

DOCUMENTS

The International Seminar on

OIL AS A WEAPON

IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM
AND ISRAELI AGGRESSION AND A MEANS TO
THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT
NATIONAL ECONOMY

Baghdad, November 11 - 14, 1972

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- World Peace Council**
- Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization.**
- National Council for Peace and Solidarity in the Iraqi Republic.**

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SEMINAR ON
«OIL AS A WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
IMPERIALISM AND ISRAELI AGGRESSION, AND
A MEANS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN
INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ECONOMY»
(Baghdad, November 11 - 14, 1972)

THEMES OF THE SEMINAR

I. Exploitation of Arab and other Oil Exporting Countries of the Third World by the Oil Monopolies

- The oil monopolies — vanguard of imperialism in the economies of the Arab countries and the Third World.
- Waste in oil and gas revenues, monopoly profits and imperialist plunder in the oil industry in the Arab countries and the Third World.
- Strategy and tactics of oil imperialism in the Arab World and Third World as a whole.
- Combined and separate activities of the representatives of foreign oil capital against the Arab and other oil exporting countries of the Third World.

II. Manoeuvres of the Oil Monopolies against the Anti-Imperialist Unity of the O.P.E.C. Countries

- Divisive tactics of the monopolies to weaken the anti-imperialist front of the oil exporting countries. Refutation of the false accusations brought by the oil monopolies against O.P.E.C. policy.
- Prospecting for, and extracting of, oil in other regions used by the monopolies to put pressure on the countries in the O.P.E.C. (The role of the oil of the Far East and other regions of the World).
- Imperialist efforts to form a front of oil importing countries in opposition to O.P.E.C.
- Alliances and regional associations of oil exporting countries, an effective way to fight international imperialism and its oil monopolies, to put a stop to its divisive manoeuvres and to win the oil exporting countries legitimate rights (O.P.E.C. and O.A.P.E.C.).

III. Oil Monopolies and Israeli Aggression :

- The oil monopolies — instigators and associates of Israeli aggression against the Arab countries.
- The close relations between Zionist capital and the leading groups in the international financial oligarchy.
- The Rockefellers and Israel.
 - The oil monopolies — friends in name of the Arabs, but in fact the accomplices of Israeli ag-

gression; (history of betrayals, the shadow-boxing between the Government of the USA, Zionist capital and the oil monopolies; lessons and conclusions).

IV. Utilising Oil as Weapon in the Struggle against Imperialism and Israeli Aggression :

- NATO and Arab oil.
- Use of contradictions within the Imperialist world between Western Europe and the USA; in the fight against Israeli aggression; the role of Arab Oil in that aggression.
- For how long will Western Europe and Japan be able to manage without Arab Oil? Lessons to be drawn from the boycott of Arab oil by the imperialist countries.
- The legitimate struggle against the oil trust, Israel's accomplices; acquiring financial allowances from the concessionary societies.
- For how long will the chief Arab oil exporting countries be able to do without new sources of revenue?
- Various ways of using Arab oil as a weapon against imperialist and Israeli aggression (total or partial embargo, complete or selective sequestration, expulsion of foreign specialists, nationalisation of the property of Israeli's foreign accomplices).
- United action on the part of the chief oil exporting countries, an essential condition for success.

- Decisive actions of the Arabs and solidarity among the members of O.P.E.C.
- Possibility of influencing, by steps taken against the monopolies, the development of the Arab-Israeli conflict and international relations generally.

V. Nationalisation and Utilising Oil in the Interests of the Producing Countries and those of the Consumer Countries far from the Domination of the Oil Companies :

- The problems of nationalising foreign oil concessions (means, methods, internal and external conditions, economic and political pre-conditions).
- The principles and aims of an oil policy for Arab and other members of O.P.E.C.
- The experience gained by the advanced Arab States in the struggle to put an end to the oil monopolies' domination and to build up a national economy. The measures taken by Iraq, Algeria, Libya and Venezuela to counter the oil monopolies. Syrian Oil Policy.
- National oil companies, a means of State control over its oil resources, an instrument for the direct exploitation and development of national wealth.
- Oil exporting countries of the Third World faced with the choice of exporting crude oil or processing it on the spot. Marketing of crude oil and its processing by the exporting countries of the

Third World, a method of countering obstruction by oil monopolies to direct national exploitation of oil.

- The role of oil and natural gas in economic development, and in the removal of the shackles of backwardness and economic dependence. Oil industries, the bases of economic progress in the oil exporting countries of the Third World.
- Use of oil revenues for economic and cultural progress in the oil exporting countries of the Third World.
- Ways and means to diversify the economy of Arab countries and to lessen their dependence on the extraction and export of oil. After the Oil?
- The agreements on oil and how to develop them in the interest of the oil-exporting countries of the Third World.
- Direct relationship between the oil-exporting countries and the consumer countries without the mediation of the monopolistic companies. The World oil market and the changes taking place in it.

TIME-TABLE

Saturday 11 November

- 10.00 - 12.00 **OPENING SESSION**
 (Al-Khuld Hall)
 Speeches by
 — The President of the Republic
 — Secretary General of the National Council
 for Peace and Solidarity — Iraq.
 — WPC Secretary General.
 — AAPSO Secretary General.
- 13.00 - 15.00 Lunch
- 15.30 - 17.00 **PLENARY SESSION**
 (Teacher's Union)
 — Proposals for, and adoption of, the Agenda.
 — Appointment of the Drafting Committee
 for the Seminar's final document.
 — Appointment of the commissions' presid-
 iums, Reporters and Drafting Committees.
- 17.00 - 20.00 Commission meetings
- 21.00 Dinner given by the National Council for
 Peace and Solidarity at Strand Restaurant

Sunday 12 November

- 9.00 - 12.00 Commission meetings.
- 12.30 - 13.30 Meeting with the President of the Republic
- 14.00 - 15.30 Lunch

16.00 - 20.00	Commission meetings.
21.00	Dinner given by H.E. the Vice-President of the Republic.

