

## ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND ITALY IN THE OIL FIELD (1963-1972 AD)

<sup>1</sup>A.M.DR. MUNIR ABBOOD JDEAH, <sup>2</sup>OMAR NAJE MUSA

<sup>1</sup>Iraq. College of Arts, University of Anbar  
art.munirap76@uoanbar.edu.iq

<sup>2</sup>Iraq. College of Arts, University of Anbar  
Omaranas1993o@gmail.com

*Summary: This research came to shed light on the economic cooperation between Iraq and Italy in the oil field during the year 1963-1979 and its impact on the progress of the development of relations between the two countries, since oil is an important factor in drawing up the bilateral relations between the two countries, as the oil dealings between the two countries at its inception during that period is not limited to being a factor. Despite the fact that Italy had only a few stakes in some of Iraq's oil wells due to the global monopolistic companies' control over Iraq's oil, and after the establishment of the Iraqi National Oil Company and its control over Iraq's oil, Italy seriously sought to obtain oil concessions in Iraq through its most prominent company represented by Eni. But the difficulties it faced from the monopolistic companies and the Iraqi National Oil Company's refusal of the offer prevented that, but after that it wanted to stay away from investing in Iraq, but the circumstances that Italy went through made it return to search for cooperation with Iraq in the oil field, but not to obtain a concession only this time, but Purchasing crude oil in return for providing services and industrial cooperation to the Iraqi side. Italy had a positive attitude towards the nationalization of Iraqi oil in 1972.*

*Keywords: nationalization, cooperation, concession, monopolistic, circumstances*

### INTRODUCTION

The issue of economic relations between Iraq and Italy in the oil field is one of the important topics that had an important space in studies and international relations, especially since the relationship between the two countries embarked on a great development in this field and the lack of accurate studies that shed light on such topics, hence my choice for this study. The research dealt with three axes, the first axis came about the importance of oil and its impact on the bilateral relations between Iraq and Italy 1963-1972, while the second axis dealt with the agreement concluded between Iraq and the Italian Eni Corporation for the sale of crude oil in 1972, while the third axis dealt with Italy's position on the nationalization of oil in Iraq in 1972.

The first axis

The importance of oil and its impact on the bilateral relations between the two countries 1963-1972

Since its discovery, oil has been a key factor in drawing up the map of international relations, especially economic relations, as many countries have sought to obtain an important and vital resource in order to build relations with oil-producing and consuming countries. Global relations, especially political and economic (1), as Iraq, which is one of the major oil-producing countries in the world, was not to be excluded from that equation, since oil, since its discovery in Iraq in 1927 until the early seventies, specifically in 1972, was in a difficult and complex economic equation as well as with important political dimensions. It was imposed on him by the major countries that own monopolistic oil companies, which was reflected in one way or another on drawing a map of all paths related to each of the political, economic and cultural aspects, and the importance of oil not only as a major factor, but as an engine and controller in drawing up economic policy in the world. Therefore, the Iraqi government realized and was certain that investing in oil is an investment. Directly to achieve its goals and objectives will be achieved in the direction towards the socialist camp (2).



Iraq took many steps to reduce the monopoly of international oil companies, and the most prominent step was the establishment of what is known as the Iraqi National Oil Company (INOC) in 1964 (3). The idea of establishing the Iraqi National Oil Company dates back to the end of 1962, when the Iraqi government announced a project The Law of Establishing the National Oil Company. A regulation was also prepared for this matter following the developments brought about by the incorporation of (4), (Law No. 80) in 1961 (5), and in 1964 Law No. 11 was issued announcing the establishment of the Iraqi National Oil Company (6), specifying The company, according to the law, aims to work inside and outside Iraq in the oil industry, including oil exploration, production, storage, refining, distribution, and other oil activities. It also has the right to contract with oil-producing companies in the world (7), and the law also granted the company the right to invest in land. All Iraqis, with the exception of those located within the borders of the regions specified for foreign companies under Law No. 80 of 1961(8), the government has tended to transform the country's oil sector into direct investment by developing the National Oil Company to be the state's gateway to control oil activities in the country(9), and to achieve In this matter, the Iraqi government followed a special oil policy, as it is supported by a series of external agreements, and thus relies on competing countries and companies for companies operating in Iraq with the aim of providing Iraq with the expertise and means required to achieve its oil projects (10), so the Iraqi government signed a number of agreements with countries The most important of which was the agreement between the National Oil Company and the French company (ERAB) on February 3, 1968, which opened the way for Iraq to search for large oil relations with other countries (11).

