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Builders of Tomorrow

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EDITORIAL

A Revolution Revolutionised

The most important objectives of the July 14, 1958 Revolution were removing Iraq from the military blocs and pacts; making the country in full control of its natural resources; freeing the country from the regionalist approach when national interests were at stake; giving all the nationalities which comprise the people of Iraq a sense of cohesion so that they feel they belong to one diversified entity guided by one purpose, that of creating a better life for everybody.

That Revolution was led by petit-bourgeois military officers on top of whom there was a person whose thirst for the cult of personality was abetted by various elements aided by circumstances which made his appetite for power insatiable.

One by one those goals which were the bright rallying points for all the people were so obscured and removed from sight that they became sources of strife and conflict. The agrarian reform dragged on, the cohesion of the people gave way to fratricidal conflicts, pan-Arabism and the move towards Arab unity were further removed as they were replaced by the most intense regionalism. Iraq isolated itself from its Arab brethren in the same way as the principle of non-alignment became ill-defined. As to the full control of the nation's wealth, there were commendable steps such as the Law No. 80 of 1961 which gave back to Iraq all the lands not exploited by the foreign oil companies, but such steps had no tangible consequences: the foreign oil companies bided their time while inconclusive negotiations kept going on, giving them all the time they needed.

Such failures were apt to lead the country to deterioration. An attempt to rectify matters was made in 1963, but there was a relapse. The final victory of the revolution saw the light on July 17, 1968. With this turn, Iraq became more capable of realising its objectives as a fully sovereign state embracing pan-Arabism led by the ABSP, and the revolution made headway in all fields. The oil is now the property of the people. The national and progressive front has become a reality; the Kurdish people and other minorities have had their national rights and aspirations recognised. Tangible steps have been taken in this direction, such as the promulgation of the Autonomy Law for the northern area and the setting up of the machinery to implement the principle of autonomy.

No real progress for Iraq could be achieved if this region is conceived as an entity separated from the Arab homeland. This principle is pivotal to the ideology of the ABSP. To think in terms of Arab unification inevitably brings to the fore the Palestinian question, for, without the liberation of Palestine, Arab unity remains a dream. That is why the leadership in Iraq puts it at the head of its priorities, thinking that all other accomplishments would be lame, transient and at best as a stepping stone eventually leading to the great Arab task of liberation which would in turn lead to the greatest of all Arab aspirations: that of unity.

Iraq Today



Prime Raymond Barre being received by President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr

Mr. Saddam Hussein ECU Vice Chairman and Premier Raymond Barre

French Premier satisfied with his talks in Baghdad

In response to an invitation by the Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council, Mr. Saddam Hussein, French Premier, Mr. Raymond Barre, paid an official visit to Baghdad between June 25-26. He was also received by President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

During the audience with the President, Mr. Barre exchanged views on bilateral relations and current developments in the international scene. Mr. Barre conducted official talks with Mr. Saddam Hussein. Their discussions covered the bolstering of the steadily growing Iraqi-French relations, the situation in the Middle East, with particular stress on the Arab-Zionist conflict, as well as various vital international issues.

Prior to his departure from Baghdad, the French Premier expressed the hope that his visit would "open a new chapter in Iraqi-French relations". He summed up the atmosphere and outcome of his discussions with Mr. Saddam Hussein "in three words: cordiality, confidence and cooperation". Reporting to the French cabinet, Premier Barre said his talks had "led to the enhancement of the deep-seated Iraqi-French relations".

Cordiality, Confidence, Cooperation,

As a matter of fact, the relations between Iraq and France have greatly flourished during the recent years. Trade exchange, for instance, has increased 10 folds in a decade. France became important client of Iraqi oil; and French firms cooperate in the establishment of major economic projects in Iraq. Cooperation in technical, scientific, cultural and other fields has also been greatly promoted.

Noting with satisfaction the development of their relations on equal basis and mutual interest, Iraq and France affirmed the importance of extensive cooperation between their two countries.

The joint communique on the visit of the French Prime Minister said the two countries had "reached the conclusion that there can be no just and permanent peace without the with-

drawal of the Zionist forces from the occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people".

They emphasized the development of relations between the Arab and European countries and highlighted the importance of the Euro-Arab dialogue which aims at realizing closeness and understanding between the Arab world and Europe. They felt that this understanding would serve mutual interest and strengthen the cause of world peace.

On the need to create a stable and just global economic system, Iraq and France re-iterated their determination to follow up the dialogue underway between the industrialized and developing countries.

They also agreed on the need to establish steady economic relations, particularly in the monetary field, ensuring similar economic progress for both exporting and importing countries, taking into consideration their individual and interlocked interests.

Mr. Saddam Hussein, the Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council, has accepted an invitation extended to him by French Premier Barre. He is expected to make an official visit to Paris before the end of this year.

Aden-Baghdad Talks on Arab Issues

Mr. Ali Nasser Mohammed, the Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, who paid a four-day official visit to Iraq beginning from July 2, said in a statement before his departure from Baghdad that his visit opened wide spheres for further developing and deepening fraternal relations between the two friendly countries.

He added that he had very friendly and brotherly talks with President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and Mr. Saddam Hussein on questions relating to strengthening and promoting bilateral relations as well as Arab and international issues of common concern.

"The results of our talks with the leaders of this brotherly country were very positive and fruitful. The talks clearly reflected the depth of fraternal ties and common progressive principles and objectives binding Iraq and Democratic Yemen".

Commenting on the developments and accomplishments of the July 17 Revolution in the industrial and agricultural fields the visiting Prime Minister said "We



Mr. Saddam Hussein ECU Vice Chairman receiving Prime Minister Ali Nasser Mohammed

have been very impressed at the achievements of the July 17 Revolution and we are confident that the Iraqi Arab people will realise further achievements in implementing the objectives of the July 17 progressive Revolution". He also expressed admiration at the way Iraq was bringing up and building the new generation.

During his talks with President al-Bakr and Vice-Chairman Hussein the Democratic Yemen Prime Minister discussed the situation in the Arab region and other issues of common interest.

Iraq and Democratic Yemen signed an agreement for founding a joint company for fishing and fish industry at a capital of ID. 30 million (102 million US dollars).



Vice President Ma'arouf opening the youth festival

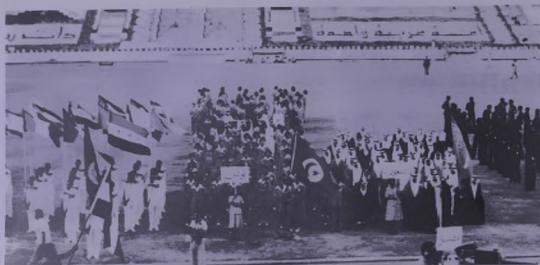
Youth Festival Highlights Arab Unity, Determination

It was a magnificent scene in the People's Stadium. Over 16,000 youth marched through the big platform of the playground carrying flags of the Arab countries which participated in the festival.

This beautiful athletic parade led by the standard-bearers of the Arab League, incarnated the steadfast Arab patriotism and militant unity and the great achievements of the July 17 Revolution.

The whole scene was part of the opening ceremony of the Third Festival of Arab Youth which took place in Baghdad on July 5. The festival was opened by Vice-President Mr. Taha Muhyeddin Ma'arouf on behalf of President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

In his opening address Vice-President Ma'arouf greeted the participants and wished them a happy stay in 'your country, Iraq'. "In your gathering home" he went



on, "you are placing your capabilities and potentials at the service of your nation for building its bright future. I wish your festival every success, hoping it will realize the objectives and tasks for which it has been held".

Mr. Ma'ruf added, "One of the genuine features of this festival is that it staunchly expresses the unshakable relationship and interaction of the Arab youth who represent the vital pioneering sector of our nation".

Mr. Ma'ruf emphasized that "the special attention which the Arab Baath Socialist Party and July 17 Revolution pay to the question of bringing up and organizing the youth is essentially connected with the policy of building a new progressive nationalist society and bringing about socialist transformations and facing the serious imperialist-Zionist challenges".

The Vice-President reaffirmed that over the past nine years of our revolution "We have made successful and distinguished experiments in all aspects of our life and have traversed long distances on the road of realizing the basic national and pan-Arab goals of our revolution".

Iraq forgoes 5 per cent price rise

Iraq has decided to forego the 5 per cent rise in oil prices which was decided upon at Doha OPEC conference to be effective as from July 1, and to freeze for another six months the current prices of oil.

An authoritative source at the Iraqi Oil Ministry said Iraq considers the current oil prices were far below

The 10-day festival included various athletic, artistic, folkloric and literary activities performed by the participants. Youth delegations from 15 Arab countries took part in the festival. The participants also made trips to a number of Iraqi governorates where they saw for themselves the marshlands and archaeological sites of Iraq.

The First Arab Youth Festival was held in Algiers, Algeria, in 1973, and the second in Tripoli, Libya, in 1975.

Prior to the festival a 4-day intellectual symposium on the Third Arab Youth Festival was held in Baghdad (July 2-5). The symposium adopted a number of resolutions and recommendations stressing the necessity of expanding the base of the General Federation of Arab Youth and upholding its work and activities. It emphasised the necessity of strengthening Arab unity and called upon Arab youth to strongly condemn and counter all forms of imperialist schemings.

The symposium was held under the theme of "The role of Arab Youth in the realization of Arab unity".

the real value of oil and involved a great deal of injustice. However, the source added "prompted by deep faith in the principle of solidarity, the key to the success of OPEC, Iraq has agreed to forego the 5 per cent increase decided upon at Doha conference of OPEC, and accept a price-freeze for a 6-month period".



RCC Vice Chairman Saddam Hussein attending a session of the Iraqi Women's Congress.

Women's Contribution to Socialist Advancement

"Cementing the Federation's Organisational Structure is an Essential Factor for Promoting its Productive Efficiency" was the theme under which the General Federation of Iraqi Women (GFIW) held its 8th Congress on July 2-5.

The question of women's productivity and their contribution to the growth of national economy was the main topic of discussion in this congress.

The Congress was preceded by a series of debates and symposia organised by various government organs and enterprises for discussing the progress achieved by women in the production process and for finding out the obstacles and ineptitudes that impede their advancement in the working field.

Throughout its sessions, the Federation reviewed its activities over the expired period and endorsed its work plan for the forthcoming term.

In its concluding statement the GFIW hailed the transformations taking place in Iraq under the leadership of Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP). The Congress also stressed the necessity of giving prominence to the role

of the militant Arab women in their fight for liberating the usurped land of Palestine. It supported the struggle waged by the Eritrean people for national independence.

RCC VICE-CHAIRMAN ATTENDS SESSION

Revolution Command Council (RCC) Vice-Chairman Mr. Saddam Hussein, who attended a session, told the Congress that the Revolution gave the question of emancipating the women from the painful traces of the past profound interest. "Emancipation of woman and her treatment on equal footing with man is no longer a matter solely concerning the woman; it has become an essential process even for the liberation of the man and the whole society".

Mr. Hussein pointed out that prior to the July 17 Revolution, the woman was bitterly exploited, and so was the man who defied the reactionary regimes then in power.

Mr. Hussein said the ABSP considers the question of emancipating the woman a part of its tasks and state's policy.

Iraq Wins CISM Cup

The Iraqi military team scored a thrilling 5-1 victory against Kuwait in the 25th International Military Soccer Championship (CISM) which recently took place in Damascus, Syria.

The match ended in a goalless draw in its normal time and also in the 20-minute extension. Iraq clinched the issue in the tie-breaker penalty awards.

This is the second time Iraq won the world military championship. It won the cup in Baghdad in 1972 after defeating Greece, Ivory Coast and after playing two draw games with Turkey and Italy. It also won the second place in 1974 in Congo-Brazzaville after defeating Kuwait which held the third place.



Vice President Ma'arouf handing the flag of the Academy

Ma'arouf Opens Marine Academy on Navy Day

The Iraqi Navy and Coastal Force observed on July 1 the 40th anniversary of its founding.

Established in 1937, the Iraqi naval force grew up steadily. From a mere four-warships force it has now developed into an important bulwark of national defence. Though it has noticeably developed since the July 14, 1958 Revolution which toppled the royal regime in Iraq, the real breakthrough of its development came after the Revolution of July 17, 1968.

