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Preface

The "Contemporary Iraq" reference book, prepared by the Department of Arab Countries, Institute of Asian People of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other specialists, contains the basic information on the geography, population and history of Iraq, on the contemporary state of its economy and culture and the state system of that country.

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COUNTRY AND POPULATION

The Iraqi Republic is an independent Arab state in the Near East between 28°59' and 37°20' northern latitude, 38°40' and 47°40' eastern longitude.

In the north Iraq borders on Turkey, in the east on Iran, in the south on Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and in the west on Syria and Jordan. In the southeast, 50 kilometers of the Iraqi coast is washed by the Persian Gulf. The total length of the country's borders is about 3,300 kilometers. Its area is 444,442 square kilometers.

Iraq occupies a strategically important territory. It is located at the intersection of the airlines and land routes running from Europe to India and the Far East.

A Physical-Geographic Outline

Topography. The country's topography may be divided into four parts: the highlands (Iraqi Kurdistan) in the north and northeast, the Al Jazir (Upper Mesopotamia) desert plateau in the west, the Mesopotamian lowland or Lower Mesopotamia (Al-Iraq Al Arabi) in the center and the south, and the periphery of the Syrian-Arabian tableland (desert region) in the southwest.

The Iraqi highland consists of parallel ranges of folded mountains (a branch of the main Armenian Tawr-Jabal Abjad, and the northwestern peripheral ranges of the Zagros mountain system) made up of limestone, gypsum, marl and sandstone. Their average altitude is 2,000-2,500 meters above sea level. The highest mountains (over 3,000 meters) are found on the Iraqi-Turkish border and between the Large and Small Zab rivers (left tributaries of the Tigris). The trend of the mountains is complicated. The mountain ranges are made up of geological layers, their crests are frequently flat or plateau-like, and their slopes are steep. To the south the mountain ranges are lower and gradually change to a rocky piedmont and then to the Al Jazir hills.

The mountain ranges of the Iraqi highland are cut through by gorges formed by numerous creeks and rivulets. The large fertile Erbil plain extends from the northwest to the southeast, below the place where the Large Zab river discharges into the Tigris. To the north of it, between the Tigris and the Khazir (a tributary of the Large Zab) is the Keremelis tableland, a fertile region occasionally referred to as the Chaldean plain.

Al Jazir is a high plain (its average altitude is 200-450 meters above sea level), which is criss-crossed by small mountain ranges in some areas: in the north by the Jabal Sinjar mountains (highest elevation 1,359 meters) extending from the southwest to the northeast, and in the south by the Zagros spurs Jabal Hamrin (520 meters) running from the northwest to the southeast. Al Jazir is primarily a lifeless desert covered with sand and gravel, or hilly dry steppe with meager vegetation. The monotony of the landscape is relieved only by numerous dry riverbeds (wadis) and scattered small sandy hills (tells).

Becoming gradually lower towards the south, the Al Jazir north of Baghdad changes to a vast plain of Lower Mesopotamia (see note) averaging 100 meters above sea level. Made up of

the river drifts from the Tigris and Euphrates which flow down the southwestern slopes of the Zagros, that lowland continues to expand in a southeasterly direction because of the enormous quantities of silt and sand settling down where the Shatt al-Arab discharges into the Persian Gulf. In the past one thousand years alone the shoreline has moved over 50 kilometers from its original place. In the southwest the Mesopotamian lowland gradually changes to the low desert tablelands of Syria and Arabia, and in the north and east it is limited by the steep mountain range along the periphery of the Armenian and Iranian highlands. Blocks made up of crystalline rock and resembling high mountains from a distance are frequently seen on the relatively flat surface of the Mesopotamian lowland.

(Note. It is assumed that the small cuestas on the western plain formed by residual rocks account for the country's name Iraq, which means "precipitous coast").

The southern part of the Mesopotamian lowland in the area of the Tigris and Euphrates confluence is highly swamped, as the surrounding terrain is covered by flood waters every year. The inhabited points in this area are located on the narrow "dry" strips of alluvial soil deposited by the rivers.

The soil in lower Mesopotamia is very fertile. But, as in Upper Mesopotamia, artificial irrigation is required because of the lack of rain, and the Tigris and Euphrates have long been used for such purposes.

The eastern peripheries of the Syrian-Arabian tableland are slightly inclined toward the Euphrates valley. This is primarily a rocky and partially sandy terrain rising to 450-800 meters above sea level. The tableland is criss-crossed by numerous wadis which are dry for the better part of the year.

Minerals. The Iraqi soil is rich in oil the known reserves of which are estimated at 3.5 billion tons, which is more than 10% of the reserves in the capitalist world. The major oilfields are located in the Zagros foothills (Kirkuk and Khanaqin areas), and in the south (west of Basrah, in the Az Zubayr and Ar Rumaila areas).

The deposits found in Iraqi soil include also coal, asphalt, iron ore, sulphur, copper, lignite, salt, marble and gypsum. Iraq has enormous reserves of natural gas which has not yet been used for industrial purposes.

The Iraqi soil has not been adequately prospected.

Climate. The greater part of the Iraqi territory is located in the zone of the subtropical Mediterranean climate characterized by dry summers and warm rainy winters. Between the middle of June and the middle of September the mean temperature in most of the country does not exceed 35°, rising on some days to 57°; the mean winter temperature is 9° and 7°. In the northern areas of the country the winter temperature occasionally drops to -10° and there is snowfall. The daily temperature fluctuations are quite considerable (up to 30°). The climate of Southern Iraq is tropical.

Precipitation in the south is meager, from 100 mm in the southwest to 160 mm at Basrah and 180 mm in Baghdad; in the north it is somewhat better: about 300 mm on the plain and 500-700 mm

in the mountainous terrain. It usually rains in winter. The dry period is very well defined (in Baghdad it lasts 220 days, from April through November).

Dry, cool winds blowing in a northern and northwestern direction ("shimal") are prevalent in Iraq in the spring and early summer. They usually blow from 3 to 20 days in succession, and after a short time interval for another 40 days. Gentle in the morning, the wind reaches its highest force by mid-day. In the deserts the "shimal" produces big sandstorms. In July the winds change their direction. The simooms blowing from the Arabian desert bring hot, fine sand. This produces a sharp rise in temperature. The simooms are dangerous for people caught on the roads.

Mirages are frequently observable in the southern areas of Iraq.

Rivers and lakes. Tigris and Euphrates, the two largest rivers of Southwest Asia flow on Iraqi territory.

The Euphrates (Al Furat in Arabic, 2,300 kilometers long) originates in Turkey in the Van lake area by the confluence of two rivers -- Karasu (Western Euphrates, 450 kilometers long) and Murat (Eastern Euphrates, 670 kilometers long). The Euphrates flows over a distance of 953 kilometers in Turkey, then enters Syria (147 kilometers), and finally enters Iraq at the town of Abu-Kemal. There the river flows to the east, then turns south and runs almost parallel to the Tigris. The Euphrates and Tigris are closest to each other at Baghdad where they are connected by a canal (30 kilometers). To the south of Baghdad, near the town of Musaiib, the Euphrates is divided into two sleeves (artificial canals): Hindiyyah, the western sleeve, and Millah, the eastern. The Hindiyyah and Millah flow parallel to each other over a distance of 200 kilometers and are connected near the town of Samawah. The canals irrigate a large agricultural area with numerous orchards and date palm groves. Near the town of An Nasiriyah the Euphrates is divided into two sleeves, the north sleeve running to the Tigris near the town of Al Qurna, and the southern near the town of Qarmat-Ali (15 kilometers north of Basrah).

The Tigris river (in Arabic Ad Dijlah, 1,718 kilometers long), originates in the mountains of Southeastern Turkey at an altitude of 1,155 meters. It flows about 300 kilometers in Turkey and then enters Iraq.

At its upper reaches the Tigris is a swift-flowing deep mountain river. Turning south, it enters a deep, narrow gorge (about 7 meters wide) and cuts across the Jabal Hamrin mountain range. Unlike the Euphrates, the Tigris has numerous tributaries in Iraq. The Great (392 km) and Small (400 km) Zab rivers flow into it to the south of Mosul, and the Azym river (230 km) near the town of Balad, and 70 km south of Baghdad the Tigris takes in the Diyala River (386 km). A sleeve of the Tigris, the Shatt al-Garraf canal, branches off the main river near the town of Kut and connects it with the Euphrates; that canal irrigates an area of 250,000 hectares.

In Lower Mesopotamia the Tigris and Euphrates rivers flow slowly through broad valleys within low banks on flat terrain forming numerous interlaced sleeves which are lost in the swamps.

Near the town of Al Qurna the Tigris and Euphrates become a single river, Shatt al-Arab, which runs into the Persian Gulf in the form of several sleeves. The Shatt al-Arab is 187 km

long, and its average width is 500 meters. This quiet plain river flowing in a broad valley supplies water to the canal system built to irrigate the date palm plantations.

Although the Iraqi shoreline is about 50 kilometers long, the country can be entered only along the Shatt al-Arab because the remaining part of the coast is swampy.

The Tigris and Euphrates are the most important waterways connecting the interfluvio with Syria, Asia Minor and the Persian Gulf. However, they are only navigable along the lower reaches (up to Baghdad), although small river boats can sail up the Tigris all the way to the town of Mosul, and on the Euphrates to the town of Khitah. Passengers and freight along the middle and upper reaches are carried on local bellums, rafts, flat-bottom barges, goofahs and kelleks (wooden boats kept on the water by air-filled bags made of sheepskin and goatskin).

The Shatt al-Arab is deeper than the Tigris and Euphrates (7-8 meters), but the shoals and drifts in its lower reaches make navigation difficult. A special canal, 90 meters wide and 7 meters deep, was built for the large seagoing vessels sailing up the river to Basrah.

The water level in the Iraqi rivers is unstable. The lowest level occurs in July-November, and the highest in April-May when the snow in the mountains begins to melt.

The hydropower resources of the Iraqi rivers have not yet been utilized. (Their estimated potential is 33 million kilowatts.)

Unlike the Nile Valley in Egypt, the natural conditions of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys are less convenient for irrigation systems: these rivers cannot be relied upon to maintain the continuous fertility of the soil, while the differences in their water level requires complicated technical calculations to establish an appropriate irrigation network. Considerable agricultural areas are covered with water during the spring floods and become swampy because of the absence of appropriate installations designed to control the drainage. About 17 billion cubic meters of water, that is about 26% of the entire drainage, are currently being used for irrigation purposes.

Lower Mesopotamia is replete with lakes. They cover a total area of more than 9,000 square kilometers. Many of them dry up during the low-water season, and overflow their banks during the river floods. The most important Iraqi lakes are: Hawr al-Hammar (2,500 square kilometers) formed by the overflow of the Euphrates between the towns of An-Nasiriyah and Basrah; Hawr al-Hueyza (on the Iraqi territory, 1,200 square kilometers) between the towns of Amara and Al-Kurna; Hawr al-Saniyah between the towns of Kut and Amara; Bahr-Najaf near the town of Najaf formed by the overflow of the Hindiyah canal; Habbaniyah (west of Baghdad); Sarsar (between the towns of Samarra and and Hit); Shariyah (west of Samarra); and Suwayqiyah (north of Kut).

Soil. Meadow and alluvial-meadow soils are prevalent in most of Lower Mesopotamia as well as along the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates and their tributaries in Upper Mesopotamia. A considerable part of that soil is subjected to salinization. Takyr soil and solonchaks are frequently found in the eastern part of the Mesopotamian lowland. Steppe-type gray soil is most prevalent in Upper Mesopotamia, brown soil in its higher areas and mountain-chestnut soil in the Kurdish mountains of the northeast.

The vegetation of Iraq is for the most part of a semi-desert type (cereals, spiny grass, wormwood, astragal, and spring ephemerals which dry up during the dry summer season), and, in the south, desert vegetation. Richer vegetation is found only along the rivers: tamarisk, Euphrates poplar and willow, and in the damp shady mountain valleys dense broad-leaf oak and plane tree forests. Spiny brushwood and sparse fine forests are found at the foot of the mountain ranges. Mediterranean-type forests including small oak, pistachio and juniper forests are found in the Kurdish mountains, mostly on the southern slopes.

Date palms are cultivated on a large scale. In the north of Upper Mesopotamia the palm trees do not produce any fruit; they are used for decorative purposes and for the protection of other fruit trees from the sun. Peaches, apricots, pomegranates, plums, figs, pistachio, oranges, almonds, etc. grow well in the shade of the date palms. A broad strip of date groves extends in the south along the Shatt al-Arab (about 33 million trees). These palms produce fruit. A single palm tree may produce 250 kilograms of dates a year.

The crops raised in the northern areas, which are characterized by dry farming, consist mostly of barley, wheat and legumes. Wheat, barley, rice and cotton are raised on the irrigated fields in the south. Truck gardening is prevalent in the south as well as in the north.

Iraq has a diversified animal kingdom: it includes gazelles, wild donkeys (onagers), boars (on the reed banks of Shatt al-Arab), striped hyenas, jackals, steppe lynx (qaraqalami), leopards, foxes, and bears (in the Kurdistan forests). There are also tigers and ostriches which are usually rare in Southwest Asia. Reptiles are found everywhere. Water fowl, such as flamingoes, herons, pelicans, auks, wild ducks, geese, etc., are found in abundance on the river banks, especially in the south.

There are many insect pests: solpuga, scorpions, mosquitoes and grasshoppers.

The Persian Gulf and the Iraqi rivers abound in fish: herring, sheat-fish, carp, etc. Sharks from the Persian Gulf enter the Shatt al-Arab in summer. Coral and mollusks are found in the warm waters of the Persian Gulf.

Population and Cities

The size and density of the population. In 1963 the Iraqi population amounted to 6,937,426 people, including 3,502,797 men and 3,434,629 women.

According to the latest census (1957), the population of the cities and administrative centers amounted to 2,486,443 people (39.2%), and in the rural areas 3,787,622 (59.7%); there were 65,895 nomads (1.1%).

The distribution of the population by liwa (province) is shown in Table 1.

Table I
Distribution of the Population
by Liwa in 1963

Liwa	Population	Area in km ²
Baghdad	1,549,604	19,922
Basrah	576,115	18,022
Mosul	819,979	50,881
Kirkuk	430,666	19,543
Erbil	285,489	15,315
Diyala	359,482	15,742
Amara	337,314	17,945
Kut	310,630	14,814
Nasiriyah	474,228	14,452
Divaniyah	499,984	63,343
Kerbela	308,854	7,170
Ramadi	280,294	137,969
Khilla	385,016	6,889
Sulaymaniyah	319,771	11,993

The population grows at a relatively fast rate: it increased by 34% between 1950 and 1960. The high birth rate in Iraq is also characterized by a very considerable mortality (particularly among children).

The population distribution is quite uneven in the country. The highest population density is found in the Baghdad and Basrah liwas (80 and 32 persons per square kilometer, respectively). The population is very sparse in the areas adjoining the Syrian-Arabian desert (1 person per square kilometer). The population density is very high in the areas of irrigation agriculture of Central and Southern Iraq: the population density there is 126 people per one square kilometer.

Nationalities. Iraq is a multinational country. The Arabs account for about 78% of the population, and Kurds for about 16%; the other nationalities living in Iraq include Turkmenian (about 140,000), Assyrians (about 60,000), Chaldeans (about 86,000), Armenians (about 20,000), Turks, Iranians, etc.

The Arabs live mostly in the Central and Southern liwas (in the Baghdad and Basrah liwas they account for over 90% of the population).

The bulk of the Arab population is settled in the cities and villages along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The Arabs of the settled tribes engage in agriculture. The fellaheen-peasants, as a rule, live in villages, in houses built of baked clay or reeds. The nomads belong mostly to the Anaza, Dafir and Shammar tribes. The Anaza tribesmen roam in the western part of Iraq, frequently crossing the Syrian borders; the Dafir tribe is found in the southwestern part of the country, including the neutral zone between Iraq and Saudi Arabia; and the Shammar tribe is in the Al-Jazir area.

An increasing number of nomads have been changing to a settled way of life in recent years because of the failure of the nomadic economy. In monarchist Iraq the change of the nomadic and seminomadic tribes to a settled way of life was accompanied by the assignment of the land and water sources to the tribal chiefs which subjected the nomads to still greater servitude and exploitation.

The republican government abolished the tribal laws under which the tribal organizations were dependent on the Sheikhs. The liquidation of the tribal legacy among the Iraqi people is a complicated and lengthy process which can be accelerated by economic and cultural development of the country.

The Kurds, the largest national minority next to the Arabs, reside mostly in the northern and northeastern areas of the country (Sulaymaniyah, Erbil and Kirkuk liwas, and the eastern part of the Mosul and Diyala liwas). They are a settled and seminomadic people. The old tribal system still persists among the Kurdish tribes.

The Kurdish villages are usually found in the mountain valleys. The Kurds live in clay houses built on the terraces of mountain slopes. Their economy consists of agriculture and nomadic cattle raising. There are relatively few nomads among the Kurds.

The few Kurds living in the Iraqi cities are craftsmen and tradesmen; but they do not lose their ties with their tribes.

The Yezidi Kurds populating the area northeast of Mosul are isolated from the others.

The Assyrians are direct descendants of the country's ancient population. In the First World War the Assyrians, most of whom lived in Turkey, sided with Russia against their oppressors, the Turkish pashas. After the withdrawal of the Russian army, the British moved the Assyrians to Iran and then partially to Iraq hoping to use them in the struggle against the Arab and Kurdish national liberation movement. They had been promised the establishment of an independent Assyrian state in return. Acting as pacifiers, the Assyrians antagonized the Arab and Kurdish population. Assyrian pogroms, abetted and aided by the police and the troops, were frequent events in Iraq.

The Turkmenians were settled in Iraq by the Turkish government to guard the major roads. They now populate the area along the Arab-Kurdish ethnic border.

Armenians. The majority of the Armenians now living in Iraq settled there at the end of the XIX and first quarter of the XX century, that is during the mass flight of Armenians to the Arab East prompted by the persecution on the part of the Turkish government. They live mostly in Baghdad, Basrah and Mosul.

The Chaldeans are the ancient inhabitants of the interfluvium. They live in the Baghdad, Mosul, Basrah, Amara, Kut, Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah liwas.

Social structure. Official Iraqi statistics do not contain any figures on the social composition of the population. According to incomplete figures, agriculture accounts for 70% of the gainfully occupied population, industry (including the oil industry) about 6.4%, transport 2.5% and trade and personal services 11%. The bulk of the rural population consists of land-poor and landless peasants, tenant farmers and seasonal farmhands.

The urban proletariat employed in industry and transport numbers about 100,000 people. The rural proletariat consists of 200,000 permanent and seasonal agricultural workers (according to the 1958-1959 figures).

Cities. About 40% of the population live in cities. The largest Iraqi cities are Baghdad, Basrah and Mosul; the population of the other towns does not exceed 50,000 people. The cities are located primarily along the river banks or at the intersection of the ancient trade routes.

Baghdad is the capital of the ancient Iraqi republic (population about one million). The city extends along both banks of the Tigris river where it is closest to the Euphrates, at the intersection of the historical caravan routes connecting Turkey, Iran, Arabia and the Mediterranean coast.

Baghdad was founded in 762. It became a political, cultural and economic center of the Near East in the reign of the Abbasides caliphate (IX-XII centuries). According to Arabian authors, Baghdad had over a million population in XI-XII centuries. This beautiful city is the subject of numerous legends and traditions the most popular of which is the story of the "Thousand and One Nights".

Baghdad was destroyed during the Mongolian invasion (1258), and lost its importance for a long time.

At present Baghdad is the center of the political, economic and cultural life of the Iraqi Republic.

More than half of all the country's industrial enterprises, employing 63.4% of the industrial workers, are in Baghdad. It has a well developed light industry (textile, food, rug-making and other enterprises), metal-working and handicraft services. The largest oil refining plant in the country is located in the Baghdad suburb (Dora).

Baghdad is an important transportation center, trade and transshipment point of international importance.

In the past 20 years the larger part of the city moved to the left bank of the Tigris. On the right bank are the industrial enterprises, the airport, the railroad and river stations. Also, the foreign embassies. Several bridges connect the right and left banks of the Tigris. The central part of the city consists of the At-Talhrir (Liberation Square) and the Harun ar-Rashid and Saadun streets. Located there also are the government institutions, offices, cinemas, hotels, restaurants, cafes and stores. But as soon as one turns into one of the numerous narrow alleys one finds oneself in the old Baghdad: unpaved streets and old little houses without running water or sewage. But even these old little houses are modern by comparison with the sarifs, the shanties built of clay, palm branches and pieces of tin. These are occupied by the poor people driven from the villages by hunger and poverty and forced to look for their means of existence on the streets of the large cities. The Republican government is taking measures designed to eliminate the city slums; new residential buildings are going up in their places.

The "Suq", famous Baghdad indoor market, begins near the Harun ar-Rashid street. Close to one another, rows of little stores, tents and stalls full of all sorts of merchandise are crowded under sheds. Artisans are working in their shops producing various household items and souvenirs. By five-six o'clock in the afternoon the business is brought to a close and the market is deserted.

The clothing worn by the city people consist of a colorful mixture of national costumes and European dress.

The men wear long shirts with black or brown robes over them. The headgear consists of a "kufiyah", a kerchief supported by an "oqlom", a woolen braid. A modern jacket is occasionally worn over the long shirt which extends down to the ankles. The intelligentsia and youth wear light European costumes. The clergy wear turbans. Pilgrims returning from Karbala, a holy city of the Shi'ites, enjoy special privileges: their headgear is decorated with green, pink and orange kerchiefs made of silk.

The women also wear European and national clothing. The latter consist of a black gown extending down to the ankles and a black robe or "abaya". Bracelets adorn their wrists and sandals are worn on their feet. The hands, feet, cheeks and tip of the nose of many women are tattooed.

The villagers wear only national clothes.

Basrah, the second largest and most important town of Iraq (327,000 population) is located on the right bank of Shatt al-Arab, approximately 110 kilometers from the mouth of that river.

Basrah was founded by Arabs in 637. It rapidly developed into a trading center between the Near East and India. The town reached its peak of prosperity during the Caliphate. Later, in the period of the Osman empire, the trade routes shifted westward and Basrah became an out-of-the-way town. The town became prosperous again at the end of the XIX century due to the construction of the Baghdad railroad line with a terminal point at Basrah.

Modern Basrah, the seagate of Iraq, is an important business and industrial center; a railroad and highway connected the town with the interior of the country and the neighboring states. There is a large airport near the town. Almost all of Iraq's exports (except oil) and imports pass through Basrah (including 80% of the world's date export).

Basrah is the center of the textile (mostly woolen manufactures) and food (date processing) industries.

The port of Basrah, located on the bank of the Shatt al-Arab, can accommodate ocean-going vessels. The piers cover a distance of 1.5 kilometers, and about 15 large ships can be moored there at one time. The depths of the harbor is 9 meters. The annual freight turnover is about two million tons. The port is equipped with powerful cranes, refrigeration facilities and warehouses. It also has small shipbuilding and ship repair facilities. Basrah is a transshipment point for freights carried to the neighboring countries. The city administration is located in the port.

The life of Basrah is concentrated on the river. Fast, modern cutters, and a large variety of boats, barges and feluccas are the chief means of transport connecting the city with the surrounding inhabited points. The network of canals running through the city is chock-full of rowboats. The canals are spanned by bridges, and during the high tide the water reaches the houses. The modern part of the town consists of broad streets with houses nestled in palm groves and fruit orchards. The Shatt al-Arab bank is used for recreation and evening strolls.

The town of Az Zubayr, the oil-producing center of Southern Iraq, has recently come into being not far from Basrah near the old Euphrates riverbed. An oil pipeline connects the oilfields belonging to the Basrah Petroleum Company with the port of Al Faw.

Mosul, the third largest town of Iraq (population 180,000), is the business and industrial center of the north. It is situated on the right bank of the Tigris, 400 kilometers north of Baghdad, at the intersection of the ancient trade routes which ran from the Black Sea to Baghdad and from the Mediterranean to Iran (through the Rawanduz pass). Mosul was founded in the VI century not far from the ruins of the ancient Assyrian capital of Nineveh. The city was built in the shape of an amphitheatre on one of the spurs of the Jabal Sinjar mountain range. The houses with their flat roofs and windows facing a courtyard are built of gray stone.

Mosul is a large center of railroad lines and motor roads. A railroad line connects it with Baghdad and the Syrian border, and an asphalt highway with Kirkuk, the Turkish and Iranian borders. The town has a textile mill, cement plant and sugar refinery, leather-footwear and flour-milling enterprises. Mosul is also the center of a brisk trade in grain, cattle and fruit.

Kirkuk (population 90,000) is the largest center of the Iraqi oil industry. It is connected to the Mediterranean ports of Baniyas, Tripoli and Jaffa by oil pipelines. It is also connected to Baghdad by a railroad line. Kirkuk has an oil-refining plant and a handicraft industry producing woolen and cotton fabrics and leather and pottery products. There are warm mineral springs near Kirkuk.

Najaf (population 74,000) and Karbala (population 45,000) are the holy cities of the Shi'ites; the tombs of the main Shi'ite imams, Ali and his son Hussein, are found there. Pilgrimage is a considerable source of revenue to the treasury and clergy. Most of the items produced in these towns are of religious significance.

Language

The official language of the Iraq Republic is Arabic.

The Arabian peninsula is the birthplace of the Arabic language. Evidence of the existence of an intertribal literary language among the Arabs has reached us in the form of the poetry of the bedouin nomads of the V-VII centuries and the Koran (first half of the VII century).

By the middle of the VII century the Arabic language was enriched by a finalized written language.

The modern Arabic language exists in the form of a literary language and regional dialects. The literary language is the same for all the Arab countries. There are only some stylistic characteristics and local expressions that can be used to determine the national origin of a particular text. Local dialect has also left its imprint on the manner of reading literary texts by Arabs.

Arabic is a semitic language. Its alphabet is traceable back to the Phoenicians. The writing is from right to left. Only consonants and long vowels are expressed in writing. Double consonants and short vowel sounds are not indicated by letters. In other words, the written image of a word merely represents its "skeleton". Because of this, certain words or their grammatical forms can be properly understood only in contexts, as the graphic portrayal of such opposite concepts as muttahu (oppressor) and muttahu (oppressed) is identical. A system of above- and under-line symbols, or "karakates" (mere sounds) is

used to express all the sounds of a particular word. But these sound symbols are, as a rule, used only in dictionaries, textbooks, collected articles and poems.

Characteristic of the Arab language consonants are the rear palatal and uvular sounds: k, ǧ and ǧ; guttural consonants: connectives: kh(h) ' (guttural explosive) and pharyngeal ʕ (sound produced by contraction of pharyngeal muscles), x (whisper produced by contraction of pharyngeal muscles); emphatic consonants (stress-articulated) ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ḏ; interdental s, z; labial ḥ; and affricates j.

The vocalism includes the short vowels a, i and u and the long vowels ā, ī and ū with different shades of pronunciation, depending on their positions.

Internal inflection plays an important part in the word formation. The major component of a word is the stem which in most cases consists of three consonants. The words and their forms are produced by changing the vowel sound of the stem (internal inflection), as well as by the external and internal affixation. For example, the stem KTB expressing the idea of writing, can be used to form the following: kaTaBa 'he wrote'; kiTaBun 'description', 'book'; kuTiBa 'it was written'; maKTuBun 'written', 'letter'; maKTaBun 'writing place', 'office', etc.

Nouns, adjectives, numerals and participles are characterized by gender, number, case and specificity. There are two genders in the grammar and feminine; in addition to the singular and plural, there are also dual numbers; there are three cases: nominative, genitive and objective; the indefinite articles -n follows the name, and the definite article al- precedes it. If a word begins with one of the following sounds -- t, s, d, z, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ḏ, l, n, the "l" of the article is assimilated with that sound, as for example: as-salām ya-s-sadāka, which means "peace and friendship". Most of the nouns and a considerable number of adjectives form the plural by means of internal inflection: kuTaBun 'book' -- kuTuBun 'books', naFaSun 'a sigh' -- anaFaSun 'sighs', kaBiRun 'large one' -- kiBaRun 'large ones'.

A verb may indicate quality in addition to action, for example: KhaSuNa -- 'to be pretty'.

The past and present-future tenses are characterized by a morphological construction: kataba 'he has written', 'he wrote'; iaktubu 'he is writing', 'he will write'. The future tense can be expressed more specifically by the use of the particle saufa and saufa: saufa iaktubu, sayaktubu 'he will be writing', 'he will write'. The verb kana 'to be' can be used to express such tenses as the past perfect: kana kad kataba 'he had already written'; past iterative: iakunu or sayakunu kad kataba 'he will have written'. The participle of the active mood is occasionally used to express an imperfect tense: huwa katibun 'he has been writing'.

There are five voices: indicative, imperative, subjunctive, conditional and intensive. There is no infinitive, its function being performed by the type of action. Verbs form semantic-morphological categories which in Russian grammar are referred to as "types" (Russian term: poroda). There are 10 such "types" formed by verbs with three-consonant stems. The "types" express reflexivity, reciprocity, causation, conativity and intensity of action, and they are comparable in meaning to the Russian verbs with prefixes.

Characteristic of the syntax is the position of the predicate verb before the noun subject. The adjectival attribute follows the definable noun.

The Iraqi dialect developed in the VII century from the spoken Arabic language under the influence of the Aramaic substratum.

Unlike the Syrian and Egyptian dialects, the literary form of the Arabic language is more fully represented in the Iraqi dialect. The interdental g and z, as well as the affricate j as a rule retained their original sound. K in most cases changes to ch; thus they say bachir 'tomorrow' not bakir, sichchin 'knife' not sikkin, and chan 'was', not kan. K, as in many Bedouin dialects of the other Arab countries, sounds like g; for example, gahua, not kahua, as in a literal pronunciation, and not ahua as in Syrian or Egyptian dialects; galet lak 'I told you' instead of the literary kultu laka, etc. But in certain printed words and religious terms k and k retain their sound. For example, the words kutab 'book' and al-kuran 'Koran' are pronounced literally. The emphatic sound d is articulated particularly intensively by the Iraqi, and sounds close to z.

The lexical composition of the Iraqi dialect which consists primarily of ancient Arabic words contains certain 'Aramisms' in a small number of loan-words from the Persian and Turkish languages. Only one of the several synonyms included in the dictionary of the literary Arab language is usually retained; some of the words acquired different meanings.

The lexical disparity between the literary language and the dialect can be judged by the following examples.

Literary language	Iraqi dialect	English translation
ma (i)smuka	shissmak	what's your name?
maza turidu	shitrid	what do you want?
keifa sihhatuka	shlenak	how do you feel?
ma haza	shinu haza	what is this?
ayna tazhabu	yen rayikh	where are you going?
kam	eshgad	how much (many)?
hasan (an)	zen	good

The paradigms of the verb conjugation in the dialect do not contain the personal forms of the dual number, while the other forms differ from the literary form in their internal and external inflections. We will cite the verbs daraba 'to strike' and kataba 'to write' as an example.

Literary form	Dialectal form
Past tense	Singular
1st person ana darabtu katabtu	ani drab ^o t ktab ^o t
2nd " masculine anta darabta katabta	inta drab ^o t ktab ^o t
feminine anti darabti katabti	inti drabti ktabi
3rd person masculine huwa daraba kataba	huwadarab kitab
feminine hiya darabat katabat	hiyya durbat jutbat

Just as in the Syrian dialect where the concept of belonging can be expressed by the word taba' (kitabi or al-kitab taba'i 'my book'), and in the Egyptian dialect by the word bt (kitabi or al-kitab btā'i), in the Iraqi dialect it can also be expressed by the use of māl 'property', 'thing'; kitabi or al-kitab māli 'my book'.

Inasmuch as even the Arabs who speak a literary language frequently use numerals in their dialectal form, we shall cite some numerals as they sound in the Iraqi dialect:

1. yahed	9. tis'a	17. sbata'ash
2. snen	10. 'ashre	18. sminta'ash
3. tlas	11. da'ash	19. tsama'ash
4. arba'a	12. sna'ash	20. 'ishrin
5. hamse	13. tlatta'ash	30. tlasin, etc.
6. sitte	14. arbata'ash	100. miye
7. sab'a	15. hmusta'ash	1000. alf
8. smaniye	16. sitta'ash	

The Kurdish population of Iraq speak a Kurdish dialect which is part of the Iranian linguistic family. The written language of the Iraqi Kurds is based on the Arabic alphabet.

Religion

About 94% of the Iraqi population (Arabs, Kurds, Turkmenians, Turks and Iranians) are of the Islamic faith which is the state religion of the country. The other 6% consist of Christians of various denominations (Armenians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, etc.), Jews and certain residual forms of ancient faiths of the people of the interfluvium and Iran (Sabians, Yezidis, etc.). The Constitution of the Iraqi Republic provides for freedom of religion and religious rituals.

Islam originated in the VII century in the west of the Arabian peninsula. It spread to the territory of contemporary Iraq in the same period as a result of the Arabian conquests.

Islam is characterized by a strict monotheism which is expressed by the following formula: "There is no god but Allah and Muhammed is his prophet". The Moslems also believe in the existence of a heavenly army consisting of angels (malaika), satan (shaytan) and his army consisting of devils (jinnah), prophets, the divinity of the Koran, the day of the terrible judgment (yaum al-kiama), paradise (jannah), Hell (jahannam), and the immortal soul.

These are the most important Islamic rites regulating the personal and public life of every Moslem from birth to death: five daily prayers (salat); 30-day fast (saum) in the month of Ramadan; donation (zakat); and pilgrimage to the holy Moslem cities of Mecca and Medinah (Hadjj). These four rituals and the belief in a single god ("shahada") are the so-called five pillars of Islam.

The main holy book of the Moslems is the Koran (al-Kur'an) written in the VII-IX centuries. It consists of 114 chapters and was written in metered prose. The Koran is considered the word of god sent down to the people through the medium of the prophet Muhammed. Outlined in that book are the dogmas of Islam, its moral and ethical norms, eschatological information (ideas of the other world), ideas on the creation of the world, nature and living creatures, myths about the prophets and saints, legal concepts, etc.

The main Moslem holidays are: the Moslem New Year (see note); the fast-breaking holiday (yd al-fytr) after the end of the first "shavval" fast; the offering holiday (yd al-adha) the 10th zu-l-hidjja; the birthday of prophet Muhammed (Maulud), the 12th "rabi al-avval"; the mi-raj holiday (commemorated the mythical trips of Muhammed to heaven), the 27th of Rajab. The

above-mentioned religious holidays are officially nonworking days.

(Note. In the performance of their religious rites, the Moslems use a personal "Hegira" calendar dating back to 622 A.D., the year of Muhammed's flight (Hegira) from Mecca to Medina. That year consists of 12 lunar months: Muharram, Safar, Rabi al-awwal, Rabi as-sani, Jumada al-ulia, Jumada al-ahira, Rajab, Shaaban, Ramadan, Shawwal, Zu-l-kaada and Zu-l-hijja; six months have 30 days each, and six have 29 (Zu-l-hijja has 30 days in a leap year), that is the lunar year is shorter than the solar year (354 days in an ordinary year, 355 days in a leap year). The Moslem religious holidays therefore fall on different dates of the astronomical year).

The weekly Moslem holiday is Friday when the faithful gather for a common prayer in the mosques; Friday is the official nonworking day.

The mosques, Moslem praying houses, are maintained by donations of the parishoners and subsidies from the WAQF Ministry (see note). The large Iraqi mosques own land (Waqfs) which are an important source of their revenue.

(Note. The Waqfs are a privileged form of ownership by the Moslem religious institutions).

The Sunnites. Another holy book revered by the majority of the Moslems, in addition to the Koran, is the Sunnah, a collection of six books outlining the legends (Khadis) about the life of the prophet Muhammed. The Moslems accepting the Sunnah as a holy book are called Sunnites. Sunnism is considered an orthodox denomination in Islam.

Until 1924 the head of all the Moslem Sunnites was the Khalif. There is no single head of the Moslem community at present. The highest Sunnite religious authority in Iraq is the Kadyy. The Kadyy and the Imams, heads of the mosques, are appointed by the Waqf Ministry.

Forty-six percent of the Iraqi Moslems are Sunnites. The Sunnites live primarily in the north of the country (in the Mosul, Kirkuk, Sulaymaniyah and Erbil liwas) and in Baghdad.

The Shi'ites. Fifty-four percent of the Iraqi Moslems believe in Shi'ism, the second largest denomination in Islam.

Shi'ism originated in the VII century during the struggle for power in the caliphate, Moslem state, which had come into being as a result of the Arab conquests.

The Shi'ites recognize all the Islamic tenets and the "divinity" of the Koran, and observe all the ordinary rituals which are binding on the Sunnites. But they reject the "holiness" of the Sunnah; they have their own traditional holy books (Al-Akhbar). The Shi'ites accept the 12 Shi'ite imams (beginning with the brother and son-in-law of the prophet Muhammed) as the bearers of divine power and spiritual leaders of the Shi'ite community (the Shi'ites are therefore also called "Imamites" or "Twelvers"). The Shi'ites believe in the Messiah, the 12th "secret" imam of Muhammed (he disappeared in the IX century), who will return to mankind to rid the world of evil.

The prominent Shi'ite theologians of Najaf and Karbala are accepted as the representatives and spokesmen of the "secret"

imam and temporary leaders of the Shi'ite community. They enjoy a great deal of prestige among the faithful and play a considerable part in public and political life of modern Iraq.

Prevalent among the Shi'ites is the cult of martyrs. They respect the dead Shi'ite imams Ali, Husein, Reza, etc; Karbala and Najaf where Husein and Ali are allegedly buried are considered holy places. The Shi'ites therefore make their pilgrimage not only to Mecca but also to Najaf and Karbala. On the 10th day of Muharram ("Ashura" from the Arabic word Ashara meaning 10), on which Husein and Ali were killed, the Shi'ites pray for the memory of the dead. On that day they reproduce the scenes of the assassination of Husein and Ali, organize mourning processions accompanied by moaning and weeping "Shah Husein, Wai Husein" (this accounts for the distorted European name "Shahsei and Wahsei") in the course of which the more exalted faithful engage in self-flagellation with chains and inflict wounds on themselves with knives and daggers.

The Shi'ites reside mostly in the south of Iraq (in the Basrah, Amara and Nasiriyah liwas), and are in the majority in the Baghdad liwa.

During the Turkish domination the Turkish authorities artificially incited hostility between the Shi'ites and Sunnites in order to weaken the liberation struggle of the Iraqi people. The same policy was later carried out by the British occupationists. As a result, contradictions between the Sunnites and Shi'ites still linger in Iraq, which has an adverse effect on the socio-political life of the country.

Christianity. There are only about 206,000 Christians in Iraq, but they play a considerable part in the political and cultural life of the country.

The Orthodox believers. Most of the Assyrians (30,000-35,000) belong to the Orthodox church in Iraq. In the V century they accepted Nestor's teaching of the basic Christian tenets of incarnation. The religious head of the Orthodox Assyrians is the Patriarch who bears the title of "Marshimun". Since he is pledged to celibacy, his title can be passed on only from uncle to nephew. In point of dogma and rituals, the Nestorian faith is hardly different from the Orthodox church of the Balkan peninsula and Eastern Europe.

The Iraqi orthodox church is subordinated to the Patriarch of Antioch and the whole East whose residence is in Damascus.

The majority of the orthodox Assyrians live in the Mosul liwa, fewer of them in Baghdad and Basrah. They are divided into three eparchies: Mosul, Mar-matti (near Mosul) and Baghdad; the latter includes also Basrah. The eparchies are headed by bishops (matrans). The Council of Bishops and the Council for Waqfs convene in Mosul. The orthodox Assyrians have 17 churches with land plots, a monastery (Mar-Matti), several secular schools (for men and women), and two welfare societies (in Mosul and Baghdad). Although the Assyrians usually speak Arabic, they use the ancient Assyrian language (of the Aramaic group) in their prayers.

The Mar-Matti monastery, located 100 kilometers east of Mosul, is the oldest in Iraq; it was built in the IV century A.D. on the Al-Maklub mountain; the monastery was famous for its unique library. It is now occupied by a religious school. The monastery is open to tourists.

Catholics. Some of the Assyrians, the so-called Syro-Catholics (Syrian-Catholics), belong to the Catholic Church in Iraq. They number about 25,000: 18,000 in the north of Iraq (mostly in Mosul and its suburbs), about 2,500 in Baghdad, and the others are scattered all over the country. They are divided into two eparchies: Mosul and Baghdad, each with a metropolitan at the head. The Assyrian Catholics have a cathedral in Mosul, churches, schools as well as the Mar-Balhnam monastery (near the village of Kara-Kus 25 kilometers from Hadara) which is a valuable architectural and historical monument of the IV century A.D.

The Catholic church includes also the Chaldeans, former Nestorians, who adopted a union with the Catholic church and are now under the jurisdiction of the Roman Pope. The Chaldean religious community in Iraq is governed by a council of bishops. The Chaldeans have their own churches (the largest ones in Baghdad and Mosul) with land allotments, schools and welfare societies. The largest Chaldean monasteries are: Dir-al-Seid (in the north near Al-Kush), Mar-Michael and Mosul.

There are about 10,000 Jacobite Arabs in the north of Iraq who call themselves "Suriam-Kadim" (old Syrians). Under the influence of the teaching of Eutyches (on monophysites) who defended the only divine being of Christ, they split away from the Nestorians in the VI century and formed an independent sect. The founder of the Jacobite sect was Bishop Jacob Baradan for whom that sect was called. Later the Jacobites completed their union with Catholicism and accepted the supremacy of the Roman Pope.

There is also a small number of Maronite Arabs in Iraq. In the VII century the Maronites adopted the teaching of monotheism which was a further elaboration of the monophysitic dogma. In the VI the Maronites accepted the supremacy of the Vatican. The head of the Maronite church is the patriarch of Antioch and the whole of Syria who resides in Lebanon.

Gregorian Armenians. The Iraqi Armenians accept as their religious head the Catholicos of all the Armenians whose residence is near Yerevan in the Echmiadzi monastery. They have their church, school and national club in Baghdad.

Other faiths. There are religious minorities in Iraq believing in various residual forms of ancient religions of the Middle Eastern nations. The best known of them are the Yezidi and the Sabians.

The Yezidi. This religious sect in Iraq includes about 56,000 followers. Most of them live a very isolated way of life in the mountain villages of Northern Iraq. There is no reliable information on their origin. It is assumed that they settled in these areas together with the Kurdish tribes. Nor is the origin of the name "Yezidi" known. Some orientalist believe that it stems from the name Khalif Yazida ibn Muawiyah. The Yezidis refer to themselves as "Dasini".

The tenets of the Yezidi faith is similar to the old Iranian dualistic religions; they include also Islamic, Christian and pagan elements. Basing their faith on the idea of two origins, good and evil, light and darkness, the Yezidis believe that God is the bearer of good, he loves his creations and does not cause them any evil; the bearer of evil is Satan ("shaytan"), and disaster can be avoided by currying favor with him. The Yezidi represent Satan in the shape of a peacock. They put an image of

a peacock on a pedestal shaped like a candlestick and worship it. The Yezidis also worship the sun. Every morning they kiss the stone which is first lit up by the rising sun and the last to plunge into darkness after sunset. During their holidays they sacrifice a white bullock to the sun. The Yezidis believe in the migration of the souls which they divide into the righteous and the sinners.

The two holy books of the Yezidis are the "Mashaf ar-rashi" and "Mashaf al-Jalwa". The first of them, written by the Yezidi Hajji Muhammed, contains a discourse on the creation of the world, living creatures, nature, the life of the main Yezidi saint Adi ibn Musafir, descriptions of marriage rituals, funerals, etc. The second book, written by the Yezidi Sheikh Hasan al-Basryy, discusses such problems as god and eternity. The Yezidis also accept the bible and the Koran as divinely inspired books, and Jesus Christ as a god, but believe that his kingdom will begin after the end of Satan's kingdom.

The rights and religious restrictions of the Yezidi are quite numerous. They observe a daily fast every year for three days in December. They organize annual processions in which the people carry a large copper image of a peacock. The procession passes through all the nearby Yezidi villages. Bonfires are started in every village, psalms are sung, the copper peacock is worshiped and sacrifices are offered to it (money and sweets are given to the clergy). After passing through all the villages, the marchers place the peacock in the home of one of the Yezidi sheikhs or officers of the cult; the latter must place a large sum of money in the religious treasure. It is believed that during the year the peacock brings luck to the owner of the home in which it is placed.

The Yezidis are forbidden by their religion to eat the flesh of a rooster as it is similar to a peacock, also fish, the meat of the gazelle, pumpkin and hassa (a type of lettuce). The Yezidis avoid the pronunciation of the word "Shaytan" (Satan) and the words containing the sounds of "sh" and the hard "t" (as they resemble the word "Shaytan"). If they hear those words pronounced by other people, they must purge themselves by prayer. The Yezidis are forbidden to cough, spit, whistle, play the pipe or tambourine or wear blue clothing. They practice circumcision. Polygamy is permitted.

The Yezidis make pilgrimages to the graves of their saints (Sheikh Adi, Sheikh Shams, Baazri, etc.). Sheikh Adi is particularly venerated, and his mausoleum is visited by the Yezidis on the first Wednesday of April (the first of the Yezidi year) according to the Julian calendar. The mausoleum is located northeast of Mosul and consists of a building with a high cone-shaped cupola. Attached to it is a long dark gallery with a small window for light. The gallery is attended by the people carrying lamps which are filled with oil from a small container standing near the entrance; the oil in that container is made of hemp seed (sim-sim) which is specially grown in honor of Sheikh Adi. On the door of the gallery is a picture of a snake coiled around an apple tree (the symbol of Satan) and tempting Adam. The Yezidi believe that the water well near the Adi Mausoleum is in some mysterious way connected with the holy Zamzam spring in Mecca.

The pilgrims arriving at the Adi Mausoleum blow their pipes and beat their drums, dance and pray excitedly; they then make their way to the graves of their saints where they perform symbolic burial rites.

The Yezidi religious orders are hereditary. The congregation is headed by an "al-mir" (emir); below him is the "pir"; lower down are the "rahwali" (who take care of Adi's mausoleum), "kuchuqi" (who supervise the burial rites of the dead), "fakirs" (who wear black scraps from "Sheikh Adi's cloths" and "qawwali" (who carry the image of the peacock during religious processions, teach the children and supervise the observance of religious rites). The Yezidi clergy wear small black or red woolen taqyys (type of headgear) on their heads; they wear a red "yashmak" (shawl) over the taqyy. The usual Yezidi garb is a long white robe (reaching almost to the ground) called "aba".

The Yezidi bear Moslem names. Their language is a mixture of Arabic, Kurdish and Persian; the same language is used in the religious services. Almost all of the Yezidis work in agriculture.

The Sabians are ancient Iraqi inhabitants traceable to the Assyrians and Babylonians. There are 22,800 of them now. They consist of 10 tribes which are scattered in the Amara, Nasiriya and Basrah liwas. The Sabians speak one of the Arab language dialects. An ancient language close to the Assyrian is used in their religious services; the Sabian holy books are written in the same language.

The Sabians believe in an astral god (they call him "Marishi", "Rabii al-Mai", and "Malik-rama-Danhura"), and they honor 360 saints. They believe in the immortality of the soul which, after a person's death, migrates to paradise, "Alm-Danhura" (the world of light), or to hell where it is subjected to torture until it burns up. Polygamy, divorce and mourning the dead is forbidden by the religion. The faithful must perform frequent ablution and wash their food with running water. That is why the Sabian villages are usually found along the rivers. The "Al-Kaiza Rabba" is the principal holy book of the Sabians; outlined in it is the myth of creation and living creatures. The other books, "Adrafsha dihiya" and "Al-divanan", tell of the life of the prophets and saints and contain sermons. The holy book "Sadrash Nashmana" deals with burial rites, and "Alkalista" with marriage rites. The Sabians have their own praying houses.

The Sabian clergy is divided into five categories: ar-rabbani, ar-rishdama (head of the congregation), al-kanzura (interpreter of the holy scripture), at-tilmiza and al-khalali. The title "ar-rabbani" may be conferred only on a prophet who, naturally, does not exist. The numerous religious rites which are performed through the services of the clergy makes the Sabians dependent on their clergy in every aspect of their lives.

The Sabians use a special solar calendar whose chronology dates back to the birth of the prophet Yaha. The Sabian year begins on April 1 and consists of 12 30-day months; the days short of a full solar year are added at the end of the year. Sunday is the day of rest. The Sabians have their own religious holidays: "Dahuh raba" (the Great Holiday) which lasts 36 hours, "Dahuh brunaiya" (the Holiday of the Beginning) lasting five days, "the Little Holiday" lasting two days and the Holiday of Archangel Gabriel one day.

The Sabians monopolized the jewelry business in Iraq; they are also blacksmiths and farmers.

Judaism. The Jewish community consists of about 5,000 people (most of them living in Baghdad and Basrah). It is headed by a khalidam with an administrative council consisting of five members elected for a two-year period. The community has its own schools and welfare societies.

The Economic Structure

General Characteristics

At the time of the July 1958 revolution Iraq was an agrarian semifeudal country with survivals of a primitive-communal system among the nomadic and seminomadic tribes. Foreign monopoly capital was well entrenched, exercising control of the basic wealth of the country, oil, over its financial life (Iraq was part of the sterling zone), foreign trade as well as the plans for economic development.

Capitalism in Iraq was to a considerable extent imposed from above by way of foreign capital investments in the oil industry (and to some extent in other industries) in which the imperialist powers were interested. The development of the oil-extracting industry did not produce any important changes in Iraqi economy, nor did it result in the development of a diversified industry (oil chemistry, machinebuilding) or a diversified economy. The deductions of the oil companies in favor of the Iraq budget until 1951 were insignificant, assuming increasing proportions only in 1952. But until the 1958 revolution, the expenditure of these sums was controlled by foreign capital.

Agriculture, farming and cattle raising, was the major pre-occupation of the population. Agricultural products accounted for over 90% of the total export (not counting oil). The industry consisted primarily of enterprises engaging in the primary processing of agricultural raw materials, in the production of foodstuffs, consumer goods and building materials. An industry made up of plants and factories began to take shape only in the early fifties, after Iraq had achieved a considerable increase in the payments from the oil companies which amounted annually (considering the average for 1954/55 -- 1957/58) to about 62% of the total revenue, and were the major source of foreign currency; 70% of these payments were turned over to the economic development administration, established in 1950, which began to work on development plans. That administration was under the complete control of the British and American advisers. The economic planning was designed to suit the interests of foreign capital and was not aimed at the industrialization of the country, its liberation from foreign dependence or changing the colonial character of the economic structure.

Industry got little attention in the three plans drawn up before the revolution, none of which was ever carried out. For example, the plan for economic development for the period of 1955/56 -- 1960/61 provided 30.75% of all the appropriations for flood control purposes, irrigation construction and drainage, 24.87% for the construction and reconstruction of communications (roads, ports, railroads and airfield), 21.27% for the construction of public buildings, 10.86% for industry, 2.53% for the construction of power plants, and 2.53% for agriculture.

In the field of industry, not counting the construction of the Mura oil-refining plant, the lubricant-producing plants and a few power plants, the plan was limited to the construction of several enterprises of the food and light industries as well as a cement industry but failed to provide for the establishment of a metallurgy and machinebuilding industry thereby leaving Iraq as an agrarian raw material appendage of the imperialist powers.

Between 1951/52 and 1957/58 the revenue of the economic development budget amounted to 255.3 million dinars, and the expenditures to 175.4 million. Thus about one-third of the money (79.9 million dinars) was not spent.

After the 1958 revolution the Republic government introduced a law revising the work program begun by the Economic Development Administration. The Ministry of Planning, established in the middle of 1959, was charged with the development of a new program for economic development.

The draft of the new five-year plan for economic development was published in October 18, 1961, and became effective at the end of December (Table 2).

The distribution of appropriations by
under the economic development plan
for 1961/62--1965/66
(in 1,000 dinars)

Table 2

	1961- -62	1962- -63	1963- -64	1964- -65	1965- -66	Total appropri- ations
Total.	97,139	108,056	117,624	119,605	113,916	556,340
Industry and power production.	14,424	24,675	39,607	43,008	45,072	166,786
Construction.	38,073	30,792	25,457	24,009	21,783	140,114
Transport and communi- cations.	24,860	32,410	29,800	27,890	21,490	136,450
Agriculture and irri- gation	19,782	20,179	22,760	24,698	25,571	112,990

Thus under the five-year plan approximately half of the capital investments went to the basic branches of the economy, the development of industry, power production and agriculture.

The steadily growing oil revenue was the major source of financing Iraq's economic development plans. In the plan for 1961/62 -- 1965/66 that revenue accounted for 315.8 million dinars, or 56.8% of all the financing (all the income tax receipts from the oil companies in the five-year period amounted to approximately 580 million dinars).

