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Continuous March
Towards
the Nation's Goals

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Celebrating and Looking Forward

Iraq Today

Continuation March
Towards
the Nation's Goals



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Shot from the celebration held in Ash-Shah stadium on the 20th anniversary of ADSP's founding

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EDITORIAL

The Two Characters of Socialism

In his recent speech on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the birth of the ADSP, the founding leader Mr. Michel Aflaq dealt with the various aspects of the life and struggle of the Party. This article is confined, however, to commenting upon one point which gives vitality to this movement, sustains its ideology and deepens its experience and interaction with the whole nation. This point relates to socialism and nationalism.

The ideology of the Party looks at every question of interest to the nation in depth. It is never flat. Being such, it has tackled the question of socialism not as a set of ideas culled from books but totally derived from the experiences of others, however rich they are. The conception of the party of socialism is that it is a remedy for the ills of society but society with its intrinsic characteristics, with its special history and heritage. In short, it is society defined by everything that allows it to have its own personality. By this personality, in other words, national character, the nation can be able to make its own contribution to the world, and in an interdependent world as the present, all nations must give the best which they are capable of giving. In order to give, there must be some inner wealth in the nation, which, being submerged for ages in the lack of self-consciousness, must be dug up and revived. This is the heritage and the Arab nation is rich in it, though it requires a great effort on the part of the political movement to make it aware of it.

While nationalism is central to the ideology of the Party, and while the link with the heritage, its revival and its transformation to be consistent with the actualities of the present age, are all necessary to define the nationalist identity, this nationalism is not afflicted by arrogance or a sense of superiority. It is only particular and, therefore, potentially rich as all nationalisms are, if efforts are sufficiently exerted to bring out this particularity and transform it to an act of give-and-take with the world.

In recognising the capacity of other nationalisms to make life richer, freer and less painful, Arab nationalism, as conceived by the Party, liberates itself as well as others from the aggressiveness with which some western brands of nationalism wrecked mankind. The ingredient parts of nationalism are genuineness of the heritage and genuineness of the experience to reach out to it and through it to all the world. It is humanitarian in the sense that it is a responsibility and not a privilege. It is also humanitarian because it regards man not as a means but as an end. After liberating all the lands and all the wealth from usurpers and exploiters, the road will be open for genuine peace to reign supreme where rivalry will be confined to enabling everybody and every nation to partake in the splendour of being alive in a world overflowing with love, beauty and creativeness. It is one of the gifts of Mr. Aflaq to elevate the souls and minds by a vision of a glorious future of men in making the present all the more tangible. This is not done by rhetoric but through an all-too-human identification with the role of the Arab nation along its stages of enslavement and partial liberation until liberation is reached when the magnitude of that role will be wedded to its magnanimity.

Michel Aflaq outlines ABSP role in accomplishing Arab revolution



Past lessons, present problems and future prospects analysed

The Founding Leader Mr. Michel Aflaq, Secretary General of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, broadcast a major political speech on Wednesday evening April 6 to mark the Party's 30th anniversary. Following is the full text of the speech:

"Militant comrades!

Masses of our Arab nation!

This anniversary occurs at a moment of extreme gravity seldom met with before in the history of the contemporary resurgence of the Arab nation. The history of the past 30 years tends rather to diminish in the face of the important and crucial present in which we live. Indeed, the importance of our present and its crucial character, between them, dictate the only way open to approaching the past: in other words the proving of its worth and utility by furnishing convincing answers to the questions of destiny raised by the present.

It was precisely for a day such as this one that original revolutionary movements have been conceived and which find in it their own raison d'être. The Party is an integral component of the

nation, one that has issued forth from its pains and sufferings and from its needs and longings. As such, it remains tied up to the nation and to the history and destiny of the nation

The Party remains the means, and the nation the end. There is no way of separating the Party from the life of the nation or from the life of the Arab revolution and its success and failures over the past thirty years. Similarly, the past of the Party is inseparable from the life of its militant rank and file, from the offerings they have made or from the sacrifices and hardships they have endured.

The concept of this Party was an act of betting on the originality and creative genius of the Arab Nation. To the Party, it was not necessary, or even feasible, to come up with recipes for the type of life that should exist in the sought-after Arab society. Rather, the Party limited itself to the provision of guide-lines and basic norms, leaving it to the ascending Arab generations to enrich those revolutionary guide-lines by their own deep-search-

ing experiment constantly interacting with nationalist and world events.

Neither did the Party attempt to produce a universal theory encompassing an interpretation of the whole body of human history and determining the future of humanity. Had it done so, — if that were at all possible — it would not have become what it is now, namely the Arab Baath Socialist Party — the Party of the contemporary Arab revolution. More likely, it would have been reduced to a mere study group of abstract theoretical work.

By contrast, a party that has actually and authentically stemmed from the deep-seated needs of the Arab nation in its current rebirth, cannot possibly come up with anything that is remote or alien to the real sufferings of the nation. In the stage which witnessed the genesis of the Party, the experiment of the nation had not yet been ripe enough for universality, and radiation. But genuine anguish made the experiment of the nation reveal, through the experiment of the Party, its inborn qualities for universality and radiation. It did so when it furnished its own answers and modifications to the world revolutionary theories and movements which the nation, while bracing itself up for revolution, had to come up in contact with them.

The ideology of the Baath can be supplemented, not repudiated, socialist ideology. While still at the beginning of the road of the revolutionary experiment, the thought of the Baath managed to make its proper contribution on the human level, as soon as it confronted the problems of its nation and society. That was a disinterested and profound confrontation in which the Party shed sufficient light on two basic truths: namely the nationalist character of socialism and the humanistic character of nationalism. These two truths have been making their impact felt on the revolutions of the Third World and, more recently, on the level of the developed world. Their detection was made possible by a prior act of rectification of great importance, namely that of proceeding from living reality, in other words, from freedom. The originality and truthfulness of the thought of the Party is, in the first place, attributable to the spirit of freedom which the Party had imbibed. Indeed, each and every original and creative idea produced by the Party in the course of its long March and each of its every revolutionary position it assumed across its history was the by-product of freedom.

The decisive and historic moment in the life of the contemporary Arab revolution found expression in the soundness of the choice made. And that was not an easy choice to begin with. Not only was it not one between two antipodes — conservatism and revolution, right and left, division and unity, reaction and socialism — but also between

common nomenclatures: one revolution and another, one leftism and another, one unity and another, one socialism and another. It was not either between spirit and material but between an independent and dominating material and a material emanating from, and identified with, spirit. To our thinking, spirit is not something of an occult or mystic character inconsistent with our scientific line. On the contrary, spirit is the incarnation of consciousness, will-power and ethics. It stands for all the impulses that hold us to what is good, as well as to beauty, selflessness and heroism. In short, it is the representation of faith in truth, justice and freedom.

It was incumbent upon the Party to have its say when confronted with a puzzling choice — a say that proceeded from originality as well as from the experiment of the nation in such a way as to convert abstract ideas into a creator of life and a maker of history.

The position assumed towards the nationalist heritage and the close relations this heritage bore to the contemporary stage of national rebirth, reflected one of the major options open to the thought of the Baath which, right from the outset, was grounded on a revolutionary visualisation of national heritage. In this new experiment, as in the broad nationalist concept and the outlook to freedom, the Party outpaced all movements that had preceded it. Now as in the past, the subject of national heritage was not to our Party, one to which recourse is made simply on occasions. It is rather the hub and focal point of our thought. As this fundamental point has not been given the attention it merits but remained rather unknown to a great many, it becomes imperative, in the interest of sound bearings, to make a positive reference to it and leave it to the rising Baathist generations to complete the mission. This outlook to heritage, as proclaimed by us some 34 years ago, was not as much an interpretation of the past as a revolutionary stance of the present and a cultural vision of the future.

Bearing in mind a number of well-known psychological facts, we have constantly endeavoured to spare the Arab revolution, as much as we can, the sort of serious maladies that had afflicted other revolutions mishapping the humanistic aspects of the principles of some of them and bringing others to utter collapse.

The act of deriving inspirations from the immortal experiments in the life of the Arab nation is an act of deriving inspirations from the body of the profound humanistic and revolutionary values that do not confer upon the Arab nation so much of a privilege as of a major responsibility towards itself and towards humanity. This is an act of authen-

ticipating the thought of the Party; it is not a retreat from the Party's progressiveness and scientific line or from the policy it has been pursuing towards its progressive allies both within and without.

Masses of our Arab people! Revolutionary vanguards!

The Baath movement has, ever since its inception, met with wide-spread receptivity and profound responsiveness on the part of the Arab masses. On the other hand it confronted, ever since its earliest days, ferocious resistance and campaigns of doubting and slanders from wide sections of presumptuous politicians and their cronies as well as from the majority of the intelligentsia with whom the idea of converting culture into struggle did not sit well.

Further, as soon as the Baath movement began to grow somewhat in stature and influence, it began to interact with the student masses. Such interaction formed, as it were, a bridge connecting the movement with the popular masses which, by their sound intuition, responded to the call and became receptive of the ideas so strongly contested by the pseudo intellectuals. It was at that juncture that imperialism and its collaborators from among politicians, reactionary elements and those who use religion as a screen, awakened to the threat of the Baath thought and set forth fighting it with all weapons at their disposal without any regard to scruple or honour. But the motivations of life within the movement were far stronger than all difficulties and obstacles encountered and superior to any setbacks originating from within and which by themselves were enough to spell out the doom to any less original movement. The Baath movement survived because it derived its strength from the nation and from the rebirth of the nation.

The Party has been endowed with a sense of realism that made it constantly endeavour to become a militant revolutionary movement based on thought, not a mere intellectual school preaching revolution and struggle. This explains why this movement could not distance itself from some of the maladies afflicting the society which it had set itself to lead. Further, this also tells of the seething sufferings which the movement has been experiencing from within and which tended to draw anything afflicting it from without. This is the movement's own fate. All this talk would have been out of place if it was not our judgement that the present circumstances are the harshest and cruelest that have ever confronted the Arab Nation. Consequently, the occasion was considered opportune to issue a counselling word dipped in the blood of experiments, hopefully to be of use to those who are after drawing morals.

The experiment of the Baath has an exclusive characteristic of its own which, if treated to neglect, could expose the experiment — which is a fundamental movement in the advance of the Arab revolution — to a great deal of distortion and deviation. This distinguishing characteristic is a blend of subjective factors taking the form of an organic unity. This is because the nationalist, socialist and democratic ideas of the Party cannot possibly be separated from the internal psychological process which makes up the above-mentioned characteristic. For at least twenty years now, the ideas of the Party have been held in common with the Arab people. Yet none of the leaders and movements encountered, managed to become a substitute for the Baath. They had adopted ready-made ideas without experiencing any of the ideological anguish that had begotten those ideas. Ideas may be of considerable value and influence, yet they remain incapable of engendering a lively movement without that anguish which is inconvertible, inimitable and untransferable.

The Baath movement has been tied up to the broad toiling masses by a deep multi-sided link of destiny. To begin with, there is the unshakable ideological conviction that none of the objectives of the contemporary Arab revolution is attainable without the instrumentality of the struggle of the broad masses. Neither liberation from imperialism and Zionism, nor the achievement of Arab unity nor still the building of socialism can be realised outside mass struggle. In addition, the association of the Baath movement with the toiling masses provides an impervious shield against a host of deadly maladies engendered by our society as the result of cultural backwardness, more so in circumstances of division. It is the toiling masses alone which, by the patience and endurance they possess, the original critical sense with which they are endowed and the genius and creativeness they hold, are capable of dictating the required rectification on the one hand and buttressing the revolutionary movement on the other.

Militant Comrades! Masses of our Great Arab Nation!

Thirty years have gone by in the life of the Party, in the life of the Nation and in the life of the militant strugglers. A man may become susceptible to arrogance or despair, if he persisted in looking inwardly. But as soon as he begins to view himself and his struggle as one part of a much wider and more lasting movement, he will draw nearer to an objective outlook and to psychological balance.

In the same vein, a party which becomes introverted, will find itself exposed to the same hazards. Conversely, if it reflected on the origin of its mission and the motive behind its enter-

gence and remembered that it was but an offshoot of its nation and an endeavour to give expression to the nation's needs and ambitions, it will be in a position to maintain its objectivity and balance. In circumstances such as these, we do well to concentrate on steering clear of the two serious maladies: arrogance and despair. We find little comfort in seeing ourselves alone in the right while others are treading a road that leads them astray. Rather, we are pained by this and see in it cause enough to demand of ourselves a higher degree of struggle, self-sacrifice and objectivity. We should also display accommodation to, and open a dialogue with other progressive nationalist forces. Such forces should be spurred to work for coordination so as to repel the reactionary-imperialistic onslaught that takes the form of 'counter-unity' which can be successfully confronted only by an amalgamation of unity-minded forces bent on displaying solidarity in both defence and offence.

In our opinion, it is quite natural for revolutionary experiments in the Arab society to, multiply and diversify, particularly in the circumstances of the existing state of division. We view these as just one well-integrated and multi-sided experiment — one that complements, rather than rivals, the Party's own experiment. They ought to complement and interact with one another for bolstering the unity of struggle and the struggle for unity. Surely, it is the height of anomaly if these experiments were to be mutually slither neither influencing nor being influenced by one another. Nor do we feel disheartened by the acts of conspiracy and efforts at isolation and siege.

It was for such moments of stress that the Baath Party was founded in the first place. It has been steeled in the fire of struggle and ordeals and has struck deep and powerful roots in the soil of the Arab land. It has linked its own destiny with that of the toiling masses throughout the Arab Homeland, considering that those masses constitute the only force capable of making history and building the future.

Ever since we began treading the path of Baath as the path of revolution, we consistently cast aside all forms of bigotry, arrogance, supremacist notions and narrowness of outlook. We have our mind open to the world and to its civilization and do fully recognise our need to engage in a give-and-take process. At the same time we feel in ourselves the ability to contribute something new and valuable to the world civilization. We have our own distinguishing identity which is our road to humanity. We also have our own exclusive

characteristic, namely the contribution we make to the enrichment of the revolutionary and cultural heritage the world over.

