

INTERGOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION

The United States severed diplomatic relations with Iran on April 4, 1980.

Permanent Representative to the UN: Kamal KHARRAZI.

IGO Memberships (Non-UN): CCC, CP, IC, IDB, Intelsat, Interpol, NAM, OPEC, PCA.

IRAQ

Republic of Iraq
al-Jumhuriyah al-'Iraqiyah

Political Status: Independent state since 1932; declared a republic following military coup which overthrew the monarchy in 1958. The present constitution is a substantially amended version of a provisional document issued September 22, 1968.

Area: 167,924 sq. mi. (434,923 sq. km.).

Population: 16,278,316 (1987C), 17,288,000 (1990E).

Major Urban Centers (1977C): BAGHDAD (3,236,000); Basra (1,540,000); al-Mawsil (1,220,000); Kirkuk (535,000).

Official Languages: Arabic, Kurdish.

Monetary Unit: Dinar (market rate April 1, 1990, 1 dinar = \$3.22US).

President of the Republic, Prime Minister, and Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council: Saddam HUSSEIN (HUSAYN); designated by the RCC on July 12, 1979, succeeding Ahmad Hasan al-BAKR on July 16.

Vice President of the Republic: Taha Muhyi al-Din MA'RUF; designated by the RCC on April 21, 1974.

Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council: 'Izzat IBRAHIM; designated by the RCC on July 16, 1979, succeeding Saddam HUSSEIN.

THE COUNTRY

Historically known as Mesopotamia ("land between the rivers") from its geographic position centering in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, Iraq is an almost landlocked, partly desert country whose population is overwhelmingly Muslim and largely Arabic-speaking, but includes a Kurdish minority of well over a million in the northeastern region bordering on Syria, Turkey, and Iran. Most Muslims, by a slim majority, are Shi'ite, although the regime has long been Sunni-dominated. Women comprise about 25 percent of the paid labor force, 47 percent of the agricultural work force, and one-third of the professionals in education and

Abdol Hosein Vahaji
Qolam Reza Foruzesh
Dr. Mostafa Moin-Najafabadi

Akbar Torkan
Dr. Mohsen Nurbakhsh
Mohammad Ali Najafi
Bijan Namdar-Zangeneh
Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati
Dr. Iraj Fazel
Mohammad Hadi
Nejad-Hoseinian

Sarajuddin Kazeruni
Mohammad Reza Nematzadeh
Hojatolislam Ali

Falahian-Khuzestani
Abdollah Hamid
Nuri-Hosein-Abadi
Dr. Sayed Mohammad
Khatami-Ardekani
Nojatolislam Mohammad Esmail
Shoshtari

Hosein Kamali
Mohammad Hosein Mahlujchi
Qolam Reza Aqazadeh-Khol
Mohammad Qarazi
Mohammad Sayyed-Kia

Mohammad Hosein Adeli

NEWS MEDIA

The press is provided for in the 1979 constitution in regard to violations of public morality and decency, or impugning the reputation of individuals. The opposition press has been stifled. Over 100 newspapers were shut down in August 1979 and drastic controls imposed on foreign journalists, including a ban on extended interviews with government officials and a requirement that reporters apply for press cards every month. In August 1980 Ayatollah Khomeini called for press censorship and on June 7, 1981, an additional 100 newspapers were banned. Among them were *Mizan*, the opposition paper, run by Mehdi Bazargan; *Hammi*, owned by Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr; and *Majlis*, organ of the *Tudeh* Party. Subsequently, on June 25, 1981, the *Majlis* passed a law making it illegal to use "pen and speech" against the government. Under its provisions, the radical daily *Azadegan* was shut down in June 1985.

Following are among the dailies published at Teheran: *Hammi* (350,000); *Ettela'at* (Information 250,000); *Khorassan* (250,000); *Islamic Republic*, organ of former Islamic Republic; *Teheran Times*, in English; *Abrar* (Rightly Guided), successor to *Azadegan*.

