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- Text of speeches by Khrushchev (USSR) and Kubbah (Iraq) at Kremlin reception in Moscow.
- Text of Iraqi-Soviet communique.

U S S R I N T E R N A T I O N A L A F F A I R S

Mar. 17, 1959

IRAQI GROUP ATTENDS KREMLIN RECEPTION

Moscow, TASS, in English Hellschreiber to Europe, Mar. 16, 1959,
1925 GMT--L

(A reception was given on Mar. 16 in the Kremlin in honor of Iraqi Government delegation, at which Khrushchev and Iraqi minister of economy Kubbah exchanged speeches)

Khrushchev Speech

(Text) Esteemed Mr. Minister Ibrahim Kubbah, dear guests from the Iraqi Republic, gentlemen, comrades:

We take great pleasure in welcoming here the envoys of the valiant Iraqi people, who, headed by the national leader, Abd al-Karim Qasim, effected a victorious revolution in July 1958. The revolution in Iraq and its further development bear for the Iraqi people tangible results. The people have cast off the fetters of foreign colonialists and have become freer in their native land.

A revolution, after all, does not mean merely the removal of members of this or the other government. If people holding government posts are replaced, but the old policy alien to the people's interests is continued, the people will quickly realize that that was not a revolution, but a mere reshuffle. And, of course, the people will not cease their struggle against this alien policy. A genuine revolution shatters the old outlived mainstays, destroys them, gives play to popular initiative, so that the people can enjoy the material and spiritual benefits of their labor, so that the state can serve the interests of the people. A government pursuing a policy in the interests of the people can always rely on their support.

The Iraqi people backed their government when a clique of plotters attempted, the other day, to overthrow the government headed by Abd al-Karim Qasim. The conspirators were defeated and the foul designs of the reactionary forces suffered a complete fiasco because the people upheld their national independence.

The Iraqi Revolution met with the support of all progressive forces because it was a major contribution to the resolute struggle of the Arab peoples against the imperialist colonialists. The Iraqi revolution was received with great understanding and approval in the UAR too. I remember the days when this revolution broke out.

President Gamal Abd an-Nasir of the UAR expressed a desire to see me and exchange views on the subject. So, we had a meeting in Moscow. We had a lengthy talk with the President and rejoiced together with him at the success of the Iraqi Revolution which dealt a body blow to the plans of the imperialist colonialists. But gradually Mr. Nasir's attitude to the Iraqi Revolution began to change. We fail to understand why this happened. After all the steps taken by the government of the Iraqi Republic showed and still shows the peoples that this government really heeds the voice of its people and will do everything possible for them at the present level of the country's economic development. What then is the explanation for the reversal of President Nasir's position? This is, obviously, due to his delusions about the union of the Iraqi Republic and the UAR.

President Nasir insists on the accession of the Iraqi Republic to the UAR. Naturally, the union of states should be decided by the peoples of the countries concerned. They themselves must decide whether to unite or abide by independent development, whether to establish or not a federation or confederation. The Soviet Union has never meddled in such affairs. But we are not indifferent to the situation emerging in the area close to our frontiers, and we have the right to state our views on the developments there.

To make the struggle for the liberation from colonialist yoke successful and to consolidate the gains of the people which have rid themselves of it, and to achieve economic independence, it is necessary to pool the efforts of all these peoples. However, this does not mean that the countries which have shattered the chains of colonialism must, necessarily, join some confederation of states, obey one government, or follow one leader, one head.

The unification of several states into one is a complex question. The lesson of history is that the peoples, in particular is recently freed from foreign dependence, are very jealous of their sovereign rights, and extremely sensitive to any attempts to infringe upon these rights. The unification of states benefits the peoples only when the required political and economic conditions have matured, when all specific features of countries undergoing unification are taken into account. Unification imposed upon a people, carried out against its will, cannot be stable. Wisdom and patience are needed in the solution of such questions. Any haste might lead to untoward consequences. Premature unification in the final analysis does not strengthen but undermines the unity of peoples. The people of one of the unified countries begins to feel ever more acutely the loss of its independence and in the meantime its former leaders are either relegated to the background or discarded altogether because they do not agree on everything with the leaders of the unified state.