At the same time we loathe bigotry and fight it with all the power at our disposal. Right from the beginning, we came into collision with bigotry on the part of both the backward right and the petrified left. We had to defend our freedom of conviction and forge ahead our way in ardent struggle against those who had claimed a monopoly of truth.

Having established our right to freely select our own road to revolution and to comprehend our past and our heritage, we no longer feel that a problem arises between ourselves and those who, while meeting with us on common ground, wholly or partly differ from us in the way of approach, provided they respect our choice and the exclusive characteristic of the way we are treading.

We are not so narrow-minded as to deny proper recognition and credit to those revolutions which, since the turn of the century have battled against exploitation, oppression and backwardness, extended to wide ranging territories, covered vast human masses and which occupy top place in terms of both material and moral strength, wield great influence on international politics and stand by the side of the freedom and independence of peoples. All there is to the matter is that we have chosen our course and have been borne out in this by the developments experienced by the world and by those revolutions themselves. The revolutions in question have, as it were, ended up recognising the multiplicity of roads to socialism. We do not equate friends with foes, reactionary with progressive elements, stooges with those who interpret things in good faith.

Militant Comrades!

Masses of our great nation!

The past 30 years in the life of the Arab nation abound in lessons. They started off with the loss of Palestine. But the violent impact left by that event on the conscience of the Arab nation has triggered off quite a number of revolutionary endeavours. Chief among those was the July Revolution of Egypt which, by interacting with the struggle of the Baath Party in different countries of Arab East, managed to reply to the conditions of defeat by a host of successes which were capped with the rise of unity between Egypt and Syria, ten years from the creation of the Zionist entity. The way the Arab masses, from the Gulf to the Atlantic, responded to that fledgling unity reflected the historic consciousness of the broad masses and their realisation that unity provided the one and only effective reply to the

schemings of imperialism and Zionism.

But rather than grow and develop, that rudimentary unity began to shrink and ail, thus making it all the easier for imperialism, Zionism and reaction to undermine it. It was in those circumstances, that the leaderships concerned betrayed the backwardness of their systems, deficiency in the conduct of government, error in judgement in the conduct of foreign culture. They knew not how to nourish up that infant unity, though the broad masses were no parsimonious in their offerings.

With the secession on, it was to be expected that Arab leadership should get together to examine the causes underlying that failure. But instead, erroneous practices persisted along with harmful tactics, defective visualisation and shallow culture. Things turned from bad to worse, which is what to be expected in the circumstances of division where fertile soil is offered for the growth of such maladies and disorders.

The June War and the defeat it entailed were the logical sequence of that stage of fragmentation, mutual recrimination and narrowness of outlook among Arab rulers. Furthermore, the secessionist setback did not produce the kind of dividends it was hopefully expected to yield in terms of reflecting on past errors and setting the stage for a move from secession back to unity. A move did occur but it was one from secession to secession and from natural struggle to struggle for power.

Nor was the June defeat permitted to run its full course in stimulating rectification, self-criticism and drastic rectification. Surely, any rectification that fell short of attaining to the level of unity is bound to fail even at national levels and is destined to be short-lived. This is because it is unity alone that can face up to imperialism and Zionism wrestling from both full Arab rights in regard to Palestine and elsewhere in the Arab Homeland. In the absence of unity, independence will remain in jeopardy and even laden with explosives which imperialism can set off at the time of its choosing.

Following the planting of the Zionist entity in the heart of the Arab Homeland, unity no longer remained a dream riding the flights of fancy. Rather it has become something synonymous with survival. It has become the cardinal nationalist objective and, I might say, the only objective whose fulfillment secured the fulfilment of other objectives. Unity is revolution *per se*. In order to bear out its authenticity, revolution is called upon to prove itself as the unity's own revolution against the paganism of regionalism, in other words, a liberation revolution. Certainly, any talk of

liberation struggle without unity is pure deception and an empty phrase.

This fact has been perceived by imperialism and Zionism to a degree higher than many Arabs. Consequently, the imperialists and Zionists have been fighting the concept of revolutionary unity by all the forces and technology at their disposal and have been backing up with all available means the present state of Arab division. This State of division has had its former concept replaced by a new one, namely "local nationalism". In a device directed against the idea of unity, a new adjective, namely the term "Arab" has been appended so that we now hear of such appellations as "the Egyptian Arab nationalism", "the Syrian Arab nationalism" and so forth and so on. This new nationalism is in effect a factional nationalism pertaining to the ruling classes which are pulling away from real unity.

Militant Comrades!

Masses of our great nation!

Imperialism and Zionism had conspired on the first application of unity in 1958. Putting to advantage the loop-holes and errors that surfaced in the process of that application, they managed, in conjunction with Arab reaction, to deal out to that unity a severe blow which they intended to be final. They concentrated on the smaller of the two countries, the one that offered least resistance, namely Syria. Syria had given almost everything for the sake of unity. It gave up its international identity, its advanced popular movement and the deep-rooted leading role it used to play, without any of these enriching in any way the structure of the new unity. As such, the secession that came on did not constitute a mere reversal to the pre-unity days but created a new situation where Syria became much too weak to cope with the web of imperialistic plots. Imperialism has planted agents of its own in the country's political and military establishments thus making of secession a frontal attack directed against unity and stirring up multiple anti-unity prejudices such as sectarianism and tribalism.

Following the success of the glorious Ramadan 14 Revolution of 1953, carried out by the Baath Party, the secessionist regime in Syria fell without resistance but the essence of secession survived. Consequently, Syria entered upon a whirlpool from which there seemed to be no escape. The Baath Party suffered as much fragmentation and weakness from the distorted application of the 1958 unity as did Syria. It failed to establish control over the new complex conditions, the conditions of taking over power in the shadow of military domination. When the Party stuck to its intrinsic ideology and stood against

distortion and forgery, it was toppled by the force of arms. That act of toppling spelled out tragic consequences to hundreds of the Party militants who either met with martyrdom or languished in the prisons of the falsifying regionalists. The Party's principles, however, emerged sound and intact. The unity-minded identity of the Baath survived and triumphed. This was vividly illustrated by the July 17-30 Revolution of Iraq which perspicuously distinguished itself from the hedge-podge which has been ruling Syria to this day, arrogating to itself the name of the Party. That hedge-podge has been exposed for what it is as a plotter on the Baath, on the Palestine issue and on the Arab nation, all along from the counter-revolutionary coup of February 23 (1966) to the June War to the war in Lebanon.

The Baath Party has seen the light on the soil of Syria and grew up in both ideology and struggle in Syria's clear and free Arab climate and deep-seated nationalist and unity-conscious traditions. The Party has offered myriad martyrs there which hundreds of its unyielding militants continue to be subjected to the cruelest torture in the prisons of the Damascus regime. Taking cognizance of this all, the Party knows perfectly well what it does owe to Syria. At the same time, the Party strongly believes that the responsibility of saving Syria is not exclusively its own; rather, it is an inter-Arab responsibility and the responsibility of the broad masses and the progressive Arab forces taken as a whole. Syria has a fundamental role to play in the present circumstances of Arab unity. This is dictated by its location which brings face to face with the Zionist enemy as well as by its modern history as the torch-bearer of Arab unity-minded nationalism. The imperialist and Zionist enemies managed to hold Syria apart and subject it to relentless plotting. They carried plotting to an extent where Syria's nationalist role has been reversed. Whereas Syria used to prod Egypt along the road of unity, the Syrian regime is now making fair-weather to Egypt, surrendering and concluding peace with the enemy. Whereas in the past Syria and Egypt used to go hand in hand in the struggle against imperialism, now they come together into an embrace with imperialism as a prelude to coming to terms with the Zionist entity. Strugglers of the Palestine Revolution and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement have been meeting with death in Lebanon by the bullets of the Syrian regime.

The truth about that regime has been fully revealed to the Arab masses who have passed their final judgement on it. Of no more avail is that regime's its deceptive attempt to conceal its

being an instrument in the hands of the imperialist schemings.

Militant Comrades!

Masses of our great nation!

Our concept of the present historical stage is that this stage represents a phase of the rebirth and ascendancy of the Arab nation. From this it follows that the set-backs, retreats and periods of stagnation and back-sliding are but passing phenomena on the long, ascending road of Arab resurgence. In the main, they constitute both reactions and defensive acts by the routed forces of backwardness and conspiratorial activities by the enemies of the Arab nation from among the imperialists and Zionists. These enemies have been capitalising on the points of weakness and loop-holes in the Arab revolutionary movements as well as in the previous society where the new principles have not yet struck deep roots. The Arab revolution grows and advances in a dialectic manner. It interacts with the negative aspects it encounters within and without and manages in this way to accelerate the process of rectification, integration and unity.

It is the discernment of this fact that distinguishes revolutionaries from others. The former bring this fact into constant play and make use of it even in their day-to-day struggle.

This explains why one perceives signs of growth and progress alongside with signs of retreat and back-sliding. The first revolutionary fruit of the June 5 defeat was the glorious July 17 Revolution carried out in Iraq by the Arab Baath Socialist Party. That revolution was an act of avenging the Arab defeat and a firm reply to the counter-revolutionary coup staged against the Party in Syria (in February 1966).

A revolutionary birth also took place in Lebanon. That birth did not assume the form of a sudden change but rather came in a process of slow, though deep, interaction with the nationalist setback. Day after day, year after year, Lebanon has become a sort of valve to the pent-up Arab conscience and to the revolutionary Arab thought. It has also become the scene of popular struggles committed to Arabism oriented in the direction of Palestine.

Imperialism, Zionism and reaction may seem to be the party taking the offensive. But a deeper look will reveal a different fact. The moves of the enemies are but a counterattack against the irresistible tide of the Arab nation — a tide which, damped at one place, bursts out at another.

The gloomy picture painted of the present Arab situation cannot scare us. This is because we have convinced ourselves that the Arab nation is now in a phase of historic rebirth. The current signs of decline are of temporary nature and are counter-

balanced by the signs of progress and revolutionaryness which must not be overlooked.

What has been happening in Lebanon is but a manifestation of progress along the road of the Arab revolution. It has crystallised the Arab-Zionist conflict and the issue of the Arab revolution in Lebanon. The recent Lebanese events have consolidated the Arabism of Lebanon and established our people in Lebanon as an effective instrument in the hand of the Arab revolution. Those who have trailed behind the rightist leadership will discover the delusion in which they had fallen as soon as the conspiracy is tumbled and Lebanon recovers its true Arab complexion.

Further, the popular uprising that recently swept Egypt is another sign of progress along the road of Arab revolution. Our Arab people in Egypt have retrieved their social, national and unity-conscious role notwithstanding the political, economic and nationalist counter-revolution that had occurred in that country. The Arab people of Egypt have become the masters of their own affairs, shedding off the custodianship imposed on them for so many years.

The Palestine masses have been, and still are, offering supreme sacrifices and displaying outstanding acts of heroism in the confrontation with the Zionist enemy inside the occupied territories and in the confrontation with plots and treachery in Lebanon. The performance of the Palestine masses comes in the forefront of the positive factors that evoke optimism and confidence in the future. Such a degree of revolutionary consciousness, endurance and bravery offers a sure guarantee of the continuity of the Palestine revolution and at the same time an appeal to the Arab masses to measure up to their responsibilities in frustrating the capitulationist settlement conspiracy.

Imperialism and Zionism are concentrating their assault on our Arab Homeland for two main reasons. The first has to do with the present international situation which is witnessing a period of euphoric revival and temporary superiority on the part of the imperialist capitalist systems led by the United States. This is often expressed in terms of technological superiority and conspiratorial tactics.

The second factor has to do with the strategic importance of the Arab Homeland particularly as regards the oil resources in which it abounds. It also has to do with the realisation by imperialism and Zionism of the potentialities of progress and revolution latent in the Arab nation.

The imperialist-zionist scheme seeks to preempt this inevitable progress by obstructing and delaying it. What may be noted in this respect is that imperialism has considerably developed its

tactics while the Arab revolution remained in a state of stagnation and inwardness.

In such circumstances, imperialism found itself in a position to dictate the terms of the battle. What is now required is that a situation be created where the terms of the battle are dictated by the revolution. This presupposes the availability of two factors:

- 1 — Large-Scale mass struggle;
- 2 — Unified Arab struggle in encompassing the whole, or most, of the Arab Homeland.

These two factors can always assure preponderance to the Arab revolution over its enemies. Surely individual national struggle is no match to the forces of the enemies, nor can unity without struggle change a thing in the balance of power. Furthermore, giving in to the phenomenon of pacifist evolution can hardly fend off enemies or achieve the set objectives.

The task of rectification and of eliminating the signs of decline is a task shouldered by revolutionary parties and movements throughout the Arab Homeland, including in the forefront, our own Party which, since its inception, has been battling such phenomena. It is also the task of the progressive Arab regimes; in fact it provides the yardstick for measuring their progressiveness. Further, this is the task of the Arab masses, — the masses that have increased in maturity and which have borne out their struggle capabilities in the October War, in the Lebanese war, in the mass uprising in Egypt as well as by the resistance they have been offering to the hiring Syrian regime and by the brilliant contribution they have been making to the Palestine Revolution.

In the final analysis, the success of this task depends on the extent of the Arab revolution's self-awareness and on the practical result of this awareness, namely the ability of the revolution to exercise control over the ambient circumstances and undertake to plan for the future in such a way as to pre-empt the plans of the enemy. The revolution must always be on the offensive; in other words, it must fully comprehend the future and contribute to shaping it. It should make a proper assessment of the supporting and obstructing possibilities which the future may bring along, and should be able to utilize the supporting possibilities and fend or surmount the obstructing ones.

The reason why the Party has always held unity to be synonymous to revolution is that unity, more than anything else, can offer, even ahead of its own realisation, a mode of thinking and a wealth of possibilities of struggle and means of confrontation.