Monday 13 November

19.00 - 13.00	Commission meetings.
13.30 - 15.00	Lunch.
15.30 - 20.00	Commission meetings.
20.30 - 21.30	Dinner.
22.00	Concert by the National Ensemble of Folk Art

Tuesday 14 November

9.00 - 13.00	Meeting of the Drafting Committee for the Final document. Meeting of the Commissions' Drafting Committees and adoption of the Commissions' conclusions.
13.30 - 15.00	Lunch.
15.30 - 17.00	Meeting of the Drafting Committees.
17.00 - 20.00	CLOSING SESSION — Presentation of the final document and the conclusions of the commissions. — Adoption of the conclusions of the commissions. — Adoption of the final document of the Seminar.

21.00 Dinner given by the Iraqi National Oil Company.

EVENTS PLANNED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SEMINAR

Thursday 19 November

10.00 Visit to the Iraqi Museum and Baghdad Museum.

15.00 Sight-Seeing.

Friday 10 November

9.00 Trip to Babylon.

Tuesday 14 November

15.00 - 17.00 Visit to the Iraqi Museum, and Baghdad Museum.

Wednesday 15 November

7.00 Trip to Kirkuk to visit the fields and installations of the Iraqi Company for Oil Operations (the nationalised I.P.C.)

15.30 Departure to Baghdad.

21.00 Iraqi film-show.

Thursday 9 November

7.00 Trip to Basra and to Rumaila to visit the oil-fields of the Iraqi National Oil Company.

DISTRIBUTION OF PAPERS TO THE COMMISSIONS

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Arab Oil and the struggle for the liberation of Arab Territories and the establishment of Peace	9
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Petrol and the strategy of Anti-Imperialist forces	15
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ANA DE CONSUEGRA (Colombia)	

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NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PEACE and SOLIDARITY (Iraq)	
Iraqi National Front, Arab struggle Front and close solidarity with the nationalist front of liberation forces are decisive weapons in the struggle against oil imperialism	28
II — COMMISSION B : Oil as a Means to Development and Social Progress :	
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The experience of direct exploitation of oil in Iraq	1
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FAROUK ABDUL NABI (Iraq)

Utilising the surplus of Arab oil revenues to
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the Arab countries 8

R. ANDREASYAN (U.S.S.R.)

The lessons and consequences of the Nationalisa-
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Dr. A. R. KASSEMLU (Iran)

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development 23

JOSE CONSUEGRA (Colombia)

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economic planning in developing countries 25

HUSSEIN FAHMI (Egypt)

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**III — COMMISSION C : Concessions, Participation and
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VICTOR PERLO (U.S.A.)

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Dr. ATIF SULEIMAN (Palestine)

A comparative study on the investment of oil
wealth by means of concessions, participation,
service contracts and independent, direct invest-
ment. 11

L. MORDVIN (U.S.S.R.)

The role of Soviet Union in producing support and assistance to Arab countries in the development of their national oil industry 18

A. K. ABDUL KAWI (Arab League)

Oil agreements and means of developing them in the interest of oil exporting countries 2

Dr. M.S. HASSAN (Iraq)

The new strategy of the International Petroleum Cartel and the role of prices and participation in Arab Oil. 16

FRANCESCO PISTOLESE (Italy)

Divergences in oil economics as referred to world wide schemes 24

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Preliminary remarks on a better marketing for Iraqi Petroleum 22

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**ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY
AHMED HASSAN AL BAKR,
President of the Republic,
At the Inaugural Session**

Distinguished delegates,
Dear Friends,

In my name and on behalf of the leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Command Council and the Iraqi Government, I greet you and wholeheartedly welcome you, appreciating the trouble you have taken in order to participate in this Seminar which is being held in Baghdad, in support of the struggle of the world peoples for the liberation of their resources from the grip of imperialist monopolies, and the struggle of our people for recovering their legitimate rights, undermined by world imperialist monopolies for almost half a century now.

Distinguished delegates,

Only three months ago, Baghdad cordially received the representatives of the various world progressive organisations, who came here to demonstrate their solidarity with the Iraqi people and support of Iraq's legitimate decision to nationalise the Iraq Petroleum Company's operations, and also to represent the solid link of struggle which binds together all freedom and peace loving peoples and places them on a common front against the camp of imperialism, monopoly and aggression whose aim is to humiliate peoples and drain their re-

sources. In this respect, we have to highlight the results achieved by that conference, and the effective support it rendered with a view to upholding the victory of our struggling people.

In deeply believing in our rights and the legitimacy of the decision taken on June 1st, to nationalise the operation of the IPC, and in confirmation and preservation of these rights against monopolist blackmailing, we should realise that imperialism which has violated our rights and the rights of other peoples cannot abide by a decision which is inconsistent with its aggressive schemes and interests, unless forced to do so, and that the only correct way to bring imperialism to bow to our will and just demands lies in unifying the progressive forces of the people and in totally mobilising their potentialities. It also consists in the effective solidarity and unity of the Arab progressive forces with the other progressive forces of the world.

Dear Friends,

Monopolistic companies have employed various methods so as to tie up Iraq to the wheel of imperialist economy, obstruct its economic freedom and turn the land rich in oil resources into a depot which flows out or comes to a stop at the whims of these companies, thus serving their schemes and illegitimate interests, in complete disregard of the damages they cause our people. They used to disseminate, on a world scale, their falsehoods to the effect that only foreign companies are capable of managing oil enterprises and securing continued supplies to the consumers; they tried as well to evoke fears on the part of consuming countries as to the claims of the producing countries to fully control their rights to their wealth.

We are glad to refute these lies by the success of our people, helped by our experts here in Iraq, in the efficient management of oil enterprises and marketing, despite the short period elapsed since the adoption of the historic June Decision, and the attempts by the companies to place obstacles in our way and carryout distortion campaigns and counter-propaganda activities with an aim to abort the nationalisation process.

Therefore, I consider it my duty to express, my great admiration and appreciation for all those who work here in this field, hoping they would yet act harder at the service of their fellow-countrymen.

Friends, this experiment also proves that nationalisation is as much in the interest of the consumers as it is for the producing countries, since it meets the former's needs, free from the monopolistic companies' manoeuvres which are based, mainly, on the principle of further profits at the expense of both the producer and consumer. On our part, we intend to maintain relations of mutual benefit and cooperation with all oil consuming countries, in a way which secures our interests and those of the consumers, free from exploitation and blackmailing.

Monopolies seem to have forgotten that they no longer exercise an absolute authority over oil world markets, for there exist the Socialist camp, the free countries of the Third World and the European countries which opt for their national interests in the first place, free from the influence and aggressive schemes of the United States imperialists.