What takes place is not a consolidation of unity but a division of forces. Who profits from that? Only the enemies of the freedom of the peoples, only the imperialists.

We sincerely regret that after the successful revolution in Iraq and its successful development, relations between the Iraqi Republic and the UAR began to take such a turn which does not help to unify the efforts of the Arab peoples in the struggle for their national independence, for the economic development of their countries, and for a further rise in the living standards of the peoples. Such relations would benefit not the Arab peoples but the colonial powers which are interested in weakening the Arab states.

We especially regret this because our people had and have most sincere feelings of friendship both for the people of the republic of Iraq and for the peoples of the UAR. The Soviet people followed the heroic struggle of the Egyptians with great sympathy and took the fate of the Egyptian people close to heart when the imperialists attempted to seize the Suez Canal. Our country took every measure to halt the colonialists' rapacious war against Egypt in order to help it uphold its national independence.

The heroic people of Egypt, led by their government, headed by President Jamal Abd an-Nasir, displayed will power and valor in the struggle against the invaders and defended their country. We have more than once noted the positive part played in that struggle by President Nasir.

It is also known that the Soviet people helped to ward off the threat created to Syria by the imperialists plots against the country, and this is widely recognized by the Arab peoples. The interests of the further development of the Arab states, their struggle for final liberation from colonial dependence, and for the strengthening of their economy require a consolidation of Arab solidarity and the unity of Arab countries against the intrigues of the imperialists, and it is our hope that reason will prevail and that everything will be done to overcome this conflict and not to allow the imperialists to make use of it in their own interests. Questions of internal development are a matter for the people of each respective state.

I must admit that we were all chagrined by President Nasir's latest speeches in Damascus in which he used the language of imperialists in speaking about communism and communists. Attacks on communism are nothing new. What Mr. Nasir said about communism had long been said by reactionaries in various countries.

Mr. Nasir has not yet exhausted the vocabulary of the foes of communism. He still has big resources to draw upon if he chooses to follow this road. Communism has been fought against for over a century. It was fought in our country too, by the Tsar and his satraps, and they went to such lengths as to have their censors cross out words they thought seditious even in cooking recipes.

The communists are said to be agents of foreign powers. It would be permissible to ask them: of what country can the communists of the Soviet Union be said to be agents? Whose agents are we? If the communists are called agents, then we are agents of the working class of the Soviet Union, of the working people of the Soviet Union, and we serve them loyally. Everywhere, the communists are loyal sons of their peoples.

To say that communists are agents of foreign powers is not new. When Vladimir Ilyich Lenin returned to Russia from abroad after the February revolution, the reactionaries called him a German agent. Our enemies went to such foul lengths as to call Lenin, yes, even him, and all communists, German agents. But look what happened. The people did not believe this slander; the bolsheviks, being as they were the best champions of the interests of the workers, the laboring peasants, and all the working people of our country, led the Soviet people to the great achievements of socialism.

Our country has emerged onto the wide road of free development. We have created the most progressive and mightiest state with a highly developed economy and culture. President Nasir had the opportunity to personally acquaint himself with our country, to see its achievements, and gain a correct picture of the prospects for the development of the Soviet state.

All this has been done under the leadership of the communists, along communist lines. Many of those who once opposed communism have long been repudiated by the people and forgotten, and if they are remembered from time to time, it is as reactionaries who brought misfortune to their peoples. This is why I am convinced that Mr. Nasir will gain no laurels by playing the ungainly role of a fighter against communism, even if it may win him, for the time being, the good graces of certain circles in the imperialist countries.

It may be asked: what will be the Soviet Union's relations with the UAR today? I think that they will be the same as they have been until now, for we knew of the anti-communist views of President Nasir when we were first building our friendly relation with the UAR.