The economic development plans for 1961/62 -- 1965/66, just like the preceding plans, was inadequately balanced and its financing involved considerable difficulties. Special mention should be made of the participation of the socialist countries in the implementation of the Iraqi five-year plan. Although their credits did not exceed 14% of the total appropriations for the plan, they represent one of the most reliable sources of financing. Furthermore, their credits were used for the most important facilities in Iraq which laid the foundation for the future development of the Republic.

The economic development plan for 1965/66 -- 1969/70 (see appendix) has been in operation since April 1, 1965.

The structural changes in the country's economy that have occurred in the post revolutionary years have found their reflection in the national income.

The Iraqi statistics, as it is believed in the bourgeois countries, definitely exaggerate the national income by including in it various duplicate items and "revenues" from the sphere of circulation. At the same time the income from the oil-extracting industry is fully included in the national revenue, whereas at least half of the income realized from the sale of the oil produced in Iraq goes to the pockets of the foreign oil monopolies.

The official figures on the dynamics of the national income are cited in Table 3.

The National Income of Iraq

Table 3.

	entire income, in million dinars		per capita income, in dinars	
	at current prices	at fixed 1956 prices	at current prices	at fixed 1956 prices
1953	245.9	165.2	42.2	45.5
1956	337.6	337.5	54.6	54.6
1961	485.7	470.3	71.4	69.1
1962	531.0	---	77.0	--
1963	520.0	---	74.0	--

The changes in the national income as a whole, and per capital, are due primarily to the fluctuations in the receipts from the oil industry. Thus the national income (at current prices) in 1962 was 9% higher than 1961, and in 1963 was 2% lower than in 1962. In 1963 the income from agriculture was reduced by 23% as compared to 1962, and from the other industries by a small figure, while the income from oil went up 15%.

Oil accounts for the largest share of the national revenue as evidenced by the figures in Table 4.

The Structure of the National Income

Table 4.

Item	1953		1956		1961	
	million dinars	% of total	million dinars	% of total	million dinars	% of total
Agriculture, lumber and fishing industries.....	70.61	23.2	88.07	21.8	115.51	19.4
Oil extracting industry....	121.21	40.0	143.15	35.5	198.64	34.3
Other branches of the extracting industry.....	0.85	0.2	1.55	0.4	2.28	0.4
Oil refining.	1.73	0.6	2.61	0.6	5.40	0.9
Process industry.	16.75	5.5	26.32	6.5	47.33	8.2
Construction.	11.00	3.6	24.03	6.0	30.78	5.3
Power production and water supply.	1.20	0.4	2.07	0.5	3.44	0.6
Trade.	17.33	5.7	26.11	6.5	35.52	6.1
Banks and Insurance	3.17	1.0	6.19	1.5	9.40	1.6
Miscellaneous items	59.63	19.8	83.03	20.7	131.62	23.2
Total	303.48	100.0	403.13	100.0	579.92	100.0
Export of capital abroad	-57.60	-	65.49	-	-94.20	-
Net total	245.88	-	337.64	-	485.72	-

The above table shows that in the post revolutionary period the relative share of oil production was somewhat reduced because of the expansion in other fields. The agricultural output continues to play a major part in the field of material production (not counting oil production), although there is no doubt about the growing share of industry (not counting oil production) in the combined product of agriculture, industry and construction. (table 5).

Combined product of agriculture, industry and construction

Table 5.

	1953		1956		1961	
	million dinars	%	million dinars	%	million dinars	%
Agriculture, fishing and forestry. . . .	70.61	69.9	88.70	61.7	115.51	57.5
Extracting industry (not including oil)	0.85	19.2	1.55	21.3	2.28	27.3
Entire process industry (including oil refining)	18.48		23.93		52.73	
Construction.	11.0	10.9	24.03	17.0	30.78	15.2
Total	100.94	100.0	143.21	100.0	201.30	100.0

Despite the important role of oil production in the economic life of the country, Iraq cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered an industrial country or even an agrarian-industrial country. The oil industry has not promoted the development of other industries or a diversified economy. Iraq continues to be an industrially underdeveloped agrarian country.

Agriculture

The country inherited an undeveloped agriculture from the feudal system.

Land utilization. About 7,536 thousand hectares of land, or a little over one-third of a total of 20.6 million hectares of arable land are being utilized, according to the 1958/59 agricultural census. This is less than 17% of the total area of the country. Almost 97% (7,308,000 hectares) of all the cultivable land are under crops, 2.5% (187,500 hectares) are covered with date palms, fruit orchards and vineyards, and 0.5% are occupied by pastures and brushwood.

The uncultivated land includes permanent pastures on an area of about 875,000 hectares. The wooded area amounts to 1,770,000 hectares.

Irrigation. Most of the Iraqi farmland (the southern and central areas) are under artificial irrigation; dry farming is limited to the northeastern areas.

Irrigation presents a fairly difficult problem in Iraq as the flood period does not coincide with the vegetation when the water is particularly necessary for irrigation purposes: the floods end in May, that is they are too early for the summer crops (May-November) and too late for the winter crops (October-July). Furthermore, there are sharp fluctuations in the average annual runoff which does not exceed 73.94 billion cubic meters in the case of the Tigris and Euphrates. In the shallow-water years the runoff drops to 59.6 billion cubic meters, and occasionally even to 27.7 billion. The total amount of water required for the irrigation of all the arable areas in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys (5,170,000 hectares) is estimated at 65 billion cubic meters.

There is no uniform irrigation system in Iraq because of the characteristic features of the relief which rises on the south to the north. In the southern Iraqi areas adjoining the Shatt al-Arab river (a 3-3.5 kilometer wide strip along both river banks) from Faw to Al-Medina (on the Euphrates) and to Al-Azair (on the Tigris) the fields and date plantations are irrigated by the method of inundation produced by the rising river water during the sea tides.

The gravity irrigation method by the use of aryks (irrigation ditches) is prevalent in Central Iraq. This type of irrigation is used on a vast area including almost all the territory of the Diyala and Diviniya liwas, the Saklaviya (Ramadi liwa), the Makhmudiya (Baghdad liwa), and a number of areas in the Nasiriyah and Karbala liwas.

As the topography rises, the gravity method of irrigation is replaced by the water-raising method. In the Baghdad, Ramadi and Kut liwas as well as in the Shatt ad-Diwani area (Diwanayah liwa) most of the cultivated land is irrigated with water raised to the fields by the use of mechanical pumps.

The total land area under artificial irrigation amounts to 4,425,000 hectares, or 58.7% of all the cultivable areas.

The irrigation system calls for the construction of a large complex of complicated hydrotechnical installations that could be used to store up the surplus water during the floods and use it for irrigation purposes when the water level in the rivers

is particularly low. Such installations are required also for the protection against the destructive floods which cause enormous material damages.

The present irrigation system consists of a number of large hydrotechnical facilities and individual installations on the Euphrates, Tigris, Small Zab, and Diyala river, hydrotechnical installations on the canals and a large ramified irrigation network. Eight thousand five hundred and twelve mechanical irrigation pumps with a total capacity of 264,000 horsepower were in operation in 1964 on the banks of the rivers and their tributaries.

One of the largest hydrotechnical installations on the Euphrates river is the Ramadi barrage with a flood control and runoff canal which make it possible to control the river floods along its middle reaches and use its water for irrigation purposes (it was built in 1956). The surplus water runs through a canal to a natural reservoir, lake Al-Khabbaniya (with a capacity of 3.2 billion cubic meters), returning later from there to the Euphrates. Further down on the Euphrates is the Khindiya barrage with a ramified canal system (Khuseinkya, Bani, Khasan, Kifl and Khilla). The flood control device on the Khilla sleeve (tributary of the Euphrates) and the canal system (Saklavayiya, Yusifiya, Latifiya, Iskanderiya and Abu-Musayyb) make it possible to irrigate the vast Al-Dzhazir area between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers.

Among the largest hydrotechnical facilities on the Tigris river is the Samarra barrage with its flood regulator and runoff canal built in 1956 to protect Baghdad and the adjacent areas against floods. During the floods the water runs along the canal into the vast natural Wadi Tartar depression with a capacity of 70 billion cubic meters. Of considerable economic importance is the Kut barrage on the Tigris river with its two head controls and the Shatt al-Garrafi canal (200 kilometers).

The existing irrigation installations (many of which are obsolete) make it possible to utilize only about one-fourth (17 billion cubic meters) of Iraq's water resources.

But agriculture is suffering from a severe water shortage which practically limits the production of valuable summer crops.

Considerable areas inundated by flood waters have turned into swamps because of the ineffective runoff control. In the south, along the lower reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates, the once fertile fields have become vast quagmires covered with marsh rushes.

The hydroengineering construction carried out in the postwar years and under the monarchy, while designed to fight the floods, failed to solve that problem. The use of the water for production purposes, particularly for the expansion of the irrigated area, did not get the required attention. That shortcoming was to some extent remedied by later projects. The Dokan barrage and a reservoir with a capacity of 6.8 billion cubic meters was built in 1959 on the Small Zab river (tributary of the Tigris) 65 kilometers from Sulaymaniyah; the Derbendi-Khan barrage and a reservoir with a capacity of 3 billion cubic meters were built in 1961 on the Diyala river (tributary of the Tigris). These facilities are capable of irrigating one million hectares of arid land.

The future plans provide for the construction of new hydro-engineering installations, including the Rava and Khadita dams

on the Euphrates river, and the Fatha and Esqi-Mosul dams on the Tigris river as well as the reconstruction of the Wadi Tartar complex on that river. The ultimate purpose of this is the complex utilization of the river's water resources for the development of irrigation, hydropower production and navigation.

Another unsolved problem is the reclamation of the land which is subjected to progressive salination. It is believed that 60 to 80% of the irrigated lands of the Mesopotamian lowland are saline to some degree or other.

The salination of the soil is a natural process. But this process is intensified by the extravagant use of water due to an inadequate irrigation system, the existing irrigation methods and low level of agriculture. The soil salinization is also intensified by the silting of the irrigation canals. The traditional method of fighting the salinization of the soil is ineffective. By that method only half of the usually irrigated land is watered, while the other half is left fallow which lowers the level of the ground water in the entire area. This slows the salinization process and facilitates a partial leaching of the salinized soil.

The establishment of a drainage and collector system has now been planned. Some of these projects have been or are being implemented (Dudzhaila 150,000 hectares, Saklaviya and Abu-Gureyb 50,000 hectares, and the area east of lake Al-Khabbaniya, etc.).

The Soviet organizations (Giprovedkhoz, Giproproyekt and Giprorechtrans) were very helpful in the study and development of the most effective alternate methods of controlling the runoff of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers along their middle reaches. The technical and economic reports drawn up by the Soviet specialists provided the foundation for a complex utilization of the water resources of both rivers for the further development of irrigation, hydropower production and navigation.

Research and development work connected with the irrigation of 270,000 hectares of land in Southern Iraq has been carried out with the cooperation of the USSR.

Agricultural practices are still based on the use of ancient primitive implements and production methods. The most widespread plowing device is a somewhat modified ancient oriental plow, omachi (a type of wooden plowshare), which loosens the topsoil to a depth of 10-15 centimeters. Such a plow is used to make criss-cross furrows on the field. In the southern and central areas the plow is drawn by donkeys and cattle (bulls and cows), and in the north by mules and horses. The split trunk of a date palm tree is frequently used for harrowing, a sickle for harvesting and a navrazh (chain) for threshing; a hoe is used to cultivate the date palm groves.

Labor productivity in agriculture is extremely low: a local plow can cultivate only 1.5 donum a day (one donum equals 0.25 hectare). If horses are used, and one donum if bulls or donkeys are used.

The two-field system is predominant everywhere: every year one half of the land is planted to crops, and the other half is left lying fallow, that is one part produces one crop in two years whereas the climatic conditions would make it possible to raise at least two crops a year.

The lay-land (long-fallow) method is widely used: the exhausted land is left idle for several years in the hope of a

natural restoration of fertility.

The landlords change their crops to the vacant areas by digging new irrigation canals.

The same system is used in the dry farming areas. The soil in these areas, though not subjected to such destructive salinization as in the south, is being eroded. The crop yields depend on the periodic droughts and other natural calamities.

One of the indicators of the low agricultural level is the lack of organic mutual connections between agriculture and cattle raising. The expansion of the area sown to grain affects the pastures, and the reduction of the latter is not compensated by the increasing production of fodder crop.

Artificial fertilizer is seldom used, and manure is used mostly for fuel. The fields are covered with weeds.

The yield in Iraq is low. Thus the average wheat yield is 5.6 centners per hectare, barley 8.6 centners, cotton 1.6 centners, tobacco 7 centners, and rice 16 centners per hectare.

In the postwar period (especially in the fifties) the landlords began to use agricultural machines for land-cultivation purposes. Thus in 1957 the landlords and machine-renting merchants had a total of 2,188 tractors and hundreds of combines which were used mostly in the production of grain crops.

In the post-revolutionary years the Soviet Union helped Iraq a great deal in raising its agricultural level, especially in the field of mechanization. Highly skilled Soviet specialists were sent to Iraq, and agricultural machinery and other equipment were used for the organization of state farms and machine-renting stations. The government farm of medicinal herbs Abu-Gurayb and four machine-renting stations (Abu-Gurab, Mosul, Kut and Sulaymaniyah) were equipped with Russian machinery. Soviet assistance was also used in the organization and equipment of 13 other machine-renting stations. Most of the 434 tractors and 118 combines at the disposal of the machine-renting stations in 1961 had come from the USSR. In that year the soviet machines cultivated 160,000 hectares of land on conditions favorable to the peasants.

The Soviet Union also helps in the training of Iraqi specialists in agricultural mechanization.

The structure of agriculture. Winter and summer crops are raised in Iraq. The winter crops are wheat, barley, lentils, vetch and flax which are planted in October-November and ripen in April-May; the summer crops consisting of rice, millet seed, sesame, corn, beans, tobacco and cotton are planted in April-June and ripen in July-September. The area planted to summer crops still does not exceed 8-10% of the total sown area. The data on the structure of the sown areas in Iraq are cited in Table 6.

The cultivated area was considerably expanded in the fifties, primarily by the cultivation of the virgin land in the north of the country and to a lesser extent the expansion of the pump-method of irrigation in the central and southern areas.

The Structure of the Sown Area

Table 6

Year	1,000 donums	%	1,000 donums	%	1,000 donums	%	1,000 donums	%
1909-1910	1,138	98.3	40.4	0.9	--	--	9.5	0.8
1952-1953	9,851	94.8	224.2	2.1	147.0	1.4	170.2	1.7
1957-1958	11,199	91.5	604.0	4.9	142.0	1.2	298.0	2.4
1960-1961	9,863	--	272.0	--	169.7	--	--	--
1961-1962	11,532	--	273.4	--	166.0	--	--	--
1962-1963	12,176	--	236.1	--	164.0	--	--	--
1963-1964	11,406	--	325.5	--	174.2	--	--	--

Grain crops (wheat and barley) are predominant, whereas the relative share of industrial crops is very small and not in keeping with their increasing industrial importance. But some increase in the relative share of industrial crops and vegetables (from 2.1% 1952/53 to 4.9% in 1957/58) was noted in the pre-revolutionary years.

The data on the structure of agricultural production are cited in table 7.

The production of basic agricultural crops
(1000 tons)

Table 7

Crop	annual average: 1948/49- -1952/53	1957-58	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64
Wheat	44.8	757	857.0	1,085.0	488.0	807.0
Barley	772	954	911.0	1,125.0	790.0	623.0
Corn	14	5	2.9	2.0	2.0	2.8
Millet seed	13	4	3.1	2.9	3.7	5.1
Sorghum	--	9	5.2	3.6	4.5	7.4
Rice	203	137	68.4	113.1	143.0	184.0
Legumes	26	22	33.8	34.4	32.9	32.6
Cotton	4	11.5	8.5	8.2	4.9	7.1
Oil-bearing plants	18	32	9.3	11.7	12.3	14.8
Tobacco	3	5	7.7	--	7.0	--

Iraq is compelled to import increasing quantities of both grain and industrial crops. This is due, in particular, to the chronic backwardness of agricultural production as compared to industrial production, and the reduced ratio of agricultural output to the total production resulting from the agrarian reform (a considerable share of the commodity output collected prior to the reform as feudal rent is now being used on the individual peasant farms).

Grain crop. Wheat and barley are the main grain crops consumed by the local population. Considerable quantities of barley are used for fodder. Barley is also the main agricultural export item.

The chief wheat producers are the northern areas which

account for almost two-thirds of the land sown to that crop (28.8% in the central liwas, and 6.7% in the southern liwas). The shift of the basic wheat-producing area from the south to the north was prepared in the fifties by the use of tractors and combines in the cultivation of the virgin lands. Earley production (32.3% of the sown area) also shifted to the north because of mechanization; the central liwas account for 37.7% of the sown area, and the southern for 30%.

The extensive nature of production determined the characteristic features of the grain crop zoning: these crops are not localized in certain areas but are spread over the entire country including the poor-crop areas.

Rice. The main rice-producing area is the south which accounts for 71% of the crops (26.6% in the central liwas and 2.4% in the northern liwas). The Diwaniya liwa, where mechanical is prevalent, has gradually reduced the traditional Amaru rice-growing area to a secondary place.

Three grain elevators were built in the post-revolutionary period: in Basrah, Kut and Baghdad; the last two of them were built with the technical cooperation of the Soviet Union.

Cotton. Cotton growing began after the First World War as an export industry. But the British did not succeed in developing it as the capital investment did not prove to be highly profitable. During the Second World War cotton production was practically reduced to nil; it was resumed only in the fifties because of the demand for cotton fiber on the domestic market. The data on the cotton-growing areas and crop are cited in Table 8.

Table 8

Sown Areas and Cotton Crop

	Sown Area, 1,000 donums	Crop, 1,000 tons
1934-1938 (Annual Average) per year	64.0	2.0
1950	130.1	3.0
1957	259.3	14.2
1960	123.7	7.5
1962	137.0	9.0
1963	95.5	4.9
1964	159.0	7.1

The production of cotton in the fifties was four to seven times as much as in the thirties. The relative share of cotton in the production of summer crops increased from 2% in 1948/49 to 30% in 1956/57.

Two kinds of short fiber cotton are currently being raised in the country: Akala Rodgers (cream colored) and Koker Volt (white colored) which is replacing it.

The Baghdad and Kut liwas account for almost three-fourths of all the cotton crops, and the northern liwas for one-fourth. Local production can meet the demand of the Iraqi textile industry for only short-fiber cotton, that is by 50%; the other 50% includes long-fiber cotton which is not produced in Iraq.

Tobacco. Tobacco is raised for the domestic market. It

is grown on an area of about 12,500 hectares. The main tobacco-producing area is the Sulaymaniyah liwa which accounts for four-fifths of the entire area planted to tobacco. Tobacco is also raised in the northeastern part of the Mosul liwa.

Because of the poor farming practices and the low technology of the primary processing, the Iraqi tobacco is of a poor quality.

Oil-bearing crops. One of the most prevalent crops is sesame (it is grown on an area of about 10,000 hectares). The oil extracted from the sesame seeds is a valuable food product. Flax is raised in a number of the central liwas.

Vegetables, cucurbits and fruit. The increase in the production of these crops is closely associated with the growing urban population. The major vegetable-growing areas are found around the large cities.

The vegetable and cucurbit crops are raised on an area of about 75,000 hectares half of which are found in the Baghdad liwa, and 12,500 hectares in the Hillah liwa.

Tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers and onions are the most widespread vegetable crops.

Cucurbits (cantaloupes and pumpkins) are grown on an area of over 25,000 hectares.

Fruits are grown in all the liwas. The large fruit-growing centers include the Diyala, Baghdad, Mosul and Sulaymaniyah liwas; these account for two-thirds of all the fruit trees.

Tangerines, oranges, grapes, apples, pears, apricots and peaches are grown in Iraq. There are about 1.3 million citrus fruit trees in the country (mostly tangerine and orange trees), 2.5 million pomegranate trees, 910,000 apple trees, over 500,000 fig trees and 12.5 million grapevines.

About 85% of the citrus fruit trees are concentrated in the Diyala and Baghdad liwas. The major grape-growing areas are the northern liwas of Mosul and Sulaymaniyah (almost two-thirds of all the grapevines). There are more apple trees in the Baghdad liwa, and pear trees in the Sulaymaniyah and Baghdad liwas. Over 70% of the olive trees are found in the Mosul liwa.

Dates are one of the country's ancient crops. Iraq holds first place in the world in the number of date trees. It has 21,643,000 fruit trees alone; they cover an area of over 100,000 hectares. The date crop in the good years amounts to over 400,000 tons. Iraq accounts for about 80% of the world date exports.

The date groves extend along the Shatt el-Arab banks, along the lower and middle reaches of the Euphrates and the lower reaches of the Tigris and Diyala rivers. A date tree requires a great deal of moisture and a hot sun. It begins to produce in the fourth year after planting, but date picking usually begins six-seven years later in order to prevent a premature exhaustion of the trees whose fruit-bearing life amounts to 80-90 years.

There are about 350 varieties of date palms in Iraq. The best dates, including the most popular "zakhdī" brand, are used for export.

The date palm is a very important source of food for a large number of rural and urban population and an industrial raw material for the production of syrup and alcoholic beverage. Green dates and date pits are used as fodder. The wood of the date palm, leaves, fiber and shoots are used in the production of furniture and various utensils. The palm tree trunks make a solid construction material, and the wood wastes are used for fuel.

About 100,000 tons, or between one-fourth and one-third of the annual crop of dates are used for domestic consumption.

Animal husbandry. At the turn of this century Iraq was known as a cattle-raising country. But the relative share of this industry in the gross agricultural output decreased with the development of commercial agriculture. Animal products, however, are still one of the major sources of food for the rural and urban population, as well as important export items (sheeps wool, rawhides, etc.).

Small cattle (sheeps and goats) raising is particularly widespread. The traditional industries, camel and horse-breeding, have come to a standstill because of the development of mechanical transport. There has been an increasing use of cattle for the production of meat and dairy products for the city population.

Animal husbandry is particularly well developed in Kurdistan. It is also the major occupation of the Bedouins in the desert-steppe areas of Southern and Western Iraq, and the settled and nomadic population of El-Dgazir.

Transhumance is a predominant feature of the cattle-raising industry. In the summer the cattle is driven to the mountains. In winter time the herds descend to the plain and reach the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers by spring. The cattle belonging to the settled population is usually kept on pasture. Barley is used to make up for the shortage of grazing grass.

Shown below are the figures on the number of cattle in the country (1964) (see note):

Type of cattle	Number of Cattle, million head
Sheep	11.0
Goats	1.8
Cattle	1.5
Camels	0.2
Horses	0.1
Mules	0.1 (1959)
Donkeys	0.5

(Note. The information on certain areas of Northern Iraq is not included here. The agricultural census does not indicate the figures on the number of cattle owned by the nomads. The last figures apply to 1952/53. They show that approximately half of the number of sheep, goats, cows and horses belong to the nomadic and seminomadic population whose major occupation is cattle raising. Camels and mules are raised primarily by the nomadic and seminomadic population (the settled and nomadic population owned a total of 300,000 camels, 500,000 mules and 1,100,000 donkeys).

Sheep-raising is a prominent feature of Iraqi animal husbandry; 90% of the sheep wool is exported (mostly to the U.S.), and only 10% used for domestic consumption; most of the meat is consumed in the country.

Large numbers of small cattle are raised in the north (Kurdistan) where the mountain meadows are used as pastures. Goats are also raised there, particularly the long-wool angora breed.

The bulk of the cattle consists of small-sized scrubs. The first herds of pedigreed cattle, maintained on the dairy farms, were introduced in the postwar period. These farms produced cow and water buffalo milk.

The Hillah liwa is known for its best dairy buffaloes. Water buffaloes are raised also in the Amara, Nasiriyah and Diwaniyah liwas. Water buffaloes are the main type of cattle in the marshy areas of South Iraq. They feed primarily on the young reed shoots.

Camels are raised by the nomads. Iraq exports the camels to the UAR where they are slaughtered for meat.

The famous Arab horses are still being bred in the country. They are exported to the UAR, Lebanon, Pakistan and Ceylon.

The mules are used mostly as pack animals (in the mountainous areas of the north) and for field work.

Donkeys are raised everywhere; they are used as draft animals.

Poultry breeding. There are about two million chickens in the country. They produce about 160 million eggs a year. Prevalent also are ducks, geese and certain other types of domestic fowl.

Over 2,000 farms, mostly in the Mosul, Erbil and Sulaymaniyah liwas, engage in bee-keeping. There are 14,500 beehives.

Fishing. The annual fish catch is testimated at 20,000 tons, including 5,000 tons of fish caught in the inland freshwater bodies.

Fishing is an important source of income to the residents of the marshy areas in the south. Salted and dried fish represent a cheap food item for the poor people.

The lumber industry plays an important part in the country's economy. The Mosul liwa accounts for 643,000 of the 1,770,000 hectares of forest, the Erbil liwa for 695,000 and the Sulaymaniyah liwa for 422,000 hectares. Forest exploitation covers an area of 288,000 hectares. The lumber is used primarily for fuel; coal-burning is forbidden.

Agrarian relations. The prerevolutionary agrarian system in Iraq was characterized by a predominance of rich land owners and small peasant land holdings. Some development of capitalist production relations has been noted in the postwar years.

Under the Moslem law, almost all the lands are considered government property. Actually, they belong to big land owners, tribal sheikhs, merchants, usurers, members of the state bureaucracy and the clergy (Tables 9 and 10).

The Distribution of the Land
by Legal Category

Table 9

Category	All lands (cultivated and uncultivated)*		Cultivated lands**	
	Area, million donums	% of total	Area, million donums	% of total
Miri-tapu***	12.9	14.2	12.5	38.8
Miri-lazma	12.3	13.5	10.6	32.9
Miri-sirf	56.9	62.7	8.4	26.1
Mulq	0.7	0.8	0.7	2.2
Waqf	0.9	1.0		
Matruqa	7.0	7.8		
Total	90.7	100.0	32.2	100.0

*according to the figures for 1962.

**according to the figures for 1958/59.

*** Miri-tapu, miri-lazma and miri-sirf are government lands. The first two categories are considered as under long-term lease to private individuals at a very low rate; actually, they represented unrestricted private property. Unlike the miri-tapu, the miri-lazma lands can be alienated only in favor of a person belonging to the same tribe as the owner. The miri-sirf lands, just like the previous two categories, were formally government property but were actually owned by the rich sheikhs and businessmen leasing them.

The mulq lands are undisputed private property; the waqf is land bequeathed to religious institutions; matruqa is land used by the public.

About 2½ million donums, or almost 75% of all the cultivated land, belonged to the landlords (the last three columns in both zones, Table 10). Approximately 300 sheikh families, or 7% of all the landlord families (12,000) acquired one half (12 million donums) of the land belonging to the landlord class. These families formed the leadership of the feudal class which exercised a reactionary feudal dictatorship in Iraq. The other half of the landlord estates belonged to the middle class and the small groups representing the absolute majority of the landlord class (93%). These groups were subjected to a capitalist evolution which took place in agriculture in the postwar years.

In 1932 the monarchist government legalized the expropriation of communal lands by the tribal leadership, merchants and usurers, and passed laws defining the ownership of land and the Miri-lazma lands. Peasant landownership, both communal and individual, continued to deteriorate and was being swallowed by the large sheikh landowners and business capital. But the system was preserved mostly in the isolated mountainous areas of the north as well as along the middle Euphrates which were long dominated by a system of small peasant land ownership under which the peasants owned the primitive irrigation devices.

The distribution of every type of land
among the rural population

(according to the 1958/59 agricultural census)*

Table 10.

Size of land sections, donums	number of holdings, (1000)	relative share, %	cultivated area, 1000 donums	relative share, %
A. Irrigation agriculture zone (10 central & southern liwas)				
under 10	83.3	58.1	228.4	1.3
10--20	16.9	11.9	227.9	1.3
20--40	15.0	10.4	405.1	2.2
40--80	11.3	7.8	625.1	3.5
80--200	8.6	6.0	1,028.7	5.8
200--1000	5.9	4.1	2,478.2	13.9
1000--4000	1.7	1.3	3,520.7	19.7
over 4000	0.7	0.4	9,301.0	52.3
Subtotal	143.4	100.0	17,815.1	100.0
B. Dry farming zone (4 northern liwas)				
under 20	43.8	40.0	300.2	1.9
20-40	16.0	14.4	437.6	2.3
40-80	19.6	17.9	1,096.6	7.7
80-120	11.8	10.8	1,121.1	7.8
120-400	15.0	13.7	2,848.2	20.0
400-2000	2.6	2.3	2,100.6	14.7
2000-10,000	0.9	0.8	3,681.1	25.7
over 10,000	0.1	0.1	2,754.3	19.9
Subtotal	109.8	100.0	14,339.7	100.0
Total	253.2	-	32,154.8	-

* The division of the domains into two zones is based on the double difference in the fertility of the irrigated and dry-farming lands adopted by the agrarian reform law. Thus 10 donums of irrigated land are ~~the~~ equivalent to 20 donums of dry-farming land.

A special class of small-scale and very small nominal owners or so-called mugaris or taab, came into being in the date palm areas, particularly the Basrah district. The Mugaris were hired by the landlords to grow his date trees. After seven years of work (before the first crop is picked), the Mugaris were entitled to one fourth or even one half of the date grove as payment. But he very frequently became deeply indebted and lost the right to his part of the grove.

Before the agrarian reform the small peasant landowner (the first five columns in both zones, see Table 10), counted for approximately 8.3 million donums, or about 25% of the cultivated land; 3.4 million of these donums were owned by the government and leased to 81,700 families. Eighty point seven percent of the 241,300 peasant landowners (including the lessors of government lands), owned areas under 10 hectares of irrigated land and 20 hectares of dry-farming land. The vast majority of the peasants did not own any land.

Land rent and tenant relations. A system of small tenant farmers was predominant in the country. Rent in kind was the basic method used by the landlords to exercise a monopoly on the land. Widespread also were forms of labor rent (corvee), particularly in the irrigation system. Because of the primitive state of commodity-financial relations among the peasantry, monetary rent was used by way of exception.

A basis of agricultural production was the sharecropping system incorporated in the law of the rights and duties of the landowner adopted in 1933. The law required the landlord to organize and finance production, and it recognized the institution of "serkals" or middlemen, administrators of the landlords' estates.

The position of the the tenant farmers was characterized by a total lack of rights. The law did not protect the rights of the tenants. The tenancy agreement was a verbal one for one year. The landlord could, if he wanted to, evict the tenant from his land before the expiration of the agreement, or hold him as a debtor until his debt was paid.

The absence of rights of the tenant was further aggravated by the domination of the tribal survivals perpetuated by the British colonizers (the tribal law passed in 1924 placed most of the rural population under the unrestricted despotic rule of the sheikhs).

The land rents and requisitions in favor of the sheikh and those around him swallowed not only the entire surplus product but also a considerable portion of the necessary product, amounting to three/fifths--five/sevenths of the harvest in the artificial irrigation areas and four/fifths--seven/eighths in the date-growing areas.

In the years preceding the July 1958 revolution the sharecropping system of agriculture was in a state of deterioration: the landlords developed into a capitalist entrepreneur, and the tenant farmer into a farmhand deprived of all the means of production and paid in kind and occasionally with money. Two-thirds of the peasants did not have any working cattle of their own. The ruined peasants were "forced out" of the production system. Hundreds of thousands of them fled to the cities forming huge settlements around them and living in poverty.

Large landlord farms of a semicapitalist type, involving the use of machinery, first came into existence in the prerevolutionary period. But even these farms continued to use the feudal methods of exploiting the peasants on a large scale.

The northern livas where machinery had been used primarily for plowing up the virgin land and harvesting the grain, were particularly affected by the mechanization. The first mechanized grain farms^{WAK} owned by Mosul merchants who leased them from the rich tribal sheikhs.

Incipient capitalism, manifested in its lowest and worst forms, did not have sufficient time to change the technical conditions of production. The organic composition of capital was extremely low, and the backward agricultural technology remained in force.

The characteristic features of the historical development of Iraqi's agriculture found their reflection in the social structure of the village which is described in Table 11 (on the basis of the 1958/59 agricultural census).

The Social Structure of the Village

Table 11.

Classes and social groups	number of families, 1000	%	Their lands, million donums	%
Landlords (including big lease-holders of government lands)	12.0	1.5	23.8	74.2
Large holdings by sheikhs of big tribes	0.8	0.1	12.0	37.4
Middle-class sheikhs, wholesale merchants & ruling bureaucracy	2.7	0.3	7.2	22.4
Small holdings by sheikhs, merchants & government officials	8.5	1.1	4.6	14.4
Land-owning peasants (including lease-holders of government land, rural merchants, usurers and other nonfarming elements)	241.3	30.3	8.3	25.8
Rich peasants--village aristocracy, "serkals", ministers of religious worship etc., large families, and kulaks	23.5	3.0	3.9	12.1
Middle-class peasants	23.1	2.9	1.7	5.3
Land-poor peasants	194.7	24.4	2.7	8.4
"Semi-proletariat" and proletariat	542.7	68.2	-	-
Lessees*	314.1	39.4	-	-
Seasonal workers (itinerant)**	168.7	20.6	-	-
Permanent workers (salaried)	40.5	5.8	-	-
Migrant workers	19.4	2.4	-	-
Total	796.0	100.0	32.1	100.0

* The incomplete statistical figures make it impossible to single out of this group the large prosperous semi-feudal type farms (serkals & sublease-holders). These account for 1-2%, according to our calculations.

** Apparently include some of the working members of the families.

That scheme is very approximate, as it does not take into account a number of factors affecting the definition of the social status of the families (the ownership of water, means of production, cattle, etc.). But it provides a true reflection of the basic phenomena in the socio-economic development of the prereform Iraqi village and the sharp class differentiation, particularly the unusually high degree of pauperization and proletarianization of the bulk of the peasantry. The paupers (land-poor peasants) together with the semiproletarian and proletarian elements constituted an absolute majority of the rural population living in incredibly poor conditions. A characteristic feature of that structure was the weakness of the middle-class and prosperous strata.

The mass pauperization of the peasants and the drop in their farm income were a severe limitation on capitalist development.

The sharpening of class contradictions in the villages resulted in the expanding peasant movement during the prerevolutionary years.

On September 13, 1958 the Republic government adopted an agrarian reform law outlining the following three goals: the liquidation of feudalism, the improvement of the fellahins' living standard and expansion of agricultural production. The law was to be implemented in a five-year period.

The reform of the land-ownership system. Under the law the landlord could own (in the form of miri-tapu or miri-lazma) not more than 1,000 donums (250 hectares) of irrigated land or 2,000 donums (500 hectares) of dry-farming land. That limit is five times higher than the approximate maximum ownership by the rich peasant. Consequently, the law itself provided for the preservation of the landlord class.

According to official figures, 7.5 million donums^{of} irrigated and dry lands of the miri-tapu, miri lazma and mulq categories were alienated from 1,982 landlords (of the 3,426 landlords affected by the maximum principle) by the end of June 1965, that is in almost seven years of the reform. (The Supreme Agrarian Reform Committee, however, finally approved the transfer of only 4.7 million donums). To this area should be added, according to tentative calculations, another 5 million donums of miri-sirf lands, actually owned by the big leaseholders, and distributed during the reform as private property (0.6 million donums) or under lease to the peasants. The former owners of these lands (in the Amara liwa) were granted 200-donum tracts (multazim first class -- big leaseholders of government land) and 100-donum sections (multazim, second class -- subleaseholders). The alienated land area amounted to 12.6 million donums, or over 60% of the land to be alienated under the law (over 20 million donums, including the miri-sirf lands).

The first to be alienated were the royal lands and those belonging to the rich feudal lords.

The reform disrupted the land monopoly of the ruling feudal class, and undermined the economic foundation of the feudal dictatorship.

The agrarian reform provided for the allotment of the following land lots to the peasants: 30-60 donums (7.5-15 hectares) of irrigated or 60-120 donum (15-30 hectares) of dry-farming land per family).

The republican government adopted two methods of allotting land to the peasants -- the division of the alienated lands (and the miri-sirf lands) and the granting or leasing these lands to them in the form of small sections on favorable and guaranteed conditions.

According to the June 1965 figures, 2.2 million donums were granted to 45,300 peasant families, and 7.3 million donums leased to almost 251,000 families. The remaining 3.1 million donums of land, not mentioned in the official press, apparently continued to be at the temporary disposal of their former owners.

Thus about 300,000 families, or two-fifths of the landless and land-poor families, benefited from the reform of the landlord

estates. The peasants were granted the poor land inasmuch as the landlords had the right to choose the better land. Almost half of the land (49.3%) allotted to the peasants free of charge, and 43.5% of the land leased to them are found in the four less fertile northern liwas where the unirrigated lands are being farmed.

Having granted the land to the peasants, the government introduced limitations on the right of ownership. That right is hedged by a number of obligations (payment of the full cost of the land in 40 years, its cultivation); the failure to fulfill these obligations will result in the return of the land to the government, and the payments already made will be considered as rent. It is forbidden to sell the land or transfer its ownership to persons not qualified under the distribution requirements (if they are not peasants, and if the land they own is larger than the size permitted by the law).

The right of the tenant farmer to his section of land is guaranteed by a written agreement which is renewable every three years on condition that the tenant farmer fulfills his obligation in connection with the cultivation. The rental payable to the government has been sharply reduced: it is approximately equal to the annual redemption payments.

The restriction of the peasants' rights to the land is indicative of the government's desire to control the social-economic processes in the villages.

The reform of the system of land ownership was carried out in the interests of the bourgeoisie which is closely associated with land ownership. That is why it was unable to provide a radical solution to the land problem. The adopted maximum of land ownership did not take into account the differences in the soil fertility in the various parts of the country. In the south, the thousand-donum sections planted to rice make it possible to exploit the labor of 100-200 peasant families on a feudal basis.

The landlords were granted the right to compensation for the alienated land.

The government pays the full compensation for the land taken from the owners, 75% for the miri-tapu land and 50% for the miri-lazma land plus 3% annually (the Baasi government reduced that figure to 2%).

The money used by the government for the payment of compensation comes from the peasants. The latter also pay the expenses connected with the implementation of the reform amounting to 20% of the redemption money to be covered over a period of 20 years. In 1953 the redemption payments were reduced to one half, and the total period of those payments extended 100%.

The reform of the system of land ownership has paved the way for capitalist development in agriculture on the basis of a somewhat reduced landownership by the big landlords. That means that the chief burden of the new structure is to be borne by the many millions of peasants.

The reform of the system of land ownership. One of the basic features of that reform is government control. It affects every category of land, both the alienated and those still owned by the landlords.

The government control actually amounts to a reduction of the land rent and an increasing importance of capital investments. The division of the harvest established by law (see note) is shown in table 12.

Table 12
The Division of the Harvest Among the Producers*

Type of participation in production	Lands under gravity irrigation	lands under mechanical irrigation	Lands under natural irrigation
Land owner	7	7	7
Owner of land and production means	10	20	-
Fellah (labor and seeds)	53	43	53
Plowing and harvesting (hiring machinery and labor)	5	5	10
Administrative costs (seeds, credits, chemicals, etc.)	10	10	15
	15	15	15

*Taking into account the changes adopted after the passage of the agrarian reform law.

(Note. The Supreme Committee on Agrarian Reform has the right to change this division on the basis of the area differences in agricultural conditions).

Land and water rents were reduced to 27-17% of the harvest, that is approximately two-three times lower than in the pre-reform period.

A considerable share of the income, 15-25%, is used for the hiring of machinery and labor force.

Under the 1958 agrarian law, land rents are to be determined strictly on a contractual basis with a view to the development of production (unlike the 1933 law on the rights and obligations of the farmer).

Agreements on land rent are to be made in writing.

Unlike the previous system, the institution of "serkals" is banned by the law. The latter provides for a strict distribution of functions of all the participants in production: the land owner, the owner of the irrigation facilities and the tenant.

The greatest share of responsibility for production management is borne by the owner of the irrigation facilities; next comes the landowner, and then (on the dry-farming lands) the tenant farmer himself. The failure to fulfill one's obligations in production management is punishable by government sanctions.

As for the lands retained by the landlords, the agrarian reform represents a legal conformation and improvement of the pre-reform sharecropping system by enhancing the interests of the tenant farmer in his own labor and by increasing the role of capital investments as the basic method of increasing the income of both the landlord and the peasant. The land-use reform is a substantial supplement to the reform of land ownership.

The role of the government has been greatly enhanced. In the winter season of 1959/60 government credits were extended to 260,000 peasant holdings, including 125,000 farms which had concluded agreements with the agrarian reform organizations. The credits were given in the form of money and seeds totalling 3.2 million dinars. Government financing of summer crops is just beginning.

The peasants who had concluded agreements with the agrarian reform administration are offered advantages and privileges in the rent of agricultural machinery belonging to the government.

The Department of Mechanization established under the agrarian reform Ministry is in charge of machine rentals; it had 847 irrigation pumps, 475 tractors, 297 combines, 498 trucks and other facilities at its disposal according to the 1965 figures.

The agricultural cooperative system. The land-use reform affected not only the tenant farmers but also the small-holders. The government introduced the principle of obligatory cooperation of the peasants who had received land. The peasants who owned land could also join the cooperatives only if their possessions did not exceed the established norm (if the members of the cooperatives themselves required the observance of that rule).

Cooperatives of a general type are being established in the country. They extend credits to the peasants, organize field work, sell the produce on the market, pay off the debts to the government and perform various production and social services.

The cooperatives retain the private ownership of land, the means of production and exploitation of hired labor, although these are limited by the government. The privileges offered by the cooperatives can be used by every cooperative member only to the extent of his own financial possibilities. The principles on which the cooperatives are based cannot really prevent the property differentiation of the peasants.

The government has pinned great hopes on the cooperative. A special branch in charge of cooperatives was opened in the Ministry of Agriculture. It is through the instrumentality of this organization that the government carries out its policy in the field of cooperatives and maintains permanent control over the operations of the already established cooperatives.

The law No. 163 adopted in 1959 and providing for a change in the statute of the cooperative bank is designed to deal with the problems of the cooperative movement formulated in the agrarian law.

Cooperation in agriculture is still in its initial stage. According to the figures made available at the end of May 1965, 258 cooperatives combining 29,000 peasants were established in the area under the agrarian reform.

The economic and social consequences of the agrarian reform. The most important economic consequences of the agrarian measures in Iraq is the development of capitalism in agriculture. The capitalist evolution affected first of all the landlord estates as indicated by their growing mechanization. According to the figures for 1962, the government had sold 1,096 tractors, 243 combines, 552 plows and 446 cultivators to private individuals. In 1963 the big landlords owned 5,051 tractors and 1,260 combines. The agrarian law has accelerated the development of capitalist farms by allowing the companies and societies to increase their cultivated areas above the prescribed maximum through the use of virgin land.

The increasing capital investments in agriculture also served the interests of developing capitalism. Thus under the temporary four-year plan (1959-1963), the appropriations for agriculture amounted to 12.3% of the budgetary expenditures, under the first five-year plan (1961/62 -- 1965/1966) 20.3%, and under the second five-year plan (1965/1966 -- 1969/1970) 21.1% (including the balance carried forward); these sums were designed primarily for the expansion of the irrigation network and land reformation.

The agrarian reform has produced the preconditions for increasing production. But these prerequisites cannot be realized in view of the instability of the political situation (coup d'etats, the war against the Kurds, sabotage by the feudal lords, a shortage of technical cadres, etc.).

The reform produced an enormous effect on the social structure of the peasantry; in particular it contributed to the development of middle-class groups (15-45 donoms of irrigated land). The reform of the land-use system has contributed still more to the establishment of a middle-class peasantry. In addition to the privileges granted to them under the reform, the peasants were exempted from government agricultural tax (1961). The abolition of the feudal requisitions and laws (the tribal laws, the laws on the rights and duties of the landowner) resulted in the improvement of the legal status of the peasantry as a class. The labor legislation affects also the agricultural workers whose minimum wages have been raised.

Having reduced the social contradictions in the villages for a while, the bourgeoisie succeeded in enlisting the support of the peasantry or at least neutralizing it as a potential ally of the urban proletariat. But the solution of the peasant problems was not complete. There were still great possibilities for the continued exploitation of the peasants by the feudal lords and usurers. The development of a "landlord" capitalism tended to drive the tenant farmers off the land. Finally, the policy of developing a middle-class inevitably leads to the creation of favorable conditions for capitalist deterioration and sharpening of the class contradictions in the villages. The flight of the peasants into the cities continues.

The peasantry demands an end to the sabotage on the part of the feudal lords (there was a demonstration of 50,000 peasants in Divaniyah in May 1963), the completion of the reform and an increase in government credits.

Industry

A national modern industry came into being in Iraq only in the fifties, although some small enterprises of the textile and food industries and a number of power plants had been built earlier.

A characteristic feature of the country's industrial development was the appearance of large modern oil enterprises in the thirties belonging to foreign capital.

Using Iraq as a market for their goods, the imperialists delayed the development of a national industry. They created all sorts of obstacles to the few plants and factories existing in the country prior to the 1958 revolution, and maintained a policy designed to ruin the handicraft industry.

The development of a national industry was also impeded by the semifeudal relations in the villages and the resulting limitations of the domestic market.

By the beginning of the sixties the structure of industry underwent a change. In the fifties that industry was based on the output of the handicraftsmen and artisans (over one half of the 22,460 enterprises /see note/ existing in 1954 consisted of handicraft shops without hired workers). Plant production now plays an important part in industry. In 1962 over 160 enterprises employed 100 and more workers and employees each, their total labor force amounting to about 50,000 men, that is more than 60% of all the workers employed in the national industry (see note 2).

(Note 1. Not including the oil industry).

(Note 2. Beginning with 1960 the annual industrial census has been taking into account all the enterprises employing 10 workers and more).

One thousand one hundred and twenty-nine of the 1,288 enterprises of regular industry operated throughout the year (1963). Six hundred and forty-two of those enterprises were in Baghdad and its suburbs, 118 in the Basrah liwa and 99 in the Mosul liwa. The enterprises of the Baghdad liwa alone employ over 48,000 workers, or 63.4% of all the workers employed in the regular national industry covered by the census.

Handicraft production continues to play an important part in the light industry -- in the production of foodstuffs, leather, footwear, metal products, clothing, and in carpet-weaving, etc. Thus in 1962 the enterprises employing one to nine workers accounted for over 43,000 of the 133,000 men working in the regular and handicraft industries, that is about 32% of all the industrial workers.

Because of its weak national industry, Iraq must resort to imports to meet the demand for the necessary industrial products. In 1961 the import of machines and ferrous metals alone amounted to 56 million dinars which exceeded the cost of the total industrial output in the country by 50%.

Considerable changes were produced in the industry after 1958 by Iraqi's policy of establishing a government sector based primarily on the new large (for Iraq) enterprises which were built in the late fifties and early sixties. Eventually the government sector will be expanded by the power plants, textile mills, machinebuilding and metal-repairing shops and plants and enterprises of the food and chemical industries scheduled to go into operation within the next few years.

The nationalization of the major enterprises belonging to private capital in July 1964 played an important part in the development of the national industry. A total of 27 enterprises (paid up capital about 17 million dinars) engaged in the production of cement, textiles, soap and detergents, matches, cigarettes, butter, flour, footwear, etc. were nationalized. Furthermore, the government declared that the private sector would no longer be permitted to produce cement, asbocement and cigarettes. After the nationalization all government enterprises as well as the mixed industrial companies using some government capital (a minimum of 25%) were placed under the jurisdiction of the government organization for industrial affairs. The government has thus

assumed control over the operations of most of the enterprises of the extracting and processing industries in Iraq.

The inducements offered by the government to the private sector included the exemption of the newly formed private Iraqi enterprises from income tax and import duties on equipment and raw materials; the establishment of mixed government-private enterprises; the extension of credits through the industrial bank to private and mixed companies and an increase in the credits to 100,000-500,000 dinars in 1961. After 1958 the government also introduced considerable restrictions on the import of commodities that were being produced in Iraq. The result was a considerable increase in private and government capital investments in industry. In 1962 the private investments in industry (not counting the oil and power-producing industries) amounted to 31 million dinars, and government investments 49 million dinars.

The development of capitalist relations in the cities and villages and the growth of the domestic market, accelerated after the 1958 revolution, as well as the measures designed to establish a government sector have combined to increase the share of industrial production in the national income of the country (Table 13).

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The Output Cost of the Government and
Private Sectors in 1956-1957.
(million dinars)

Table 13

Type of industry	1956			1960			1963
	govt. sector	private sector	total	govt. sector	private sector	Total	Total
Extracting.	0.05	114.65	114.70	0.04	201.15	201.19	272.21
Crude petroleum production*. . .	-	113.15	113.15	-	199.37	199.37	270.46
Production of other minerals . . .	0.05	1.50	1.55	0.04	1.78	1.82	1.75
Processing.	3.37	25.56	28.93	7.76	41.02	48.78	55.38
Oil refining	2.61	-	2.61	5.17	-	5.17	7.24
Other processing industries.	0.76	25.56	26.32	2.59	41.02	43.61	48.14
Power production and water supply**. . .	2.07	-	2.07	2.66	-	2.66	4.95

*Including the oil produced by foreign oil companies and the Iraqi government oil company.

**The water supply implies pumping stations.

If the rapid growth of industry was due entirely to the development of oil production by the foreign companies of the "Iraqi Petroleum" group, the similar rate of growth of the processing and power-producing industries are indicative of the development of the national industry. At the same time, the above-cited figures show the insignificant share of the enterprises of the state sector in the new production of the processing and

power-producing industries (20% in 1960). But that share has been increasing from year to year. Thus according to the 1963 census, the government sector accounted for 211 of the 1,129 industrial enterprises and 28,733 of the 75,770 workers (that is 18.6% of the enterprises and 38% of the total number of people working in these industries).

The government sector has accounted for about three-fourths of the entire industrial production by these industries since the nationalization decrees adopted in July 1964. Foreign capital plays a minor role in industry (not counting oil production), its operation being confined primarily to the output of consumer goods. It is usually represented by mixed companies with the participation of private Iraqi capital. But the privileges extended by the government to private industrialists affect only the enterprises whose share of the national capital is at least 60%.

The five-year plan for the development of the country's economy in 1955/66 -- 1969/70 provides for an investment in industry of 157 million dinars of a total government investment of 561 million dinars. The economic policy currently maintained in Iraq is oriented to the development of industry and agriculture with a view to reducing the economy's dependence on the oil revenues.

The number of workers employed in the Iraq industry and the cost of the industrial output are shown in Table 14.

The number of workers employed in the Iraqi industry in 1961 (average number), and the cost of the industry's net output (prior to the amortization deductions)

Table 14.

Industry	No. of workers	% of total	Cost of net output, 1000 dinars	% of total
Building materials production	17,486	23.8	5,294	16.50
Food industry	16,116	22.0	10,010	31.20
Output of metal products, metal repairs...	12,186	16.6	2,545	-
Power production and water supply	8,685	12.1	2,725	8.40
Textile industry.	7,970	11.0	933	3.00
Oil industry (extraction & refining in govt. sector)	2,407	3.3	10,866	34.00
Leather footwear industry	2,247	3.0	625	2.00
Printing industry.	1,516	2.1	106	0.30
Garment industry.	1,370	1.8	727	2.40
Woodworking and cellulose-paper industry. . .	1,133	1.5	220	0.70
Primary processing of agricultural raw materials (cotton and wool cleaning, slaughter houses).	830	1.1	89	0.25
Production of chemicals, perfume and cosmetics.	817	1.1	400	1.20
Other industries (production of jute, cotton residue processing, rope & bitumen production & salt mining)....	494	0.6	15	0.05
Total	73,257	100.0	32,010*	100.00

*The statistics do not take into account the income from metal repairs, and the industry therefore shows a loss (2,545 million dinars).

Power production. Iraq has large resources for the production of electric power. Its oil and gas reserves are enormous, and its water power potential amounts to about 33 million kilowatts. The plans call for the construction of a large hydroelectric power complex on the Euphrates river in the Khadit area with a capacity of 350,000 kilowatts, and a state power plant with the capacity of 84,000 kilowatts on the Tigris river near Samara.

Thermal power plants first appeared in Iraq during the First World War, and by 1956 about 100 towns and other inhabited points had been electrified. Before the 1958 revolution, 90% of the electric power was used in the four largest towns of the country, and there was no electricity in the rural areas. The power plants of the oil companies serving the oil industries, pumping stations, etc. accounted for about half of the total capacity in 1953 (80,000 out of 164,000 kilowatts).

