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JPRS-NEA-84-087

1 June 1984

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# Near East/South Asia Report

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Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

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1 June 1984

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INCOMPETENCE, EXCESSES OF CURRENT REGIME REVIEWED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 54, 21 Apr 84 pp 44-46

/Article by Abu Bakr al-Sadiq al-Sharif: "Mauritania Disconcerts East and West: The Military Men Compete for Power Domestically and the Opposition Tightens the Noose around Them Abroad"

/Text/ Where is the Islamic Republic of Mauritania headed?

More than one person observing the course of events in this country raises this disconcerting, confused question.

The confusion in the question arises not only from the violent disturbances the Mauritanian regions have experienced lately, as a result of which the schools have turned into centers for the interrogation of students and teachers, from which they are moved to prisons. In the absence of democracy, which is increasing the alienation and distance between them and the "rulers of Communique Number One," the language of violence becomes that which is in greatest circulation, and the prisons the most receptive and likely destination for opposition voices!

The struggle for power between the heads of the Military Committee for National Salvation, which took power on 13 July 1978, has not dispelled the confusion, either, since the leadership positions have become a "game of chairs" in which three presidents, three prime ministers, eight ministers of the interior, seven ministers of defense and an indefinite number of chiefs of staff have come to the top.

The anxiety latent in the question has been made obligatory not only by the chronic bankruptcy of the country's treasury, the compound deficit which has ruined the agricultural resources, and the encroachment on the citizens' essential basic food requirements, with the help of the drought and the paucity of rainfall which has resulted in aggravating the drought in the country. This, in the words of many Mauritians, is "divine wrath" because of the administrative corruption, bribery and favoritism which have drowned the country in foreign debts that have obligated every Mauritanian citizen to pay about \$800,000 and have stripped the economic ceiling of the country only of tattered mulberry leaves represented by a Kuwaiti deposit of \$35

million which is renewed annually, whose status is not known, and a Libyan deposit of \$44 million which has not been renewed and whose status has not been known for years.

In addition to that, the anxiety and confusion are turning into the distraught ringing of warning bells, as it has been accompanied by vicissitudes in political decrees which have started to impose a deterrent barrier between Mauritania and fraternal and friendly countries which is urgently pushing the country into the trap of the Sahara war, since it is a direct party to it. Mauritania's official recognition of the Saharan Republic of Polisario and the opening of its desert borders with the Kingdom of Morocco to the establishment of Polisario camps have destroyed a basic section of the program which Communique Number One contains, and the likelihood of bringing the Mauritanian people politically, economically and psychologically into a war which will not offer prosperity or yield benefit has added to the dangers which have arisen because the other sections have remained mere ink on paper.

Contrary to the famous statement which holds "one step forward, two steps back," as an intellectual theory with which the Mauritanian president, Mohamed Ould Haidalla, sympathizes, Mauritania, during his term, has continued to devote itself assiduously to dispelling the slogans of the Military Committee for National Salvation. Communique Number One stated that the military change had the goal of getting the country out of the Sahara war, correcting the domestic economy and building democratic institutions, although actual practice has been contradictory, with actions that are totally contrary to these slogans. As regards the first point, the actions that were proposed by the presidents who preceded President Ould Haidalla constantly sought an embarrassed neutrality on the Sahara war, in accordance with options whose insufficiency became apparent in advance in the face of the adoption of a neutral position on the Sahara struggle. The reason may be attributed to the fact that the country's economy has become addicted to taking aid by engineering its position on the Sahara issue. When on 14 August 1979 Ould Haidalla declared the withdrawal from the Rio De Oro area which Mauritania had acquired, on the basis of the decree of the partition of the Sahara in 1975, the parties which were concerned over the Moslem people of Mauritania, whom he had pushed into the dangerous Sahara struggle, almost breathed a sigh of relief. However, before meeting with surprise, they learned that Ould Haidalla had concluded an agreement with Polisario calling for the establishment of their Saharan state in this region, which represents a strategic location as far as the Moroccan Sahara regions go. In addition, Morocco spoiled the agreement that had been reached by a pledge of loyalty to King Hassan the Second by the inhabitants of the region and their raising of the Moroccan flag in place of the Mauritanian one, resulting in the extension of Moroccan national sovereignty into the region. In exchange, Ould Haidalla opened the borders of Mauritania to Polisario to establish its camps in its north. In view of their military, numerical and weapons superiority over the Mauritanian army, the members of Polisario took charge of protecting the ruling regime and consequently directly influencing its political and social decisions.

## Activities of the Regime

As regards the second point of Communique Number One's reform program, which is related to the rectification of the economy, more than one incident has confirmed that there has been regression in this field. Mauritania's foreign indebtedness totals \$1.5 billion dollars, and in 6 years of military change Mauritania has not fulfilled any commitment arising from this indebtedness. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have been compelled to recommend the country to devalue the awqiyah by 20 percent (a French franc equals 7 awqiyah), transfer 11 productive companies from the public to the private sector and schedule the debts. They considered these recommendations in effect conditions for the restoration of trust in the country's economic future, and therefore the pursuit of a dialogue for the purpose of future aid and loans.

The financial organizations, in the realm of the economy, are now worse off. BIM, the International Bank of Mauritania, is requested to pay 7 million awqiyahs, a sum which represents its capital and cash liquidity; this will be transferred to a number of people's pockets to cover wages and salaries and provide loans to people who cannot meet the conditions of payment.

The Arab Bank for Development in Africa, to whose capital Egypt and Kuwait contribute in order to help revive Mauritania's economy, is now almost inactive because it lacks liquidity. In past months its administration has taken the initiative of thinking about obtaining loans to save the situation. In addition, contacts have been made with some financial institutions such as the French Bank of Commerce, the Saudi International Bank, the Arab International Investment Bank and the Arab Bank Institute (Bahrain), but they have all refrained from giving loans since they are owed massive sums by Mauritania which it has not yet paid. The delegations warned of the need to honor the World Bank and International Monetary Fund recommendations as a basis for future cooperation.

Therefore there remains the Central Bank of Mauritania. Its situation is a bitter embodiment of the crushing economic crisis. It cannot guarantee any loan to Mauritania and it has only the deposits of Kuwait and Libya in its portfolio.

## The Productive Institutions

In the Sudan, there is a widespread popular saying which holds "trees fall on their brothers." However, it appears that Mauritanian economic decisions and political positions have spoiled the notion of this maxim, in the context of Mauritania's relations with friends and brothers. In Mauritania there is a single oil refinery, which Algeria supplied with crude oil. However, it stopped the supply because of the pileup of debts and consequently the plant stopped operating and its workers were dismissed 3 months ago. It is being rumored that its operation might resume within narrow limits, by people from the private sector, with Iranian and Nigerian oil, but there are a number of question marks. Since iron represents a Mauritanian resource, there is the Iron Mine Company in Mauritania; that is

a branch of the Arab Mining Company which was established with Arab capital, whose instalments were paid by Kuwait, Jordan, Iraq, Morocco and the Islamic Bank. This organization has prosperous branches in a number of Arab and Islamic countries, but it has totally failed in Mauritania; the reason may be explained by the fact that the volume of payments has exceeded the volume of revenues. Since its director in Mauritania is a relative of Ould Haidalla, numerous bodies have accused him of hoarding the company's money to cover Polisario's expenses, and this was proved by the results of the investigation the accounting committee had been assigned to carry out by the board of directors of the Arab Mining Company. The board of directors, in accordance with that, adopted a decision to terminate the director, the president's relative, and a decision in which it requested that the Ould Haidalla regime pay back the debts; however, neither of the decrees has been carried out.

There then remain Mauritania's fish resources. President Ould Haidalla has admitted that all the policies adopted regarding the area of marine fishing have failed. In addition, he took over the Ministry of Fishing for 5 months, during which this sector did not experience any improvement worth mentioning. Then a military officer was appointed minister of fishing and his assumption of the tasks of the ministry was accompanied by an uncounted number of violations.

Mauritania's friends and adversaries agree that mismanagement in the area of maritime fishing has subjected this public sector to favoritism and made it the victim of international pirates. Mauritania, in everyone's opinion, is unable to protect its coasts.

Finally, in this area there is the Mauritanian organization in charge of self sufficiency in food. This depends on food aid in kind offered by international organizations and fraternal and friendly governments to help with the objective of eliminating damages from drought, encroachment of the Sahara and natural disasters which have made the country a tasty morsel for drought. The person in charge of this organization was accused of impropriety 2 years ago, on the basis of observations made by the countries which offered this aid. The investigation carried out in this regard established his involvement but the penalty bestowed on him was assumption of a lofty position in the Mauritanian Ministry of the Interior!

In spite of all that, the Mauritanian authorities recently announced that in view of the world economic crisis and its repercussions on developing countries, it had been decided to double the direct taxes on wages and commercial permits and increase the prices of consumer goods at various rates ranging from 20 to 50 percent.

#### Democratic Institutions

The presidents who preceded the current one, Ould Haidalla, kept the political platforms inherited from civilian rule, in view of their ties to the masses, which deepened in the course of the 1960 struggles for independence and the 1975 agreement to partition the Sahara. It has been

mentioned that President Moktar Ould Daddah, whom the military regime swept away on 13 July 1978 and is now spending a quiet old age in Tunisia, had liberal tendencies in his rule, enabling parties to deepen their relations with the masses. This compelled the military rulers to honor the parties. The final point in Communiqué Number One is perhaps proof of that. However, Ould Haidalla came to power with a point of view that differed in this regard. The period of his rule witnessed the creation of four patterns with the goal of creating a party of the authorities, without avail. At the beginning he formed what he called the Development Movement, and in 6 months, when the domestic political forces had enlisted in it, on grounds that it consisted of "podiums" for constructive criticism, to guide the military regime to serve the issues of the country, he issued a decree dissolving it and lifting the ban on Arab regimes that sympathized with specific parties; however, he later accused the parties of "being agents," put their leaders in prison and issued a decree calling for the dissolution of the political parties and the application of Islamic law in the country. In view of his sympathy with the Mauritanian Communist Party, which remained alone on the stage, relying on material and moral aid from Polisario, and in view of the contradiction between the declaration of the provisions of Islamic law and the sympathy with Communism locally and internationally, the execution of the provisions of Islamic law was removed and replaced by what he called "the regime of structures," an organization that is favorable toward features of the people's militias experiment in Cuba and is very close to the experiment with the people's committees in Libya. However, the structure of the new organization, which presupposes the formation of cells out of every 10th Mauritanian family, chosen to speak for them with the regime, an experiment which is immersed in the style of the head of the tribe, has turned these "heads" into informers supplying the agencies with information on the members of the families, and that has caused them to be dismissed from the structures and die in the cradle. Now it is being rumored in Mauritania that another attempt will be declared shortly in this context.

#### The Absence of the Media and the Arrests

At present there are more than 50 prominent political and nationalist personalities in Mauritanian prisons, perhaps among the most prominent of whom are the distinguished Mauritanian economist Abderrahman Ould Daddah and the Moroccan political figure and parliamentary deputy Mohamed Amin Haramallah. These were imprisoned without trial in 1979 on the occasion of the agreement the military regime concluded with Polisario to establish their state in Rio De Oro. The people who were arrested and put in prison after the coup attempt of 16 March 1981, which Mauritania accused Mauritania of arranging, were headed by Mostefa Mohamed Ould Saleck, former president, Sidi Ahmed Ould Bnejara, prime minister in Ould Saleck's government, and Mohamed Ould Ali, the prominent nationalist personality in Mauritania.

In 1982, the leaders of the Mauritanian Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, headed by Mr Ahmed Ould Bredeleil, the former minister of information, Khalid Ould Nahoui, the chairman of the Literary Persons' League and managing editor of the newspaper AL-SHA'B, and Mohamed Ould Ahmed, the former director of

education, were also in the list of the people put in prison. The list for 1984 contained military persons who were accused of trying to overthrow the regime, including Col Soumare Silman and the police officer Ly Hamadou.

It has been pointed out that the Mauritanian authorities prevented the Amnesty International committee from seeing the prisons of Mauritania, and the ruling authorities have disposed of newspaper and news agency correspondents by failing to renew some people's residence permits and directly expelling others and have adopted a decision not to allow them to visit Mauritania.

Nonetheless, thousands of people from the active Mauritanian national forces have preferred voluntary exile in a number of European capitals in fraternal countries in the Arabic and Islamic world. These forces formed opposition forces in the places of exile. They recently agreed to form an alliance front named "Mauritanian National Unity," containing three currents, the Arab nationalist current, whose philosophy proceeds from the premise of Arab national feeling and affiliation with Arab culture in political activity and the scope for construction, the Islamic current, which looks upon Islam as a factor for unification and the philosophy of government of "religion and the terrestrial world," and the "progressive current," which believes in scientific socialism in the European pattern and nationalization as a means for economic reform.

This front has set forth a program for the change which it aspires to in Mauritania, which is based on an uprising by the people and a disinclination to rule out the participation of the national forces in the Mauritanian army in it. The points that have been agreed upon in this regard are:

1. The removal of military rule and the return of power to civilians.
2. Election of the president to take place under guidance by Western democracy in this regard.
3. A definitive exit from the Sahara struggle and preservation of the country's unity, Arab Islamic identity and national sovereignty on the basis of its 1960 borders.
4. Interest in the affairs of Mauritania and its improvement so that it can bear its responsibility in building the Maghreb on a basis of equality of cooperation and mutual interests.

