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ملاحق الحزب الاشتراكي

IRAQI REVIEW

A WEEKLY ENGLISH SUPPLEMENT TO ITTIHAD AL-SHAAB

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CONTENTS

Page	
2	Commentary (The Fifth Conspiracy).
3	Comrade Zeki Khairi's Statement.
5	Saigh's Attacks on Socialist Countries Refuted.
6	Kubba Calls for Guided Democracy.
10	Facts and Figures about Peasant Associations.
11	(An Interview with Kadhim Ferhoud).
15	Dr. Yousif Ismail Calls for Proportional Representation.

Memorandum of the Communist Party Presented to Premier

A spokesman of the Founding Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party (Ittihad al-Shaab) made the following statement:

On behalf of the Founding Committee, Zeki Khairi sent, on March 7, 1960, a detailed memorandum to Premier Qassim in which he imparted to the Premier the Committee's legal deliberation regarding the attitude and decision of the Ministry

of Interior in refusing the application submitted by the Founding Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party (Ittihad al-Shaab). Among other things, the memorandum of the Founding Committee said, "The revolutionary government, of which you are a leader and an inspirer of its laws and policy, is the authority which we thought better to ap-

(Cont. on p. 16)



A Contingent of Iraqi Peasants who took part in suppressing the Shawaf Mutiny in Mosul. March 8th is its first anniversary.

THE FIFTH CONSPIRACY

Conspiracies are no rare happenings in the new Iraq. Ever since the Iraqi Republic was born the Western powers with big oil stakes in the Middle East have tried by every possible means to strangle it. When direct intervention by the landing of British and American troops in Jordan and Lebanon failed to get the desired results, new techniques were employed. Reactionary forces were lined up, local quarrels were intensified and Egyptian expansionist ambitions were all utilised for the purpose. Conspiring against the Iraqi Republic has now become routine practice for the Western imperialist powers who are now coordinating all the external and internal forces hostile to liberation and democracy.

No sooner had the attempt on the life of premier Kassem — which was to be the starting point of the fourth conspiracy — failed, than the Western powers together with Middle Eastern reactionaries and puppet governments started to prepare for a fifth round.

Roles were allotted and efforts were coordinated with great care. A CENTO power would dangle the carrot with the flavour of Turkish delight and the Shah of Persia would brandish the big stick on the Iraq border along the Shatt al-Arab, threatening the Iraqi Government to do something about Communism or else. And then just at the right time President Eisenhower would be "warmly welcomed" in the new Teheran airdrome to show that U.S. imperialism will not "let down" its allies even if they were the open aggressors.

Nasser did not need hints as to what was going on. He took a leading role in it all. Moreover, the Syrian people are no longer bewitched admirers or passive spectators of their own ruined democracy and lost independence. To hit two birds with one stone, Nasser dispatched Abdul Hakim Amer immediately after the attempt on the Iraqi Premier's life last year. He was to keep Syria safe for Egyptian monopoly and keep up the fallen morale of Nasser's agents in Iraq. Cairo's radio "Voice of the Arabs" made still more violent at-

tacks against the Iraqi Republic, making use of traitors and reactionaries who fled the country to be welcomed in Cairo as heroes.

All this took place before the sixth of January when it was declared that political parties will be licensed. Smelling possible differences among the national forces they played on the fears of shaky elements in Iraqi society and brought heavy pressure on the Iraqi Republic from all quarters, while at the same time making "tempting" proposals that if concessions are made, all will be well. And when these are granted the Western powers and Middle Eastern reactionaries hope that the national movement will be still more divided and thereby weakened. The next step is not hard to guess. For imperialism and reaction have made it clear that they do not contemplate half measures, the object is to bring down the national government and instal a tame one which is more amenable to Western guidance. For that reason they tried to assassinate the Iraqi Premier, Abdul Karim Kassem as a first step to putting the clock back in Iraq. There is nothing to suggest that imperialism and reaction have given up the course. On the contrary there is plenty of evidence to show that a "fifth conspiracy" is being brewed on the lines indicated above.

Take for example the dispute on the Shatt al-Arab agreement. Many Western newspapers blamed the Iraqi Republic for starting it as a distraction for public opinion from internal discontent. Other papers said the Persian Government was justified in its complaints. The "New York Times" of December 29, 1959 admitted that "Information available here indicates that the long standing dispute was reopened by the Shah of Iran in a news conference on November 28. But the truth has to come out; that it was a calculated trick to bring pressure to bear on the Iraqi Republic on the eve of licensing political parties scheduled for Jan. 6.

President Eisenhower saw fit to time his visit to Persia at a critical

moment of the crisis. American papers did not hide the purpose behind the American President's visit. As the "New York Post" put it (Dec. 20 1959) "President Eisenhower whizzed into Teheran the other day for lunch and an avuncular demonstration of support for the Shah".

So there was no doubt about the stand of the U.S. Government on this issue. On December 24th last year the "New York Times" reported that "the State Department disclosed today that it was using its influence in Baghdad and Teheran to persuade both sides to negotiate an amicable agreement on their border dispute in the Shatt al-Arab". In an editorial on the same subject Dec. 29, 1959 the paper was more explicit. The editorial is the more significant in view of the closeness of the paper to the State Department and therefore it can be taken to reflect official thinking: "The agitation over the Shatt al-Arab frontier between Iraq and Iran", the paper commented, seems to be as much as anything a reflection of the ferment in Iraq itself. "For the Middle East and hence for the West, the primary anxiety comes from internal developments in Iraq. At the time the monarchy was overthrown on July 14, 1958, it was generally realised that this was a revolution against social and political injustice ... Too much weight was given to Arab Nationalism and not enough to Iraqi Communists, who by training and ability, were in a class by themselves in the Arab world ... There is a great deal of discontent and internal disorder, which would be enough to explain the activities on the Shatt al-Arab. At the same time, the social pressures and strength of Communism naturally add to the nervousness of Iraq's neighbour, Iran".

And so the cat is out of the bag, "the internal disorder" and "discontent" would be enough to explain the activities on the Shatt al-Arab. And it is admitted quite plainly that the threats and "ner-

(Cont. on p. 12)

Democracy Is Essential

The following was published in Ittihad al-Shaab on Wednesday, March 2, 1960, under the heading "safeguarding nation independence and fulfilling the tasks of the revolution are bound up organically with the question of democracy".

The Editorial Board of Ittihad al-Shaab interviewed Comrade Zeki Khairi, member of the Founding Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party (Ittihad al-Shaab), and asked him for his view regarding the developments related to the question of licensing the party and the complications that ensued following the licensing of Saigh's clique. Comrade Zeki Khairi made the following statement.

The Iraqi people know that our application to found the Iraqi Communist Party (which we were later compelled to change to Ittihad al-Shaab) was merely the crystallization of a reality which had developed in the thick of battle for over a quarter of a century. Throughout this critical period, the Iraqi Communists continued to resist the outright reactionary policy which the imperialists imposed and which their agents, the rulers of the old regime, faithfully carried out to the letter. The people knew our Party as a conscientious and faithful defender of their interests. Our Party did not compromise, or come to terms, with the enemies; neither did it abandon the field of struggle in any period of its long life. When struggle meant bloodshed and torture, our Party was, as the people know, very generous in paying the toll of death. Whenever persecution and oppression prevailed, our Party relentlessly continued the struggle preaching self-confidence and the inevitability of success. Thus, our Party remained in the forefront of the forces struggling for liberation, the struggle which was crowned with the success of the revolution on 14th July.

The Communists, alongside other faithful forces of the people, ral-

Application of Iraqi C. P. Refused

Following is the text of letter No. 671 dated 22nd Feb., 1960, addressed by the Minister of Interior to Zeki Khairi and his group.

Subject: Refusal of an application for founding a political party.

With reference to your reply to is dated 8th Feb., 1960 and your subsequent application dated 14th Feb., 1960, re altering the name of a party to "People's Unity Party".