The political leadership of the July 17 Revolution pays special attention to the naval force and to its members from all aspects. Cadets are imparted highly advanced knowledge and trained in modern technique.

As a result the standard of the naval force has substantially gone up since the past nine

years. The Navy and Coastal Force has now achieved sufficient striking strength to safeguard and protect the sovereignty and security of our nation.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Navy and Coastal Force, the first stage of the Gulf Academy for Marine Studies was opened in Basrah. On behalf of the President, Vice-President Taha Muhyeddin Ma'arouf inaugurated the Academy.

Vice-President Ma'arouf in his inaugural address said: "Iraq will work, through its good relations with the countries overlooking the Arabian Gulf, for achieving prosperity and welfare of the sons of the region." He further said, "Iraq bears big responsibilities for this strategic area of our homeland and is aware of the dangers and covets facing its riches. Iraq is also working hard

to keep the region out of international conflicts, imperialist ambitions and ill-designs".

Mr. Ma'arouf added that Iraq would keep the door open for the sons of the nation to benefit from the Academy which is considered one of the leading marine academies in the Middle East region.

The opening ceremony was also attended by Transport Minister Mr. Aziz Rashid, Governor of Basrah, high ranking military officers, Arab Military Attachés in Baghdad and delegates from Egypt, Somalia, Democratic Yemen, Libya, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait.

The Academy has reserved 25 per cent of its seats for the Arab countries in general and the Arabian Gulf countries in particular. It has the following departments:

- (1) Higher Marine Studies,
- (2) Radar and wireless,
- (3) Marine Vocational Training Centre,
- (4) Marine College, and (5) Military Marine School.



Women are defenders of the country

The Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP) accomplished the revolution of July 17, 1968, in Iraq in the wake of serious reverses suffered by Arab revolutionary movement in its struggle against the Zionist-imperialist aggressors. The July 17 Revolution, therefore, acted as a spark to ignite revolutionary fire afresh in the minds of the Arab masses.

The Party, during the past nine years, lived up to its commitment to the people and to its own ideology. The revolutionary possibilities that were opening up before itself consequent upon the seizure of power in one part of the Arab homeland were fully utilised by the Party. The party enriched itself through practising revolutionary theories in concrete situations and developed the theories creatively in actual application.

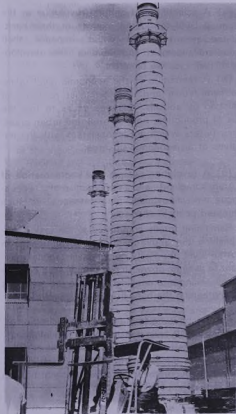
ABSP-the Architect of July 17 Revolution

by Our Political Analyst

The historical circumstances in which the Party was born on April 7, 1947, taught the party the precious lesson of being not only theoretical, but also empirical. In fact the Party's strategic objectives of Unity, Freedom and Socialism were achieved by combining theory and empiricism.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Arabs who hoped for regaining their national unity and independence after four hundred years of domination by the Ottomans, found, to their utter dismay, their homeland divided up between the victorious Anglo-French powers at the end of World War I. The prospect of striking oil in Mosul areas of Iraq, the need for preserving the British interest in the newly found Persian oil fields and the urgency for protecting the British imperial rule over India and North Africa, prompted the British imperialists to tighten their control over the Near and Middle East. With a view to replacing the Ottomans as rulers the British imperialists collaborated with France, Czarist Russia and the Zionists and obtained the blessings of the United States. The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 by which the Arab homeland was fragmented and the Balfour Declaration of 1917 under which the Zionists were promised a "national home" in Arab Palestine, were the results of this collaboration. The Arabs again lost the unity of their homeland and their urge for freedom remained



Booming industry

unfulfilled. With the establishment of "Israel", the Arabs not only lost part of Arab Palestine, but also found a spearhead of aggression and racism planted right into their heart.

The ABSP, therefore, launched a determined struggle against imperialism and Zionism. The party steered itself through hard and arduous struggle and in the process found out the correct ideology for the emancipation of Arab masses and for fulfilling their aspirations. The party's aims of realising unity, winning freedom and establishing socialism caught the imagination of the people. Its consistent support to the cause of the liberation of Palestine and recovery of other Arab territories occupied by the Zionists during successive wars of aggression, were held in high esteem by the people as well as the Arab revolutionary fighters. The Party undertook the task of liberating Palestine as the central task of Arab revolution at the given period.

Therefore, for historical, theoretical and practical reasons, the ABSP emerged over the years as the vanguard of Arab revolution.

NEW AWAKENING

With view to attaining the strategic objectives of Arab revolution, namely, Unity, Freedom and Socialism, the Party drew up a programme of action based on the Party's theoretical understanding and empirical knowledge. The conditions obtaining in the Arab homeland were analysed scientifically. The party came to the conclusion that the setbacks suffered by the Arab revolution during the late forties, mid-fifties and mid-sixties stemmed from some basic faults, the most serious of which was the deviation of the Arab progressive forces from the path of joint struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. This deviation cost them dearly when the Zionists, backed by the imperialists, inflicted defeat on the Arab nation on June 5, 1967. In the circumstances, the Party adopted the following programme of action at its Ninth Congress held in Beirut in February, 1968:

- The Party would follow the principle of objective and revolutionary self-criticism.
- People's Liberation War would be the strategy to liberate Palestine.
- Military coup method would be replaced by Popular National Front strategy.
- Armed people's struggle would be waged to achieve Unity, Freedom and Socialism.

On the basis of the above organisational principles and tactical measures drawn up at the Ninth Congress and confirmed in the Tenth National Congress held in Baghdad in March, 1970, the ABSP marched forward to accomplish the national task of the Arab revolution.

The revolutionary character of the Party ideology has led the ABSP to base all its social and economic analyses on dialectical logic. The Party believes that the deep contradictions existing in the national and international spheres cannot be resolved by peaceful means or through evolutionary process. Only the force of a bold stroke is capable of bringing about qualitative changes in the existing national and international conditions in respect of the whole Arab people. This formulation has been arrived at on the basis of the accumulated revolutionary knowledge and experience of mankind.

LONG-TERM TASK

Following these formulations the ABSP has embarked on the course of its struggle to accomplish the long-term strategic task of the Arab revolution. As no bourgeois-democratic revolution has taken place in the Arab homeland, and as the Arab revolutionary movement has developed during the era of socialist revolution, the ABSP's strategic task has enjoined upon it to bring about the three revolutions at one and the same time. These are:

(a) A scientific and cultural revolution at the intellectual level to rid the masses of their backward medieval mentality which impedes their spiritual advancement and hinders the development of their creative faculties.

(b) A revolution at the economic level to replace semi-feudal and semi-capitalist relations of production by socialist relations so as to free the forces of production, both at rural and urban areas, of their fetters which are inconsistent with the imperatives of an economic upsurge.

(c) A revolution against the fragmentation of the Arab homeland and the reactionary consequences and chauvinistic manifestations of such fragmented political entities.

Remaining totally committed to the task of accomplishing the above-mentioned revolutions on pan-Arab level, the Party considers it tactically important to assume power in one or any Arab country of today, taking into consideration the requirements of strengthening the base area of the revolution.

Conditions were found ripe in Iraq. On July 17, 1968, the ABSP accomplished the revolutionary campaign of seizure of power in Iraq. Since then, the ABSP, has succeeded in building in Iraq a bastion of Arab revolution and in defending that bastion in the face of imperialist, Zionist and reactionary conspiracies.

New Life New Values

by Moheyyedin Ismail

It is obvious enough that the 17 July Revolution ushered, in Iraq and the Arab nation as a whole, a new era unprecedented in modern Arab history. Since that day Iraq entered the world scene and occupied a special place consonant with the most complex creative tasks of the Arab revolutionary goals. It occupied this special place for it proved irrefutably, from the very beginning that it had a distinctive ideological attitude, a historical orientation and the moral and material answer to the numerous age-old problems and challenges.

Through this revolutionary event, the political leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP), with its consummate skill and wisdom, won a spectacular victory in crushing all the forces in Iraq which were standing, for a long time, against the interests and aspirations of the suffering people.

Within a short span of time, the political leadership, with tenacity and patience, realised the major complex objectives based on the ideals and the strategic guidelines of the party. These objectives were not of material nature only. Material progress by itself was not all, although this remarkable material progress impressed all the unbiased visitors to the country. The political leadership of 17 July Revolution believes that material progress is just a clearing of the decks. Hence the diverse tasks which form the transformative nature of the Revolution in all walks of life.

Initiated and steered by the (ABSP), the Revolution shouldered all-out responsibilities with energetic efforts to put an end to the fog ends of the infamous previous regimes under which a sharp decline of values was noticed in every aspect of life in Iraq.

Immediately prior to the 17 July Revolution, it was quite evident that the previous regime was in a state of complete political paralysis. In its last gloomy days, it was in a moribund state exposing decadence.

Political lethargy, irrationalism, absence of planning, social welter of confusion and attempts to realise temporary and false social and political conciliation, absence of any sense of political morality, all these and others were the factors which worked to produce deep contradictions and tensions in the depths of the society. But together with all these evil consequences of the past, there was the willful and deliberate negligence of the central issue of the Arab nation: The Palestinian Question. So the political leadership, from the very

outset, began to work heart and soul to eradicate all the lamentable throes and agonies of the past and remove those scandalous conditions which prevailed.

With assiduity and perseverance and without losing sight of realities and facts, the political leadership paved the revolutionary path in order to hew out the destiny of the Arab nation through the struggle for achieving the strategic aims of Arab unity, freedom and socialism.

Here we must not forget that the ABSP ideology believes in the human free will and the ability of man to formulate his own life. This ideology does not relieve man of his responsibility in his society, but it urges him to redouble his efforts to determine the course of history. This is one of the central points of the revolutionary ethics of the ABSP ideology. This explains why the political leadership refuses, by will and by reason, "the stepping-back policy", which is sometimes unavoidable for some other ideologies. This will give us a measure of the colossal task of 17 July Revolution.

Out of the concept which does not let things and events take the ordinary process but the revolutionary one, the political leadership, believes that victory is always in store for this nation and its just cause, provided that the revolutionary practice and theory of the ABSP should be adopted properly to ensure the ongoing creative action of all the forces of the people. It has the steadfast faith in the people, so it has the confidence that the people can build their future undeterred by others.

* During these nine years, Iraq, under the inspiring leadership of the ABSP, could frustrate successfully all the imperialist and reactionary virulent plots and attempts to restore their political and economic interests and ends.

* It has launched with tenacity and patience, a vigorous struggle to defend the rights of the Arab nation at large.

* It achieved a decisive changeover in the whole community by laying down firm foundations of the ideological bulwark for the Arab revolution. By this, it has highlighted the efficacy of the revolutionary free will and has carried the major causes of the people to success within a historically brief period.

* With colossal success, it has cemented solidarity with all the progressive forces in the world and has promoted cordial relations with all the peoples and the freedom-loving countries, in a creative revolutionary activity to repudiate all injustices everywhere.

So, it stands to reason that a great leap forward has taken place in the life of the Arab nation with the advent of the 17 July Revolution which has fully unfolded the creative potentialities of the people who are determined to shake off their old life, to rise and to achieve.

It is an onward drive towards a new life and new values.



Mr. Saddam Hussein Preddite over a meeting of the PPF on the issue of the nationalized Basrah Petroleum Company



The New Generation

National Unity Consolidated : Strong Economic Foundation Built Achievements of ABSP

by Majed al-Najjar

To judge the genuineness of a revolution taking place in a developing country like Iraq is not to see how it tripled the outgoing regime to ascend to power, but to track its course in the post-revolution period to test what it has achieved and how it has functioned in terms of putting into action its political platform and realizing the aspirations of the people.

In Iraq, any faithful revolution will find itself face to face with very difficult, sometimes uncompromising assignments. The political and economic conditions in Iraq were of such an oppressive kind that two previous revolutions — 1958, 1963 — partly failed to tackle them. One who tracks the political and economic history of Iraq will find that it has been passing through conflicting political, economic, social and cultural situations over full seven centuries: In 1258, Iraq was still the political and cultural centre of the Islamic world, but that year marked an utter reverse course in Iraq's history. The Mongols invaded Iraq and pillaged its civilization.

