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JPRS-NEA-84-169

21 November 1984

Near East/South Asia Report

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21 November 1984

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

VARIOUS FORMS OF APATHY IN ARAB WORLD REVIEWED, DECRIED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 242, 29 Sep-5 Oct 84 pp 14-17

[Article by 'Imad-al-Din Adib: "Dr Zaki Najib Mahmud: To Open Fire on the Arab Mind: We Are Peoples Who Hand the Reins of Affairs over to the Rulers!"]

[Text] Yes, we are living through a stage of great deterioration!

Come let us speak frankly, lift the veil of silence from the face of our Arab nation and ask, Who is responsible for the decline we are living through -- the rulers, the people ruled, or both?

It is a question which must be raised and must be answered so that we can save the ship of our nation, which is stranded in the swamp of unawareness.

Where is the disturbance? Is it in the armies, the political systems, or the peoples?

Where does the disturbance lie? Is it in our strength, our consciences or our minds?

Always, whenever there is a dispute, a situation blows up, or there is a massacre or a civil war, we turn to a president, prime minister, minister of defense and foreign minister to answer us and save us from the situation we are in.

We are not raising the questions we ought to and the responsible persons are not giving the answers they ought to. The truth is lost, and we ourselves are lost!

Our crisis is one of reason, although everything that happens on our Arab stage is unreasonable!

Civil wars, Palestinian schisms, axes and alliances for a period of weeks or months, fraudulent elections, dubious papers and false statements.

We directed our questions to the dean of the professors of logic in our Arab world, Prof Zaki Najib Mahmud, 79 years of age, who has written 22 books, so that he could tell us where the disruption within us lies.

The Arab professor of logic will try to analyze the reasons for the absence of Arab logic.

Where is the disruption? Is it in the minds of some of our peoples or in the minds of some of our rulers?

Jean-Jacques Rousseau said, "It is possible to abdicate authority, and it can be transmitted, but that is not the case with will. Consequently, a deceptive charter cannot become a charter for the society." He went on to say, "The moment they abandon their will, the citizens cease to be a people."

Will is decision which is related to the mind. The essence of most of our peoples's crisis is that their relationship with their rulers is not one of "conviction" in the rulers but rather one of deception by the rulers.

These are the questions!

The question remains: But where does the beginning of reform come from?

Dr Fu'ad Zakariya says, "Most Arab regimes continue to concentrate on material and economic strength and ignore ideas until they seek to justify their mistakes. The absence of logic will continue to be what dominates modern Arab politics, and the groups which exercise power on their own behalf will continue to be the narrowest groups in the society. This severe split must have its effect on political thinking, which finds no way to choose its principles in the light of reality."

Therefore, whenever Israeli airplanes bomb us and we cannot answer them, we must always reiterate that Israel's strength lies not in its weapons but in its mind.

Bullets are material, but the manufacture of weapons is thought.

In order for us to move over from the camp of defeat and advance to the camp of victory, it is necessary that "the mind return."

In this meeting, Dr Zaki Najib Mahmud answered the most important questions of this poor Arab epoch: "How can we restore awareness to our nation?"

[Question] You have written about seeking from the West the aid of forms into which we can pour substance. Some people object to this search for aid in the political area, calling it a system which is mimicked, not brought into harmony, in the sense that it is possible that some people could come and import the form of liberal parties from the West, between the substance or rules of the experiment, which is a dictatorial experiment. This is what Dr Jamal Zaydan calls "democratship," that is, oriental democracy. That is, it propounds as its form what he calls the "cake of government," which

is democratic on the surface but inside is a dictatorial regime. This type of Western form has resulted in deceiving people. How can the Arab man on the street make a distinction?

[Answer] We must not go overboard in generalizations. I cannot say that whenever we want to mix form with substance that means that this mixture is a mimicry, not a harmonization. That has not been the case in the realm of arts and letters. We have managed to produce literature in which there is West and East. However, as regards the political aspect, we have not succeeded. No matter how much we have taken from Western political systems, I am totally in agreement with the expression Dr Hamdan has used, "democratship," because we are still taking democratic forms and imposing them on our own concepts. Here our concepts stand out, and these forms resemble a truck which does not advance or retreat, and remains just a word. Why? Because the actual situation in this political area is that the people's vision is dominated by the great provider. In their view, the Arab people still want a leader, want a commander, want a president, want someone who will be a father and to whom they will give the reins. Note that people, according to the innate nature with which they were born, want other people, on many occasions, to take decisions for them. This is an innate characteristic of man, because decisionmaking is tiresome to ordinary minds, and might be impossible for many ordinary minds, while someone who has an exceptional mind and someone who has an exceptional will can carry it out. It often happens, even in the West itself, that the matter of decisionmaking is assigned to a single person by proxy for the people, especially in time of war. This is connected to man's innate character. However, what exists with us is an innate character which has not learned how to distinguish between things that are and are not crises. This innate character has extended to incorporate all moments of time. At every moment of time it wants someone who can take decisions by proxy for it. When we assume a democratic form and say, "This is a parliament, this is a board of directors, this is a general assembly," the person who makes the decisions in our Arab world is the president, and the rest agree. Fortunately, in 99 percent of the cases, the president is one of them, not a foreigner. When he takes the decision, he is usually taking the decision which is in their own spirits. If they had been presidents, they would have chosen it. However, this is a right in the political sphere, and perhaps this is the greatest source of vexations in our political life in the whole Arab world. The president sees himself compelled to take a decision by proxy for the people, alleging that the people want it, but he does not know exactly if the people want it or not, because if he took votes in the form of a plebiscite, the result might come out the same, that is, the decision that he himself has taken. However, the job of the intellectual and the job of culture over the long range is for us to change this view which the people possess, because our statement that this is the innate nature of the Arab people does not mean that it is not to be loved or that we do not want to change it, so that things will become a form of participation between us and the democratic spirit as far as possible in regard to things. Our job is to spread the spirit of democracy, starting with the family, the school and all social activities. Gradually, we will change the attitude of dependence upon the president; the president is a citizen, not a perversion. He is a human being who errs if we leave all the decisions up to him. If we must bring our peoples up to change what is in their own spirits,

they truly must be the decisionmakers except in matters which need a scientific opinion, in which case the opinion belongs to the experts and specialists.

Dictatorships and Imprisonment

[Question] Montesquieu considers that power corrupts.

[Answer] No, I do not think so. If we keep track of the countries which have grown in strength and grown in civilization, culture and freedom, we will find that they are the countries which have listened to various views and have adopted the view of the majority. The heart of the problem is that the thing we are voting for involves a number of aspects. We are not voting for a computation or a scientific equation. If that were the case, the scientist would have to state his view, and we would tell him "amen." However, what we are voting for is in areas where the meanings or definitions of major conceptions, without exception, are not categorical. When we are voting for a situation one of the people present might be against freedom, and the other in favor of it, and nothing remains for me but to listen to the majority of the opinions. The countries which have put this principle into practice and carry out the process of change without being compelled to imprison, detain or kill any of the people who are opposed to the president's view have become successes. I am one of those who say that Arab culture must bear on its shoulders the burden of bringing the individual up to become detached from the intellectual standpoint, so that he will start agreeing to accept different views as something which is to be taken naturally for granted and follow the system of the majority of views in every case, so that we can avoid dictatorships and arrests.

The Ruler's Illusions

[Question] However, rulers sometimes consider that their level of culture is higher than that of the people and they believe that that will allow them to believe that what they think is the most proper. Must the ruler consider that what is most proper is what he considers proper or what the people consider proper? In the West, in America for instance, the president is confined within specific limits which determine his movement, as he does what his advisors and congress, which is the majority, consider proper. However, there is an area which has been set aside for him in which he can act. This area set aside for the ruler in backward countries is the whole area. Does the crisis lie in our starting to educate the people, or starting to educate the ruler?

[Answer] Let us start by training the people to reject this sort of ruler. I am amazed at the sincerity of the ruler who says, "There is no one among the people who has a proper opinion except me! There is no one among the people whose knowledge is like what I know." I am amazed at this sort of ruler, because allow me to say that that sort of ruler is living in illusions. He is no greater than any one of his people. There are scholars and intellectuals, and people who are at least on a par with him if not better than him, because they have given themselves more time to think and study than he has. "Let the one who is like you govern you." That is a statement with a very

profound meaning and our culture made it. That means that the ruler arises from the nature of the people. If we find the ruler tyrannical in his views, that means that the people are not opposed to him being a tyrant in his rule. If we see a people who have a president governing them who lies, and they are quiet and silent, you can be confident that these people, by their nature, are not against having the president lie to them. The ruler emerges as a reflection of the nature of the people. Although we find that there are people in the Arab East who are independent of the ruler in their views, you can be confident that the Arab people, the Arab nation, in the heart of their culture, are not against seeing a president who does not express their opinion. The job, in the face of this, is for us to give this public good training by reading new material and for us to inform them of the possibility that the situation could change. The beginning always comes from the people.

A Reckless Attitude toward Politics

[Question] Therefore to state that a given people is great but that its ruler is a tyrant or wrongful or corrupt is wrong.

[Answer] No, it is not wrong, because it can be great by other standards of civilization. Regarding the Arab nation, I say most proudly and most truthfully that this nation, unfortunately, rarely comes up with a ruler who is its equal in terms of civilization and is its equal in terms of culture and depth. All that is involved is that the Arab nation has become accustomed to not preoccupying itself much with politics. By virtue of its heritage and by virtue of its special interests, it has become accustomed to this so far. It does not preoccupy itself with politics and leaves the people who will become politicized to do what they wish. This is not a defect on its part but rather a reckless attitude toward political affairs. The true Arab has an example and principles in his innate nature. His culture is this way. Politics, which comes and goes, and rulers, who come and go, do not preoccupy him much. The Arab, by virtue of his religion (and he is always devout, no matter what contrary evidence surface signs might give), has the goal of immortality, the goal of a hereafter which does not end. It is as if he is stating, within himself, "We are in the presence of a ruler who comes today and goes tomorrow. Let him do what he wants." We must draw his attention to the importance of being interested in this aspect, which he has left to the ruler because it is his life.

Military Rule

[Question] In the countries of the third world there are many rulers with military backgrounds or rulers with religious backgrounds, as is the case in Iran. Do you consider that these backgrounds are more helpful in giving maturity to the society?

[Answer] No, they are not more helpful in giving maturity to the society. However, we must always consider that the military ruler is a citizen, like other citizens, and the ruler with a religious background also. All we ask is that the military man not be prevented from ruling or the man with the religious background not be prevented from ruling, but that we should give

him the right to rule as long as the qualities for ruling exist. Who says whether they do? First, the elections. If we also rely by virtue of education on proper elections, let whoever comes come, be that a military man or a person with religious background. The fact that he is a military man or a person with a religious background is not proof that he came in without elections. However, if he comes in through real elections, let him be whoever he is.

[Question] Some people believe that managing a military barracks or managing a mosque is totally different from managing a government and a whole people.

[Answer] Who told you that a person with a religious background only understands mosques and that all the person with a military background understands is a situation in a barracks? People's faculties can be numerous. There could be people who can govern barracks, a mosque and the country. We do not want to imply a specific type of education for the type of person who rules. We must leave that to the various classes of the people. The disruption occurs when the education of the military ruler is all military, or the education of the religious ruler is a religious one.

[Question] Some people come to power because they are able to move tanks, and some people come to power because they are able to move the streets from the religious standpoint, as in the Iranian example.

[Answer] We do not want that. Ours is a political context. What we do want is to move the people in the political sense, so that they will vote for whom they see fit on behalf of the government. One should bear in mind that the subjects on which decisions will be taken are not all religious or military ones. The fact is that democracy is not without flaws, but it is the system with the least flaws.

Educating the People

[Question] There is a school of thought which was dominant in the fifties, concurrent with the liberation movements in the world, whose slogan was "Let me get to power in order to create a better society." There is another school which says, "Let us bring forth a better society and [then] change the government." Which of these do you consider is better?

[Answer] I assume that the people as a whole are at a substantial level of awareness; in that case, we must start with the society, which will change the government. However, if it happens that countries have taken an aware position but that that has not given them the ability to choose properly, in that case the nature of things could impose a ruler on them who, if he is sincere, might perhaps be changed by the people. However, I must add the notion of educating the people, which is that in order for the people properly to choose those who govern them, a perception is desirable, not at a high level but at a modest level, which will be adequate for them to realize who is fit to lead them. There is in reality no worry about relying on people who are like our Arab peoples. Be confident that the ordinary man on the street has a degree of awareness which enables him to say, "I want this ruler, and I do not want that one."

[Question] If the man on the street knows, why doesn't he act?

[Answer] Because as I told you, on account of something; part of the nature of the whole Arab nation is the lack of interest in politics. Just in recent years, because of the media, politics has started to become a sort of diversion and a subject of conversation, but it is not a subject of real interest. Merchants are interested in their commerce, farmers in their crops and heads of households in their families. Then they claim on the surface that they also follow political activity with interest. They do not, because in order to know how much they do, ask them how much they are prepared to sacrifice for their political principles. They are prepared to sacrifice their lives for their families. They are prepared to sacrifice their lives for their religious beliefs. Therefore they are interested in their religious beliefs. They are not prepared to be interested in who is governing, so or so? No. Therefore their range of interest is slight. The criterion is the degree of their preparedness to sacrifice their own interests for the sake of their political choice. We find many people who believe that they are extremely interested. If you tell them, "Give me 10 pounds so that we can arrange publicity for the idea you support," they will refuse. Therefore the degree of their interest is very minor, since the sacrifice is minor and [yet] they reject it. The Arab people have little interest in politics. The situation might seem different on the surface, but that is the way it is. The matters which absorb their interest are different -- the family, belief, and property, if they own land. All of this takes first place, as far as they are concerned. As to how the country should be governed, they are prepared to take part in a conversation with you but they are not prepared to sacrifice themselves or one of their children or anything else. We have often seen fathers who if they feel that their children will take part in a campaign which entails some risk will tell them, no, do not take part! Why do you want to expose yourself to this danger? That proves that when things are serious they shy away from politics and interest weakens.

Surprises of the Occupation

[Question] During the last 2 years, a controversy has gone on in the Arab world over the following question: are we living in an age of decline which is headed for the end of an era or a stage on whose ruins something new will come? It appears that people have sought the interpretation of this analysis because of the weakness of the reaction and the extreme silence among Arab citizens when Israel reached the outskirts of an Arab capital and no one took action. Have we lost a sense of reaction?

[Answer] The greatest fault, in the first place, lies with the intellectuals, in their three classes, which I have mentioned, because a hundred years ago we started with the real resurgence, but it was a resurgence whose progress slowed down 100 years ago. If we analyze what the proselytizers were calling for, we will find that a very large amount of what was said was aimed at getting the citizen to concern himself with his religion only. He was summoned to a sort of lack of awareness about events and how they proceeded. We have started to be surprised by these events. We were surprised when a British army occupied us, we were surprised when a French army occupied us, we were surprised when Israel was established and grew. These were

all surprises because we were preoccupied with cultural concerns, on the basis of the proselytizers who were writing and giving speeches, preoccupied with things that made us spend all our time on internal things. At the same time, the foreign world was doing its things until it grew and here we were surprised by it as a great giant. If we had been good at cultural leadership, we would have educated the people in a balanced way. I believe that the Arab nation will not be obliterated and I am one of the people who believe in the very marrow of their spirits that it will rise up some day. It is now in a state of stagnation and in a state which permits Israel and others to take it by surprise. We are now impotent. As I said, Lebanon is being brutalized while we are talking, and maybe crying. Palestine is being dispersed, and we have no strength or power. Why? Because we have waited a long time for what has happened to happen. We are now faced with a fait accompli and we do not know what to do in the face of it. Shall we lose hope? No, because history is not a matter of 50 or 100 years. We intellectuals must be careful about the cultural sustenance we provide and take care that it in effect raises Arab citizens who have a balance of concerns in their spirit, including an interest in real resurgence in the midst of currents in the world which possess the characteristics they possess. What good is it for me to stand on a pulpit and curse Western culture? What will that change? Why should I curse the mountain? Therefore we must see the proper road in order to get to the top of the mountain. The nature of the mountain is as it is. The nature of the age will change, but why do we not take part in it, in order to change it? We will not change it by being on the sidelines.

[Question] We are living in an area whose dominant characteristic now is extremism: extremism in Israel, extremism in Iran, extremism in Lebanon. What is your analysis of the dominance of the style of extremism in the region? Is it when the mind fails to perceive and think that people return to their first instincts?

[Answer] I am talking about the Arab nation, and saying that the extremism which is dominant in it is a direct result of a shallowness of scientific education. People do not take extreme positions about scientific ideas. People do not take extreme positions about a scientific theory if its incorrectness is proved. They are prepared to exchange this theory of theirs for a more correct one. However, as I have said, unfortunately in subjects such as those involving politics and society this clear distinction between right and wrong does not exist. The extremist is the person who does not know how to analyze the situation; the easiest position for him to take is extremism, and proof of that is that when we observe these extremists closely we find that it is easy for extremists to shift overnight to a contrary extremism. They might be religiously devout today and tomorrow become communists of the most extreme kind. The former is extremism, and the latter is extremism. Therefore, they shift easily, because the question is the ease of extremism, the ease by which you can deal with a matter by its extremes. The difficult thing is to take an intermediary position, because being moderate means vision and thought; it is by taking from one place or another that an idea may become integrated and mature. Therefore, people who can control themselves without succumbing to extremist positions are few here, because we need mental training, training in the scientific method of thinking. That will have

the effect of weighing ideas in a logical balance. If a person finds that a notion is not part of the one extremism or the other, he will take a solution in the middle. Extremism is excitability, not reason. Summing things up in terms of positive features and negative features is the product of excitability, and excitability is contrary to reason. Therefore we have been extremist because we are poor in ideas. Our intellectual receptacles are shallow. Therefore, we resort to extremism and we resort to force, the force of dominance, power and terror. We do not resort to logic. People who are extreme about religion or politics resort to terror and answer their adversaries with it, because they do not have intellectual wisdom. The reason for what you are asking about is weakness of perception.

Islam Turns Us over to the Mind

[Question] Some people try to indicate that Islam leads to extremism.

[Answer] Only people who are ignorant about Islam say that, and only people who are extremists because of their small degree of reason say this. I believe that everything that we have is extreme. Islam is the only religion which calls on man to rely on his reason, because there are no religions after it. For this reason before Islam the more time passed the more problems accumulated and the more prophets provided exhortation, in order to move the society over to a new form, until Islam emerged and the society made the shift that it made, then it said, in effect, after this, if problems arise, you must solve them with your minds, because there will be no divine mission after today. That is Islam. If you rely on your reason, it is as if you say that from now on there will be no extremism. There are things which the reason dictates in order to solve an emergency problem which excitability does not dictate. What does Islam do, except call on the individual to be responsible for himself with regard to the decisions he makes and state that on the day of reckoning neither father nor mother will intercede for him? What does it do more than this, tell the individual that he is a responsible individual and that the nature of the responsible person is that he not act in an extreme manner? What does Islam do more than present the meaning of wisdom: "the book and wisdom." Wisdom comes from judgment; it is that you should be judged by that, not that a ruler should judge you; that you should be judged by this Koranic notion, that you should be judged yourself, you who judge, and you who judge only that you are a responsible individual. What does Islam do more than make the ruler say, "If I have erred, set me right?" We see rulers who err and we do not set them right. You cannot compel people to eat. You offer them food only, and ultimately eating is an internal act of will. What we lack is the will, indeed the nobility which will make us preserve our individuality, freedom and dignity to state the opinion which is correct. We cannot even say that, because we know that what is right is different from what is going on, and we confide in our friends over what is right in homes but do not proclaim it in the newspapers and the media. What is holy war? Why has Islam urged holy war? Holy war is not easy. There are supposed to be obstacles. Islam did not tell you that there are no obstacles. It presupposes that there are obstacles and tells you, transcend them through sacrifice, boldness and truth. We say Abu Bakr the truthful: in our heritage we can see the characteristics which mean acts of heroism, these characteristics which we are now asking for. We content ourselves with

praising Abu Bakr. That is great, but, brother, be truthful like him, that is, be truthful with people, with yourself and with your mind. What does Islam do, beyond setting out these examples and principles? If I find that due to something in my upbringing and in my history there is something which has prompted me to resort to cowardice and fear, why should I put blame on Islam? I say, it is the duty of the intellectuals to kindle the spirit of responsibility in individuals so that each person will feel that he is responsible. That alone is enough. Everyone must believe that he alone must bear the burden. That is Islam.

[Question] When it is said that you are all shepherds and you are all responsible, what is meant is not the ruler?

[Answer] Not at all. You yourself are the object also. Each one of us is responsible. You are responsible for your life, and decisionmaking is part of your life, thinking is part of it, and raising your children is part of it. Islam does not lead to any of this at all. If there is a religion, it urges personal strength, boldness and heroism on points where I consider I am right. I do not know where the absolute truth is. However, I am compelled to defend the right on points where I consider the right exists. That is Islam. Islam does not say like other religions "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and render unto God what is God's." Caesar does not have matters which concern him alone. I am the same as Caesar; if Caesar makes a mistake, I will resist him, not render the matter unto him because that is not my jurisdiction. What does Islam do more than give you human principles and models which have managed to assume the mantle of these principles? We have become weak and gradually we have received our religious and intellectual heritage as memorized things. What good is it if I have memorized the Koran but not applied it?

[Question] My final comment is that, to summarize what you have said, we are primarily going through a crisis of Moslems, and not a crisis of Islam, a crisis of reason and not a crisis of strength, a crisis of persons governed and not a crisis of rulers.

[Answer] Exactly!

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SCHOLARLY PANEL DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF ISLAMIC WORLD

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 242, 29 Sep-5 Oct 84 pp 20-25

[Article by Jamal 'Inayat: "AL-MAJALLAH Organizes the First International Islamic Symposium To Be Held by an Arabic Publication: Palestine, Afghanistan and the Gulf War"]

[Text] Palestine, Afghanistan and the Gulf war. They are all bleeding wounds which are sapping the powers of the Islamic nation. Traditional political methods have failed to conceive of decisive solutions to these bloody tragedies, which have been going on for a long time.

It was not in the power of AL-MAJALLAH to stand by, watching political movements on the stage of Islamic events; it was not enough that AL-MAJALLAH should deal with these grave issues by traditional journalistic methods. It took the initiative of sending an invitation to Moslem scholars to meet at the AL-MAJALLAH international Islamic symposium, which included 60 scholars and specialists.

"The unity of the Islamic nation in confronting modern challenges" was the title of the international religious seminar which AL-MAJALLAH held in Cairo under the slogan of the statement of God the almighty and exalted: "Hold tight to the rope of God, all of you, and do not scatter."

However, we came up with an "astonishing" discovery, since many of the most prominent Moslem scholars and thinkers in the world came together at this symposium to discuss the "unity of the Islamic nation," its hope and meaning. Reality manifested itself as a force exerting pressure and making it mandatory that they talk about "the divisions in the Islamic nation" that we are suffering from now. A firm belief based on faith, broad areas of land, abundant numbers of people, tremendous economic strength -- these are the given data for thinking, if we analyze the prime elements of the Islamic nation. The laws of logic make it preferable that the people to whom this, indeed less than this, is made available should become a force to be reckoned with, one which dominates other nations.

Contrary to all laws of logic, and in violation of all the obvious, deviating at an angle of 180 degrees from the basic situation, we came out of the

symposium with an impression that the Islamic nation is weak, fragmented, and fighting within itself and that there are three bleeding wounds, the war in the Gulf, Afghanistan and Palestine, and a sharp spear which is ripping open the entity of Islam, so that its resources are hemorrhaging every day. Therefore, these three subjects imposed themselves on the discussions which AL-MAJALLAH held during and after the symposium.

An Islamic Court of Justice

Ending the Iraqi-Iranian war is one of the most solemn obligations of the Islamic world at the present time. Thus Dr Ahmadi Abu-al-Nur, the Egyptian minister of religious endowments, began his discussion. He went on to say, "The two peoples are Moslem, and they have the right to get us to end the conflict between them or get us to remedy the rift and struggle that exists between them."

Perhaps, Dr Abu-al-Nur continued, in the recommendation which the symposium produced, in which it recommended the establishment of an Islamic court of justice, "lies the solution to this crisis. The court will be in charge of dealing with every crisis between two countries which could lead to war, the destruction of civilization and the shedding of Islamic blood, in place of the cannon and the rocket. These long years which have passed in a war of attrition of the forces of Iran and Iraq are the most eloquent proof of the need for what we are calling for. How could these years have caused war between two Moslem countries?" the Egyptian minister wondered. "Then how could the Moslems take a position on this war by supporting one of these two countries or acting as an indifferent observer of the savage war between them which has been eating away at fertile and barren land? It is necessary that we record perseverant Iraq's heroic stand, then its noble heed to the call for peace. This superb stand requires that we praise it first of all. Then we must all join in solidarity, not to inflame the heat of the struggle nor support Iran's style in the war against Iraq, but rather to concentrate together on a wise media campaign whose purpose will be to make Iran responsible and convince it to end the war between itself and Iraq immediately.

"The blood of Moslems is dear to us, whether it flows from Iran or from Iraq. Perhaps the time has come for the Islamic world to assume a new approach as far as ending the war between the two countries is concerned.

"Since the Islamic approach in situations of this sort calls for us to make peace between the two countries and for us to join together in confronting the country which wants the war to continue, that confirms what we have previously said." Dr al-Ahmadi Abu-al-Nur added, "We should form ranks together in order to repair the rift in Arab ranks, first of all, then in Islamic ranks secondly.

"This forming of ranks with media institutions will have a beneficial effect in moral pressure founded on the priority of the Islamic public interest. Perhaps this will play its part in putting moral pressure on Iran to listen to the call for peace, and for each of the two peoples to vow to give the other the rights it possesses and raise its voice of Islamic tolerance. No Iranian is the enemy of Iraq, nor is Iraq the enemy of Iran. The fact is

that they have substantial mercy and that they have a common enemy and it is necessary that they be jointly aware of the duty of joining forces and relying on one another in confronting it, in accordance with his almighty statement "Muhammad is the prophet of God, and those who are on his side are more intensely merciful among themselves than the nonbelievers."

The Afghan Holy War

The Egyptian minister of religious endowments asked about the situation with respect to the Afghan holy war, and said, "I am afraid that time will drag on at length as far as we are concerned without successful action on behalf of Afghanistan and its Moslem people. Here we see ourselves faced with a fait accompli in which we are losing a Moslem nation, Moslem territory and a people with deep roots in struggle and holy war. Belief in God and trust in his promises prevent us from despairing that this people will come back to their land and will triumph over their enemy. Only people who do not believe feel despair over the spirit of God. The Afghan people do not lack fighting spirit, or the spirit of combat; rather, what they do lack is that the Islamic world remember them and that it not forget the rights it owes them and its duty toward them. Although it is not easy for the Moslems to fight on the land of Afghanistan, it is in their power to form ranks to help the Afghan people and the forces of their fighting men with money and arms, and let those who are given the opportunity to do so fight in their ranks. With respect to Afghanistan, we must fight on the side of its right with the spirit, money and tongues, executing his statement, may God's prayers and peace be upon him: "Fight idolators with your money, your spirits and your tongues." Therefore no affluent Moslem must forget the people of Afghanistan, and it is necessary that we say that one of the best ways for spending the tithe is to spend its money on people who wage holy war for the sake of God."

What about Palestine?