True, we thought that more patience, more attention to the democratic demands of the peoples would be shown in the course of the struggle for national liberation which requires the union of all anti-imperialist forces. Unfortunately measures are being taken today to suppress freedom-loving aspirations not only in the UAR, but even in other countries. We want to say, as friends, that this policy, if persisted in, will fail.

It is said that Arab nationalism allegedly stands above the interests of separate Arab states, above the interests of different sections of the population in the Arab countries. There is no doubt that the majority of the Arabs have common interests in the struggle against colonial slavery. But after the country has rid itself of foreign domination, the interests of the people cannot be ignored. Indeed, the interests of all Arabs cannot coincide. Therefore, the attempts to ignore, under cover of nationalism, the interests of separate sections of the population, the interests of the working people, are untenable.

Certainly, the developments in the Iraqi Republic have nothing in common with Socialism. But we have never based our relations with Arab countries on this principle. However, we believe that progressive reforms are being effected in the Iraqi Republic and that a more progressive system is being introduced there than in the neighboring countries of the Arab world. Our sympathies, naturally, are on the side of those governments and those states which take into consideration the interests of their people.

We wholeheartedly hail the Prime Minister of Iraq, Abd al-Karim Qasbi, who is courageously leading his country along the path to progress, the path of strengthening the young Iraqi republic, and we wish him and the government he heads further success. We follow with close attention and sincere sympathy the activity of the Iraqi Government aimed at advancing the national economy and improving the welfare of the population. We hope that the Soviet-Iraqi agreement on economic and technical cooperation signed today will help in achieving these goals.

The agreement provides for the construction in Iraq with our technical assistance of metallurgical, engineering, and chemical plants, light and food industry enterprises, irrigation structures, and other projects. We are helping the Iraqi people in a fraternal way to do away in the shortest time possible with the grave aftermath of colonialism. Our economic and technical assistance to Iraq is friendly and distinterested. It has no political, military or other strings.

We rendered such assistance to Egypt and Syria and are rendering it now to the UAR. We are also rendering such aid to other countries.

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We have lived up to our obligations and will continue to carry them out conscientiously. We are ready to extend our economic ties in the future and do everything in our power to render assistance to the Iraqi people, the Iraqi state, and other countries which have freed themselves from colonialism.

The construction of industrial plants, irrigation facilities, railways, and other important economic projects planned by the government of Iraq constitutes an important step toward doing away with the economic backwardness of the country. All this also means jobs for tens of thousands of people, cheaper goods, and food for the population of the country.

The government and the people of Iraq face the difficult but noble task of converting their country, as you have told us, from a backward colonial country into a progressive country in the Middle East. You have everything needed to do that. The wonderful, industrious Iraqi people have made a great contribution to the treasure house of world culture and civilization. The history of Iraq is rich in glorious traditions of struggle for national independence. Your country has vast and natural resources. You have loyal and disinterested friends ready to come to your assistance and help you to surmount difficulties, and we are confident that the freedom-loving Iraqi people will overcome all obstacles and realize all the great tasks confronting the Iraqi Republic.

Allow me to propose a toast to the stable friendship between the Soviet Union and the Iraqi people! To the health of Prime Minister Abd al Karim Qasim and the members of his government! To our dear guests! To world peace!

Kubbah Reply

Moscow, Soviet Near Eastern Service in Arabic, Mar. 16, 1959, 1730 GMT--L

(Text) Your honored excellency, Mr. Premier Khrushchev, of the Soviet Government, gentlemen: It is a great honor for us members of the Iraqi economic delegation, to attend this wonderful official reception, which your friendly government has given in our honor on the occasion of the termination of the completely successful economic negotiations and the signing of the agreement for economic and technical cooperation between our two countries. The relative speed which characterized the negotiations in Baghdad and Moscow and the friendly, lively, and responsible spirit which prevailed at all stages of the negotiations decisively indicate the existence of common principles and a strong foundation on which many of the outlines of the policies of our two countries and the aims of our two peoples are based.