Distinguished delegates,

The battle in which we are engaged is an extensive one, However we entertain no doubt as to our victory based on

the legitimate rights of our people to control their natural resources, and on their conscious and firm determination and the support extended by the Arab and World progressive forces. We should however emphasise, in this respect, that the efforts you exert in the present Seminar are considered an outstanding contribution, as they harness science, this indispensable force, to serve our legitimate struggle and the struggle of other peoples to reinstate their right which could be employed in full freedom as an effective weapon by the oppressed peoples to promote their interests, free from the domination of imperialists and monopolists who used to employ the resources of our peoples to serve their aggressive schemes.

We realise that the experiment of Iraq in the nationalisation of oil and its battle with the monopolies, which gained special importance in the struggle of our people along the path of freedom and progress, will have serious repercussions in the area. It is closely linked to the struggle waged by the peoples of the area against imperialism and Zionism, besides, it is related to the struggle of humanity against the common imperialist enemy. It, therefore, polarised the forces of good, progress and freedom, while it alienated the forces of imperialism, monopoly and reaction.

From our absolute confidence in the legitimacy of our decision, we derive confidence in our ability to achieve victory; to this end we consistently proceed along the way of the National Front and the Arab Progressive Front. We also act, relentlessly, for the consolidation of the front of solidarity with the world progressive forces, especially with the Socialist countries, foremost among which is the friendly Soviet Union which along with the progressive and free forces in Western Europe and the countries of the Third World sided with us courageously and vigorously.

On this occasion, I wish to congratulate the Iraqi as well as the entire Arab people on the victory we achieved by virtue of the great nationalisation act. Let our people know that each penny they pay to consolidate our steadfastness, would bring invaluable benefits to them. Oil revenues now belong to the entire people; there is no longer any partnership, or profit-sharing.

I consider it my obligation to draw the attention of our great people to the fact that our struggle against imperialism, monopolies, Zionism and backwardness, is a protracted struggle which cannot be limited to a certain position or specific time. It is the kind of struggle which cannot come to an end in one, two, or three years. It is a long and arduous struggle, because the enemy will not cease to fight us on every step we take along the way of economic liberation and progress.

Our strife with the imperialist enemy, the enemy of all freedom and peace-loving peoples will continue as long as he maintains his lackeys whom he moves here and there and at any time he wishes. However, thanks to our determination and the support of our numerous friends we shall be able to defeat his aggressive schemes and bring his political and economic domination to an end.

The historic nationalisation decision has concretised the slogan of: «The Oil of the Arabs is for The Arabs», and now it can even turn the Arab oil into a weapon directed against our imperialist enemies, in all liberation battles, and particularly in our battle of destiny, in Palestine. Let all those who hold dear the future of their nation and people consider the importance and seriousness of this fact.

In conclusion, I wish to greet you, once more, and wel-

come you to this struggling country. We cannot fail to express our sincere thanks to the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation and the National Council for Peace and Solidarity in Iraq which have arranged for this great gathering. We also wish to thank all those who have contributed to it, wishing your seminar every success.

DECLARATIONS AND REPORTS OF COMMISSIONS

- (1) General Declaration*
- (2) Declaration on Iraq*
- (3) Declaration on Solidarity with the Arab National Liberation Movement.*
- (4) Report of Commission «A»*
- (5) Report of Commission «B»*
- (6) Report of Commission «C»*

GENERAL DECLARATION

The International Seminar on «Oil as a Weapon in the Struggle against Imperialism and Israeli Aggression and as a Means for Independent Economic Development», organised by the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization and the National Council for Peace and Solidarity in Iraq, was held in Baghdad, Iraq, from November 11 - 14, 1972. Its participants from 34 countries hold various political and ideological convictions and work in different scientific and social fields, oil institutes, ministries and in 10 international organizations.

Oil and other resources of the developing countries in the hands of the imperialist monopolies have been utilized against the liberation and other interests of the peoples.

The exploitation of oil in the Middle East has been one of the major means of dividing the Arab homeland and occupying Palestine after World War I. Moreover, it is the main source and means of recurring aggressive wars of annexation against other neighbouring Arab countries. It is also being used to supply aggressive war-machines in Indochina and Africa.

Arab oil can and should be used against the imperialist aggression and occupation, for the liberation of Arab occupied territory and the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people, particularly their right to self-determination.

The struggle of the peoples of the developing countries for emancipation has entered a new stage. It has been, and is, directed towards liberating their natural and other resources from imperialist exploitation. These resources have been recently nationalized, in whole or in part, in several countries such as Iraq, Algeria, Syria, Egypt, as well as in Mexico, Peru, Chile, etc.

The peoples of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have the indisputable right to own through nationalization, control and use their resources in their own interests for progressive social transformation in their countries. This right has been reasserted by United Nations' resolutions, the International Court of Justice, the Georgetown Conference of Non-Aligned States and the Lima Conference of Developing Countries.

The restoration of oil and other national resources to their legitimate owners will put an end to these resources being used by the imperialist forces of war and exploitation. Moreover, it will serve the interests of all peoples of the world: the welfare of both producers and consumers and even the welfare of the peoples of the imperialist states themselves, thus serving the cause of world peace and justice.

While being plundered by the imperialists, oil has brought tremendous profits to a very small clique of monopolists, leaving the real owners impoverished and backward. Oil, as source of capital, energy, and the development of industry, when rationally used by the oil-producing countries will play a great role in the economic, social and cultural development of these

countries; it will consolidate their national independence and their economic liberation, which is the essence of freedom from imperialist domination.

The peoples of the world have learned from experience that the nationalization of oil or other national resources is resisted by the imperialist monopolies. The imperialists are taking various measures and resort to machinations to defeat nationalization. They hatch new conspiracies and exert economic and political pressures, including the disruption of national unity and the dividing of the patriotic forces, inciting reactionary coups d'état and even undertaking direct, overt aggression. Relying on internal reactionary elements, imperialists strive to isolate the national liberation movement from their allies, especially the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The victory of the peoples in their struggle against the imperialist monopolies requires the consolidation of national unity and the mobilization of the popular masses to confront and foil the imperialists and reactionary schemes and conspiracies. Political and material support of the forces of peace and progress is an indispensable pre-requisite for the victory of the battle of nationalization of oil and other natural resources. The economic and technical assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are very important factors for overcoming the difficulties and sabotage fomented by the imperialists. The role of this aid in the early critical stages of nationalization is decisive for its success. The concrete support of other underdeveloped countries which themselves are importers of oil or other natural resources can be an additional significant factor in this effort and should be encouraged every possible means. The democratic mass movement in Western European countries and the United States is a very effective weapon in mobilizing public opinion and

exerting pressure on the governments of these countries to establish relations with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, on the basis of mutual benefit, respect for their national sovereignty and their right to control their resources.