After close examination, we noted that:

1. Article No. 4 of Law of Association No. 1 dated 1960 provides or the name of the political party to be mentioned in its inner rules. Evidently, the purpose is to make sure that the party is clearly distinct as an entity from any other party inasmuch as the name constitutes, as per civil law, a component of the party. Whereas another party, under the name "The Iraqi Communist Party" has already been founded, the foundation of another party under the same name is illegal.

2. Regarding the alternation of the name to "People's Unity Party", as requested in your application, this is legally impossible inasmuch as the name is considered a part of the inner rules of the party as is clearly stated in art. No. 2 of the Law of Associations. The alteration of the name, therefore, after the application for founding the party amounts to changing the in-

ner rules of the party which is against the rule.

3. The aims and objectives envisaged in your programme and inner rules are identical, more or less, with those of the already existing "Iraqi Communist Party". The foundation of your party, therefore, beside the already existing "Iraqi Communist Party" conflicts with the general spirit of the law which does not permit founding two political parties with similar objectives, let alone that that does not coincide with the policy of the Iraqi Republic aimed at pooling efforts for the well-being of the people.

4. The information now available to this Ministry and accumulated from responsible authorities indicates that the provisions as per art. 4 of the aforementioned law are not counted for in the aims of the party.

For the above mentioned reasons and by virtue of the authority entrusted to me as per para. 3 of art. No. 5 of Law of Association No. 1 dated 1960, and inasmuch as an Iraqi Communist Party has actually been founded, we decided to refuse your application for founding the party. This decision is capable of appeal.

Signed

MINISTER OF INTERIOR

Copy to:

The Military Governor.
Muttasarifat, Bagdad Liwa.
Directorate General of Police.
Directorate General of Security.

lied, right from the beginning, to the support of the Revolution. They heroically defended the national government and the gains of the people from the threats of the aggressors and intriguers. In supporting the revolutionary government and unconditionally siding with its leadership, our Party was invariably inspired by the interests of the peo-

ple and not simply trying to please any one or in return for any party gains. During this period of struggle, rich in sacrifices, fidelity and selflessness, our Party again proved its strict adherence to the interests of the people and willingness to discharge its full responsibilities in the struggle for national liberation and independence. Actions, wh-

ich speak louder than words, testify to the fact that our Party played an honourable role in the defence of the Republic, the national government and the revolutionary gains. The precious blood of hundreds of Communists and their supporters, shed on the soil of the beloved country, bear witness to the loyalty and selflessness of the Communists. The bullets which pierced the bodies of scores of Communists, both before and after the Revolution, the prisons which were never empty of Communists for the last quarter of a century, torturing centres and persecution and exile, all these — and not vilification and distortion — are the conclusive proof of the Communists' loyalty to their own country. For the sake of their country — the soil of which they saturated with their own blood — the Communists have put up with deprivation, persecution and torture.

The memory of the people is not short. Our people remember the minutest details of the struggle which our Party waged against imperialist tutelage and reactionary oppression. Our people will never forget that whenever danger arose, thousands of patriots, in cities and the country, with the assistance of the Communists, persisted in the battle for the defence of the Republic and the national government. It is the reality, and not distortion, that our people understand and treasure.

Little doubt, then, that our people consider our Party a constant patriotic force worthy of their esteem and confidence; with its long and continuous history and incessant sacrifices, they look at it as the embodiment of all their aspirations. The Iraqi working class — the first victim of oppression in the old regime — through its own sanguinary struggle, discovered our Party as the sole party of its ideas, objects and aspirations. The working class and the conscious masses of our people who take this resolute stand towards our Party, know, at the same time, the true colours of the dissident and opportunistic groups who aim at distorting the true philosophy and aims of our Party, or else divert it from its genuinely Marxist-Leninist line. Consequently, all such groups were liquidated and renounced inasmuch as what they aimed at was diametrically opposed to the ideas and aims of the

working class and the interests of the people. Naturally, all this was possible only because the working class, the peasants, the revolutionary intellectuals and the masses of the toilers considered our Party the only party worthy of their confidence and faithful to their interests. It is the crude facts of history which placed our Party in this position; it is also, the working class and the people that created its very entity and turned it into a patriotic political force enjoying the mandate of the people.

When the Revolution was successfully carried out, the historical fact made itself felt; our Communist Party, the strongest and oldest of them all, was already in the battle-field of national struggle together with other political parties and groups working for the well-being of the people.

When we applied for legal permission for our Party, we were merely expressing this already existing fact and we embodied the will of the Iraqi Communists to secure their legitimate right for open political work. Compliance with our demand on the part of the national government would be considered by us one of the many blessings of our revolution, particularly because the old regime had compelled our Party to work underground throughout the 25 years of its existence.

It was taken for granted that, after the Revolution, our Party would be allowed to carry out its activities freely. The relative freedom accorded to us had a positive effect on mobilizing the masses of the people, augmenting the militancy of our Republic and national government in the face of plots and intrigues, and in the consolidation and further development of the gains made by our Revolution for the benefit of our entire people. The more freedom accorded to our Party and to other sincerely patriotic forces, the safer our Republic became and the more its prestige was enhanced in the eyes of Arab, neighbouring and peace-loving peoples of the world. On the other hand, any step taken in the opposite direction had a negative effect on the masses of our people, our friends in the Arab countries and in the world as a whole. As a result, the safety and militancy of our Republic in face of the pressure coming from imperia-

Radio Keking Condemns Saigh's Opportunist Clique

Yesterday, Feb. 16, Radio Peking repeatedly broadcast a report in Arabic on the political parties in Iraq and about the Iraqi Communist Party intended to be founded by Keki Khairi and his co-founding group. Censuring Saigh and his clique the report, citing Ittihad al-Shaab, said, "Dawood al-Saigh had been expelled from the party in the year 1943 because of his inter-party alignment activities. He then grouped together a number of opportunists and formed the so-called Communists League only to continue his disruptive activities. In the year 1957, he tried to return and submitted a statement of self-criticism. Now it is evident that he was not sincere". Continuing, Radio Peking further added, "In the second half of the year 1959, Dawood al-Saigh, once recommenced his anti-party activities precisely at a time when the foes, from within and without, were hectoring attacking the Party. It was then that Dawood al-Saigh started to edit 'Al-Mabda' a daily which he used as an organ, the chief task of which was to disrupt the Party. Consequently, Dawood al-Saigh was, for the second time, expelled from the Party".

lists and reaction was adversely affected. The question of legalizing our Party and allowing it to function together with the rest of the national parties is a vital one for mobilizing the forces of our people for the defence of our Republic and its gains.

Legalizing a party like ours, which enjoys the support of the broad masses of our people; is, naturally, an important national issue. This is not only because it corresponds to the interests of the working class and masses of toilers who are attracted by our Party; it is also because it accords with the prerequisites for defending the Republic and achieving its tasks which are, in effect, in the interest of all patriotic classes. What makes us so keen on obtaining the licence for open-work is the fact that we know very well that denying us such a licence will create conditions profitable only to the imperialists and reaction. None, from among the

(Cont. on p. 13)

SAIGH'S ATTACK ON SOCIALIST COUNTRIES REFUTED

(From Ittihad al-Shaab Feb. 26)

The Opportunists' Antagonism Towards Soviet Union and International Proletariat now Divulged.

As expected, the opportunistic clique has begun, now that it is disdained by all sincere patriots and out-spokenly condemned by all fraternal communist parties, to attack the Soviet Union and all those who censured its rightist opportunism aimed at disrupting the labour movement and national movement as a whole.

Also, the condemnation of the clique by all Communist parties was only natural and prompted by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism by which all these parties are inspired. The most conspicuous feature of the campaign against the opportunists was undertaken by the Soviet press, notably Pravda, Izvestia and Trud, all of which reproduced long quotations from the programme of our Party and fully cited the statement made by Comrade Zeki Khairi to Ittihad al-Shaab regarding the alteration of the name of the party and the censuring of the opportunistic clique which shamelessly called itself 'The Iraqi Communist Party'. The opportunists continued, for sometime, to bandy rumours about alleging that certain communist parties do not approve of the policy of the Iraqi Communist Party. Nevertheless, it did not take a long time for the fraternal communist parties, whether in the Socialist countries, Arab sister countries and all over the world, to condemn this opportunistic behaviour and those who engineered it.