First - The beginning of oil cooperation between the two countries:

The beginning of cooperation in the field of oil between Iraq and Italy was limited to Italy owning some of the shares in the oil wells in Iraq, so that the relationship between the two countries was not affected after the revolution of 1958 AD, as Iraq maintained its relationship with Italy because of the economic interests, specifically oil, although it tended to the socialist camp, and in 1963 AD, after Abd al-Salam Aref assumed power, Iraq opened up towards strengthening relations with some countries, including Italy (12), and in order to strengthen relations between the two countries, Italy began importing Iraqi oil in the early sixties, as in 1964 AD it ranked third among the countries importing Iraqi oil with a rate of 14.5%, and in 1965 it remained in the same rank, while it advanced to the second rank among the countries importing Iraqi oil in 1966, with a rate of 35.52% (13), and the Iraqi government sought to develop its relationship with Italy in many fields, especially by acquiring Experiences in the field of oil, especially since it was the first cooperation between the two countries, and on October 16, 1966, when the Iraqi Foreign Minister (14) visited Italy (14), (Adnan Pachachi) (15), during which he met with the Italian Foreign Minister (Amintore Fanfani) (16 ), and the meeting resulted in strengthening relations between the two countries in the field of oil and in economic fields in general (17).

The frameworks of cooperation between the two countries expanded, as on March 27, 1967, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs (Amintore Fanfani) arrived in Iraq. The ceremony at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs visited the refinery, which lasted two hours, and that was on March 30, 1967 AD (18), and Fanfani listened to a detailed explanation of the refinery and its production capacity for various types of derivatives, especially gasoline and other products, and the expansion projects that are being worked on and the social services provided by the refinery to its employees Fanfani expressed his desire to deepen relations between Iraq and Italy in the various oil fields. The Italian Minister Fanfani continued his tour throughout the refinery, through which he was briefed on the production methods and the fat production units. Then he visited the new unit for fats, which is being established by an Italian company, and met with the engineers and workers of the company who They were Italians and Iraqis and their job was to manage the refinery

At the conclusion of his visit to the refinery, he expressed his sincere thanks to the supervisors of the refinery and wished them success, and to the refinery Al-Azhar (19). Likewise, the setback of June 5, 1967 AD, and the Italian position accompanying it, advocating and supporting Arab causes (20), and the French newspaper Al-Kumba on February 6, 1968 AD attributed a statement to



Professor (Adeeb Al-Jader) (21), Chairman of the National Oil Company, as saying that there are good signs in the future from Regarding the possibility of concluding an agreement between the Iraqi National Oil Company and the Italian National Oil Company, Mr. Al-Jader added ((We were waiting for the delegation of the Italian Oil Company to arrive in Baghdad to continue the negotiations that began a long time ago, although Iraq concluded agreements in this regard with both France And the Soviet Union)) Italy also found that there is still great potential in the field of oil and that the concessions granted by Iraq so far do not cover more than ten percent of the oil-rich Iraqi lands (22).