Dr al-Ahmadi replied enthusiastically: "Palestine is a debt which we are obligated to pay, whose payment is that its people's right to their land should be restored to them and that the Moslems everywhere should be enabled to have the freedom of worship in Jerusalem and to have the Palestinian brothers form ranks as a single force, single army and single organization so that they will be able to win their usurped rights. We are on their side in regard to every step which will restore rights to them or liberate a spot of land for them."

An Islamic Conference To Support Palestine

The Islamic scholar Muhammad al-Ghazali considered that the Palestine cause would succeed only if it was embraced by an Islamic conference which Saudi Arabia was responsible for, in its capacity as the protector of the two holy shrines, and the body responsible for the third one as well.

Shaykh al-Ghazali added, "The Moslems in this case must support it with all the powers they possess in order to end the war which seems to be an issue of belief. As for considering Palestine a secular state, that is to be rejected."

We asked Shaykh al-Ghazali, "In your statement at the symposium, you said that Muhammad, on whom be God's prayers and peace, was the first human, and the highest summit in the history of living things, and Islam was the approach whose appeal he imparted to the prophets as a bequest, one to which mankind is to be led. How can nationalistic appeals or racist beliefs take precedence over it or be preferred to it? How in the light of this statement do you view the Gulf war, and what is the solution as far as it is concerned?"

[Answer] On this subject, I have a personal view which I am offering as an individual judgment, and am not imposing on anyone. I consider that a group of religious scholars from the Sunnite creed should negotiate with Khomeyni, at a distance from the political authorities that rule Iraq now. As I said at the symposium, listening to these racist allegations and theories has severed the Moslems' bonds, turned a single nation into nations that pretend ignorance of one another and enabled the wolves of world colonialism to deal on an individual basis with each nation and do away with it morally and spiritually.

[Question] What is the situation as far as the Afghan holy war goes?

[Answer] We have been very deficient in helping Afghanistan. It ought to have received medical and scientific aid and assistance in the form of new weapons, because it is fighting with old ones. In my opinion, the plan that has been set out requires that the Afghan fighters not achieve victory.

Al-Ghazali went on, "There may be an American plan for Zafir [sic] Khan to return to power in Afghanistan, but that is not Islamic, and the fighters' orientation is not in that direction. The situation requires that the Islamic nation view the war as a holy war, and help then with all the powers they possess in all matters regarding their continuation of the holy war until they can realize victory, which is a possibility."

The Great Powers and the Wars in the Region

In his statement to the symposium, Dr 'Abd-al-Sabbur Marzuq, former chairman of the Islamic World League, stated that there were other hostile powers which were not content that the unity of the Islamic world should take place: "Social, economic and other interests will obstruct this mission." He added, in his statement, "The policy of the great powers, in the East or the West, is based on the principle 'divide and rule,' since they concentrate on a policy of discrimination and fragmentation in the region."

In an interview AL-MAJALLAH held with him during the symposium, Dr Marzuq stressed "We must identify the challenges which are facing the Islamic nation now." In this regard, he said, "The challenges are numerous, but we can summarize them in four points:

- "1. Islam's failure to exert influence on the international stage, as a result of which the whole world is losing the presence of a way of life which will save mankind from the pitfalls the arrogation by the two great powers of the struggle to control the world in accordance with philosophies which ultimately lead to man's perdition are subjecting it to.

"2. The alientation of the spirit of Islam from mobilization of the body of Islam, so that therefore the giant, whose number is close to a billion, is now almost dead or unable to stand between the two struggling blocs.

"3. The intellectual leaders' failure to rise to the level of modern responsibilities and outline a path which will ultimately lead to the Moslems' resumption of their role.

"4. The greatest challenge is the desire Islamic leaders in some regimes have for personal pomp, without appreciating the delicate Islamic responsibilities, so that ultimately they have become persons before principles."

Dr Marzuq said "In the light of these challenges we can better accommodate the dangers which the Islamic nation is exposed to, which are the war between Iraq and Iran, Afghanistan and Palestine.

"The first danger, the Gulf war, should be considered one of the traps which this beloved part of the Islamic world has fallen into in accordance with the plan that has been agreed on by the two great powers in carrying out the policy of draining the resources, wealth and revenues of this region."

Dr Marzuq said "While international communism is trying to reach the sacred shrines through the south, through the red belt of Africa whose spearhead is represented by Mengistu, which has started to come apart because of the Somali-Ethiopian conflict, another front has been opened on the east between Iraq and Iran. It is well known to all that all the resources of the region have been mobilized in the Gulf and the peninsula to confront this danger, which has actually resulted in the reduction of the development plans there and has paralyzed the resurgence of development and culture which the region had started to sense as a positive result of the oil."

We asked Dr Marzuq for his view on the solution to this problem.

"The solution must be in Islamic terms, and the holy verse 'If one of them is insolent against the other, fight the insolent one' must be applied. The second danger facing the Islamic nation is in Afghanistan. I feel a profound ordeal because of the positions of the Moslems, specifically some Arab countries which are revolving in the orbit of the Soviet Union, since their position at the Lahore conference, which was the first one to be held directly after the loss of Afghanistan, was shameful and disgraceful. At that conference, the moderate Islamic countries tried to obtain a resolution condemning the Soviet invasion, and the disgraceful thing was that those countries vehemently rejected the issuance of such a resolution.

"It is strange that one of these countries is now going through the same ordeal which Afghanistan is experiencing, although this time the enemy belongs to the Western camp. This has caused the representatives and delegates of Afghanistan at international organizations to speak bitterly and with extreme touchiness out of disappointment over the sacrifices they offered to Arab causes, at a time when some Arabs have forsaken their cause."

Far Removed from Auctioneering

The former chairman of the League of the Islamic World added, "The third danger which threatens the Islamic nation is the cause of Palestine, and unless this is transformed from a cause of land and soil to a cause of holy war in which the Palestine Liberation Organization liberates itself from its proliferating allegiances to different regimes, so that the loyalty will be to the cause itself, apart from regimes, I have no hope at all over the resolution of the issue. The second point regarding this danger is the Arabs. Unless they remove the cause of Palestine from the spheres of political auctioneering and let the leaders of the organization adopt the decisions, one day the Palestinian fighters will turn their rifles and arms toward the internal area, when despair prevails and dominates everything before their eyes."

In his statement which he made at AL-MAJALLAH's world Islamic symposium, Dr 'Abd-al-Sabbur Marzuq defined the solution, saying "We must certainly review the strategy of Islamic action. Islamic unity is a goal and a hope, and must, God willing, remain the principal goal. In order for unity to be realized and the state of Islam to be established, it is necessary to preserve the Islamic course and guard it against repression and setbacks. This requires that a long range strategy for Islamic action be set out consisting of two points:

"The first is for us to do as Japan did, when it ignored the American military presence on its territory after the occupation and proceeded to re-create Japanese man, until it raised him to the clouds in the sky; thus our strategy must be to avoid clashes and the exhaustion of strength in any side disputes. The prime objective must be to try to rebuild our generations on the characteristics of faith.

"The second is that we should take from the Jews (apologies for the comparison) the refusal to lose hope, even if one must wait for tens of thousands of years. We are in the right, and we are promised victory. Our book is promised, by God's preservation of it, and Islam will be preserved only by the Moslems."

An International Conspiracy

Dr 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Shakkur, the Egyptian deputy minister of religious endowments for proselytization affairs, considered that the Iraqi-Iranian war constitutes an international conspiracy against Islam.

He added, "The issue is greater than Iran and Iraq. We cannot imagine an extremely grave hemorrhaging which exhausts the powers of two great Islamic countries such as Iran and Iraq. This war is deleterious to Islam's confrontation with its enemies. It is an issue which weakens the forces of the Islamic world, in order to keep this world occupied and divert it from its hopes and aspirations through centers of conflict which represent a cancer in all its aspects, such as the conflict which exists between Moslems in Africa, the eternal struggle in Palestine and the causes of the oppressed minorities throughout the world."

Six Reasons

Dr 'Abdallah Shahatah, professor and chairman of the department of Islamic Law in the Teachers' College Faculty at Cairo University, spelled out six reasons in his talk before the symposium which led to the weakening of the Islamic nation. These are:

First, political and factional disputes and struggles over leadership and status, in spite of the intense warnings Islam has given on that and warnings against the love of fame and glory.

Second, religious and doctrinal disputes and deviations from religion, such as beliefs and the use of words and expressions which have no spirit or life.

Third, immersion in different forms of luxury and soft living, and the acceptance of pleasure and appetites.

Fourth, neglect of the sciences and knowledge of existence, along with a preoccupation with and wastage of efforts in theoretical philosophies and sterile fantastic sciences.

Fifth, pride in power and deception based on force, and the neglect of the review of the social development of the nations of others, with the result that they have been outstripped by these in terms of preparation and readiness.

Sixth, delusion by the intrigues of flatterers who are among their adversaries, fascination with their works and the trappings of their lives, and the headlong rush to imitate them with regard to matters which are harmful and of no benefit.

Dr Yusuf al-Qardawi, dean of the Faculty of Islamic Law and Studies in Qatar, pointed out that it is erroneous, with respect to the issue of Islamic unity, to state "Islamic nations." Rather, they constitute a single nation, or a nation with Islamic branches.

The Islamic proselytizer, in the statement he sent from Qatar as a contribution to AL-MAJALLAH's world Islamic symposium, added, "We are now living through the era of great blocs; small fragmented statelets cannot obtain what these big blocs do. We see the enemies of the Moslems coming together over their folly, and it would be more worthy if the Moslems met over their rights."

A Setback for the Moslems

Dr al-Husayni Hashim, chairman of the Academy of Islamic Research and a participant in the symposium, summarized the challenges facing the Islamic nation in two points: "The first challenge is atheism, on the one hand, and Communism, with its destructive principles, which enters a country only to destroy it." Dr al-Husayni considered that the persons responsible for Communism's penetration of Islamic countries were the people who had not

carried out the laws of Islam regarding the tithe and good works and had left the poor to fall prey to the propagation of the delusive principle which is Communism. Money is among the rights of poor people and if they fulfil it they will create a suitable climate for the call to Islam and rapprochement among Moslems. This concerns the Islamic nation in general." Dr Hashim went on, "With respect to the Gulf war, I consider that it is a setback for the Moslems. It is very strange that such a war should occur in the Islamic world. The situation does not require theorizing for us to realize whether this is legitimate or forbidden, because it is known to all that Islamic brotherhood prohibits a schism from occurring among Moslems, not to mention the shedding of their blood and the loss of their money.

"It would have been more worthy for humanity to be gladdened by this effort and for the Moslems to have been gladdened by all this wealth which has been spent on arms which destroy the wealth of the Moslems and keep all devout persons from sleeping. This war, there is no doubt of it, serves the enemy of Islam, from whom we receive weapons so that we can enrich him with money and destroy the glory of Islam and the Moslems ourselves with our war. To that end, it was obligatory that every ruler take the initiative of exerting all the effort he could, bringing together the other rulers with him, so that they could be united in extinguishing this war. Otherwise, the Islamic world will be destroyed. If they all exercise individual judgment and sincerity and there is a failure to show partiality to one side at the expense of another, and after that one of the two leaders fails to be receptive, they must form a force and a front line so that he will return to God's orders, and as soon as he declares peace they will be with him.

"All Moslems must be against atheism and resist people who claim to be Moslems while helping atheism, because Islamic belief cannot be compatible with atheism. On this basis, everyone must help the ruler resist the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan. As for Palestine, the Moslems must all be on the side of the moderates among them and must intercede for peace among the Palestinians first of all."

Recommendations

Islamic unity continues to be a goal which is difficult to attain. There has been much talk, and opinions have proliferated, regarding it. At the end, numerous recommendations were issued, among the most prominent of which were:

As a start toward Islamic unity, it is necessary that each country, internally, be an example of unity among its own people, and in addition the regimes which are calling for unity must be a model of that.

An Islamic parliament must be formed for a group of Islamic countries, to constitute a nucleus.

A form of integration must be created among a group of countries, to constitute a nucleus.

An Islamic court of justice must be established along the lines of the International Court of Justice, in order to carry out his almighty statement "If two parties of the believers fight, put matters right between them."

The possibility of establishing periodical papers in a number of languages, in daily or weekly form, which will circulate simultaneously throughout the Islamic world must be studied.

An annual conference must be held for Moslem expatriates in an Islamic capital, on a periodic basis.

Religious issues and urgent provisions must be resolved in a manner which will dispel conflict.

Studies of doctrinal jurisprudence and comparisons on the basis of movement toward the initial sources, the book and the sayings and doings of the prophet must be supported, to narrow differences of dispute.

An attempt must be made to save Islamic minorities and link them to the motherland.

Political disputes must be presented and liberation from doctrinal fanaticism and excessive efforts to struggle over power and respect for the rights of others to their lands, property and ideas must take place.

Attention must be given to the plots being devised against Moslems, confronting them with complete awareness in the economic, cultural, military and political areas.

Khalid Muhammad Khalid: The Recommendation Which Was Missing in AL-MAJALLAH'S Symposium: The Establishment of Democratic Governments

The great Islamic thinker Khalid Muhammad Khalid's health conditions did not permit him to participate in the AL-MAJALLAH world Islamic symposium. Khalid Muhammad Khalid studied the recommendations of the symposium and expressed his opinion on what we could call the "missing recommendation," the recommendation that democratic governments be established in the countries of the Islamic world.

Khalid Muhammad Khalid, in his comment on the symposium's recommendations, said:

"A student of Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali sent him a request for some comprehensive advice which he would fashion into the program of his life and conduct. Imam al-Ghazali sent him a lengthy letter which was known, among his writings, as the letter 'My Son,' in which the imam copiously and thoroughly included everything that would be of the utmost use. He began it with this brilliant sentence: 'My son, the problem is not advice, but rather accepting the advice.' As we are faced with these many recommendations, let us remember the statement by the imam, may God be satisfied with him; the problem is not issuing recommendations, but rather the problem is accepting them and carrying them out. In their totality, the recommendations constitute a noble

desire to carry out what the present and future of Islam and the present and future of the Islamic nation urgently require, although what one should draw attention to is that these recommendations ignore an issue which whether we like it or not stands at the head of the necessary matters the Islamic resurgence we want requires. This is the issue of democracy in the Arab and Islamic world.

"I am one of those who believes totally in democracy as a system of government and a program for which there is no alternative in political action, to the point where I have made my slogan 'On the side of democracy even if we are blindfolded.' The Islamic world, since the end of World War Two, has most unfortunately been experiencing a period of transition which has gone on at length, and the torment of the Islamic peoples has gone on with it. When we meet to arrange our thoughts and ideas concerning the requirements of the Islamic resurgence, the first thing that confronts us in this direction is the type of political regime which dominates the countries of the Islamic world.

"These recommendations, for instance, seem to be directed more at peoples than at the rulers of these peoples. The extent of the authority imposed, or absolute authority, which is the characteristic of the majority of the regimes in the Islamic countries is no secret to us, or ought not to be a secret to us. The august Imam al-Hasan al-Basri, may God be content with him, used to say 'If I have an appeal which is to be answered, I save it for the authorities,' an indication on his part that the ruler holds many of the keys to affairs. It appears that we are not now in an era of appeals which can be answered so that we can husband them for the people who can obstruct all the activities their peoples carry out for the sake of uplifting Islam if they wish. We have obvious proof of that when we see some of the symposium recommendations bearing on the establishment of Islamic unity or the formation of an Islamic parliament. Who will allow himself to have such a unity established, and who will allow himself to have an Islamic parliament established and formed? Some of our rulers in the Islamic world are seized with fear, indeed alarm, over such steps.

"Therefore I go back where I started and say that the recommendation which was missing, which did not assume its place in the heart of these recommendations is the one on the establishment of democratic governments in the countries of the Islamic world. At that point the peoples of the Islamic nation will be able to advance the course of their history along the best road. I could almost say that the people who issued these recommendations are to be thanked, but they have either been ignorant of the inevitability of the democratic system for governing the Islamic world, or ignored it and gone beyond it, out of courtesy to or fear of some people. Either possibility turns these recommendations into a body without a head."

Isma'il Fahmi: What Is Desired Is To Obtain the Weapon of Deterrence

Is it possible to realize Islamic unity politically? What are the reactions of political figures to this symposium's recommendations?

Isma'il Fahmi, one of Egypt's political figures and its former minister of foreign affairs, said "A single resolution ought to have been issued by the

Islamic symposium, just a single statement, saying 'Acquisition of the weapon of deterrence as soon as possible.' This ought to be available in the Islamic world, so that if any country is subjected to aggression there will be a weapon of deterrence that can confront this aggression. There is no document in the world which can link peoples together, and the whole world, better than the holy Koran, if, however, it is observed properly and carefully and everyone commits himself to it, and we do not take a part from the Koran which conforms with our purposes and leave the rest. The Koran urges action and unity; without action, unity will not be realized."

He went on, "There can be no unity without an entity, and there can be no policy without an entity. Likewise, there can be no entity without work and without reliance on strength, and there can be no balance of forces even in the international context except as a result of an approaching parity in the acquisition of arms and an approaching balance at the ultimate point."

On the possibility of spreading the call to Islamic unity, Isma'il Fahmi said, "There is no possibility of spreading the call to, or for establishing, Islamic unity except from the premise of strength. The strength of Islam is not just in chanting and memorizing the Koran and not doing anything besides that but rather is in continuous action, the application of Islamic law and the principles of Islam, and its spread internally and abroad according to the instructions of the book itself. This all requires that there be a strong base of radiance, in the cultural and Islamic sense. The symposium pointed out that there are \$350 billion outside the Islamic world. Why? Talk about returning this money is repeated often, but the element of execution has not yet entered in. The men of religion are supposed to perform this task, the task of making people aware of the importance of investing their money in their Islamic nations."

Isma'il Fahmi added, "The mechanics of unity cannot be established in a vacuum, nor are they phrases from a composition. Let us then turn away from talk and start execution and work. Without that, there will be no basis for Islamic unity."

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CSO: 4404/15

FOREIGN AID FOR POWER PLANT CONSTRUCTION REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German
9 Oct 84 p 2

[Text] Frankfurt--The state-owned National Electricity and Gas Company (Sonelgaz) in Algiers is currently executing a major program for expanding electrical power production in Algeria. Generating capacity is to increase from the present 3,000 megawatts to 5,030 megawatts by 1991, when the power plants now under construction and contract will be in operation. Sonelgaz has also planned construction of a nuclear power plant with an installed capacity of 600 megawatts. Sonelgaz is receiving support in the project from the French state-owned Sofratome, which has responsibility for supplying the technical and industrial nuclear energy studies. Algeria has significant uranium deposits with estimated reserves of around 50,000 metric tons in the Hoggar Range in the southern region of the country.

In September 1984, Sonelgaz signed an agreement with the Soviet Union for the construction of a 630-megawatt thermal power plant to be sited in Jijel in eastern Algeria. It consists of three 210-megawatt units and is to be completed by 1990. Construction costs are reported to be approximately one billion marks. About one-third of the material and equipment is to be supplied by Algerian enterprises and the remaining two-thirds by the Soviet Union. The power plant is being built especially to supply electricity to the planned Bellara Iron and Steel Complex near Jijel, the country's second.

The largest Algerian thermal power plant is expected to begin operations in 1986/87. It is being built in Das Djinet about 70 km east of Algiers by German-Austrian consortium headed by Kraftwerk Union AG (KWU), Muelheim/Ruhr, and will have a 704-megawatt capacity. The electricity will be generated in four 176-megawatt blocks. Kraftwerk Union itself is involved in supplying the four turbines and the control equipment and heads the total planning and supervision of construction and installation.

Vienna-based Siemens AG, Austria, was contracted to deliver the electrical engineering components of the plant and the generators built by Elin-Union of Vienna. The kettles and the mechanical equipment are being supplied by the Austrian firm Simmering-Graz-Pauker AG (SGP) of Vienna. The control units are being supplied by the Standards and Process Engineering Division of Siemens AG, Munich-Berlin. Domestic firms in Algeria were given the contracts for basic construction work. In the fall of 1982, state-owned SW Metal

received a subcontract for delivery of 10,000 metric tons of steel construction units and 3,000 tons of material for the kettle assemblies. Among the German engineering consultant firms included in the project are Lahmeyer International GmbH, Frankfurt, Rhein-Ruhr Engineering GmbH (RRI), Dortmund, and Grebner Engineering GmbH, Mainz.

In 1983, a thermal power plant consisting of three 160-megawatt blocks was placed in operation in Marset El Hadjadj in the district of Arzew by the Italian firm Amin SpA, Genova, which specializes in precision engineering. The construction costs had been estimated at the equivalent of 450 million marks. Eighty-five percent of the contract amount was financed by supplier credit. Algerian state-owned businesses too were represented in the building of the power plant. The Algerian prime minister officially dedicated the plant in mid-March 1984.

The French firm Alsthom-Atlantique, Paris, received a contract for 100-million French francs from Sonelgaz in the spring of 1983 for the construction of three switching stations in Hassi Messaoud, Touggourt and El Oued in the 220-kilowatt main in the southern part of the country and for construction of one 60-kilowatt switching station in Blida in the district of Algiers. Sonelgaz performed the construction and installation work itself. The units are to be delivered in mid-1985.

A Japanese consortium headed by Marubeni Corporation received a contract in the spring of 1981 for 120 million dinars (one Algerian dinar equals approximately 0.55 marks) for supplying equipment for five diesel power stations with a combined capacity of 27 megawatts. The sites of these plants are Tamanrasset, El Golea, Adrar, Timimoun and In Salah in southern Algeria. This project was partially financed with a loan from the European Investment Bank (EIB) in Luxembourg to the amount of 20 million accounting units (one unit equals approximately 2.24 marks). The Japanese consortium will also supply twenty-two 80-kilowatt diesel units. Another diesel power plant of 6.4 megawatt capacity was placed in service by Sonelgaz in El Oued in the summer of 1983. It represents an investment of 27.9 million dinars.

Sonelgaz is expanding the transmission and distribution network in order to be able to supply 95 percent of all potential users with electricity by 1987. There has been a rapid increase recently in the consumption of electricity. It climbed from 2,300 gigawatt hours in 1974 to 3,600 gigawatt hours in 1977 and reached approximately 7,000 gigawatt hours in 1982. The length of the high-tension main grew from 4,100 km in 1974, to 5,500 km in 1977 and to 8,000 km in 1982.

In a move to increase efficiency and raise productivity, several divisions have been separated from Sonelgaz and have become independent firms. Since the beginning of 1983, National Company of Electrification Works (Kahrif) has been in charge of the electrification projects, and National Company of Electric Works and Installation (Kahrakib) is in charge of installation projects. Kahrakib, which employs over 2,800 people, also includes a factory in Oran that produces circuit and distribution units.

Along with Algerian partners, a German consortium whose principal member is Siemens AG with its Electric Motor Works Bad Neustadt/Saale is building a factory in Azazga about 150 km east of Algiers for producing electric motors, generators and transformers. Siemens AG has responsibility in the area of motors and generators from the planning stage to initial operations management.

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CSO: 4620/6

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY BUDGET DISCUSSION REVIEWED IN DEPTH

London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 15, 18, 19, 20 Sep 84

[Article: "As the People's Assembly Discusses Egypt's Budget, What Do We Want?"]

[15 Sep 84 p 9]

[Text] The parliamentary body of the National Party will be discussing the general government budget for 1984-85 today. The Economic Page is starting to open the discussion on Egypt's budget, and our intention in doing so is to have everyone and all the classes of the people help find a way to eliminate the deficient features and assert and support the strong features in the budget, including the problems of subsidies, low productivity and incompetence of management, increased receipts of sovereign revenues from taxes and customs, a true role for the private sector, and ways in which the public sector can contribute to the general government treasury. The responsibility for realizing the goals of the budget, which has the goal of a comprehensive reform of the national economy, lies on everyone's shoulders; everyone on Egyptian territory carries out development and benefits from what it yields.

Concerning the starting point in the road to Egyptian economic reform, Dr Sulayman Nur-al-Din, professor of economics at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, raises a number of economic recommendations and opinions which must form part of the discussion of the draft general government budget.

Dr Sulayman Nur-al-Din says that the political leadership, headed by President Husni Mubarak, is totally aware of the magnitude of the economic problem, since it is the basic focal point of general planning, and that the general budget is one of the main instruments for correcting the course [of the economy].

There also is a total conviction in the current cabinet that the budget for a single fiscal year cannot accommodate a solution to the economic problem or carry it out, but that the important thing, rather, is the starting point. It appears then that there is a conviction that the starting point in

the long road to reform is the current fiscal year, since the budget of a single year cannot bear the burden of correcting a long process. In other words, a single budget cannot correct the damage time has caused, because this is the task of the 5-year and 10-year plan, lest the plan projects become mere figures in tables which we merely want to attain.

The third new thing this year in the preparation of this year's draft budget is that the opposition parties almost share the government's conviction that it is necessary to start correcting the process and that the cost of economic reform increases year by year, as the reports of some international bodies have stated.

The fourth new point in the budget is that it faces a noticeable drop in some major revenues, as the final accounts for the fiscal year ending 1983-84 have pointed out, for instance revenues from petroleum and the Suez Canal, and a drop in the receipts from some exports and tourist receipts, in addition to the drop in some income tax revenues from private sector activity.

If these signs are correct with respect to the coming budget, that means that an increase is expected in the volume of the gross and net deficit in the budget, which is something financial and economic managers do not want.

For all these considerations, there has been great interest in the draft of the new budget on all levels, and this has provoked many differing points of view on how to cope with the new situations.

Although there have been a number of viewpoints regarding treatment of the draft budget, there are some essential points on which we must all agree.

There is no alternative to rapid, concentrated development, in spite of its undesired side effects, and consequently there can be no retreat into contractionist development policies in Egypt. As a consequence, it is necessary to maintain the high rate of investment, which has come to 25 percent of national product, in order to cope with the increasing numbers of people entering the job market each year, which are estimated at about half a million per annum.

The gross or net deficit in the budget is not an economic defect. One can say that 70 percent of the budgets of the developing and advanced countries are suffering from a deficit, and therefore we must not view the presence of a deficit as an economic scandal. The important thing is that the deficit be based on production, not consumption.

Freedom of movement as regards the control of spending, in the case of current and investment spending both, is limited. Anyone following the sections on spending will find that the first section, wages, totals about 3 billion pounds, that is, about 30 percent, and that cannot be touched. The same with subsidies, which are about 2 billion pounds; these cannot be reduced noticeably either, although guiding them is a relevant possibility. Similarly, allocations to the armed forces must not be touched, because they are related to security and stability, a vital matter which cannot be debated.

What is left, then, comes to no more than 700 million in commodity and other requirements; these can be reduced by 200 million pounds at most. Therefore, ultimately, the chances for reducing the volume of current spending do not exceed 5 percent.

However, an available alternative lies in reducing the scope of investment spending in the budget without affecting the volume of gross investment in the society, which is estimated at about 6 billion pounds in the budget, by following three approaches:

1. Withdrawing some economic projects included in the investment plan from the public sector budget and offering them to the private sector to carry out, for instance cement projects, projects to produce some foodstuffs such as oil, poultry and eggs, and other projects which the private sector or committed domestic capitalism can carry out; this could save close to 1 billion pounds, which would be shifted from the investment budget to the plan for investment in the private sector.

2. The second approach is to reduce the cost of investment by increasing the productive competence of the construction sector while trying to control the volume of legitimate and illegitimate commissions and middlemen's fees. The amount of loss from the abovementioned factors is about 20 percent of the total volume of investment. If the total volume of investment in the budget is about 6 billion, recouping the losses will realize a savings of 1.2 billion. Even if we imagine that it is difficult to realize this in a single year, nonetheless what it will be possible to save will come to no less than 400 million pounds.