The participants in this International Oil Seminar pledge themselves to defend the right of all peoples to own and utilize their natural resources and other national wealth for their own social progress and for the benefit of humanity. They appeal to all peoples and all national and international organizations to make their contribution to the success of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and the imperialist monopolies.

DECLARATION ON IRAQ

The International Seminar on «Oil as a Weapon in the Struggle against Imperialism and Israeli Aggression and as a means for Independent Economic Development,» organized by the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization and the National Council for Peace and Solidarity in Iraq, was held in Baghdad, Iraq, from November 11 — 14, 1972. Its participants from 34 countries hold various political and ideological convictions and work in different scientific and social fields, oil institutes, ministries and in 10 international organizations.

The oil wealth of Iraq has been exploited by the imperialist oil monopolies for the last fifty years, in spite of the fact that Iraq was declared completely independent in 1930. Because of the oil monopolies' domination over the country's economic and political life, its oil resources have not been used rationally in the real interests of the people.

Iraq, after a strenuous struggle since the Revolution of July 1958, exercised its right of sovereignty by nationalizing the Iraq Petroleum Company on June 1, 1972. Thus, it has liberated about 2/3 of its oil wealth and has created the necessary conditions for using this wealth to raise the living stan-

dards of its people by integrating oil into the national economy. Moreover, the nationalization of the IPC is a very important step towards liberating all oil resources from monopolist domination and achieving complete economic independence.

By nationalizing the IPC Iraq has dealt a heavy blow to imperialism. This is meeting with fierce resistance from the imperialist oil monopolies. These monopolies have organized an international boycott of the nationalized oil. They are exerting pressure on consuming countries to prevent them from buying Iraqi oil; they have also resorted to sabotaging the united stand of the OPEC and its resolutions in support of Iraq, by colluding with the governments of Iran and Saudi Arabia which have increased the oil production of both countries in order to undermine the marketing of Iraqi nationalized oil.

The International oil cartel is introducing participation between imperialist oil companies and oil-producing countries as an alternative to nationalization, after Iraq nationalized the IPC. Its aim is to maintain the domination of the imperialist oil monopolies in the Middle East. Such participation with such aims of perpetuating monopoly exploitation is contradictory to the cause of liberation of national oil resources.

Iraq has achieved initial success, despite the hostile efforts of the imperialist monopolies and reactionary forces, in marketing 2/3 of its oil production from the nationalized fields. These successes have been achieved thanks to the assistance of the Socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, and the cooperation between Iraq and several Asian and Western European countries which have established direct relations, without the intervention of the oil monopolies.

The battle against the IPC and oil monopolies has not yet been definitively won. There is need for a number of prere-

quisites for the decisive victory of the Iraqi people in this vital battle.

These are :

- National Unity, based on the realization and consolidation of the united democratic front of the main political parties and forces, will mobilize the broad masses to defend their gains and achieve and consolidate economic independence.

One of the cornerstones of national unity is the fraternal national militant relations between Arabs, Kurds and national minorities, on the basis of autonomy of the Kurdish people within the Iraqi Republic.

- The support of the Arab masses and cooperation between anti-imperialist and progressive Arab States, especially oil-producing ones, is a very important factor for the success of the Iraqi people in consolidating nationalization.
- The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have assisted Iraq in starting its independent oil production and in marketing an important part of its nationalized oil. The further development of cooperation and assistance is a real guarantee against the boycotts and schemes of the imperialist oil monopolies.
- The participants in the International Oil Seminar extend their warmest greetings to the Iraqi people and government on their victory in nationalizing the IPC, and urge the forces of peace and progress throughout the world to lend their solidarity to the Iraqi people and organize all possible actions to help secure the success of the nationalization of this oil.

DECLARATION ON SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARAB NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The International Seminar on «Oil as a Weapon in the Struggle against Imperialism and Israeli Aggression and as a Means for Independent Economic Development,» organized by the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization and the National Council for Peace and Solidarity in Iraq, was held in Baghdad, Iraq, from November 11 - 14, 1972. Its participants from 34 countries hold various political and ideological convictions and work in different scientific and social fields, oil institutes, ministries and in 10 international organizations.

The Arab countries constitute the richest part of the world in oil production and oil reserves. This has made them a target of imperialist penetration and a centre of competition between the oil monopolies and of collusion to divide the oil wealth among themselves. The main feature in these countries is the struggle which the peoples of the Arab countries are waging for their complete liberation and the restoration of their oil wealth.

The imperialists and Israel have waged repeated aggressive wars against the Arab national liberation movement in

1956 and 1967, and are continuing their aggression, principally to maintain the domination of the oil monopolies in the Arab region and to secure exorbitant profits from it.

The oil produced from the Arab countries has been mainly utilized by the imperialists against the interests of the peoples of the Arab countries. It has been used as a weapon to maintain the division of the Arab homeland and to suppress their struggle for complete liberation, democracy and social progress. Furthermore, Arab oil has been provided by the monopolies to Israel to be used in its aggressions against Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. It is also being used by the imperialists to intensify their aggression against the world liberation movement.

The development of the Arab liberation movement and its enrichment with progressive social content has made it imperative for the peoples of the Arab countries to fight at the same time against imperialism, Zionism and capitalist exploitation. In this respect, the liberation of the oil wealth, in order to secure the latter purpose, represents an urgent task for the Arab progressive forces and masses.

The nationalization of Arab oil and the struggle to liberate the entire Arab homeland, as well as to enable the Palestinian people and their resistance movement to restore their national legitimate rights and to exercise their right to self-determination in their homeland, require the mobilization of all anti-imperialist forces in the Arab countries and the consolidation of their cooperation with the world revolutionary forces.