Of course, this was not to the liking of a reactionary paper which boasts of being an all-out enemy of Communism. Like its masters, the imperialists, this corrupt paper launched a campaign of falsification against the Soviet Union on the pre-

text that the latter interfered in the internal affairs of Iraq. This paper reminded one of how Nassir and his press and news agencies once bleated about an alleged Soviet 'intervention', and of how they had later to swallow their words when they discovered that they had become the laughing stock of the entire world. The broad masses of our people know very well that the Soviet Union does not interfere in the affairs of any state. Our people know that the real interventionists are the imperialists who were upset by the recent Law of Associations and the legalisation of our party in particular.

The imperialists, therefore, exercised pressure on our Republic, particularly at the beginning of last month, when they resorted to new manoeuvres; namely, the using of Persia as a cat's paw against our Republic with a view to obstructing the legal recognition of our party and discrediting party life in Iraq in order to divert our Republic from its democratic line, which is the mainstay of its defence.

As for the organ of the opportunistic clique, it attacked the communist parties, particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, only in another way, but equally shamelessly. It accused the fraternal communist parties and their organs and radio stations of the Socialist countries of "Lack or scarcity of understanding" and of "arrogance" and of "off-handedness". These very terms were used by the champion of the opportunistic clique who want to create the impression that there is "a division" among the ranks of the Iraqi Communists despite the fact that the entire world has, during one mere month, known the utter bankruptcy of his clique which failed to group together ten founders, let alone fifty supporters.

Thus, opportunism has, once again, revealed its antagonism not only towards our Communist Party but also towards the international

proletariat. Such an attitude is, however, only too natural; the foes of Communism in Iraq cannot but be the foes of Communism all over the world. The clique undertook to "deal with" the question of making the radio stations and press correspondents of Socialist countries better understand the situation. They did not dare to reveal all their intentions and with flattery called the Socialist countries "dear states", at the same time accusing them of "Lack or scarcity of understanding", "off-handedness" and "Arrogance". The Champion of the clique promised to "deal with the problem" but nothing came forth. His right hand man undertook another task. Writing under the heading "AN APPEAL" he accused the fraternal communist parties of shortsightedness and of "falsifying" and "distorting facts".

The history of the communist parties in the world is full of examples of struggle against various types of opportunism. This is exactly why these parties know full well the true nature of this opportunistic clique in Iraq, and therefore contributed towards revealing its nature on an international level basing themselves on the fact that this is already known within the country. The enmity of the clique towards Communism is an integral part of its behaviour no matter how hard they try to conceal their intentions behind philosophical terms.

Agrarain Reform

Report By:

ZEKI KHAIRI

Next Issue

KUBBA CALLS FOR GUIDED DEMOCRACY

Kubba on the Election of the National Assembly.
(From Ittihad al-Shaab Feb. 23)

Answering two questions about the surest guarantees for a free election and the advantages of proportional representation, Sayid Ibrahim Kubba made the following statements to the correspondent of Ittihad al-Shaab.

Your questions evoke a series of political and social issues with which public opinion in Iraq is at present preoccupied. Though it is not easy to deal with all these efficiently offhand, nevertheless, a number of social and political axioms must be mentioned here before any attempt to answer your questions can be made at all.

The Essence and tasks of 14th July Revolution:

First, we must proceed from identifying the true nature of the 14th July Revolution and the tasks which it envisages in the present stage of the development of our society.

In a general way, we can say that: 1. The 14th July Revolution was a liberal-democratic one which aimed at the liquidation of the imperialist tutelage, on the one hand, and the elimination of feudalism and reaction, on the other. It is this nature of our revolution which turns it against imperialism and reaction with a view to establishing a firm, sound and national economic base. Last, but not least, to restore liberties to the people and consolidate the basic rights of the citizens.

2. As a result of the above, the forces which are interested in achieving the objectives of the revolution are the four patriotic social strata, namely: Workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Whereas the enemies of the Revolution are the feudalists, reaction, and other stooges of imperialism.

3. It is, therefore, clear from the above that the 14th July Revolution cannot be called socialist inasmuch as it does not envisage the aboli-

tion of the private ownership of the means of production. Certain bourgeois groups and their political parties in Iraq made frequent use of Socialism in their programme. It is evident, however, that they were not using the term 'Socialism' in its proper scientific sense. There is, therefore, a consensus of opinion among all the patriotic forces as to the fact that the 14th July Revolution was not Socialist as such. On the other hand, it cannot be bourgeois in the traditional sense of such revolutions.

The era of such revolutions on the international scale was ended when capitalism reached the stage of imperialism and with the advent of the great October Revolution. Bourgeois revolutions were in vogue when the basic contradiction was between feudalism and capitalism; whereas today, the contradiction, on the international level, is between imperialism and socialism. For this reason, democratic and liberal revolutions, the 14th July Revolution an example, cannot be part of the Bourgeois revolution; they are part of the world-wide revolution against imperialism.

The fact that the 14th July Revolution is an integral part of the international revolution waged against imperialism is an objective fact independent of the will of any one. It is so simply because it stimulates and feeds the revolutionary forces fighting against imperialism all over the world.

It is this fact that decides who are the supporters and foes of our revolution. Briefly, the Revolution is supported by: Socialist countries, national liberation movements all over the world — particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America — and labour and toilers movements of the world together with all peace forces.

As for enemies, they are all the representatives of reaction and counter-revolution all over the world.

4. As already stated, the objectives of the 14th July Revolution

Two More Founding Members of Saigh's "Party" Withdraw

Two new "founding members" who signed the application for Saigh's "Party" together with eight others, have withdrawn. This is the third time that the "founding committee" of Saigh collapses, as ten is the minimum number required by the Law.

The two founding members who have withdrawn are Messrs. Faisal al-Quraishi and Ihsan Yousif. In his letter of resignation, published in 'Ittihad al-Shaab' on February 28th, Mr. Quraishi stated: "I have myself witnessed the contempt of the broadest masses towards our work and all the attempts we made to win Communists to our side ended in failure. Up till now only a few applications for membership have been filled in. Besides that, the Communist parties and the international working class movement have all condemned the work we did, a fact which led Mr. Dawood al-Saigh to publish an article in the newspaper 'Mabda', attacking the Communist parties and the international proletarian movement, as well as the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries".

are the task of all patriotic classes; they cannot be achieved by any one class. Hence, the danger involved in any attempt on the part of any of the said classes to monopolize the revolution — left deviations among the workers and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The only means of achieving the tasks of the Revolution is the unity of all patriotic classes in a national front with which to accomplish the objectives of the democratic-liberal revolution.

By "National Unity" is not here meant what certain factions of bourgeoisie sometimes agitate for in order to monopolize the revolution, such as: the conception of Single Party, the abolition of party life

under the pretext of avoiding the disunity of the national ranks, falsification of party life by encouraging right wing opportunism while denying liberty to the basic productive classes of the society or the idea of the Nationalist Union, etc.

By "National Unity" we precisely mean the alliance of all patriotic classes in a national front which must embrace all their political representatives on the basis of achieving the tasks which must be common to all and which form, in effect, the basic tasks of the revolution.

The formation of a national front is, therefore, inevitably necessary as is the right of political activity to all patriotic classes.

Guided Democracy.

After all this, the question of the best democratic system suited to the nature of the 14th July Revolution also arises. In this connection, we must mention, at once, that democracy is a class conception which develops with the development of society. We must also note that dictatorship and democracy are two aspects of the same thing. In other words any democracy is simultaneously dictatorship as far as the classes which do not enjoy liberty are concerned. Thus, the diagnosis of the democratic system most suited to our present stage of development must be based on the social structure of our society, on the one hand, and the sum total of the social facts mentioned above, on the other.

