APPENDIX—A
APPENDIX-A

THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION

PART ONE

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

ARTICLE-1

Iraq is a Sovereign People's Democratic Republic: its principal aim is to achieve the United Arab State and establish the Socialist system.

ARTICLE-2

The People is the source of authority and its legitimacy.

ARTICLE-3

(a). Sovereignty of Iraq is an indivisible unit.

(b). The land of Iraq is an indivisible unit and no part of it shall be relinquished.

ARTICLE-4

Islam is the religion of the State.

ARTICLE-5

(a) Iraq is part of the Arab Nation.

(b) The People of Iraq is formed of two principal nationalities, the Arab nationality and the Kurdish nationality. This Constitution shall recognize the national rights of the Kurdish People and the legitimate rights of all minorities within the
unity of Iraq.

ARTICLE-6
The Iraqi nationality and its rulings shall be determined by the law.

ARTICLE-7
(a) Arabic is the official language.
(b) The Kurdish language, in addition to the Arabic language, shall be the official language in the Kurdish Region.

ARTICLE-8
(a). Baghdad is the Capital of the Republic of Iraq, and it may be shifted by a law.
(b). The Republic of Iraq shall be divided into administrative units which shall be organised on the basis of decentralization.
(c). The area whose majority of population is from Kurds shall enjoy autonomy in accordance with what is defined by the law.

ARTICLE-9
The Flag and the Emblem of the Republic of Iraq and the rules pertaining to them shall be specified by a law.
ARTICLE-10

Social solidarity is the foremost foundation for society. Its implication is that every citizen shall perform fully his duty towards society and that society shall ensure to the citizen his full rights and freedoms.

ARTICLE-11

The family is the nucleus of society. The State shall guarantee its protection and support, and shall foster maternity and childhood.

ARTICLE-12

The State shall undertake planning, directing and guiding the national economy in accordance with the following aims:

(a). Establishing the socialist system on scientific and revolutionary principles.

(b). Achieving Arab economic unit.

ARTICLE-13

National resources and fundamental instruments of production are the property of the People, and the central authority of the Republic of Iraq shall employ them directly in accordance with the requirements of the general planning of the national economy.
ARTICLE-14

The State shall ensure, promote and support all kinds of cooperation in production, distribution and consumption.

ARTICLE-15

Public properties and the properties of the public sector shall have special inviolability, which the State and all citizens have to maintain and guarantee their security and protection. Any subversion or attack on it shall be regarded as an attack on the structure of society and a violence to it.

ARTICLE-16

(a). Ownership is a social function which shall be exercised within the limits of society’s aims and the State’s programmes in accordance with the provisions of the law.

(b). Private ownership and individual economic freedom shall be guaranteed within the limits of the law provided that individual ownership will not contradict or be detrimental to general economic planning.

(c). Private property shall not be expropriated except for the public interest and in accordance with just compensation in accordance with the provisions of the law.
(d). The maximum agricultural ownership shall be defined by the law and the excess shall be regarded as the property of the People.

ARTICLE-17

Inheritance is a recognized right regulated by a law.

ARTICLE-18

Real estate ownership is forbidden to non-Iraqis except in cases specified by a law.
PART THREE

BASIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES

ARTICLE-19

(a). All citizens are equal before the law, without distinction on the basis of race, origin, language, class or religion.

(b). Equal opportunities for all citizens shall be guaranteed within the limits of the law.

ARTICLE-20

(a). The accused is innocent until he is declared guilty by judicial procedure.

(b). The right to defense is sacred in all processes of investigation and trial in accordance with the provisions of the law.

(c). All trials shall be open to the public unless declared in Camera.

ARTICLE-21

(a). Penalty is personal.

(b). There shall be no offence or penalty except as defined by a law. No penalty shall be imposed except on an act deemed by the law as an offence at the time of its commission. No more severe penalty than the penalty enforced at the time of committing the offence shall be applied.
ARTICLE-22
(a). The dignity of Man is guaranteed. Any kind of physical or psychological torture shall be prohibited.

(b). No one may be arrested, detained, imprisoned or searched except in accordance with the provisions of the law.

(c). Homes are inviolable. The may not be entered or searched except as specified by the law.

ARTICLE-23
Privacy of mail, telegraphic and telephone correspondence shall be guaranteed, and it shall not be violated except for reasons of public security in accordance with the limits and the rules provided by the law.

ARTICLE-24
No citizen shall be prevented from travel outside the country or from returning thereto and no restriction shall be imposed on his moving and residence inside the country except in the cases defined by the law.

ARTICLE-25
Freedom of religion, beliefs and exercise of religious ceremonies shall be guaranteed, provided that this freedom shall neither contradict the provisions of the Constitution and the law nor violate morality and public order.
ARTICLE-26

The Constitution shall guarantee freedom of opinion, publication, meeting, demonstration, forming of political parties, unions and societies in accordance with the aims of the Constitution and within the limits of the law. The State shall endeavour to provide the means required for exercising these freedoms, which run in line with the nationalist and progressive line of the Revolution.

ARTICLE-27

(a). The State shall undertake to eliminate illiteracy and ensure the right of free-of-charge education in various elementary, secondary and university levels to all citizens.

(b). The State shall endeavour to make elementary education compulsory, expand vocational and technical education in all towns and villages and particularly promote evening education which enables the popular masses to correlate knowledge between science and labour.

(c). The State shall guarantee freedom of scientific research, promote and reward distinction and creativity in all intellectual, scientific and technical activities and all kinds of popular genius.
ARTICLE-28

Education shall aim at raising and developing the general cultural level, developing the scientific thinking, encouraging the spirit of research, fulfilling the requirements of economic and social development programmes, creating a free nationalist and progressive generation solid in structure and character, which takes pride in its people, its homeland and its legacy, sympathises with the rights of all its nationalities and opposes the doctrines of capitalism, exploitation, reaction, Zionism and colonialism in order to achieve Arab unit, freedom and socialism.

ARTICLE-29

The State shall endeavour to provide the means of enjoying the achievements of modern civilization for the masses of the people and generalize the progressive outputs of modern civilization to all citizens.

ARTICLE-30

(a). Public office is a sacred trust and a social service, whose principal attribute is a loyal obligation to protect the interests of the masses, their rights and freedoms in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the law.