However, the development of relations between the two countries, which was expressed by the Italian newspapers on February 14, 1968, by saying ((President Aref broke the global oil monopolies)) and the Italian newspaper (Babize Serra) also commented on the agreement signed by the Iraqi National Oil Company with a group of companies The French ERAB and that the credit for this agreement goes to the Iraqi President Abd al-Rahman Muhammad Aref and his willingness to break the global monopoly (of the Seven Sisters - the global monopolistic oil companies) (23), and prompt the National Oil Company to sign the agreement and thus liberate the Iraqi economy from monopolistic control and obtain income New to Iraq, as the Italian newspaper (Corriere Delassery) devoted an article that the position of the Iraqi government is a sound one towards any offer that is presented, and it will provide an opportunity for all international companies to cooperate with it in investing in technical oil fields, and this position calls for the appreciation and wisdom of the Iraqi government that does not want to put According to the description of the Italian newspaper, its eggs are in one basket. The Iraqi government also saw that it is not wise to link the country's economic future with an international force, but rather in preserving the national economic interests (24).

After the 1968 coup and the overthrow of the rule of Abd al-Rahman Muhammad Aref, despite these developments that took place, they did not change the Iraqi government's orientation towards the major oil-producing countries and its conclusion of several agreements during 1969 with France, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Poland, but Iraq's agreements were not limited to The socialist countries alone, but enable Iraq to conclude important agreements with European countries and their companies, including the agreement between Iraq and the Italian company (Snam Progeti) on October 22, 1971, in which the Italian company pledged to provide Iraq with equipment, devices and services to build a factory for plastic industries. Payment to that company from the Iraqi side through shipments of Iraqi crude oil (25).

Those contracts and agreements led to a comprehensive development in Iraq in the seventies, and in order to continue the progress and construction of Iraq, the Iraqi government needed stable sources to finance its development projects away from the policy of fluctuating oil production and pumping it, as it concluded an agreement with the monopolistic oil companies operating in Iraq on January 15 First / 1971 in order to agree on a fixed method of pumping volume that companies must adhere to (26).

The second axis

The agreement concluded between Iraq and the Italian company Eni for the sale of crude oil in 1972

The Italian Eni Corporation (27) is among the most important Western companies that wanted to cooperate in the production of Iraqi crude oil, as it faced difficulty at the beginning of negotiations with the Iraqi government because of the opposition it was facing from the Iraq Petroleum Company, which prevents any external interference in the oil sector. Iraqi oil In the mid-sixties, specifically in 1965, the exploratory talks between Eni and the Iraqi government were resumed through an exchange of letters between the senior management of the Italian government agency and those responsible for the Iraqi National Oil Company and the Iraqi Ministry of Petroleum Affairs on November 14, 1965. The credit for sending such messages was - Raphael Girotti - General Manager of Eni, who wanted to resume negotiations with the Iraqi government. On March 5, 1966, the senior management of Eni sent its representative, Enrico Gandolfi, Head of Foreign Affairs, to Baghdad twice, to exchange views and present A proposal for an agreement between the two

