological expertise and potentialities from the states of the Third World or from the states which were outside the frame of the Third World. Therefore, Mr. Hussein explained, these industrialized countries were apt to resort to the following:

First: Distracting the Third World countries from proper industrialization, with the aim of keeping the gulf between them and the industrial states intact or slowing down its bridging. This distraction might be achieved through different methods

including: disrupting the attainment of objectives according to schedule by impeding performance or engaging in industrial spheres having no sound priority; entering into unprofitable investments to prevent rewarding utilization of capital according to sound priorities; dissipating technical manpower through redundancy or employment in fruitless fields or projects of no top priority.

Secondly: They will resort to "monopolist specialization" or "specialized monopolization" as they are no longer able to monopolize all spheres of science and technology due to the nature of present-day international politics. This means that they will monopolize sophisticated industries which, in their view, the Third World states are not permitted to deal with. Meanwhile, they will choose to abandon certain simple or precisely defined industries that do not contradict the ends of specialized monopoly.

Mr. Saddam Hussein went on to explain: In this they will be motivated by two considerations. The first consideration is the environmental pollution that impels a well planned transfer of certain industries that pose grave dangers. In this respect, the industrialized countries do not mind turning into importers in accordance with special agreements or in harmony with their designs for influencing the direction and progress of the economic movement of the Third World countries.

should Be Our Guiding Principle

The second consideration is that monopolist specialization and the perpetuation of discrimination require getting rid of certain industries that need large manpower whose availability is already annoying the West. Furthermore, those countries are already convinced that it is possible to monopolize all spheres and branches of industry and technology — which makes specialization imperative.

MONOPOLIZING SPECIALIZATION

The RCC Vice-Chairman continued: By applying the method of monopolizing specialization in specified fields, these countries can adopt such a common understanding that renders the leakage of principal developments in these fields rather impossible. Thus many countries, including the Third World countries, are denied the ability to foresee the future of certain industries in a reliable manner. Furthermore, the transfer of science and technology to these countries will become impossible or highly expensive.

In the light of the above-mentioned analysis Mr. Saddam Hussein outlined the bases for dealing with science and technology in the field of industry. He said: To begin with, we must avoid copying the experience of the advanced industrialized countries — using the patterns, means, directions and schedules. Such mechanical copying will only lead to preserving, if not widening, the gap of backwardness between ourselves and the advanced countries. We must take a new way, because your Revolution is of the new way. This does not mean that the Revolution will follow a blind way. It means

that your Revolution is distinct and unique, that is interacting with the thought and experiences of the world, with what the human brain can offer in science and technology and with the civilizations of the world.

The RCC Vice-Chairman went on: Therefore, we are not inhibited by isolation when we search for a new way in all that we deem necessary for our progress. Without this we shall remain backward and will not reach the level that grants us a recognized and active position in the political movement and in building a new society. Or else, we shall have to be content with turning into a satellite in the orbits of others who will determine our movement, role and future. This position we absolutely refuse to accept.

Mr. Saddam Hussein said that three inter-related fields of preparation and activity should be taken into account when talking on scientific and technical progress. He presented the following three bases for exercising our defined role on those fields:

NEED FOR RESEARCH

First, we have to prepare ourselves for grasping and dealing with technology and science in a good manner. Therefore attention should be given to research centres and the training of the cadres needed. Likewise, we should closely follow the latest in science and technology, both in terms of acquaintance and study. To be an industrially developed country having a position which we aspire to be, we have to master the art of dealing with science and technology, as invented by others, in the first phase of our work.

Secondly, technology and science should be nationally adapted. We should not take all the innovations of technology and science and employ them as they are. We should adapt them, or some of them, to suit our goals and our obtaining political, social and economic conditions.

NATIONAL OBJECTIVES

Thirdly, how to industrialize in our own way and in conformity with our national objectives and our pan-Arab aspirations. It is wrong to imagine that whatever we can buy should not be included in our industrialization plans or that whatever we need to employ should be included in the industrialization field. Another highly erroneous thought is that mere calculation of our financial capabilities and the quantity and quality of the available manpower provide us with the requirements of arriving at the correct decision when choosing the field and kind of the feasible industry.

The Vice-Chairman stressed that such calculations were inadequate and reflect an incorrect technical and economic understanding of the issue. To embark on industrialization with such wrong understanding leads us into the trap of the first central point previously referred to, that is, distracting us into limiting fields instead of going into the vital spheres leading to the transformation of our society and to making our objectives attainable in the interest of our domestic and national aspirations.

Mr. Hussein added: Out of a study of these conceptions, we should avoid accepting the failure of other countries in certain industrial fields as a law fit for application anywhere, and therefore, refrain from embarking on the industries in which other states have failed. (This should not imply dismissing the need to study and scrutinize the reasons behind the failure of those states). The states that failed in some industries might be technologically more advanced than ourselves. Still the suitability of the scientific and technological step from the national and pan-Arab point of view is a vital and decisive factor in our thinking.

Mr. Saddam Hussein elaborated: We have to take into account that the failure of England, France or others in certain industrial fields is viewed, in the first place, on a commercial basis. This is because such countries do not handle those industries themselves. The companies are primarily taking up the task and these companies seek profit and they take into consideration competition with products of similar specification serving the same need. When a British company finds out that any type of its products is unable to compete with a similar

Japanese product in the open market, it gives it up; and, from a purely commercial angle, such a step is legitimate.

Such a concept is not suitable as a law for us; to enter into an industry because we cannot currently purchase its products in the open market or not to enter into industry as its products are available in the open market is not a suitable guiding rule for us.

BEGIN AND THEN ADVANCE

Mr. Saddam Hussein warned: As I see it, as the time passes by, there is going to be a sort of understanding among the major industrialized states, or they are going to reach an agreement for monopolizing some specific type of industries that keep them in the position of the master, with other states having the position of the receiver, if not the subordinate, for a long period.

Referring to the dialectical relation between the preparation of cadres and the start of the accurate and successful step, the RCC Vice-Chairman said: We should not think that we should not take the specified step before providing all that is needed for it according to the concepts and standards of the advanced countries. Such an attitude is wrong and therefore, should not be followed. We should rather start the required step in the field of science and technology in the light of the availability of pre-

requisites coping with our potentialities, as the beginning — and the experience drawn from the beginning will provide us with additional potentialities in the form of trained cadres, gained experience and other pre-requisites.

Accordingly, the relation is dialectical between the step at the place and time, on the one hand, and ensuring the availability of cadres, on the other; between the start and the preparation of better cadres. Those who wait until they have all the standardized pre-requisites adopted by advanced states, to enable them to carry out the required job, are unable to make high standard innovation. The start of any such work at a place and a time should be defined within the central considerations we have just referred to.

UNPRODUCTIVE EXPENDITURES

The RCC Vice-Chairman then discussed a third point in this direction which we should take into account, being a country just entering into the field of industry: He said: We have to accept the so-called unproductive expenditures, in terms of direct and commercial calculation or in terms of inadequate economic calculations isolated from the central concept, and quite for a long time, to enable us gain the necessary expertise in the fields we enter, so that there will be no unproductive expenditures in terms of direct economic and commercial calculations.

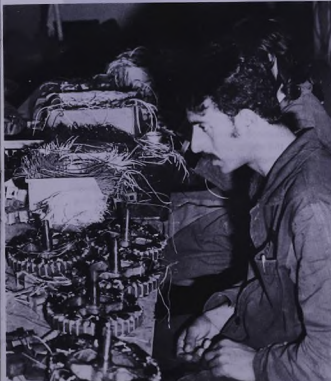
Mr. Saddam Hussein added: Thus we have to accept the idea of unproductive expenditure, the spending of which is linked with the genuine central concept that we have to realize in the form of gaining experience in a certain field. Accordingly, the illusion that we cannot reach a certain field as has happened in some developed states should not govern our moves in handling science and technology, including industrialization. Yet, we have to study and probe into all fields in which the industrialized states have failed or succeeded. We need to carefully study the reasons behind the failure.