In the light of the above, it is clear that Guided Democracy is the only system which corresponds to the nature of our great Revolution.

It is not our intention to relate here all details related to this system. However, a few important points must be mentioned.

It was noted that the political agents of certain bourgeois factions praised Guided Democracy in the early days of the Revolution. However, they began to retreat in the period of counter-revolution following the defeat of Al-Shawaff Insurrection. Gradually they abandoned their attitude regarding Guided Democracy and began to lean towards Liberal Democracy, particularly in their stand on a number of issues.

Although the expression "Guided Democracy" was first used by Dr. Soekarno who elaborated it in

a series of articles and speeches, nevertheless, its essence is, implicitly or explicitly, contained in the literature connected with the democratic-liberal revolutions.

We believe that Guided Democracy is most suited to our Revolution for the following reasons:

1. Guided Democracy is militant democracy, i.e., it is directed against feudalism and reaction. It involves denying these classes any political rights with a view to liquidating all traces which are obstacles in the way of the Revolution. By liquidation of the foes we do not mean encroachment against individuals, that is an anarchic conception; what we mean is the liquidation of the social systems which are conductive to the supremacy and exploitation of the said classes.

2. Guided Democracy is that of all patriotic classes, that is, it is not a screen for the dictatorship of any one class as is the case with Liberal Democracy. It is the instrument of rule for all patriotic classes with which to achieve the objectives of the revolution.

3. Guided Democracy is that of national unity; it is based on the alliance of the political representatives of all patriotic classes. It is the embodiment of the aspirations common to all patriotic classes and helps to avoid the aggravation of secondary contradictions among the people. It is, therefore, the anti-thesis of Liberal Democracy which, as is well known from experience, always leads to disrupting national unity and the dictatorship of the minority.

4. Guided Democracy is all-pervading; it involves the political, economic and social aspects at one and the same time. It does not disintegrate; it is based on the dialectical unity of all socially inter-related sections. Here, again, it is the anti-thesis of Liberal Democracy which is confined to the political side of things, and in a deceptive form, too.

5. Guided Democracy is that of achievement as well. To wit, it depends on the political parties of all patriotic classes not only in planning the general policy, but also in achieving same.

6. Last, but not least, an important character of Guided Democracy is, as Dr. Soekarno put it, the fact that it has a leadership. This leadership consists in the national

government and the president both of which are elected by the people through their political and democratic organisations. In this kind of democracy the role played by the president is entirely different from that played by the president under Liberal Democracy. In the latter, the president is either merely a token devoid of any real authority, or else he is the sole ruler as is the case under the so-called presidential system. The role of the president under Guided Democracy is that of a genuine leader working for the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks in cooperation with the national government elected by the democratic organisations of the people.

Guarantees for free Elections.

After stating the above mentioned axioms of politics, the questions put by Ittihad al-Shaab can be easily answered. As regards guarantees for free elections, the following facts occur to us at once.

1. Democratic laws, which secure for the citizens their basic rights and liberty, must be promulgated. In the forefront of such laws come the Constitutional and Electoral Laws.

2. As for the Electoral Law, it must include the following:

(a) Direct, general elections based on secret ballot.

(b) One National Assembly instead of two Houses, Upper and Lower.

(c) Withholding from the Executive the right to dissolve the National Assembly.

(d) Adoption of Proportional Representation.

(e) Omission of any restrictions because of creed, religion, nationality, economic integrity or duration of residence, etc., with which electoral laws under Liberal Democracy abound.

(f) Denial of political rights to all the foes of the Revolution, particularly the foes of its democratic orientation.

(g) Allowing the representatives of the rival parties and groups to supervise the elections instead of entrusting same to organs still imbued with anti-revolutionary ideas.

3. The abolition of all the laws which impede liberties and democratic rights and replacing same by progressive laws in promulgation of which the political organs of all

(Cont. on p. 12)

JORDANIAN PATRIOTS APPEAL

Following is the appeal of the National United Front of Jordan

To all political parties, organizations, newspapers, forces of peace and democracy and all honest people in the world.

Eversince the imperialist-reactionary coup d'etat, which took place in Jordan approximately three years ago overthrowing the national regime and robbing the Jordanian people of their independence and all their national and democratic gains, the Jordanian people have been living under a reign of black terror.

From the very first moment of the coup, which was engineered by the Anglo-American imperialists in collaboration with the reactionary forces within Jordan and the Arab elements of reaction outside it in application of the "Eisenhower-Dulles Doctrine", martial law was declared throughout the country. The Parliament was suspended, and all patriotic deputies elected by the people were expelled from it.

Some of these were put in jail, such as Dr. Yacoub Ziadine, deputy of Jerusalem; Fayek Warred, deputy of Ramallah; Abdul Kalik Yaghamour, deputy of Hebron and Sheikh Ahmad Ed'Da'ur, deputy of Qalqiya. Military courts passed cruel sentences against them ranging from life — to four-year-imprisonment. Other ministers, deputies and prominent patriotic figures had to leave the country in order to escape persecution and torture. Mr. Suleiman Nabulsi, head of the National Socialist Party and of the national government, is still under house arrest since the first day of the coup.

The government which came to power following the Coup dissolved political parties, trade unions, peasant societies and mass organizations of students, women and government employees, and liquidated patriotic officers of the army. It closed down all cultural and social clubs, and suppressed all patriotic newspapers. It launched a hysterical campaign of arrests which covered hundreds of the best sons and daughters of the Jordanian people, of different classes and political trends, civilians and military men. Those arrested were brought before military courts, which gave many

of them cruel sentences ranging between death and imprisonment for several years. Many of those under arrest are being subjected to barbarous treatment such as flogging, scorching, subjection to electric shocks, nail extraction, belly inflation, injection with pepper, starvation and deprivation of sleep for several days. Two young martyrs, Nasri Rumman and Shamekh Kayyali, were tortured to death. Many victims of torture and barbarous treatment have been hit with mental diseases and physical infirmities. Hundreds of prisoners and detainees, in many jails and desert concentration camps, are suffering different types of persecution, barbarous treatment and deprivation of the simplest forms of human rights. Women have not escaped this black terror either; scores of them have been subjected to arrest, imprisonment, torture and vagrancy.

The Jordanian government deprived many prominent patriots, who had to leave the country in order to escape persecution and torture, from the sacred right of citizenship; it deprived them of their Jordanian nationality and confiscated their property.

Although the government was obliged few months ago — as a result of the people's struggle — to lift martial law, the country is still living under Exceptional Laws. Under the "Defence Act" district commissioners are entitled — on a recommendation by the political police — to issue warrants of arrest against any citizen for a period of five years without placing a charge against him or bringing him to trial. The government has recently, also, effected an amendment in the "Anti-Communist Act", according to which anyone suspected of being a member of the Communist Party, or of having any relation with Communists, has become liable to life imprisonment. New military courts, called "State Security Courts", have been set up in various parts of the country with the sole task of trying patriots. The verdicts of these courts are final; and waves of patriots, both civilian and military, are constantly brought before them, where they receive most severe sentences. To complete its wan-

ton indifference to the rights of the people, the Jordanian government has, in January 1960, introduced an amendment in the Constitution whereby the king has been empowered to prolong the term of Parliament, for a period of one to two years, to evade holding general elections lest the people give an expression of their will, despite the reign of black terror prevailing in the country.

In one word, the Anglo-American imperialists and their agents have turned Jordan into a large prison dominated by terror, torture, vagrancy and total economic destruction. All this is taking place with the aim of suppressing the national liberation movement and keeping Jordan in the grip of imperialism and turning it into a base for aggression against the Arab liberation movement, particularly against the Iraqi Republic which enrages the imperialists and all the black reactionary forces in the area with its firm national policy and Democratic trend.

