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**BAATHIST REGIME OF AHMED HASSAN AL-BAKR IN IRAQ
(1968 – 1979)**

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GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF WORK

The relevance of research topic. The Middle East is one of the most conflict regions of the modern world where ever there is a threat of instability of the states, society and international relations. The study of the processes that lead to these conflicts has both theoretical and applied relevance for the solution of problems of the maintenance of peace not only in this region, but all over the world. Iraq is one of the main unites of the Middle East conflict. It is caused by multiethnic and multireligious structure of the population which was artificially integrated within one state. "The problem of Iraq" which has been operational for the past decade is still in the center of attention of world public opinion. It is a factor destabilizing the political situation in the Middle East.

Researchers paid the greatest attention to studying of the reign period of Saddam Hussein in Iraq (1979 - 2003). At the same time the previous political period covering 1968 - 1979, namely the reign period of other President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr of the Baath party in Iraq is still not sufficiently explored. Often researchers tend to conflict, bright plots. The presidency decade of A.H. al-Bakr was quite peaceful and creative in the history of the considered state. Therefore, the study of the creative potential of such "quiet" periods is important for understanding of the sequence of historical processes.

In Soviet historiography the problem of the formation of young states that occurred as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system was considered within the framework of the national liberation movement. However, it is obvious that regimes which came to the power in many countries of the East did not always reflect interests of great masses of population. The question of the nature of the dictatorial regimes in Asia is still not fully resolved. Therefore, the phenomenon of "Baathist socialism" to which adequately has not given historical evaluation remains very important.

The exploration degree of the research topic. As it was already noted, the period of reign of A.H. al-Bakr is still not sufficiently explored. However, some aspects of the topic, certainly, are reflected in the articles, monographs and collective editions devoted to the history of Iraq of twentieth centuries in a variety

of angles as political, economic, social or cultural history. The list of the literary works on this subject can be divided into several blocks.

The first block which is the most saturated quantitatively is represented by the works of Soviet historians. Soviet researchers saved up numerous materials that enable to understand deeply the development problems of the countries of the Middle East. They contain basic researches and the detailed analysis of economic, social and political, national and religious, ideological and cultural processes, countries and people of the region¹. But it is necessary to consider that literature of that time was based on self-restriction of researchers, a certain ideological selection and interpretation of the facts. These works were generally devoted to studying of the problems of social and economic development of the countries of the Middle East including Iraq².

Among the articles, monographs and collective editions used in the thesis, containing important theoretical generalizations, we can highlight the works of Z.I. Levin³, G.I. Mirsky⁴ in which various aspects of social and political life of the countries of the Middle East were considered. They analyzed the conceptual aspects of the problems of interaction between Islam and nationalism and influence of this interaction on political thought. Also, the role of army in political life of the developing countries of Asia and Africa was investigated in these works.

The analysis of the internal policy of monarchic Iraq and the Republic of Iraq was a subject of numerous special studies and received extensive coverage in the monographs of F. Zavarov⁵, G.S. Shahbazyan⁶, R.G. Agaev⁷, A.F. Fedchenko⁸

¹ Baryshev A.P. The Soviet Union and the Arab countries. M., 1982; Brutents K.N. National Liberation Revolutions Today (Some Questions of Theory). M., 1974; The East and the present. Key issues and trends of development of the countries of the East: 3 v. M., 1980; Mirsky G.I. The role of the army in the political life of the countries of the "third world". M., 1989; National processes in the countries of the Middle East. M., 1970; Simoniya N.A. Eastern countries: the ways of development.. M., 1975; Tuma E. National liberation movement and the Arab unity problem. M., 1977; Stoklitsky S.L. The economic structures of the Arab countries: ekon.-stat. analysis. M., 1985. etc.

² Avetisyan L.V. The problem of the accumulation of capital in Iraq. Yerevan, 1977; Alitovsky S.N. The agrarian question in modern Iraq. M., 1966; Andreasyan R.N. Petrodollars and socio - economic development of the countries of the Middle East. M., 1979; Gerasimov O.G. The Iraqi oil. M., 1969.; Demin A.I. Agrarian reforms in the countries of the Middle East (60 -ies – beginning of the 80-ies of XX century). M., 1986; East Village from social tension to the political struggle (Agrarian, social conflicts of 70 - 80-ies.). M., 1987; Tkachenko A.A. The agricultural development of Egypt, Iraq and Syria. M., 1978 etc.

³ Levin Z.I. Islam and nationalism in the countries of the East. (The ideological aspect). M., 1988.

⁴ Mirsky G.I. "The third world": society, power, army. M., 1976.

⁵ Zavarov F. Socio-economic changes in the Republic of Iraq (1958 – 1976). M., 1979.

⁶ Shahbazyan G.S. The public sector in the economy of Iraq. M., 1974.

and others⁹. The main political, economic, social, cultural changes in the Iraqi society during the 50ies –70ies of the XX century were shown in the works of these authors.

Separately several researches focused on the history of the national liberation struggle of the Iraqi Kurdistan. They are “Problems of national autonomy of the Kurdish people in the Republic of Iraq (1958 - 1970)”¹⁰ of Sh.Kh. Mgoi, “The national and democratic movement in the Iraqi Kurdistan in 1961 - 1968”¹¹, “Kurds. Sketches of the social and economic relations, culture and life” of A.M. Menteshashvili¹² and etc. These works clearly show the role of the government of A.H. al-Bakr in the attempts related to the settlement of “the Kurdish question”.

The analysis of foreign policy of the Middle East in the XX century was also a subject of numerous special studies and received extensive coverage in the various articles and monographs in which some foreign policy aspects concerning Iraq¹³ were considered. The works of N.O. Oganesyan¹⁴, Sh.A. Niyazmatov¹⁵ can be highlighted separately. They were engaged in studying the political, trade and economic relations of Iraq with Iran, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait and Lebanon in the second half of the XX century.

Despite a certain ideological bias of the works listed above, it is worth to pay a tribute to these researchers. The authors have done a great job on the accumulation and systematization of a huge complex of factual economic, political and cultural material.