The total capacity of the thermal power plants in the country in 1965 was about 600,000 kilowatts. The largest power plants are the Central (in Baghdad, 215,000 kilowatts), the South-Baghdad (Sarrafia, 80,000 kilowatts), the thermal power plants in Dibis and Basrah (60,000 kilowatts each); a Dora thermal power plant is under construction in Baghdad with a capacity of 160,000 kilowatts. Over one billion kilowatt hours of electric power were produced in 1963.

All three power-producing areas (the Northern, Central and Southern) are expected to be connected within the radius of operation of the Dibis, Baghdad and Basrah thermal power plants into a single electric power system covering the entire country. The expansion of the central area power system is currently under way, and steps are being taken to connect the Northern and Central areas to the 175 kilometer-high voltage Dibis-Samara transmission line, and the Southern Area to the 410-kilometer Basrah -- An-Nasiriyah -- Ash-Shamiya Central line.

An atomic reactor and laboratory of radio isotopes for industrial, agricultural and medical research purposes are under construction in Baghdad with the cooperation of the USSR.

The extracting industry. Petroleum is Iraq's major natural resource. Its known reserves amount to about 3.5 billion tons, or about 10% of all the oil reserves in the capitalist world, which puts Iraq in fifth place among these countries and fourth place among the countries of the Near and Middle East.

The main oil deposits are found in the Kirkuk liwa (in the Baba-Gurgur, Dzambur and Bay-Hassan districts) and in the Basrah liwa (in the Az-Zubayr and Ar-Rumaila districts). Oil is found also in the Mosul district (Ain-Zalah, Butmah and Qaiyara), and to the south of Khanaqin in the Naft-Khaneh districts.

Oil reserves in commercial quantities were found in Iraq in 1901.

An agreement between the Turkish Petroleum Company (renamed Iraq Petroleum in 1929) and the Iraq government was concluded in March 1925. Under that agreement, which expires in the year 2000, the company acquired the right to oil prospecting and production in Iraq to the north of 33° northern latitude and to the east of the Tigris river on an area of about 83,000 square kilometers. Ninety-five percent of the Iraq petroleum shares were

divided equally between the English company British Petroleum, the Royal Dutch Shell, the French company Compagnie Francaise du Petrol, a group of U.S. oil monopolies incorporated in the Near East Development Corporation (it includes Standard Oil of New Jersey, Socony Mobil and Gulf Oil). Each of the four participants got 23.75% of the shares, and the other 5% belong to the heirs of the famous oil tycoon Gulbenkian who is connected with the Royal Dutch Shell. The total capital of the company amounts to 83.5 million pound sterling.

A concession agreement providing for a 75-year operation (until the year 2007) of the oil deposits in the area west of the Tigris river and north of the 33° northern latitude (a total of 120,000 square kilometers) was concluded in 1932 between the British oil development (in 1936 all its shares were transferred to the Mosul Petroleum Company with a capital of 12.93 million pound sterling) and the Iraqi government. A similar agreement was concluded in 1933 by the Basrah Petroleum Company (with a capital of 12.9 million pound sterling) whose area of operation was to cover the entire country south of the 33° northern latitude by the year 2013 (not including the concession territory of the Iraqi government company Khanaqin Oil, amounting to 1,800 square kilometers, and the territorial waters). As a result of these agreements the entire territory of the country came under concession to the Iraq Petroleum Company and its affiliates by 1938.

The commercial exploitation of Iraq's oil resources began in 1934 (not counting the insignificant oil deposits in the Khanaqin district). In the Kirkuk district after the introduction of the Kirkuk Tripoli (Tarabulus) and Kirkuk-Haifa pipelines, Kirkuk is the chief oil-producing district in the country.

Oil production was begun in the Mosul and Basrah areas after the Second World War.

Shown below are the dynamics of the oil-production growth in 1927-1964.

	Production, 1000 tons		Production, 1000 tons*
1927	45	1955	33,209
1930	122	1960	47,280
1935	3,673	1961	48,818
1940	3,240	1962	48,984
1945	4,250	1963	56,464
1950	6,600	1964	60,350

*Not counting the production of the Naft-Khaneh oilfields (about 200,000 tons a year beginning with 1955, and 303,000 tons in 1964).

Oil production in 1964 was distributed among the following sources: Kirkuk 41.71 million tons, Basrah 17.35 million, Mosul 1.29 million tons, total 60.35 million tons.

Iraq's industry rates high among the capitalist countries for the large productivity of the oil deposits and the unprecedented yield of the oil wells (about 500,000 tons a year per well).

The expanding oil production also reflects the effect of the oil pipelines through which the petroleum flows to the various ports for export purposes and to the oil-refining plants (Table 15).

Oil and Gas Pipelines

Table 15

Terminal points	Commis- sioned, year	Length, km	Diameter, inches	Capacity, million tons per year
Export oil pipelines				
Kirkuk-Tripoli.	1934-1961	850	12, 16, 30/32	
Kirkuk-Baniyas	1952	890	30/32	48
Kirkuk-Haifa	1934	1,000	12*	6
Ar-Rumaila--As Zubayr-- Basra-Fao.	1954-1957	107	2 pipes 12 & 16 (Ar-Raumai- la--As Zubayr) & 24, 30/32 (As Zubayr-- Fao)	13
Fao-Hawr Al-Amiya	1962	45	2 pipes , 32 each	9
Internal oil pipelines				
Ayn-Zala--Han Shureymiya	-	216	12	-
Baijih-Dora (Baghdad)	1955	211	12	2.5
Naft-hano--Alwand	-	50	-	-
Haneqin-Dora	1963	-	-	1.5
Gas pipelines				
Ar-Rumaila--Basra-- -Kirkuk--Baghdad	1962 under con- struction	- 320	- 16-18	- 800 million m ³ natural gas, 360,000 tons of petro- leum gas & na- tural gasoline.

*The oil pipeline consists of two branches, one running to Haifa and the other to the Jordan river.

Shown below is the location of the Iraqi oil-refining plants in operation in 1965, their specialization and capacity.

Location	Specialization	rated annual capacity, 1000 tons
Dora (Baghdad)	Direct distillation	2,785
	Thermal cracking	244
	Light cracking	557
	Thermal reforming	168
	Production of lubricants	65
Alwand (Haneqin)	Direct distillation	725
	Desulfuration	166
Muftiya (Basra)	Direct distillation	250
Kaylara	" "	133
	Bitumen (asphalt) production	
Hadita	Direct distillation	380
Baba-Gurgur (Kirkuk)	" "	117

The first four plants belong to the government, and the others to the Iraq Petroleum company. Their total capacity for direct distillation in 1965 amounted to 3.9 million and 0.5 million tons, respectively.

The government plants produced about 2.45 million tons of oil products in 1961, including aviation and motor fuel, kerosene, gas oil, boiler fuel, lubricants, as well as 40,000 tons of bitumin and over 1,000 tons of liquified gas. The Baghdad plant produces all the major types of oil products required in the country.

The Iraq Petroleum plants also produce the products required for their consumption. Iraq's domestic oil consumption is about 2 million tons a year (2,070,000 tons in 1963). Ninety-ninety-five percent of all the oil produced in the country is exported. The 1963 export amounted to 55.55 million tons of oil.

This is how the geographic distribution of the exports looked in 1963: the lion's share of the oil (87.4%) went to Western Europe (in almost equal shares to France and Italy, 10 million tons each, and about 8.5 millions to England, as well as to FRG, Holland and other countries); 6.8% of the oil was shipped to the Far East, 5.5% to Africa and only 0.3% to the Western hemisphere.

The high yield of the oil wells, the low wages of the oil workers and the short distances between the oilfields and the ports make the cost of Iraqi oil low. The oil companies sell the petroleum at almost the same prices that are charged for the oil in other countries where the production costs are higher; therein lies the source of the enormous profits made by the oil companies. In 1964, for example, the prime cost of a ton of Iraqi oil was 1.87 dollars and its export price (in the ports Faw, Khor al-Amayya, Tripoli and Baniyas where it was sold) was 12.9 dollars in the first two ports and 15.5-16.6 dollars in others.

The profit deductions made by the oil companies in favor of Iraq prior to 1951 were very small. Under an agreement dated February 3, 1952, the companies undertook to pay Iraq 50% of the net profit realized from the oil exports. The foreign monopolies, however, derived their profits not only from the production and export of oil but also from refining, transporting and selling the oil products. But the Iraqi government does not get anything from the operations of the companies beyond the country.

Shown below are the deductions from the oil exports received by the Iraqi government (million dinars).

	Million dinars		Million dinars
1952	39.2	1958	84.6
1953	51.4	1959	86.0
1954	68.2	1960	95.0
1955	73.6	1961	94.8
1956	69.0	1962	95.1
1957	48.9	1963	110.0
		1964	126.0

The receipts from the crude oil exports (according to a number of western scientists) do not exceed 20-25% of the profits realized by the foreign companies from all their oil operations. Striving to make better use of the country's natural

resources, the Iraqi government adopted law No. 80 on December 12, 1965 eliminating all the unexploited areas of the concession territories. As a result, the Iraq Petroleum Company and its affiliates were deprived of all the rights to the 99.56% of the territory which had been held by them under concession but not yet exploited. About 1,900 square kilometers of area were left to it; the present size of Iraq Petroleum's concession territory is 748 square kilometers, Mosul Petroleum 62, and Basrah petroleum 1,128 square kilometers.

A law establishing the government-owned Iraq National Oil Company (INOC) with a capital of 25 million dinars was adopted on February 8, 1964. Its shares are available for sale to private Iraqi and foreign firms. The government will receive half of the capital and hold 20% of the shares depending on the amount of the company's capital in the future.

In the second half of 1965 the Iraqi government conducted negotiations with the management of Iraq Petroleum Company and its affiliate and concluded an agreement which is to go into effect after its approval by the Cabinet. Here are the terms of the agreement:

1) the area of the concession territory given by Iraq to the Iraq Petroleum and its affiliates for oil-producing purposes is to be doubled; it will be increased from 0.5 to 1% of the original territory of the concession received by the companies. Thus the law No. 80 adopted in 1961 will, for the first time, be changed in favor of the foreign oil companies;

2) an area equal in size to 8% of the original concession territory of Iraq Petroleum and affiliates (about 30,500 square kilometers) is to be leased to the newly established oil company in which the INOC will own a third of the shares; the other shares will be distributed among the Iraq Petroleum partners according to their participation in the latter (the only difference in this case will be that the shares of the Standard Oil of New Jersey which refused to participate in the new company will be transferred to Socony Mobil);

3) the monopolies comprising the Iraq Petroleum group have agreed to pay the Iraqi government 20 million pound sterling to cover the losses suffered by Iraq because of the unfair distribution of profits received from the export of oil produced in that country.

The government has been carrying out the "Iraqization" of the personnel of the oil companies since 1958. At the end of 1964 the personnel of Iraq Petroleum and its affiliates consisted of 11,255 men with Iraqi accounting for 98.5% of the total.

The mining of other minerals. Before the 1958 revolution other mineral deposits were practically unknown in Iraq. The imperialists tried in every possible way to prevent prospecting operations. There were some known bitumen (asphalt) reserves in Iraq in the Kaiyar area; small quantities of lignite were being mined in the Kirkuk liwa; table salt was evaporated primarily from the seawater near the port of Faw; rock salt was mined in various districts of the country, mostly near Samawah; marble and gypsum were produced near Mosul and Khita.

The government of the republic invited Soviet geologists. The geological prospecting operations begun in 1959 produced good results. Rich phosphorite reserves, over one billion tons with

an 18% content of phosphorus pentoxide were found in Iraq. These deposits located in the area of the town of Rutba along the Kirkuk-Haifa oil pipeline make the Iraqi phosphorite reserves among the largest in the world.

In 1960-1962 the Soviet geologists found large deposits of natural sulphur in the area between Mosul and the 35th parallel. The total sulphur reserves amount to about 350 million tons (the major producer of sulphur ore, Italy, has a reserve of 100 million tons). The largest sulphur reserves are concentrated forty-five kilometers to the south of Mosul in the Mishrak area (245 million tons) as well as in Lazzak (50 million tons) and Al-Faticha (40 million tons). The considerable iron ore deposits found in 1964 east of Rutba have a low iron content (21-25%). A small limonite deposit (1,7 million tons) containing 41-46% iron had been found earlier north of Rutba in the Gaar Depression.

Quartz sand deposits (about 11 million tons) that can be mined by the open-cut method were found near the town of Rutba. They will be used as raw material for the glass factory under construction in Ramadi.

Ceramic clay deposits were discovered in 1960-1961 65 kilometers northwest of Rutba. The reserves are estimated at 1.4 million tons.

Gypsum deposits (about 320 million cubic meters in a 25-meter thick layer) were found in the Mishrak area. The Rutba district contains a large reserve of dolomites (6 million tons) occurring near the surface which makes their mining cheaper. Deposits of lead, zinc, copper, chrome, manganese as well as gold and silver are assumed to exist in the north of the country.

The processing industry. The 300 enterprises of the building materials industry employ 17,500 workers; 70% of them work in brick-making plants, about 12% in six cement plants and about 8% produce tiles and ceramic plates and other building materials. By government decision adopted in 1964, all the four private cement plants, the asbecement plant, the two largest plants in the country producing bricks, concrete and concrete pipes, were taken over by the government.

The cement plants are the largest enterprises of that industry. The largest of these are in Baghdad, two plants are in Mosul, one near Sulaymaniyah and one each in Hilla and Samawa. The combined capacity of all the six plants is 1.4 million tons a year. This makes it possible to meet all the requirements of Iraq, and also to export a considerable quantity of cement. The Iraqi cement is exported to the Persian Gulf area, to Pakistan and Ceylon. Thus 240,000 of the 901,000 tons of cement were exported from the country between September 1962 and September 1963. The marketing of the cement inside and outside the country is controlled by a special state organization. It recently opened its affiliates in Kuwait and Bahrein.

In 1961 the construction materials industry produced: 42 million tiles, 950,6 million bricks (1963), 937,000 tons of cement, over 600,000 tons of gypsum, over 150,000 square meters of slate, 30 million concrete bricks, about 4.5 concrete plates and blocks, as well as asbestos and reinforced concrete pipes, glass and ceramic utensils, etc.,

A modern enterprise of building materials, built with the technical assistance of the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, was introduced in March 1962: a plant producing

ferroconcrete sleepers with a capacity of 300,000 sleepers a year. The plant belongs to the Department of Government Railroads.

A glass-making plant with a capacity of about 22,000 tons of glass a year is under construction in Ramadi with the technical cooperation of the Soviet Union; the plant will produce window glass, bottles, flasks, and high quality utensils.

The production of metal products and metal repairs. Seventy-six enterprises employing 2,000 workers were engaged in the production of various metal products in 1961. Five times as many workers were engaged in the repair of trucks, the railroad transport, ships, communication facilities and various machinery. This was done by 118 enterprises employing 10,000 workers.

The output of metal products began with the production of aluminum kitchen equipment and air conditioners, and in the fifties, private companies initiated the production of metal furniture (office desks, cabinets, chairs and beds) from duraluminum. A plant for the production of oil tanks and one plant for the production of liquified gas bags went into production.

This industry is now being expanded by the construction of the first plants designed to assemble various machines and apparatuses (trucks, television sets, radio sets, refrigerators, and air conditioners). An assembly plant designed to assemble television sets in cooperation with the British firm "Pye", was built in 1963 by the large private Iraqi-English company "Light Industries" in Baghdad.

A small plant built with the assistance of the Czechoslovak SSR and designed to produce equipment and spare parts for the oil industry went into operation in Dora in 1965. Under construction now are enterprises for the production of transistor radios, refrigerators, bicycles and electric fans.

Two large government plants which will lay the foundation for machine engineering are now being built with the technical cooperation of the USSR. The first of them is an agricultural machine plant in the town of Iskanderiya. It will produce annually 38,000 tons of agricultural implements and machines, spare parts, instruments, various facilities and castings. The plant will employ over 3,400 workers.

The second large machinebuilding enterprise under construction in Baghdad is an electrical engineering plant which will employ over 1,800 workers and employees. It will go into operation in 1966. It will produce power transformers up to 1,000 kilovolt amperes and will have a total capacity of 100,000 kv-amps a year, 50,000 electric motors up to 1 kilovolt ampere each, 25,000 electric motors up to 50 kilovolt amperes and 2,000 generators up 50 kilowatt each, as well as low voltage apparatus. That plant is scheduled to include a shop for the repair of transformers and electric motors up to 20% of the plant's output.

The machine repair base is being expanded in Iraq. In addition to the electrical equipment plant currently under construction, which will become the largest machine repairing center, a plant for the repair of geological equipment and the production of spare parts for it is being built in Baghdad. A central machine-renting station was built in Abu-Gurayba (near Baghdad) and a number of similar stations in the other major cities of the country which are equipped for current and major repairs to agricultural machinery and trucks.

A floating dock for the repair and construction of vessels between 4,000 and 6,000 ton is being built by the Japanese company Nippon Kōkan in the Basrah district. The dock will be ready for operation in 1966.

The chemical industry consists of several small enterprises producing about 600 tons of carbonic acid and dry ice; five of the plants produce oxygen, nitrogen, acetylene (436,000 cubic meters in 1961) and 150-200 tons of paints. A plastic pipe plant with a capacity of 1.6 million linear meters per year is producing pipes with a diameter ranging from 1.5 to 15 centimeters. Several small plants, working on imported raw material, produce plastic manufactures.

Three small pharmaceutical enterprises are engaged in the production of medicine from imported raw materials, as well as perfumery and cosmetics. In 1961/62 the government cotton wool factory in Baghdad (employing 150 workers) produced 130,000 linear meters of bandages and gauze and 20 tons of cotton wool. Twelve thousand tons of soap and 7,000 tons of detergents are produced by about 10 soap-making plants. Several small plants produce perfumes and cosmetics, such as cream, shampoo, eau de cologne, face powder and various dyes.

About 340,000 items of various rubber products were also produced in 1961.

The current output of the chemical industry can meet only a small portion of the population's requirements. But Iraq has enormous reserves of chemical raw materials at its disposal -- petroleum, natural gas, phosphorites and sulphur. The development of its own chemical industry would enable Iraq to provide raw and other materials for many of its industries.

The development of a modern chemical industry begins with the construction of oil chemistry and basic chemistry facilities. Construction was started in Basrah on a nitrogen fertilizer plant which will produce 120,000 tons of ammonium sulphate and 50,000 tons of urea. It will use as its raw materials the natural gas of Ar-Rumaila and the sulphuric acid from the Kirkuk plant (See note) which is scheduled to be commissioned in 1966. Provisions have been made for the production of 120,000 tons of sulphur per year from local natural gas. The plant will supply sulphuric acid to the fertilizer plant in Basrah, and use a large portion of its sulphur for export purposes.

(Note. There is an enormous demand for mineral fertilizer in Iraq. The country requires at least 500,000 tons of fertilizer a year /assuming one planting a year/, while the current consumption is only 5,000-6,000 tons).

The government plant of artificial fiber under construction in India will produce about 3,000 tons of viscous fiber and 5,500 tons of staple fiber a year.

The largest plant of Iraq's pharmaceutical industry will be a government plant of antibiotics and pharmaceutical products in Samarra which is under construction with the technical cooperation of the USSR. Part of the raw materials will be supplied by the government farm of medicinal herbs in Abu-Gurayba. That plant will make it possible to reduce the import of medicines by 70%.

The food industry. The country's agriculture supplies adequate raw materials to the factories and plants of this industry (with the exception of sugar production). But despite all that, not all the foodstuffs are produced in quantities

required to meet the population's demand. The demands for cereals and macaroni products, dairy products, canned vegetables, fruit and meat is in large measure met by imports. Many types of foodstuffs (for example, canned dairy and fish products, sausages) are not even produced in Iraq.

A number of food industry enterprises have been equipped with modern machinery since the end of the fifties; new factories and plants producing new types of products have come into being. These include the first mechanical bakery in Baghdad, the Central Government Dairy Plant in Abu-Gurayba (1957), the sugar refinery in Mosul (1959), and the canning plant in Karbala (1962) built with the technical cooperation of the USSR; the rated capacity of the plant is 3 million cans of vegetable, fruit and meat products a year.

The sugar industry can meet only 13% of the population's demand. Sugar consumption in 1961 amounted to 270,000 tons. Two hundred and thirty-six thousand tons of sugar were imported in 1961 at a cost to Iraq of 7.7 million dinars. The further construction of sugar refineries has been held up because of a shortage of local raw materials.

There are 25 ice-making plants in the country. They are located in all the large towns, and 11 of them are in Baghdad. Where no special plants are available, the ice is produced as a byproduct by the enterprises equipped with refrigerating installations (power plants and pumping stations).

A considerable number of plants produce nonalcoholic national fruit drinks as well as Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola and Sinalko under license of foreign companies. Sherbets, sweet drinks of iced fruit juices are made and sold by thousands of artisans, as well as confectionery products made of flour and butter, baklava and zalabiya.

Date-pressing and packing enterprises also play an important part. There are 80 such factories in Iraq employing 16,000 men. These enterprises work primarily from September through November.

The prospective development of the food industry has been made possible by the nationalization of its largest enterprises.

The government sector now owns all the four cigarette factories, five of the largest flour mills, two of the largest creameries and half of the milk-processing plants.

Cited below are the figures on the main food industry produced in 1963.

Wheat flour, 1000 tons*	231	Grapewine, 1000 liters	166
Lump sugar, 1000 tons	30	Beer, million liters	3.72
Pasteurized milk, tons*	4474	Desert drinks, million	
Dairy products:		liters	421.4
(butter, cheese, cream,		Cigarettes, millions	4761
kefir), tons*	975	Fats and vegetable oil,	
Vodka and alcohol,		thousand tons . . .	30.1
million liters	3.0		

* 1961.

The light industry. The modern enterprises producing cotton and wool fabrics and equipped with the latest automatic machine tools actually came into being only after the second World War. They encountered keen competition on the part of the imported textile products and fabrics.

About one half of the workers of this industry are employed in the four cotton fabric enterprises (3,900 men) concentrated in Baghdad and Mosul and using local raw materials. The largest of them are the government spinning and weaving mill in Mosul and spinning and weaving mill in Kadimyah (in the Baghdad district). The first one is a full-cycle enterprise (spinning, weaving, dyeing, etc.) built in 1957. The productive capacity of the factory which has 25,000 spindles and 650 looms is 20 million square meters of cotton fabric a year. The second factory was nationalized in 1964. It is equipped with 27,000 spindles and 630 modern automatic looms.

In 1963 Iraq produced a total of 24.4 million meters of various cotton fabrics (gray, bleached, dyed and printed), 600 ton of cotton yarn and 238,000 various cotton shawls (1961).

The enterprises producing woolen fabrics and products employ 2,300 workers, 2,150 of them in four spinning and weaving mills and 150 in four factories producing woolen yarns. These factories use only a very small part of the local wool clips (a little more than 1,000 out of the 6,000-7,000 tons produced annually). Furthermore, a considerable handicraft production of woolen products and fabrics has existed in the country for ages. The artisans have about 3,000 looms at their disposal.

The combined output of all the eight spinning and weaving mills and knitted goods factories includes 778,000 meters of woolen fabrics (1963), 338,000 blankets (1963), 179 tons of wool yarn (1963), 550,000 pairs of hosiery (1961) and about 230,000 various knitted goods products, such as women's and children's garments, blouses, jackets and skirts (1961).

Nine knitted-goods factories producing cotton manufacturers, artificial silk and synthetic fiber (from imported yarn) went into operation in the sixties. In 1961 Iraq produced 1.3 million men's sport shirts made of cotton and artificial silk, 943,000 pairs of nylon socks and stockings and 6,000 articles of clothing from knitted goods.

There were 23 factories in the country producing natural and artificial silk fabrics and products in 1963; they employed about 1,500 workers. The annual output amounted to about 6.5 million meters of various fabrics made of artificial and natural silks, about 7,500 tons of silk yarn as well as over 300,000 silk kerchiefs (1961).

The largest cotton plant in the country with an annual output of 30 million linear meters of fabric and 632 tons of commercial yarn is under construction in the town of Kut (170 kilometers south of Baghdad) with the technical cooperation of the USSR; also, a hosiery and knit goods factory, to be commissioned in 1966, which will produce 6 million pair of hosiery, 3.8 million units of knitted underwear and 1 million units of knitted garments a year.

A plant producing worsted fabrics with an annual output of 2 million square meters of worsted and broadcloth fabrics and blankets and 2,000 tons of wool yarn is under construction in An-Nasiriyah. A fabric and yarn mill scheduled to work on

artificial fiber is being built in Hillah. The supply of raw materials for this mill will come from the artificial fiber plant in Hindiyah.

Associated with the textile industry are the garment enterprises. There were 43 garment factories in 1961 employing 1,370 workers. The factories are located in the major Iraqi towns. There are also thousands of small shops in the country, operated by the individual owners with the assistance of several apprentices, who produce garments which are frequently sold in a store located in the same building as the shop.

Iraq imported very many ready-made cotton, wool and artificial silk products. Its 1959 import amounted to about 10.5 million dinars.

A large government garment factory built with the technical cooperation of the Soviet Union went into operation in Baghdad in May 1964. The factory employs 1,000 workers. It can process up to 3 million meters of fabric a year.

A leather-footwear industry was built to replace the handicraft production which is still very much in evidence in the country. As late as 1954 the Iraqi footwear was produced at two plants employing 155 workers; in 1963 there were 30 small factories in operation employing 1,900 workers. There has been a considerable increase in the output of textile and rubber footwear which is in great demand (its output in 1963 exceeded that of leather footwear), as well as plastic footwear.

The "Batya" company factory, nationalized in 1964 (paid up capital 240,000 dinars) is considered the largest enterprise in the country. The factory produces about 1 million pairs of leather and rubber footwear a year. It operates a widely ramified network of modern stores in every town of the country.

A government footwear factory built with the technical and economic assistance of the Czechoslovak SSR and equipped with Czechoslovak machinery, went into operation in Kufa in 1964. That enterprise is called the "National Footwear Factory". It employs about 700 workers. The factory produces a million pairs of footwear, mostly low-priced, a year.

The combined output of all the footwear factories in 1963 was 5,311,800 pairs of footwear, including 1,471,600 pairs of leather footwear, 1,992,200 pairs of rubber and textile footwear and 1,858,000 pairs of plastic footwear.

There were eight leather-tanning enterprises in the country in 1963 (mostly in Baghdad and Mosul) employing 540 workers. The largest of them, belonging to the "National Leather-Tanning Industry" (Baghdad), was nationalized in 1964; its paid-up capital was 425,000 dinars.

Supplied with an abundance of local raw materials, these leather-tanning plants produced 824 tons of sole leather and 640,800 square meters of finished upper and lining leather in 1963.

Transport

The distribution of the population and the topography of the country (first of all the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys), have determined the particular development of Iraq's transport system.

The bulk of the freight traffic runs from north to south and back, along the Mosul-Basrah line. Agricultural produce is shipped in the southern direction. Machinery, equipment, fabrics and other products of the processing industry are carried north through Basrah which handles the bulk of the country's imports. The railroads are found mostly in the eastern part of the country. The main transport centers are Baghdad, Basrah, Faw (together with Hawr al-Amaya) and Mosul.

The pipelines play an important part in the foreign freight traffic (see section titled "The oil industry").

The railroads. The railroad system existing before the 1958 revolution consisted of the 530 kilometer Baghdad-Tell-Kuchek single-track standard-gauge line (1,435 mm), and the 1,130 kilometer single-track metric gauge lines from Baghdad to Erbil and to Basrah.

Five-six years before the revolution the railroad transport could no longer meet the requirements of the country's economy. One reason was that the freight had to be transshipped in Baghdad because of the different track gauges; what the railroads needed was the modernization of the equipment and rolling stock, a change from steam to diesel engines, the introduction of uniform gauge tracks, the construction of a second track and an increase in speed.

The construction of a standard gauge railroad line from Baghdad to Basrah, with the technical cooperation of the USSR, was begun in 1961. The USSR extended Iraq a credit of 16.2 million dinars (about 41% of the construction cost), enabling Iraq to buy from it rails, sleepers, rolling stock, and equipment; the USSR also built a plant of ferroconcrete sleepers and is building two shops for the assembly and repair of railroad cars and the repair of diesel engines. That line was opened to through traffic in March 1964. The entire line will be fully commissioned in 1966. The following branch lines will also be built: Ash-Shayba (near Basrah -- Umm-Kasr 60 kilometers, Husayyib -- Karbala -- Shitata (100 kilometers) and Baghdad -- Abu-Gurayb (22 kilometers). The rolling stock of the Baghdad-Basrah line has been completely renovated. Poland delivered to Iraq 1,645 freight and passenger cars, and Czechoslovakia 25 diesel engines of 1,650 and 650 horsepower. The freight turnover can now go up from 2 million to 10 million tons a year.

Scheduled for construction now is a broad-gauge railroad line from Kirkuk to Sulaymaniyah, one of the largest agricultural centers.

The railroad transport employed 18,000 workers in 1964. Its rolling stock consisted of 123 engines and 7,425 cars for the narrow-gauge lines and 45 engines, 3,434 cars for the standard gauge. The combined shipments of all the railroad lines in 1963/64 included 2.5 million tons of freight and 2,293,000 passengers (758.2 million ton-kilometers and 484 million passenger-kilometers).

The motor transport. The flat topography and solid ground in most of the country make the use of pack animals and motor transport possible even on roadless terrain. But during the short rainy season and annual floods all traffic in the roadless areas is discontinued. The mountainous areas in the north of the country and the swampy districts in the south of Iraq and along the lower reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates have always required reliable transport communications.

The first highways came into being in Iraq only during the First World War. By 1950 the road network consisted of only 3,000 kilometers of gravel-covered roads and 5,000 kilometers of dirt roads; there was not a single motor highway.

A road construction program got under way in the fifties. That was dictated by the requirements of the country's developing capitalist economy, and the need for a larger domestic and foreign commodity circulation. The country also needed good roads for its outlet to the Mediterranean (the distance from Baghdad to Beirut is less than 1,000 kilometers). The development of road construction was also furthered by the desire of the U.S. and British imperialists to transform Iraq into their military-strategic place d'arme.

By 1965 the country already had over 2,000 kilometers of asphalt and concrete-covered motor roads; the total operational length of the major motor roads amounted to 7,200 kilometers. Fifteen large bridges for motor traffic were built in 1951-1964 across the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

The major motor roads were built in meridional direction. Chief among them is the 600-kilometer autostrada connecting Iraq's capital with the sea: Baghdad-Hillah-Diwaniyah-An Nasiriyah-Basrah. Most of this road runs parallel to the Baghdad-Basrah railroad line. The second longest motor road (560 kilometers) is Baghdad-Kut-Amarah-Basrah. The main road running from Baghdad (the center of all the country's motor roads, to the north is the Baghdad-Baiji-Sharqat-Mosul road (380 kilometers). That road is asphalt and concrete surfaced from Baghdad to Sharqat (250 kilometers). Mosul is connected by motor roads to Sinjar, Tell-Mushik and Zakho; the first two of them lead into Syria, and the third to Turkey. Two more asphalt-surface roads run from Baghdad to the north: Baghdad-Da'qubah-Tuz Khurmatu-Kirkuk (206 kilometers) and Baghdad-Da'qubah-Dhahaulah-Khanagin which connects with the Iranian highway system. The northern highways connect Kirkuk with Sulaymaniyah and the Barbandi-Khan and Dukan dams, Erbil with Mosul and Kirkuk with Rawanduz (near the Iranian border). The only long east-west autostrada crosses almost the entire country from Baghdad to Ramadi, and then separates into two branches, one running north into Syria and the other south into Jordan.

In their negotiations held in the summer of 1964, Iraq, Jordan and the United Arab Republic proposed to build a highway from Baghdad to the port of Aqaba (Jordan).

Under construction in the south of the country is the Basrah-Um-Na-Nasir asphalt-surface highway running through As-Zubayr which will connect the Iraq and Kuwait highway network.

In 1964 the motorpool consisted of 74,221 units, including 50,200 motorcars, 17,500 trucks and 6,500 buses. More than half of all the motor vehicles are concentrated in the Baghdad liwa. In charge of the Baghdad city transport is a government company (with a capital of 10 million dinars) which has 560 buses at its disposal. The government intends to take over the interurban communication which is still being taken care of by trucks and buses owned by private companies. The entire taxi pool (14,400 cars) is owned by private capital.

The river transport. The Tigris is navigable from Basrah to Baghdad, and the Euphrates to the Hindiyah dam. Further upstream navigation is possible only in some sections of the river to Mosul and Khita. The Shatt al-Arab river is navigable for

the modern river fleet along its entire length (to the mouth of the Al-Kurna river); ocean-going ships can navigate that river to Basrah.

There is regular ship traffic also on the Shatt al-Garraf (which branches off the Tigris near Kut) and Hillah canals (the eastern sleeve of the Euphrates extended from Musayyib to Samawa).

In 1961 the water-borne freight on the rivers (not counting the freight carried by ocean-going vessels on the Shatt al-Arab to the port of Basrah) amounted to approximately 300,000 tons, which is about 15% of the freight carried by the country's railroads. The heaviest freight traffic is in March-June during the flood period which coincides with the harvesting season in Iraq.

There were 1,398 unpowered vessels registered in 1963/64 with a total of 154,000 net registered tons, including 120 sailboats, 500 barges and the rest were small oar-propelled vessels. There were 960 boats and cutters equipped with steam engines or motors with a total of 12,600 net-registered tons.

Two hundred and forty vessels sailing the Iraqi rivers in the Baghdad-Basrah area in 1963/64 made 599 trips downstream and just as many upstream.

The merchant marine is very important for the country's economy. A considerable share of the petroleum and other exports and most of the imports go through the ports of Basrah, Faw and Hawr al-Amaya.

The ports of Basrah built in 1916-1917 approximately 130 kilometers from the Persian Gulf at the mouth of Shatt al-Arab (the ships sail the first 30 kilometers along the sea canal to Faw and then on the river to Basrah) accounts not only for Iraq's entire seaborne foreign trade but also for the transit trade with Iran. Basrah is also the main river port in the country. The port is equipped to handle eight ships simultaneously. Its freight turnover in recent years amounted to (in thousand tons):

	Imports	Exports (excluding oil)
1961	1292	355
1962	1384	628
1963	1003	529
1964	1309	501

The port is connected by a branch line to the new Baghdad-Basrah railroad.

The second Iraqi seaport, Faw, is located on the Persian Gulf to the south of Basrah. It is used for petroleum exports only.

Another port for the export of petroleum, Hawr al-Amaya, was built in 1962 as Faw was able to take care of tankers only up to 96 tons. The new port represents a little island consisting of three interconnected metal platforms which rest on piles 30 kilometers offshore in the Faw area where the sea is over 20 meters deep. The total length of the island is about 400 meters. The port is capable of handling simultaneously two tankers up to 65,000 tons by pumping the petroleum from Faw into their holds. The introduction of the Hawr al-Amaya port will increase the petroleum export capacity in the south to 20 million tons a year (in 1963 it was 12 million tons).

A new commercial port, Um-Kasr, designed to handle up to 450,000 tons of freight a year is under construction near the Iraqi-Kuwait border.

Mostly foreign ships call at the Iraqi ports. The government navigation company, Iraqi Maritime Transport Company, created after the revolution, owns two ships with a total of 7,700 tons and charters another ship with 5,800 tons capacity. The company intends to order four more freighters of 10,500 tons each. The company's ships call at the Persian Gulf ports, first of all Basrah and Mohramshahr, and also to Western Europe.

The Iraqi air transport was established in 1935. Until 1956 the Civil Aviation was under the department of railroads. A government aviation company, Iraqi Airways, is now operating in the country. The total length of the internal airlines covered by this company in 1964 was 804 kilometers, and the international lines over 17,000 kilometers. The company's planes make scheduled flights from Baghdad to Basrah, Mosul, Kirkuk, Rutba, Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Al Kuwait, Panamah (Bahrein), Istanbul, Teheran, Karachi, Delhi, Bombay, and the European countries. The company has its own representation in Cairo, Beirut, London, Istanbul and Vienna.

In 1964 the Baghdad international airport accommodated over international airlines, and the Basrah airport eight lines. Both of the airports were built in the thirties. A direct air-line between Moscow and Baghdad was established in July 1964. In six and a half flying hours the IL-18 plane covers a distance of 3,500 kilometers with a landing in Nicosia and Damascus.

A new international airport has been under construction with the assistance of Bulgaria since 1962; it is scheduled to go into operation in 1968. The new airport will be able to accommodate heavy jet planes (56 planes an hour) and take care of two million passengers a year. (The present airport in Baghdad accommodates about 9,000 planes and handles 140,000 passengers a year).

All the obsolete planes were replaced with new propeller driven machines of the Viscount type (England) in 1962. In 1966 the Iraqi airways will use 85-seat British turboprop planes "Trident 121" with a range of over 3,600 kilometers.

Communications

There were 327 postal-telegraph offices in Iraq in 1964 which handled 52 million local letters and other mail and 41.54 million pieces of foreign mail. In 1963 the country had 150,000 radio receivers, 75,000 television sets and over 64,000 telephones, including 53,000 in Baghdad (1964).

Preparations are currently under way in Iraq for the establishment of a direct dial telephone line between all the cities in the country. The first direct communication line will connect Baghdad with Basrah, and then also with Kirkuk. Currently undergoing expansion and modernization is the telephone network in Mosul and Kirkuk, and this development is expected to increase the number of telephone outlets in the country to 100,000 in 1967.

The radio station "As-Caura" (Revolution) went into operation after the 1958 revolution in Abu-Gubayr (with two two 125/250 kilowatt transmitters). The radio broadcasting station "Khurriya" (Freedom) was built in 1962 with the technical cooperation of the Soviet Union in the Baghdad suburb of Salman-Pake (two 150 kilowatt medium-wave transmitters and four 100 kilowatt shortwave transmitters). A new radio studio designed for the

simultaneous transmission of several programs is scheduled to be built in Baghdad. The same building will house a new telegraph agency.

A radio monitoring center built with the cooperation of Soviet specialists went into operation in Daudiya, near Baghdad, at the end of 1964. It will monitor and record radio broadcasts from every country in the world. The construction of medium-wave broadcasting stations has begun in Basrah and Kirkuk.

The television center in Baghdad presents programs in two languages, Arabic and English (its transmission range is small).

The plans for television development provide for the presentation of television programs to the entire Iraqi population. Television relay stations are now being equipped in Mosul, Basrah and Kirkuk.

Finance

Government finance. The Iraqi government budget consists of the ordinary budget and the economic development budget, the two of them covering the permanent government revenues and expenditures.

The increasing annual revenues are due to the growing direct and indirect taxes as well as to larger foreign subsidies and loans.

The structure of the Iraqi government budget is characterized by the figures shown in table 16.

Revenues & expenditures of the Iraqi government budget from 1938/39 through the 1964/65 fiscal year (in million dinars)

Table 16.

Year	Revenue	Expenditures	Deficit	Year	Revenue	Expenditures	Deficit
1938/39	7.84	9.04	- 1.2	1957/58	59.18	--	--
1949/50	28.63	30	- 1.37	1958/59	83.82	71.38	+12.44
1950/51	33.49	29.32	+ 4.17	1959/60	89.72	100.16	-10.44
1951/52	37.53	30.82	+ 6.71	1960/61	103.6	114.3	-10.7
1952/53	50.54	44.48	+ 6.06	1961/62	120.7	119.2	+ 1.5
1953/54	47.52	50.15	- 2.63	1962/63	114.7	128.4	-13.7
1954/55	52.18	53.8	- 1.62	1963/64	126.8	149.0	-22.2
1955/56	65.28	55.27	+10.01	1964/65*	124.8	143.1	-18.3
1956/57	62.71	70.28	- 7.57				

*estimate

Before the revolution the government budget almost always showed a deficit (with the exception of the few years when the income was increased by the increasing revenues of petroleum), which was due to the enormous military expenditures and the high cost of a police apparatus, as well as the wasteful spending on the part of the royal court (the construction of the King's palace, for example, cost 17.9 dinars, or about 25% of all the expenditures of the 1957/58 ordinary budget).

The revenues of the ordinary budget were made up of the following elements: income from petroleum, customs duties and other indirect taxes and duties, and direct taxes.

Since 1952 the considerable increases in the deductions of the foreign monopolies as payment for the petroleum accounted for the large part of the revenue. Thirty percent of all the payments by the foreign companies went to the ordinary budget, and 70% was credited to the economic development budget to be used for financing the operations provided for by the five-year plans. In 1952-1964 the income from oil amounted to over 60% of all the budgetary revenue, while before the Second World War (1934-1937) they accounted for not more than 7%. The reason for such an increase in the oil revenue is that the foreign monopolies were forced to increase Iraqi's share in the income derived from the exploitation of the oilfields under pressure from the national liberation struggle of the Iraqi people.

In 1956/57 the indirect taxes amounted to 26.1 million dinars, that is a more than eleven-fold increase (2.2 million dinars) over 1936/37. Even if we take into account the 100% increase in population and the 1949 devaluation of the pound sterling and dinar by 44% in relation to the dollar, it is still evident that

the main tax burden must be borne by the urban and rural working people. The direct taxes have a limited application. Agricultural income was exempt from income tax as required by the interests of the feudal lords. Great privileges were provided for the foreign companies. The tax burden had to be borne by low-income people.

The expenditures of the ordinary budget consisted of an administrative cost and the upkeep of the army and police; a small share of those expenditures was used for the country's economic development. The military requirements accounted for about one-third of the budgetary expenditures. In the last years of the monarchy's existence the cost of maintaining the army, the police, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the prison administration amounted to: 41.9% in 1954/55, 44.6% in 1955/56, 45% in 1956/57 and 41.5% in 1957/58. At the same time, the appropriations for public education never exceeded 7% of the budgetary expenditures.

In the first budget of the Iraqi republic (for the 1959 fiscal year) the total expenditures were set at 195.3 million dinars (in the last budget of the King's government the figure was 83.6 million dinars). In view of the larger funds required for education, public health and defense purposes, it was decided to reduce the oil revenue to be credited to the economic development budget from 70% to 50%. That temporary and forced measure was facilitated by the fact that the agreement concluded with the Soviet Union in March 1959 on technical and economic cooperation, including the 123.7 million ruble credit, made it possible to construct a number of facilities without cash payments.

Introducing measures designed to abolish its dependence on foreign capital and strengthen the sovereignty of the young republic, the Iraqi government declined the draft agreement providing for the participation of American capital in the exploitation of the country's natural resources. In May 1959 it adopted a decision to abolish the agreements with the U.S. on military aid as well as the agreement on economic "aid".

The ordinary budget for 1964/65 fiscal year provided for a revenue of 124.8 million dinars and expenditures amounting to 143.1 million, that is a deficit of 18.3 million dinars which was 3.9 million dinars or 17.5% less than the deficit of the previous year.

The revenue part of the budget in recent years has been made up of the following receipts (million dinars):

	<u>1962/63</u>	<u>1963/64</u>	<u>1964/65*</u>
Taxes and duties			
Income tax	56.1	65.7	64.0
Customs duties and excise	36.2	34.5	42.0
Agricultural tax	0.7	0.7	0.9
Real estate tax	2.2	2.3	2.3
Stamp duty, etc.	5.9	4.5	2.2
Receipts			
From government institutions	10.5	14.7	4.7
From government enterprises	0.2	1.3	5.1
From other sources	2.9	3.1	3.8
*Estimate	Total	114.7	126.8
			124.8

The item under the heading "income tax" includes half of the receipts from the foreign oil companies. In the 1964/65 budget about 60 million dinars represented deductions from the oil companies' income (43% of the total revenues of the budget).

The second largest source of income are the indirect taxes (customs duties and excise). That group included 26 million dinars received in the form of import duties (22% of the total budget revenue). Thus the income tax as well as the customs duties and excise produced 80% of all the budget revenues in 1964/1965.

The revenues of the ordinary budget for the 1964/65 fiscal year were 1.6% lower than those of the previous year.

The major expenditure items included: the cost of defense, police and socio-cultural requirements; relatively smaller amounts were appropriated for the economic development of the country; the latter were reflected in the budget of economic development.

The expenditures of the ordinary budget for the 1964/65 fiscal year amounted to 143.1 million dinars, and were 4% lower than those of the previous year.

The expenditures of the budget in recent years have been made up of the following major items (million dinars):

	<u>1962/63</u>	<u>1963/64</u>	<u>1964/65*</u>
Administration & Management Costs			
President's palace cabinet.	0.04	0.2	9.7
Chancery of the Council of Ministers	0.07	0.1	0.2
Supreme council for government workers	0.05	0.09	0.1
Foreign Affairs Ministry	1.2	0.9	1.7
Finance Ministry	3.9	3.6	1.3
Local administration	8.8	9.6	9.7
Military and Police expenditures			
Defense Ministry.	39.9	49.3	45.9
Ministry of Justice	0.07	0.06	2.2
Ministry of Internal Affairs	1.0	1.0	1.3
Department of Police	9.4	12.0	11.8
Social and cultural needs			
Ministry of Education	26.8	27.3	28.0
Public Health Ministry	7.5	7.1	8.0
Ministry of Labor & Social Affairs	1.1	1.2	1.7
Economic development			
Economic Ministry	0.2	0.2	0.2
Ministry of municipalities and rural localities. . .	0.1	0.1	0.2
Ministry of Public works and housing construction. .	0.2	0.2	0.9
Ministry of Agriculture	1.2	1.2	1.8
Ministry of Agrarian Reform	0.008	0.009	0.01
Ministry of Industry	0.3	0.3	0.4
Ministry of Oil	0.8	0.2	0.4
Ministry of Communications & Transport	0.3	0.3	0.3
Ministry of Planning	6.7	13.7	0.9

*estimate.

The appropriations for national defense and the upkeep of the police in 1964/65 amounted to 57.7 million dinars as against the 61.3 million in the previous year (or 46% against 41%). There is reason for the belief that the actual cost of maintaining the army and the police may prove to be higher than provided for in the budget because of the increase in the salary of the military and police in July 1964.

The cost of education was increased by 0.7 million dinars, as compared to the previous year, amounting to 19% of all the budgetary expenditures.

The appropriations for the Public Health Ministry were increased by 0.9 million dinars.

Iraq's government debt has been increasing from year to year (million dinars):

	<u>1956</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>
Domestic loan	11.0	16.0	25.2	29.4	41.6	24.8	19.8
Foreign loan	10.4	8.6	6.1	7.0	17.3	55.0	36.3
Total	21.4	24.6	31.3	36.4	58.9	79.8	56.1

The credit system. The establishment of a national credit system in Iraq dates back to the institution of the government banks: the agricultural and industrial bank in 1935, and the commercial (Hafideyn bank) bank in 1941. The development of a credit system began after the Second World War. The present Iraqi credit system consists of a central bank of issue, ten commercial banks engaged primarily in short-term credits and three long-term credit banks.

The Central Bank of Iraq (which belongs to the government), which has its board of directors in Baghdad, was founded in 1947 as the national bank of Iraq. It actually began to function only in 1949; in 1956 it was renamed the Central Bank of Iraq. The bank has a capital of 7.5 million dinars and a reserve of 1.7 million dinars. Its balance of payments as of the end of 1962 amounted to 83.8 million dinars.

The Central Bank exercises a monopoly on currency issue, currency control and the safekeeping of gold and currency reserves as well as control over the operations of the commercial banks.

Five of the ten commercial banks functioning in Iraq are branches of foreign banks. These include: the British Bank of the Middle East and the Eastern Bank, the Lebanese Federal Bank of Lebanon, the Pakistani National Bank of Pakistan and the Jordanian Arab Bank.

The commercial banks. The former British Ottoman bank is registered under the name of "Intimid bank" (credit bank) as an Iraqi joint-stock company. Forty percent of its capital belongs to the Ottoman Bank, and the rest to private Iraqi individuals.

The United Bank of Iraq, founded early in 1962, took over all the assets and liabilities of the two branches of the Lebanese Inter Bank which had functioned until then in Iraq. Forty percent of the United Bank of Iraq capital belongs to the Lebanese Inter Bank and 60% to private Iraqi individuals and companies.

The Rafideyn Bank was founded in 1941 as a government commercial bank. It is now the largest credit institution in the country with a ramified network of branches (13 branches in Iraq, one in Lebanon, two in Syria and one in Jordan). The bank's fixed capital is 5 million dinars, and the paid up capital as of March 31, 1960 4.5 million dinars (the bank's capital is paid up by the Finance Ministry). Its board of directors is in Baghdad. Its balance payments as of the end of 1960 was 50 million dinars.

The bank carries out considerable operations in providing its payments for the budget, and it handles most of the payments from the oil companies to the Iraqi government. The bank also engages in usual commercial operations including the use of foreign currency. It has its branch in London.

The Commercial bank of Iraq was founded in June 1953 as a joint-stock company with a capital of 0.5 million dinars. Its balance as of the end of 1961 was 7.5 million dinars. The bank's board of directors is in Baghdad.

The bank of Baghdad was founded in May 1956 as a joint-stock company with a capital of one million dinars. Its balance of the end of 1960 was 8.9 million dinars. Its board of directors is in Baghdad.

Long-term investment banks. Founded in 1935, the Agricultural and Industrial bank was divided into separate industrial and agricultural banks in 1946. The capital of the Industrial Bank is 8 million dinars. This bank extends loans to industrialists and invests its capital in a number of industrial enterprises; it organizes public enterprises which are eventually sold. The bank also issues bonds.

The agricultural bank extends loans to land owners (four-five years). It cooperates in the establishment of agricultural cooperative credit.

The mortgage bank was founded in 1948. Its capital of 10 million dinars was paid up to the extent of 15%. It extends loans against real estate property. The government has guaranteed two million dinars for the financing of housing construction. It uses the facilities of the Development Council to expand its operations; the bank can issue bonds with the permission of the Council of Ministers. Its loans are extended up to eight years.

On July 14, 1964 the Iraqi government nationalized the Iraqi and foreign banks and the Iraqi bank branches abroad, as well as the foreign and Iraqi insurance companies. All the personal savings accounts were not affected. (See note). The government assumes all the responsibility for the banks. All the bank shareholders will be compensated over a period of 15 years from the annual profits at an annual rate of 3%. The total compensation should not exceed 25% of the banks' annual profits. First to be compensated will be the shareholders with an investment not exceeding 500 dinars.

(Note. Referring to the rationalization of the banks, Prime Minister Takher-Yakhiya said on July 14, 1964 that the step implied the transfer of the banking capital to the government without affecting the individual savings accounts).

Money circulation. The official monetary unit of Iraq, the Iraqi dinar, consists of 1000 fils.

The amount of money in circulation has been steadily increasing since 1952. The current accounts of the commercial banks have increased at the same time. As indicated by the figures cited below, the increasing money circulation had not produced any inflationary price rises in the past, although the prices are subject to fluctuations.

	<u>1955</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>
Money circulation, million dinars.	43	49	51	64
Current accounts of the commercial banks, million dinars.	21	25	29	32
Wholesale price index (1953 = 100)	97	104	108	97
Cost of living index (1953 = 100).	101	108	113	108

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>
Money circulation, million dinars.	80.3	79.7	85.1	102.7	105.0
Current accounts of the commercial banks, million dinars.	30	-	-	-	-
Wholesale price index (1953 = 100)	110	109	-	-	-
Cost of living index (1953 = 100).	111	112	-	-	-

The issue of bank notes accounts for the overall increase of the money in circulation, and these notes are not fully backed by gold and foreign currency reserves but are, to a considerable extent, guaranteed by government securities (by over 20% in 1964).

Currency rates and currency relations. The gold content of the Iraqi dinar, as registered by the International Currency Fund on September 20, 1949 amounts to 2.48628 grams of pure gold. There are two currency rates in Iraq at present. The official rate is based on the gold content of the Iraqi dinar and the dollar (2.80 dollars per one dinar); that rate is actually used by Iraq in all its currency operations. The rate on the free market fluctuates within the officially established range from 2.70 to 3.18 dollars per dinar.

The import and export of national currency is forbidden (Iraqi and foreign citizens may take out of the country not more than 150 dinars).

Iraqi has been part of the sterling bloc since 1931, and its currency is based on the pound sterling. Iraq was required to submit all its dollar receipts to the dollar pool of the sterling bloc located in London; it could withdraw dollars from the pool only by permission of the Bank of England. On June 23, 1959 announced its resignation from the sterling bloc. From an economic point of view, that step implies that Iraq will be in charge of its own economic reserves. The Central Bank of Iraq has been accumulating its own gold reserves since 1955.

The major source of currency reserves is the petroleum export. The share of the profits contributed to Iraq in foreign currency by the foreign oil companies operating in the country (Iraq Petroleum, Basrah Petroleum and Mosul Petroleum) formally amounts to 50% of the companies' profits.

The oil revenues account for Iraq's possession of considerable gold and foreign currency reserves (Table 17).

Iraq's gold and currency reserves
(as of end of year), million dinars

Table 17.