countries. Eni's proposal was to take an absolute oil concession in Iraq and to break the monopoly of decades-old Anglo-American companies and implement a policy of equal profits. These proposals were rejected by the management of the National Oil Company - inok because of the tension between the Iraqi government in Baghdad and the monopolistic oil companies represented by the Iraq Oil Company, as the first proposal submitted by the Italian company was not accepted by the Iraqi government and was not in line with the directions of Iraqi politics. January 5, 1967 AD (28), Major General (Naji Talib) (29), Prime Minister and Interim Minister for Petroleum Affairs, presented a package of proposals to the senior management of Eni, aimed at concluding an agreement between the Iraqi government and the Italian company. The content of the proposal is that the Iraqi state maintains Ownership of the oil fields and for Eni to provide its services in the search, exploration and extraction of oil. Although the project deviated from Eni's request, the Italian company decided to accept the proposal submitted by Naji Talib, as Gerotti, General Manager of Eni, announced in a letter dated March 17. 1967 to Gandolfi - that he will be sent to Iraq with full powers to conduct negotiations that began with the suggestion of Eni that it is ready to buy at least 20 million tons of oil per year at a price of one dollar and 14 cents per barrel, and the Italian company Eni was also ready to provide An amount of 50 million dollars as an annual share for the purchase of oil with the aforementioned amount. The Iraqi response was quick to the Italian offer represented by the Italian company Eni obtaining the oil concession in Iraq. The Iraqi side responded with several letters to the Italian side to express their rejection of the offer. One of the most important of these messages was the price of the barrel provided. By the Italian side, as the suggestions submitted by the Italian side were not welcomed by the Italian side, specifically by Eni, so the general manager of the Italian company turned to the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fanfani, in order to contribute to resolving this matter, and they informed Fanfani of how the views differ between the two parties. On the sidelines of the meeting that Fanfani held with the Iraqi government, the general manager of the Italian company took up this matter and sent Gandolfi to Baghdad with the arrival of Fanfani to inform him of the progress of the negotiations in all possibilities, as Fanfani made a useful contribution in overcoming the difficulties of negotiation, and after weeks the vice president of Eni- Eni Eugenio Severi - the real engineer of Eni after Matti, as he wrote to the Minister of Trade Giorgio Bo - to ask his permission to continue negotiations with the Iraqi government, and Sivis summarized the salient points in order to negotiate a form of cooperation to exploit the oil fields in In southern Iraq, Eni also pledged to withdraw 20 million tons of oil for a period of 25 years, and the Italian government had to pay an amount to the Iraqi government on the date of signing the potential agreement, and the amount is considered a loan to be repaid through the withdrawal of crude oil. 1968(30).

On October 7, 1969, the Iraqi government submitted a request to the Italian government to conclude a new agreement represented in the sale of Iraqi crude oil produced by the inok company to Italy with long-term contracts in exchange for Italian goods and services provided by various companies of the Eni group, and other national industrial groups capable of Work in Iraqi territory and contacts continued between the Italian Eni and the Iraqi INOC company, and in November 1969 the head of the INOC company sent to Girotti the director of the Eni company, and the ENOC company called for a meeting in February 1970 between the two companies, Enoc and Eni, but Eni saw that it had developed its own sources of supply and reached Self-sufficiency (31), and at the end of 1970, Eni agreed to resume negotiations after the decline in oil production in the Mediterranean, which was determined by the Italian tensions in Libya and the confiscation of their property due to the decision of the Gaddafi regime to expel the Italians, and after those events, Eni increased its interest in buying crude oil Iraq in the Mediterranean, and the negotiations ended with an agreement concluded between the Iraqi government and the Italian company Eni in 1972 (32), as the treaty was concluded in Rome on March 10, 1972 between the Iraqi National Oil Company - inok represented by Dr. Abdullah Al-Sayyab on the one hand and Eni Corporation The Italian, represented by Dr. Giuseppe Ratti, on the other hand, did not work unless it was ratified by the Iraqi government, as it was ratified on May 15, 1972 after the government held its session and was published in the Official Gazette. And the development of mutual interests between the two



parties in all fields, especially oil, an oil sale agreement was concluded. As a result of the two parties being convinced of the results of cooperation and in order to expand it (33), the two parties agreed on the following:

Article One: The Iraqi National Oil Company (inoc) and its subsidiaries and other Iraqi institutions through which they deal, and the Italian corporation Eni will sign special contracts between them.

Article Two: - The Italian companies represented by (ENI) will buy from (INOC) a quantity of crude oil produced in Iraq amounting to 20 million tons and the available quantities within a period of ten years.

Article Three: After the second year of the implementation of this agreement, INOC and the Italian companies represented by Eni shall study the possibility of increasing the quantities of crude oil, taking into account the mutual interests of the two parties on the basis of balancing the value of the opposite purchases.

Article 4:- INOC purchases within ten years, services, materials and products that are normally supplied by the affiliated establishments of Eni, as well as materials and services from other Italian companies whenever they are offered by Eni. over an equal period of ten years.