3. An inclination toward less costly models of construction, with respect to public buildings or proposed housing projects.

There no doubt are opportunities available for increasing revenues by increasing the collecting capability of the tax system, since it is estimated that the proportion of people paying taxes is no more than 40 percent of the actual number, except for government employees and functionaries, and 60 percent in cases where there is an absence of [withheld] taxes, examples of whom are people working in brokerage and agency activities, foreign currency dealers, owners of furnished apartments and other groups; this would make it possible for the tax system to increase its revenues in tangible form if they were accurately tabulated. It is well known that the magnitude of income taxes does not exceed 3 billion pounds, 2 billion of which are from the public sector -- that is, what the private sector, including employees, pays does not exceed 1 billion, in other words, no more than 10 percent of the private sector's national product. These are very small earnings and show the magnitude of tax evasion. Therefore, it is necessary that serious thinking be devoted to supporting the tax system as a preliminary step. The current system, with its available resources, cannot cope with all these challenges. As we recommended earlier, there must be an independent body which will perform the tax collecting process.

In conclusion, the inflationary effects arising from the increase in the deficit and consequently the printing of additional banknotes are much

greater than the side effects arising from increases in the prices of dry cleaners. Therefore, we must welcome what we have called the financial management's tendency to raise the prices of some services and tariffs in order to realize a greater amount of revenues, to realize justice without harming people on limited incomes.

There is no doubt that the parliamentary board's discussion of the draft budget will be at a high level of awareness and feeling of responsibility and will not give consideration to any auctioneering which is not in keeping with the public interest.

[18 Sep 84 p 9]

[Text] The Economic Page is continuing the discussion of the government's general 1984-85 budget, with the goal of getting all experts and people holding opinions on the subject to participate more extensively in order to state their recommendations, which can contribute to the discussion taking place in the specialized People's Assembly committees that is to continue during the days to come.

The issue that is now being raised concerning the general government budget, which the government is preparing to submit to the People's Assembly in the days to come, is considered the most prominent of economic and financial issues; in this regard, it appears feebly [sic] that the preparation of the general budget will reveal a deficit in the budget and the existence of an imbalance between government revenues and spending which produces a deficit year after year in the budget and causes a rise in the general level of prices, in principal fashion, so that consequently it is necessary to narrow the gap between revenues and spending by setting out policies and schedules for correcting this imbalance.

One can cope with the deficit in the government's general budget by setting out programs and policies for achieving the following things:

First, in the case of revenues:

Raising the competence of the tax collecting agencies and customs in order to cope with tax and customs evasion.

It is possible to arrive at this by centrally training employees in this field, allocating the necessary incentives to them, and also by making use of equipment and machinery to administer the task and create an appropriate work environment.

Simplifying current customs tariffs and the sections in which these are noted down, since they represent the back door by which laxity and speculation [work their way] into the Customs Department, in the sense that customs tariffs have become extremely diffuse and cannot be subject to interpretation, explanation and protocol regarding the calculation of customs duties in specific sections. For instance, customs tariffs on wood have been consolidated, regardless of its type -- veneer, particle board, planks and so forth -- at a rate which the Ministry of Finance recommended after studying

the current rates for each type of wood and the volumes of each type imported, adopting average rates for the customs tariffs. According to the proposed study for this unified method, we will be able to eliminate speculation by some people in various subsections covering a single product.

In case of maximum need, it is possible that a given product could have just two subsections at most, since the simplification of customs tariffs in the form proposed represents the cornerstone in the elimination of administrative bureaucracy, speculation and sloth in one of the most massive of the government's sovereign revenue sectors, that is, the customs sector.

The performance of a comprehensive field census or the completion of the census carried out a number of years ago concerning various activities and taxpayers, since there are large numbers of taxpayers who do not know how to get to the tax [department].

In addition to that, it is necessary to study practical ways and means by which it will be possible to collect taxes from taxpayers whom it is theoretically difficult to hold to account, such as carpentry, plumbing, electrical, mechanical and other craftsmen, especially since this group represents people with great buying power who in most cases evade taxes, especially craftsmen who do not have permanent locations in which to pursue the activity.

The taxes imposed should be on consumption, not production; in other words, it is fair that the tax apply to people who want to consume given commodities and enjoy them.

Estimating and raising some duties on services which are in keeping with the costs of these services. One cannot imagine, for example, that annual telephone tariffs should be 18 pounds; consequently, they must be raised to 100 pounds a year, the tariffs on automatic telephones should be raised to 1,500 pounds a year for homes, and the same rate of increase, that is, 50 percent, should apply to company and authority telephones. In addition, the fees for tuition in universities should be raised from 4.5 to 15 pounds a year. The same is the case with respect to public education and various aspects of other services.

The assessment or raising of new tariffs will result in an improvement of services and will confine demand for them to people who are seriously in need of them, as in the case of telephones, as well as raising the government's revenues.

Reducing customs exemptions and restricting them to major projects of vital importance for economic development.

Second, in the case of government spending:

Reducing spending on diplomatic and consular representation, various commercial, tourist, educational, labor, medical, and information offices and so forth, by reducing the number of people working in these offices, as well as reducing the benefits granted to people working in embassies abroad. It

is certain that the course of work in these offices will not be affected by the reduction in spending -- indeed, competence will increase noticeably.

Reducing spending on unnecessary forms of appearance, such as publicity, media, parties and so forth.

Restricting travel of government officials abroad to [cases of] maximum need and reducing the number of people in delegations traveling abroad, while imposing the rule that our embassies and offices abroad should perform the task of government officials rather than having the latter travel abroad.

Abrogating subsidies gradually and compensating for them with cash allowances for entitled persons only, over a period of 5 years at the most.

One can begin with the non-basic commodities, such as subsidized cloth and products of subsidized companies, then gradually proceed to eliminate subsidies on the other commodities.

There is no doubt that the government's general policy is in the first place concerned with realizing welfare and prosperity for the masses, and is founded basically on increasing production and to a large extent improving its quality and realizing social justice among the members of this society. This goal can be realized only through sound scientific planning and exploitation of all available resources and powers with the utmost possible competence, since most developing countries are characterized by a shortage of intrinsic resources to realize the desired rate of economic growth and we find that the government's revenues are lower than its spending and that therefore it resorts to foreign loans and aid to achieve its goals. It is not shameful that the government should resort to that technique; rather, the shame and the error lie in continuing to use this method because it is easy and less troublesome than other methods, to which greater attention must be given.

The problem of foreign loans in Egypt has not yet, fortunately, reached the danger point, as the minister of economy stated, but we must treat it with the utmost caution, since it is necessary to expand the revenues from these loans.

The presence of some loans and aid offered in the form of participation in some investment projects is connected to this. In some cases, feasibility studies for these projects might be uneconomic [sic] and imprecise, and as a result burdens may be imposed on the domestic economy which we can do without. As a result, it is necessary to devote attention to the feasibility studies of investment projects and make sure that they represent an addition to the domestic economy, not a burden on it, since self-reliance and reliance on our country's intrinsic abilities must be our first guide and the development of these intrinsic resources must be our basic interest and our preoccupation, so that we may solve our economic problems. A number of issues which have previously been discussed are connected to this -- the issue of increasing production and improving its quality, raising the productivity of workers, the issue of administrative bureaucracy, creating advanced managerial leaders, applying the policy of rewards and penalties to workers, creating good relations between management and workers, setting out programs

for incentives which are connected to increased productivity and guiding imports, credit policies, the exchange rate and the proliferation and stability of the laws.

The government's general policy, as stated in the declaration by the vice chairman of the Investment Authority, is to give opportunities and real encouragement to the public and private sectors because of the importance of the role of each in economic development and the creation and encouragement of competition between the two sectors, so that the quality of production will be improved, competence will be raised and the effort will be made to reduce prices. In order for this policy to yield fruit, it is necessary to study the obstacles standing in the way of the private sector and give it incentives to encourage it to make efforts and invest at the maximum possible capacity so that it can play its part in full and we will be able to create the appropriate climate for this sector, so that it can take off in full and play its role as thoroughly as possible.

However, it appears that some public sector companies in Egypt are not aware of general government policy when they declare their need for a specific product, public and private sector companies in Egypt as well as some foreign suppliers come forward to supply it, and the public sector company doing the purchasing gives preference to the foreign supplier over the public and private sector companies in Egypt, although the level of quality of the Egyptian product, when not on a par with the foreign product, is superior to it in quality and the public sector company pays the price by opening credits for the foreign supplier in dollars, while payment can be made to the Egyptian supplier in local currency.

[19 Sep 84 p 9]

[Text] Economic and political circles have gone through intensified activity in the past week in discussing the draft general government budget for 1984-85, which comes to 18,277,000,000 pounds. The figures show that the industrial deficit in the budget came to 1.2 billion pounds, a drop of 100 million from last year's budget, and that the deficit in the balance of trade came to 899 million pounds last year, a drop of about 50 percent in comparison with 1981-82.

While these figures underline economic policy's success with its general goals of realizing better growth rates and reducing the deficit in the balance of payments and general government budget, it is clear that the net deficit of the budget is declining at low rates in comparison with the rates of the decline in the deficit in the balance of payments.

It is certain that getting rid of the deficit for once and for all is the most important goal of economic policy and that the slow rates of decline in the net budget deficit reflect an imbalance in economic structures which must be confronted with a greater degree of frankness and objectivity, so that we can realize the desired balance in the domestic economy. Meanwhile, it is necessary to confront the issues which we are facing with reservations, in spite of their harmful effects, for example the issue of subsidies, which are not realizing their goals or reaching the people who are

entitled to them; we are exhausting ourselves discussing these while the end result is that they are directly contributing to the enrichment of some middlemen and black market dealers and are one of the basic reasons for the bottlenecks in the markets and the disappearance of some commodities, and also are one of the most important direct causes of the deficit in the general government budget.

In another area, the circumstances of the economic problem make it mandatory for instance that public spending be reduced, in particular luxury spending by some government agencies and public sector companies, including money-losing companies or firms which do not realize profits that are in keeping with their investments; they gravitate to this to emulate appearances which the investment and liberalization companies are concerned about, although their budget is laboring under the burden of an annual deficit!

The Economic Page is raising these issues for discussion, along with the contradictions and achievements inherent in them: how shall we rid the Egyptian economy of its serious problems, and how can we strike a balance between government revenues and expenditures? Is it possible for us to attain a national economic balance soon in a manner which will afford an opportunity to raise rates of development?

Dr Salah-al-Din Namiq, professor of economics and former dean of the Faculty of Commerce at al-Azhar, states:

"Coping with the problems of the domestic economy dictates that we take a comprehensive view of matters. Economic problems are problems which cannot be compartmentalized, and partial solutions will not realize the desired results; they become mere patchwork activities which have greater harm and negative effects than benefits." He considers that subsidies and government spending are the most important issues which must be discussed. As far as subsidies go, it is well known that they are an issue with political and social dimensions, and not an economic notion -- indeed, their economic effects must be negative. Experience has proved that subsidy policy has not realized its goals, that allocations to subsidies have just become a burden on the government, and that subsidies have not alleviated the sufferings of the toiling people and people with limited incomes, eliminated the black market in basic commodities or reduced the lengths of lines in consumer societies. He considers that it is necessary gradually to eliminate subsidies and divert the subsidy allocations to direct cash subsidies for public and government sector employees and limited income groups in the private sector only, while we leave prices subject to a normal equilibrium in accordance with the law of supply and demand, direct some subsidy allocations to support for domestic industry, solve its problems of cash liquidity and help it with the operations of carrying out renovations and replacement in its run-down factories so that they will be able to increase production and improve it in a manner which will realize the goals of the development plan. Dr Salah Namiq, professor of economics, continued "On the other hand, we cannot imagine that we would allow the senior employees of the government to set up luxurious offices with air conditioning and to use luxury cars whose likes they could not buy if they were noblemen, while some companies have facades of luxury imported brick, for instance, in light of the burdens that these

phenomena represent on the general budget of the government. We must also stand up more effectively to the problems of the swelling population, which are vitiating all the development rates that are being realized. In addition, we must most decisively stand up to the phenomena of hypocrisy which are apparent in the daily advertisements in the media, praising the work of officials and making the government defray their costs. They must be stopped at once. All of these phenomena must be subjected to the oversight of the office of the administrative prosecutor and the agencies of oversight, and the people responsible must be held severely to account for them."

Dr Salah Namiq recommends that new taxes be imposed on luxury spending in order to reduce indirect subsidies. He says "It is not possible to imagine that a person riding a motorcycle should obtain gasoline at the same price as the people who own Mercedeses and other luxury cars." He demands that a special tax be imposed on luxury cars, in exchange for subsidization of gasoline and oil, totalling 5 percent of their value, dropping by 1 percent a year for depreciation on the car until it reaches half a percent, remaining fixed after that.

Dr Hasan al-Mahdawi, director of organization and management in the Central Agency, says,

"Confronting the deficit in the government's general budget requires that revenues from taxes be developed in order to contribute directly to realization of the goal. It is certain that the tax system has not yet realized the effects and results that were desired from it, and the tax receipts desired have not been provided to the general budget of the government. That may be attributed to a number of causes, including, for example:

"The incompetence and instability of tax policies and the low level of competence in the organizational and administrative tax collecting process.

"The absence of an element of organizational development and the necessary development in work programs and methods in the Tax Department, the deficiency in material resources and tools necessary for the tax system, and weakness in confronting the phenomenon of tax evasion."

Dr Hasan al-Mahdawi recommends that we concentrate on developing the government's tax revenues during the next stage so that it can realize a better income and contribute more to the financing of the general government budget in the fiscal year.

A higher council to develop government revenues should be established which will assume responsibility for guiding the agencies concerned and for coordination and integration among them and will set out general policies for developing government revenues.

There should be an objective review of the general strategy from which tax policies have been derived so that the extent of taxpayers' contribution to covering the government's fiscal revenues or financing the general budget, and not just paying a percentage of profits or incomes, can be determined. The basis of this theory is that the taxpayer does not pay taxes if he shows

a failure to realize profits; however, if we consider him one of the people who finance government revenues, of necessity, the situation will be different. It is well known that most taxpayers do not conduct transactions on a basis of financial credibility, and that it is indeed impossible to arrive at their true accounts.

A new plan for tax collection development could be presented for discussion. That should be summarized as the preparation of a comprehensive framework for people paying general taxes on commercial and industrial taxes, whatever the legal form or capital might be, and the formation of committees which will be in charge of carrying out a census and evaluation of all installations in the field in order to come up with a real picture of the installations' financial status, without relying on the illusory accounts which they submit, and breaking the installations down into groups in accordance with their size, with taxes to be assessed on each group of these installations on the basis of the financial analysis. The activity of each installation will be evaluated every 5 years, so that it can be included in a higher group, or in accordance with the course and progress of work; each installation will be committed to pay the specific tax which is levied on it, and payment will be suspended only if the installation has become legally bankrupt or totally stopped operating.

The imposition of escalating taxes in accordance with the income groups, in the case of Egyptians working abroad.

The transfer of tax system services up to the level of the transfer of forms and statements to the locations of the taxpayers and the transfer of tax collection to their places of work.

Finally, these have been the views of some economists concerning ways of confronting the general budget deficit. There still is a sequel to the discussion, since the issues of subsidies for consumer goods and agricultural and industrial production accessories, the problems of luxury spending in the administrative system of the government, and other problems which if faced up to would bring about the elimination of the deficit of the general budget of the government or at least a reduction in it will be discussed with a further group of experts. That is what we will complete tomorrow.

[20 Sep 84 p 9]

[Text] There is no doubt that the most dangerous thing facing the domestic economy is the inability of domestic revenues to meet the actual requirements of society; this is expressed by the deficit in the general budget of the government. This deficit can be covered either by reducing development investments, which is a real danger, or by relying on debts, with the additional burdens that the cost of interest on the debts represents, which complicate matters. Both choices are difficult, and their negative results are certain to appear. There remains the only option, indeed a solution for which there is no alternative, which is to reorder the priorities of spending and guide them in a manner which will realize the desired balance between revenues and various aspects of spending and investment. It is certain that although this is the only approach, it will have some effects and

burdens which the society will have to endure most patiently, especially since they will gradually be eradicated in a manner commensurate with the development achieved. The more production increases and better growth rates are achieved, the more these effects and burdens will decline and the standard of living will tend to rise.

Confrontation of the economic problem and the issues of the general budget and balance of payments deficits must be characterized by the utmost frankness and objectivity, so that we can identify sources of imbalance and weakness, then determine the features of the proper approach. We can assert that solving the economic problem is the responsibility not only of the government but also all the productive, craft, public and private service agencies and citizens alike, and the results will involve everyone, in the negative or positive sense.

The Economic Page is continuing its series of reports, which are aimed at presenting the views of experts, specialists and people with opinions and ideas, in order to arrive at a new specific formulation which will result in the elimination or at least reduction of the deficit in the general government budget, considering that this is the first step on the road to the solution of the economic problem. Today we will complete the discussion.

Dr Sadiq 'Afifi, dean of commerce at al-Minufiyah and chairman of the Consumer Protection League, said,

"The waste of national resources, from bread to the millions of tons of vegetables and fruit and grain which are being wasted or lost annually, after which we complain about the delirious rise in their prices, is now almost general in character. The time has come for the words 'waste' and 'loss' to be eliminated from our lives. This is easy and workable.

"Our adherence to form and not substance regarding many decrees is also to be considered responsible to a large degree for the aggravation of the severity of problems. An example of this is our adherence to subsidies, although economists unanimously agree that this approach is wrong. If subsidies have the goal of providing the basic requirements of people with limited incomes at reasonable prices, to cope with the rise in prices internationally and the drop in income levels in Egypt, the indices for consumer prices, which represent living expenses, have risen from 131.2 in 1973 to 528.3 in 1983 in the rural areas, and in the urban areas from 122.4 to 418.7 in the same period, in comparison with 1966-67, which represents the figure of 100; that is, in 10 years, the costs of living have increased about fourfold, and of course incomes have not increased by this percentage in that period; that is, the standard of living is declining, and what have the allocations for subsidies done? What have their social dimensions achieved?

"It is not news that we say that subsidies have not reached the people entitled to them. Indeed, they have led to a discrepancy in the levels of prices of single commodities which have disrupted the balance of economic relations in the market; the result is that the government is defraying billions in direct and indirect subsidies and the citizen is running after endless lines in search of subsidized commodities which he might not obtain, while these

subsidies are most accessible to others who are not the object of the subsidies, not to speak of the groups of middlemen, brokers and people who have gotten rich from the subsidies. As a result of prevailing conditions, many consumers' rights have been ruined under the pressure of the desire to provide large quantities of goods at specific prices, including, without question, the degree of quality and conditions governing the cleanliness, distinctiveness and fitness of the commodity.

"The system of indirect subsidies also particularly conceals the true competence of productive units. It is difficult to measure this competence and evaluate the performance of management, and consequently objectivity in choosing and promoting leaders is lost and this has negative effects over the long run. This is on top of the complicated administrative systems for carrying out subsidy policies, for performing dozens of jobs and complicated procedures which armies of employees with their red and green cards and blue and yellow permits carry out; these cost enormous amounts of money and squander resources of which we are in the utmost need."

The solution? Dr Sadiq 'Afifi says that that is to restore the normal balance in market relations and to act gradually to raise incomes on the one hand and reduce subsidies on the other. Economic prices will prevail with respect to work first of all and goods and services second of all. What is required is a gradual reduction in allocations for subsidies and at the same time the gradual conversion of these allocations to additions to the incomes of consumers over a relatively long period of time in the framework of a declared, carefully studied plan, with an accurate census to be made of income levels and classes which are and are not entitled and a study on costs of living, along with planning to restore balance to economic relations so that the economic price of each resource, each commodity, each job and each service will prevail. This will be the beginning of reform.

Dr Sadiq 'Afifi recommends the formation of a neutral, expert working team in which ministries and specialized bodies will be represented, which will be assigned this task and will prepare the plan to which the current and coming cabinet will be committed. It will plan for this through the media; issues will be proposed most frankly and clearly to the people, so that the masses of the consumers may bear their responsibilities in discussing the matter and arriving at an opinion, then collectively committing themselves to it.

Dr Muhammad Tal'at Qabil, professor of horticulture at the [Faculty of] Agriculture, Cairo, says:

"I am wholly in agreement with the view which demands that the national product be protected from waste and lost. The disadvantages in the methods of gathering and handling crops and using cases of stripped palm fronds, for instance, deprive Egypt annually of 1.2 million tons of vegetables and fruit of the highest quality because of the scrapes and scratches they inflict on the fruit which is on the outside in the cases, which is of the highest quality. Wouldn't these tremendous amounts be sufficient to create agricultural funds which could make a real addition to the domestic economy and of course reduce the deficit in the government budget? Wouldn't these terrible

amounts of loss be sufficient to carry out a national plan for increasing exports? If we succeed in exporting just 25 percent of these quantities at prices that are competitive with all exporting countries, at let us say an average of just \$250 per ton of vegetables and fruit, the annual receipts would be \$750 million, assuming that 300,000 tons of this terrible loss are exported, without additional costs or burdens on the government. Aren't these quantities enough to realize the three goals combined -- I mean reducing prices for the consumers, establishing a strong agricultural processing industry and exporting?"

Dr Tal'at Qabil continued, "On the other hand, among the issues of agricultural production one of the most serious issues is that of subsidies, since we provide some fertilizers, pesticides and seeds to farmers at subsidized prices, then the government takes the production in compulsory supply commodities at prices far below the prices on the market; this is on top of the injustices which befall the farmers through inaccuracies in the processes of clearing their accounts with the societies and such credit agencies as the village banks and their subjection to injustice and costs of accessories which they have not received. Why aren't the subsidies on agricultural production totally abrogated, while we leave the definition of the cost of production to the market, and the agencies of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Agricultural Authority and agricultural development and credit banks function as safety valves to provide farming requirements at economic prices? That way the farmers will not succumb to the burden of exploitation by the private sector and price stability will be realized for production accessories, so that when the government buys the product at the market price a suitable return will be realized for the farmers, and we will save millions in subsidies. That will also help bring the peasant back to his land, now that he had fled from it in search of a greater income by making a living driving taxis or using tractor trailers for transportation activities rather than farming. The reduction of the relative profitability arising from agricultural activity is behind these phenomena, and when we leave agricultural production to the normal equilibrium in the market, the form and methods of farming, the volume of agricultural production and the national income derived from that will certainly change."

Dr Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam Khattab, chief of research in the Ministry of Agriculture, says:

"Subsidy policy has not realized its goals, and it has directly helped create a new type of problem for the consumer and producer, especially in the rural areas." He considers that the elimination of subsidies has become an urgent necessity and that the cash alternative is the optimum solution for helping people with limited incomes. He considers that all the employees of the government and the public sector and some employees of the private sector, up to income levels which might be the equivalent of the highest salary in the administrative system, are entitled to subsidies; no one above that level is entitled to subsidies, because handing over production at the market price will realize high profitability for farmers and consequently will increase the wage level of agricultural workers who are not landowners. He considers that that should start to be carried out in the next winter season, provided that the first season it is applied farmers should receive

the accessories merely at subsidized prices and that they should be compensated for the difference, which will be considered a loan on the part of the farmers which will be taken back when the crop is bought from them, so that they may have confidence that they will receive the market prices for agricultural production before they defray the differences in prices, in order to guarantee interest in farming, and the attempt to economize in costs by reducing fertilizer, for instance, may be avoided; this will have a negative reflection on production.

Dr Ibrahim Muhammad al-Siba'i, professor of costs in [the Faculty of] Commerce, Cairo, says:

"One of the most important causes of the deficit in the general government budget is allocations to subsidies. The issue of subsidies is connected to the issue of prices as a whole. It is not reasonable that the government's means for reducing costs of living in the case of people with limited incomes should be to subsidize the prices of commodities, while the private and investment sectors are left free to set prices in a manner which disrupts the balance in the market. In light of the shortage of some commodities and the difficulty of obtaining them, consumers are compelled to turn toward alternatives from the private sector, and it is necessary to subject the prices in these companies to surveillance, I should not say compulsory pricing -- it is just necessary that the companies commit themselves to spelling out actual sections on costs so that the price may be determined in the light of that. It is also necessary that subsidies be abrogated and that some allocations for them be directed as direct cash subsidies to people with limited incomes who are government employees, while the surplus is directed to subsidizing and developing productive firms, in order to increase production, which will consequently contribute to price equilibrium. In addition, good production will result in controlling the rates of consumption; it is necessary that we ignore compulsory pricing; that is a great illusion to which we are subject, one that only creates a black market and the disappearance of commodities. Increased production is an effective means for controlling prices, and good production is the best remedy for increased consumption. It is necessary that the two issues of abrogating subsidies and increasing and improving production be simultaneous, so that price balance may be achieved to stabilize supply and demand, and pressure on imports, with the burden that represents on the balance of payments, may be reduced."

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CSO: 4504/5

SOCIALIST PROSECUTOR REVEALS RESULTS OF CURRENCY SMUGGLING PROBE

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 24 Sep 84 p 6

[Article by Bahirah Mukhtar: "After Investigations Lasting 10 Full Months, the Socialist Public Prosecutor Resolves the Case of the Currency Dealers"]

[Text] In a special statement to AL-AHRAM, Counsellor 'Abd-al-Qadir Ahmad 'Ali declared that the goal of these investigations is to create proper procedures for banking and credit activities in order to protect the domestic economy, now that the investigation papers have proved that these grievous aberrant acts have harmed the public economic interest.

In addition, honorable people should be given the opportunity to engage in banking and credit activities in total freedom, now that the atmosphere of aberrant conduct which influenced many competent people to run away from banking has been eliminated.

What have the investigation papers revealed? How did the currency dealers managed to get millions of dollars through unlawful gain? How did some members of the boards of these banks and companies that were the object of investigation, in which the acts of aberrance were the most obvious, that is, the Pyramid, Bank [sic] Trust and Egyptian National Banks, stand behind them?

The Pyramid Bank

The investigation revealed that the Pyramid Bank was decidedly liberal in giving agents, especially the agent Sami 'Ali Hasan and his companies, enormous facilities, totalling 33.4 million Egyptian pounds in the case of that agent alone or more than four times the capital of this bank, which comes to 7 million pounds, without adequate guarantees, endangering the deposits of people dealing with the bank.

The bank, in the facilities it granted, exceeded the ratio the Egyptian Central Bank has spelled out, which must not go beyond 65 percent of the volume of deposits with the bank, since this rate came to 144 percent on 29 February 1984.

As a bond for some of these facilities, contrary to the requirements of banking rules and the Egyptian Central Bank directives, the bank accepted checks worth 15.4 million pounds written by some clients without conducting the necessary studies and requests for information. These checks were all returned without payment.

The bank granted credit facilities to some of its board members, contrary to the requirements of Egyptian Central Bank instructions.

The bank, in its major activity, relied on trading in foreign currency in the black market by giving credit facilities to currency dealers for use in financing this sort of trade.

From the investigations and the letter by the delegate to the bank dated 16 June 1984, it is clear that there was an account in the Pyramid Bank, number 80, in the name of "the group of united friends," a group of board members and a client who was a currency dealer, and currency transactions in massive funds at black market prices took place through this account. The owners of this account deliberately concealed it from the bank account auditors and Egyptian Central Bank oversight over the bank by eliminating the data on it and registering this number in the name of another client at a later date. They also removed account records providing evidence of the course of transactions from the ledgers and hid the request to open this account in the names of the owners of the account, with samples of their signatures, along with the special data that contained. In addition, the bank did not receive the currencies stipulated for the activity in this account.

