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23 December 1985

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GAS EXPLOITATION, PLANS SUMMARIZED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 1 Nov 85 p 58

[Text] In the 1950's and 1960's many observers of the Arab economy noted with regret that the natural gas associated with the oil produced in the Arab and other Middle Eastern countries was going to waste, burning in the air uselessly. The situation changed in the 1970's and 1980's and a different kind of problem emerged because of the decline in the production of associated gas along with the decline in production of the oil itself. This is what most of the oil-producing states in the region are now suffering from due to the market situation. Attention is therefore focused on using the production of non-associated gas fields as sources of power for the new industries that have sprung up, especially in the Gulf region.

According to a study by British researcher Isabel Gorst, natural gas reserves in the Middle East amounted to 21.9 trillion cubic meters at the end of 1983. This represents a little less than a quarter of the world's total gas reserves and is equal to about 43 percent of the region's oil reserves. Iran is first in gas reserves (13.6 trillion cubic meters) followed by Saudi Arabia (3.4 trillion cubic meters), and then Qatar (1.6 trillion cubic meters) whose North Field is one of the largest concentrations of non-associated gas in the world.

The exploitation of these reserves did not begin until the 1970's and the Gulf region is still far from totally exploiting the energy from this source. The amount of gas saved from waste varies from country to country. A study done by EXXON says the total amount of gas used rose from 38 percent in 1972 to 51 percent in 1982. Some sources note that the amount of associated gas flared will not exceed 10 percent by 1990. This, no doubt, is a positive development for which the Gulf region is to be congratulated.

As for non-associated natural gas, there is serious interest in projects for exploiting it, too. The Gulf Cooperation Council recently announced an agreement in principle to construct a gas pipeline between the member states --Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, the Emirates, Qatar, and Oman. Further studies are needed on the prices that Qatar and the Emirates will impose as the two parties who will undertake to supply the other Gulf buyers of gas, namely, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Saudi Arabia has been subject to decrease in the generation of electricity and another decrease in the production of

liquified petroleum gas following the decline in oil exports during the last 2 years. As for Kuwait, the decline in its associated gas production led to its importing natural gas from abroad.

Natural gas in the Gulf region is consumed mostly by the petrochemical and fertilizer industries, power stations, and water desalinization units. The output of natural gas liquids has increased to 1.2 million barrels a day, mostly in Saudi Arabia where the output of the production units is 675,000 barrels a day. The purpose of increasing gas consumption in the household and industrial sectors is to "liberate" more crude oil and its products for export.

The problems involved in exporting gas to the world markets are very difficult and not easily solved. Gas must be liquified to make it suitable for export through pipelines or by tankers. Abu Dhabi has been the only Gulf liquid natural gas exporter since 1977. With the exception of Qatar, which is building natural gas liquefaction plants, no other Gulf state seems to be thinking of building such costly plants. Nevertheless, the liquid natural gas market appears to be promising. The Middle Eastern states produced more than 13 million tons of this substance in 1983, selling more than 80 percent of it to Japan. The European markets, however, did not import more than 2 million tons while the United States imported only 200,000 tons. The following is a quick survey of the main possibilities and developments in this sector in the Gulf countries.

Saudi Arabia: The first stage in the gas gathering system that began in 1975 ended in 1983 at a cost of \$14 billion. The second stage of the project will begin in 1986 and boost the capacity to gather and liquefy the gas from 96 million to 141 million cubic meters a day. The system involves gathering the gas at 26 points in the Ghawar, Harmaliyah, and Birri fields and pumping it to fractionation plants in Ra's Tanurah, Ju'aymah, and Yanbu' to produce ethane gas and liquified petroleum gas. Aramco is also undertaking to construct another system to permit the production of a million cubic feet of non-associated gas from 27 wells in the giant Ghawar oil field. The work on this system is expected to be completed sometime this year.

Kuwait: Kuwait's gas production rose 23 percent to 5 billion cubic meters in 1983-1984 because of the increase in oil production during this time. However, the shortage of gas supplies continued, resulting in the petroleum gas liquifying units in the port of al-Ahmadi and al-Shu'aybah and the fertilizer plants operating below their maximum capacity. The situation is bound to improve at the end of the year when the gas gathering project in the al-Ratawi and Khafaji offshore fields is completed. The French Technip Company is now building facilities to permit the gathering of 36 million cubic meters a day from these two fields. The gas is to flow through pipelines to the port of al-Ahmadi for treatment.

Iran: Iran has 60 percent of the Middle East's natural gas reserves, but its share of the gas actually exploited in the region is no more than 20 percent. It is hoping shortly to make steadily increasing use of the natural gas domestically to meet 40 percent of its requirements at the beginning of

the 21st century compared with 8 percent in 1983. However, the situation seems somewhat cloudy for the foreseeable future. In 1978 the new regime suspended gas exports to the Soviet Union and halted negotiations on an exchange agreement, claiming that Moscow was supplying Western Europe with Soviet gas while Tehran was supplying the Soviet Union with Iranian gas at the borders.