During those seven centuries the country underwent a process never seen in all its history; it changed hands from one hegemony to another until it eventually fell in the hands of British colonialism which looted its natural resources, plundered its heritage and threw it into a state of oblivion — devastating its brilliant contributions to mankind.

The people of Iraq came finally to realize that colonial exploiters, especially the British, would not concede their covets in an oil-rich country like Iraq without a bitter and severe fight and that would entail high sacrifices. The July 14 Revolution of 1958 undertook this task when it toppled the subservient royal regime and a republican rule was established in Iraq. But imperialism resorted to new formulae to hamper the advance of the revolution and national and patriotic parties and forces

were subjected to a coercive method of rule under a military junta. This state of suppression did not last long. The Arab Baath Socialist Party again closed its ranks with other national and patriotic forces and succeeded in detonating the February 9, 1963, Revolution; but it could not stand fast against intrigues and reactionary designs and after nine months was toppled on 18 November 1963, by a military junta, to throw Iraq again into a dark future.

Before July 17, 1968, the general scene of Iraq became very gloomy and the situation degenerated into political restlessness resulting from a long-standing costly fight between the Arab and Kurdish brethren, a fight which, it turned out, was instigated by Western intriguers; the breakdown of the national front which was formed in 1967 under the name (the National Union Front) but, because of feuds, it split into conflicting political factions after the 1968 revolution; the ruling elite was waging a coercive drive against all national elements; social instability prevailing in the Iraqi atmosphere; the national oil wealth was still dominated and exploited by subsidiaries of multinational oil companies; failure of the Agrarian Reform Law No. 30 of 1958, in bringing forth an agrarian revolution in the Iraqi countryside, failure of the demi-nationalization measures taken in 1964 to create a national public sector; the psychological impact of the June 5, 1967 War with 'Israel' on the people of Iraq; very high percentage of illiteracy among the people; abstention or ignorance of the pre-revolution regimes to build a real national industry. All these resulted in throwing Iraq into economic dependence and paralysing the people's aspirations for building a modern society and eradicating all manifestations of backwardness and poverty.



Kirkuk Nationalized Oil Field, once exploited by the IPC

In the midst of such stark realities and against this bitter background, the Arab Baath Socialist Party, the advocate of the slogans of Unity, Freedom and Socialism, detonated the July 17 Revolution with the support of the masses and revolutionary intellectuals.

Following the revolution, the foremost task the Baath Party undertook to implement was to rebuild and consolidate national unity and political stability, on which depended the achievement of economic, social and cultural objectives.

DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION

The Arab Baath Socialist Party perceives that national unity and political stability cannot be realized except by establishing a democratic and progressive rule, because of the fact that the Iraqi people is a mosaic of two principal nationalities — Arabs and Kurds — and other national minorities. Paragraph (b), Article 5 of the Interim Constitution (16 July, 1970) of the Republic of Iraq provides: "The People of Iraq is formed of two principal nationalities, the Arab nationality and the Kurdish Nationality. The Present Constitution shall recognize the national rights of the Kurdish people and the legitimate rights of all minorities within the unity of Iraq".

On March 11, 1970, the Revolution Command

Council (RCC), the highest constitutional authority, promulgated a manifesto for solving the Kurdish question on a peaceful and fraternal basis. In the manifesto the national rights of Kurds were recognized and all political parties and national forces were called upon to put this recognition into effect. On March 11, 1974, the Kurdish area was, in accordance with the Law of Autonomy promulgated by the RCC on the eve of the fourth anniversary of March 11 Manifesto of 1970, granted autonomy to the Kurdish area within the framework of the Republic of Iraq.

In the preamble of that law, the RCC confirmed that "The application, on a democratic basis, of autonomy to the area whose majority of population is from Kurds shall provide secure ways for our Kurdish people to exercise their full rational rights within the framework of one homeland... shall strengthen the national unity and the gains realized for the masses by the Revolution and shall ward off the intrigues of imperialism and reactionary forces".

With the application of autonomy, we can say confidently that a bright page has been opened in the modern history of Iraq.

REBUILDING AND CONSOLIDATING A NATIONAL FRONT

With the peaceful and democratic solution to

the Kurdish question the ABSP simultaneously made painstaking efforts with other patriotic parties and forces to rebuild the national front which had broken down after 1968. To do this the ABSP was able to create an appropriate atmosphere for a democratic dialogue; exchange of opinions was highly respected and sincerely listened to by all parties concerned. This resulted in the introduction by the ABSP's Regional Leadership of the draft of the "National Action Charter and the Statute and Rules of Work in the Progressive Patriotic and National Front" (PPNF). The Charter was approved by the intended patriotic and progressive parties in the Front to be officially pronounced by President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, Secretary of the ABSP's Regional Leadership, on the eve of the fifth anniversary of July 17 Revolution, in 1973.

In his address to the nation on that occasion, President Bakr stated: "We affirm that the continued discussion and dialogue during this period, though they sometimes brought forth some negative aspects, were primarily the result of the faithful desire to ripen and deepen the understanding between patriotic parties. We do not want a front to be formed today and break down tomorrow. We want it to be a steadfast and perpetual front — one which has a strategic perspective and everlasting strategic assignments. We want it to be a proper model for all progressive patriotic forces in the Arab homeland".

In his speech to the plenary meeting of the committees of the Progressive Patriotic and National Front on June 7, 1975, Mr. Saddam Hussein, Deputy Secretary of the ABSP's Regional Leadership, expounding the role of the Front in building Iraq, said:

"Many times we have been saying that we, namely the revolution with all its forces, its aims and strategic objectives, are even in need of the infant. It goes without saying that the parties of the Progressive Patriotic and National Front are needed by the Revolution. The victory which was reaped and in which all national forces had a role should be used as an additional means for consolidating the comradely relations inside the Front to march forward with higher resoluteness in the field of realizing socialism and our policy of liberation".

FIGHT MONOPOLIES WITH A STEADFAST FRONT

With the democratic and peaceful solution to the Kurdish question and the formation of the Front — both made up a steadfast infrastructure of society ever seen in Iraq — the Government of July 17 Revolution, led by the ABSP, entered a decisive historic stage. One question preoccupying the minds of the people was how to conduct a real battle against oil monopolies, a "dragon" so formidable that previous regimes found themselves unable to face up to because of the elite rule they were leaning upon and the lack of the masses' support for and confidence in their intentions. The issue of achieving national economic in-

dependence was longstanding in the literature of the ABSP and in other patriotic parties' platforms, but the open question was how to implement it while the oil wealth was in the hands of foreign oil companies — a wealth that Iraq cannot do without in terms of buying and building modern technology needed for the development of industry and agriculture. On the other hand, the oil monopolies would not give in easily to the Iraqi claims. Instead, the oil companies resorted to mass-murder, through the subservient Royal regime, besides robbery and plunder. On the bloody events conducted by Basrah Oil Company, "al-Ishiriki" (Socialist), then the clandestine paper of the ABSP, commenting on the developments, said on December 15, 1953:

"Now the Basrah Petroleum Company's recklessness has reached an intolerable level, with the agent treacherous government undertaking an attitude of mean collusion with the imperialist company, which resulted in opening fire on our free workers and hurling hundreds of citizens in Basrah prisons so as to pave the way before the imperialist exploitation of Basrah Oil".

After the July 14 Revolution of 1968, the government adopted the course of negotiation with the companies to force out an equitable share in oil production and revenues. On April 10, 1961, the Iraqi Ministry of Oil issued a statement containing Iraq's claims to equitable share in oil. This was followed by the promulgation of Law No. 80 of 11 December, 1961, defining the companies' concessions and governing oil production and the formation of the Iraqi National Oil Company (INOC). But Law No. 80 was subjected to pressure from the oil companies and a series of manoeuvres and intrigues were devised to undermine it while the INOC was rendered ineffective under the sneaking attempts of the companies.

However, the game of negotiation to which the companies had resorted to hypnotize the indignant people dragged on even after the July 17 Revolution of 1968. But they did not perceive that, this time, they were drawing near the end of their manoeuvres, that they were going through a cul-de-sac and that their raison d'être was being subjected to the people's will. On May 17, 1972, the RCC forwarded an ultimatum to the companies to comply with the government's demands for a just agreement; but the companies were unwilling to heed to the ultimatum. At this crucial moment the Revolution addressed itself to the people to give their just judgement. On June 1, 1972, came the historic decision: Nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company. This was followed by the Nationalization of US and Dutch shares in the Basrah Petroleum Company (43%), on the second day of the breakthrough of the October War, 1973, and the remaining shares of British Petroleum Company and French Petroleum Company (57%), in December 1976. With this last step the chapter of monopoly and blackmail was closed in Iraq's history.

Mediterranean Socialist Parties Conference

Iraq played an active role in the recent Mediterranean Socialist Parties Conference held in Valletta, Malta.

The 8-day conference was opened by Maltese Premier Mr. Don Mintoff on June 20. It was attended by representatives of 14 member-parties and inore

nection, Mr. Hammoudi expressed the hope that "our discussions on the question of backing national liberation movements struggling against imperialism, Zionism, fascism and reaction will contribute to unmasking the dangers and conspiracies worked out against the security of the Mediterranean Sea, which is

of struggle against colonialism, Zionism, reaction and aggression".

Concluding, Mr. Hammoudi said, "Our party supports your noble efforts hoping they will help realize the goals of socialist and progressive parties to make the Mediterranean Sea a zone of peace and security and a meeting place of cooperation and solidarity away from all forms of intimidation, aggression, Zionist and imperialist domination".

Conference Results

In its final statement the conference also supported the integrity and neutrality of Cyprus. It endorsed the right of national independence and the defence against foreign aggression and domination.

It denounced all forms of political, economic or military black-

Joint Action Against Imperialist, Zionist Conspiracies Urged



Mr. Khalid G. Hammoudi

than 20 observer delegations. The conference adopted a number of resolutions in the interest of the region and the world at large.

It closely connected with the security and peace of the world at large. We confirm the organic correlation between the socialist struggle and the national libera-



Speakers on the forum of the conference branded Zionism as an inhuman racist movement and the final statement of the conference declared full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberating all their usurped land.

The Arab Baath Socialist Party's delegation to the conference was led by Mr. Saad Qassim Hammoudi, member of the Information and Publishing Bureau of the ABSP National Leadership, who expounded to the conference Iraq's unbounded support to the liberation movements in the world and stressed the importance of solidarity with the Arab people to liberate their occupied territories. In this con-

tion movements particularly among the countries facing the triple oppressions of occupation, division and backwardness".

Referring to Iraq's achievements in the political and economic fields, Mr. Hammoudi said: "Our Party was able to liquidate and nationalize all foreign petroleum interests in the country and utilize the revenues for achieving comprehensive development on the road to socialism". "Furthermore", he added, "the Party has realized a series of democratic gains and progressive accomplishments in Iraq and has taken decisive stands on the pan-Arab and international levels with a view to strengthening the front

mailing. It called for the renunciation of use of force for resolving international disputes except in defence of national sovereignty and for national liberation.

The conference also called for joint action within an effective front against imperialism, Zionism, fascism and reactionary intrigues and for standing firm by the side of persecuted peoples as well as for the victory of socialism. It declared full solidarity with all liberation movements struggling for national independence and for building socialism. The conference urged the states of the region to foster common cooperation in political, economic and social spheres.



Workers at the Baghdad Dairy Plant



Modern housing is one of the aims of the revolution

The New Path Revolution

By Kemal Butti

Newly emerging countries are faced today with more serious problems and challenges than those which confronted them prior to their national independence. The new strategic position they occupy after bitter and protracted liberation struggle, and the vital natural resources most of them are gifted with, make them vulnerable to imperialist intrigues. They are not left in peace to build their new societies; ill designs are woven against them constantly. Consequently, political independence has become one among a plethora of prerequisites for a strong nation. Equal in importance is economic independence which constitutes the material base for a sound development, the achievement of which cannot be attained without industrialisation.