(b). Equality of employment in public office shall be guaranteed by the law.
ARTICLE-31

(a). Defence of the homeland is a sacred duty and an honour bestowed to the citizen. Service to the Flag is compulsory and the law shall organize the manner of its performance.

(b). The Armed Forces are the property of the people, and they are the People’s tool for preserving its security, defending its independence, protecting the people’s and the homeland’s safety and unity and achieving its national and patriotic aims and aspirations.

(c). The State alone shall undertake to establish Armed Forces, and no body or group shall be entitled to establish military or para-military formations.

ARTICLE-32

(a). Work is a right which the State shall undertake to provide to every citizen capable of it.

(b). Work is an honour and a sacred duty imposed on every capable citizen. It is required by the necessity of participation in building society and its protection, development and prosperity.

(c). The State shall undertake to improve conditions of work and promote standards of living, expertise and culture for all working citizens.
(d). The State shall undertake to provide wider social
ensurances for all citizens in case of sickness,
disability, unemployment and old age.

(e). The State shall endeavour to organize the programme
and ensure the necessary means which enable
working citizens to spend their leaves in an
atmosphere that helps them to improve their health
standards and develop their cultural and
technical gifts.

ARTICLE-33

The State shall undertake to protect public health
through continuous expansion of free-of-charge medical
services, whether by prevention, treatment or medicine, in
all cities, towns and villages.

ARTICLE-34

(a). The Republic of Iraq shall grant political asylum
to all persons persecuted in their countries
because of their struggle in the defense of human
liberation principles, which the Iraqi People has
accepted under this Constitution.

(b). Political refugees shall not be delivered.

ARTICLE-35

Payment of taxes is a duty imposed on all citizens.
Taxes may not be imposed, amended or levied except by a law.
ARTICLE-36

An activity which contradicts the aims of the people defined in this Constitution and any act of conduct aiming at undermining the national unity of the masses of the people, provoking racial or sectarian or regional bigotry among their ranks, or violating their progressive gains and achievements, shall be prohibited.
PART FOUR

THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

CHAPTER ONE

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL

ARTICLE-37

The Revolutionary Command Council is the supreme body in the State, which has undertaken since the 17th. of July, 1968, the responsibility of achieving the people's public will by stripping power from the reactionary, distatorial, corrupt system and restoring it to the people.

ARTICLE-38

The Revolutionary Command Council shall exercise, by a majority of two thirds of its members, the following powers:

(a). Elect the Chairman from among its members who shall be designated as the Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and President of the Republic.

(b). Elect the Vice-Chairman from among its members who shall be designated as Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and take the place of the Chairman in case of his official absence or his exercise of his constitutional powers becomes difficult or impossible for any legal reason.
(c). Select new members to the Council from among the Regional Command of the Arab Ba‘th Socialist Party, provided that its members shall not exceed twelve.

(d). Accept the resignation of the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman or any of the Council’s members.

(e). Release any of its members from membership of the Council.

(f). Charge and send to trial any members of the Revolutionary Command Council, or any deputy of the President of the Republic or any Ministers.

ARTICLE-39

The Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Members of the Revolutionary Command Council shall take the following oath before the Council:

"I swear by Almighty God, by my honour and belief to preserve the Republican Regime and abide by its Constitution and laws, protect the people's interests, safeguard the homeland's independence and safety and integrity of its lands and endeavor with full sacrifice and loyalty to fulfil the Arab Nation's aims of unity, freedom and socialism".
The Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Members of the Revolutionary Command Council shall enjoy full immunity and no measure may be taken against anyone of them except by prior permission from the Council.

ARTICLE-41

(a). The Revolutionary Command Council shall convene at the invitation of its Chairman or Vice-Chairman or one third of its members. Its sessions shall be convened under the presidency of the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman and the presence of the majority of its members.

(b). Meetings and discussions of the Revolutionary Commands Council are in camera; their disclosure shall be subject to constitutional inquiry before the Council. Announcement, publication and notification of the decisions of the Council shall be performed by the manners provided in this Constitution.

(c). Laws and resolutions shall be approved in the Council by the majority of its members, except in the cases otherwise provided in this Constitution.

ARTICLE-42

The Revolutionary Command Council shall exercise the following powers:
(a). Promulgate laws and decrees which have the power of the law.

(b). Issue decrees required by the necessities of applying the provisions of the enforced laws.

ARTICLE-43

The Revolutionary Command Council shall exercise, by the majority of its members, the following powers:

(a). Approve recommendations of the Ministry of Defence and public security, initiate laws and adopt resolutions concerning them in respect to organization and jurisdictions.

(b). Declare general mobilization partially or fully, declare war accept armistice and conclude peace.

(c). Approve the draft of general budget of the State and the independent and investment budgets annexed thereto and the credit of the final accounts.

(d). Ratify international treaties and agreement.

(e). Provide the internal regulations of the Council, define its cadre, approve its budget, appoint its officials and specify remunerations and allowances of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the members and the officials.
(f). Lay down the rules for the trial of its members and setting up the court and the procedures which must be followed.

(g). Authorize its Chairman or the Vice-Chairman to exercise some of its powers provided in this Constitution except legislative powers.

ARTICLE-44

The Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council shall undertake the following:

(a). Preside over the meetings of the Council, represent it, conduct its sessions and order expenditure therein.

(b). Sign all laws and resolutions promulgated by the Council and their publication in the Official Gazette.

(c). Supervise the works of the Ministers and Institutions of the State, call the Ministers for conferring on the affairs of their Ministries, interrogate them when necessary and inform the Revolutionary Command Council thereof.

ARTICLE-45

Each of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and Members of the Revolutionary Command Council shall be responsible before the Council for violating the Constitution, for
violating the obligations of the Constitutional oath or for any act or conduct which the Council deems as detrimental to the honour of responsibility which he exercises.

ARTICLE-46

A Higher Financial Comptrolling Authority shall be established and attached to the Revolutionary Command Council. Its head and the rules of its functions shall be regulated by a law.
CHAPTER TWO

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The National Assembly shall consist of the representatives of the people in all its political, economic and social sectors. Its formation, manner of membership, process of work in it and its powers shall be defined by a special law, namely, the National Assembly Law.

ARTICLE-48

The National Assembly must meet in two ordinary sessions each year. The Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council is entitled to call the Assembly for an extra-ordinary meeting whenever required, and the meeting shall be confined to the subjects for which it is called. Sessions of the National Assembly shall be convened and concluded by a resolution issued by the Revolutionary Command Council.