The second historiographic block was presented by works of the Russian

⁷ Agayev R.G. Iraq revolution and dictatorship: (the experience of creating a national unity front, 1941 – 1982). Baku. 1991.

⁸ Fedchenko A.F. Iraq's Struggle for Independence (1917 – 1969). M., 1970.

⁹ Danzig B.M. Iraq: the past and the present. M., 1960; Muradyan S.M. The formation of the national intelligence in Iraq. Yerevan, 1988; Pak P. M. Iraq history and modernity. M., 1981; Penkin F.P. The Republic of Iraq and its armed forces. M., 1977.

¹⁰ Mgoi Sh. Kh. The problem of national autonomy of the Kurdish people in the Republic of Iraq (1958 – 1970). Yerevan, 1977.

¹¹ Ashiryan Sh.Ch. The national-democratic movement in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1961 – 1968. M., 1975.

¹² Menteshashvili A.M. Kurds. Essays on the socio-economic relations, culture and life. M., 1984.

¹³ Osipov A.I. The USA and Arab countries, 70-s – early 80-s. M., 1983; Shestopalov V.Ya. Persian gulf: Problem of the continental shelf. M., 1982.

¹⁴ Oganesyan N.O. Foreign policy acts of the Kasem government on the strengthening of independence of the Republic of Iraq // Countries and people of the Middle East. IV. Arab countries. Yerevan., 1974. Oganesyan N.O. National liberation movement in Iraq (1917 – 1959). Yerevan, 1976; Oganesyan N.O. Relations of the Iraqi Republic with the countries of the Arab East. Yerevan. 1985.

¹⁵ Niyazmatov Sh.A. The Iran-Iraq conflict. Historical sketch. M., 1989.

researchers of the Post-Soviet period whose quantitative level is far less. In many respects, it is the collective editions, textbooks of the generalizing character intended for institutions of higher education¹⁶. The common for them is the revision of the Soviet assessments and the desire for more objectivism. At the same time, the emphasis is on the history of political institutions, as well as cultural development¹⁷.

Works by notable orientalists as E.M. Primakov, A.A. Aliyev, G.G. Kosach, E.S. Melkumyan, M.A. Sapronova and others played an important role in the performance of this thesis research.

Of great importance for the thesis was monograph of E.M. Primakov called “Confidential: The Middle East on the stage and behind the scenes”¹⁸, devoted to the characterization of the main processes in the Middle East in the second half of XX – the beginning of XXI century and the description of separate historical episodes that the author had the opportunity not only to observe but also participate actively in some of them.

The great contribution to the study of the Iran-Iraq relations was made by A.A. Aliyev¹⁹. We can find various factual materials devoted to the problem of development of interrelations between Persians and Arabs, genesis and a current state of the Iran-Iraq relations in his works. A.A. Aliyev in the works traced process of the origin of the Islamic civilization, the character of the Arab conquests, historical destinies of the Muslim people in the Middle Ages, the course of modern and contemporary history of Iran and Iraq. He showed the origins of

¹⁶ Danilov L.I. The army, the government and society in modern Iraq // the army and the government in the Middle East: from authoritarianism to democracy (collection of art.) M., 2002; The history of the East: a history textbook in 2 v. M., 2001; Lusin S.G. The role of Shia movement in the political life of modern Iraq // Arab world in the late twentieth century. Materials of the 1-st conference of arabists of Institute of oriental studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. M., 1996; Lvov V.V. Modern political elite of Iraq: is there a future? // the political elite of the Middle East. M., 2000; The Contemporary history of the countries of Asia and Africa, XX century: textbook for undergraduates: in 3 v. M., 2001; Truevtsev K.M. The Arab world in the XX century: the development of the national idea // The national idea: the history, ideology, myth. M., 2004; Yurchenko V.P. About the role of force and violence in policy of Iraq (the history and the modernity) // The Middle East and the modernity. Edition 15. M., 2002.

¹⁷ Hachim F.I. Constitutional law in the Middle East. Iran, Egypt, Israel, UAE, Iraq. M., 2001; Shumov S.A., Andreev A.R. Iraq: history, people, culture: Documentary historical research. M., 2002; Sapronova M. A. Iraqi constitution in the past and the present (from the history of constitutional development of Iraq). M., 2006.

¹⁸ Primakov E.M. Confidential: The Middle East on stage and behind the scene (the second half of XX – the beginning of XXI century). M., 2012.

¹⁹ Aliyev A.A. Iran vs Iraq: the history and the modernity. M., 2002.

contradictions that lead to conflict situations in the Middle East. A.A. Aliyev devoted one of the latest works to research of features of national and religious development of Iran and Iraq in the period of the contemporary history²⁰. It identifies the origins of the incompatibility of the ideals of three national and state developments' concepts which received implementation in these countries. The concepts are the bourgeois "White Revolution" of Shah M.R. Pahlavi, the construction of an Islamic state of Ayatollah R.M. Khomeini, and the "Arab Socialist Revival" of Saddam Hussein. The author gave interpretation of the basic provisions of the Muslim dogma concerning the ethno-national and interreligious relations, he stated the views on the problems of Muslim ideologists and educators, analyzed the nature of the influence of national and religious factors on the evolution of the Islamic world. Much attention was paid to the revelation of specifics of doctrines opposition of Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism and prospects of relationship development between Iran and Iraq after overthrow of the Baathist regime.

The works of orientalist and arabists G.G. Kosach and E.S. Melkumyan reflects different aspects of political development of the Arab countries²¹. Especially productively we used the article of G.G. Kosach called "Arab nationalism or Arab nationalisms: doctrine, ethnonym, discourse options"²². This article shows the stages of formation of the Arab nationalism ideas and directly the Baathist doctrine.

The famous orientalist M.A. Saprionova studies problems of political and legal development of the Arab countries. In this regard, the great attention in thesis research is paid to the work called "The Iraqi constitution: the past and the present"²³. The author analyzed and gave an accurate assessment of the history of

²⁰ Aliev A.A. "National" and "religious" in the system of international relations of Iran and Iraq in XX century. M., 2006.