The enemies of the Arab revolution — that is imperialism, Zionism and reaction — will always remain on the defensive even though occasionally they might seize the initiative. The revolution, over and above the forces it can mobilize at present, rests on two ascending forces both of which are fraught with surprises. These are the force of Arab history, and the force of the human history; both are on the move, more and more coming into a wonderful blend.

Militant Comrades!

Masses of Our Great Nation!

One of the distinguishing features of the present historical stage, the stage of the rebirth and rise of the Arab Nation, is the emergence of the Palestine Resistance Movement. This Movement came into being 12 years ago as a reply to the evasion by the Arab regimes of the battle to liberate Palestine and their deviation from the course of unity and liberation. Two elements, one negative and the other positive, went into the making of the Palestine Resistance. The negative element was a parochial regionalist one which materialised as a reaction to the conduct of the Arab regimes whose approach of the Palestine issue was based on a regionalist, domineering and exploitative attitude. The Palestine Resistance countered by replying to regionalism with regionalism and to exploitation with exploitation. In that way it sought to benefit from all regimes without differentiating between reactionary and progressive regimes. Further, it set as its own target the achievement of power, i.e. securing a Palestinian state.

The positive element is the revolutionary element, that establishes common ground with the Arab revolution and its progressive goals. The Palestine Resistance is battling imperialism and zionism in the central Arab battle-field, namely occupied Palestine, and is employing armed struggle and commando operations, the highest form of revolutionary work.

The leadership of the Palestine Resistance has been keeping up these two elements, often maintaining balance between them, but more often giving preponderance to the former over the latter. It is the act of giving preponderance to the regionalist element that can spell out hazards to the revolutionary character of the resistance movement and to the prospects of its continuity. There have often been acts of confusing regionalist trends with the Palestine identity. The Palestine identity is a legitimate and positive identity, an epitome of the Arab cause through which the Arab revolution looks at the world in its struggle with imperialism and zionism, and by which it hopes to win over world support. But

what the pro-zionist western world is after is to put a high price tag on this support. It seeks to perpetuate the regionalism of the Palestinians and drive them apart from the destiny of the Arab revolution.

There is no doubt in our mind that Arab realities and the logic of the Arab revolution dictate the presence of the Palestine Revolution as a historical necessity. They also endeavour to bring it back to its leading revolutionary role, each time it veered away from it under the harsh pressure brought to bear by the regimes interested in political settlement, or as a result of a backslide in revolutionary consciousness among some of its leaderships.

The objective fact by which the Palestine issue is established as the central issue of the Arab revolution served both to prescribe certain duties and responsibilities to the Palestine resistance and cast a leading role to it. Since the Arab revolution is responsible for protecting the Resistance Movement and constantly shoring it up, the Resistance is required to keep the Palestine issue in historic perspective. This should be given practical expression by drawing ever closer to the toiling Arab masses struggling for the realisation of the nationalist objectives.

Militant Comrades!

Masses of Our Great Nation!

The experiment which our Party has been leading in Iraq since the outbreak of the July 17 Revolution is the experiment of the Arab Baath Socialist Party in its entirety. It is the experiment of the Baath Party in its past and present, and represents a stepping stone to the future. Indeed, one might say that this experiment is no longer confined to the Baath Party. It is also the experiment of the national and progressive forces in Iraq and in the rest of the Arab Homeland. By its remarkable accomplishments and in view of the circumstances attending the Arab Homeland, it does represent a characteristic leap in the forward march of the Arab revolution.

The supreme sacrifices offered by the Party martyrs and the untold sufferings and hardships borne by Party militants, are more than counter-balanced by one shining fact. It is the Arab Baath Socialist Party now stands, in the present circumstances of destiny, on the land of a country like Iraq, which is of considerable Arab and international stature, to represent, once again, the will of the Arab Nation. It also stands to represent the endurance of the Arab Nation, the adherence to the rights and principles of this Nation and the soundness of its future so that the banner of Arab struggle shall remain flying high and the torch of principles shining forth. This honour, which is the Baath's, is the fruit of the Party's faith in the cons-

sciousness of their rich and ever-rejuvenating spirit that has always had the last word.

By reason of its association with the toiling masses, our Party in Iraq has managed to provide the one experiment that has struck deep roots in the Arab Homeland, and which is also heading to a rosy future. Over a quarter of a century, Iraq's harsh political conditions helped the Party build itself a powerful ideological structure. The Party was steeled in the fire of stresses and ordeals to become qualified for shouldering the responsibility of government. Needless to say, the success of the Party's rule depends on maintaining the virtues that had equipped the Party to assume this outstanding nationalist role.

When, therefore, I speak of our Party in this revolutionary country, I find myself moved by deep affection and overwhelmed by feelings of pride. The Party's history is a brilliant epic of faith, steadfastness, heroism and selflessness. At present it is the focus of the hopes and longings of militant strugglers and a torch that dispels darkness in the region.

The toiling Arab masses throughout the Arab Homeland are now witnessing the conditions created by the reactionary-imperialistic counter-revolution and the dimensions of the conspiracy woven up against Iraq, the focal point of the hopes of the Arab militants and the free men of the Third World. Beholding the conspiracies undertaken with the object of stifling Iraq's voice which gives expression to their aspirations, the toiling Arab masses rally ever closer in support of Iraq's revolutionary regime.

The militant energies with which this country abounds and which are enshrined in its workers, peasants, women, brave Army, Popular Army, youth organisations (the latter having made their annual feast to coincide with the Party's anniversary), student masses, revolutionary intellectuals and progressive national and nationalist forces, can be relied upon to repel conspiratorial activities directed against the Arab Homeland and the Revolution of Iraq. As the Arab forces accelerate their dependence on the broad masses and break out from their traditional frames into the spacious field of nationalist work extending all over the Arab Homeland within broadly-constituted national front, they will contribute to moving the Arab revolution from the defensive to the offensive. They will also escalate the process of swooping down upon the centres of defeatism, capitulation and plotting throughout the Arab area. It is these centres which, between them, constitute the counter-revolutionary forces that endeavour in vain to dam the tide of the Arab resurgence.

**Masses of Our Great Nation
Militant Comrades!**
Your Party has borne a historic article of faith, namely bringing about the rebirth of this Nation, realising its unity and liberating its occupied territories.

It is a great honour to see this article of faith handed down from one Arab generation to another, till the day when there shall be flown the flag of the united Arab state, the flag of unity, liberty and socialism.

Our profound faith in our Nation and our unbounded confidence in the energies of the broad masses, serve to furnish us, in these moments of destiny marking the 30th Anniversary of our Party, with the vigour and determination to stand our ground in the face of all challenges issued to our Nation and to discharge, honourably and manly, the mission with which we have been entrusted.

Homage to the martyrs of our Party and to the martyrs of the Arab Nation everywhere in the Arab Homeland.

Greetings to all of those who have had the honour of contributing to the building of the Party or to its struggle or to the achievement of its victories or to defending it in moments of stress.

Greetings to our comrades languishing in prisons throughout the Arab arena and in the prisons of the Damascus rulers in particular.

Greetings to our valiant comrades who fought and offered supreme sacrifices in defence of the honour of Arabism in Lebanon, and who continue to resist the Zionist-reactionary plot against southern Lebanon.

Greetings to the enduring masses of our people in the Occupied Homeland.

Greetings to the forces of endurance and revolution throughout the Arab Homeland.

Greetings to the masses of our people in the Arab Homeland and to the expatriates abroad.

Greetings to allies of the Party from among the progressive national and nationalist force which are working to realise its revolutionary aims.

Greetings to progressive movements and friendly liberation movements around the world.

Greetings to the rising Arab generations that are holding the torch of Arab future, and to our youth on their festival today.

Greetings of love and recognition to the masses of our Arab Nation and a pledge to keep up struggle for achieving our nationalist objective.

ABSP anniversary celebrations Call to intensify struggle against imperialism, zionism, reaction

The 30th anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP) was celebrated in Iraq on April 7 against an impressive background of full economic liberty, dynamic socio-economic transformations, complete peace and stability, solid national unity and a clear vision of a promising future. The country-wide celebrations were indeed an exhibition of great achievements, a demonstration of a firm determination to fully contribute to the defeat of imperialism and the realisation of the Party's ultimate aim of Arab Unity, Freedom, Socialism.

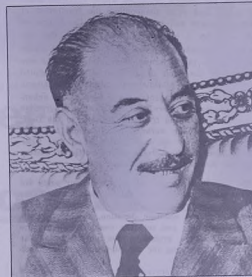
The Founding Leader Mr. Michel Aflaq, Secretary-General of the ABSP, addressed the Arab nation over Baghdad TV network on this occasion. He reviewed the circumstances that surrounded the genesis and growth of the Party and gave an in-depth analysis of the lessons of the past, the problems facing the nation and the prospects of the future. (The Text of his speech appears as a supplement).

Marking the same occasion, President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, Secretary of the Regional Leadership (RL) of the ABSP, extended a message of greetings to the militant leaderships and members of the Party all over the Arab homeland — from the Atlantic coast to the Arabian Gulf. He gave a glimpse of the great record of the Party in Iraq and touched upon the ABSP's struggle against imperialism, zionism and oppression.

Following is the text of the message:

ABSP Represents Aspirations of Arab Nation President Bakr Recalls 30 Years of Struggle

On the 30th anniversary of the founding of our great Party, the Arab Baath Socialist Party, it gives me great pleasure to extend warm greetings and cordially congratulations to all of the Party's leaderships, members, partisans and broad masses in our country and the greater Arab homeland and in any other area of struggle.



Secretary of the ABSP's Regional Leadership,
President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr

Comrades! Fellow strugglers!

April 7 shall remain a shining point and an outstanding landmark not only in our Party's record and militant onward march but also in the history of the entire Arab popular struggle. That glorious day witnessed the birth of the first political movements which represented the aspirations of the whole Arab nation — a movement which is revolutionary in orientation, nationalist and humanitarian in concept and organisational structure, socialist in line and scientific in method.

The birth of the ABSP was no fabrication, nor was it an outcome of luxurious imagination. The ABSP emerged as a badly needed remedy for ending the sufferings of our Arab society. Arab homeland has been, and still is, suffering from the backwardness, disunity and fragmentation imposed by colonialism and foreign occupation as well as from the exploitation and pillage of our wealth and resources in addition to dictatorial repression of the will of the toiling masses that aspire for a happy future.

Against that background the ABSP formulated its nationalist revolutionary idea of 'Unity, Freedom and Socialism' as creative incarnation of the ambitions of the Arab masses, as a firm reply to the challenges ahead and as an effective remedy to unhealthy Arab conditions.

Comrades!

On the occasion of the Party's Constituent Con-

ference, there comes back to memory that epic of struggle and the daring stances which the militant members of our Party have to their credit in the struggle against the forces of colonialism, Zionism, reaction and autocratic oppression as well as in the fight for: laying the foundations of democracy, justice and social progress; the liquidation of foreign occupation and influence; the recovery of our natural resources which had been plundered by oil and other monopolies; the frustration of aggressive designs and military pockets; the foiling of tabling plans for a capitulationist settlement; the crushing of all schemings for the liquidation of the Palestinian issue — the hub and central objective of our struggle; the liberation of all usurped and occupied Arab territories; the attaining of national unity among the revolutionary contingents of our people; the enhancement of national fraternity; creation of a progressive popular front extending from the Atlantic to the Gulf; the prosperity of the workers, peasants and all other countryside; and for the mobilization of all our fighting capabilities in the service of the battle of destiny against the Zionist-imperialist-racist enemy.

The past three decades in the life of our party are bright pages in the record of gallant Arabism — pages inscribed in blood, sweat and tears and underlined with persevering efforts, absolute devotion, resolute undaunted by stresses and setbacks coupled with unparalleled self-denial in promoting the objectives of the masses and in working for the elevation of the homeland and the nation.

Dear comrades wherever you may be! You are now witnessing how what you have sown is growing in the revolutionary Iraq which is led by your vanguard Party since July 17-30, 1968. You are beholding a process where one victory follows another and where one advance towards the major goal to which we have set ourselves, namely the building of a united, democratic, socialist Arab society.

Young men and women of the ABSP!

On this memorable day, we must appreciate the greatness of our mission and the different nature of the road of struggle we have to traverse. We must remain on guard against the viciousness, malice and conspiracies of our enemy and encounter these dangers by militant coalescence and by drawing ever closer to the people. We must also double our efforts, dedicate ourselves to our duties, offer more sacrifices and deepen confidence in ourselves and in the inevitability of our victory.

Once more, sincere congratulations to all of you.

Let us live the memory of our martyrs!

A good number of projects, costing more than two thousand million dollars were either opened or inaugurated. These included: the inauguration of the Basrah Petro-chemical Complex (costing more than 1,000,000,000 dollars); the inauguration of the Lower Khazis Agricultural Scheme (estimated cost over 130,000,000 dollars). Other projects included factories, road networks, hospitals and schools.

Many houses, in various parts of Iraq, were distributed to citizens — free of charge.

RALLY AT STADIUM

The main celebration took place on April 7 at the People's Stadium. It was attended by Mr. Shibly al-Aysami, Asst. Secretary General of the National Leadership and other Party leaders as well as by hundreds of the workers and peasant movements and other masses and professional organisations. Tens of thousands of youth and school boys and girls took part in the celebrations together with representatives of women, students and other organisations.

Of particular interest in this respect are the celebrations held in northern Iraq, where the Kurds enjoy self-rule for the first time in their history. These celebrations reflected the Arab-Kurd fraternity and co-operation.

Mr. Na'eem Haddad, member of the RL, addressed the masses on behalf of the ABSP. He paid glowing tribute to President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, Secretary of the ABSP and to Mr. Saddam Hussein, the Deputy Secretary of the Party RL. Pointing out that the Party's achievements in Iraq reflect the ABSP's principles, he referred to the imperialist vicious onslaught against the Arab revolutionary forces and re-affirmed that the Party will continue the struggle, fully confident that victory belongs to the Arab nation.

A pan-Arab feature of the celebrations was the Arab Students Festival, which was made to coincide with the birthday of the ABSP. An impressive art exhibition, depicting the struggle and sacrifices of the militant masses of the ABSP over the past 30 years, greatly attracted the attention of attendants.