In fact, honorable gentlemen, one of the greatest political truths confirmed by human experience during bitter centuries-long struggle and strife against the forces of evil and tyranny is that differences in social and political systems between nations and peoples should not be used as a justification for stirring up conflicts and wars. To the contrary, differences in systems is a historical necessity brought about by the differences in the social stages through which the various countries are passing. Such differences are necessitated by the very laws of social development. And so peaceful coexistence between the different social and political systems and world peace, which is linked with peaceful coexistence, are regarded as the most important questions of the moment.

How much pleasure it is to me here to praise the Soviet Union's attitude in the international field toward the question of peace and peaceful coexistence. However, gentlemen, peace is a indivisible question consisting of a well-knit unit bringing together of scores of other problems. It cannot be solved by hopes and wishes, or by riddles and anecdotes. The question of peace, in modern international circumstances, is based on three important matters: democracy, liberation, and the friendship of all peoples.

As for democracy, it is the only system that can strengthen the foundation of peace, because this system makes it possible to correct mistakes, to find ways in which peoples may develop, and to open the way for talent to flourish and aptitudes to develop. This system will bloc the path of exploiting groups and obstinate minorities. On the whole, the democratic system is the only system of government of the people and for the people.

Liberation from economic and political exploitation is a necessary condition for peace to prevail all over the world, and no country can every carry the banner of peace with one hand and with the other hand interfere in the struggles of the peoples for complete liberation. Thus, the colonialist regime has become an outmoded system which does not conform to present-day requirements nor the demand for world peace.

Finally, friendship between the peoples today constitutes the essence of every sound policy aimed at the solidarity of peace. For a long time now, the world, thanks to the industrial and scientific revolution, has been an indivisible whole. It is the duty of today's leaders to accept this inevitable reality and work to provide all the material and cultural conditions for their peoples to meet and mix their cultures and their potentialities, to make use of the mutual exchange of knowledge and experience, to work collectively to overcome backward conditions, and to pave the way for complete domination by man over the forces of nature and society.

Gentlemen, on the basis of conscientious realization of these facts, our republic laid down its policy. Ever since the day of its inception, our republic has declared its adherence to the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. It founded its international relations on the basis of the Bandung principles, positive neutrality, and international cooperation on an equal basis, respect for international law and justice and adherence to the U.N. Charter.

Iraq, as a part of the Arab nation, (several words indistinct) to realize cooperation with the liberated Arab countries. It will participate, by all means in its possession, in extending a helping hand in the field of material and moral aid to the Arab peoples who are struggling against colonialism.

In accordance with reality, in which various Arab countries live divided, Iraq's policy on Arab unity is based on securing the consolidation of the unity of the Arab struggle against colonialism and against reaction; more freedom and progress for the Arabs; securing the best possible means of achieving the strongest ties, taking into consideration the special circumstances of the Arab countries and the interests of the masses of the Arab people, and securing the advance of the Arab nation, in a democratic and normal way, towards the desired national unity.

In its internal policy, Iraq follows a policy which satisfies the people's aspirations for freedom, the freedom of which they were deprived for so long a time. This is a policy which will enable the national forces to work with freedom for the protection of the Republican regime and for the protection of the gains of the revolution and their development. At the same time, our republic adheres to the policy of extreme firmness against the enemies of the revolution and those who work against the republican regime, which is supported by the masses of the people. We have inherited from the hateful past a heavy load of slavery and backwardness. The government of the revolution, with the complete support of the people, hastens to deal gradually with this inheritance. (Several words indistinct) industrialization of the country, adjusting the balance of trade. It concludes commercial and economic agreements with various friendly countries and has carried out continuous work in various fields to raise the peoples standard of living as well as their hygiene, social, and cultural standard.