Iraq achieved political independence through the July 14 Revolution of 1958 which toppled the reactionary monarchy and disengaged the country from the imperialist military alliances; whereas the July 17 Revolution of 1968 consolidated this independence by liquidating all foreign intelligence networks and agents, and established a real, patriotic, firm and competent national authority.

The Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP), which led the July 17 Revolution, won the country its economic independence on June 1, 1972 when it nationalised the oil monopoly companies operating in Iraq, thus delivering national economy from the clutches of international imperialist monopolies. This step enabled the government to undertake the long-sought development plans and ushered in a new era of prosperity. With the oil revenue completely at the command of the government, the development process is today operating at top gear.

After achieving political and economic independence, Iraq em-

barked on laying the foundations for the sound socialist transformation with an emphasis on industrialisation. Industrialisation is but a link in the chain of the current development process within the country. It also has a pan-Arab perspective.

The development process undertaken by the Baath Party aims essentially at achieving real economic and social progress at an accelerated tempo for the toiling productive majority. This process, in its final designed outcome, is governed by the requirements of social transformations and building socialism. It is by socialism only that progress and a better standard of living for the people could be attained both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The Baath Party does not confine its future outlook to Iraq alone, but seeks to turn Iraq into a dynamic vanguard base for the Arab revolution in its struggle for a unified, democratic, socialist society. Progress and socialism in Iraq are considered a real and steadfast support and strength to the Arab Nation as a whole

in building its unity Iraq's progress enables the Arab nation to look forward to its prosperous future. Therefore, the Party does not lay emphasis only on defining the type and targets of industrialisation within the development process, but it also gives due attention to time, effort, material and energy required to be mobilised to accomplish this task basing its calculations on the conditions, factors and forces surrounding the country in particular and the Arab Nation in general and on distinct features of the current international situation. These features demand of the Arab Nation the pursuance of a scientific revolutionary confrontation accurately calculated vis-a-vis backwardness, imperialist and Zionist challenges and dangers. It is by concerted economic and social development and progress parallel to that of the developed countries that we can bridge the gap between us and those countries and finally be able to get hold of the reins of our future.

This is an extraordinary mission which could not be accomplished by traditional means and methods. The mission requires extraordinary methods, a new path revolution. That is exactly what Mr. Saddam Hussein, Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council meant when he said in his recent meeting with the members of the Planning Board, "We should industrialise our country in our own way, in a way complying with our national aims and pan-Arab ambitions. We should not refrain from industrialising whatever we purchase and should not indus-

trialise only because we are able to do so in terms of technical and economic calculations forgetting the comprehensive strategic vision".

The new path revolution perceived by the political leadership in Iraq could well be summarised by stressing the importance of obtaining and introducing modern technology in every aspect of life. Various steps have been taken in this respect over the past seven years beginning with the establishment of research centres in different branches of industry, and the new channels created with foreign industrial institutions. Still, the leadership believes in orienting this technology nationally in view of the political, economic and social targets of the pan-Arab socialist revolution led by the Party.

What is meant by orienting technology is the ownership of modern technology suitable for particular techniquess and management for a particular industry of our choice. Also to select this technology from the ones available on the international market for that particular industry, adapt the same in order to meet our conditions and natural, social and economic peculiarities. In other words in concord with our weather, traditions and social practices, manpower, raw material, volume of domestic market, export obstacles, skills, etc.

Moreover, the adaptation of imported modern technology is done in a way accelerating the pace of our development and



giving us the freedom to move, on the regional, pan-Arab and international levels in conformity with the country's and Party's aims. Therefore, we have been in search for this technology from diversified foreign sources in order to obtain multiple experience in various fields rather than confining ourselves to one type and source of such expertise.

Judging from the experiences of other developing nations, we come to notice that particular political, economic and social prerequisites are very essential to effect the much-sought industrialisation on scientific basis. Of these prerequisites, raising the standard of productivity to meet the extraordinary tasks of the government on the regional, pan-Arab and international levels, stands as a priority. This requires a dogged mass education, con-

tinuous firm control on the part of the authority and people through their unions; modification of the economic, social, legal and administrative structure in a way consistent with the designed objectives; and the comprehensive application of economic principles, standards and specifications in terms of cost, expenditure, time, scientific management, etc.

Iraq has already begun its 'new path revolution'. It has already applied the principle of not buying progress in the form of equipment and commodities, but industrialising progress for itself and the Arab Nation depending on its own efforts with the help of imported modern technology. The country is spending lavishly on constructing sound industrialisation rather than 'importing progress'; what is being spent on modern technology is the only

guarantee for acquiring expertise and achieving progress. The purchase of ready-made industrial goods is merely a waste of money and a drain on our human and natural resources and an impediment to the Arab man's creativity.

The present 'competition' among the industrialised capitalist countries and their unseizable dealings with the Third World countries, as has been proved in the recent Paris Economic Cooperation Conference, dictate on Iraq and the rest of the developing nations, to shop for modern technology everywhere. They should not forget to employ whatever 'weapons' they have for obtaining this much-needed technology to meet their urgent needs and to take part in, and contribute to, the flourishing of human civilisation.

FACTS ABOUT PALESTINE



Everyday hundreds of Arabs are being expelled

Tell a Lie Everyday

Seemingly, it looks to some as though the Arabs who live in occupied Palestine and other Arab territories are enjoying a great time there! At least not a single Zionist article, or any article written on behalf of 'Israel', gives any different impression. Some propagandists even go to the absurd extreme of telling that probably, not surely, the Arabs who live under Zionist influence enjoy the protection others are deprived of — as is the case in Lebanon for instance. In short, they keep trying to instill notions to the effect that no bliss matches that of being able to live under the "benign civilizing influence of the Israelis!"

At times some of them imply this notion indirectly, lest world public opinion should find it too difficult to swallow. At other times Zionists state it openly and unashamedly, claiming that in 'Israel', being an "ideal democratic state" (sic), all citizens — Western Jews, Oriental Jews and Arabs alike — enjoy the same privileges under the same constitution. Somehow, they do it in such

Night Terror

Since April last the Arab village of Deir-Abu-Mash'al in occupied Palestine has been the target of unbridled 'Israeli' aggression. The French daily L'Humanite' confirmed the news on 25.6.1977 by saying that 'Israeli' terrorists set upon the village every night with the intention of spreading wide fear. "Since Likud has taken over", the French paper added, "the Israelis started anew the methods Begin used to resort to in 1948". It may be recalled that grabbing Arab property, destroying houses and setting fire to crops were among

a way as to appear so perfect, however, slightly falling short of a utopia.

Well, once in a while all this crumbles overnight. Whether the cause be some slip of the tongue, an unbelievably exaggerated piece of information, or a true news bulletin, it all boils down to the same thing: In 'Israel' the Arabs live on their tiptoes waiting from one moment to the other for the inevitable nocturnal raid. They have to accept then, either death or homelessness.

However, it happens also as the Associated Press (AP) has recently confirmed, that the Palestinian Arabs are not given the chance to consider: in Deir al Assal and Deir Mash'al, nearest to Ramallah, continuous night raids by 'Israeli' hit teams were being carried out for the last five weeks or so against the sleeping inhabitants of the two villages. Indiscriminate machine-gunning was intended to kill as many villagers as possible and to scare away the rest. The news agency also added that as soon as the remaining villagers ran away all their properties disappeared. The 'Israeli' government's answer was, of course, that the raiders were just some robbers who would never escape the 'law'.

Recalling, however, similar incidents taking place in the Gaza strip some time earlier, the Palestinian News Agency (Wafa) uncovered that the recurrent raids were organized under the actual supervision of the 'Israeli' government itself. The Zionist tactic attempting to apportion the responsibility to a gang of outlaws appears feeble and unconvincing. It is quite obvious that some poor villagers could not be a target of casual robberies in view of the fact that 'Israeli' security men are always on the alert. It follows then, that the Zionists have been resorting anew to the old methods of Deir Yassin and Qibya (the famous massacres), though this time with a new twist and a bit of covering.

Begin's favourite sports. The wronged villagers, however, were quoted by L'Humanite' correspondent as saying they would stand up to the intensified 'Israeli' attacks, despite the immensity of losses incurred by them.

It is to be recalled in this connection that the Sunday Times of 19.6.1977 published a report confirming "the systematic use of torture on a large scale" in occupied Palestine and the other territories since the 1967 war.

Some Aspects of Iraq's Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of a country is determined in accordance with the requirements of its domestic policies.

The foreign policy of Iraq has been formulated in the light of the objectives of the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP). As the party is striving for achieving the unity of the fragmented Arab homeland, liberating Palestine and other territories

to the Palestine resistance movement and places all its moral and material resources at the disposal of that movement. Iraq leaves no stone unturned for achieving a unified Arab position against the Zionist enemy, relentlessly tries to strengthen the battlefield and consolidate the defence in Arab depth.

In concrete terms, Iraq has proposed to activate the northern and eastern fronts against the Zionist enemy and commit its armed forces to the

August 15, 1976: Iraq-Iranian talks on developing economic and technical cooperation.

August 16, 1976: Columbia Non-aligned Conference



June 14, 1976: Baghdad 3rd International Seminar on problems of development and the struggle for New World Economic Order

and countries that are still under foreign occupation and domination, and replacing semi-feudal and semi-capitalist relations of production by socialist relations, the foreign policy of Iraq has been outlined to help accomplish these tasks.

The foreign policy of Iraq, therefore, aims at

- liberating usurped Palestine and other territories from Zionist occupation;
- promoting brotherly relations with other Arab countries;
- strengthening solidarity with developing countries in their common struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialist economic and political hegemony, and consolidating Non-aligned Movement.
- fighting racism and racial discrimination and all their manifestations.
- supporting national liberation movements of all the oppressed and subjugated peoples of the world, and
- Cooperating with the industrially advanced countries on the basis of pragmatic evaluation of national interest and international obligation.

LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

At the present historical phase, the liberation of Palestine has become the central task of Arab revolution. Iraq, therefore, renders all the backing

battlefield. For the same reason Iraq opposes engaging the Arab defence capabilities in dettractive side battles among themselves.

ARAB ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

In the economic field, Iraq strives for realising Arab economic integration and contributes, as an active member of the Arab Economic Unity Council and other pan-Arab organisations, to the development of adequate infrastructure for building a strong national economy on pan-Arab level. The Government of Iraq is giving aid to needy Arab countries on liberal terms, participating in joint ventures and entering into bilateral and multi-lateral agreements in fulfilment of its pan-Arab responsibilities.

Iraq is working for ensuring free navigation in the Arabian Gulf, maintaining its Arab character and the security of its littoral oil-rich countries by the Gulf countries themselves, free from imperialist interference.

TRUSTED FRIEND OF THIRD WORLD

The Government of the July 17 Revolution is strengthening Iraq's friendly relations with all the developing countries in pursuance of its policy of fighting neo-colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. By nationalising the Western multinational Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC), which

used to exercise monopoly control over Iraq's oil wealth, Iraq strengthened the hands of other raw material producing countries of the Third World in their struggle for ending the exploitation of their basic and other resources by international finance capital. The developing countries, on their part, found in Iraq a trusted friend and consistent upholder of their cause. The nomination of Iraq by these nations to the International Economic Cooperation Conference for working out a new and just international economic order is an example of the position Iraq enjoys among these newly emerging nations.

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Iraq is following a policy of positive neutral-

tion of zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination is a vindication of Iraq's principled stand on this grave issue of human concern. Racism runs counter to ABSP's principle of humanism, and guided by this principle, Iraq opposes racism both of Zionist and apartheid brands, which are the manifestations of settler-colonialism and an instrument of oppression and exploitation of man by man under the garb of assumed racial superiority.

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The Government of the July 17 Revolution of Iraq extends whole-hearted support to national liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere. It has established organic links between the Arab

ism, opposing imperialist war pacts defending sovereign equality of nations and strictly adhering to the principle of non-interference as an active participant in the Non-aligned Movement. Through this movement Iraq has been able to contribute substantially to easing of tension in the world and fostering cooperation among countries who are not tied to any aggressive military bloc. True to its commitment to the cause of non-alignment, Iraq has offered to play host to the Seventh Summit Conference of Non-aligned nations.