The united actions of the progressive political parties and forces in each Arab country, based on a united front programme, is a necessary condition for mobilizing the masses in

each country and coordinating the common struggle of the peoples of the Arab countries against the imperialist powers, headed by United States imperialism.

The anti-imperialist Arab States face the urgent task of coordinating their political, economic and military policies. The nationalization of oil and oil pipelines in Iraq and Syria has added a new factor to the need for coordination between the two countries against the oil monopolies and imperialist-zionist machinations.

The cooperation between the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, on the one hand, and anti-imperialist Arab regimes, on the other, in oil and other economic fields has played an important role in defeating the imperialist economic aggression. The solidarity, and especially assistance, of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries for strengthening the Arab people's fighting potentialities have stopped the imperialist-Israeli aggressive expansionist actions.

The treaties of cooperation and friendship between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Egypt and Iraq, on the other, will consolidate and further enhance the national independence and social progress of both countries and the Arab liberation movement. Imperialist and Arab reactionary circles have attacked Arab-Soviet friendship and cooperation, with the aim of destroying it, as a preliminary stage toward liquidating all the progressive changes and achievements of the Arab liberation movement.

The peace and solidarity movements, democratic mass movements and all other anti-imperialist forces all over the world, including those in the imperialist countries themselves, have contributed greatly and contribute by their actions of solidarity to the struggle of the peoples of the Arab countries

and their achievements, and to their resistance to imperialist conspiracies.

The International Seminar expresses its firm solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of the Arab countries, and calls upon all anti-imperialist forces to organize all possible solidarity actions in this common struggle for liberation, peace, justice, democracy and social progress.

REPORT OF COMMISSION «A»

The commission received 12 reports and devoted five sittings for their discussion where many interventions were made.

The National Liberation Movement has entered a new phase. Thus, after the phase of political liberation the movement embarked upon the new stage of the struggle for economic liberation.

However, imperialism weakened by the achievement of political independence by peoples has not given up the hope of maintaining and developing when possible, the position it holds.

Imperialism opposes the liberation movements of peoples with the network of its pacts and its military bases. It multiplies all types of intrigues and does not hesitate to resort to direct and indirect military aggressions and interventions. Therefore, the struggle for economic liberation falls within the framework of the struggle for peace and justice in the world.

The global strategy of imperialism in which the U.S.A. plays the most important role is directed against all progressive forces in the world: the system of socialist countries,

foremost among which is the Soviet Union, the labour forces, the forces of democracy and world peace and the national liberation movements.

The national liberation movement, as an aspect of the world anti-imperialist and peace movement highly contributes to the converging struggle of peoples. It benefits from the struggle and solidarity of other anti-imperialist currents in the world. The same applies to the national liberation movement in the Arab World.

The movement for economic liberation which started by the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company in 1956, has since extended to other countries, and to other fields amongst which is petroleum. The oil wealth of this region places it in a privileged strategic position: 75% of the proven reserves are found in the soil of the newly independent states, 52% of the production is guaranteed by these states; more than half of the consumed world energy comes from crude oil. This wealth is controlled by the oil monopolies of imperialist states, and two-thirds of these monopolies are in the U.S.A.

The imperialists headed by the United States of America are striving to maintain and develop their interests in their region, they are trying to integrate the newly independent states into aggressive alliances directed against the Soviet Union and the regimes of the Socialist States and directed at the same time against the peoples liberation movements. If, under the pressure of the struggling people, the Arab States have refused to participate in such alliances, the NATO and CENTO pacts, the military bases which are found in the Mediterranean and in the Gulf, the presence of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean constitute permanent threats to these Arab States.

The same applies to the special alliance between the U.S. and Israël. They permanently develop their manoeuvres and intrigues directed against the Arab people and have on many occasions resorted to direct and indirect armed intervention and aggression. Thus, to the progress of the economic liberation movement, to the first steps of this movement in the field of oil, to the dangers that this example constituted to the interest of the imperialist, the Israeli aggression of 1967 came as a reaction encouraged by the most aggressive imperialists of the U.S., Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The maintenance of the regimes which were the target of aggression, the economic and military rebuilding of these states with the help of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Countries, the emergence of the Palestinian Liberation Movement, the progress of other liberation movements in other countries has created favourable conditions for the national liberation movement.

The number of oil-producing Arab countries which have engaged in the path of economic liberation is constantly increasing. It becomes possible today to utilize oil as a weapon for the progress of peoples, against imperialism, Zionist aggression and for peace.

The struggle of the Arab people directed against the domination of oil monopolies is an expression of the struggle for economic liberation. These struggles have taken in the past and take today diversified forms. The stoppage of oil supply to those countries which had supported the Israeli aggression of June 1967 has been one of these forms. The coordination within the OPEC and OAPEC of the oil exporting countries to augment their revenues from oil has been another form. So

was the coordination of these countries with a view to obtain a participation in the capital of the foreign companies.

All these struggles have contributed to weaken the position of world imperialism. They contributed to transform the balance of powers to the benefit of the economic liberation movement and the world anti-imperialist movement.

But they are not sufficient by themselves to guarantee the economic independence of the peoples, which can only be guaranteed by way of nationalization which puts an end to the economic domination of oil monopolies and which allows them to devote resources to independent economic development and to the progress of peace. Before 1967 some Arab and other countries in the world had engaged on this path. Since 1969 some of the Arab countries amongst the most important oil producers in the world are taking the path of nationalization. Amongst these, Algeria controls since 1971 three quarters of its oil, the totality of its natural gas, of means of transportation, almost the totality of its petro-chemicals; hydrocarbons are integrated in the context of the national plans of development where the state sector plays a predominant role. The starting of production by Iraq of the wells in northern Rumeila in 1972, the measures of nationalization of IPC taken by Iraq this same year place under the control of the state sector approximately 75% of oil production and the oil industry becomes within planning an integrated sector aiming at accelerating the development of the country. The nationalization of the pipelines and establishments of IPC in Syria allows this country similar orientation to complete its control of its oil sector.

From the current and acquired experience it results that :

- The engagement in such a path presumes the existence of social and political conditions proper to

guarantee the support of the peoples concerned, to withdraw from imperialism all possibility to use internal divisions, and social contradictions for the benefit of reactionaries. In Iraq, the application of the March, 1971 agreement between the Arabs and the Kurds is an essential element in this direction as is the coalition of the three parties which have been established between the progressive forces, as well as the current discussion between them concerning a draft for a national charter whose final text will be at the basis of the national progressive front.