In December 1981 the domestic facility, Pars News Agency, and the Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA); following the closing of Reuters' Teheran office, *Agence France-Presse* were the only remaining Western bureaus maintaining offices in Iran. The Soviet agency TASS, East Germany's ADN, and the Chinese News Agency (*Xinhua*) are also represented at Teheran.

The Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting provides over two networks and home-service radio broadcasting in indigenous and foreign languages. Broadcasting services are provided by the government-controlled *Radio Naft-e-Melli*. There were 2.9 million television receivers in 1989.

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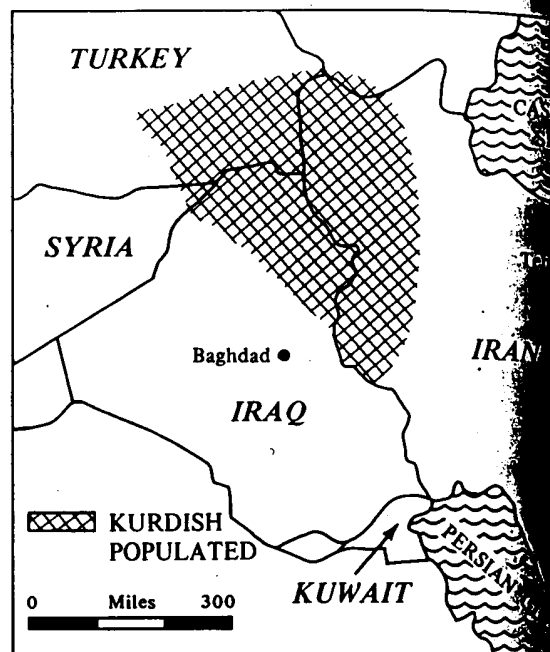
health care; traditionally minimal female representation in government was partially reversed at the 1984 National Assembly balloting, when the number of women deputies rose from 14 to 80 (32 percent). In addition, a moderate interpretation of Islamic law has given women equal rights in divorce, land ownership, and suffrage.

Agriculture, which was characterized by highly concentrated land ownership prior to the introduction of land-reform legislation in 1958, occupies about two-fifths of the population but produces under one-tenth of the gross national product. The most important crops are dates, barley, wheat, rice, and tobacco. Oil is the leading natural resource and accounts for over half of GNP. Other important natural resources include phosphates, sulphur, iron, copper, chromite, lead, limestone, and gypsum. Manufacturing industry is not highly developed, although petrochemical, steel, aluminum, and phosphate plants were among heavy-industrial construction projects undertaken in the 1970s. In recent years the country has experienced severe economic difficulty as the result of depressed oil prices and the heavy cost (including shortfalls in oil output) attributable to war with Iran. However, economic reforms launched in 1987, coupled with postwar optimism, helped propel GDP growth by 10 percent in 1988, the first positive rate since the early 1980s.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Political background. Conquered successively by Arabs, Mongols, and Turks, the region now known as Iraq became a British mandate under the League of Nations following World War I. British influence, exerted through the ruling Hashemite dynasty, persisted even after Iraq gained formal independence in 1932; the country continued to follow a generally pro-British and pro-Western policy until the overthrow of the monarchy in July 1958 by a military coup that cost the lives of King FAISAL II and his leading statesman, Nuri al-SA'ID. Brig. Gen. 'Abd al-Karim KASSEM (QASIM), leader of the revolt, ruled as head of a left-wing nationalist regime until he too was killed in a second coup on February 8, 1963, that brought to power a new military regime led by Lt. Gen. 'Abd al-Salam 'AREF ('ARIF) and, after his accidental death in 1966, by his brother, Gen. 'Abd al-Rahman 'AREF. The 'Aref regime terminated in a third, bloodless coup on July 17, 1968, which established (then) Maj. Gen. Ahmad Hasan al-BAKR, a former premier and leader of the right wing of the *Baath* Socialist Party, as president and prime minister.