Baghdad played host to many delegations who came from all corners of the world to participate in the celebrations of the ABSP's 30th anniversary. A number of these delegations, that represented governments, progressive political parties and important international organisations, and liberation movements, paid tribute, in press statements or interviews, to the ABSP and hailed the remarkable accomplishments they witnessed in Iraq.

Press commentaries in various capitals congratulated the ABSP and lauded the effective role it is playing in the struggle for shaping the Arab future. They also reviewed the socialist transformations unfolding in Iraq and commended the Party's fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction and for building one free socialist Arab society.

Cyrus Vance: In Kissinger's shoes



Henry Kissinger: Falter after the second step



Jimmy Carter: Legal and moral recognition of "Israel"?

by our Political Analyst



Wilest Carter Formula: The M-E Hoax

When someone deviates from the path of struggle in the course of a national liberation movement, he invariably ends up compromising fundamental national objectives. Contemporary history is replete with such instances.

The post-Ramadhan Middle East War (October 6, 1973) period witnessed once again such a deviation. A section of Arab leaders abandoned the path of struggle and opted for negotiated settlement with the enemy. They painted the image of the enemy as a friend and portrayed surrender as solution. The fundamental objective of Arab liberation movement, namely, the recovery of occupied Palestine and the foiling of imperialist machinations in the Arab homeland, were sought to be compromised.

On the other hand, the people of the Arab homeland has proved time and again that they want to persevere in struggle, defeat the enemy and regain the usurped Arab territories including Palestine. The Palestians, who are the worst victims of the imperialist-Zionist wars of aggression, have also proved during the last thirty years that they do not consider any sacrifice too high to regain their motherland.

The deviationists among the Arab leaders, therefore, are trying their best to hide their intentions with a mask of falsehood and deception. They tried in the recent past to convince the Arab people that Nixon and Kissinger were friends of the Arabs.

But when these "friends" failed to change the situation, these Arab quarters pinned their hopes on Ford. After Ford came Carter, and Kissinger was replaced by Cyrus Vance. And the Arab apostles of imperialist-dictated peace once again found a "genuine atmosphere" for achieving peace in the Middle East. New rounds of negotiations started. Secretary Vance came and went. He was described, as usual, by these deviationists as "neutral". Vance's neutralism was necessarily the expression of Carter attitude, and, therefore, the Arab apostles of peace once again put all their eggs in Carter basket.

But Carter has his own way of doing things. Before his Arab guests travel to Washington or London to get impressed about his neutralism, he spelled out his own formula in no uncertain terms. He was candid and outspoken, because, he knew he would be dealing with the deviationists from struggle, and not the revolutionary leaders of an on-going revolutionary movement. And hence this Carter blueprint. (His guests include "the heads of states or governments" of Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and occupied Lebanon).

CARTER FORMULA

Carter issued three statements recently spelling out his Administration's thinking on how to resolve

the Arab-Zionist conflict. In the first statement the US President outlined his formula for "defensible borders" beyond the recognised and legal boundaries of "Israel". In the second statement he put forward three pre-conditions for settlement, and lastly addressing the UN General Assembly, he reiterated his second statement about "a homeland for Palestinian refugees".

A close examination of these statements will reveal that the US position has not undergone any substantial change since the Zionist aggression on the whole Arab homeland on June 5, 1967. It has rather come much closer to "Israeli" position.

In his press conference given in Washington on March 9 President Carter, *inter alia*, said:

(a) The "Arab nations" and "Israeli nation" must have mutually agreed "permanent, legal and recognised borders".



(b) Beyond these recognised borders "Israel" must have "defensible borders", either by international agreement or by placement of "Israeli" forces or by monitoring stations, because, "there may be extension of 'Israeli' defence capability beyond the permanent and recognised borders" and therefore, "defence lines may or may not conform, in the foreseeable future, to those legal borders".

(c) International buffer zones between "Israel" and the Arab countries may be provided for by mutual agreement along with delineation of boundaries and a declaration of end to the state of war must be made. The final agreement may take "two years, four years, eight years or more".

(d) The Arabs must concede "Israel's right to exist" and "open up borders to her with free trade, tourist travel and cultural exchange".

(e) And all these "will involve substantial withdrawal of 'Israel's' present control over territories" which means, some "minor adjustments to the pre-1967 borders".

(f) Three "basic elements" of his formula, Carter says, are:

- (i) An ultimate commitment to complete peace in the Middle East;
- (ii) border determination;
- (iii) dealing with the Palestinian question.

Subsequently, on March 16, while addressing a rally at Clinton, Massachusetts, President Carter put forward three pre-conditions to peace in the Middle East. These are:

- (a) Recognition of "Israel" by the Arab countries.
- (b) Recognition by the Arabs including the Palestinians of "Israel's" right to exist.
- (c) "A homeland" for the "Palestinian refugees". But, he insists that only after conditions (a) and (b) are fulfilled, the third condition can be taken up for consideration. And he does not specify the place for such a "homeland".

Next day in his speech before the UN General Assembly Carter only repeated himself.



Lyndon Johnson:
the five principles

Richard Nixon:
exercise in futility



"Israelis" suppress the Palestinians by brute force.

"FRIENDS" FEEL EMBARRASSED

The Arab advocates of peace settlement with the Zionist enemy felt embarrassed at these statements which came on the eve of their visits to Washington and London to meet the author of the formula, Mr. Carter. They first tried to ignore the statements so as to keep the Arab people in the dark about what was being cooked behind their back. When they failed to do so, they started dropping hints here and there suggesting that the Carter formula was "positive" and there was an "improvement" on the past US stands. But is it really so? The Carter Formula may be analysed in the light of Johnson Formula and Resolution 242 of the Security Council.

JOHNSON FORMULA AND RESOLUTION 242

The Johnson Formula, announced on June 19, 1967, was based on the following "five principles":

A. Mutual recognition of the political independence and territorial integrity of all countries in the area, encompassing recognised boundaries and other arrangements, including disengagement and withdrawal of forces, that will give them security against terror, destruction and war;

B. Freedom of innocent maritime passage;

C. Just and equitable solution of the refugee problem;

D. Registration and limitation of arms shipments to the area;

E. Recognition of the right of all sovereign nations to exist in peace and security.

The Security Council Resolution No. 242, adopted on November 22, 1967, called for "a just and lasting peace" based on the following "principles":

A. Withdrawal of "Israeli" forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

B. Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

The Resolution affirmed the necessity,

(a) for guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) for guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarised zones.

ARAB REJECTION OF BOTH FORMULAS

The Arab countries rejected both the Johnson Formula and Resolution 242, its latest version embodied in Resolution 338 as well as various other 'plans' and 'missions' primarily because they overlooked, bypassed or deliberately ignored the fundamental issues of the conflict. These fundamental issues are:

Carter dangles "prizes" for brokers of his M-E plan

The news that President Jimmy Carter has made recently some bombastic statements regarding what has come to be termed in international politics "the Middle East crisis" or to be more accurate, "the Arab-Israeli conflict", should dispel the confusion that currently surrounds the policy of the new U.S. Administration vis-a-vis this burning issue. It seems that President Carter in his newly devised long-term "quiet diplomacy" instead of the "shuttle" step-by-step diplomacy which usually consumes short intervals and spans of time, has read himself into his new "humanitarian" era as the most "courageous" American President! Although he has been re-sounding previous official U.S. attitudes towards the necessity of preserving a "strong Israel" to avoid the "constant threat to Israel's" existence by her (Arab) neighbours "a stand wall known by the Arabs and the rest of world opinion ever since the creation of 'Israel' in 1947 by world imperialism and Zionism), he did not conceal that, or rather was outspoken, in his press conference held in Washington on March 9, in crossing the T's and dotting the I's when he said "I think that what 'Israel' would like to have is what we would like to have"; in other words the endorsement of the Zionist formula for any settlement in the Middle East which perfectly coincides with U.S. strategy in the area.

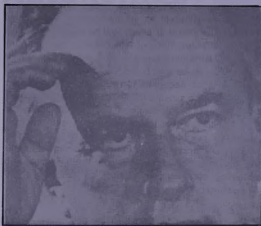
Putting it blank on the eve of the forthcoming meeting between himself and particular Arab



The Barlev line — after being destroyed by the Egyptian army in 1973

leaders (after meeting the "Israeli" Prime Minister), President Carter actually meant to let these leaders know before hand that his administration is not prepared to further discuss "Israel's" right to exist, the right to exist in peace, and agreement on defensible and secure borders for "Israel", but all what remains to be discussed is how to produce Arab concessions to the Arab masses and how to face-over the Arab leaders concerned with a settlement after pinning high hopes on the arrival of President Carter at the White House.

We need not recall to memory the stances of the previous U.S. administrations or statements made by ex-U.S. presidents since Truman up to Carter: towards the "Arab-Israeli conflict", as these attitudes were mere duplicates although sometimes put in different phraseology. Nothing new has been evolved since then by Washington to do justice or undo the injustice that befell the Arabs as a whole and the Palestinian Arabs in particular. Contrary to expectations on the part of some Arab leaders who still think that the key to the Middle East crisis rests in the hands of Washington and the latter should be given the chance, encouragement and fee in hand to prove its "good" intentions towards the Arabs, the successive U.S. administrations have been using all political, economic and subversive skills so ably in deceiving and ridiculing this Arab naïveté. Instead of exerting pressure on the spoiled child to restrain his ambitions and reimburse the



privileges granted for a U.S. return to the area and consolidate its economy at the expense of wasted Arab oil funds, President Carter has come to surprise his Arab "allies" by dusting the old files containing Zionist and U.S. projects for the region (the Rogers, Allon and Dayan plans) and reproduce them anew.

If we try to understand what President Carter has meant by stating, after stressing the theory of recognised and permanent borders for the Arabs and "Israel", that "defence lines may or may not conform in the foreseeable future to those legal borders" and that "there may be extensions of 'Israeli' defence capability beyond the permanent and recognised borders", his idea would boil down to accepting the Zionist plan to have advanced military posts on neighbouring Arab territories, although he termed such posts as international zones or monitoring stations as the case in the Sinai desert. In other words, to have "Israeli" striking force on Arab land to "tame" the Arabs whenever the need arises!

The above U.S. stand has been developed and accepted as a "flexible" policy as a result of two main factors. First: Washington is aware that by not pressuring "Israel" towards a settlement of the "Arab-Israeli conflict", and by the continued support it renders to her, will make the opportunities open to U.S. agents and allies in the area to fall in line with U.S. designs and prepare favourable condi-

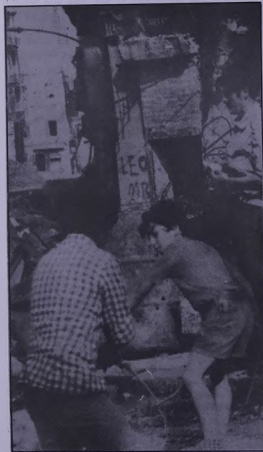
tions for hampering and later liquidating the Arab progressive movement, the rejection front, and the Palestinian resistance movement. What is happening in Lebanon today could well testify to the U.S. flexibility. Secondly: The continued conflict with possibilities of new flare-ups will strengthen the position of the Arabs, politically and militarily. This has prompted Washington to come forward with "more serious" technical compromise solutions than the ones it had already submitted or backed (Rogers plan and U.N. Security Council 242 and 338 resolutions) which actually do not go beyond the previous and present American conceptions. Thus, the U.S. solutions incorporate the non-withdrawal of "Israel" from all the occupied Arab territories and ending the conflict in a temporary form and by partial solutions in keeping with a formula which will make the solution look like a final and total one, and also enable "Israel" to reoccupy the Arab territories from which it has withdrawn at any time and without difficulty, especially in the event of any serious change in the Arab region jeopardising the American interests and sphere of influence, a fact which will keep "Israel" in the eyes of Washington the trustworthy gendarme in this area.

Right after the glorious October war of 1973, Washington put its schemings in top gear. Dr. Kissinger was able to fragment the "settlement" and succeeded in dragging the Arabs with occupied territories into separate temporary settlements, and stopped at that for the Carter administration to take up from there for the "final" settlement. With the full knowledge that the Geneva Conference will lead to disgraceful consequences for the Arab countries concerned and consequently split Arab ranks, the Washington-Tel Aviv axis is betting on the winning horse — the further weakening of the Arabs and their departure from their true friends and natural ally, the socialist community. Of course the U.S. strategy has given room for unexpected outcomes, i.e. in the event of the failure of this solution. Hence, there will be no other alternative than that of continued support for "Israel" in face of the increasing military potentials of the Arabs, and new aggressions on the Arabs until they succumb.

The emergence of the Palestinian detachments within the movement of liberating Palestine has had its significance and enthusiasm among the Arab masses. The struggle for the liberation of Palestine

has assumed an offensive and defensive character; thus constituting a danger to the Arab defeatists and to "Israel" and a serious threat to U.S. designs in the area. Hence, the September massacre in Jordan in 1970 and the current onslaught on Palestinians in Lebanon. All this has been designed to drag the Palestinians to accepting a puppet state on the West Bank of the river Jordan (a Palestinian territory).

What is strange indeed in view of all the above-mentioned realities, realities which are no more a secret to the layman, that some Arab leaders ignore them and insist on luring themselves and the Arab masses into deception by believing that the Carter Administration is a "neutral" party in the conflict. What President Carter has been circulating about "defensible borders" for "Israel" and "peace plans", is in fact an endorsement of an old "Israeli"



Reactionary forces destroy Lebanon

plan. Back in 1971, Yitzhak Rabin had envisaged "peace" measures as he conceived them. He wrote: "The arrival at peace will be effected through a series of steps, none of which will in itself amount to a proclamation of peace, nor will any of which involve — as far as "Israel" is concerned — relinquishment of occupied territory, or abandonment of the ultimate striving for peace in accordance with our concepts". He summed up "Israel's" aims in the conclusion of a peace agreement with each of her Arab neighbours; achievement of defensible borders; American military and economic aid enabling her to stand up against any Arab forces, and obtaining of American support for deterring any Soviet intervention against "Israel".