ARTICLE-49

Sessions of the Assembly shall be conducted publicly unless it is decided to convene some of them in camera in accordance with the provisions of its law.

ARTICLE-50

(a). Members of the National Assembly may not be questioned over the opinions and suggestions they introduce during their exercise of the tasks of their posts.
(b). None of the members of the Assembly may be pursued or arrested for an offence committed during the meetings without obtaining the Assembly's permission, except in case of being held in the act of crime.

ARTICLE-51

The National Assembly shall undertake to:

(a). Lay down its internal regulations, specify its cadre, approve its budget and appoint its personnel. Remunerations and allowances of its President and Members shall be defined by a law.

(b). Provide the rules for charging and trying its members in case of their committing one of the acts provided in Article 56 of this Constitution.

ARTICLE-52

The National Assembly shall consider the draft laws proposed by the Revolutionary Command Council within a period of fifteen days from the date of their arrival to the bureau of the National Assembly's Presidency. If the Assembly approves the draft, it shall be submitted to the President of the Republic, to promulgate it. But if the National Assembly rejected or amended it, it shall be returned to the Revolutionary Command Council. If the amendment were approved by the Revolutionary Command Council, it shall be submitted to the President to
promulgate it. But if the Revolutionary Command Council insists on its opinion in the second reading, the draft shall be returned to the National Assembly to be presented in a joint sitting of the Council and the Assembly. The decision issued by the majority of two thirds shall be considered as final.

ARTICLE-53

The National Assembly shall consider, within a period of fifteen days, the draft Laws forwarded to it by the President of the Republic. If the Assembly rejects the draft, it shall be returned to the President of the Republic with the statement of the reasons of rejection. But if the Revolutionary Command Council and if it approves the draft, then it shall be liable for promulgation. But if the National Assembly amends the draft, then it shall be submitted to the Revolutionary Command Council, and if it approves the draft, it shall be liable for promulgation. But if the Revolutionary Command Council rejects the amendment or makes another amendment, it shall be returned again to the National Assembly within one week. If the National Assembly adopts the opinion of the Revolutionary Command Council, the draft shall be submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation. But if the National Assembly insists, in the second reading, on its opinion, then a joint sitting of the Council and the Assembly shall be held, and the draft adopted by the majority of two
thirds shall be considered as final, and it shall be submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation.

**ARTICLE-54**

The National Assembly shall consider draft laws presented by one quarter of its members in affairs other than military matters and public security affairs.

If the Assembly approves the draft law, it shall be submitted to the Revolutionary Command Council to consider it within fifteen days from the date of its arrival to the Council’s Bureau.

If it is approved by the Revolutionary Command Council, it shall be submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation.

But if the Revolutionary Command Council rejects or amends it, the draft shall be returned to the National Assembly. If the latter insists on its opinion, in the second reading, a joint session of the Council and the Assembly shall be convened under the presidency of the Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council or his Deputy. The draft issued by the majority of two thirds shall be considered as final and shall be submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation.

**ARTICLE-55**

(a). Deputies of the President of the Republic and the Ministers and those who are in ranks similar to
them shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the National Assembly and participate in

discussions.

(b). The National Assembly may, after the approval of the President of the Republic, call the Ministers in order to make an enquiry or explanation.

ARTICLE-56

The President of the National Assembly and every member in it are held responsible before the Assembly for violating the Constitution, perjuring the obligations of the Constitutional oath or for any act or conduct the National Assembly deems as detrimental to the honour of responsibility he exercises.
CHAPTER THREE

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

ARTICLE-57

(a). The President of the Republic is the President of the State and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He shall undertake the executive power directly or through the Council of Ministers.

(b). The President of the Republic shall promulgate the necessary ordinances for exercising his powers as prescribed in this Constitution.

ARTICLE-58

The President of the Republic shall directly exercise the following powers:

(a). Preserve the independence of the country and integrity of its lands, protect its interior and exterior security and protect the rights and freedom of citizens.

(b). Supervise the application of the Constitution, laws, resolutions, judicial decisions and development projects in all parts of the Republic of Iraq.

(c). Appoint Deputies for the President of the Republic and release them from their posts.
(d). Appoint the Ministers and release them from their posts.

(e). Appoint civil and religious judges and civil and military officials of the State, and terminate their services in accordance with the law.

(f). Appoint and accredit Iraqi diplomatic representatives in the Arab and foreign countries, and in international conferences and organizations.

(g). Grant military ranks and medals in accordance with the law.

(h). Hold negotiations and conclude international agreements and treaties.

(i). Accept diplomatic and international representatives and demand their withdrawal.

(j). Approve capital punishments and issue special amnesty.

(k). Direct the control of the work of the Ministries and general institutions and coordinate them.

ARTICLE-59

Deputies of the President of the Republic and the Ministers shall be held responsible before the President of the Republic for their works, and he is entitled to refer
any one of them to trial, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, for functional errors committed, for taking advantage of, or abusive use of, his powers.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

ARTICLE-60

(a). The Council of Ministers shall consist of the Ministers and be presided over by the President of the Republic.

(b). The President of the Republic shall call the Council of Ministers to meet and conduct its meetings.

ARTICLE-61

The Council of Ministers shall exercise the following powers:

(a). Initiate draft laws and refer them to the proper legislative authority.

(b). Issue administrative regulations and decisions in accordance with the law.

(c). Appoint civil officials of the State and promote them, in accordance with the law.

(d). Submit the general plan of the State.

(e). Submit the general budget of the State and the budgets annexed to it.

(f). Conclude and grant loans, and supervise organizing and administering currency.
(g). Declare a full or partial emergency and terminate it in accordance with the law.

(h). Supervise general utilities and official and semi-official institutions.
CHAPTER FIVE
THE JUDICIARY

ARTICLE-62

(a). The Judiciary is independent and no power shall be exercised over it except the law.

(b). The right to litigation shall be guaranteed to all citizens.

(c). The law shall define the manner of courts formation, their grades, jurisdictions, stipulations for appointing civil and religious judges, transferring and promoting them, litigating and retiring them.