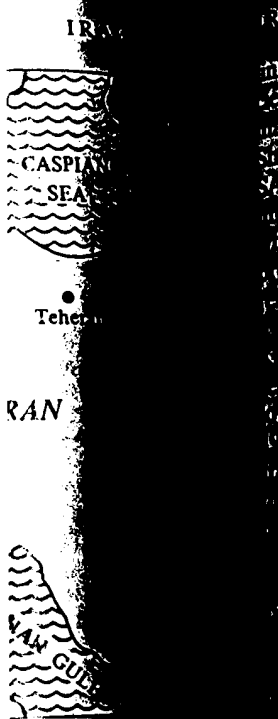
Under Bakr a number of alleged plots were used as excuses to move against internal opposition; the most prominent took place in June 1973 when a coup attempt by Col. Nazim KAZZAR, head of national security, led to numerous arrests and executions. Domestic instability was further augmented by struggles within the *Baath* and by relations with the Kurdish minority. The Kurds, under the leadership of Gen. Mustafa al-BARZANI, resisted most Baghdad governments in the two decades after World War II and, with Iranian military support, were intermittently in open rebellion from 1961 to 1975. A 1970 settlement with



the Kurds broke down over distribution of revenues and exclusion of the oil-producing Kurds from Kurdistan. In May 1974 Iraq and Iran announced mutual withdrawal of troops along their common border pending a settlement of outstanding issues, but the Iraqi army subsequently launched a major offensive against the rebels and over 130,000 Kurds fled to Iran to escape hostilities. Concessions were ultimately made on the part of Iraq in an agreement concluded between the two countries in March 1975 during an OPEC meeting at Algiers. A "reconciliation" treaty being signed at Baghdad the following June. Iraq agreed to abandon a long-standing claim to the Shatt al-'Arab waterway at its southern boundary with Iran and accepted a delimitation of the Iraq-Iran frontier on the basis of agreements concluded in 1975. The British presence in Iraq; Iran, in return, agreed to provide all aid to the Kurds, whose resistance momentarily subsided. In mid-1976, however, fighting again broke out between Iraqi forces and the Kurdish *Pesh Mergan*, ostensibly because of the government's new policy of massive deportation of Kurds to southern Iraq and their replacement by Arabs.

On July 16, 1979, President Bakr announced his resignation from both party and government offices. His successor, Saddam HUSSEIN, had widely been considered the strongman of the regime, and his accession to the presidency of the *Baath* and the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) came as no surprise. Earlier in the year the Communist Party (ICP) had withdrawn from the old National Progressive Front (see Political Developments) following what Hussein himself had termed the "liquidation" of Communists from the government, while in late July of a failed "conspiracy" against the new regime provided further evidence that he had effectively eliminated his opponents from the RCC.

Although former president Bakr was known to be experiencing health problems, his resignation was



linked to differences within the RCC in regard to three poli-
 (1) containment not only of the Kurds but, in the after-
 of the Iranian Revolution, the increasingly restive
 in the community, led by Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-
 until his execution in April 1980; (2) an Iraqi-Syrian
 unification plan (see Foreign relations, below), aspects of
 which President Hussein found objectionable; and (3) sup-
 pression of the Iraqi Communist Party, including the
 removal from the cabinet of its two ministers. Although
 a broad amnesty was proclaimed on August 16, 1979,
 Kurdish, Shi'ite, and Communist opposition to the Hus-
 government persisted and appeared to expand fol-
 lowing Baghdad's September 17, 1980, abrogation of the
 Algiers agreement and the invasion five days later of
 the Khuzistan Province, yielding a debilitating conflict
 that was to preoccupy the regime for the next eight years
 (see Foreign relations, below).

Constitution and government. Constitutional processes
 were largely nonexistent during the two decades after the
 coup, despite the issuance of a provisional basic law
 followed in 1971 by a National Action Charter that
 provided for the establishment of local governing councils and
 the convening of a legislature. It was not until June and
 September 1980 that elections were held for a unicameral
 National Assembly and a Kurdish Legislative Council,
 respectively. The RCC was not, however, dissolved, effec-
 tively remaining concentrated in its chairman, who
 continued to serve concurrently as president of the Repub-
 lic, assisted by a vice president and a Council of Ministers,
 and the president has broad powers of appointment and is also
 commander in chief of the Armed Forces. The judicial sys-
 tem is headed by a Court of Cassation and includes five
 courts of appeal, courts of the first instance, religious
 and revolutionary courts that deal with crimes in-
 volving state security.