- The engagement in such path presumes the existence of a state sector playing or called upon to play a determining role in the planned development of national economy.

But this also presumes the utilization of the conditions offered by the regional and international contexts.

- The convergence and cohesion of the national and progressive Arab forces deprive imperialism and reaction of the possibility of using the division among these forces, and the isolation of some of them to their benefit.
- This presumes the use of the correct line offered by the existence of the international socialist system with the Soviet Union at the forefront, whose multifarious, advantageous and unconditional aid is put at the service of common anti-imperialist causes. Imperialists and their reactionary allies nurture anti-sovietism in order to isolate the movement of liberation from the sincere and real support represented

by the Soviet Union with a view to creating the conditions for the liquidation of these movements.

- This presumes the use of divergent interests and inter-imperialist contradictions. The use of these contradictions although representing a step forward towards the objectives sought by full economic liberation could not be subject to compromise. This also applies to the agreements sought by the oil-exporting countries with the importing ones. This also applies to using the slightest contradictions which could oppose countries of different regimes against imperialism. Bilateral or multi-lateral agreements on the basis of mutual interest, with other newly independent countries, the coordination of the common measures which could be adopted as well as the common offensives which could be launched with the countries of this group even on limited points, contribute to strengthen the positions of the movement of economic liberation. In return the successes of this movement place it in a position to bring its aid to the development of other newly independent and less rich countries.

Only the peoples concerned can make a choice of the moment, means, and stages to cover before being able to ensure in the oil sphere as well as in others, the basis of economic independence.

Imperialism does not remain idle. It seeks to build a common front. It endeavours to make use of the internal divisions of the movement of national liberation. It also makes use of the differences in situations and regimes to pit the peoples one against the other. The recent New York agreement concluded with the

Gulf states on «participation» is an example. We are opposed to a participation which would result in investments of funds by the oil-exporting countries in imperialist countries. We insist that eventual participation be used as a means for the construction of an independent national sector within the framework of the state company of the oil-exporting country which would recover its share of oil and market it directly.

Within the imperialist countries themselves, the movement of national liberation has the support of the working forces as well as the forces of democracy and peace. These forces are in favour of the right of the peoples to dispose of their national wealth and to freely determine their future. They support every agreement with their governments which would realize a step in this direction. They bring their own contribution to the common anti-imperialist struggle by seeking the way to put an end to the power of imperialist monopolies and to engage their country along the path of democracy.

The struggle for the recovery of national oil wealth is one of the expressions of the movement of economic liberation which is in turn one of the international anti-imperialist movements.

The privileged position of the Arab peoples in this sphere renders oil an important weapon in the hands of the most advanced among them against imperialism, Zionist aggression and for peace and justice.

Together with other weapons (reinforcement of the military potentialities of the countries victims of Israeli aggression, resistance of the Palestinian people, consolidation of home and regional fronts, development of the progress of the

national liberation movement in all spheres, diplomatic and political campaigns, propaganda campaign, aid and support of the socialist system, and solidarity of the progressive, peace-loving forces in the world) it contributes to put an end to the consequences of the June 1967 aggression, with a view to establishing a just peace in the area, a peace which would take into account the rights of the peoples concerned, in particular the national inalienable right of the Palestinian people, a peace which would create conditions for new progress by the movement of national liberation as well as by the anti-imperialist movement in the area and in the world.

REPORT OF COMMISSION B

The theme for Commission B was : «Oil as a Means to Development and Social Progress». Ten papers were presented on this theme by economic experts and planners with wide experience in different countries. Three papers were not translated in time. However, the authors of two of the untranslated papers gave the Commission a verbal summary, but the third was not discussed because the author was not present at the Seminar.

All the written reports together amounted to about 160 pages and more than 50,000 words. Apart from the 9 opening speeches to introduce the written reports there were 31 questions and points of view, and answers given by those who introduced the reports. The Commission was at work for 13 hours spread over three days, and completed its discussions at noon on Monday.

We cannot hope to go into detail, nor is it desirable at this late stage, but our main conclusions can be summarised as follows :

1. The Commission was given ample evidence that sufficient oil resources exist, not only in Iraq, but throughout the Arab World, which, if properly used could be a decisive factor in economic development, social progress, and the raising of

living standards. More than one paper emphasized that the life-span of the present known world oil reserves (including the Arab world) was only 40 - 50 years, and emphasized that the earnings from Arab oil exports should be used as in Algeria for internal economic development as quickly as possible.

There was a brief exchange of views as to whether this should be concentrated on the infra-structure and agriculture, or mainly on industrial development, especially petro-chemical industries. However, Iraq already has a considerable infra-structure and growth of agriculture, and oil production and other industries provide a good and sound basis for further industrialisation. This will provide the means, and also the necessary social and psychological climate for the further growth of the infra-structure and agriculture. It will also benefit from the unstinted aid of the socialist countries. Every oil-producing country has its own economic pattern, and in some the need to concentrate on building infra-structure is more important than it is in Iraq.

In this respect, two papers were presented from Iraq, one from the National Oil Company, and one by Farouk Abdul Nabi, of the Research Department of the Central Bank of Iraq. Both of them gave overwhelming evidence of rapid advances already being made. The first was on new developments in Rumaila with extra drilling rigs and towards the objective of 20 new oil wells aimed to produce 18 million tons in 1974. The second paper stressed the prospects for greater co-operation (also on financial level) between Arab oil-producing countries, as well as mutual economic aid to Arab countries which have little or no oil reserves.

The discussion was flexible in many respects. Some participants evaluated the experience of oil nationalization in various countries, while others made an analysis of the economic,

financial, and juridical aspects of the problem, and the prospects of independent economic development.

2. On the second aspect, that of «Social Progress». Nationalization of IPC has been in force only four months, and it's rather too soon to estimate to what extent it has made an impact on social progress. This may explain why the papers submitted did not concentrate on this aspect. Plans to build new housing estates, schools, and hospitals, take some time to mature. However, it was clearly obvious that great strides forward have been made in this field, more so in the towns than the countryside ... though there are many places in the town where stark poverty is an unpleasant reality.

