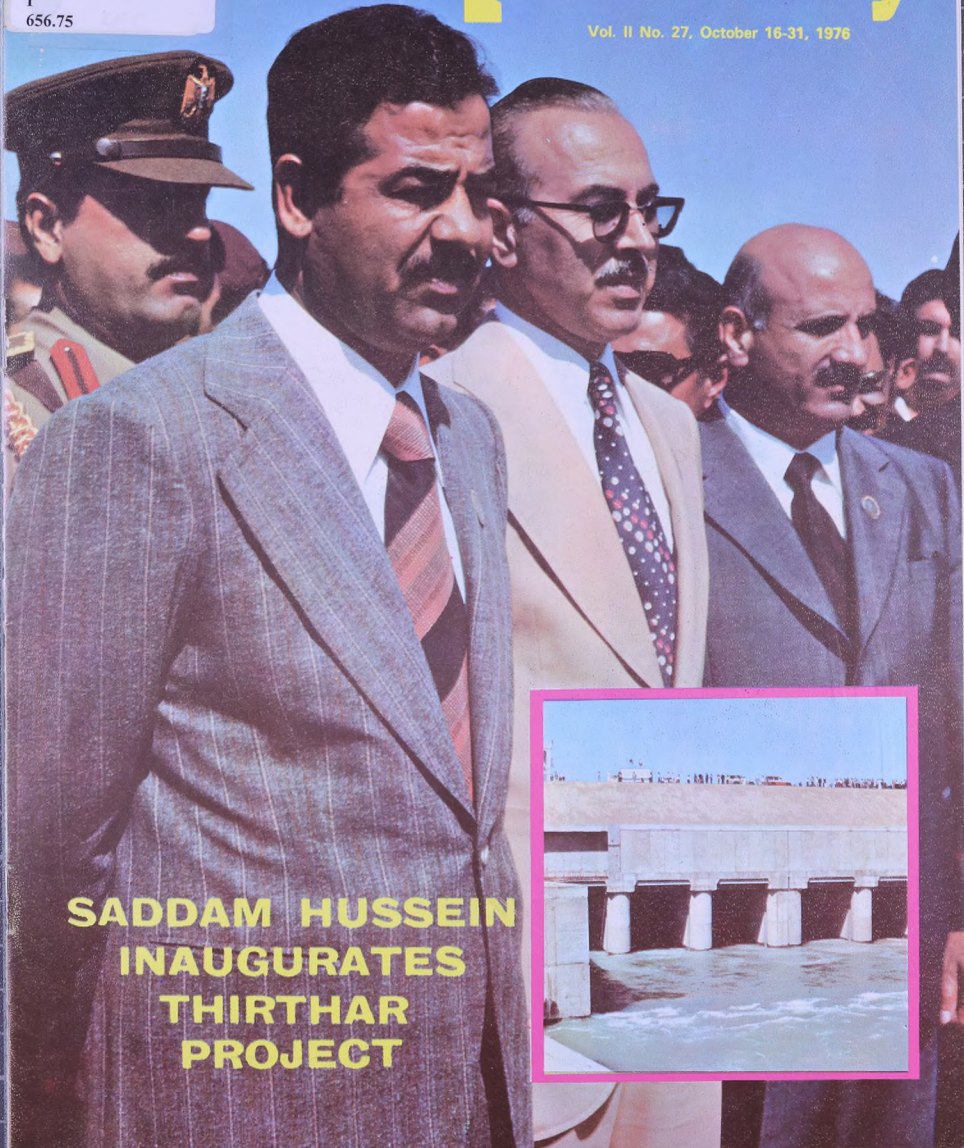


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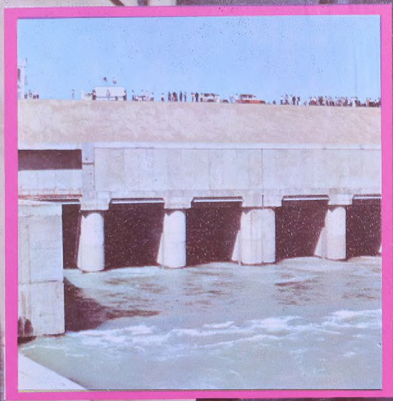
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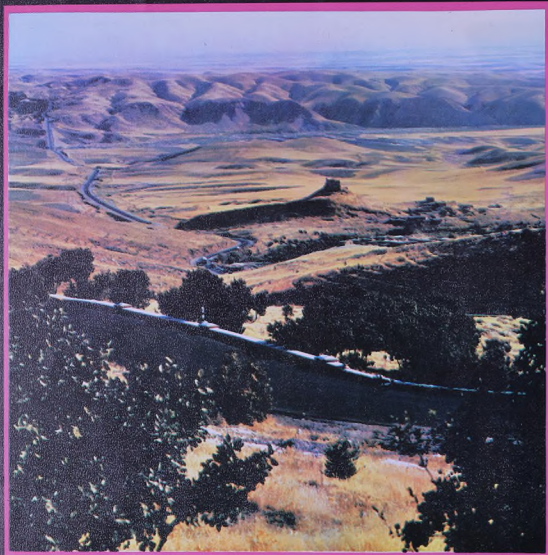
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Vol. II No. 27, October 16-31, 1976



**SADDAM HUSSEIN
INAUGURATES
THIRTHAR
PROJECT**





A Green Valley in Northern Iraq

Iraq Today



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

EDITORIAL

Balfour Declaration

It was a time when Britain regarded itself as the rightful owner of vast stretches of the globe. Most of the peoples of the world were in a dormant state and their destinies were decided in London and Paris. The Arab nation was just awakening from centuries of domination while some of them put their faith in the Western powers and their promises. Those powers wanted in fact to dismantle the Ottoman empire, not for the sake of liberating the Arabs but in order to replace a disorganized and bankrupt colonialism by a vigorous imperialism which had been sniffing the scent of oil in this vital area. The deceit began in 1917 when the notorious promise of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine was given. The most vicious and dishonest act of generosity in human history made its cancerous growth and evil inroads not only in the Arab homeland but throughout the world. It never happened anywhere at anytime that a whole nation inhabiting a land of their own for thousands of years were given as a present to others by a third party. History is full of injustices, occupations and aggressions, devastations and conquests. Most of these high-handed acts, though atrocious and unjust, do not intend to change the character of the people. In the majority of cases, however, the peoples regarding their mastery over their land, for, it was only their land that was the target and not themselves as a nation. The Balfour Declaration was not aimed at the occupation of a land, though this was a pre-condition, but it aimed at the Arab population as such. Its purpose was the removal of the original inhabitants and the imposition of a foreign people whose flow is not limited by one wave of immigration and consequently their avidity for more land is as great as the number of Jews in the world.

By promising Palestine to the Zionists, the imperialists wanted to realise the following objectives:

1. As Arab unification was and still is the greatest danger to the interests of the imperialists, the creation of a foreign body in the heart of their homeland would make unification hard to attain.
2. As the Arabs had to face up to the danger of Zionist settlement and expansion, they would have to divert a good deal of their income to armament and badly needed funds for development would not be available. They would remain backward and this serves two purposes: Their remaining a consumer market for the West and to perpetuate their inability to be masters of their natural resources.
3. Having fragmented the nation, the imperialists could dominate the parts at will.

4. The foreign body implanted in the Arab homeland would be a base guarding imperialist interests in the whole area.

The creation of Israel came as a culmination of that Declaration. This unnatural body joined hands with all imperialist powers and in collusion with 'Israel' the British and French imperialists made a last effort to bring impossible life to their defunct empire. The aftermath of that war of aggression saw the final chapter of their arrogance. Their domination of other lands was to take a very sharp turn towards the complete liquidation of the classical imperialism. The USA took over the charge of furthering the avidity of the Zionists and protecting their rapacious designs which coincide with neo-imperialism.

The declaration was given by the then vigorous British imperialists and sustained by another imperialist power i.e. the U.S.A. up to this moment.

Although winning their independence in their different regions the Arabs can never view this independence as complete before liberating Palestine. So long as this interpretation of their fate lives, declarations, such as the Balfour one, will not stand the test of time nor can they conquer the will of a reawakened people.

ABSP's call to foil new reactionary-zionist-imperialist conspiracies

The National Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP), in a statement issued on October 21, said that the resolution of the six-sided Arab Summit Conference held in Riyadh on October 16-18 stemmed from a premise that ignored the nature and fundamental cause of the conflict on the Lebanese level and, with amazing obduracy insisted on regarding the issue as a purely Lebanese-Palestinian crisis. The obvious purpose was to overlook the social character of the crisis and consequently ignore the existence of the patriotic and progressive forces so as to have these forces isolated from the Palestinian Revolution.

The statement emphasized that the revolutionary regime in Iraq, the regime of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, which, with fidelity took the honour of defending the Arab cause everywhere in the Arab homeland, could not possibly permit any force to obliterate the patriotic movement of the Palestinian Resistance in Lebanon. It should therefore warn those who were behind such designs, against the consequences of what they were doing.

The statement further said the forces of reaction were trying, by means of those resolutions, to rescue the Syrian regime which was at the root of the problem in Lebanon. What they wanted was to give a new boost to the Syrian regime and place

the rest of the Arab countries face to face with an accomplished fact, altogether overlooking the existence of other regimes, slighting the opinion of those other regimes, affronting their sensibilities and ignoring the minimum level of respect to the will of the Arab masses and to national interests.

The statement called upon the broad Arab masses, national forces, regimes, political parties and popular organisations to "state clearly where they stand on what is now happening in Lebanon" and warned that "the success of the reactionary-Zionist-imperialist schemings is bound to encourage certain self-conceited elements and adventures to try the same elsewhere in the Arab homeland".

Following is the unofficial English version of the statement:

Sons of the Arab Nation,

Your Party, The Arab Baath Socialist Party, had perceived right from the beginning of the tragic events in Arab Lebanon, the volume of the plot aimed at the Palestinian Resistance, the progressive patriotic movement and, consequently, the Arab Revolution. It was in the light of this perception, based as it is on an analysis of national circumstances and the requirements of confronta-

tion with the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary scheme, that the Party formulated its own view of the tragedy that overtook that struggling country. The attitudes and initiatives of our Party have always been to achieve practical solutions that can save Lebanon from partition and conflict and restore to it peace and unity free from the evils of confessional and racial prejudice and rancors. Those evils have had their seeds sown in Lebanon so as to spread them elsewhere with the object of creating conditions favourable for the implementation of the major conspiracy against the Arab Nation and against its issue of destiny in Palestine.

Within the framework of that orientation, Iraq had exerted every possible endeavour. By the frequent initiatives which it has taken on both the Lebanese and Arab levels, Iraq hoped to bring the existing and quite feasible prospects of final settlement to their positive sequence. In that way, it would have been possible to restore to Lebanon the kind of democratic climate where ideological and political currents can co-exist, where rules can be worked out for the kind of social reform which is capable of uplifting Lebanon, guaranteeing its security and unity, ensuring its stability and removing from the hands of plotters the weapons directed against the destiny of Lebanon and intended to foil the important role Lebanon has been playing within the context of the Arab Nation.

But the forces of imperialism and Zionism have always feared for the survival of their designs if Lebanon remained a flourishing cultural center and at the same time perceived the points of weakness in Lebanon's sectarian, political and social structure. Those forces have, therefore, instigated the Syrian regime, already in connivance with them on the compromise formula, to hurl its regular army forces into bloody and unequal conflict with the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese patriotic movement. That conflict has drowned Lebanon in a sea of blood and was marked with unparalleled savagery shown in Tel al-Zaatar and other refugee camps and places.

Reactionary forces supporting Syrian regime

Some reactionary forces have, all throughout the tragedy, played a supporting role to the Syrian regime; donning every mantle to justify the intervention of that regime — an intervention that contravened rudimentary rules of established conventions and of ethical and human values.