During the period from 27 July 1981 to 31 March 1983, this bank issued foreign currency notes equal in value to \$509,374,178 (five hundred nine million, three hundred seventy four thousand, one hundred seventy eight dollars) through speculation in mail orders, by establishing that this sum represented a payment of debts of clients up to 08 September 1981, while, of these debts, what was actually paid off was just \$6,587,769 (six million, five hundred eighty seven thousand, seven hundred sixty nine dollars), thereby violating the rules and conditions for exporting surplus foreign currency notes, which specialists in the Central Bank considered constituted smuggling this money outside the country and inflicting harm on the domestic economy.

It has been proved, through investigations, that the people responsible for these aberrant acts in the Pyramid Bank were Anwar Badr al-Fakharani Mansur, Munir Ahmad Ahmad al-Rafi'i, Muhammad Hasan Jaballah and Fakhri Muhsin Salamah, board members of the bank and members of its credit committee, which has jurisdiction over giving agreement to credit facilities. Among themselves, they comprise what is known as "the group of united friends." There also were Bahjat 'Abd-al-Qawi Zaydan, Salamah Shahatah Salamah and 'Adil Hasan, executive directors in the bank and its branches, who conspired with the group of board members mentioned above to grant credit facilities without collateral in the aforementioned manner in exchange for the material benefits and advantages which accrued to them, and then 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Abd-al-Rahman Barakah, the former director general of the bank, 'Abd-al-Mun'im Sayyid Mahmud Muhammad, the director of the Heliopolis branch, and Mamduh Muhammad Ramadan, the deputy director of the Heliopolis branch, who specialized in preparing money orders and exporting foreign currency surpluses from the country, exporting more than US \$500 million in the course of a year and a half, contrary to the stipulations of the rules and instructions. Specialists in the Central Bank considered that this constituted smuggling of this money out of the country and damage to the domestic economy by raising the price of the dollar and lowering the value of the Egyptian pound.

It is worth noting that the process of exporting the foreign currency from the country in the Pyramid Bank stopped as soon as 'Abd-al-Rahman Barakah left the bank and was appointed to the Hong Kong Bank.

Aberrant conduct and wrongful policies on the part of the people in charge of managing this bank resulted from this, due to their collusion with the client Sami 'Ali Hasan to deprive the bank of liquidity and cause it to stop paying out commitments whose payment was due, which exceeded 30 million pounds according to a statement the bank made in its letter dated 4 April 1984, which will certainly result in the declaration of bankruptcy of this bank.

In view of the damage to the domestic economy and the public economic interest which will result from the bankrupting of the bank, the agency of the socialist public prosecutor has hastened to adopt a number of measures which among other things had the following results:

First, the Egyptian Central Bank issued a decree on 24 April 1984, in accordance with a memorandum from the agency of the socialist public prosecutor, that the members of the board were to be excused from engaging their positions and Mr 'Abd-al-Ghani Jami', the director general and member of the board of the Egyptian National Bank, was to be appointed proxy for the bank's management. In his successive reports, he stated that the situation in the bank was getting worse by the hour; the bad situation was embodied in the bank's inability to cover deposit withdrawals, in addition to its inability to meet its commitments with correspondents abroad, on top of suits filed against it by local banks. He also stated that he, that is, the proxy, would not endure a situation like that for more than a week, and that prompted him to request that he be excused from the task of engaging in the management of this bank starting 13 May 1984.

Second, as a result of intensified, continuous efforts exerted by the agency of the socialist public prosecutor in cooperation with the Egyptian Central Bank to seek to support the situation of the Pyramid Bank through all legitimate legal means in order to protect the Egyptian economy, local banks which were creditors of the Pyramid Bank renewed their deposits with this bank, postponed payment of checks accepted for payment, and extended the period of validity of the letters of credit. Some members of the dissolved board also partially guaranteed the debts of the client Sami 'Ali Hasan and his two companies with the sum of 16 million pounds, as embodied in real estate and cash collateral and personal bonds. The participants also paid the price of the increase in the bank's capital, which was 7 million pounds; this was approved by the extraordinary general assembly held 29 December 1983. The Egyptian Central Bank also returned more than US \$6 million of the total money the Pyramid Bank had on deposit with it to the Pyramid Bank. In his report dated 4 April 1984, after about 5 weeks had elapsed since he began his mission, the proxy concluded that the general and financial conditions and conditions of liquidity in the bank had improved to the degree where one could have confidence in its future and that the management of the bank was not faced with any difficulties in responding to the needs of customers or correspondents abroad at present. This report was backed up by other corresponding ones asserting the same notion dated 11 June 1984 and 24 July 1984.

Third, after the proxy of the agency of the socialist public prosecutor gave notice that they had suspended paying off their debts to the bank, which all in all came to close to 15 million pounds, four people indebted to the bank hastened to negotiate with the bank over ways of liquidating this indebtedness and offering the necessary payment guarantees; the measures and investigations concerning them will continue until payment is completed.

The Jamal Trust

A. The bank was decidedly liberal in granting massive facilities in foreign currencies to clients, especially the client Sami 'Ali Hasan and his companies; these came to the equivalent of 20.8 million Egyptian pounds in the case of this client alone, in the form of checks accepted for payment by the bank, were more than 10 times the bank's capital, which totalled US \$2.5 million, and lacked sufficient collateral, exposing the clients' deposits, and so forth.

B. In the facilities it granted the bank, exceeded the ratio the Egyptian Central Bank has spelled out, which must not exceed 65 percent of the volume of deposits with the bank, since this ratio exceeded 150 percent of the value of deposits on 31 January 1984.

C. Contrary to the stipulations of Egyptian Central Bank banking rules and instructions, the bank accepted checks drawn on clients whose value was the equivalent of 10 million Egyptian pounds as collateral for some of these facilities, without carrying out the necessary studies and requests for information, and it became apparent that there was no cover for any of these checks.

D. The chairman of the bank, 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Jamal, refrained from paying the value of the checks accepted for payment by his abovementioned bank, totalling the equivalent of 20.8 million Egyptian pounds in value, to the Egyptian Faysal Islamic Bank, the Pyramid Bank and the Arab and African Bank of Egypt, in which the client Sami 'Ali Hasan had deposited these checks, by virtue of which he received credit facilities from these banks. 'Ali al-Jamal, the chairman of this bank, refrained from paying the value of these checks although they had met all legal conditions, the validity of the signatures on them by the employees of those banks was established along with their authority to make these signatures for the bank, their signatures had been conveyed to other banks, and letters of support had been issued by the bank with respect to some, and in spite of the statement the Egyptian Central Bank had made about the Jamal Trust Bank's commitment to pay their value immediately upon being informed about it, relying, in his abstention from payment, on a number of allegations. First of all he ventured to state that the signatures attributed to the employees of the bank for these checks had been forged; after the validity of these signatures had been established by the investigations the agency carried out, he then proceeded to claim that there had been a conspiracy between his employees and the client Sami 'Ali Hasan; then he filed three suits with the commercial court demanding that he be released from paying the value of these checks. A negative judgment was handed down on all these suits. The chairman of the bank contributed by unrightfully refraining from paying out the value of these checks on grounds of a lack of cash liquidity in the Pyramid Bank, and led to the occurrence of disturbances in the other banks, with the concomitant damage which was inflicted on the domestic economy in the country,

the banking system and existing relations among banks, which are founded basically on trust.

E. It is apparent that this bank, during the period from 24 June to 8 September 1983, that is, over a period of only about a month and a half, exported the sum of 62 million Saudi riyals by establishing incorrect data on the statements presented by it to the Egyptian Central Bank in order to obtain its agreement to the export of this amount, thereby violating the rules and conditions governing the export of surplus foreign banknotes abroad, which specialists in the Central Bank consider constitutes smuggling cash outside the country and damaging the national economy.

F. The absence of a banking bill or instructions from the office of the president of the bank for organizing activity in the various branches of the bank is apparent, and it is apparent that the work in these branches was assigned to the directors of the branches, who were in charge of issuing internal instructions as far as establishing accounting restrictions and payment and deposit activities were concerned. This resulted in the grant of facilities without collateral and the absence of contracts or papers establishing the civil deposits of clients, as to statements both on the limits of the debts and the date on which they were due and their payment, as well as the rates of interest and the commissions payable on them, which subjected the interests of the banks and the depositors in it to danger.

From the investigations, it has been established that the people responsible for these aberrant acts in the bank were 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Jamal, the president of the bank, Mahmud 'Id Isma'il al-Mitwalli, the director of credit, Ahmad Ahmad Mas'ud, the deputy manager of the Garden City branch, Samir Zakhari Bibawi, the auditor of the bank, and Ashraf Hasan Barradah, supervisor of the export of banknotes in the bank; they conspired among themselves with the client Sami 'Ali Hasan to grant him these facilities without collateral, and the former abstained from paying the value of the abovementioned checks. The responsibility of Ashraf Hasan Barradah for exporting foreign currency notes abroad in violation of the requirements of instructions was also determined.

In view of the condition that has befallen this bank due to its grant of facilities equivalent to 10 times its capital without collateral, exposing the money of depositors to danger, and in view of the damage that has befallen other banks as a result of the president of the bank's abstaining from paying the value of the checks accepted for payment by him, the socialist public prosecutor hastened to take a number of measures, one result of which was the following:

First, the Egyptian Central Bank, on the basis of the memorandum of the agency of the socialist public prosecutor, issued a decree dated 24 April 1984 dismissing the two executive directors in the bank from their activities and appointing Mr Mahmud Rajab Abu Hashim, general manager of inspection in the bank of Egypt, as proxy to administer that bank.

Second, a number of meetings were held between the representatives of the Jamal Trust Bank in Lebanon and the creditor banks, that is, the Egyptian Faysal Islamic Bank, the Pyramids Bank and the Arab and African Egypt Bank, in the presence of representatives of the Egyptian Central Bank, under the supervision of the agency

of the socialist prosecutor; as a result of this, three agreements were concluded to settle the indebtedness among them which had arisen from the checks accepted for payment from the Jamal Trust, whose value was equal to 20.8 million Egyptian pounds and whose value 'Ali 'Abdallah al-Jamal, president of the Jamal Trust Bank, unrightfully refrained from paying, in the manner stated above.

Third, after the proxy had notified the agency of the socialist public prosecutor that they had refrained from paying their debts, which exceeded US \$4 million, seven clients hastened to negotiate with the bank concerning ways of liquidating this indebtedness; investigations in their regard will continue until payment is made.

The Egyptian National Bank

'Abd-al-Mun'im Sabir al-Hilwani, the deputy governor of the Egyptian Central Bank, who is on loan to work in the Egyptian National Bank as delegated member, and Kamal Muhammad 'Ali Mu'awwad, director general of the bank, engaged in the act of speculation in precious metals on behalf of the bank and some of its clients who are foreign currency dealers.

First, regarding the bank:

These two persons continued the speculation activities in spite of the issuance of Egyptian Central Bank instructions prohibiting them from doing so as of July 1982; they failed to prepare records and carry out the necessary restrictions on this sort of operation, failed to commit themselves to any well known rules, and failed to present the status of these operations in detail to the board of directors of the bank on time. As a result, losses were inflicted on the bank of more than 5 million pounds. The magnitude of speculation activities in a single year came to more than a billion pounds.

Second, regarding the clients:

These two persons engaged in acts of speculation in precious metals on behalf of some clients who were hard currency dealers in violation of all the rules in effect, since they received cover from these clients which did not exceed 20 percent of the value of these operations although Central Bank instructions state that no facilities may be granted for the pursuing of such acts of speculation, not to mention their failure to observe care in carrying them out in terms of obtaining signatures of clients on the necessary paper, and the failure to observe restrictions and keep accounts. This resulted in a loss of close to 1 million pounds, part of which the bank defrayed, as a result of these people's negligence.

Since all the above acts, which were committed by the people in charge of the three banks, whose names were mentioned above, in collusion with the currency dealer Sami 'Ali Hasan and his companies, the Lord Shipping Projects Company and the Egypt and Arab Countries Trading Company, have the effect of inflicting the most grievous and blatant damage on these banks, and the money of depositors in them, and people participating in them, as well as damage to the domestic economy of the country, the agency of the socialist public prosecutor adopted the measures mentioned above in order to put an end to the deterioration which had afflicted the banking sector.

TUNISIA

UNTT SECRETARY GENERAL ABDELAZIZ BOURAOUI INTERVIEWED

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 21 Oct 84 p 3

[Interview with Abdelaziz Bouraoui, UNTT General Secretary: "Abdelaziz Bouraoui to LE TEMPS: 'We Ask the Government and Employers to Be Impartial'"; date and place not specified]

[Text] At a time when serenity is conspicuously absent from the union scene and when exaggerated demands may hinder the country's progress on the road to development, we decided we would get a clearer picture of the situation from the social partners, beginning with Mr Abdelaziz Bouraoui, general secretary of the UNTT [Tunisian National Federation of Labor] who was just received by President Bourguiba last week.

In a two-hour interview, we discovered a union leader sure of himself, confident in his work and desirous to steer his ship "according to the highest interests of the country." During the interview, we noted his constant concern about legality. "We are asking only one thing of the government and employers," he said, "[impartiality] with both unions, under the law."

[Question] Eight months after the creation of the UNTT, can you say that you have established yourself on the union scene as a social partner?

[Answer] Let me first thank your newspaper for its coverage of the UNTT creation and of the progress achieved by our young union organization. Actually, it is now only eight months since the constitutive congress of 19 February 1984 during which an executive bureau was elected by delegates of grassroots unions which were already legally established in various regions and various professional sectors.

Indeed, we can now say that, in spite of the various problems we still have to face daily--which, besides, we were anticipating already when the UNTT was created--we have progressed and we are decidedly progressing thanks to our fellow union members, the rank and file as well as the leaders.

Are we established on the union scene? Yes, since we have already created over 17 regional unions out of 22, and some 15 professional federations in several vital sectors. All the leaders of these organizations are moved by great courage and determination because they believe in what they are doing, because they know that they are on the right way toward genuine and independent unionism, in all union decisions made by the rank and file and the execution departments.

In this respect, we can say that we have our feet firmly planted on the ground and are standing tall. We have a good legal, statutory and structural organization. Nevertheless, we are still very poor, as our financial resources are extremely limited. This explains the modesty of our equipment, as you can see in this office (Editor's note: in the meanwhile, a member of the executive bureau came in to say that Monastir could not be reached by telephone, as the phone bill was not paid and the Postal and Telecommunications Administration cut phone service). But, thanks to the remarkable growth in the number of our members, we are hoping for an improvement in our situation, which would enable us to acquire better equipment, both for our federation and for the regional and federal sections. The second facet of your question has to do with our position as a social partner. In this case, too, we can say that our union leaders are daily confronting obstacles that are not always of a legal nature, since many companies misinterpret the law, and in particular Article 38 of the Labor Code. This article, which actually deals only with the conclusion, i.e. the signature of bargaining agreements, is abusively interpreted by certain parties to make it fit all cases. For instance, they will not understand that questions of promotion, advancement, discipline, loans, have nothing to do with that Article 38. And if any defense of one or several members were subordinate to this Article 38, the existence of our unions, even that of our organization, would become pointless.

In spite of these obstacles, our union rank and file keep asserting themselves through truly legal and legitimate means.

[Question] On 13 April, the UGTT [Tunisian General Federation of Labor] and the government arrived at an agreement. You are not party to it. Does that mean that, for the time being, you have no social weight?

[Answer] Not in the least. As for the agreement itself, we do not have to comment in any way on something we did not negotiate.

[Question] What are the sectors in which you are best represented for the time being?

[Answer] We have gone a long way in air and surface transportation. In some unions in regional transport companies, we even have the overwhelming majority; this is the case in Bizerte, Kasserine, Beja, Medenine, Gabes, Sidi Bouzid and Tozeur. In the other governorates, we do not yet have a majority.

[Question] A majority, which means...

[Answer] A majority compared with the UGTT, not necessarily a majority of the whole personnel of a given company, as in a company you often find agents who are not union members at all.

In the mining sector, especially in the South, we do not have a majority yet, but we already have over 3,000 members.

In the petrochemical industry, we can say that we are decidedly a majority. We should also mention that we represent a large proportion of unions in the energy sector (STEG [Tunisian Electric and Gas Company]) which are capped by a national federation.

In the agricultural sector, we are making rapid progress and are a majority in several governorates.

In the building trade, we can also say that we have a majority representation in several companies, especially in Tunis; for instance at El-Anabib and at the CAT [Tunisian Synthetic Cement Company]. The best evidence of this is the fact that, in the last elections of joint employer-labor commissions at El-Anabib, we had close to 100 percent of the votes (11 members out of 12).

In other sectors, such as banks, state services (primary schools, school workers, information, cultural affairs, health, municipal agents, etc.) and the textile industry, we are progressing steadily and have already created tens of unions in these various branches.

These are roughly the major sectors in which we are progressing, and we can even say that UNTT unions are born every week.

In conclusion, if we were able to create as many rank and file unions, federations and regional unions within 8 months, it is, as I already said, thanks to the maturity shown by our members and our leaders. As for us, the executive bureau, we make sure that every member of our federation has a firm belief in the principles of our organization, as specified in our constitutive manifesto, and we intend our progress to be based on conviction, faith, spontaneity and democracy.

[Question] You recently met with the chief of state. Your statement to the press, after this audience, was very short.

[Answer] The two points which I stressed were the following:

1. The impartiality of employers as a whole in negotiating with union partners, irrespective of what union they belong to, and making sure that the law is applied to its full extent.
2. The second point has to do with production quotas; actually, this is not a new subject, but one for which there has been only an extremely timid application in very few companies.

We expressed to the president our determination concerning the principles of application of these quotas, their progressive generalization in the context of conditions that we may negotiate with the employers' organizations concerned, with the full agreement of the workers in each particular company.

The president encouraged us to continue in this direction, as it could lead to benefits for workers and employers alike and, ultimately, to a greater prosperity of the country's economy and more social justice.

[Question] Production quotas seem to be one of your favorite subjects. Could you be more specific?

[Answer] In our constitutive manifesto, we already indicated that three essential conditions must be fulfilled to succeed in implementing production quotas:

- a. These quotas must be set for each company, not for each sector, because production tools vary from one company to another.
- b. The quotas must be set by common agreement of the two parties involved, i.e. workers and employers.
- c. A production ceiling must be set above which financial incentives will be given to the workers.

[Question] Would you say that the workers' purchasing power is now adequate and adequately protected? Do you plan to ask for an improvement of their purchasing power for 1984?

[Answer] We have already officially requested the government to open price and wage negotiations. Until now, no such negotiations have taken place. However, as far as we are concerned, we have prepared a study concerning certain price increases which affected the specific consumer price index. We have also raised the issue of the complementarity of 1983 negotiations in private and public sectors and companies. We are eagerly awaiting the answer and the opening of these negotiations.

[Question] The average Tunisian sees the present union situation as a struggle among leaders rather than a struggle for the workers' well-being. We have the impression that the essential *raison d'être* of unionism is being overlooked, set aside to make room for marginal personal questions. What do you think?

[Answer] I think that this is just another opinion, which should be respected in the context of the freedom of expression. But, in our opinion, the situation is quite different. As far as we are concerned, we have not quarrelled with anybody over personal questions. We have had profound and fundamental disagreements on union principles. Witness the fact that our organization was constituted by rank and file unions that were already legally constituted in various sectors and regions. In other words, this national organization is the result of the expressed will of a large proportion of the rank and file who no longer wants to put up with certain

anti-democratic and anti-statutory activities that are flagrant violations of individual freedoms and of the union code, and therefore detrimental to workers' interests; for if it were a matter of personal quarrels, the organization would have been created before these unions and without the pressure from union rank and file that I just mentioned.

To conclude, we bent to the will of a large proportion of the union rank and file which now adheres to the UNTT to constitute this reforming union movement in order to purge union ranks and return to authentic union traditions based on the fundamental principles of unionism preached and applied by Farhat Hached and which, in our opinion, can be summarized in three words: morality, defense of the workers' rights, patriotism.

9294

CSO: 4519/19

CROWN PRINCE DESCRIBES VARIOUS ASPECTS OF PERSONAL LIFE

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 15 Sep 84 p 7

/Article by Salim al-Ma'ani: "Prince Hasan and Light on the Other Side: His Highness Talks about His Family Life, His Various Interests and His Evaluation of Developments"/

/Text/ The well known lady announcer Najwa Abu al-Naja of the Voice of the Arabs radio station in Cairo held a radio interview with His Highness Prince Hasan, deputy to his highness the king and the crown prince, in the course of her weekly program "Light on the Other Side," which was broadcast at midnight the day before yesterday.

Herewith is a text of the conversation:

The announcer Najwa Abu al-Naja, at the beginning of the program, welcomed His Highness Prince Hasan:

"Your highness the prince, this is a beautiful opportunity for me to talk via the program, as we learn about constructive intellectual contributions, and we hope that this cooperation will continue, especially between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Arab Republic of Egypt."

The Family and Values

She then proceeded to pose questions, as follows:

Question: Let me tell His Highness Prince Hasan, the crown prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, at the beginning, that in the course of a few days I spent in Jordan, my attention was drawn by your highness' intensified activities, among youth, scientific, and agricultural meetings and very many things. I observed that your highness lives intensively with his society. On this program, it occurred to me that this meeting, could be an occasion for me to broadcast with your highness the components of this Arab personality which also lives alongside its society, with its Jordanian family, and also with the Arab family.

At the beginning, let me pause to consider the light on the other side, the father, the man who, although he has lived with the great family in Jordan, lives properly and well with the small family in the home. Let me pause to consider the family.

His Highness Prince Hasan: In talking about the family, we will be celebrating our 16th wedding anniversary in a few days, God permitting. My wife is from Pakistan. I first met her in 1958 while I was a student in England; it was a nice coincidence for me to meet a gracious family whose ties go back to the Hashemite family, especially since this family has been well known in that country for a long time and throughout history. In the course of the relationship which went on until we met in 1968 and got engaged, I had an opportunity to get to know the country of the inlaws, who are called Pakistanis, Indians and Bengalis, the country of the (Soserai) inlaws. In fact, there is the folk maxim "Be an inlaw, don't be a nephew." Many of the values which came into this small family, my family, came from the values of modesty and affection.

My three daughters, Rahmah, Samiyah and Badi'ah, are studying in a parallel system, the system of the bachelor's degree, which is in the English language, in literature, sciences and mathematics. I hope that it will be a modern family. My small son Rashid is now preparing himself to enter the first grade, which is the start of the educational ladder.

Between Girls and Boys

Question: It is said that, in spite of your highness' unremitting work and many activities in Jordanian society, there must be time to be with the family. This also gives me an opportunity to ask a question: it is always said that being father to girls sharpens one's sensibilities. It is a matter of very delicate details and particular things, and your highness has three girls.

His Highness Prince Hasan: When people say that bringing up girls is somewhat different from boys, although my experience with my son Rashid is a new thing, what I can ask of girls is not very different. When I recruited my oldest girls Rahmah (and I say recruited because she is learning printing during the summer vacation period and helps me with printing, as her younger sister Samiyah helps me with computer studies, to teach me the significance and secrets of the computer), I found that a camaraderie was growing between me as a young father and my big daughters. Regarding the education of girls in general, their presence and that of their mother enhances my house and family from many standpoints, including their proficiency in various musical instruments and drawing (my hopes for my daughter Samiyah are great, because she is interested in writing children's books, as she has great interest in this dimension), and also including their love, in common with mine, of horses and horseback riding. Praise God that there is great similarity among our interests, as well as a feeling that there is an undeclared rule that we should supplement and follow up on our interests and enrich our united family experience.

Horses and Polo

Question: Your highness has mentioned the hobby of horseback riding and stated that it is a hobby that you share to a large degree. This hobby is pursued through a game which your excellency is "mad about," the game of polo. I have also become informed by gathering some information about this game, which combines horsemanship and games on horseback. At the outset let me ask your highness, is this game Arab?

His Highness Prince Hasan: I believe that its roots are from Asia. It goes back to the Arabic word "sawlajan," which is well known in India and Afghanistan, but its offshoots are most emphatically Arabic. There are drawings which show how to play this game. The Mamelukes were primarily concerned with horsemanship and luxuries, and all the significance and values which come from this game. In its modern sense, Jordan and Egypt might be among the few Arab countries which play polo. The reason is that Arabian horses are different in size from the foreign horses used in international competitions, although their intelligence can compensate for their size. They sometimes compete and demonstrate a proficiency in the game which surprises the rider.

I had opportunities to take part in international competitions, including some a few months ago in the United Kingdom, Britain, and I had good luck in these meetings.

Interest in Horsemanship

Question: I can say that His Highness Prince Hasan has proficiency, or excellence and distinction, in this game; does that have any connection to your being a Hashemite?

His Highness Prince Hasan: I believe that the significance of horsemanship and teaching our children marksmanship and horseback riding are inherited values. My father had interest in horses, and my grandfather, may God have mercy on him, wrote a book on this subject, "Answer to People Inquiring about Thoroughbred Horses." We are also interested in drawing horses and learning about their Arabic origins. I promised my son Rashid that I would respond to his desire to learn marksmanship, horseback riding and swimming when he has finished learning to write.

By its nature horsemanship, in meaning and substance, forms part of our values in this region. I have also been pursuing Chinese games of strength and I have been a president of the British Judo Club since 1965. I wrote a dissertation comparing the notions of horsemanship among the Mamelukes with the notions of horsemanship in the Book of Tao, which goes back to the sixth century before Christ in China. I found a fact among the former, which is emphasis on values before conduct. I believe that conduct is formulated through the definition of values, and perhaps horsemanship, as a concept, defined values to a large degree.

The Writer-Prince

Question: Let me go back with His Highness Prince Hasan, the crown prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, to the family, to the small household. Your highness has said that a kind of integration exists among you in a number of activities and concerns. You also said that one girl learned printing, or you recruited her to learn printing, so she could do some work. Your highness has written some things in Arabic and English on the Palestine cause, and a work of yours is about to come out in America and Europe. The question is, where do you get the time to do all this?

His Highness Prince Hasan: The generation I belong to is a generation which graduated from university in 1967. I fully remember the feeling of frustration and bitterness between 1967 and 1971, since our activity was restricted to providing aid and support and coping with the effects of the war. At one moment people were trying at the first possible opportunity to work constructively, to perform work which would be immortal. Work which remains, in my opinion, is intellectual work, and I personally feel that if I accept the different types of intellectual frustration that we experience every day, over the radio and television, and if I accept the superficial treatment of things, I will have shut off my mind and consequently my ability to take decisions will have been affected negatively. The nature of the study subsequently led to writing.

Writing the study bearing on the Palestinians fascinated me because I found that in the face of the presence of 30 Israeli writers or writers sympathizing with Israel, writing with what they call the legal rights of the Israeli citizen, there unfortunately does not exist any corresponding emphasis on the Arab side. In addition, there also is poverty in numerous areas, including economics and society; why shouldn't an Arab writer deny the charge which holds that the Arabs were responsible for the inflation of 1973?

Why can't we take the initiative, through some written works, to evaluate ourselves? From the limited nature of my position, I can write, but I cannot speak frankly with my public and the public of readers with the clarity that is required. Therefore I have resorted to pursuing some of this clarity in the democratic style in some literary symposia, including the symposium of Arab thought in which a number of thinkers, including thinkers from Egypt, took part with us.

The Beginnings

Question: Let me state, before reading and writing Arabic, as well, when your highness came back from England, where the studies were at Oxford, and after graduating from it in 1967, when you went back to your country, Jordan, you prepared yourself to study the Arabic language, in order to become familiar with its roots and its rules. Your highness always insisted on learning by relying on yourself first and foremost. I say, on what sources, and with what means, until you became good at it and could write in it?