Hussein, king of Jordan, his prime minister Hazza' Al-Majali, and the clique in power, do not conceal their attempts to tie up Jordan to the Central Treaty Organization, ignoring the terrible failure inflicted upon them by the people in 1955 when they tried to tie Jordan to the Baghdad Pact. They do not also conceal their open intrigues against the Arab liberation movement, and particularly against the Iraqi Republic. The repeatedly made declarations by king Hussein and members of his government against the national regime in Iraq. The king of Jordan makes no secret of his intentions to restore the extinguished monarchy in Iraq and enthrone himself there, considering that he is the legitimate heir to the extinct throne. All this is taking place at the instigation and by the support of the Anglo-American imperialists in collaboration with the reactionary forces in the area.

The valiant people of Jordan, although small in number, and in spite of the brutal and barbaric tyranny and the economic disasters inflicted upon them by the imperialists and their lackeys, are determined to carry on the struggle for

peace, national independence and their agents, or as a stepping stone for launching aggression and conspiring against the Arab liberation movement, which is undergoing great difficulties on account of the deviation of Cairo rulers and their efforts aiming at the liquidation of their differences with the Arab reactionaries with a view to curbing the current of the rising Arab liberation movement and continuing plotting against the national regime in Iraq.

Our people, through their struggle, unity of ranks, solidarity with the brother Arab peoples, and reliance upon all the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism in the world, at the head of which stands the great Soviet Union, are fully confident of victory. This confidence is enhanced by the experience our people had, not long ago, during the Tripartite aggression on the Suez and the occupation by the American and British troops of the Lebanon and Jordan, and on other occasions, when they realised the effect of international solidarity on the achievement of victory for the causes of Arab liberation.

The Jordanian National Front appeals to all parties, organizations, newspapers, democratic forces and to all honest people throughout the world to declare their solidarity with our brave people and their national forces, and to raise their voices loudly in protest against the flagrant atrocities and acts of repression perpetrated by the Anglo-American imperialists and their agents against the people of Jordan and their national and democratic forces.

We appeal to you all to send petitions and telegrams to the Jordanian government in Amman and to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations demanding the cessation of the campaigns of terror, repression and torture, the restoration of democratic liberties, and the release of the hundreds of political prisoners and detainees. February 8, 1960

For the National Front of Jordan.

- Dr. Abdul Rahman Shukair.
- Yahya Hammoudeh.
- Salwa Ziadine.

Six Only Wanted 400 Volunteered

In Protest against the French A Tests

400 Iraqi Youth Volunteer to go to the Tests Area in the Sahara.

On Friday, Feb. 12, Baghdad Airodrome was crowded with people bidding farewell to six young men who form the Iraqi Delegation of Protests against the French Nuclear tests in the Sahara. The six young men were chosen from among four hundred volunteers who came forward after the call of the Iraqi Federation of Democratic Youth. I.F.D.Y. could not send all the volunteers owing to financial difficulties. The six were: Akram al-Mahdawi, government employee; Redha al-Ramah, a primary school teacher; Mufeed al-Jazzaerie, a journalist; Salah Kanani, a Law student; Sati al-Samarai, a building worker and Amal Janua, a worker.

The delegation leader, Akram al-Mahdawi, told newspaper men in the airodrome that he and his colleagues had decided to enter the French test area and sacrifice themselves for the sake of humanity. The delegation flew to Geneva to contact the headquarters of the International Delegation of Protest and then proceed to Rabat and thence enter the tests area in the Sahara.

On Thursday evening, the day before the delegation left, the Baghdad Committee of the Iraqi Peace Partisans held a party of farewell for the delegation. The correspondent of Ittihad al-Shaab asked the members of the delegation about their plans in case they failed to enter the tests area, their unanimous reply was that they would join the Algerian Liberation Army.

The Iraqi Federation of Democratic Youth received on Wednesday, Feb. 7, a telegram from the Iraqi Delegation of Protest Against French Nuclear Tests in the Sahara, informing it that the delegation

Note.—Addresses to which protest telegrams and petitions are to be sent:

1. King Hussein, Aman, Jordan.
2. Jordanian Prime Minister, Amman, Jordan.
3. Human Rights Commission, United Nations, New York, U.S.A.

reached Rabat only after the first tests had been carried out. The delegation hope to join the International Delegation within the next day or two. Members of the Iraqi Delegation, the telegram states, were received warmly by the Magrib Labour Youth Organisation which has rendered to them all the help it could.

While we were about to go to press, we learned that the delegation have arrived back in Baghdad where they were enthusiastically welcomed by thousands of people. Col. Mahdawi made a speech in the airodrome welcoming the delegation.

Iraq Teachers Meet:

On Tuesday, 23rd Feb., 1960, the second congress of the Iraqi Teachers was held in Baghdad under the auspices of Premier Kassim who attended the opening session and delivered a long speech. Speaking of the imperialists and the covetous, Premier Kassim disclosed that arms sent by these were intercepted and that the government was in possession of documents proving that the enemies of our Republic are still conspiring against it.

The congress was held under the slogan, "for defending the republic, developing education and serving all teachers". The number of teacher delegates was 507 representing some 26 thousand teachers. Messages of congratulation, sent by many Iraqi and foreign trade unions and organisations, were read. Reports of the fact that the Union had within a relatively short space of time, and notwithstanding many difficulties, actually managed to render great services to the Iraqi teachers.

The congress will continue for another two or three days during which new committees will be elected to run the Union for the coming two years.

PEACE RALLY ON 3rd. APRIL 1

The National Peace Council made the following statement:

Premier Kassim, himself a peace supporter, only yesterday said that supporting peace was a movement and not merely a society. "It is a movement which emanates from the entirety of the people. No need for forming a society for Peace Partisans. The Iraqi people are all supporters of peace and righteousness. We all agitate for peace".

It was with these decent words that the leader of the 14th July Revolution pledged full support for peace partisans thereby nullifying the efforts of those who, with their pens and mouths, never tire of continuing the cold war and preparing for a hot one. Our national government, inspired by a desire to encourage the peace movement, cancelled all the laws of the old regime which banned the peace movement and imposed the death penalty on its supporters.

At any rate, there are people who belong to the old regime to whom the peace movement is a dangerous movement. Such enemies of peace, whether government officials or otherwise, continue to vilify peace ideas particularly outside Baghdad. Some of these availed themselves of the recent Law of Associations and began to attack the peace movement considering it illegal. They continue to say this although they know - or don't they? - that supporting peace is the movement of the entire Iraqi people and not simply a society, as Premier Kassim confirmed only yesterday.

The fact is that the peace movement has international dimensions for it is the treasured cause of all peoples of the world. It is a humanitarian trend inspired by the noblest of motives; it functions in any country without there being any need for a licence. Working for peace is the highest level of goodness for which there need be no legal authorisation. Gone are the days when working for international peace and well being of the peoples was forbidden in Iraq; the villains of the old regime have been liquidated and our peace-loving people have trodden all trace of them under foot.

They, the former enemies of peace, having disappeared and become black stains on the page of history, our people have over-taken the host of other peoples also working for the liberation of man-kind. The olive branch from Baghdad was added to many similar branches coming from other capitals. Together, they encircle the world and defy wars and war-mongers. Peace is stronger than war.

In their last session, the National Council of Peace Partisans in Iraq decided to make 31st March the day for opening the Third Congress. April 3 will be The Day of Peace when Baghdad will witness the pe-

ace march in which guests representing the peace movement all over the world will take part. This peace demonstration will pass into history as a milestone in the struggle of our people for peace and human liberation.

Peace Committees in Iraq are busy holding meetings in order to nominate representatives for their Third Congress. A brighter future awaits the peace movement in our country, under the democratic regime of our Republic. Millions of our people are looking forward to the day of the peace congress and peace march to take place in Baghdad.

FACTS ABOUT PEASANTS ASSOCIATIONS

Our readers have, no doubt, read a lot about the objections raised by peasants regarding their applications to form associations. The national press abounded, and still does, with such objections. When the Law of Peasants Association was promulgated, farmers hastened to apply for licensing their associations. Most of these applications were, however, turned down for flimsy reasons, viz. misconduct, obliterated stamp, certain reasons and unidentified candidates, etc.