Article Five: The prices of crude oil and equipment indicated in Articles Two and Four shall be determined in Italian Lira or any other convertible currency agreed upon.

Article Six: The crude oil prices shown in Article Two shall be competitive and agreed upon after reference to the prices achieved in the global free market for sales.

Article Seven: A sale contract is reached between ENOC on the one hand and the Italian companies on the other hand with regard to the shipment of crude oil. between two sides.

Article 8: The prices of the special contracts agreed upon by the two parties regarding projects, facilities, machinery, equipment and products supplied by the Italian side in the agreement, and that the prices are internationally competitive.

Article Nine: All contracts for crude oil and contracts for supplying industrial projects and facilities resulting from this agreement are considered independent of each other. The two parties also agreed that the purchases of the Iraqi government from the Italian company Fiat s.p.a-Torino are included in the agreement and that the central bank is informed of the contract and agreement between the government and the company. the aforementioned Italian, so that the bank can calculate its value in implementation of the agreement between the two countries and between INOC and Eni.

Article Ten: A joint committee of representatives of Eni and representatives of INOC shall be formed within six months after the entry into force of this agreement. The committee shall lay down the necessary procedures for implementing this agreement and resolving all issues that impede the implementation of the agreement and the contracts concluded thereunder. The committee meets in Baghdad and Rome periodically every six months or at the request of any of the parties. both parties.

Article Eleven: The two parties shall resolve any dispute resulting from this agreement by means of friendly negotiation, with the intervention of the joint committee formed in accordance with Article Eleven, and in the event that no agreement is reached within 30 days from the date of the request for a meeting of the joint committee by one of the parties to the agreement, and in the event that it is not resolved by the committee The Joint shall be referred to the International Arbitration Committee under the Arbitration Rules of the International Chamber of Commerce by three arbitrators appointed under those Rules - and the arbitration shall take place in Geneva (Switzerland).

Article Twelve: - This agreement shall be executed after it is signed and approved by the governments of Iraq and Italy in accordance with the legal procedures in force in each country.





Each party shall notify the other party by registered mail after obtaining all the necessary approvals. Obtaining these approvals within three months.

Article Thirteen: - This agreement shall be in force for a period of ten years, after which the period of validity may be extended for five years by agreement of the two parties (34).

Signed in Rome on March 10, 1972, in two original copies, each in the English language

It was signed on the Iraqi side by Enoch Abdullah Al-Sayyab and on the Italian side by Eni Giuseppe Ratti (35).

Third axis

Italy's position on the nationalization of oil in Iraq in 1972

The nationalization of oil in Iraq came on June 1, 1972 AD, the beginning of the end of the control of oil monopolies by foreign companies, and the decision of nationalization is one of the very important political and economic measures in terms of the temporal context of its adoption and the nature of the factors and considerations that resulted from it, as it comes about twenty years after the overthrow of the Mossadegh government in Iran in 1952, which produced a unique situation in favor of the oil monopoly companies, which portrayed the emerging situation on the basis that it represents a clear punishment for anyone who tries to adopt a policy that would confront it in the region. Therefore, the nationalization in Iraq came within national, national and international circumstances that required restoring confidence to the peoples. And confirming its ability to resolutely confront foreign companies and their advanced pillars, which are represented by their oil monopolies, and in this regard, he continued to need research and analysis (36).

Most of the developing countries were either colonies or economic and political attachments to another country from the industrially developed Western countries, and all measures taken in the name of those countries were mainly aimed at protecting their colonial interests. With each other (37), there was competition and political conflict between the colonial countries over oil in some regions of the world, especially the countries of the Middle East.

When Iraq nationalized its oil industry, it was exercising a right of national sovereignty over its resources and preserving them from plunder and foreign exploitation, and the decision to nationalize oil had a wide echo among the oil-producing and importing countries, whose view differed between supporters of nationalization and opponents of it according to their own interests (39)

As for the position of Western European countries, led by Britain, it denounced the nationalization decision and stated that it was taken without prior coordination between it and Iraq.