His Highness Prince Hasan: Shaykh Nadim al-Mallah, may God have mercy on him, then Shaykh Ibrahim al-Qattan, the chief judge in Jordan, and other esteemed professors, deserve much credit for teaching me the language and some aspects of jurisprudence. However, I did not become involved, in the compulsory school experience and then the university, and found that the greatest incentive for the love of Arabic and Arab and Islamic values came from the orientalist. It was of course a sound incentive. The Orientalists at Oxford University constantly reminded me that according to their notion we as young Arabs only appreciated our literary heritage through them. My answer always was that some young Arab Moslems managed to move over to academic centers abroad after passing through preliminary university studies, until one of them managed in the early sixties at Harvard University to win his colleagues over to the Islamic faith and they subsequently embraced Islam, but I do not go that far. Rather, I feel that arguments and approaches for dealing with matters have their causes, and one of these causes is personal inclination, the feeling that I am a Hashemite, and that is an extension of a movement which preserved the introduction and expressed the Islamic platforms, for example in the Kingdom of Syria between 1918 and 1920, a period of 2 years.

The knowledge coming from abroad and its people in this area in many fields ought not to have been closed off. However, I imagine that one of our basic problems is deficiency in education and consequently a feeling of frustration, a frustration which leads to fanaticism, whose cause is the inability to hold a dialogue. One of the first ways of learning the English language was by relying on the method of debate. When we held discussions the method of debate was the one we relied on in studying Averroes, Avicenna and others besides them. This debate took place in Arabic and then English. This method remains with me to this day, and I find myself on many occasions going back to the English texts. For example, there is a text of a manuscript study titled "The Fine Points of the Nations in the Fine Points of Strategies," which predated Prince Machiavelli by 200 years, and the example of the Ikhwan al-Safa, whose author is unknown although the manuscript exists and has been translated. On the English language, my hope is that we will be able to determine the locations of this lost heritage.

I have found that the richest library with a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts is the Dublin Library. There are also many writings in Egypt, Istanbul, and historic Arab Islamic capitals, but few of the libraries are catalogued. When we talk to young people, for instance, concerning a given area of the heritage and Arab achievements in mathematics, jurisprudence and sciences, we do not have an accurate picture at our disposal which young people can physically sense.

My hopes are great, really, that I can make a contribution in this area, and therefore that the various academies, including the Organization of the People of the Book in Jordan, can also contribute in performing a comparative study. This may have been a basic incentive.

Numerous Languages

Question: As I shed further light on the other side of the life of the person I am talking with in this interview, His Royal Highness Prince Hasan, I can say that alongside his concern for the Arabic language and his Islamic heritage as a Hashemite, I can say that he is concerned with a number of languages and their study. In addition to English, he speaks French in a fluent manner which amazes the French. He also speaks Latin, German and Arabic. Therefore there is an avocation of learning languages.

His Highness Prince Hasan: Intellectual contact and the desire to understand the ideas and orientations of others in evaluating us, here, as Arabs--the feeling that we are in a constant race with civilization and that uplifting our Arabic civilization can come about only by a minimum of understanding of the linguistic approach, which conceals many of the substances which we pass over lightly because of a weakness in translation which is obvious in many places. The only language, by the way, that I cannot be proficient in is Russian, and the basic reason is the lack of opportunities available for speaking it.

The Land and the People

Question: I can state that His Highness Prince Hasan, who has been ardent for the reform of society, his land and its people--

His Highness Prince Hasan: Reform for the sake of performing a forward leap in civilization, meaning to advance this from a society which to a large degree focuses its attention on improving the standard of living and improving services and thus is a self-sacrificing society. We focus on making man the focus of constructive action to build up this country, but we would like to point out that constructive people who are self-sacrificing have not been given adequate preparation, because we have passed through the stages of the awakening, which are the stages of intensified learning, a stage similar to that which some Mediterranean countries have gone through, including Egypt. We must now address and refine the mind and refine society in order to reach this society. I believe that Jordanian-Palestinian-Lebanese society, in general, is the society in the middle of the countries of this region. This society can truly offer a great amount of mathematical thinking, and modes of behavior, if we provide the adjoining region with a minimum amount of ability. This is the business of this society, especially in building up the Gulf region.

The Notion of Direct Contact

Question: The reform of society, with its land and people: His Highness Prince Hasan has called for the devotion of attendance to development projects. There are numerous projects which you are concerned with. There is more than one plan, I believe that there are now two plans, the 5-year plan, which you are working on diligently, there is the immersion in the depths of life, there are the meetings with the people, with the workers, with the

students, secondary schools, universities, engineers, bedouins, living with people for a number of days and speaking their language and living with them. Who is behind this notion?

His Highness Prince Hasan: The approach to which I have become accustomed and to which his majesty the king has accustomed us to a large extent is that of direct contact, and a refusal to remain in offices and wait for reports.

We are an emotional society and we like confrontation and truthful talk. We love smiles sometimes, although I have been accused by the newspapers of being a person who smiles little, at least on the pages of the newspapers. As regards our student and worker society, in particular, we are living with a generation which rejects much that is traditional and always looks for more, but it is a generation which deserves more attention. Between the different types of fanaticism and extremism between the far left and the far right, the only way to forge a society of the center is for us to meet, talk objectively and agree on some occasions. It is not bad if we disagree on some occasions as well.

We had an experience here in Jordan, in the establishment of the Human Youth Symposium. The idea was, since we were in a stage of apathy, now by way of preparation we started with the international youth year, and a number of invitations have been sent to me from graduates of the various universities in this area, and I said why shouldn't we forge different currents together and talk clearly about the good and bad points of Marxist theory, adherence to tradition, capitalism and socialism, and also explain the dimensions of the Arab resurgence--will it survive? Is it permanent? What are the features of its survival? All this, of course, takes time, and the same style was present in the course of the first development plan in the early seventies. I found that there was a hesitance and aversion among many people to venture to express their views. However, with the passage of hundreds of hours of conversation, there has been the feeling that we have been able to at least determine that the goal of planning is man and the land and to move away from the phenomenon of the single city, especially since we are not an oil-producing country. The society is rushing after further services without our specifying the exorbitant price, especially in a country whose resources, especially water, for example, are small. We must bring man in theory and practice back to the sources of wealth.

The Service of Man

Question: His Highness Prince Hasan, the crown prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, in interacting with his society, pursues activities which combine decisionmaking and arbitrating, in which each person and figure is ignorant if isolated from the other, and he is anxious to bring them together in service of Jordanian man.

His Highness Prince Hasan: The notion took concrete form in 1980 at the Amman economic summit, when I met with a number of economists who set out the Arab economic plan. I found that their works were not being read in

the context of decisionmakers in the Arab countries, and I observed a feeling that the only solution was to emigrate abroad, as Arab thinkers had emigrated in the past. I found that the decisionmakers' and thinkers' interpretation of this was that we should meet as thinkers, as movers, and I believe that this is a continuation of the rich approach of pluralism which was the character of the Arab symposium which subsequently in turn led intellectually to playing its part in carrying out the modern Arab resurgence we are going through.

The Role of His Highness the Prince

Question: What things is Jordan concerned with now, domestically and in the foreign context, in which your highness has an effective role?

His Highness Prince Hasan: As regards an effective role, people are inadequate in evaluating themselves and their performance, but the important thing is that I am making an effort between representing his majesty the king, and I am honored to be his crown prince, which is a difficult matter for two reasons. The first, which is less important, is that it means playing the role of serving someone who has served this process for three decades, but I am trying, through my understanding of his constructive directives in this country, to support the broad outlines of his special development programs. My interest in development plans has been inspired by his interest. The second is that I have been concentrating especially on the dimension which I have called the psychological model of young Jordanians, through constant meetings with young people, with the universities and with the national guidance family in general; there are numerous other areas, one of the most important of which is the continuation of meetings on the town and village level, and on the village of the countryside and desert. Perhaps the performance of the role of safety valve which I offer on many occasions is an image which I hope will be true and clear, as it is being pursued in this society of his majesty the king, who is of course concerned with foreign policy and defense policy. His contacts with the community which we think of as foreign are also strong, through my membership in the independent committee on international human issues and other committees, such as the economic committee, which invited me to give a lecture to it. This is the international side, which requires much time; it is a function which is not specific, and is open as well. I will try to develop it according to the efforts and assistance I can offer.

The Influence of the Founder of the Kingdom

/Question/ A question to our friends who are listening. I had an opportunity to attend a television panel where His Highness Prince Hasan, the crown prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, was a guest, where he was talking with university professors, journalists and the head of the Journalists' Union. I observed that his highness the prince cited expressions by the late King 'Abdallah as testimony. For example, I was struck by a phrase which I tried to record rapidly, and I hope I recorded it properly, regarding which your highness says "The intelligent person is the person who wards danger

away from himself by force or by wiles; otherwise, let him wait till the spirit leaves the body." As well as explaining this statement, let me pause to contemplate your highness' citation of the expressions by the late King 'Abdallah.

His Highness Prince Hasan: The faith of King 'Abdallah, the founder of the kingdom, may God have mercy on him, regarding the Jordanian experience, which is a part of other Hashemite experiences in this region, was great, and his faith was connected to a historic art, since, in the supplement to his memoirs, he points to Imam Muhammad Ibn al-Hanifah's role in advancing the Hashemite mission from this country, from this good country, and points to Jordan's role by quoting the statement of the Umayyad poet who said:

"If it is said that one day God imagined that I should not ride,

"I would wish the fleetness of the Jordanian's foot."

There was an absolute faith that the Jordanian, whom his majesty so designated by a term which attracted my attention from the days of the al-Nur bridge to now, that the Jordan of this bridge, the bridge of guidance and light, has a fundamental role in the Islamic movement, from the hollows of Mecca to the farthest ends of the world. Thus, King 'Abdallah refuted the ignoble notion of the enemies of this country that this is an artificial entity. I believe that its genuineness lies not only in adherence to the Jordanian context but also in adherence to Arab values. It was obvious in many areas in the supplement to his memoirs, including the evaluation of self which helped determine "who am I," when he defined clarity in vision as the boundary that exists between the national dimension and the Islamic dimension. He was bold and offered a conception with an inherent understanding. I believe that any modern political school must have someone to move it intellectually, and that generation specifically, the generation of the founder of the kingdom, is the generation of the "direction of the prayer," the "quoter," and the "supporter," who also was a journalist. It exists in the modern papers and especially in the intellectual movement at the start of the century, and the beginning of this century; this movement, with its roots, was much deeper than the intellectual movement which is written about in the papers today.

Fun and Joy

Question: Your Majesty Prince Hasan, in the context of the conversation, you have been so kind as to state that you have been accused, in the context of the press and media, of not smiling. If you were to inquire into the particular nature of joy and the particular nature of fun in the personality of His Highness Prince Hasan and the personality of the Jordanian in general, where would I find it? What would he enjoy and celebrate?

His Highness Prince Hasan: Jordanian society and Jordanian-Palestinian society is one of great joy and delight, especially in festivities related to celebrations in general, such as weddings, children and so forth. However, when we compare the particular nature of fun in Egyptian society and

Jordanian society, we find that there is great affection for the Egyptian stage and films, and a feeling that the escape from the painful reality we live through comes through jokes. While the making of jokes is not as developed here as it is in Egypt, I believe that as far as I am concerned laughter is a means of expression and also on many occasions I am accused of having a loud laugh.

One newspaper which visited my office some years ago pointed out that my laugh was like the roar of an airplane passing through the sky from Amman international airport, affecting the quiet of my office in a regular fashion.

Of course, people might live in circumstances and conditions that require very high morale, and people indeed welcome every occasion to engage in the particular characteristics of joy, which represents the pillars of optimism in general.

Two Traditional Questions

Question: Suppose you held an interview with yourself, what would you say to the person within you? From a point of introspection...

His Highness Prince Hasan: Work and self-sacrifice. Man is devout by nature, but devotion without work cannot sustain the great challenge we face as individuals and as a society. I tell myself on many occasions that I fall short, but the balance between pessimism at times and optimism which is needed in order to face challenges can come about only through further stimulation of the mind and further stimulation of thought, and consequently, if there is a feeling that people proceed on the basis of fixed convictions and the notion of faith, that faith will be highlighted through its activity, whether through people or through books, and this is a necessary thing.

No Orientation Toward Memoirs

[Question] Our final question: By percentage have I managed to cast light on the other side of your highness' personality?

His Highness King Hasan: As regards other light, I really would not dare to express at any moment any negative observations, but at this particular stage of my life, while I am 37, I believe that I do not need to turn toward the writing of memoirs. They are the business of the builders who have preceded me, and there is great hope, if God gives us life after a decade, that we can come back to talk about this question.

11887

CSO: 4404/20

PROBLEMS IN DELAY OF IDLIB INDUSTRIAL PROJECT CONSTRUCTION

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 24 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Ibrahim 'Abd-al-'Aziz: "Asbestos Pipes Have Impeded Construction of the Industrial Projects"]

[Text] The northern industrial projects construction region branch is considered a public sector company organization which contributes, in one way or another, to the development of services for the citizens of Idlib Governorate through the projects whose construction it assumes, although the difficulties impeding its work have kept its plans from being carried out in a manner conforming to its aspirations.

What is perhaps odd in the case of this branch is the objectivity which marks the people in charge of it, contrary to some companies which go to arrogant lengths to conceal their negative features! In this branch, people start talking about the points in their disfavor before they talk about their accomplishments, by referring to areas of disruption. This has prompted the director general of the company to spell out the bases by which it is possible to carry out the projects on scientific foundations as far as not just this branch but also all branches of the company go, since, through these bases, any worker in the branch can become acquainted with the most minute details of the project he is working on.

If we leave the views of some members of the union committee regarding what they call the nature of the relationship which must be established between themselves and the administration to the side, one can say that this branch operates in silence and tries to rise above all the problems which are in the way of its work, for the reason that our comrade 'Abd-al-Wahhab Makhzum, chairman of the branch workers' office in Idlib, expressed his appreciation of the people in charge of this branch and the workers in it, because of the effort they exert in performing the tasks assigned to them, their perception of the nature of their work and their substantial cooperation with the various organizations in the governorate. He added that this branch's method of working and its relationship with all the bodies concerned are an example which deserves to be emulated!

For the sake of further light on the actual situation in this branch and the projects it is in charge of carrying out, and the difficulties with which it is faced, we met with Eng Nasir Kaywan, director of the branch, who said:

From Aleppo to Idlib, These Are Our Projects

"After the General Company for the Execution of Industrial Projects was created in 1977 (before that date it bore the name of the organization), a center was created for it in the city of Aleppo which would be in charge of carrying out the projects of all the governorates of the northern region.

"Since most of the projects assigned to the branch in 1981 were concentrated in the Governorate of Idlib, the company's director general issued a decree requiring that the site of the branch be transferred from Aleppo to Idlib. Since that date, we have been in charge of carrying out a series of projects, the most prominent of which can be summarized as follows:

"In the Governorate of Idlib, the two completions of the bridges over the al-Shaghur and Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, the Idlib-Ariha water pumping project, the 'Ayn Jawrayn water project, the second phase of the al-Ma'arra water project, the project to expand the grain silos in Idlib, and other projects on which work will be started soon.

"In the Governorate of Aleppo, the performance of all mechanical and electric work on the project of the Aleppo cable factory, the main chamber in the plastic factory, the construction of the main chamber of the tractor factory, construction of the furnace for the light plant, other diverse projects and other projects on which work will start soon. In addition, there is the project of the Qal'at al-Midyah silos and revival of the countryside in al-Ziyadah.

Allocations and Asbestos Pipe

"As regards the value of the work for which plans were drawn up in the past year, that came to about 39 million Syrian pounds, of which about 16 million pounds' worth has been carried out. The reason for the failure to realize the plans may be attributed to:

"1. The failure to provide preliminary materials for construction, such as iron, wood and cement.

"2. The failure to open up special allocations for equipment.

"3. The failure to manage to provide the necessary asbestos pipe for the projects at the proper time.

"4. The shortage of equipment required for construction.

"5. Most of the projects the branch is carrying out are unrelated to its area of specialization."

[Question] Are you bound to carry out projects unrelated to your area of specialization?

[Answer] Some projects are awarded centrally. At the beginning, it was necessary that we accept every project in order to establish our presence. There also were some projects which are required by the nature of the relationship that exists between us and the local authorities, which consider that the execution of a given project is necessary, such as the Khibal al-Ziyarah water project in Aleppo!

In any event, the tendency in the future will be for us to avoid undertaking to carry out every project that is unrelated to our area of specialization!

Asbestos Again

As regards our work plan for this year alone, we planned to carry out the equivalent of 4,767,000 Syrian pounds; in the first third of the year, 3,574,000 of this was carried out, which is far below our aspirations. However, what has prevented their construction are:

1. The unfitness of the asbestos pipe procured from the Aleppo factory, which has resulted in the total suspension of the projects.
2. The lack of availability of primary materials in the form of iron and wood.
3. The failure to open the necessary credit for the equipment.

In spite of these substantial difficulties, which are outside our will, what we have done, measured in terms of the abovementioned difficulties, should not be considered insignificant, as a result of:

1. The general director's energy in dealing with and monitoring matters in a continuing manner and providing the primary materials possible.
2. The great attention our comrades the officials in the governorate have given to the governorate's projects, by following up on the developments in the construction stages and providing material and moral support for supervisors, while carrying out and helping to solve the problems obstructing the progress of these projects.
3. Cooperation among all the people working in the branch to speed up the pace of the work.
4. The cooperation that exists between us and all the public sector companies and organizations; this characteristic is obvious in this governorate, and the voluntary work days are merely proof of this.

Self-Criticism

[Question] What is your opinion about the methods followed in terms of specifications and construction deadlines?

[Answer] Proceeding from the principle of self-criticism, it is necessary to point out that the construction methods followed in the past had some elements of:

1. Starting on certain projects without obtaining construction requirements in full; this led to disruptions in the construction later on.
2. Setting out theoretical schedules without taking account of all obstacles that could arise.
3. Relying on construction methods that require some practical experience.
4. Failing to seek recourse in comparisons between the work carried out and the work planned for the year, except on one or two occasions.

Objective Bases

However, the director general of the company, Eng Burhan-al-Din Daghistani, set out foundations to guarantee that the work would proceed properly within broad lines summarized in:

1. The refusal to embark on any project unless the construction requirements were provided in full.
2. Setting out consolidated tables which would be presented monthly to management, showing the value of the work planned and executed, the spending plan and total spending, so that every worker in the company would be able to know how far construction had gone, the extent to which the plan set forth had been carried out, and also the profits, losses and measures for guaranteeing that disrupted projects would be set straight and consequently that all projects would be carried out on schedule.
3. Setting out a thorough separate scheduling study of each project by the branch director, the heads of sections and the chief of the project concerned; this would then be presented to the general management for inspection and approval.

Actual Supervision and Supervision

[Question] How do you view the relationship between your engineers and the supervising engineers in other departments on whose behalf you carry out projects, in terms of the effectiveness of this supervision, whether as regards your projects or the projects in other remaining sectors?

[Answer] This is an important point. I consider that the supervisor who is in charge of the project on whose behalf it is being carried out should assume his real role, contrary to the case now, in the absence of the spirit of supervision and the presence of a mere umbrella!

2. It is necessary to provide practical, actual cooperation between the company performing the construction and the person in charge of the project.
3. I recommend that coordination take place between the companies performing the construction and the public sector organizations which buy or produce the materials needed for construction, by having the companies performing the construction supply these organizations with schedules for the

production of the materials, so that the latter may draw up schedules for supplying the necessary project materials (asbestos, cement, iron and so forth) at the appropriate time.

4. It is necessary to keep local experts and not permit them to migrate.

5. Reliance on foreign experts should be reduced as far as possible by giving local experts a complete role in building the edifice of the nation.

Here it is worth pointing out that for a year we have had a foreign expert whose daily wage is 1,000 Syrian pounds while any engineer, if he stays with this engineer for a period of 2 months, could fill in as a replacement for him!

Water Projects by Drawing up the Treatment

[Question] What about the water projects related to the governorate?

[Answer] There is the second stage of the al-Ma'arra water project and the 'Ayn Jawrayn project; these two projects have been suspended because of the poor quality of the asbestos pipes and the Aleppo factory's refusal to take them back. This issue was discussed at length with the deputy prime minister, and suitable solutions to this problem have been found.

In addition, there is the Idlib-Ariha water project, which was completed about a year ago and has not been delivered.

The editor: We will return to talk about these projects and their problems.

With the Union Committee

The chairman of the union committee, Mr 'Abd-al-Hamid Na'san, considered that the contract system in use deprives the workers of their rights. The committee recommends that a formula be set forth for the contract system, that the union organization take part in this, that the company not execute the provisions of Tables One and Two of Decree 375 on separating permanent and temporary workers in a manner depriving workers from family compensation, as well as depriving them from benefiting from Decree 14, that the company not rely on the system of productive incentives which has the effect of increasing the pace of the work, and that the system of cost accounting which has resulted in increased expenditures and failed to comply with having two workers carry out light repairs not be applied.

In another area, he requested participation in the appointment, dismissal, compensation and overtime work committees and also demanded that the members of the purchase committee be replaced and a productive plan and schedules be set out with the participation of the committee.

[Question] What is your opinion concerning these demands? What about the actual conditions of our brother workers?

On the Side and in Favor of the Producers

[Answer] At the beginning, it is necessary to point out that people are wrong if they believe that union activity, while characterized by the self-sacrifice of the people working in it for the sake of the public interest and proper flow of work -- in other words it is not that there are two groups, the management on one side and the union organization on the other, but rather that everyone must cooperate for the sake of giving concrete form to the stipulations of the party, which is leading the country and the society, as an alternative to management, and from this premise we are on the side of all productive personnel who are concerned with the interests of work and production.

As regards Decree 375, the system of contracts and the system of incentives are central matters which are the jurisdiction of the general department. As regards the other subjects, we have material to prove that we are more concerned with the interests of our brother workers and coordination with the union committee, and there are documents written in the handwriting of the members of the union committee. These sorts of subjects have been raised in the presence of the members of the committee and the secretary of the labor office in the party branch command, and what we referred to has been established. In addition, our comrade 'Abd-al-Wahhab Makhzum, chairman of the branch workers' committee, [embodies] in live form the state of affairs of our branch through his pursuit, in actual conditions, of the actual state of the organizations in the governorates, and I believe that his opinion is clear as far as our branch is concerned, through our concern for the interests of our brother workers.

This is on the one hand. On the other, the necessary measures are being taken to guarantee medical care, insurance, means of transportations and production incentives for the workers, at a time when the workers are being given a work raise which ranges from 6 to 35 pounds a day!

11887

CSO: 4404/5

FOREIGN FIRM HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR CANAL FLAWS

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 29 Jul 84 p 4

/Article by Salma Karkutil: "The Al-Balikh Canal in the Euphrates Basin: between the Spread of Cracks and the Practices of the Foreign Supervising Firm"/

/Text/ The Canal's al-Balikh name is an odd one, and the circumstances and things to which it has been subjected so far are more odd. The obstacles and the reasons for the delay in the construction of the al-Balikh Canal, or the lower bridge canal, which will provide irrigation water for the pilot project land and the al-Balikh project, are not attributable to technical causes related to the nature of the soil or difficulties with the construction, but rather to the circumstances which have accompanied it. We will try to examine these closely through this report.

We have written about this canal previously, a number of times, and have observed it closely, from the time it was an idea on the verge of actually coming into being after the inauguration of the Euphrates Dam

Then /we observed it/ when the idea turned into a project in the process of being constructed.

Then the mishaps started. As soon as a beginning was made on the soil work, work was suspended for reasons related to the diversion. We noted that at the time. Then, under specific pressures exerted by the bank doing the financing or the bodies which advanced it, the blessed Raku machine, which was to pour the canal and construct it in the shortest time, arrived after a delay of more than a year, under the supervision, however, of (Girsar), a French consulting firm which performed studies on the lower Euphrates Valley and the entrance to the main canal.

This is a summary of the condition of the canal and the crises to which it has been subjected, which have delayed its construction for more than 3 years. The start of construction of the canal was delayed until the financing party brought in its strange machine, the Raku, setting out conditions for providing equipment which we faced with an appropriate solution. We accepted the French supervisory firm, which was more concerned than we were over our own interests and "the good name of the machine."

When the General Land Reclamation Company was created, it was assigned the tasks of completing the canal and starting work on speeding up the construction of the canal, which was to irrigate 100,000 hectares. A new stage began.

Is the Dream Developing Cracks?

Today, by which I mean the day I reached the city at the dam, work on the canal had been suspended once again. On the basis of ambiguous statements and talk, it appeared that the canal was faced with a big problem and that a high-level committee had come to discuss conditions in it.

With a statement that had the impact of a thunderbolt, they said:

"The al-Balikh Canal has developed cracks."

I now understand the hesitation which appeared in their eyes prior to the discussion, and I understand why they evade the subject. This was not out of fear that the news would leak out, but rather out of compassion for a dream which we were "racing with time" to realize and had almost believed we would attain.

The canal was the pioneering experiment in eliminating the errors of the pilot project, for it to develop cracks if that actually happened, would mean a real catastrophe. Therefore, they hesitated to talk, and I myself hesitated to write about it. However, there are numerous sides to the matter. Lest I anticipate events, let me say that the first thing that could have been done was to see what had happened, if it had actually happened.

Did the canal actually develop cracks? Has the dream turned into a nightmare? What do you suppose the reason was? Was it the lime, again? Was it an error in construction? What is the problem that demanded that a committee headed by the minister of irrigation come to the area?

In the Office of the Director of the Reclamation Company

My first stop was with Eng Muhammad Khalayili, the manager of the General Reclamation Company, which is carrying out the project.

/Question/ Is it true that the canal has developed cracks?

He said directly and without introduction, with an impetuosity that contained a mixture of positiveness and denial at the same time:

"The canal has developed cracks, the canal has flown away, they say that no canal is left."

I did not understand the significance of what he was saying at the outset. I thought that perhaps he wanted us not to talk about it. The collapse of the canal meant disaster, it meant failure, it meant that if the collapse was due to bad construction we were not capable of performing difficult work.

This in my view is not possible, that we should not be capable of performing work of this kind, which seems trivial in the face of the construction of a dam like the Euphrates Dam, especially since the company has engineers who had previously worked on the construction of the Euphrates Dam and land reclamation and have more than 25 years' experience today.

There was no room to make a further request for information. Eng Khalayili hurried to tell me:

"Go and look. However, I want to state a point. We are carrying out a great new job, and it is possible that it could come up against problems before the construction. That does not mean that we have failed or that we will fail. The important thing is to achieve positive results to correct errors and become familiar with new things. Reclamation is something new as far as we are concerned; it has its particular characteristics in each area and its problems all over the world. In Iran they have their problems, and the same in the Soviet Union. However, this does not mean the suspension or failure of reclamation; there are some cracks in the canal as a result of a mistake in estimating spaces in the expansion joints, in our opinion; others have other opinions. However, the important thing is that that happened before water flowed into the canal; if a catastrophe had occurred, it would have been after the water had flowed in. In any event, you can visit the canal and observe whatever you want."

Quiet in the Canal

I arrived at the project management site. The customary activity was not to be found; normally, this place is a beehive of cars, workers, voices and movement, but today everything was still.

In the wooden chamber, the "barracks," where the project management was, Eng Faruq Abu Juday' was sitting at a table which normally hosted intensive meetings. The room was quiet, the table was devoid of its daily visitors and work had been suspended.