Now before proceeding any further, let us reproduce here the text of art. 5 of the Law of Peasants Associations. "The Muttassarif is authorised to decide the number of associations to be formed in each Nahiya (smallest administrative unit) taking into account the number of the farmers and the need for such associations. The Muttassarif is required to inform the minister of his decisions and his reasons for same. Whenever necessary, the Minister is entitled to alter the number provided the number is not less than one association for each village".

The above quoted article is very explicit in stating that the number of associations should not be less than one for each village. Official statistics quoted by national press

indicate that the number allocated to all the 14 liwas (largest administrative unit) is 3,524 associations. Whereas the number of villages in Iraq according to official statistic is 11,404 most of which consist of more than 15 families. This clearly shows that the allocations were not always inspired by strict adherence to the Law of Peasants' Associations. The total number of associations licensed in five liwas (Baghdad, Hillah, Kerbella, Nassiriyah and Amarrah) was only 371. Whereas Diwaniyah Liwa alone was allotted 779. In other words the number of associations allotted for one liwa alone is more than twice the number of those allotted to five liwas put together. Simple arithmetic shows that every six villages had been allotted one association only which is an obvious violation of the Law of Associations.

We hope that the Ministry of Interior will, in the light of the above figures and facts, reconsider the question of turning down a great many applications for forming associations, particularly because the applicants are still endeavouring to get the necessary licences for which they have put up with a great deal of trouble.

Peasants Associations In Iraq

("Iraqi Review" Special Interview)

"Iraqi Review" correspondent interviewed Mr. Kadhim Farhoud, the president of the Iraqi Federation of Peasants Association on March 2nd and put to him a number of questions about the problems facing the Agrarian Reform and the Peasants Associations. Following are Mr. Farhoud's answers:

Question: The Peasants Associations and your Federation itself have been subjected of late to hostile attacks from the yellow press, fanatics and some sections of the administrative apparatus. Would you tell us what in your view are the motives behind these attacks?

Answer: The attacks on the Peasants Associations and their Federation were part of a general planned effort to weaken the democratic organisations, which are firmly supported by the people and became powerful bodies, due to this support, a fact that frightened the counter-revolutionary forces working hand in glove with the imperialist powers. The events that took place in our country have shown the real motives behind the hostile campaigns. Their principal aim is to create a gulf between the people and their patriotic government and rob the popular forces of the means with which to defend their republic and develop its revolutionary march forward. Our Federation of Peasants Associations is not excluded from the democratic bodies subjected to attack for the reasons mentioned.

Question: Agrarian Reform is the cornerstone of our national democratic revolution. Can the peasant associations and their Federation play a part in carrying it out in the best possible manner?

Answer: All agree that agrarian reform, being the essence of the national democratic revolution, must be carried out if the revolution is to be successful. In other words, we were victorious in our political revolution, which ended the pro-imperialist regime and now we have to take the next step, that is to carry through the agrarian reform in

order that the social revolution be successful. As to the best ways to be used to fulfil this aim, the national press and many responsible people have devoted many articles to discussing the problems and obstacles facing the agrarian reform, the removal of which would help speed up its implementation.

Those problems and obstacles derive from the shortcomings of the Agrarian Reform Law itself and especially the fixing of a high ceiling on land holdings that are irrigated by rain in the North and rice fields in the South. It is necessary to review the ceiling fixed by the Law in such a way as to enable the peasants to acquire land holdings in accordance with their number and circumstances. The Agrarian Reform Law made no mention of the problems of fruits orchards and this is left hanging without solution.

There are also the shortcomings in the Agrarian Reform apparatus, which is in urgent need of sufficient staff to administer the work of agrarian reform in the provinces. There is also a lack of specialists and technicians and an absence of a general coordinated plan for reform, apart from the lack of supervision.

The enemies of agrarian reform are conducting a hostile campaign against it in order to deform it and place obstacles in the way of its implementation. Besides these difficulties, there are the mistakes and errors made in the carrying out of the reform by officials and by some of the peasants themselves, especially towards the rich peasants and middle sections of the landlords.

From what I have said it will be clear that for the successful implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law, it will be necessary to have the help of the various organs of state and of the agrarian reform apparatus. It is also necessary to pursue a firm policy towards the enemies of agrarian reform, especially those affected by it, feudal sheikhs and big landlords.

It is of importance that the mis-

takes made vis-a-vis the rich peasants and the middle strata in the countryside should be rectified, and only the big landholdings expropriated. Help should be extended to the well-to-do farmers in the form of loans, machinery, good treatment etc.

In this connection it is our view that the Peasants Associations should be depended upon in carrying out the agrarian reform, as they are necessary for its successful implementation. For this purpose the peasant associations must be truly constituted by the peasants themselves and enjoy their confidence and support.

Question: Could you tell our readers some facts about the way in which the peasant associations were licensed by the local administration and the attitude of the Ministry of Interior in this matter?

Answer: The patriotic press has written quite a lot about the way the peasants associations were treated during the implementation of the Peasants Associations Law No. 139 dated 1959.

From what has been published it was made clear that thousands of applications were refused and their signatories thus prevented from forming their own associations. I will mention only a few examples.

In Hilla Liwa (province) Our Federation submitted 368 applications for forming peasant associations. 362 of them were refused.

In Basrah Liwa we submitted 142 applications, 139 of which were refused.

In Amarah Liwa we submitted 400 applications, all of which were refused.

In Baghdad Liwa we submitted 478 applications, 457 of which were refused.

The Figures for the other Liwas (provinces), which are 14 in number, were in similar proportion. This shows by itself the way the Peasants Associations Law was implemented, favouring one side aga-

just another.

Now I will mention other figures for the associations that were licensed:

	Associations
Nassiriya	60
Basra	72
Amarah	60
Arbil	496
Mosul	496
Kerbala	48
Hilla	131
Baghdad	342
Kut	530
Sulaimaniya	172
Kirkuk	437
Diwaniya	779
Diyala	225
Ramadi	54

It follows from these figures that Article 5 of Law No. 139 (Peasants Associations Law) has not

been justly implemented. Nor were the interests of the peasants taken into account in its implementation, for Article 5 states that every village should have an association and that the number of peasants is to be taken into consideration, when deciding the number of associations. But the loose application of the Law gave rise to some arbitrary behaviour and unjustified refusals to license the forming of associations, and contrary to the wishes of the peasants themselves to form associations in their own villages. If we compare the figures mentioned with the number of villages in Iraq we shall see that the number of associations licensed is less than one third of the number of villages in Iraq.

Ever since the start of licensing of peasants associations, rejected applications have been piling up in

the Ministry of Interior. The peasants have submitted tens of thousands of petitions testifying to the illegal manner in which the elections were conducted and interfered with. Many delegations of peasants have come to Baghdad to see the authorities hoping that their complaints would be heard and the wrongs done to them righted. But as the days and months went by they saw no results, not a single rejected application was reviewed or a complaint investigated. It was hoped that at least complaints would be looked into to see whether they were justified or not. But such hopes were disappointed.

We have many facts and evidence to show, which leave no doubt that the Law was not impartially implemented as was expected in the spirit of the revolution or in accordance with the hopes of all those who wished sincerely to build a healthy peasant movement to tackle the tasks of the revolution in the service of the country.

Fifth Conspiracy

(Cont. from p. 2)

ousness" of the Shah and the Persian troop concentrations on the Iraqi frontiers have more to do with the "strength of Communism" in Iraq than with any differences of frontier agreements.

All this was followed by the CENTO meeting in Karachi on Feb. 20, attended by the Shah of Persia and the President of Turkey, Bayar, to discuss the danger of "subversion" in the Middle East. While at the same time Nasser was making hostile speeches and open threats against Iraq.

The purpose of all these Western inspired activities is to drive a wedge between the Iraqi Government and people and to foster dissension among the patriotic forces and thereby create the suitable political atmosphere to launch the "fifth conspiracy".