Coming concomitantly with the intervention of the Syrian regime was a multi-sided coordination with the forces of the Jordanian regime and an amazing synchronization of moves on the part of the Zionist enemy. Those moves worked for assuring success to the suspicious intervention of the Syrian regime by resorting to diverse methods and operations all directed against the Palestinian Resistance and the patriotic movement with the object of imposing the pre-designed plan.

Syrian invasion seeks to foil unity

But those combined forces, which were betting on subverting the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese patriotic movement, were stunned by the wonderful cohesion between the detachments of the Resistance and the patriotic movement which, between them, inflicted enormous losses on the forces of oppression. Consequently, the Syrian regime was compelled to throw more of its forces into Lebanon and commit more acts of savagery as a result of which it risked utter exposure. The progressive and leftist masks which it has been donning and by which it managed to deceive so many quarters for quite some times, were finally stripped off. That in itself bore the correctness of the view in which our Party held that regime — a regime that used the name of Baath to plot against Baath, and the name of progressiveness to smite progressives and the name of Palestine to play the most dangerous role in pushing through the conspiracy aimed at the liquidation of the Palestinian cause.

Against this background, the forces of reaction that have been furnishing financial and political assistance to the intervention of the Syrian regime, upon realizing that the regime has been entangled and producing telling effects on their own domestic conditions and spelling out the danger of collapse, decided to hurry up and come to its rescue.

At once they sounded the alarm for an urgent 6-sided summit conference with the purpose of salvaging the Syrian regime — which was at the root of the Lebanese problem — and providing it with a fresh boost. By this, they sought to place the rest of the Arab states face to face with an accomplished fact, completely overlooking the existence of other regimes, even slighting the opinion of those regimes, affronting their sensibilities and ignoring a minimum limit of respect to the will of the Arab masses and to national interests. It so occurred to those forces that the solution of the

Lebanese problem, which they themselves have contrived to bring to this tragic end, could be achieved at their own hands or come on the basis of reconciliation between a group of rulers upper most in the minds of the majority among them is to extricate themselves from the wrath of their own peoples.

New conspiracy hatched

"With the convocation of the 6-sided summit conference in Riadh from October 16th-18th, a new chapter was begun in the conspiracy on the Arab issue.

The resolutions of that limited summit, besides being vague and camouflaged to an extent that reflected the methods employed in convening the conference and conducting its proceedings, completely ignored the nature and fundamental causes of the conflict and, with amazing obduracy, held that the whole issue boiled down to a mere Lebanese-Palestinian Crisis. In this way the resolutions in question, sought to overlook the social character of the crisis in regard to the Lebanese scene and, consequently, to ignore the existence of the patriotic and progressive forces with the intention of isolating these forces from the Resistance and, next, divide the Resistance upon itself. The next step would be to blame the forces of steadfastness in Lebanon — Lebanese as well as Palestinian — for what had happened in Lebanon. Justification would also be found for the crimes committed by the forces of the Syrian regime which, as such, would be permitted to go on putting up an appearance in Lebanon so as to bring to a finish the final chapter of the reactionary-Zionist-imperialist conspiracy. This all will be reminiscent of what the forces of the Syrian regime have done in the way of oppression in Syria itself over the 10 years that followed the counter revolution of February 23 and also reminiscent of what happened in Jordan since the events of black September 1970. Those countries were intended by the plot to be driven submissively towards capitulating to the dictates of the Zionist enemy and towards liquidating the Palestinian issue.

The resolutions of the conference, as reported in the official communique, provided for a ceasefire and for the termination of hostilities without any provision for the immediate withdrawal of the forces of the Syrian regime which has always

been behind renewed fighting. In the annex related to the implementation of the resolutions, mention was made only of the withdrawal of irregular armed men, the removal of all military conditions in the Mountain area, in the south, in Beirut and its suburbs and in the north without so much as one word about al-Beqa' area which, for several months now, has been under the occupation of the Syrian forces. That area was treated as if it were outside the context of the conflict.

Furthermore, the resolutions in question provide for reinforcing the Arab peace-keeping force and bringing it up to 30,000 soldiers. As the resolutions put it, a deterrent force is to be created to establish domestic peace and order in Lebanon which is the euphemism for embarking upon a campaign of persecution and manhunt of patriotic and progressive forces that have been resisting the Zionist-reactionary conspiracy on the Arabism of Lebanon. Besides, the resolutions use the Cairo agreement as leverage for placing the Palestinian Resistance in a position of weakness, preliminary to have the Resistance detachments fragmented and to tame as many of them as possible so as to bring them into the fold of reaction.

After one and a half year of agonies and of tinkering with the destiny of Lebanon and with all human values, the Arab Nation comes to witness these resolutions which perpetuate the plot and prestage a new series of crimes and acts of liquidation against the unity and freedom of Lebanon and against the progressive patriotic forces exactly as had happened in Jerash and Ajlun in Jordan after an agreement was signed with the Jordanian regime.

The reactionary plot, as represented by these resolutions, completely overlooks one central fact, namely, that crises are solved not by attempting trickery on them or by ignoring their basic factors or overlooking the forces influencing the conflict or failing to take into account the main party interested in the problem, in this case the Lebanese masses.

It is the concern which the Arab Baath Socialist Party has in putting an end to the Lebanese tragedy and to the blood that has been flowing in Lebanon just for the sake of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiracy, which has prompted it in the past and is prompting it now to search for a quick and effective solution to this ordeal. It is

also this same concern which has been constantly driving the party to insist on delving to the core of the problem and attacking the main reasons that have been at the root of the trouble. All along, the party has been insisting on being frank with the masses and uncovering whatever new threads appear in the conspiracy on the unity of the Arab nation. The Arab Baath Socialist Party and the revolutionary government of Iraq will always be found ready to cooperate with honest and sincere forces, regimes or organisations for the realization of these positive objectives.

Crises and complex problems can be treated only by sincerity and courage rising above narrow and passing interests and establishing community of interests with the nation and with the major issue of the nation, namely the Palestine issue. The same applies to any Arab country that becomes target to the conspiracy.

Arab masses more powerful than conspirators

It may be that some reactionary regimes are under the illusion that by their financial means they are in the position to reverse the trend of the Arab revolutionary movement. Though such regimes might have scored some temporary successes by virtue of the circumstances attending the current major conspiracy, they had better know that for all the financial possibilities they possess and the American support they receive, they are still powerless in the face of the wrath of the Arab masses rising to their honour, dignity and national rights. History, both near and distant, abounds in morals for the comprehension of people endowed with wisdom and reasoning.

The revolutionary regime of Iraq, the regime of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, which with fidelity takes the honour of defending national issues everywhere in the Arab homeland, is not going to permit any force to wipe out the patriotic movement and the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon. It hereby issues a warning to those who trail behind such a plan against the dangerous consequences of what they are doing. The regime of Iraq, with all the means at its disposal, intends to work for a settlement of the Lebanese crisis and for restoring peace and order to Lebanon. This it intends to accomplish by coming to grips with the fundamental factors and real forces that have been

at the root of the crisis, not by evading them and making recourse to sentimental, vague and shallow formulas used as a vehicle for keeping up the crisis or for opening up new doors to it.

The Arab Baath Socialist Party realizes that the national assignment entrusted to it in the presence of critical circumstances, requires it to enhance steadfastness everywhere in the Arab homeland and close national and progressive ranks into a major national front that can move from the defensive to the offensive.

Iraq will uphold cause of revolution

In the light of this assignment, the Arab Baath Socialist Party today addresses itself to the broad Arab masses and to their national forces, regimes, political parties and popular organisations urging them to state clearly where they stand on what is now happening in Lebanon and warning that the success of the reactionary-Zionist-imperialist schemings is bound to encourage certain self-conceited elements and adventurers to try the same elsewhere in the Arab homeland.

In the same vein, revolutionary Iraq will speak up its mind in full to the summit conference and convey to it the voice of the Arab masses and touch upon Arab conscience on both the official and popular levels.

Iraq's attendance at the summit conference will be without prejudice to its consistent principled attitudes and its determination to carry on with the work to bring the courageous voice of the Arab masses and their advanced vanguard to this forum within the official circumstances available.

Long live the struggle of our Arab nation for liberation and progress!

Down with the conspiracies of imperialists and their stooges in the region.



Nationalization of Oil

Fifty Years' Struggle Achieves Final Victory

In any newly emerging nation the consolidation of political independence is dependent on the development of a national economy. And a sound base for national economy can be built only when national wealth is brought under national control and management. Political freedom in the ultimate analysis connotes economic emancipation and so long as economic independence is not secure, political independence remains vulnerable to corrosion.

The political leadership of the Revolution of July 17, 1968, was conscious of the consequences

of continued operation of foreign monopoly capital in Iraq in the field of her most precious wealth — petroleum. So, for laying a solid foundation of national economy that will ensure the success of the revolution and for fulfilling the legitimate aspirations of the people for bringing their own wealth under national ownership and control, the leadership decided to nationalize the multinational Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) which used to exercise monopoly control over Iraqi petroleum. This was a bold decision of far-reaching significance. The

implementation of this decision with utmost care and meticulous consideration speaks highly of the wisdom, maturity and competence of the leading party — the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP). The ABSP emerged victorious in its grim battle with multinational oil cartels. The success of the ABSP was the culmination of a sustained struggle waged by the people of Iraq over the past half a century.

Foreign finance capital penetrated into Iraq following the occupation of the country by Britain 1917-18. The West European cartels gained oil concessions in Iraq 1924. The American monopolies became partners with the West European oil cartels in 1928. And since then the incorporated multinational oil monopoly began operating in Iraq under the name of Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC). The IPC became the sole monopoly in the country after taking over control of the Mosul Petroleum Company (MPC) which was founded in 1932, and

establishing the Basrah Petroleum Company (BPC) in 1938.

The history of the imperialist monopoly control over the Iraqi oil is the history of deception, exploitation and domination. In order to hide the ugly face of neo-colonial intentions, an innocent terminology — the "concession system" was used in place of "plunder" and "blackmail". The significance of the nationalization of oil by the leadership of the July 17 (1968) Revolution will be better appreciated in the background of a picture of such plunder and blackmail.

WESTERN PENETRATION BEGINS

The Western penetration into the oil fields of Iraq, then under Ottoman domination, began with a German expert exploration team setting out to search for oil in 1871. The optimistic report of the team inspired the German Kaiser to confer with the Ottoman Sultan in 1888 and 1898 and German ruler's visits to Turkey resulted in an agreement

in March, 1903, according to which the Anatole Railway Company was awarded the construction of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway line. Under the agreement, the German railway construction company was given the right to the exploitation of mineral resources including oil, within 20 kilometre wide area on both sides of the railway line.

Next year, in July, 1904, the Ottoman Sultan, by decree, gave to the Anatole Railway Company the right of petroleum exploitation in Mosul and Baghdad willayets (governorates). Thus the potential wealth of Iraq was placed at the disposal of a foreign country by another foreign ruler with the people of Iraq having no say in the matter!

Apart from Germany, Britain and Holland joined in the race for reaching the Iraqi lake of oil.



The Shell-Royal Dutch Company and Anglo-Persian Company were in the forefront in this bid. The United States also became increasingly interested in the matter. A multinational enterprise, the Turkish Petroleum Company (TPC) was set up for the purpose with shares subscribed by the National Turkish Bank (a British establishment), a German Bank and the Anglo-Saxon Company, an associate of the Royal Dutch — Shell Company. The TPC was awarded by the Ottoman Sultan concessions for the oil "discovered or to be discovered in Mosul and Baghdad willayets" on June 28, 1914. However, when the World War I was over, Britain took over the shares of the German Bank in the TPC and became its dominant partner.