Would one suppose the cracks were the reason? Don't people work, if that is the case? Numerous questions passed through my head before I learned that the reason for the daily suspension was the expert with the French supervising firm. That was the third day in which people were not working because the French expert had found, on the first day, that the Raku machine was suffering from buffeting and suggested that the work stop. The company objected to that; the machine was not suffering from any breakdowns. A committee was formed on the second day and it inspected the machine. There were no breakdowns in it, and the committee conveyed that to the French expert.

He looked over the machine and backed down from his decision, and on the third day suggested that the pouring of concrete be resumed in the Raku machine; thus, 850 workers would go back to work on the fourth day. The notice to come back to work arrived late. Today, I did not believe what I

was hearing. There was whispering that the supervisory firm was unfair in its position toward the workers in the al-Balikh Canal, but I did not imagine that this would mean that suspensions of the work would impose an egregious loss upon us, the suspension of work of 850 laborers in addition to the delay in the construction schedule and the French experts' wages. The important thing, lest we lose the first subject, was that we follow up on the details of it then go back to the problem of the company and the French supervisory firm.

Viewpoints

Eng Faruq Abu Juday' told me:

"As far as we are concerned, we cannot suspend the work because of the cracks; even if some places have in fact developed cracks we cannot stop. So far we have completed 50 percent of the canal and it is not logical to stop."

What is the cause of the cracks in the canal?

Eng Faruq said:

"The canal developed cracks in two places and swelling was observed in three spots. However, the cracks are minor and can be repaired. We have studied the matter as a construction company and considered that the error lies in the expansion joints. That can be attributed to a poor appraisal by the designer of the temperature conditions in the area. We constructed what we received approved by the Land Reclamation Organization, the employer, and do not feel that there is any problem related to the technical specifications of our construction, especially since the supervising firm inspected a great deal and went overboard in that, stopping at every point which it considered could affect the quality of the construction. In any event, we described the situation to the committees that had been formed to study the issue and causes of the cracks, and they in turn took the opinions of all the experts who were present in the area and are working in reclamation. By now they must have prepared their report, which will contain appropriate solutions."

/Question/ What was the French firm's opinion?

/Answer/ The French expert said that the cause was the rainwater which had leaked in under the cement, creating the swelling and cracks. However, the phenomenon occurred only from the location at Kilometer Six on out, and not all over the route of the canal. It occurred in limited spots in a single area, as I stated; no more than 2.5 millimeters of rain fell, a quantity which is almost not worth mentioning and could not cause any phenomena of this kind.

In addition, the expansion joints disappeared at these spots and the cement areas adhered to one another.

The French had prepared the design without considering the hot nature of the region, where the sun's rays raise the temperature to more than 50 degrees centigrade sometimes. The cement in the canal is on a smooth surface and not directly on the soil.

At the locations of the cracks and the swelling, the technical details are numerous; in order not to become lost in complex technical matters, let us go look at them.

After a few minutes in the car alongside the canal, which has started to resemble a long, dry, smooth, clean river of cement, the car stopped, and Eng Faruq pointed out:

"Here, at this location, there is a fracture. We have removed the tiling to make sure of the integrity of the sheets, and we did not find that they had sustained any damage."

We went on, then stopped again. One of the people at the bottom of the course of the canal was busy taking measurements at a spot from which cement had been removed.

At this spot, there was a swelling. A Soviet expert from Maskanah was studying the fracture before giving an answer. We consulted with them for further confirmation.

We visited the three areas of swelling and the sites of the fractures. The fractures were not as I had imagined or as I had sometimes seen in the pilot project. Some of the cracks were in tiles which had been attached to other tiles.

Lest I express an opinion which requires a specialist, which I am not, let me go beyond the description and state that we returned to the canal project management site to talk about other problems the canal was suffering from, first the shortage the industrial activity sector is suffering from and its shutdown because of the unavailability of primary materials. With that matter, things became aggravated, as is said. Work remained suspended on the canal because the sheets and manufactured bricks were not available for a total of 100 days of work, that is, the equivalent of 50 percent of this year's schedule.

The Firm Is Delaying the Project

Before talking about the supervising firm, whose conditions and obstruction of the work was discussed at length in the meetings the special committee held under the chairmanship of the minister of irrigation, which was not without differences in views at times as I learned, these were presented with some harshness, which could be attributed to the feeling of many employees who were distinguished for their nationalism, activity and competence in work, of scorn and sometimes contempt for the position of the French experts and their delay of the project:

With the Director of the Land Reclamation Organization

The important thing is that I state that it was necessary to see the employer; the employer was the Land Reclamation Organization, the owner of the project, while the Land Reclamation Company was only the one carrying it out.

Eng Taha al-Atrash, director general of the Land Reclamation Organization, spoke to me at length about the reclamation problems, citing as evidence the problems the pilot project had faced and the government's attempt to find feasible approaches to reclamation problems by holding the work conference on reclamation problems. He stated that the most important conclusion the conference had reached was to appeal for reliance on local expertise, because it was better able to recommend solutions and deal with problems. He considered that the foreign bodies that have operated or are operating are roughly equal in their treatment in the study of irrigation projects, since they rely on the experience of people who have studied in their own countries, along with scientific publications and books which come out regarding irrigation and land reclamation.

After that, he then went on to say:

"The cracks which have developed at the entrance to the main canal in some tiles of the lining are not unusual compared with similar cracks in other irrigation projects in the area or elsewhere, because concrete is a compound which supports the soil and is exposed to various elements of weather, in the form of heat and cold. This all results in its being affected and in the emergence of reactions. We in the organization and in the company have carried out a study of all the phenomena with the consulting firm, and we have set out some solutions and have added some precautionary measures to the execution of the work and the work itself in order to avoid the cracks and the disruption they cause as much as possible.

An Intermediate Solution

When I met Eng Taha al-Atrash, solutions had been found to the crisis the canal was suffering from, it appeared, although they seemed to be compromise solutions based on the principle "things are going along." The crisis in reality was not totally the development of cracks in the canal; rather, this was a symptom of the crisis. The real crisis was in the practices of the (Girsar) firm which was supervising the project and had come to pose an obstacle to the progress and orderliness of the work, with the reasons it had invented for stopping the pouring and delaying the construction of the project. This is aside from the problem of the supply of requirements for constructing the canal; once the needed materials were supplied, the French expert, who receives 40,000 Syrian pounds a month, came and stopped the work for a period of 3 days on a pretext whose invalidity has been established. This is not the first or last of the practices which they talked to us about, whose likes many of us are familiar with in other projects, since biased bodies are constantly trying to delay the construction of the projects through so-called supervising firms in order to be entitled to payment

before the project enters the stage of operation, as a means for exerting pressure. In addition, these consulting firms may not bring in people with real expertise but rather people who are getting practice in our projects, on which we build the hopes of generations to come.

Nothing gives more proof of that than the engineer, the expert, who was brought after the days had been scheduled and arrangements had been made to benefit from his peerless expertise while I was present in Madinat al-Thawrah. Here is an expert who is no more than 25 years old and who in the best of cases has graduated no more than 3 years ago.

At the same time, another expert, in the committee meetings held to solve the problems of the relationship between the Reclamation Company and (Girsar), is permitting himself to direct contempt at engineers who worked on construction of the dam and have spent precious years of their lives on reclamation and construction sites, attached to this work only by their desire and commitment, and considered among the best of the country's expert technical personnel.

The discussion is lengthy, but the canal, today, is in a quandary. Perhaps it has emerged from it to some extent now that an intermediary committee has been formed which will be in charge of transmitting observations between the (Girsar) expert and the Reclamation Company. I believe that this conciliatory resolution was reached only as a result of a conviction on the part of all bodies that the supervising firm had committed excesses. Does this, however, mean that the problem has been solved for good? Would you consider that that will not mean obstruction of the work and the schedule? We do not know. However, I personally believe it will; how much time does one suppose this expert, who gets more than 10,000 per day, will take to inform the committee assigned to study his views? How much time will this committee need to study the validity or invalidity of his observations? How much time will pass in order for these observations to reach the company doing the construction?

On another hand, who is more concerned over the canal, and who is more closely linked to the land and knowledgeable about it?

Perhaps experience will be of benefit to us, finally, and we will not succumb once again to the clutches of the supervising firms or the conditions of biased persons. We are the most concerned for our nation and are the best able to carry out our work. Even if we sometimes make mistakes, that is important; otherwise, experiments have no value and history has no value.

Let us move on, leaving the area of sandstorms and intense heat, leaving them to work in spite of the problems they are sometimes suffering from; they will be working as long as there is a chance to work.

They want nothing more than that.

"Let us work; we want nothing more than to work, without delays and without the invention of unfounded problems."

This is what they say and what Eng Muhammad Khalayili has asserted in the course of conversation. The issue is not a problem of technical specifications. The problem which is subjecting the canal to confusion is a national one in essence. Therefore, it calls for more than interest and the holding of meetings. A day must come in which the most correct decision will be adopted, which will mean our confidence in our own ability and faith in technical staffs who are the children of this land, connected to it and to its deep roots in the depths of its soil.

11887

CSO: 4404/6

LAND USE SYMPOSIUM DISCUSSES EUPHRATES BASIN FARMING

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 25 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Naji As'ad: "Agricultural Mechanization in the Euphrates Basin, As the Symposium on the Best Use of Reclaimed Lands Discussed It"]

[Text] The symposium on the best use of reclaimed lands in the Euphrates Basin, which was held last week in the headquarters of the Agricultural Engineers' Union in Daamascus, discussed numerous agricultural problems and issues and productivity in the Euphrates Basin. A substantial number of specialists working in the basin, the Ministry of Agriculture and other technical bodies took part in this discussion.

Agricultural Mechanization in the Euphrates

One of the most important subjects discussed at the symposium was a lecture titled "The Current Status of the Mechanization of Agricultural Production in the Euphrates Basin and Effective Foundations for Supporting and Developing It."

Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid Hasan gave the lecture on this subject. He presented his lecture on the basis of a study which he and a number of other specialists had made on this issue.

At the beginning of the lecture, Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid presented background in which he described the importance of agricultural mechanization in the world and the precious opportunities it provides to raise the rate of agricultural concentration to very high levels. He went on to say that a country such as China has managed to attain a rate of agricultural concentration estimated at 400 percent as a result of having put agricultural mechanization operations into general use on the land used, doubling its production of crops thanks to this style of modern technology in agriculture.

Concerning the mechanization of agriculture in the Euphrates Basin and the economic and social incentives for it, he said:

"Concentrated agricultural production in poor areas requires a high rate of energy use. This cannot be provided by the energy of workers and the

available efforts of animals. The Euphrates Basin area, with a low population concentration, poses an obstacle to the presence of the necessary labor to produce crops. The intensity of this shortage and its dangers appear clearly at critical times in the performance of agricultural activities. In addition, the circumstances of the hot climate, social traditions, and the low level of culture among the workers there have an obvious effect on their low productivity, and therefore the introduction of the machine into farming in the basin for overcoming the shortage of manpower, exploiting the extensive poor lands and performing agricultural activities and intensive investment and reclamation activities has been fundamental and inevitable. However, the disorganized ownership of agricultural machinery and the erroneous use of it have led the costs of agricultural products to double rather than decline. This all indicates the importance of relying on modern machinery, pursuing proper bases for choosing it, owning suitable amounts of it and managing and using it."

Characteristics of Farming in the Basin

After that, the lecturer enumerated the characteristics of farming in the Euphrates Basin, describing the climatic circumstances which affected the crops and the need to know these characteristics, such as high and low temperatures and wind velocity, in every mechanization process, so that we can choose the equipment suited to these circumstances.

[This is] in addition to knowledge of the natural circumstances which explain and define the rolling topography and natural obstacles present on the surface of the fields.

[This is] because this also is helpful in knowing the characteristics of the machinery which must be used.

It is also necessary to know the productive circumstances which affect the mechanization process, based on a number of factors which have to be taken into consideration, such as the area of the farm, the dimensions of the fields, the crop cycle applied, the productivity of the crops which enter into it, the type of seeds used, and so forth.

The Current Status of Mechanization in the Basin

The lecturer presented figures on agricultural machinery used in the Euphrates Basin, primarily in the farms operated by the Euphrates Basin Investment and Development Organization. As far as tractors were concerned, it was observed that there is a great diversity in makes, models and capabilities, as well as a lack of consistency in the number of tractors purchased annually, which clearly and effectively harms the use, maintenance and repair of these machines and lowers the ultimate effectiveness of their use. As regards reapers, the problem in using them is less severe than tractors, since their use is limited to short periods of seasons, contrary to tractors.

He also stated that breakdowns in tractors and other agricultural machinery vary as the type and standards of the machinery, the number of years of use

of it, and the correctness of its use, repair and storage, vary, and the amount of time to repair breakdowns depends on the type of machinery, the competence of the people carrying out the repairs on it and speed in supplying the necessary spare parts. One should bear in mind that there are special records for each piece of equipment, recording the types and number of annual breakdowns that occur in it, but these do not include hours of operation because the meters have broken down.

The lecturer also reviewed the status of the technical staff and the way in which it is given adequate training in the Euphrates Basin, since it is directly related to the attainment of the principle of agricultural maintenance and one of the main factors affecting this approach in the Euphrates.

The Degree of Crop Mechanization in the Euphrates

The lecturer stated that the degree of mechanization in the Euphrates varies with the type of farm, government or cooperative and varies with differences in crops. However, as far as the degree of mechanization of grain crops in government farms goes, the rate of that is good, coming to about 95 percent in the case of wheat and barley, starting with the preparation of farmland, and the process of sowing, applying fertilizer, spraying crops by airplane and directly harvesting through reapers and threshers is almost total. This rate also comes to 90 percent in the case of the corn crop.

These percentages are different in the case of the cotton and sugar beet crop, since the mechanization of the cotton crops is restricted to the preparation of land for farming, the process of applying fertilizer and seeds and mechanical pest control; irrigation, sorting, plowing and picking operations are still done by hand, and thus one can estimate the degree of mechanization in this crop at about 60 percent. In this regard, the lecturer pointed out that a substantial area was totally mechanized in the Maskanah project, from the first planting up to the mechanized reaping, in 1982. The situation with the sugar beet season in the Euphrates Basin does not differ from cotton as far as mechanization goes.

The Investment Organization has also been able totally to mechanize the cluster fodder crop, except for some peripheral operations such as irrigation, pumping and installing the machinery for the clusters.

Obstacles to the Use of Agricultural Machinery

The lecturer listed a number of technical obstacles which stand in the way of operations of mechanization of crops in the Euphrates Basin, namely:

The method of irrigation; the main method of irrigation followed is the surface irrigation method covering small basins, which have high poles that get in the way of mechanical service operations among plants and obstruct the operations of plowing, lending [sic] and picking.

The failure to carry out basic grading activities on the pilot project land, which obstructs the pursuit of the method of irrigating by basins or long lines (100 meters).

The makes of tractors and agricultural machines have proliferated and the spare parts required for them are not available.

The shortage of technical personnel in the form of operators and mechanics and the abandonment by some of these technicians of their jobs because of low wages in the organization.

The hardness of the soil, the presence of rocks and low permeability in some areas, and the high groundwater level in others.

Recommendations

The lecturer's recommendations on agricultural mechanization in government farms focussed on:

Working to reduce the makes and models of items of equipment upon purchase.

Providing the spare parts needed for the tractors on a continuous basis.

Making sure to use agricultural equipment which is in keeping with imported makes and models and trying to narrow diversification in the sources of imports.

Organizing the management and operation of tractors and equipment belonging to government farms on the basis of integrated mechanical work teams, each of which is to serve an exploited area which represents the optimum size for economic exploitation under current circumstances.

The study's recommendations regarding cooperative societies in the Euphrates Basin request that agricultural production activities there be mechanized by mechanical service stations managed and operated by the General Agricultural Mechanization Organization, provided that the purchase of the machines required for these stations be financed by the Mechanization Organization, the Federation of Peasants and the members of the societies themselves, in accordance with agreed upon percentages.

The Discussion

After the lecturer completed his lecture, numerous requests for information were presented by the specialists participating in the symposium. These requests for information focussed on:

The need to take account of the situation of lands in the Euphrates whose composition has deteriorated and the problem of the erosion of the land and rusty plows, since these are among the factors which affect the structure of the soil, and the need to seek substitute plows which are suitable for the efforts being made to stop the deterioration in the composition of the soil there.

The study tabulated the mechanization in terms of agricultural tractors almost exclusively, without addressing itself to tractor accessories, whose importance in this area is great.

The participants in the discussion also demanded that the manner in which tractors are imported be addressed, that the rule followed in this area, which is based on the law of supply and demand, be abrogated, and that other economic facilities be provided, since it is necessary to review the specifications of agricultural machinery imported by setting out specific standards for the machinery which are in keeping with the land to be mechanized in the country. This is a shortcoming which the study did not consider, and it is related to an important research area which was supposed to have been dealt with.

The discussion also centered on the form of investment which is effective in the agricultural mechanization process. While the director general of the Mechanization Organization, who took part in the discussion, asserted that there is a shortcoming in the ties which link agricultural mechanization to the other agricultural processes and that the method of irrigation followed, for instance, has a great relationship to mechanization and also to field area, the director of the Mechanization Organization also suggested that the deficiency of technical personnel in the area of agricultural machinery is a decisive factor as far as the takeoff of this sector is concerned, and the universities are not yet graduating specialists in agricultural machinery, a shortcoming throughout the country which must be remedied as soon as possible.

11887

CSO: 4404/5

SYRIA

HIMS GOVERNORATE FORESEES BIG RISE IN SUGAR BEET OUTPUT

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 24 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by 'Ali Ma'ruf: "An Anticipated Increase of 140,000 Tons in the Sugar Beet Crop Compared with Last Year"]

[Text] Sugar beet trucks started coming into the al-Ghab Sugar Company on 5 June and also started transporting this major crop to the al-Raqqah sugar mill on the 20th of that month.

In accordance with the General Sugar Organization plan, the two companies started the cycle of processing this year's crop in the areas of Hims, al-Raqqah, Salhab and al-Ghab, since they are the areas of early beet cultivation.

The technical and production director of the General Sugar Organization, Eng Walid Dalati, pointed out that preparations were completed some time ago, and the Dayr al-Zawr and Hims sugar mills subsequently started up on 25 July, the date on which maintenance in the latter was completed. The Salhab and Maskanah sugar mills are now in the course of starting up their processing cycle. He indicated that the central plan had set these dates in accordance with the conditions and startup preparedness of these plants, on the one hand, and the degree of maturity of the crop estimated in the light of previous years and the field tours the technical committees involved had made on the other, in addition to the laboratory analyses carried out on the crop, whose uniform maturity was established.

The Crop Volumes

Preliminary estimates indicate that the volumes of the sugar beet crop will come to 1.3 million (one million three hundred thousand) tons in all areas this year, that is, an increase of 140,000 tons over last year. This increase, as technicians in the organization point out, can be attributed to two major factors:

First, the expansion in farming, vertically and horizontally.

Second, the increase in the expertise of farmers, especially in the new areas, whose status has started to become stable in terms of cultivation of this crop, which these areas have been exposed to in the past few years, concomitant with the construction of the sugar mills; this seems most evident in the Governorate of al-Raqqah, which has enjoyed special local administration attention which resulted in making a success of the sugar beet crop, which it is hope will be introduced as a basic crop in addition to cotton and grain in this agricultural governorate.

What about the Early Beet Disease?

The technical and production director continued his conversation with TISHRIN, replying to this question by saying,

"After further inspections carried out by the competent committees formed for this purpose through cooperation between our organization and the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform were made, and following local and foreign laboratory analyses, it was apparent that the affliction arose from the heat wave to which the crop was subjected during the latter part of the spring season and the drought which accompanied this wave, which soon was contained, then ended after the late rains fell. This definitively resolved the difference in scientific viewpoints concerning the reason for the affliction, which as far as some people were concerned could be explained by the type and volume of new fertilizer, especially urea, used, and the type of seeds and forms of surface farming (which I believe is no longer adequate because it treats the surface area of the land over a period of many years, and deep farming must be carried out with large tractors with tracks every 5 years at least so that the land will be plowed over to a feasible depth in order that the soil may be replaced and rejuvenated)." The technical director went on to say, "Here it is necessary to point out that this affliction is a new one and the country is being subjected to it for the first time. It came with the early planting experiment which, like all other crops, needs rainwater in addition to irrigation water." He continued, "Our engineers thought this was the most likely cause from the beginning, disputing other engineers in agriculture and agrarian reform and thus asserting the importance of the crop specialization and its technical repercussions. In their technical report, which they presented to the organization on this subject, they stressed the continued oversight of fields and monitoring of their condition up to the end of the season, and stressed that the spring plantings of the season must be put under surveillance. They have also suggested that agricultural service operations be intensified."

11887

CSO: 4404/5

PROBLEMS WITH LATE PLANTING OF VETCH FODDER CROP REVIEWED

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 14 Aug 84 p 3

/Article by 'Izzat 'Abd-al-Razzaq: "Why Has Vetch Fodder Farming Failed? How Can We Prevent the Repetition of a Bitter Experience?"

/Text/ The process of farming the Vetch fodder crop in al-Hasakah Governorate occurring in the framework of the government's plan aimed at introducing new types of specialized fodder cultivation into the first and second stabilization areas of the governorate. This has the purpose of introducing livestock raising there on a large scale, to bring about integration between the plant and livestock cultivation sectors so that that subsequently will result in increased income for the working peasants, guarantee them and their families stability, reduce the denuding of the land, cover local fodder requirements and eliminate imports as much as possible.

The Figures Speak

The fallow land area planted with the Vetch crop in the Governorate of al-Hasakah in the past winter season came to about a quarter of a million donums. Meanwhile, the area where contracts were reached for cutting and baling production of this crop came to more than 14,000 donums. The remaining area was used for green fodder or its seeds did not bear at all. Thus we find that the government treasury has sustained a loss of massive amounts of foreign exchange in the import value of Vetch seeds. A specialist in agricultural economics affairs and member of the branch agricultural council in the governorate save us the estimate that the magnitude of our losses in the Vetch crop in the past season equalled millions of Syrian pounds.

To that one should add the heavy financial losses the public, cooperative and private agricultural sectors sustain, especially when we realize that the estimated cost for farming a single donum comes to about 48 Syrian pounds, including the costs of deep plowing, cultivation, cutting and baling operations, the cost of seeds and fertilizer, and so forth.

Factors behind the Failure

We can review the real reasons which resulted in the failure of the Vetch fodder crop in the Governorate of al-Hasakah in the past winter season with a great deal of frankness and openness.. The great gulf which separates the

people who perform central planning to solve agricultural problems and the actual state of affairs to which this governorate is exposed is one of the main reasons for failure in the introduction of some new crops into the governorate, in addition to slowness and lack of aggressiveness on the part of the competent central departments in performing their duty by providing production requirements and seeds at the stipulated times and their negligence in following up on and pursuing the procedures of carrying out the stipulated agricultural plan. These were the factors which helped the catastrophe in Vetch cultivation occur last year. As evidence of the validity of the foregoing, we can present the following data:

Technical Guidance Bulletin Number 205 for the farming of the Vetch crop issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and circulated in agricultural circles and the peasant societies states that the optimum dates for planting Vetch fodder are the period between early October, and the start of November. The bulletin asserts that planting Vetch at an early time will help the producer realize the economic purpose in planting it, while the opposite is not correct, in the sense that a delay in cultivation activities will subject the early growth of the crop to affliction by frost. On 22 October 1983 the department of agriculture in the governorate sent a letter, number 6557S, to the Ministry of Agriculture, in which it stated that it would carry out the Vetch planting on schedule, provided that the seeds reach the governorate before 15 November 1983. However, the seeds unfortunately did not reach the agricultural cooperative disposition branches in the governorate until more than 40 days had elapsed since the date the governorate's department of agriculture had specified in its abovementioned letter!

The Vetch seeds reached the governorate around 26 December of last year. After that, the Fodder and Disposition Organization spent 2 weeks organizing the process of delivering and distributing seeds to the peasants and producers. Indeed, most peasants did not receive their Vetch seeds until January of this year. The peasants in some villages in the Subdistricts of Tall Barak and Tall Humays, situated in the middle of the governorate, not on the edges of it, told us that their receipt of the Vetch seeds had been delayed until last February. Thus, the seeds the government imported for hard currency went to waste, scattered about in the extensive lands of the governorate, in the largest unsuccessful farming operation the Governorate of al-Hasakah has yet witnessed. That does not excuse the people in charge of the agricultural sector in the governorate, either, from responsibility for wasting the government's money, or the producers involved in an agricultural operation whose negative results were known in advance for their insistence on applying the plan to plant the Vetch mechanically in a manner which inspires bitter ridicule, without taking into consideration the factor of time, the end of the planting season and the delay past the time specifically stipulated for that by the Ministry of Agriculture. Indeed some of them resorted to threatening to hand the peasant producers over to the judiciary to be tried in accordance with the law on economic penalties if they insisted on refusing to plant the Vetch.

We do not know who should be tried in accordance with the law on economic penalties--the persons who sustained flagrant losses or the persons who brought them on.

A Sound Decision

The losses might have been greater had the branch command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party in the governorate not taken the initiative of adopting a sound decision in the light of the facts of the case, recommending that the area included in the production plan for farming the Vetch crop in al-Hasakah Governorate be reduced from 1.09 million to 323,000 donums. The other thing which played a positive role and helped reduce the area to be farmed and lower it to 225,000 feddans was the depletion of the seeds in the warehouses of Agricultural Bank branches in the governorate. Now, in addition, the branch peasants' board has taken a position similar to last year on the plan to plant Vetch the coming year. From the beginning it has objected to the figures contained in the plan for planting Vetch the coming winter season, having presented an urgent recommendation on that to the agricultural council in the governorate requesting that the proportion which was to be farmed with the Vetch crop be reduced from 22 to 5 percent of the entire area.

Lest the Past Repeat Itself

Now, once again, we are facing the same lesson. Lest last year's season repeat itself, we can state that the figures on the country's agricultural plan must be drawn up carefully, on the actual basis of productive agricultural plans and the actual situation in each governorate, and that the expertise and the opinions of local producers must be taken into consideration. In addition, the failure to learn about the nature of the land which is to be farmed, and used for new plantings on many occasions, prevents the attainment of high production rates and on some occasions can lead to agricultural disaster. Therefore, the competent agricultural departments must classify and evaluate the various agricultural lands and set out productive plans which are suited to the nature of each so that the right crop will be farmed on the right land. The basic question which leaps to mind here is, who said that the cultivation of the Vetch crop is suited to most of the land in al-Hasakah Governorate, so that its cultivation should be generally applied throughout the first and second stabilization areas? One should bear in mind that Vetch cultivation requires plentiful spring rain, ranging in quantity from 350 to 400 millimeters, and that these specifications are met only in the rainy strip; they are not even met in the first stabilization area.

Therefore the body concerned with the rains must review the matter of the plan to cultivate the Vetch crop, restrict the planting of it to lands situated in the area of the 10-kilometer line and confine itself to the stipulated dates for farming. Another observation is, if the purpose in farming Vetch was to provide fodder, it would have been more worthwhile had Ministry of Agriculture assigned the Seed Reproduction Organization to produce

Vetch seeds locally and refrain from importing them from abroad. In this case, the Fodder Organization is supposed to make contracts with the peasant farmers to receive the clover and the seeds from the crop so that that can be used as fodder and seeds for planting. Thus, the farming of the Vetch will have assumed its economic dimensions and will have become a viable activity.