In a concession to northern minority sentiment, the
 Kurds in 1974 were granted "autonomy [as] defined by
 the constitution" and in 1976 the country's 16 provincial governorates
 were expanded to 18, three of which were designated as
 "Autonomous Regions."

In January 1989 it was announced that a new constitu-
 tion would be adopted prior to the National Assembly
 meeting on April 1; in late March, however, the vice chair-
 man of the RCC indicated that its contents would be de-
 layed until the next Assembly sitting. In January 1990
 President Hussein announced that the document (which
 had not yet been considered by the Assembly) would be
 submitted to a national referendum before being formally
 adopted.

Foreign relations. After adhering to a broadly pro-
 Soviet posture that included participation in the Baghdad
 Pact and its successor, the Central Treaty Organization
 (CTO), Iraq switched abruptly in 1958 to an Arab na-
 tionalist line that has since been largely maintained. Rela-
 tions with the Soviet Union and other Communist-bloc
 nations became increasingly cordial after 1958, while
 ties with the United States (and temporarily with the
 United Kingdom) were severed in 1967. In 1979, however, Bagh-
 dad broke ties with the West, particularly France, for military and
 economic aid. The change in direction was reinforced

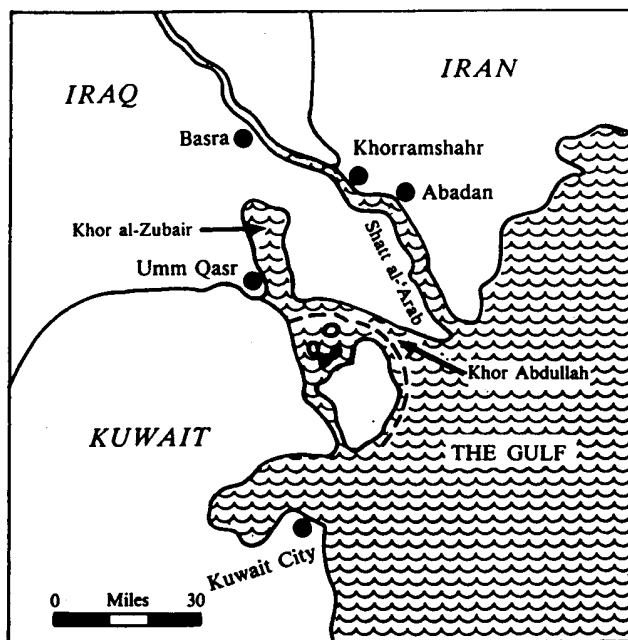
in 1981-1982. Following a June 7, 1981, Israeli air raid
 against Iraq's Osirak nuclear reactor, then being built out-
 side Baghdad, France indicated that it would assist in re-
 constructing the facility, while on November 17, 1982,
 President Hussein stated that his government might be will-
 ing to reestablish diplomatic relations with the United
 States should Washington end its pro-Israeli bias and
 demonstrate an interest in resolution of the Persian Gulf
 war.

Relations with Arab states have fluctuated, although
 Iraq has remained committed to an anti-Israel policy. A
 leading backer of the "rejection front", it bitterly denounced
 the 1977 peace initiative of Egyptian President Sadat and
 the Camp David accords of September 1978, after which,
 on October 26, Syria and Iraq joined in a "National Charter
 for Joint Action" against Israel. This marked an abrupt
 reversal in relations between the two neighbors, long led
 by competing *Baath* factions. The "National Charter"
 called for "full military union" and talks directed toward
 its implementation were conducted in January and June
 1979. At the latter session, held at Baghdad, presidents
 Assad of Syria and Bakr of Iraq declared that their two
 nations constituted "a unified state with one President, one
 Government and one Party, the *Baath*", but the subsequent
 replacement of Bakr by Saddam Hussein, whom the Syri-
 ans had long considered an instigator of subversion in their
 country, coupled with Hussein's accusations of Syrian in-
 volvement in an attempted coup, abruptly terminated the
 rapprochement.