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964 (end of April)
All gold and cur- rency reserves	290.4	298.1	257.4	211.6	192.2	294.0	344.4
Gold re- serve. . .	33.5	83.9	98.0	83.9	97.8	97.8	111.8
Iraq's quota in the Inter- nat'l currency fund.	2.0	2.0	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8
Foreign cur- rency.	254.9	212.2	155.6	126.9	90.6	192.4	228.8

All the currency operations (with the exception of the operations with India, Pakistan, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait) are controlled by the currency administration of the Central Bank of Iraq. Imports from the countries are made without license. Imports from the "hard currency" countries are strictly controlled by a license system. All the foreign currency revenues for exports, with the exception of the currencies of the above-listed countries, as well as the noncommercial receipts in foreign currency, must be submitted to the Central Bank of Iraq.

Iraq is a member of the International Currency Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. Iraq's share in the International Currency Fund is 15 million dollars, 75% of which has already been submitted. In 1950-1954 Iraq received a total loan of 6.3 million dollars from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, which was eventually repaid in full.

For a number of years Iraq's balance of payment has shown insignificant assets (with the exception of 1958). The deductions by the oil companies in favor of Iraq accounted for a large part of its assets (Table 18).

Table 18

Iran's balance of payments in 1958-1962 (million dollars)

	1958			1959			1960			1961			1962		
	Receipts	Payments	Balance	Receipts	Payments	Balance	Receipts	Payments	Balance	Receipts	Payments	Balance	Receipts	Payments	Balance
Goods and Services															
Commodity circulation	202.4	109.8	92.6	216.4	116.4	100	233.6	139.5	94.1	236.3	150.3	66	247.1	129.6	117.5
commodities, except															
petroleum.	15.7	99.9	-84.2	14.3	97.5	-85.2	10.7	124.9	-114.2	11.8	138.2	-126.4	21.8	127.7	-105.9
petroleum.	186.7	9.9	76.8	202.1	16.9	185.2	222.9	14.6	208.7	224.5	12.1	217.4	225.3	1.9	223.4
← nonmonetary gold															
movement.	-	1.8	-1.8	-	3.7	-3.7	-	3.2	-3.2	-	2.4	-2.4	-	2.8	-2.8
← tourism.	12	9.7	2.3	3.2	7.6	-4.4	3.2	9.5	-6.3	3.3	10.5	-7.2	3.2	9.3	-6.1
← transport & insurance	4.5	1	3.5	8.9	0.8	8.1	10.7	1.4	9.3	8.4	1.0	7.4	6.9	1.1	5.8
Investment income.	3.5	80.9	-77.4	3.4	88.2	-84.8	2.6	96.4	-93.8	2.9	95.8	92.9	2.7	95.9	-93.2
Direct investments	-	80.8	-80.8	-	84.9	-84.9	-	96.3	-96.3	-	95.7	-95.7	-	95.8	-95.8
miscellaneous income															
& dividends.	3.5	0.1	3.4	3.4	3.3	0.1	2.6	0.1	2.5	2.9	0.03	2.87	2.7	0.1	2.6
Government revenue and															
expenditures.	4.5	9	-4.5	3.5	6.9	-3.4	3.4	7.8	-4.4	3.9	9.9	-6	3.3	12.9	-9.6
Miscellaneous.	0.2	0.3	-0.1	0.1	0.2	-0.1	0.1	1.1	-1	0.03	0.3	-0.2	0.09	0.4	-0.2
Total	227.1	212.5	14.6	235.5	223.8	11.7	253.6	258.9	-5.3	254.9	270.2	-15.3	263.3	252.0	11.2
Donations															
Private remittances.	0.1	1.1	-1	0.1	1.1	-1.0	0.1	1.7	-1.6	0.2	1.5	-1.3	0.4	1.1	-0.7
Government subsidies.	1.3	0.3	1	-	2	-2.0	-	2.2	-2.2	0.1	1.2	-1.1	0.05	1.4	-1.4
Total	1.4	1.4	-	0.1	3.1	-3.0	0.1	3.9	-3.8	0.3	2.7	-2.4	0.4	2.5	-2.1
Capital & Monetary Gold															
Private capital movement	6.8	4.1	2.7	8.0	1.9	6.1	4.9	1.2	3.7	2.7	2.7	-	2.2	14.6	-12.4
Direct investments	6.2	2	4.2	7.5	-	7.5	4.6	-	4.6	2.5	1.3	1.2	2.1	13.7	-11.6
Other long-term investments.	-	0.03	-0.03	0.02	0.03	-0.01	0.01	0.04	-0.03	0.07	0.02	0.05	0.06	0.2	-0.2
Other short-term investments.	0.6	2.1	-1.5	0.5	1.9	-1.4	0.3	1.1	-0.8	0.2	1.3	-1.1	0.09	0.7	-0.6
Government & banking institutions.	5.1	17.7	-12.6	44.4	48.3	-3.9	34.7	16.3	18.4	30.9	10.9	20	24.7	6.7	18
Loans & long-term promissory notes.	1.9	0.6	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	9.9	-	9.9
Other long-term promissory notes.	2.9	-	2.9	20.8	-	20.8	-	1.6	-1.6	9.9	-	9.9	0.8	-	0.8
Monetary gold.	-	+5	-5	-	18	-18	5.3	10	-4.7	4.9	-	4.9	-	5.1	-5.1
Total	11.9	21.8	-9.9	52.4	50.2	2.2	39.6	17.5	22.1	33.6	13.6	20	26.9	21.3	5.6

Foreign Trade

Iraq depends to a very large extent on foreign trade. The lack of basic industries and extreme agricultural backwardness compelled the country to import all the necessary machinery and equipment and many other types of industrial products including considerable quantities of foodstuffs. Iraq's demands for industrial equipment, transportation facilities, tractors, ferrous metals, medicines, lumber, and viscous fabrics are met almost entirely by imports. Iraq also imports about 55-60% of all the cotton fabrics consumed in the country, over 80% of the woollen fabrics, about 15% of the clothing, approximately 25% of the wheat, over 22% of the rice and 95% of the sugar.

Because of this one-sided development of a number of agricultural productions, the output of certain types of agricultural products depends a great deal on foreign markets.

Foreign trade is also important for Iraq as a source of additional revenue. Customs duties as well as other taxes connected with foreign operations account for a considerable portion of the Iraqi government's revenues. In the sixties the customs duties and other receipts, connected in some way with foreign trade transactions, accounted for an average of 35 to 45% of the revenue on the ordinary budget, comprising the second largest revenue item next to petroleum.

Under the monarchist regime the foreign trade was controlled by the imperialist powers, first of all England, and used as an economic and political weapon for the subjugation of Iraq. Entangled in a number of unequal treaties and agreements, Iraq became a supplier of oil, agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs.

After the 1958 revolution the Republic government introduced a number of reforms in the field of foreign trade designed to protect the national industry against foreign competition and to expand the export. All forms of foreign trade regulations as well as the practice of trade agreements, etc., were changed for that purpose. New organizations were created to control the foreign trade operations. The "Iraqization" of the foreign agencies, in which over 50% of the capital belonged to foreign legal entities or persons, was proclaimed in order to strengthen the national sector in the foreign trade.

Iraq's trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, based on trade and payments agreements, as well as agreements on economic and technical cooperation, began to assume increasing proportions.

But inconsistent policy carried out by Kasem in the following years in the field of foreign trade failed to curb the activities of the big comprador capital. The government's foreign trade policy was actually designed to serve the interests of the large trading companies, and the result was a further concentration and centralization of capital in the sphere of foreign trade and the elimination and ruination of the small business firms. New groups of merchants monopolizing the export and import of the most important commodities came into being. Big trade capital exerted increasing crude pressure on the Kasem government attempting to force him to abandon the protectionist policy.

The Ba'athist coup d'etat was followed by the abolition of all the previously introduced measures whereby some measure of

government control over imports and exports was achieved and served the interests of the national economy.

The Aref-Yahya government, which came to power after the liquidation of the Ba'ath regime in November 1963, was forced to return to the previous foreign trade policy as it existed by the end of 1962.

The steps taken by the Iraqi government with a view to enhancing the role of the government sector in the country's economy could not fail to affect the foundations of the foreign trade control. In August 1964 the Supreme Committee for Supplies adopted a number of decisions introducing a government monopoly on the import of tea, medicines, certain chemicals and automobiles (a government monopoly on the import of sugar had actually been introduced at the end of 1963).

The Iraqi trade bourgeoisie greatly resented those decisions as it suspected, not without reason, the government's intention to monopolize the country's foreign trade just as did the UAR.

The adopted reforms restricted the sphere of the private sector in foreign trade and enabled the government to assume control over imports and the distribution of major import items. The government's control over the distribution of medicines, tea, sugar and other consumer goods made it possible to reduce the prices on these commodities by an average of 15% at the end of 1964. At the same time the government organizations monopolizing the import of passenger cars introduced very rigid conditions for the customers in the retail automobile trade which reduced the imports of the cars for personal use thereby saving them hard foreign currency.

The total cost of the imported commodities monopolized by the government, including sugar, amounted to 31.3 million dinars, or 24.3% of the total cost of Iraq's import (according to the 1962 figures). If the other very considerable import operations of the government enterprises and institutions are taken into account, government control extended to 35-38% of the country's import trade by the beginning of 1965.

The strengthening of the government sector in the field of foreign trade left its imprint on the condition and structure of Iraq's domestic trade which also fell under partial government control. Almost all of the trade in nationally produced commodities continued to be controlled by wholesale dealers, but the government sought to establish its own control over the domestic retail prices on those goods by the use of legislative and administrative measures.

The dynamics of Iraq's foreign trade commodity circulation during the Republic period has been characterized by the following figures (in million dinars):

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>
Turnover	128.0	146.8	153.6	148.1	130.8	162.7
Import*	116.5	138.9	145.7	128.8	114.1	147.4
Export**	11.5	7.9	7.9	19.3	16.7	15.3
Deficit	105.0	131.0	137.8	109.5	97.4	132.1

*Including the imports of the oil companies. The cost of the goods imported by them amounted to: 10.4 million dinars in 1957, 16.9 million in 1959, 14 million in 1960, 12.1 million in 1961, 1.8 million in 1962, 1.6 million in 1963, and 0.7 million dinars in 1964.

**Not including the reexport and export of oil.

The commodity circulation in Iraq steadily increased until 1962. There was also an increase in imports because of the imported machinery and equipment designed to implement the economic development plants, as well as the increasing purchases of foodstuffs and other consumer goods in foreign markets. In 1962 the imports (which means also the commodity circulation) was somewhat reduced; that was due to the government measures designed to reduce the imports of a number of industrial commodities and curb the imports of foodstuffs because of a good harvest, as well as currency difficulties. The advent of the Ba'athist government to power was characterized by a further reduction of imports -- mostly machinery, equipment, ferrous metal and other goods -- designed for the implementation of the five-year plan for economic development.

Iraq's exports were characterized by considerably greater fluctuations. The recent poor-harvest years have accounted for the country's shrinking exportable resources. Iraq's 1961 exports were slightly more than 61% of the 1957 exports. The good harvest of 1962 made it possible to increase the traditional Iraqi exports. The proceeds from the 1962 exports were almost 2.5 times greater than those of the preceding year, and the largest in many years.

The decreasing import contributed to a reduction of the trade deficit which had become a chronic occurrence in Iraq's foreign trade. Three quarters of Iraq's deficit are covered by the payments for concessions made to Iraq by the foreign oil companies. Thus in 1959-1962 the concession payments to Iraq by the oil companies amounted to 366.5 million dinars whereas the country's total foreign trade deficit for the same period exceeded 483 million dinars. To make up for the deficit, the Iraqi government was compelled to spend its gold and currency reserves which, among other reasons, resulted in an unfavorable balance of payments in certain years.

The figures on Iraq's exports for 1961-1962 are shown in Table 19.

The Structure of Iraq's Export
(major commodities)

Table 19.

Item	1961		1962		1963		1964	
	1,000 tons	million dinars	1,000 tons	million dinars	1,000 tons	million dinars	1,000 tons	million dinars
Entire export	-	7.9	-	19.3	-	16.7	-	15.3
Dates	186.2	2.8	230.3	7.0	344.7	9.0	282.7	6.2
Barley	46.7	0.8	339.0	6.1	43.5	0.8	24.8	0.5
Wheat	-	-	38.9	1.1	1.6	0.4	0.3	0.1
Rice	-	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
oil-bearing seeds	5.1	0.3	8.6	0.5	2.8	0.2	10.3	0.5
Vegetables	6.3	0.2	11.2	0.4	6.0	0.2	4.9	0.2
Cotton	1.4	0.2	1.6	0.4	1.3	0.2	2.9	0.6
Wool	4.4	0.9	4.0	1.1	5.8	2.1	4.6	1.8
Rawhides	2715.0*	0.7	2895.0*	1.0	2791.0	1.0	3603.0	1.2
Casings	1.2**	0.2	1.5**	0.2	-	-	-	-
Cement	145.1	0.7	149.8	0.6	289.4	1.4	377.6	1.9

* 1,000 units

** million bundles

Agricultural produce, vegetable and animal products, accounted for over 95% of the country's exports, and industrial commodities for not more than 3-4%. The export of agricultural and raw materials in poor-harvest years was reduced to 80%. The rest of Iraq's exports consists of foodstuffs (date juice, flour, tobacco and cigarettes), building materials (cement and brick) and products of the handicraft industry (furniture, native costumes, metal products, etc.).

Dates are the most important traditional item of Iraqi's exports in which this country holds the leading place in the world; the share of dates in the total exports has fluctuated on an average between 30 and 35-37%, and it has even exceeded 50% in times of poor grain crops.

The second largest export items is barley. The share of barley in the total export in the rich-harvest years amounts to 33.5%; in the three drought years (1959-1961) the proceeds from the export of barley amounted to slightly over 1.5 million dinars, whereas in 1962 it was estimated at 6 million dinars. In the good harvest years Iraq has also exported wheat which accounted for about 6% of the total exports.

Iraq's exportable industrial crops include oil-bearing seeds and cotton. The shrinking cotton export is due to the poorer cotton crop as well as the government measures restricting the export of cotton in order to meet the domestic demand. The reduced wool export is due to similar reasons. The export of raw hides has shown some increase. Cement has been the most important item of industrial exports.

Iraq's imports in 1961-1964 are characterized by the figures shown in Table 20.

The Structure of Iraq's Imports
(major commodities)

Table 20

Item	1961		1962		1963		1964	
	1,000 tons	million dinars	1,000 tons	million dinars	1,000 tons	million dinars	1,000 tons	million dinars
Entire import*	-	145.7	-	128.8	-	114.0	-	147.4
Machines and equipment*	-	39.2	-	37.7	-	39.5	-	39.4
Foodstuffs & beverages...	1027.3	38.8	740.6	26.6	523.4	24.3	725.9	39.9
Ferrous metal	260.1	16.8	240.8	14.0	160.4	8.3	206.5	10.6
Chemicals	21.8	2.3	36.2	2.9	38.6	4.1	44.1	5.1
Medicines	5.2	4.0	5.9	4.7	4.1	3.8	3.3	3.7
Tires & inner tubes. . . .	4.2	2.3	4.2	2.3	4.3	2.3	4.5	2.6
Lumber. . . .	82.4	3.3	82.0	3.2	101.6	3.7	103.9	4.6
Paper and cardboard. . . .	27.7	2.6	17.3	1.7	28.4	3.6	32.0	4.4
Fabrics** . . .	95.5	12.0	97.9	12.3	111.2	10.9	108.5	12.2
Glass & glass products . .	16.8	1.1	23.4	1.5	19.8	1.2	21.5	1.4

* The amount is not indicated because in Iraqi statistics some of the indicators are shown in units.

** Million square meters.

Machinery, equipment and transportation facilities have been Iraq's major import items, accounting for from 30-40% of the total imports. The ferrous metal imports, accounting for 10-14% of the total, included primarily section steel, structural metal, sheet metal, cast iron and steel pipes and core iron.

The relative share of the foodstuffs, the second largest import item, fluctuated between 19 and 21% of the total, although in some years it was as high as 27% because of the larger food grain imports. The most important items in this group of commodities, in addition to grain, were tea, sugar, fruit and vegetables.

Chemicals and medicines account for a considerable portion of the imports. There has also been a systematic increase in the import of automobile and motorcycle tires and inner tubes as well as bicycle tires.

Textile manufactures accounted for the largest share of imported industrial commodities, 7-9% of the total. The leading item consisted of viscous fabrics. The imports of cotton fabrics have been decreasing from year to year. This has been accompanied by increasing imports of cotton yarns required to meet the needs of the national textile enterprises.

The capitalist countries are Iraq's major foreign trade partners. In 1957 they accounted for about 90% of the entire commodity circulation in the country. But the relative share of the capitalist countries in Iraq's foreign trade has been shrinking since 1958. In 1962 it went down to 62.7%, while the share of the socialist countries increased from 2.1 to 17.3%. The advent of the Ba'athists to power impeded the further development of trade between Iraq and the socialist countries. The Ba'athist government introduced a policy designed to curtail the trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The Aref-Yahya government is resuming the policy of trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

England, the U. S. and Western Germany are Iraq's leading contractors, and while Britain and the U.S. are yielding their positions, the FRG is accelerating its penetration of the Iraqi market (Table 21).

Table 21
Geographic Distribution of Iraq's Foreign Trade
Million dinars

Country	Export				Import			
	1961	1962	1963	1964	1961	1962	1963	1964
England	0.2	1.1	0.9	0.5	32.3	21.2	18.0	18.9
U.S.	0.6	2.1	1.8	0.7	15.7	14.9	12.4	20.1
West Germany	...	2.4	0.4	0.1	13.7	14.3	10.9	12.5
USSR	0.7	1.1	2.0	0.7	7.6	3.7	9.3	7.6
Ceylon	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.5	7.6	7.0	7.8	7.5
Belgium	0.1	0.7	0.03	0.5	7.7	6.4	4.7	5.8
Japan	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.08	6.2	5.6	2.4	6.1
Holland	0.05	0.6	0.04	0.1	3.8	4.1	3.4	3.4
Chinese People's Republic	0.5	1.4	1.6	1.8	2.3	3.3	4.5	5.2
Italy	...	0.6	0.02	0.05	3.7	3.9	3.4	4.7
Sweden	0.001	4.0	4.0	3.2	3.4
India	0.8	0.7	0.8	1.5	2.3	2.8	2.9	2.8
Czechoslovakia	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	3.3	3.3	2.7	3.3

In 1964 England accounted for 11.9% of Iraq's foreign trade, but it continued to hold a leading place in Iraq's foreign trade circulation. England's relatively stable position in the Iraqi market is due, first of all, to the connections she has retained with local importers as well as the considerable volume of imports by the oil companies operating in Iraq.

The U. S. accounted for the largest part of Iraq's foreign trade in 1964, its relative share in the country's foreign trade circulation having been estimated at 12.8%.

The third largest foreign trade partner with a relative share of 7.7% was West Germany. The FRG's successful penetration of the Iraqi market was made possible by the elastic price policy, the delivery terms, credits, etc.

Next in importance in Iraq's foreign trade were the foreign capitalist countries: Ceylon, Belgium, Japan, Holland, Italy and Sweden.

Iraq's trade with the capitalist countries revealed certain new tendencies in 1962. Prominent among them was the sharp increase in the purchases of traditional Iraqi export items at the capitalist powers. The reason for that was not only the considerable increase in exportable resources of the country but also the nature of the export policy maintained by the Iraqi government. The gist of the policy pursued by the Iraqi government in the development of foreign trade relations was the principle of a maximum possible balance of imports and exports with each country. In particular, it curtailed the import from those countries which reduced their purchases in Iraq (Japan, England, Belgium and a number of other capitalist countries).

As a result, the capitalist countries, interested in the Iraqi market of free currency coming in the form of concession payments in pound sterling, were forced to make considerable increases in their purchases in Iraq. It was also influenced by the trade development between Iraq and the socialist countries which compelled the capitalist powers to change their previous forms of semicolonial trade whereby the hard currency was removed from Iraq.

The Arab countries are beginning to play an increasing part in Iraq's foreign trade, although they account for only 8-10% of the total Iraqi commodity circulation. Striving to develop its trade and economic cooperation with the Arab countries, Iraq signed an agreement in August 1964 establishing an Arab "common market" which includes also the UAR, Syria, Jordan and Kuwait.

The agreement on the Arab "common market" provides for the abolition of all custom duties and other taxes, the movement of capital and people, free transit, the use of harbors and airports, etc. for a 10-year period beginning January 1965. Under that agreement, all the five "common market" members, including Iraq, reduced their customs duties on industrial commodities by 10% and agricultural products by 20% on January 1, 1965.

The Soviet Union is leading the other socialist countries in its participation in Iraq's commodity circulation. The establishment and development of trade and economic relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries was a matter of great importance for Iraq. It reflected the desire of the Iraqi government at that time to weaken its dependence on the leading capitalist countries, acquire new stable markets which are not subject to fluctuations and guaranteed source of the necessary imports as well as assistance in its plans for economic development.

The proclamation and introduction of a new foreign trade policy have created the objective preconditions for the establishment and development of Soviet-Iraqi trade and economic cooperation.

According to Iraq statistics, the USSR held fourth place in Iraq's foreign trade in 1962 (6.5% of the entire commodity circulation). The Soviet Union is also the fourth largest importer into Iraq and the fifth exporter from the country (See note). The Soviet Union supplies the Iraqi market with a very large variety of commodities. Production equipment is the most important item of Soviet imports to Iraq (about 60% of the total USSR export to Iraq). The USSR imports to Iraq also ferrous and nonferrous metals, motor vehicles, chemicals, lumber, medicines, foodstuffs, etc. The Soviet Union is one of the major buyers of Iraq dates, wool, cotton and rawhides.

(Note. The Soviet Union's share of Iraq's foreign trade, as defined by Iraqi customs statistics, is lower than the actual share, as the Iraqi statistics do not take into account the deliveries on credit for the enterprises under construction in Iraq with the economic and technical assistance of the USSR. If these deliveries were taken into account, the share of the Soviet Union in Iraq's foreign trade would naturally be larger).

The other socialist countries maintaining wide trade relations with Iraq are the Chinese People's Republic and the Czechoslovak SSR. The Chinese People's Republic held ninth place (3.2%) and the Czechoslovak SSR 13th place (2.4%) in Iraq's foreign trade in 1962.

Iraqi-Soviet Economic Relations

Striving to develop its national economy, the Iraqi Republic asked the socialist countries for economic and technical aid immediately after the 1958 revolution. True to their international duties, the socialist powers immediately responded to that request.

The socialist countries have been building a number of industrial and other facilities under the terms of their agreements. The Soviet Union is leading in this field.

The first agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Iraqi Republic was signed in Moscow on March 16, 1959. That agreement provides for 123.75 million rubles of Soviet credit to Iraq. On August 18, 1960 the USSR earmarked another 40.5 million rubles for technical cooperation and the construction of railroad facilities on the Baghdad-Basrah line.

Iraq is to repay the Soviet 12-year credit loan in hard currency or deliveries of Iraqi commodities. If the cost of the services provided by the Soviet Union exceeds the planned credit amount, the difference is to be paid by Iraq under the same terms.

The Soviet Union also provides technical assistance for Iraq in the planning and construction of industrial, agricultural, transport and other facilities which are paid for in Iraqi commodities under the usual commercial terms or in hard currency.

The construction of enterprises, transport and agricultural facilities, geological prospecting and research work carried out with the cooperation of the USSR, are integral elements of the five-year plans for the economic development of Iraq.

The major part of the Soviet credit extended to Iraq is

used for industrial development.

The most important industrial facilities under construction in Iraq with the technical assistance of the USSR include an agricultural machinebuilding plant, electrical engineering works, a glass-making factory, a plant producing antibiotics and a cotton fabric combine. A number of important facilities built in cooperation with the USSR are already in production; these include a plant producing ferroconcrete sleepers, a canning factory, a garment factory, and a radio-receiving and transmitting station; the construction of a Baghdad-Basrah railroad line is nearing completion.

The USSR is also cooperating with Iraq in the field of agriculture and the training of national cadres.

The industrial, transport and agricultural facilities built and equipped with the cooperation of the Soviet Union provide the base required for the further development of Iraq's economy. The output of these enterprises will not only help to meet the domestic demand but also will facilitate an increase in the export of Iraqi industrial goods. That in turn will make it possible for Iraq to increase its hard currency income and weaken its dependence on the concession payments by the foreign oil companies.

Calculations show that the commissioning of the facilities under construction with the assistance of the Soviet Union will enable Iraq to save about 30 million dinars by reducing the imports of a number of commodities.

The economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and Iraq has no political or military strings attached to it; it produces a favorable effect on the growth of Iraq's economic potential, facilitates a higher living standard for its population and progressive changes in the socio-economic life.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

Iraq in the ancient past. The territory of contemporary Iraq is the cradle of many ancient civilizations. The first tribes appeared in the two-river area (Mesopotamia) in the late neolithic stage. The Sumerian-Akkadian culture, the oldest on Iraqi territory, was developed by the Sumerians whose existence in the southern part of Mesopotamia was noted in the fourth millennium B.C. Their settlements preceded the formation of the ancient states in the southern and central parts of the two-river area. Mesopotamia was drawn into the world trade at a relatively early time because of its convenient location on the trade routes of the ancient world.

The following slave-holding city states existed in the two-river territory early in the third millennium B. C.: Eridu, Ur, Nippur, Lagash, Assur, Uruk, Uruk, Uruk, etc. In the first half of the third millennium B. C. the Sumerian-Akkadian state came into existence, and in the XXI century B.C. the Babylonian kingdom (which existed until 538 B.C.), which reached its peak of development under Hammurabi (1792-1750 B.C.). The Babylonian culture spread throughout Southeast Asia and had a definite influence on the culture of the ancient world. The country was conquered by the Kassites (about 1518 B.C.) during King Samsu-diton's reign. Their domination lasted about 500 years.

The primitive slave-holding state of Assyria came into existence in Northern Mesopotamia at the end of the third millennium B.C. It existed to the end of the VII century B.C. The Assyrian power reached its peak of development in the IX-VII centuries B.C. The power of the Assyrian rulers extended over all of Mesopotamia, Syria, Judea and at one time even Egypt. The Assyrian power collapsed under the blows of a coalition consisting of Babylonia and Media. The capital of Assyria, Nineveh, fell in 612 B.C. The new-Babylonian kingdom (Babylonian-Chaldean) with the capital at Babylon (626-538 B.C.) rose from the ruins of the Assyrian power. Under King Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 B.C.) Babylon again became the political center of the Near East. It was under Nebuchadnezzar that the famous Median wall was built and extended from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and the famous terraces or Hanging Gardens of Semiramis were built. In the middle of the VI century B.C. the founder of the Persian kingdom Kir II of the Akhemenides dynasty invaded Mesopotamia and captured the Assyrian territory (which was a Median province after the end of the VII century B.C.), and in 538 conquered Babylonia.

The Persian rule over Mesopotamia ended in the IV century B.C. after the fall of the Akhemenides dynasty under the blows of the troops led by Alexander of Macedonia. After expelling the Persians from Asia Minor, the Macedonian army broke into Mesopotamia in 331 B.C. In the same year Mesopotamia became part of the empire ruled by Alexander of Macedonia and extending from Greece to India. Babylon became the center of that huge empire.

During the disintegration of the empire ruled by Alexander of Macedonia Mesopotamia became part of the large state of the Seleucids founded by Seleucus Nicator (312-280 B.C.), and later part of the Parthian kingdom of the Arsaces (250 B.C. - 224 B.C.). In the III century B.C. Mesopotamia became part of the Persian state of the Sassanides. South Mesopotamia was the most highly developed economic province. It was also the location of the capital of the Sassanid state, the town of Ctesiphon, an important political and trade center on the routes leading from Europe to the shores of the Caspian Sea and to India.

Iraq in the VII-XIX centuries. Mesopotamia was conquered by the Arabs in the thirties of the VII century after the battle of Kadisiya (637). The Arabization of the Mesopotamian population and the introduction of the Arabic language there had begun considerably earlier. That had been facilitated by the existence of the vasso-Arab principality Lakhmid in the Sasanid state. Mesopotamia became part of the Omayyad caliphate. At the time Mesopotamia was conquered by the Arabs its economy was in a state of disintegration produced by numerous wars. A considerable part of the irrigation system had been destroyed.

Under the Omayyads Mesopotamia became a central province of the caliphate and experienced a new prosperity. The town of Kufa which had become a concentration of Moslem population was built under Caliph Omar (634-644) at the edge of the Syrian desert not far from the right bank of the Euphrates River.

Iraq was the richest province of the caliphate and brutally exploited by the Omayyad caliphs. That brought about repeated uprisings by the population which were suppressed by the troops.

As a result of the national movement and uprising under the leadership of Abu Muslim, the Omayyad dynasty was overthrown in 750 and the well known Abbasids came to power. The first caliph of the new dynasty, Abdallah abu-el-Abbas moved the caliphate capital to Kufa, and his successor Mansur to the center of Iraq where the Tigris comes closest to the Euphrates; in 762 the city of Baghdad (Madinat as Salam) was founded on the bank of the Tigris river.

The feudal method of production became widespread in the Abbasid state. Government-owned land was predominant in the country. There was also a conditional form of land ownership called ikdah (allotment). The feudal lords who, as a rule, received their allotment for life were under obligation to report with their armed units upon the first command of the central government. The feudal lords were granted the right to collect rentals over which they later assumed complete control. Inalienable properties of Moslem religious institutions, waqfs, which were tax-exempt, came into being. The use of peasant labor under the feudal system was accompanied by the employment of slave labor especially in hard work involved in the construction of irrigation canals, roads, etc. But on the whole, slavery began to assume a domestic character.

The Abbasids, just like all their predecessors in Mesopotamia, devoted a great deal of attention to irrigation. Baghdad became the largest handicraft-trade and cultural center of the caliphate under the Abbasids. Enormous wealth flowed to that city from every part of the empire extending from the Atlantic coast to the Indian Ocean. It was the homeland of the greatest thinkers and scientists of that time, of philosophers, astronomers, doctors, mathematicians and poets. Architecture was adorned with beautiful buildings - palaces, mosques and caravansaries.

The cruel exploitation of the peasants, slaves and artisans frequently brought about uprisings in entire provinces of the abbasid caliphate. In many of the uprisings the class and antifuedal struggle was fused with the liberation movement of the peoples conquered by the Arabs. The uprisings weakened and shook the caliphate. An important part in this process was played also by the steadily growing large-scale feudal land ownership. The uprisings and the growing power of the local feudal lords led to the destruction of the Baghdad (Abbasid)

caliphate and the formation of a number of independent states. The Cordova Emirate, Morocco and Tunis, Egypt and Eastern and Western Iran broke away from the caliphate in the VIII-X centuries.

By the end of the X century the Abbasids had only Baghdad and its district left to them, and the caliphates themselves lost their political power there which was actually taken over by the Turkic guards.

In 1055 Baghdad was occupied by the Seljuk Turks. The Seljuk state existed for two centuries and then fell under the blows of the Mongols. In 1258 the Mongols captured Baghdad in battle, looted and burned it. In the middle of the XIV century the rebuilt city was occupied and destroyed by Timur.

After the disintegration of the huge Timur empire Iraq became the arena of struggle between different rulers of the Mongol-Turkic tribes. Early in the XVI century Southern Iraq followed by Baghdad (1508) fell into the hands of Iran (the Sasanid dynasty). But the power of the Sasanids in Iran did not last long. In 1534 the Turkish sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent, subjugated almost all of Mesopotamia, including Baghdad, Karbala and Najaf. Earlier, the Osman-Turks had captured the town of Diyarbekir (Diarbakyr), Nisibin (Nusaybin) and Mosul along the upper reaches of the Tigris River. They took Basrah in 1538. Eventually many Mesopotamian districts and even Baghdad and Basrah frequently found themselves under Iranian sovereignty. The Osman-Turks more or less consolidated their power in Iraq in the XVIII century. That area was dominated by Turkish feudal lords for almost 300 years thereafter.

The endless wars in XI-XVI centuries and the changing world trade routes (in the XVI century) resulted in the ruination of that region of ancient culture. Iraq became one of the most backward provinces of the Osman empire.

The period characterized by the domination of the Turkish feudal lords in Iraq, just like in all the other countries occupied by the Osman empire, was a period of economic disintegration, national oppression and cultural stagnation. The lands captured by the turks in Iraq were declared the property of the sultan. In the nomadic and seminomadic areas the conquerors, assisted by the local aristocracy, looted the nomads and peasants. The oppression by the Turkish rulers brought about a number of popular uprisings, especially in southern and central Iraq. The biggest anti-Turkish uprisings in Iraq occurred in 1616, 1690, 1701, 1730 and 1869.

At the end of the XVI century Iraq became the object of expansion by the European powers. Great Britain showed a particular interest in Iraq, considering it as an important outpost on the route to India. In 1581 the British company "Turkey and the Levant" opened trading stations in Basrah and Baghdad. The famous East India Company created in 1600 became highly active in the Persian Gulf area in the XVII century. Its first ship appeared in the Persian Gulf in 1619, and the company's trading stations were opened in many municipalities and sheikhdoms of the Gulf area. In 1779 the trade representative of the East India Company in Baghdad became a political agent, and the manager of the Basrah Trading station was promoted to the post of resident.

After consolidating their domination in India in the second half of the XVIII century, the British intensified their penetration of Iraq. The representatives of the East India Company

began to exert increasing influence on the activities of the Baghdad pasha who had actually been the absolute ruler of a huge territory until the middle of the XIX century. The British became particularly interested in the use of the transit routes crossing the Iraqi territory. In the thirties of the XIX century the British attempted (the Chesney expedition) to open navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates in order to establish connections between the Persian Gulf, India and Europe. But navigation on the Iraqi rivers at that time was not well developed. The British plans for the construction of a rail-road line from the Euphrates to India date back to the middle of the last century. In 1862 the Anglo-Indian government established regular steamship lines between India and the Persian Gulf ports. The English society in Iraq, the Lynch Company, opened its own trade line on that route.

At the end of the fifties of the XIX century Baghdad was already connected with Istanbul by a telegraph line; in 1854 the telegraph line was extended to Basrah, and later also to Faw. There the Turkish telegraph system was connected to the Indian by a cable running on the bottom of the Persian Gulf. Telegraph lines also crossed the interior of Iraq.

In the second half of the XIX century Iraq began to play an increasing part in world trade as a producer of agricultural products, such as dates, barley and wheat. Following the abolition of domestic customs duties and various posts in Iraq by the Osman Empire in 1861, the Iraqi market was opened to the commodities of the capitalist countries. At the same time the capitalist countries began to use Iraq's territory for the transit shipments of their commodities to India and Iran, to the Emirates and Principalities of the Arabian Peninsula. Iraq's foreign trade received another boost, and its ties with Europe and resulting dependence on the capitalist countries were further increased by the introduction of the Suez Canal (1869). There was a considerable increase in the volume of freight handled by the Port of Basrah, and new steamship lines were opened connecting Iraq with England, France, Germany and the U.S. In 1901 the Russian steamship and trade society (ROFIT) also initiated scheduled trips (four times a year) between Odessa and the Persian Gulf ports (with Basrah as the terminal point).

Iraq's involvement in world trade did not result in its economic development. Iraq was actually an agrarian raw-material appendage to the capitalist countries and a market for their goods. England was the largest exporter of agricultural products from Iraq and importer of industrial commodities to Iraq accounting (together with India) for over one half of the entire Iraqi export and import. England was followed by the U.S., France, Germany and Austro-Hungary. The import of cheap factory products had a harmful effect on the local handicraft production. The output of national fabrics, clothes, weapons and pottery continued to shrink from year to year. By the beginning of the XX century there were only several hundred looms left in Baghdad, while in the first half of the XIX century there were about 12,000 of them. The Iraqi working class was still in its infancy.

Iraq in the beginning of the XX century and in the first world war. The penetration of Iraq by German imperialism, begun in the last quarter of the XIX century, sharpened Anglo-German contradictions.

Considering Iraq as a territory suitable for colonization and a beachhead for the further expansion in Iran and in the Arab principalities of the Persian Gulf, the German government began to seek concessions on the construction of the strategically important Baghdad railroad line. On January 16, 1902 the Turkish sultan Abdul Hamid II signed a decree awarding a concession on the construction of that railroad by German capital. The German imperialists immediately undertook to implement their plan. But the Germans never succeeded in connecting the Black Sea Straits with the Persian Gulf by a railroad line because of British counteraction. By the beginning of the First World War the railroad had been completed only as far as Baghdad.

At the end of the XIX century the German monopolies intensified their economic expansion in that region of the Osman empire. The business firm Vonkraus, established in 1897, was particularly active in that area. Establishing its main office on the Bahrein Islands in 1901, Vonkraus opened numerous branches in the Persian Gulf ports, including one in Basrah. In 1906 the German firm GAPAG established scheduled steamship trips to the Persian Gulf ports thereby facilitating Vonkraus's competition against the Anglo-Indian Trade companies.

The German monopolies tried to lay their hands on Iraq's natural resources. In the eighties of the XIX century they succeeded in obtaining permission to engage in geological prospecting in the Mosul and Baghdad vilayets (districts). In 1895 the German specialists drilled the first two oilwells in the Mosul area, and in 1901 they found petroleum there in commercial quantities. In 1903 the German imperialists were granted the right by the Turkish government to engage in ore-mining on a strip 20 kilometers wide along both sides of the Baghdad railroad line, and in 1904 they obtained the preferential right to prospect for and operate the oilfields in the Mosul and Baghdad vilayets.

In their attempts to take over the natural resources of Mesopotamia the Germans ran into stiff opposition on the part of England. The Anglo-German struggle for the Iraqi oil resources ended in 1911 in a compromise solution. The German monopolists received 25% of the shares in the British company "African and Eastern Concession" which was renamed in the following year "Turkish Petroleum". In 1914, shortly before the First World War, the Turkish government agreed to offer concessions to that company in Iraq, but the treaty was never finalized.

The desire of the British Monopolies to acquire the Mosul oil-bearing region was one of the reasons for the occupation of Mesopotamia by British troops during the First World War. Long before the beginning of the military operations Great Britain built a naval base on the Bahrein Islands for the alleged purpose of protecting the Iranian oilfields belonging to the British monopolies. A division of British troops arrived on the Bahrein Islands on October 15, 1914. On October 23, that is 10 days before Great Britain officially entered the war, one brigade of that division occupied the port of Faw. On November 22, 1914 Basrah was captured in a combined Anglo-Indian attack by naval and land forces (six British gunboats participated in that operation).

A seemingly second-rate region far removed from the main theater of military operations, Iraq received exceptional attention from Britain throughout the war; England was making careful preparations to conquer Iraq and transform it into her colony. But the British found that it was not easy to conquer that country. The operation designed to capture Baghdad, begun by the British in 1915, ended in failure. The British troops

led by General Townsend were encircled by the Turks in Kut-al-Amara and surrendered at the end of April 1916 after a 147-day siege.

The Turkish victory at Kut al-Amara was a serious blow to British military prestige in the Near East, especially since that failure could not be used to offset the successes of the Russian troops in the Asian theater of military operations.

The English imperialists strove to utilize the movement of the Arab masses against Turkish oppression in order to promote their own aggressive plan in the Near East. Incited by England at the end of 1916, the anti-Turkish uprising of the Arabs, who had been promised an independent Arab state, considerably facilitated the operations of the Anglo-Indian troops on the Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamian fronts. But England did not intend to fulfill her promise to the Arabs. In May 1916 the English imperialists colluded with the French to divide the Arab territories of the Osman empire. Under the Sykes-Picot agreement, Southern Mesopotamia with Baghdad came under Britain's jurisdiction, interior Mesopotamia was included in the British zone of influence, and the Mosul vilayet in the French zone of influence.

The British command concentrated an army of 160,000 men on the Mesopotamian front by spring of 1917 and launched a general offensive against the Turkish troops. They occupied Baghdad on March 17, 1917. In the same month the English troops also occupied the larger part of Iraqi territory. Only the Mosul vilayet remained under Turkish control.

The British imperialists spent a great deal of effort and money to capture Iraq. The Anglo-Indian expeditionary corps in Iraq was increased to 400,000 officers and men by April 1918. The Anglo-Indian army lost over 31,500 men in killed and over 66,500 in wounded during the battles on Iraqi territory. England spent a total of 150 million pound sterling on the conquest of Iraq.

Iraq between the two world wars. In the very first days of the military campaign on the Mesopotamian front the English imperialists adopted a policy of transforming Iraq into their colony. The entire British-occupied territory was divided into districts governed by "political officers" subordinated to a general commissioner.

The colonial authorities levied taxes and assessments on the local population, and forcibly removed their foodstuffs. About 90,000 Iraqi were drafted into "labor corps" to serve the army of occupation.

The British authorities activated the operations of the English monopolies and business firms in Iraq and made it much easier for British subjects to acquire land and real estate belonging to the Iraqi people. The occupation authorities expropriated the land from the population under the pretext of building barracks and warehouses for the army, and establishing experimental agricultural farms, etc.

The purpose of the land reform introduced by the British authorities in 1919, whereby the common lands were transferred to the feudal lords, was to win over the leadership of the feudal lords.

The destructive military operations, the coercive mobilization of the able-bodied population into the Turkish army and

"labor corps" and the looting of the peaceful inhabitants had a disastrous effect on Iraq's economy and the condition of the working masses.

The sown areas were sharply reduced as were the numbers of cattle herds and the handicraft industry deteriorated. Industrial production initiated before the war was in a state of stagnation. The disruption of the traditional trade relations resulted in a considerable reduction in the import of foodstuffs, industrial commodities and raw materials. The growing prices on food products and essential consumer goods were conducive to famine and epidemics.

The Iraqi working masses began to offer increasing resistance to the British colonizers; they refused to pay taxes and evaded coercive labor duties; guerrilla units were organized in many districts.

The growing liberation movement in Iraq was greatly influenced by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The successes achieved by the people of Soviet Russia, particularly in the Transcaucasus, in repelling imperialist aggression inspired the Iraqi patriots to the struggle for national liberation.

The peasantry (farmers and nomads) were the main moving force behind the national movement. The most active segment of that movement consisted of the agricultural tribes of the Central Euphrates and Tigris areas with many years of experience in the struggle against the Turkish authorities who had repeatedly tried to expropriate the common lands. Heading the movement of the Iraqi peasant masses were the feudal lords whose interests had been affected by the centralization policy of the occupationists: the rich Shi'ite theologians (Mujtahids) and the low and middle-class tribal elite. A significant part in the national liberation movement was played also by the national bourgeoisie which had a considerable influence on the urban population. The ranks of the enemies of the national liberation movement were made up of feudal-comprador leaders, the higher echelons of the Sunnite clergy and most of the rich tribal chiefs.

An rapprochement of the patriotic Iraqi intelligentsia, merchants, Shi'ite theologians and landlords with the spontaneous movement of the people was scheduled for spring of 1918.

That found its reflection during the uprising of March-May 1918 by the people of Najaf and the other cities of the Central Euphrates area under the leadership of the patriotic organization "Jamiat an-Nakhda al-Islamiya" (Society for Islamic Rebirth). The uprising was put down by the British troops.

Zakho area,
Large-scale insurrections took place in the, /the Muntafik liwa, in Acra, Amadiya and Suleymaniya in the first two postwar years. Demands for the establishment of a Kurdish national state were made for the first time in Iraqi history during the insurrection in Suleymaniya. These same years were characterized by the establishment and activation of a number of secret landlord-bourgeois organizations. The largest of them were Al-Akhd al-Iraqiy (Iraqi Legacy) and Haras al-Istiklal (the guard of Independence). The Al-Akhd al-Iraqiy represented the right-wing group of the national liberation movement. The chief aim pursued by its leaders -- Nuri Said, Jafar al-Askari and Emir Faisal al-Hashimi -- was the formation of an Arab state in Iraq headed by feudal lords and compradors under British protectorate. In the spring of 1919 they tried to establish close relations with the most consistent patriotic organization of Iraq, the Haras al-Istiklal Society which combined the Baghdad bourgeois intelligentsia

(Lawyers, doctors and university students), merchants and enterprise owners, some of the Shi'ite theologians and tribal nobility of the Central Euphrates district. The society had its branches in many cities of Arabian Iraq, and was widely supported by the middle-class city population, especially in Baghdad. The main goal pursued by the society was complete independence for Iraq. The slogan characterizing the struggle of Haras al-Istiklal was "Freedom is not given, it is taken by force".

Both of these societies maintained a chauvinist attitude toward the liberation movement of the Kurdish population in the country, and their plans called for an absolute subordination of the Kurdish districts to the future Arab state. It is for this reason that the leaders of the Arab national organizations did not enjoy much influence among the Iraqi Kurds.

The liberation movement in the Kurdish areas of the country between the two world wars was isolated from the liberation movement of the Arabs which naturally weakened Iraq's overall resistance to the British colonization policy. The Kurds did not have any large national organization of their own. The movement was headed by individual Kurdish feudal lords who were also the chiefs of the biggest and most influential tribes.

At the beginning of 1920 the national liberation struggle in Iraq erupted with renewed vigor. It had been greatly encouraged by the successful resistance to the British interventionists by the peoples of Transcaucasia and Northern Iran, the proclamation of a Soviet Republic in Azerbaijan at the end of April 1920 and the foundation of the "Gillyan Republic in May of the same year.

A number of strikes, meetings and powerful demonstrations in the defense of Iraq's independence were carried out in Baghdad in May and early June 1920 under the leadership of "Haras al-Istiklal". Units of "people's avengers" began to operate in the city.

From Baghdad the disturbances spread to the provinces. Meetings calling for an armed struggle against the British occupationists were held in Najaf, Karbala, Ash Shamiya, Mosul and Kirkuk.

Faced with the growing hatred for the occupation regime, the British government was forced to abandon the idea of annexing Iraq. On Jun 17, 1920 the British general commissioner in Baghdad, Wilson, published a statement informing the Iraqi people on the decision adopted by the Allied Conference at San Remo to place Iraq under a British mandate. Acting on behalf of the British government, the General Commissioner promised to introduce laws "fully in keeping with the desires of the Mesopotamian people", to establish a state council under the chairmanship of one of the Arab leaders and to create a "freely elected" parliament in the near future.

But the political tension in the country did not diminish. The national uprising continued to expand. An insurrection committee (Maktab as-Savra) established at the end of June 1920 and consisting of "Haras al-Istiklal" representatives, Mujtahid and tribal nobility of the Central Euphrates region proceeded to make preparations for a mass struggle against the occupationists.

By the middle of July the rebellious tribes of the Central Euphrates and the city residents liberated a large territory from the occupation troops. The insurrection was extended to other areas, and by the end of the month covered almost the entire country. The British troops suffered one defeat after another. Only Mosul, Basrah, certain areas of the Central Tigris

and Baghdad remained under control. And even there the occupationists did not feel too secure. The situation was extremely tense even in Baghdad.

More than 130,000 Arabs and Kurds participated in the liberation uprising of 1920. The resulting situation forced the colonizers to seek a compromise with the rebels. Early in August the occupation authorities proposed a plan for the establishment of a constituent assembly consisting of representatives from various segments of the population with a view to drafting legislation governing the elections to a future constituent assembly. But the Haras al-Istiklal leaders categorically refused to participate in the assembly. The attempt of the occupation authorities to impose new negotiations on the insurrection leadership also ended in failure.

The British government initiated preparations for a large-scale punitive expedition. New troop contingents, arms and ammunition began to arrive in Iraq in a hurry. By the middle of August 1920 the occupation army 150,000 men. The implementation of punitive operations by the British command and their success were facilitated by a number of factors. A defeatist attitude was prevalent at the time among a considerable number of the rebel leaders, especially the Sheikhs who had joined the insurrection under pressure of the rank and file tribal members. The liberation movement was also considerably weakened by the religious disputes (between the Sunnites and Shi'ites), national conflicts (between the Arabs and Kurds), disagreements between the tribes as well as between the feudal, bourgeois and religious groupings in charge of the liberation struggle. There was no single body in charge of the insurrection. "Maktab as-Savra" confined its operations to the Central Euphrates region. The rebel units always experienced an acute shortage of weapons and ammunition. The operations of these units were as a rule confined to the native area of their soldiers.

The occupation forces delivered their first blow against the patriots in Baghdad. On August 13 the police broke into the homes of the Haras al-Istiklal leaders -- Jaraf Jafar Abu at-Timman, Yusuf as-Suwaidi, Muhammed as-Sadra and Akhmed Daud. It was only through the interference of the city residents who offered armed resistance to the police that the first three leaders succeeded in avoiding arrest and escaping to the territory under rebel control. This was followed by searches and mass arrests of the organizers and participants of the anti-British meetings, demonstrations and strikes, as well as the leaders and members of the partisan groups. Many of them were indicted by military tribunals, executed, jailed, sent to hard labor or deported from the country.

Having consolidated its positions in Baghdad, the British command undertook limited operations against the rebellious tribes which controlled the areas adjacent to the city. Bloody battles got under way to the north and west of Baghdad. The rebel units led by Muhammed as-Sadra and the hero of the insurrection, Sheikh Dari al-Makhmud, held back the attacks of the greatly superior enemy forces for over a month.

In October 1920 the British troops launched an offensive in the Central Euphrates area, the citadel of the insurrectionists. Najaf and Karbala were occupied by the middle of October. But in the Dimaniyah-Rumaita-Ash-Shamin area the rebel units offered stubborn resistance and stopped the further advance of the British troops.

Percy Cox, an experienced colonial administrator, became

general commissioner of Iraq on October 1, 1920. He immediately entered into negotiations with the "Al Ahd al-Iraqi" leaders. They reached an agreement to establish a "provisional national government" to be guided by the "advice" of the General Commission. The provisional government, established on October 27, 1920, declared its full support for the British policy in Iraq, undertook to help the occupation authorities in the "pacification" of the country and called upon the rebel leaders to lay down their arms.

Many tribal sheikhs, who had previously joined the rebellion, used the establishment of the new government as a convenient excuse to stop the fighting; and began to surrender to the British authorities. The surrender of the tribal and rebel leaders did not stop the mass struggle, but its outcome was predetermined. The rank and file members of the tribes, the peasants and city residents repeatedly retaliated against the British punitive detachments as well as those who had defected to them. Some tribes in the marshy areas of Rumaita and Rawan-duz recognized the Baghdad government only in the beginning of 1923.

Despite the defeat, the 1920 insurrection produced a powerful effect on the further course of events in Iraq. That "immortal national revolution", as assessed by the Iraqi Communist Party, contributed to the increasing class consciousness of the Arabs and Kurds, considerably accelerated the unification process of the national forces in the struggle against the British colonizers and proved to the English ruling circles that the maintenance of an occupation regime in Iraq, even in camouflaged form, would involve the upkeep of a huge army. This prospect obviously did not appeal to the British government, and it was forced to agree to the establishment in Iraq of a semblance to a sovereign state.

The new British policy in Iraq was outlined by the Minister of Colonies, Churchill, at the Cairo Conference of British General Commissioners in the Near East held in March 1921. A decision was adopted to proclaim Iraq as a mandate kingdom headed by Emir Faisal al-Hashimi, the son of the Mecca Sharif. Emir Faisal's candidacy was satisfactory to the British colonizers not only because of his open pro-British orientation. Faisal was a Sunnite. Putting a Sunnite on the throne in a country where more than half of the population consisted of Shi'ites would enable England to aggravate the Sunnite-Shi'ite disputes and take advantage of them for the further preservation of their influence. Great Britain also took into account Faisal's popularity in the Arab East, acquired during the anti-Turkish rebellion in 1916-1918, and his hatred for the French.

By deciding to establish a mandated kingdom in Iraq, the British government expected to deceive the Iraqi people with the fictitious independence and discontinued military occupation, and win over the feudal-comprador and bourgeois circles.

On January 6, 1921, immediately after the establishment of the "provisional government", a decision was adopted to form a national army. The British command initiated the gradual evacuation of the Anglo-Indian troops from Iraq. The functions of guarding the military-strategic objects in the country and the maintenance of order were assumed by the Assyrians who had been bought by the British imperialists with promises of autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi government. This made it possible to reduce the military expenditures in Iraq thereby

minimizing the dissatisfaction of the tax payers in England.

Early in 1921 the British authorities repealed almost all of the death sentences meted out to the active participants of the 1920 rebellion, and on May 31, 1921 declared a general amnesty in the hope of winning over the leadership of the national-liberation movement. On June 23, 1921 Faisal arrived in Iraq accompanied by a large group of amnestied leaders of the 1920 rebellion and Al-Ahad al-Iraqi leaders. Despite the thorough preparations, the reaction to the candidate for the Iraqi throne was more than cool. It was only the pressure exerted by the General Commissioner that the "provisional government" elected Faisal king of Iraq on July 11, 1921. This was followed by the formation of the first permanent government headed by Abd ar-Rahman al-Gailani.