As a result of such arrangements for the division of resources among foreign companies by

the occupation regime widespread resentment was witnessed among the Iraqi people who were brought under the dual oppression of foreign capital and Ottoman overlords. Towards the end of the World War II conspiracies of more serious consequences were hatched. The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 by which the Arab homeland was sought to be divided between the British and French colonial powers also applied to the oil interest in the area. A clash of economic interest, besides political, ensued between the French and British occupation authorities particularly over Mosul oil. However, leaving Syria in the hands of the French, the British forces completed their occupation of Iraq by November, 1917. Britain, however, conceded to France 20 per cent share in

Mosul Petroleum retaining 70 per cent for itself and doling out a meagre 10 per cent to the Iraq government under an agreement concluded between the British and French authorities on April 8, 1919. The San-Remo Agreement of April 26, 1920, redistributed TPC stock to allocate 50 per cent to the Anglo-Persian Company, 25 per cent to the Royal Dutch-Shell and 25 per cent to France. The agreement gave Britain 75 per cent control over the stock of the TPC by virtue of British share in both the Anglo-Persian and Royal Dutch-Shell Companies. The agreement also conceded the right of the Iraqi Government or its subjects to possess 20 per cent of the joint stock of any company to be set up for the exploitation of oil.

At this stage the United States furiously contested the arrangement between Britain and France



over sharing Iraq's oil wealth with a view to cutting out a share for herself from the booty. The standard oil of New Jersey in fact succeeded in acquiring from Britain an oil exploration concession on November 22, 1921. But US pressure on Britain did not abate; she questioned the very legality of TPC concession. On the other hand the Iraqi people mounted their struggle for overthrowing the imperialist powers. The revolution of 1920 is an expression of this state of mind of the people.

RIISING POPULAR DISCONTENT

In the wake of the popular uprising even the Council of Ministers of Iraq that used to derive its de facto authority from the British colonial office, declined to ratify the 1920 agreement which did not concede to Iraq her right to participate in the TPC's capital. To counter this resistance the British authorities, threatened to cede Mosul to Turkey with the blessings of the League of Nations. The blackmail tactics worked; the Iraqi Council of ministers, ignoring the dissent of two resigning by Ministers and in the face of rising popular discontent, concluded an agreement on March 14, 1925, surrendering Iraq's right to her own oil wealth. According to the agreed convention which was passed only by the Council of Ministers and not by any other competent Iraqi authority, the TPC was granted, for 75 years, the "exclusive right to explore, prospect, drill for, extract and render suitable for trade petroleum, naphtha and natural gas and the right to carry away and sell the same and the derivatives thereof" and the area defined for such operation was "all the territory

of Iraq, except for Basrah willayet".

When petroleum was struck at Babagurur on October 5, 1927, a new agreement, based on a French map marking in red all the Arab territories formerly under the Ottoman rule, was concluded. Under this so-called Red Line Agreement the Turkish Petroleum Company was renamed as the Iraqi Petroleum Company (IPC) and the stock of TPC was redistributed among the IPC shareholders conceding substantial shares to the Near East Development Corporation, a combine of American oil companies. The capital participation of various components of the IPC was as under:

a. BP Exploration Ltd.	23.75%
b. Shell (Royal Dutch) Co. Ltd.	23.75%
c. Compagnie Francaise Petroles	23.75%
d. Near East Development Corporation (Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and Mobil Oil Corp.)	23.75%
e. Participations and Explorations Corporation (Gulbenkian)	5 p.c.

The Red Line Agreement came into force from July 31, 1928, when the US opposition to the oil concession secured by the TPC ended following the inclusion of the American oil cartels into the new giant multinational cartel — the IPC.

All these agreements were documents of sheer plunder. The government of Iraq, which did not enjoy any right to capital participation in the company, used to receive from the IPC only four shillings gold per ton of oil. On the other hand the enormous profit that the company was making was exemplified by the fact that by virtue of his

5 per cent share in the IPC Gulbenkian of the Participations and Explorations Corporation became one of the richest persons in the world. The people of Iraq were allowed to suffer from stark poverty while the Iraqi Petroleum Company of the Western nations fattened its purse years after years. The situation was further aggravated by covert competition between Britain and US for political domination and economic exploitation. The imperialists were in search of their stooges in the interest of safeguarding their newly occupied black gold mines. And for the people of Iraq the struggle for regaining control over their own natural wealth became the central issue of their struggle for national independence.

The Iraq Petroleum Company gained full domination over the oil resources of Iraq when the 1923 Agreement was modified by the one concluded on March 24, 1931, between Britain, acting on behalf of the IPC, and Nuri al-Saeed, the Iraqi Prime Minister who enjoyed the blessings of the British authorities. Under the new agreement the IPC's concession area expanded from 192 square miles to the whole region covering Baghdad and Mosul willayets east of the Tigris, that is, 167 times the original area under the 1923 agreement.

OPPOSITION TO NURI AL-SAEED

The people of Iraq further intensified their struggle as Nuri al-Saeed imposed tax burdens on the already impoverished people. The Prime Minister's failure to secure better terms from the IPC and his oppressive measures compelled the people to resort to demonstrations and strikes for economic emancipation and political independence. When the Nuri regime ratified the 1931 agreement, the workers and other sections of toiling masses observed a 14-day strike in Baghdad, Kufa, Najaf, Babuka and Kut. Popular opposition forced Nuri al-Saeed to resign on October 19, 1931. To the misfortune of Iraq people Nuri al-Saeed staged a come-back to the political field of Iraq, thanks to the efficient wire-pulling from behind the screen by the oil cartel magnats.

The IPC took every step to exclude the possibility of competition in its oil business. But, the British Petroleum Exploitation Company, a joint Anglo-Italian firm, secured a concession beyond the IPC area on the western Tigris as an associate of the Mosul Petroleum Company (MPC). Similarly, in October, 1938, an associate of the IPC, the Basrah Petroleum Company (BPC), acquired a concession for all the areas not covered by the IPC and MPC. Actually, the Basrah Petroleum got concession in an area covering 93 thousand square miles for a period of 75 years.

The Western oil cartels gained full control over the oil wealth of Iraq; but they did not con-

sider it worthwhile to set up a single refinery in this country. The people of Iraq, as if they were outsiders, remained completely in the dark about the functioning of these companies who presided over the economic and political destiny of the people of Iraq in particular and the whole Arab nation in general.

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The determination of the people of Iraq to gain control over their natural resources and strike at the economic power base of the imperialists grew from strength to strength during the post-World War II period, when the national liberation forces all over the world were on the ascendancy. The creation of "Israel" with a view to policing the oil-rich areas of the Middle East in 1948, completely unmasked the imperialists and their native agents. Early in the 1950s the people of Iraq forged a much stronger unity against the exploitation of oil cartels and political domination of the imperialists. As a result of the emergence of this national consciousness the Royal Court of Iraq was obliged to that "Iraq should not be converted into a military springboard against any other country". The people's long-standing demand for the abrogation of the Jencefe treaty entered into with Britain and the oil agreement of March 24, 1931, was gaining momentum. The struggle against oil monopolies and imperialist domination touched a new high. In the wake of the unfolding of new anti-imperialist struggles a group of Parliament members on March 25, 1951, came out with a declaration that "notwithstanding the considerable injustice sustained by Iraq through the prejudicial oil concessions, the operating oil companies have stubbornly insisted on denying Iraq's rights and persistently violated the concession provisions". They, therefore, pleaded for the enactment of a law nationalizing the oil companies operating in Iraq. The struggle of all sections of people compelled the oil companies to adopt a conciliatory tactics; they agreed to a fifty-fifty profit sharing formula. But the militant Iraqi political forces were not duped by this half-hearted solution of the oil issue.

The Fifty-fifty Agreement which was ratified on February 17, 1952, besides being a negation of the aspirations of Iraqi people, was in effect a sixty-five-thirty-five agreement. Iraqi economists proved that through the mechanism of mathematical procedures Iraq's share in profit could not rise above 35 per cent. Besides, the reckless company officials' caused to suppress the workers under their employ if and when these workers, employed on the cheapest possible terms, put forward any grievance. The most oppressive measures were be-

ing adopted by the BPC on whose orders the blood of the striking workers was spilled on the streets. The ABSP called for a strike against such high-handedness of the BPC and "treacherous agent government adopting an attitude of black collusion in support of the imperialist company", on December 15, 1953.

After the signing of the Baghdad Pact on February 24, 1955, which tied Iraq to the aggressive military alliance of the imperialist powers, the oil companies operating in Iraq felt safe. But the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt in 1956 made the people of Iraq much more indignant of the imperialists. The oil companies, representing the financial interest of the imperialists, had to bear the brunt of that indignation.

On the other hand, the ruling classes of the country, in collusion with their imperialist masters, left the non-oil sectors of economy hopelessly underdeveloped. As a result, imports of consumer goods and foodstuff increased. And these imports came mainly from the home countries of the oil companies. The people of Iraq were, therefore, subjected to double exploitation — their oil wealth went out of the country and the meagre income from oil revenue was eaten up by the imports. The whole people was united against such exploitations.

THE JULY 14 REVOLUTION

In these circumstances and under such objective and subjective conditions the revolution of July 14, 1958, was accomplished. The revolutionary Government took up the issue of oil with the IPC in right earnest. And the people's resistance against the oil cartels mounted steadily under the new conditions. But, as the leaders of the July 14 revolution were not through-going and steeled revolutionaries, they faltered in their steps. They failed to arrest the deterioration of the economy, continued to indulge in extravagant spending and, therefore, failed to face up to the oil cartels with revolutionary stamina. In spite of these and other shortcomings the Government was able to enhance its bargaining capability because of a number of favourable factors. The Soviet Union and Vietnam established barter relations and an Italian firm, the ENI offered to train Iraqi personnel for industrial development. Panic set in the oil cartel circles and their headquarters.

On April 10, 1961, the Government of Iraq submitted a number of demands for redressing the injustice meted out to Iraq during the past decades. One such injustice was the unilateral reduction of oil prices by the companies. The Government of Iraq convened a meeting of the oil exporting countries to discuss the issue of pricing of oil. The representatives of seven oil exporting countries met

on September 14, 1960, who formed the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting countries (OPEC).

LAW NO. 80 OF 1961

The oil companies, though terrified at the emergence of the new political awareness among the Iraqi leadership and people and at the birth of OPEC did not budge. So, negotiations between the government and the companies broke down. The companies continued to reduce production and lower prices in order to bring the government to its knees. Compelled by circumstances the Government of Iraq enacted the Law No. 80 of 1961 in respect of the IPC, MPC and BPC, on December 11, 1961. The Law No. 80, for the first time in the history of Iraq, sought to bring the oil companies under the arms of an Iraqi law. Next year the Iraqi National Oil Company (INOC) was established. The Law No. 80 defined the areas of operation of oil cartels, whereas the INOC statute granted the Iraqi company the exclusive right to exploitation of oil in other areas.

However, the oil companies tried all their tricks to subvert the Law No. 80 as well as the INOC statute. They deliberately reduced production sharply at a time when, in other countries, oil output was going up considerably.

A STEP BACKWARD

The leadership of the July 14 (1958) Revolution failed to fulfill the aspirations of the people in spite of the fact that it had enacted the Law No. 80 and the INOC statute and pioneered the establishment of the OPEC. But the leadership that took over in Iraq on November 18, 1963, frittered away the gains of the 1958 Revolution in the people's battle for oil. The oil cartels succeeded in persuading the November Regime of 1963 to arrive at two draft agreements, one for amending the 1952 Fifty-fifty Agreement and the other to establish the Baghdad Oil Company (BOC). Under these two draft agreements the decision to set up an independent national company as per the Law No. 80 was abandoned and the potential oil-reserve areas totalling 1937 square kilometres including the North Rumelia Oil fields were restored to the companies. Besides, the BOC was to serve as a joint venture between the INOC and the oil cartels on the basis that the INOC would get one-third while the companies hold two-thirds share in capital. The two-thirds share of the companies were to be distributed as under:

- 15 per cent each for French, Shell, British and Mobil Oil companies;
- 3 per cent for Gulbenkian.