11887

CSO: 4404/6

VARIOUS CROP MARKETING, SURPLUS PROBLEMS REVIEWED

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 17 Aug 84 p 3

/Article by 'Ali Ma'ruf: "Hums: Difficulties Facing Crop Marketing"/

/Text/ This year the Hums Agricultural Federation entered the area of crop marketing on a large scale, since the contracts it made and is preparing to make with the public and private sector deal with various kinds of crops, as follows:

Peas:

The output of peas in the areas of al-Qusayr and al-Rastan, where they are farmed, is estimated at 2,000 tons. This quantity is surplus to local consumption needs.

Spring Yams:

The volume of yams contracted for totals about 2,700 tons.

Tomatoes:

The production of tomatoes is estimated at 27,000 tons; the subject of the contract for this quantity was discussed at the marketing meeting held in the General Peasants' Federation, and marketing contracts were concluded with the branch of the General Fruit and Vegetable Company to supply 15,000 tons from various areas of the eastern district, the western district and al-Qusayr for the summer planting and 9,000 tons for the fall planting in the Talkalakh area, at a cost of 65 Syrian piasters per kilogram, provided that 27 percent of these quantities be offered to the presses and 25 percent be provided for home consumption. However, it is impossible for some societies to meet their commitments because their crops in Kababi 'Umar, Nuqayrah, Jawbar and Kafr 'Aya have been afflicted with heat rash. The transportation of the entire crop has created a balance between the company representing the public sector, and the vegetable market, representing the private sector, and has suppressed commercial greed in this market to a large extent.

Onions:

The marketing office in the federation is continuing to meet with our peasant brothers and the company in order to present estimates covering the production of this crop. The surplus production this year has been estimated at 20,000 tons, preparatory to the conclusion of contracts to market it in full.

Table Grapes:

The process of making contracts to market the crop of this type of grape has met with obstacles because there has been no fixed price for it so far. This has prompted the company processing the grapes to orient itself to make contracts directly with farmers on the basis of current prices. This has prompted the farmers to avoid making contracts, and as a result it is expected that there will be a tendency to subject the price to the law of supply and demand and to the dominance of the private sector and the middlemen in this crop, whose production is estimated at around 3,000 tons of the al-Wayni, black and al-Hafrazali varieties.

The volume of squeezing grapes have been estimated at just 11,000 tons, because of climatic factors which have frustrated estimates that it would come to 15,000 tons, in the light of the increase in the area farmed on the one hand and the attainment of the stage of economic production by the first crop in the case of some expansion areas on the other. The federation, as our brother Ilyan Habbab, the chairman of the marketing bureau, has pointed out, is prepared in this regard, because the Zaydal grape plant cannot yield more than 4,500 tons, which is its maximum capacity, and the remaining volumes are subject to techniques of marketing in the private sector in factories and elsewhere, which cannot absorb this remaining amount. However, it is trying, as of now, to open up foreign markets in the light of the contracts and agreements it is concluding with these local bodies, pointing out that the subject of the expansion of the Zaydal plant and construction of the new plant in al-Makhram are still being studied.

Grain:

This is very low, because of drought; the surplus in the possession of producers is estimated at about 800 tons of wheat; this totalled more than 5,000 tons last year.

Sugar Beets:

This is estimated at about 200,000 tons, as compared with 206,000 last year.

The Circumstances Involving Marketing

Our brother the chairman of the marketing bureau pointed out that there are matters which are causing real confusion with respect to the marketing of these crops, of which the most important are:

The prices stipulated for the spring yam cycle are 98 Syrian piasters, whereas the price of the summer crop is 125 Syrian piasters and the fall cycle 165 piasters. This price difference, which has been reflected in the areas farmed, has not arisen from a difference in costs between spring and summer cycles. These two reasons, in conjunction with the heat rash, have inhibited the provision of the quantities contracted for, which come to 2,700 tons, and we, as a federation, have been able only to provide 230 tons of this crop. At this point it is necessary to point out that the failure to reach this targeted percentage may be attributed to excesses in the concluding of contracts and the increased effect of the heat rash on production specifications, especially those governing volume.

The price for squeezing grapes, which has been set at 85 Syrian piasters for 4 years, is low. One should bear in mind that there has been an annual increase in costs, especially for manpower and insecticides; here it is necessary to note that the increased surplus and the small amount of marketing channels will increase the quantities supplied to the markets. Because of this, it will subject the crop to conditions of supply and demand and will as a consequence be reflected on the low price and inflict harm on farmers, in a manner which is contrary to the desire to encourage the planting of trees, which is dominated by the planting of grapes in the poor areas incorporated in the green belt.

In terms of specifications, the grapes are losing color as a result of the long period of time needed for processing, in accordance with the increase in the quantities distributed among the processing centers, which, as we have pointed out, are still confined to the Zaydal plant and the contributions from small private sector plants, and as a result of the protracted time for picking and delivery, when the farmers are being forced to process some of their crop as raisins, molasses and alcoholic beverages. Would that plants had been established for molasses, an important, beneficial food whose importance has increased by the lack of dates, since the poor classes of our society rely on it.

Small amounts have been set aside to be supplied by the Dayral-Zawr and al-Raqqah plants, set at 1,000 tons a day, and their delivery has been stored at times although cards have been distributed for their delivery and some farmers have started picking them, and material harm and negative psychological repercussions have resulted from in transactions.

The problem of rejects in the case of sugar beets: we have been surprised at the instructions of the manager of the Hums sugar company, refusing quantities of sugar beets whose rejection rates exceed 8 percent, although this condition is in violation of the provisions of the contracts the company has made with the farmers, which make absolutely no stipulations with regard to rejects, indeed have restricted themselves to mentioning the subject of sweetness, which they have set at a minimum of 11 degrees. One should bear in mind that the company's ability to obtain its rights regarding the subject of the increased rate of rejects can be met by deducting this increase rather

than returning the shipments, confusing the farmers and imposing further expenses on them. If there are directives from higher bodies, as the company management states, why didn't they include these in the texts of the contracts?

The branch of the General Vegetable Company has added a new paragraph to the conditions on marketing tomatoes to be prepared for juice. These specify a minimum size of 5 centimeters, which was not agreed to in the contracts, which stipulated that in the case of tomatoes for eating, or at the central meeting held in the presence of the director of the branch of this company. The elimination of the rates of tolerance regarding yams by the Vegetable and Fruit Company as an additional condition for the diameter, which is set at 5 centimeters and above, and the absence of skin, disease and mechanical abrasions, are also conditions which were accompanied by tolerance rates, but the receiving committees, in accordance with the company's directives, are abrogating the condition of tolerance and deducting the rates included under that from the peasants' account. However, these rates, which sometimes come to 15 percent, have been given back to the peasants now that their subject has been dealt with with the company. However, they have created negative repercussions in transaction and obstructed the process of prompt marketing.

11887

CSO: 4404/6

AFGHANISTAN

FOUR HUNDRED SOVIETS REPORTEDLY KILLED BY MUJAHIDIN

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 24 Sep 84 p 3

[Text] Afghan Muslim revolutionaries killed seven government soldiers and captured seven others in an attack on a post of the Karmal regime's security forces in the city of Mazar-e Sharif. A quantity of arms and ammunition came into the possession of the Muslim revolutionaries during the operation. According to the Central News Unit, reports received from Afghanistan say that 10 members of Kabul's security organization were killed by Muslim revolutionaries. Also last week, aggressor forces in Herat, using hundreds of tanks and troop-carriers and more than 30 helicopters and fighter planes, attacked a major base of the Afghan Muslim revolutionaries. In the heavy fighting which ensued between the revolutionaries and the Russian infantry, one helicopter and one MIG were destroyed and 400 Soviet aggressors were killed. Another report says as a result of land mines laid by Afghan Muslim revolutionaries in the sector of Kalmish and Kalateh-Nazar, an armored tank of the revolutionaries and two Soviet troop carriers were destroyed and all the occupants killed. Also, as a result of attacks by Muslim revolutionaries in the Bibimasumeh, Rabat-e Nowgozareh, Rabat Pariyan and Kucheh-Karteh, six tanks and two troop-carriers were destroyed, killing all the occupants. In this fighting, a truck was captured by the Afghan Muslim revolutionaries.

Following the hijacking of a transport plane of the army of Afghanistan to Pakistan, official sources in Islamabad announced that five crew members and all other occupants of the aircraft asked Pakistan for political asylum.

In a related development reported by the FRENCH NEWS AGENCY from Islamabad, a spokesman of Hezb-e Eslami of Afghanistan announced that the hijacking of the aircraft had been planned by Hezb-e Eslami.

The spokesman added that the defection had been planned in the past several months by one of the major leaders of the resistance in Afghanistan by the name of Mowlawi Jalaluddin Haqqani.

At the same time Pakistani officials noted that all the crew members of the aircraft were Afghan army officers but they did not say how many passengers were on the plane.

Unconfirmed reports say among those asking for political asylum were a colonel and two majors among the passengers.

A spokesman of Jami'at-e Eslami of Afghanistan announced in Islamabad Saturday that the Kabul regime recently executed 84 of its members who had been imprisoned in the Pol-e Sharqi prison in Kabul. According to an AFP report from Islamabad, the spokesman added: The abovementioned members had been arrested during various incidents in the past 4 years and it is not clear whether they were executed en masse or in groups. In the past few days, the Kabul regime several times has reported the execution of Afghan mujahidin.

Security officials of the Afghanistan regime have arrested a French television correspondent in southern Afghanistan.

Kabul radio, confirming the arrest, said the individual was under interrogation because he had with him spy equipment and special cameras.

According to a BBC report, Jacques Abouchar, correspondent of French television, was wounded and captured during a surprise attack by Afghan security forces on a group of Afghan guerrillas.

Abouchar is also accused of treason and of organizing military operations for the Harekat-e Enqelab Eslami-e Afghanistan, an organization led by Mowlawi Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi.

5854

CSO: 4640/75

AFGHANISTAN

ARTICLE CONDEMNS WORLDWIDE SILENCE ON AFGHAN PROBLEM

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 26 Sep 84 p 4

[Text] According to reports received from Afghanistan, the sacred resistance of the Muslim people of the country against the Soviet aggressor-occupiers continues.

Within the past 2 weeks, as a result of courageous resistance put up by Muslim mujahidin, they defeated a strong attack by the Soviets to capture higher sectors of Panjsher valley and reports say that the mujahidin continue to hold this strategic sector of the valley and continue their fight against the aggressor forces.

This resistance occurs at a time when the Soviet forces intensified their military operations in a sector of Panjsher valley early last week by using helicopters and heavy artillery and in landing special commandoes.

Since the Panjsher valley is of special importance to the aggressors because of its geographic location as well as the presence of a part of the Muslim resistance forces in the region, heavy fighting has taken place there in recent months.

Following a spread-out military action and the continuous bombardment of farmlands and houses in the past several months, the aggressor forces now hold only the lower terrain of the valley and, despite an intensified military operation, have not been able to take the northern region of the valley which is in the hands of the mujahidin from Khonj to the Anjoman mountain pass.

The splendid resistance of the people of the area against Soviet forces, despite a lack of resources and the fact that they use only light weapons, shows that the propaganda put out by government forces and the Soviet aggressors claiming the defeat of resistance in Afghanistan and intending to depict conditions as peaceful is a useless ploy that will not eclipse the reality of the fighting in the region.

After 6 years of being under constant buffeting, of enduring various economic-military hardships, of giving their precious blood, the Muslim mujahidin of Afghanistan have proved that so long as the aggression continues, the movement will have no doubt of its mission to end the aggression and will continue on its road even more effectively than before.

But an important point here is the international reaction to the occupation of Afghanistan and the non-stop killing of the innocent and defenseless people of this country.

Following the shameful landing of imperialist American forces in Vietnam and the many crimes committed by this unbridled and looter power in that small country, whose people put up splendid resistance nevertheless, the situation eventually ended in shame for them. This is the second time that a small, defenseless and shelterless nation is subjected to shameless siege by a big power and its cries for freedom are daily answered by artillery and heavy arms fire. Although up to now the East and the West, utilizing new methods of colonialism, have imposed their dominance on many nations that have been kept in backward condition and each day come up with new plots and crimes against oppressed people, yet the tolerance of a direct and clear-cut aggression of a big power against a small country such as Afghanistan on the part of world gatherings and public opinion is another shameful phenomenon which once again calls into question the conscience of the world and portrays the law of the jungle in the minds of freedom lovers.

The silence and lack of action in the face of such aggressions becomes more shameful when Afghanistan, scene of aggression and the killing of innocent people, is turned into a political arena in which other santanic powers, without regard for minimum human rights of this nation and the struggle of its noble people, are after a piece of felt to make themselves a hat and seek to derive special political benefits from the situation which as presented itself.

And the West, specifically American imperialism, which has many shameful chapters in the suppression of nations, has now appeared in Afghanistan with hyposcrisy and deceit in the image of Christ, the savior of humanity, and by fooling a number of dependent persons and mercenaries, tries to portray itself as supposedly having risen to the defense of people in this country. But who can fail to see the tail of the stolen rooster from under the garb of the murderers.

It is in the same vein that the United Nations, as a world body, expresses heartfelt sorrow over the Afghanistan tragedy by inviting everyone to sit around the table to resolve the Afghanistan problem. Yet the only side which apparently has no connection with the problem and is clearly ignored is the representation of the Muslim people of Afghanistan.

However, whether the world shows reaction or not, the reality of the fighting in Afghanistan is bigger than to be affected by such issues.

The urge for freedom and independence is the God given nature of the human soul. When this nature takes inspiration from a school of thought such as Islam and the monotheistic concept and blossoms, no power can eliminate it and the suppressed people of Afghanistan, relying on Islam and even though oppressed and suffering greatly, will eventually be victorious in its struggle.

Last week, Afghanistan was the scene of the valiant resistance of the country's Muslim people against the Soviet aggressors and the coup-supporting government forces.

Throughout last week the occupying forces received effective blows from Muslim revolutionaries, this despite their expanded operations against Afghan mujahidin.

According to reports, heavy fighting took place early in the week near the city of Qandahar between Muslim revolutionaries and Soviet soldiers and Karmal forces. Despite the fact that the occupiers and the government forces received full air and ground support, a part of the forces and its equipment were destroyed and tens of tanks and troops carriers came under the fire of Muslim revolutionaries.

In recent days, coinciding with the visit of a high-ranking Soviet military mission to Kabul, the gathering place and military sections of the capital used by government and Soviet troops were subjected to rocket attack. There is yet no report on the extent of casualties.

The attack, involving nine rockets whose targets involved a building complex used by Soviet advisors, is considered the most intense action of the revolutionary forces against Kabul in the past year.

Moreover, the headquarters of Afghanistan's radio and television which has been turned into a propaganda center for the Soviet and puppet Karmal forces, came under attack of Muslim revolutionaries of Afghanistan for the umpteenth time and suffered considerable damage.

The Karmal regime, powerless in the face of attacks by Muslim revolutionaries, for the umpteenth time used its long-range planes to bomb defenseless Afghan refugee camps on the Pakistan border, killing or wounding a number of people.

As the bombing of refugee camps was taking place, the Babrak Karmal regime's radio announced the execution of eight Muslim revolutionaries who had been condemned to death on charges of fighting the government. The broadcast said those executed had been tried and condemned to death by a special court.

Other reports received from Kabul say that in the wide-flung operations of the Soviet aggressors in the strategic Panjsher valley which began in the first week of September, more than 200 Afghan Muslim revolutionaries were martyred.

For the past several months the Panjsher valley has come under attack of aggressor and Karmal forces and recently the aggressor forces launched a widespread attack, supported by air and ground artillery, to capture from the mujahidin the higher terrain of the valley extending from north of Khonj to the Anjoman mountain pass.

Scattered clashes are taking place in the valley and there has been no full reports regarding the capture of the whole region by Soviet forces.

Elsewhere, Babrak Karmal, head of the puppet regime in Kabul, who left for a visit to India early last week, said in a press interview that the Soviet army would remain in Afghanistan until counterrevolutionary bands are destroyed.

While referring to the presence of the Soviet Union in the country, Karmal also said in the interview: The vast majority of our people support us and we shall soon eliminate the last vestiges of the counterrevolution.

But there was no free journalist there to ask him that if the counterrevolutionaries on its last leg and his regime enjoys the full support of the majority of the people, why does it require more than 100,000 armed Soviet soldiers and tens of mechanised military vehicles to crush a handful of counterrevolutionaries?

The reality is that what Karmal refers to with limited significance as counterrevolutionary bands, is an Islamic and a people's independence-seeking movement which, despite 6 years of military suppression and various economic and military problems, relying as it does on the support of the Muslim masses of the country, is still on its feet with its force intact and will continue the struggle until its sacred goals are achieved.

Karmal cannot admit that it is the public support of the movement which keeps the Muslim revolutionaries alive within the circle of the people's protection despite intensified daily aggressor operations and has tied down the Kabul government forces to a degree that they cannot exist for even a short while without the protection and presence of aggressor Soviet troops.

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CSO: 4640/75

ISRAEL'S OUSTER FROM U.N. SUPPORTED BY MUJAHIDIN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 Oct 84 p 21

[Text] Following announcements by numerous nations in support of the draft resolution of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the ouster of Israel from international organizations and bodies, including the United Nations, Islamic organizations of Afghanistan issued a joint statement of full support for the draft resolution and expressed hope that with the expulsion of the tyrannical Zionist regime the hands of its true protectors, the United States and the Soviet Union, will also be shortened from the United Nations. The text of the joint statement of Islamic organizations of Afghanistan follows:

"From the beginning of victory until now, the Islamic revolution of Iran has consistently tried to extract the legitimate rights of the oppressed from the mouth of world arrogance, such humane and friendly Islamic endeavors of the Islamic Republic centering on the liberation of Palestine and the rescue of beloved Jerusalem from the clutches of tyrannical Israel, and in the process has taken extensive and beneficial steps, has brought about considerable change in international concepts and has shaken the foundations of world oppression in the Middle East and other areas of the world.

The Islamic revolution of Iran has increased its affection in the hearts of the world's oppressed by taking a clear-cut and Islamic position concerning the Russian aggression against Afghanistan and supporting our wronged and oppressed nation, concerning the occupation of Lebanon by multi-nation interventionist countries and concerning tens of international incidents. And now when it has taken another initiative calling for the ouster of tyrannical Israel from the United Nations, it has once again witnessed the clear-cut support of the world's oppressed and at the same time has aroused the hatred, anger and rancor of the big powers. We, the Islamic organizations of Afghanistan, while considering the United Nations as nothing but a supporter of the interests of the big powers, nevertheless express our unstinting support for the draft resolution of the Islamic Republic calling for Israel's ouster from the world body. We hope that with the ouster of this tyrannical regime from the United Nations, its real supporters--Russia and the United States--too, as the criminals of the century themselves have admitted, will not have access to this organization so that they will not offer justifications for their crimes in the name of the United Nations and the Security Council. Even

though the oppressed of the world will not be free from the intrigues and destructive plans of world arrogance until the latter's total annihilation, yet the proposed ouster will at least put an end to the outward show of humaneness and love for humanity of the century's devourers towards the dispossessed masses.

With hope for the annihilation of world arrogance and its degenerate offspring, Israel, from the international scene. May beloved Islam be victorious and ever-lasting throughout the world.

[victory]
Nasr/Organization of Afghanistan
Guardians of the Islamic jihad
of Afghanistan.
Nehzat-i Eslami Afghanistan [The
Islamic Movement of Afghanistan.]

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CSO: 4640/73

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

REFUGEES CONDEMN SOVIET CRIMES--On the second day of the imposed war week, the day of campaign against world oppression, Afghan refugee brothers in Zahedan staged a march and expressed their anger and repulsion at the intrigues and plots of the devourer in occupied Afghanistan. According to the report, participants in the march, which began at the Jame' Mosque of the Sunni faith and reached Behesht-e Mostafa in Zahedan, carried such slogans as: Occupied Palestine must be freed by the efforts of Muslims, Oppressor Israel must be ousted from the United Nations, Saddam's aggression against Islam land is condemned, and they condemned the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan's territory. At the site, an Afgan brother stated: Tyrannical Israel showed by its attack against southern Lebanon and the merciless killing of Muslims in the region that it is the agent for carrying out the policies of world devourer America in the region. Referring to the occupation of Afghanistan by the USSR he said: More than 4 million of our Afghan brothers have lost their homes and have become refugees. At the end of the ceremony, a 10-point resolution was read, which said in part: While condemning the military attack of the Zionist and servile regime of Aflaqist Saddam against the territory of the Islamic Republic of Iran, we announce our categorical support for the stated positions of the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning the imposed war, strongly condemn the occupation of Islamic lands--including Afghanistan, Palestine and Lebanon--by tyrannical Israel and the big power of the East and call for the ouster of Israel from the United Nations. [Text] [Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 25 Sep 84 p 5] 5854

DEFECTOR RECOUNTS DIFFICULTY--"At present life is very difficult within Afghanistan because what the communists are doing within society is unacceptable to Muslims." The comment was made last Tuesday by Nur Mohammad Mokhtar, a member of the Afghanistan soccer team, who, on his return to New Delhi from China went to the UN office and asked for political asylum and also told IRNA that the Karmal puppet regime does not refrain from any inhumane acts against Muslims in order to further communist and anti-Islamic ideology. According to Mokhtar, this has been one of the reason for his defection. It should be noted that 2 other members of the Afghanistan national soccer team 3 weeks ago separated from their colleagues at New Delhi airport on their way to China and asked the United Nations for political asylum. [Text] [Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 29 Sep 84 p 3] 5854

WAR CASUALTIES REPORTED--Reports say that on 17 September, the current month, Afghan Muslim mujahidin carried out a rocket attack against Kabul's radio broadcasting station. The mujahidin also fired a rocket toward the Kabul regime's minister of commerce. Western sources in Islamabad said casualties and material damage from these attacks have not yet been compiled. Earlier in September, Afghan Muslim mujahidin destroyed 4 helicopters in the Qandahar area and 2 others in an area south of Kabul. Also, the Afghan Muslim mujahidin attacked a column of Russian soldiers south of Qandahar, killing 10 Soviet soldiers and destroying 6 vehicles. [Text] [Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 27 Sep 84 p 3] 5854

CSO: 4640/73

SOVIET ASSISTANCE SAID TO BE IN NATIONAL INTEREST

Tehran BURS in Persian 24 Sep 84 p 4

[Text] Foreign economic relations play a wide and important part in the friendly foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

At the present time the Soviet Union has governmental contracts with 82 nations in regard to economic and technical cooperation. With the cooperation of the Soviet Union, some 3,000 institutions have been set up in foreign countries and contractual arrangements have been prepared for setting up 1,600 more institutions. With the cooperation of the Soviet Union, some 2 million experts and skilled workers have been readied in various fields in countries involved in such transactions, including Iran where, with Soviet cooperation, 87 institutions have been set up and where more than 100,000 skilled and expert workers have been developed and necessary cooperation is continuing for a series of other constructions.

The Soviet Union has an important historic duty concerning the development, increase and expansion of new economic-technical relations with nations based on full equality, bilateral exchanges and noninterference in the affairs of each other, the latter condition being of special importance to free countries who are defending their interests under the present most difficult international conditions.

Imperialism aims at benefiting from the backwardness of developing nations in order to continue exploiting them. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, unlike imperialist countries, have set as a traditional goal in cooperating with developing nations the duty to aid and assist them in every manner in the expansion and development of their productive resources and in resolving issues which confront them in their progress and improvement.

The economic cooperation of the Soviet Union with developing countries, including the Islamic Republic of Iran, conforms to their national interests. Soviet cooperation focuses on those economic fields from which the utmost benefit can be derived by the utilizing country and such benefits having a determining role in their economic progress. These consist in the first instance of the construction of industrial institutions, power generating plants, such matters as the search for useful minerals, the training and development of national cadres of experts, and so on. A special characteristic

of Soviet economic aid, which sets it apart from the assistance of imperialist countries, is that the Soviet Union focuses its aid for the most part toward the government sectors which form the infrastructure for the expansion and development of the national economies of these countries. For their part, the government sectors help in strengthening the positions of their respective countries and in helping defend their economies vis-a-vis multinational corporations which hold sway over the economy of the capitalist world.

Soviet aid in the field of expansion and development of energy resource industries, which comprise one-fourth of the total volume of Soviet commitment to developing countries, is highly important to them. The total installed capacities of power generating plants built or being built with Soviet aid exceeds 31 million kilowatts. Of this, 12.5 million kilowatts are being used. Cooperation in the production of electric power has an important place in economic relations between the Soviet Union and Iran. It is now more than 10 years that the hydro-electric power station located in the vicinity of the Araxe river has been operating. This power station is under the ownership of the Soviet Union and Iran and provides electricity needs of areas on both sides of the common barrier. The two countries intend to begin cooperation in the construction of 2 other power stations to be known as Khoda-Afarin and Qezgalasi.

The largest thermal power station in southern Iran, known as Ramin, is presently under construction, with 2 energy producing sections of the plant, with a capacity of 315 megawatts, now in place.

In Esfahan, a thermal power station with the capacity of producing 800 megawatts electricity is under construction and its first energy-output section is due to go on stream during the fall of the current year.

Esfahan's steel mill complex, which has its own coal-iron ore supplies and began operation in 1973, is the largest industrial project built with the economic and technical cooperation of the Soviet Union and Iran. Steel production during the 10 years of operation has been 6.2 million tons. The output of this plant and specially its rolled by-products have a large market domestically and provides the possibility of effectively reducing metal products imports from capitalist countries that require foreign exchange.

According to comments by officials of the National Iranian Steel Corporation, the complex has paid back the cost of its construction twofold and is operating above its scheduled capacity. Construction of the second section of the plant, which will take production to 2 million tons of steel per year, is nearing completion. In 1983, high-rise furnace No 2 (with a capacity of 1,235 thousand tons castiron per annum) and its coke-providing battery No 2 (with a capacity of 650,000 tons) went on stream and its agglomerate factory expanded. More than 98 percent of the cast-iron and more than 75 percent of the steel produced in the country are being processed in this complex.

Soviet organizations provided necessary technical assistance in the construction and expansion of the plant's coal and raw products centers. These consist of a coal-mining complex and plants for the treatment of coal, iron ore and non-mineral products needed in the production of black metals.

But the importance of the abovementioned complex for the country is not limited to these. According to H. Nili, minister of mines and metals of the Islamic Republic of Iran: The Esfahan steel mill complex is a huge institution which, during years of operation, has provided untold possibilities for preparing experts and giving technical knowhow to our country. This experience allowed us to put steel production in our country on a proper footing. Our present-day experience in the management of the country steel industries cannot be compared with what we had 10 to 15 years ago.

These statements in themselves eloquently show what benefits the Iranian nation has derived from the results of cooperation with the Soviet Union in the processing of black metals.

Projects built in Iran with Soviet cooperation include a machine-tool plant, 5 plants manufacturing pre-fabricated housing sections, 40 grain silos with a total capacity of 800,000 tons, a pisciculture center, a string of training centers and other institutions. Officials of the Iranian state railways have placed a lot of importance on the results of the operation of the Jolfa-Tabriz electric rail line. Electrification of this line was carried out by Soviet organizations. In an interview with the magazine TRANSPORT INDUSTRY, Iranian state railway chief Khamushi stated that good results were obtained during the operation of this line. "We are fully satisfied with the work that was done on the Jolfa-Tabriz line." Needless to say, the Soviet Union and Iran have many possibilities and long-range prospects for even further expansion and increase of economic cooperation based on equal rights and mutual benefits--especially with utilization of such an important economic factor as the geographic situation of the two countries which provides many opportunities for various economic expansion projects.