²¹ Kosach G.G., Melkumyan E.S. Саудовская foreign policy: the question of the interpretation of the national policy of the country // The Middle East and modernity. Edition 16. M., 2002; Melkumyan E.S. Iraq policy in respect of states – members of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf in the modern period // The Republic of Iraq in system of the international agreements. M., 2002.

²² Kosach G.G. Arab nationalism and Arab nationalisms: doctrine, ethnonym, discourse options // Nationalism in world history / Ex. editor V.A. Tishkov, V.A. Shnirelman. M., 2007.

²³ Saprionova M. A. Iraqi constitution in the past and the present (from the history of constitutional development of Iraq). M., 2006.

constitutional development of Iraq from 1924 to 2005. A successful attempt of revealing the general and showing features of these constitutions is made in the monograph.

Modern Russian researchers continued to study the Kurdish question. The serious scientific monographs were created. They made a big contribution to development of a domestic studying of Kurdistan and allowed to consider more thoroughly little-studied aspects of the Kurdish history, including the Kurds of Iraq. They include the works as “The History of Kurdistan”²⁴, “Kurdistan and the Kurdish question (1923 - 1945)” of M.S. Lazarev²⁵, “The Kurdish ethnic question in Iraq in recent times” of Sh.Kh. Mgoi²⁶, “Kurdistan: resources and policy” of N.Z. Mosaki²⁷, “The national liberation movement in the Iraqi Kurdistan: A historical and political sketch” of I.H. Dlera²⁸, “The Kurdish problem in Iraq” of N.V. Stepanova²⁹ and others.

The works of foreign historians, orientalists and political scientists are used widely in the thesis. They are devoted to political, economic, national, religious, international aspects of the liberation struggle in Iraq. They include the works as “Arab Nationalism: The anthology”³⁰, “Arab nationalism in the twentieth century: from triumph to despair” of A. Davisha³¹, “Origins of Arab nationalism” of R. Khalidi³², “History of Iraq” of S.A.Tripp³³, “Iraq: international relations and national development” of E. Penrouz and E.F. Penrouz³⁴ and others.

It is possible to mark separately the works of Arab authors as R. I. as-Saadi³⁵, A.Kh. Sakkar³⁶, Kh.M. Salman³⁷. These monographs are mainly devoted to social and economic transformations in Iraq in 1960 –1970 and give extensive

²⁴ The history of Kurdistan. M., 1999.

²⁵ Lazarev M.S. Kurdistan and Kurdish question (1923 – 1945). M., 2005.

²⁶ Mgoi Sh.Kh. The Kurdish national question in Iraq in recent times. M., 1991.

²⁷ Mosaki N.Z. Kurdistan: the resources and politics. In 2 v. M., 2005.

²⁸ Dler I.Kh. The national liberation movement in Iraqi Kurdistan: Historical and political sketch. St. Petersburg, 1999.

²⁹ Stepanova N.V. The Kurdish problem in Iraq. M., 2005.

³⁰ Arab Nationalism: An Anthology. Berkeley, 1962.

³¹ Dawish A. Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair. Princeton, 2003.

³² Halidi R. The Origins of Arab Nationalism. New York, 1991.

³³ Tripp C.A History of Iraq. Cambridge, 2007.

³⁴ Penrouz E., Penrouz E.F. Iraq: International relations and national development. London, 1978.

³⁵ As-Saadi R.I. Hidzhra ad-dakhiliya lil-sukan fil-Iraq 1947 – 1965. Baghdad, 1976.

³⁶ Sakkar A.H. Al-dzografiya al-iktisadiya. Baghdad, 1969.

³⁷ Salman H.M. Nahva taamim an-naft al-Iraky. Beirut, 1967.

material on economic and social situation of Iraq. The first attempt to estimate results of reforms is made.

The studying of domestic and foreign historiography allows drawing a conclusion that researchers focused the attention on studying of theoretical aspects of functioning problems of national and religious phenomena or on consideration of concrete historical processes of internal and foreign policy development of Iraq. Presently, there is no deep and complete analysis of the reign period of A.H. al-Bakr. Thus, the topic of the thesis research was not previously the subject of the special complex scientific monographic analysis.

The source base of research includes a wide and various range of materials in Arabic, Russian and English not only published previously but also introduced for the first time by the author into research. Several groups of source materials were studied, analyzed and compared.

The first group consists of state-legal sources. The main document of this group is the Iraq's provisional constitution of 1970³⁸, which provided all citizens the equal rights regardless of race, religion or language. Necessary sources of official character were the state laws implemented by A.H. al-Bakr's government in 1960 –1970³⁹. They were aimed at creation of the developed and dynamic economy of the Iraqi Republic. Contracts between the government and oil monopolies⁴⁰ by which one can trace the history of the nationalization of Iraq's oil companies are also of great value.

We used official documents and materials of the Iraqi government as Iraqi official publications about the achievements of Iraq's domestic and foreign policies after July 17, 1968. They are the generalizing collections about the situation in

³⁸ Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Iraq of 1970 (The status of 1990) // Sapronova M. A. Iraqi constitution in the past and the present (from the history of constitutional development of Iraq). M., 2006; Al-dustur al-muvakkat. Baghdad, 1970.

³⁹ Al-islah az-ziraiy va saurat 17 tammuz. Baghdad, 1969; Kanun islyah az- ziraiy rakm 117. Baghdad, 1970; Kanun hutta at-tanmiya al-kaumiya lil-sanavat 1970 – 1974. Val-muzakkarat at-tasfiriya. Madzhlis at-tahit. Baghdad, 1970; Kanun hutta at-tanmiya al-kaumiya lil-sanavat 1976 – 1980 Baghdad, 1977.