ARTICLE-63

The law shall define the posts of the Public Prosecution, its stipulations for appointing Public Prosecutors and their deputies and the rules for transferring and promoting them, litigating and retiring them.
PART FIVE

GENERAL PROVISIONS

ARTICLE-64

(a). No one shall be member of the Revolutionary Command Council and no one shall be deputy to the President of the Republic or Minister except whoever is Iraqi by birth and from Iraqi parents by birth also.

(b). Members of the Revolutionary Command Council, deputies to the President of the Republic and the Ministers shall not exercise a free profession or a commercial business, or purchase from the state properties, sell to the State some of their properties, or barter for them while holding their posts.

ARTICLE-65

(a). The provisions of this Constitution shall remain in force until the Permanent Constitution is promulgated.

(b). This Constitution shall not be amended except by the Revolutionary Command Council by a majority of two thirds of its members.

ARTICLE-66

(a). Laws shall be published in the Official Gazette
and shall come into force from the date of their publication except otherwise provided therein.

(b). Laws shall have no retroactive effect except if otherwise provided therein and this exclusion shall not include Criminal Laws and laws of taxes and financial dues.

ARTICLE-67

This interim Constitution, the laws and judicial decisions shall be promulgated and executed in the name of the people.

ARTICLE-68

All laws and resolutions of the Revolutionary Command Council enforced prior to the promulgation of this Constitution shall remain in force and they may not be amended or abrogated except through the manner provided in this Constitution.

ARTICLE-69

The Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council shall undertake the promulgation of this constitution and its publication in the Official Gazette.
APPENDIX-B
INTRODUCTION:

Following are the general decisions of the Sixth National Convention of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party:

The struggle of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party has been continuous for approximately twenty years. During this period the people, led by the party, have offered many martyrs at the altar of the struggle for Arab national unity, liberty, and socialism. The Arab Ba'th Socialist party was able to outline the course of the Arab struggle with precision and understanding. It was able to crystallize the desires and goals of the Arab peoples in two spheres: the national sphere and the Socialist sphere. Furthermore, the party was able, during the negative aspects of the struggle, to incarnate the Arab people's ambitions and their revulsion toward the underdeveloped, exploited, and dismembered Arab present.

During twenty years of struggle the party has been able to incorporate itself truthfully in the struggle of the Arab peoples. It was able to lead successfully such struggles in Syria and Iraq; to deprive aristocracy, reactionaries, and the bourgeoisie of the leadership of Arab
nationalism, to convert the nationalist movement into the mementum of the struggle of the millions. This party promises the Arab masses to walk side by side with them unhesitatingly and untiringly in their nationalist struggle for Arab unity.

The party has been able to bring into the Arab nationalist movement the spirit of the modern age. It has accomplished this by tying its interests to those of the struggling masses and by linking together the nationalist and socialist revolutions. Today, the party promises the masses that it will continue to march with fortitude with the struggling masses to achieve the Socialist revolution and to renew the slogans which it has carried and fought for since its inception.

The party contributed toward creation of the first national revolutionary cadre for the Arabs in their modern history when it helped bring about the union of 1958 and sacrificed itself at the altar of that union. After the destruction of that union, the party was able to reorganize itself, lead the masses, and face courageously the separatist regime that was an enemy of Arab nationalism and unity. This facilitated the downfall of the separatist reactionary regime in Damascus which had been exhausted by the attacks made by the Ba'ath. On the morning of March 8, the vanguard of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party were leading forces to bury the black separatist regime.
New circumstances have arisen that will facilitate great victories in the spheres of nationalism and socialism. The Cairo Convenant of April 17, 1963 was the product of the new circumstances brought about by the people's struggle led by the party. The Cairo authorities were not able to understand the new atmosphere of the Arab struggle, thus they refused to cooperate with the party and declared their withdrawal from the Convenant.

Under these new circumstances the Sixth National Convention of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party was convened. On the threshold to positive struggle, the constructive struggle, the Sixth National Convention meets. It meets full of hope and determination to lead the new battle. It meets with the same faith in the Arab people and with cognizance of the historical responsibility placed upon it.

The Convention commenced its meeting on October 5, 1963, and terminated on October 23, 1963. The Convention discussed the party organization and direction of the authorities in the two Regions and studied some theoretical problems facing the Arab struggle; appropriate decisions were made.

The Convention also discussed the political union of the two Regions – the Syrian and Iraqi – and the application of Socialist measures. It made appropriate
decisions.

The Convention discussed Arab international political problems and made appropriate decisions.

What follows are the principal decisions of the Convention. Full explanations of these decisions will be issued later.
ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE PARTY AND THE
PARTY'S RELATION TO THE MASSES AND
TO THE AUTHORITIES

1. The Convention studied, in a general way, the organizational problems of the party and reaffirmed its principle of collective leadership in party activity; this, to reflect the democracy of the party at the top.

The Convention concluded that the party's experience has confirmed the principle of democratic centralism in which it believes. The establishment of a balance between centralism on the one hand and democracy on the other permits the free and responsible exercise of the party's struggle, and also preserves party unity while on the other hand realizing democracy.

2. In a serious study of the party’s situation in Syria and Iraq, the Convention paid particular attention to the forthcoming Socialist revolution. The Convention agreed that the social composition of the party would influence the Socialist revolution. Therefore, the Convention decided that the party's Socialist goals must be a reflection of its social composition since the Socialist revolution would rest on workers and
peasants who must be at the base of the revolution and the party at the same time.

3. In these circumstances where the party is in authority in both the Syrian and Iraqi Regions, the Convention warns against the infiltration of the party by opportunists, or the succumbing of some party elements to the temptations of power that will cause them to look down on the non-party masses.

The Convention affirmed that membership in the party could only mean a tremendous responsibility to be borne by the member. Members should confine themselves to carrying out their responsibilities. Their rights are the same as those accorded to any citizen without the addition of any privileges.

The convention agreed that the nonparty masses have the right to criticize and oversee party members. The Convention considers this supervision by the nonparty masses a natural right of the people that guarantees that process of rapport between the people and the party and between the party and the authorities.

This popular supervision was considered a means to check against the temptations of power.
and a means to check against the rise of bourgeois
tendencies within the party.

The Convention emphasized that careful
attention be paid to the behaviour of prospective
party members, that requirements for membership be
made more stringent, and that the period of party
training be lengthened to make certain of the
prospective member’s characteristics and readiness
to struggle.