COOPERATION WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Iraq has also strengthened its cooperation with socialist countries, not as matter of expediency, but on the basis of its commitment to the cause of peace and progress. Proceeding from this commitment Iraq has concluded the Treaty of Friendship and Technical Cooperation with the Soviet Union.

AGAINST RACISM

Iraq's consistent denunciation of zionism stems not only from its opposition to Zionist aggressiveness but also from its opposition to racism and racial discrimination. This stand of Iraq against racism has earned for her world-wide acclaim. The United Nations General Assembly's determina-

tion and other progressive national liberation movements and through this Iraq has joined in the mainstream of world revolution against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and reaction. By doing so the Iraqi leadership has strengthened the foundation of Arab revolution itself.

RELATIONS WITH ADVANCED COUNTRIES

The Government of Iraq approaches the question of international relations of nations pragmatically. Being a developing country Iraq requires access to modern technology to develop its own economy, and therefore, it does not feel shy of expanding the field of cooperation with the industrially advanced capitalist countries including the United States. By doing so Iraq seeks to bridge the technological gap between developing and developed nations without compromising on the question of strategic objectives. Such cooperation is extended both on bilateral basis and through the United Nations and its various agencies. But, the nature and extent of such cooperation is determined in the light of the imperatives of Arab national interest and the dictates of global interdependence of nations. In this case neither dogmatism blurs Iraqi leadership's vision, nor does opportunism cloud its sense of judgement.

All-round Socio-economic Development Since July 17 Revolution

The socio-economic transformations realized in Iraq since the Revolution of July 17, 1968, accomplished by the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP), are really impressive and promising. Rarely has a Third World country seen so speedy and sound changes in so short a time as did Iraq. The following facts and figures might illustrate the great socio-economic development achieved by the daring Revolution, which is confidently advancing to the attainment of its ultimate aims of Arab "Unity, Freedom, Socialism".

Iraq attained complete economic liberation by restoring full sovereignty over its oil, which represents the backbone of the economy. Most of the oil resources were nationalized early in 1972, and the whole nationalization process was brought to a successful end at the end of 1975.

The national income rose from ID. 896m in 1969 to ID. 4013m in 1976, while the per capita income increased from ID. 100 in 1969 to ID. 349 in 1976 — at the current prices of 1975. (one Iraqi dinar equals 3.37 dollars). This year's budget allocations amounted to ID. 5300 m.

The public sector (recently renamed 'the socialist sector') plays a leading role in the country's economic life. For instance, oil, banking, insurance, electricity and water supply are completely state-owned. The public

sector also controls 77% of the total commodity sectors, 57% of the wholesale and retail trade, 50% of the processing industry and 29% of the agricultural sector.

Important progress has been realized in the field of industry. In the two decades preceding the July 17 Revolution (1951-1969) only ID. 189 m had been allotted to industry, compared to ID. 709 m allocated in 1976 alone.

The total domestic produce of processing industries grew at the rate of 46% from 1968 to 1971, raising the industrial sector's participation in the national income to 12%. Overwhelming successes have been scored in several other branches. For example: electrical power rocketed from 133 megawatt in 1968 to 950 megawatt in 1976. The nucleus of heavy and petrochemical industries has already been created, to pave the way for full-fledged industrialization.

The successful completion, at the end of last year, of a radical agrarian reform is a feat of far-reaching politico-economic impact. Feudalism has been uprooted and semi-feudal relations are being liquidated. About 400,000 peasant families benefited from the expropriated 11,121,000 donums of land (a donum = 2600 sam). Official allocations for agriculture in 1976 alone (ID. 268 m) by far exceeded the total allocations of the period 1951-69, which were only ID. 179 m.

Modern agricultural technology



at Mesopotamiah University



Building Modern Industries



At Rashid Street in Baghdad



A healthy cooperative movement is taking the lead in preparing for a progressive, agricultural expansion in a country rich in arable land and irrigation resources. 1800 cooperative societies now join the efforts of 300,000 farmers cultivating 4 million hectares. There are also more than 80 collective and 30 state farms cultivating 900,000 donums and 500,000 donums respectively.

Major irrigation projects have been constructed and the mechanization and modernization of agriculture are steadily expanding. The agricultural bank provides easy loans to farmers. In the first 9 months of 1976, the loans it granted amounted to nearly ID. 10 m.

Two years ago education became free in all stages. Better, still it has become compulsory in the primary and universal in the intermediate stages. The number of below secondary school students has almost doubled, while that of university students has more than tripled. Amazing accomplishments have been realized in certain other spheres of education. The number of vocational students has also increased substantially.

The aim of education is to breed generations dedicated to the principles of Arab Unity, Freedom, Socialism and peace and capable of creating a new Iraq. Hence the close connection between education and the needs of socialist transformation.

The great expansion in education may be told by these figures: the number of pupils in the 6-year primary stage rose from 990,781 in the academic year 1967/68 to 1,971,135 in 1976/77. Now 99% of primary school pu-

pils have the opportunity to continue education in the 6-year intermediate stage. There were 254,033 students in the secondary schools in 1967/68 compared to 569,597 in 1976/77. Iraq's seven universities and several higher institutes will receive about 25,000 students this year compared to 7128 students in 1969.

Special care has been paid to extending medical services to the rural areas. A large number of dispensaries and health clinics has been established. The number of hospital beds has almost doubled rising from 12,300 in 1968 to 21,500 in 1975.

There is no unemployment in Iraq. This rapidly developing country is now providing employment to scores of thousands of specialists, technicians and workers from other Arab countries, who are entitled to the same rights and privileges of Iraqi officials and employees.

All workers in the public sector and certain categories in the private sector are no longer haunted by misery in old ages, because they are covered with social services.

Iraq is embarking upon an ambitious 6-year development plan (1976-80). The main target is to realize an annual growth of the national income at the rate of 16.8% coupled with an annual growth of the per capita income at the rate of 13.3%.

In a phrase: a new Iraq is vigorously being built. And the great accomplishments realized so far have demonstrated that the revolutionary government led by the ABSP is fully competent of bringing its mission to a successful end.



Plan for Comprehensive Economic and Social Development

In its session on June 25, the Revolution Command Council (RCC) resolved to promulgate Law No. 39 of 1977 for the National Development Plan (NDP) which covers a five-year period, from 1976 through 1980.

The objectives of the NDP as elaborated in its preamble represent a tangible embodiment of the national and pan-Arab principles prescribed, as central tasks of the Revolution, by the Political Report of the 8th Regional Congress of the Arab Baath Socialist Party to serve as guidelines for an intensive executive effort.

The NDP basically and directly envisages the realisation of the following central obligations:

(a) Comprehensive and accelerated development which is basically considered a revolutionary undertaking oriented towards the consolidation and promotion of economic liberation and independence, and realisation of social progress. It is, thus a comprehensive economic and social development involving changes within the society as a whole.

(b) Mobilisation of all the formulas and trends of socio-economic development towards the accomplishment of socialist transformation, with a view to bolstering and enhancing socialist production relations which envisage the elimination of various aspects of economic exploitation on the one hand, and the realisation of the long-range objectives of a socialist, united community on the other.

Accordingly, the NDP is founded on two fundamental trusses on the bases of which these comprehensive national objectives are to be attained. These are:

modern textile mill

1. The compulsory character of the plan. In other words, the qualitative and quantitative objectives of the NDP constitute a serious and decisive obligation on the state machinery; they are practically tantamount to a working plan throughout the NDP's five-year period;

2. The extensive coverage of democratic relations. A comprehensive and effective participation by various state and government bodies is sought within the context of a country-wide bee-hive activity to carry out the programmes envisaged by the Plan.

The systematic implementation of the Plan targets should necessarily be considered against the background of the fact that in drawing up its legislative set-up the Revolution Command Council was guided by the scientific concepts and principles contained in such important documents, as the Explanatory Memorandum dated April 9, 1977, submitted by the Minister of Planning to the RCC Vice-Chairman who is also the Chairman of the Planning Board, the recommendations put forward in respect of the 1977 Investment Programme (Annual Development Budget), and the indicators of recommendations of the 1977 Import Programme. These documents, considered from the legislative point of view an integral part of the NDP Law, provide evidence to the extensive coverage of the Plan objectives.

MAJOR PRINCIPLES AND TARGETS

The NDP Law envisages an annual growth rate of 16.8 per cent in the national income, an annual growth rate of 13.3 per cent in the per

capita income, an annual growth rate of 15.5 per cent in the mining (oil) and quarrying sector; an annual growth rate of 33.9 per cent in the processing industries sector; an annual growth rate of 7.1 per cent in the agricultural sector and an annual growth rate of 10.4 per cent in the services sector. The attainment of the above targets is sought to effect such a radical change in the structure of the national economy as to reduce the magnitude of oil in the formation of the gross domestic product (GDP) to 50.6 per cent in the closing year of the NDP period.

MAJOR SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION TRENDS

Within the framework of socialist transformation envisaged by the Plan, the following major trends can be noted:

1. Promotion of the socialist sector's role in various basic economic fields and activities, so as to effect a qualitative change in the techniques and patterns of social activity in favour of expanding the socialist-oriented production relations.
2. Expansion of the fundamental infrastructure of the national economy, as a basic foundation for encompassing the economic, social and political prerequisites of the subsequent phases of development.
3. Expansion of social services in systematically balanced formula and trends, with due consideration to the indispensable necessity of promoting national income and enhancing socialist reconstruction.

A targeted growth rate of 8.5 per cent is sought in the social services sector, which mainly envisages free education and free health services (including preventive medicine).

4. Promotion of rural welfare services, including housing, water supply and electrification projects. This is essentially considered to be ultimately conducive to the elimination of discrepancies in the social and economic standards between the urban and rural areas.

5. Development of national savings and pooling consumption within the guided framework of meeting the national demand for consumer goods, hence the elimination of extravagance both in public and private spending.

6. Forecasting a national pricing policy in respect of agricultural crops in particular, ahead of the crop-harvesting season, with a view to securing stable relations and standards for agricultural production. No doubt, due consideration should be given to rendering the price-system capable of securing a well-rewarding return of agricultural activity so as to promote production rates and raise farmer's income within a socialist-oriented structure.
7. Achieving a balanced inter-connection between the economic effects stemming from the expenditures and revenues of the state budget on the one hand, and the NDP objectives on the other, with due consideration to the fundamental prerequisites of socialist transformation in the economic and social structures.

EFFORTS POSITIVELY MOBILIZED

In Article IV, the Law significantly calls upon the Arab Baath Socialist Party, the Progressive and Patriotic National Front and the professional organisations to agglomerate and concert their efforts for drawing up such forms as would intensify their steadily growing role in the implementation of NDP programmes.

Exceptional efforts are sought to render these aspirations into a tangible reality, with far-reaching practical efforts.

STEERING BOARD

The Planning Board, which is basically acting as a steering body for the smooth implementation of the Plan is designated by the Law to secure the allocation of material and human resources for the execution of projects and schemes incorporated in the NDP. For this purpose the Board is empowered to issue instructions and define guidelines in respect of the fiscal, monetary, price and commercial policies; draw up such policies as would organise the private sector's activities within the framework prescribed in the Plan; specify the powers vested in the Ministries, governorates and socialist-sector institutions and delegate such authority as would be necessary for a smooth functioning of executive bodies.

The NDP, within this extensive framework, is a milestone of an intensive nation-wide determination to live up to the lofty aspirations of the July 17 Revolution Leadership.

Subhi J. Ibrahim

Autonomous Area Legislature Concludes Session

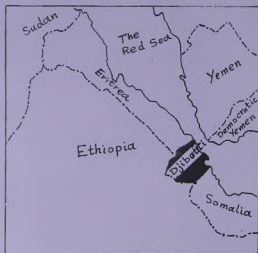
The Legislative Assembly of the Autonomous Area concluded its session in Arbil northern Iraq, on June 30. It was the third annual session held by the assembly, since its formation in 1974 when the Kurdish area was granted autonomy.

In a speech delivered on the

occasion of the conclusion of the session assembly chairman Mr. Abdul Qadir Ahmed said that the assembly set up various permanent committees to follow up development of the area, contributed to resolving internal problems and worked far reaching economic, social, educational and cultural development of the area.