The Iraqi Premier has recently declared that the authorities have intercepted arms and documents proving the existence of a new scheme to bring down the Iraqi Republic. This did not come as a surprise to the Iraqi people.

Comrade Zeki Khairi's Statement

(Cont. from p. 4)

supporters of the new regime and real foes of imperialism, feudalism and reaction, no matter what their political views are, can gain from denying liberty to work openly to the oddest, staunchest and most experienced political party, in matters relating to the defence of the country.

The question of allowing our Party openly to carry out its activities, apart from being a vital national issue, is also closely connected with real democracy and its sound application in the interest of the people. The real criterion of genuine democracy is its attitude towards Communist — towards workers and their allies, that is, the peasants who form the vast majority of the working people. Withholding the right of open political activity from our Party is tantamount to ignoring the will of the working class, peasants and the broad masses of the people whose interests are truly represented by our militant Party. Any amount of talking about democracy and democratic trend will carry no weight at all, if not coupled with securing the right of the working class, peasants and the toiling masses to free political activity. The democracy of any revolution and of any regime can be precisely assessed by its negative or positive attitude to the Communist Party, the party which embodies the aspirations and ideas of thousands upon thousands of our toiling people.

None, from among the supporters of democracy and the democratic trend, can benefit from obstructing the way to the legitimate right of open work for our Party, or from taking a negative stand, no matter how, towards Communism. Quite on the contrary, the basic national issue, that of preserving independence and realising the objectives of the Revolution, is organically linked with the question of democracy. It is only with real democracy for all the forces of the people — particularly the genuinely revolutionary forces — that the energy of the people can be adequately mobilized for the defence of the Republic and for realising the objectives of our liberation-democratic Revolution. Among the main components of demo-

cracy, is allowing the right to free political activity to the broadest masses of the toilers, i.e., to the working class and allies under the leadership of its political vanguard — the Communist Party.

During the past twenty-five years, our Party was never in need of a licence in order to serve the interests of the people. It continued to struggle resolutely against the rules, co-ercion and oppression of the old regime. After the Revolution, however, when a liberated republic was established, a decisive turn took place in the policy of our Party — a turn towards allying ourselves with the new regime, supporting it and further consolidating its democratic course.

As a result of this alliance, we had to adjust the form of our work and the means of our struggle in order better to accord with the mutual confidence and solidarity which sprang up between us and the new national regime. With a view to cementing this confidence further, we ceased our underground publications, when possibilities for open and legal work were available, and confined ourselves to means compatible with cordial relations with the national government.

When the new Law of Associations was passed, we noted many defects therein. We are not aware of any legal political party — whether in Europe, America or Indonesia and India, etc. — which is made subject to the provisions and stipulations enforced by our above law. However, we over-looked these defects, desiring to maintain our positive relations with the national government, and considering what really matters is not the wording of the law, but its sound implementation and the sincerity of those entrusted with its application. What really counts is the democratic policy adopted by the government and its desire to further develop it in the interests of the people.

Thus, we filed our founding application, after taking the greatest care to fulfil all the provisions of the law. At any rate, a few days before the expiry date, we received

the objections raised by the Ministry of Interior which were, as was deduced by all, intended to obstruct the legalisation of our Party, on the one hand, and facilitate that of a farcical and illicit one which also called itself a 'Communist Party'. We sincerely hoped to be treated on an equal footing with the others; what really happened was that we were made the object of unjustifiable discrimination. The Ministry of Interior over-looked all the legal shortcomings of the farcical application submitted under the name of our Party; it also condoned a number of expressions and concepts included therein, while, at the same time, objecting about to the same in our case. The Ministry of Interior also finalized its objections to the applications of all other parties in a friendly manner which did not take all the legal period specified

— this is clear from adjustments made to the programmes of the other parties and from the repeated illegal patching up of the farcical application which was later licensed under the name of our Party. The objections raised against us by the Ministry of Interior together with the swindle of the renounced opportunistic clique, furnished the first practical test of law while still in the first weeks of its validity. Our people knew — they will know still more in the future — that we, to the exclusion of all other parties, were treated with prejudice which resulted in obstruction to legalising our Party. Thus the law was violated in the very beginning of its application. Also, an important constitutional principle was violated, that is, the equality of all citizens in the eyes of law which assumes that all citizens must enjoy equal rights. Nevertheless, being scrupulously keen on co-operation and tolerance, we readily responded to the demands of the Ministry of Interior and carried out all the omissions, alterations and interpretations asked for therein. We did not question anything. When Saigh's clique was licensed under the name 'Communist Party', we took another step in the way of sacrifice and agreed to change the name with which all the glories of our Party were associated. In doing so, we were prompted by our desire to be

Kubba Speaks

(Cont. from p. 7)

patriotic classes must be allowed to take part. Before being passed, these laws must be made open to the comments of the people.

4. Provision for all democratic rights such as: freedom of opinion, assembly, demonstration and the right to form political parties, trade unions and associations.

5. Consolidating the basic rights of the citizens, particularly the right to vote, equality and equality of opportunity for all patriotic classes based on fraternal co-partnership in the homeland.

6. Forming political institutions on a democratic basis which suit the revolutionary trend and facilitate the fulfilment of the tasks of the Revolution. The most important of these institutions are: The Founding Committee which will codify the Constitution, and the National Assembly, the supreme authority in deciding the general policy of the country and in seeing that it is faithfully carried out.

7. Purging of the Executive and Judicial Functions of all anti-revolutionary elements.

8. Most important of all, is the appreciation of all the facts connected with our Revolution and taking same into account when taking any measures in the political sphere.

Proportional Representation and the Principle of one Constituency, one Deputy.

Briefly, the fact is that each of

these two ways of elections is the expression of a corresponding political system and is, for this reason, very different from the other and even its anti-thesis. The principle of "One Constituency, One Deputy" is the instrument of Liberal Democracy or the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie with which to falsify the elections and alienate the productive classes which are always behind all real revolutions. The memory of the elections in France, Italy and Kerala, in India, is still fresh in our minds.

As for Proportional Representation, it is an integral part of Guided Democracy inasmuch as it reflects the reality of the class relations and the genuine importance of any political party.

In conclusion, We want to mention that in all the above the terms are used in their proper scientific sense, namely, as they are defined by the scientific theory of social development. History proves that this theory has always been right. It is adopted not only by the parties of the working class; an increasing number of the political parties of the bourgeoisie are also basing themselves thereon. Besides, a great many leaders of liberalisation revolutions, such as; Soekarno, Nakroma and Sekou Toure also avail themselves of this scientific theory.

positive and co-operative; we wanted to comply with the rule and remove any possible obstacle in the way of licensing our Party.

Thus, yet another time, we tried to put the law and the democracy with which it is applied to a practical test. All our positive steps, however, were negatively received and the prejudice with which we were treated is seen at the first glance of the Ministry's letter of refusal.

Needless to say, it is not the licence that makes a party, much less a communist party. Communist parties originate and develop, like any living being, only as a result of social and objective circumstances. Moreover, it cannot become communist unless it springs from the people, enjoys its mandate, sincerely reflects its interests and is invariably inspired by the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. Ours is such a party and not the handful of contemptible opportunists who usurped the name of our Party together with its glories and long tradition, and tried to impede its legitimate functioning.

This fact is only too well known to our people. There is no questioning the fact that it was our application which really represented the Iraqi Communist Party, its essence, aims, history and its entity as a conspicuous patriotic force which is making itself felt in our daily political life. Whereas the clique which was licensed failed, in spite of repeated attempts, to group together the minimum number required by law for forming a political party, the supporters of our intended party and other patriotic parties, have, so far, reached some 200,000 — all mature citizens including workers, farmers, intellectuals, artisans and other sections of our toiling people.

Thus confronted, we are at a loss

to understand what is meant by "freedom for all" when attempts are made to deprive the political vanguard of the largest and most conscious class in the society of its legitimate right to free political activity. Can it be assumed that the hundreds of thousands who gave us their support will never stop to think about the reality of the present political democracy, when a licence is withheld from the oldest and largest political party?