4. Regarding the relation between the party and the
state, the Convention decided upon the necessity
of complete separation between the state and the
party. It cautioned against the possibility of
party involvement in the routine of day-to-day
government. The Convention considers the party as
leader and director of the basic political
problems of the state.

The Convention recognized the necessity
of having a larger proportion of party leadership
devoted to the direction of party activity.
DECISIONS CONCERNING SOME THEORETICAL
PROBLEMS DEALING WITH THE PARTY IDEOLOGY AND
THE ARAB NATIONAL STRUGGLE

5. The Convention discussed a number of problems of
the Arab struggle. It discussed some of the
theoretical problems dealing with Arab unity,
socialism, popular democracy, and the party's
stand vis-a-vis international Socialist thought.
The Convention recognized the two basic
characteristics of the party's ideology,
pragmatism and revolutionism, within the national
framework.

The Convention then criticized some of
the outdated opinions and thoughts left behind as
the party ideology advanced. Such criticism
allows the ideological evolution of the party to
meet future needs while maintaining continuity
with the party's heritage, in a manner that
guarantees the ideological and organizational
unity of the party and provides for revolutionary
and scientific solutions to the problems of the
Arab national struggle.
PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM IN THE
TWO REGIONS OF SYRIA AND IRAQ

6. The Convention discussed the problems of conversion to a Socialist regime in the Regions of Syria and Iraq and decided to proceed with it on a democratic basis and with popular participation. Following a scientific discussion of the sociopolitical and class composition in the two Regions of Syria and Iraq, the Convention reiterated that the party should be based in the masses in preparation for the establishment of a revolutionary and democratic experiment in the two Regions that will influence the course of events in the entire Arab fatherland and provide the objective circumstances for interaction with other movements in the Arab fatherland.

7. On the basis of a scientific analysis of economic and political conditions in the two Regions, the Convention concluded that the bourgeoisie is unable to carry out any positive task in the economic sphere. Furthermore, the opportunism of the bourgeoisie qualifies it for the role of ally to the new colonialism. The workers, peasants, revolutionary civil and military intelligentsia, and the petit bourgeoisie were considered the proper forces for achievement of the Socialist revolution in its initial stage.
8. In an attempt to visualize the extent of Socialist evolution in the two Regions, and guided by Socialist experiments elsewhere in the world, the Convention asserted the necessity of democratic worker's participation in administration in the two Regions during the stage of state capitalism.

The Convention cautioned against bureaucratic tendencies and stressed the necessity for a continual curbing and eventual liquidation of such tendencies.

9. The Convention paid particular attention to the growth of governmental agencies and the relation of these to the party and the masses.

The Convention approved a detailed policy of a revolutionary and democratic development of these agencies in a manner that would permit them to participate fully in the process of conversion to socialism. The Convention asserted that the principal task would be proper evolution rather than mutation. Evolution should be the basis, mutation the exception. Such a plan is necessitated by humane considerations and by a faith in the citizen's consciousness.
As for the land problem, the Convention concluded with revolutionary and Socialist decisions. The Convention agreed on the necessity of take-off from a revolutionary basis, and considered the agricultural revolution as a necessary step toward a quick economic development in the industrial sector. Thus the goal of establishing collective farms, administered by the peasants themselves, in those lands covered by agricultural reform, was considered the proper Socialist take-off point for the oncoming change in social relationships. Such a revolutionary goal, coupled with peasant participation in the agricultural sphere, is a necessary element in the success of the Socialist revolution.

10. The Convention also asserted the importance of Socialist planning in the regional and Arab spheres. Planning was considered the practical method by which all the national material, human, and natural resources could be scientifically and practically utilized. The Convention also emphasized industrialization and industrial development. Investments should be centered in those more important spheres that guarantee real national economic development, rather than in those ostentatious accomplishments that do not increase real production.
11. The Convention laid out a Socialist policy in the field of social services. It drew attention to the apparent paradox between ostentatious and unnecessary spending in government and the low standard of living of the masses. Austerity should be practiced by the well-to-do and the government agencies as well.

The Convention considered the problems of education and the establishment of compulsory education. It stressed the need to eradicate illiteracy and to give the education of youth a scientific and national coloring that would go hand in hand with human knowledge. The education plan should correspond with the requirements of development and should stress higher specialization. It should look to an expansion of the scientific fields in the universities and to raising their standards.

The Convention agreed on the necessity of expanding services in the rural areas and the poor and distant districts. Free and socialized medicine was considered the most basic aspect of Socialist thought. The Convention put forth the policy to execute this program beginning with expansion of medical school facilities and
expansion of present government medical services until the eventual liquidation of private medicine.

12. The Convention studied the National Guard program. Despite some of the shortcomings and mistakes of this program it was considered a safeguard of the revolution. The Guard should be expanded and developed to become capable of fulfilling revolutionary tasks and educating the masses. Any mistakes committed by members of the National Guard should be dealt with firmly.

The Convention affirmed the right of popular organizations for workers, students, professionals, and women that are within the national Socialist line. It affirmed the association’s relative autonomy with regard to the state as long as the latter is in the process of achieving its Socialist program. The existence of such associations was considered a necessity dictated by the interests of groups and classes. The Convention affirmed the right of the working class to have political parties.

13. The Convention paid particular attention to ideological education in the Armed Forces and affirmed the right of its members to practice their full political rights. The Convention
considered the organic incorporation of the revolutionary civilian and military vanguard as the only way to create an ideological interaction between the two groups. This would mean a practical unity of action and thought and would incorporate the popular and armed forces in a combined Socialist effort. Ideological education for the armed forces would create a new and revolutionary understanding between the officers and the men.

The Convention affirmed the necessity of compulsory military service in an underdeveloped country where such service could become a school for peasant soldiers, thus sharing in the eradication of illiteracy in the rural areas.
14. Following Cairo's withdrawal from the Triparite Unity Agreement, the party finds itself compelled to establish unity between Syria and Iraq. Thus the Convention agreed on the principle of establishing a federal union between the Syrian and Iraqi Regions. The Convention regarded the new union as a step toward complete Arab unity and as capable of fusing the revolutionary energies in the two Regions. The new state was considered as a stage in the struggle for complete unity, and open for others to join.

The Convention affirmed that the biggest unionist stride is that which brings Egypt to the new nation on the basis of democracy, regional equality, and collective leadership.