Today our country is flooded with a great wave of enthusiasm to cleanse the life of our republic in every respect and to bring about overall and rapid progress in this republic. In this wave of enthusiasm, all the peoples in the various walks of life are working to cooperate effectively with the revolutionary government, (with infinite patience?) and continuous guidance from the leadership of the country, the son of the people, Abd al-Karim Qasim.

Dear friends (several words indistinct) to correct the status of Iraqi-Soviet relations and to remove all traces (of unfriendliness) created by the leaders of the past regime against friendly peoples, including the Soviet people. With the first few days of the revolution, a new page in relations between Iraq and the Soviet Union began, a new page in cordial relations and in friendship. The generous stand taken by the Soviet Union toward our revolution and the speed of its government in recognizing our republic had a far-reaching effect on the consolidation of these relations and their development. There is no doubt that the policy followed by the Soviet Union of peaceful coexistence and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, of equal international cooperation and impartial friendship with the various countries, especially the Arab countries, has been and still is the strong foundation on whose basis relations of friendship and cooperation between ourselves and the Soviet Union develop.

Dear friends, our presence with you in this place and the conclusion of our economic talks, which were crowned with complete success and with an agreement, is of great importance to our country for the success of our plan for the reconstruction, development and quick progress (of our economy?). There is no doubt that you know that there are large potentialities in Iraq awaiting development. Besides the great resources of our country, there is also abundance of labor (several words indistinct) which, after the revolution, advanced in an unprecedented way.

In addition, our revolution came as the natural result of public contempt (of the past regime?). Our revolution came about because the former regime did not respect the people and suppressed their rights and their freedom in a savage and brutal way; this has given the revolution a democratic and progressive meaning.

As a result of the continuous and bitter struggle waged by our people in their attempt to regain their rights and their freedom, the great masses of our people adopted a revolutionary and progressive spirit and a spirit of firm adherence to democracy and progress. Thus, in our republican era our country has become capable of political, economic, and cultural progress in realizing the speedy development of the country. Our people and (several words indistinct) are determined, under the leadership of our sincere leader, Abd al-Karim Qasim, to exploit these capabilities and to realize our progress. We are confident that our young republic, which today occupies a special position among the Arab sister countries, will play a leading part in the Arab liberation movement and will have a great share in enabling the Arab nation to achieve liberation, progress, and prosperity.

Dear friends, in conclusion, will you permit me in the name of our republic, government and people, and in the name of our delegation (to thank you?) for your hospitality, generosity, your welcome and your (aid?) in making our mission successful.

USSR, IRAQ ANNOUNCE ECONOMIC AGREEMENT

Moscow, TASS, in English Hellschreiber to Europe, Mar. 17, 1959, 0010 GMT--L

(Text of Iraqi-Soviet communique)

(Text) A government delegation of the Republic of Iraq stayed in the Soviet Union from Feb. 25 to Mar. 17, 1959. The delegates had conversations with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, N. S. Khrushchev, and the First Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, A. Mikoyan. Both sides declared their desire to develop friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Iraq on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty, equality, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

The two sides expressed confidence that this cooperation would contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in the Middle East. The government delegation of Iraq pointed out that the Republic of Iraq was guided in its relations with other countries by the peaceful principles of Bandung and followed a policy of positive neutralism, Arab solidarity, and struggle against colonialism, with sincere cooperation with other peaceful antiimperialist countries. Both sides expressed a resolution to uphold the cause of peace and cooperation between the peoples in accordance with the U.N. Charter. The community of interests of both sides also finds expression in the sovereignty of all countries and especially the countries of Asia and Africa.

The meetings between leaders of the Soviet state and members of the government delegation of the Republic of Iraq took place in atmosphere of cordiality and friendly mutual understanding.

During their stay in the Soviet Union, the Iraqi government delegation held talks on economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Iraq in the spheres of industry, transport, agriculture, irrigation, public health, and the training of Iraqi specialists.