When we take Iraq and its surroundings and start to debate certain links concerning arms industries and military supplies we might ask ourselves: in manufacturing our arms, can we go to the limit where we can cover all our needs? To answer such a query correctly, we have to take into consideration a basic central fact that the enemy or antagonistic states will, presently and for quite a long time in the future, remain to be allies or friends of the United States. Therefore, the central links in the chain of our arms requirements should be matching with the envisaged central links of the development of military science and technology in the U.S.

Herefrom, we are unable, within such a time to manufacture all the needs of our army and do without being linked in certain points, with the states that are considered as the main arms source of our armed forces. This is because the states that fight us as a living reality now or as a possibility in the foreseeable future, are those states which are friends or allies of America, fighting in our region on behalf of America.

Therefore, the basic arms links should be of a standard capable of coping with this probability and such a level can only be attained through the path just referred to. But does this mean that we should remain with folded hands in terms of lost or other expenditure involved in the field of military industries? The reply is no, despite the fact that the countries furnishing us with arms are friendly.

Mr. Saddam Hussein concluded: As the limits of our ideas and objectives are not confined within Iraq but extend to cover all the Arab homeland, we have to qualify in arms industrialization in a manner befitting this vision and its pre-requisites — which might agree or disagree, in all or some aspects, with the strategy of the states that constitute the source of arms in a certain time or place.



The International Conference on Economic Cooperation of industrialised and developing nations ended its second Paris deliberations on June 3. The conference did not achieve any tangible results because of the intransigence of developed countries. The first conference, held in Paris in December, 1975, also witnessed similar uncompromising attitude of the industrialised countries with regard to the demands of the developing nations. It was expected at that time that the industrially advanced nations would see reason and revise their stand. It appeared now that that expectation was unfounded and trust in their wisdom misplaced.

Cooperation or Confrontation?

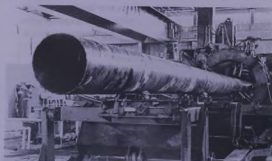


Covetous imperialist eyes on oil

It may be recalled that the International Conference on Economic Cooperation was arranged in pursuance of the call by the 6th and 7th special sessions of the UN General Assembly which felt the dire need for bringing about a new international economic order based on justice to the hitherto exploited raw material producing countries of the world. The United Nations had to issue the call in view of two grave developments of world-wide significance: The deepening of crisis in the capitalist system of economy and the growing awareness among the exploited developing countries to strive for survival. The situation revealed that the existing economic order, based on preserving the privileged position of the industrially developed cap-

italist countries, was no longer capable of maintaining the world economic advancement. The industrialised capitalist countries, on their part, cried for what they called the restoration of world economic equilibrium. As a matter of fact, this so-called equilibrium never existed in the world economic system which witnessed violent periodic upheavals resulting from the inherent contradictions in the system itself. Nevertheless, an honest attempt was made by the victims of these upheavals — the developing countries — to save the situation by introducing a new international economic order to replace the existing one which proved to be incompatible with the demands of the time.

The crisis assumed alarming proportions in the early seventies when prices of manufactured goods and technical know-how which the indus-



How about transfer of technology?

trially advanced countries export, went skyhigh. And, at the same time, the price of primary produce on which depends the economy of developing countries registered a sharp fall. As a result the balance of payments position became grossly unfavourable to the raw material exporting countries and the purchasing power of these raw materials diminished. The gap between the developed and developing countries widened further.

The industrialised countries laid the blame on the oil exporting countries who adjusted the prices of crude oil to the rising prices of manufactured goods only in late 1973. But, the prices of manufactured goods had already started registering

steep rise since 1972. Besides, the impact of increased price of oil on the gross income of industrialised countries amounted to only 2 per cent, according to the estimates of these countries. On the other hand, the developing countries were adversely affected by the dual pressure of declining export earnings and rising import spendings to the extent of 24 per cent. (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 manufactured goods, during the same period, leapt upward by 7 per cent.) The situation became really desperate in view of the fact that the export earnings of raw materials account for nearly 90 per cent of national income of most developing countries.

Against this background the 6th special session of the UN General Assembly, held in April, 1974, expressed grave concern at the ever increasing balance of payments difficulties of the developing countries. 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. A year after the 7th special session of the General Assembly took steps for the implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action, and in pursuance of those steps the International Conference on Economic Cooperation was held in Paris in December, 1975. The conference was attended by 19 member-states of the UN representing the industrially advanced capitalist countries, such as the United States, Canada, EEC and Japan, major oil exporting countries like Venezuela, Saudi Arabia and Iran, and developing nations, India, Iraq and Yugoslavia were among the representatives of the developing countries.

The representatives of developed nations adopted a very helpful attitude in the conference and termed the demands of the raw material exporting countries as unrealistic slogans. Behind such insinuations they were actually trying to maintain the economic status quo and block any measures to introduce a new economic order. They refused to alter the circumstances in which only in 1975, US \$ 16 thousand million flowed out of the developing countries only to fatten the coffers of developed nations through unjust terms of trade. This figure however did not include the enormous profit the multinational companies of industrialised countries made during that period by virtue of their

investment, management and control in respect of raw materials at the grower-country level. The developed nations also refused to take into account the fact that the balance of payments deficit of non-oil producing developing countries amounted to US \$ nine thousand million in 1973, 24 thousand million in 1974 and 45 thousand million in 1975. This steep rise in balance of payments deficit of developing countries resulted from the skyrocketing price of imports from and the ever dwindling price of exports to the industrialised nations. And for the same causes, the developing countries failed to service or repay their foreign debts which rose from US \$ 38.1 thousand million in 1965 to 150 thousand million in 1975. These figures testified to the cruel exploitation the developing countries had been subjected to. These figures also cried for urgent remedial measures.

The industrialised nations who were primarily responsible for bringing about the above dismal conditions, also tried to subvert the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), held in Nairobi, Kenya (May 5 to May 30, 1976). But the developing countries were able to frustrate the attempts of the industrialised countries and the UNCTAD — IV finally approved the Integrated Commodity Programme, drawn up earlier at Manila by the Third Ministerial level meeting of the "Group of 77". The Programme, *inter alia*, recommended the following:

- a. The establishment of a common fund for financing 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, zinc, 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 commitment by governments on commodities.
- e. The removal of trade barriers and other impediments to the expansion of commodity processing in developing countries.

The UNCTAD-IV also recommended the following:

- a. New indexation of prices of primary products based on linking the prices of raw materials to the industrial input cost of developing countries.

b. Writing off and/or rescheduling of debts of Third World countries.

c. Transfer to 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.

In addition to its decisions on the Commodity Programme, the UNCTAD-IV

a. called for expansion of exports of manufactures of developing countries by methods including duty free entry of such products into developed countries as well as adaptation of the generalised system of preferences so as to respond to developing countries' needs;

b. asked developing 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 to 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.

These reasonable recommendations of UNCTAD-IV were expected to be favourably considered by the industrialised countries. But, the outcome of the second Paris session of the International Conference on Economic Cooperation did not justify that expectation. These countries seemed to be on war path; they would not allow the two-thirds of the world population who inhabit the developing countries, to make a dent into their well protected economic domain. They went to the extent of forming an international cartel on state-level. As a matter of fact, that was precisely what they did at the recently (May 8) concluded seven-nation

London Summit. The heads of States or governments of the industrially advanced countries including USA, Canada, West Germany, France, Japan and U.K. drew up their plan of action to confront the developing and oil exporting countries at Paris. Little wonder that these world leaders, who were essentially the representatives of international monopoly capital, did not find enough time to consider the burning issues raised by the 154-Nation UNCTAD-IV. Instead, they came out with what was placed before the Paris Economic Cooperation Conference — an ultimatum to the oil exporting countries to place their all-important exportable commodity at the service and mercy of developed nations. The industrialised countries refused to protect the purchasing power of oil export earnings by linking the price of their industrial manufactures to the price of oil. They instead, asked for guaranteed supply of energy at their price and for that purpose they insisted on appointing an energy advisory council. This meant that the oil exporting countries would have to part with their sovereign right to control and administer their own national wealth. At the same time these developed countries did not like to link energy supply and price with the supply and price of technology and industrial manufactures.