15. The Convention considered the reactionary aggression by the maghrib on the Algerian revolution. The essence of the problem was not a mere border dispute; rather, the Convention considered the aggression only as another aspect of the struggle between progressivism and reaction in the African part of the Arab fatherland. The Convention insisted that the support of the Algerian revolution, with all its national, Socialist, revolutionary, and Arab
characteristics, is a guarantee of the success of the unionist Socialist revolution in the entire Arab fatherland.

Therefore, the party stands unhesitatingly with the Algerian revolution against the Maghrib reactionary aggression supported by the new and old colonialism. It calls on the governments of Syria and Iraq to offer the Algerian revolution any assistance it may require.

16. The first aspect of the resistance of Arab reaction is portrayed in its aggression on the Algerian revolution. The second aspect is its conspicuous and frank subservience to colonialism — a subservience that compels it to betray the Arab national cause daily. Thus the repressive measure utilized by the reactionary Maghrib authorities against Al-Ittihad al-Watani Li al-Quwah al-Sha’biyyah [The National Union of Popular Forces] are an aspect of subservience to imperialism and a defense of the imperialist spheres of influence in the Maghrib. The Convention decided to condemn the repressive measures taken against Al-Ittihad al-Watani Li al-Quwah al-Sha’biyyah and declare its support of the
latter against the forces of reaction and imperialism.

17. The Convention carefully considered the problem of diversion or pumping of the waters of the River Jordan and considered such a scheme a supreme military danger to the Arab fatherland. Thus the party calls on all the Arab peoples and their governments to resist this danger by force. The governments of Syria and Iraq in particular must resist this danger. It also calls on the United Arab government to resist this scheme even by the use of force and to cooperate in this endeavor with Syria and Iraq.

18. The Convention considered the Yemenite revolution and saw in it another aspect of the struggle between the Arab reactionary forces and the Arab peoples. The Convention saw in the Yemenite revolution a revolutionary take-off point to save the Arab south and the Arabian peninsula from the reactionaries and imperialist stooges. The Convention calls on all the progressive Arab forces to rally around the Yemenite revolution and support it against the reactionaries. In particular, the Convention calls on the revolutionary authorities in Syria and Iraq to aid and support the Yemenite revolution. Such support
should be viewed as a duty imposed by Arab destiny and an element in the defeat of reaction.

19. The Convention discussed the positive and negative aspects of Abdel Nasser’s regime and reiterated the importance of the presence of the United Arab Republic, quantitatively and qualitatively, in any union.

The positive aspects of Abdel Nasser’s regime prompt the party to accept a union with it. The negative aspects, however, compel the party to accept Abdel Nasser’s regime only as a partner but not as the basis of the union. The party considers this a condition that permits the process of correction and interaction of the revolutionary Arab movements. The Convention affirmed that Abdel Nasser’s autocratic regime had imposed on the party an unnecessary struggle with it.

The Convention agreed on the necessity of halting this struggle and finding mutual points of understanding among the libertarian Arab movements.

20. The Convention studied carefully the development of the contemporary Arab problem in Palestine and concluded the necessity of recruiting the
Palestinian Arabs as the first tool in the liberation of Palestine.

The Convention recommends the establishment of a Palestine Liberation Front and calls on all Arab governments, and on Syria and Iraq in particular, to offer all available resources to the establishment of this Front. All the necessary tools and revolutionary leadership should be provided. The Front must be kept out of disputes among Arab states.

21. From its deep faith in the unity of the entire Arab world, the Convention stresses the necessity of establishing a Progressive Arab Front to include the entire Arab fatherland.

22. The Convention reaffirmed the basic revolutionary policy that has been pursued by the party since its establishment and that endeavours to support all national liberation movements against imperialism. The Convention exposed the recent methods of cooperation between the bourgeoisie and neoimperialism in defining the party's stand vis-à-vis imperialism by explaining its role as a Socialist party belonging to a persecuted and colonized people. Therefore, the Convention cautioned against the belief that the construction of a Socialist society that places the people's
interest first cannot be completed without entailing a struggle against imperialism, and against every aspect of the exploitation of man.

23. The Convention affirmed the policy of nonalignment with international power blocs, and neutrality in the daily disputes of the blocs.

24. But nonalignment should not be construed as a bar against closer and friendlier relations with the people of the Socialist camp.

25. The Convention affirmed the necessity of strengthening the ties with the nations of the Third World, to which we belong and which pursues the policy of positive neutrality. Closer ties will mean strengthening the Front against imperialism.

26. The Convention decided to fight all types of racial discrimination in the world and to consider such a phenomenon as another characteristic of colonial capitalism. The Convention views South Africa as a new kind of Israel in Africa. The party stands against racial discrimination in this nation and extends its helping hand to all peoples struggling against the new and old imperialism.
APPENDIX - C
APPENDIX-C

CONSTITUTION OF THE
ARAB BA'TH SOCIALIST PARTY

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

First Principle: Unity and Freedom of the Arab Nation

The Arabs form one nation. This nation has the natural right to live in a single state and to be free to direct its own destiny.

The Party of the Arab Ba'th therefore believes that:

1). The Arab fatherland constitutes an indivisible political and economic unity. No Arab country can live apart from the others.

2). The Arab nation constitutes a cultural unity. Any differences existing among its sons are accidental and unimportant. They will all disappear with the awakening of the Arab consciousness.

3). The Arab fatherland belongs to the Arabs. They alone have the right to administer its affairs, to dispose of its wealth, and to direct its destinies.
Second Principle: Personality of the Arab Nation

The Arab nation is characterized by virtues which are the result of its successive rebirths. These virtues are characterized by vitality and creativeness and by an ability for transformation and renewal. Its renewal is always linked to growth in personal freedom, and harmony between its evolution and the national interest.

The Party of the Arab Ba’th therefore believes that:

1). Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of belief, as well as artistic freedom, are sacred. No authority can diminish them.

2). The value of citizens is measured - once all opportunities have been given them - by the action they take to further the progress and prosperity of the Arab nation, without regard to any other criterion.

Third Principle: The Mission of the Arab Nation

The Arab nation has an eternal mission. This mission reveals itself in ever new and related forms through the different stages of history. It aims at the renewal of human values, at the quickening of human progress, at increasing harmony and mutual help among the nations.
The Party of the Arab Ba'th therefore believes that:

1). Colonialism and all that goes with it is a criminal enterprise. The Arabs must fight it with all possible means, just as they must take it on themselves to help, according to their physical and moral abilities, all peoples fighting for their freedom.