⁴⁰ The law No. 80 of December 11, 1961 on operational territories of oil monopolies // Gerasimov O.G. Iraq. M., 1984; The law No. 97 of August 7, 1967 on oil // Gerasimov O.G. Iraq. M., 1984; The law No. 69 of June 1, 1972 on nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum company // Shakhbazyan G.S. The public sector in economy of Iraq. M., 1974; The agreement concluded between the government of the Iraqi Republic and a group of oil companies of February 28, 1973 and ratified by the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council on March 1, 1973 // Shakhbazyan G.S. The public sector in economy of Iraq. M., 1974; Text of The Address of President Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr Statement of the I.P.C. Nationalization // Al-Misawi M. Iraq's oil: The people's Struggle Against oil companies' covets. Baghdad, 1973.

Iraq⁴¹ annually published by the ministry. The value of these sources is that they contain short data on an internal political situation of Iraq, statistical data, and the assessment of the government activity given by his representatives.

Important sources are the documents relating to the Iraqi Kurdistan⁴². The contract signed on March 11, 1970 between A.H. al-Bakr's government and the Kurdistan Democratic Party confirmed the right of autonomy for the Kurds. And in four years, the Law on autonomy for Kurdistan (Law No.33) was adopted on March 11, 1974. Established in accordance with the Law No.33 Kurdish Autonomous Region was considered as “a single administrative unit as autonomy within the legal and economic unity of the Republic of Iraq”⁴³.

Documents and materials of political parties of Iraq⁴⁴ helped greatly in the writing this work. According to the program documents of the Iraqi Communist Party and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, it is possible to investigate not only their relationship with the Baath Party, but their position on the reforms of A.H. al-Bakr's government. The documents by which can be traced tactics and strategy of the Baath Party for some question of domestic and foreign policy of Iraq⁴⁵ are particularly valuable.

The huge help in writing of the thesis was given by documents of 8th Regional Congress of Iraqi Baath Party held on 8 – 12 January, 1974⁴⁶. The decisions of the Congress of Baath Party showed all the changes occurred in Iraq after July, 1968, the most important moments of domestic and foreign policy, and criticism of the mistakes.

⁴¹ Al-ittidzhahat al-asasiya bihutta attanmiya al-kaumiya lisanat 1070 – 1974 fil-Iraq. Vizrat al-ialam. Baghdad, 1970; Revolution in its fifth year. Baghdad, 1973.

⁴² Mashru' al-hukm al-zati al-kukaddam min kitab al-hizb al-dimokrati al-Kurdistani ila al-hukma al-Irakia bitarih 9 azar 1973. [B. m.], 1979.; Republic Of Iraq. Ministry of Information Directorate General of Information 1977. Baghdad, 1977.

⁴³ Kanun al-hukum al-zatili mantikat Kurdistan. Baghdad, 1974. Page 3.

⁴⁴ The Iraqi Communist Party. National Congress, Baghdad, 1976. The Third National Congress of the Iraqi Communist Party. Baghdad. 4 – 6 May 1976. M., 1977; The program of the Kurdistan Democratic Party // Documents of revolutionary-democratic parties and national liberation movements in Asia and Africa. M., 1974; The program and the national charter of the Kurdistan Democratic Party. [B. m.], 1979; The national charter of the Kurdistan Democratic Party // Documents of revolutionary-democratic parties and national liberation movements in Asia and Africa. M., 1974.

⁴⁵ Al-bayan haula an-nashati as-siyasiy li mu'tamar al-katara as-sabiga li hizb al-Baas al-arabiy al-ishtiraki. Baghdad, 1969 March; Dustur Hizb al-baas al-arabiy al-ishtiraki// Al-Ahzab as-siyasiya fi Suriya. Dimashk, 1954; Revolutionary Iraq. 1968 – 1973. The Political Report adopted by the Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Baath Socialist Party– Iraq. Baghdad, 1974.

⁴⁶ United Arab Nation and Its Immortal Mission. The Arab Socialist Baath Party. Iraq region: The political report of the Arab Socialist Baath Party's Eighth Regional Congress. Helsinki, 1975.

A significant contribution in the writing of the research was represented by the “Charter for National Action” proclaimed by Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, the President of Iraq, in November 15, 1971 where problems of Iraq's domestic and external policy⁴⁷ were quite clearly formulated.

The group of sources of personal origin includes the works of the founders and representatives of the Baath party: M. Aflyak⁴⁸, Z. Al-Arsuzi⁴⁹, A.H. al-Bakr⁵⁰. The works of M. Aflyak and Z. al-Arsuz contains ideological concepts, basic principles and objectives of the Baath Party, the speeches of A.H. al-Bakr are about their practical application.

Memories of G. Haritonov⁵¹, representative of the GIU GKES of the USSR (The Engineering department of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR), helped to form more objective picture of what was happening during the A.H. al-Bakr reign in the Republic of Iraq. They shows his work in Iraq in 1973 – 1976 when there was a delivery of the Soviet military equipment in very large amounts, as well as how it was necessary to interact with the supreme military command of Iraq.

The fourth group of sources is the materials of periodical press and mass media of the studied period. The editions as “Al-Dzhumkhuriya”, “As-Saura”, “The New York Times”, “The Washington Post” and others traced changes and development of Iraq in political, economic, social, cultural and other spheres of social life⁵². In addition, Soviet periodicals of that period also were used in writing

⁴⁷ The charter and the principles of actions of the Patriotic and national and progressive front in Iraq The National Action Charter. Helsinki, 1976. Mashrur misak al-amali al-vatani. Baghdad, 1972; Misak al-amal al-vataniy allyazi aalyanahu ar-Rais al-munadyl Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr 15.11.1971. Baghdad, 1971.

⁴⁸ Aflak M. Fi sabil al-Baas. Beirut, 1976; Aflak M. Maarakat al-Masir al-vahid. Beirut, 1959; Aflak M. Al-Baas va al-ishtrakiya. Beirut, 1973; Aflak M. Al-Baas va al-vihda. Beirut, 1973; Aflak M. Nuktat al-Bidaya. Beirut, 1973.

⁴⁹ Arsuzi Z. Mashakilyuna al-kaumiya. Damask, 1958.