Relations with Teheran have long been embittered by
 conflicting interests in the Gulf region, including claims
 to the Shatt al-'Arab and to three islands (Greater and
 Lesser Tunb, and Abu Musa) occupied by Iran in 1971,
 as well as by Iranian support for Iraq's Kurdish rebels. Fol-
 lowing the advent of the Khomeini regime, Iraq bombed
 a number of Kurdish villages inside Iran, and on September
 22, 1980, having repudiated the 1975 reconciliation treaty,
 invaded its eastern neighbor. Despite overwhelming Iraqi
 air superiority and early ground successes, the Iranian
 military, reenforced by a substantially larger population
 with religious commitment to martyrdom, waged a bitter
 campaign against the Western-supplied Iraqi forces, the
 brief campaign projected by Hussein soon being reduced to
 a stalemate. In the course of the protracted conflict,
 numerous Iraqi cease-fire proposals were rebuffed by
 Teheran, which called for the payment of \$150 billion in
 reparations and Hussein's ouster. It was not until a failed
 siege of the Iraqi city of Basra, coupled with an increas-
 ingly intense political struggle within Teheran, that
 Ayatollah Khomeini called for a suspension of hostilities
 on July 20, 1988, in the immediate wake of which Iraq suc-
 ceeded in driving Iran's depleted troops back to prewar
 borders. Both countries have since observed the ceasefire
 of August 20, although formal peace negotiations have
 been stalled by Iran's continued insistence on reparations
 and Iraq's resumption of its pre-1975 claim to full control
 of the Shatt al-'Arab waterway. In early 1989 Iraqi officials
 warned that if the dispute continued at impasse they would
 seek to divert sufficient water from the Shatt al-'Arab to
 establish a new deep channel via Khor al-Zubair and Khor

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Abdullah (see map). Such an undertaking, which would require Kuwaiti approval, would render ocean-going shipment from the Iranian ports of Abadan and Khorramshahr impossible.

Current issues. The August 1988 ceasefire was greeted in Iraq by three days of national celebration as the government, despite no territorial gains and a reported \$60 billion war debt, claimed victory over Iran. Subsequently, speculation that President Hussein would relax his grip on domestic political and economic activity was supported by a call for multiple party registration and the promotion of private sector ownership of formally state-run enterprises. However, Baghdad's privatization drive did not include either the oil- or armament-producing industries, both of which the government sought to increase in efficiency and productivity. Nor did efforts at reconciliation extend to the Kurdish population, which Baghdad had accused of treasonous behavior throughout the war. In the wake of the ceasefire, government troops quickly penetrated Kurdish areas and by early 1989 some 70,000 of their inhabitants were reported to have fled into Iran and Turkey. At mid-year Baghdad announced that it was clearing all inhabitants from a 20-mile security zone along both the Iranian and Turkish borders. A government spokesman insisted that the action was not part of an "Arabization" program and denied reports that some 200,000 Kurds had been sent to the south.

By mid-1990 no discernable progress had been registered in UN-mediated negotiations on a peace treaty with Iran. Iraq called for the unconditional release of war prisoners on "humanitarian" grounds, while Iran insisted that an exchange could not be considered in isolation from mutual troop withdrawals from occupied territory and the settlement of boundary issues. As a result, it proved necessary to extend the mandate of the UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG), which had been assigned responsibility for truce supervision, for six-month periods from September 1989 and March 1990, respectively.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND GROUPS

Since the 1968 coup the dominant force within Iraq has been the *Baath*, which under the National Action Council of 1973 became allied with the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) and, in 1974, with three Kurdish groups in a National Progressive Front. In March 1979 the Front became moribund when the Communists withdrew.