Based on the discussion which took place the Commission stresses the necessity of :

- a) asserting the right of every country to own and control its wealth and resources, a principle now recognised by the United Nations.
- b) using oil export earnings to ensure a rapid and efficient development policy and to raise the level of investment.
- c) promoting economic and financial co-operation among oil producing Arab countries, and those without big oil resources.

There can be no doubt that the nationalisation of the IPC has given new impetus to the advances which were already being made in Iraq, has stimulated mass support for the united National Front of the three political parties ... the Arab Baath Socialist Party, Iraqi communist Party and Democratic Party of Kurdistan. Further democratic advances in Iraq (together with international solidarity) are bound to lead to greater successes.

Prepared by
Rapporteur Mr. Idris Cox

REPORT OF COMMISSION «C»

The Commission heard and discussed 8 scientific papers, a list of which is attached. A consensus emerged within the Commission concerning the strategy and tactics to be applied for the use of oil as a weapon against imperialism and Zionism, and as a means towards the development of an independent national economy.

Under existing, mainly concession, arrangements, the oil producing countries are supplying 9.4 billion barrels per year to the consuming countries, of which nearly two thirds comes from Middle Eastern countries.

Final consumers of the products derived from this oil are paying the huge sum of \$113 billion, of which only \$17 billion goes to the producing countries, and of this only \$1 billion, or less than one percent, goes to the oil workers and employees of the producing countries.

Thus the concession system results in the plundering of the resources of the producing countries, the impoverishment and exploitation of their working people, and to the continued economic backwardness of these countries.

Economic calculations show that up to one-third of the proceeds of the final sales of petroleum products should go to the producers of crude oil. Thus the receipts of the produc-

ing countries should be more than doubled for the present rate of production, and the share going to the working people of these countries should be multiplied many times. This would provide the financial means for economic development, radical social reform and improvement of living standards in the producing countries.

Nationalization of oil by the producing countries is an essential step towards these goals. It is the only method which gives the producing countries decisive control over exploration, production, marketing and development of downstream facilities for further processing of the oil, which enhances its value on world markets and increases the range of its utilization domestically.

The oil trusts constitute the very largest and most influential sector of imperialist monopolies, which play a leading role in the whole financial and political structure of imperialism. Thus the struggle against the oil monopolies is a struggle against the very core of imperialism. Nationalization of oil challenges the basis of power and super-profits of the oil monopolies. They fight it with all their immense resources, with economic, political, and even military warfare. Through their control over most capitalist oil markets, they attempt to organize boycotts of nationalized oil.

Through their interlocking financial connections, they attempt to organize the slashing of all normal financial and trade ties of the nationalizing countries. Through agencies of imperialist governments and other means they seek to organize or inspire reactionary coups and the installation of governments which will restore the oil to the former owners. And they hold in reserve to be applied when feasible the method of armed aggression, directly, or through collaborating states such as Israel.

Thus nationalization of oil is the initial stage of an acute struggle against imperialist monopolies, as well as against all forces within the producing countries which collaborate with imperialism. The struggle is especially sharp in Iraq, since the nationalized consortium represents the largest oil trusts of three imperialist powers, Britain, the United States and France, in addition to the Netherlands.

There are a number of factors which give favourable prospects for victory in this struggle to producing countries in general, and to Iraq in particular.

1. In many producing countries there have been progressive political and social trends, including the overthrow of repressive feudal regimes, the growth of a progressive intelligentsia and a working class, the rise of progressive and revolutionary political parties proclaiming socialist goals, the beginnings of a state industrial sector and land reform.

2. In producing countries there are maturing contingents of technical cadres and skilled workers capable of operating a petroleum industry in all of its spheres.

Iraq is in an unusually favourable situation with respect to both points one and two.

3. The medium and long-term tendency is towards a global shortage of oil relative to demand. This will improve the bargaining position of producing countries relative to the oil monopolies which dominate distribution in the consuming countries.

4. A certain degree of cooperation among oil producing countries has been achieved through OPEC and OAPEC.

5. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries provide all round disinterested assistance to developing countries

seeking to win independence from imperialism. The power of the socialist countries, absolutely and relatively to that of the capitalist camp, has increased greatly and continues to increase. Their ability and readiness to provide technical assistance, equipment, and training of cadres for the nationalized petroleum industries is substantial and increasing. A number of socialist countries are rapidly increasing their consumption of oil. While the socialist countries, as a group, are substantial net exporters of oil, their specific uses for imported oil are already significant and will increase. They already provide an increasing market for Iranian and Iraqi oil.

The experience of Cuba and Vietnam, among others, shows that the USSR will go all the way necessary to support a country which itself mobilizes all its forces and goes all the way in the struggle against imperialism.

6. The needs of developing countries which are not importers of oil are increasing rapidly. There is a basis for trade and political cooperation between these countries and the producing countries which will help both in the struggle against the imperialist oil monopolies. This is especially true of consuming countries engaged in active struggle against imperialist monopolies, such as the current struggle of the Indian people and government against Standard Oil, and of the Chilean people and government against Kennecott.

7. There are contradictions between the oil monopolies and countries whose capitalists are not large owners of oil. Developing relations with these countries can help defeat the economic warfare of the cartel. There are particular possibilities in developing relations with distribution cooperatives, as in Sweden, and state-owned oil enterprises, as in Italy. There is a mutual interest between the working people of the capitalist countries, who are robbed by the oil monopolies, and the

people of the producing countries, creating the possibility for various forms of joint struggle, including mass economic action against the oil monopolies and pressure on the capitalist governments.

8. Nationalization of oil is now firmly established as a right of all countries under international law. For two decades resolutions of the United Nations Organization and its agencies have affirmed the unconditional right of any country to take over and exercise control and ownership of its natural wealth. This is reinforced by the Lima declaration of 77 developing countries adopted in 1971. Similarly, international law now outlaws any interferences and pressures by outside parties against the exercise of this right, and supports the principle of cooperation in conformity with the principle of sovereign equality and non-intervention.

This juridical framework coincides with and reinforces a strong tide of public opinion throughout the world running against the multi-national monopolies and in support of countries defying them and of their cooperation with socialist countries.

Along with these positive factors, there remain significant counterfactors, which must be dealt with. A complacent attitude towards these can lead to serious setbacks.