Such are Rabin's ideas on "peace" in the Middle East; and these ideas are fully shared by Washington yesterday and today. No wonder then, that President Carter has been loudly harping on the "defence lines" for Israel and the "extensions of Israeli defence capability beyond the permanent and recognised borders". It seems President Carter failed to be precise. He could have coined his words to mean the establishment of advanced "Israeli" military posts near Cairo, Damascus, Amman and Beirut to protect "Israel" from Arab threat and aggression. It sounds ridiculous for anyone to think that the Arab states are threatening "Israel". It is the other way round. Time and again, in 1956, 1967 and 1973 the Zionist entity, with the blessing of Washington, committed aggression on its neighbours and occupied their territories.

Peoples' just and legitimate rights could never be attained by diplomacy and behind closed doors. They are won on the battlefield. And any claim that in modern warfare the winner is the one who musters sophisticated military hardware is a fallacy. The peoples of Vietnam, Algeria, Cuba and Angola and elsewhere have shattered this fallacy. Armed struggle, unity of ranks and the application of all types of weapons (economic boycott and oil) in the war of liberation are a sure guarantee for victory. We should not expect, even for a moment, any "justice" from the friend of our enemy. We have come to realise this fact over the past thirty years. We have come to learn that those who have been alternating positions in the White House are themselves prisoners of false vision, of imperialist nature and short-sightedness; miracles are not expected to happen in our age!

Autonomous Area Exercising Effective Self-rule



Hashim Hassan

- AUTONOMOUS ORGANS REPRESENT ALL SHADES OF OPINION.
- KURDISH MASSES ARE PROUDLY AND SINCERELY RESPONSIVE TO AUTONOMY
- OPEN FUNDS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA
- THE PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION OF THE KURDISH QUESTION PORTENDS HOPES OF ALL



Ahmed Abdul Qadir

The establishment of autonomy for the first time in northern Iraq and the all-round success achieved by the autonomous organs over the past years have greatly contributed to the cementation of national unity. The resultant faithful co-operation between the Arab and Kurdish masses and their inevitable fusion in a common history, common fate and common nationhood have decisively strengthened their joint struggle for constructing an advanced, socialist and progressive Iraq.

In a special interview with IRAQ TODAY's Abdul Razzak Fahmi, the Chairman (Speaker) of the Legislative Assembly of the Autonomous Area, Mr. Ahmed Abdul Qadir, and the Chairman of the Executive Council, Mr. Hashim Hassan, explained the experience and prospects of self-rule.

Legislative Assembly:

In reply to a question as to how the Legislative Assembly was functioning, Mr. Ahmed Abdul Qadir said:

The Legislative Assembly represents all shades of opinion. All patriotic and progressive political parties as well as national independents are proportionately represented in the assembly's according to an agreed formula. When the post of the assembly speaker fell vacant in February last following the appointment of the former Speaker, Mr. Babakr Mahmood Rasoul, to the post of Minister of Labour and Social Affairs at the Central Government I was elected unanimously to the post. As to the main functions of the assembly, these may be summed up as under: legislating for the social, economic and cultural development of the autonomous area within the general framework of the policy of the State; taking decisions regarding the formation of local organs in consultation with the central authorities concerned and several other duties which may help enhance the socio-economic life of the Area; in addition to other routine parliamentary tasks such as questioning members of the Executive Council in connection with their duties and casting vote of confidence or no-confidence as the case may be on the Executive Council.

Q. How is a bill adopted and what are the stages through which it passes until it becomes a law?

A. According to the Law of the Autonomy, the Executive Council or 10 members of the Legisla-

the Assembly have the right to propose a bill. When a draft bill is submitted to the Legislative Assembly the Speaker refers it to the competent committee for examination and scrutiny from the legal and objective point of view. The committee has to forward its recommendations within ten days from the date of reference in the normal cases and within 5 days in the urgent cases. Thereafter the Speaker refers the draft bill to the full house in its first sitting for endorsement by majority of those present. If the bill is adopted by the majority of the members present it becomes a law and is sent to the Executive Council for implementation. The Executive Council, however, has the right to object to the "Law" as a whole or in part within 10 days. Should it not do so, the law becomes valid. The Autonomy Law also empowered the central Ministry of Justice and the Iraqi Court of Cassation to review the law within 30 days; the law will come into force if no objection is raised within the stipulated period.

Q. How do you assess ABPS's role in achieving the autonomy?

A. The Kurdish question with all its complications remained unsolved for a long time. That unhappy situation continued until the Arab Baath Socialist Party assumed power on 17 July 1968. Since the first day it came to power the ABSP was very keen to realize a just and durable solution to the intricate problem. Its aim was to solve the issue in a democratic and peaceful manner guaranteeing to the Kurds their full rights within the framework of unity of the Republic of Iraq. The first step on the peaceful and democratic solution was the issuance on March 11, 1970, a manifesto and the final step was the Law of Autonomy issued on March 11, 1974. This Law translated autonomy into practical reality and enabled the autonomous ruling bodies to play their part in serving the area and developing it in accordance with the provisions of the relevant Law.

Q. What is the reaction of our Kurdish brothers towards the Autonomy Law?

A. The Kurds are very happy and strongly convinced of the benefits of the Autonomy Law. They are actively and proudly participating in developing and reconstructing the area. They are sincerely responsive to the autonomy and are very loyal to their political leadership; both the central authority led by the ABSP and the self-rule institutions of the Area.

The Executive Council:

Mr. Hashim Hassan, Chairman of the Executive Council, in reply to a question explained the structure and functions of the Executive Council. He said:

The highest institutions of the Autonomous Area are the Legislative Assembly and the Execu-

tive Council. And as is the practice under ordinary parliamentary system, our executive council is selected from among the members of the Legislative Assembly.

As indicated by its name the Executive Council is the main executive organ in the Area. It consists of a number of administrations namely: Education and Higher Education; Works and Housing; Agriculture and Agrarian Reform; Interior Affairs; Transportation and Communications; Culture and Youth; Municipalities and Summer Resorts; Social Affairs; Economic and Financial Affairs; Awqaf (Religious Endowments).

The Executive Council comprises all the components of the Progressive Patriotic and National Front (PPNF) under the leadership of the ABSP. Hence the Executive Council consists of members representing the ABSP, the Iraqi Communist Party,



Campus of Sulaimanya University

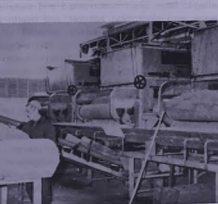
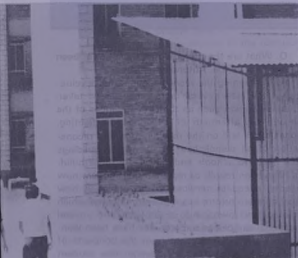


Serchinar Summer Resort

the Kurdistan Democratic Party, and other independent patriotic elements.

Generally speaking the Executive Council responsible for drawing up detailed plans aiming at developing the Area which it submits to the legislative assembly for endorsement. The Executive Council is also responsible for maintaining peace and order in the area in addition to its being responsible for submission of annual report on its activities to the President of the Republic.

Both the Legislative assembly and the Executive Council represent the cornerstone in the self-rule process. The aim of creating these two bodies was to give the autonomy the correct instrument of solving the Kurdish problem which remained unsolved for many years. It is common knowledge that the earlier regimes were unable to solve the Kurdish problem, but when the ABSP assumed power in 1968, it suc-



The Cigarette Factory in Arbil

ceeded in realizing this long-aspired objective. Stemming from its principles and previous experiences, the Party did solve the problem in a democratic manner and formulated the Autonomy Law whose outcome was the self-rule now being enjoyed by the Kurds for the first time.

Q. How do you evaluate the experiment of the Autonomy?

A. The experiment of the Autonomy is one of the feats of July 17 Revolution. It is the outcome of the ABSP's revolutionary comprehension of the national question — a comprehension based on the need to respond to the rights of different nationalities in a way enabling them to co-exist peacefully in one nation. We hope that this experiment be applied to other multi-nation countries. This peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish issue has been in line with the aspirations of all the inhabitants of the country especially the Kurds.

It is for the first time that the area witnesses a radical agrarian reform and a positive interaction among its masses. The experiment of the Autonomy has provided the Kurdish masses with the opportunity to express their own hopes and aspirations and their patriotism as Iraqi citizens. Through Autonomy the Kurds have, along with the rest of the masses in the socialist Iraqi State, been able to contribute to the building of the whole nation. The Kurds are an indivisible part of the Iraqi people and so is the Autonomous Area. Without such principles in mind, we cannot establish the correct self-rule in the Area.

Q. Have any efforts been made for the return of the Kurds who were misled by the defeated clique of Barzani and who are still abroad?

A. Yes, serious efforts have been exerted by myself personally for the return of the Kurdish citizens at present living abroad; and efforts are still going on for this purpose. I have made several visits to Europe and held a number of press conferences at which I called upon my Kurdish Brothers to return home and contribute to the construction of the nation; because there is no justification whatsoever for their staying outside the country after the establishment of the Autonomy.

I would also recall that efforts are also being made by certain delegations towards the same end. The majority of those who were abroad have returned home and resumed their normal life in the Area. They have been reinstated to their works and homes and have been reimbursed for the damages they sustained. In our belief, the return of the remaining Kurds will finally solve the problem which remained unsolved for many years. It also believe that a golden opportunity is being offered to those who are still outside the country. We had



always maintained that if they are sincere in their national and patriotic attitudes, we still say that their proper place is Iraq and their natural place is the autonomous area. They have to be among us to debate with us the procedures of how to build the area; how to develop it and how to implement the Autonomy in a genuine and best manner. I think this is the proper and practical line to be followed by them.

Q How do you consider ABSP's efforts in realising autonomy?

A. The ABSP played a pioneering role in the realization of the Autonomy. Through its experiences and its progressive humanitarian conceptions, the Party could bind the national and class struggle with the humanistic struggle. With such a peaceful democratic solution of the Kurdish question it enabled the Kurdish masses to contribute voluntarily and proudly to the construction of Iraq and their Area. We are still of the opinion that reactionary regimes cannot solve a national problem. This fact has been historically and practically proved. We must take into account that solving of the Kurdish issue has been an indivisible part of the solutions of other problems. For instance; we cannot separate between success of oil nationalization; establishment of the National Front; promulgation of the agrarian reform; and the establishment of the autonomy. We cannot dispart between any two of these great achievements. Each one is complementary to the other and altogether form an integral revolutionary process aimed at enhancing and developing the nation in general.

Q. What are the projects that have so far been implemented in the Autonomous Area

A. Concerning the reconstruction and development of the area several factors have been taken into consideration such as the circumstances of the area and the aftermath of the unhappy fighting. Emphasis has laid on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of all demolished or damaged buildings which included schools and clinics. All these buildings have been rebuilt or repaired and they are now rendering adequate services to the public. A new radical agrarian reform has been promulgated which regulated land ownership in the area and several educational campaigns and debates have been launched to liberate the peasant from the concepts of feudalism and subservience. Several new modern villages have been constructed and supplied with water and electricity; schools and health and recreational facilities; extensive network of roads has been reconstructed linking the villages with the cities and the central towns. I can assure you that the area is at present witnessing a revolutionary development in all walks of life. There is a revolution in agriculture; in industry; in education; health services; in social security; in all spheres of development and welfare.

The Central Authority with President Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr at its head has placed at our disposal open funds for the development of the area. With the cooperation of the Central Authority extensive programmes have been drawn up for realising comprehensive development and progress in the region within the shortest possible time.

Free Forum European Public Opinion and Arab Cause

During his recent visit to Baghdad, Mr. Mick Ashely, the renowned British free lance journalist, met Iraqi journalists in an open discussion meeting.

During the one-hour meeting he expressed his views on a number of questions raised by the journalists and gave a lucid analysis of the opinion of the European public and of the politicians in Europe on the Middle East.

The following is a resumé of the discussion:



Mick Ashely

Colonial Mentality

On why the Europeans find it difficult to differentiate between Zionism and Judaism, Mr. Ashely said that the problem of understanding the difficulty concerns him and other people as it should not be difficult because intellectually it is perfectly plain distinction. He explained that the intellectuals and politicians are aware of the distinction but because of the consequences of careers and the immense influence the Zionists have in the Western world, the intellectuals and politicians avoid this distinction purely from a personal point of view. They can and do avoid intellectually human issues that do not directly affect them. He would not insult the intellectuals by suggesting that they are not aware of the problem. The second and more complicated fact is the colonial attitude that still influences their thinking towards emerging count-

ries. The fact is that great many Jewish people have in the past, before the development of Zionism played a quite progressive role in the socialist movement and because in some ways creating an identification between European non-Zionists and European Zionists — both have a similar pro-colonial attitude and a biased attitude towards the former colonial countries.

The measurement of progress on the part of many European intellectuals, not only of Iraq, but generally of emerging countries, is based on a superior mentality in equating it with European developments, and culture (which are rapidly declining) — these are factors that emerge. It is a lack of response for developments taking place in the colonial countries. This is responsible for the affinity to the Zionists by many Western intellectuals. Furthermore, the immense influence

of the Zionist media, upon the public at large and on intellectuals should not be underestimated.

One particular example in the British labour movement, the one item that the Zionists have been able to sell — that Israel is an alleged progressive force — is the mythology surrounding the kibbutzes. This of course is no more collective activity but is more collective activity but this is believed by the socialists. Instead of examining it, this has become a symbol of socialist activity in 'Israel'. The fact that these kibbutzes are on the Arab land, their purpose is strategic to control Palestine, are matters which have unfortunately played a secondary role. Nevertheless this has been presented to the British labour movement as a socialist activity. One needs to break this down but I think one needs assistance from the Arabs in the presentation of their own achievements, their own thoughts and their own activities in socialism.