On the Soviet side, the talks were conducted by a government delegation composed of I. Kuzmin, Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR--head of the delegation--I.G. Kabanov, Minister of the USSR; S.A. Skachkov, chairman of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for External Economic Relations; S.A. Borisov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR; P.A. Maletin, vice chairman of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for External Economic Relations; M.I. Ivanov, vice chairman of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for the Chemical Industry; P.S. Kuchumov, deputy minister of agriculture of the USSR; Y.V. Yushin, member of the State Planning Committee of the USSR; A.N. Demyanovich, vice chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Russian Federation; and O.G.T. Zaitsev, ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Iraq.

The Iraqi side was represented at the negotiations by a delegation composed of; Dr. Ibrahim Kubbah, Minister of Economy; Dr. Talat ash-Shaybani, Minister of Development; Maj. Gen. Dr. Muhammad ash-Shawwaf, Minister of Public Health--leaders of the delegation--Abd al-Fattan Ibrahim, Director of State Oil Refineries of the Ministry of Economy; Jamil Tabit, general director of industry of the Ministry of Economy; Jamil Toma, general inspector of railways; Dr. Muhammad Salman Hasan, general secretary of the development council; Muhammad Ali Baghdadi, broadcasting expert; Dr. Anwar Awqapi, director of the central government hospital of the Ministry of Public Health; Rashid Mutlak, general director of the health resorts department of the Ministry of Development; Ali Hadi al-Jabar, assistant chief of the third technical department of the Ministry of Development; Nadjim Koca Kassab, director of the power engineering department on the Ministry of Development; and Muwaffaq al-Badri, assistant chief engineer for irrigation of the first technical department of the Ministry of Development.

As a result of successful negotiations, an agreement was signed on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Iraqi Republic. Under the terms of the agreement, the Soviet Government will cooperate with the Government of the Iraqi Republic in the realization of the plan of development of Iraq's national economy in the sphere of industry, agriculture, and transport. The Soviet Union will render the Iraqi Republic technical assistance in the construction of a number of enterprises of the heavy engineering, chemical, food and light industries.

Soviet specialists will carry out a series of survey jobs for expanding the irrigation belt, geological prospecting, and planning some roads. The Soviet Union will assist the Iraqi Republic in the training of Iraqi specialists.

Desirous of assisting in the economic development of the Iraqi Republic and meeting the wishes of the Iraqi side, the Soviet Government granted the Iraqi Republic a credit of 550 million rubles at 2.5 percent annual interest for the realization of the agreement.

The Government of the Iraqi Republic will repay the parts of the credit used for each of the listed projects in 12 annual installments, beginning a year after the delivery from the USSR of complete sets of equipment envisaged by the corresponding contracts.

Under the terms of the agreement, the Soviet Union, at the request of the Iraqi Government, will render the latter technical assistance in the construction of a number of industrial and agricultural projects and also in carrying out various surveying jobs, with the expenditures of the Soviet side to be repaid on the basis of the operating Iraqi-Soviet trade agreement.

The agreement has been signed for the Soviet Government by I. Kuzmin, Vice Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and I. Arkhipon, vice chairman of the State Committee for Economic Relations of the USSR Council of Ministers; and for the Government of the Iraqi Republic by Dr. I. Kubbah, the Minister of Economy, and Dr. Talat ash-Shaybani, Minister of Development.

The Iraqi side declared that it regarded the signing of the agreement as a new step in the development of friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic and considered that this cooperation would help to solve a number of economic problems facing Iraq, to overcome at the earliest date the grave aftermath of the colonialist era, consolidate the country's economic independence, and raise the material and cultural living standards of the Iraqi people.

The Soviet side reaffirmed that the economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic had no political or other strings attached which would infringe the sovereignty and national dignity of the Iraqi Republic, that the Soviet side would be guided in this cooperation by the principles of equality, mutual economic advantage, and noninterference in internal affairs.

At the same time, in the course of negotiations both sides expressed their desire to promote friendly relations, not only in the sphere of economic and technical assistance, but also in extending traditional trade relations.