1. There remain in all the producing countries dangerous reactionary social and political forces, which often will collaborate with imperialism in order to restore their power, or maintain it, as the case may be.

2. Despite the long-term perspective of shortages, in the short term there are plentiful sources of supply, so that the oil monopolies can temporarily replace the oil of even such a

major producer as Iraq. Of course, Iraq will certainly find other outlets outside of monopoly control.

3. The extent of cooperation within OPEC and OAPEC remains limited, and has not extended to the crucial area of production control. The members under reactionary dictatorial governments wish to maintain their ties with imperialism. In the present situation, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and some of the Emirates have broken understandings not to replace Iraqi oil, and have permitted the monopolies to radically increase output so as to permit them to organize a boycott of nationalized Kirkuk oil.

This must be branded as akin to an act of strike-breaking on an international scale.

4. The socialist countries have extended in many directions assistance to countries combating imperialism. They cannot be expected to carry the whole burden for any single country. Moreover, at present their practical ability to absorb Iraqi oil is limited.

5. Countries such as Japan and Italy are tied to the oil-owning imperialist powers through intricate financial and military links. Their ruling groups are reluctant to break with the oil monopolies, even at an economic advantage, except when contradictions between them become exceptionally severe.

Consideration of all these factors dictates the following strategy :

1. Main reliance on the maximum mobilization of one's own forces in the struggle against imperialism. This requires carrying out measures and reforms which will provide benefits to the poorest and presently exploited sections of the population, and which will provide the perspective of a fruitful life to the majority.

2. Readiness to take those measures of strict financial discipline and austerity which are necessary to defeat the economic warfare of the oil monopolies, in particular in the conservation of convertible foreign exchange. Carrying out these measures so as to have the minimum impact on the daily life of the working masses.

3. A simultaneous development of basic industrial structure, including petroleum processing, to the extent possible, so as to increase the degree of economic independence.

4. Maximum development of cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries, on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, with forms of payment for goods, services and credits which do not require convertible foreign currency, but which encourage the development of diversified products of the oil producing countries.

5. Striving to improve cooperation within OPEC and OAPEC, with the critical objective of obtaining an effective agreement on production control. Under present world supply-demand conditions, such an agreement, even if limited to the major Middle Eastern countries, would insure the defeat of any boycott attempt of the imperialists. There are forces within Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the Emirates favouring an anti-imperialist policy, and under conditions of increasing international anti-imperialist solidarity, these forces may prevail on this critical issue.

6. Improving to the maximum the marketing skill and apparatus of the nationalized oil industry, so as to take advantage of many hidden opportunities for penetrating the world oil markets.

7. Stress on arrangements with developing countries involving payment in products of these countries, thus mutually

aiding the economic development and liberation from imperialism of both sides. Special efforts should be made to arrive at such arrangements with other developing countries in the front line of struggle against imperialist monopolies.

8. Collaboration with consuming capitalist countries in a position to render useful technical assistance and equipment in exchange for nationalized oil. Special attention to cooperation with consumer cooperatives and nationalized oil processing and distributing companies. Development of people-to-people relations and joint struggles with anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist organization in the capitalist countries.

9. Cooperative oil marketing arrangements with other producing countries and with socialist countries exporting oil.

10. Readiness to arrive at agreements with the nationalized monopolies on terms which call for an end to the economic warfare of the monopolies, and which preserve intact the undisputed ownership and control of the nationalized enterprises by the producing countries.

In the course of the struggle for liberation from oil imperialism, various intermediate forms have arisen, between concessions and nationalization. Most notable of these are the forms of participation and service contracts.

A crucial criterion for judging these forms is **who is left in control of the oil**. Under many participation agreements the monopolies are left in control of the production operations, of the marketing of oil, and of such critical elements as exploration, decisions on drilling, expansion of output, etc. Under such conditions a participation agreement becomes a disguised form of concession. However, there are participation agreements under which the producing countries have a more

meaningful role, and under which participation can be regarded as a stepping stone to full nationalization.

Service contracts are generally more advanced forms than participation agreements, with a closer approach to control on the part of producing countries. However, they sometimes have many of the shortcomings of the participation agreements.

In the last analysis, outright nationalization, and operation of key stages of exploration, drilling, production and marketing by national forces is the only decisive step which insures a firm grip of the people of the producing countries on their oil. Within that, specific contracts can be made with socialist or capitalist enterprises for capital construction, equipment, training of cadres, offshore drilling, and other services.

It is necessary to have a clear position concerning the participation agreement recently concluded between the Arabian Gulf states — other than Iraq — and the oil monopolies. In the given situation, it represents a manoeuvre on the part of the oil monopolies and the rulers of the participating states to sidetrack the growing pressure for nationalization of oil, for a break with imperialism, and to undermine the recent nationalization by Iraq.

It is designed to consolidate the ties between the reactionary rulers of these countries and imperialism, to preserve indefinitely the essence of the relations which developed between them and the oil monopolies, a relationship of subservience, of the surrender of national wealth and basic independence, of personal enrichment at the expense of their own people and of other peoples fighting for liberation.

The agreement has this character, by virtue of the circumstances surrounding it, and the following specific characteristics:

1. It provides the producing countries with a minority share, gradually growing to a 51% share, but with the oil monopolies always remaining in complete operating control.

2. It provides compensation to the monopolies for the participation shares which will actually reduce the net cash receipts of the producing countries for their oil over the next five years, if not longer.

It is accompanied by an undertaking by some producing countries to invest in downstream facilities in the imperialist countries, thus making their share a hostage to the imperialists, at the expense of the development of their own countries, and providing for themselves a haven in the lap of imperialism against a future revolution by their own peoples.

This characterization of the participation agreement does not dictate the practical response of Iraq concerning it, with respect to the IPC properties that have not been nationalized. Iraq must retain all options for arriving at a settlement on terms which consolidate the position of the nationalized oil in Kirkuk, and other INOC oil operations, bring about the cessation of economic warfare on the part of the oil monopolies against Iraq, and thereby permit the earliest use of the nationalized oil for advancing living conditions and economic and social development within the country.

The course taken by the Iraqi people is that dictated by history. Despite all difficulties, it will triumph and contribute to the global defeat and destruction of the entire system of imperialist oppression and exploitation, to the global struggle for peace and liberation.

**Prepared by
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