⁵⁰ Al-Bakr A.H. Masira sa-savra fi hutab va tasrihat as-seid rais al-dzhumhuriya al-Iraqiya Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr 1968 – 1970. Baghdad, 1971; Tasrihat as-seid rais al-dzhumhuriya al-munadid Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr. [B. i.], [b. g.]; Al-Bakr A.H. President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr press conference held on 17th November 1971. Baghdad, 1971.

⁵¹ Kharitonov G.B. Baghdad “freezing”. M., 2004.

⁵² Al-afak al-arabiya. 1976. №8; Al-afak al-arabiya. 1978. №11; Al-vakaya al-Iraqiya. 1964. 8 shubaat; Al-Dzhumhuriya. 1967. 7 aab; Al-Dzhumhuriya. 1968. 22 iyuliyu; Al-Dzhumhuriya. 1975. 13 kanunu al-auval; Al-Taura. 1972. 30 tishriin al-auval; An-Nahar. 1974. 18 kanun as-sani; An-Nasr. 1958. 14 misr; An-Nida. 1963. 14 fibrair; Ar-Rasyd. 1976. 26 kanunu al-auval; Ar-Rasyd. 1977. 3 kanun as-sani; As-Saura. 1967. 26 kanunu al-auval; As-Saura. 1972. 21 azaar; As-Saura. 1974. 12 azaar; Tarik ash-Shaab. 1975. 13 hasiiran; Keihan International. 1970. 8 July; The Guardian. 1970. 18 July; The Guardian. 1970. 6 August; The Guardian. 1971. 9 October; The New-York Times. 1959. 29 December; The New York Times. 1968. 21 July; The New York Times. 1969. 18 May; The New York Times. 1970. 23 July; The Times. 1970. 22 August; The Washington Post. 1975. 25 April; The Washington Post. 1976. 14 November; Le Monde. 1968. 11 October; Le Monde. 1974. 11 Juin;

the thesis. They regularly and promptly covered the events occurring in Iraq and all the movements and troubles of the Iraqi-Soviet relations⁵³. Despite a certain ideology, publications of periodicals were an important addition to the thesis.

The next group of sources includes declassified archive materials of the US Department of State⁵⁴. In a context where the United States fought with the Soviet Union for influence in the region, there was a tendency to establish relations with radicalized Arab regimes in Washington's foreign policy. Therefore, these materials help to understand the main objectives and problems of US foreign policy in respect of Iraq and the Middle East as a whole. Also many documents are devoted to internal and external problems of Iraq. For example, the documents relating to the "Kurdish question" are the most valuable. So, H. Kissinger, Advisor on National Security Affairs of the USA, in the memorandum to the US President R. Nixon raised the issues of funding and military support of the Iraqi Kurds⁵⁵. Also the documents of the US Department of State reflected the problems of Iran-Iraq⁵⁶, Soviet-Iraqi⁵⁷ relations and a position of Americans on these issues. The

⁵³ Izvestiya. 1971. November 15; Pravda. 1968. August 8; Pravda. 1969. March 26; Pravda. 1969. September 20; Pravda. 1970. January 29; Pravda. 1970. March 15; Pravda. 1970. April 1; Pravda. 1971. November 5; Pravda. 1973. March 5; Pravda. 1973. October 9; Pravda. 1974. April 26; Pravda. 1974. May 14; Pravda. 1977. February 4; Pravda. 1978. February 14; Pravda. 1978. June 18; Pravda. 1978. December 14.

⁵⁴ 199. Memorandum From John W. Foster of the National Security Council Staff to the President's Special Assistant (Rostow). Washington, July 17, 1968 // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v21/>; 200. Memorandum From John W. Foster of the National Security Council Staff to the President's Special Assistant (Rostow). Washington, July 22, 1968 // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v21/d200>; 206. Telegram From the Interests Section in Baghdad to the Department of State. Baghdad, March 27, 1973, 0800Z // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d206>; 240. Memorandum From the Legal Adviser of the Department of State (Maw) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (Sisco), the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs (Armstrong), the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Resources and Food Policy (Katz), and the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Finance and Development (Weintraub). Washington, December 20, 1973 // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d240>; 257. Telegram From the Interests Section in Baghdad to the Department of State. Baghdad, August 9, 1974, 0825Z // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d257>

⁵⁵ 207. Memorandum From the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon. Washington, March 29, 1973 // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d207>; 246. Memorandum From the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon. Washington, April 11, 1974 // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d246>;

⁵⁶ 270. Telegram From the Embassy in Iran to the Department of State. Tehran, December 30, 1974, 1242Z // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d270>; 286. Paper Prepared in the Office of Current Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency. Washington, May 1, 1975 // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d286>.

huge help when writing a thesis was given by the document prepared by the United States Central Intelligence Agency on the situation in Iraq in the reign period of A.H. al- Bakr⁵⁸. Americans reflected all key aspects of the internal and external policy of the Baathists in this document. It will allow any researcher to look at many events that took place in that period from a different angle.

A multiple survey of the declared subject is performed as a result of the study and use of all source materials.

The object of research is the political and socio-economic history of Iraq of the second half of the XX century.

The subject of research is the political regime of the Baath Party in the reign period of President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and nature of the transformations carried out in this period.

The purpose of the research is the disclosure of the essential features of the political regime established by the Arab Socialist Baath Party during the reign period of President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and determination of the transformations nature carried out in this period.

Proceeding from the stated purpose the following **objectives** were solved in the work:

- to study the origin and the stages of formation of the Baath Party and to consider its program and ideological principles;
- to define the social base which became the basis for the arrival of Baathists to the power;
- to describe the course and nature of revolution of 1968, to reveal objective and subjective conditions of the Baathists arrival to the power;
- to analyze the nature of political processes in Iraqi society;
- to consider domestic policy of Baath party in the Iraq territory for

⁵⁷ 230. Research Study Prepared in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Washington, August 23, 1973 // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d230>; 263. Telegram From the Interests Section in Baghdad to the Department of State. Baghdad, October 24, 1974, 1130Z // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d263>.