Among the most prominent figures leading this opposition are its leader Mohamed Abderrahman Ould Amin, former ambassador of Mauritania to Kuwait, Ismail Ould Mouloud, former ambassador of Mauritania to Cairo, and Mostefa Ould Abderrahman, former director of planning.

Saudi Arabia's Position on the Mauritanian Regime

Last 17 March, King Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, monarch of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, refused to receive the foreign minister of Mauritania and the

delegation accompanying him, proceeding from the principles stipulated in the al-Ta'if agreement between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, an agreement founded on reconciliation and the establishment of neighborly relations between the two countries. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia considered Mauritania's recognition of Polisario to be an act that contradicted the agreement. Moreover, the position of Saudi Arabia was not restricted to the refusal to receive the Mauritanian minister; rather, it was declared that the Kingdom was totally unprepared to receive any Mauritanian emissary. In exchange, Ould Haidalla declared, after a few days, that he would seek the aid of Algerian and French forces to protect the country from probable Moroccan intervention.

In Rabat, it is being rumored that the security belt which has thwarted the military option as far as Polisario goes has been put up against any future attempt at aggression from Mauritanian territory. This means that the Moroccan military armory is being concentrated on this part of the Sahara. While the Saharan struggle has, belatedly, deteriorated, in the diplomatic context, with the sudden death of the President of Guinea, Ahmad Sekou Toure, and opportunities for holding an African summit and possibilities of putting the Nairobi resolutions into practice with the objective of holding a referendum have since diminished, the outbreak of skirmishes on the borders of the Sahara are now the greatest likelihood. However, in this case, they will not stop with casualties on the blood soaked sands. A number of years ago the Moroccans approved of what has been called "use of the right of pursuit," but they have in the past put off carrying it out in order not to enter into a direct war with Algeria, with which they are linked by borders in numerous directions. It now appears that the use of this right in the event aggressions are launched from Mauritanian soil which until recently lay within areas of the Kingdom of Morocco is something which Morocco will apparently not postpone.

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## FARM PRODUCE EXPORT REVENUES DRASTICALLY LOW

Haifa ISRAEL BUSINESS in English No 393, Apr 84 p 5

[Text] Reports from Israel's major markets in Europe spell considerable trouble for this country's farm produce exporters. Although the merchandise--largely out of season fruit and vegetables--reaches buyers in very good condition, most prices are lower than they were last year.

The problem is made even more severe by the fact that European currencies have been weak, in comparison to the U.S. dollar. Together, these two movements have taken a massive bite out of the Israel growers' and exporters' income--perhaps to the point where profitability approaches zero.

Recently published statistics from one representative market--France---show that local currency prices in 1983/4 were substantially below what they had been in 1982/3. For oranges the drop amounted to 12.3 percent, for melons and lettuce 12.1 percent, for potatoes as much as 16.2 percent. Converted into dollar terms, the decline is much more precipitate.

To make matters worse, this does not seem to be a one time aberration, but rather part of a long term trend. During the 3 years since September 1980, dollar prices obtained by Israel produce exporters in Europe have dropped by about 38 percent, according to the Ministry of Agriculture spokesman.

Although all are aware of the problem, nobody has as yet come up with a proposed solution. Farm lobby spokesmen demand more help from the Israel Government, which may be necessary, but can hardly be considered anything but a temporary palliative. The work of finding a more fundamental solution still remains to be done.

CSO: 4400/240

ABSORPTION OF ETHIOPIANS DISORGANIZED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 3 May 84 p 2

[Article by Aryeh Rubinstein]

[Text] Uri Gordon, the head of Youth Aliya, says that the absorption of Ethiopian Jews lacks planning coordination.

Addressing educators in Tel Aviv this week, Gordon said it was vital to establish a joint staff representing the government, the Jewish Agency, and the Union of Local Authorities to decide on an absorption policy for the Ethiopian olim.

The joint staff would decide where the olim should be sent, taking into account employment opportunities, appropriate schools, housing availability and opportunities for social absorption.

The move to Israel, Gordon said, takes the olim from the 16th century to the 20th, and the sudden change throws some of them into deep culture-shock.

Some 700 Ethiopian children and young people are not in about 25 Youth Aliya institutions throughout the country, and in most instances their parents are not in Israel, he reported.

Few of them have seen an automobile before, and they have never been taught concepts such as length, width and height. When asked questions about themselves they tend to clam up, never having encountered a questionnaire before.

Gordon said that the past few months he has been devoting most of his working hours to this subject. Youth Aliya is trying to develop a young leadership among the Ethiopian Jews to serve as a bridge between them and other Israelis.

The department organizes meetings in which anthropologists, educators and psychologists exchange views on how the Youth Aliya wards should be educated. But the real problem starts when they leave the institution and are sent by the Housing Ministry to an unsuitable place, Gordon said.

In Ra'anana, Gordon said, the earlier American olim are geared to making more recent newcomers feel welcome. That sort of thing is lacking for the Ethiopian Jews. In many cases, their neighbours are put off by their colour.

But often the problem is of our own making, as when the Ethiopians are sent to a place just because the Housing Ministry has flats available there, even though the locals have problems of their own and are not in a position to help newcomers. The result, Gordon said, is that the Ethiopians feel unwanted, exacerbating their already difficult problems.

CSO: 4400/240

ALLEGED CHRISTIAN CULT SAID PROSELYTIZING ON KIBBUTZIM

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 4 May 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Haim Shapiro]

[Text] The Kibbutz Movement is at present investigating a Christian evangelical group operating in several kibbutzim, suspected of promoting missionary activity and which appears to have some of the characteristics of a cult.

Members of kibbutzim in which the group, Project Kibbutz, has operated, report incidents of intimidation and extreme forms of moral pressure. Others speak of a clear desire to convert Jews, an aim stated in literature abroad, but strenuously denied by those in Israel.

Project Kibbutz is an evangelical Christian group with groups of some eight to 15 volunteers at about seven kibbutzim, all in Upper Galilee. The volunteers agree to come for one year and commit themselves to a strict moral code which includes no smoking, no alcohol whatsoever and no "dating."

For a kibbutz, the advantage of such a group of volunteers is obvious. In contrast to the usual run of volunteers, who sometimes include itinerants with questionable habits, project members are committed and serious. They present no absenteeism or drug problem, and do not become sexually involved with young people from the kibbutz. Indeed, a great many members see them as very nice young people who are nothing but an asset of the kibbutz.

Others tell a very different story. One of them is Yossi, a longtime member of a kibbutz where the group still operates. (This is a fictitious name. Virtually all the informants insisted on using false names, to avoid notoriety for themselves and their kibbutz.)

In the course of his work, Yossi said, he came in contact with Susan, a 21-year-old with what he described as "a characteristic American friendliness and openness." One day, Susan told him she was leaving. She had not been able to keep up to the standards of the group; she had smoked a cigarette and had some wine at kabbalat Shabbat.

Yossi asked Susan if she would like to stay on at the kibbutz, even if it were not in the framework of the group. She answered that she would like to very

much, but that she was frightened. She would not say of what. A chat with the kibbutz coordinator and the group left Susan determined to stay, although she intimated that she would have trouble going home if she didn't do so when the group wanted her to.

But the next day, Yossi said there was a meeting of Susan and the entire group. When it was over, she was withdrawn and silent. The same girl who had been outgoing and friendly before now seemed like a different person.

During the rest of Susan's time on the kibbutz, someone stayed in her room all the time. When her kibbutz "family" came to say goodbye, they were told she couldn't see them. The next day, Yossi said, she was taken by car from the kibbutz to the airport. As if to emphasize the clandestine nature of her departure, the car left the kibbutz through the fields, rather than the main gate.

Two leaders of Project Kibbutz, Moe Sanders and Mark Smith, admitted openly at a meeting with this reporter that volunteers who leave the programme are asked, and indeed commit themselves in advance, to return to their "point of origin." This, they said, is because they feel "morally responsible" for the volunteers, many of whom are "young and impressionable" and could be influenced by the moral laxity of the general run of volunteers.

At another kibbutz, Gadi, a kibbutznik and an educator, told of Linda, 25, whose "sin" was to fall in love with another volunteer in the group. It was, he added, a very innocent, romantic sort of infatuation, with the girl not even daring to talk to the object of her affections.

But in the view of the group Linda was wrong, and they tried to cure her by praying over her. Night after night they would pray with her, taking turns, and then she would come to work as usual in the morning, Gadi said.

She had lost weight, he said, and in all innocence he joked with her, saying that evidently her romance was good for her.

Linda asked the kibbutz member responsible for the group to arrange for psychiatric help, but when the coordinator approached the group leader on the subject, she was told not to interfere.

During this time, Gadi said, the girl was continually told that if she were to leave, she would hurt the aim of Jesus in Israel. The Jews had suffered at the hands of Christians for centuries, and by her work Linda was helping to show the love of Jesus for the Jews.

Eventually Linda approached Gadi's wife and told her all about her experiences with the group. Next day, the Project Kibbutz leaders told the kibbutz that Linda was leaving. They called her parents, told them she had quarrelled with the kibbutz and had to go home.

What followed was an apparent nightmare in which Linda was hidden, first in a room and then in the infirmary, with subsequent discovery, involving emotional confrontations in which, Gadi said, she was unable to express herself when the group leader was present.

Finally, she attempted suicide. After her recovery, she was returned to her family.

There are some volunteers who have left the group and yet remained in Israel. One, who agreed to talk to THE JERUSALEM POST, said that though she was, and remains, a Christian, she did not feel that the strictures of the group were for her.

She objected to the complete ban on alcohol and was irked by the rule which stated that if two female volunteers went off the kibbutz, they had to be accompanied by a male volunteer from the group.

Moreover, she said, the heavy schedule of work, Hebrew study, Bible study and prayer meetings, kept her from getting to know the kibbutz members, whom she liked very much.

In her case, the decision to leave Project Kibbutz came as a complete surprise to the group. Though she would have liked to remain at the same kibbutz, this proved impossible and her kibbutz "family" helped her to go to another kibbutz in the north.

Before she left, however, she had to meet first with the leader of her group, then the leaders of Project Kibbutz and finally with the entire group. While she would not specify exactly what happened, she described these confrontations as "very dramatic."

At her request, her present kibbutz has banned Project Kibbutz staff.

Meanwhile, other kibbutz members are concerned about possible missionary tendencies. One missionary group, Prayer for Israel, which is located in England, regularly reports on the work of Project Kibbutz in "saving souls," to the evident embarrassment of its local leaders. Reports continue to circulate about conversions of kibbutz members. Other people are concerned about what appear to be a number of Jews for Jesus in the programme.

Project Kibbutz leaders Sanders and Smith emphatically deny any missionary work. If they had tried, they said, then they have a very poor "track record" of only one or possibly two conversions. In fact, they added, one former member is now an observant Jew.

During their 6-week orientation programme before the start of the actual work programme, they said, they weed out anyone with obvious missionary intent. As for former Jews, such people are not excluded, but there has been no one with a "Jewish background" for some time, they said.

They are motivated by a desire to rectify the evil done to the Jews by Christians, "to redeem the history that has happened." Often, they added, it is difficult for those raised in an atmosphere of aggressive religious militancy to accept this role.

The group works in kibbutzim, the leaders said, for practical reasons, because it eliminates the need to house and feed the volunteers. Each volunteer pays for his or her passage and an additional \$350 fee, which they said, goes towards housing and transporting the staff. Others give donations to the project, although these are not solicited.

The Kibbutz Movement is reserving all judgement until it completes its inquiry. The movement does not want to make any official comment on the matter, or even make it appear that it has taken a stand. Even those kibbutznikim who were most critical of the group took pains to say that they wanted any decision to be made in an orderly and calm manner, without the anti-missionary emotionalism that has characterized recent attacks on a group in Tiberias, for example.

Moreover, it is clear that many members of kibbutzim are very happy with Project Kibbutz, and see its volunteers as a welcome relief from the undisciplined individuals who turn up from time to time.

There is, in addition, another question, that of the legal status in the country of the 10 or so Project Kibbutz staff members.

The founder of the project, Art Carlsson, who is abroad for personal reasons, is a permanent resident, having served in the IDF, but other staff members have tourist visas which they must renew periodically.

According to standard procedure, requests for such extensions by religious workers are passed on to the Ministry for Religious Affairs. The ministry is withholding judgement until it makes further enquiries. One question which it still has to answer is why there is what officials see as a very large staff.

In a letter from the Kibbutz Movement to Project Kibbutz, the movement informed the group of its investigation and said that until the enquiry is finished, Project Kibbutz could send no groups to new kibbutzim, but could continue to send groups to kibbutzim where they are at present working.

A leader of the Christian Embassy in Jerusalem, which is unaffiliated with Project Kibbutz but which does recommend it to Christians wishing to come and work in Israel, noted that graduates of the programme became unofficial "ambassadors for Israel," supporting and speaking on behalf of the Jewish State. But even this role was attacked by at least one kibbutznik who expressed deep dissatisfaction with the idea of such people "representing" the kibbutz.

Meanwhile, Sanders and Smith say they welcome the "current flack."

"We need it to find out if we're just fair-weather friends," Sanders said.