As a matter of fact the industrially developed countries were trying to subvert the effectiveness of OPEC — the only collective organisation of the raw material exporting countries — so as to be able to break the backbone of other exporters of primary products and foil the UN initiative at introducing a new economic order based on justice and sovereign equality of nations, irrespective of their level of development.

On the question of implementing the Integrated Commodity Programme, the industrialised countries paid only lip service to the demands of the developing nations; they agreed to adopt some half-hearted measures in respect of common fund, commodity buffer stock and aid, but did not take any concrete steps in that regard. Instead, they sent the issues back to UNCTAD to talk about them in Geneva in November this year. The question of transfer of technology, rescheduling of debts and other substantial matters were not even seriously considered.

The question of introducing new international economic order, therefore, emerged from the Paris conference as a struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism.



Mr. Hashim Hassan

Mr. Hashim Hassan, chief of the Autonomous Area Executive Council, in his press conference held in Erbil on May 26 last, reviewed the progress with regard to the implementation of the 1977 Investment Programme of the Autonomous Area. He illustrated with facts and figures to the representatives of the home and foreign newspapers and news agencies how the Kurdish area is being developed after gaining autonomy in March, 1974.

Mr. Hassan said that the government had, over the past three years since the promulgation of the Autonomy law, allocated large funds for the area. He asserted:

"The Revolution did not deny the area anything possible that helps develop its industrial, agricultural and educational sectors. The very special attention paid by the Revolution to the area was not confined to these sectors only; it also covered the social aspects. This was well demonstrated in the progressive laws and regulations which have been enacted mainly to bring about an extensive and rapid development in the area and to deliver it from the situation of backwardness in which it lived for years in the

All-out Development of Autonomous Area

past under the rule of pro-imperialist regimes. The radical Agrarian Reform Law No. 90 of 1975 deserves special mention in this respect."

Mr. Hassan also pointed out that "we have achieved full employment in the area. Furthermore, our Kurdish brothers who were out of the country, have now been rehabilitated to their former places".

Mr. Hassan read out a well-compiled lengthy report on this year's Investment Programme of the area. According to the report this year's investment programme amounted to ID. 618 million (2.1 billion US dollars). The rate of increase in this year's Investment Programme is 141.1 per cent compared with that of last year. The funds are allocated as follows:

(In thousands of dinars)	1976	1977
Agricultural sector	62253	144180
Industrial Sector	45200	90452
Transportation & Communication Sector	40386	163745
Buildings, services, education and higher education & scientific research sector	102262	181813
	250101	580190
Funds recently added to the new programme		37800
Total		617990

On the other hand the annual appropriations amounted to ID. 149 million (495 US million dollars) approximately. These funds are distributed as follows:

(In thousands of dinars)	1976	1977
Agricultural sector	400	25828
Industrial sector	13465	24897
Transportation and Communications	8890	31825
Buildings, services, education and higher education and scientific research sector	44942	52028
Total	67697	134578
Funds recently added to the appropriations		14400
Net Total		148978

This means that the increase in the total costs of the 1977 Investment Programme amounted to ID. 330.089 million (1.12 billion US dollars) and the increase in the annual appropriations for the current year amounted to ID. 66.88 million (224.4 million US dollars).

With the increase of the above funds to the total costs and to the annual appropriations, the average growth of development in the area this year stands at 141 per cent, while the average growth of development in the whole country is estimated at 48.8 per cent. This, as Mr. Hassan put it, "represents the special care and attention the Revolution is paying to the area".

In the educational field, as in the other fields, the area achieved remarkable advancement. The following table shows the increase in the number of students in the three Governorates of the Autonomous Area:

		Sulaimaniya City		
School	Governorate	74/75	75/76	76/77
Kindergartens	Erbil	205	901	1330
	Sulaimaniyah	585	714	1254
	Dahok	117	323	533
		41977	57813	65963
Primary	Sulaimaniyah	27386	66958	80978
	Dahok	17235	28417	31871
Intermediate & Secondary		9548	15960	16843
		9154	14474	16285
Teachers Institutes			388	768
			378	322
		651	512	415
Female teachers Institutes			536	765
			424	525
		676	569	516
Agriculture		300	451	569
		281	339	370
Vocational schools		294	345	618
		292	437	957
		76	120	209
Commerce			121	358
		170	151	218
Religious Institutes				62
		122	67	86
			224	224
			42	51



Sulaimaniya City



A new factory under construction in Dahok

Beside that, the work is in progress in connexion with the illiteracy eradication campaigns. Many centres have been established in the area for combatting illiteracy and for teaching the adults.

In March last there was a general campaign known as "national campaign" organized in the area for constructing new roads linking the villages with districts and districts with towns etc. The entire government machinery including the army also took part in this campaign.

The area also witnessed great expansion in the medical services. Several dispensaries and outdoor clinics have been established in various parts. Very recently an overall medical survey was conducted when hundreds of thousands of Kurds underwent chest X-ray.

In the agricultural field 2747927 donums have been acquisitioned under the new Agrarian Reform Law and distributed to 90433 peasant families. Similarly 378



A modern village in the Autonomous Area

cooperative associations and 217 livestock projects have been established.

There are several projects for promoting the tourist services valuing over ID. 5 million. These are expected to be completed by July next.

It may be pointed out here that Mr. Saddam Hussein, the Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council (RCC), visited the area last year to see for himself the implementation of development projects and to hear the complaints, if any, of the local people.



Women-workers taking part in production

Basrah Paper Mill Meets 70 P.C. Domestic Demand

To visit the paper mill in Hartha — 20 kilometres from Basrah — is tantamount to gaining a glimpse of the future of Iraqi industry, for here is one of the largest and most up-to-date works in Iraq. Construction of the mill began in 1966 and by 1971 trial production was underway. Numerous problems had to be surmounted before production had reached a commercial level in 1973. Then in 1974, work commenced to enlarge the mill and forty million Iraqi dinars were earmarked for this project, thus bringing the total capital to sixty-five million dinars.

The mill's position overlooking both Shatt-al-Arab river and the Basrah-Baghdad road had been chosen with great care as the cargoes of reeds brought over from the nearby marshes region could be transported to the mill in barges, while the finished goods could be carried to the capital or to the Basrah harbour over a direct route.

Raw Materials

Reeds, the mainstay of the Iraqi industry, grow in abundance in the marshes and the mill has therefore created welcome jobs to the inhabitants of that area by employing them in the cutting

and transportation of reeds. Another raw material that can be used in the manufacture of paper is the frond (palm-tree branch) but so far no economical way has been found to gather frond on a large scale. While full mechanization is used in the cutting and gathering of reeds, fronds can only be cut off by hand — a process which renders their gathering uneconomical.

The mill uses up to 50,000 tons of reeds a year, as well as up to 10,000 tons of bagasse a year. Bagasse is the material left over from sugar cane stalks after extracting its juice. The juice is transported to the sugar mill in

Maisan to be used in the sugar industry there. The mill also imports wood pulp both unbleached and bleached.

In addition, the mill receives waste paper from all over the country and this is utilized in the production of boardline. Since the mill required around 3000 tons of waste paper annually, it has es-

tablished a gathering and pressing centre for waste paper.

The fourth raw material required by the mill is limestone and 12,000 tons a year are used up when the mill is working at maximum capacity.

Production

The old section of the mill produces around 40,800 tons a year

— 24,800 tons of paper and 16,500 tons of boardline. This includes all the kinds of paper in common use: writing and printing paper, paper bags, duplex, common board, asphalt board, kraft and liner, Ronéo and drawing paper, offset paper, manilla envelopes, coloured paper, envelopes in general, toilet paper, waxed paper, cardboard boxes, exercise books etc.

At present the mill satisfies 70 per cent of the country's requirements in paper and plans are now under way to increase its production capacity.