In a cable to President Ahmed, Hassan al-Bakr and Revolution Command Council (RCC) Vice-Chairman Mr. Saddam Hussein Legislative Assembly members pledged to carry on efforts for building and developing the area in a way compatible with the objective for which the Autonomous Area was established.

Challenges and Hopes



DJIBOUTI

By M. Salama

The Somali Coast has at long last gained independence on June 26 as the Republic of Djibouti. The Parliament elected on May 5 has, in its turn, elected Mr. Hassan Joleed as President who commanded a sweeping majority — 53 against 12 votes. And the formation of the legislative, administrative and other institutions of the newly born state is in full swing.

While welcoming the independence of Djibouti we will do well to keep in mind the great challenges this emerging Arab country faces. These challenges include:

CONSOLIDATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The major task before the government of the Republic of Djibouti is to consolidate political independence and overcome economic subordination. This necessitates the cementing of national unity, the building of democratic institutions, the enhancement of the role of the public sector in

socioeconomic transformations and the establishment of clear political relations with other states, without bowing to the political and economic blackmail usually resorted to by imperialist states. The last point dictates the strengthening of the brotherly and natural relations with other countries of the Arab nation as well as the maintenance of close cooperation with the Non-aligned Movement.

In this respect, it should be emphasised that Djibouti will remain for a long time in need of Arab economic and political support. The national independence of this new republic should be consolidated and its national economy should be strengthened. Efforts should be made to help this strategically important country, which dominates the southern entrance of the Red Sea to maintain its national dignity in the face of imperialist and Zionist conspiracies. It may be pointed out here that "Israel" and the U.S. have an offensive striking force in the islands situated along the Eritrean coast, near Djibouti — in Musawa and Arab ports and in the islands of Duhluk, Halib, Fatima and others.

These aggressive forces will try to lay political, economic and military siege to Djibouti in an attempt to create a new situation in the southern entrance of the Red Sea. Such an action will endanger the peace of Bab al-Mandeb and the northern entrance of the Indian Ocean.

ETHIOPIAN AGGRESSIVENESS

Particular attention should be given to the threat of military action and adventurism which the Ethiopian military regime might venture in an attempt to undermine Djibouti's independence. It is common knowledge that the Ethiopian regime (even at the time of the late Emperor) wants to annex Djibouti as it had previously done with Eritrea. The new regime in Ethiopia may not hesitate to launch a desperate attack on Djibouti. As a matter of fact, it did so 3 months before Djibouti's independence. All peace-loving nations in the region are aware of such dangers.

Djibouti

- Occupied by France in 1862, following the division of Somalia between England, Italy and France.
- Located at Bab al-Mandeb. Surrounded by a semi-circle of Ethiopian land. Eritrea is its northern neighbour while Somalia lies to its south.
- The capital is Djibouti city — a port on the Red Sea.
- Area: 23000 square kms. Population: about 210,000.

Hassan Joleed, President of Djibouti



Iraq Recognizes Djibouti

President Bakr's cable said, "On the occasion of your election as President of the Republic of Djibouti, it pleases me to extend in the name of the Iraqi people and government and in my name the sincerest congratulations and greetings, wishing you every success and your people all prosperity and welfare".

ARAB LEAGUE MEMBERSHIP

Arab League Secretary General Mahmoud Riadh announced in a press conference on June 26 that Djibouti had applied for membership of the Arab League. He added that the request was referred to the member-countries for consideration by the League's council which would meet on Foreign Ministers level in September next.

On the other hand, the Arab Fund for Development in Africa board of directors will meet in Algiers on July 9 to look, among other things into the technical aid which will be given by the fund to the Republic of Djibouti. Meanwhile it has been reported from Libreville that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Ministerial Council has accepted Djibouti as a member in the organization.

Iraq was one of the first countries to recognize Djibouti as an independent sovereign state.

The Iraqi Foreign Ministry in a statement issued on June 26 said: "Genuine congratulations to the people and government of the Republic of Djibouti on the occasion of its day of independence which has been accomplished through long bitter struggle".

Iraq has decided to exchange diplomatic representation with Djibouti Republic on ambassadorial level. Meanwhile an Iraqi mission has already started functioning there.

BAKR CONGRATULATES JOLEED

President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr sent a cable of congratulations to Mr. Hassan Joleed on his election as President of the Republic of Djibouti.



Kurds performing a folk dance

Modernising Autonomous Area of Iraq

Sweeping changes are taking place in the Kurdish Autonomous Area in northern Iraq. Mr. Mick Ashley, the renowned British writer and member of the Labour Middle East Council, visited the area and wrote the following article in the London "Voice" newspaper.

Excerpts from the article:

"The face of the Kurdish area has been changing in recent months following the collapse of the Mustafa Barzani-led 'insurgency'.

The insurgency petered out in the spring of 1975 after a year of struggle which impeded the Iraqi Government's plan to implement the 1974 Law of Autonomy for the Kurdish area. This provided that Kurdish, along with Arabic, should be the offic-

ial language for the area, with Kurdish being the "language of education for Kurds in the area".

It gives the Kurdish area the right to an independent financial budget within the general national budget. The degree of devolution for the Kurds within the framework of the Iraqi state could, one hopes, make prophetic the words of the Iraqi President, Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, that this (The Law of Autonomy) should enable them to establish "a comprehensive economic, social and cultural improvement in the Kurdish area".

The end of the insurgency has also freed Iraq's national plan, to reorganise the industrial, agricultural and social structure of the country. The authorities hope

to modernise Iraqi society without losing touch with any of the basic moral values. This policy of reorganisation has certainly had a tremendous effect in the area, basically an agricultural area with a feudalistic structure, which is now being dismantled.

Housing has been given a high priority, because damage to property was fairly extensive during the insurgency. In addition, many Kurds moved to the centre and south of Iraq out of the area of the fighting.

But when I spoke to Mr. Hashim Hassan in Arbil, the administrative centre for the area he explained that new housing developments were not treated as emergency measures, but were part of the comprehensive plan to improve the social and economic structure of the Autonomous area.

Mr. Hassan is Chairman of the Executive Council of the Autonomous area, and he pointed out that they had in hand "164 developments, ranging from 30 to 500 houses, completed with all essential services for the homes, plus schools, clinics and transport facilities.

He left me in no doubt as to the Authority's ability to cope with the needs of the Kurdish refugees returning from other parts of Iraq and from neighbouring countries.

He also pointed out that the high degree of executive freedom the area now enjoyed would enable them to plan for a more diversified economy. The area is ideal for holidaymakers and there are plans to build "tourist cities" linked by modern roads.

The peace that has now come to the area resulted in an influx of visitors last year from other parts of Iraq. They found hotels booked to capacity, making it necessary for additional accommodation to be provided. But tourists' needs will have to be balanced against plans to modernise agriculture and develop industry. Mr. Hassan recently announced a budget of ID. 211,490,000 (nearly £423

million) for the area, quite independent from the national budget as provided for by the Autonomy Law.

He told me: "Finance from the central authority is not given for a specific project but for general use at the discretion of the area".

The comprehensive nature of the Autonomy Law and the manner in which the Executive are building an administrative structure to cope with the responsibilities of autonomy augurs, well for the success of plans for developing the area.

The current stability will make it easier to improve educational opportunities, tackle adult illiteracy, reorganise agriculture more efficiently and socially desirably, and generally expand the economy to bring the area into line with the rest of Iraq.

The radical plans to break up the feudal character of the Kurdish area will obviously upset

some people. Nonetheless, the Kurdish Democratic Party cooperates with other Iraqi parties in the "Progressive Patriotic and National Front".

An unscheduled visit to a hospital for some minor first aid before moving south out of the area gave me a glimpse of the changing social face of Iraq and the extent to which the free health service was being used. The young woman doctor dealt with what seemed to be a never-ending stream of patients, underlining the need for the hospital service to be expanded.

The opportunities that the Autonomy Law has brought to the area has freed Iraq's government to pursue its plan to modernise and diversify industry and agriculture. But like the Kurdish area, the rest of the country lacks skilled manpower to cope with the massive projects made possible through increased oil income.

- 1 Sulaimaniyah University, one of the achievements of autonomy in the Kurdish area
- 2 Water flowing in the Thriftar Canal which was inaugurated in October 1976
- 3 The booming Baghdad





Mr. Sabah Kachachi, Adviser for Industrial Affairs in the Ministry of Planning, explained: "We have been a backward country. At this stage we cannot manage without foreign expertise, so we use their skills. But overall management of any project remains in our hands. In the meantime we are pressing ahead with training our own people at all levels.

"The control of Iraq's oil industry being in our hands has meant a much larger income for us and a better opportunity to plan. We don't want the West's moral problems, but I see no reason why we should not enjoy the good things of life that the advanced countries have. We consider our present role to be to build a firm foundation on which future generations can continue the development of our country".

The Thirithar-Euphrates Canal is just one splendid example of planning which will benefit posterity and at the same time increase Iraqi skills in construction. The canal was a continuation of the struggle to protect the Tigris basin and Baghdad from the harmful effects of regular flooding from the river's swollen waters.

It was thought that the diversion of some of the Tigris water into the Thirithar Depression would form a reservoir large enough to cope with any flooding. But the Thirithar Lake, situated north-west of Baghdad, has proved inadequate and there have been some near disasters since the dam was completed in 1956.

The new Thirithar-Euphrates Canal stretches from the south of the Thirithar Lake for a distance of 37½ kilometres to the Euphrates, with a depth varying between 24 and 34 metres. A massive regulator made of reinforced concrete controls the flow of water from the Thirithar Lake to the Euphrates, easing the pressure on the lake and adding much needed water to the drying river.

Plans to overcome the high salt content of the water would open up new areas for agricultural development through irrigation.

Mr. Mohammed al-habubi, who controlled the project from start to finish, speaking in the centre of a complex which included housing units, school, clinic, shopping area and cinema, recalled the start in 1972 when tents were pitched in the desert. He told of the pride and anxiety of those involved in the construction when, in 1976, Mr. Saddam Hussein, Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council, inaugurated the project and the six openings of the regulator seemed to take a lifetime to lift sufficiently to allow the first water to flow into the canal.

Stressing that it was an Iraqi-planned scheme and largely built by local labour, he paid tribute to the contribution made by foreign experts when help was needed. Chief engineer, Mr. Hassan al-Ani, described how they had used the project to develop a first class school for training construction workers.

The same positive attitude to training students as part of Iraq's plan for economic and industrial independence was shown by Mr. Sami Saeed al-Najjar, assistant-

director for technical affairs at the Petroleum Training Centre. As we walked round this splendidly equipped centre, catering for both male and female students, he pointed out the recreational facilities available. The centre was continually being improved, and students from other Third World countries could also benefit from the facilities available.

The emphasis on discipline and hard work, as the road to progress, is quite obvious. In an exhibition of political cartoons in the Museum of Modern Iraqi Art in Baghdad laziness and bureaucratic inertia were spotlighted as the twin enemies of progress.

Iraq has had to learn from experience, in agriculture as well as industry, that there is a need to develop new social attitudes in people in conjunction with increased prosperity. The Government message appears to be based on the theme that oil must be used to build something solid and that's done by work.

But Iraq's practical approach to building a progressive society has not blinded her to the country's heritage, displayed in many historical sites throughout the country. Great care has been taken in restoring the al-Mustansiriyah school, which is situated in Baghdad on the eastern bank of the Tigris near the Harraj bazaar. It was completed in 1234 A.D. and is considered in Iraq to be one of the few surviving monuments of Arabic civilization.

Given a continuation of the current effort and stability, it is likely that Iraq's 12 million people will play an important role in projecting the interests of the Third World onto the centre of the world stage.

Zionism and Racism—A Case to Answer

In issue No. 43 of June 30, we published the first part of (A Note prepared by "the Council For The Advancement of Arab-British Understanding", December, 1975). In this issue we publish the concluding part of the note.