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CSO: 4640/68

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 1 Oct 84 p 3

[Interview with Javad Mansuri; date and place not specified]

[Text] Political Service--Javad Mansuri, deputy foreign minister for consular and cultural affairs, gave an exclusive interview to our correspondent, and answered questions concerning the purpose and results of his recent trips, the various peace plans offered by some countries, the neutralization of counter revolutionary propaganda abroad, and the activity of the Foreign Ministry in regard to the imposed war. The details of the interview follow.

[Question] Recently you made trips to several countries. Please tell us what issues were raised on these trips, and how you evaluate the results attained.

[Answer] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. In the 39th session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Islamic Republic of Iran plans to present a plan to expel Israel from that organization. Therefore, before the plan it was necessary to visit numerous countries and explain our points of view to them, and at the same time become aware of their views, in order to prepare a favorable, appropriate atmosphere for this resolution in the United Nations. Thus each Foreign Ministry official carried a message from various levels of authority to numerous countries, in accordance with our relations with those countries, and discussed with their officials bi-lateral issues, international matters, and in particular the plan to expel Israel from the General Assembly. I must point out here that this broad effort, which is taking place for the first time in the existence of regime occupying Jerusalem, has created a special situation internationally, and has attracted the attention and concern of many countries towards the Islamic Republic of Iran, which has begun this political assault.

It is necessary to note that so far not one country has taken energetic action in this area, and for this reason various countries have interpreted this matter as a totally new and unknown phenomenon, and as a result have lost the power of quick decision-making. Right now we are witnessing that there are a great many states which cannot make a definite decision regarding this plan because this subject must be studied from various aspects, particularly in light of the artificial relations that they have with various countries. In addition, the conditions which the rule of the great powers have imposed on the

United Nations and other international societies, and the feelings of weakness and surrender which many of these countries have in relation to the great powers, give them small room for independent decision-making. For this reason they are waiting to see what the atmosphere in the United Nations will be on this matter so that they can make a decision on that basis. Therefore if I were to now tell you how various countries would vote in the United Nations, my words would not be very definite or clear. Rather, this matter requires that these countries exchange views in the United Nations, and through the knowledge they gain of the atmosphere and environment there, they can make a decision. However, we can say on the whole that this issue this year possesses special importance, and that the discussion will be very deep and serious, such that it may overshadow many other issues. Also, since Iran raised this discussion, Iran will really be the axis of the political debates, and we consider this a great success for us from the political angle. As a result, God willing, the better the results we get in this area, the greater will our political success be. Of course we cannot exactly predict when we will reach our goal in this respect. But in any case the Islamic republic is determined to pursue this matter with all its strength, an issue which possesses importance here, and relying on the spirit which we have created by this means in various countries. Until now they imagined that it was not possible for a state to raise such an issue. However, when we raised it, various nations sensed how a country can be so independent, powerful and self-reliant and stand up to all the military forces which the great powers have imposed on it. We clearly observed this on our trips, meaning that although a country's officials may not have the power of decision-making, its people strongly support this issue. During the past week we had numerous reports from all corners of the globe about sessions being convened and issuing declarations, telegrams being prepared asking the government to definitely vote yes to our proposal, and so on. Naturally in the long run this issue might create political problems for governments, because this plan is not an issue that states have room for maneuver on, or can bypass as a simple matter. This is because, even ignoring the Muslim states and nations, many of the non-Islamic nations and the third world are enemies of Israel, and thus they expect that their governments move in this direction. Naturally, if they do not give a positive answer to this request, contradiction and friction will be created, both intellectual and political, between the states and nations of the third world. This is not a point that can remain hidden from the sight of the powerful states. Thus we see that the United States has begun a broad effort to terrorize states in the last month or two lest they obey the requests of their people or give a positive answer due to their relations they have with Iran. Thus we see that the United States has in various guises, whether by propaganda or by threats, threatened the existence of the United Nations, so that even some countries explicitly brought up this issue, saying that if we do this, the existence of the United Nations will be threatened in the future. Of course we believe that on the whole that the existence of the UN is better than its absence, and thus it is well that we act prudently and conservatively in this regard.

[Question] What is your view of the peace plans presented by some countries?

[Answer] From the start of the imposed war, every state wished to interfere in this case, and thus prepared a plan for itself, and began shuttling back and

forth in this area. From the first, however, we said one logical, legal and just thing, and that statement still stands with all its force. Therefore any plan that contradicts our logical statement is naturally unacceptable. None of these plans have taken justice and fairness into consideration, and in particular have not taken into consideration the true interests of the two countries. Therefore on principle we could not and cannot accept those plans. We have given and are giving a definite answer to everyone who proposes this type of plan, and that is that we will not accept any imposed peace until our just, lawful and logical views are satisfied.

[Question] What policies have you considered for the neutralization of the counterrevolution's propaganda abroad?

[Answer] Here I must inform you that at the present time the responsible organs are making efforts abroad, and that these efforts are several times broader, both in quantity and quality, than before. The important point here is, however, that perhaps domestic events have as great an effect abroad as foreign propaganda. Meaning that if domestically we make progress in the economic, cultural, social, organizational and security spheres, this progress will definitely be reflected abroad and show itself. Even if all the states attempt to cover up the reality, a small portion of it will still get out, and this will have a great effect practically in neutralizing the propaganda there. If we finally make dozens of different kinds of propaganda abroad, they will naturally say: This is state propaganda, and they have to say these things. However, if a country's realities confirm these matters, they will no longer be able to say this.

For example, on economic issues it suffices to tell the world that despite all the various problems that existed after the revolution, we have not only paid all our past debts on time, but we have not even borrowed a dollar from anyone. So announcing this fact to the world must perforce neutralize much propaganda directed against us. However, if we have weak points domestically, no matter how much we propagandize abroad, we certainly will not be effective. Therefore propaganda carries an impact at a time when the domestic situation conforms to it. Another point here is that things occur domestically which relate to things abroad, and these should be strengthened. As an example, one organization whose foreign propaganda is extremely effective is our foreign radio broadcast program, since no power is able to resist radio waves. Although they use parazait against the VOICE OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN in violation of the law, this action is limited in the first place, and secondly we can take counter-measures in any case. As another example, the export of goods made in Iran might superficially have an economic dimension, but in parallel with that there is also a propagandistic dimension which neutralizes the enemy's propaganda abroad. I therefore strongly advise all those persons involved in our non-petroleum exports to seriously think about this matter and do some real planning and put a lot of energy into it. There are a great many countries wishing to buy goods from us, and therefore we must enter the market in this field and increase our own capacity. We have many goods which might be exported, and it is only necessary to add a bit of energy, capital investment, and some effort and perserverance. Naturally these things must come from home, and therefore I believe that if propaganda lacks the support of associated actions, it will after a time be transformed into anti-propaganda.

[Question] What is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs doing in connection with the war?

[Answer] Other than the political activities that everyone knows about, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is making any efforts in this area. One of these efforts is assistance behind the fronts. Every month a noteworthy amount of aid donated by Iranians residing abroad, friends and supporters of the Islamic republic is turned over to our foreign missions, and after collection is delivered to the centers concerned through the offices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the 4 years of the imposed war great quantities of medicine, medical equipment, clothing, automobiles and other vehicles, and other items needed by the war refugees have been collected. A notable amount of cash has also been delivered to the Bank-e Markazi, and the bank has turned over the equivalent amount in rials to the organizations concerned. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Propaganda Office has also carried out extensive activities to expose the nature of the Baghdad regime, the imposed war, and the crimes and aggressions committed by the mercenary Iraqi regime in this war. Many of our foreign missions have had extensive activity in the field of holding shows, giving speeches, holding conferences and showing films, etc. about the imposed war. God be praised, they have been very effective, and even the enemy has admitted the effect of our activities, and this fact is very marked. It is sometimes observed that some states which prefer Iraq have prevented our activities or have obstructed them in some way. This demonstrates the effect of this type of program.

From another angle, we observe a type of all-out propaganda against us in the world, and this huge amount of propaganda itself demonstrates that our propaganda abroad has been effective and constructive, and that the Islamic republic is considered a state threatening the systems ruling the world. Thus they have expanded this propaganda against it, although there is no reason to make such propaganda against a nation and state, as propaganda like this against many states does not exist. In any case, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has printed a book in connection with the war, and all the international societies consider it an official, legal document. This book has proved the aggressive nature of the Iraqi Ba'thist regime purely on the basis of international legal standards, and has completely proved the violations of international laws and standards and the war crimes perpetrated against us.

Thus this type of activity has had the effect that many persons who at the start of the imposed war expressed views opposing us have now been drawn into a position of silence or at least exhibit support for us.

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CSO: 4640/57

PAKISTAN

RELATIONS WITH U.S. REVIEWED, NEW HOPES, FEARS DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Khalid Akhtar]

[Text] Mr Reagan's letter to President Ziaul Haq and Mr Deane Hinton's address in Lahore have generated a debate in the country. Few had thought that the U.S. would so unambiguously assure its support to Pakistan in case of aggression from the Western or Eastern border. But the irony is that still fewer have taken any heart from the U.S. assurances.

Mr Reagan's categorical declaration that the U.S. will fulfil its responsibilities towards ensuring the security of Pakistan appears to be more assuring than was Mr Nixon's pronouncement that the security of Pakistan was the cornerstone of the U.S. foreign policy. Nixon, throughout his tenure in office, was almost a lone supporter of Pakistan on Capitol Hill. Mr Reagan's position is quite different. Though there remain Pakistan baiters like Sen Cranston, Mr Reagan, unlike Nixon, can count on the support of many of his colleagues to implement his policies towards Pakistan. Though the reported offer of nuclear cover to Pakistan by Mr Reagan has since been denied by the White House, it has in no way lessened the significance of the U.S. President's letter to Gen Ziaul Haq. But what has actually caused an uproar in New Delhi is the message conveyed by Mr Hinton in Lahore.

The Pak-U.S. ties are governed by the 1959 treaty which specifically provides for U.S. assistance to Pakistan in case of Communist aggression. There is some truth in Mr Hinton's assertion that as the position is clear to the other side, there is no likelihood of any aggression from the Western border. Nor does it seem logical that Moscow would indulge in any adventure that would place it in direct confrontation with the United States. It will only manoeuvre within the limits which, while keeping it well clear of any possibility of a direct conflict with the United States will yet enable it to mount pressure on Pakistan. This is the policy the Kremlin has followed till now and it is likely to be the pattern in the future as well. Throughout this high-tension drama the Soviet Union has intelligently kept the barometer below the aggression mark. Then, there are various yardsticks to define aggression and it is not clear at what stage of aggression (if there is any) the U.S. would invoke the provisions of the 1959 treaty.

But it is actually the second part of Mr Hinton's statement that has aroused more interest in the political and diplomatic circles at home and abroad. Never has any American leader, diplomat or official assured in such unequivocal terms the U.S. support for Pakistan in case of a war with India. Mr Hinton surprised all when he said that in case of aggression from the Eastern border the U.S. would not remain neutral. If Mr Hinton was not misquoted or misunderstood his utterances would indicate a significant change in the U.S. foreign policy. This policy is formulated after a national debate--a pre-requisite completely missing in the present situation. All this robs the American envoy's assurance of much of its credence.

Interestingly, it is over the BBC that a report has been broadcast that Mr Hinton has been misquoted. Mr Buckley, the former U.S. Under-Secretary of State (who is on a visit to Pakistan these days), when asked to comment by a local Urdu daily on Mr Hinton's remarks, merely said that just as the United States would not wish Pakistan to attack India it would view with utmost dislike any Indian aggression against Pakistan. In diplomatic language, Mr Buckley's response could be interpreted either way. It could be taken as endorsing Mr Hinton's remarks and at the same time it could be viewed as taking a different position. There has been no other official confirmation or contradiction of Mr Hinton's remarks and there is likely to be none despite the confusion and controversy caused by the U.S. envoy's statement in Lahore.

Why this unprecedented U.S. show of solidarity with Pakistan? There could be two reasons for it. In the first place the U.S. would not like any trouble on Pakistan's borders at this juncture. Any such eventuality would compel the United States to take some hard decisions and with elections round the corner the Reagan administration would not like to put itself in an awkward position. Mr Reagan's letter and Mr Hinton's address in Lahore could be a part of the U.S. strategy to stop the USSR and India from exploiting the situation to their advantage.

Secondly, and this is more important, with the U.S. President failing to call for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in his address to the U.N. General Assembly there has been speculation that the United States may be preparing to bargain with the Soviet Union on the Afghan issue or there may be a change in the U.S. policy towards Afghanistan. The reason for the big omission has been given as an oversight on the part of the White House. Now policy statements of this nature are meticulously written, read and re-read over and over again to eliminate any chance of error or omission before they are put across to the audience. This makes the big omission in Mr Reagan's speech an unusual one. Any lapse of this nature could only be rectified by some strong follow-up actions. This could be another explanation for Mr Reagan's letter and Mr Hinton's remarks at Lahore.

Then there remains the Pakistan's nuclear programme--an area of convergence between the United States, India, Israel and many others. Both Mr Reagan and Mr Hinton have made clever references to Pakistan's nuclear programme with a veiled threat that Pakistan's nuclear programme could upset Pak-U.S. ties. Islamabad cannot rule out a manipulation to make it sign the NPT.

Whatever may be the reason behind Mr Reagan's letter or Mr Hinton's address, some have considered the developments as a triumph for Pakistan's foreign policy. Friendship with a big power brings big gains and big losses and we can be no exception to this rule. In an uncertain security environment the U.S. assurance should be welcomed. But it would be hardly advisable for us to look for our security in far-flung quarters, particularly after our bitter experience of the 1965 and 1971 wars.

CSO: 4600/58

'CONSTITUTIONAL MESS' ANALYZED, ALTERNATIVE PROPOSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 Oct 84 Magazine p 1

[Article by S. Hasan]

[Text] Pakistan is in a constitutional mess. Thirty-six years after independence, the country has no stable democratic system of government. Politicians want the 1973 Constitution to be restored, and power handed over to a civilian government elected under it. But the military regime has been talking of bringing about major changes in the 1973 Constitution and the electoral laws. It claims a mandate from the Supreme Court to do this.

The need for any change and the regime's authority to make amendments are disputed by most politicians. They claim that the regime merely wants to erect a facade and retain real power indefinitely. They point to the history, since 1977, of broken promises to hold elections and transfer power. To make matters worse, smaller provinces seem dissatisfied with what they term as curtailment of their share in real power since 1977. Some have even demanded more provincial autonomy than what has been allowed by the 1973 constitution. These demands are looked upon with suspicion by the regime, especially when they are expressed in terms of a confederation.

Only one of the following can be true:

- (a) Either the armed forces retain real power indefinitely, whether with or without a civilian facade, or
- (b) They hand over real power to a civilian government--gracefully or not.

Let us assume that martial law will really be lifted. Now comes the question of ensuring, if and when, this happens, the establishment of a stable and democratic government. Some may hold that if the military regime goes, the 1973 constitution will come into full play and all will be well. Let us examine whether the 1973 constitution can really work, or whether it will break down very soon again.

Indirect System

Under the parliamentary system the people first elect a few hundred members of parliament. Then these few hundred elect the government. Thus in its mechanics it is an indirect system of choosing a government.

The parliamentary system can work only if both the following conditions are satisfied:

- (1) One party gains a working majority large enough to form a government;
- and (2) Discipline within the parties in Parliament is strong, so that each party votes as a whole without danger of being split by defections.

It may, of course, be possible to have stable coalition governments where the first condition is not met. But (a) it is wrong in principle that the government should be formed by bargaining between parties, after the elections. This makes the elections a lottery, rather than a system for electing a government. (b) Instances of stable coalition governments are very rare. Coalitions are highly prone to instability: the average duration of a coalition government in the French Fourth Republic was 9 months, and the Italians themselves have lost count of how many coalition governments they have had since the Second World War. (c) At the best of times, a coalition government is like a coach pulled by two or more horses which want to go in different directions.

Thus, conditions numbered (1) and (2) above must both be satisfied if the parliamentary system is to produce a stable government. Unfortunately condition No 2 of internal party discipline has often been wanting in our political parties. Our political parties generally have no depth or stability, and the parliamentary system, therefore, has more often than not failed to deliver a stable government. The history of cabinet making and cabinet breaking in the early 50s is there for all to see.

Now the 1973 constitution is said to be based on the parliamentary system. So, it can be said that the stability from 1973 to 1977 undermines the above thesis that this system is inherently defective. But

- 1) Between 1973 and 1977 the right of the National Assembly to dismiss the prime minister in power was virtually abrogated by the proviso to Article 96 (5), to be effective for 10 years. Under this, the vote of a party member, cast in favour of a no confidence motion, was to be disregarded if the majority of his party voted against the motion. This proviso really meant that in this vital respect it was not a parliamentary system at all between 1973 and 1977.

- 2) Party discipline within the PPP was maintained by various methods, about which the less said the better.

Thus the apparent stability between 1973 and 1977 cannot be credited to the parliamentary system. An essential part of any parliamentary system, with even the minimal pretensions to workability, is the Prime Minister's

authority to dissolve the Assembly whenever he wants. If the Prime Minister's party members threaten to desert him, he can in turn threaten to call an election, and this is supposed to keep them in line. But why should the nation be faced with the inconvenience and expense of an unscheduled election merely because of a dispute within the ruling party?

Nothing said about political parties should be interpreted as criticism of our political leaders. They are for the most part honorable men, who are victims of the system. France, under the Fourth Republic, was chronically unstable. But it is quite stable under the Fifth Republic. The people remained the same, but the system changed.

In Britain, where the system is much older and political parties are well established, the parliamentary system usually works because the two conditions mentioned earlier usually exist. But even there, the system has sometimes failed to deliver a stable government. Here is a quotation from an article by the former British Prime Minister, Lord Wilson:

Hung Elections

"After the 'hung' elections of 1974 when Edward Heath's government had failed to record a majority, British democracy stood still, while Ted vainly sought an understanding with the Liberals."

Britain, with its ancient tradition and unity, can perhaps afford to stand "still." Within our infinitely more fragile structure, and dangerous international situation we cannot afford such luxuries.

What is the way out?

It is certainly no dictatorship or autocracy, whether given a civilian facade or a coat of green paint and called "Islamic." In theory, the presidential system is an alternative.

But Ayub Khan gave the presidential system such a bad name that most people are suspicious of it, even though his system was a parody of democracy, carefully crafted to keep him in power indefinitely. A real drawback of the presidential system in our country is that it would tend to produce a personality cult. Pakistan has had too much unpleasant experience of the man in power being built up into a sort of super-man.

Proposed Alternative

A better alternative is direct election of Federal and Provincial cabinets by the people. Each party would put up a panel of 11 or 13 members for each cabinet. The whole country would vote for the panels of its choice. The panels which obtain the largest number of votes would form the Federal and Provincial Governments.

The Federal Cabinet would hold office for a fixed period of four years. The executive authority of the Federal Government would vest in the Federal Cabinet, unlike the 1973 constitution where it vests in the Prime Minister. Thus, the Prime Minister would preside over the cabinet meetings, but must carry his cabinet with him. This would help to promote the concept of collective leadership, rather than the one-man band that we have suffered from in the past.

The party putting up the panels for election would have to state who would occupy the office of the Prime Minister and Chief Ministers during the 4 years, should the panels be elected. This will ensure that a "full prospectus" will be placed before the nation. It will also ensure that factional fights within parties have to be resolved before elections.

Provisions regarding the meetings of the Federal and Provincial Cabinets will have to be laid down so as to ensure that the Prime Minister cannot bypass the Cabinet. Since the Cabinets would be elected directly by the people, they would obviously not be subject to removal by the National or Provincial Assemblies. They would cease to hold office ipso facto and automatically on the expiry of their term. Likewise, the Prime Minister would have no rights to dissolve the Assembly, which would also have a fixed term.

This system would ensure that the government is not formed by a process of horse trading by the Assembly members, which horse trading is the worst form of indirect election of a government by a few hundred.

Since the Cabinets would be elected directly, the Prime Minister or Chief Ministers would have no right to dismiss Ministers, though they may assign and change portfolios. The members of the Federal Cabinets would be entitled to sit and speak in the Assembly, but not to vote. The cabinet would have no legislative, ordinance-making or emergency powers. These powers would be exclusively vested in the Assembly.

Likewise, the budget would have to be passed by the Assembly, and if they fail to pass it within one month, the previous year's tax provisions would automatically apply. Each province would have a minimum representation in the Federal Cabinet, and the key posts of Interior, Finance, Defence and Foreign Affairs would be shared between the four provinces, the Prime Minister being responsible for assigning the portfolios.

Genuine Need

One 'disadvantage' of this system is that those party members not placed on the panel for the Federal or Provincial Cabinet membership would lose all chance of becoming ministers. Many would prefer the parliamentary system, where even if they lose out in the first round of Ministry making, they can always try to get in later by intrigue, or by currying favour with the Prime Minister, or by threatening to bring down the Government in the Assembly.

At present, effective power lies with the military government. If they have any intention of ceding real power to a civilian government, they will render a real service to Pakistan if they can persuade political leaders to accept direct election of a Federal Cabinet under the system described above. Our political leaders will also do well to rise to the occasion, instead of insisting on a restoration of the 1973 constitution as it stood at any time in the past. One can only hope and pray that the regime will accept the genuine need to transfer power to an elected civilian government; our politicians will accept the need to change the 1973 constitution for the reasons submitted above; and that after a consensus has been reached between political leaders amongst themselves, and between them and the regime, agreed changes are ratified by a national referendum to be followed by elections and the transfer of power.

CSO: 4600/58

PPP TO EXPEL ALL MEMBERS TAKING PART IN NONPARTY ELECTIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Oct 84 p 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text] Islamabad, Oct 19--The high command of the defunct Pakistan People's Party has delegated powers to all its district presidents to expel any of their members who decides to contest partyless polls or found supporting any other contestant.

This was announced here by the President of the PPP, Punjab Sheikh Mohammad Rafiq.

Talking to newsmen at the residence of Afha Riaz, a local PPP leader, he said the MRD's parties, including the PPP, would only take part in elections if held on party basis and under the election laws and rules as announced in 1977.

He said the decision to boycott the partyless polls was final and irrevokable.

He said only a representative government can solve the grave problems now confronting the country. He said no purpose would be served by arranging any "farce" in the name of general elections.

Commenting on President Zia's announcement of August 12, he said it was only an attempt to give a new shape to martial law rule. He demanded immediate release of all political prisoners and lifting of ban on political parties. The government should first create an atmosphere conducive for election, he said.

The country, he said, was confronted with a grave economic crisis and its imports have gone up three times as compared to exports. Foreign remittances were on decline and more than two and a half lac Pakistanis working abroad have come back in one year. The rice and wheat crops have been damaged and the country will have to import ten to 15 lac tons of wheat this year. Foreign debts were mounting and industrial investment was negligible. The government, he said, has no economic planning and was raising burden of the common man by heavily taxing social services like health and education.

CSO: 4600/58

OFFICIAL STUDIES, WRITINGS OFFER SUPPORT FOR REGIME'S VIEW OF ISLAM

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 10 Oct 84 p 3

[Excerpt] The present martial law regime was hardly a few months old when it turned its eyes toward God. Since then the name of Islam is in everything it says. Its interest in an Islamic political system is particularly noteworthy. On this subject, it has arranged countless contests. Spectators apart, the arena is full of participants. Well-known scholars, maulvis, sufis, former judges and lawyers all girded their loins and displayed their skills, but nothing happened. The spectators witnessed the entire show and sometimes nodded but did not reveal their true feelings. The political system is in suspension. A slavish administration is engrossed in its own affairs. Even those who believed themselves to be permanent did not turn out to be so amateurish as Mr Aarzi. Martial law either could not condemn politics or it did not consider it necessary to do so, but now politics is determined to denounce martial law. Life is returning to its lifeless state. No one knows when the corpse will sit up and the amazed spectators will flee, crying, "The corpse has come alive."

Over the past 6 years, people have witnessed a downpour of words. This has had many good effects--all those that result from rain. Now various facts lie buried beneath tons and tons of words. When anyone wants to, they will take advantage of it.

Everyone has heard of the Ansari Report. Through this medium, Moulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari and the other members attempted to offer to this regime everything they tried to offer every regime since 1947. Many people in authority were not even prepared to listen to some of the points, but now every point has been safeguarded. Whatever meets the needs of the time will be called upon as appropriate. Even apart from this, writers and scholars are dwelling on non-political subjects such as economics, socialism and social issues. Former Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court Mr Shamim Hussain Qadari has written a 442-page book entitled "Islamic State in Light of the Koran and Islamic Law." The distinctive feature of Qadari's book is that it appears to have accomplished the impossible. In this work, Mr Qadari has captured in detail and under refreshing headings what the first Islamic state was like. Lawmakers, courts, the administration, anyone who pleases, can see its reflection in this mirror. If it is so inclined it can throw away the mirror, or it can try to improve itself.

The Qadari book has been published by the Literary Academy of the Department of Endowments in Punjab (Lahore). From a mere look at its contents one can guess its comprehensiveness. From the state constitution to features of the economic system, from the Prophet's court to international law, from administrative matters to holy war, the book covers every subject. Every Muslim who dreams of an Islamic state can clearly see in it what the Islamic state is like. At the same time, he can also understand what form it should take. For every soldier of action this book is such a present that it is both a weapon as well as an ornament. After all, for a soldier, a weapon is the most precious ornament.

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CSO: 4656/10

CHECK URGED ON INFILTRATION OF BANGLADESHIS INTO PAKISTAN

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 10 Oct 84 p 3

[Text] The infiltration of Bangladesh nationals into Pakistan via India has been going on for quite some time. Most of them head for Karachi where, according to one estimate, their number has reached anywhere from 10,000 to 15,000. According to a Chunia report, about 50 Bangladesh nationals recently sneaked into Pakistan. Also present were the people to guide the infiltrators to Karachi. They boarded a train at Patoki railway station enroute to Karachi. Unable to stand hunger, poverty and joblessness in "Sonar Bangls," these people sneak into Pakistan after passing thru India. Some people in these countries (Bangladesh, India and Pakistan) make a living smuggling human beings. Officials in Bangladesh and India may turn a blind eye to this unauthorized and illegal traffic with the aim of creating difficulties for Pakistan. But for Pakistan it should be a matter of concern that while 200,000 to 300,000 Biharis, who consider themselves Pakistanis, remain stranded in Bangladesh because of the expense involved in bringing them in and settling them, Bangladesh nationals are sneaking into Pakistan singly and in groups. And this process is increasing every day. A realistic course would be to act on this matter firmly, initiate talks with the Dhaka government and arrange to return the infiltrators to Bangladesh without delay. Present-day Bangladesh has undoubtedly been a part of Pakistan, but now that it is a separate and independent country, the movement of its people from one country to another should be in accordance with the law. Before this infiltration of Bangladeshis becomes a flood, it should be effectively stopped.

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CSO: 4656/10

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

NDP TO BOYCOTT NONPARTY ELECTIONS--Quetta, Oct 19--Saleh Mohd Mandokhel, the newly elected President of defunct National Democrat Party Baluchistan, has said that his party strongly believed in democracy and any action contrary to it would not be "acceptable to us." Speaking at a dinner held in honour of the newly elected councillors of the provincial NDP, he said Pakistan came into being as a result of a democratic struggle, while the present Government was keeping double standard in the revival of democracy. "We will boycott elections held on non-party basis," he declared. The NDP, he said, will fulfil its obligations towards the MRD's struggle for the revival of democratic rule in the country. Mr Mandokhel also criticised the policies of the present Government of Baluchistan and said: "Thousands of our youth are wandering jobless and they do not know if they get a job tomorrow or not." [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Oct 84 p 6]

CSO: 4600/58

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