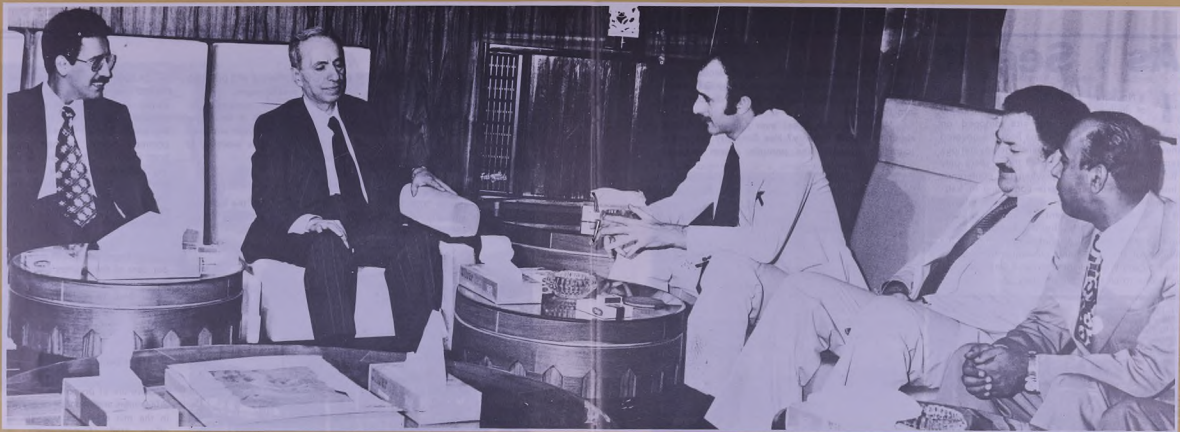
The men behind the machines

There are at present more than 2,000 men and women employed in the mill either as workers or office staff. Consequently, a whole township has sprung in Hartha — modern and with all the amenities of an up-to-date urban centre. The state company has built 320 houses for the workers and 145 houses for the administrative staff. 77 other houses are now under construction. The small town contains a school, a kindergarten, two clubs and a swimming pool. A co-operative supermarket has also been opened.

The worker in the mill enjoys the same benefits enjoyed by other workers throughout Iraq. And the working conditions are ideal: there is full airconditioning in the mill. As for safety measures, there is a fire brigade on a constant 24 hour alert.

The paper industry in Iraq is forging with full momentum ahead.



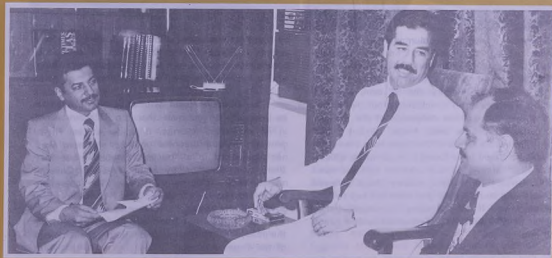


Mr. Waleed Junblatt, head of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party, holding talks with the founding Secretary General of the ABSP National Leadership, Mr. Michel Aflaq, in Baghdad on June 2.

NEWS IN PICTURES



Mr. Shibly al-Ayssami, Assit. Secretary General of The ABSP National Leadership, receiving Young Vanguards of Baghdad on June 1.



Mr. Saddam Hussein, Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council (RCC), visiting the Ministry of Oil on June 1. Mr. Hassan Ali, Minister of Internal Trade (right) and Mr. Adnan Hussein, Minister of Planning are listening to the Vice Chairman's instructions.

As I See It

F. el-Manssoury

In November 1968 a ship carrying 200 tons of nuclear material, (enough to make 30 atomic bombs of the size dropped on Hiroshima) and flying the Panama flag, disappeared somewhere in the Mediterranean. The mysterious disappearance was hushed up all these years only to hit the headlines recently when the conference of international nuclear experts convening in Salzburg admitted that there was an unexplained "loss". Since the movement of uranium is supposedly tightly controlled by the European Community, the sensational disappearance attracted the attention of the press and consequently leading British papers which dispatched so-called investigation teams to clear-up the mystery.



The ship's route

Devoting five long columns to the affair, Sunday Times published its findings recently wherein it was mentioned that while Euratom officials were inclined to think that the uranium went to "Israel", Tony Geraghty, the ST man, was not so sure. There was no conclusive proof, he wrote, adding that the ultimate recipients of the dangerous cargo could have been Arabs. He put it this way: "The wilder spirits of the Palestinian Liberation Movement would have found it much more difficult (than did 'Israel') to buy uranium (on the open world market) and might, naively, have believed that uranium alone would give them the key to nuclear blackmail. If so (Geraghty continued) they appear to have burdened themselves with a canon ball and no gun".

As I see it, this is a very lame conclusion, for if the wilder spirits of the PLO were behind the operation, why was it hushed up all these years?

Why, did a senior official of Euratom declare back in 1972 (and his words were quoted by Geraghty) that the inquiry into the mystery was 'disappearing into the sand'?

When has the West ever been tight-lipped about Palestinian activity? Has Geraghty, himself a journalist, forgotten the periodic scares initiated



The ship which carried the uranium

by the Western media about forthcoming terrorist activity in Europe? Or is the spectre of 30 atomic bombs less ominous than that of aircraft hijacking or the hurling of a few hand grenades?

The Observer team of investigation proves to be less wild off the mark than the ST team when, in its published findings, it boldly states: "It is generally agreed that the uranium shipment was not hijacked in a 'nuclear Entebbe', but that there was collusion by some Western Governments and intelligence agencies. The operation was made easier by the EEC's complex rules governing the movement of nuclear fuels".

As I see it, the record is now set straight on the affair; for "Israel" was undoubtedly the recipient of the illegal shipment.

The Observer proved to be less discerning elsewhere in the same issue. In an article entitled "Arab

Kills Arab in New West Bank Rioting' by the paper's correspondent in Tel Aviv, an Israeli named Eric Silver, we come across a classic example of biased reporting, with phrases like "the Israelis are not the world's most oppressive rulers" (meaning what?) and... 'to the Arabs, Rabbi Meir Kahane (of Jewish Defence League notoriety) is a convenient demon, a pretext for taking to the streets', etc. which is tantamount to saying that, had Mr. Kahane elected to stay in Brooklyn, the Arabs would have remained as meek as lambs under Zionist occupation.

As a result of this tone, the reader is hardly surprised to find that, contrary to the title of the story, not one case of Arab killing Arab is cited throughout the length of the article.

There is an interesting article in Sunday Telegraph entitled "Israel's Muck-Racking Election" by Christopher Dobson, the paper's man in Tel Aviv. Spread on eight columns, the article informs us that 'Israel has never been so unsure of itself. This nation which started out with such high ideals and much bright promise, has temporarily at least, lost its way. The path is uncertain and its leaders are stumbling. It seems as if they were leading their people back into wilderness rather than to the land of milk and honey'.

Mr. Dobson draws a gloomy picture of a country going downhill, but it is interesting to note that even when the western media write about the decline of the Zionist entity, this is contrasted with 'Israel's' high ideals of yesteryear. Pray, what high ideals? Deir Yassin? The assassination of Count Bernadotte? Qibiya? Qigilia? When did the Zionists ever have high ideals?

Mr. Yehudi Menuhin, the world-famous violinist, has just published his autobiography, "Unfinished Journey". In it we learn that Mr. Menuhin sees 'no future in keeping war wounds open'. He mentions this commendable attitude in reference to the restalhe he gave in Germany back in 1947, a date which seemed to be indelicately hasty to some quarters, owing to what the Jews had suffered under Hitler. Mr. Menuhin describes the riots instigated against him by someone calling himself "Jonas of Lemberg", a former concentration camp inmate, and it is clear from Mr. Menuhin's narrative that this Jonas was acting on the orders of certain quarters that bitterly resented Menuhin's principle about not wanting to keep war wounds open. Understandably, Mr. Menuhin is not very explicit about naming these quarters, but what really surprises the reader is the discrepancy in

attitude, the difference between a declared principle and the actual fact. As the reader studies one of the illustrations in the book showing Yehudi with his pianist sister Hephzibah, (and it is a recent photo) he sees behind them on the wall a photograph of a Nazi round-up of Jews inside the Warsaw ghetto.

Can there be a more excellent way of keeping war wounds open?



Yehudi and Hephzibah (note the photograph on the wall)

In his autobiography, Mr. Menuhin has nothing but warm praise for his parents. Nowhere, however, does he mention the fact that his father is a famous personality in his own right.