CSO: 4400/240

## BRIEFS

NONRESIDENT BANK DEPOSITS--Tel Aviv--The total volume of foreign currency accounts, deposited by nonresidents with Israel commercial banks, has increased to the equivalent of \$6.3 billion. This represents an increase of 7 percent in the course of 1983. Persons not resident in this country are entitled, under Israel law, to hold "free" accounts with banks here, in the currency of their choice. Such facilities are available in dollars, pounds sterling, Swiss francs, German marks, Japanese yen and many other currencies. These free accounts are completely exempt of all restrictions imposed by currency control laws on Israel residents. Furthermore, they are not subject to any Israel tax at all and are freely transferable to any place in the world. Observers here are greatly gratified by this increase in deposits, seeing in it a vote of confidence for the banking system in particular, and for the Israel economy as a whole. While nonresident deposits are not part of Israel's foreign exchange reserves, having such voluminous deposits in their coffers certainly does enhance the international standing of this country's financial institutions. [Text] [Haifa ISRAEL BUSINESS in English No 393, Apr 84 pp 6, 7]

ENGLISH, FRENCH NEWS SUBTITLES--English and French subtitles will soon be provided on Israel Television's Hebrew newscasts, Broadcasting Authority Director-General Uri Porat said yesterday. Porat said the subtitles will be discontinued if a second television channel includes English and French newscasts. The Los Angeles Olympic Games, Porat said, will be televised live after midnight, with highlights to be shown during regular programme hours. It will cost about \$500,000 to show the Olympics. Porat said he wanted to promote dialogue between himself and the press. "I belong to a school," he said, "that believes that the public has a right to know everything, not just a fragment of the truth, speculation, rumour or gossip--but the plain, hard facts." [Article by Greer Fay Cashman] [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 3 May 84 p 3]

SATURDAY BUS SERVICE CUT--Tel Aviv--Egged is planning to discontinue Saturday night service on 19 inter-city lines from 12 May. Egged spokesman Gideon Talmor said the step results from the Transport Ministry's order restricting Saturday night service to after sundown. After summer time is introduced this weekend, sundown will not occur until after 8:15 pm, and the company feels that because of the late hour there will not be enough passengers to make the lines worthwhile. A Transport Ministry official told THE JERUSALEM POST that "it is obvious that Egged has decided to fight the ministry on the backs of the passengers." He added that if the lines are cancelled, the ministry might sue Egged. Talmor

responded that the cooperative had received permission to cancel the lines. He said he thought the public would protest against the cancellations and take the matter to the High Court of Justice. Talmor said that passengers who use the soon-to-be-cancelled lines would have to take round-about routes. Among the routes slated for cancellation are the Haifa-Jerusalem, Nahariya-Tel Aviv and Yeroham-Dimona-Tel Aviv lines. Yitzhak Menahem, head of Egged's traffic department, told THE POST that passengers on other lines would be counted on Saturday nights starting 12 May, and that if it is deemed necessary, buses will be added to those lines. [Article by Yitzhak Oked] [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 3 May 84 p 1]

CSO: 4400/240

KUWAIT

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ON GULF WAR, OTHER TOPICS

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 55, 28 Apr 84 pp 69-70

[Interview with Jasim Muhammad al-Khurafi, chairman of the finance committee in the Kuwaiti parliament, by Husayn Salamah: "The War Has Affected the Economy in the Gulf and Deprived the Region's People of Local Development"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Since the disruption of the international oil market, Kuwait has experienced some economic problems. They have been accompanied by regional and international events, and all these matters have affected the general state budget, which has had an increasing financial deficit during the last 2 years.

AL-TADAMUN brought a number of queries to the chairman of the parliamentary committee for financial and economic affairs in the Kuwaiti National Assembly. He is Deputy Jasim Muhammad al-Khurafi. According to his expectations, Kuwait's budget deficit for the coming year, 1984-85, will exceed 800 million Kuwaiti dinars, or about \$2.721 billion. He affirmed the importance of the role played by the National Assembly in pushing and helping the government to deal with some economic problems. He said that the Suq al-Manakh crisis had affected the economic situation, and he expressed the wish that this illegal market would not resume operations. He demanded that OPEC be sensitive to Kuwait's economic situation and increase its oil production share. At the same time, he called for Kuwait to look for income sources to supplement oil. He said that the foreign aid given by Kuwait was necessary but within the limits of its capabilities. He praised the progress made so far by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and said it was necessary to deny those fishing in muddy waters the opportunity to distort the image of the council.

[Question] Is the Kuwaiti economy in good shape? Do you believe there are dangers?

[Answer] I do not believe that there are dangers threatening the Kuwaiti economy, because it has sound foundations. It rests on the basis of peace. There are dangers that might affect economic activity in general in Kuwait. Activity in the Kuwaiti economy is amenable to both expansion and contraction, according to many factors. What is happening now is a kind of contraction

with numerous causes. Here are the main ones: the country's general budget deficit, the failure to exploit the budget in accordance with a clear concept of economic controls, the Iraq-Iran War, the international economic situation, and the aftermath of the Suq al-Manakh crisis.

[Question] To what extent is the Kuwaiti market suffering from the Suq al-Manakh crisis?

[Answer] I believe that the Suq al-Manakh problem has been inflated and given much greater importance than it truly possessed by the international press. Of course, I am not denying the existence of this problem, but I believe that it is limited to a certain number of individuals among the people. No matter what we do, the crisis must take its course. We will not be able to devise a way to deal with this problem overnight. The prices in the market were inflated. Dealing there were far from logical. They were based on greed and quick profits. At any economic stage, nothing can justify what we saw in the Kuwaiti financial markets. Such activity was the cause of this crisis. What happened in Suq al-Manakh was expected, since it was the inevitable result of an unnatural situation.

Jasim al-Khurafi went on to say:

I think that this crisis (the crisis of Suq al-Manakh) is coming to an end now. Currently, we are in the liquidation stage. However, this liquidation will have to run its course. Therefore, the rigidity we are currently witnessing is only a temporary phenomenon leading us back to a normal situation. Therefore, it is necessary for prices to return to a logical and fundamental size, just as trading must return to its natural mode. Brokers will win back their belief in reasonable profits, and the market will flourish again in accordance with these foundations and principles.

[Question] Are you optimistic about the future of the Kuwaiti economic situation, especially the return of the market to a state of health?

[Answer] Suq al-Manakh was illegal. Originally, it was illegal to trade bonds. The commerce law forbids trading in Gulf bonds and the shares of closed Kuwaiti corporations not founded at least 3 years ago. Therefore, Suq al-Manakh grew up at the margin of the securities market. Let me be optimistic and say that Suq al-Manakh will not return. The results of these violations, from which we have reaped awful problems, should serve as a lesson for us in the future. As for normal trading and the return of logic, we can witness all that in the halls of Kuwait's stock exchange and the organized securities market. When this market revives, we will rid ourselves of the effects of the crisis via a clear legal framework for trading that preserves the rights of both buyers and sellers.

[Question] In your opinion, what will the fate of the closed corporations be? Their problem still has not found a solution, and a large group of citizens are affected by it.

[Answer] The commerce law clearly forbids trading in the stock of these corporations until 3 years have passed since their founding. Given the current circumstances and what we have witnessed in the market, I cannot give a satisfactory answer to the question, since the law I am speaking about has been the object of disdain. Therefore, I think that the competent authorities will deal with this crisis through rapid regulation of these causes and by making the necessary decisions on trading, after clearly investigating the matter.

[Question] To what are the decisions recently made by the cabinet with regard to an organization for economic activity in Kuwait related?

[Answer] Where was the government and what was it expecting? The decisions made are to be considered good and useful, but I think they were supposed to be a program for a policy, not a solution to a crisis. What Kuwait suffers from and what we have accustomed the citizenry to is that the competent authorities take no action until something has happened. Therefore, we find that our government's decisions are always more or less reactions to certain events. The competent authorities should act before events occur. They should plan and organize to prevent them from happening.

[Question] Was the role played by the National Assembly on the desired level, or did you expect more from it?

[Answer] I believe that the National Assembly played a good, effective role via its competent committee, especially with regard to pushing and encouraging the government to give prominence to certain goals and concepts and to review the method of preparing the budget and the methods for discussing it and monitoring expenditures. I say that this role was effective, but I do believe that it was possible to focus better on reaching desirable results that would have been more important and more beneficial. Our aspirations and hopes far exceed what we were able to achieve. However, at the same time I believe in the Chinese proverb that says: "A journey of 1000 miles begins with a single step." We have begun with more than one step toward the desired goal.

[Question] The date for the presentation of the budget to the National Assembly has drawn near. Do you want to see certain features in next year's budget?

[Answer] The constitutionally mandated for the presentation of the budget to the assembly is 1 May. As chairman of the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs, I have made certain observations and can offer some ideas. I expect that the deficit in the next budget will not be less than 800 million dinars. This is about \$2.721 billion. The deficit could exceed this figure.

[Question] Has there been an improvement in oil sales? Has Kuwait's oil production increased?

[Answer] We in Kuwait are still committed to the production share set for us by OPEC. It amounts to about 1.05 million barrels. However, we hope that this share will be reexamined at the next OPEC meeting, since Kuwait's budget has a continuing deficit. It is illogical for us to continue to cover this deficit from the state's general reserve.

[Question] On the basis of this situation, do you think it is necessary to draw up a new policy on foreign aid Kuwait is committed to providing?

[Answer] My point of view on this matter can be summed up by saying that our brothers must understand the capabilities available to us. It is illogical for the situation to continue to be as it was in the past without anyone taking into consideration the state's financial deficit. We must and shall give aid, but within the limits of our capabilities.

[Question] Do you have any idea or expectation about how long the budget deficit will continue?

[Answer] It is very difficult to know how long the budget deficit will last if Kuwait's budget continues to depend on one source of income: oil. I believe that it has become necessary, for the sake of the future and the finances of the coming generations, for us to start thinking about the worst and preparing alternatives with which to confront it.

[Question] In your opinion, what are the alternatives?

[Answer] There are many. Here are some of the most prominent ones:

1. Thinking well about changing the Kuwaiti budget from a consumption and spending budget to a goal-oriented budget
2. Decreasing the percentage of the consumption sums, which currently form two-thirds of the state's budget
3. Beginning to study and prepare for developing the use and exploitation of refined oil products, as well as for expanding the benefit derived from such products
4. Depending on making Kuwait into a commercial center and expanding the improvement and facilitation of commercial services, so that Kuwait will become a center for the transit trade and investment.

[Question] Up until now, has the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) achieved the ambitions of Kuwait's citizens and the people of the Gulf?

[Answer] In fact, good intentions are the first, principal, and basic law of this council and interaction within it. If we truly intend to work for the development of the region and its people, then I do not believe that any obstacle can block our zeal and work. I am very enthusiastic about this council because I believe that the common destiny of this region is great. Since any project has to face some problems and obstacles, we must

be cautious about blowing such things out of proportion. We should not give those fishing in muddy waters the opportunity to distort the idea and image of the council. There must be some differences in points of view. The airing of such differences is in itself the best proof of our good intentions, and it can help in the solution of various problems. We are as eager to sign agreements as we are to see them applied, so that even greater rapprochement will be achieved. We must be very zealous with regard to application, even though these agreements might conflict to a certain extent with some interests. The common good of the region and its people is more important than a partial conflict with some interests.

[Question] Talk about a Gulf common market has become widespread. Do you think it is within reach?

[Answer] I almost see the Gulf region as a single economic region. We have achieved a good degree of purposeful and constructive coordination. The establishment of the Gulf market and the signing of the economic agreement are nothing but a preparatory stage for the rapprochement we hope to achieve. What makes one optimistic and distinguishes the GCC is the fact that all its steps are taken after detailed study of a serious nature, so that no setbacks will occur. This portion of the Arab world called the Gulf must arrive at a good method for preparing to achieve its hopes, not just for the Gulf, but for every Arab citizen.

[Question] What advice can you give the planners of the Gulf common market, so that they will avoid the errors that prevented the establishment of an Arab common market?

[Answer] Politics are usually a cause of discord. What distinguishes the GCC from other Arab regional entities is that it began at the beginning. As for the other organizations and entities, they began without a foundation. For this reason, when any tremor or disagreement in political points of view occurs, their basis is shaken and they collapse. This is what happened to the Arab common market, or to the idea of such a market. One could say that the idea of the Arab market was a delusion of the Arab people. It was all appearance, with no content. As for us in the Arab Gulf region, we base our planning on content, not on appearance.

[Question] Do you believe that certain forces planned the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War and are interested in seeing it continue.

[Answer] If I say yes, the first question you will ask me will be who the planner was. I cannot give you a satisfactory response. However, I can say without hesitation that I do not think anyone is benefiting from what has happened and is happening except those who do not wish to see stability in this region. They wish to see it at the rim of the volcano. In addition, there are those who benefit when the region's funds are used to buy weapons instead of being used to develop the population and land of this region and being directed toward beneficial investments. I do not rule out the possibility that the intentional instability in this region may be part of the

current problems in the Arab world. The goal may be to distract parts of our common homeland from united concentration on the solution of our basic problems, the most important of which is the Palestinian issue.

[Question] In your opinion, does anything promise an early end to this war?

[Answer] If the war is the result of a plan laid for the goals we have mentioned, it will be difficult to predict on the basis of any portents, as long as we have not united our efforts. We must do so not just to stop the Iran-Iraq war, but to uncover what is behind the war.