U.S. Hypocrisy

On racial discrimination by the Zionists and President Carter's concern about human rights, Mr. Ashely expressed his opinion that President Carter's concern is a hypocrisy. He pointed out to the areas under complete American control where in many cases the human rights are virtually nonexistent. President Carter's point of concern for human rights is a political play and certainly not a compassionate one.

As far as 'Israel' is concerned, one is aware of racial discrimination there but when dealing with an individual like President Carter, in the bad sense of the word, a religious politician, who unfortunately is translating in many cases the religious beliefs of the Bible — the mythology of the Bible as the land of the Hebrew

tribe of Judaism and so on. He is translating this: "I am convinced into a modern political acceptance, which the Zionists prefer, that there is some historical right of the Zionists to control Palestine". This is an enormous problem that we have, with President Carter, which is based on his own line of narrow religious beliefs in the Bible — that he accepts as a historical fact: the Zionist presence in Palestine has been an affirmation of the Bible.

Arab Unity Needed

This is a real problem and I think the difference of forces here are where things are changing. The failure of the Arab world to capitalise and develop its unity after October 7 has enabled the Western world to avoid facing up to the issue because they do not accept seriously a solid Arab unity that will continue to struggle to liberate Palestine. Unless the Arab world can give an impression to the Western world of an absolute determination, a unity to achieve the liberation of Palestine, the Western world, including President Carter, will continue to play for time to avoid facing up to the issue. I think this is where you will influence President Carter and you will influence the Western world. This is primarily your responsibility.

on the UN resolution equating Zionism as a racist movement he said that we are aware of the UN resolution but generally the public at large are not aware of it.

What is happening at this moment — due to the attitude of some Arab rulers, of America, and of Western politicians — is of great concern to me. What is happening in Europe is certainly happening in Britain. The attitude of mind is developing now.

It should be of great concern for countries like Iraq which is committed to Palestinians, that the

UN resolutions supporting the legitimate rights of Palestinians is being pushed into the background and a very subtle campaign is taking place now, that peace is possible but the Palestinians are becoming an obstacle to peace. They have successfully transferred the Palestinian issue, immediately after 1973 war. But when the people are not completely or intimately concerned with the problem, as in the Western world, they soon can forget. This has drifted into a state where it is being accepted that in the future there could be a solution to the Middle East problem. And this is a tragic danger — the UN resolutions are being completely ignored and completely forgotten.

The Human Element

The way to reach the public is by looking again at the method of writing to them. A method of understanding. I do not think one can reach the British public on a serious political level without first preparing them or conditioning them. I think, through a small journal like IRAQ TODAY, presenting other aspects of Arab life, the human element, the developments, resources being used, the theatre, agriculture is important. In other words the presentation of the Arab people as an active, energetic and building a new life.

I think the Arab world has failed to present themselves for what they are — a people with a long history, civilization, and development. I think this is required now to ally with the fact that you are involved now with technical and agricultural developments, that you are concerned with your people. In short, you have to sell yourselves as people before you will be able to really get through at a political level.

Zionist Influence in Britain

On the influence of Zionism in Britain, it is a negative aspect of

life if we merely criticise the opposition, the Zionists in this case, for their activities. We must assume that we are at war with Zionists and what you have to do, of course, is for you to find ways and means to combat their influence. If the media in the Western world is biased, we must find ways and means to combating it. It is said that a lot of money is being poured by the Zionists into propaganda for presenting a false picture of "Israel".

I think we require from our side of the fence to stimulate the Zionists, we devote as much of our resources as we can, in pursuit of the truth as they do in deceit.

If I am going to criticise the Zionists because they are efficient, because they are deceitful, it is a futile activity. I think we need to be more efficient in pursuit of the truth to try to break through their deceit.

From a socialist point of view the right of the Palestinians to Palestine is a basic human right. I do not support the Palestinians because the return to their country would benefit Britain. I support the Palestinians because it is a basic human right, that I as a socialist, expect to live as equal in my homeland, must support any people, whether they are Palestinians or not, to live as equals in their own homeland.

I think it is fair to present a little more balanced picture of what is happening in Britain. Certainly with the Labour Party, which has not got a good record as far as the Arab world is concerned, it is true. Nevertheless, if you are not careful you may overlook the fact that there is a door open in front of you.

Some Friends

The Labour Middle East Council (LMCE) which was formed

about ten years ago with a handful of Labour MPs is broadly interested in the Middle East. As a result of the activities of the Labour Middle East Council, the Council commanded the support of 50 Labour MPs. It is almost impossible now for a pro-Zionist member of Parliament to put down a question without a member of the LMCE putting down a counter question. They no longer have a free run in the British Parliament. We have achieved for the first time in the history of the Labour Party, the establishment of a Middle East Sub-Committee, on which many pro-Arab MPs will be serving. This is a tremendous concession within the Labour Party. It even admits that the Middle East exists beyond "Israel". In this struggle one needs to be patient. It is not enough to condemn the people who are Zionists but to separate the Zionists from the people. This would require a great deal of steady work, aided, I hope, with the support of the Arab people.

CABU

Mr. Ashley is on the General Committee of the Council of Arab-British understanding CABU and of the Middle East Council. Though CABU has done a great deal but, he stressed, it is not enough, CABU is a British based organisation ranging from extreme right to extreme left. One would refer to it as a non-political party interested in the Arab world, he explained.

On the question of Palestinians, it has had a good record in publicising the rights and the history of the occupied territory. It has influence on the TV in a minor way. It has had articles in newspapers, influence on journalists. They have a News Sheet which is sent out to journalists specialising in the Middle East affairs. It also maintains a very good relation with Arab states in

general. It does not really get itself involved in the internal politics of Arab states itself.

On Palestine it has a very good record on publicising the facts about the Palestinians' disposition by the Zionists, in publicising the "Israeli" activities on the West Bank, the settlements, etc., he explained.

The Arab Solution

On the question of a peaceful settlement he said that CABU has not really made an official pronouncement as this is primarily an issue to be resolved by the Arab world itself and in the final analysis by what the Palestinians will accept. It merely confines itself to pushing the Palestinian rights, it draws attention to the atrocities committed by the "Israelis". It has not stated its attitude on the peaceful settlement, he said, the nearest it has come to it, has been a strong criticism of President Sadat's optimism in thinking that the Americans are going to solve the problem.

He said that he does not consider it the responsibility of any British person to lay down conditions for a peaceful settlement. In the first instance this is the Palestinian right.

I support the Palestinian view of liberation of Palestine, he stressed.

What would dramatically change the situation in the Western world would be for the Arab countries to give an impression that they are not prepared to take the trouble to go begging or chasing for someone else to ask for solutions.

I think there is a need to separate the Israeli Jews from their government. With a superior force on the part of the Arabs it would be possible to create a situation in which one could bring to the "Israelis" the thought that peace, if they desire, to live in an Arab world — where they will be accepted as equals, as a people not as a state — could be achieved from a position of strength. In other words you are offering them something constructive that takes away the threat of war.

Arab-European Dialogue

On the Arab-European dialogue, Mr. Ashley expressed his opinion that there is a possibility for further development of the dialogue. He suggested that the Arab world should pursue it.

By courtesy of
Baghdad Observer Daily

(1) MICK ASHLEY was born in the East End of London of Jewish parents. A member of the British Labour Party, Executive Committee, Labour Middle East Council and General Committee, Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CABU). He writes and speaks on Middle East affairs in general and the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular from the standpoint of an anti-Zionist of Jewish origin. Completely committed to the legitimate rights of the Palestinians Mick Ashley says he first became involved in the Zionist-Palestinian dispute in the 1930s when, in the East End of London, both Zionists and the Fascists told him "to go back to Palestine". This led him into a serious examination of the issue. His conclusion was that his Jewish origin would make him "parts to rob" the Palestinians of their homeland "if he did not speak up. He has been speaking out ever since. He says that in view of Zionist reactions, this might have been more difficult if not impossible, without the unwavering support of his wife, Betty.

Visits to Arab countries have extended Mick Ashley's interest in Arab affairs from the purely political into the social and cultural structure of Arab society.

Facts About Palestine

"March 30, time: Sunrise; location: all over the occupied land; occasion: the Land Day"; Church bells kept tolling in the old towns of Nasser and Bethlehem, American-made tanks and streets of Upper Galilee. Flocks of "Israeli" ready-for-war soldiers were located at road ends, taking position and firing; the target is any Palestinian. The

Sounds of bullets, church bells, the demonstrations and the gas of tear bombs were intermingling. More Zionist enforcement, more unarmed Arab civilians shouting:

The Significance of Land Day

"Down with the occupation", the Palestinian flag being hoisted. A veritable war — fought in memory of all the innocents who were murdered in 29 years.

The story of the Land Day is only one-year-old. However, the cause is 29 years older. For years before 1948 when some alien occupiers came to Palestine in different identities, started terror campaigns against the peaceful inhabitants of the land, received weapons, aid, money and what not, surely something was being prepared. In 1948 the announcement was made that Palestine is to be called "Israel". With all that the decision entailed the newly established "state" began feeding on all that existed in its location: lives, property, land, and it expanded. This expansion kept on a steady pace. By raiding neighbouring areas, looting, kidnapping, massacring whole villages (Dair Yassin, Qabiyah, Kufr Qassim to cite some), the result of course was a bigger "Israel" backed by the huge imperialist institution of the world of today. Thus did "Israel" grow. The "Israelis", resorting to all forms of terrorism and repression known to humanity, tried to diminish as much as possible the number of the Palestinians. New settlers were flocking, and

still are to this very day, to take their places.

No wonder then, last year the occupied land came to the end of its tether. On the morning of March 30, 1976, the "Israeli" government was taken aback when they found the Arabs of occupied lands (1948 and 1967) out in the streets of every city, town and village in unprecedented number waving Palestinian flags and shouting down the tyranny. Although whole units of the "Israeli" army were called up to put down the raging demonstrators, that popular uprising (as described later by news agencies) lasted for 136 days. If the uprising drew the attention to a specific truth it was none other than the fact that the Palestinians, perhaps for the first time acting collectively, have come to realize that the alternative to struggle is death! Simply the "Israelis" will not let them live unless they defend their existence tooth and nail.

Indeed the Land Day has emerged as an enduring symbol of liberation. "The people is the greatest teacher" came to be the motto as well as the assumption on which to act. For in spite of the never ending conspiracies being contrived in and around occupied Palestine the one way to salvation was proved to be the rejection of all schemings and measures of oppression. This year the 30th of March was the start of a still bigger campaign: go out in the streets and shield your family



with your chest against flying bullets and the survival of your offsprings against the flocking settlers from abroad. If the "Israelis" realize that the Palestinians have nothing to lose but their misery and the constant death threat they will certainly change that technique of presumptuous violence.

Yet it does not seem so. This year the "Israelis" have been preparing for the Day for well over a month in advance. Their security forces up to the last man, mechanized army units, formations of hit-teams took position all over occupied Palestine, the West Bank occupied territories and the

Gaza strip from early morning. General strike being declared from Rafah in the South up to Rass al-Nakoor in the North of Palestine, schools and shops were closed down; workers, clerks, men of every age, women, young boys and girls all joined in. The streets have turned into battlefields. Outside small towns and villages shooting could be heard. The clashes were reported by international news agencies as the fiercest and most violent ever to take place in the history of the 29-year-old occupation.

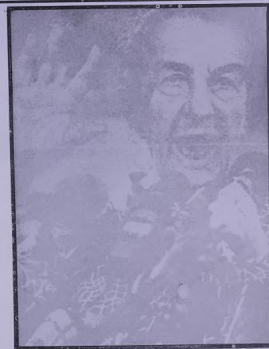
Proved a failure last year however, the coercive "Israeli" measures will also this year prove the same, the uprising the longer. It is true that the

number of Palestinian detainees is mounting, prisons and concentration camps becoming overfilled. However, vis-a-vis the Zionist terrorism the Palestinian resistance always succeeded in adapting itself to other popular uprising or armed struggle. As a matter of fact what adds to the significance of the current movement is that a protest against grabbing of Arab lands by Zionist settlers has developed into a struggle for liberating the whole occupied Palestine and the voice of resentment raised against dispossessing the Arab inhabitants has found echo throughout the world. The Palestinian Revolution has thus become part and parcel of World Revolution.

THE SANCTIMONIOUS ROBBERS

What on earth is happening in occupied Palestine today? One cannot be sure what exactly, however, it is quite obvious that what happens is 'unfavourable' no doubt. Indeed, this unfavourableness has become rather muddling, to put it this way. In the West where people start mumbling things about 'democracy', 'human rights' and 'civilization', they must be either 'playing the fool' or, God forbid, one cannot help saying that Zionist propaganda has laid its hand rather too heavily on their brains — for the last 50 years or so — that they had come to be complete morons! Without beating around the bush, it would be illuminating to bear in mind the simple fact that when injustice prevails, and when everyone knows it, that very injustice could become a threat even to those who support it while lying back comfortably behind their 'mighty' achievements'. In a word the injustice which is being done in occupied Palestine and its neighbouring areas could one day turn from that clog which hampers the free conscience of some honest people into a beast that would turn to devour them together with everything they have achieved for the last 600 years. Well, it might be reassuring to note, after all, that since most of the intellectuals of the Western World have mutely been watching from a distance the Zionist brutality in occupied Palestine, they can eventually hit on the conclusion that the savaging of human values in the Arab area is an unmistakable sign of the not-too-distant future savaging of human values in their own countries as well. Especially so, when they discard all doubt that the tribes which operates in Palestine is nothing but the make of their own hands and the product of their own countries.

Some might be inclined to regard this as a bit too 'puffed up' to believe. Yaf for anyone can see for himself it is too obvious even to explain. Just to review the 'events' which took place in 'Israel' for some time past is adequate testimony. And for that matter they are unbelievable and rather distracting to any self-collected mind. Nonetheless just very recently one plain figure appeared in a



report by the 'Israeli' Ministry of Health stating that 272 'Israeli citizens' had — for some unknown reason — committed suicide in the course of last year. Although the number is not that big, yet it is revealing, especially as the report of the Ministry ends on a shattering shock: 25% of those citizens appeared to be "mentally disturbed"! Of course psychologists and specialists were at sea giving the remaining 75% some plausible explanation lest they also lose their sanity.