⁵⁸ 317. Research Study Prepared in the Central Intelligence Agency. Washington, November 1976 // U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d317>.

compliance with program directions and practical actions;

- to study the productivity of social and economic reforms;
- to study the most important directions of foreign policy of the government of A.H. al-Bakr.

The chronological framework of the thesis covers the second period of innings of the Baath Party. It coincides with the reign period of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr (1968 - 1979). A retrospective for the declared time frames was made for a more complete coverage of a number of issues in the course of work.

The geographical framework of research is limited by the territory of the state of Iraq. However, in some comparative moments a geographical framework covered the region of the Middle East.

The methodological basis of the research was made by two fundamental principles as objectivity and historicism which allow considering the history of the Baath Party as a part of the historical process of Iraqi society. Studying of the process of the emergence and formation of the Baath Party in Iraq and the coming to power of the government of A.H. al-Bakr caused the need for a use of historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and comparative, historical and systematic methods explaining the process of development of young national states in the countries liberated from colonial dependence.

The historical and genetic method allowed showing the causal connections and regularities of historical development in their direct expression, to characterize the historical events and personalities in their individuality and figurativeness. The history of the Baath Party in Iraq and the establishment of the corresponding regime are considered sequentially, beginning with the time of the origin and finishing with the rise to power.

The historical and comparative method made it possible to compare the policies of Baath Party in Syria and Iraq, and also positions of party and their implementation, to compare the relations of different parties during the reign of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

The historical and typological method allowed emphasizing the single, the special, the general, and the universal, to determine the dominating vector of

development of a political regime during this period.

The historical and systematic method led to the opportunity to study the history of the political regime of the Baath Party as a whole consisting of the interdependent parts which are the factors influencing on its formation and development.

Scientific novelty of this research is determined by a new view on the studied problem which was covered already partially in scientific literature. Policy of the Baath Party and the reign period of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr received one-sided coverage during the research. This problem was not seen as a unique and special phenomenon of scientific interest. The Soviet researchers considered all the political processes in the countries of Asia from the standpoint of the national - liberation movement as a component of the world revolutionary process. This work is the first monographic study of the socio-economic and political transformations of the Baathist regime in Iraq from 1968 to 1979 from the position of modern scientific knowledge and the theoretical estimates. Our approach is focused on the de-ideologized consideration of the personality of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, the reign of the Baath Party, the completion of unstudied lacunas of the problem.

Theoretical and practical significance of the work is that the results and conclusions of the research can be helpful for the comprehensive study of political processes in the region of the Middle East. It allows understanding more deeply the phenomenon of ethno-political conflicts in Iraq in the recent period. The actual materials of the thesis can be used in teaching in higher educational institutions for the general and special courses on the history of Iraq, international relations, in writing textbooks on the history of modern time. The main provisions and conclusions of the thesis can be applied in the formulation of priorities and concrete directions of the Iraqi-Russian relations.

The following main provisions are put on the defense:

- The Arab Socialist Baath Party is a highly original social and political phenomenon as a form of national liberation ideologies. This phenomenon played an extremely important role in the post-colonial development of the Arab countries and especially in Iraq and Syria.

- The ideological doctrine of the Baath Party in general reflected truly the level of socio-political and economic development of the Arab world and allowed to make and realize the program of social and economic reforms progressive for that time.

- The implementation of the Baathist policy in Iraq during the reign period of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr had a progressive direction for all “excesses” of the real political process.

- Baathism era of A.H. al-Bakr was really baathism of social orientation as provided a broad social support for the bulk of the population. It coincided chronologically with idea of “the social state” in the countries of the West, powerful development of the socialist USSR. Therefore, “socialist” policy or policy of “Baathist socialism” considerably differed from that policy which was later adopted by Saddam Hussein.

- The wide program of social and economic reforms was realized by baathism in Iraq from 1968 to 1979. The nationalization of oil monopolies, creation of the national industry, transformation in agrarian sector, carrying out broad social reforms for the labor, education, the pension fund and many others became the era of the Iraq state-building.

- The foreign policy of the A.H. al-Bakr government was built extensively on the basis of pragmatism. Its basic principles can be determined by three main categories: the ideological orientation of Baath party including ideas of the Arab unity and the Arab nationalism, domestic political motives and political pragmatism.

Research approbation. Basic provisions of thesis research were approved at scientific conferences as “Youth. Science. Future: technologies and projects” (Kazan, 2011), “Europe, Russia, Asia: cooperation, contradictions, conflicts” (Ryazan, 2012), “V Kazan Euroasian scientific forum "Geopolitical transformation of regions and countries of Eurasia: Search of civilization identity in the conditions of the international integration” (Kazan, 2012), “The Modern East: Society. Policy. Personalia” (2012), “VI Kazan Euroasian scientific forum: Euroasian integration in

the XXI century: potential, projects, contradictions, threats” (Kazan, 2013), “Historical Perspective” (Kazan, 2013). Results and conclusions of research are stated in scientific publications of the author among which there are articles in the leading peer-reviewed scientific journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission (VAK) of the Russian Federation.

The structure of the work. The work consists of introduction, three chapters each of which has three sections, conclusion, a list of sources and literature, and the appendix.

THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE WORK

The relevance of the research topic, the object and the subject, chronological and geographical frameworks, the purpose and the objectives, the degree of scientific elaboration, the source base of research, the methodology, the scientific novelty, the practical significance and the approbation of the study are formed and determined in **the introduction**.

The first chapter is called "**The Birth of Baathism and Iraq from 1947 to 1968**". It explores the birth of Baathist ideology and its spread in Iraqi society.