The Iraqi delegation who negotiated the draft agreements sought to justify their stand in the following terms: "It seems that the mere foundation of a national company is not sufficient for the at-

tainment of the objectives sought in the direct undertaking of oil operations. Therefore, the outstanding issues with the companies operating in Iraq should be settled so that they could exploit the potentialities the rights of which had reverted to the government, directly or indirectly. The national company is not in a position to invest tens of millions of Iraqi dinars for the production of oil from those areas, nor is it in a position to explore international markets to sell the oil produced, for, it can, in no way, resist the world monopolies which dominate such markets".

The proposed sell-out to the oil cartels of Iraqi interests could not be kept from the people who became increasingly vociferous against such agreements. The November Government, in the process, stood completely isolated from the people. Underground progressive and national parties exposed the secret collusion between the oil companies and the government through their clandestine propaganda literatures. Under these conditions it was declared by the national forces that "any accord with the oil companies is considered null and void; therefore, it will inevitably be rescinded as was done in Argentina a few years ago".

In the face of insurmountable opposition from the people, the Cabinet had to resign and the Law No. 97 of 1967 was promulgated reversing the oil policy of the November regime. The two draft agreements regarding the amendment of the 1952 agreement and the founding of the Baghdad Oil Company (BOC) could not be pushed through. Therefore, the Law No. 97 of 1967 represented the victory of the people. However, it fell far short of the objectives of the progressive forces and the people in general who stood for the total liberation of oil resources from the control of the Western monopolies.

THE JULY 17 REVOLUTION

The set-back in the war of June 5, 1967, against the Zionist-imperialist enemies strengthened the determination of the people of Iraq for achieving total victory against the imperialist monopoly companies operating in their oil fields. No partial solution could satisfy them at the time. Thus, when the people were ready for decisive battle with the oil monopolies and their imperialist headquarters, the Arab Baath Socialist Party intensified its struggle for Unity, Freedom and Socialism against the domestic reaction and foreign neo-colonial forces. With the cooperation of the militant people and the patriotic armed forces the party succeeded in wresting power from the incompetent and reactionary regime on July 17, 1968, and consolidating the power of the revolutionary headquarters on July 30, 1968. Thus the first step towards realizing the aspirations of the people with regard

to bringing the oil wealth of Iraq total national control was firmly taken.

The leadership of the 1968 Revolution accomplished all the pre-requisites for winning the oil battle. In order to strengthen the economic base of the country the leadership paid due attention to the development of agriculture, industry, trade and commerce and reduced unproductive expenditures drastically. On the political level it firmly laid the foundations of national unity and cohesion by promulgating the March 11 (1970) Manifesto for granting autonomy to the Kurdish masses and adopted the National Charter for forging unity of all progressive and patriotic forces so as to blunt the weapon of the imperialists to divide the ranks of the people. In the international field the leadership built up firm foundations of friendship with the Soviet Union by concluding with the latter a friendship treaty. The areas of cooperation with other socialist countries and the anti-imperialist developing nations of the Third World were expanded. Solidarity with national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America were firmly established.

Standing on a sure ground the July Revolutionary Government took the first practical step in its confrontation with the oil monopolies by enacting the Law No. 24 of 1970. The Law removed the restrictions placed on the INOC against its direct exploitation of oil resources. Simultaneously the leadership took adequate and prompt steps to foil the conspiracies of the oil monopolies aimed at subverting the regime and its oil policy. But faced with the adamant attitude of the monopoly companies who took recourse to drastically reducing production and thereby threatening the collapse of the economy, the revolutionary regime was left with no other alternative but to issue a two-week ultimatum to the oil companies.

On May 17, 1972, the Revolution Command Council in its ultimatum addressed to the oil companies urged them to:

- comply immediately with the Government's demand to raise rates of production to the maximum capacity of pipeline,
 - undertake to reach agreement with the Ministry of Oil and Minerals with a view to drawing up a regular and long-term programme of production on scientific principles, and
 - submit a positive offer on the demands put forth by the government negotiating delegation.
- These demands related to the following:
- Planning of production policy,
 - Royalty expensing,
 - Investment policy of foreign oil companies,
 - participation in companies' concessions,

- pricing southern oil,
- transfer of company-headquarters from London to Baghdad, and
- financial control over foreign oil companies.

But the response of the oil companies was negative. President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr in his historic address to the nation on this situation, said:

IPC OPERATIONS NATIONALIZED

"The monopoly companies have failed to comply with a new offer responding to our interests, thus revealing their disregard for the rights of the people and overlooking Iraq's just demands as specified in the ultimatum. Accordingly, the Revolution Command Council has decreed, in the name of the people, to promulgate Law No. 69 for the nationalization of operations of IPC. The Law is effective as from the date of its promulgation on July 1, 1972".

And the people's long struggle for securing control of their national wealth was crowned with success. In this battle the decisive leadership was provided by the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the leadership of the July 17 (1968) Revolution. But the party and the revolutionary leadership in a spirit of socialist humility, declined to give to themselves the credit they deserved for leading the people to victory. President Bakr in his aforementioned address unhesitatingly declared:

"This historic battle does not belong to a specific political group; it rather belongs to all national parties and forces in this homeland, all professional and mass organizations, to all the people. It is not the battle of one specific class but of the whole people and subject to nation-wide participation: it is the battle of the people and of the homeland; the battle of the glorious Arab nation for liberation from monopolies, imperialism and Zionism".

The oil monopolies however tried their utmost to foil the momentous decision taken by the Iraqi leadership. They brought to bear upon Iraq all the pressure that the imperialist world could exert. But the steadfast leadership of the July 17 Revolution, with the active support of the Soviet Union, other Socialist countries and anti-imperialist forces the world over, succeeded in weathering the storm. The oil companies, on March 1, 1973, accepted the nationalization law as an accomplished fact and concluded an agreement with the Government of Iraq on the basis of the new law.

Under the agreement all outstanding issues between the IPC and the Government of Iraq were finally settled in accordance with the Law No. 80 of 1961, Law No. 97 of 1967, Law No. 24 of 1970, Law No. 69 of 1972 and other relevant laws and undertook to pay a sum of E 141 million in full

and final settlement of the Iraqi Government's claims on the IPC MPC and BPC. The title deeds of fixed IPC properties were also transferred to Iraq. Moreover, the MPC accord was abrogated and all assets and properties including stored crude oil of MPC in Iraq were made over to the Government of Iraq without any claims. On the other hand, the Basrah Petroleum Company (BPC) undertook to exert its utmost efforts to accelerate its expansion programmes so as to reach specified target capacities.

NATIONALIZATION DURING WAR

The second major move in the battle of oil was made when the Arab-Israeli war broke out on October 6, 1973. As a positive contribution to the war efforts of the Arabs the Government of Iraq nationalized the American and Dutch shares in the BPC. Subsequently the shares of Gulbenkian were also nationalized. These steps were taken in view of the above-mentioned shareholder's glaring alignment with the Zionist aggressors. Oil weapon was thus most effectively used for the cause of the Arab nation against the imperialist-Zionist enemy.

END OF FOREIGN CONTROL

The end of foreign control over Iraq's oil wealth was heralded when the July 17 Revolution finally nationalized the remaining foreign shares of the BPC on December 8, 1975. By this action Iraq proved to the world that a developing country can win a decisive battle against the multinational corporations backed by the most aggressive imperialist powers. Proclaiming the nationalization decree the President said:

"However, the Arab arena, despite the positive results of the war of October, 1973, now encounters circumstances of utmost gravity on the destiny of the nation and its unity and international position. Proceeding from our historic responsibility in taking firm steps that can contribute to arresting the current state of backslide and the slogans and concepts of defeatism, and in conformity with our national programme and in accordance with the resolutions of the 8th Regional Congress of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, we have resolved, in the name of the people, and in the name of the Arab nation, to nationalize the remaining foreign shares in the Basrah Petroleum Company. By doing so, we have conclusively and decisively accomplished unstinted national sovereignty over our oil resources and over all relevant production and marketing affairs".

The fifty years, struggle against colonial domination and neo-colonial exploitation merged into one and the same stream and the resultant decisive struggle for national sovereignty finally triumphed.

THE OPENING OF THE THIRTHAR-EUPHRATES CANAL



Mr. Saddam Hussein pressing the button to inaugurate the Thirthar Dam.

Marriage of the Twin Rivers

On the tenth of October, Mr. Saddam Hussein, Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council, represented President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr in a major ceremony marking the opening of the new Thirthar-Euphrates canal.

Work on this project had started on April 9, 1972, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, and after four arduous years of work, the river Tigris has now joined forces with the Euphrates to make the flowers bloom in the southern half of Iraq. In order to grasp the

great importance of the new canal, one has to bear the following facts in mind:

The Thirthar Depression is situated between the two rivers north-west of Baghdad stretching northwards to the Nineveh province. Ever since 1956, the Thirthar Dam has been used to protect the capital and the Tigris basin from the danger of flooding by diverting the surplus waters into the depression thereby forming the Thirthar lake.

The area of the lake measures 2710 square kilometres and the storage capacity amounts to 85 billion cubic metres. The highest

level of the water is 65 metres above sea level and the deepest point in the lake bed measures four metres from the surface.

In the late sixties, the lake's efficiency as a reservoir somewhat diminished as a result of the repeated floods which caused the lake to be over-filled. Consequently, a radical solution had to be found in order to ease the pressure on the lake and a new canal seemed to be the best solution to the problem. The project was studied thoroughly and 35 million dinars were earmarked for it.

The first step lay in providing



adequate housing for the technicians and workers involved in the project and consequently within a few months a whole town sprouted in the middle of the desert. Since the project enjoyed the special attention of President Bakr and Vice-Chairman Mr. Saddam Hussein, they visited the construction site more than once during the past four years and they followed the progress of the work closely throughout all its stages. Keenly feeling the eyes of the whole country upon them, the job is finished according to schedule. They fully realized that the new canal would transform the lower part of Iraq by protecting it from the ravages of the floods and by causing water from the Tigris to flow into the drying Euphrates. This realization gave them added incentive to redouble their efforts.

The Dimensions of the Canal

The new canal stretches from the south of the Thirthar lake, meeting the Euphrates north of the town of Falluja. It is 37,500 kilometres long, while its width varies between 37 and 80 metres, and its depth varies between 24 and 34 metres. Water from the canal will pour into the Euphrates at the rate of 500 cubic metres per second. The regulator made

of enforced concrete has six openings measuring eight by six metres. These openings are adequate to carry out their work when the lowest level rate in the lake is 52 metres and its maximum level rate at the end of the canal is 50.7 metres. The lake-reservoir will have a capacity in the neighbourhood of 42 billion cubic metres.

The water diverted from the Tigris into the Thirthar depression contains a high ratio of salt as a result of its remaining static for long periods and also on account of its constant evaporation. This fact makes it unfit for human needs or for agriculture. Consequently, a new plan is under way to use the lake in such a manner that the salt water pouring into the Euphrates would be suitable for agriculture and human needs.

The Potentialities

The project has also fringe benefits for the Iraqi citizens living in that area. The most important of these is the new road connecting the Thirthar Lake with the town of Falluja.

Electricity has also been drawn from the Ramadi station at a capacity of 33 thousand volts.

Then there is the housing area which comprises four blocks con-

taining 96 flats in all, in addition to a rest house, a cinema, a school, shopping area, clinic, laboratory, institute for professional training, restaurants for the workers, police station, fuel station and other buildings for general services such as repair shops, etc.

There is no doubt that the new project will bring vast benefits to Iraq. It will save the Euphrates from the possibility of gradual drying up, and when the salt ratio is brought under control, fresh lands will be reclaimed for agriculture. Then there are the touristic potentials whose benefits will accrue when the afforestation project goes under way. When the lake is hedged with trees, the place will make an ideal outing spot where people can swim and enjoy the beautiful landscape.

Above all, the project has been an excellent opportunity for training Iraqi technicians and investing them with new skills. This is evident from the fact that work will soon commence on a second canal, this time to connect the Tigris to the first canal. It will be 65 kilometres long and ready for use in 1982.