After the establishment of the Iraqi kingdom the British government found it necessary to establish treaty relations with it. This necessity was dictated by the growing opposition to the mandate form of government inside the country, on the one hand, and the fear of the British colonizers that their privileges in Iraq might be lost through the League of Nations delay to approve the mandate, on the other.

A draft treaty was drawn up by the general commissioner Percy Cox. He tried to embellish the mandate regime hated by the Iraqi people with an outward show of "Allied" relations. The same mandate conditions were repeated in the draft treaty, although the word "mandate" was not used.

Under the treaty submitted for consideration to the al-Gailani cabinet in May 1922, the Iraqi government had to be guided in all problems "affecting the international obligations and financial interests of Great Britain" only by the advice of the General Commissioner who represented the British government in Iraq (Article 1). The Iraqi government had no right to appoint foreigners to responsible posts without the preliminary consent of the General Commissioner (Article 2); it had "to consult" the British government on all important questions of foreign policy (Article 5), and to accept British military assistance in case of a threat to Iraq's territorial integrity (Article 7).

That treaty did not actually introduce any changes in the Anglo-Iraqi relations. Iraq continued to be under the complete control of the General Commissioner.

The people reacted with protest demonstrations to the colonizers' attempt to deceive Iraqi public opinion. The left wing nationalists reorganized the Haras al-Istiklal into two parties: al-Hizb an-Nakhda al iraqiya (the Iraqi resurrection party) and al-Hizb al-watani al-iraqi" (the Iraqi National Party), both of them strongly opposing British domination and the Anglo-Iraqi treaty. The reaction countered by the formation of the al-Hizb al-Hurriya al-Iraqi party (the Iraqi Freedom Party).

On October 10, 1922 Abd ar-Rahman al-Gailani signed an enslaving agreement with England. The Iraqi people were so indignant about this act of national treason that two weeks later, on October 23, al-Gailani felt compelled to leave the political scene for good.

The new prime minister, Mukhsin as-Saadun, faced the extremely difficult problem of holding elections to the constituent assembly that would ratify the treaty signed by al-Gailani, approving the Iraqi state constitution drafted by the British Ministry of Colonies and adopting an election law.

The election to the constituent assembly was originally scheduled by the General Commissioner for October 22, 1922. But the Shi'ite Mujtahids, headed by the well known Bakhti al-Malisi, compelled the British to postpone the elections.

After the mass arrests of patriots and the revision of the composition of the election commissions, the British authorities and the as-Saadun government initiated the preliminary elections in August 1923 and barely finished them by the end of the year. The elections of deputies to the constituent assembly were held only at the end of February 1924.

Although the elections were held in conditions of terror and the results were in many cases falsified, the composition of the deputies to the constituent assembly was far from what the authorities had hoped to see. The first sessions of the constituent assembly, which began to function on March 27, 1924, revealed that the opponents to the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1922 were very strong. These deputies insisted on radical changes in the treaty prior to its ratification. They were not even satisfied with the four-year term of the treaty (instead of the original 20 years) that the British authorities had been compelled to accept.

The opposition-minded deputies were supported by wide segments of the population. Large protest meetings against the ratification of the treaty were held in the towns of the Central Euphrates. Mohammed Hasan Abu al-Mukhasin, Minister of Education and former active participant in the 1920 rebellion, resigned in protest.

On May 29, when the treaty was scheduled for consideration, the people of Baghdad flocked to the streets, filled the square facing the constituent assembly and demanded that the deputies reject the treaty. Life in the city was paralyzed. All the stores and shops were closed. The attempts of the police to disperse the demonstrators were unsuccessful. The troops brought in to help the police opened fire upon the unarmed demonstrators.

On May 31, 1924 the scheduled discussion of the treaty was again frustrated by pickets who kept the deputies out of the assembly building. It was not before June 2, 1924 that the Constituent Assembly was able to initiate a discussion of the treaty. Under direct pressure of the General Commission Henry Dobs, who threatened to establish a British rule if the treaty were not ratified, the ratification was submitted to a vote on June 10, 1924. That session was attended by only 69 of the 100 deputies. Twenty-seven deputies voted against the treaty, and only 36 were in its favor but with two reservations. The deputies obligated the government to revise the treaty as soon as possible. Furthermore, the treaty would automatically become void if the Mosul vilayet were not included as part of Iraq. Thus the 1922 treaty was ratified only by one-third of the deputies. But it was made effective and it legalized Iraq's dependence on England.

On September 22, 1924 the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1922 was approved by the Council of the League of Nations which included a stipulation that it not contradict the mandate regime established for Iraq in accordance with article 22 of the League of Nations charter (that is that the "open door" principle and equal economic opportunities were to be preserved for all the League members).

The approval of the Iraqi constitution and election law by the Constituent Assembly took place in quieter circumstances because of the cruel repressions as well as "dejection and apathy" in the Constituent Assembly. The basic principles of the constitution were determined by the 1922 treaty. The constitution realized the domination of the feudal class, subordinated the parliament to the king and granted the latter the right of veto, and the right to disband the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate and to replace the prime minister and the cabinet. The principle of the government's responsibility to the parliament, formerly declared by the constitution, was vitiated by the stipulation authorizing the prime minister to prevail upon the king to disband an unsuitable chamber of deputies. The election system providing for the two-stage election to the Chamber of Deputies guaranteed the election to the lower house of parliament representatives from well-to-do classes, especially the feudal-comprador leadership. The poor population were deprived of the right to vote by the establishment of property qualifications.

Although the text of the Iraqi Constitution had been prepared in final form by the British Ministry of Colonies in 1924, the official approval and publication of the fundamental law of Iraq was delayed till the spring of 1925. What actually happened was that in the ratification of the 1922 treaty the owners of the British "Turkish Petroleum Company" persistently sought a 75-year oil concession from the Iraqi government. But the adoption of the constitution and the convocation of parliament prevented the Iraqi government from signing agreements with foreign companies for periods of over three years without a special approval from the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. On March 14, 1925 the Iraqi Council of Ministers, acting under pressure from the General Commissioner, extended to the British Company a monopoly on the exploitation of the oil resources in the Mosul and Baghdad vilayets for 75 years. It was only after that that the General Commissioner permitted the publication of the constitution. The text of the fundamental law was signed by King Faisal and became effective on March 21, 1925.

After that the British government concentrated its efforts on the legalization of the Northwestern Iraqi borders. England was particularly interested in the oil-rich Mosul district which was claimed by Turkey. After long and fruitless Anglo-Turkish negotiations, the Mosul problem was submitted for consideration to the Council of the League of Nations. On December 16, 1925 the Anglo-turkish Mosul dispute was decided by the League Council in favor of England. The Mosul district was included in Iraq but was to remain under the League mandate for 25 years (in the form of the 1922 Anglo-Iraqi treaty).

The annexation of Mosul to Iraq was greeted with a great deal of satisfaction by the Iraqi nationalists. Under these conditions the British authorities found it easy to get the Iraqi government to agree to an extension of the 1922 treaty which was to expire in 1926. The second Anglo-Iraqi treaty, repeating all the articles of the 1922 treaty, was signed on January 13, 1926 for a period of 25 years.

England soon found it necessary to replace the mandate system with a more convenient and flexible form of domination. This was brought about, first of all, by the clash between the owners of the "Turkish Petroleum Company" and the restrictive mandate conditions. The "open door" principle and the stipulated equal economic opportunities facilitated the penetration of Iraq by the monopoly capital of other powers. The changes were

required by the growing resistance of the masses and the opposition of the Iraqi ruling classes to the mandate form of administration.

The new Anglo-Iraqi negotiations initiated by the British authorities early in 1927 were completed on December 16, 1927 by initialling a treaty of friendship and alliance between the two states. But the question of ratifying that treaty by the Iraqi parliament was never raised.

At the end of the twenties Iraq was enduring an acute political crisis. The people's dissatisfaction with the British colonial policy and the subservience of the "national government" was gaining momentum from day to day. Demonstrations displaying such slogans as "The people's will is above all else!" and "Long Live Independent Iraq!", were held on the streets of many towns. It was in this tense situation that the British authority put Nuri Said, one of their loyal men who was full of hatred for the liberation movement, in charge of the Iraqi government.

After obtaining the consent of his cabinet to the terms of the treaty of alliance with England, Nuri Said signed the British-drafted treaty on June 30, 1930. Under that treaty, which was to go into effect after the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations, the Iraqi kingdom was proclaimed an independent state attached to Britain by ties of "eternal friendship and alliance". The British government reserved the right to "consult" the Iraqi government on foreign policy matters. A military alliance was established between England and Iraq; the British troops were given the right to use Iraqi railroads, rivers, ports, airfields and communication facilities in case of war (article 4). Recognition was given to Britain's "special interests" in the defense of Iraq. The British troops were allowed to remain in Iraq for five years after the treaty had gone into effect. After the expiration of that period, Britain was to retain two military bases (article 5), one in Habbaniyah (Near Baghdad) and one in Shuaybah (near Basrah). Iraq could invite only the British as military instructors, send its officers for training only to England and supply its troops only with British weapons and ammunition. The Iraqi government agreed to invite a special military mission from England, in addition to the instructors, to train its national army units. The Iraqi government also agreed to invite only British advisors and experts to work in Iraqi government institutions. Under the terms of the 1930 treaty, Britain was represented in Iraq by an ambassador. But the British ambassador enjoyed seniority over all the other diplomatic representatives.

The 1930 treaty left Iraq under the military and diplomatic control of Britain and offered a solid guarantee of British economic interests inasmuch as it provided for the liquidation of the League of Nations mandate and its "open door" principle.

Bearing in mind that the ratification of the unequal treaty would inevitably be resisted by the opposition deputies, Nuri Said disbanded parliament. The new elections were openly interfered with by the authorities. On November 1, 1930 the newly elected parliament ratified the Anglo-Iraqi treaty by an overwhelming majority of votes.

The treaty made the Iraqi people highly indignant and irate. Demonstrations and protest meetings were held all over the country in the summer and autumn of 1930. In November 1930 Nuri

Said's opponents in parliament founded the "Al-Hizb al-Ikha al-watani" party (the party of National Brotherhood) which was headed by the following prominent government official and public figures: Yasin al-Hashimi, Rashid Ali al-Gaylani, Nadji as-Suwaidi, Hikmet Suleiman, Ali Dzaqdat al-Ayubi, etc. On January 16, 1931 the "Al-Hizb al-watani al-Iraqi" party, led by the representatives of the liberal landlords and national bourgeoisie Jafar Abu at-Timman and Kamil Chadarchi, merged with the Party of National Brotherhood. The leaders of the combined party indicated their intention to fight against the 1930 treaty and work for the dissolution of the pro-British parliament and the election of a genuine national government. In the spring of 1931 the Party of National Brotherhood developed into a bloc of persons, groups and parties opposed to Nuri Said and the Al-Hizb al-Akhd party (the Sacred Party) he had organized in 1930. In addition to the patriotic wing consisting primarily of Al-Hizb al-watani al-Iraqi members, the bloc included moderate oppositionists and simply reactionary politicians. There were also followers of a democratic form of government, open and secret admirers of the Kemal Ataturk regime who dreamed of an "Iraqi Ataturk", and admirers of Riza-Shah's administration. There were also admirers of fascism. The heterogeneous composition of the bloc also determined its weakness and relative short life.

On October 3, 1930, following the abolition of the mandate, Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations and formally became an independent state. The legacy left by the mandate regime in Iraq included a backward economy, an all-powerful class of feudal lords and usurers in the villages, impoverished millions of landless peasants, workers, ruined artisans, a huge army of unemployed and lumpenproletariats in the city and, finally, a complicated situation of national and religious differences artificially inflamed by the imperialist agents. There was a lack of elementary bourgeois freedom in the country; the slightest dissension was suppressed by force. The power of the elected organizations were nominal.

Iraq's independence coincided with the world economic depression of 1929-1933. That depression produced a powerful adverse effect on Iraq's weak economy. The sown area was sharply reduced, many enterprises closed down, the prices of dates, the chief Iraqi export item were reduced by 50%, and the prices of grain, wool, hides and other commodities also dropped. Unemployment assumed threatening proportions. The intensifying exploitation of the working people and a steady growth of the tax-burden sharpened the class contradictions in the cities and villages.

Looking for a way out of the bad situation, King Faisal removed Nuri Said from power, dissolved parliament and ratified the 1930 treaty at the end of October 1932. In March 1933 he asked Rashid ali al-Gaylani, the leader of "Al-Ikha al-watani", to form a new government.

Assuming leadership of the government, the right-wing "Al-ikha al-watani" leaders declared that Iraq's international obligations, that is the enslaving 1930 treaty, would be respected. This policy was resolutely opposed by the former leaders of "Al-Hizb al-watani al-Iraqi". They announced their withdrawal from the bloc of national parties and groups, and published a manifesto condemning Rashid Ali al-Gaylani, Hikmet Suleiman, Yasin al-Hashimi and other leaders for their loyalty to the 1930 treaty, and reiterated their intention to continue the struggle for a true independence and for reforms designed to raise the population's living standard.

In the very first days of its existence the "National Brotherhood" government was confronted with a number of complicated foreign and domestic problems. These included Britain's desire to retain the terms of the 1930 treaty, the growing unemployment, the sharp deterioration of the living conditions of the workers and fellaheen, the failure to settle the national (primarily the Kurdish and Assyrian) and religious (Sunnite-Shi'ite) problems, the dissatisfaction of the national bourgeoisie with the dominance of foreign capital and the feudal-comprador circles and, finally, the steady spread of revolutionary sentiments among the rural and city population which found their expression in continuous antifeudal, antigovernment and antiimperialist criticism.

The al-Gaylani government tried to divert the attention of the Iraqi people from the vital problems by organizing an Assyrian program in the summer of 1933. But the Assyrian slaughter merely invited sharp condemnation all over the world and contributed to the spread of anti-British sentiments in the country, and intensified the opposition to the al-Gaylani government on the part of both the proponents of a union with Britain and the "al Hizb al-watani al-Iraqi" leaders.

On September 27, 1933 Rashid Ali al-Gaylani submitted his resignation to King Gazi who became Iraq's king following the death of his father on September 8, 1933. Thus the first period of the "National Brotherhood" government proved to be a short one.

The following government of Jamil al-Madfai and Ali Djawdat al-Ayubi who had maintained close cooperation with the Nuri Said clique were unable to surmount the domestic crisis. The dissatisfaction among the population and government opposition was brought to a high pitch by the parliamentary elections of 1934 when the foul play and juggling assumed proportions that amazed even the Iraqi voter who was used to such machinations. The discontent was particularly intense in the Middle Euphrates region.

In the spring of 1935 the "National Brotherhood", supported by the sheiks of the Middle Euphrates tribes, succeeded in forcing the resignation of the al-Ayubi government. The new cabinet that was formed on March 17, 1935 was headed by Yasin al-Hashimi.

But the government of Yasin al-Hashimi failed to do anything to weaken British influence in the country and alleviate the conditions of the working masses. This brought about disturbances in the Rumaita area as early as May 1935. The Rumaita disturbances were followed by an insurrection of the Muntafik and Suk as-Shuyu tribes, the Kurds of Amadiya and Sulaymaniyah and the Yezidis of Jebel Sinjar. From these areas the insurrection spread to Basrah, Diwaniyah, Samawah and other places. The liberation movement of 1935-1936 began to assume a pronounced antiimperialist and antifeudal coloration and threatened to engulf the entire country again.

Much credit for the organization of the people's movement in the early thirties should go first to the communist cells and then to the Iraqi Communist Party. The first Marxist circle in Iraq was organized in 1927 by the Basrah longshoremen Husni Ayash and YSuf Suleiman Yusuf (Fahid), the loyal son of the Iraqi people and the first secretary general of the Iraqi Communist Party. The first communist cell appeared in 1932 in An-Nasiriyah; it was organized by Fahid. Similar cells were organized the following year in Basrah and the capital. The meeting held at the end of March 1934 in Baghdad by the

representatives of the communist organizations adopted a decision to merge the communist cells into a single party. On March 31, 1934 (the official birthday of the Iraqi Communist Party) the participants of the conference elected a leading body of the party, a committee for the struggle against imperialism and exploitation. The party also developed and adopted a political Communist Party platform which was later widely popularized among the people through the medium of the first Communist Party publication, the newspaper "Kifah as-Sha'ab" (The People's Struggle). The newspaper was first published in July 1935. Four months later Yasin al-Hashimi's police detectives discovered and destroyed the underground printing plant. But they were unable to destroy the communist ideas. In the thirties the Party's slogan "Bread for the hungry!" became the chief slogan of the Iraqi working people fighting for their economic and political rights.

The opposition to the al-Hashimi government was headed by the al-Ahali (People) group founded in 1931 by young Iraqi patriots who were united by a "community of liberal ideas" and hatred for the reactionary regime. The al-Ahali leaders originally advocated the principles of the great French revolution; they demanded the establishment of a parliamentary republic in Iraq, and the extension of constitutional freedoms to the people. The ideas known as-Shabiya (National Character) were prevalent in 1934 among the members of the group. The main goal of the as-Shabiya supporters was the struggle for "socialism", which was defined as "welfare of all the people". The most prominent and progressive al-Ahali leaders in the initial period of its existence included Muhammed Hadid, Abd al-Kadyr Ismail and Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim, the chief ideologue of the group.

The leadership of al-Ahali underwent important changes at the end of 1934 and early 1935. The group included the Watanist leaders Jafar Abu at-Timman and Kamil Chadarchi, and the Ahalists were later joined by Hikmet Suleiman who had broken with Yasin al-Hashimi in 1935. These leaders pushed the less experienced founders of the group to the background and actually took over the leadership of the Ahali. In the group's executive committee headed by Jafar Abu at-Timman, the left-wing leaders were in the minority as early as 1934; after the resignation of Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim from the group and the arrest of Abd al-Kadyr Ismail, a young journalist and active member of the group, by the police "for communist activities", the right wing took over complete control of the al-Ahali. After that the as-Shabiya principles were in effect forgotten.

The growing repressions in 1936 compelled the al-Ahali group to abandon its peaceful methods of struggle against the Yasin al-Hashimi government and resort to conspiratorial activity. Hikmet Suleiman undertook the organization of a coup d'etat. In the fall of 1936 he initiated negotiations with Bakr Sidqi, chief of the general staff.

Supported by loyal army units, Bakr Sidqi precipitated a coup d'etat on October 29, 1936. The new government, consisting exclusively of al-Ahali leaders, was formed by Hikmet Suleiman. Bakr Sidqi did not join the government but actually controlled it in his post of chief of the General Staff. A broad reform program was proclaimed providing for the distribution of government lands to the landless peasants, an amnesty for the political prisoners, the improvement of the social insurance system, the development of the trade union movement, the promotion of the national industry and a number of other progressive measures. The foreign policy part of the program provided for "a better spirit of cooperation with England" with

a view to deriving a "maximum financial, economic and military benefit from the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi alliance treaty" for Iraq. The Hikmet Suleiman government also promised to strengthen and develop the political, economic and cultural ties with "the fraternal Arab and neighboring Moslem countries".

The program proclaimed by the Hikmet Suleiman government was warmly welcomed by the working population. Large meetings and demonstrations in support of the new government were held in many cities and rural areas. In November 1936 the al-Ahali leaders established the "Djamiyat al-Islakh ash-Shaabiya" (National Reform Society) which also included members of parliament and representatives of the trade unions, intelligentsia and the Communist Party. The publication of the society "Ar-Ray al-Anm" (Public Opinion, publisher Muhammed al-Jawahiri) became the most popular newspaper. The goal of the society was to cooperate in the implementation of socio-economic reforms and the development of the country. In that atmosphere of general enthusiasm the government ordered the release of 350 political prisoners, permitted the publication of the previously banned newspapers and periodicals as well as the publication and sales of progressive literature. It removed the restrictions from the trade union activities.

The feudal lords and compradors as well as the British embassy reacted to the advent of the new government with ill-concealed dissatisfaction. Hikmet Suleiman and Bakr Sidqi became greatly alarmed by that attitude. They visited the major areas of the country, met with influential tribals sheikhs, religious and public leaders as well as followers and opponents of their regime, distributed money and lands to them in the attempt to secure the loyalty of the enemies and the affection of the friends.

In the summer of 1937 Bakr Sidqi's military group initiated active preparations for a new coup d'etat with a view to establishing a military dictatorship in Iraq. But Bakr Sidqi did not succeed in implementing his Bonapartist plans. He was killed in Mosul on August 11, 1937. Six days later, on August 17, Hikmet Suleiman was forced to resign.

It should be pointed out that Hikmet Suleiman's policy, despite its inconsistency, still reflected the sentiments and interests of the progressive national elements to a large extent. The fall of the Suleiman government was followed by an attack of the reaction and a sharp setback to the liberation movement.

Nuri Said assumed the leadership of the Iraqi government on December 25, 1938. The assumption of leadership by this pro-British group was welcomed in London with a great deal of satisfaction.

In the very first months of his administration Nuri Said made a number of attempts to retaliate against the political opponents. Having inspired an "antigovernment conspiracy", he arrested and indicted a large group of opponents headed by Hikmet Suleiman in March 1939. King Gazi, one of the chief opponents of the new premier's foreign policy, died in a mysterious automobile accident on April 3, 1939. Emir Abdul Illah, cousin of the dead king and close associate of Nuri Said and pro-British in his leanings, was appointed regent to the four-year old heir to the throne, Faisal II. From that time on the royal court and the pro-British group continued to act in concert until the 1958 revolution. New English advisors who established

a rigid control over the operations of the most important government branches were invited to Iraq before the war. The persecution of democrats and opponents of the pro-British policy was intensified.

Iraq during the Second World War. After Great Britain entered the war, the Nuri Said government broke diplomatic relations with Germany on September 2, 1939 without declaring war on her. The members of the German mission headed by Ambassador Grobba were expelled from Iraq, the German subjects were interned and their properties sequestered. A statement issued by the government on September 4, 1939 reiterated Iraq's observance of the 1930 treaty of alliance. The country's foreign and domestic trade was placed under the control of a Supreme Food Committee in which the final decisions were made by the English advisors. The export of agricultural products were monopolized by the United Royal Commercial Corporation, and the British company "Andrew Ware and Company" officially acquired a monopoly on the major exportable agricultural crops (barley and dates) for five years. A state of emergency was proclaimed throughout the country on September 12, 1939, and a rigid censorship introduced. The British Command in the Near East reinforced its military garrisons at the Habbaniyah and Shwaibe bases in the very first days of the war.

The purpose of the secret negotiations initiated in March 1941 between Great Britain and Iraq was the acquisition of new military bases in Iraq by the British Command, and the right to distribute British troops along the Basrah-Mosul railroad line. Nuri Said's pro-British policy was facing increasing resistance on the part of the civilian and military opposition.

An anti-British coup d'etat took place in Iraq on April 1, 1941. Nuri Said and Regent Abdul Illah fled to Jordan; a new government headed by Rashid Ali al-Gaylani which enjoyed the support of most of the Iraqi army came to power. The government declared its intention to follow a policy of positive neutrality, peaceful settlement of all disputes between Iraq and other states, and emphasized its loyalty "to all international obligations" including those involved in the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi treaty. The British government immediately moved large contingents of troops to the Iraqi borders, and initiated military operations against the al-Gaylani government on May 2.

On June 1, 1941 the British troops entered Baghdad. By June 18 the English occupied all the large cities and important strategic points. A one-hundred thousand strong army of occupation was deployed in Iraq. Nuri Said with his pro-British henchmen and regent Abdul Illah entered Baghdad.

The second so-called peaceful occupation of Iraq by British troops lasted until the autumn of 1947. That time was utilized by the British government and its local agents to consolidate their positions in the country. The active participants of the anti-British insurrection of 1941 were put in jails and concentration camps, and the leaders of the army opposition executed. The army and the police were thoroughly reorganized. The officer corps, officials of the ministries and other government institutions were subjected to a large-scale purge. The amendments to the Iraqi constitution adopted in 1943 restricted the rights of the Chamber of Deputies and broadened the prerogatives of the King (regent). The British authorities focused particular attention on the ideological education of the population -- the propaganda of Anglo-Iraqi friendship and unity of purpose.

Iraq did not take a direct part in the military operations against the "Axis" powers, although the Iraqi government headed by Nuri Said after October 9, 1941 officially declared war on Germany and Italy on the night of January 16-17, 1943. During the war the British Command used Iraqi territory for the deployment of its military units and the transshipment of military equipment and food (chiefly to Iran).

Iraq's economy was not substantially developed in the course of the war. The limited increase in the output of agricultural and industrial products in 1942-1945 was due primarily to the increased exploitation of the fellahin, workers and artisans and, to a lesser extent, the expansion of the sown area, the enlargement of the existing enterprises and the construction of new ones. The industrial development of the country was held back by a shortage of raw materials, the impossibility of acquiring industrial equipment abroad and the domination of the economy by foreigners, particularly British monopolies.

Yielding to public demand and taking into consideration the growing prestige of the Soviet Union, the Iraqi government adopted a decision to exchange diplomatic missions with the USSR in August 1944.

The policy of discrimination applied by the Iraqi authorities to the Kurdish minorities since 1932 was further aggravated during the war. The conditions of the Kurds were very difficult. Early in the war the government appropriations for the development of the Kurdish provinces and for social and cultural measures were reduced to the minimum. There was no centralized system of supplying the northern areas with food and consumer goods. There was poverty, famine and sickness among the Kurdish working people. Any expression of dissatisfaction was suppressed by force.

The hardships experienced by the numerous Barzani tribe were particularly severe. After the 1932 insurrection they were expelled from their native areas and settled on unsuitable lands in the Sulaymaniyah area. Reduced to a state of desperation, the Barzani revolted in the summer of 1943, returned to their native areas, disarmed the police and captured government food depots. The punitive expedition dispatched by Nuri Said in August 1943 against the rebels ended in complete failure. That military defeat forced the government to enter into negotiations with the Kurds early in 1944. On August 7, 1945 the Iraqi government resumed military operations by throwing a 20,000-strong army and airforce against the rebels. The Barzani tribal chief Mustafa al-Barzani, the leader of the rebels, was able to oppose that army some irregular units totalling about 5,000 men equipped only with rifles and a small number of machineguns. But despite all that, the poorly equipped Kurds were able to inflict a number of serious defeats on the government units. It was only the interference by the British airforce that changed the course of military operations. The rebels were forced to cease organized resistance in October 1945. Mustafa al-Barzani together with 2,000 members of his tribe crossed the Iraqi-Iranian border and found asylum in the town of Mehabad.

During the war the British government again tried to utilize the unity slogan, so popular among the Arab people, for its own interests. It proposed the establishment of a single Arab state -- "Great Syria" and "Beneficial Crescent" -- which remained on paper in the long run. The practical idea of Arab unity during the war was embodied in the Arab League established in March 1945: at that time an ineffective regional organization of Arab states.

Iraq after the Second World War (1945-1958). The post-war period in Iraq has been characterized by an intensification of the struggle by the workers, peasants, students, intelligentsia and national bourgeoisie for independence, peace and social progress.

The development of the national liberation movement in Iraq has been part of the general process developing after the war in the colonial and dependent countries. That process had been brought about by the victory of the freedom-loving peoples over fascism in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role by establishing and consolidating the socialist camp and weakening the camp of capitalism.

The role of Iraq's working class and its vanguard, the Iraqi communist party, has been enhanced in the postwar years. The first All-Iraqi conference of communists held in February 1944 discussed the party's political platform, its draft program. The motto of that program, "A free motherland and a happy people!", is still the chief slogan of the Iraqi Communists. The draft program was approved by the first Communist Party Congress held in Baghdad at the end of April 1945. The Communist Party program fully reflects the interests of the urban and rural workers, the students, as well as the interests of the national bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, servicemen and national minorities.

The first peacetime cabinet was formed by Tevfik as-Suaidi on February 23, 1946. The new government abolished martial law in the country and press censorship and established a special committee for the revision of the 1930 treaty. In April it permitted the organization and activity of certain political parties, put some democratic amendments to the election law through the senate and Chamber of Deputies, increased the number of deputies from 115 to 135, and permitted the activities of certain trade unions and the publication of democratic-oriented newspapers and magazines.

The activities of the Iraqi people immeasurably increased with the abolition of the wartime restrictions and the legalization of political parties. The following parties were officially permitted to function in April 1946: "al-Hizb al-Watani ad-Demokrati" (the National Democratic Party), "Al-Hizb al-Akhrar" (Liberal Party) and "al-Hizb al-Istiklal" (Independence Party). The National Democratic Party headed by Kamil Chadarchi, a man of bourgeois-liberal persuasion, expressed the interests of the National Iraqi bourgeoisie. The Liberal Party consisted of several liberal landlords and rich bourgeois. Despite its small numerical strength, this party exerted considerable influence among the parliamentary circles and in the villages. The Independence Party expressed the interests of the nationalist-minded representatives of the rich bourgeoisie and small feudal lords. The leaders of that party were Muhammed Makhdhi al-Kubba, Faik as-Samarrai and Sadik Shanshal.

Civic rights were extended also to the previously organized parties, the Party of the People and the Party of National Unity. Both of them wielded considerable influence among the intelligentsia, students, small traders and artisans. The Party of the People was headed by a progressive Iraqi leader now chairman of the national committee for the defense of peace and laureat of the International Leninist Prize "For strengthening the peace among nations" Aziz Sharif. The second party was headed by the left-wing al-Akhali leader Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim. A constituent council of the National Liberation Party, whose

program was close to that of the Iraqi Communist Party, was also established. Although the new party was refused a license, the council leaders and closest associates of Fahid Hussein Muhammed as-Shabibi and Muhammed Hussein Abu-Is were able to engage in open political propaganda and agitation for several months.

The Kurdistan Democratic Party, previously working in the underground, initiated open operations in 1946. That party expressed the interests primarily of the Kurdish national bourgeoisie, but it also included representatives of the working people, intelligentsia and even feudal lords (Kurdish tribal leaders).

The Iraqi Communist Party has been operating underground since the postwar period.

Despite their different compositions and programs, all the political parties and patriotic organizations were unanimous on the necessity of revising the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1930; all of them demanded the withdrawal of the British occupation troops and the liquidation of the air bases in Habbaniya and Shweiba, supported the progressive measures taken by the Tefvik as-Suaidi government and insisted that the measures be broadened.

The developing liberation movement in the Arab countries caused a great deal of uneasiness in the West and among the local reaction. A crusade against Communism was proclaimed in the summer of 1946 in a number Arab countries, including Iraq, as a result of the decisions adopted by the conference of monarchs and presidents of the Arab states in Inshas (May 1946) and by the Arab League in Bludan (July 1946).

In June 1946 the police dispersed the antiimperialist and antigovernment demonstrations in Baghdad and Kirkuk. On July 12 the Kirkuk police attacked a meeting of striking oilworkers. Five people were killed and 14 wounded in the clash between the police and the strikers. A railroad strike was suppressed by brute force in September. The British participated in the suppression of the strike.

The lack of unity among the national parties and organizations greatly facilitated the attack of the reaction on the democratic rights of the Iraqi people gained in the previous years. Nuri Said undertook the major task of "liquidating the communist problem". The repressions against the patriots were intensified by the Nuri Said government and Salikh Dzabra's cabinet that replaced it in March 1947. The members of the Constituent Council of the National Liberation Party, headed by as-Shabibi and Abu-Is, were arrested in December 1946. On the night of January 18, 1947 the Baghdad police raided the Communist Party headquarters and arrested many Central Committee members, including secretary general Fahid and the member of the Politburo Zaki Muhammed Basim. Mass raids on communists were made also in Basrah, Kirkuk and a number of other cities. Several thousand communists and democrats found themselves behind iron bars.

The Communist Party leaders were tried in court in May 1947. It was only the pressure of the Iraqi people and the public opinion in the Arab countries that forced the Iraqi government to commute Fahid's death sentence to 20 years in prison, and Basim's sentence to 15 years.

But there was no relaxation of the domestic political tension. The persecution of patriots continued. The activity of the opposition parties (right wing and center) was limited, and the people's party and the National Unity Party were disbanded. But the scattered opposition and the hunger rebellions of the urban and rural workers continued to increase on a mass scale, spreading all over the country by the end of the year. The British occupation army which always interfered in the domestic affairs of the country was the object of particular hatred. In the resulting situation the colonizers were threatened by a general insurrection. It was in these conditions that the British government had to initiate the evacuation of its troops from Iraq.

Early in 1948 the English government decided to shore up its shaky positions in Iraq. The "common defense" treaty was to be used for such purposes. The Iraqi Prime Minister Salikh Dzabr, Foreign Affairs Minister Fadyl Dzamali and Chairman of the Senate Nuri Said were called to London on January 7 to conclude such a treaty. The Anglo-Iraqi treaty on a common defense was signed on January 15, 1948 in Portsmouth. The Portsmouth treaty made Iraqi still more dependent on Great Britain. Although article 5 of the new treaty abolished the hated 1930 treaty, a special appendix to the Portsmouth treaty made it possible for the British troops to occupy the country not only in wartime but also in case of a "threat of war". The Habbaniye and Shweibe air bases, though formally transferred to the Iraqi command, actually remained under the control of the British "service personnel" and English commandant. Provisions were also made for the creation of a special combined military council which was to plan (that is under the control of British officers) the defense of Iraq, the equipment of the Iraqi army and the training of its officers. The letters initialed and exchanged by Salikh Dzabr and the British Foreign Minister Bevin and attached to the treaty stated that Britain was to continue to send her specialists and advisers to Iraq with a view to promoting social and economic progress in the country.

The news of the new enslaving treaty brought about large-scale criticism from the Iraqi working people which soon developed into open clashes with the police and the troops. Clashes occurred on the street of the capital daily from January 16 on. The January opposition of the capital residents was supported by the people of Sulaymaniyah, Kirkuk, Mosul, the towns of central and southern Iraq and the peasants of many villages. Over 300,000 people participated in the struggle against the Portsmouth treaty.

The Iraqi Communist Party played an active part in the organization of the movement against the Portsmouth treaty. The representative committee created by the Communist Party to lead the insurrection played a positive role in coordinating the resistance of the workers in the capital and the other cities. Fahid and the other leaders of the Communist Party, still at liberty, succeeded in establishing regular communications with the members of the Central Committee who managed to avoid arrest. The publication of the Communist Party newspaper "Al Kaid" (Foundation) also got under way.

On February 3 the Iraqi government officially rejected the Portsmouth treaty. Yielding to the demands of the people, the regent and parliament refused to ratify it. The Iraqi patriots scored an important victory. But they did not succeed in consolidating. At the end of March the situation took another change for the worse. Persecution and arrests of

the people involved in the January events were resumed; many progressive newspapers and magazines were closed down.

The Palestinian war enabled the Iraqi reaction to regain its positions. Assuming power on January 6, 1949, Nuri Said openly declared that his government had no other intentions except to purge the country of the communists and fight communism itself. Another court trial was opened in February 1949, by order of the Prime Minister, of a large group of communists sentenced in 1947 and serving their terms in the Abu Gureyb prison. On February 13 the Supreme Tribunal in Baghdad, reconsidered the case of the prisoners behind closed doors on the basis of trumped-up charges and passed a death sentence on three Iraqi Communist Party leaders, and 56 other leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment and hard labor. Yusuf Sulciman Yusuf (Fahid) and Hussein Muhammed as-Shabibi were hanged on February 14. Zaki Muhammed Basim shared their fate on the next day. The bodies of the executed people were left hanging on the public square in Baghdad to frighten the population.

The Iraqi working people responded to the execution of the communists with protest meetings and demonstrations. They demanded the immediate resignation of Nuri Said and severe punishment for those guilty in the retaliation against the patriots. Solidarity meetings and demonstrations supporting the Iraqi working people and their demands were held in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. Nuri Said's cruel and unjustified action was severely condemned by the progressive organizations in many countries and by all honest people of the world.

Early in the fifties the liberation movement in Iraq assumed a wide scope and new qualitative characteristics. The latter included, first of all, the creation and development of an organized movement in defense of peace, against the threat of an atomic war and for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Participating in the peace movement were people of various classes and religions.

The ranks of the national liberation movement were reinforced by the opposition parties and mass democratic organizations: the bourgeois party "United People's Front", the petty bourgeois socialist party of Arab revival (Baath), the Union of Democratic Youth and the Union of Struggle for the liberation of the Iraqi women and the National Union of Iraqi students.

The reaction also consolidated its forces. In November 1949 Nuri Said's party, the Constitutional Union, formally came into being, and in June 1951 the National-Socialist Party of Salikh Dzabr. The former consisted of reactionary Sunnites, and the latter of Shiites.

The movement for the nationalization of the petroleum industry in neighboring Iran influenced the Iraqi campaign of March 1951 for the nationalization of "Iraq Petroleum Company", its two branches and "Manekin Oil". At the end of March 1951 a proposal was submitted to the parliament to nationalize the oil companies operating in Iraq on the initiative of the Al-Istiklal party members who were parliamentary deputies. The initiative of these deputies was supported by the working people of Baghdad, Basrah, Kirkuk and other towns. On June 26, 1951 the owners of the "Iraq Petroleum Company", acting under pressure of the people's movement, signed a new agreement with the Iraqi government whereby the company was to share its profits from the sale of Iraqi oil on a fifty-fifty basis instead of the four shillings per ton of petroleum previously paid to the

Iraqi government; the company undertook to supply the government oil-refining plants with crude oil at cost, increased the scale of training national oil cadres and improved the housing conditions of the workers and employees. The new agreement was a definite victory for the patriotic forces of Iraq.

The proposals of England, U.S. and France and Turkey of October 15, 1951 to participate in their "common defense" plan in the Near and Middle East were met by a resolute opposition on the part of the Iraqi patriots.

Martial law was revoked in the country in March 1952. The democratic parties and organizations again found more favorable conditions for their activities. Large-scale anti-government and anti-imperialist demonstrations took place in November 1952.

Almost all of the secondary schools and universities in the country closed on November 20. Large student demonstrations were held in Baghdad on November 21 and 22, and the streets were filled with tens of thousands of workers, artisans, employees and students. The slogans shouted by the demonstrators were: "Down with the rigged elections!", "Down with the Anglo-American imperialists!" and "Down with the Anglo-Iraqi treaty!". The government issued an order to open fire on the unarmed demonstrators, and five people were killed and 50 wounded. The bloody retaliation against the demonstrators merely served to heighten the tension in the country.

The reaction resorted to extreme measures. A military regime was established in the country on November 23, 1952 in violation of the constitution, and troops were brought up to Baghdad and other restive cities; armored cars and tanks appeared on the streets of the capital; all the opposition parties, mass organizations and trade unions were dissolved, and their publications closed. The authorities arrested 3,200 people who were found to include all the leaders of the dissolved parties, the editors of many papers, and the leaders of peace committees and many other mass organizations. The military tribunals instituted in Baghdad convicted about 500 patriots, organizers and participants of the November insurrection.

But the old order could not be preserved. On December 16, 1952 the Nur ad-Din Makhmud government was forced to make a concession to the liberation movement under pressure of the patriotic forces. The two-stage elections to parliament were replaced by direct elections.

Although the elections to parliament on January 17, 1953 were held under the new election law, they were abused by the authorities as usual. This made it possible for the reaction to get an absolute majority in the new parliament. On January 29 Nur ad-Din Makhmud turned over the reins of the government to Jamil al-Madfai. The new prime minister retained martial law and intensified the repressions against the patriots and those opposed to him. The political prisoners were subjected to monstrous retaliation. In the summer of 1953 20 prisoners of the Baghdad jail were shot on the spot for refusing to be transferred to another jail, and 100 persons were gravely wounded.

Fadyl al-Jamali, leader of the pro-American group, became prime minister on September 17, 1953. Trying to improve his position in the country, the new prime minister abolished martial law and legalized the activities of the opposition parties

and organizations. The persecution of the communists, on the other hand, was intensified. But the liberation movement continued to grow just the same. The supporters of peace activated their propaganda in support of the principle of a peaceful settlement of international disputes, disarmament and the ban on mass-extirmination weapons. The opposition parties insisted on constitutional rights and freedoms for the people.

The movement for peace and the democratization of social life was combined with the workers' struggle for the improvement of their material conditions. The tobacco factory workers, the Basrah port workers and the communication and railroad workers were on strike in October-December 1953. The December strike of the 2,000 oil workers of the "Basrah Petroleum Company" headed by the Basrah communist organization received wide response in the country (see note). The strike of the Basrah oil workers ended in victory. The company was forced to meet most of the demands made by the strike committee, and agree to the formation of a trade union.

(Note. The leader of that organization, Hussein ar-Rady /Salam Adil/ was elected first secretary of the Iraqi Communist Party in 1955).

The peasant movement revealed increasing strength, the peasants' persistent demands for land and water and a larger part of the harvest which was shared with the landlord were made with increasing frequency.

The struggle of the Iraqi workers for their political and economic rights became increasingly organized. The appeal of the Iraqi Communist Party made at the first party congress in April 1945 for the unification of all the progressive forces in the country in the struggle for independence and social progress began to be put into effect. Local committees of the national front were opened in the second half of 1953 in many factories and plants, schools and universities of Iraq.

Carrying out the wishes of the U.S., the Fadyl al-Jamali government launched a wide anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign in the country at the end of 1953 and early 1954. The government press and radio launched a propaganda campaign for Iraq's participation in the American plan which provided for the establishment of a "regional defense bloc" consisting of Turkey, Pakistan and Iran. Iraqi-American negotiations for U.S. military "aid" were started in Washington.

On March 12, 1953 Faisal II, accompanied by Nuri Said, visited the Pakistani capital. The official communique published after the end of the Iraqi-Pakistani negotiations pointed out that both sides "had outlined plans for the development of an anti-Soviet cordon extending from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean". Negotiations to create an aggressive bloc including Iraq's participation in it were continued by Nuri Said in Ankara.

The arrival of an American government delegation in Baghdad in April 1954 to conclude an agreement on military "aid" to Iraq and to sign that agreement raised the political atmosphere in the country to a fever pitch. Fearing an open explosion, the Fadyl al-Jamali -- Nuri Said coalition government resigned on April 21, 1954.

The new cabinet of Arshad al-Umari was forced to postpone temporarily the inclusion of Iraq in the Turkish-Pakistani military-political union concluding in February 1953.

Yielding to the demands of public opinion, Faisal II dissolved parliament. New elections were scheduled for June 9, 1954.

A united national front, representing a political union of national forces, was organized for the first time in Iraq's history during the election campaign of May 1945. The front included representatives of the National-Democratic Party, the Independence Party, the supporters of peace, women's and youth organizations. The Iraqi communists took an active part in the front as representatives of public organizations. The front's program included the following demands: democratic freedoms, a guarantee of free elections to parliament, the abolition of the 1930 treaty and removal of the British military bases from Habbaniya and Shuaybah, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country, a refusal to join Western blocs, the liquidation of the monopolistic concessions, the development of a national industry, a fight against unemployment, the allocation of land to landless fellahin, etc.

The relatively free elections to parliament produced surprising results for the imperialist henchment. The members of the Nuri Said Constitution Union received less than half of the seats in parliament for the first time (56 and 135). Nor did the supporters of Fadyl al-Jamali get an absolute majority. Salikh Djabr's National-Socialist Party got 21 seats. The United National Front scored a victory in ten election districts. It was a definite victory for the front considering the obstacles raised in its path by the authorities.

The growing influence of the left-wing forces in the country frightened the Iraqi reaction. Brought back to power in August 1954, Nuri Said formed a government consisting almost entirely of Constitution Union members.

On September 1, 1954 the Nuri Said government issued a number of decrees according to which the Iraqi communists who had served their jail sentences were deprived of their civil rights and subject to deportation from the country after the term of their sentences. The peace, youth and other democratic organizations were labeled "communists" and scheduled for immediate dissolution; membership in those organizations were punishable by life imprisonment and loss of citizenship. The activities of the trade unions were under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

New elections to parliament were carried out by Nuri Said on September 12, 1954. Rigid government control over the elections and the falsification of election results enabled the Prime Minister to include over 90% of his henchmen in the Chamber of Deputies. This election victory gave Nuri Said and his followers a free hand. An unprecedented terror and repressions against the patriotic organizations were introduced in the country.

Having established a police regime in the country, Nuri Said proceeded to implement his foreign policy program which meant the inclusion of Iraq in the aggressive blocs organized by the imperialist powers. A Turkish-Iraqi treaty of mutual cooperation, marking the beginning of the aggressive Baghdad Pact, was signed on February 24, 1955. The Baghdad Pact took on its final form later, in the fall of 1955, after it had been joined by Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran.

A special Iraqi-British agreement of April 4, 1955, concluded in place of the 1930 treaty, provided for the obligatory

cooperation of the two parties in the defense of Iraq against foreign aggression, joint development of military plans, the training of Iraqi units by English instructors and the overall British responsibility "for the maintenance of the Iraqi army in a state of combat preparedness". The British government was to place at the disposal of Iraq, upon the latter's demand, its armed forces for the protection against "aggression", and undertook to help Iraq in the organization of its armed forces (air force) and in the aircraft defense forces. The British air force could make use of the Iraqi airfields, including the Habbaniya and Shuaybah airfield which were placed under the formal control of the Iraqi authorities.

The new collusion between Nuri Said and imperialism was unanimously condemned by Arab public opinion which looked upon it as a betrayal of the interests and security of the Arab people and a threat to the peace in the Near and Middle East. The Iraqi progressive forces were indignant at the Turkish-Iraqi military treaty and the Anglo-Iraqi agreement. The resistance to the antinational policy continued to grow despite the fascist dictatorship established by Nuri Said. In 1955-1958 the Iraqi patriots concentrated their efforts on the country's withdrawal from the Baghdad pact.

The Iraqi working people demonstrated their determination to pursue their goal with particular force during the Suez crisis and the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt. A wave of protest manifestations against the imperialist aggression swept the entire country at the end of October and early in November 1956. The people were so restive that Nuri Said was forced to declare that his government was ready to offer military and other assistance to Egypt with a view to repelling aggression, and he broke diplomatic relations with France. He also promised not to participate in the sessions of the Baghdad Pact council "which are attended by British representatives".

Actually, however, the Iraqi ruling circles continued their secret cooperation with the colonizers, and intensified the terror against the patriots. On November 25, 1956 the participants of the peaceful demonstrations in Najaf were subjected to brutal retaliation by the police. The Iraqi people again took up arms. The resident in a number of cities and districts expelled the government administration and took the law into their own hands. Police and troop units were dispatched against the rebels. The latter kept up their heroic resistance for over two weeks. But the forces were unequal and the rebellion was suppressed. This was followed by a retaliation against the organizers and participants of the insurrection.

The defeat of the 1956 mass insurrection convinced all the true Iraqi patriots that what was needed was a unification of the efforts of the national organizations for the struggle against imperialism and the local reaction. The negotiations between the Iraqi Communist Party, the National-Democratic Party, the Baath and Independence Party, conducted after the defeat of the insurrection, resulted in the establishment of a national unity front and the election of its leading body, the Supreme National Committee of the front, in February 1957. The program of the front, outlined in the statement of the Supreme National Committee of March 9, 1957, provided for the removal of the feudal-monarchic clique from power and the dissolution of the reactionary parliament, the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact and the implementation

of a policy of positive neutrality, the abolition of all the extraordinary laws and the extension of constitutional and democratic freedoms to the people, and the release of all the political prisoners and the restoration of their civic rights and jobs.

The front's program was approved by the mass patriotic organizations -- the supporters of peace, the student union, the youth, the women's committee and trade unions, and the "Free Officers", a secret army organization of patriots established in May 1956 in the units of the Iraqi army.

All the attempts of the Iraqi reaction and imperialist agents to paralyze the activity of the Supreme National Committee, the illegal military and civilian democratic organization and parties were in vain. Their influence among the people and in the army was growing fast. Having subordinated Iraq's foreign and domestic policy to the interests of the aggressive circles of the imperialist powers and foreign monopolies, the Nuri Said-Faisal II ruling clique became completely isolated from the people. Favorable conditions for the overthrow of the feudal-monarchic pro-imperialist regime and the capture of power by the patriots were created in the summer of 1958. A revolution explosion was near at hand. The preparations for the intervention against the Lebanese people, begun in June-July 1958 by the members of the Baghdad Pact and the US accelerated that explosion.

The July 1958 revolution. On July 13, 1958 the 19th and 20th brigades of the third division, stationed in summer camps not far from Baghdad, were ordered to proceed to Jordan. The shifting of Iraqi troops to Jordan was part of the imperialist plot against Lebanon independence. The conference scheduled to be held in Istanbul on July 15, 1958 was to provide the final solution to the problem of intervention in Lebanon, with the major role in that operation assigned to the Iraqi troops.

The officers of the troops shipped to Jordan, consisting of members of the "Free Officers" organization headed by Colonel Abdel Kerim Kasem and Abdel Salam Aref, adopted a decision to occupy Baghdad and oust the imperialist henchmen from power. The Supreme National Committee of the National unity front was apprised of that decision. The 19th and 20th brigades entered Baghdad on July 14 at 4 A.M. By 6 o'clock in the morning the revolutionary units had occupied the strategic points in the capital and surrounded the royal palace. Faisal II and Prince Abdul Illah were killed attempting to resist. A similar fate befell Nuri Said a day later. Responding to the call of the revolutionary command the Supreme National Committee of the front, large masses of the population joined the insurrectionist units. They played an active part in the revolutionary coup d'etat: they liquidated the isolated pockets of resistance, captured and detained well known reactionaries, and turned the government administration over to public organizations and the officers. The national resistance units and committees for the defense of the Republic, organized on the initiative of the Iraqi Communist Party, played a very important part in the consolidation of the young Iraqi republic.

The despised feudal-monarchic system was destroyed by the concerted efforts of the army and the people, and a republic was proclaimed. In addition to the representatives of the patriotic officer corps, the new government included

also some leaders of the bourgeois parties which had been part of the united front -- the Independence Party, the Baath and the right wing of the National-Democratic Party. The communists were kept out of the government. The first government of republican Iraq was headed by the leader of the "Free Officers" organization, Abdel Kerim Kasem. His deputy and Internal Affairs Minister was Abdel Salam Aref.

The July 14, 1958 revolution in Iraq was in effect an antiimperialist bourgeois-democratic people's revolution. As defined by the Iraqi Communist Party, "It put an end to the semicolonial regime and destroyed its economic and ideological foundation. On the ruins of that regime the revolution created an independent, liberation (antiimperialist), democratic (antifeudal and antireactionary) republic".

The moving force behind the July revolution were the urban and rural working people, the students, intelligentsia and national bourgeoisie, and its assault force was the army. But the victory of the revolution brought only the national bourgeoisie to power. The representatives of the working people were kept out of the government. Furthermore, the fear of the people compelled the national bourgeoisie to establish in the country a so-called transition period that made it possible to avoid the introduction of the usual bourgeois institutions (parliament and other elected legislative organizations). The Iraqi bourgeoisie was economically considerably weaker than the Egyptian or Syrian bourgeoisie. From the very first days of its administration the Iraqi national bourgeoisie began to seek the aid of the reaction and resorted to compromises with the imperialists, feudal lords and compradors thereby violating and betraying the principles and aim of the July revolution. The serious contradictions between the revolutionary aims and class interests of the national bourgeoisie had an adverse effect on the political line of the republic's governments and the extent of the socio-economic changes they were introducing.

But the very occurrence of the July revolution and its first successes were undoubtedly great gains for the Iraqi people in their struggle for true independence, socio-economic and cultural progress. The result of the July 14, 1958 revolution was a release of the people's initiative, and the involvement of tens of thousands of working people in the cities and villages in active political life.

The significance of the July revolution was not limited to Iraq alone. From an international point of view the revolution in Iraq meant, first of all, the collapse of the old British hegemony in the Arab East. It also meant the failure of the U.S. far-reaching political calculations. Gradually pressing England back in Iraq, the American imperialists had intended to lay their hands on the Baghdad Pact together with Baghdad.

A country important from a strategic and economic point of view thus dropped out of the colonial system as a result of the Iraqi people's victory; the Arab people's struggle for freedom and independence was thereby considerably enhanced.

The significance of the Iraqi revolution was just about as important from the point of view of social relations. It inflicted a painful blow on the positions of the feudal lords, the social base of imperialist domination not only in Iraq but in the entire Near East. The news of the fall of

the Monarchy in Iraq sent a shiver down the spine of the Latifundia owners in Jordan and Saudi Arabia, in Turkey and Iran.

The revolution in Iraq produced confusion in the imperialist camp and the member countries of the aggressive Baghdad Pact. On July 15 the U.S. landed its troops in Lebanon; on July 16 British parachute units were moved from Cyprus to Jordan. The appearance of American and British troops in these countries was evidence of the U.S. and British intention to initiate a military intervention against the Iraqi Republic.