2). Humanity constitutes a whole, the interests of which are solidarity and the values and civilization of which are common to all. The Arabs are enriched by world civilization and enrich it in their turn. They stretch a fraternal hand to other nations and collaborate with them for the establishment of just institutions which will ensure for all the peoples prosperity and peace, as well as moral and spiritual advance.
GENERAL PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE-1.

The Party of the Arab Ba’th is a universal Arab party. It has branches in all the Arab countries. It does not concern itself with regional politics except in relation to the higher interests of the Arab cause.

ARTICLE-2.

The headquarters of the party is for the time being located in Damascus. It can be transferred to any other Arab city if the national interest should require it.

ARTICLE-3.

The Party of the Arab Ba’th is a national party. It believes that nationalism is a living and eternal reality. It believes that the feeling of national awakening which intimately unites the individual to his nation is a sacred feeling. This feeling has within itself a potential of creative power; it binds itself to sacrifice, it seeks the exercise of responsibilities, and it directs the individual personality in a concrete and active manner.

The national idea to which the party appeals is the will of the Arab people to free themselves and to unite. It demands that the opportunity be given to it to realize in history its Arab personality, and to collaborate with all the nations in all the fields which will ensure the march of humanity toward welfare and progress.
ARTICLE-4.

The Party of the Arab Ba’th is a Socialist party. It believes that socialism is a necessity which emanates from the depth of Arab nationalism itself. Socialism constitutes, in fact, the ideal social order which will allow the Arab people to realize its possibilities and to enable its genius to flourish, and which will ensure for the nation constant progress in its material and moral output. It makes possible a trustful brotherhood among its members.

ARTICLE-5.

The Party of the Arab Ba’th is a popular party. It believes that sovereignty is the property of the people, who alone is the source of all authority. It believes that the value of the state is the outcome of the will of the masses from which it issues and that this value is sacred only to the extent that the masses have exercised their choice freely. That is why, in the accomplishment of its mission, the party relies on the people with whom it seeks to establish intricate contact, the spiritual, moral, material, and physical level of whom it is trying to raise, in order that the people may become conscious of its personality and that it may become able to exercise its right in private and public life.

ARTICLE-6.

The Party of the Arab Ba’th is revolutionary. It believes that its main objectives for the realization of the
renaissance of Arab nationalism or for the establishment of socialism cannot be achieved except by means of revolution and struggle. To rely on slow evolution and to be satisfied with a partial and superficial reform is to threaten these aims and to conduce to their failure and their loss.

This is why the party decides in favour of:

1). The struggle against foreign colonialism, in order to liberate the Arab fatherland completely and finally.

2). The struggle to gather all the Arabs in a single independent state.

3). The overthrow of the present faulty structure - an overthrow which will include all the sectors of intellectual, economic, social, and political life.

ARTICLE-7.

The Arab fatherland is that part of the globe inhabited by the Arab nation which stretches from the Tauru Mountain, The Pocht-i-Kouh Mountains, the Gulf of Basra, the Arab Ocean, the Ethiopian Mountains, the Sahara, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Mediterranean.

ARTICLE-8.

The official language of the state, as well as that of all the citizens, is Arabic. It alone is recognized in correspondence and in teaching.
ARTICLE-9.

The emblem of the Arab state is that of the Arab revolution begun in 1916 to liberate and unify the Arab nation.

ARTICLE-10.

An Arab is he whose language is Arabic, who has lived on Arab soil, or who, after having been assimilated to Arab life, has faith in his belonging to the Arab nation.

ARTICLE-11.

To be excluded from the Arab fatherland: whoever has fought for or has belonged to a factious anti-Arab association, whoever has lent himself inside the Arab fatherland to colonial ends.

ARTICLE-12.

The Arab woman enjoys all the rights of citizenship. The party struggles to raise up woman’s level in order to make her fit to exercise these rights.

ARTICLE-13.

The party strives to give all the citizens the same opportunities in the field of schooling and livelihood in order that, in the various aspects of human activity, everyone should be equally able to show his real abilities and to develop them to the maximum.
THE WAY: INTERNAL POLICY OF THE PARTY

ARTICLE-14.

The regime of the Arab state will be a constitutional parliamentary regime. Executive power is responsible before the legislative, which is directly elected by the people.

ARTICLE-15.

The national tie is the only tie that may exist in the Arab state. It ensures harmony among all the citizens by melting them in the crucible of a single nation and counteracts all religious, communal, tribal, racial or regional factions.

ARTICLE-16.

The administrative system of the Arab state is a system of decentralization.

ARTICLE-17.

The party strives to make popular feeling universal and to make the power of the people a living reality in the life of the individual. It undertakes to give the state a constitution guaranteeing to all Arab citizens absolute equality before the law, the right to express their opinions in absolute freedom, and a true choice of their representatives, thus ensuring for them a free life within the framework of the law.
ARTICLE-18.

A single code of laws is to be established freely for the whole of the Arab nation. This code will be in conformity with the spirit of the times and will take into account the past experiences of the Arab nation.

ARTICLE-19.

The judicial power will be independent. It will be free from interference by other powers and enjoy total immunity.

ARTICLE-20.

The rights of citizenship are granted in their totality to every citizen living on Arab soil who is devoted to the Arab fatherland and who has no connection with any factious association.

ARTICLE-21.

Military service is compulsory in the Arab fatherland.
FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PARTY

ARTICLE-22.

The foreign policy of the Arab state will be guided by the interests of Arab nationalism and of the eternal mission of the Arabs which seeks to establish in cooperation with other nations a free, harmonious, and secure world, continuously advancing in progress.

ARTICLE-23.

The Arabs will struggle with all their power to destroy the foundations of colonialism and of foreign occupation and to suppress all foreign political or economic influence in their country.

ARTICLE-24.

Since the Arab people is the sole source of power, all treaties, pacts, and documents concluded by governments which detract from the total sovereignty of the Arabs will be abrogated.

ARTICLE-25.

Arab foreign policy seeks to give a true picture of the will of the Arabs to live in freedom, and of their sincere desire to see all other nations enjoy the same liberty.
ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PARTY

ARTICLE-26.

The party of the Arab Ba’th is a Socialist party. It believes that the economic wealth of the fatherland belongs to the nation.