Mr. Moshe Menuhin, who had emigrated to Palestine from Russia earlier in this century, was one of the first people to publicly express his disillusionment with Zionism. He left Palestine for the United States where he became a militant anti-Zionist. His strong views were put in a huge book which no American publisher was willing to publish. However "Decadence of Judaism in our time" was finally published outside the United States, becoming a classic of anti-Zionist literature. As Mr. Yehudi Menuhin glosses over all this we only wish that he, a great musician, will one day overcome his fear and prejudice to become a great human being.

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Iraq Today
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Editor - in - chief



Towards self-sufficiency in food production

The rise in the standard of living and per capita income in Iraq over the past seven years as a result of the socio-economic and cultural development, has naturally led to an increase in food consumption. The value of imported foodstuffs in 1974 amounted to \$114.8 million compared to \$1.6 million in 1972. Of course the rise in the international price of wheat had a great impact on the country's imports and a heavy drain on the budget. The same could be said about some other raw materials.

It is generally accepted that the development of agriculture can be achieved only by executing the necessary prerequisites, i.e. the construction of dams, reservoirs, irrigation and drainage networks, and the provision of adequate fertilizers, etc. To boost this vital sector, Iraq is building some twelve major projects which will irrigate, after completion in 1980, additional 12 million donoms (donum = 2500 sq.m.).

Kirkuk irrigation project, for example, will irrigate 450,500 donoms in the coming five years;

this area will increase to 1.5 million in 1978.

The other factor which could play a significant role in foodstuff production increase is the type of land ownership. Despite the fact that the present ownership represents an advanced type compared with the old feudal-capitalist types, it is still behind expectation. In order to enhance and expand the three features of the socialist sector (state farms, collective farms and cooperatives), socialist orientation of the farmers is a must.

All indicators show that the agricultural cooperative movement in the country is keeping pace with the socio-economic transformations currently being brought about in the countryside effecting a qualitative production leap forward. In 1968 the number of cooperatives was only 443 comprising 6037 members; but in 1976 it reached 1721 cooperatives of various types comprising 267720 farmers working in an area of 18.3 million donoms. The cooperatives activities are confined to marketing, guidance, supply of means of production, such

as water pumps, tractors, transport vehicles and other agricultural machinery and implements.

State farms are now considered the major feature of the socialist sector in the agricultural field. In 1975 the government enacted the State Farm Organisation Law proceeding from the conviction that this sector can play a leading and effective role in developing agricultural production, improving labour and administrative system, and applying scientific and modern mechanisation, and the relationship between the interests of workers and the requirements of production was also established by the law.

Moreover, the newly established organisation aims at drawing up agricultural programmes for the utilisation of its land in co-ordination with the national economic need and within the framework of the national development plans. Also to promote agricultural resources by reclaiming, operating, maintaining and expanding irrigation and drainage networks and training and preparing the necessary cadres for farms administration. It is worth mentioning that during one year only eight state farms were affiliated to the organisation the total area of which is 277,132 donoms where an assortment of crops like wheat, maize, potato, clover, soya beans, sugar beet, etc. were cultivated.

Iraq at present is adopting and applying a comprehensive plan to diversify, improve and increase food production through the development and enhancement of the existing socio-productive relationship to achieve an advanced socialist type.

It is expected that in five years time domestic demand of raw material and foodstuffs will be met in addition to contributing to the requirements of other Arab and Third World countries.

K.B.

by Mick Ashby

FREE FORUM

A Question of Priorities

The current international search for a solution to the Arab-Zionist conflict in the Middle East appears to be giving a higher priority to a so-called peaceful settlement than to the requirements of justice for the Palestinians. It is imperative, therefore, if a just peace is to be achieved, that the basic issues are projected into the centre of the discussions, so making clear the only possible basis for a lasting peace. It will require that words be used more accurately, for time and skilful Zionist propaganda have blurred the distinction between aggressor and the aggrieved.



By white terror the Zionists rule Palestine

making possible the present suggestion in some quarters that a solution must be fair to both parties, so making the need to give priority to the victims of Zionist racism.

The immediate result from this false premise has been the shelving of the Palestinian right to return home, with the return of about 17% of their land to them being offered as a possible concession by the Zionists. But even as this attempt to legalise the Zionist occupation of most of Palestine continues, the building of Zionist settlements in the 1967 occupied areas is not halted, making possible their annexation of all Palestine. There is a need then to make it quite clear that the return of the Palestinian exiles to their homeland and the restitution of their rights is a legal requirement and should not be considered as a possible charitable concession from "Israel". The present emphasis on peace rather than justice underlines this need because a Palestinian rejection of a partial and unjust solution to the conflict could result in an attempt to portray them as an obstacle to peace instead of the victims of aggression.

The continuing reports of American support for peace proposals, which include buffer zones under international supervision, make urgent the need to define more clearly the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. The United Nations has on many occasions affirmed the right of the Palestinian exiles to return home, without, of course, doing anything to implement this right. But time and the inaction of the United Nations do not cancel it. There is now a danger, however, with the current proposals for "secure borders", that the offer of a mini-state in Palestine for the Palestinians will be used to bypass their right to return home to any part of Palestine. The practical result of this could be that a racist "Israel", still denying the right of return to the Palestinians, could find itself protected by an international force in a buffer zone. This sort of peace could result in the Palestinians being labelled the aggressors if they continued their fight to return home, and "Israel" free to practise its racist policy under United Nation protection. This is a complete contrast to the relative position of Rhodesia in Africa, where the neighbouring black states provide facilities for the freedom fighters and pressure is exerted on the white racists and not their victims.

These manoeuvres to rescue a racist "Israel" come at a time of her growing weakness and the Arab world's increasing strength. The massive military aid from America camouflages the increasing internal problems and the resultant disenchantment of many of the settlers, who find an answer by joining the thousands leaving the racist state. In contrast, the 1973 October War proved that the Arab world could puncture the myth of "Israel's" invincibility, and time and growing economic strength allied to resolution could enable the Arabs to restore justice to Palestine and her Arab neighbours.

It is said that America is the only Western country which is in a position to persuade "Israel" to moderate her policies. Presumably this means stealing less Arab land and conceding some minor rights to the Palestinians. But the events during and following the 1973 October War, when the Arab armies fought so valiantly and the oil embargo threatened the balance of power, proved that the world took more heed of the Arab case when Arab muscles were flexed. It was then that "Israel's"

survival became less important to the Western countries than their own needs. American foreign policy is based on her interests and "Israel" would be discarded (or at least assume less importance) in the face of a clear Arab resolution that justice must be seen to be done. In the present confused situation American interest in a so-called peaceful solution to the Arab-Zionist conflict is based more on rescuing "Israel" from the consequences of her racism and expansionism than achieving justice for the Palestinians. It is essential therefore that America should learn that the only genuine rescue operation that can secure a real peace for the "Israeli" Jews is the one that frees both Jew and Arab from Zionism, which in turn would enable them to begin the rewarding task of building a democratic Palestine freed from racism.

A short term view of the struggle against Zionism can result only in a compromise which

would leave its heart intact. It took more than fifty years from the time Theodor Herzl proclaimed the Zionist intention to rob the Palestinians of their homeland until this aggression was completed. The world needs to learn that an equal commitment to the noble intention of reversing this injustice will be displayed not only by the Palestinians, who have already fought so hard and suffered so much, but also by those who support this legitimate fight for human rights. A continuing propaganda campaign needs to be mounted so that no one can claim ignorance of the rights of the Palestinians as their excuse for inaction.

The Christian Holy Bible quotes Jesus Christ as saying when he was crucified: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." History may not be so generous to those who knew of the Zionist infamy committed against the Palestinians yet chose to remain silent.



Carter: bombastic slogans

Begin: terrorist No. 1

The U.S. Double Standard

To pinpoint the nature, or rather the true motto, of President Carter's administration after four months of his tenure and the bombastic slogans raised so far, from defending human rights and combatting terrorism to attaining "strong" and durable world peace, has come to be quite an easy job for political analysts. To cite one example, the State Department has recently issued a statement in answer to a query by Senator Jacob Javits, chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a dedicated Zionist figure, in which it accused Iraq and particular Arab countries of encouraging "terrorism and international terrorists" because they supported resistance organisations and liberation movements and in refusing to conduct a dialogue with "Israel" for a "peaceful" settlement of the Middle East crisis. Few days after the issuance of this statement, the White House warmly welcomed the victory of Menachem Begin in the "Israeli" elections and relished the idea of an eventual Carter-Begin meeting. What an irony!