It was only the firm peace-loving position of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, supported by all the progressive forces of the world, that made it possible to prevent the aggression against Iraq. The American and British colonizers were forced to withdraw their troops from Lebanon and Jordan, and soon extended de jure recognition to the emergent Iraqi Republic.

Kasem's administration. Revolutionary enthusiasm ran high and Kasem's government was supported by the left-wing parties and mass organizations. It introduced a number of measures designed to democratize the domestic life of the country: a temporary constitution of the Iraqi Republic proclaiming the equality of all citizens under the law was introduced on July 26, 1958; the functions of all public organizations and trade unions were legalized.

The following mass public, trade union and cultural organizations came into being or emerged from underground: peace partisans, peasant unions, committees for the defense of the republic, general student union, the league for the protection of women's rights, democratic youth union, etc., etc.

The political parties, including the communists, though not formally legalized, were also operating in the open publishing their newspapers and literature. The newspaper "Ittihad as Shaab" published by the Iraqi Communist Party was highly popular among the working people. Its circulation was twice as large as that of any bourgeois paper -- 35,000 copies; the paper included a weekly supplement, "Iraq Review", in English.

The program of the national unity front, proclaimed in March 1957, was consistently implemented. The chief leaders of the monarchic regime were arrested, tried and indicted. The government machinery was purged of the reactionary elements. The reactionary parliament elected in May 1958 was dissolved. Its legislative functions were taken over by the State Council. The political prisoners were released, and an amnesty was extended to the participants of the Kurdish liberation insurrection of 1943-1945. The Kurdish patriots who had fled the country were allowed to return to their native land. Women received equal rights with men for the first time in the history of the country.

In its foreign policy the government of the Iraqi Republic was guided by the principles of the U.N. charter and the decisions of the Bandung Conference. Iraq officially withdrew from the Baghdad Pact on March 24, 1959 (see note). The unequal Anglo-Iraqi agreement of April 4, 1955 became ineffective. The last groups of the British officers and men

left Iraqi soil on May 30, 1959. The flag of the Iraqi Republic was hoisted over the air bases in Habbaniya and Shuaybah. On the same day the republican government adopted a decision to denounce the three agreements imposed on Iraq by the United States in 1954-1955: on military "aid", on the use of American arms and ammunition by Iraqi and on the economic "aid" under the "Eisenhower Doctrine". At the end of June 1959 the Iraqi government officially declared its withdrawal from the sterling bloc.

(Note. Since then the Baghdad Pact has been known as SENTO, Central Treaty Organization).

The foreign policy steps taken by the Republican government made it possible to put an end to the antinational foreign policy of monarchist Iraq which had tied the country to the imperialist camp, and established a real foundation for a policy of positive neutrality.

The Republican government began to adopt measures designed to develop the national economy and improve the conditions of the working masses in the very first year of the revolution. An eight-hour workday was introduced in all the government enterprises, and the minimum wage for industrial workers was increased 40% and for agricultural workers 10%.

Fifty million dinars were appropriated under the temporary four-year development plan, approved at the end of 1959, for the construction of housing, water supply systems, sewage, hospitals, first aid units and school buildings. Some measures were taken to improve the sanitation in the cities and inhabited points with a view to preventing epidemics (see "Public Health" section). A relatively fair tax system was introduced. The number of students in primary and secondary schools was increased after the autumn of 1958, and the network of technical and special schools for training national cadres was widened. The government abolished tuition fees (the section on "Education").

On September 30, 1958 the government introduced a land reform law sharply limiting feudal land ownership and making it possible to allot land parcels to half of the rural population in the country. That law did not eliminate the feudal land ownership; furthermore, it provided for large financial compensation to the Latifundia owners for the land taken from them under the law, and violated the voluntary principles underlying the organizations of cooperatives (see section on "Agriculture").

The peasant unions took an active part in the implementation of the agrarian reform in 1958-1959. They were helpful in the distribution of the lands taken by the government from the feudal lords to the peasants back in 1958, and assisted in the successful implementation of the agrarian reform in the Kut and Nasiriyah liwas. The active participation of the peasantry in the implementation of the agrarian reform made it a true revolutionary transformation. The agrarian reform involved the broad masses of the peasantry in the anti-feudal movement, and proved their awareness and enlisted their participation in social activities.

The government outlined a program for the industrial development of Iraq. It strove to utilize all the national resources and patriotic forces in the country for the realization of that program. It also declared its intention to use

private capital in the implementation of the program, and promised to improve its business relations with the "industrial middle class".

The socialist countries proved to be the sincere and selfless friends of the Iraqi people in its struggle for political independence and economic progress. The reestablishment of diplomatic relations and the establishment of friendly economic relations with the USSR was a matter of great importance for the young Iraqi Republic. Under the Soviet-Iraqi trade agreement signed in Baghdad on October 11, 1958, the Soviet Union was to supply Iraq with machines and sets of equipment for the enterprises and construction projects as well as consumer goods in exchange for the traditional Iraqi export goods.

An agreement on economic and technical assistance between the USSR and Iraq was signed in March 1959 whereby the Soviet Union was to extend to Iraq technical assistance in the construction of over 25 large enterprises of the machinebuilding, chemical, food and light industries, as well as irrigation and transport installations, in the organization of research work, etc. The Soviet government also extended a 55 million ruble credit (in the new rubles) to Iraq for that purpose on very favorable terms (2.5% interest).

An agreement on cultural cooperation signed the same year between the USSR and Iraq provided for Soviet assistance to the Iraqi republic in the training of national cadres.

The Soviet government rendered invaluable services to the young revolutionary army of the Iraqi Republic. Within a short period of time all the branches of the armed services were equipped with modern weapons and trained to use them thereby enhancing the defensive capacity of the Republic.

Trade, economic and cultural agreements, based on friendship and mutual advantage, were concluded between Iraq and the other socialist countries.

The progressive measures of the Republican government were resented and hated from the very days of the revolution by the feudal lords, compradors and politicians of the previous regime which still clung to the hope of restoring the old order in the country. The imperialist forces began to exert pressure on Iraq.

It was not very long before Kasem's government betrayed the aims of the revolution. It adopted a policy designed to impede the democratization process in the country. After concentrating all the legislative and executive powers in his hands, Kasem kept the country in a state of emergency. Vested with unlimited power, the military governor of Iraq was able to arbitrarily outlaw any party and organization under the pretext of "protecting the interests and security of the Republic". Most of the reactionary laws adopted in the period of Turkish domination, the mandate and the monarchy, were not abolished. The new laws, on the other hand, including the temporary constitution of the Republic, contained numerous unclear and diffuse formulations which could be utilized by the authorities against the left wing forces.

The feudal lords, tribal sheiks, and compradors engaged in sabotage activities with the connivance of the government authorities in the attempt to produce economic difficulties in the country and discredit the Republican government. They

had a hand in the sharp reduction of the 1959 area planted to grain and industrial crops and the harvesting of poorer crops, as well as the reduction of cattle herds.

The reaction plotted a number of conspiracies against the new regime. An armed revolt broke out in March 1959 in Mosul but it was suppressed with the help of the people. In its struggle against the foreign and domestic reaction the Kasem government was compelled to rely on the unity of all the national forces. The Iraqi Communist Party took advantage of the situation to mobilize and unite the masses of the people for the defeat of the reaction and to exert pressure on the government.

The further development of the Iraqi republic along revolutionary lines frightened the national bourgeoisie and the Kasem government which represented its interests. The government therefore adopted a policy designed to maintain a balance between the left-wing and right-wing forces. That policy lasted, with one minor exception, until the coup d'etat of February 8, 1963 which resulted in the fall of the Kasem government.

Kasem took measures to lessen the contradictions with imperialism and its agents in the country and the right-wing parties and organizations, and increased the pressure on the workers, peasants, students, progressive intelligentsia, and left-wing parties and mass organizations.

A large group of prisoners sentenced for crimes against the people carried out under the monarchy and early in the revolution, were released from their prisons as early as May 15, 1959 by order of Kasem. On June 25 the government amnestied the "rank and file" participants of the Mosul revolt who had fled to Syria and Turkey, and on July 6 it reduced the prison terms by 15% for "the people sentenced for civilian and military crimes" on the occasion of the approaching anniversary of the Iraqi Republic. All the doors to the government institutions and the army were opened to the reactionary elements released from prison and returning from the countries they had emigrated to. The democratic elements were at the same time ousted from those places.

Kasem formed a new cabinet on May 3, 1959. Ignoring the the people's demands, he strengthened his cabinet with loyal individuals from the bourgeois parties. In a statement issued on May 23 Kasem spoke in favor of a "temporary" ban on party activity in the country. The first to respond to the prime minister's appeal was the national-democratic party which had adopted a decision "to freeze" its own activity. A similar decision was adopted by the Politburo of the Kurdistan Democratic Party early in July. The Communist Party's refusal to take such steps deteriorated its relations with the leadership of both parties and was resented by the Prime Minister. By the middle of July the government reacted by striking at the Communist Party. The pretext for that was the provocation of the imperialist agents in Kirkuk, Samawah, Musauob, Hindin, Basrah and even Baghdad against the peaceful demonstrations dedicated to the celebration of the first revolution anniversary. On July 14, 1959 well-armed gangs of Turanists (persons of Turkish nationality) in Kirkuk attacked a crowd of peaceful demonstrators killing and wounding 37 people. That attack provoked a great deal of indignation among the Arab and Kurdish population. Clashes broke out which soon developed into an actual battle. The disorders lasted three days. It was only the interference of the Kirkuk garrison troops that put an end to the senseless bloodshed.

Although the true culprits of the provocation in Kirkuk and the other cities were well known by the government, it disbanded the people's resistance units, outlawed the committees for the defense of the republic and pounced upon the Communists with a number of repressions. The buildings of the progressive organizations were searched by the police and sealed. People known for their connections with the Communists or their past membership in the Communist Party were dismissed from government institutions. The repressions even extended to the patriots serving in the army. By August 1959 1,700 officers whose membership in the Communist Party or pro-Communist attitude were known to the authorities were retired from the army.

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party held a plenary session in July 1959. Under consideration were a number of questions connected with the development of the Republic. The plenary session developed and adopted an action program for the future. It adopted the slogan of "Union and Struggle" against the national bourgeoisie. That slogan implied the support of all the progressive steps taken by the Kasem government and "a peaceful struggle" against its anti-national and antidemocratic measures, and ruled out any compromise in the national-liberation movement. The plenary session emphasized the determination of the Communist Party to do everything in its power to achieve a unity of action on the part of all democratic and patriotic forces in the country, and restore and consolidate "the united front with the national bourgeoisie".

The resolutions adopted by the July plenary session of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party produced a considerable effect on the following course of events in the country. They made it difficult for the ruling circles of the national bourgeoisie and personally for Kasem to implement their plans for the destruction of the left-wing forces.

The domestic and foreign situation existing by the end of 1959 forced Kasem to make a number of substantial concessions to the democratic forces. The death sentence passed back in 1958 on four monarchist leaders headed by the former Minister of Internal Affairs in the Nuri Said government, Said Kazzaz, and 13 participants in the Mosul mutiny headed by the former Commander of the 2nd division, Col. Nadim Tabakchali, was carried out on September 20, 1959. On November 12 the Ministry of Social Affairs legalized the General Federation of the Iraqi trade unions established in the spring of 1959. The first (temporary) four-year plan for the development of the economy, public health, education and housing construction was adopted on December 2.

The law "on parties and organizations", issued on January 6, 1960, provided for the legalization of the political parties in the country. That law was met with a great deal of satisfaction by progressive public opinion in Iraq; it was looked upon as an abandonment of the totalitarian form of government and the beginning of a democratic administration. In his speech of January 6 Kasem promised to proclaim a permanent constitution in the near future and hold elections to parliament.

But instead of changing to a democratic form of government, the Kasem government intended to utilize the "law on parties" to fight both the left-wing and right-wing forces. The national democratic party and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan were given legal status. A license was issued also to

the Iraqi Moslem Party which was indicative of Kasem's desire not to worsen relations with the right-wing forces. The other bourgeois parties were refused licenses. Shortly before the adoption of the law "on parties and organizations", the officials of the Internal Affairs Ministry succeeded in organizing a small group of opportunists under the leadership of renegade Daud as-Sayg who had been twice expelled from the Communist Party for interfaction struggle. That little group, calling itself "The Communist Party in its legal form", was immediately issued a license. The true Communist Party of Iraq, however, was denied legal status on the pretext that the existence of two identical parties in one country was inexpedient. And as if that was not enough, the government launched a large-scale attack on the Communists in the press followed by increasing repressions against communists, leaders and active members of mass democratic organizations and trade unions. Between the middle of 1959 and May 1961 alone the military court of Iraq passed 112 death sentences on patriots; 770 people were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment totalling 4,164 years. Twenty-two thousand people were arrested and imprisoned in 1960.

The mass organizations subjected to the strongest attacks in 1959-1962 included the trade unions, the Federation of the Democratic Youth of Iraq, the General Student Union, the League of Iraqi Women and the Peace movement, that is organizations fighting for the democratic development of the Iraqi Republic.

The antidemocratic policy pursued by the government from the spring of 1960 on was widely used by the entrepreneurs who launched an attack of their own on the economic and political rights of the workers. The result was a growing strike movement in the country. Many of the strikes were particularly stubborn and were suppressed by force of arms. Heavy blows were inflicted on the National-Democratic Party and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan. The members of those parties were illegally fired from the jobs, deported with their families from their native places to other regions, arrested and even physically destroyed.

Intending to exercise personal leadership in the country and playing on the contradictions between the left-wing and right-wing forces, Kasem pounced also on the right-wing Iraqi Moslem party. That party was dissolved in the spring of 1960, its leaders placed behind prison bars for "subversive activities in the country" and "criminal ties with foreign powers".

The deterioration of the domestic political situation from year to year, the lack of stability and the weakening of the democratic and patriotic forces could not but produce an adverse effect on the implementation of the domestic program proclaimed by the Kasem government early in the revolution.

The difficulties developing in agriculture and industry resulted in a considerable deterioration of the economic situation in the country, rising prices of food and consumer goods and a lower living standard of the population. By May 1961 the prices on rice, meat, milk and dairy products increased by 40% as compared to 1958, having exceeded the 1939 prices eight and a half times. At the same time the actual wages of the workers in 1961 were 53% lower than in 1939. The statement issued by the Iraqi Communist Party of the economic situation in the country, published in July 1961, pointed out that half of the urban population was either unemployed or working part time.

The difficult conditions of the working people were further aggravated by Kasem's senseless Bonapartist policy. The cost of maintaining the army and the police continued to rise. It was increased by 43% in the first two years of Kasem's administration alone. From the fall of 1961 on these expenditures began to account for the lion's share of the government funds because of the fratricidal war against the Kurdish patriots initiated by Kasem.

The antinational policy increased Kasem's isolation from the broad masses of the people from year to year, forcing him to further compromises with the reaction and the imperialists.

If in 1958 the republican government banned the operations of the 272 foreign firms in the country as incompatible with the sovereignty of Iraq and "inimical to the national interests", 1961 saw 13 of them resume their operations in the country. The number of such firms was still large the following year. The trade with the west increased and with the USSR and with the other socialist countries it declined. In 1961 the British, American and West Germany monopolies accounted for about 80% of the machines and equipment imported to Iraq.

The democratic forces of Iraq were particularly disturbed by Kasem's inconsistent policy toward the oil companies. Rejecting the nationalization of the oil companies as a premature measure, the patriotic forces and organizations in Iraq insisted on the immediate revision of the unequal 1951 agreement and its replacement by a new agreement that would take into account the interests of the oil companies as well as the republic of Iraq. That was the view held by the Iraqi Communist Party, the left-wing bourgeois parties and all the mass democratic organizations in the country. The oil monopolies protracted the negotiations, and broke them off in October 1961.

In 1961 Kasem augmented his policy of alienating the national forces by inciting national hostility between the Arabs and the Kurds which developed into a fratricidal war in September of the same year. Defining the aims of that policy, the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party pointed out that Kasem intended to use that policy in order to put an end to "any manifestation of democracy in the country and inflict a crushing blow on the entire national-democratic movement".

The Iraqi Communist Party launched a campaign for the solution of the Kurdish problem by peaceful means in the first days of the war against the Kurdish people.

Signatures were collected and petitions circulated, in response to an appeal by the Communist Party, demanding a cessation of military operations in the north, the granting of self-government to the Kurdish people, the abolition of martial law, the democratization of the state machinery, etc. Mass meetings and demonstrations were held in a number of cities calling for the protection of the rights of the Kurds and the establishment of democratic institutions in the country. That movement was supported by the bourgeois parties and even the right-wing organizations which wanted to utilize it in order to undermine Kasem's regime.

The growing isolation and the resulting tense situation in the country compelled Kasem to seek left-wing support again at the end of 1961 and early 1962. On October 18, 1961, the government published its five-year plan for the development of the Republic in 1961/62 -- 1965/66 which was considerably

different from the temporary four-year plan. The plan provided for the expenditures of more than one half of the total appropriations (566.3 million dinars) for the development of industry, agriculture and communications. Large sums were earmarked for the development of education, the improvement of medical service and housing construction. The credits and loans extended to the Iraqi Republic by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia played an important part in the implementation of the plan, especially in the construction of industrial enterprises, communications, irrigation and drainage installations, the mechanization of agriculture and research work; they amounted to 13.8% of all the appropriations for the plan (77.2 million dinars).

In the same month the Iraqi Ministry of the Oil Industry announced the preparation of two bills providing for the return from the oil companies of the unused concession areas and the establishment of a national company that would engaged in prospecting operations and oil production.

A large number of political prisoners, 80% of whom were communists and democrats, were released from their jails and concentration camps in November 1961. Acclaiming that progressive measure, the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party declared on December 10 that it had been met with a great deal of satisfaction by the Iraqi and world public opinion which considered it an important step toward stabilization in the country. The Central Committee of the Communist Party called upon all the sincere patriots to rally to the united national front and struggle for the restoration of the democratic freedoms, the legalization of all political parties and their participation in the drafting of a permanent constitution and for free elections to a "sovereign constituent assembly" that would adopt a permanent democratic constitution and establish a government responsible to the people.

The Communist Party's demands were supported by the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, the members of the National-Democratic Party, the trade unions, peasant unions and other mass democratic organizations. The National-Progressive Party, headed by Muhammed Hadim, opposed Kasem's Bonapartist policy and advocated the peaceful settlement of the Kurdish problem. Even the right-wing parties -- Independence, Baath, etc., -- demanded the cessation of military operations against the Kurds, the abolition of martial law and the convening of a constituent assembly for the main purpose of developing and adopting a permanent constitution. On March 12, 1962 the government issued a decree "amnestying the participants of the Kurdish uprising". All the Kurdish patriots who lay down their arms were guaranteed personal safety, compensation for their material losses caused by the military operations and a right to return to their native places. At the same time the Kasem government proposed to the leaders of the Kurdish movement, through the command of the Kirkuk military district, to initiate negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Kasem's treachery and his relations with the Kurds was revealed by the events that followed. He used the proposal to negotiate for a physical retaliation against Mustafa al-Barzani and the other leaders of the Kurdish insurrection. The delegates' meeting place was subjected to barbarous bombing by planes especially assigned for that purpose. It was only the precautionary measures taken by Mustafa al-Barzani that enabled them to avoid the danger. Most of the Kurds who had voluntarily laid down their arms were arrested by the authorities, and many of them were put to death by mercenary killers.

Abdel Kerim Kasem's behavior intensified the Kurds' hatred for his regime and killed every hope for the solution of the problem by peaceful methods.

Kasem's promises to democratize the domestic life of the country proved to be empty. His policy to consolidate his personal dictatorship became increasingly obvious. All the ministers who had supported the opposition were ousted from the government. They were replaced by Kasem's close military friends who were ready to carry out his wishes unconditionally. Huge sums of money were spent to increase the police apparatus.

Refusing to cooperate with the progressive forces and continuing the war against the Kurdish people, Kasem was losing his prestige inside the country at an increasing rate. The unjustified claims to Kuwait made by Kasem in May 1961, the persistent hostile attitude toward the U.A.R. in 1962 and the middle-of-the-road policy between the right-wing and left-wing forces led to the deterioration of the Iraqi government's prestige in the Arab world. The war against the Kurds provoked indignation among all the progressive people of the world.

The Iraqi Communist Party frequently called Kasem's attention to the dangerous consequences of his antinational and antidemocratic policy, especially the war against the Kurds. The Communists alerted him to the growing activity of the reactionary organizations, their connections with the imperialists' intelligence organizations and the owners of the oil monopolies and the counterrevolutionary action under preparation.

Kasem was deaf to the Communist Party's warnings. Fearing the people's active participation in political life and the growing influence of the democratic forces, he continued his policy of balancing the right-wing and left-wing organizations against one another.

The efforts of the Iraqi Communist Party led to the intensification of the struggle of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia and other segments of the population in the spring of 1962 against Kasem's personal dictatorship, for the peaceful settlement of the Kurdish problem, the economic and political rights of the working people, and democratic freedoms. The cessation of the war in Iraqi Kurdistan was advocated also by many representatives of the left-wing bourgeois parties and organizations, progressive writers, journalists, lawyers and doctors. In August 1962 the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party again called the attention of the government and all the people to the threat to Iraq's independence posed by the war against the Kurds. The declaration issued by the Iraqi Communist Party stated that "The recent activation of the right-wing reactionaries is due primarily to the deepened crisis in Kurdistan and the people's increasing dissatisfaction with the policy of military suppression carried out by the government". The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party called upon the working people to intensify their vigilance against the intrigues of the reaction, and not to relax the struggle to end the war in the north.

The strike movement in 1962 took on a wide scope. Ten large strikes involving several tens of thousands of workers and employees took place between February and August alone. The struggle of the working people for their economic rights was combined with the struggle for democratic freedoms. The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist

Party held at the end of October 1962 to discuss the role of the working class in the liberation movement went a long way to activate the labor movement in the country. The resolution adopted by the plenary session emphasized that "The main condition for the extension of the struggle for the country's national independence is the development of the masses' initiative".

The National-Democratic Party resumed its activities in the summer of 1962. It officially confirmed its solidarity with the basic demands of the Communist Party.

The rapprochement and consolidation of patriotic forces were intensified in the second half of 1962. The identical positions on the basic problems of the future development of the Iraqi Republic held by the three most influential and largest parties in the country -- the Iraqi Communist Party, the National-Democratic and Democratic Parties of Kurdistan -- created the favorable conditions for the reestablishment of the national unity front.

An unmistakable revolutionary situation existed in Iraq by the end of 1962. The dissatisfaction of the urban and rural working people with the operations of the police and authorities, entrepreneurs and landlords broke into the open. The repressions merely intensified the indignation of the Iraqi patriots. The antiwar protest in Iraqi Kurdistan grew louder. Not only the soldiers but also the officers of the Iraqi army began to express dissatisfaction with the war.

The unfavorable course of events forced the local reaction to intensify the preparations for a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat at the end of 1962. The oil monopolies took an active part in the plot. Having enlisted the support of the imperialist intelligence agencies and monopolies, the counterrevolutionaries concentrated their attention on the army with a view to winning over the officers and career men who were dissatisfied with Kasem's policy. The followers of the defunct monarchist regime, the rabid nationalist and nationalist-oriented youth, as well as the declassed elements formed the backbone of the "national guard" organized by the plotters which was to play a major role in the retaliation against the communists and democrats.

Early in January 1963 the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party called upon Kasem to take decisive measures against the conspirators. The statement issued by the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party on January 3, 1963 spoke of the real danger facing the Republic. But Kasem remained true to himself. On February 1, 1963 he announced the government's intention to form a national oil company a week later. These belated liberal half measures could no longer save Kasem's administration, and his measures against the oil monopolies merely served to bring the whole situation to a head.

On the morning of February 8, 1963 the tank and infantry units of the Baghdad garrison recruited by the plotters captured the strategic points in the capital. The Prime Minister's residence and the building of the Defense Ministry were bombed by rebel planes. After two days of battles in the capital the resistance of Kasem's followers was broken. Kasem himself was shot.

The regime of the extreme leaders of the Baath Party (February 8-November 18, 1963). The coup d'etat of February 8, 1963 was precipitated by the Baath Party with the support of other nationalist forces who were united in their hatred of the Kasem regime. The following groups had the greatest influence among these forces: the right-wing extremist Baath leaders who had taken over the party leadership in 1959, Abdel Salam Aref's military group, "The movement of Arab Nationalists" and "The movement of Unionist-Socialist".

The social bulwark of the extremist Baath leadership consisted of the following petty bourgeois elements: traders, college students, secondary school students, some of the intelligentsia, and the noncommissioned ^{and} junior army officers. Aref's group contained nationalist-oriented officers in its ranks. The "Arab Nationalist Movement" and "Unionist-Socialist Movement" were the intelligentsia groups advocating the unification of Iraq with U.A.R. and the development of the country along "Arab socialist" lines.

As a result of the coup d'etat, the key positions in the upper echelons of the National Revolutionary Council created in the course of the coup d'etat and in the government were captured by the Baath Party leaders. Only secondary positions were assigned to the other participants of the coup d'etat. Abdel Salam Aref was appointed president of the Republic but without real power. The advent of the Baath leaders to power was welcomed in the West with unconcealed satisfaction.

The extremist Baath leaders adopted a policy of physical destruction of the Communists and Democrats from the very first hour of the coup d'etat. The National Revolutionary Council, or NSRR, authorized the unit commanders of the "National Guard", the police and army "to destroy any Communist or Kasem sympathizer". The murderers were not responsible before any court. The legal basis for such a monstrous order was the appeal of the Communist Party for resistance to the putschists published on February 8. The mass raids and screening resulted in the execution of thousands of Iraqi patriots with the benefit of court trial, while over 120,000 people were put in jail and concentration camps. The Ribab royal court gained particular notoriety in those tragic days. The best sons and daughters of the Iraqi people were tortured to death there. A denunciation by a provocateur on February 21, 1963 led to the arrests and imprisonment in the palace of the secretary general of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party Salam Adil and two of his closest associates, the prominent leaders of the Iraqi Communist Party Muhammed Hussein Abul-Is and Hasan Uwayni. They were subjected to inhuman tortures for four days and then executed. It was only two weeks later, on March 9, that the Baathist authorities reported the alleged execution "by order of the court" of March 7 of Salam Adil and his comrades accused of "inciting to action conducive to the murder of innocent people". Jamal al-Maidari, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, and Muhammed Salekh al-Abaji, member of the Politburo, were executed in July.

The entire world reacted with profound indignation to the atrocities perpetrated by the authorities in Iraq. Every country was swept by a wave of protest meetings and demonstrations. Expressing the opinion of the Soviet people, the Central Committee of the CPSU issued the following statement on

February 17, 1963: "History has already provided proof that those acting from a position of anticommunism inevitably trample the sacred rights of the people underfoot, inflict a blow against all the truly democratic and patriotic forces of the entire country, serve the interests of the reaction and weaken the unity of the nation in the defense of its interests against imperialist encroachment". As the statement pointed out further, "the Soviet people are firmly convinced that the policy of murder and destruction of the best sons of the Iraqi people carried out by the Baathists will end in failure. The freedom-loving Iraqi people will find the strength to unite and rebuff the brutalized reaction".

Despite the assertions of the Baathist leaders about the complete destruction of the Iraqi Communist Party, the Communists and their fighting general staff, the Central Committee, continued the struggle, mobilizing the masses to resist the fascist regime. The publication of the underground Communist newspaper "Tarik ash-Shaab" (The path of the people) began in June 1963. The Central Committee was restored and communication with the local organizations established in the summer.

When the Baathists came to power in Syria also (on March 8, 1963), the Iraqi government tried to realize the idea of Arab unity. Negotiations were initiated between Syria, Iraq and the U.A.R. for the establishment of a triple federal union. They ended in the signing of a joint declaration on April 17, 1963 in Cairo on the establishment of a federal union following a national referendum to be held in each country within the next five months. But in order to establish their personal dictatorship in Iraq, the Baath leaders soon initiated a struggle against their political allies in the February 8 coup d'etat. Many of the leaders of the unionists, nationalists-union and Arab socialist party and other organizations were arrested and indicted or fled abroad. The Baathists established a monopoly dictatorship in the country. The repressions against Nasser's followers produced a tense atmosphere in the relations with Cairo. Later, Baath's claims to personal political domination in the future federation resulted in a complete cessation of negotiations for a federation and even a deterioration in the relations with the U.A.R.

The domestic political program of Alhmed Hasan Baqr's government included a promise to build "an Arab socialist society" within the framework of "Arab unity" in Iraq, to promote social progress, strengthen the national unity among the Arabs, Kurds and other national minorities, revise the five-year development plan within a month, eliminate its shortcomings and place restrictions upon "private owners". In the field of land reform, the slogan "Down with feudalism, land for the people!" was proclaimed. The Baathists promised to push the implementation of the agrarian reform law, encourage the establishment of agricultural producer cooperatives, stabilize the prices on agricultural produce and raise the living standard of the rural and urban population. In foreign policy the government promised to observe the principle of positive neutrality, fight against imperialism and for peace, strengthen the friendly relations with the socialist countries and work for the unification of the Arab countries into a single federal state.

The actual performance of the government, on the other hand, was diametrically opposite to its declared intention. The nine months period of Baathist rule was characterized by unprecedented violence on the part of the reaction, a war of extermination against the Kurdish people, a sharp deterioration of the economic conditions, a further depression of the

workers' living standard, and almost complete cessation of efforts to implement the five-year plan and a deterioration of relations and connections with the Arab countries; the Soviet Union and other socialist states, greater interference in the domestic affairs of Iraq by the imperialist countries and the consolidation of their positions.

On June 10, 1963 the Baathists unleashed a war of extermination against the Kurds. That war was a logical sequence to the anti-Communist policy carried out by the Baqr government. One of the reasons for the war against the Kurdish people was the fear that the area controlled by the Kurdish rebels would become a base for organized resistance to the Baathist regime. In the first months of the Baathist rule several thousand Iraqi Communists and Democrats who had fled from the persecution by the authorities concentrated in Iraqi Kurdistan. By launching a war against the Kurds, the Baathist leaders also protected the interests of the oil companies.

The Iraqi command concentrated two thirds of the entire army and large units of police and "National guards" against the Kurds. Ten thousand Syrian officers and men sent to Iraq by the Syrian Baathists participated in the battles against the Kurdish liberation army.

The military operations were accompanied by atrocities against the peaceful Kurdish population. A hail of bombs and napalm containers were dropped on hundreds of villages; the Baathists killed old men, women and children, looted property and burned ripening grain crops, orchards and used machineguns to kill off the herds of cattle. The insurrection area was subject to a severe economic blockade with the participation of Turkey and Iran, both SEATO members. Over 500 villages and inhabited points were destroyed, several tens of thousands of people killed and 300,000 people left homeless and without food. Even according to greatly minimized official figures, the Iraqi army lost 5,000 men in killed alone during the military operations between June and November 1963. The Kurdish rebels were again driven to the mountains but they preserved their strength intact and increased their resistance to the government troops from month to month. The Baathist plans for a blitzkrieg war did not materialize. The fight against the Kurds was protracted with no favorable prospect for the war mongers in sight.

The reactionary policy of the Baathist leaders on domestic affairs was accompanied by improved contacts with the imperialist countries and weaker and cultural relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries. Two hundred and seventy-two construction, trade and other British, American, West German and Japanese companies were permitted by the Baqr government to resume their operations in the country. The British military again intensified their influence in the Iraqi army. England began to deliver a large number of "Saracen" armored carriers and fighter planes.

Soviet-Iraqi relations began to deteriorate particularly after the Soviet government's statement of July 10, 1963 condemning the Iraqi government for its genocide policy toward the Kurdish people, and warning it against the dangerous consequences of such a policy to the cause of peace in the Near and Middle East. The Baathist leaders tried to interpret that statement of the USSR government as interference in Iraq's domestic affairs. The Baghdad radio and television launched an anti-Soviet propaganda campaign.

By the middle of 1963 the antinational and reactionary domestic and foreign policy of the Baathists alienated all the classes and political forces of Iraq. Instead of the promised improvements the working class was treated to an unprecedented unemployment, wage cuts, growing prices, the smashing of the labor organizations, terror and lawlessness. Instead of land, the peasants received empty promises, soldiers' uniforms and death in a criminal war against the Kurds. Frightened by the Baathist socialist demagogy, the feudal lords and the national middle class and rich bourgeoisie adopted a hostile attitude toward the new regime. The bourgeoisie initiated an economic boycott of the government by discontinuing its business activity and thinking only of capital export abroad; the result was a threatening economic chaos in the country and serious financial difficulties. The petty bourgeoisie which began by supporting the coup d'etat, soon turned away from the Baathists; many small traders and store keepers were bankrupted by the economic chaos, particularly by the sharp reduction in the traditional wholesale purchases abroad by the rich merchants and the falling purchasing power of the population. The establishment of an undivided Baath dictatorship and the complete liquidation of the political freedom served to make all the political parties and groups hostile to the regime. The generals and officers were dissatisfied with the unjustified appointment of Baath members to important army posts.

Sensing an approaching collapse, the Baath party leadership began to look for a way out of the situation. Contradictions arose among the party leadership. The right-wing group that had come into existence under Talib Shabib (Foreign Affairs Minister) tried to win the support of the rich and middle-class bourgeoisie for the government, and have the government serve their interests. The Prime Minister and a number of ministers made repeated official statements to the effect that Baathist "socialism" did not propose to liquidate or nationalize private property, and that the government would offer all sorts of assistance to private enterprise, and called upon the businessmen to resume their activity "to the benefit of the Motherland". But all that failed to produce any basic changes in the position of the national bourgeoisie.

A group of extremists headed by Deputy Prime Minister Ali Saadi came out against the policy of Shabib. It continued its loud socialist demagogy, and demanded the use of the most severe measures, including destruction, against the feudal lords and capitalists which were sabotaging the socio-economic policy of the government and against the political enemies of the Baath. The Saadi group controlled the "National Guard", increased its numerical strength and equipment and granted it unlimited freedom of action. But far from strengthening the regime, the all-powerful "National Guard" and the bloody terror provoked a fierce hatred for it on the part of the people.

Striving to strengthen their position, the Baathists attempted to establish an Iraqi-Syrian federation in October 1963. They hoped to include Jordan and Lebanon in it by first engineering a Baathist coup d'etat in those countries. An Iraqi-Syrian military alliance was concluded on October 9, 1963. Progressive public opinion justly looked upon that step as a Baathist attempt to revive the English plan for a federation of the "Beneficial Crescent" countries. The statement issued by the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party said that "The Syrian people are fully determined to resist any attempt to strangle their Motherland and to dissolve it in the planned

union of the "Beneficial Crescent" which is backed by Saadi's black fascism and the law of the jungle under which the British and American monopolies will predominate..." The Baathists never did succeed in implementing these plans.

By the middle of November 1963 the struggle between the Shabib and Saadi groups developed into open armed clashes. Taking advantage of the situation, the military group led by Abdel Salam Aref and assisted by the army, precipitated a coup d'etat on November 18, 1963 and took power into its own hands.

Iraq after November 18, 1963. The first step the organizers took was to concentrate the power in the hands of Abdel Salam Aref, disband and disarm the "National Guard" and oust the Baathist party leadership from government. Early in 1964 all the prominent Baathist leaders and their followers were gradually removed from their posts. The latter were taken over by the senior officers who represented the interests of the national bourgeoisie. The new government included also a number of leaders of the bourgeois nationalist party and followers of Gamal Abdel Nasser. The government was headed by General Takher Yahya.

On November 26, 1963 the government announced its domestic and foreign program indicating its intention to establish "Arab socialism" in Iraq, and guarantee the freedom, equality and security of all the citizens, adopt a new constitution, sponsor the election of a state council, support the trade unions and public organizations, implement the agrarian reform law, establish a national oil company, etc. At the same time the government also banned the activities of the political parties. In its foreign policy the government declared its intention to be guided by the principles of positive neutrality, struggle for peace, against colonialism, strive for the unity of the Arab countries, particularly the U.A.R., normalize relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The government's most important goal was the stabilization of the political and economic situation in the country. To that end the government formalized its relations with the U.A.R., and took steps to expand the political, economic, military and cultural cooperation between the two countries (the agreement of May 26, 1964, the formation of a united presidential council, the unification of the flag and badges, the introduction of a mutual preferential system of import-export prices, etc.).

The government took a number of steps designed to normalize relations with the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet campaign was stopped, the economic and trade cooperation improved and construction was resumed on a number of previously "frozen" objects provided for by the Soviet-Iraqi agreement of 1959; the Iraqi government signed the Moscow treaty banning atomic tests in three spheres, and supported the Soviet proposal on the peaceful settlement of border disputes between countries.

One of the main reasons for the political tension and economic difficulties was the war against the Kurds. After new and unsuccessful attempts to break the Kurdish resistance, the government was compelled to conclude a cease-fire agreement with Mustafa al-Barzani on February 10, 1964, and lift the economic blockade of the northern areas.

The provisional constitution of the Iraqi Republic was adopted on April 29, 1964 whereby all the power was in effect concentrated in the hands of the president. According to the language of the constitution, the National Assembly was to be

elected only after the "transition period", which was defined as three years from the time of the adoption of the constitution. The constitution declared equal rights for all nationalities in Iraq but it made no mention of meeting the demands of the Kurds for autonomy. The constitution left the ban on political parties in force.

The Constituent Congress of the Socialist Union of Iraq, a pro-government legal political organization within whose framework all the political parties of the country were to unite and cooperate, was held on July 14, 1964. Continuing the anti-Communist policy of the Baathists, the organizers of the Socialist Union declared that the communists would not be admitted to that organization. Moreover, the government continued its repressions against the communists and democrats.

Acting under the influence, and more frequently under the pressure from the inside, on the part of those who would include Iraq in the U.A.R., the government adopted a number of laws on July 14, 1964 similar to some of the decrees issued by Gamal Abdul Nasser in July 1961. The foreign and Iraqi private banks, their branches abroad, all the insurance companies and a number of industrial enterprises were nationalized (for certain compensation) in accordance with these laws; the decrees also provided for the compulsory government participation in the capital of a number of Iraqi industries. The cost of the shares permitted to one shareholder was limited to 10,000 dinars. Laws were also adopted calling for a 25% profit deduction to be made by each enterprise in favor of the wage fund and for the purpose of improving the social services for workers and employees, and for the participation of the workers and employees in the administration of state enterprises. A law providing for a progressive income tax of private entrepreneurs and companies was adopted on September 4. The purpose of all these laws was to enhance the government's role in the economic development of the country.

But this policy was greatly resented by all the domestic reactionary forces who immediately began to fight it trying to undermine the implementation of the adopted laws. The reaction was actively supported by the imperialist monopolies, first of all the "Iraq Petroleum Company", which were dissatisfied with the government measures designed to limit its activity and establish a national oil company. Nor were the imperialist forces satisfied with the policy of positive neutrality, a rapprochement between Iraq and the U.A.R. and the normalization of relations with the socialist countries. All that served to aggravate the intrapolitical struggle resulting in a sharp turn to the right on the part of the government in 1965. This new orientation was manifested in the resumption of the criminal war against the Kurds, and new repressions against the democrats and attempts to worsen the relations between Iraq and the U.A.R. and the socialist countries. The exacerbation of the intrapolitical struggle produced a number of government crises in the second half of 1965: The Taker Yahya government fell in September, and Abd ar-Razak Aref's cabinet remained in power only one week. It was replaced by the Bazzaz government.

THE GOVERNMENT SYSTEM AND
PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

The Government System

The provisional constitution adopted on April 29, 1964 proclaims the Iraqi Republic to be a sovereign democratic socialist state. "Islam is the state religion and the main foundation of the Republic's constitution". The Iraqi people are considered as "part of the Arab nation".

The constitution declares "Social solidarity" to be the basis of the Iraqi society, and pursues the goal of "social justice that precludes any form of exploitation", and guarantees the social rights of the Iraqi people.

The constitution affirms the principle of government administration of the national economy in accordance with the "universal plan established by the state law". It believes in the cooperation of the two sectors, government and private, in the interests of increased production and a higher living standard for the population.

According to article 12, "private property is protected by law, and the law controls its social role". The alienation of private property "in the public interest" and for "a fair compensation under the law" is permitted.

All the natural resources are state property.

A maximum limit has been set on land ownership. The government will encourage cooperation and assist in the various forms of its development.

The constitution declares the equality of the Iraqi citizens before the law regardless of their religious, national and social origin and sex, and confirms the national rights of the Kurds "within the Iraqi nation by establishing a united national fraternity".

Under the constitution an Iraqi citizens can be arrested only according to law; the accused is considered innocent until found guilty by a court of law; he must be given every right of self defense; torture is forbidden. Foreigners are guaranteed the right to political asylum.

The home is declared to be inalienable as is the freedom of worship, freedom of opinion and scientific discussion, freedom of the press and propaganda, freedom to establish trade unions and societies, freedom of assembly "within the framework of the law", the right of all citizens to work, rest and to medical service, education, the right to vote, the right to help of the old and the sick, the invalids and the unemployed.

The provisional constitution recognizes the separation of the legislative, executive and judicial authorities, but the implementation of this principle is to be carried out during the entire "transition period" which is to last three years from the day of the adoption of the mentioned constitution.

The Chief of State is the President. Only a practicing Iraqi Moslem not younger than 40 years of age who enjoys all the civil and political rights and is not married to a foreigner may be elected to that post.

The President is invested with broad rights. He appoints the prime minister and his deputies, accepts their resignation, approves the laws and decisions of the government, approves international treaties and agreements, and accredits and accepts diplomatic representatives; he may proclaim a state of emergency and universal mobilization; he approves and revokes death sentences and commutes punishment.

The President is the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. He forms and heads the National Defense Council whose duties it is to formulate the country's defense policy. The president may declare a state of war, conclude a truce and peace with the consent of the Council of Ministers and the National Defense Council.

According to article 48 of the constitution the President may adopt decisions which have the force of law in cases when the country's security is threatened. That article was used as a basis for the "National Security" law adopted in February 1965 whereby a state of emergency may be declared in Iraq or in one of the areas of the country: a) in case of a threatened hostile attack, the declaration of war or a state of war or a situation in which war is threatened, and b) in the case of a "serious disruption of public order." The introduction of a state of emergency is, in effect, accompanied by the abolition of all constitutional freedoms and guarantees of the Iraqi people's rights.

The present President continues to perform his duties pending the adoption of a permanent constitution and the election of a president.

If for some reason or other the post of the president becomes vacant, his functions are performed by the Prime Minister. The new president must be elected within a week at a joint session of the Council of Ministers and the National Defense Council by a two-thirds majority vote.

Legislative powers in Iraq are vested in the Council of Ministers during the "transition period".

Under law No. 185 adopted in December 1964 to amend article 63 of the constitution, legislative authority is transferred to the Advisory Council for the duration of the "transition period". The law provides for the appointment of the members of that organization by presidential decree with the consent of the Council of Ministers. The members of that Council must meet the following requirements: they must be citizens of Iraq at least 30 years of age, enjoy all the civil and political rights and have no criminal records. The appointment of the Council members should be guided by the principle of equal representation of all the areas in the country, on the basis of one Council member for every 70,000-100,000 residents. The Prime Minister and the other ministers are also included in the Council. The President of the Republic is authorized to increase the Council membership.

The Council is to hold its sessions regularly, each of them continuing at least seven months a year. The President may call an extra session of the Council if the situation requires it or if the majority of the Council members demand it.

The Council controls and discusses the performance of the government as well as its statements and reports. Any Council

member may submit his proposals and address his questions to the prime minister and ministers, at least 10 members may bring a question to the floor for discussion and at 20 members may submit a bill.

A law is considered approved only after it has been discussed by the Council and approved by it. The president may send it back to the Council for another discussion within a month. When the law is voted upon a second time it must have at least two-thirds of the vote for its final approval.

The president has a right to dissolve the Council. The new Council is appointed according to the established law within a two-months period during which the president may issue laws and decrees which are then submitted for consideration to the new Council. According to the provisional constitution, the decisions, statements, orders and decrees issued by the president, the chairman of the National Revolutionary Council (see note) and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces since November 18, 1963 will have the force of law beginning with the date of their publication, and can be revoked in accordance with the constitution.

(Note. The National Revolutionary Council was created after the coup d'etat of April 8, 1963 as one of the higher organs of government. It was abolished in September 1965).

The Advisory Council is currently in the process of formation.

According to the constitution, the government must publish an election law to govern the elections to the National Assembly of Iraq at least six months before the expiration of the "transition period". After that all the legislative power is to be vested in that assembly.

The executive branch of the government consists of the Council of Ministers. The head and members of the cabinet are appointed by the president and are subordinated to him. Before assuming their duties the members of the government must take an oath of allegiance to the president. The president (or the prime minister acting with the consent of the president) may bring a minister to trial for criminal abuse of his office. If the prime minister resigns or is replaced by the president, the entire cabinet is dissolved.

The following ministers are included in the executive government of Iraq: foreign affairs, internal affairs, defense, finance, economy, planning, trade, industry, agriculture, agrarian reform, communication and transportation, oil, justice, education, public health, labor and social affairs, etc.

Functioning under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers is a number of committees and administrations (the economic development Council, the Supreme Committee of agrarian reform, etc.).

The judicial system. According to the constitution, judicial power in the Iraqi Republic belongs to the courts which are accountable only to the law, and "a judge cannot be removed from his post except by the law". Sentences are passed on behalf of the people. Civil cases are tried by the lower courts and the court of appeals. The Supreme Civil Court tries cases involving crimes committed by government officials (ministers, deputies, members of the court of appeals, etc.).

The security courts were established in the country under the "National Security" law No. 4 of 1965, in addition to the civil courts (two such courts in Baghdad and one in Kirkuk, and also one court of appeals and a commission to review the sentences passed by the state security courts). These courts were created to replace the military tribunals. Each of them consists of two officers with the rank of at least lieutenant colonel and one civilian judge.

The proceedings in the state security courts are instituted by the members of the prosecutor general's office. Sentences of death or life imprisonment must immediately be sent to the court of appeals. The president may revoke or commute the sentences of the State security courts.

Cases involving the military are handled by the Supreme Military Court of Appeals. It consists of a chairman with the rank of at least brigadier with two assistants the first of whom is a lawyer with the rank of lieutenant colonel and higher, and the second an army officer with the rank of colonel and higher.

The Moslem religious (shariat) functioning in Iraq handles Moslem family cases and cases involving the property of religious institutions (Waqfs). The legal proceedings in those courts are governed by the Moslem religious law (shariat) that takes into account the characteristic features in each Moslem sect. Family cases of Christians, Jews and other non-Moslems are handled by the spiritual councils of the appropriate religious communities. The cases which do not fit into the framework of family cases are submitted to the civil courts.

The office of the prosecutor general operates as an independent body. The appointment of a prosecutor general and his deputy, their functions and rights, their removal from office are defined by law. The constitution provides for the formation of a state council with jurisdiction over administrative rights, and the formulation of a code of laws, their definition and interpretation.

Administrative Divisions

Iraq is divided into 14 liwas (provinces) which bear the same name as their capital cities (with the exception of the Diyala liwa with Baakuba as its chief city): Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Sulaymaniyah (northern liwas), Baghdad, Diyala, Ramadi, Hillah, Kut, Karbala (central liwas), Diwaniyah, Nasiriyah, Amarah, and Basrah (southern liwas). Baghdad is singled out as a separate administrative unit. Each liwa is administered by a government-appointed mutasarrif (governor) who is subordinated to the Minister of Internal Affairs. The mutasarrif is the chairman of the general liwa council. The councils are not entirely independent in matters of local administration. The circulars and instructions of the commanders of the divisions quartered in the liwas as well as the instructions and decisions of the government are binding upon the liwa councils.

The executive branch of the general liwa council deals with problems involving local self government (in the field of public health, education, irrigation, agrarian reforms, etc.).

Each liwa is divided into kadas (districts). A kada is headed by a kaimakom who presides over the kada council. The council members are appointed by the mutasarrif.

The kadas in turn are divided into nakhiyahs (townships) headed by mudirs (township chiefs). The mukhtars (village elders) are subordinated to the mudir.

The cities are administered by municipal governments. The city mayors and the members of the municipal and administrative (executive) council are accounted by the government.

In the nomadic areas the administrative functions are performed by the tribal leaders.

Armed Forces

Regular and irregular formations. January 6, 1921, the day the National Defense Ministry was established, is also considered the birthday of the Iraqi armed forces. The first infantry battalion was formed on July 28, 1921, and the first infantry division in 1932. The Iraqi army consisted of four infantry divisions by 1940.

Under the monarchy the leading army posts were held by the British. They also held the most important air bases. The military equipment supplied by Britain and the U.S. was obsolete without sufficient spare parts.

After the revolution of July 14, 1958 the Republic government introduced a number of measures designed to reorganize the army and equip it with the latest technical facilities.

The armed forces of the Iraqi Republic now consist of regular and irregular military formations.

The total number of the regular armed forces is 70,000-75,000 men. They consist of ground troops, air forces and naval forces. The ground troops are made up of three infantry, one tank and one mountain rifle division.

The Iraqi armed forces are formed under the law of universal military service and made up of Iraqi male subjects between the ages of 18 and 25. The duration of the military service is two years.

Voluntary enlistment is, as a rule, accepted for career men based on a five-year contract which is renewed for another two years upon expiration.

The irregular troops are made up of volunteers from 18 to 40 in case of a threatening military situation. The national resistance units organized after the revolution of July 14, 1948, and numbering about 100,000 men, were disbanded by order of Kasem who feared the growing strength of the democratic forces.

Baathist armed units numbering about 40,000 men were organized in the country after the coup d'etat of February 8, 1963. They were disbanded by order of the president November 18, 1963.

The tribal armed units are also part of the irregular troops. According to the existing custom, all the males in the tribes undergo military training, and the best of them (as determined by the tribal leader) are included in the armed units which serve the interests of the tribal elite.

The main military administration. After the revolution of

July 14, 1958 the problems involving war and peace, the build-up and organization of the armed forces were for some time under the formal jurisdiction of the Supreme State Council of the Republic. Actually, these problems were solved personally by Prime Minister Kasom.

After February 8, 1963 these functions were transferred to the National Revolutionary Council, and in September 1965 to the National Defense Council.

The organization and combat training of the army is under the immediate jurisdiction of the Defense Ministry.

Military schools. The top military school is the General Staff College founded in 1928. The college is located in the Ar-Rustamiya camp. The course of study is two years. It has 50-60 students.

The officers are trained in the military college founded in 1924. Field grade officers have to take a three-year course, and those of the administrative service two years. The number of cadets is 850-900.

There is also a school for the training of reserve officers founded in 1952. The college and secondary school graduates are accepted to that school. The course of study is four months. The school also accepts specially trained people (doctors, pharmacists, etc.). It graduates 2,000-2,500 reserve officers annually with the rank of lieutenant or warrant officer.

The flight crews and technical personnel of the air force are trained in an air force college. It was founded in 1950 to replace the aviation school created in 1933. The course of study is three years.

Specialists for the artillery units are trained in the artillery college established in 1927 and reorganized in 1955.

Officers and noncommissioned officers of the engineers (including bridge-building specialists, water supply engineers and machinery specialists, etc.) are trained at the engineering college founded in 1938 at Camp Ar-Rashid.

A school for the technical service was opened in 1956. It accepts 100-150 men annually. The course of study for repairmen is two years, and for machine operators one year.

The military education network includes also schools for junior aviation specialists, parachutists, specialists in physical culture and sports, administration and military reconnaissance.

Political Parties

Political parties in Iraq are now officially banned (see note). But a number of political parties and groups are operating illegally.

(Note. See the section under the title "Historical Sketch" for the history of the political parties).

The Iraqi Communist Party (IKP) is the vanguard of the working masses of Iraq in the struggle for their class, national and international interests. It was founded in 1934. The IKP has been struggling untiringly for over 30 years for the unification of all the patriotic forces of the Iraqi people,

against colonialism and for the political and economic independence of their motherland. In 1963 the IKP suffered great losses as a result of the Baathist terror. But it succeeded in recovering from that monstrous blow. The Central Committee of the IKP was restored as early as 1963, and its illegal newspaper "Tarik ash-Shaab" (The People's Path) was first published.

The IKP is now engaged in a stubborn struggle to get the democratic rights for the Iraqi people, for the peaceful solution of the Kurdish problem and for the legitimate demands of the Kurdish people.

The National-Democratic Party (NDP) reflects the interests of the middle class and poor national bourgeoisie of Iraq. It was founded in 1946, and its leader is Kamil Chadarchi. The NDP seeks to achieve bourgeois-democratic freedoms, particularly freedom for political parties, the solution of the Kurdish problem by peaceful means, a shorter "transition period" and the establishment of a parliamentary system. In foreign policy the NDP advocates Iraq's neutrality, closer relations and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the unification of the Arab countries on a democratic foundation.