Following the onset of the Gulf war in September 1980 various opposition elements announced the formation of antigovernment groupings, all receiving support abroad. On November 28 the ICP, the Democratic Union of Kurdistan (DPK), and the Unified Socialist Party of Kurdistan (USPK) signed a charter establishing a National Democratic Iraqi Front committed to establishment of a democratic government and Kurdish autonomy, the severance of ties to the "world capitalist market", and solidarity with anti-Zionist and socialist governments. Earlier, on November 12, a National Pan-Arab Democratic Front, representing encompassing seven different groups, including the Democratic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) as well as *Baathist* dissidents, was formed at Damascus, Syria. Finally, on November 17, 1982, opposition elements based at Khorramshahr, Iran, established a Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq, led by Hojatolislam Sayyid Muhammad HAKIM, to work for Hussein's overthrow. The Council was believed to encompass a variety of Shi'ite factions, the most prominent of which was the *Jam'iat al-Da'wah*.

During a meeting at Teheran in November 1987 representatives of the DPK and the PUK announced they had concluded an agreement to coordinate their activities against Baghdad, the DPK indicating that it had discussed the possibility of cooperation with the Supreme Council. Subsequent military forays by these groups in 1987 and 1988 were successfully repelled by government forces, while a declaration of general amnesty for the dissidents in both 1987 and 1989 was undermined by alleged executions of returnees.

In January 1989 President Hussein announced that opposition parties would be allowed to register for a National Assembly election on April 1; however, the balloting was limited to independents or members not affiliated with the National Progressive Front, with candidates being vetted by an RCC Election Commission.

Participants in National Progressive Front:

Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (*Hizb al-Baath al-Arabi*)
The *Baath*, founded in 1947, is an Arab nationalist movement with branches in Syria and other Arab countries. The Iraqi leader is Saddam Hussein, who is also the Regional Command and closely associated with the Regional Command Council, presently encompasses 17 members and is headed by President Hussein, who was most recently reconfirmed as secretary general at an extraordinary National Congress on July 1988.
Leaders: Saddam HUSSEIN (President of the Republic and Secretary General of the Party), 'Izzat IBRAHIM (Deputy Secretary General).

Kurdish Democratic Party - KDP (*al-Hizb al-Dimuqrati*)
The original KDP, founded in 1946 by Mullah Mustafa al-Barzani, had experienced a number of cleavages (see below), both before and after the Gulf war of March 1975. Thus the group that joined the National Progressive Front was essentially a Marxist rump of the original party. In September 1988 it reaffirmed its support of the Front and of the *Baath's* leadership.

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<i>Ministers</i>	
Agriculture and Irrigation	'Abd al-Wahab Mahmoud al-Sabbagh
Awqaf and Religious Affairs	'Abdallah Fadil 'Abbas
Culture and Information	Latif Nusayyif al-Jasim
Defense	Staff Gen. 'Abd al-Jabbar Khalil Shanshall
Education	'Abd al-Qadir 'Izz al-Din
Finance	Muhammad Mahdi Saleh (Acting)
Foreign Affairs	Tariq Mikhayl 'Aziz
Health	'Abd al-Salim Muhammad Sa'id
Higher Education and Scientific Research	Mundhir Ibrahim al-Shawi
Housing and Reconstruction	Tahir Muhammad Hassun al-Marzuq
Industry and Military Industries	Brig. Gen. Hussein Kamil Majid
Interior	Samir Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahab al-Shaykhli
Justice	Akram 'Abd al-Qadir 'Ali
Labor and Social Affairs	Umid Midhat Mubarak
Local Government	'Ali Hasan al-Majid
Oil	Isam 'Abd al-Rahim al-Chalabi
Planning	Samal Majid Faraj
Trade	Muhammad Mahdi Saleh
Transport and Communications	Muhammad Hamza al-Zubaydi
Youth Affairs	'Abd al-Fattah Muhammad Amin
<i>Ministers of State</i>	
Foreign Affairs	(Vacant)
Military Affairs	(Vacant)
President's Office	Hashim Subhi
Without Portfolio	Arshad Muhammad Ahmad al-Zibari
Chief, President's Cabinet	Ahmad Hussein al-Samarra'i
Governor, Central Bank	Subhi Nadhim Franjul