It is clear that efforts have been exerted. The best expression of Kuwait's role therein was the statement given by Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad, the deputy prime minister, minister of foreign affairs and minister of information, to the National Assembly. I hope that Iran will respond to the solutions proposed by more than one party. The bloodshed and the losses suffered by the region affect all its peoples and threaten both security and stability, thereby making it difficult to unify our efforts on behalf of the first cause of Arabs and Muslims alike: the cause of Palestine and Jerusalem.

12224

CSO: 4404/449

## YOUTH ORGANIZATION MEMBERS INVOLVED IN CIVIL DEFENSE

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by A. Zhukov, special correspondent to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: "Communist Youth in Vadi-abu-Jamil'"]

[Text] We arrived in Vadi-abu-Jamil' at 3 pm, when shooting is least likely in Beirut. There was good reason for such a precautionary measure. Throughout the entire previous night and half of the morning, in the region of Mazraa, Khamry, Raushi, Mar and Eliasa, along the entire "green line," one could hear machine-gun fire, the thundering of multiple anti-aircraft guns, used in street fighting in Beirut, and exploding mines and shells.

The objective of our journey was the regional center for civil defense forces, in which Lebanese komsomoltsy [members of the communist union of youth] are working.

Under the complicated conditions now prevailing in Lebanon, when bloody skirmishes continually flare up between various opposing groups, when dozens of peaceable citizens die every day under the fire of mine launchers and howitzers, the civil defense forces, made up of young people 17 to 25 years of age, attain special importance. Young men and women in white jackets with the red words "Civil Defense" voluntarily throw themselves into the bursts of gunfire to rescue the wounded and to construct shelters for the peaceable population. They also clear away rubble in the streets and observe order in their own regions. And the activities of the Lebanese Union of Democratic Youth (SDM) play a decisive role in organizing and carrying out this entire difficult and very dangerous work.

"Similar centers for civil defense forces were set up today along the entire 'green line,'" we were told by SDM representative Naim Khalaf, who accompanied us on the trip. "There are more than 20 of them. In other words, each of them is responsible, on the average, for 1 kilometer of 'green line' and adjoining residential blocks."

Some 30 young men and women are working in Vadi-abu-Jamil'. The youngest is 16 years old and the oldest 27. Created during the Israeli blockage of West Beirut as an aid center for those suffering the barbarian fire and bombardment of the Israelis, Vadi-abu-Jamil' still plays a tremendous role in the life of the adjoining blocks.

"Previously, there was a large store here," says Husni Jaafad as he shows us the small rooms filled with even rows of beds. "Under us are deep cellars, in which the inhabitants of the surrounding houses take shelter during the shooting. We work around the clock. Everyone is on duty for 6 hours a day."

"And what are the duties of the young people during their shifts?" I ask Husni Jaafad.

"First and foremost is receiving the wounded and giving them first aid with subsequent delivery to the hospital. Then comes the organizing of shelters in the cellars. Beyond that, we organized a regional center for blood donations, where people voluntarily donate blood for those needing it. Two months ago in the university building, we set up temporary living quarters and a school for the children of the refugees from Beirut's southern suburbs, which were completely destroyed by the Israelis. With our own hands, we constructed a good athletic field for them and we opened up a nursery school for the smallest among them."

"And 30 people manage to do all of that?"

"That is our basic crew," smiles Husni. "Behind them are hundreds of young people living in Vadi-abu-Jamil'. For the region's entire public life is on our shoulders."

Indeed, today the center for civil defense forces has become the basis of all of the vital activities of the nearby blocks. Besides their basic work, CDM activists involve themselves with the inhabitants, they explain to them the situation in the country and they organize collections to help families that have lost a breadwinner. Very significant for the youth was the creation of free career-orientation courses, in which, with the help of staff members of the civil defense center, boys and girls aged 14 to 16 learn basic occupations--fitter, carpenter, glazier, seamstress, etc.

"And all of that under the conditions of a war that has not stopped for 9 years now," I exclaimed.

"War or not, life goes on," answers Husni Jaafad firmly. "The war will end. Peace will come. And the children will already have a profession. One has to think about the future."

P.S. As I was transmitting these lines, the shooting started again in the streets of Beirut. It seems that the children of Vadi-abu-Jamil' will again have work to do.

9746  
CSO: 1807/186

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

SAUDI DAILY INTERVIEWS WEST BANK MAYOR FRAYJ

PM011416 Riyadh AL-JAZIRAH in Arabic 21 Apr 84 p 27

[Interview with Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Frayj by Raji Habib in Washington--  
date not given]

[Excerpt] Question: What is the purpose of your visit to Washington and  
what has the visit achieved?

Answer: I am here at the official invitation of the U.S. State Department  
for talks with the U.S. secretary of state, some senators and house members,  
journalists, and others. The aim is to explain our people's cause and  
sufferings in the occupied territory and to reaffirm our willingness as  
Arabs to work for a peaceful settlement based on the right of self-  
determination, termination of Israeli colonization, and Israeli withdrawal  
from the occupied territory.

I sadly and painfully declare that Israeli bulldozers are working day and  
night and the poor Arab workers are contributing to the building of settle-  
ments because they have to earn a living. If this situation continues for  
1 or 2 more years then the West Bank's land will all be lost, the number  
of settlers will exceed 100,000, and the situation will be hopeless.

We appeal to the Arab states to work very urgently, today not tomorrow, for  
a political way out now that a military solution is out of the question.

Question: Five years have elapsed since the Camp David treaty was signed.  
On this occasion Brzezinski, former U.S. President Carter's National Security  
Adviser and one of the architects of that treaty, has said that the  
Palestinians should have achieved autonomy by now. What are your impressions  
after 5 years of Camp David? Also, how do you feel about the Reagan plan  
which is very much in harmony with the Camp David treaty? How do you stand  
on all that?

Answer: The situation and the number of settlements in 1984 are quite  
different from what they were in 1977. The facts on the ground are what  
matters now. The Camp David treaty treated the landowners as mere inhabitants  
and did not consider the question of the land and owners as such. We

Palestinians did not participate in drafting the Camp David agreements and decisions which did not give us our minimum political and national rights, not even the right of self-determination, and which did not provide protection for our land. I personally met with President Carter in Bethlehem on 9 March 1983 and he was of the opinion that Israel violated the Camp David provisions by continuing to build settlements and expropriate land.

As regards the Reagan plan, I believe that the Arabs should have accepted it because the plan considers the West Bank, including Arab Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip to be occupied territories and it calls for an end to Israeli settlements and for an independent Palestinian entity linked to Jordan. In other words it calls for an end to occupation and settlements. That would have been a big step forward. The plan should have been accepted as a transitional solution. Israel rejected the plan. We should have put U.S. credibility to the test by accepting the Reagan plan. That would have been better than waiting perhaps 50 years for a comprehensive settlement. The plan has been moving backward and forward. However, I believe that after the failure of U.S. policy in Lebanon, the Reagan plan no longer exists.

Question: In this connection, how do you view King Husayn's statements to THE NEW YORK TIMES a few weeks ago to the effect that the United States has lost its credibility as a peace mediator in the Middle East having proved its complete alignment with Israel? Does this mean the end of the Reagan plan and the parts of the Camp David agreement related to the West Bank? What is the reaction in the West Bank to King Husayn's statements?

Answer: Any fairminded person who reads King Husayn's statements and analyzes them realistically and impartially will realize that King Husayn spoke the truth about the United States and its views on the West Bank and Gaza. I personally support King Husayn's statements. As regards public opinion in the West Bank, I have been away for 30 days but I do believe that the people there support the King's statements.

Question: What about that serious question of U.S. Embassy transfer to Jerusalem now under discussion in congressional circles?

Answer: The United States has supported all UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on Jerusalem regarding Jerusalem as a special case and ruling that the fate of Jerusalem should be determined, not unilaterally but within the context of an overall settlement of the Palestinian question. The efforts in U.S. congressional circles to move the embassy and the ambassador's residence to Jerusalem constitute a violation of U.S. commitments on Jerusalem. Jerusalem is being used as a bargaining card in the U.S. elections. This is a serious precedent because any Arab city may in the future be subjected to U.S. congressional bargaining. Should the Senate or House pass a bill providing for the transfer of the embassy to Jerusalem that would constitute an acknowledgement that the annexation of Jerusalem was legitimate and would be a step paving the way for recognition of Israel's annexation of the West Bank and Gaza.

Question: Locally, what about the present state of the Bethlehem and other municipalities, the Israeli occupation authorities encroachment on the rights of these municipalities, and such questions as water, land, and security, and what about your financial situation? What is the way out? Are the authorities undermining your jurisdictions, and what about the Israeli economic policy aimed at forcing people out?

Answer: Occupation is occupation but Israeli occupation is different from all other occupations. Israel is judaizing the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It wants to annex them but without their inhabitants. We are living under martial laws--there are over 1,100 such laws, most of them unfair. The economic situation in the West Bank is very bad. It is very regrettable that Arab aid is not available. Bethlehem's municipality is in the grip of a severe crisis which may force the municipality to suspend its public services completely, resign, or declare bankruptcy. If a completely free referendum is held in the West Bank now on the current contacts between the PLO and His Majesty King Husayn regarding the future of the West Bank and the best way out of this crisis, which way do you think the Palestinian public opinion will go?

Answer: The people of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are almost unanimous in their support for the Jordanian-Palestinian talks. They urgently call for an agreement between the Palestinian leadership and the Jordanian Government on a political framework to save what can be saved of the occupied territories. Any delay will certainly lead to the loss of the Arab territories.

CSO: 4400/237

SOVIET TACTICS, GOALS FOR DOMINATING COUNTRY EXAMINED

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 29 Apr 84 p 4

[Commentary by Sven Lindqvist]

[Text] In this third article in a long series of reports on a trip to Afghanistan, Sven Lindqvist discusses Soviet motives for waging war in that country and the role of Afghan communists as collaborators with the occupying power. Earlier articles were published on the cultural affairs page on 21 and 25 April. The foreign affairs page published one article on 26 April. The series will continue.

The propaganda picture of a stable and prosperous Afghanistan is completely false. The war has created so many supply problems that it has been impossible to carry out the party program. The government in Afghanistan does not seem very disposed to discuss the statistics or defend its cause.

When I returned to the Afghan Consulate in Peshawar for the fourth time, armed with the necessary permit from the Pakistani Supreme Commissioner for Special Affairs, I was finally admitted.

I handed over my letter of introduction, explained that I work for a big newspaper in a neutral country and wanted to give a picture that was as wellrounded as possible of the situation in Afghanistan. Did he have some material he could give me, would he answer a few questions?

The young consular secretary had uncertain eyes that avoided mine. He seemed afraid as he huddled there in his leather jacket.

No, he couldn't tell me anything but the consul was coming from Kabul that evening with up-to-date information. I was welcome to come back the next morning at 11:30.

At 11:30 the next day I returned for the fifth time, armed with a new permit, which was beginning to be hard to get since it was regarded as strange that I kept running to the Afghan Consulate day after day.

I sat on the sagging sofa in the reception room and gazed at the dirty window shades, the wastebasket of reddish yellow plastic, the thin copper spittoon, the empty bookshelves and the picture of Babrak Karmal--until finally the consul sent down a few month-old copies of KABUL NEW TIMES. Unfortunately, illness prevented him from meeting me in person.

Would it be possible to arrange a new appointment a few days later?

No, the consul's indisposition was of such a kind that one could not expect a rapid recovery.

That is how it went in Peshawar. In Paris I went to the Afghan Embassy four times without being allowed to talk to anyone and at last I was fobbed off with a mimeographed statement that was 6 months old.

The Afghan UN delegation in New York had better-looking printed matter, some of it even in four colors on glossy paper, but it was just as impossible to talk to anyone.

Government people in Afghanistan do not seem very disposed to speak up for their cause.

How do the collaborators in Kabul defend to themselves their cooperation with the Russian occupation forces? How do the Russians justify to themselves the fact that they have occupied year after year a neutral neighboring country?

According to the action program of the Afghan Communist Party, PDPA, the Afghan revolution is still in the national democratic courtyard leading to socialism. In this stage the important thing is to eliminate the remnants of feudalism in society, limit large estates and create unity among the various nationalities in Afghanistan.

The party's primary task is to defend national independence against counter-revolutionaries "who with the support of international imperialism (the United States), hegemonism (China) and regional reaction (Pakistan, Iran and the Arab states) attempt to divide our country, deprive our people of their freedom and restore the power of the oppressors and exploiters whom the Afghan people have repudiated."

The party's second task is to create a state apparatus characterized by democratic centralism, popular participation and efficiency. The important thing is to weed out "bribery, embezzlement, bureaucracy, nepotism and arrogance" on the part of the authorities.

Through the revolution the working class has become the collective owner of the already largely state-owned industry. The task here is to get the factories, mines, power stations and means of transportation that were put out of operation by "the criminal activities of domestic and foreign counter-revolutionaries" started up again as quickly as possible.

Farmers make up the vast majority of the population. Cooperatives are to be formed among them on an absolutely voluntary basis. State agriculture will cultivate new land where the advantages of large-scale mechanized production can be demonstrated to the people. The party's agrarian policy must take into account popular traditions and the sacred principles of Islam. The aim of land reform is to put these principles into practice.