Comrade Michael Aflaq, Founding Leader and Secretary General of the Arab Baath Socialist Party receiving on October 19, Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

NEWS IN PICTURES



Delegations of the Iraqi Progressive Patriotic and National Front and the Socialist Unity Party of the GDR holding talks on October 20. The Iraqi delegation was led by Comrade Nafiesh Haidas, Secretary General of the Front, and the German delegation by comrade Paul Fischer, member of the central committee of the Party.



Mr. Saddam Hussein, RCC Vice-Chairman, calling on President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr on October 19 upon the President's return to Iraq after a private visit to France.



Dr. Sa'adoun Hammadi, Foreign Minister of Iraq receiving, on October 22, Mr. Brian Talbot, the New Zealand Deputy Premier, who is also the Foreign Minister and Minister of Foreign Trade of his country.



Nov. 2: Recalling the infamous Declaration that served racist zionism and imperialism

by Kamal Butti

That the Zionists had all along planned to occupy Arab Palestine and rid it of the Moslem and Christian inhabitants and establish a racist state is fully documented. British historian Arnold Toynbee, the author of the monumental works, "A Study of History", denounced the "evil deeds committed by the Zionist Jews against the Palestinian Arabs" as "comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis", and stated that such deeds had "precipitated a flight of the Arab population" which later was followed by a "deliberate expulsion" of those who had not been panic struck.

When his statements were challenged during a lecture delivered in January 1961 in Montreal, Canada, Professor Toynbee replied that "the most tragic thing in human life is when people who have suffered impose suffering in their turn". He reiterated that "the Jewish treatment of the Palestine Arabs in 1947 was as morally indefensible as the slaughter by the Nazis of thousands of Jews". The Zionist Ambassador to Canada took exception to this statement and argued that the Nazi action "was planned and carried out in cold blood", to which Professor Toynbee retorted: "I still feel that

the massacres of Arab civilians by the 'Israeli' armed forces were carried out cold-bloodedly and with a purpose. It is impossible to be more than 100% wicked", he added. He further maintained that "a murder is a murder", and pointed out that "if I murder one man, that makes me a murderer. I do not have to reach 6,000,000, or even 1,000".

On the occupation of Palestine, Professor Toynbee said: "To put it bluntly this is robbery, and I am sure it is on the Jewish conscience".

This testimony, and many similar ones, leave no doubt that from the start, that is in the last decade of the nineteenth century, it was the concerted policy of the Zionists to usurp Arab Palestine and expel its inhabitants, otherwise it would be difficult to establish the "Jewish state".

Thus, the basic issue in the Palestine question is the uprooting and dispossessing of an entire nation in order to make room for the "ingathering" in

Palestine of Jews from all parts of the world. Whereas some of these Jews may have been victims of terror and injustice, nonetheless, they are being used as pawns in the political game of zionism. The building of a "Jewish state" in Palestine was not inspired purely by humanitarian considerations, but achieved principally in order to fulfill the political aspirations of a racist ideological movement — zionism.

The Zionist movement which began in the nineteenth century, took official shape in 1897 with the holding of the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland. The aim of the movement, in short, was "to create for the Jews a home in Palestine secured by public law".

The outbreak of World War I gave the Zionists their opportunity: 1916 was a disastrous year for the Allies: Losses on the Western Front were three men for every two German casualties, while German submarines were taking a heavy toll of Allied shipping. The Allies' only hope was for the United States to enter the war on their side.

Into this gloomy picture walked James Malcolm who had many contacts in high British circles.

He was particularly friendly with Sir Mark Sykes of the Foreign Office. Sir Mark told him that the Cabinet was looking anxiously for U.S. Government intervention in the war. Malcolm replied: "You are going the wrong way about it. You can win sympathy of certain politically-minded Jews everywhere, and especially in the United States, in one way only and that is, by offering to try and secure Palestine for them".

From then, things began to move. Louis Brandeis, US Supreme Court Judge and a personal confidant of Woodrow Wilson, was influenced to win over the President; and in April 1917, the United States entered the war on the side of the Allies. On 2 November 1917, British Foreign Minister Arthur Balfour issued his infamous Declaration which now bears his name.

Fighting with the Ottoman Turks was ended by the Armistice of 30 October, 1918; and on 30 January 1919, the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference decided that the conquered Arab provinces, including Palestine, were not to be restored to Turkish rule. To circumvent the fulfillment of their promises of Arab independence, and to implement secret Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, the Allied Powers devised what became known as the mandate system. This turned out to be disguised colonialism.

A draft Mandate for Palestine was submitted by Britain to the Council of the League of Nations on 24 July, 1922 and an agreed text was not confirmed by the Council until 29 September, 1923, when it came formally into operation. The Mandate included in the "preamble" a text of the Balfour Declaration providing for the establishment of a "Jewish national home".

As in the case of the Balfour Declaration, the Arabs, who fought on the side of the Allies, were not consulted in the preparation of the Mandate. The Mandate was drawn up jointly by the British Government and the Zionists without regard to the rights of the Arabs. The Zionists believed that they, and they alone, have rights in Palestine and that the presence of the Moslem and Christian inhabitants was a passing phase.

The Zionists made no secret of their intentions in Palestine, for, as early as 1921, Dr. Eder, a member of the Zionist Commission, told the Court of Enquiry, "There can be only one national home in Palestine, and that is a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish preponderance as soon as the numbers of the race are sufficiently increased".

The Arabs, who had never recognised the legality of the Mandate imposed upon them without their consent, could not subscribe to the claims of the Zionists. The Arabs have always maintained that their right to Palestine is based on birth and uninterrupted possession.

The first three years of World War II were profitably used by the Zionists in their schemings for Palestine. They employed all means to procure arms, bring in illegal immigrants; recruit and train them for their own fight after the war.

Acts of violence in Palestine between 1943 and 1948 rested entirely with three Zionist terrorist gangs namely, the Hagana, the Irgun Zvei Luumi, and the Stern.

With signs that the Nazi menace to Palestine was over and that the Allies would finally be winning the war, the Zionist campaign of terror began in earnest at the end of January, 1944, and continued until the end of the Mandate in 1948. The Jewish Agency was the actual coordinator and director of the activities of murder, destruction and sabotage against the Arab inhabitants in Palestine.



Displaced Palestinian children.

Sympathy and support for the Zionist terrorists did not come from specific British circles only. The terrorists had many sympathisers and supporters in the United States without whose contributions terrorism and sabotage would not have been possible.

The general impression is that the "state of Israel" came into being as a result of, and in conformity with, a recommendation of the United Nations General Assembly. This is absolutely untrue.

The Partition Resolution of 29 November, 1947, had recommended the creation of a "Jewish State" on 56% of the territory of Palestine; an "Arab State" on 42%; and an "International Zone of Jerusalem and Environs" on the remaining 2%. The resolution decreed that Arabs living in the area set aside for the "Jewish State" were to continue to reside there and to enjoy their fundamental rights and basic human liberties under the guarantees of the United Nations. The resolution further stipulated that the Jewish and Arab "states" were to come into being two months after the British withdrawal on 15 May, 1948.

Instead, the Zionists proclaimed their "state" in violation of the principles of the United Nations on 14 May, 1948, and presented the world with a fait accompli. They spared no time in seizing Arab territories. What actually emerged as the "state of Israel" was the product of brute force, created in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the very resolution under which the Zionists now claim sovereignty.

Consequently, and following the logic of events, the Palestine problem is the creation of world Zionism and Anglo-American imperialism. The Balfour Declaration is the child of this unholy alliance. Originally, Britain had no right to give away a property not her own, nor had the Zionists a better right to accept an illegitimate gift that could not be delivered.

Racist Zionism has been one of the forces of darkness in the world, destructive of Jewry and Arabs alike. When the Zionist leaders took it upon themselves to commit their "movement" to the occupation of Palestine by the sword, and entered the arena of international intrigue by making an alliance with Britain and the U.S., they betrayed the Jews.

Since Zionism made the Jews of all the world virtual or potential "citizens" of "Israel", the Jews

in other countries stand today accused of dual loyalty. The deplorable increase of anti-Semitism all over the world is a vague response of the world's feeling to the attitude of Zionism. For, the human spirit detests aggression whether practised by Hitler in Europe, by the US in Indochina, or by Zionism in Palestine.

Zionism has not only stirred up racist fanaticism but has also made enemies for the Jews. The Arabs have no race or religious prejudice or inherent dislike for the Jews; Arab history is free from any deliberate persecution of Jews. On the contrary the Arabs gave them refuge and kind hospitality when they were in distress. Before World War II there was no safer place for the Jews than in the Arab countries.

In the face of the black record and stubborn facts that cannot be denied by any honest conscience, it is an insult to tell the Arabs that the Zionist enterprise is a benefit for them.

Conscious of their glorious past and inspired by their contemporary national awakening, quick with the promise of a more brilliant future, the Arabs are immovably united in defence of their sacred heritage. It is a delusion and misrepresentation of reality to think that the Arab revolution is a temporary phase. It is a revolution of progress. The worst blunder of Zionism is that it underrates the strength of Arab unity. It is neither the U.S. nor Britain that has any right to give Palestine to the Zionists than the Arabs have to give New York to the Zionists or Massachusetts to the Irish.

The Zionist usurpation of Palestine, inaugurated by the Balfour Declaration backed by British and American imperialism, constitutes today the major hotbed in the Middle East. Many might be unaware of the crux of the question. The fundamental reason for Arab opposition to the creation of a racist "state" in Palestine advocated by Zionism is based upon the fact that the Moslem and Christian inhabitants of the country could not be expected to yield to an ideology that sought to wrest their homeland from them. The Arabs reject any attempt to destroy the Arab character of Palestine. If there is to be peace in Palestine, Moslems, Jews (not Zionists) and Christians of equal rights in citizenship should be allowed to live in an independent democratic state capable of contributing to the march of civilization.

SELECTED ARTICLES

U.S. policy in the Middle East, particularly vis-a-vis the Arabs, has been a debatable question among political circles in the Arab homeland. Some draw a distinction between the figures sitting in the White House, the Republican and Democratic parties, press, the Congress, and the Zionist quarters functioning in the U.S.

The Arabs, in general, have always maintained that the U.S. foreign policy is influenced by the Zionists who muster great influence in American walks of life. Such a belief has always been refuted by the U.S. officially.

Regarding the so-called Arab-Zionist conflict and the consistent pro-Israel line adopted by Washington, no better disclosure could be done than the following article written by an American in the "Middle East" magazine of October, 1976.

"Iraq Today"

The Power Behind US Foreign Policy in the Middle East

by Peter H. Dorian in San Jose, California

US foreign policy has consistently been at the mercy of the news media. Consequently, control of the news media through economic power becomes highly desirable.

Nowhere in the "free world" is the power of the news media so fundamental and influential as in the US. At times it is greater than that of the President and the Congress. The fact that both President and Congress spare no efforts to gain free publicity or free airing of their views is another dimension of the power of the media.

As is quite apparent to most people, during more than a generation both the US and Western Europe have been too sympathetic to "Israel". This has been true despite the fact that the US and Western Europe are economically dependent on the Arabs. Today's high cost of living, according to economic experts, is due to the high cost of energy. Therefore, to common sense and simple economics dictate that the US should have an even-handed foreign policy in the Middle East. But even now our policy makers, who are political animals and hence subject to public opinion, are appropriating billions of dollars in support of "Israel" against the Arabs. This is understandable when we examine the motivations in the light of public opinion moulding.

Those who control the media also control



public opinion and by controlling public opinion they wield political influence. This gives them the prerogative to pressure political leaders to vote for policies which are beneficial to a foreign country and not necessarily to the US. This is quite apparent in the case of "Israel" and Turkey. Our refusal to supply Turkey with military aid, while we deny nothing to "Israel", is a sad commentary on our wisdom as a nation.