ARTICLE-27.

The present distribution of wealth in the Arab fatherland is unjust. Therefore a review and a just redistribution will become necessary.

ARTICLE-28.

The equality of all the citizens is founded on human values. This is why the party forbids the exploitation of the work of others.

ARTICLE-29.

Public utilities, extensive natural resources, big industry, and the means of transport are the property of the nation. The state will manage them directly and will abolish private companies and foreign concessions.

ARTICLE-30.

Ownership of agricultural land will be so limited as to be in proportion to the means of the proprietor to exploit all his lands without exploitation of the efforts of others. This will be under the control of the state and in conformity with its over-all economic plan.
ARTICLE-31.

Small industrial ownership will be so limited as to be related to the standard of living of the citizens of the state as a whole.

ARTICLE-32.

Workers will participate in the management of their factory. In addition to their wages—fixed by the state—they will receive a proportion of the profits, also fixed by the state.

ARTICLE-33.

Ownership of immovable property is allowed to all the citizens so long as they do not exploit it to harm of others, and so long as the state ensures for all citizens a minimum of immovable property.

ARTICLE-34.

Property and inheritance are two natural rights. They are protected within the limits of the national interest.

ARTICLE-35.

Usurious loans are prohibited between citizens. One state bank is to be founded to issue currency, which the national output will back. This bank will finance the vital agricultural and industrial plans of the nation.
ARTICLE-36.

The state will control directly internal and external trade in order to abolish the exploitation of the consumer by the producer. The state will protect them both, as it will protect the national output against the competition of foreign foods and will ensure equilibrium between exports and imports.

ARTICLE-37.

General planning, inspired by the most modern economic ideas, will be organized so that the Arab fatherland will be industrialized, national production developed, new outlets opened for it, and the industrial economy of each region directed according to its potential and to the raw material it contains.
SOCIAL POLICY OF THE PARTY

ARTICLE-38.

Family, Procreation, Marriage.

1). The family is the basic cell of the nation. It is for the state to protect, to develop, and to help it.

2). Procreation is a trust given in the first place to the family and then to the state. Both must ensure its increase, and look to the health and education of the descendants.

3). Marriage is a national duty. The state must encourage it, facilitate it, and control it.

ARTICLE-39.

Public Health. The state will build, at its expense, institutions of preventive medicine, dispensaries, and hospitals which will meet the needs of all citizens, for whom the state ensures free medical treatment.

ARTICLE-40 LABOUR:

1). Labour is an obligation for all those who are capable of it. It is for the state to ensure that work is available to every citizen, whether intellectual or manual.

2). The employer must ensure at the least a decent standard of living for his employee.
3). The state sees to the maintenance of all persons incapable of work.

4). Just laws will be promulgated to limit the workman’s daily hours of work, to give him the right to paid weekly and annual holidays, to protect his rights, to ensure social security for him in old age, and to indemnify him for any cessation of work, whether partial or total.

5). Free workmen’s and peasant’s unions will be established and encouraged, so that they may constitute an instrument efficient in the defense of their rights, in raising their standard of living, in developing their abilities, in increasing the opportunities offered to them, in creating among them a spirit of solidarity, and in representing them in joint works councils.

6). Joint works councils will be created in which the state and the unions of workmen and peasants will be represented. These councils will have power to decide the issues arising among the unions, the works managers, and the representatives of the state.
ARTICLE-41. CULTURE AND SOCIETY.

1). The party seeks to develop a general national culture for the whole Arab fatherland which shall be Arab, liberal, progressive, extensive, profound, and humanist; it attempts to disseminate it in all sections of the population.

2). The state is responsible for the protection of the liberty of speech, of publication, of assembly, of protest, and of the press, within the limits of the higher Arab national interest. It is for the state to facilitate all the means and the modalities which tend to realize this liberty.

3). Intellectual work is one of the most sacred kinds. It is the state's concern to protect and encourage intellectuals and scientists.

4). Within the limits of the Arab national idea, every freedom will be given for the foundation of clubs, associations, parties, youth groupings, and tourist organizations, as well as for obtaining profit from the cinema, radio, television, and all the other facilities of modern civilization in order to spread generally the national culture, and to contribute to the entertainment of the people.
ARTICLE-42.

Separation of the classes and differentiation among them are abolished. The separation of the classes is the consequence of a faulty social order. Therefore, the party carries on its struggle among the laboring and oppressed classes of society so that such separation and differentiation will come to an end and the citizens will recover the whole of their human dignity and will be enabled to live in the shadow of a just social order in which nothing will distinguish one citizen from another except intellectual capacity and manual skill.

ARTICLE-43 NOMADISM

Nomadism is a primitive social state. It decreases the national output and makes an important part of the nation a paralyzed member and an obstacle to its development and progress. The party struggles for the sedentarization of nomads by grant of lands to them, for the abolition of tribal customs, and for the application to the nomads of the laws of the state.
POLICY OF THE PARTY IN EDUCATION AND TEACHING

The educational policy of the party aims at the creation of a new Arab generation which believes in the unity of the nation, and in the eternity of its mission. This policy, based on scientific reasoning, will be freed from the shackles of superstitions and reactionary traditions; it will be imbued with the spirit of optimism, of struggle, and of solidarity among all citizens in the carrying out of a total Arab revolution, and in the cause of human progress.

Therefore the party decides as follows:

ARTICLE-44.

A national Arab stamp will mark all the aspects of intellectual, economic, political, architectural, and artistic life. The party establishes once again the links of the Arab nation with its glorious history and urges it toward a future even more glorious and more exemplary.

ARTICLE-45.

Teaching is one of the exclusive functions of the state. Therefore, all foreign and private educational institutions are abolished.

ARTICLE-46.

Education at all stages shall be free for all citizens. Primary and secondary education shall be compulsory.
ARTICLE-47

Professional schools with the most modern equipment shall be established, where education shall be free.

ARTICLE-48.

Teaching careers and all that relates to education are set aside for Arab citizens. An exception to this rule is made in the instance of higher education.
AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

SINGLE ARTICLE.

The fundamental and general principles of the Constitution cannot be amended. Other articles may, however, be amended, provided that two-thirds of the General Council of the party agree thereto, on a motion put by the Executive Council, or by a quarter of the members of the General Council, or by ten members of the Party Organization.