The first section is called "**The idea of creation of the Arab party (Baath) and its realization**". It is about the process of the creation of the Baath Party in Syria. The process of formation and development of the ideology of the Arab nationalism in the Middle East is briefly considered in this section. Special attention is given to the study of the emergence question of a new political force - the Baath Party on the Syrian political scene which began to apply for a role of the spokesman of interests of the Arab nation, propagandizing the idea of the Arab unity. The main postulates of baathist ideology including three basic concepts as “Unity, Liberty, and Socialism” are considered. The concept "Unity" in the baathist doctrine meant belief in the unity of the Arab nation. This aim could be gained only through a “revolution” that was supposed to liberate the Arab people from colonial underdevelopment. The concept “Liberty” meant full freedom from any external influences in political, economic and cultural spheres. The concept

“Socialism” was a necessary inference from previous two concepts as the idea of liberation from colonial dependence gave rise to the need for the creation of certain suitable economic doctrine.

The main content of the baathist party ideology was formulated very vaguely that opened great opportunities for the party for political maneuvering. Only after baathists coming to power in Iraq and in Syria these ideas received the specific content. This disposition made the ideology very convenient and popular in the political elites of these countries. This was confirmed by further events.

The second section is called “**The Iraqi wing of the Baath Party in 1950 - 1960-ies**”. It is devoted to the studying the question of Baathist ideas penetration in Iraq that led to the formation in this country a new political force. It was found out that in the 1950s The Iraqi Regional Branch of the Baath Party after expansion of its representation could enter the political arena in Iraq as a new major player. Although during the overthrow of the royalty in 1958 baathists did not play a major role, their political weight was increasing.

The period from 1958 to 1968, connected with elimination of the monarchy and transition to republican system, was characterized by the extremely unstable political situation, the struggle of various parties and groups created temporary alliances for the opposition to the ruling coalition, and political groups within the army corps, the frequent change of governments and revolutions. The Iraqi Regional Branch of the Baath Party also participated actively in this process.

The result of political activity of baathists was the overthrow of the military regime of A.K. Kasem in February 1963. All the most important positions in the state were received by the representatives of the Baath Party. However, physical violence against political opponents, the beginning of military operations in Kurdistan which caused a critical discontent in society, struggle of various groups for power in the party aggravated the political instability which result was the next revolution and loss of the power by baathists.

The third section called “**The state upheaval in 1968**” analyzes the Baath party policy after the state upheaval in 1963. The Iraqi baathists had a purge in the ranks of own party after such crushing defeat. Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr finally

strengthened his position in the party after the elimination of the right baathists, becoming the only leader. A fairly influential group of moderate figures began to form around him.

Speaking about the revolution of 1968, which led to the Baathist government headed by Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, it is possible to say that they took into account their previous mistakes, agreed with all the major political forces in the country, and could attract to the party military officers occupying key posts in the power structures of Iraq.

The second chapter named “**The domestic policy of the government of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr**” devoted to the study of domestic policy of the Baathist government.

The political changes happening in the Iraqi society in the 1970ies were studied in the first section called “**Political Processes in the Iraqi Society**”. Baathist leadership understood that they need allies for consolidation of their power. It was announced the intention to create a broad front of progressive forces. Baathists reconciled even with the main political rivals - Iraqi communists. However, baathists considered the National Patriotic Front (NPF) only as a means to expand and strengthen their power. From the very beginning the activity of NPF was in the direction of the strengthening of baasists positions, the weakening of the Communist Party, transformation of it and other participants of the Front to “junior partners”. At the same time baasists destroyed cruelly those members who did not agree with their policy. They purged all political institutions; there was a “baathization” of army and security services at full speed. By the end of the 1970th A.H. al-Bakr's government managed to establish a full political hegemony of Baath in the Iraqi society.

The second section is named “**Socio - economic transformations**”. It is devoted to the study of social and economic reforming in Iraq. The reforms, which were carried out by A. H. al-Bakr's government, were not new to Iraq. For example, A.K. Kasem's government started yet carrying out an agrarian reform. However, it was under baathists, these reforms became more complete. The nationalization of big oil companies as Iraq Petroleum Company, Basra Petroleum

Company, Mosul Oil Company, British Petroleum, etc. led to that Iraq could become the absolute owner of all oil wealth.

The nationalization of the oil monopolies in 1973 – 1975 led to that a serious blow to the foreign capital in the country was made. The nationalization of the oil industry led to the accumulation of large monetary reserves which allowed the A.H. al-Bakr's government to start a large-scale program of economic development. Agrarian reform of 1958 was brought to its logical end. Although the results of this reform were ambiguous, it can be stated that agricultural productivity and consumption was increased significantly.

Transformations in economy were followed by important social measures. Baathists carried out a reform of the education system, new labor law, pensions act and social welfare act were adopted. Considerable resources were directed to the improving of the educational level of all Iraqi population. It is necessary to recognize that the coming to power of A.H. al-Bakr's government was the beginning of the "Golden Age" of the Iraqi state. It was the most effective and productive period of the state-building.

The third section called "**The Kurdish question and attempt of its solution**" presents the process of attempt of the solution of the Kurdish problem by the government of A.H. al-Bakr. The Kurdish question was the central internal problem for the Baathist government because it threatened the stabilization of the Iraqi state. The signing of the Agreement on recognition of rights for national autonomy in 1970 gave hope to the Kurds and others Iraqis the solution of the conflict by peaceful means. But further events showed that Baghdad was not interested in a wide autonomy of the Iraqi Kurdistan, and the law adopted in March 11, 1974 was only a temporary concession. The military progress in 1975 allowed the Iraqi government to start realization of policy of "Arabization" of the Kurdish provinces.

The third chapter named "**The foreign policy of Iraq in the period of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr's presidency**" includes research of activity of the Baathist government in the field of foreign policy. Its basic principles can be determined by three main categories: the ideological orientation of the Baath party

including the idea of Arab unity and Arab nationalism, domestic political motives and political pragmatism.

However, the socio-political development of the Arab countries after attainment of political and economic independence, the changes happening in the world provided significant adjustments to the baathism ideological platform. The content of its basic ideological postulates underwent change. A similar metamorphosis happened with the idea of Arab unity, as the trend not to unite but to delaminate became more predominant in the Arab world. As a result the central elements of the A.H. al-Bakr's government foreign policy become non-alignment and an interest for solidarity and a broad integration of the Arab countries.