The international press, and the U.S. news media for one, had branded Begin as one of the most outrageous criminals in the world, an inveterate terrorist who was responsible for the most ugly crimes committed against the Palestinian Arabs during the usurpation of Palestine in the late forties. He masterminded the massacre of hundreds of people in Die Yassin in Palestine and the assassination of the U.N. mediator Count Bernadotte. Begin had surely won for himself the name "terrorist No. 1". He himself admitted such acts in his verbal and written statements. Today we find the advocate of human rights looking forward to shaking the hand which is still dripping with human blood. Doesn't this sound rather ironical to any layman? To political observers, this U.S. stand is not surprising at all. Looking at it from the point of view of imperialists, their nature and organic alliance with Zionism, such a policy seems to be the brainchild of those who considered the atrocities committed in Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Palestine and elsewhere a "moral" mission in defence of humanity and human rights!

With such an irony, all U.S. claims and vaunting of defending human rights and denouncing terrorism sound ridiculous unless it comes forward with a swift face-saving statement before meeting one of the most dangerous enemies of humanity; otherwise, the "in defence of human rights" currency does not sell any more.

No two persons disagree, after carefully scrutinising this U.S. dilemma, that any peaceful settlement of the so-called Middle East crisis cannot be dish out by an international terrorist and his guardian. Those who still believe in the U.S. competence in reaching a "settlement" should expect the kind of "peace" the U.S. wants for them!

by Kamal Butti

Hatra—A Moment in Eternity

A visit to the city of the Sun God

On a clear day in the desert a man can see forever. Thus we catch a glimpse of the Golden Temples in the distance a few minutes after leaving the Baghdad-Mosul road. Turning left at kilometre 316 we follow the zigzag road that will end after 26 kilometres at the ancient city of Hatra. Hatra — this fabled city rising in the desert!

In the distance the towering ruins seem like mirage, for, amidst the shimmering desert, the scene is enveloped in a dreamlike atmosphere. Why should anyone want to build a city in the middle of the desert?

But then we remember that this is not the only desert city the ancient Arabs built; Palmyra springs to mind. Palmyra and Hatra! Twin cities that evoke similar visions. Both were built of solid rock in the middle of the desert; both employed a Greco-Roman style of architecture and yet these cities had a distinctive style in sculpture. Their ancient Arab artists were not averse to representing their kings and queens in naturalistic garb that was so different from the stylized school of the ancient Greeks and Romans with their godlike figure.

Who built Hatra?

The answer to this question is easy enough; the ancient Arabs. Ever since the decline of the Assyrian empire in the

seventh century B.C. Arab tribes from the peninsula had settled in the Jezira. Speaking an Arabic dialect, they employed Aramaic script in their writing. They were a highly civilized as well as a warlike people. Their small kingdom was a kind of buffer state lying between the two super powers of that era: the Roman Empire and the Sassanid kingdom. The Hatrans derived their wealth from the position of their city as it lay astride the trade route between east and west. But this strategic position proved to be their undoing at the end, for it brought them the covetous desires of their mighty neighbours who were out to grab the treasures of their golden city.

We still do not know much about the history of Hatra, but we do know from the chronicles of Dion Cassius that Trajan, the Roman emperor laid siege to Hatra in 117 A.D. This siege was unsuccessful. By 363 A.D. however, the city had long ceased to exist as a populated area. We learn this from the account left by Ammianus Marcellinus, who had accompanied the emperor Julian in his campaign against the Persians. Consequently, the historian has to rely on the archaeological in trying to unravel the mysteries of Hatra. Around 300 Aramaic inscriptions have survived, as well as one transcription in Greek and three in Latin, but most of them are votive inscriptions and invocations — they

don't tell us much about the history of the city. However, by arranging the little information we have in a jigsaw-puzzle-sort-of-way, we find that the history of Hatra falls chiefly into three stages.

Water attracts Bedouins

The area in which Hatra was built, was and remains a place where water is plentiful — a fact which accounts for the rich grazing grounds still used by the bedouin of this part of the desert. Its rich pastures had encouraged the roaming Arab tribes to settle down and to build a gleaming town of solid rock. Like several cities of that age, Hatra was a round city. And as a desert city lying astride the caravan routes, it no doubt had great religious importance for the traders. The most ancient temple found in Hatra is a Hellenistic structure dating back to the Seleucid period. Beginning as a client state of the Parthian empire, Hatra was first governed by Shaikhs (RABBE) who were responsible for the temples. In the first century of the Christian era however, the city passed into its second stage: it was now ruled by political leaders addressed as "Marya" which means "my lord".

By the second century, Hatra had developed into a monarchy. King Sanatruq built the sanctuary of the sun, the northern wall of the temple and colonnades. Hatra was growing in vigour.

Siege after siege

In 198 A.D., Hatra experienced its second great siege, when the Roman Septimius Severus tried to take it. The Hatrans fought fiercely, forcing the Romans to

retreat. Chroniclers record that the Hatrans were famed for their archers and their Greek fire — both of which they used with deadly effectiveness against the invaders. A second siege undertaken by Severus also met with failure and Hatra emerged victorious with its prestige greatly enhanced among the nations.

Ctesiphon's suzerainty over Hatra had become largely symbolic, as Hatra was now fully independent, its king taking on the title of "victorious". But all good things come to an end. On the 12th of April, 240 A.D. King Shapur, the Sassanid emperor stood outside the walls at the head of a mighty army. Hatra had been the last city to resist him. The siege lasted almost a year, then the city surrendered. Its wealth was plundered and its people were sold into slavery. Archaeologists have found numerous statues that were only partially completed — their sculptors had been forced to abandon them as their city fell. Such was the tragic end of the city of the sun.

Lying in ruins, Hatra was no longer an important station astride the trade route, now caravans bypassed it — it was a dead city. By the time Ammianus Marcellinus passed by it in 363 A.D., it had long ceased to exist.

In 1951 the city was resurrected, for in that year, an Iraqi archaeological team began the work of excavation.

It was the first Iraqi city to be excavated by an Iraqi team of archaeologists. Soon, the splendours of the long dead city began to rise in the sun, shedding the sands of the ages. The temples gleamed once more.

Then the arduous task of the restoration began.

The resident archaeologist, Mr. Mohammed Subhi, a reasonable young man, tells us that the whole accent now is on restoration. What is the good of digging up for more ruins if those already dug up are left to the mercy of the elements? Consequently, the pace of excavation has now slackened in favour of restora-



Khidr Ayoub

tion. Thus, the long-fallen arch of the trinity temple is now being restored to its former position. A sixty-one year old worker named Khidr Ayoub has emerged as a first class stone cutter. Stones under his expert hand are embellished once more with the ancient Hatran carvings. Could he be a direct descendant of the Hatrans? We wonder. After all, this kind of craft has been dead in Iraq for so many centuries.

Hatra is at present drawing many thousands of visitors a year. Many of them are foreign tourists. There is a kind of fascination inherent in desert cities.

Hatra is like a moment in eternity in this living desert where everything is the colour of gold.



As I gaze at one of the temples through my viewfinder, I see an old man dressed in traditional Arab dress within the frame. I click the shutter to preserve a scene that has probably remained unchanged through the centuries.

As we drive away, I turn to look at the golden temple receding in the distance. The resident archaeologist had already told me that the work to restore the whole city may take centuries.

I wish I could be there when the whole of Hatra, the Golden city of the Sun, has been resurrected.

F. M.

A Study of Hatran Architecture

Majid A. Shams

Hatra buildings, of the early pre-Islamic Arab period in Iraq, are of great importance to the study of architectural development of the post-neo-Babylonian period.

In Hatran times (2nd century B.C. — 3rd century A.D.) many new architectural elements were used and a wider variety of techniques practised. Vaults and big 'iwans' (big halls open right down on side) were constructed; new decorations were carved in stone; and free standing and attached columns were much widely used.