Land reform has been further softened by allowing such people as officers, tribal leaders who support the government and rebels who request amnesty from the government to own land in excess of the maximum limit. (KABUL NEW TIMES, 12 August 1981)

In 1982 a study was made of the first phase of land reform. Some 62,000 of the 269,000 farmers who had received land through the reform were questioned. It turned out that 51 percent of them did not use the land because it was of poor quality or because of lack of water or tools or for other reasons. Some 19 percent had had their land seized by the former government or by the previous landowners. And 9 percent of them did not really have a right to the land under the law. This left 21 percent of the land-reform farmers who were both entitled to the land and able to use it. (NEW AGE 28 November 1982).

Intellectuals, including those in the military, will see a rise in their roles and importance.

Tradesmen and artisans can rest easy--their products and services are needed to supplement the steps the government is taking to supply the people.

National businessmen, those who stayed behind when big capital left the country, will get state protection from competition with the international monopolies and they will be given a chance to cooperate on joint projects in the areas of industry, construction and transportation.

The position of women must be improved. The main task of the Women's League is to increase literacy among women (before the revolution the rate was only 2 percent) and involve them in social and political work.

Nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes are insured fair representation in the party organs and state apparatus. Backward sections of the country are to be given a priority in development work. Everyone has the right to study in his own native language.

Religion--experiences in such Islamic countries as Algeria, Syria, Libya and Yemen show that revolutionary changes are not in conflict with Islam.

So much for the party program. In Soviet propaganda, Afghanistan is presented as a stable and economically successful state where they have come a long way toward carrying out this program. This is what a typical claim looks like:

"Production increases in industry and agriculture have helped stabilize prices on the domestic market and change the pattern of foreign trade. During the revolutionary period DRA's foreign trade has increased by more than 50 percent." ("Afghanistan in Pictures," 1982)

Yes, according to official Afghan statistics, the country's foreign trade increased almost 100 percent from the year of the revolution, 1978/79, to 1981/82, the latest figures that are available.

But if we look more closely at these figures, they show that the rise in exports refers mainly to the exports of natural gas to the Soviet Union, which increased 415 percent.

This is not due to increased production, since gas exports increased only 9 percent in terms of volume. The rest of the increase is due to the fact that the Russians pay more for the gas than they used to. The price has risen from \$25 per thousand cubic meters to \$116.

Both prices are very low by international comparison. When the Afghans were getting \$25 per thousand cubic meters, the Russians themselves were getting \$74 from the Finns. When the Afghans got \$116, the Russians were getting \$172.

How much do these gas deals mean to the Soviet Union? David Wilson shows in "The Demand for Energy in the Soviet Union" (Croom Helm, 1983) that the Soviet Union has enough energy resources for an annual economic growth of 3.5 percent during the 1980's and 2.5 percent in the 1990's. There is no imminent energy crisis.

But the Soviet gas fields that are becoming more and more important for the energy supply are located far away in Siberia and are becoming increasingly expensive to develop. It is more advantageous to buy gas cheaply from Afghanistan. And on a regional basis, the central Asian regions of the Soviet Union would have suffered a catastrophic break in their energy supplies if Afghan gas deliveries had ceased. That was probably a compelling reason for the Soviet Union to intervene in the war.

It is true that the pattern of Afghan foreign trade has changed. This is also true of imports. The import of commercial fertilizer declined 48 percent, the import of medicine fell 56 percent, sewing machine imports fell 87 percent and the import of other machines declined by 97 percent.

In their place, wheat imports rose 157 percent and sugar imports rose 346 percent. In both cases, a large part of the increase is due to price increases. In 1981/82 the Afghans paid \$231 a ton for wheat. The world market price was around \$150. Afghans paid \$700 a ton for sugar. The world market price was only \$350.

The new foreign trade pattern, which is mainly characterized by the fact that almost all trade now occurs with the East bloc, means among other things that the Afghans have to pay much more than the world market price

for vital necessities which they are no longer able to produce themselves and that they get paid far less than the world market price for their exports of natural gas.

Their own statistics do not back up the propaganda claims of production increases. In the period 1978/79-1981/82, on the contrary, industrial production declined 15 percent on the average. Coal production fell 43 percent, cement fell 40 percent, cleaned cotton 67 percent, cotton thread 88 percent, cotton cloth 65 percent and sugar 83 percent.

Soap is the only industrial product where production rose substantially, 63 percent. Strangely enough, soap imports rose 160 percent at the same time.

The construction sector declined by 24 percent, transportation by 26 percent and trade by 12 percent. The only branch showing an upturn in the statistics is by far the largest, agricultural, which supposedly increased by 5 percent.

The alleged upturn involves the sector the government knows the least about. Agriculture is carried out in rural districts and the government has no control over them. Other reports, which are also based on very faulty sources, talk of a catastrophic decline in farm production due to the labor shortage and disrupted harvests.

In any case the propaganda picture of a stable and prosperous country is totally false. The war causes such serious supply problems that there is hardly any material basis for carrying out the party program.

If one reads the fine print in the preliminary report from the 1980 census one finds that the nomadic population, estimated at 2.5 million people, could not have been counted at all. And only about 55-60 percent of the people with permanent homes could be reached. Thus at best the census included half the population. Since then the increased resistance activity has made it even harder to get out to the people. How can the government carry out its program among people it is not even able to count?

I would have liked to discuss the party program and the statistics with representatives of the Kabul government. But as soon as the Russian presence comes up, their voices reach a pitch that makes discussion impossible. The following statement was made by the Revolutionary Council a month after the Russian invasion:

"In this situation in which imperialism, Chinese chauvinism and all the dark Satanic reactionary forces in the region have joined forces against our national interests and the broad masses of our Muslim people, in this situation the Afghan government was forced to request help from the Soviet Union, the true and upright friend of Afghan Muslims. And with its sincere, unselfish and brotherly help, which came at the right time, the Soviet Union showed that it is an upright friend of Afghanistan's Muslims and that it

defends the freedom, independence and sovereignty of oppressed peoples and nations."

Naturally the Russians also explained that they are in Afghanistan at the request of the Afghan government. But the Afghan government that is now asking them to stay is one they installed themselves after the occupation. And it is patently absurd that the former Afghan government would have invited the Russians to come and overthrow it. And the Russians have not published any of the 16 invitations they claim to have received, requesting them to send military aid to Afghanistan.

The Americans gave the same explanation for their presence in Vietnam. But they themselves did not believe that story. And it is equally unlikely that the Russians in Afghanistan feel the same way. After all they know that it was their own combat forces who seized power in Kabul on 27 December 1979. And the Afghans in Kabul saw this happen.

Just like the Americans when they were in Vietnam, the Russians must have other reasons behind their white lies with which they justify what they are doing to themselves.

Many Americans honestly believed that a victory for the guerrillas would bring a terrible blood bath for the Vietnamese who had resisted communism. The Russians have strong reasons for fearing a corresponding blood bath for the Afghans who opted for communism.

In his first interview after the invasion Brezhnev said that if the Soviet Union had not intervened in Afghanistan it would have "allowed the aggressive forces to repeat in this country what they succeeded in doing in Chile, for example, where the freedom of the people was drowned in blood."

It takes some effort for us to understand his comparison. The decisive difference for us--the fact that the Chilean socialists had come to power through free elections while the Afghans gained power through a military coup with minimal popular support--is unimportant to Brezhnev.

The similarity is that in both countries thousands of people have chosen socialism at great personal sacrifice and risk as a course leading to justice and development. It was (and still is) extremely dangerous to be a communist in Afghanistan. Before the Russians intervened in 1979 it looked as if the anticommunist rebels would succeed in overthrowing the government in Kabul. If the Russians pull out now such an outcome is even more likely. Those who have read Vaino Linna's trilogy about small cottagers know what happened when the Whites won the civil war in Finland. Brezhnev took a more modern example when he referred to the reign of terror in Chile.

Counterrevolution is triumphing everywhere in the world, usually too far away for the Soviet Union to be able to step in in the defense of the revolution. But here on its own doorstep, here at any rate the Soviet Union should not have to accept the waste of an entire generation of progressive

Afghans who in many cases dared to support the revolution in the belief that they had the backing of the powerful Soviet Union. The USSR could not let them down.

That is the only decent reason I have been able to find for the Soviet occupation. Of course I do not regard it as an adequate reason for a great power to wage a war against the people of another country year after year. Nor do I believe this reason was decisive when the Soviet leadership made the decision. But it is this reason that must weigh very heavily with the Afghan communists when they accept the bitter role of collaborators with the occupying power.

They have no choice. Only Russian tanks separate them from certain death.

#### The Other Side--the Soviet Standpoint

The easiest way to obtain the Soviet standpoint on the issue of Afghanistan is through the Soviet APN press agency's Stockholm branch (Birger Jarlgatan 110; Tel: 08-158132). APN puts out a daily mimeographed sheet with translations of Russian articles on various topics, including Afghanistan.

APN also published "The Truth About Afghanistan" (1980) which contains the statements of Russian and Afghan leaders along with excerpts from articles by journalists friendly to the Soviet Union. "Afghanistan in Pictures" (1982) is a popular summary of the Soviet standpoint.

A more long-range Soviet view of Afghanistan, its history and economic possibilities can be found in the third edition of the "Big Soviet Encyclopedia," which is found in an English translation at the Royal Library in Stockholm.

#### DRA's Standpoint

The Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has published a "White Book," the first edition in 1980, the third expurgated and expanded edition in 1982. The book contains speeches by President Babrak Karmal and his foreign minister and other official government statements. The Foreign Ministry also published "Revolutionary Afghanistan Through Honest Eyes" (1982), a collection of excerpts from articles by friendly journalists. One finds the current standpoints in the ministry's FOREIGN AFFAIRS BULLETIN.

"Le Front Patriotique National" [Patriotic National Front] contains speeches made at the founding of an umbrella organization for all forces willing to cooperate on 15 June 1981. "Documents and Records of the National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan" contains among other things the action program the party approved on 15 March 1982 and provides the best description of the regime's view of society and political goals. "Afghanistan--U.S. Intervention" (1983) gives the regime's view of the resistance movement.

The Central Statistics Office has published the basic "Preliminary Results of the First Afghan Population Census" (1981). A selection of official Afghan statistics is published each year in English under the title, "Economic and Social Indicators." I read it at the UN library in New York, but it does also reach the Central Statistics Office's library in Stockholm after long delays.

The American FBIS (Foreign Broadcast Interception Service), whose telex information is available from the USIS in many parts of the world, including Pakistan, and the BBC, which publishes the costly but very interesting "Summary of World Broadcasts," both listen to Radio Kabul. At least some Swedish libraries should be able to come up with the BBC publication.

One gets the best picture of the Kabul view of daily events through the official English-language daily newspaper, KABUL NEW TIMES (Box 983, Tel: 26847). This is an example of a news item from 13 February 1984:

"A 10-man counterrevolutionary group made use of the general amnesty announced by the presidium of the DRA Revolutionary Council and surrendered to the security forces in Badghis Province.

"The group belonged to the criminal Jamite Islami gang.

"At a meeting held on this occasion, the provincial chairman of the National Fatherland's Front spoke, saying that the policy of the party and the state is humanitarian and firm of principle.

"The leader of the surrendering group, Abdul Rasul, who spoke on behalf of the group, regretted his earlier criminal acts and promised complete cooperation with the government."

6578

CSO: 3650/192

## KARMAL INTERVIEWED ON WAR, USSR, INDIA TIES

LD230620 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0423 GMT 23 May 84

[Text] Kabul, 22 May (BAKHTAR)--U.S. imperialism is making a bid for the continuation of undeclared war against Afghanistan aimed at preserving tension in the region and uses it as a pretext for the intensification of tension at the international level. This was said by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA CC and president of the RC of the DRA in an interview granted to a special correspondent of daily RABOTNICESKO DELO, the organ of the CC of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. His interview was published by KABUL NEWSTIMES.

Thus, by escalating cold war, intensifying arms race and military confrontation, the United States ensures its plundering interests, Babrak Karmal went on to say. However, the imperialism is doomed to decisive defeat. The process of history and the experience have proved this fact.

The victory of glorious April revolution put an end to every type of dependence of our country to imperialism and international reaction in the sphere of international relations. Foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is based on the lofty interests of working people of Afghanistan, principles of national independence, territorial integrity, friendship and international solidarity, peaceful co-existence and the policy of positive and active nonalignment.

Afghanistan is a peace-loving country, Babrak Karmal said. We have practically endeavoured for the development and further strengthening of friendly relations with all countries regardless of their sociopolitical system based on the principle of respect for the sovereignty and national independence, equal rights, territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

All principles, policy and foreign policy of the PDPA and the government of the DRA are based on the ensurance of durable peace, progress, consolidation and development of norms and democratic principles in international relations and for disarmament, putting an end to arms race, particularly, the nuclear arms race and struggle against imperialism and war. In our foreign policy, Babrak Karmal emphasized, the relations with the great country of Soviets and

other socialist countries enjoy vital significance. With the victory of the April revolution, particularly, its new and revolutionary phase, the relation with Soviet Union is based on the principles of sincere brotherhood, and it is developing and expanding all-sidedly. Our ties with our friendly and fraternal northern neighbour have raised to the level of our national and traditional policy. The consolidation of ties between the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union constitutes the most important elements in the Afghan-Soviet relations, Babrak Karmal added.