The first section called **“Policy of “world superpowers” and Iraq”** devoted to the study of Soviet-Iraqi and Iraqi-American relations. The government of A.H. al-Bakr in foreign policy was guided by the principle of “Arab unity”, aimed at the creation of free, safe and harmonious world joint with other nations. This policy was directed to the elimination of colonialism and the elimination of foreign dependence in the political and economic sphere. Thus, the main for baathists was the national interests of the country. So, in relations with the USSR, Baghdad tried to carry out a wide range of domestic and foreign policy actions without any consent with Moscow in spite of the financial and military dependence. On the other hand, a broad anti-American propaganda developed in Iraq was not barrier for the Baath government in the second half of the 1970ies. It had close economic collaboration with the USA.

The second section named **“Relations with Iran”** gives the analysis of the Iraqi-Iranian relations. There was the traditional rivalry for dominance in the Persian Gulf between Iraq and Iran. An attempt to establish the Iraqi-Iranian relations was made in the period of the A.H. al-Bakr. However, the Algeria agreements which resolved an issue of the river Shatt al-Arab and other territorial disputes did not lead to the solution of all problems in the relations between Baghdad and Tehran. It was promoted by the Islamic revolution in 1979 in Iran and the change of political leadership in Iraq. As a result, the problems between Baghdad and Tehran accumulated for years were not solved till the last. Both sides

continued to see in each other their main rival. This led further to the long and bloody Iran-Iraq war in 1980 - 1988.

The third section called “**Iraq and Arab world**” represents an analysis of Iraq's relations with the Arab countries. Considering “the Arab policy” of the government of A.H. al-Bakr in 1968 – 1979, it is possible to recognize that despite all the efforts of baathists to create a unit for struggle with “Imperialism and Zionism”, he had no permanent allies and friendly relations with any certain Arab country. Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia along with Iraq applied for leadership in the region and in the Arab world in general. Also it is possible to add to it different positions on the solution of the Middle East conflict, territorial disagreements, the presence of various socio-political and economic structures and regimes in the Arab world, rivalry of leaders of the Arab countries.

The results of the thesis research are reflected in **the conclusion**. The conducted research allows us to formulate conclusions and estimates which coincide with or contradict some works of modern and foreign researchers. An attempt to combine both theoretical and practical aspects of the formation of national liberation ideologies and concrete practices of nation-building on the example of one of the Middle East key countries - Iraq is made.

A.H. al-Bakr is a personality almost unexplored in the Soviet, later in the Russian historiography. There are very few facts presenting his personal biography. There are no personal memories of him. Therefore, there is a need to write the biography of this unfairly forgotten Iraqi politician. There is a big role of Saddam Hussein in many scientific works as though an initiator of all political decisions made in that time. It is an exaggeration. The personal relationships of A.H. al-Bakr with his assistant are still not well studied. Therefore, to say that A.H. al-Bakr was only nominal figure in political history of Iraq would be wrong. A.H. al-Bakr in the most difficult period of the Baath history inherited the helm gathering around him all opposing groups. By the authority of the A.H. al-Bakr in the army circles baathists managed to attract to its side a significant amount of general officers that determined their coming to power in 1968.

Going beyond the chronological framework of our research and comparing

the reign period of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and Saddam Hussein we can state careful and accurate nature of the foreign policy of A.H. al-Bakr and adventurous foreign policy actions in Iraq during the rule of Saddam Hussein (Iran-Iraq war, Invasion of Kuwait, etc.).

Our study shows that the dominance of state regulation during the reign period of the Baath Party was not an accidental phenomenon and not introduced from the outside. This policy was supported by the general public and allowed to control interreligious and ethnic conflicts which can explode Iraq inside. It suited a significant part of the population consisting of three large and several small communities. But the subsequent policy of Saddam Hussein (with his ethnic purges) and attempts of Americans to construct the Iraqi society on the western model actually broke the possibility of evolutionary development of Iraq which could lead to transformation of it into one nation.

The following works are published on the basis of the thesis:

Publications in the periodicals recommended by VAK of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation:

1. Sitdikova A.K., Yagudin B.M. The Kurdish question and an attempt of its solution by the A.H. al-Bakr's government in Iraq (1968 – 1979) / A.K. Sitdikova, B.M. Yagudin // Kazan Science. – 2013. – №12. – Pages 52 – 54.

2. Sitdikova A.K., Yagudin B.M. The political struggle in Iraq in 60 – 70ies of the XX century / A.K. Sitdikova, B.M. Yagudin // Kazan Science. – 2014. – №1. – Pages 32 – 34.

3. Sitdikova A.K., Yagudin B.M. The struggle for Iraqi oil in 1960 – 1970 / A.K. Sitdikova, B.M. Yagudin // Global scientific potencial. – 2014. – №3 (36). – Pages 43 – 45.

Publications in other journals:

1. Sitdikova A.K. The Baath Party: political and socio-economic development of Iraq in 70-ies of the XX century / A.K. Sitdikova // Youth.

Science. Future: technologies and projects: materials of international scientific-practical conference of young scientists and specialists, October 21–22, 2011: in 3 v. – 2012. – T.3. – Pages 83 – 85.

2. Sitdikova A.K. Baathism ideology and struggle for power in Iraq in 50 – 60-ies of the XX century / A.K. Sitdikova // Europe, Russia, Asia: Cooperation, contradictions, conflicts: materials of all-Russian scientific-practical conference. November 29, 2012. / ed by. I.M. Erlikhson, YU.I. Loseva; Ryazan State University named after S.A. Yesenin. – Ryazan, 2012. – P. 293 – 296.

3. Sitdikova A.K. Iraqi – Iranian relations in 1968 – 1979 of the XX century / A.K. Sitdikova // Historical perspective. Materials of scientific-practical conference of young historians. Kazan, December 10, 2012. – Kazan: Institute of history of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, 2013. – Pages 86 – 90.

4. Sitdikova A.K. Socio-economic transformations of A/H/ al-Bakr's government in Iraq (1970) / A.K. Sitdikova // Young scientist. – 2014. – №6. – Pages 614 – 616.