The licensing of a trivial clique of opportunists to function under the name of "Communist Party" of which it is an out-and-out enemy, cannot be the proof of sound democracy; neither can it prevent the people from knowing the fact. Such an action has nothing, whatsoever, in common with democracy which is the essence of our Revolution and which our people are trying to further consolidate and develop for their well-being and prosperity.

Our people have branded this disruptive clique, and have condemned its attempts to violate Marxism-Leninism and betray the cause of the working class. Already, the clique has begun, still in the first few days of its treacherous career, to betray the ideas of the working class and the interests of the people and to add its ugly voice to the chorus now busy vilifying the party and sowing distrust towards the ever noble and fraternal stand of the U.S.S.R. and other Socialist countries towards our Republic. The clique attempted to minimize the significance of the anti-opportunist stand of all the fraternal communist parties which were prompted by the dictates of international solidarity against opportunism and disruption.

We will stick to our patriotic stand for which we have the full support of our great and conscious people — a people from whom the opportunistic clique can expect nothing more than contempt and condemnation.

When we submitted our founding application, we were simply asking, like other patriotic forces, for a legitimate right. We were pro-

mpted by the belief that allowing Communists, and the hundred thousands of their allies, to exercise open political activity will: create better conditions for furthering their interests, the interests of the people; facilitate the task of preserving and developing our Republic; lead to effective participation in the efforts to achieve the unity of the patriotic forces and realising the most appropriate types of solidarity with the national government in order to ward-off the danger and consolidate the gains of our people.

The question of licensing our Party is not confined to the communists alone; it is a national issue which concerns all patriotic forces interested in preserving the new regime and furthering a genuinely democratic course in the policy of the country. It is the implications connected with the role which our Republic can play, in the interests of national liberation and the peace movement in the Arab homeland and the Middle East, that attaches great importance to this question in the eyes of all democratic forces in the Arab countries, neighbours and all friends of our Republic.

The appreciation of this fact, and its great impact on the policy of our Republic, makes indifference or "neutrality" on the part of any patriotic force — on the grounds that it is the sole business of the communists — utterly wrong.

It is not only the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals who are required to make utterances on this issue; all sections of our people — traders, artisans, national bourgeoisie, artists, lawyers, journalists — and also all the supporters of liberty and democracy in the Arab countries and the friends of our Republic all over the world, are also required to voice their support.

Once again we will try the law. The consciousness of our people, their confidence and support, makes us ever more certain that we are championing a just cause and that we are eligible for legal party activity. We pledge to remain faithful to the Iraqi working class, unreservedly in the service of our people and to raise, higher and higher, the banner of Marxism-Leninism in our country.

Dr. Yousif Ismail Calls For Proportional Representation Law

As the authorities are engaged at the present moment in drafting the electoral law for the election of the national constitutional assembly, Itihad al-Shaab has interviewed several prominent lawyers and asked them what in their views were the best ways to guarantee the creation of a healthy parliamentary system and the carrying out of elections on a proportional representation basis.

The following is the summary of an interview with Dr. Yousif Ismail al-Bustani.

It is agreed among authorities on constitutional rights, general law, and modern and contemporary history, that the electoral law plays a fundamental, indeed decisive, role in political life and decides the fate of the whole democratic system of a country.

It may be true to say that France was and still is rich in experiences in this field — experiences full of tragedies that led on numerous occasions to the collapse of the existing democratic system just because the electoral law was changed even though the whole constitution remained as it was. French Imperialism issued a new electoral law every time a crisis took place in France, and it prepared the way to rob the people of the rights they gained.

Electoral Law is one of the means by which the will of the people is sometimes falsified. The principal way invented to achieve that falsification by the French bourgeoisie was "one member of parliament for one constituency".

This invention clearly violates a fundamental constitutional principle — the equality of votes and the enjoyment by every citizen of one vote theoretically and practically. This vote, when added to other votes, will result in a member being elected for a given number of citizens. The principle of "one member for one constituency" cannot but lead to millions of votes being disregarded.

The swindle begins, with slight

variation, by dividing the country into constituencies which are sometimes equal and sometimes different in size. For each such unit one member of parliament is elected — he who obtains more votes than any one of his rivals. The would-be member is not required to gain a minimum number of votes. In this way is democracy, often, disgraced and distorted and minority made the master of the vast majority. When more than two rivals are competing for one constituency, the result can be such that the votes of 65% or even more of the population are disregarded and the representative of 35% or even less of the electors enters the parliament. Of course the same can be true of the whole country, i.e. a small number of people is made to rule the country "legally".

The principle of "one constituency one member" is, then, the most notorious way of impairing elections under the cover of law. However, the swindle of elections based on this principle can take forms which are much worse. The French imperialists, for example, by a stretch of imagination, considered three areas, though very different in the size of the population, as entitled to one member each. A popular member, Maurice Thorez, was elected for the first constituency the total number of the population of which was 160,000. Whereas for the second, the population of which was less than 15,000, notorious imperialist, Paul Renau was elected. The population of the third constituency was only 500 and another stooge of French imperialism in Africa was elected. Therefore, different areas of the country varying in the size of the population being given the same electoral value makes matters worse. This actually means cancelling tens of thousands of votes right from the beginning. One elector from the small constituency is made equal to 300 from the larger one.

On the other hand, the principle of proportional representation and the addition of the surpluses from each constituency to the others all

over the country, is the surest way of complying with the will of the people. In France, this principle was in force each time the people gained a victory against reaction, that is to say in 1793, when real democracy had the sway and in the year 1945-6 when Hitlerite Germany was defeated. The Weimar Republic of Germany also adopted this kind of electoral law in the year 1919. The principle of proportional representation is the best way of putting the citizens on an equal footing for election purposes, and enabling them to send their true representatives to parliament.

Modern history, the struggle of the French people in particular, indicates that the true criterion of democracy and the best way of consolidating it is the adoption of proportional representation and its strict implementation, on the hand, and the abolition of the principle of "one member for one constituency", on the other. The latter leads, in reality, to masked dictatorship. Incidentally it was by this design that French magnates of monopoly managed to make De Gaulle assume power and take over the dishonourable task of persecuting the Algerian as well as the French people and defer, for as long as possible, the inevitable collapse of moribund French Imperialism.

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“Free al-Helu” Nasser Told

Ittihad al-Shaab cabled to Nassir on behalf of 43 thousand people asking him to release Farajalah al-Helu.

Sayid Abdul Kadir Ismail, on behalf of the editorial board of Ittihad al-Shaab, sent the following cable to President Nassir.

President Nassir — Cairo.

His Excellency Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer — Damascus.

In the name of forty thousand Iraqi citizens who have forwarded their protests to our newspaper against the detention of the great Arab patriot, Farajalah al-Helu, we add our voice to those thousands from different parts of the world who have demanded the release of Farajalah al-Helu and protest against the inhuman torture inflicted on him.

Tens of thousands of Iraqi people — intellectuals, workers, shopkeepers, etc. — from different nationalities, religions and political opinions who have come, individually and in groups, to express the deepfelt anxiety of the Iraqi people for the fate of this noted Arab patriot who has been for several months languishing in Damascus jail for no crime he committed.

On their behalf we demand the release of Farajala al-Helu in deference to the wishes of our citizens and the forces of good in the world that have been stirred and shocked by this flagrant violation of the most elementary requirements of justice and human rights.

ABDUL KADIR ISMAIL

For the editorial board of
Ittihad al-Shaab.

Copies of the telegram have been sent to all Law Organisations in the world and to the International Committee for the Defence of Farajalah al-Helu.



Poster for the Celebration of Women Day
Held on March 8

PARTY MEMORANDUM

(Cont. from p. 1)

proach regarding the licensing of our Party”.

Quite apart from awaiting the result of the said memorandum, the Communists are now considering the legal possibilities and the proper

procedure for submitting a new founding application, taking into account the experience of the last application turned down by the Ministry of Interior and the objections raised by the Ministry thereon.