NEWS MEDIA

Press. Although the 1968 constitution provides for freedom of the press, all news media are rigidly controlled by the government. Thus a ban against the publication of privately owned newspapers was lifted in 1968 but reimposed in 1969. *Tarik al-Sha'ab* (People's Path), founded in 1973 as the organ of the Iraqi Communist Party, was indefinitely suspended on April 5, 1979, although it subsequently appeared clandestinely. The following are government-regulated dailies published at Baghdad: *al-Thawra* (The Revolution, 250,000), *Baath* organ, in Arabic; *al-Jumhuriyah* (The Republic, 220,000), in Arabic; *al-Iraq* (30,000), Kurdish Democratic Party organ; *Baghdad Observer* (23,000), in English.

News agencies. The domestic facility is the Iraqi News Agency (*Wikalat al-Anba al-Iraqiyah*); foreign bureaus with offices at Baghdad include the Middle East News Agency, *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, East Germany's ADN, Spain's EFE, and TASS.

Radio and television. The government Broadcasting Service of the Republic of Iraq (*Idha'at al-Jumhuriyah al-Iraqiyah*) transmits domestically in Arabic, Kurdish, Syriac, and Turkoman; foreign broadcasts are in various European languages as well as in Persian, Swahili, Turkish, and Urdu. Baghdad Television (*Mahattat Talafizyun Baghdad*), broadcasting from 15 transmitters throughout Iraq, is controlled by the Ministry of Information. There were approximately 3.6 million radio and 1.2 million television receivers in 1988.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION

Ambassador to the US: Mohamed Sadiq AL-MASHAT.
US Ambassador to Iraq: April Catherine GLASPIE.

Permanent Representative to the UN: Dr. Abdul Amir A. al-Nadwi
IGO Memberships (Non-UN): ACC, AFESD, AMF, BADEA, ICAO, ILO, IDB, Inmarsat, Intelsat, Interpol, LAS, NAM, OAPEC, OPR

IRELAND

Republic of Ireland
Eire

Political Status: Independent state since 1921; under British colonial constitution effective December 29, 1937

Area: 27,136 sq. mi. (70,283 sq. km.).

Population: 3,540,643 (1986C), 3,528,000 (1990C)

Major Urban Centers (1986C): DUBLIN (urban pop. 1,292,956); Cork (173,694); Limerick (76,557).

Official Languages: Irish (Gaelic), English.

Monetary Unit: Irish Pound (Punt) (market rate as of 1990, 1 pound = \$1.58US).

President: Dr. Patrick J. HILLERY (Pádraig Uilleannach); elected November 9, 1976, following the resignation of Carroll O'DALY (Cearbhall Ó DALA); reelected October 22; unopposed upon nomination and reelected for a second seven-year term on October 22, 1982.

Prime Minister (Taoiseach): Charles James HAUGHEY (Charles Haughey); confirmed by the *Dáil* on March 1, 1980, to succeed Dr. Garret FITZGERALD (*Fine Gael*); reconfirmed following legislative election of February 17; continued as head of caretaker administration following election of June 15, 1989; reconfirmed as head of coalition government on July 12, 1989.

THE COUNTRY

The present-day Irish Republic, encompassing Ireland's 32 historic counties, occupies all but the eastern quarter of the Atlantic island lying 50 to 100 miles west of Great Britain. Animated by a powerful sense of national identity, the population is overwhelmingly Catholic and retains a strong sense of identification with the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. However, constitutional provision according a privileged position to the Church was repealed by public referendum in 1972. Women constituted 29.4 percent of the paid labor force, concentrated in the clerical and service sectors; female participation in government, traditionally minimal, currently includes one cabinet member.

Historically dependent on agricultural activities, Ireland now possesses a significant industrial sector that accounts for more than three-quarters of export earnings. Principal manufactured goods include textiles, chemicals, and electronics.