As for the position of the United States of America on the nationalization of oil in Iraq, and according to an intelligence assessment conducted by the CIA, it was issued shortly after the nationalization. Marketing its oil in Western markets by increasing production in other oil-producing countries, and the communist markets will not be able to receive only a small part of the Iraqi oil that it usually exports from the fields of the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) (41).

As for the position of the Soviet Union, as the Soviet Union believes that the step of nationalizing oil will make Iraq economically stronger, which will serve its interests, represented by establishing agreements with the Iraqi side in various economic fields (42).

As for the French position, it sent a telegram to the Iraqi government expressing its support for the nationalization decision. According to the French judiciary, the nationalization decision of the Iraq Petroleum Company cannot be appealed, and the nationalization process is a sovereign right of any country (43).

As for the Italian position, which is the most important part of our study, it was positive towards the nationalization of Iraqi oil, as the Italian government welcomed that step, and its response was that Iraq will be economically strengthened, which leads to the conclusion of purchase agreements with Italy and will make it easier for it to negotiate with it. Other European countries also welcomed the decision, which are all of Spain, Greece and Turkey (44).



Also, Italy and a number of European countries, including Spain, Germany, Greece and the Netherlands, as well as Japan, ignored the call of the monopolistic companies operating in Iraq to impose a boycott on the purchase of Iraqi oil, but Italy and the aforementioned countries continued to buy Iraqi oil (45), and as a continuation of cooperation between the two countries, Italian oil companies presented in 1972, aid to Iraq under service contracts similar to the French IRAP agreement in order to support Iraq in light of the fight against monopolistic oil companies

Especially after his nationalization of oil in the same year (46), the nationalization of Iraqi oil from the Iraqi government in 1972 AD overlapped with the Arab-Israeli conflict and the October War (the Yom Kippur War) (47) in 1973, which led to (the energy crisis in 1973 AD) (48), with the sharp increases in oil in light of the growing economic and political role of the Arab countries and Iraq in particular, which prompted Italy to call for a policy of supporting the Arab position in the conflict with Israel, and concluding agreements with the Iraqi government in order to obtain large quantities of crude oil in exchange for Goods and services in order to contribute to the local economic development. Although it was a period of social and political turmoil in Italy, as it was characterized by a wave of unrest and terrorism that affected the country, the oil strategy for Italian goods towards Iraq was completely successful, as Italian government and private companies obtained major contracts covering such a variety of important missions that during the 1970s Iraq became one of Italy's main oil suppliers (49).

## CONCLUSION.

During this study, the researcher reached several results, which can be summarized as follows:

1-Oil was considered a key factor in drawing up any relationship, including the Iraqi-Italian relations, as the latter sought to find a solid relationship in the light of economic relations, specifically oil.

2-The Iraqi government has sought from the beginning to establish a relationship with Italy in the economic field, specifically oil, in order to gain experience, and this is considered the first step in cooperation with the two countries.

3-Italy found, through the bilateral relationship with Iraq, that there are great potentials to strengthen cooperation in the oil field through the concessions granted by Iraq.

4-The bilateral relations between the two countries maintained their balance in the oil field, despite the internal political developments that Iraq witnessed during that period, especially the coup in 1968 AD, the advent of a new era, and the nationalization of oil in 1972 AD.

5-The Iraqi-Italian relations culminated in an agreement in 1972 AD with the Italian Eni Corporation, which came to complement the journey of deepening economic relations, specifically oil.

6- After the nationalization of oil in Iraq on June 1, 1972 AD, Italy had a positive position on the nationalization decision in Iraq and did not stand against such a measure, despite the rejection of some major countries for that step, and that position came to strengthen the bilateral relations between the two countries.


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