America's enormous political influence through the grace of the media perpetually shifts in favour of "Israel". The influence of the press is deep and devoted. It is almost unthinkable for the average American not to expect the US Government to support the "Israeli cause". The indoctrination through the media is so great and so thorough that the citizen, in spite of his independent thinking, is influenced by the news and views emanating from the media. The extent of this influence may be better understood from the following excerpt from an article by Edward J. Epstein, titled, "The Bias of Network News", Human Events, 15 June, 1974.

"From their common vantage point in New York, the producers and editors at each network receive very similar sorts of information. Most notably, all the network decision-makers I interviewed or observed at work read and relied on a single

newspaper each morning, the New York Times".
Av Westin explained, "Like it or not, the Times is our bible; it tells us what is likely to be considered to be important by others".

Here is another example of influence-peddling by the media:

"The Arab leaders who gathered in Rabat decided that a peace settlement was not a worthy objective, and that ultimate victory over "Israel" was within their grasp. A nuclear power is not going to stand there with its hand out forever. The only way to turn the Arabs away from dreams of economic domination of the Western world is for the United States to take the lead in cracking their cartel. The only way to turn the Arabs away from war against "Israel" is for the United States to make it clear to them that "Israel" would win". — Article by syndicated columnist, William Safire, San Jose News 1 November, 1974.

PRESSURE ON PRESIDENT

The zeal with which the Zionists pressure the US Government is apparent from a recent letter signed by 76 US senators requesting President Ford not to delay the \$2.5 billion military aid package to "Israel". To fully appreciate the weight and influence of the news media, consider the following excerpts from a paid advertisement by Middle East Perspective Inc. in the Christian Science Monitor, 31 March, 1975:

WHAT PRICE ISRAEL?

1948-1975

U.S. Government Economic Aid	\$ 2.05 Billion
U.S. Government Military Assistance	\$ 3.92 Billion
Private Contributions (Tax Exempt)	\$ 5.39 Billion
"Israel" Bonds	\$ 2.85 Billion
Loans from U.S. Banks	\$ 1.65 Billion*
TOTAL AS OF JANUARY, 1975	\$15.86 Billion
Assistance for Russian Jewish Emigration	\$0.13 Billion**
Total (or \$ 4700 per "Israel" Citizen)	\$15.99 Billion

(*) Estimated

(**) Includes \$ 40 million authorized but not yet appropriated.

As if this were not enough, an article on the front page of the New York Times, on January 21, 1975, read as follows:

UNHOLY PRESSURES DURING THE "ISRAELI" AIRLIFT

The kalm brothers, Zionists themselves, in their biography, "Kissinger", also attest to the unbelievable pressures exerted to speed the airlift which helped turn the tide for "Israel". "Israeli"

Ambassador Dinitz continuously pressured Secretary Kissinger, who in turn pressured Defence Secretary Schlesinger. In hourly telephone calls and visits to the State Department, the "Israeli" never hesitated to imply that he could "always appeal to a large group of Congressmen and columnists, most of whom were not Jewish" for assistance. (Kissinger referred to these as Dinitz's "shock troops"). To overcome delays when the Defence Secretary's deputy sought time to obtain "more information about American inventories before providing the "Israelis" with an exact timetable for deliveries" the Ambassador reminded the Secretary of State that "if a massive American airlift to "Israel" does not start immediately, then I'll know that the US is reneging on its promises and its policy, and we will have to draw very serious conclusions from all this".

By this, Kissinger understood that the "Israelis" would soon carry their case to the Congress and the people, which would have been then disastrous to an already badly Watergate-battered Administration.

According to Saul Friendman's Philadelphia Inquirer story of 17 April Jewish American leaders traditionally opposed to increases in US military spending were persuaded at an early March dinner, hosted for them by Chief of Naval Operations, Elmo P. Zumwalt, to support a larger Pentagon budget in exchange for fullest military support to "Israel". This was not the first such deal between Washington and Jewish leaders. Both Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon sought to exchange support of "Israel" for a moderation of opposition to the Vietnam War.

Throughout man's history, the influence of economic power is what has determined the destinies of nations. From the Hanging Gardens of Babylon to the grainfields of Assyria, from the pyramids of Egypt to the magnificent temples of Greece and Rome, nothing is more obvious than the domination of economic power over the lives of men and nations. In modern times we have seen empires such as Spain, France and England vanish with the ashes of the Roman Empire for want of economic power.

ECONOMIC POWER PREDOMINANT

The lesson is clear. Political influence is subservient to economic power. Economic influence is the free use of capital for political advantage. Both economic and political influence are based on public opinion. In a free society, public opinion is a powerful and a coveted weapon. It is obvious, then, that those who control public opinion control the political powers of the country. The chief vehicle of public opinion is the media, which includes the press, TV, radio, magazines and books

It is quite obvious that, with enough economic power, a small segment of the population could use the media to their own advantage by generating sympathetic public opinion. With economic power it is possible to wield, mould and control public opinion. Public opinion in a free society is the ultimate political power.

In general, the word "press" means the "free world" press and not a controlled press. Of course, all press is controlled. However, there is a clear distinction between a press that is controlled by the government and another that is controlled by private citizens. Both believe that the public interest is synonymous with their own interests.

While it is obvious that economic and political influence in the US is subservient to public opinion, it is also axiomatic that behind the public opinion is a reassessment of facts and opinions derived by the citizen from the media. Control of the media in a free society is licence for political influence. A free society lends itself admirably to opinion-moulding by private and controlled media.

Obviously, the economic control of the media is the primary responsibility of any group wishing to exercise political power. Assuming the group possesses a strong economic base, there is no great difficulty in acquiring majority stock in several of these publicly-owned companies. After acquiring majority stock in the media, it is possible to cultivate public sympathy for your cause by the judicious placement of sympathetic editors and syndicated columnists. Nurturing of public opinion begins slowly and deliberately, but not openly. It is cultivated and nurtured through a natural process of evolution and education.

With political power within easy access, the opinion-moulders wield and sway power, which is neither granted, voted nor inherited. In a free society, where a government is ostensibly responsive to the demands of the people, one segment of a society can control the political and military destiny of the country by merely taking a stranglehold on its economy. However, economic power alone does not sanctify political actions in a free society. The people must believe that the policies of the government are the true reflections of their composite will.

EXERTING INFLUENCE

Influence-peddling begins when the media wish to promote a programme, a schema or a policy in favour of a political party or country. To have the legislative body and the executive branch of the government favour a specific programme, a stream of editorial lava begins to flow from the media. The following may very well be a case in point:

"It is believed that most experts in the foreign policy field will recommend military aid to "Israel", or "the majority of the public is in favour of the US granting full military assistance to "Israel".

And still another version: "A random public opinion favours military aid to "Israel".

Obviously, no one in a position to question the validity or the authenticity of the statements. They are empirically true and valid because the news media say so. As a consequence, through sophisticated editorials, both the citizens and the legislators, from the President to the lone Congressman, are innocently influenced.

Consider another example. Suppose a group of influential citizens who own and control the media decide to fill the vacant post of the Secretary of State with a candidate of their own. Immediately, the media begin placing discrete and favourable articles in the press, radio and TV. Influential syndicated columnists begin to eulogise the media's choice. He may be Professor John Adams of Princeton.

After an initial exposure to the public, articles on his heroic deeds in national wars appear. As the nomination day draws closer, Prof. Adams' exposure in the media receives greater and greater acceleration until the velocity of exposure is far greater than the print capacity of the media. Soon, Prof. Adams becomes a household name. Neither the Congress nor the President can ignore the Professor. Neither are they willing to expose their ignorance or invite the wrath of the media by questioning the veracity of Prof. Adams' credentials bestowed by the media.

They are more than willing and able to nominate Prof. Adams as Secretary of State. Hence, the power of the press and the will of the people has apparently been realised. Has this been possible only through an alert press, a responsive public and a sensitive Congress? Has the democratic process been achieved?

Finally, how representative is the private press in a free society? It is not representative at all, in the sense that it does not represent you and me. It serves the self-interest of those who control it economically. By its very nature, as a private enterprise, it must serve the interests of the owners.

At best, any private enterprise, whether it is an automobile manufacturer, a grocery chain or a newspaper, can only attempt to please its stockholders.

In essence, then, while we in the US have a free society and a private press, we certainly do not have a representative press. In short, the media serve not the people, but the stockholder. Is this the role of the press in a free society? Is this what the Founding Fathers had in mind back in 1776?

Baghdad Fair Strengthens International Economic Relations

The flags of 47 Arab and foreign nations participating in the 13th Baghdad International Fair (BIF) were hoisted high on the coloured masts marking the opening of this international exhibition.

Held under the theme of "For Developed National Economy and Advanced International Economic Relations" the fair was officially inaugurated on 1st October, 1976, by the Minister of Foreign Trade Mr. Hikmet Ibrahim.

The opening ceremony was attended by a number of Ministers, Arab and foreign distinguished guests, senior government officials, heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Iraq and representatives of the 170 international corporations taking part in the fair.

The Minister, in his inaugural address, while welcoming the guests pointed out that the fair was being held amid very tense international situation with the Arab region occupying the central stage of such uneasy circumstances. He emphasized that the current situation which was characterized by conspiracies aiming at the escalation of aggression against the Arab nation could not be viewed in isolation. "It has to be viewed in the perspective of the whole economic crisis which at present sweeps the capitalist world, the Minister asserted.

"The overall crisis presently affecting the political, economic and ideological life in the capitalist countries has put imperialist ideologists between two squeezes. They have a hyper-anxiety over their monopoly interests and have frenzied and shaken confidence in the future of such interests" the Minister reaffirmed.

Mr. Ibrahim explained that the critical international economic order and the complicated situations in the region had constituted more than one obstacle in the progress of "our national economy; but nevertheless, we will march forward to fulfill our commitments towards our people". "As



stated by President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr", the Minister pointed out, "the 17 July Revolution will not stop at initial targets and aspirations".

Comparing the investments in 1970 with the current year the Minister said, "The appropriations



of the annual investment programme in Iraq grew from 78 million Iraqi dinars (260,000,000 US dollars) in 1970 to 1,493.5 million this year". He reviewed the accomplishments of the industrial sector saying that "the producing sectors have,

over the recent years, realized important strides towards the establishment of a developed national economy".

Importance of the Fair

The Baghdad International Fair serves as a channel between domestic enterprises and international corporations and vice-versa. It enables the local firms to acquaint themselves with the latest developments in the world products and innovations with a view to benefitting from them and utilize the experience for the national projects development. Similarly, the fair operates as a centre for the foreign corporations to exhibit and promote the sales of their products to Iraqi firms and enterprises. Thus it serves as a means for expanding trade and economic cooperation between Iraq and abroad.



To facilitate this mission the BIF management has furnished the foreign corporations participating in the fair with a list containing the capital goods which Iraq needs for its development including machinery, plants, constructional, agricultural and other industrial equipment and other materials.

Services BIF present to visitors

The 13th fair, on the other hand, projected the developments that were taking place in economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other fields and reflected the advanced position, Iraq had attained.

The fair offered many occasional facilities, the visitors who came to see the fair on board Iraqi planes enjoyed a 50 per cent reduction in the cost of their ticket, whether inside or outside Iraq, and 30 per cent for those who travelled by train.

A special residence department was established in the fair to offer quick services for foreign visitors such as granting of entry and exit visas or extension of visas. In addition the BIF customs office was ready to finalize the formalities of the

equipment exhibited in the fair. There are several other services related to tourism, reservations, banking, press and advertisements.

The Exhibits of the Fair

We needed more than five hours to tour the 90,000 square metres which was the area of the fair. We toured most of the pavilions inside the fair. But the most attractive pavilions were those of the Ministry of Industry and Minerals and Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform. In the pavilion of the Industry and Minerals Ministry we saw a lot of modernized industries such as carpets, dairy plants, electrical industries, constructional materials, tobacco industry, vegetable oil products, ready-made clothing, heavy industries such as motor vehicles, tractors, and other machinery equipment.

As regards the pavilion of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, we saw there the most up-to-date methods being adopted in agriculture. These included the mechanization in irrigation, the pioneering plantation in certain parts of Iraq, the use of latest harvesters and the development of fish wealth and livestock.