There is no doubt that this new foreboding phenomenon is closely related to the common norm of 'Israeli' life in general. Otherwise the Zionist government might have been engaged in the 'improvement' of a great deal of the "mentally disturbed" discharges of other societies. This being a

very disputable question it is best to throw a glance over the things which the Westerners, among others, never seem to know anything about and can never hear of except in a twisted manner planned to suggest completely the contrary of what they signify. Among other things, it is basically the devastating truth which leers in the face of



any 'Israeli' since long; that is to say the collective conscious guilt 'born as the unwanted child', the fruit of the daily massacres and looting (performed in such a way as to immediately bring to mind the savageries of the bronze age). Perhaps the only objection to be raised here is the contention that since the inherent racialism of the Zionists prompts them to regard their victims as 'non-people', any talk of such collective guilt is out of the question. Yes, this could be true, however, the guilt is showing forth and is heedlessly unmitigated.

As a matter of fact, it is rather difficult to have a try at catching the 'Israeli' crimes of a specific period in a short space. No matter, some atrocities not only for themselves but also confirm the deteriorating conditions in 'Israel' (which drive people insane) happen to be the signals for the beginning of the end, to speak as an optimistic 'Israeli' might do. Therefore, to specify the recent practices of the 'Israelis' let us try to forget about the killing and torture and concentrate on the corruption and looting.

Under the heading of corruption their natural endowment is versatility. The story of the 'Israeli' Housing Minister, Abraham Ofer, and his betrayal of the 'Zionist cult' is too famous to talk about, however, further investigations have succeeded in digging out some new details about a novel scandal he was indulged in together with the 'Histadrut' and the 'Labour Party'. As is known the man ended his life by committing suicide. This could have something to do with Mr. Secretary-General of the

'Histadrut' who was caught for illegally transferring several million Liras to the tills of the bankrupt 'Labour Party' from the funds of his federation. So as this was leaked, the news that Mr. Rothschild himself was interned on leaving 'Israel' — for investigation concerning a certain embezzlement affair by one of the biggest Zionist companies — overshadowed the recent scandals especially as some fresh political names are coming to light in association with bribery on a rather unprecedented scale.

So much for the politicians and top people. And lest someone is led to believe that the ailment is the government (exactly as the Zionist media everywhere are dead anxious to succeed in doing) we should keep track of some robberies whose latitude moves gradually to include such people as Mr. Dayan until it reaches the lowest ranks of Zionist soldiers and civil servants. Moreover, it is very interesting to notice what sort of looted commodity they engage in lifting: by God, all sorts of things, beginning with the Egyptian mummies and antiques in which Mr. Dayan excels (as he nearly emptied Sinai and the Gaza Strip of them); the mosque (such as al-Ibrahimi from which Zionist soldiers lifted carpets, rare mos'hafs, four antique clocks, and some Islamic manuscripts stolen in broad daylight yet during curfew); and 'ending' with the oil of Sinai (of which the 'Israelis' have very recently struck huge amounts); the water of the river Jordan (being pumped into their never-ending settlements); the folklore 'Dabka' dances of the Palestinians (which they now represent to the world as "National Jewish Folklore" (!) and even the kind of traditional Palestinian sweets which the "Jewish Chronicle" of London once presented for "Jewish Cuisine" (!) to the British public.

Again, since it is the custom in such societies to find the police on the spur for the rescue (however, the police must stand helpless in front of a whole society that is decaying) one should at least get a 'glimpse of hope' for the sake of change. Yet it seems that even their police are engaged in something more big. So, instead of rescuing the 'promised land' it was found out that some very highly-placed officers were involved in a country-wide drugs smuggling and distribution network! Up till then six of them were spotted (WAFA 12/10/1976).

These being some of the things which were published in various Zionist papers in the occupied land namely, Ha'artz and al-Hamishmar, it might be easier now to visualize what sort of criminal underground life that is; and still more important, how extraordinarily credulous we would be if for a moment we give a chance to the Zionists and their collaborators to steal in our brains and wash them.

(M. M.)

Women's Status in Iraq



Modern Iraqi Woman in a science laboratory

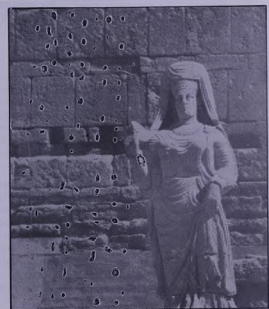
by Saleh M. Amash

The ancient Iraqis learned writing in 3100 B.C. and started to write down their legislation. Thus we had the first code of laws in the history of Urukagina. This was succeeded by the laws of Urnammu, which were followed by the legislation of Lugal-Ishtar in the year 1934 B.C. Then comes Hammurabi's code of laws in 1800 B.C., which is considered the first written code that has reached us so far. It is carved on steles erected in temples throughout Hammurabi's kingdom in order to be read by the public. One of these steles is at present at the Museum of Louvre. Its replica is displayed at the Iraq Museum in Baghdad.

Under Hammurabi's Code

Women and marriage had an important place in all these codes mentioned before. According to Hammurabi's code "marriage, selling, purchasing, rents, debts, adoption, inheritance" etc. could not become truly legal unless they were written down in contracts, registered and supported by witness.

Hammurabi's code stipulated that a family, which cannot have children, may adopt a boy or a girl from another family. The adopted child's rights were the same as the rights of the family's own child.



Statue of a queen from Hatra period

Paragraph 8 from Article 127 to Article 195 of the code contains provisions relating to the family, its rights and affairs; adultery, inheritance, protection of children and the status of the wife. It stipulates the submission of children to their parents as a condition. It states that "if a son hits his parents, judges are required to cut his hand".

Marriage was based on the principle of one wife, but Hammurabi's code allowed the man to marry another woman only under two circumstances, which are:

- a. When the first wife had a permanent illness, on condition that she should not be divorced and the husband should be responsible for her living expenses.
 - b. When the wife was incapable of giving birth. Hammurabi gave the husband the right to divorce and the wife the right to divorce only under two circumstances:
 - a. If the wife had a permanent illness and her husband married another woman.
 - b. If the husband was bad-mannered and that was certified by the town council.
- Hammurabi's code allowed slaves to marry free women provided that those slaves became free.

There were queens and princesses in Iraq about 3000 B.C. The Iraq Museum has a proof of that as it displays the jewelry and ornaments of the Sumerian princess "Pu Abi".

The statue of our queen Abab in the remains of Hatra is still there pointing out the place of women in social life.

According to Islam

According to Islam, a man may marry four wives but under two important circumstances: that justice should prevail in all respects among the wives whether in accommodation, food, clothing and even love. The other condition is the approval of the previous wife. This was allowed because of the shortage of men resulting from frequent wars. In Modern Iraq

Polygamy very seldom takes place in Iraq (except in the deep countryside), although it still exists in some other Arab or Islamic countries, depending on the social development. In fact Iraq laws and regulations are very strict in this respect.

Women in Iraq are perfectly equal to men with respect to work performed and pay. For example, a woman working as an engineer, a teacher or technician gets exactly the same salary as her male colleague in the same profession.

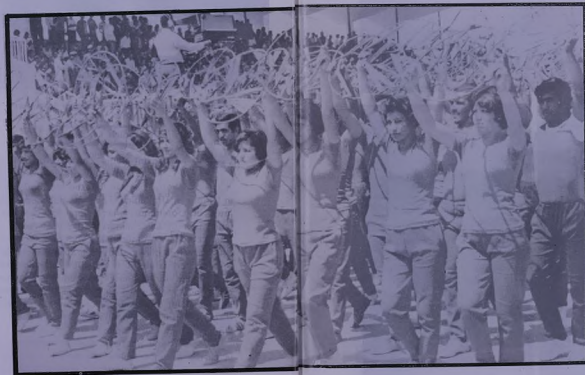
Women in Iraq participate in all aspects of life. This seems more clear in towns than in the countryside. In fact some women have become ministers or ambassadors, not to mention the vast number of medical doctors, engineers and artists. We have even female police-officers. Visitors to Baghdad now notice also that most of the petrol-filling stations are run by young women. We have found out that the drivers' manners have got better and their cars clean before refuelling.



Bust of a Sumerian woman with her jewelry



Replica of Hammurabi's Stele



In many large clubs and societies of Baghdad, such as the Mansour, Alwiyah, Alhindyah, Altruh and clubs for hunters, economists, engineers, doctors, artists, the Assyrians etc., women's distinguished place is quite obvious and they do participate equally like men in several activities, such as

social, cultural, sports, dancing and other evening activities.

In the desert, where the Bedouins live, women enjoy a large freedom. In this respect the woman is like the Bedouin, who loves freedom and runs away from the limitations of social habits. Accordingly, when she loves a young man, she may even kidnap him to a distant place to marry him. The young man could also do the same. Kidnapping his love, putting her behind him on the beautiful Arabian horse and running away if it was not possible to marry her. This, of course, is not without its favourable consequences for the lover, as it creates sympathy and affection towards him.

In Arabic Literature

Women in the Arabic poetry and literature in general occupy a distinguished place, especially in literature of Iraq. We have a vast number of poets

who always and ever near her. Or at least to have a glance, a smile... to be followed by a meeting. The Arab was, long ago, known to love but one. But when she loves someone else as a result of her freedom of choice, he has the right to be friendly with another. In this respect, the best Arab poet, Imr Al-Qais, made the following verse 1300 years ago:

Has Asma's love changed?

If this is so,

I would change my love to someone else.

Perhaps it would be of interest to tell the following story as an example of the deep-rooted freedom of lovers in ancient Arabia. Imr Al-Qais fell in love with his cousin called Unaiza. He sought for her company for a long time, but was not successful in his approaches. Then one day, the tribe loaded up their beasts and departed from their encampment. The men were riding ahead, while the women lagged behind. Observing this, Imr Al-Qais hung back alone and hid himself to wait for the women, among them Unaiza, to pass him. When they reached a pool called Dara Juljul, the women said: "Why should we not stop here and bathe in this pool? That would freshen us up". So they delighted there, undressed and plunged into the water. Thereupon Imr Al-Qais stole up on them suddenly, seized their clothes, made a heap of them and sat down on it. Then he shouted: "By God, I won't give a single one of you, girls, your clothes even though you stay all day in the water until you come out of the water naked and take your clothes yourselves". They refused to do so till the day was well advanced and they feared they would never reach their destination. Then at last they came out of the pool, all except Unaiza. She adjured him by God to throw her clothes, but he would not. Finally she came out. The women approached him crying "you have certainly punished us keeping us here as your prisoners and starving!" "Wait," he answered, "what if I slaughter my camel for you, would you eat it?" "Yes," they shouted. So he drew his sword and slaughtered the camel and stripped off its flesh and made a strong fire. Then he roasted the meat. The women ate and he ate with them and drank what remained of the wine he had with him, and sang to them. When they were ready to resume their journey, one of the women cried out: "I want to carry his saddle". Others volunteered to divide his provisions between them, while Unaiza alone was loaded with nothing at all. "Wait, my noble young lady", Imr Al-Qais said to her, "you have to carry me with you, I cannot walk all the way". He has recorded his love affairs in various poems,

A Visit to the Folklore Centre in Baghdad

The Artisans of Iraq

"Unfortunately, folkloric artisanship is a dwindling craft. I am afraid the well is drying up". Dr. Akram Fadhil shook his head sadly as he told us this. As founder-director of the Centre for Folkloric Handicrafts (which opened in 1959) he knew what he was talking about. Having scoured the villages and smaller towns in the Iraqi countryside in countless trips in quest for genuine handicrafts to feed with his purchases the ever hungry market in Baghdad, Dr. Fadhil could clearly see that many of the beautiful objects bought by the tourists at the centre were, for a host of reasons, irreplaceable. Once sold, the chances would be that they would leave the country in the luggage of a departing tourist or businessman and Iraq would consequently be the poorer for this loss. It is a pity that artisanship is a dying profession. With the rapid industrialization of the country, more and more artisans are giving up their vocation to work in offices or on the assembly line. For instance, a young woman who used to weave beautiful baskets has lately opted to be a school-teacher. This is just one example. Then there is the fact that artisanship, once a hereditary profession, passed on from father to son (or from mother to daughter), is unfortunately no longer so. Once an artisan is dead, the chances are that his art also dies with him, while those craftsmen who are still alive, are often condemned to repeating themselves, or are



Embroidered blanket



Jar decorated with folk ornaments

forced by the increasing demand for their handicrafts to produce shoddy work.

Dr. Fadhil sees it as his duty to resuscitate this dying art. Right after the revolution in 1968, his centre gained a new lease of life. The State allotments increased and there was fresh interest in the task being carried out by a few dedicated men like Dr. Fadhil.

The centre now boasts of having a mini museum as well as an adequately stocked shop selling cloaks, baskets, figurines, pottery, woodcrafts, brass and copper wares, not to mention the traditional costumes of the various Iraqi provinces.

The centre is well-patronized as it is strategically based. It lies vis-a-vis the statue of Kehramana and the Forty Thieves of Arabian Nights fame, which happens to be one of the most attractive pieces of sculpture in the Iraqi capital.

The centre, in addition to its little museum and large shop, also publishes a highly-readable monthly magazine devoted to folkloric arts. There is also a growing archives section which houses a film and tape library. A task force was formed a few years back to undertake trips to the Iraqi countryside for purchasing purposes.

This task force also records on film and tape folkloric songs and dances. The finest objects are always photographed for the record.

The centre has also produced films on Iraqi folkloric arts. But

above all, Dr. Fadhil sees his life's work in giving financial and moral support to talented artisans. Prominent among these was the late Munim Furat, the sculptor. An unlettered man with no art training whatsoever, Furat worked in clay, producing primitive statues that won admiration wherever they went on display. His work was exhibited in Bratislava (Czechoslovakia) where it was awarded the first prize in the primitive sculpture category.

His work was also exhibited in Beirut, receiving recognition from the Lebanese press.