The National-Progressive Party (NPP) reflects the interests of the rich national industrial and financial bourgeoisie of the country. The party was founded in 1960 as a result of a split in the NDP; its leaders are Muhammed Khadid and Khadduri Khadduri. In 1960-1962 the NPP advocated a neutral foreign policy for Iraq but it also supported that reactionary domestic policy of Kasem. But in July 1962 the NPP brought its activities to a standstill in view of the developing war against the Kurds. The party was persecuted under the Baathist regime and both of its leaders arrested and haled into court.

The NPP is practically inactive at present.

The Istiklal (Independence) Party reflects the interests of the rich bourgeoisie and Iraqi landlords. The party was founded in 1946, and its leaders are Muhammed Makhdi al-Kubba, Faik as-Samarrai and Sadyk Shanshal. Some of its members participated in the coup d'etat of February 8, 1963 and cooperated with the Baathist regime. Later the party supported the coup d'etat of November 18, 1963 and the new regime. It advocates the unity of the Arab countries and neutrality in foreign policy for tactical reasons.

The Arab Socialist Party (ASP) came into being in 1962 following a split in the Istiklal party; its leader is Abdul Razzak Shabib. As a bourgeois party, the ASP is extremely anti-Communist in its domestic policy, and calls for the development of an "Arab Islamic Socialism". In its foreign policy it recognizes the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser and calls for the unification of the Arab countries.

The Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK) was founded in 1946 and the party chairman is Mulla Mustafa al-Barzani. The party seeks to achieve autonomy for Kurdistan within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, and struggles for the democratization of the domestic life of Iraq, particularly for national rights for the Kurds. In the north of Iraq the DPK operates in the open.

The Socialist Party of Arabic Renaissance (Baath) reflects the interests of the small-scale bourgeoisie but its ranks also

include representatives of the middle-class national bourgeoisie. The party was founded in Iraq in 1954. Holding power in Iraq between February 8 and November 18, 1963, Baath antagonized all the classes of the Iraqi society by its antinational and antidemocratic policy and its connections with the imperialist forces. There was a split in the party in the middle of 1963. The extremist elements of the Baathist party rallied behind Ali Saleh Saadi. In November that split developed into open armed clashes between various groups in their struggle for power.

There are three Baathist party groups now operating secretly in Iraq and seeking the overthrow of the existing regime; the most active among them are the Saadi followers.

"The movement of Arab-Nationalists" unites the small group of Iraqi intelligentsia, the followers of Gamal Abdel Nasser, which is party of the All-Arab "Movement of Arab-Nationalists". That group was formed in 1959, and its leader is Salam Ahmed. That group demanded the introduction in Iraq of the socio-economic changes already implemented in the U.A.R., and called for the unification of Iraq with the U.A.R. and the creation of a "single Arab socialist state". It strove to achieve control over the Iraqi trade unions and the peasant and youth organizations.

"The movement of unionist-socialists" was born in 1962 as a result of the split in the Baathist Party. Its leader is Fuad ar-Rekabi. The group advanced the same slogans as the "Movement of Arab-Nationalists" and maintained close cooperation with it.

The only official political organization of Iraq is the Arab Socialist Union. A constituent congress of that union was held in July 1964 at the initiative of the government. It adopted a program ("National Charter") and statute of the union which actually duplicate the program and statute of the Arab Socialist Union of the U.A.R.: its goal is the unification of all the social forces of the country in the struggle for independence, for the establishment of an "Arab socialism" and the unification of the Arab countries; it was decided not to admit Communists or Baathists to the union. The President of the Iraqi Republic, Abdel Salam Aref, was elected chairman of the organization.

Following the creation of an Arab Socialist Union in July 1964, the "Movement of Arab Nationalists", the "Movement of Unionists-Socialists" and the "Arab Socialist Unionists movement" announced their own dissolution in order to join the Union. They were later followed by the Iraqi Nationalist League. After its official declaration of admission, the Union was joined by a number of political and public leaders of Iraq (September 1964). The other parties and political groups took a negative position toward the Union and criticized its foundation. That is why the Arab Socialist Union is still a very small organization. At the same time, the political parties and groups which joined the Union did not disband themselves but initiated the struggle for the leadership and the utilization of the Union for their own purposes.

A number of reactionary Islamic religious parties and organizations are active in Iraq in addition to the mentioned parties and groups: "Brother Moslems", "Liberation", the Party of Islam, etc. They are small organizations operating primarily among the faithful and the clergy and their slogans are extremely reactionary.

The Trade Unions

Nineteen trade unions (established after the coup d'etat of November 18, 1963) are currently functioning in Iraq (See note): the Union of oil workers, textile workers, drivers, communication workers, tobacco workers, electricians, building workers, printers, mechanics, food industry workers, urban transportation workers, leather tanning workers, government workers, road and bridge-building workers, bank employees, daily service workers, railroad workers, stevedores, and agricultural workers. They have chapters in all the liwas (with the exception of the Erbil and Sulaymaniyah liwas). The main trade unions are those of the oil workers, railroad workers, stevedores, tobacco workers and agricultural workers and mechanics. The General Federation of Iraqi Trade Union Workers was founded in October 1964. According to official figures, the Federation includes about 50% of the country's workers.

The supreme organ of the General Federation is the congress which is called once a year. In the periods between the congresses the Federation is ruled by a Central Committee consisting of 55 members and five candidates. It convenes every three months. The Central Council elects an executive committee consisting of 15 members.

The executive committee meets at least once a month, and elects a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary general and secretariat consisting of seven members which are in charge of the organization's current operations.

The General Federation publishes the newspaper "Saut al-Ummal" (Voice of the Workers).

These are the main goals pursued by the Federation: the improvement of the workers' and employees' living conditions, the development of progressive labor legislation, the improvement of medical services for the workers, the workers' participation in the administration of private and government enterprises, the workers' participation in the profits, the improvement of the workers' qualifications, the implementation of the labor laws and a ban on arbitrary dismissals.

In keeping with the general policy of the government, the General Federation leadership denies the right of the workers to strike. The Federation leaders declare that inasmuch as Iraq has adopted a policy of "Arab Socialism", a strike can no longer be used as a weapon of struggle. The conflicts between the workers and employers, in their opinion, should be solved by arbitration and peaceful settlement. The Federation leadership opposes any party activity in Iraq in general and party influence in particular, especially the influence of the Iraqi Communist Party, on the trade union activities. At the same time the Federation maintains close ties with the Arab Socialist Union.

The Federation devotes a great deal of attention to the dissemination of the ideas of Arab nationalism among the workers, and advocates the unification of Iraq with the U.A.R.

The General Federation has been a member of the Confederation of Arab Trade unions since 1964, and maintains close cooperation with it. The Federation maintains communications with the International Labor Organization.

The General Federation's connections with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions are insignificant.

CULTURE

Education

The Iraqi Republic fell heir to a very poor legacy in the field of education. As a result of many centuries of foreign oppression, the absolute majority of the Iraqi population was illiterate.

The first secular private and government schools in Iraq appeared in the second half of the XIX century. By the beginning of the First World War there were several dozen primary and secondary schools and four colleges in the country. Instruction was in the Turkish language.

After the First World War the education system was placed under the control of British Mandate authorities: the curricula of the primary and secondary schools, based on the British system, were in effect until the revolution of 1958; the Iraqi Ministry of Education had an English advisor until 1946.

After the Second World War the number of schools and students in Iraq increased, but the rate of that increase was so insignificant that prior to the 1958 revolution the literate people concentrated primarily in the cities accounted for only 11% of the population, and a considerable portion of them were able only to write their name.

A wide campaign to eliminate illiteracy, initiated by the teacher's trade union, was started all over the country after the revolution. The trade union issued an appeal to all the public organizations and individuals to take an active part in that campaign. The Iraqi Communist Party, the Trade Union Federation, the League of Iraqi Women, the Federation of Democratic Youth and the Union of Iraqi Students responded to that appeal. Ordinary school buildings were used for classroom studies. The Iraqi teachers who devoted their summer vacations to teaching the adult population played an important part in that endeavor, especially in the first years following the revolution. Special central organizations were established to supervise the campaign for the elimination of illiteracy. There were 386 such organizations in 1962/63 (330 for men and 56 for women). Classes were attended by 27,725 people.

Notable successes were achieved also in the field of primary and secondary education. The number of primary schools and students were almost doubled in the period between 1957/58 and 1963/64: there were 2,145 primary schools with 437,500 students in 1957/58, and 4,165 schools with 864,039 students in 1963/64. The number of secondary schools in 1963/64 was more than doubled as compared to 1957/58 (an increase from 244 to 511), and the number of students in them increased 2.6 times. Considerable headway was made also in the field of higher education, and there was some increase in the number of technical schools. Tuition is free in all schools (except the private schools).

The Iraqi Republic is experiencing considerable difficulties in the development of universal education in the country and the training of qualified cadres for the various industries, for science and culture. The major difficulties are: the low living standard of the workers, an acute shortage of school buildings, equipment and all sorts of textbooks, qualified teachers, especially in the field of secondary and higher education, and financial difficulties.

The educational system in Iraq is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. It consists of eight departments, each headed by a general director. The President of the Iraqi Academy of Sciences and the Director of the Baghdad University are subordinated directly to the Minister of Education.

Primary education. A law of compulsory primary education was adopted in 1950. Children are admitted to the primary school at the age of seven. Primary education lasts six years.

The primary schools (day and evening) follow the same curriculum which includes the following basic subjects: theology, Arab and English, arithmetic, social science and hygiene. Home economics is taught in the fifth and sixth grades of the girls schools. Year-end examinations are held in all the primary schools, and the final examination given at the end of the sixth year is followed by the issuance of a primary school certificate entitling the bearer to admission to a general or specialized secondary school. There are both separate and coeducational primary schools; the latter are prevalent mostly in the rural areas where there is still a shortage of schools. Mixed schools account for about half of all the primary schools.

In 1963/64 the primary schools were attended by more than 60% of the school-age children (85% boys and 35% girls).

But illiteracy is still far from eliminated. A considerable number of children, particularly in the rural areas, were forced to quit school because of material difficulties after having barely learned how to read and write.

Secondary education. The general-education secondary schools, day and evening, offering a five-year course of study, are divided into two stages: an incomplete secondary school, and a secondary school with three and two-year courses of study respectively.

The studies in the incomplete secondary school follow a uniform plan applicable to all students and ending in examination entitling the student to continue his studies in a general education secondary school of the second degree or in a commercial school. In the second degree secondary school the students specialize in natural sciences or humanities. Those who have successfully passed their graduation examinations are awarded the title of baccalaureate in their selected field, and may be admitted to the appropriate college, institute or university.

The secondary school curriculum includes theology, Arabic and English languages, history, geography, natural and social sciences, physical culture and home economics (for girls).

Private schools play an important part in the system of secondary education. There were 64 primary, 109 secondary and three higher schools of learning in Iraq in 1963/64. The functions of the private schools are controlled by the Ministry of Education. Their curricula must correspond to those used in the government schools. The government encourages the opening of private secondary schools and offers them the necessary assistance.

Technical education. The system of technical education includes the incomplete secondary schools and the secondary where specialists are trained for agriculture, commercial

schools, schools for home economics, industrial and pedagogical schools. There were 46 special schools in 1963/64 attended by 8,601 students. Those entering the special schools must have a complete primary education, with the exception of the commercial school where an incomplete secondary education is required.

The Agricultural schools offer a secondary agronomical education. The course of study is five years. These schools train specialists in agriculture, in the use of the latest agricultural equipment and in farm organization and management. The graduates are entitled to admission to the agronomic or lumber industry faculties of the Baghdad University.

The commercial schools train junior employees in the field of economics, trade and banking. There were three commercial schools in Iraq in 1963/64. The course of study is two years. The graduates are entitled to admission to the commercial faculty of the Baghdad University.

School of home economics for girls are available in almost every Iraqi province. There were 15 of them in 1963/64. The course of study is six years. These schools train girls as teachers of home economics and primary schools. The graduates may enter the At-Takhrir faculty of the Baghdad University.

Technical specialists and skilled workers for various industries, construction and transportation are trained in the industrial schools. There were 10 industrial schools in Iraq in 1963/64. The course of study is six years. The graduates may enter the faculty of natural sciences of the Baghdad University or the higher engineering institute.

The Soviet Union has been extending a great deal of assistance to Iraq in the training of technical cadres. In-factory training centers where technical specialists are trained are found in a number of industrial enterprises under construction or completed with the aid of the USSR. Soviet assistance is designed to liberate the Iraqi national industry from foreign dependence, and to help the country achieve complete economic independence as soon as possible.

Pedagogical schools. There were 28 pedagogical schools (14 for men and 14 for women) in Iraq in 1963/64 with 8,681 students. These schools admit boys and girls with an incomplete secondary education. The course of study is three years. Teachers for urban and rural primary schools are trained in these schools. To meet the demand for primary school teachers, the Ministry of Education developed temporary courses to which secondary school graduates are admitted; the course of study is one year. These courses were attended by 4,551 persons in 1963/64.

The teachers for secondary schools are trained primarily at the Baghdad University (pedagogical, theological and At-Takhrir faculties), the pedagogical institute and the institute of physical culture. These were attended by 4,375 persons in 1963/64. Some of the secondary school teachers also include graduates from the faculties of humanities and natural sciences as well as the agricultural faculty of the Baghdad University, the Institute of foreign languages and other higher institutions of learning. But the problem of training secondary school teachers is far from being solved. The demand is particularly great for teachers of physics, mathematics and English.

A higher education is obtainable at the Baghdad University and a number of government and private higher schools of learning.

The Baghdad University. Law No. 60 providing for the creation of the Baghdad University was adopted in Iraq in 1956. The following previously existing colleges were incorporated into the university as faculties: the medical, pharmaceutical, stomatological, veterinary, agricultural, commercial, legal, humanities and natural sciences, economic and political sciences, pedagogical, engineering, the At-Takhrir college as well as the higher engineering institute and the institute of physical culture. The following new institutes were established later: the economic, engineering, lumber, foreign languages, and higher pedagogical institute. A medical faculty was opened in 1960 in Mosul, a theological and the faculty of engineering and natural sciences opened in Mosul in 1963 are also part of the Baghdad University. The university had 17 faculties and seven institutes in 1963/64.

The construction of a special complex of university buildings was begun in the southern part of the town in 1961 to house all the colleges and institutes which are scattered all over Baghdad.

The Baghdad University was attended by 16,915 students in 1963/64. In addition to the Iraqi people, the students include people from other countries, primarily from the Arab countries. The basic contingent consists of secondary school graduates. The entrance examinations are of a competitive nature.

The university has a clinic, laboratories, shops and offices equipped with the latest facilities. Each faculty has its own library. The Learned Council established at the University in 1963/64 is made up of representatives from various scientific faculties and institutes of the university. The Council guides the scientific efforts of the university and coordinates the operations of the higher schools of learning in Iraq.

A graduate school was opened at the university in 1960.

The appropriations for the Baghdad University have increasing. In 1959/60 they amounted to 2.5 million dinars, and in 1963/64 to 4 million or about 13% of all the appropriations for education.

The legal faculty, the oldest higher school of learning in Iraq, was founded in 1908. The course of study there is four years. The faculty played an important part in training attorneys not only for Iraq but also for the other Arab countries. Since the 1958 revolution the faculty has also been teaching new subjects such as sociology, logic and philosophy, which are selected by the students for their specialization. In 1963/64 the faculty was attended by 2,144 students, including 218 girls.

The institute of economics and finance, which is an advanced legal faculty offering special courses in law and economics, was opened in 1960. The course of study is two years. The graduates are awarded the title of "Master".

The faculty of humanities was founded in 1949 as the "College of humanities and natural sciences". It was later divided into two independent colleges. The faculty of humanities has departments of Arabic languages and science, ancient history,

economics, the English language, philosophy, history, geography and sociology, the Kurdish language and political science. The course of study is four years. That faculty was attended by 1,335 students, including 613 girls, in 1963/64.

A faculty of natural science was added in 1958 to the "College of humanities and natural science". At first it consisted of two divisions, physics and mathematics; the departments of zoology, botany, geology and chemistry were opened later on. The graduates were awarded the title of baccalaureate of science. In 1963/64 the faculty was attended by 716 students, including 219 girls.

The commercial faculty was founded in 1947. The course of study is four years. Upon graduation the student becomes a baccalaureate of commercial and economic sciences. Specialization in commerce or economics begins in the third year. The curriculum includes a study of statistics, economics, law and accounting. The faculty was attended by 1,120 students, including 179 girls, in 1963/64.

The pedagogical faculty was opened in 1923. Girls were admitted to it in 1937 for the first time. Secondary school teachers are trained in that faculty. The course of studies is four years. It has departments of Arabic languages, biology, chemistry, geography, mathematics, physics, foreign languages and psychology. The 1963/64 enrollment was 2,193 students, including 762 girls. The faculty was well equipped physical, chemical and biological laboratories and is known for its large library.

The "At-Takdir" women's faculty was founded in 1946. The course of study is four years. It has departments of home economics, secretarial and physical education, art and culinary training. Secondary school teachers of physical culture, drawing, home economics and other skills are trained in that faculty. It had 317 students in 1963/64.

The agricultural faculty was founded in 1952. The course of study there is four years. It has 11 departments, many laboratories, shops and experimental plots. It was attended by 394 students, including 21 girls, in 1963/64.

The medical faculty was opened in 1927, replacing the Royal Hospital. It had a therapeutic, dental and pharmaceutical departments which later developed into independent colleges, and a school of nurses and midwives. The course of study in the therapeutic department is six years, in the school of nurses three years, and in the school of midwives four years. The students go through their practical studies in the faculties' clinic and laboratories. The Mosul Medical College, a branch of the university's medical faculty, was opened in 1960. In 1963/64 the medical faculty (at Baghdad and Mosul) was attended by 1,733 students, including 520 girls.

The pharmaceutical faculty was established in 1936 replacing the pharmaceutical department of the medical college. The course of study is five years. It was attended by 266 students, including 123 girls in 1963/64.

The stomatological faculty was founded in 1953, replacing the appropriate department of the medical college. The course

of study is five years. In 1963/64 the faculty was attended by 167 students including 50 girls.

The veterinary faculty was opened in 1955. The course of study is five years. The faculty has nine departments, nine laboratories and a division of anatomy. The veterinary hospital was opened by the faculty where the students receive their practice. The faculty had 119 students in 1963/64.

The engineering faculty was established in 1935. It has seven departments which train civil engineers, electrical engineers, mechanics, architects, chemical and oil engineers as well as general machinebuilding engineers. The faculty has 12 laboratories at its disposal. The course of study is four-five years. It was attended by 1,071 students, including 75 girls, in 1963/64.

The theological faculty was opened in 1961. The course of study is four years. This faculty trains secondary school teachers in Moslem theology and the Arabic languages. It had 501 students, including 149 girls, in 1963/64.

The Higher Engineering institute was founded in 1955. It trains engineers in construction, electrical engineering, mechanization and industrial production. It was attended by 438 students, including two girls, in 1963/64.

The institute of physical culture was founded in 1955. It trains secondary school teachers. It had 236 students in 1963/64.

The institutes of economics, foreign languages and engineering were established in 1958. In 1963/64 they were attended by 531, 1,061 and 153 students, respectively.

The lumber institute was founded in 1959. It had 29 students in 1963/64.

Secondary school teachers are trained at the higher pedagogical institute which has branches of physics, mathematics and the English language. The course of study is three years. In 1963/64 it was attended by 828 students, including 180 girls.

The Higher industrial institute offers a three-year course of study. It had 261 students in 1963/64.

The statistical institute. The course of study is three years.

The Academy of Fine Arts. The course of study is four years. It has the following departments: music, painting and sculpture and stage production. It had 119 students, including 23 girls, in 1963/64.

There are also private higher schools of learning in Iraq. They are listed below.

"Al-Khikma" is an American university operated by the Jesuits; it has two faculties, engineering and economic. It had 409 students in 1963/64.

The "Al-Mustansiriya" university was founded in 1963/64 and is operated by the teachers' trade union. One thousand seven hundred and fifty students were admitted to the first course.

The "Ash-Shaab" University was founded in 1963/64. It is under the jurisdiction of the Society of Scientific and Cultural Publications. Four hundred and fifty students were admitted to the first course.

The commercial college in Basrah ^{was} opened in 1963/64 by the Basrah Society of Economists.

The total number of students attending the Iraqi Higher Schools of learning in 1963/64 was 20,066.

The development of the higher schools of learning in Iraq has been hampered by the shortage of buildings and teachers.

These obstacles are expected to be eliminated by the expanded construction of higher schools of learning and the training of native scientific cadres both in Iraq and abroad. A considerable number of Iraqi students are currently receiving a higher education in other countries. A total of 7,647 Iraqi students were studying abroad in 1962/63: 2,277 in England, 1,190 in the USSR, 1,030 in the U.S., 908 in West Germany, 610 in socialist countries (not counting the USSR), 452 in Turkey, 340 in the U.A.R., 363 in Lebanon, and 43 in Syria.

The Iraqi Academy of Sciences established in Baghdad in 1940 was until recently the only scientific institution in the country. The Iraqi scientists are making an intensive study of the rich literary and historical heritage of the Arabs, and an important contribution to the development of the modern literary Arabic language; they have already made considerable achievements in the compilation and standardization of the scientific, political and technical terminology of the modern Arabic language, particularly the numerous terms in the field of physical culture and sports, and compiled a terminological dictionary.

Much attention is being devoted to the collection and safekeeping of rare manuscripts. Many highly valuable manuscripts and documents have been photostated and are now being distributed to scientific institutions in various countries. The Academy of Sciences is exchanging publications with the "Az-Zakhariya" in Damascus as well as public libraries in and out of Iraq. It publishes its own scientific periodical which carries articles by Iraqi and foreign scientists.

The Academy now has 12 members. Ten foreign scientists were elected to the Academy's membership with a view to developing and strengthening scientific ties with other countries.

The Academy of Sciences has instituted prizes for outstanding works in the field of languages, literature and the history of the Arab peoples.

Public Health

Before the 1958 revolution public health in Iraq was at an extremely low level. The poverty of the people, the low living standard and cultural level, unsanitary conditions of daily life and work, the low resistance to diseases due to the systematic malnutrition and low caloric content of the food combined to make various diseases widely prevalent. The most widespread diseases included malaria which killed about 50,000 people a year, eye diseases, especially trachoma (there were about 40,000 blind people and 150,000 trachoma patients in the

country), bilharziasis (it affected about one-third of the population in the Basrah, Amara, Kut and Baghdad liwas), ancylostomiasis (affecting one-third of the Iraqi population) and skin, stomach, septic, venereal and other diseases. Outbreaks of smallpox, plague (1945 and 1948) and dysentery epidemics were frequent in Iraq.

But neither the British nor the Iraqi authorities had ever taken any serious measures against the mass diseases. But the funds appropriated for public health purposes were insignificant. There was always an acute shortage of medical workers, hospitals and prophylactic institutions in the country. In 1949, for example, there were only 797 doctors in Iraq, that is one doctor for every 6,300 people. Furthermore, the majority of the doctors were employed in the cities (419 of them in Baghdad), while the villages were actually deprived of medical service.

The Republican governments began to devote more attention to public health after the 1958 revolution. The government appropriations for public health for the 1964/65 fiscal year amounted to 7,962,600 dinars. This produced certain changes both in the medical service and the organization of prophylactic measures. By 1964 Iraq had 131 hospitals with a total of 14,401 beds (as against 117 hospitals with 10,434 beds in 1959); these included 116 government hospitals (13,950 beds) and 15 private ones (451 beds). Eighty-seven of the mentioned hospitals (7,871 beds) were of a general type, 13 (780 beds) were children's hospitals, 10 (2,240 beds) specialized in the treatment of cardio-pulmonary diseases, five (320 beds) for malaria patients, five were maternity hospitals, four were mother and child hospitals, four ophthalmological, two psychiatric and one hospital for lepers. The number of outpatient therapy centers increased from 530 in 1959 to 801 by 1964. The number of medical workers also increased. There were 1,667 doctors (1,382 in 1959), 1,041 nurses, 650 midwives, 528 pharmacists, etc., in Iraq by 1964.

The Public Health Ministry initiated a fight against mass diseases. A wide vaccination campaign embracing 30% of the population was carried out in the country in 1959 with the assistance of Soviet doctors. There has been no outbreak of smallpox in Iraq since that time. Considerable achievements have been made in detecting and detoxicating the water sources infected with worm larvae which cause bilharziasis.

But the Public health system is still far from capable of meeting the country's demands. If the normal requirement is one doctor per thousand people, in Iraq there is one doctor for 4,161 people. While in England there is one hospital bed per ten persons, the bed-patient ratio in Iraq, where the incidence of diseases is incomparably higher, is 1:461. As in the past, the overwhelming majority of doctors and hospital beds are still found in the large cities. The elimination of mass diseases is still hampered by the intolerable sanitary conditions in most of the cities and villages. There is no sewage system, and the streets are not cleaned; the piles of garbage around the houses are a constant source of infection which is spread by insects, rodents, stray dogs and cats; because of the lack of pure water sources, the majority of the Iraqi population uses the water from the rivers, ponds and even marshes which is conducive to intestinal and infectious diseases. The fight against diseases is also hampered by ignorance and superstition. Furthermore, many sick people refrain from visiting the doctor or the hospital because of the high cost of medical service and medicines.

The average life span of Iraqi is about 30 years. The very high level of child mortality is due primarily to infectious diseases. Such children usually die before they reach the age of five.

The public health service in the Iraqi Republic is under the jurisdiction of the Public Health Ministry which consists of several departments and a general sanitary inspection service which operates through its local representatives and municipal administrations. The following medical and scientific institutes and laboratories operate under the Ministry's supervision: the institutes of pathology and roentgenology, the Pasteur Institute, the institutes of bacteriology, forensic medicine, urology, the antituberculosis institute and the institute of widespread diseases, laboratories for blood donors, chemical analysis, etc.

Iraq is a member of a number of international medical organizations: the Red Cross and Red Crescent, the Antituberculosis and Anticancer organizations, etc.

Medical workers are being trained in the Iraqi schools (the Baghdad University and medical schools) as well as abroad (mostly in the USSR and West Germany).

The doctors belong to the Society of Iraqi Physicians (founded in 1924) which also functions as a doctors' trade union. Scientific lectures and reports on a variety of themes, from the history of Arabic medicine to the latest achievements of world medicine, are delivered at its annual conferences which are attended by foreign delegations.

Literature

The development of Iraqi recent and modern literature began at the end of the XIX century and the first quarter of the XX century; it was the poets who started the new literature in keeping with the ancient traditions of poetry in the country.

The most prominent representatives of Iraqi heroic poetry were al-Kazymi, az-Zakhavi and ar-Rusafi who were active at the end of the XIX century and the first third of the XX century; they were also prominent public figures, capable publicists and fighters for the independence of their motherland. They maintained connections with the Egyptian, Lebanese and Syrian educators. Advocating the adoption by the Arabs of the latest European achievements in the fields of science and technology, the Iraqi poets also called for the unity of the Arabs in the struggle against the colonizers, for national liberation, for the rebirth and development of the Arabic cultural heritage, and for public education in the Arabic language.

One of the originators of the new Arabic poetry in Iraq, Abd al-Mukhsin al-Kazymi (1865-1935), was born in Baghdad. His persecution by the authorities led to his emigration to Egypt in the initial stage of his literary activity; there he became closely associated with the Moslem reformist circles under Muhammed Abdo who strove to adapt their theory on "the purge of Islam" to the requirements of the young Arabic bourgeoisie. The poet expressed the ideas of the Islam reformers in the famous kasida under the title of "Ainiya". The collection of his kasidas under the title "Muallakat al-Kazymi" was published in Cairo in 1924. Intense homesickness left its imprint on many of his poems.

Jamil Sidki az-Zakhavi (1863-1936) went considerably further in his civic and creative endeavors; he travelled a tortuous path of development from education evolutionism to the belief in mass revolutionary resistance to foreign colonizers and domestic reaction.

Az-Zakhavi was born into a family of a Baghdad mufti who stemmed from an ancient Kurdish family. Having received an excellent education in classical philology and traditional Moslem sciences, he evinced a great interest in natural sciences.

Eventually az-Zakhavi became a professor of the Istanbul University where he lectured on Arabic literature and Islamic philosophy; he also taught law at the Baghdad college of jurisprudence. As the deputy from an influential Muntafik tribe, and later from Baghdad, az-Zakhavi frequently addressed the sessions of the Turkish parliaments defending the rights of the Arabs.

The first collection of az-Zakhavi's poems under the name of "Al-Kalim al-Manzum", was published in Bayrut, Lebanon in 1909. His kasidas and articles were published in the Egyptian magazine "Al-Muktataf" and "Al-Muaiyad" during the same period. Az-Zakhavi was the object of a vicious attack by the reaction for his highly controversial article on the emancipation of women (published in "Al-Muaiyad"). During the Iraqi national uprising of 1920 az-Zakhavi, who at that time was a member of the council for education, was bold enough to advocate complete independence for Iraq in accordance with the people's demands.

A large collection of the poet's works called "Az-Zakhavi's Divan" was published in Cairo in 1924. In 1928 az-Zakhavi published his translation of 190 quatrains of Omar Kyan. Leaving the senate to which he had been appointed, the poet published a number of satirical kasidas in the magazine "As-Siyas al-Ushbiya" directed against the government policy, and was persecuted by the authorities for them.

Az-Zakhavi's poem "Saura Fil-Jahim" (Revolution in Hell) was published in 1931. That poem brought upon az-Zakhavi accusations of heresy and atheism. What he said in that poem was that "I was powerless to fan the flames of revolution on earth so I started it in the heavens!". The "heretical" statements made by the author and leaders of the insurrection in Hell, as described in az-Zakhavi's poem, echoed the antityranny and atheistic ideas of Dante and V. Hugo. But the az-Zakhavi poem, motivated as it was by religious legends, is closer to Abu-l-Alya-Mharri's "Message of Absolution" in its conception, structure, individual episodes and the description of the inhabitants of heaven and Hell. Az-Zakhavi portrays the inhabitants of Hell as convinced of the injustice and unfairness of their condemnation by a punitive god, as "they are not ignoramuses, swindlers or criminals" in juxtaposition with the inhabitants of heaven. Az-Zakhavi's "Revolution in Hell" portrays the Iraqi reality. The Iraqi working people are portrayed with blackened faces and sunken eyes. It is in vain that they appeal to their "savior", the coming Imam, and the poet points to the only way out, and that is struggle.

As a poet and thinker, az-Zakhavi persistently disseminated the idea of continuous motion and nonrecurrent changes in the life of nature; he had been influenced in that respect by the XII century Arabic philosopher Ibn Rushd. What he strove to prove was that changes and renewals were natural and necessary not only in social life but also in the arts.

Although az-Zakhavi used a monorhyme in his poems (that is a single rhyme running through the entire kasida) and traditional images from Arabic and Persian classics, he was not averse to violating the canons of the traditionalists by introducing colloquial speech into the kasidah, for example. Az-Zakhavi thought a great deal of the poetry written by the Iraqi people's poet al-Kyarshi who used the Baghdad dialect rather than a literary language. The aspirations of the fellahcen to rid themselves of the feudal oppression and the dreams of the veiled Arab women of emancipation expressed in al-Kyarshi's poems were quite consonant with the motifs of az-Zakhavi's lyrics. Az-Zakhavi considered the democratization of al-Kyarshi's poetic language as a method of reviving Iraqi poetry.

Az-Zakhavi died in Teheran where, gravely ill, he had spent the last years of his life.

Maaruf ar-Rusafi (1875-1945), another outstanding Iraqi poet, was az-Zakhavi's contemporary. He was born into a poor family. Ar-Rusafi's parents died early, and he experienced all the hardships of an orphan in early childhood. Having received a primary education, ar-Rusafi became a teacher of the Arabic language in a primary school. It was at that time that he began to write. The talented youth attracted the attention of Mahmud Shukri al-Alusi, a prominent philologist. Ar-Rusafi received a broader education in his school in the history and literature of the Arabs. It was there that he met the progressive people and critics of his time -- friends of al-Alusi and people who held the same views. Responding to the appeal of the Arab educators, ar-Rusafi began to criticize despotism in his kasidas and welcomed the movement for a constitution which originated in every part of the Osman empire. These kasidas became highly popular in Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Istanbul. After the promulgation of the young Turkish constitution, ar-Rusafi was elected deputy to the parliament. He was fearless in his defense of the rights of the oppressed Iraqi people in his speeches made from the parliamentary tribune.

After the revolution of the young Turks ar-Rusafi was in favor of the unification of the Arabs under the banner of Islam advocated at that time as a counter to the invasion tendencies of the imperialists.

Ar-Rusafi engaged in an open struggle against imperialism when he was in his twenties. His advocacy of the democratization and complete independence of the country was interpreted by the poet's enemies as a criminal subversion of the government system. Ar-Rusafi was sentenced to deportation for life, but the poet's voice reached Iraq to his very last days. Ar-Rusafi's poems were not published but were passed on by word of mouth and inspired the people to a struggle for a bright future.

Az-Zakhavi and ar-Rusafi's creative works laid the foundation for the neoclassic school which has been characterized by the combination of the traditional poetic forms with a new content. Belonging to that school also were Ali ash-Sharki, Muhammed Makhdhi al-Basyr, and Mahmud al-Habbubi whose poetry of the twenties and thirties reflected the struggle of the Iraqi people for independence against the British colonizers. The most prominent modern Iraqi poets, al-Jawakhiri and Baqr al-Ulyum, also belonged to the neoclassic school.

The poet-orator Muhammed Makhdhi al-Jawakhiri was born in 1900 in Najaf into a family of a doctor of theology. His teachers were Mudjtakhids of Najaf, experts in Moslem classic sciences, the Arabic language and literature. When still an adolescent, al-Jawakhiri recited his kasidas at the traditional

poetry competitions for youth sponsored by the Mudjtakhids.

The Iraqi national insurrection of 1920 produced a profound effect on the creative work of the young poet. In his kasida "The Iraqi Insurrection" (As-Saura al-Iraqiya, 1921), al-Jawakhiri juxtaposed the self-sacrificing zeal of the patriot-insurrectionist with the barbaric firing upon the peaceful residents of Najaf by the British. This kasida "Damascus in Rebellion" (Damashk as-saira), dealing with the rebellion in Syria in 1925-27, appeared in 1927.

In the kasidas written in 1931-1934 the poet exposed the vicious regime which brought Iraq to the brink of disaster and plunged the people into poverty and ignorance. At the end of the thirties the suffering of the people depicted in al-Jawakhiri's works was heightened in connection with the intensification of the people's resistance to the British colonizers and their agents, the feudal lords.

During the Second World War al-Jawakhiri's kasidas were published in the progressive Lebanese periodical At-Tarik. The poet maintained close ties with the management of that magazine, especially with the true and tested fighter against German-fascism, Omar Fakhuri, who was chairman of the Lebanese Society of Friendship with the Soviet Union. The connections with the At-Tarik leadership had a beneficial effect on the creative work of al-Jawakhiri (his kasidas of 1941-1943 -- "Sevastopol" and "Stalingrad"). The "Stalingrad" kasida reflects the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against fascism, and the rejoicing of the Iraqi and other people's of the Near East who interpreted the victory of the Volga as an end to the fascist enslavement that had threatened them.

Al-Jawakhiri's kasida "The World of the Future" (Alam al-Gad) was published in 1944. The poet sees in the great Soviet Union a prototype of the world of the future. He points to the heroic struggle of its peoples against fascism as an example inspiring the determination of the Iraqi working people in their struggle against the criminal regime. The poet juxtaposes the creative work of the working man with the parasitism of the exploiters who no longer have a right to exist in the light of the future world.

Al-Jawakhiri read his kasidas on the Baghdad squares, in the mosques and the large movie houses (the kasidas "Jemal Ad-Din al-Afgani" and "Abu-t-Timman", for example in 1945-46), exposing the imperialists and their accomplices in Iraq and calling upon the youth to engage them in a decisive struggle. But the poet was highly appreciative of the role of the young people in the fight for Iraqi's freedom (as for example in his kasidas "My Brother Jafar" and "The Day of the Fallen Hero"), and appealed to them to fight for a bright future:

Arise, ye damned, and run toward the whistling bullets --
Then will you learn of your happy lot!
Go to where thine eyes will behold life
As an honor won in battle,
Or to the grave: Thy dark house is not much better.

A broad peace movement got under way in Iraq in 1949-1950 despite the severe repressions. A provisional national committee of peace partisans headed by al-Jawakhiri was established in Baghdad. After the defeat of that movement (which continued to exist illegally about a year), al-Jawakhiri, subjected to persecutions for his "communist activity", emigrated to Egypt but returned

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The authorities were forced by public pressure to release the poet after he had spent many years behind prison bars. Baqr al-Ulyum resumed his stinging poetry directed against the colonizers and their servitors. He read his works at mass meetings and they were echoed by the participants in antiimperialist demonstrations. The poet was thrown into jail again and again. He had spent a total of 16 years behind bars prior to the 1958 revolution.

Baqr al-Ulyum's poems were banned under the monarchist regime. But his collection of lyric poetry under the title "Feelings" (Al-Avatyf, 1937) and other collections published before 1958 had been disseminated in writing and by word of mouth, and every Iraqi patriot has always been familiar with them.

Since the revolution of July 14, 1958, in which he was an active participant, Baqr al-Ulyum has dedicated himself to the cause of building a new Iraq. In that period he published his collection of poems under the title "Sparks of the Revolution" (Akbas as-Saura, 1959). At the same time the poet was also working hard on the compilation of a large selection of his poems barely managing to restore what had been ruthlessly destroyed by the censorship over a period of many years. But Baqr al-Ulyum did not succeed in completing that project. Accused of "communist activity" he was again thrown into jail during the Baathist terror in 1963.

If modern poetry in Iraq rapidly rose to a high level because of the rich poetic traditions, the development of modern Iraqi prose has been relatively slow. The Iraqi prose writers acted primarily as publicists for a long time. Such genres as the novel or romance were not known in Iraqi literature prior to the twenties or the XX century. The first to work on the development of the novel genre in the twenties in Iraq was Mahmud Ahmed as-Seid (1901-1937) who was familiar with the works of Lev Tolstoy and other Russian classics through his Turkish and Arabic translations. His first stories from the collections "For the Sake of Marriage" (Fi sabil az-zavadj, 1921), "The Fate of the Weak" (Ilasyr ad-duafa, 1922) and "Adversities" (An-Nakabat, 1922) published in Cairo were still artistically incomplete and of an imitative nature. The author revealed his independent creative talent in his later works included in the collections "Precursors" (At-Talaia, 1929) and "An Hour of Time" (Fi sayn min az-zaman, 1935); these contain realistic sketches of the life of the fellaheen, Bedouins and the city people. Of particular interest is as-Seid's story "Jalal Khaled" which reflects the social and political views of the young Iraqi intelligentsia formed under the influence of the 1920 insurrection. The contents of that novel is based on the impressions gained by the author during his sojourn in India where he completed his education, as well as during his trips to various areas of Iraq. The story deals with the horrible poverty of the Hindus and Iraqi people, and the cruelty of the British colonizers.

Other Iraqi people also tried their hand in the field of artistic prose in the twenties, but they have left no worthwhile literary heritage. The only exception is Anvar Shaul (born in 1906 in Hillah) who published a collection of 30 short stories in 1930 in Baghdad under the title "The First Harvest" (Al-Hasad al-avval).

The prominent Iraqi novelist Zu-n-Nun Ayub entered the literary field in the 30s. He was born in 1908 in Mosul. Following his graduation from the pedagogical institute in Baghdad,

he worked for a long time as a teacher of mathematics in various cities. In 1938-1944 Zu -n-Nun Ayub was in charge of the progressive Iraqi magazine "Al-Madzalla", which played an important part in the dissemination of progressive ideas and the exposure of German-fascism which had tried hard to penetrate into Iraq and replace the British colonizers there. After the 1958 revolution Zu -n-Nun Ayub was director of the department of national orientation and radio broadcasting.

Ayub began his literary career as a translator of English literature. In 1937 he published the first collection of his stories under the title "Messengers of Culture" (Rusul as-Sakafa) in which he criticized the system prevailing in the Iraqi schools. After that the writer worked a great deal as a novelist. He produced the following collections of stories over a period of 30-50 years: "The Victims" (Ad-Dakhaya, 1937), "My Friend" (Sadyki, 1938), "The Tower of Babel" (Burdz Babel, 1938), "The Working People" (Al-Kadikhun, 1939), "Superficial Grandeur" (Azama Fariga, 1948), "Anxious Hearts" (Kulyub zam'a, 1950), "Diverse Pictures" (Suvar Shatta, 1954), "Tales of Vienna" (Kysas Min Viena, 1957), etc.

Zu-n-Nun Ayub is also the author of such large works as the novels "Doctor Ibrahim" (1940) and "The Case of Madzhid Ralhim" (1948), as well as the novel "The Hand, the Earth and Water" (Al-yad va-l-Ard va-l-ma, 1949). That novel was based on true events participated in by the author himself. It tells the story of a group of intellectuals renting a neglected plot of land from the government and organizing a peasant cooperative with a view to alleviating the hardships of the landless fellaheen. But the feudal lords and government officials, knowing what that dangerous enterprise held in store for them, did everything in their power to bankrupt it. The novel ends with a protest demonstration against the arbitrary rule of the authorities.

Zu-n-Nun Ayub also contributed to the dissemination of Russian literature among the Arabs. He is the author of the translation of Gogol's novel "The Greatcoat". He also co-authored the translations of "Brothers Karamazov" by Dostoyevskiy, "Fathers and Sons" by Turgenev and "Mother" by Gorkiy.

The efforts of the older generation of the Iraqi prose writers which included Zu-n-Nun Ayub as well as the famous novelists Abdel Madzhid Lutfi and Abdel Khakk Fadyi, laid a solid foundation for the development of the Iraqi novel in the field of critical realism although these writers never did succeed in overcoming their publicist style of writing.

In the 40s therealistic trends in Iraqi literature were accompanied by a growing formalistic trend under the slogan "Art for the sake of art". The group of prose writers and poets -- Balyand al-Maidari, Nazar Selim, Dzhubra Halil Dzhubra, Mulhad at-Tekerli, etc., -- who published the magazine "Al-Vakt ad-Daia" (Lost Time) and were under the influence of French existentialism, advocated a change from social and political problems to the world of personal experiences.

The renaissance of the literary life has been noted in the postwar period due to the growing democratic movement and the enhanced struggle against the monarchist regime. This development has been accompanied by qualitative changes of the literature itself. There is the so-called new poetry in which the authors have abandoned the classical Arabic versification and are beginning to use the "free verse" style. Among them are

the poets Kyazym Djavad, Badr Shaker as-Saiyab, Abd al-Wahhab al-Bayati, Balyand al-Haidari, Abd ar-razzak Abd al-Wahid, the woman poet Nazik al-Malyaika, etc.

The path taken by Badr Shaker as-Saiyab has been difficult and tortuous. He was born in 1926 in the village of Djikor near Basrah. As a student of the pedagogical institute in Baghdad, As-Saiyab became close to the progressive elements and took part in the national-liberation movement. In 1947 he published his first collection of poems under the title "Wilting Flowers" (Azkhar Zabilya), and in 1950 the collection called "Legends" (Asatyr), which made the author famous. In both of these collections as-Saiyab wrote as a lyric poet and revealed his mastery in describing nature. Addressing himself to social problems, as-Saiyab produced the poems "The Grave-digger" (Haffar al-Kubur, 1952) and "The Fallen Blind" (al-Mumis al-Amyan, 1954) both of them dealing with the bitter fate of the common man in bourgeois society. In 1954 as-Saiyab wrote an antiwar poem in book form called "Arms and Children" (al-Aslikha va-l-Atfal). Eventually, as-Saiyab fell into a state of extreme pessimism, probably because of his serious illness. Influenced by reactionary elements, he left his progressive positions. After the coup d'etat of February 8 1963, the nationalistic tendencies led him towards the Baathists. Badr Shaker as-Saiyab died in Kuwait in 1964.

Abd al-Wahhab al-Bayati (born in 1926 in Baghdad) was subjected to persecution by the authorities under the Nuri Said regime and, forced to leave Iraq, lived in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. It was only after the 1958 revolution that he was able to return to his Motherland. In the same year al-Bayati first visited the Soviet Union. He emigrated from Iraq again in the 60s. In his early poems included in the collection called "Broken Pitchers" (Abarik Muhashshama, 1954), Abd al-Wahhab al-Bayati paid tribute to existentialism. The collection of poems called "Glory to Children and Olive Trees" (Al-Madzd lil-Atfal va-z-zeitun, 1956) and "Poems written in Exile" (Ash'ar fi-l-Manfa, 1957) published in Cairo, emphasize the struggle for peace, raise the national problems of the Arabic peoples, and express the faith that Iraq will be freed from colonial oppression. The collection of al-Bayati's poems published in 1959 under the title "Twenty Masidas from Berlin" (Ishrun kasida min Berlin) includes poems written by the author of the impressions he gained from his trip to the German Democratic Republic. Many of al-Bayati's poems were published in Russian translation, including some collections ("Poems Written in Exile", Moscow, 1958; "The Path of Freedom", Moscow, 1952; "The Green Moon", Moscow, 1963). The poems written by al-Bayati in 1964-1965 bear the imprint of the author's pessimism and ideological confusion.

A prominent place among the new poets is held by the woman poet Nazik al-Malyaika (born in 1924). Embodied in her poems is the internal world of the Iraqi girl, her dreams about beautiful love, and her aspirations to break out of the shackles of the ancient traditions which have doomed her to seclusion. Having been influenced to some extent by the decadent men of letters who had wormed their way into Iraqi literature in the 40s, Nazik al-Malyaika at first wrote strictly personal poems, full of unrelieved anguish. Such were the poems that made up her first collection called "In Love with the Night" (Ashikat al-Leil, 1947). Her second collection, "Sparks and Ashes" (Shazaya va Ramad, 1949), though characterized by pessimistic undertones, reveals certain social motifs. The poems of her

third collection published in 1957 in Beirut under the title "The Depth of the Wave" (Kararat al-Maudja) are thoroughly patriotic and social in content; in those poems the poetess speaks on behalf of the Iraqi woman who demands her human rights. The creative work of Nazik al-Malyaika is also noted for its search for new expressions and poetic forms. The poetess abandoned the monorhyme in the early stage of her career, and later also the classical Arabic versification, devoting particular attention to the musical instrumentation of the poem which makes her poetry expressive and sonorous.

The Iraqi writers' community took an active part in the world peace movement of the early 50s. Since that time the struggle for peace became one of the major themes of many patriotic poets.

The impressive poem "War and Peace" (Al-Hab wa-c-sil, Beirut, 1953), was written by poet Kyazym as-Samawi (born in 1919). Participating in the international peace organizations, Kyazym as-Samawi visited a number of countries in Asia and Europe, including the Soviet Union, in the fifties. The numerous personal impressions expanded the poet's creative horizons. In the poems written in those years, as-Samawi deals with the vital problems of modern times, exposes the incendiaries of war and opposes racial discrimination in the United States. The faith in the dawn of justice which will replace the darkness of oppression sounds like the light motif of his collections of poetry titled "Songs of the Columns" (Agani al-Kafila, Baghdad, 1951, Beirut, 1964) and "Forward--Always" (Ila-l-Annam...Abadan, Beirut, 1954).

Iraqi literature of the postwar period has been augmented by a large contingent of young prose writers: Abdel Malik Muri, Shaker Husbak, Gaib Tuama Farman, Mahdi Isa as-Sakar, Salah Salman, etc. These writers made up the nucleus of the progressive trend in Iraqi literature which has come to be known as the "new realism". The characteristic feature of the writings of these people representing the new trend, which made its appearance also in the Egyptian, Lebanese and Syrian literature, is that these writers not only emphasize the hard life of the working masses but also look for a way out toward social progress, democracy and peace.

In the years preceding the revolution of July 14, 1958 the political reaction rode roughshod over the country. A strict censorship was introduced, many periodicals were closed, and a number of progressive men of letters forced to emigrate. But the literary life of Iraq did not come to a standstill.

After the national revolution of 1958 the social life of Iraq, including the literature, underwent substantial development. The publication of many newspapers and periodicals, including the progressive newspapers Al-Akhali and Ar-Rai al-Anm and the magazine As-Sakaf al-Djadid, was resumed. A union of Iraqi writers uniting the entire democratic writers' community of the country was organized in 1958. Muhammed Malkhdi al-Jawakhiri was elected chairman of that union, Zu-n-Nun Ayub vice chairman and the well-known literary critic Sallah Khalys secretary general.

The union of Iraqi writers was smashed after the Baathist coup of February 8, 1963. The progressive writers and poets were subjected to repressions, and some of them thrown into jails and concentration camps. Many progressive writers were forced to leave the country.

The Press

The Iraqi press originated in the second half of the XIX century. The publication of the newspaper "Djaridat al-Iraq" (Iraqi Gazette), founded by order of the well-known Turkish reformer Midkhat-Pasha who was in the same year appointed the ruler of Iraq, began in Baghdad in 1869. It was soon followed by the publication of the official newspaper "Az-Zaura" in Baghdad; official newspapers were also founded in 1889 in Mosul (Al-Mosul) and Basrah (Al-Basrah). All these newspapers were published in both Arabic and Turkish. They carried the text of laws, orders and statements by the Osman government, news items, announcements, local and foreign news. The newspapers published by the Turkish government actually expressed only the viewpoints of the government and served its interests.

Fifty-eight newspapers were published in Baghdad, 16 in Basrah, six in Mosul, and one each in Kirkuk, Najaf, and Karbala by the beginning of the First World War. But the circulation of these papers was very small, and most of them were of a commercial nature. The number of newspapers rapidly increased in the course of the 1908 revolution of the young Turks when the new constitution proclaimed relative freedoms. Originating in the same period were the first newspapers defending the national interests of Iraq, protesting the policy of transforming the Arabs to Turks, and demanding political freedom and economic development for Iraq.

The most prominent of those political newspapers of nationalist orientation was the "Djaridat Baghdad" (Baghdad Gazette, founded in 1908), and published by the "Ittihad ve Terakki" (Unity and Progress) Party. The men working on that newspaper included the well-known Iraqi political and public figures and men of letters of that time -- Maaruf ar-Rusafi, Jamil Sidki az-Zakhavi, Fakhmi al-Mudarris, Yusef Ganaima, etc. But continuing Abdul Hamid's chauvinist internal policy, the government of the young Turks initiated a struggle against the national movements in the empire and introduced a severe censorship of the press. In 1911 the newspaper the newspaper "Djaridat Baghdad" was banned. The nationalist newspaper of that period included "Beina an-Nahrein" (Interfluve), "Ar-Raid" (Vanguard), "Masbah ash-Shark" (Light of the East), "An-Nakhda" (Renaissance), and "Al-Ikaz" (The Awakener).

In 1914-121 the British occupation authorities closed most of the newspapers. At the same time they began the publication of the official newspapers "Al-Aukat al-Basriyya" (Basrah Time, Basrah, 1914) and "Al-Arab" (Baghdad, 1919) which openly justified and defended the occupation regime.

The national uprising of 1920 shook the positions of the occupation authorities. Under pressure of the national-liberation movement, the British authorities were compelled to permit the publication of a number of nationalist newspapers which played a substantial part in revolutionizing the masses of the people. The newspapers "Al-Istiklal" (Independence), and "Al-Furat" (Euphrates) sharply criticized the occupation regime demanding independence for Iraq and striving to inculcate a sense of patriotism and national dignity in the people. The venal Faisal government responded by publishing the newspapers "Djaridat al-Fallah" (Peasant Gazette) and "Lisan al-Arab" (The Arabic Language) which attempted to justify British domination in Iraq.

The Iraqi press underwent particularly rapid development between the twenties and thirties. The press began to play a steadily increasing role in keeping with the growing national liberation movement, the emergence of political parties and the development of the intrapolitical struggle. The number of readers became larger and the ways and means of printed propaganda became more effective. The press helped to mold public opinion and disseminate the ideas of patriotism and democratic freedoms. It became an indispensable element of public life. The most popular newspapers were "Al-Akhd" (Testament, organ of the Istiklal Party), "Ash-Shaab" (The People, organ of the Shaab Party), "Al-Liwa" (Banner, organ of the At-Takaddum party), "An-Nakhda al-Irakieya" (Saut al-Iraq" (Iraqi Renaissance and The Voice of Iraq, both newspapers of the An-Nakhda Party), "Sada al-Istiklal" and "Sada al-Watan" (Voice of Independence and Voice of Motherland, Watan party newspapers), "Sada al-Akhd" (Echo, organ of the Akhd Party), "Al-Bilyad" (Country, organ of the Al-Ikda al-Watani Party), and "Al-Akhali" (The Masses), etc.