The most interesting thing in this pavilion was the artificial insemination of cows has been applied this year and for the first time in Iraq. The products of the collective farms and other plantations drew our attention.

The number of Iraqi pavilions in the fair totalled 122.

On October 21 the fair ended. In a special ceremony the Minister of Foreign Trade distributed medals and letters of appreciation to those who had participated.

The most characteristic feature of the 13th Fair was that it was held at a time when Iraq began to implement its Five-Year National Development Plan (1976-80). The political leadership was exerting all the efforts to step up production and raise the efficiency of productive forces. It was held in the period during which the developing and newly independent countries were defending their national rights and trying to put an end to imperialist plunder of their national resources and making the most serious attempts for establishing a new international economic order to replace the decadent system based on injustice.

The 14th fair will be held on October 1 next year under the theme of "International Fairs, a Field for the Development of Friendship and International Commercial Cooperation". It will last for 15 days instead of 21.

Happy Home-coming of Pardoned Kurds

Hassan Ameen is a young man in his thirties who is married and has seven children. A native of Sulaymaniya, he had succumbed

to pressures exerted on him to join the Mulla Mustafa clique of reactionaries and CIA hirelings, and he had taken part in the

insurrection against the Iraqi state. After the inevitable collapse of the insurrection, he had — together with his family — sought refuge in a neighbouring state. But in his place of exile, he had time for reflection and self-examination. He saw his children growing up in an alien society and he was homesick. His old mother had remained in Sulaymaniya and all his friends, relatives and associates were there too. Although he had now a good job which brought him an ample income, he was pining for his country. Thoroughly disillusioned with the men who had led him astray, he now fervently wished to return to Iraq — his beloved country. But as a fugitive, he knew he could not return — not without a full pardon anyway.

He stayed glued to his radio set every evening, hoping to hear an announcement from Radio Baghdad proclaiming an amnesty. He knew in his heart that this amnesty was forthcoming — that

the Arab Baath Socialist Party harboured no grudge against men like him who had been pressured by alien powers into bearing arms against the legitimate authorities. Finally his dream came true in September, when the Iraqi Revolution Command Council proclaimed a full amnesty to former rebels. Not only could they return to their homeland without fear of prosecution or persecution, but they could also return to their old jobs whether these be in the civil service or elsewhere. Those whose property had been confiscated would receive it back and the whole sorry chapter of the insurrection would herewith be forgotten.

Hassan, in his jubilation, recorded on his portable recorder the whole amnesty statement as he heard it broadcast by Radio Baghdad. That very evening he rushed to the homes of fellow exiles to play it back to them

Within a few days, he packed his things and prepared for the journey home with his family. During these days, he heard rumours which were designed to discourage him from returning. He was told that Iraqi firing squads were waiting at the border for the returnees to mete out summary punishment to them. He heard even more blood-curdling tales, but he was not perturbed — he knew his people and he knew his government.

Armed with this confidence he arrived at the Iraqi border. There

he was met by a reception committee headed by a Qaimmaqam (district commissioner). He was given 50 dinars and provided with free transportation to take him to Sulaymaniya. The Iraqi border guards carried his luggage and helped his little children on to the bus. Refreshments and sandwiches were served and there was medical team standing by just in case any of the returnees should need medical attention.

Everything went off smoothly, and within hours of his arrival at the Iraqi border, Hassan was embracing his mother. When we met her later that day, she told us she felt like a young woman again, now that she had once again her son and her grandchildren beside her.

All over the autonomous area, families were receiving long lost relatives. The prodigal sons had returned to the fold. In the first couple of weeks of the amnesty period, about 500 families (comprising around 1750 persons) had returned to their homes and villages. Many more were preparing to leave their place of exile for the journey home.

Every head of a family was given 50 dinars as he set foot on Iraqi soil. Bachelors were given 20 dinars each. Those whose homes had been destroyed in the fighting were assigned temporary quarters until proper homes could be provided for them. Committees were formed everywhere to re-

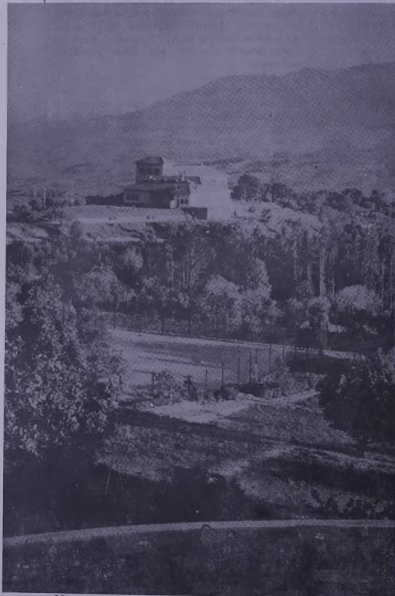
ceive, lodge and provide financial help to returnees. Those who already had jobs before going into exile were provided by recommendation letters to their former superiors so that their return to their old jobs would be facilitated. Confiscated property was automatically restored to the owner returning under the amnesty law. Children who, for two years, had studied in foreign schools, were taken back by their old schools.

During his recent visit to the Autonomous Area, Vice-Chairman Saddam Hussain had enjoined on all officials to combat unemployment. There was to be full employment in the north.

Actually, the vast programmes of industrialization, construction and land reclamation in the north have already created more jobs than ever before. Soon, unemployment will be a thing of the past.

Hassan Ameen was only one of thousands who returned or will return. So many exiles have chosen to return, that the RCC has extended the amnesty period for another month. Iraq needs its sons, whether Arabs or Kurds, they all have a share, a duty in the building of their homeland. There is no place for rancour; no room for grudge. Those who once committed a mistake are now taken back and their mistake is forgiven.

At three checkpoints on Iraq's eastern border, returnees pour into their homeland. People embrace each other; they smile and enjoy, they are home.



Zionist Skulduggery

There is nothing new in the Zionist infiltration of the Western media. Journalists are bribed and duped to serve the Zionist purpose. Those who will not be bought or duped are blackmailed and brought to heel.

Recently, the Zionists tried to buy off the two authors of a book in an attempt to stop its publication. Dan Christensen and David Tinnen discussed in detail the activities of a Zionist "hit team" organized by "Israeli" intelligence (the Mossad) to (avenge Munich).

The Newspaper, *Aftenposten*, said that the Zionists approached the two authors in Paris through a member of the "Israeli" embassy, offering them a bribe of \$300,000, and that the "Israelis" seemed intent on suppressing the book because it contained material that could be damaging to the carefully projected image of Mossad as a highly efficient and omnipotent intelligence agency.

According to the authors of the book, which

is to be published under the title "No. 13", the "Israeli" killers who were trying to track down and murder a Palestinian for his alleged connection with Munich, blundered and killed the wrong man, a certain Ahmed Bouchiki, an Algerian, at the Norwegian resort of Lillehammer.

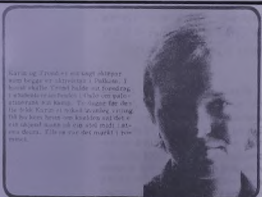
It seems that the "Israelis", for all their vaunted omnipotence, "goofed again": they have not been able to buy off the authors or suppress the book. However, they moved swiftly, and from Paris they went to London where the colour magazine of the Sunday Times has launched a much publicized serial wherein the paper tells the "exciting story" of the "Israeli" hit team (group of murderers) who "avenged Munich!"

The first issue of the Sunday Times coloured magazine carried a blown up photograph of Golda Meir. Quite obviously the "Israelis", having failed to "kill the story", decided to resort to their usual brazen tactics of publicizing their skulduggery.

"Net Terror"

Very few incidents of this sort are discovered about "Israel", zionism and the massive octopus-like terrorist organisation which seems to be operating far and wide. However, the scarcity of such "incidents" does not arise so much from the infrequency of their occurring as from the extreme, almost "insane" precaution proceeded with when the organisation sets out to perform one of its terrorist tasks. The reason is obvious: if any of its tasks were discovered, a clear-cut damage is done to the carefully projected "beneficent" image of zionism and its incarnation in occupied Palestine. Nonetheless, the organisation is susceptible to mistakes.

Unfortunately for the Zionists, the last mistake one of their gangster agents made, has found



Portrait of a young man who was kidnapped from his home in Jerusalem, 1948. He was held for several weeks and then released. He has been found in the past and made a statement about it. He has not yet been identified.

its way to a media capable of publishing it. Recently it was confirmed by a Norwegian paper, *Freet Palestine*, that even in northern Europe, a democratic and independent state like Norway, can fall victim to "Israel" and its many-faced power centers. Nothing is particular about Trund and Karin, a young Norwegian couple, who were of late the direct target of a huge organisation which immediately strikes at those who oppose it. Their

only particular quality, perhaps, in view of the biased stand of Western public opinion, is their support of the Palestinians from a purely humanitarian outlook. Therefore, soon after delivering a lecture in support of the Palestinians at the Students Society in Oslo, Trund had the following happening to his wife and his baby:

Returning home two days after the event, Karin had an unexpected guest sitting in the dark... just a few steps away from her six-month-old baby. "Who are you and what do you want?" she gasped out with fright. Looking up at her in typical glassy look which marks gangsters he said, "This is not important" and he began asking a long list of questions about the Palestinian Committee in Norway, its activities, publications, members and what Karin has to do with it. Not finding any res-

ponse, he began to answer his questions himself adding at the end that sooner or later all who work in that committee were going to be "wiped out"! Finally, he pointed out at the baby and said if Trund and Karin approached that (information) Committee again they would have their baby killed.

Karin was aware that the Zionists never issue such threats "for fun" or "because of an insignificant matter". She knew that it was serious. However she continued intelligently: "They know that our information activities are dangerous to them because they are well aware of the consequences". Karin was hinting at the fact that the Zionists could be exposed to real danger if they leave one free tribune to say the truth and to communicate facts as they are, not fabrications, to the deluded public opinion of broad masses in the West.

New Aspect of Fear Revealed

Why are the Zionists so afraid of the Iraqi Government's decision summoning all Iraqi Jews to return home and enjoy full rights of Iraqi citizenship? The answer is simple: this decision is something to be reckoned with by the Zionists, because, it is a hit directed downright at the very basis of the Zionist theory. Not only that; it is also a danger speedily expanding from one part of the Arab Nation to another, a full proof from the humanitarian point of view, that the Arabs are trying to rescue their Jews — who voluntarily left for occupied Palestine after 1948 — from the pernicious net of zionism.

However, realizing that their claim of "liberating" the Jews by means of providing them with a "national home" or a political cover can well be put at stake by the Iraqi decision and its followers, the Zionists, it seems, have become unable to put their mind at rest any more. They have been driven wild and frantic with revenge and fear. They are even committing such acts as they would never have done before for fear of having the Western public opinion "credit" suddenly withdrawn.

Recently, and in spite of the "Israeli" police state measures, the "Israelis" fell into the dilemma of the counter-migration of Arab Jews. Increasing

numbers of Iraqi Jews try to escape for their homeland. Some individuals, up till now, have succeeded to do so and sneaked out with their families, the most famous case of which being Yousif Nawi and family, while others, as is the case with the Moroccan Jews, are checked and kept back, though reports confirm that more than ninety families managed to flee. As a matter of fact, the danger seems to be speedily growing and the "Israelis" have to stop it at any expense!

As an answer to this, the "Israelis", being unable to suppress the Arab Jews leaving occupied Palestine, have taken to a new plan as it seems. Staggering as it is, the "Israeli" Intelligence Agency (Mossad) has recently gone to kidnap Arab Jews from different parts of the world! While on a summer holiday in Istanbul a certain Miss Madeline Ezra al-Sarraf, an Iraqi Jewish citizen who had nothing to do with "Israel", has been kidnapped by the "Israelis" who afterwards took shelter at their Consulate in Istanbul! Her brother Mr. Samir al-Sarraf who left her for shopping before the kidnaping took place, was notified of this and he expressed his alarm that his sister might forcibly be deported to occupied Palestine. Naturally, what else could be the motive of "Israel" kidnaping a defenceless Arab Jew abroad?