Excavations in Hatra revealed a number of architectural models. These models exhibit architectural elements in a conjectural style in their final stage.

One of the above mentioned architectural models (fig. 1) consists of four pilasters. On its capitals runs an architrave. In front of two pilasters can be seen two men standing, whereas the two pilasters to the left and to the right carry semi-circular arches lined with a simple moulding along two sides. There are no arches in the front part of the model or in the rear part. On the inside there is a roughly-cut vault.

The second model (fig. 2) is cut to represent an 'iwan' lined with two attached columns and

crowned with a conical dome. Such a type of roofing goes back to the Halef period (6500-6000 years ago) which can be found in Syria. It seems that this type of houses, known as tholus type, did not continue to exist in Iraq, but remains up to our time in

North Syria. The Assyrian King Sennacherib (705-682 B.C.) depicted such a type in his palace at Nineveh (fig. 3) after a scene in North Syria. It is plausible to suggest that this model was brought from Syria by the Hatrans during their conflict



Fig. 3

Fig. 1

Fig. 4



with the Romans before Septimus Severus came to the throne (198-112 A.D.).

The third model (fig. 4 & 5) is more important than the other, for it is rich in decoration when compared with the previous example. It is square in section, formed by a big column in the middle and other small columns, three on each side, provided with capitals formed of a single row of acanthus also bearing a human face. The acanthus leaves were separated from the shaft by the representation of a rope. The decorations of the capital do not penetrate to the whole inside.

On some columns a standard of five circles is mounted with an eagle and called S.M.Y. This standard most probably represents heaven. Similar standards are also found as artistic representations at the Arab cities of Palmyra and Dura-Europus in Syria. In origin S.M.Y. or Semian can be traced to Assyrian times.

The big column is decorated with niches (mihabs) representing shells. In one of the niches stands an eagle which symbolizes the sun god.

On the top appear four acanthus leaves in the corners and a winged deity stands on a sphere between two leaves. The winged deity is holding a flame in the left hand and a circle with a feather.



Fig. 5



A mythical animal made of glazed bricks

Babylon of Nabuchadnezzar

The name of IRAQ is mainly associated in the mind of the outside world with two things: oil and antiquities. The second of these is the more long-standing, for scholars from the West made pilgrimage to Babylon and Nineveh long before the mineral wealth of the country had begun to interest industrialists.

In IRAQ the natural building material is brick which does not stand up to the passage of time so well. Yet the ruins of many brick buildings survive and others have been brought to light by excavators' pick.

The most prominent feature of these buildings is the great temple-tower or ziggurat. But the excavators had to work hard to expose the buildings which cluster round their base, and to recover their treasures.

Babylon itself before excavation was no more than a vast brick-field. The early years of the present century were mainly notable

by Sherif Yusuf



for the advent to the mesopotamian field of German archaeologists who improved their excavating technique during their work at Babylon and Ashur.

At Babylon in particular traces can be seen of their conscientious planning of important buildings. According to history the old Babylon of Hammurabi was, in 869 B.C., completely destroyed by the Assyrian king Sennacherib.

In 625 B.C. Babylon freed herself from her Assyrian oppressors, and revived her youth. The city attained such a material splendour and magnificence as she had not achieved during the course of her earlier history.

After his declaration of independence, Nabopolassar, the king of Babylon, put his newly organised army to test. He despatched a Babylonian force northwards along the Euphrates under the command of the crown prince Nabuchadnezzar to meet the Egyptian army. The Egyptians

were utterly routed and driven back through Palestine.

When the news reached Nabuchadnezzar of his father's death, he was obliged to return at once to Babylon in order to perform the necessary ceremonies for his accession to the throne.

Syria, Palestine and Judea paid tribute and allegiance to Babylon. Thus Nabuchadnezzar, by the skilful and vigorous prosecution of his campaigns, established the Neo-Babylonian Empire on a firm basis.

A mighty builder, Nabuchadnezzar was able to transform the city of Babylon. He greatly enlarged and entirely rebuilt his Royal Palace, and the course of his reconstructions raised its terraced platforms so high above the surrounding city and plain that its Hanging Gardens became one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world.

He rebuilt the old temples of Babylon and repaired the Proces-

sion Street of the city, spanning it between the temple of Ninmakh and his own palace with the famous Ishtar Gate. He adorned this gate with hundreds of bulls and dragons in relief.

During his long reign of forty-two years Nabuchadnezzar devoted his energies and the new wealth of his kingdom to this

work of rebuilding both in the capital and in the other ancient religious centres of Babylonia.

Never once had Nabuchadnezzar stopped seeking the glory of Babylon. He made her the mistress of the world. He had sacked Jerusalem and razed the Solomon's Temple to the ground. The pillars with brass capitals, the gold and silver vessels of

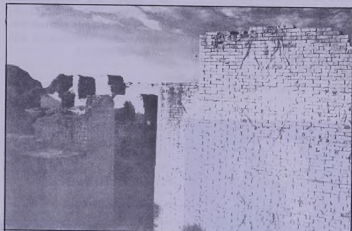
David and Solomon had been carried away for the worship of Marduk.

Nabuchadnezzar recorded almost everything he did in inscription on stone and brick, and in the writings which date from his later years, he asks simply: "Is this not great Babylon, which I have built for the glory of my majesty?"

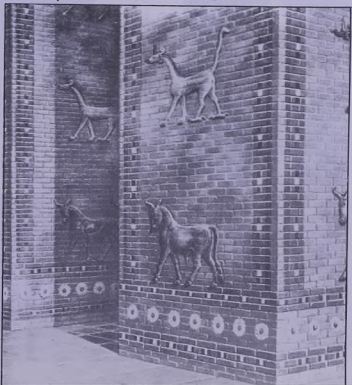
The Greek historian, Herodotus, in describing Babylon and its great ziggurat, says: "When one is above half way, he finds a resting-place and seats where persons can sit some time on their way to the summit. On the top-most tower there is a spacious temple and inside the temple stands a couch of unusual size, richly adorned with a golden table by its side. The couch was for the god himself to repose upon and a human bride was provided for him by the people."

Of this great tower almost nothing remains visible now. Its position is, curiously enough, marked by a deep depression in the ground. The beautiful glazed bricks, decorating Ishtar Gate, were removed by the Germans and reconstructed in the Berlin museum. The unglazed walls of this gate that stands now in Babylon were first built by Nabuchadnezzar; then he changed his mind and decided to raise the street level and rebuild the whole structure in glazed bricks using the existing walls as foundations.

As we climb to this level, north of Ishtar Gate, we see a great stone sculpture known as the Lion of Babylon. This roughly done and possibly unfinished sculpture most probably represents Babylon tramping on a fallen foe.



Walls of Ishtar's Gate built of glazed bricks



Iraqi Pianist in April Celebrations

The different musical events which were rendered as part of the national celebrations on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Arab Baath Socialist Party were concluded by the prominent Iraqi pianist, Miss Beatrice Ohanesian. She gave a unique reci-

pecially after her triumphal appearance with the National Orchestra at the start of the season, taking part in the world's celebration of Beethoven's sequicentennial of his death by playing the solo part in the composer's 4th Concerto. She must be very proud of herself in scoring yet

sisted solely of music of the 19th and 20th centuries. What an opening was Schubert's lovely Impromptu in A flat? Nicely done in pianistic terms, with clear duetting between right and left hands. There were considerable contrasts between the middle section, where she complemented her excellent Cantabile and the outer sections with aerated articulation, which breathed life into Schubert's tapestry.

A premiere was in store in Miss Ohanesian's last April recital, this time by a contemporary Egyptian composer, Gamal Abdul-Rahim (born 1925) his Variations (6) on an Egyptian Folk tune for piano. As a display of musical craftsmanship it worked quite well, in the best Austro-Hungarian nationalistic tradition. All the

music was good of its kind, its kind was varied and the playing of the Iraqi pianist was generally attractive and easy to listen to. She was helping the Egyptian composer to set an example for his Arab brother composers when dealing with the great forms of classical music.