In another part of the interview Babrak Karmal added that the friendship of the DRA and India enjoys special importance in the foreign policy of Afghanistan. This friendship, he said, is considered as an important factor of peace and stability in the region and the world. The friendship of the DRA and India has deep and powerful roots in the history of the peoples of the two countries. Unfortunately, now this process is successfully and victoriously growing and developing. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal stated, pursuing a principles peaceful foreign policy, has repeatedly declared its willingness for keeping its relation normal and friendly with all countries, particularly with neighbouring ones. Pursuance of this policy is not a tactical cause in foreign policy of the DRA, but, this is obviously reflected in the efforts of the government for achieving the solution of situation around Afghanistan which was created as a result of undeclared war of imperialism and reaction.

CSO: 4600/558

BORDER MILITIA ISSUE 3 MAY RESOLUTION

LD032146 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 3 May 84

[Tribal Assembly resolution of representatives of the Border Militia Kabul, 3 May 1984]

[Text] We, the participants of today's session, have heard the elaborate speech of esteemed Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, president of the DRA Revolutionary Council and the supreme commander of the DRA armed forces, and have realized our duties in safeguarding the borders of our beloved country, Afghanistan. We issue the following for better accomplishment of our sacred and revolutionary duties laid before the border militia:

1. We, the border militia, in profoundly perceiving the truth of the glorious April revolution, the need and importance of defending the gains of the revolution, have taken arms in hand to defend the borders of the DRA, our honor, pride and our freedom, as well as securing, broadening and extending the national authority in border regions with the Afghan pride of our ancestors who have left us a proud history. We will defend with our life and blood the borders of the DRA. We regard our state borders as our honor and pride and will not allow robbers, thieves and the exported murderer rebels to cross the borders.
2. We, the border militia, will enhance qualitatively and quantitatively our ranks and will not spare any efforts in maintaining the solidarity and unity of the militia companies. We will expose and foil the slanderous propaganda of the enemies and will resolutely fight against negative effects stemming from this propaganda.
3. We respect the resolutions and decisions of the DRA Revolutionary Council and the PDPA Central Committee, which have been made genuinely to improve the living conditions of the toiling people of Afghanistan, and we will regard their realization and implementation as our sacred duty.
4. We want peace in the world, in the region, and particularly in revolutionary Afghanistan. We denounce the hostile strivings of internal reaction, reactionary circles of the region, the militarist government of Pakistan, reaction of Iran, hegemonists of China, and international imperialism, led by the U.S. imperialism and the corrupt Reagan administration, who has endangered peace; and we express gratitude for the disinterested assistance of friendly countries, led by the great USSR.

5. On behalf of the tribes and nationalities residing in the border regions, we give an assurance to the DRA Revolutionary Council, the PDPA Central Committee and to you, dear leader, Babrak Karmal, to keep aloft the red banner of the toiling man's just struggle in the DRA.

Victory to the glorious April revolution.

CSO: 4665/34

## TEHRAN ARABIC ON SOVIET POLICY IN ISLAMIC REGION

GF121725 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 11 May 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] As the year 1985 approaches, Soviet interest in the region of Islamic oilwells increases. The level of interest reaches the point of forming alliances with some of the states of the region and the return of the Soviet role which had existed in the 1960's. Observers have fixed 1985 as the year which will contain a serious turning point in Soviet history. In 1985, Moscow will start importing oil as its resources will no longer be sufficient to meet its domestic needs.

Analysts connect the numerous speculations on Soviet policy with the change that the energy situation will undergo. All such speculations confirm that Moscow will revert to its arrogance and begin to spread its tentacles into the oil regions of the world so as to fulfill its main need for this vital substance.

However, Moscow has been trying for a while to rearrange its imperialist strategy in the Islamic region which contains oilwells. The dreams of control are still prevalent in Soviet plans and in its foreign policy. Events have proved the truth of this fact. [Passage omitted on the Soviet role in Afghanistan]

The Soviet Union used to dream about controlling the Islamic Republic of Iran through a network of agents called the Tudeh Party. This party tried through its wicked ways to seize power and to turn Iran into a small colony on the edge of the Eastern bloc, but the alertness of the leadership and awareness of the public prevented those dreams from being fulfilled.

Perhaps those hostile plans formed part of the dreams of the Soviet leaders for obtaining energy sources. However, what reality has revealed is much greater than what the latest analyses predict. The Soviets set out to build their policy toward the Islamic Republic on numerous criteria and principles. There is a great fear of the spread of the Islamic revolutionary tide into large areas of the Islamic provinces in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, there is the obstacle that the Islamic Republic forms in the way of the Soviet plans in Afghanistan. The Islamic Republic has proved to be supremely capable of foiling

all the Soviet plans which aim at enslaving the Muslim Afghan people. For these reasons, we find that Moscow has put the stopping of the Islamic revolution among its priority tasks. When it failed to achieve this aim, it turned toward the Iraqi regime and strengthened its relations with this regime again. It undertook to supply it with its needs in weapons and military hardware despite its firm belief that the Iraqi regime is the aggressor and had launched the war against the Islamic Republic. However, the requirements of politics overruled the requirements of principles in Soviet strategy. Until now, the Soviet Union has adopted a stand that is contrary to reality through its unlimited support for an oppressive regime which opposes the free peoples, turning a blind eye to all human values, and to all the bright slogans which the Soviet policy has nurtured.

It has become clear that Soviet policy is motivated by a great many interests and material ambitions and not by principles and values. There is nothing in the Soviet political dictionary called "principles" except if such principles serve the aims of the Kremlin.

CSO: 4604/22

## BANDAR 'ABBAS MAJLIS ELECTION STATEMENT

GF121846 Bandar 'abbas Domestic Service in Persian 1330 GMT 10 May 84

[Statement issued by Bandar 'abbas Governorate--date not given]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. In accordance with Articles 56, 57, 58, 60 and 61 of Chapter Seven of election law, propaganda activities for the elections will begin after the list of candidates has been published and will last up to 24 hours before balloting begins. No one is allowed to remove posters or election material of approved candidates, put up in proper locations, during the legal period of propaganda. This action will be an offense. Any form of propaganda activity from the date of publication of the list of candidates, against or for the Majlis candidates is forbidden by any public means or any means which may have official form such as radio and television and Friday prayer sermons. Government employees are forbidden to act in this manner during office hours and any use of government facilities and those of ministries and companies affiliated with the government or organizations and companies which use public funds are forbidden and the culprit will be guilty.

Organizations whose capital are public wealth, such as the Oppressed Foundation, are subject to Article 58 of the election law. Government offices, organizations, and all government affiliated organizations are not allowed to issue any statement, or put up placards using their titles, for or against any candidate. The putting up of posters, photographs, statements or any propaganda material to traffic, hospital, school or government organizations' signs are forbidden and law enforcement officials will arrest the offenders and will hand them over to judicial authorities for prosecution. Municipalities and district governorates are to also destroy such material.

Any form of propaganda must be removed from polling stations before the start of balloting by polling officials.

The Bandar 'abbas Governorate informs all citizens that the unit for looking into complaints has started its work and hence the respected citizens can deliver their complaints about any government organization in the city to this unit.

CSO: 4640/225

## IRAN

EMIGRE PAPER COMMENTS ON WAR, NUCLEAR WEAPON PRODUCTION RUMORS

Paris NEHZAT in Persian 3 May 84 pp 1, 2, 18

[Paris NEHZAT in Persian; biweekly organ of the Iran National Resistance Movement]

[Text] Last week, three reports about Iran attracted attention in the newspapers throughout the world: reports concerning the necessity of stopping the war between Iran and Iraq, Iran's preparations for a final assault, and Iran's ability to produce atomic bombs in the near future.

In regards to the necessity of stopping the war, unfortunately, the efforts of the nonaligned countries, including those of Ms Indira Gandhi and several leaders of the Persian Gulf governments, even the visit of Colonel (Jolud), the prime minister of Libya, to Tehran, have been fruitless; in fact, to quote AL-WATAN newspaper, when Khomeyni heard (Jolud's) statements, he left the meeting in order not to respond to him.

It is essentially futile to think that Khomeyni has any inclination to end this destructive war between and Iraq. The barbarian and bloodthirsty nature of Khomeyni aside, he finds the survival of the Islamic Republic in the continuation of the war, slaughter and bloodshed. He knows well that the end of the war will mean the death of the regime and only the continuation of the war, slaughter and bloodshed, with the futile hope of exporting the Islamic revolution and liberating Jerusalem, will stifle the voices under the pretext that we are at war, imposing on the people the lines for the distribution of public necessities and the thousands of problems that the committees, the Guards Corps and the so-called Shar' magistrates have created. In addition, Khomeyni believes that the generation of the Pahlavi era, especially the Aryamehr period, is beyond rehabilitation and must be destroyed, to be replaced by another brainwashed, ideological generation to enable his Islam and despicable regime to implement medieval laws, relying on these wind-up dolls who accept such nonsense as these explanations of problems as their texts. For this very reason, the thought of

peace will never cross the mind of Khomeyni's regime, unless they are imposed on him through force, pressure, and power. Otherwise, what rational human being would ignore so much effort by mediators and their logical proposals that both sides return to the pre-war borders and resolve the damages through talks, preferring instead of peace the killing of hundreds of thousands of Iranians, the majority of whom are the very young, for the sake of reaching Baghdad, overthrowing Saddam and establishing an Islamic Republic in that country, sending unprotected people group by group in front of bullets until the commander of the Iraqi forces is forced to say: We are not engaged in war, we are engaged in massacre and we suffer for having killed so many people and youths? Hence, peace while Khomeyni is alive is improbable if not altogether impossible. For this reason, the Islamic regime is using all its power to prepare a great force to send to hell once more in the slaughter-field of the war, armed with Philippine-made keys to paradise. Naturally, in preparing for this destructive war, Khomeyni will resort to any means, including the production of atomic bombs.

The rumor of the production of the atomic bomb which is on everyone's lips nowadays must not be taken lightly, because today no one has a monopoly on its production. A few years ago, an American youth who was a student of physics built an atomic bomb in his own home and called the U.S. atomic studies [commission] for the means to ignite it in order to test his bomb. The atomic organization took the bomb and exploded it. The results were positive.

The young American wanted to prove to the world that the production of an atomic bomb is not difficult and that it is no longer a monopoly. If Khomeyni succeeds in putting atomic energy plants into operation, he will be able to obtain atomic bombs from the fuel waste. The question arises: Will Khomeyni use the atomic bomb if he has it at his disposal? The answer is certainly in the affirmative. The experiences of the past five years have shown that he does not value human life. The sending of thousands of young people and elementary school children to clear mines, the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Iranians in the fruitless and ambitious war which, in addition to the killings, has left behind more than 500,000 disabled people, is proof of his brutality. What difference does it make to Khomeyni whether people are killed with an atomic bomb or any other weapon? What difference does it make to Khomeyni whether the disabled are victims of atomic or any other weapons? He is a bloodthirsty murderer, a criminal, who seeks but one thing, the killing of human beings. Hence, Khomeyni is not a person who would, in his pursuit of greed and conquest, refuse to use atomic weapons if he were to get his hands on them. Has he not disregarded all the human rights regulations and international laws? Have his terrorists, who engage in all sorts of crimes to

establish the regime of the Islamic Republic and who know no laws or regulations, not disrupted the peace of mind of people all over the world? Does the world mass media not speak of their terrorist acts every day? Do the centers for Islamic research, the Islamic societies and Khomeyni's embassies do anything but identify and provoke the opponents and devise and implement terrorist plans? Naturally, if this drunkard were to obtain atomic weapons, he would refuse to accept any laws and regulations regarding their use, as he has done thus far. Those governments who sharpen the teeth of this wolf for momentary and short term profit must here be warned that this madman does not distinguish between enemies and friends. Helping such inhumane regimes will bring about such a tragedy from which no one can escape. The only way out is the annihilation of Khomeyni and the removal of his Republic. The great industrial powers of the world, instead of going after momentary and fleeting profits at the expense of the annihilation of humanity, even for the sake of ridding themselves of the evil, must at least cooperate with the Iranian nation to overthrow these criminals of history. In other words, they must stop providing them with financial aid and weapons in order to enable the Iranian nation to remove this stain of infamy and shame from its lap and save the nations of the world from the great danger with which they are confronted.

10,000

CSO: 4640/223

## NVOI ASSAILS IRAN'S TIES WITH PAKISTAN, TURKEY

TA141522 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 12 May 84

[Unattributed commentary: "The Islamic Government's Endeavor to Revive the Aggressive CENTO Pact"]

[Text] Dear Compatriots: Precisely in the days coinciding with the anniversary of Iran's withdrawal from the imperialist and aggressive CENTO Pact--as a result of the Iranian nation's glorious victory in the February Revolution--the Islamic Republic news agency held an interview with Pakistan's ambassador in our homeland. In this interview, Pakistan's ambassador in the Islamic Republic of Iran made certain remarks that cannot be overlooked.

Pakistan's ambassador, while stating that no difference exists between Iran and Pakistan, and that relations between the two countries in all spheres had developed considerably, said: After Iran's Islamic revolution, political, commercial, economic and cultural relations between the two countries made noteworthy progress. The ambassador of the U.S. puppet regime in Pakistan then talked about a regional alliance, and said: Since last year the three countries of Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey agreed to set up a trilateral committee on a ministerial level. Of course, the preliminary step for this was that the Islamic Republic of Iran felt the necessity to maintain expanded relations with its neighboring Muslim countries. Pakistan's ambassador added: We, too, believe that this alliance is in the interest of the three countries' peoples, and that it will progress.