Though Dr. Fadhil is sad at the decline in handicrafts, he has not altogether lost heart; he still hopes for a revival, even a renaissance. The State is doing all it can to encourage artisans to stick to their vocation. It would be a great pity if the legacy of Sumer and Akkad should cease to exist.



Dr. Akram Fadhil, Director of the Folklore Centre

Pages from the History of Arab Chivalry

The movement of knights in Iraq had, in the days of the Abbasid Caliph, al-Nasser Lidinullah, (the Sixth Hijra century), deep and well-substantiated roots in the history of the Arab nation. This movement flourished at that time to embrace this nation's noblest conventions, her highest ethics and her best behaviours.

Chivalry derives its conventions from the Arab fundamental criteria in particular and the ideal humanitarian values in general. In the Arabic language the word 'futwua' (chivalry) is the adjective of the noun 'fata' (the knight). The 'fata' is the fresh young man. The word futwua has been borrowed, since the pre-Islamic days, to mean bravery and the fata to mean the brave man and later the generous man. Thus the Arab knight (fata) was distinguished by two figurative meanings: bravery and generosity both of which are the best characteristics of the Arabs. The best fata was known as the 'Fata al-Fityan' (or the knight of the knights).

One may say in general that the meaning of chivalry was, in the Umayyad period, extended to mean manliness. "Futwua (chivalry) is to allow your brother to be offered from your property and you should not covet his property. Be just with him but you may not ask him to be just. Bear his roughness but do not be rough with him". The backbone of Arab chivalry is self-denial which is the primary element in it. It was said also that "chivalry is the best behaviour and the generous good".

Ten Characteristics of the Knight:

In the literature of chivalry it was related that Prophet Mohammed said: "The knights of my nation have ten characteristics: truthful talk, fulfilling the promise, giving back the trust, not telling lies, to be merciful with the orphan, giving the person in need, to be generous in giving what is needed, to be magnanimous in making good deeds, to be hos-

pitable with the guest and foremost to be modest". Doubtless, these sayings of the Prophet (the tradition) laid down the fundamental features of Arab chivalry. These "ten commandments" can be taken today as the general rule of chivalry.

It was related that al-Hassan al-Basri said: "Chivalry was explained in the Almighty's saying: 'God orders of justice, philanthropy and helping the relatives. He prohibits adultery, vice and oppression'. Al-Junaid al-Baghdadi said: "Chivalry is to avoid harming others and to give up complaint". Al-Sheibani said: "Chivalry is to be patient in difficult times, to be gentle at estrangement and to be generous at poverty".

This cultural heritage was integrated in the days of al-Nasser Lidinullah when he was the Caliph in Baghdad. He, in fact, swept away the alien thoughts and false habits which previously had infiltrated into the creeds of chivalry, al-Nasser



wrote a notice in which he ordered the chief-knights to "do good and seek affinity and warned them against estrangement. The notice was read to them. One who contravened the instructions in it would surrender his chivalry uniform, his chivalry title would be withdrawn and he would receive the proper punishment. Al-Nasser also saw that chivalry was still exposed to offence, so he ordered, in 604 Hijra, that chivalry should be regenerated and he should be the new reference of chivalry. The regeneration was coupled with a new statement which defined its new principal features: "Anyone who kills his companion or shelters a murderer, his chivalry title will be withdrawn from him". With this important condition, he put an end to the differences which were splintering the knights and fragmenting their ranks.

Historians said that al-Nasser exported the Arab chivalry uniform to the West. Chivalry was introduced to countries like Asia Minor also. They also said that a prince from Germany sent a message to al-Nasser, the Caliph of Baghdad, in which he prayed for his recruitment in the Caliph's chivalry. This may imply that the European chivalry was influenced at the beginning by the conventions of Arab chivalry.



Chivalry and Sports:

Al-Nasser Lidinullah unified the Islamic nation, and restored to the Arabs their usurped dignity. His programme was based on training knights on sports to build strong bodies and on the use of weapons in a good manner in order to raise strong armies.

The successors of al-Nasser followed his example in fostering chivalry and knights and some of them showed zeal in this respect.

When Baghdad fell to the Mongol invaders in 1258 A.D., the movement of chivalry spread to other Arab countries. It may be mentioned here that knights played a major role in resisting the Mongol invasion; they wrote a bright chapter in the history of Arab gallantry and chivalry.

But chivalry did not die out, for Baghdad is restoring today its ancient glory. Throughout Iraq we find now that the Arab chivalry — one of the most brilliant aspects of Arab heritage — is flourishing with the establishment of the movements of Cubs, Vanguard, Knights, Scouts and the Popular Army. With these, Iraq was able to bind our glorious past with our prosperous present.

By Sherif Yusuf

The Spiral Minaret of

Samarra "Al-Malwiyah"



The spiral minaret of Samarra

Iraq under the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258) wrote one of the most brilliant chapters in its history. This was especially true under Harun al-Rashid (786-809) and his son al-Mamun (809-813). In this period the capital, Baghdad, was a wealthy and a gigantic mercantile city. In its heyday Baghdad stood alone as the rival of Byzantium.

In A.D. 836 al-Mutasim, the third son of Harun al-Rashid, removed the capital from Baghdad to Samarra — a province that stands at the east bank of the Tigris about 130 kms. north-west of Baghdad. He did that mainly to avoid skirmishes between his Turkish mercenaries and the people of Baghdad.

When al-Mutasim settled at Samarra he built himself a vast palace which he called Dar al-Amma, the public house. Then he laid out around it the most spectacular and magnificently planned city. He brought skilled engineers from distant countries to build palaces, mosques and the residential part of the city. He made special allotments of building land to his citizens. Then he turned his attention to the acquisition of craftsmen and building materials from all over the Arab world, to beautify his city and his buildings.

This fantastic city was built, occupied and abandoned in a space of fifty six years. In A.D. 892 the Caliph al-Mutamid and his government returned back to Baghdad.

During the odd forty years which followed the establishment of this capital, seven Caliphs ruled in Samarra. Each built new palaces and mosques and extended the city further along the Tigris until its great central boulevard (al-Shari al-Adham) ran for over thirty kilometres before emerging into the open country.

The great mosque of this city (The Friday Mosque) was enlarged and rebuilt by al-Mutawakkil, the son of al-Mutasim (847-861).

This mosque is decidedly one of the most striking constructions in the entire history of Islamic architecture. Its outer buttressed wall (158x240 metres), was built of brick to a thickness of about two metres. The roof of sanctuary and the porticoes of the interior court were supported by 464 piers. These piers originally were made of bricks faced with marble with small attached marble columns at the corners, and they supported the wooden flat roof.

The mosque had 21 gates, and from the central gate of the north wall a ramp runs up to the square base of a spiral minaret. The base is 33 metres square and 3 metres high. The great spiral tower has a ramp of 2.30 metres wide. It commences in the centre of the south side and winds round in an anti-clockwise direction until it has made five complete turns.

At the summit of this spiral tower there is a cylindrical storey

6 metres high, and on top of that, originally, there was a small pavilion resting on eight wooden columns.

Shortly after the Caliph al-Mutawakkil had completed the great mosque of Samarra he decided to build a new city to its north. This new city was named al-Gafariyah. Within a year the city was ready complete with streets, houses, a palace and a mosque known as the Mosque of Abu-Dulaf.

This new mosque was only slightly smaller than that of Samarra. Its minaret is a miniature copy of the Malwiyah in Samarra and reaches no higher than 27 metres.

The interior of this new mosque is better preserved and in someways impressive; its area is about 30,000 square metres.

At present the ruins of Samarra and al-Gafariyah are for the most part undisturbed by later occupation, and their plans can be traced almost without excavating. From the air one sees the whole town spread out like a modern city with boulevards, palaces and race-courses, and it is hard to believe that one is looking at a dead city, unoccupied for thirteen hundred years.

Now a very small area of these ruins is occupied by modern Samarra. Here the shrine of two of the twelve Imams attracts the attention of all visitors, especially the golden dome that covers the holy shrine.

Month Full of Musical Events in Baghdad



Roland Bretschneider

By Hamdi Kadouri

March was the richest month in this year's Baghdad musical season, which runs from October to June. It contained much that was solid and worthwhile, varied in its genre: solo, chamber music and an orchestral concert. Baghdad had ample opportunity to hear Beethoven and know more about him through concerts, articles, radio and special TV programmes, and these happy events coincided with the current sequenciential of his death commemorated (in March) all over the world.

The first musical event took place Tuesday, March 1, at the Music Room of the Arab Children's Library and given by the well-known Beethovenist Roland Bretschneider, a whole Beethoven piano recital. He chose from the composer's large pianistic output three of the most popular sonatas, the inevitable trioka: the "Pathétique"; the Moonlight and finally the Waldstein. His choice of items mirrored this pre-occupation: How good to come across an almost top piano sonata with fresh appeal even to those who knew it through the best interpreters.

It was a fine start for a Beethoven specialist, who came the whole way from the German

Democratic Republic at the invitation of the Ministry of Information to meet our musicians, students and public, and exchange with them music experience. He subsequently gave several lecture-performances in Baghdad musical schools, played the solo part in Beethoven's 3rd. piano concerto with the National Symphony Orchestra and recorded for the Iraqi TV some of his piano repertory to be shown in the educational programme.

An extraordinary chamber group from England visited Baghdad's musical season on March 6, just in time to appear before a large public of youth at the Auditorium of the Mustansiriyah University. They were the four



London Saxophone Quartet

brilliant musicians of the London Saxophone Quartet. Being a unique ensemble of all sizes of newly discovered wind instrument, the saxophone. Paul Harvey, soprano saxophone; Peter Ripper, alto saxophone; Christopher Gradwell, tenor saxophone and finally David Lawrence, on the baritone.

They revealed themselves to their newly acquainted Baghdad artists of high standard who value a genuine repertoire carefully built in to their ensemble, since the beginning of the century, from composers such as Gabriel Perne, Eugene Bozza Jacques Ibert and Gordon Jacob, known as traditionalists as well as craftsmen of the first order. Their well conceived programme

included youthful works specially written for the saxophone quartet by composers such as: James Patton, Frank Cordell, Laurie Holloway and finally an arrangement of some Elizabethan Madrigals of Thomas, Orelly and John Farmer by Paul Harvey, who was responsible for some Folktones' arrangement for his saxophone quartet.

A French Duo of Celest Bernard Michelin and pianist Anne Capet-Proust entertained a lucky audience on March 14 at the Music Room of the Arab Children's Library. On this occasion Baghdad finally got hold of the world famous cellist B. Michelin, who has appeared in every spot of the world and is known to be the best representative of the

French school of cello playing. His programme included early classic sonatas, a novelty to our audience. They were by Pergolasi and Brevall. But the clue of the musical evening was Beethoven's 2nd Sonata for cello and piano in G minor Op. 5. A major work for the ensemble of cello and piano. Yet contributing to this month Beethoven anniversary celebration. Both talents were well matched to Beethoven's work to its sheer greatness. Bernard Michelin left an unforgettable impression when he performed de Falla's seven popular Spanish songs, adding more admirers to the already huge number who recognised his art as being of the best.

MAJOR PETROCHEMICAL PROJECT IN BASRAH

On the occasion of the 30 anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP), a number of projects have been inaugurated and the foundation stones of some others have been laid.

On April 6, the foundation stone was laid in Basrah governorate, southern Iraq, of a gigantic petrochemical complex, the first of its kind in the Arab area, costing ID. 325 million (1,100 million US dollars).

The project, which will have an annual output of 150,000 tons of plastic substance (high and low density polythene) and 40,000 tons of caustic soda, is being implemented within an extensive programme adopted by Iraq aiming at the construction of strategic projects that will consolidate the country's economic and industrial independence.

IRAQI-SOVIET ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

Iraq and the Soviet Union signed in Baghdad on April 6, the minutes of the 7th session of the Joint Iraqi-Soviet Permanent Commission for economic and technical co-operation.

The minutes were signed for Iraq by Ghanim Abdul Jalil, Minister of State and for the Soviet Union by Mr. Semen Skachkov, Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Soviet Council of Ministers.

Accordingly the two sides agreed on co-operation in the technical and economic fields as well as on the projects which the Soviet Union may undertake to build. It was also agreed that the 8th session of the commission will be held in Moscow next year.

ARAB COMMITTEE FOR HOUSING PROJECTS

The 2nd conference of Arab Housing and Reconstruction Ministers which concluded its three-day meetings in Baghdad on 22 March last, decided to set up joint Arab companies to undertake the implementation of housing projects in Arab countries. The conference also decided to set up a follow-up committee to ensure the implementation of its resolutions and recommendations.

SOVIET PRESS LAUDS IRAQ'S ACHIEVEMENTS

The Soviet news agency 'Novosti' said Iraq has taken big strides towards realising social and economic transformation and achieving radical changes in all fields.

Commenting on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party (ABSP), which was observed on April 7, the agency said that one should not only point out future aspirations and ambitions but also the achievements which had actually been accomplished in Iraq. The agency highlighted the great oil nationalisation measures, the peaceful and democratic settlement of the Kurdish issue and the participation of the Iraqi armed forces in the 1973 October war against the "Israel" enemy. It also commended the formation of the Progressive Patriotic and National Front (PPNF). The Soviet agency described the Iraq-Soviet Friendship and Co-operation Treaty as one signed by equal partners and allies in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY MARKS 43rd ANNIVERSARY

On March 31, the Iraqi Communist Party (CPI) celebrated the 43rd anniversary of its founding.

In a congratulatory cable to the CPI on this occasion, the ABSP's Assistant Secretary General, Mr. Shibly al-Aysami, wished members of the CPI continued success within the framework of the National Front. He emphasised that "our experience in the National Front under the umbrella of the July 17 Revolution must serve as an example to other Arab countries and stimulate the Arab struggling forces to increase efforts for achieving the aspired objectives of building a unified, democratic, social'ist society".

Addressing a gathering attended by representatives of all political parties and mass organisations, Mr. Aziz Mohammed, the CPI First Secretary, called for opposing all attempts aimed at liquidating the Palestine struggle.