DISCRIMINATION IN THE USE OF EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

Finally, Arab civilians living in "Israel" and in the occupied territories are subjected to oppressive emergency regulations which are virtually never used against Jews. These regulations were inherited from the British administration which first introduced them in order to cope with the Arab rebellion in the 1930s. Later when these regulations were used against Jewish terrorists a leading Jewish lawyer in Palestine, Mr. J. Shapira, declared that "not even in Nazi Germany did such laws exist". Afterwards he became Minister of Justice in "Israel" and applied the self-same regulations to Arabs in "Israel" and the occupied territories. Dr. Israel Shahak, the Chairman of the "Israeli" League for Human and Civil Rights, in a foreword to the book *With My Own Eyes* in which the "Israeli" lawyer, Felicia Langer, described her experiences in defending Palestinians, states roundly that: "Israeli practices in the conquered territories grew naturally from the discriminatory laws and practices of the state of Israel itself".

"ISRAELI" SETTLEMENTS

With regard to the "Israeli" practice of planting exclusively Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, the American international lawyer, Professor W. T. Makinson of George Washington University, has pointed out that these infringe Article 49(6) of the Geneva Convention concerning civilians living under enemy occupation, which provides that: "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into territory it occupies".

He goes on to comment:

"The negotiating history of this provision shows that it was adopted in reaction to the notorious Nazi practice of removing the "inferior" indigenous population and transferring racial "Aryans" or Germans into the territory. It is prohibition upon "creating facts" in occupied territory by the establishment of colonies comprised of the occupant's nationals".

ANTI-ARABISM IN "ISRAEL"

No one familiar with the attitudes of "Israeli" citizens, as revealed in their press and other news media and in their day-to-day conduct, could deny that they often reveal an extreme contempt and hostility towards the Arabs, particularly the Palestinians. What could be more racist than Mrs. Golda Meir's remark that "there are no Palestinians — they do not exist"? One further quotation will have to suffice to make the point. It is from a speech by the Conservative M.P., Mr. R. J. Maxwell-Hyslop, in the House of Commons on 18 October, 1973:

"Six weeks after that war (June 1967) six honourable Members of this House, three from each side, including myself, went to "Israel" and to Jordan as the guests to those countries. There was a horrifying moment for me. We were all present as guests at lunch of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Knesset in Jerusalem. After lunch the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Knesset spoke with great imperance and at great length to us about the Arabs. When he drew breath I was constrained to say, "Doctor Hesobin, I am profoundly shocked that you should speak of other human beings in terms similar to those in which Julius Streicher spoke of the Jews. Have you learned nothing? I shall remember his reply to my dying day. He smote the table with both hands and said, "but they are not human beings, they are not people, they are Arabs". He was speaking of the Arab refugees".

THE CONNECTION OF RACISM WITH ZIONISM

If anyone wants a detailed and documented account of these features of the state and society of present day "Israel", he can find them in four books, including that by Felicia Langer, recently published by Ithaca Press, London.

It cannot seriously be argued that these characteristics of the "Israeli" state are not racist. But the question then is whether they are inherent in

or derived from Zionism. The critics of Zionism maintain that in fact the apparatus of racial discrimination which exists in "Israel" and which has now become institutionalised there, does derive from the original aim of the Zionist Movement in seeking to establish an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine. It is true that some leading members of the Zionist movement were prepared to envisage a bi-national state which would accommodate in equality both Jews and Arabs. But they were an infelicitous minority. The leadership of the Zionist movement was seized by militants determined to establish a state which would be, if not exclusively, at least overwhelmingly Jewish.

A LAND WITHOUT PEOPLE?

The trouble was that the chosen land was not a terra nullius. As Christopher Sykes has remarked: "This was indeed the whole problem of Palestine. It was inhabited". The reaction of the Zionists was to insist that the Arab population must be removed to make way for Jewish settlers. This "transfer of Arabs" — that was the euphemism they used — became an article of faith among them. The records of the Congress of the World Council of the United Po'ale Zion held at Zurich in 1937 show that Ben Gurion and his associates were then already determined to bring this "transfer" about, that they were fully prepared to use force to that end and that their only doubts on that score were whether it would be effective, not whether it was morally justified. In 1940, Joseph Weitz, the man whom Ben Gurion later put in charge of consolidating the "Israeli" seizure of the lands from which the Arab refugees were uprooted in the conflict of 1947-48, confided in his diary:

"Among ourselves, it must be clear that there is no place in the country for both peoples together... With the Arabs we shall not achieve our aim of being an independent people in this country. The only solution is Eretz-Israel, at least the west part of Eretz-Israel, without Arabs... And there is no way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries. Transfer all of them, not one village or tribe should remain..."

There is ample evidence from "Israeli" sources that when the fighting broke out in Palestine in 1947-48 the "Israeli" forces pursued a deliberate strategy of seizing as much Arab territory as possible and clearing it of its Arab inhabitants by force and terror. After the end of the fighting, Chaim

Weitzmann, who had then become the first President of "Israel", made a revealing remark to the US Ambassador to "Israel" that the exodus of Arab refugees was a "miraculous simplification of Israel's tasks". This could only mean that the removal of a great mass of Arab people from their homes and land was among the tasks which the "Israeli" leaders had set themselves.

To the critics of Zionism this means that the Zionist state of "Israel" is founded on an act of racial discrimination: one people were to be removed from their native land in order to be replaced there by another. Apart from actual genocide, is there a worse racist crime than this — to take one people's homeland away from them for the benefit of another people? There is a real dilemma here for Zionists and their supporters. If Zionism meant or implied the seizure of Palestine from its Arab inhabitants in order to establish there an exclusively or preponderantly Jewish state, then inescapably it stands convicted of racism. The Arabs were to be evicted or to be reduced to a minority in their own land because they were Arabs and not Jews. If, on the other hand, this is not what Zionism meant, then the Jewish seizure of Palestine is revealed as a naked act of colonialist aggression.

ANTI-ZIONISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

By and large Western governments and news media in their reactions to the UN resolution have not attempted to address themselves to the facts but have preferred merely to strike an attitude of outrage and incomprehension. It would have been more honest to admit outright that they were not prepared to listen to criticism of Zionism because it involves a political attack on "Israel" (which it undoubtedly does). But where they have been most at fault is in swallowing and then regurgitating the propaganda line that anti-Zionism is the same thing as anti-Semitism. For some time past it has been a major preoccupation of Israeli/Zionist propagandists to confuse the two and we are now witnessing a well orchestrated attempt to achieve this in the wake of the debate in New York. But to equate opposition to political Zionism with hatred or contempt for the Jewish people remains, as it has always been, a singularly nasty red herring. It must surely be deeply resented by the many people who condemn Zionism for the evil and injustice it has brought about and who have the courage to speak out against it in the face of abuse and misrepresentation.

MUSIC

Symphonic Music in Iraq



by Hamdi Kadouri

Now that the rich artistic season of 1976-1977 is over, I feel inclined to recall those activities of some national ensembles, operating regularly in the field of music in Iraq and giving a true reflection of what we can offer to the artistically educated members as well as the broad masses of the society.

The National Symphony Orchestra began in mid-forties as a result of the efforts of students and teaching staff of the Government Fine Arts Institute's musical section to provide evidence of their abilities in the field of serious music and probably to be appreciated by music loving Iraqis at that time. In the early sixties the management of the Orchestra was taken over by the Ministry of Information.

The Orchestra has been receiving fresh encouragement and generous support since the July 17 Revolution of 1968, both from the Party and the Government.

The Iraqi National Symphony Orchestra is composed chiefly of Iraqi instrumentalists, graduates of the Fine Arts Institute's Mu-

sical Section, as well as some professors in that Institute, together with some ex-bandmen of the Iraqi Army, helped by some foreign resident musicians, either directly engaged or among those teaching at the Music and Ballet School for Children; all in all about sixty musicians in the string, wind and percussion sections of normal Symphony Orchestra. It has a foreign permanent conductor for the time being, who is responsible for the training and conducting during ten months of regular concerts every season, repeating the monthly concert, twice at least in Baghdad, and from time to time in the other cities in Iraq or in outside concert tours.

A word must be said about what the National Orchestra had offered to its ever growing audience, specially in Iraq, in connection with the kind of music it has performed since its foundation. Like any symphony orchestra, it has an established repertory of the well-known Classical, Romantic and Modern Symphonic music as well as the fashionable Baroque. There is always a place for a soloist to perform in a concerto or vocal reciter

which means engaging some international instrumentalists who are good enough to bring new lights on the performing style to the public.

Finally, I would like to praise the initiative of the Iraqi Symphony Orchestra in undertaking the task of promoting Iraqi and Arabic music. Several works of contemporary Iraqi and Arab musicians have been performed specially on national occasions. Most of this music was either commissioned by the National Orchestra or dedicated to it and whenever the occasion, it has provided opportunities for our rising generation of composers to meet their public through well structured music and later to the world. The latest innovation the National Symphony Orchestra has introduced to its audience was the combination of our Folk-song Ensemble with the orchestra for the performance of some patriotic songs on the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, written by some prominent Iraqi and Arab composers for this great occasion, thus scoring a success never achieved before.

Does History
Repeat Itself?

Part II

Mohammed and Charlemagne

by F. el-Mansoury

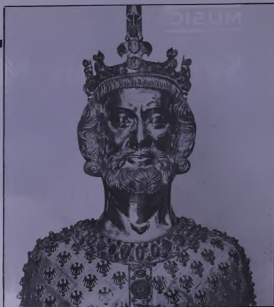
CONQUESTS, ARAB AND BARBARIAN

In comparing the Arab conquests with those of the Barbarians, Pirenne, (the author of the book 'Mohammed and Charlemagne') presents his argument in the following way. Whereas the Germanic menace had always attracted the attention of the Emperors, the Arab onslaught took them by surprise. They were unprepared for it.

Pirenne furnishes still another argument, 'while the Germans had nothing with which to oppose the Christianity of the Empire, the Arabs were exalted by a new faith. It was this, and this alone, that prevented their assimilation. For in other respects they were not more prejudiced than the Germans against the civilization of those whom they had conquered. On the contrary, they assimilated themselves to this civilization with astonishing rapidity; they learnt science from the Greeks, and art from the Greeks and the Persians'.

However, Pirenne makes it clear that the swift Arab conquests caused a complete break in the Mediterranean basin. The sea which had hitherto been the centre of Christianity became its frontier. The Mediterranean unity was shattered as the Arab ships of the Caliph Moawya began to invade Byzantine waters, occupying Cyprus and Rhodes, before advancing upon Crete and Sicily. Later on they occupied the whole of North Africa, and we should remember that the North African coast is of the utmost strategic importance, for, on it depends the security of Sicily and Italy as well as the sea passage westwards.

Then the Arabs conquered Spain and from this new base launched raids against Gaul, capturing Narbonne, Autun, Arles, Avignon and other French cities. They also took the Balearic islands as well as Corsica and Sardinia. In Italy, they advanced as far as Rome. As the Frankish Empire of Charlemagne had no fleet, it was powerless to check the tide of Arab advance in the seas.



1. William II, Norman King of Sicily, being attended on his deathbed by an Arab physician and an Astrologer
2. Charlemagne, 742-814
3. Europe Circa 800 A.D.

(670-641), the Byzantine Emperor beaten by the Arabs at the decisive battle of Yermuk.

Pirenne also quotes Ibn Khaldun's words. The Christians could no longer float a plank upon the sea to prove that mastery of the seas had passed on to the Arabs. His conclusion — which in fact is the leitmotif in his book — is that the old economic unity of the Mediterranean was shattered, and as a result Europe began to suffer from the embargo. Papyrus, the writing paper of the ancient world, was the first to disappear. Parchment made its appearance in its place but it was too expensive for common use. As for oil, it was no longer exported from Africa. Henceforth the churches were lit with wax candles which were of course more expensive than oil.

Similarly, the use of silk became almost entirely unknown. Pirenne concludes that the imports from the Orient had ceased following the Islamic expansion, then goes on to pinpoint a 'highly important fact: gold was becoming increasingly rare in Europe; it had ceased to arrive from the Orient. Previously, the Byzantine Emperors had used gold to buy off Barbarians and dissidents, but now the Carolingian Emperor, Charlemagne, had nothing but tracts of land with which to buy off his nobility. This usage launched in the age of the barons, the feudal age, and while cities declined, fortresses and castles mushroomed in the countryside.