This interview, coinciding with the anniversary of the dissolution of the imperialist and aggressive CENTO Pact, as well as the announcement of the establishment of a regional alliance, are above all an indication of the enormous effort by the Islamic regime's cunning rulers and the leaders of the subservient countries of Turkey and Pakistan to revive the imperialist and aggressive CENTO Pact.

Pakistan's ambassador said that since last year--after the brutal onslaught favored by world-devouring America against the Iranian Tudeh Party--the three countries of Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey have reached agreement on the establishment of a regional alliance. The dear compatriots recall clearly that in the very days that the Islamic Republic's senior figures and leaders issued the order for a brutal and retaliatory attack against the Iranian Tudeh Party, we

declared that the offensive against the gains of the revolution in order to prepare the ground for consolidating the corrupt capitalist system and restoring world-devouring America and its Western allies, along with scores of plundering Western monopolies, to liberated Iran. In those very days we said that these gentlemen, by attacking the Iranian Tudeh Party and by suppressing the defenders of Iranian toilers and staunch opponents of imperialism, will push Iran as soon as possible into the embrace of imperialism headed by America, and will also not cease their endeavor to revive the aggressive and imperialist CENTO Pact in order to consolidate Iran's dependence.

More than a year has passed since the extensive and brutal onslaught by the Islamic regime's bloody and cunning rulers against the Iranian Tudeh Party, as well as the cowardly and shameful reprisal against the leaders and officials of this first rate party of the Iranian working class. During this period, the measures of these cunning rulers all confirm the forecasts of our homeland's true revolutionary forces. What is noteworthy in this connection, and which was also referred to by Pakistan's ambassador in the above interview, is that the initiators of a regional alliance are the gentlemen rulers of the Islamic Republic.

Our dear compatriots may well recall that during the regime of the accursed shah, a regional alliance, under the title of the cooperation for development alliance, was imposed on our homeland, Iran, as a branch of the imperialist and aggressive CENTO Pact. Now, by reviving and establishing a regional alliance, the gentlemen are preparing the ground for reviving and establishing the imperialist, aggressive, and military CENTO Pact.

During all the period of activity by the aggressive CENTO Pact, the struggling and free Iranian people struggled with utmost power against it, as well as against the imperialist governments that imposed that pact, particularly the hated Pahlavi regime. Finally, with their popular and anti-imperialist revolution, the Iranian people ended the life of Mohammad Reza's hated regime and the CENTO Pact. One can say with conviction that in their endeavor to revive the aggressive CENTO Pact, rulers of the Islamic Republic of Iran will suffer the same tragic fate as their predecessors.

CSO: 4640/224

## BRIEFS

FIGHT FOR LEADERSHIP--Until now, the only candidates for the premiership of the Khomeyni regime were Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Sadeq Tabataba'i, but another rival has surfaced in the person of 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Khomeyni's foreign minister. The Radio Nejat-e Iran correspondent in Tehran said: following the differences between the members of the Mullahs' Majlis with the Mir Hoseyn Musavi government over various issues such as his inability to form a cabinet and his unsuccessful attempt to attract experts to cooperate with the Tehran regime, the higher echelons of the Islamic regime are waiting for a chance to put forward 'Ali Akbar Velayati as Musavi's successor after the commencement of the next Majlis and the resignation of Mir Hoseyn Musavi, it is predicted that he will not get a vote of confidence. According to knowledgeable sources, even now the supporters of Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Tabataba'i have begun clashing with one another which will become even more intense with the start of the next Majlis. [Text] [GF120936 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 1630 GMT 11 May 84]

CSO: 4640/226

PNP LEADER COMMENTS ON 1973 CONSTITUTION, MRD STATUS

Karachi JANG in Urdu 15 Mar 84 p 5

[Interview with Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, leader of the Pakistan National Party (PNP) in Jinnah Hospital, Karachi; date not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] What is your reaction to Sardar Ataulah Mengel's proposal for a confederation between Sind and Baluchistan?

[Answer] I was under detention at the time and I did not read about his proposal. All the same, the policy of our organization is quite clear. On the basis of the resolution of 1940 we demand equal rights and privileges for all four provinces. We would like the future administrative structure of Pakistan to be based on the federal system. According to this structure, ministries of foreign affairs, defense, finance and communications are retained by the center and all remaining authority is passed on to the provinces. This is exactly what the resolution is all about. It is only by adopting a federal republican system that the integrity and security of Pakistan can be maintained; otherwise it will become a victim of turmoil and disruption.

[Question] The former chief minister of Punjab, Janif Ramay, has suggested that you become the prime minister; do you accept this suggestion?

[Answer] I am grateful to Hanif Ramay for his valuable suggestion. But he has not explained under what conditions and in what form I would be made prime minister. If I am to be made prime minister under the present martial law regulations, even though I would have a guarantee of safety, I would still be innocent. If I were made prime minister under such conditions, I might perhaps prove to be helpful in bringing the units closer to the center. But this is not the way to establish relationships. But if the units are given their due rights and privileges, then with or without Bizenjo, the distance between the units and the center can automatically be removed and unity achieved.

[Question] Taking the 1973 constitution and the 1940 resolution, under which of them do you claim provincial autonomy?

[Answer] Most certainly it is the 1940 resolution that contains within itself all the articles necessary for provincial autonomy. The 1973 constitution does not provide sufficient measures for achieving provincial autonomy. The

1973 constitution grants some authorities and rights and privileges to the provinces, but these are not sufficient because they do not provide full safeguards. We can give two examples here. One is the ending of the elected NAP government [National Awami Party] in Baluchistan and the other is the ending of the elected Jamiatul Ulema-e Islam government in the Frontier Province. I was also one of the signatories to the 1973 constitution, but the idea was to show respect to the unanimous views of all concerned. At that time the country was divided in two; under such conditions, the remaining parts of the country had to be united. But my TV interview, in which I stated that the constitution does not provide ample safeguards, is on record. [When Mr Bizenjo was asked about the constitutional agreement according to which all the joint rights and privileges of the center and the provinces would be transferred to the provinces in 10 years, he replied that it was correct. But he said that his talks with the late Mr Bhutto go back to an earlier date. Revealing this for the first time to JANG, Mr Bizenjo said that before the constitution was adopted he, as the representative of the defunct NAP and the united opposition party, met with prime minister Bhutto in Lahore for 3 days, at the end of which it was accepted in principle that if during the budget meeting the opposition defeated the government with a simple majority then it would be considered a vote of no confidence against the government. In other matters, a decision by a two-thirds majority would be considered binding. But the meeting of the central executive committee of the defunct NAP rejected this agreement and talks with the last Mr Bhutto could not proceed further.]

Today the country is passing through a serious constitutional crises. Now the political parties will have to make final decisions about the rights and privileges of the provinces. The new assembly will be responsible for enforcing the 1973 constitution in all of its particulars and in accordance with the needs of the provinces. I am concerned that if provincial autonomy is made part of an election campaign it might cause new bitterness; without leaving anything to chance, efforts should be made to unite all political parties on a unanimous formula.

[Question] The government has announced that it will make amendments in the 1973 constitution.

[Answer] Any such action taken by the government will have dreadful consequences.

[Question] What is your opinion about elections on a party and on a nonparty basis?

[Answer] Elections on a nonparty basis will be meaningless, and in the presence of one advisory council there is no need for another council. Anyone who participates in nonparty elections will be strengthening the foundation of dictatorship.

[Question] What would you prefer, nonparty elections or no elections at all?

[Answer] The question of not holding elections does not arise. The people will force the government to hold elections on a party basis. As far as the

question of preference is concerned, it is not proper that a person should jump into the well when he awakes from sleep. In such a case, it is best that the person remain asleep.

[Question] Some circles believe that the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] has failed.

[Answer] I believe that the MRD campaign succeeded beyond expectations. Success means not merely the exit of Ziaul Haq; on the contrary, the biggest success the MRD achieved is that the people have once again indicated beyond any doubt that they are not prepared to give the army the right to rule the country, for which efforts have been made since the time of Ghulam Mohammad. The real task of the army is to safeguard the borders, and this is the only duty for which the army is responsible. Then again the recent movement has helped to bring to the fore the difficulties faced by the people of smaller provinces, particularly Sind, and kindle political awakening in them. The present government no doubt succeeded, though temporarily, in strangling the movement. But MRD, too, did not want to turn Pakistan into another Iran. MRD from the point of view of its character could not have done more.

[Question] The government claims that compared with other parts of the country it has implemented a greater number of development projects in Baluchistan. What are your views on this question?

[Answer] To tell the truth, the government, after implementing some small and large development projects here and there, makes big propaganda, as if it has bestowed great favors on us. If government does something, it is only fulfilling its responsibility. But actually the amount of work done is far less than what has been stated. Supplying electricity to some districts and constructing some official bungalows in Quetta and providing Sui gas to some elite does not solve the problem. To improve the conditions of the people, it is necessary to bring industrial, agricultural and social revolution to Baluchistan. The industrial plants erected near Hub river will benefit the people of Karachi and the people of Baluchistan once again will be deprived of any benefits from these plants. Similarly, no attention is being given to improving agriculture in the province, although by making use of underground water hundreds of thousands of acres of barren land can be irrigated and turned into fertile land. We have seen that amounts allocated for development projects in Baluchistan have been utilized for other purposes elsewhere.

[Question] In which form do you accept the 1973 constitution--the one presented on 5 July 1977 or the one presented earlier?

[Answer] We look upon the constitution adopted on 14 August 1973 as the genuine and real constitution. We do not accept any amended form of this constitution.

[Question] An amendment was introduced in the constitution to declare Qadianis as non-Muslims. What do you think about this amendment?

[Answer] We favor secular ideology and as such we do not accept this amendment either.

[Question] What is your position as regards declaring Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto as unfit persons?

[Answer] It will be an act of oppression. To declare them fit or otherwise should be left entirely to the people.

[Question] Do you believe that a transfer of power will be effected by 23 March 1985?

[Answer] I would like to draw your attention to the rejection of nomination papers filed for elections in 1978. Seeing this incident, how can we possibly have faith that the promise of 23 March 1985 will be kept? The whole nation was extremely pleased with the promise of 90 days, but the situation with which they were subsequently confronted shattered their faith, which can only be restored by removing restrictions placed on the political process and releasing political prisoners.

[Question] What is the political status of the defunct PNP in the country?

[Answer] The PNP was formed in September 1979, only a week before political parties were banned. All the same, we have our party in all four provinces. During the recent campaign, a large number of political workers of our party in Sind, Punjab, Frontier and Baluchistan courted arrest. We are not very small compared to other political parties. The central working committee of the defunct PNP consists of 45 people. In Baluchistan, too, the people share our views; similarly, in Sind and Punjab people are becoming more favorable inclined toward our party and in the Frontier there is a very good unit at work.

[Question] It is being said that there are plans to make you president in the future structure of MRD.

[Answer] I have no knowledge of any such plan; because of my detention, I have not been able to attend even a single meeting of MRD since it was formed. If I am made its president, I will make every effort to bring within its fold all those parties that presently are not members.

[Question] What is your reaction to Nawab Akbar Bugti's idea of boycotting Urdu?

[Answer] During my term of office as governor of Baluchistan I made Urdu the official language of the province. I do not consider Urdu the language of my refugee brethren who have come from India or that they brought it along with them. Urdu was not born in Delhi or Lucknow; on the contrary, it was reared and nourished in this part of the subcontinent and spread to the rest of the subcontinent from here. I believe that stirring up differences between Urdu-speaking people and people speaking Sindhi, Punjabi and Pashto is an act

of excessive oppression. Urdu has been in use for centuries and is so powerful that even if Sindhis, Baluchis, Pathans and Punjabis were to oppose it along with the refugees they would not be able to defeat it. To understand one another it is necessary that we know Urdu, without which federation becomes meaningless. Urdu is more powerful than martial law itself. But at the same time, it should be made absolutely clear that all other languages should be treated equally and Sindhi, Baluchi, Pashto and Punjabi should be given the status of national languages. If we wish to maintain federalism then we will have to follow this procedure.

[Question] What do you think about holding talks with the present government?

[Answer] It depends on what you have in mind--talks between the conqueror and the vanquished or on the basis of equality. If the government wishes to hold talks on the basis of equality, then first of all it will have to create a suitable and congenial atmosphere, remove restrictions on political parties and the political process and free all political prisoners. Only then will it be possible to hold talks on matters of common interest, such as democracy and national integrity and security. If the conflict between the people and the martial law regime continues, then no one will be safe from its devastating effects. One of the basic aspects of the talks should not be for holding elections but for a transfer of power. Elections were also held by Yahya Khan, but the injustice committed during the transfer of power divided the country into two parts. Only MRD, on the advice of its central working committee, can hold talks on a transfer of power.

[Question] Did you meet Sardar Sher Baz Mazari after your release?

[Answer] Yes. He came to see me here in the hospital. He appeared to have become very weak. On seeing him, I told him that his condition seemed to be worse than mine and that all politicians appeared to be victims of reproach. Prof Ghafoor, Maulana Noorani--all of them are bed-ridden, may God have mercy.

[Question] What is the result of 45 years of your active role in politics?