"Poet of Iraq — Abdul Wahab al-Bayati", is an introductory essay with translations written by Desmond Stewart, well-known for his unflinching support to Arab cause. The major ideas of the essay are presented here in a condensed form by Mr. Aziz al-Muttalibi.

Desmond Stewart, the author of this "introductory" essay sees the year of his return to Baghdad (1972) as an appropriate season in which to seek clues to one of the most interesting poets now living — Abdul Wahab al-Bayati.



ABDUL WAHAB AL-BAYATI

A Prominent Arab Poet

A miracle of poets, as of flowers, is the drab soil which can nurture their complex natures. Few places can provide drabber soil than al-Waziriyah, the Baghdad quarter in which, besides a mud embankment, bleaching with salt, rise the dumb-brick boxes of the Higher Teachers' Training College, where the poet starts in his account as a poet. Born in Baghdad in 1926, the poet passed his boyhood in the countryside and enrolled in the college in 1944.

"My first shock came when I uncovered the reality of the city. It was a sham, put together at random like a clown's garments with its stuck-on patches. The Tigris-side city which for centuries produced and maintained a great civilization seemed to me dead and finished. I wished it to stay so, to pour its last fragments into a great sea, and they merge and vanish."

Mr Stewart tells us of al-Bayati's bitter appraisal of the curriculum approved by the then Ministry of Education. "There was no relationship between our studies and our spiritual and material needs."

Al-Bayati soon finds himself creating with his young companions who attend Cafe Suisse "their own existentialism" — the insistence on freedom, the emphasis on man's continuous revolution, the rejection of trivialities and shallow indifference —

there were the aspects of the existentialist movement which detained me at their station". Lacking even a cracking command of English, al-Bayati found that little Arab magazines of Beirut were the major vehicle for foreign ideas.

Al-Bayati chose short stories as his first medium. His emergence as an important poet came with the publication of a volume entitled "Broken Pitchers" in 1954. The poems of the volume, in their modern images and unusual rhythm are signs that a new poet, unlike his predecessors, is born.

The book's success introduced al-Bayati to the political scene and between 1954 and 1960, the poems he published revolved round political themes. His years of exile, though led him to a friendship with the exiled Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet, were not happy. And all the time he was longing for the little pleasures of the Arab world. In 1965 he visited Egypt, making Cairo his home. The catastrophe of June War forces the poet to his starkest utterance and his "Lament for the June Sun", begins with bitter denunciation of his own caste of intellectuals who, according to him, had made no attempt to bell the cat, even at its tail.

We are pounded in the cafe of the East
War of words,
Wooden swords
Lies and horsemen of the air.
We did not kill a camel or a crow:
We did not try the game of death.
We did not play with knights or even pawns:
Our employment trivia
As we slew each other to the final crumb.

His return from exile — to an office as cultural adviser in the Ministry of Information (Baghdad) — is not the return to a city or a poli-

tical programme. (His poems at this period offer little hope). The return is to a soil of Sufi tradition, a tradition which derives from another age of frustration and betrayal. Both as epigraph and epilogue to his poetical autobiography al-Bayati quotes from Jalal al-Din Rumi, the thirteenth-century poet:

A beloved asked his lover: "Sir, you have seen many cities in your exile:
Which of them was best?"
"The city", he answered, "wherein my heart was stolen".

To al-Bayati, as to the Sufi poets of the past, love is the supreme human experience. It is not the temporary possession of another human being but stands for the experience which dissolves the barriers dividing man from nature and nature's creator.

The best example of this is a poem in which he speaks through Ibn-Arabi, Ain al-Shams, literally Eye of the Sun, is the name of the beloved. She becomes a galaxy of bright images. The climax of the poet is complex. The poet is dead and the images remain. The clash between the two resolves in a pessimistic optimism that is entirely Sufi:

All that we love voyages or dies
O ships of silence, O books of water: the wind
arrsted
Our meeting: a new birth, an age oncoming —
Now falls from my face, your face, shadow
and mask:
The walls too are falling.

Mr. Stewart is happy to tell us in conclusion that perhaps more than any other Arab poet al-Bayati has broken down the walls which divide the speakers of Arabic from the outside world. He has been well equipped to speak in universal terms.

Profile of the Lover
of the Great Bear

by Abdul Wahab al-Bayati

1.
When he returned from his travels
I used to see him at night
Walking under the snow
His head bent, alone,
And when you called him
His reply, a vague smile
Fading in the wind and the dark
And within himself he resumed his daily tor-
ment and the quest

For love's continent
Buried under the snow and screams
Shaking in his long overcoat on the white
pavement
As though a thousand years had passed him
by and within himself

He was burning travelling or returning
Waiting for a new sign to appear in the black
sky
Or a spark in the unknown

2.
He was a comet bleeding
Returned from his travels and burnt out

3.
When he returned I never knew whence he
came
And where he'd been the spellbound

4.
I used to see him
And when you called him, his reply, a vague
smile
Fading in the light and the dark.

ATH-THAWRA (Iraq)

The Iraqi daily Ath-Thawra editorially commenting on the inauguration of the great Thirdar project said, "The significance of the project is not confined to its economic aspects only but extends to a basic point connected with the revolutionary perspectives — the vital changes that the political leadership aspires to implement in the countryside.

The paper, the paper added, apart from providing irrigation water from the Tigris to the Euphrates river basin, will also bring life to the numerous reclaimed desert areas around the canal. The project area will turn into a beautiful tourist centre.

The paper added that millions of Iraqi peasants around the Euphrates basin who, for want of water, felt dismayed over the destiny of their towns and plantations when the Syrian regime had blocked the flow of the Euphrates river waters, would always remember the firm revolutionary will that accomplished this giant project and the people who worked day and night to bring into existence this greater-than-dream project.

In conclusion the daily emphasized that the Thirdar canal will remain as a symbol of the daring development initiatives for building a prosperous Iraq and as an example of the bonds of friendship and cooperation that existed between Iraq and the Soviet Union.

AL-TAHRER NEWSPAPER (Syria)

The secret newspaper Al-Tahreer, an organ of the Arab Baath Socialist Party in Syria, strongly denounced the cheap compromises that are taking place on the Lebanese arena, and confirmed that the fall of Tel al-Zaiter came after two months of incessant bombardment, mean lobbying and fatal bargain.

The paper, in a recent issue circulated by militant Baathists to Syria masses, said, "The forces of renegade Syrian regime entered Lebanon at a time when some Palestinian Resistance leaders were betting on Hafez Assad as the sole protector of the Resistance or at least a neutral person in the Lebanese conflict".

The paper warned "those who think that the movement of the Iraqi troops towards the Syrian border was designed to overthrow the regime there, are entirely mistaken and shortsighted. The Syrian people are the natural and only forces to undertake such a task".

Al-Tahreer further called for the intensification

of the struggle and mobilization of all energies "to stand firm against all sorts of cheap bargains".

TANIA (Cyprus)

The Tania newspaper of Nicosia highly commended the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement for the vigorous part they took in resisting imperialist schemings in the region.

In an article titled "The Palestinian Revolution", the paper said, "Arab reaction and Zionism were concerting their efforts with the object of destroying the Palestinian Revolution". Imperialism, the paper added, had been using Zionism as a bridgehead for carrying out its ill designs aimed against the Palestinian Resistance.

The paper termed as enemies those regimes "who are taking up arms against the Palestinian Revolution".

PATRIOT (India)

The important Indian daily, Patriot, has strongly denounced the collaboration between the Syrian regime and the Zionist entity describing it as a bargain on the Golan heights and a blockade in the face of the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese National Movement.

The Indian newspaper said the chieftains of the Syrian regime were raising a number of high sounding revolutionary slogans while making a common cause with forces of reaction against the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement.

The newspaper expressed the view that only by continuing the Palestinian armed struggle and guaranteeing the Lebanese independence and territorial integrity could the crisis in Lebanon be resolved.

AL-MUSAWAR (Egypt)

The Egyptian weekly Al-Musawar described the solution of the Kurdish issue and the establishment of autonomous institutions in the northern area of Iraq as a "great achievement and an ideal example which should be followed".

In a special article published on the occasion of opening of the 3rd session of the Autonomous Area Legislative Council the weekly said, "The Iraqi leadership proved its progressive and human attitude with the remarkable achievement".

The magazine pointed out that the "new situation in northern Iraq is a unique example".

ABSP SECRETARY GENERAL & RCC VICE-CHAIRMAN RECEIVE PLO CHAIRMAN

The Arab Baath Socialist Party Secretary General, comrade Michel Aflaq, received on October 19 last Mr. Yasser Arafat Chairman of the Executive Committee of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Mr. Arafat arrived in Baghdad on a short visit to Iraq. During his stay in Baghdad he had talks with the political leadership in Iraq on the latest developments of the situation in Lebanon and on the results of Riyadh six-sided summit conference.

During the meeting comrade Aflaq reiterated the absolute support of the ABSP to the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese National Movement. He also hailed the solid cohesion of the Lebanese and Palestinian people in their fight against imperialist-Zionist reactionary plots.

Mr. Arafat was also received by the Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council (RCC), Mr. Saddam Hussein. Mr. Arafat briefed Mr. Hussein about the results of the Riyadh conference and expressed his gratitude to the ABSP and 17 July Revolution for continued backing of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement.

GIANT TRANS WORLD TELECOMMUNICATIONS PROJECT INAUGURATED

The Iraqis will be able to contact the external world by direct dealing through the new ID. 3.5 million worth project of telecommunications.

The earth station for international telecommunications via satellites was officially inaugurated on October 20.

Built by cooperation with French technical corporation the station will operate on 7 directions. It has been equipped with 70 telephone channels through access to Intelsat now in orbit over the Indian Ocean which provides satellite services to Asia, Europe and Africa. Meanwhile, it will operate on two other directions equipped with 20 telephone channels through access to Intelsat over the Atlantic Ocean which provides services to South and North America, Europe and West Africa.

FRENCH MINISTER VISITS IRAQ

French Minister of State for Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, Norbert Segard, paid a 3-day

visit to Iraq beginning on October 20, during which he attended the inauguration ceremony of the earth station for telecommunications via satellites.

While here Mr. Segard signed for his country an Iraq-French cooperation agreement in the field of telecommunications with Iraq Minister of Communications Mr. Sadoun Ghaidan.

M. Segard told reporters prior to his departure that he was very satisfied with the results of the Iraq-French cooperation and "I am greatly impressed by the speedy development and progress of Iraq in the industrial, agricultural and technical fields".

IRAQ-ERITREAN CONSULTATIONS

A delegation representing Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) led by Mr. Ahmed Mohammed Nasser, Chairman of the Executive Committee and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, paid a few days visit to Iraq this month to brief the Iraqi political leadership about the decisions taken by the Revolutionary Council in its recent meeting and the developments of the Eritrean revolution which stresses national unity as the prerequisite for achieving victory over the Ethiopian colonialism.

The Eritrean leader highly valued Iraq's support to the Eritrean revolution.

GFYI AND WFYD SIGN PROTOCOL

The General Federation of Iraqi Youth this month signed in Baghdad a protocol with World Federation of Democratic Youth calling for "strengthening bilateral relations, promoting international understanding, supporting the struggle for attainment of youth rights in all continents, and conducting contacts and exchanging expertise between GFYI and WFYD in all fields".

The protocol was signed by GFYI chairman Mr. Karim Mahmoud for Iraq side and by WFYD President Pietro Lippicicella, for the world organization.

The WFYD delegation led by Mr. Lippicicelli was visiting Iraq at the invitation of GFYI.

Erratum

In the previous issue, Vol. II No. 26, October 1-15 of Iraq Today, a misprint on page 22, line 29, column 1 should read:
On March 11, 1974 the autonomy law