In addition, the Carolingian Empire had now become purely an inland power, without outlets to the sea. As for the Mediterranean territories formerly the most active portions of the Empire, they were now the poorest, the most desolate, the most constantly menaced and for the first time in history, the axis of Occidental civilization was displaced towards the North, and for many centuries it remained between the Seine and the Rhine.

RETREGRESSION IN EUROPE

Pirenne concludes his arguments thus, 'If we consider that in the Carolingian epoch the hunting of gold had ceased, that lending money at interest was prohibited, that there was no longer a class of professional merchants, that Oriental products (papyrus, spices, silk) were no longer imported,

that the circulation of money was reduced to the minimum, that laymen could no longer read or write, that the taxes were no longer organized, and that the towns were merely fortresses, we can say without hesitation that we are confronted with a civilization which had retrogressed to the purely agricultural stage; which no longer needed commerce, credit and regular exchange for the maintenance of the social fabric'.

In brief, the Middle Ages had begun. Now churchmen, being practically the only educated people around, began to dominate the politics of the Empire. With this, secular law disappeared and Europe began to sink into a sea of darkness which engulfed it for centuries.

THE DARK AGES

For centuries, historians had attributed the causes for this darkness to the Barbaric invasions and the fall of Rome. The Arab conquests were virtually ignored in this connection as if they had taken place in the Western Hemisphere. The Europeans were seemingly too proud to admit the real causes; they would not attribute to the Arabs the sort of decisive importance that would allow them to be the nemesis of Europe for centuries. Then Henri Pirenne came and disposed of all the myths in his posthumously-published, epoch-making book. Pirenne makes it abundantly clear that without Mohammed, Charlemagne would have been inconceivable. But this Belgian professor is not only a historian of genius, he is also an objective man, for nowhere does he attempt to intimate that the Arabs were instrumental in forcing darkness and retrogression on Europe. The situation had arisen merely as a result of the war between the Arabs and the Europeans, and such are the usual circumstances of war that one may be certain the Arab conquerors were not working according to a prescribed plan of embargo when they cut off trade between East and West. Certainly the Arabs never thought that by closing the Mediterranean in the face of European shipping, children in what later became France and Germany would grow up illiterate, or that a feudal society would be born in these countries as a result of land grants taking the place of money awards. A thriving economy is a must for any civilization and once the economy is shattered, civilization goes into decline. And Europe declined culturally and economically because the vital trade between East and West across the Mediterranean had ceased. Europe only emerged from the darkness when it found new sources of raw material, new sea routes.

But the vital question that needs to be posed here is the following: Will history repeat itself?

(to be concluded in the next issue)

(*) The series of wars between Carthage and Rome in the Third and Second Centuries B.C.

by **Mohammad al-Jazairi**

While all understand that the revolutionary process is complex and intricate. It comprehends, among others, heritage, traditions, laws, customs, thoughts and all the structures of bygone phases

Scene from a folk play



Metal Statue by Ismael Fatah

to make its choices and endure severe hardships in the operation. Similarly, it has to create its own language from among the volumes of the past and the present and translate it into positive accomplishments, rid- ing away with all blemishes descended from generation to generation by insolent bourgeoisie conduct of affairs. A people's revolution, such as ours, opens up horizons for multiplied production in all fields — material and intellectual alike.

A Cultural Boom

If "Tammuz" (July) of the symbol and the legend is ever-present in the memory of history and civilization, then he is, as far as we are concerned, a whole age from the viewpoint of the revolution, struggle and culture. (Tammuz: a Babylonian god of the springtime and of vegetation, whose return to life symbolizes rebirth of earth at spring. — Ed.).

However, one year may be sufficient to judge how a revolution is faring. July 14, 1968 Revolution made a radical transition for all the patriotic forces and their cultural norms and was in fact a qualitative change which grew up and thrived, but for a while, and ended in defeat and frustration. Then July 17-30, 1968 Revolution broke out on a national, patriotic and progressive level, to put an end to confusion and to start regaining the rights and privileges of the people, foremost among which is nationalization of the oil wealth of the country.

"Nationalization" alone, as a tremendously daring and specific feat has delineated its own epoch. Even the intellectuals in

Iraq had to reshape so as to construe and analyse the significance of the event. The impact of nationalization was such that every thinker had to reshuffle his ways of looking at things, bidding farewell to bourgeois and bureaucratic images and illusions.

In order to apprehend the surge of enthusiasm following the victory of July 17-30 revolution, one has to view the steady rise in the cultural standards of the country.

Between July '73 and July '74 — as a portion of a revolutionary phase — care was taken to deepen the national democratic meanings of the revolution on all levels. Writing turned to affirm the technical formula along with upholding the revolutionary content. The theatre enjoyed an increasingly large attendance in continuous performances. The art and culture festivals multiplied to convert Baghdad into a centre of radiation and meeting place for progressive Arab thinkers and foreign friends. Even world intellectual and political organizations demonstrated on the soil of Iraq, such as the 11th Session of the World Council for Peace and Solidarity, the meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Journalists, the First Conference of the Arab Federation of Plastic Artists, the 8th Conference of the International League of Plastic Arts, in addition to conventions and congresses held by federations, unions and syndicates of teachers, medical doctors and lawyers.

I believe that the informational, cultural and political activities undertaken in the country, nationally and internationally are very important toward breaking

the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary informational siege laid against the revolutionary resurgence of Iraq. The information authorities took up a highly refined course by opening cultural centres in the most prominent capitals of the world, with the aim of regaining for new Iraq its cultural figure, its effectiveness in the course of history and in the cultures of nations and their forward march.

The Ministry of Information, for example, has laid out a comprehensive plan to facilitate the publication of works done by Arab intellectuals. At the same time, the Ministry has kept the price of the book at its lowest. The Ministry has also started publishing the books of the Federation of Palestinian Writers and Pressmen. Syrian and Egyptian writers have also found the same encouragement.

In the domain of art, in all its branches, Iraq of the Revolution was the host of uniquely magnificent occasions where international figures and personages performed, and in the meantime got acquainted with Iraqi talent and acumen in various human skills.

Moreover, Iraq participated in such world events as:

- The 10th World Youth Festival in Berlin;
- The Moscow World Conference for Peace;
- The Helsinki Conference;
- The meetings of the International Organisation of Journalists.

- The Conference of Peace Builders in Warsaw;
- The Cinema Festivals in Moscow, Tashkent, Leipzig, Carlo Vivari and Prague;

Relief by Mohammed Mahruddin



— The Festival of the Arab Theatre in Damascus;

— The Festival of Borgas, Bulgaria;

— The Italian Festival of Folklore.

It is to be noted that on all these occasions Iraqi shows of films, folkdance and theatrical performances won high awards. The Iraqi exhibitions of plastic arts held in Moscow, Paris, Turkey and many other world capitals were also highly successful.

The new musical activity in Iraq has paved the way for The School of Music and Ballet to perform the first Iraqi ballet inspired by "One Thousand and one Nights" (Arabian Nights) and the first political ballet devoted to the birth of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the procession of struggle.

As for the General Organisation of Broadcasting and Television, it has launched, in cooperation with other organs, on raising the standards of production in a concerted manner. Courses of training have comprised all types of artists, musicians and continued presenting of concerts by the Iraqi Symphony Orchestras together with being host to several distinguished maestri from outside; not to speak about the Baghdad World Music Conference, the 4th Conference of the Arab Music Academies and participation in the World Music Week.

Internally, the country witnessed a number of programmes intended to educate the masses and enlighten the people of the countryside, even in the desert spots. Foremost were the Mirb'd Poetry Festivals with their comprehensive humanist orientation.

held under slogans such as "Poetry and Civilization", "Poetry and Revolution", "Poetry and the Issues of Destiny". These were but the extension of the Convention of Arab Men of Letters sponsored by the Government of Iraq under the slogan "Everything for the Battle".

A number of events were staged inside Iraq such as:

— Week of cultural solidarity with the Chilean people;

— Festivals of the World Theatre;

— Festival of the Youth, organised by the Youth Centres under the motto, "The Theatre in the Service of the Revolution".

— Festival of the rural theatre under the motto; "The Theatre in the service of the Revolution and the peasant masses".

These festivals and others on the level of cultural activity including poetry and drama invigorated the population and made their attendance of such occasions a matter of habit. A new relationship has been created between the ordinary people and the geniuses of the time. The play, "al-Khan", by the Modern Art Theatre, for example, was on for more than a hundred days without interruption. The audience exceeded 40 thousand including visitors from the far north of the country.

This relationship between the theatre and the public would have been impossible to build up, had it not been for the healthy atmosphere created by the government of the revolution for the composers, artists and authors.

This encouragement has also included other art and cultural

activities. Iraq was the host of the first Arab Biennale for the Arab Federation of Plastic Artists. The authorities concerned staged exhibitions by the nation al parties on their anniversaries. Foremost was the Party's perennial exhibition, the fourth of which was opened by Comrade Michel Aflaq, Secretary General of ABSP, personally.

It is not possible to enumerate the private and group exhibitions like that of the Baghdad Group of Modern Art, the Pioneers and others who are constantly on the show.

As for the cinema, the General Organisation for Cinema and Theatre has produced a number of novel films among which are:

— "Al-Dhami'in" (The Thirsty) which won the prize of the Soviet Cinema Federation in the 8th World Movie Festival in Moscow, 1973;

— "The Head of King Sinatruk II";

— "Houses in that Alley" has recently been completed.

The Organisation has also started working on "The Test" and "The River" which are feature films. Tens of short feature and documentary films have also been undertaken.

On the other hand, Baghdad was the host of the first and second festivals of Palestine films and programmes, the first festival of documentary films and a great number of similar activities.

Another expression of the July cultural surge was the plan for

commemorating great thinkers and artists and organizing festivals and setting up monuments for them. This is just an aspect of reviving our Arab cultural heritage and honouring those who stood out in the field of learning.

So the Government of the Revolution organized festivals for al-Wasiti, unveiling his statue. The festivals included demonstration of plastic arts and an exhibition of comprehensive Iraqi art.

Likewise festivals were staged commemorating scholars "al-Farabi" and "al-Khalil bin Ahmed al-Farahidi" and poets "Rusafi", "Abu Tamam", "Kadhimi" and "Sayyab". Pioneering living figures in the plastic arts, music and singing were also honoured.

In the field of printing and publications, the figures appearing on the serials issued by the Ministry of Information in 12 fields of knowledge such as the series of "Heritage", "Modern Art" and "Documentary Books", "Stories", "Arabic Poetry", "Translation" and "Modern Works", beside issues of a specialized character, such as "al-Mawrid", "Sumar", "al-Aqlam", "Afaq 'Arabiyya", "Iraq al-Yawm" (Iraq Today in English and in French). Add to that the publications made by a number of publishing houses, universities and other cultural institutions.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the cultural aspect of the Revolution would inevitably establish a morality in writing and in other fields of presenting knowledge. The revolution which gave abundantly will undoubtedly receive sustained veteran contribution.

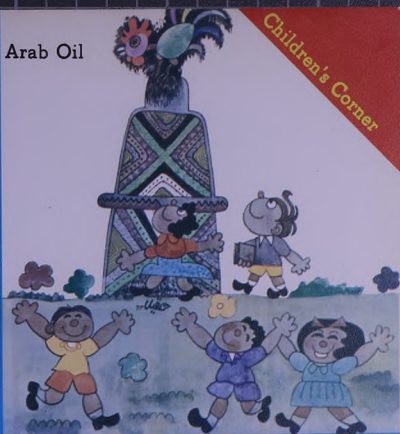
Arab Oil

— They say the Arab homeland is floating on an oil lake.
 — That's right.
 — Oil is a very important material.
 — But the Arabs are neglected.
 — Why?
 — Because their wealth is not their own.
 — Whose wealth then?
 — Foreign monopoly companies are plundering it.
 — But Arab oil is for the Arabs.

— That's right... We have heard so some years ago.
 — Who said it?
 — It was not an individual...
 — Then it must be the Arab Baath Socialist Party.
 — Perfectly right.
 — And has this call been answered?

— Certainly.
 — When?
 — On June 1, 1972.
 — Well, what happened on June 1?
 — Nationalisation. Arab oil was brought under Arab ownership in Iraq.

(Adapted from Arabic. Original)
 Riad Abdou Maltoc



Children's Corner