All the political parties in Iraq were banned and their newspapers closed down in 1939 when the Second World War broke out. Only three newspapers whose policies were controlled by the British authorities were legally published during the war.

The illegal publication of the Iraqi Communist Party newspaper "Ash-Sharara" (The Spark), renamed "Al-Kaida" in 1943 (The Foundation) began in 1941; the newspaper maintained a propaganda campaign against fascism, for the dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist ideas and for national independence.

A new powerful upswing of the national-liberation movement in Iraq took place after the war. The political parties resumed their activities and publication of the party newspapers. The defeat of fascism and the victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in that war contributed to the development of democratic forces in Iraq, the dissemination of ideas of national independence and the large-scale struggle for political freedoms. The Iraqi press played a very important part in that process. During the struggle against the conclusion of the enslaving Portsmouth Treaty in 1948, the democratic press initiated an active campaign against it and organized mass anti-British demonstrations. The Portsmouth Treaty was subjected to sharp criticism by the patriotic legal newspapers "Al-Dжихad" (Sacred War), "Al-Yakza" (Vigilance), "Al-Istiklal" and "Al-Asas" (Foundation) as well as the magazine "Al-Wakhda" (Unity). The reactionary Iraqi government unleashed an unprecedented terror upon the democratic press and the democratic journalists. The underground Communist Party Newspaper "Al-Kaida" took an active part in that all-people's struggle. The conclusion of the enslaving treaty was frustrated.

Despite the strict censorship and persecutions prevailing in the 50s, the Iraqi democratic press continued its struggle for the consolidation of the democratic forces, and the strengthening of the United National Front, demanded political freedom for the Iraqi people, fought for free elections, sought the overthrow of the antipeople's governments, demanded the release of political prisoners and propagated the ideas of social equality, peace and the solidarity of people's.

Preparing to conclude the aggressive Baghdad Pact in 1955, the reactionary Iraqi government launched a new wide attack on the democratic forces. All the political parties were banned and their newspapers closed down. All but seven of the 30

newspapers published at that time were closed, and the remaining newspapers subjected to rigid censorship and police control. But the oldest legal newspapers "Al-Akhram" (The Pyramids), "Al-Yakza" and "Al-Bilyad", the magazine "As-Sakafa al-Djadida" (New Culture) continued the struggle under the difficult conditions. The role played by the illegal newspapers and publications was enhanced.

The revolution of July 14, 1958 produced a radical change in the Iraqi press. The wide participation of the people in the revolution and the political activity of the people created favorable conditions for the consolidation of the democratic press. The publication of the Iraqi Communist Party organ, "Ittikhad ash-Shaab" (The People's Unity) was legalized in March 1959. The interests of the broad masses of the people were reflected by the newspapers "Saut ash-Shaab" (The Voice of the People), "Ittikhad al-Ummal" (The Workers' Union), "Saut al-al-Akhrar" (The Voice of the Free), "Al-Akhali", "Ar-Rai al-Amm", "Al-Insaniya" (Humanity), "Al-Khadara" (Culture), "Al-Mar'a" (Women), "As-Sil" (Peace), "Al-Adjal" (Predetermination) and "Alam-ash-Shabiba" (The Banner of Youth); the magazines "Iraq Review", "Al-Husakkaf" (The Intelligent Person), "As-Sakafa al-Djadida", "Arbaatashar Tammuz" (July 14), etc.

But the aims of the revolution were soon betrayed by the Kasem government. It lost its ties with the people step by step, opposed their interests and limited the democratic freedoms gained by the people. The "Ittikhad ash-Shaab", organ of the Iraqi Communist Party, was banned as early as October 1960. Publication of the newspaper was continued illegally. In 1961 it was published under the name of "Tarik ash-Shaab" (The Path of the People). Other democratic organs of the press were also subjected to censorial limitations. The Iraqi Communists made wide use of the newspaper "Al-Mabda" (Principle) the official organ of the opportunistic so-called Communist Party of Iraq (Daouda as-Saiga). Publication was continued illegally of the Kurdish-language newspaper "Azadi" (an organ of the Iraqi Communist Party) and "Khabat" (organ of the Democratic party of Kurdistan) which were banned by the Kasem government.

During the Kasem regime the democratic press called for the defense of the gains of the revolution, the defense of the country's national independence, exposed the imperialist intelligence agencies and the reaction, called for a struggle against the imperialist policy of undermining the revolution in Iraq, advocated the liquidation of feudalism, the economic development of the country, peace and friendship among peoples, Arab-Kurdish fraternity, and opposed the war against the Kurds unleashed by Kasem, favored rapprochement and cooperation between Iraq and the socialist countries.

The coup d'etat of February 8, 1963 was followed by retaliation against the democratic forces by the Baathist government. All the previously published newspapers and magazines were closed down (with the exception of the pro-British newspaper "Iraq Times"). The new newspapers were of a rabidly reactionary nature. They became a weapon of struggle and terror against the Communists and democrats, a weapon of social demagoguery and mass deception, and a weapon of inflaming anti-Communist and anti-Soviet hysteria. Foremost among these newspapers was the "Al-Djamakhir" (The People's Masses), an organ of the Iraq Baath Party.

All these newspapers were closed down after the coup d'etat of November 18, 1963 and the collapse of the Baathist regime.

There are only four political newspapers being published in Iraq now.

"Al-Dzumkhuriya" (The Republic) is a daily newspaper with a circulation of 12,000-18,000, and belongs to the Ministry of Culture and orientation and expresses the official view of the government circles. It pays lip service to objectivity. It engages in a systematic campaign against the Iraqi Communists and communism. The newspaper is closely associated with Western intelligence agencies, and regularly reprints articles from the Western newspapers and magazines on political subjects. It devotes considerable attention to international and domestic events, and publishes comments on the international situation. Events in the Arab world and the solidarity of the Arab countries receive special attention.

"As-Saura al-Arabieya" (The Arab Revolution) is a daily newspaper with a circulation of 10,000 and an official organ of the Arab Socialist Union. United around it are the leaders of the "Arab Nationalist Movement" and "The Movement of Unionists-Socialists" who advocate the unification of Iraq with the U.A.R. and Arab unity. The newspaper has been waging a systematic struggle against Baathism and the Baathists in Iraq and Syria. In addition to the publication of international subjects and the discussion of domestic events, the newspaper devotes much attention to Arab unity and the theory of "socialism" and engages in polemics with the Marxist theory.

"Al-Manar" (Beacon) is a daily newspaper with a circulation of about 10,000 and is owned by Abdel Aziz Barakat. The newspaper supports the official government policy.

"Al-Fadjr al-Djadid" (New Dawn) is a daily evening paper with a circulation of 7-8,000 which is owned by Muhammed Takhas-Said. The newspaper has been systematically reprinting articles from Western newspapers and periodicals.

All these papers are printed on 8-10 pages and distributed by private dealers; they have no correspondents abroad.

The other newspapers published in Iraq are "Al-Wakai al-Iraqiya" (Iraqi Events), an official paper in existence since 1925, and Baghdad News, an English-language newspaper whose policy is loyalty to the government; it confines itself to reprinting political articles from Arabic-language Iraqi newspapers, and publishing already approved materials. It is a daily newspaper with a circulation of about 5,000.

According to the provisional constitution and the law of the press adopted on April 28, 1964, the Iraqi newspapers are independent, exempt from censorship and free to select the information for publication. Actually, however, a number of indispensable conditions and stipulations in the law of the press make the newspapers completely dependent on government authorities; for example, each paper must be published by an "administrative council" consisting of five people who are collectively responsible for the "quality and authenticity" of the reports. The withdrawal of even one member of the council may be followed by closing the newspaper. The government also has the right to close a newspaper, temporarily or permanently, for publishing information "inimical" to the interests of Iraq.

The relative freedom of selecting information is actually enjoyed only by special nonpolitical publications. These include "Ash-Shuun al-Iktisadiya" (Problems of Economy), an organ of the union of Iraqi economists, "Al-Asuaq at-Titdjariya" (Business), a newspaper of the business circles, the sports paper "Al-Mal'ab" (Stadium), the economic newspaper "Al-Iktisad al-Iraqiy" (Iraqi economy), the information newspaper "Al-Anba al-Djadida" (News), the monthly illustrated magazine "Baghdad" (published by the Ministry of Culture and Orientation), and the monthly literary journal "Al-Kuttab." Some international scientific importance attaches to the periodical "Sumer" which is published by the Department of Iraq's Antiquities. It is published in the Arabic and English languages. Its authors include prominent archeologists and historians. The publication deals with the ancient history and culture of Iraq and the neighboring regions.

The Iraqi newspapers use primarily the information published in the bulletins of the Iraqi Information Agency (IIA). The IIA is an official government agency consisting of two departments: a department of domestic information which publishes daily bulletins on domestic events (in Arabic and English), and a department of foreign information which publishes two daily bulletins (also in two languages). The department of foreign information gets most of its materials from Reuters and the Associated Press Service which have their teletypes in the IIA office. The information provided by TASS, ADN, Sin Hua and MEN agencies is used less often.

The Iraqi people show a lively interest in the Soviet Union, its domestic life and foreign policy. That interest is to some extent satisfied by the fortnightly magazine "Al-Anba as-Sufiyatiya" (Soviet news) published in Arabic by the representatives of the Novosti publishing house in Baghdad. The TASS agency in Baghdad also publishes a daily information bulletins in the Arabic language.

Libraries

The existing network of libraries in Iraq dates back to the years following the first world war. A relatively large number of various libraries have been opened in the country since then.

There are three categories of libraries in Iraq now: government (public, departmental, university, special and lower school type), public (trade union, mosque and monastery libraries) and private libraries.

The government libraries are under the jurisdiction of the library department of the Ministry of Education and the local administration. These libraries are, as a rule, housed in special buildings and staffed with people specially trained in the schools and seminars of the Library Department. They have modern alphabetic and systematic catalogues, reading halls and a book-lending system.

Public libraries are found in every large city and administrative center. There are more than 70 of them now, including 14 central libraries.

These are the largest public libraries in Iraq: the Baghdad central library (35,000 volumes), the Mosul (37,000 volumes), Basrah (18,000 volumes), Amar (12,000 volumes) and Kirkuk (11,000 volumes) libraries. The public libraries contain a total of 270,000 books in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Kurdish and West European languages. Most of the libraries have collections of valuable, and even unique, manuscripts of the history, culture, religion and language of the people of the East. The average annual number of readers is over 255,000.

The most important of the departmental libraries is the Iraqi Museum Library (founded in 1933). It is housed in the new museum building in Baghdad. The library has comfortable reading halls and modern equipment. Scientific-research and bibliographic work is conducted in it. The Iraqi Museum Library is the best in the country in point of the number of volumes (38,000) and the value of its stock (2,340 unique and rare manuscripts in the languages of the Eastern nations and a number of dead languages). The average annual number of its readers is more than 20,000. Most of the library's books are on history, archeology, languages, philosophy and religion from the ancient times to the present.

The best selection of books on the Arabic language, literature and the history of the Arab countries is found in the library of the Iraqi Academy of Sciences. That library has more than 11,000 books. It has good reading rooms and is open during certain hours.

One of the best libraries in Iraq is the central library of the Baghdad university. Its stock consists of over 17,000 books on a large variety of modern sciences. Each university faculty also has its own specialized library which is under the jurisdiction of the central library. The best of the are the library of the pedagogical faculty (20,000 volumes), the At-Takhrir faculty (20,000 volumes) and the agricultural faculty (12,000 volumes). Other Iraqi universities and special schools also have their own libraries.

Specialized libraries are found also in every ministry. The largest of them are the library of the Ministry of Economy (10,500 volumes), the Ministry of Culture and Orientation (7,000 volumes) and the Foreign Affairs Ministry. The Waqf Ministry has its own library with 13,000 ancient books and manuscripts (in Arabic, Persian and Turkish) which used to belong to mosques and mazars (moslem shrines--Trans.).

There are libraries in almost all schools. Their book stock consists of text books and study aids; the total number of such books is over 320,000.

The Iraqi Museum Library, the Baghdad university library, the library of the Academy of Sciences and the Baghdad central public library maintain a regular book exchange with the libraries of many countries including the Soviet Union.

The community libraries are not subordinated to the government; they are subsidized by public organizations, unions, mosques and private individuals. The most important of them are: the "Maktabat Salykh" (22,000 volumes), "Maktabat Amir al-Mu'minin" (19,000 volumes), "Maktabat al-Khallani" (18,000 volumes), "Maktabat Huseyniya" (13,000 volumes), "Nadi an-Nashr", etc. There are more than forty of them.

The private libraries merit special attention as they have been founded by competent judges and connoisseurs of books over a period of hundreds of years; these libraries frequently contain unique manuscripts and very rare books. Some of the private libraries are a match to the the large public libraries of Iraq. The owners of these libraries, as a rule, make their books available to readers. The largest libraries of this category include Bash Ag'yan's library in Basrah (10,000 volumes), Taufik as-Samaani's in Baghdad (8,000 volumes) and Taufik Wakhba's library in Baghdad (8,000 volumes).

The best book store-library, "Maktabat al-Musanna," is in Baghdad. It belongs to Kasem Muhammed ar-Radjab who has maintained a traditional large-scale book exchange with the publishing houses and libraries of many countries, including the USSR. Mention should be made also of the Mackenzie library-store in Baghdad.

Museums and Monuments

(See also section under the title of Architecture)

Although many valuable archeological finds were moved from Iraq to Paris, London, Berlin and U.S. museums, there are still relatively good archeological museums in the country. The most prominent of them is the Iraqi Museum (in Baghdad) whose scientific exhibits make it one of the best museums of its kind in the world. It contains (and also exhibits) the rarest and even the only available exhibits of the ancient culture of the peoples and governments of Mesopotamia from the stone age to the end of the Sasanide Dynasty (VII century AD). The present collection of the Iraqi Museum consists of over 1,800 exhibits.

The national and foreign archeological expeditions engaged in archeological excavations in Iraq are constantly adding new finds to the Iraqi Museum. The museum also gets new exhibits by an exchange arrangement with the museums of other countries.

A new building was built for the museum in 1962, and all the exhibits will be moved there from the crowded old building. The new building meets all the requirements for a modern museum; it has a laboratory, storage space, a restoration department, a photographic studio and lecture hall. It also has a very big library. (see section under the title of "Libraries"). The museum is visited annually by about 55,000 people.

The Museum of islamic culture is also in Baghdad. It is located in the fortress built in 1225 by the Abbaside caliph An-Naser Lidinallah. That ancient monument was partially restored in 1935-1958. A number of the restored rooms are used for the museum in which different styles of bricklaying used in many Iraqi cities are exhibited; also different mikhrabs (niches in the mosques pointing to Mecca) dating from the birth of Islam to our time.

In the center of Baghdad is the museum of Arabic monuments. The building itself, known as "Khan Mardjan", is a valuable historical architectural monument. It was built in 1358 by Amin ad-Din Mardjan, and it housed the famous religious school "Mardjan" in the medieval centuries. The building is now being restored. The finds from the excavations under way in Samarra, Wasit, Kufa and Tikrit and other Iraqi cities are exhibited in its rooms: copper objects (kettles, pots, dishes and trays), mosaic, samples of colored glass, engraved objects, coins, painted and carved parts of mausoleums (such as doors), etc.

Baghdad is also the site of the weapons museum in which the following ancient Arabic weapons are exhibited: chain armor, shields, helmets, swords, sabers, firearms, cannon balls and cannons (including Tub-Abu Khizan's cannon which is famous in the East), etc. The museum is located in the tower of a former fortress built in the XVI century (a guarded historical monument).

The museum of modern Iraqi art is also in Baghdad. Its equipment is still incomplete. Exhibits of the work of Iraqi and foreign artists and sculptors are systematically being organized on the lower floor. A permanent exhibition of modern Iraqi painting is under preparation on the upper floor.

The museum of natural history was founded in Baghdad in 1946. It now belongs to the faculty of natural sciences of the Baghdad university. Specimens of Iraqi flora and fauna are now exhibited in it. The museum has the following departments: exhibition, preparation, scientific research and a laboratory. Also a specialized library on flora and fauna (about 8,000 volumes).

The exhibits in the museum of costumes, located in Baghdad, consists of samples of modern clothes worn by the urban and rural population of Iraq (in the north and the south), national household items and other facilities of daily life.

Museums were opened also in Mosul, Sulaymaniya, Samarra and near the Babylonian ruins.

The Mosul museum contains the rare finds from the excavations at Nineveh, Al-Khadar and Nimrud as well as the specimens of islamic architecture taken from the ancient structures in the Mosul district.

The exhibits in the Babylonian museum contain some of the items found in the Babylonian excavations, sketches and scale models of the Ashurian gates, the Procession Routes, the Tower of Babel, acopy of the Hammurapi law, etc.
samples of

The Samarra museum exhibits include/ornamental plaster decorations taken from the palaces of the Abbaside epoch, as well as pottery and glass objects found in the Samarra excavations.

The following monuments are quite interesting, in addition to the museums: medieval mosques, mausoleums, mazars and monasteries as well as ancient houses.

Mention should also be made of the following historical monuments in Baghdad: the still functioning "Kadymiya" mosque (XVI century) where Musa Kadym, the seventh Shi'ite imam is buried; this mosque is striking for its beautiful architecture and finish; the mosque-mausoleum of the imam Abu Hanif, the founder of the Hanifite doctrine of islam, built in the XVI century (in the Adamiya district); the mosque-mausoleum of the sheikh Abdulkader al-Gailani built in 1165; the mausoleum of sheikh Maaruf al-Karkhi erected in 1215; the mausoleum of sheikh Omar as-Sakhravardi built in the XIII century; Al-sitt Zubayda's mausoleum built in 1202; it is assumed that Zubayda, the wife of the Abbaside caliph Harun ar-Rashid, is buried there, but it is actually the grave of a Turkish woman, Zumrud-Natun, the wife of caliph Mustadyy Bi-amr-allah.

The building of the famous medieval religious school Al-Mustansyria in the center of Baghdad merits particular attention. It was built in 1227-1233 by caliph al-Mustansir, the founder of the school. The building eventually deteriorated. The first restoration effort was made in 1825, and resumed in 1946. The building was practically restored in 1962; it now houses the new Al-Mustansyria university. It contains excellent samples of medieval islamic architecture, mosaic, wood and stone carving, calligraphy and colored glass.

The following monuments are also known for their architectural and historical value: the mosques and mausoleums of imam Ali in Nejef, of imams Husein and Abbas in Kerbela, the ancient mosques in Kufa and Basrah, the "Large Mosque" with the famous "falling minaret" (1148), imam Yakhya's mausoleum (XIII century) and a number of christian churches in Mosul. There are several ancient christian monasteries around Mosul.

Iraq is the cradle of our civilization. It contains the ruins of the most ancient cities whose importance to science is enormous: around Baghdad are Babylon (90 kilometers to the south), Til-Karmal (10 km to the east), Aqr-Kuf (30 km to the west), and Taka-Nesri (30 km to the south); around Mosul are Assur (100 km to the south), Kharsabad (20 km to the north), Nineveh (1 km to the northeast), Nimrud (30 km to the southeast), and Khadara (140 km to the southwest); in the south is Ur (15 km southwest of En-Nasyria).

The Iraqi museums belong to the government and are under the jurisdiction of the department of cultural monuments of the Ministry of Education. The department is responsible for the safekeeping of the historical monuments; it finances the archeological excavations, restoration and scientific work, and publishes the magazine "Sumer", museum catalogues, information materials and guides.

Architecture

Pockets of ancient culture, such as Ubaid, Uruq and Jemdet-Nasr, existed in Iraq as early as the fourth millennium BC. The architectural monuments eventually left in Iraq by the people of Babylon (3rd millennium--VI century BC), Assyria (2nd millennium--VII century BC), Parthia (III century BC--III century AD) and the country of the Sasanides (III-VII centuries AD) were of worldwide significance.

The architectural tradition in Iraq which is more closely associated with contemporary architecture goes back to the arabization of the Two-River area which coincided with the beginning of feudalism.

Arab settlements appeared in Iraq at the time of the Sasanides following the establishment of the Lakhmide principality with the capital of Khirah. Old cities were fortified and new ones built -- Basrah, Kufa and later Wasit -- when Iraq became part of the Arab Caliphate in the thirties-forties of the VII century. Special types of installations, in keeping with the requirements of the developing feudal relations and the new Islamic religion, gradually came into being: fortified castles and palaces of the rulers, mosques and muslim schools in Medres, and trading buildings, inns, etc. The first mosque in Basrah (635) was an area fenced off with reeds; the mosque in Kufa (638) originally had only a portico facing toward Mecca. But under the Omayyadas (661-750) both mosques were surrounded by colonnades and walls.

Still remaining since the second half of the VIII century are the majestic ruins of the fortified palace of the Ukhaidir caliphs, southwest of Korbela. Surrounded by a high stone wall with towers and arched gates, the Palace had a large hall, a mosque and numerous buildings arranged around the internal court yards. The structure of the stone walls, especially the arches, cupolas and domes, are evidence of well-developed construction and building methods for that time. The Ukhaidir architecture still bears the imprint of the architecture of the previous period, but the rhythmic arrangement of the domes and semitowers fortifying the palace walls is indicative of a search for new methods of artistic expression. Remnants of VIII century palaces have been found also in Kufa and Wasit.

Feudal Iraq reached the peak of its architectural development in the VIII-XI centuries when the Abbasides, who had taken over the power in the caliphate in 750, moved the capital from Damascus (Syria) to Iraq -- first to Kufa and then to Baghdad which was built for that purpose on the Tigris river in 762 and developed into one of the largest cultural centers of that time. It is known from written sources that Baghdad was originally a large city (with a diameter of about 2.5 kilometers) surrounded by a triple ring of walls with four well-guarded gates. The caliph's palace, the mosque and the troops' quarters were on a large square in the center of the town. It is believed that the palace dome once contained the figure of a horseman with a spear in his hands.

We get a more realistic picture of Samarra, the capital of the Abbaside caliphate in 836-892, built to the northwest of Baghdad and found by the archeologists early in the XX century. The enormous revenues flowing to the Abbasides' treasury from every part of the caliphate made it possible to increase the scope of the construction. Extending for many kilometers along the bank of the Tigris river, Samarra was impressive for its majesty and rich architecture.

In the center of the city was the huge Jausak palace covering about 175 hectares and containing a harem, bath houses, gardens and numerous buildings and separate structures, in addition to the official part of the palace with its throne hall and beautiful riverside facade. Another large palace, the Balkuwara, occupied a rectangular area (over a kilometer long) in the southern part of the city. Surrounded by a wall and towers, it consisted of three central parade grounds, extending to the throne hall, and numerous service and residential buildings. The caliph's palaces and the homes of the

Arab nobility were decorated inside with carved stucco (see note) and wood and ornamental and topical painting, fragments of which have been preserved to this day. Painted in the palace harems and bath houses were hunters, horse-men, girl dancers and servants, as well as beasts, birds and a variety of fantastic creatures. The painting is done in a free decorative manner; the figures appear in dark and coarse outline against a light background; the clothes are painted in blue, red, orange-yellow and green colors, and are covered with patterns producing the impression of folds. The various scenes are characterized by motion, and the composition as a whole by a harmonious balance and monumentality.

(Note. The word "stuk", or "stucco", means an artificial marble used for finishing walls and architectural objects)

The carved "stucco" panels of Samarra contain an entire encyclopedia of decorative and ornamental compositions of geometric and stylized plant motifs. The entire pattern is based on geometrical figures or wavelike bent and rhythmically recurring lines. The flat carving as well as the painting reveal the artistic traditions of the Sasanide period. But the Samarra ornaments are already exhibiting a new understanding of decorative problems, particularly the "carpet" method of motif treatment which has become characteristic of the classical Near Eastern "arabesque" pattern.

Mutawakkil's mosque, one of the largest in the Moslem countries, was particularly outstanding among the Samarra mosques. The large mosque grounds (140 x 156 meters) were surrounded by a brick wall with semitowers and decorative arcature. The large internal court yard was surrounded by a gallery with several rows of octagonal marble-faced granite pillars under a flat covering. Remnants of the mosaic and carving of the mosque-decorating mihrab have been found. The mosque ensemble includes the only majestic al-Malwi minaret of its kind; the minaret is a truncated cone set on a square socle which is surrounded by a spiral ramp. Even now the ruins of the once large Samarra mosque convey the impression of a truly monumental architecture.

The city houses (judging primarily by the Samarra excavations) consisted of internal square court yards surrounded by residential homes and aiwans - arched halls open on one side and having the form of a T. Preserved in Samarra also are the ruins of Qasr al-Ashik's castle (on the west bank of the Tigris) and the cupola-tipped mausoleum of Kubbat as-Sulaybiya.

The architecture and monumental-decorative art of Iraq during the Abbasides clearly revealed a tendency of the court artistic style developed under the caliphate. The eventual development of architecture and art in the Near and Middle East was influenced by that style. Iraqi architecture underwent a new, though somewhat lesser, development in the XII-XIII centuries. The grand Bab al-Ustani gates (1221) to the city walls have been preserved in Baghdad and have now been converted to an armory museum. Under construction were palaces (in Baghdad, Mosul and other cities), mosques (Jami al-Kabir in Mosul in 1148) and minarets (Suq al-Gazal in Baghdad in 1279), etc. The partially preserved Al-Mustansyriya madrasah (Muslim school) in Baghdad once included a mosque and a hospital. The monumental architecture of that period was characterized by three-dimensional compositions including domed buildings, high portals, pointed arches, cupolas on "tromps" (see note 1) and on stalactite pendentives (see note 2). The original type of a mausoleum common in Iraq was an octagonal structure topped by a conical cupola with a cellular surface. Such is the Zubayda mausoleum and that of Sheikh Omar as-Sahrawardi in Baghdad, both of the 13th century. An interesting tent-type covering is found on Imam Yahya's mausoleum in Mosul (XIII century). The XII-XIII century buildings were decorated with patterned brick lining and fine ornamental carving on terra-cotta. Graphic motifs are also found occasionally: the relief on the arch of the Talisman gate in Baghdad destroyed in 1917; it depicts a human being and two coiling dragons; figures of people and birds on carved "stucco" relief of the Kara-Sarai palace in Mosul. The construction of Christian churches in Mosul and other cities dates back to the same period.

(Note 1. "Tromps" are triangular niche-like domes in the shape of half a funnel which are placed in the corners of converging walls)

(Note 2. Pendentives are triangular spherical vaults used for raising a cupola above a square building)

An interesting architecture has been preserved on the Khan Mardjan building built in 1358. Its large rectangular hall is covered with a system of cross arches with windows between them. The large and richly-decorated minaret in Mosul was built in the middle of the XV century.

After the XVI century Iraqi architecture came under a certain amount of Persian and later Turkish influence. The most important monuments of that period are found in Baghdad: Musa al-Kadym's mosque-mausoleum, the so-called gold mosque (1515), Abu Khanif's mosque-mausoleum (134), etc.; imam Husein's mausoleum and Abbas' mausoleum in Kerbela, and Ali's mausoleum in Nejef. The architecture of that period acquired a monumental-decorative character. The mausoleum buildings inside the arcade-surrounded court yards were covered with colored tiles, and their large spherical cupolas as well as the minaret trunks were gilded.

There was less outside influence on the national architecture. The residential houses in the cities and villages retained their traditional planning whereby all the residential and service buildings face an internal court yard. Facing the court yards also were lodges and domed or pillared "aiwans." The house walls made of clay or stone supported a beamed roof, a dome and occasionally a cupola. The richer houses consisted of two stories with an occasional semi-cellar; in the court yard was a pool and a fountain which were used as a rest place in the summer heat. The enclosed balconies of the upper stories frequently extended above the street. There were wooden or plaster lattices on the windows. The facades were sometimes decorated with glazed tiles, and the interior with carved patterns on wood or paintings. A residential building was usually divided into two halves, for men and for women.

The poor people of the cities and villages had lived in shacks, called sarifs, from time immemorial. In the south they were made of adobe or clay and reeds; the roofs were made of palmtree branches. The sarifs in the north were made of stone or adobe. Woolen tents were used by the nomads the year round, and by the half-settled tribes when they roamed from place to place.

The Kurds in north Iraq live in a unique type of dwelling. They are similar to dugouts, with steps leading to them, usually on mountain slopes. The homes of the wealthy peasants are larger, have more space and windows.

There is little resemblance between modern Baghdad and the fairy-tale city of the time of Harun ar-Rashid. Only the old bazaar (suq) consisting of narrow roofed by-streets with numerous little stores and rows of artisans' shops as well as the architectural monuments still preserved in the old districts of the town provide some evidence of the medieval past. The main business street of Harun ar-Rashid was rebuilt early in the XIX century, but the replanning of the city was begun only after 1920, according to the blueprints of the British and Greek architects. The new wide and straight streets converge on the central At-Takhrir square on the east bank of the Tigris river; a monument of the July 1958 revolution was erected on that square. Built in 1960 by sculptor Selim Jawad, the monument consists of a large stone slab resting on two high pillars and decorated with bronze figures personifying the life and struggle of the Iraqi people.

Extending from the At-Takhrir square to the south is the wide Saadun Prospect with its fashionable hotels, new residential buildings and stores. The prospect runs to the tomb of the unknown soldier created in 1959 by architect al-Chadarchi. The monument looks like an arch made up of greystone; it resembles the dome of the famous Sasanide palace in Ktesifon.

New bridges were built across the Tigris river. A parliament building (see note) and other government buildings were erected, as well as the Iraqi museum, the main post office building, banks and many blocks of residential houses next to the still existing sarifs.

(Note. The offices of the Prime Minister and foreign affairs ministers are now housed in that building).

The reconstruction of Mosul and Basrah with its port of Marguil (Ma'quil). The following Iraqi architects have become prominent: Djawdat, who planned a number of residential buildings, al-Chardachi, who built the Ar-Rukhun bank (1958) and a number of public buildings, al-Midfai and Munir who planned the "July 14" cafe, etc. Participating in the new construction projects are soviet architects who built a television station south of Baghdad in 1960-1961. Soviet plans have also been adopted for television stations in Mosul, Basrah and other cities.

A complex of university buildings is now being planned in Baghdad by a group of architects under the supervision of V. Gropius, a prominent German architect (living in the U.S.).

In the new comfortable buildings of the Iraqi cities the principles of modern west European and American architecture are frequently combined with certain elements borrowed from traditional Iraqi architecture. But traditional residential houses are still being built in the cities and villages.

The Iraqi architects have now begun to take a hand in industrial construction such as hydroelectric power plants and dams. They have also begun to use concrete and ferroconcrete structural elements, as well as ceramics and other decorative materials for finishing purposes.

The Cinema

One of the most important aspects of the people's cultural life in Iraq is the cinema; as a powerful propaganda weapon, it exerts a considerable influence -- along with the press, radio and television -- on the development of contemporary national culture and public opinion in Iraq.

The national motion picture production is still in its embryonic stage. The reasons for that are the lack of government financial support, technical weakness, insufficient national cadres and foreign film competition. Kameran Husni, Yusef Djerjis and Djabbar Veli, the best Iraqi motion picture producers, released the following four art films in the sixties: "Who is Guilty?", "Marriage Plan," "Said Effendi," and "Abu-Haila." The most successful screenplays were written by Yuself al-Ani for pictures "Said Effendi" and "Abu Haila." These pictures featured Yusef al-Ani, Nahid ar-Rammah, Sami Abd al-Hamid, Riza Shaty, Abd al-Wakhid Taha, Zeinab and other popular Iraqi actors. Though not perfect, these films were welcomed with enthusiasm by the Iraqi viewers as pioneers of the national Iraqi cinema. The first Iraqi color film "Nebuchadnezzar," dealing with the history of the country, was produced in 1964.

The cinema and theatre Administration of the Ministry of Culture and Orientation as well as a number of private studios are currently producing short newsreels, documentary and training films. This has further enhanced the domination of the Iraqi screens by foreign films. The films are imported by Iraqi firms and agents. Film censorship is exercised by special committees consisting of representatives from various ministries. The imported films (except the Arabic films) are supplied with subtitles in Arabic and French.

There are about 100 permanent summer and winter cinemas in Iraq now. Half of them are in Baghdad, and the others are located in Basra (10), Mosul (10), Kirkuk (5) and in other cities. All of them are privately owned.

The Iraqi cinemas are divided into three categories according to their technical equipment and appointments. The first category movies -- Nasr (over 2,000 seats), Hayam (over 1,000 seats) and Granada (over 1,000 seats) -- are equipped with the latest projectors and sound facilities, the halls are air-conditioned (which is very important in the Iraqi climate) and are equipped with semi-soft arm chairs and boxes. Admission is 80-140 fils; a 4-5 seat box costs 550-650 fils. The equipment of the second and third category movies is considerably poorer, and their admission fees range from 40 to 80 fils.

The large cinemas change their programs on Mondays. The pictures are usually shown five times a day, each showing lasting two and a half hours including one hour of commercials and newsreels. Portable projectors belonging to the cinema and theatre department are used in the rural areas where there are no permanent movie houses.

Forty percent of the Iraqi screens (including the portable projectors) show Egyptian pictures, 30% American and 30% other foreign films. But this ratio changes in the capital and the other large cities where American detective and cowboy films which have a corrupting influence on the Iraqi youth are shown on 60% of the screens. Egyptian films are prevalent in the villages and provincial towns.

The Iraqi people got their first opportunity to become acquainted with the best examples of soviet cinematographic art after the revolution of July 14, 1958. The Iraqi viewers have been highly appreciative of the soviet films; they value the artistic skill, their high moral standard and revolutionary pathos of the soviet films. The soviet film "The Story of the Flaming Years," shown in the best cinema of the capital in 1962 (the Nasr), was seen by a record number of people in Iraq. The "soviet film week" has been successfully every year since 1958 (with the exception of 1963). The Iraqi's interest in soviet film is to some extent satisfied by the soviet cultural center in Baghdad where soviet art, documentary and scientific films are regularly shown.

Fine Arts

Before the XX century the development of fine arts in Iraq was limited, as the Islamic religion forbade the depiction of living images, especially the likeness of a human being. But the vivid and original Iraqi miniature paintings of the XIII-XIV centuries had considerable artistic merit.

The miniatures originating in Mosul were noted for their solemn court style: the illustrations of the "Kitab al-agani" (book of songs) manuscripts of 1218-19 (preserved in the Istanbul national library) and the middle of the 13th century (in the collection of the national library in Vienna).

Particularly valuable among the 13th century miniatures are the illustrations in the manuscripts of a scientific nature. Some fame is attached to the painter Abdallah ibn Fadl who illustrated the translation of Dioscorid's "Pharmacologia" into Arabic in 1222 with magnificent miniatures (one of them is found in the collection of the Museum of western and oriental arts in Kiev, and the others in private collections in different countries). Of exceptional interest are the illustrations in al-Hariri's book "Makamy". Those are lively and expressive genre scenes, unusual for the paintings of the middle ages, which vividly and graphically portray the urban and rural life, the bazaars, sermons in the mosques, holiday parades and the receptions and feasts of the rulers. Despite the unmistakable individual "handwriting" differences of the Baghdad painters, their miniatures have a number of stylistic features in common. The architectural and other physical elements, with the color of the manuscript sheet as a background, are treated superficially and conventionally. But the figures of people are full of expression. The images are, on the whole, highly ornamental. The "Makam" manuscript of 1225-1235, richly illustrated with miniatures, is kept at the USSR Academy of Sciences (Leningrad). Another "Makam" manuscript (1237), illustrated in beautiful colors and miniatures by painter Yakhya ibn Mahmud from Wasit, belongs to the Paris national library.

Djunaid Sultani, a remarkable Baghdad miniaturist of the end of the XIV century, illustrated Hadju Kermani's manuscript of "Hamse" (1936) which is kept at the British museum in London. Sultani's art apparently exerted some influence on the formation of the Central Asiatic school of miniaturists in the XV century.

Applied art was fairly well developed in Iraq in the middle ages; these included ceramics, artistic finishing of metal and glass, weaving and other crafts. Ornamental pottery, finished with colored glazing, was already produced in the IX century. It is possible that lustre pottery with a golden sheen, which became so popular in the Near and Middle East, was invented in Iraq at that time.

The adornment of metal products (dishes, lamps, etc.) with delicate azure colors and engraving reached a high level of perfection in the Mosul handicraft shops in the XII-XIII centuries. Expensive gold-brocaded silks as well as woolen and linen fabrics with printed patterns were produced in Baghdad and Mosul.

The latest type of fine arts appeared in Iraq only by the end of the XIX century. But the actual development of painting and sculpture has occurred only since the second world war. Abd al-Kader Rassam is considered the pioneer of contemporary Iraqi painting.

In view of the lack of national traditions in painting, especially in sculpturing, and because of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Iraqi painters and sculptors have been educated in Italy, France, England and the U.S., the national school of modern art in Iraq is only beginning to come into its own; the influence of abstractionism, expressionism, surrealism, cubism and symbolism is strongly felt in it. Under the influence of the well

known Iraqi painter and sculptor Jawad Selim (1919-1961) (see note), however, have become adherents of realism in art, and are striving to develop an original national art. It is gratifying to note that the main theme of the works of the great majority of Iraqi painters consists of work, life, the daily life of the people and the physical nature of Iraq. The national-liberation struggle, and especially the 1958 revolution focused attention on patriotic and social themes in the fine arts, and made the arts into a weapon for the struggle for national independence, social progress and peace.

(Note. Jawad Selim was head of the Society of Baghdad painters of a new type of art whose aim it was to revive the national art and combine it with contemporary progressive European art with a view to developing a modern Iraqi national art and sculpture)

Leading the contemporary Iraqi painters are the representatives of the older generation, such as the landscape painter Muhammed Salih Zaqi (born in 1888) and Asy Hafez, who are continuing the academic trend in the field of arts. Realist Faik Hasan, impressionist Hafez ad-Durubi (born in 1914), Ismail Sheikhi, Haled Djader (born in 1924), specializing in graphic arts, and Ata Saad at-Tay represent different trends in modern West European painting. The followers of Jawad Selim are led by painter Makhmud Sabri (born in 1927) (Makhmud Sabri was trained in the studio of Deinike, the well known soviet painter). The surrealist trend in modern Iraqi painting is represented by Kasem Najji. The abstractionist style is represented by painter Akram Shukri (born in 1910), Shaker Hasan, Kadya Haidar and Sued Selim. The majority of the Iraqi sculptors belong to the abstractionist school: Haled Rahhal (born in 1926), Abd ar-Rahman Gailani (born in 1928), Muhammed Gani Khimket etc.

Decorative applied art, such as ornamental ceramics, metal engraving, etc., has been developing in contemporary Iraq along with painting and sculpture.

The center of education in art is the department of painting, sculpture and graphic arts (founded in 1939) of the Fine Arts Academy.

The painters and sculptors belong to the Iraqi society of painters and sculptors; Muhammed Maqqi is the chairman of the society, and Hafez ad-Durubi the secretary. The society sponsors about five exhibitions a year in the Museum of modern art, the Academy of fine arts and the large stores of Baghdad, Basra and Mosul. The exhibited pictures are priced beforehand and sold to the visitors at the exhibition.

The Theatre

The birth of the Iraqi theatre dates back to the end of the twenties of the XX century. In 1929 the Baghdad secondary school students organized a troupe of the "Iraqi National Theatre" whose performances in schools and on the streets consisted of skits, songs and dances. The first professional ensemble was organized in 1931 by Haqqi as-Shibli, the pioneer of the Iraqi theatre. It consisted of Iraqi, Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese actors (about 50 people), and had its own orchestra with national musical instruments. The most impressive performance of the ensemble was the staging of the anti-British play "Wakhda" by Musa Shakhbender and the dramatization of a number of Arabic works of literature and folklores. Concerts of Arabic music were also included in the ensemble's performances. A number of ensembles and amateur art circles were organized in 1935 by the students and officials in Baghdad, Basra and Mosul.

The Academy of Fine Arts, including a theatrical department, was founded in Baghdad in 1940. In the twentyfive years of its existence the Academy has trained quite a few stage actors, some of whom completed their education in the West. But despite all that, Iraq still does not have a single professional theatre or a permanent dramatic troupe, ballet, opera or operetta. The temporary associations of Iraqi actors perform their plays on the stage of the Academy of Fine Arts, in the "Kaat as-Shaab" and "Kaat al-Hold" halls in Baghdad, and participate in concerts; many actors appear on television, on the radio and in night clubs. The actors are not financed or supported by the government. Relatively well organized are the actors of the theatrical department of the Institute of fine arts, founded by the students and teachers, and the National symphony orchestra (created in 1961) which consists of 50 professional musicians.

The most popular forms of stagecraft in Iraq are singing, playing musical instruments, dancing and "makam" reading (see note). The most popular singers and "makam" readers in Iraq are Muhamed Kubalchi, Salima Murad, Arifa Iskander, Akhlam Wakhda, Abd ar-Rakhman Khadar, and Sabykha Ibrahim. All sorts of village songs are sung by Lamia Taufik, Wakhida Khalim, Dakhil Hasan and Hudayr Abu Aziz. The best musicians performing Western and contemporary Oriental melodies are Hadji Hasan Radjab, Shuayb Ibrahim, Hudayr Shibli, and Djalil Bashir. The popular folk dancers are Badria Kamil, Radja and Badria Muhammed.

(Note. Makam is an ancient form of art in Iraq, whereby the actor chants an epic or other poem aloud accompanied by oriental instruments)

Sports

Only the traditional forms of sport, such as wrestling, shooting and swimming, existed in Iraq before the second world war. The first sports organizations in the country were organized in the fifties. The institute of physical culture, opened by the Baghdad university in 1955, has become the main organization for training national sports cadres.

The republic's governments have been encouraging the development of sports in Iraq, since the 1958 revolution. A special department of physical education was opened under the Ministry of Education. Physical culture was introduced as a compulsory subject in the secondary schools as well as the special and higher schools. Sports organizations and societies were also introduced in many schools and in the trade unions. Considerable more headway in this field was made by the army sports organizations.

The result was a considerable development of heavy athletics, classical type of wrestling, gymnastics and swimming. Soccer ball, volley ball and basket ball have become highly popular. In these last three types of sports the Iraqi teams are now successfully competing against ~~mmh~~ other Arab countries in regular contests.

There are now 50 different sports clubs in Iraq with a combined membership of over 5,500 men. There are about 600 official soccer ball, a thousand volley ball and over 750 basketball teams in the country. About fifteen thousand college and school students take an active part in Iraqi sports activities. There are 16 all-purpose stadiums (the Central Baghdad stadium is the largest of them), over 50 soccer ball fields, 750 volley ball and 400 basket ball courts and six swimming pools in the country.

The sports events in Iraq, the achievements of the Iraqi sportsmen and the world of sports are discussed in the weekly sports newspaper Al-Malab (the stadium).

The Iraqi sports organizations are members of a number of international federations (wrestling, boxing, heavy athletics, soccer ball, volley ball and basket ball).

In the regional contests (GANEFU, pan-Asiatic games, etc.) Iraq is among the top ten countries. The performance of the Iraqi sportsmen is particularly good in heavy athletics (Abd al-Djabbar Hadi, Aziz Abd Wakhid), boxing (Abd al-Kerim Taha, Karakahi Hamid), wrestling, soccer ball, swimming and gymnastics. Abd ar-Razzaq Muhammed is fairly good at high jumping, Abdallah Muhammed at pole vaulting, Abd ar-Razzaq Muhammed at long and triple jumping, Ahmed Said Kasem at free wrestling, Al-Khamali Nazzar at 110 and 400-meter obstacle racing, Hamid Naif at discus throwing, Mahed Saleh at spear throwing, Hamid Orabi in bicycle racing, and Mukhtar Kasem in 1500 and 5000-meter dashes.

The development of Iraqi-soviet relations in the world of sports began after the 1958 revolution. A group of leading Iraqi sportsmen visited the Soviet Union in 1959 and attended the Spartakiade of the peoples of the USSR. In the same year Iraqi soccer ball teams played a number of soviet teams in the USSR. Later a soviet soccer ball team visited Iraq and played against some Iraqi teams. In the following years the development of Iraqi-Soviet sports connections became integral parts of the annual agreements on cultural cooperation between the two countries.

APPENDIX

The Economic Development Plan
for 1965/66--1969/70

The New five-year plan provides for 8% annual increment of the national income (7.5% in agriculture and 12% in industry), a more balanced economy and the government's lesser financial dependence on foreign oil companies.

Shown below is the distribution of government appropriations by industry (in million dinars).

	Total appropriations	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	Budget allowances*
Agriculture.	173.4	25.1	37.0	37.1	37.1	37.1	142.1
Industry	147.4	32.1	40.4	40.6	40.3	33.6	157.0
Power	39.6						
Transport & communications	110.6	26.5	27.4	24.9	15.9	15.9	91.0
Civilian & housing construction. . .	134.5	29.5	28.4	27.3	25.2	24.1	108.6
Miscellaneous**.	62.5	12.7	9.7	12.3	11.2	16.6	62.5
Total	668.0	125.9	142.9	142.2	129.7	127.3	561.2

* Appropriations secured by budgetary financing.

** Government notes (25 million dinars), Defense Ministry's facilities (35 million dinars), etc.

Most of the capital investments went to agriculture and industry.

The plan is financed primarily from the state revenue, 561.2 million dinars, which includes 50% of the income tax received from the foreign oil companies (390 million dinars), foreign loans (95 million dinars), internal loans (30 million dinars), net profits of the government organizations and institutions (4 million dinars), receipts from the port administration (8 million dinars), cash balance as of March 31, 1965, (30.7 million dinars), and miscellaneous receipts (3.5 million dinars). Thus the dependence of the plan on foreign financing is still the same.

The plan calls for the use of private capital for economic development. It is estimated that this capital will account for 181 million dinars, or 22% of all the appropriations. The private capital is to be used primarily for civilian and housing construction.

The new plan includes the construction of almost all the facilities provided for by the previous plan, in accordance with the soviet-Iraqi agreement on economic and technical cooperation. The plan provides for the construction of 19 facilities with the technical cooperation of the Soviet Union, geological prospecting for hard minerals and research into the irrigation and drainage of the land in the south of Iraq.

The Distribution of Industry by Liwa
(Not including foreign oil companies)

Liwa	Average monthly number of operating enter- prises	Number of workers
Baghdad	612	48,064
Basrah	118	8,238
Mosul	99	7,311
Kirkuk	30	1,325
Irbil	11	442
Sulaymaniah	6	1,091
Diyala	18	1,415
Ramadi	17	434
Kut	15	370
Amarah	24	1,062
Hillah	42	2,019
Karbala	60	2,035
Diwanayah	24	1,145
Nasiriyah	20	517
Total	1,129	75,768

Baghdad account for 56.9% of all the enterprises
and 63.4% of the workers.

Geographic Guide

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|----------------------------|---|
| Abu-Gureib district | Eastern Mediterranean |
| Abu-Kemal, town | -- |
| Abu-Musaib, canal | |
| Austro-Hungary | Gaar depression |
| Adamiya, district | Germany |
| Al-Azair, town | GDR |
| Asia | Glavnyy (main) Armenian Tawr |
| Azym, river | Holland |
| Ayn-Zala, district | Greece |
| Aqaba, port | -- |
| Akra, town | |
| Akr-Kuf, town | |
| Algier | Far East |
| Alward, town | Damascus, town |
| Amadiya, town | Daudiya, town |
| Amarah, town | Dvurech'ye (two-river area) |
| Amarah, liwa | Dvurech'ye, Middle |
| England | Dvurech'ye, southern |
| Ankara, town | Delhi, town |
| Antiochiya, town | Derbendi-Khan, barrage |
| Arab East | Al Jasira, see Upper Mesopotamia |
| Arabian desert | Jalaula, town |
| Arabian peninsula | Jambur, district |
| Arabia | Jabal Ab'iyad, mountain range |
| Armenian upland | Jabal Sinjar, mountains |
| Assur, city-state | Jabal Hamrin, mountains |
| Africa | Jamdet Nasr, mountains |
| -- | Jiqor, village |
| | Diarbekir (Diarbakyr), town |
| | Dibis, town |
| Baakuba, town | Diwaniya, liwa |
| Baba-Gurgur, district | Dir-al-Seida, monastery |
| Baghdad, town | Diyala, liwa |
| Baghdad, eparchy | Diyala, river |
| Baghdad, liwa | Doqan, barrage |
| Baghdad vilayet | Dera, town |
| Bayji, town | Dujaila, district |
| Balad, Town | -- |
| Balkan peninsula | |
| Bani-Hasan, canal | Europe |
| Baniyas, port | Europe, eastern |
| Basrah, town | Europe, western |
| Basrah, liwa | Euphrates (Al Furat), river |
| Bahrein, Bahrein islands | Egypt |
| Bakhr-Nejef, lake | Erevan, town |
| Beirut, town | -- |
| Bay-Hasan, district | |
| Belgium | Zagros, mountain system |
| Berlin, town | Transcaucasus |
| Near East | Zakho, town |
| Bludan, town | Az Zubayr, town |
| Bolgarlia | -- |
| Bolshoy (Great)Zab | |
| Bombay, town | India |
| Butma, district | Inshas, town |
| Babylon, town, state | Jordan |
| -- | Al-Iraq Al-Arabi, see Lower Mesopotamia |
| | Iraq, Western |
| Wadi Tartar | Iraq, Northern |
| Van, lake | Iraq, Middle |
| Vasit, town | Iraq, Central |
| Washington, town | Iraq, Southern |
| Great Britain, see England | Iran |
| Vienna, town | |

Iran, Eastern
 Iran, Western
 Iran, Southern
 Iranian upland
 Iskanderiya, town
 Iskanderiya, canal
 Italy
 Judea

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Kadimiyah, Baghdad district
 Kadisiyah, village
 Cairo
 Qaiyara, oil fields
 Qara-Kush
 Karasu, (western Euphrates)
 Karachi, town
 Qarmat-Ali
 Caspian Sea
 Kerbela, liwa
 Keremeli tableland
 Kiyev, town
 Cyprus, island
 Kirkuk, town
 Kirkuk, liwa
 Qifl, canal
 Chinese People's Republic
 Kordov emirate
 Qtesifon, town
 Kuwait
 Al-Kuwait, town
 Kurdistan
 Kurdistan, Iraqi
 Al-Qurnah, town
 Kut, barrage
 Kut, town
 Kut, liwa
 Kufah, town
 Al-Kush, village

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Lagash, city-state
 Lazzaq, village
 Latifiya, canal
 Leningrad, town
 Lebanon
 London

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Al-Madina, town
 Al-Maklub, mountain
 Asia Minor
 Small Zab
 Manama, town
 Mar Bakhnam, monastery
 Marghil, port
 Mar-Matti, eparchy
 Mar-Michael, monastery
 Morocco
 Makhmudiya, qada
 Medina, town
 Interfluve
 Mecca, town
 Mesopotamia

Mesopotamia, upper
 Mesopotamia, interior
 Mesopotamia, lower
 Mesopotamia, northern
 Mesopotamia, southern
 Mesopotamian lowland
 Mehabad, town
 Mishraq, village
 Moscow, town
 Muntafiq, liwa; see Nasiriya, liwa
 MUSAIB, town
 Mosul, town
 Mosul, eparchy
 Mosul, liwa
 Mosul vilayet

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An-Nasiriya, town
 Nasiriya, liwa
 Naft-khane, village
 Najaf, town
 Nicosiya, town
 Nile valley
 Nimrud, ruins
 Nineveh, town
 Nippur, city-state
 Nisibin (Nusaybin), town

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UAR
 Odessa, town

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Pakistan
 Paris, town
 Western Asia
 Near East
 Persian Gulf
 Poland
 Portsmouth, town

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Rawa, dam
 Ramadi, barrage
 Ramadi, town
 Ramadi, liwa
 Ar-Rashid, camp
 Rawanduz
 Rawanduz passage
 Russia
 Ar-Rumaila, town
 Rumaita, town
 Ar-Rustamiya, camp
 Rutbah, town

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Saqlaviya, qada
 Saqlaviya, canal
 Salman, Baghdad suburb
 Samawa, town
 Samarra, barrage
 Samarra, town
 San-Remo, town
 Sarsar, lake
 Saudi Arabia

Sinjar, village
 Syrian desert
 Syrian-Arabian desert
 Syrian-Arabian tableland
 Syria
 Soviet Union
 Mediterranean
 Middle East
 Stambul, town
 Suq Ash-Shuyukh, district
 Sulaymaniyah, town
 Sulaymaniyah, liwa
 Suez canal
 U.S.A.

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Taq-Nasri, town
 Teheran, town
 Tall Kushik, town
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Ubad, town
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 Uruq, city-state

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Al Faw, port
 Fatha, dam
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Habbaniyah, base
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