[Answer] (After a good deal of thought) I am enjoying the pleasure one derives from continuous struggle.

9315

CSO: 4656/114

## ELECTIONS UNDER PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION ORDER QUESTIONED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 18 Apr 84 p 2

[Column "From Juma Khan's Pen": "An Announcement Has Been Made That General Elections Will Be Held According to the Provisional Constitution Order"]

[Excerpt] As long as the matter under discussion was that the elections would be held according to the 1973 constitution, amended to include the principles of the political plan of 12 August, there was room for argument as to whether the constitution should be amended or not. Now, however, General Zia has announced that the elections will be held under the provisional constitution order. There is no room, therefore, to argue the point of whether the 1973 constitution should or should not be altered for the elections.

If the elections are to be held according to the provisional constitution order, there also can be no argument about holding elections on a party or nonparty basis, nor can the issue of registered or nonregistered parties be raised. There is also no room to discuss the standard of capability of the candidates or the voters, nor can the question be argued that after installing a presidential system under adult suffrage, an election for the president should be held first, after which there would be elections for the national assembly, the senate and the provincial assemblies. Argument on all constitutional disputes has ended because an announcement has been made to hold the elections under the provisional constitution order instead of the 1973 constitution. Since this provisional constitution order has been devised by General Zia himself, he can amend it as he likes or whenever he wants to. No institution, including the Supreme Court, can stop him from deleting any clause or adding new clauses to it, because this provisional constitution order is enforced under martial law. The chief martial law administrator has full authority to make changes according to his wishes in anything that comes into existence under the martial law.

What now remains to be seen is how much interest the politicians and the people will show in elections held under the provisional constitution order. Second, when after these elections the 1973 constitution is restored in its true form and martial law is terminated, will the Supreme Court and the parliament accept the government established as a result of the elections held during the current era as a lawful constitutional government?

9779

CSO: 4656/141

MORE EFFICIENT SERVICES SEEN AS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EXPANSION

Karachi AMN in Urdu 18 Apr 84 p 2

[Excerpt] Whenever I read the news that 200,000 more telephones will be installed in Karachi or that hundreds more villages will be provided with electricity, I start thinking about when we will move from a hut to a quarter, from a quarter to a flat and from there to a house.

If you look at the official records, you will find from the papers in the file that great progress has been made. But what kind of progress is it? When a road is constructed, it soon needs repair. It is repaired, and again there are potholes. This process continues year after year. The accountants tell us that so many miles of roads have been constructed, but no one ever tells us how many miles of roads have been damaged.

It appears that we are interested in construction and progress, but we are expert in building ruins. We are incapable of building mansions that will have no cracks for 100 years.

There is a plan to install 200,000 more telephones in Karachi. Who can dispute this magnificent plan? But if you listen to the complaints of the people who already have telephones, you will change your mind about having a telephone installed in your house. There is not a single area where telephones are working properly. Not only are the telephones out of order, but the people received bills that are too high or else the bill never comes. Now, if 200,000 more telephones are installed, proportionally there will be an increase in the complaints of the consumers, too.

It would have been better if first the service were improved and then the plan for expansion undertaken. However, what has happened is that instead of eliminating the defects in the telephone system and finding a permanent solution for them, a plan for 200,000 more telephones has been outlined. If the telephones installed under this new plan also go out of order, what will be gained from extending the telephone lines? Is it better to reconstruct the existing ruins into solid houses or is it more appropriate to increase the number of ruins?

Every other day, there is news that next year hundreds more villages in a certain province will get electricity. But if the people who already have

electricity complain all the time, will the new consumers be happy? There is not a single province or division where the lights do not go off daily. The situation regarding the electricity crisis is that stores have been ordered to close at 6:30 pm and those working in the factories have been told to eliminate the night shift. The electricity goes off time and again in various areas of a city like Karachi, and if the light fails for a certain reason, there is no way to restore the service in 15 or 20 minutes. When this is the standard of service for a limited number of consumers, how will the people's blessings be enjoyed if the number of consumers is increased? What is needed is first to eliminate the present defects. The people need "foul-proof service," not "foul service."

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CSO: 4656/141

## PERSONAL GAIN MOTIVATES POLITICAL LEADERS, PERPETUATES DISCORD

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 18 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by Malik Ghulam Ali, Punjab former minister of education: "What Is All This?"]

[Excerpt] It is almost 7 years since the army took control of the country's administration. Many events have taken place during this period and many discoveries have been made. One all-prevading phenomenon is the number of political parties in the country. Every stray dabbler in politics has become a leader, but there is no trace of any political workers. Newspapers are teeming with articles on how to bring back political activity. All these people, no matter what their school of thought, want to become leaders. There is no moral depth to which they would not sink if they can only satisfy their frustrated egos by becoming conspicuous. Despite all their stunts, the public looks on in silence. Just consider: if, in the past, they toppled a representative government (and they are proud of having done so), why do they not show the same determination now against the present regime? The fact is that they are insincere hypocrites. How can a group of murderers unite to restore political values? Everybody knows that political values are the essence of democracy. But these heroes are only power-mad. They are always making and unmaking schemes. They prove and then disprove the same thing. They are always engaged in arguments. Each one of them wants to prove his own superiority, his own claim to leadership. All this is a mere waste of time. They should not try to become great leaders. If their political thinking is sincere, the public will be attracted to them by its own free will. Even if they are alone, people will respect them and listen to them. Sincere persons have often saved their nations at critical times. Their countrymen accepted their ideas because they were genuine and honest. But things in this country are quite different. Even if these politicians unite for a purpose and are successful, they will start quarrelling if they do not get a high position in the government that is formed. They will refuse to accept the results of the polls and begin their work of sabotaging the new government by organizing demonstrations. Why does all this hooliganism take place? Because the elder politicians have set a bad example for the people. For temporary success, they destroyed the tradition of honest politics in the country. Now they are presenting their demands to the government. Are they proud of what they have done to this country? If they are honest and sincere, they should stop defaming each other. In secret they are slaves of the rulers, but they criticize them in public. They are with the

regime one day and against it the next. They agree with it on one point and disagree on another, and then vice versa. They do such unworthy things because they have no definite aim. Everybody is struggling for his own personal goal. Everyone has his own ax to grind.

The fundamentalists think religion belongs to them, and they can give it what interpretation they please. The universal principles of religion have become subservient to their own personal likes and dislikes.

This is the present situation in the country. The people are sick of this state of affairs, and they hate the politicians who have caused this degradation of the country. They are conscious of their own piteous condition. They have the guts to fight, and they know how to expose these self-styled leaders of the land. All that the people need is a leader. As soon as they have found an enlightened and committed leader from the younger generation, who will lead them fearlessly to their goal, all the schemes of the elder politicians will end up in smoke.

Hence, I ask these politicians to unite in the name of the country and go to the president boldly to tell him that they have decided to sacrifice their egos and everything else for one purpose. Then they should present the following appeal to him: "Sir, this country was created through votes. We want you to restore the 1973 constitution and give us elections. This is our right. When you took over the rule of the country, you promised to give us elections within 90 days."

12476

CSO: 4656/139

## VIEWS, ROLE OF JAMAAT-E ISLAMI DISCUSSED BY ITS LEADER

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 21 Apr 84 p 10

[Article on views of Mian Tufail Mohammad, as analyzed by Mohammad Ali, from Sind: "Country Is Being Led Into Catastrophe"]

[Text] Can the 2-day session of the defunct Jamaat-e Islami [JI] herald important changes in the new politics? Nothing definite can be said about that, but it is certain that the leadership of the defunct JI has decided to hold a collective rethink concerning its relations with the present regime. JI members and sympathizers have given the leadership a mandate to make decisions on behalf of the party. In the Sukkur session, the JI adopted an unequivocal policy. The attitude of the party workers was aggressive toward the regime, and it is a wonder that no restriction was imposed on them by the regime. The leader of the defunct JI, Mian Tufail Mohammad, criticized the government openly, but his stand was that it is not the president but his inexperienced advisors who are leading the country into a catastrophe. The workers of the defunct JI were not as enthusiastic as those of the MRD had been, but it was apparent that the JI was starting its campaign to erase the impression that it is a pro-government party. That is why the session was held in the important town of Sukkur in upper Sind. Another significant thing was that even Sindi-speaking people attended the JI session. I had formal talks with the workers of the JI and got acquainted with their political reaction to the activities of the regime. Most JI workers are undecided about cooperating with the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and they do not want a political union in which the PPP could have the leading role. But they also know that JI, having remained unaligned during the struggle between the regime and the political parties, has lost its prestige as a political party. Hence, the JI will have to think about the policy of clashing direct with the regime in order to end the present crisis. The effects of the ban on the Islami Jamiat-e Tulba were apparent at the meeting. Workers of the JI were perturbed at the ban. Mian Tufail Mohammad also referred to it in his speech and said that the regime, after insulting the strong arms of the youth, would next lay hands on the beards of old men like himself. Some members of the JI say that they are in favor of nonviolence. They say it would be hard for them to join MRD in its campaign against the regime, as they had, ever since the imposition of martial law, been against the destructive policy of the defunct PPP. They had always criticized the policies of the MRD, but they have now realized that being on the side of the government has isolated them politically. Their leadership has

now realized what a gigantic mistake they have been making. Now they are trying to find a soft spot in their hearts for the PPP in view of the meetings between Maulana Maududi and Bhutto in the past.

While talking to those attending the meeting, I noted that most of them consider the political parties to be helpless before the martial law regime. It seems that the president has grown all-powerful, owing to there being no political activity in the country. The army is at his beck and call, and the bureaucracy wants permanence for a regime that brook no criticism. Under these circumstances, they think, the JI should not join an anti-government campaign, since no campaign seems to overawe the regime. People are not willing to come out into the streets. Hence (they think), JI should think carefully about its political target. If the JI wants to play an active part in politics, as it did in the case of the National United Front, it will have to make the people take to the streets and not simply gather at meetings. It is only if there is large-scale turmoil and disorder that the regime will have to bow its head before the demand for a transfer of power. On the other hand, a weak and short-lived campaign against the regime will only hurt the political parties themselves. As far as the JI's connection with the regime is concerned, the former seems to be unwilling to campaign against a particular individual in the government. As Milan Tufail Mohammad has said, the martial law regime is unwittingly leading the country to disaster, because the president is following the counsel of his short-sighted advisors. We can call this the core of JI's policy. Possibly the JI leadership has decided not to attack Zia at present, for if they did, the contradictions of their past and present policies would become apparent for all to see. Another point is that the JI leadership thinks that the powerful elements of the MRD have a personal grudge against Ziaul Haq, and the PPP wants to take revenge for Bhutto's hanging. That is why JI wants to make the martial law regime the target of criticism and not Zia. In this way, JI will be strong in case of its expected union with the MRD, and it will be able to allay the suspicions of its workers about the PPP. Talking to workers of the JI gave me the impression that they think JI should join the antiregime campaign only if its success is certain. If the united attack of all the parties is defeated, it will harm the image of JI as a strong and popular political party. If JI is defeated, the martial law regime will become quite despotic, as it is only the fear of JI that has kept it within some limits. The JI leadership is now studying the political scene more closely. They think that the country is in a very critical situation. The rulers have no fear of God, and there is no political party in the country strong enough to lead it out of the crisis. The law courts have no power, and the administration is a paralyzed body. There is no prospect of a legislature being appointed in the near future. JI, they say, is the only political party with a complement of political workers. Other parties are not political parties at all; they are merely the clubs of the big landowners and feudal lords. Their purpose is to strengthen the hold of ethnic prejudice, economic monopoly and the bureaucracy. In the Sukkur session, Mian Tufail Mohammad criticized the regime for its international policies and said that the Lenin Prize-winning poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz was being lionized in Islamabad. Zia himself said that a Soviet attack was feared because of Pakistan's Islamic ideology. JI mentioned poet Faiz at the Sukkur session and challenged the regime's attachment to Islam. Ideological agreement with the regime has been

the policy of the JI, but now that it wants to break away from the government it is making the socialist poet Faiz an excuse for doing so.

One week after the Sukkur session, JI general secretary Qazi Hussain Ahmad came suddenly to Haiderabad and addressed workers in the local office of Tahrik-e Islami. His speech was rebellious. He said that the martial law regime is ruling the country through an administration devoid of public confidence and that the present rulers have no interest in a transfer of power. He further said that his party wants elections to be held and power transferred to public representatives. He said that some people want the political parties to agree on the minimum points, but his party wants agreement on the maximum points. This, he said, would save them from the mistakes they made in the past. He said his party did not believe that individuals changed. Nor will they join the politics of the individuals. What they want, he said, is change in the political system. Their aim, he said, is an Islamic political system. He said workers of JI should go everywhere, have contacts with the people and tell them about the intentions of the government. Qazi Hussain Ahmad said with great emotion that now workers can achieve their aims by sweating for them, but when it is too late, even an offering of blood will be of no avail. It is clear from the Sukkur session, and Qazi Hussain Ahmad's speech, that a "cold war" between JI and the regime has begun. Following the release of Nawabzada Nasrulla Khan and Khawaja Khairuddin, JI is conscious of its special position. The PPP, too, has realized that it cannot uproot the regime without urban political power. Now whereas the administration is trying to restrain JI, the newly released leaders of the MRD are reaching out to renew their connection with the Jamaat-e Islami.

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