It seemed that Schumann's Sonata No. 2 in G minor Op. 22 has a special appeal for Miss Ohanesian, as she had already played it in one of her successful recitals a few years ago (actually at the Khuld Hall) and once more she captured the admiration of her ever growing audience. This is one of Schumann's most controversial works. As, in spite of being written in the classical form, it is certainly in the romantic mood, one can notice the

sentimental and sheep poetry in the melodies and their constant developments. Thanks to the dedications, Schumann's wife, Clara, it became a recognised masterpiece, as she hadn't an easy time justifying its constant performances everywhere she appeared. I was glad to notice Miss Ohanesian's renewed experience with the work last April, her impressive playing of the first movement especially the fortissimo climaxes which proved it. In the second movement she sung admirably the lied-like melody; furthermore she succeeded in her rubati in the Scherzo, without diminishing the rhythm of its structure and the Finale went well and above all was very musical.

The return of pianist Ohanesian to Liszt was most welcomed

by her audience, as there is a wide renaissance of the Hungarian composer, especially his pianistic output, rich in its variety which requires high virtuosity. I greatly enjoyed all the three items of the Liszt group and thought highly of the choice of what was to constitute virtually a Sonata. First the picture painting "Jeux d'eau a la villa d'Este", in which the artist, Miss Ohanesian achieved a flexible basic pulse, a sensitive shaping of the melodies and wide dynamic range. Also from the "Annee de Pelerinage" Petrarch Sonnet 104 had character which brought moments of pianistic display, a fine taste of true musicianship and finally the wonderful "Tarantella Venezia e Napoli", the best of the set and most taxing of all Liszt's output. In short, Miss Ohanesian was a most able recitalist in dealing with such a daring enterprise.

To those who are familiar with the repertoire of Miss Ohanesian, the Spanish bouquet formed a most gratifying part of the programme, probably because this music has a special flavour to our public, but I am sure, the playing of Miss Ohanesian had some thing to do with. The big three of the Spanish music were involved, they were: I. Albeniz, E. Granados and M. de Falla, and what was remarkable was the choice of three different works, enough to show how large was the horizon of the three contemporary Spanish pianist-composers. The playing of Miss Ohanesian was very colourful, restrained, sometimes in style and forthright in rhythm, it will certainly be remembered for some time.



R. Schumann



The young Liszt

tal at the Music Room of the Arab Children's Library on 7 April, organised by the Music Department of the Ministry of Information.

Presenting a recital of some pianistic masterpieces was a fine gesture by Miss Ohanesian, es-

pecially after her triumphal appearance with the National Orchestra at the start of the season, taking part in the world's celebration of Beethoven's sequicentennial of his death by playing the solo part in the composer's 4th Concerto. She must be very proud of herself in scoring yet

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Miss Beatrice Ohanesian playing piano



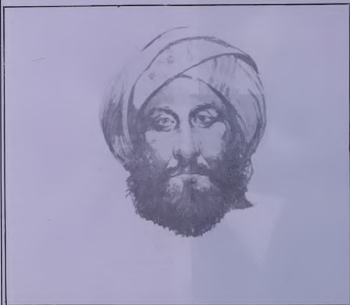
Al-Khawarezmi : The Pioneer Mathematician

Muhammad bin Mousa al-Khawarezmi was a highly placed man during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun.

Originally from Khawarezm, Mohammad resided in Baghdad where he became widely known. He died in 850 A.D.

He was remarkably distinguished in mathematics and astronomy. To him the credit goes for the advancement in these two

sciences. In fact, he was the first man to use algebra as an independent science from arithmetic.



Al-Khawarezmi's book on algebra is of great historical and scientific value. The book has always been an illuminating reference for the successive Arab savants and then for the West-erners. The progress made in al-

gebra is undoubtedly all due to this book. The European medieval men of learning benefited from al-Khawarezmi's book in their mathematical researches. The book was translated into Latin by Mr. Robert of Chester and it thus became one of the basic books for the studies carried out by such highly learned men as Leonard of Pisa (who admitted indebtedness to the Arabs for his mathematical knowledge).

The Arabs are privileged historically for their conveyance of the Indian arithmetic as well as of their refinement of the Indian numerals. Al-Khawarezmi and many other mathematicians have certainly the credit for handling the numerals. Without their creative works in arithmetic no one would have

known nor realised the uses of arithmetic.

When the Arabs advanced greatly in science during the Abbasid Caliphate, they showed keen interest in the Indian numbering system. It is interesting to note that various forms and shapes were being used as numbers in India. But, the Arabs, after being well acquainted with those numbers, began to form two series; the first was known to be "the Indian numerals" and the second as "the dusty Arabic numerals". In Baghdad, as well as in the Eastern part of the Moslem World, the use of the Indian numerals became common, while the Arabic numerals were and are still used in Andalusia, Africa and Arab maghreb countries. The Arabic numerals are now even in use in Europe and America.

The Indians were the first to use zero. The dot (.) was then referred to, and the Arabs began thereafter to use it in their dealings. But the Indians are said to have soon replaced the dot with zero (0).

Al-Khawarezmi also wrote a book on arithmetic which is considered the first of its kind as far as its content and classification are concerned. The book was rendered into Latin by Adlard of Bath under the title "Algorithmi de Numero Indorum". This book which was the first to be brought into Europe, was a very useful reference for the then scientists, merchants and accountants. As a matter of fact arithmetic was named after al-Khawarezmi as "algorithmi", and from that book and many other Arabic books which were brought into Europe later on, the Arabic numerals began to be popular in Europe.

Compiled and translated from
Arabic Originals

by Salah al-Bazzaz

AFRICAN AMBASSADORS HAIL IRAQ'S POLICY

The African envoys accredited to Iraq paid high tribute to Iraq's policy vis-a-vis the African continent and its peoples.

In his cable to President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakar the doyen of the African diplomatic corps in Baghdad hailed "Iraq's ceaseless efforts to promote Arab-African cooperation and its continued contribution to the well-being of the African and Arab peoples".

The cable was sent on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

WALEED JUNBLATT IN BAGHDAD

Mr. Waleed Junblatt, chairman of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party, left Baghdad on June 6, winding up a week-long visit to Iraq as the leader of his Party delegation.

Mr. Waleed Junblatt, the 27-year-old son of Kamal Junblatt, expounded to the Iraqi leaders the dimensions of imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plot against Lebanon's sovereignty and integrity. With full reassurance and confidence Mr. Junblatt described his Baghdad talks as "very successful and positive". He said the talks constituted a renewal of the standing solid relations between "our Party and the Arab Baath Socialist Party".

AAPSO MARKS 20TH ANNIVERSARY

Preparations are going on for marking the 20th founding anniversary of the Afro-Asian peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO).

An AAPSO delegation headed by Secretary General Mr. Youssef al-Sibaie arrived in Baghdad from Moscow early this month. He held talks with the Iraqi officials of the measures that should be taken to make the conference a success. The delegation spent a few days in Iraq.

IRAQ ATTENDS RABAT MEETING

Iraq participated in the meeting of the Arab cities organization, held in Rabat early this month. The five-day meeting discussed the problem of influx of people from countryside to cities and its social consequences.

The meeting also discussed the economic problems of urbanisation in the Arab homeland.

TEXT BOOKS TO TUNISIA

The Iraqi Ministry of Education will present to Tunisia some 500,000 text-books dealing with history, geography, philosophy and other educational subjects. They are designed for the students of various educational stages. Delivery will take place in July next.

NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS AT NIPPUR

An archaeological excavation team operating in Nippur, 35 kilometres north-east of the centre of Qadisiyah Governorate, has unearthed a huge magazine storing literary, religious and ritual texts dating back to the period falling between 2000 and 2500 B.C. The team also traced collections of pottery, copper bowls, terra cotta figurines.

IRAQ OBSERVES WORLD ENVIRONMENT DAY

On June 5, Iraq joined the international community by observing the World Environment Day for protesting pollution and lack of sufficient protection.

On this occasion a nationwide week-long programme was organised. It included various activities aiming at enlightening the public of anti-environmental acts. "Israelis" attempts to alter, undermine and ruin the physical, demographical, social and historical features of occupied Palestine were also protested during the observance of the day.

KADHEMAIN
MOSQUE IN
BAGHDAD