Iraq: Iraq's natural gas reserves are considered meager compared with its enormous oil reserves of 65 million barrels. Nevertheless, the Iraqi natural gas liquefaction projects begun in the 1970's were suspended because of the war with Iran. Baghdad, now engaged in constructing a pipeline with an annual liquified natural gas capacity of 3 million tons, will export the gas from the Turkish port of Yumurtalik on the Mediterranean.

Qatar: When the North Field begins to produce in about 4 years, it will flow 2.4 billion cubic feet of gas a day, with 500 million cubic feet to be consumed locally and about twice this amount going to the Unified Gulf System. More than a million cubic feet a day will be available for export. Qatar seems to be confident of its ability to avoid the exorbitant shipping costs by using tankers to transport the gas to Japan and the Far East and tankers or pipelines to bring it to Europe.

I. The Middle East: Gas Production and Utilization
(in millions of cubic feet a day)

Country	1972			1982		
	Total Production	Production Utilized	Percent Utilized	Total Production	Production Utilized	Percent Utilized
Abu Dhabi	1,085	121	11	1,080	730	68
Iran	4,024	1,724	43	2,370	990	42
Iraq	718	90	13	410	70	17
Kuwait	1,774	688	39	450	400	89
Qatar	493	107	22	560	510	91
Saudi Arabia	3,150	533	17	3,250	1,310	40
Other countries	500	300	60	1,500	900	60
Total	11,744	3,563	30	9,620	4,910	51

II. The Middle East: Natural Gas Reserves 1983

Country	Trillion Cubic Meters	Trillion Cubic Feet	Billion Tons *	Percent of World Production
Abu Dhabi	0.6	20.5	0.5	0.6
Bahrain	0.2	7.4	0.2	0.2
Dubji	0.1	4.3	0.1	0.1
Iran	13.6	480.0	12.2	15.1
Iraq	0.8	29.0	0.7	0.9
Kuwait	0.9	31.0	0.8	1.0
Qatar	1.8	62.0	1.6	1.9
Saudi Arabia	3.4	121.0	3.1	3.8
Other countries	0.5	18.8	0.5	0.6
Total	21.9	774.0	19.7	24.2

*Equivalent to tons of crude oil

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EGYPT

POLITICAL SCIENTIST COMMENTS ON LATEST ISRAELI RAID

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 21 Oct 85 pp 24-26, 79

[Article by Dr Khalid Mahmud al-Kawmi: "A Personal View Regarding the Israeli Air Operation of 1 October 1985 against Tunisia"]

[Text] At the beginning, I say that the Israeli air force operation on 1 October 1985 in the hinterland of the Tunisian nation, against the Tunisian area of Hamamet where the Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters are, was not a complete surprise to the organization itself. My evidence for that is that the Cairo newspaper AL-AHRAM published the following item of news, verbatim, in the 30 September 1985 issue (the day right before) quoting the MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY from Tunisia itself. The item said:

"Warning of an Israeli operation against the Palestinian forces in North Yemen.

"Tunisia: MIDDLE EAST NEWS: Palestinian military sources warned that Israel was preparing for a broad-scale military air operation against Palestinian forces in North Yemen.

"Radio Tunisia, which broadcast the news item, pointed out that the Palestine Liberation Organization had received information from various bodies confirming this." (End of the text quoted from AL-AHRAM, issue of 30 September 1985, page four.)

The substance of the above item of news confirms that the organization's observation and information gathering agencies are alert and at a level of competence which merits praise and commendation. They anticipated a specific air operation against themselves at the right time, although not at the anticipated location.

In general, this recent Israeli operation -- I am leaving it up to the reader to choose the adjectives for it which he himself considers appropriate -- involves more than one meaning and more than one lesson and moral for us Arabs. I can summarize these lessons and morals as follows:

The First Lesson

It is true that the Israeli operation was not carried out against Palestinian forces on the terrain of Yemen, as the Palestine Liberation Organization sources had expected, but actually against the organization, and against the fraternal nation of Tunisia at the same time, on Tunisian territory. Although it was not of the type one could describe as a "broad-scale operation," nonetheless it is still possible to anticipate that it will take place again on some other Arab territory on a relatively broad scale, as long as conditions similar to the current Arab international situation remain as they are.

Therefore, I say, regardless of the military details of the Israeli operation against Tunisia (currently the headquarters of the League of Arab States; this in itself is of major significance), that the first lesson to be learnt from it, as far as the Arab side goes, is that it is the second operation of its kind since the sabotage of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981. The meaning of this first lesson is that the new strategy Israel has relied on politically and geostrategically in recent years has shown its features in a manner which after today leaves no room for doubt or ambiguity: the strategy of the long arm, long in that it extends to every part of the Arab nation, whose areas extend north, east, south and west, from the Arab Gulf to Yemen, to the Arabian Peninsula to Morocco, passing through the Libya of his excellency the colonel then Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, not excluding Egypt and the Sudan or any spot in this Arab nation. We have long warned, and other Egyptians and Arabs have long warned, that this sort of gloomy, dark day would come, in light of the fragmentation, divisiveness and division that exists and looms over our current Arab conditions, but it seems that the people who cry out do not exist. Has our Arab nation, as some people claim, become a motionless body?

It appears that Israel set out scheduling for the operation which was also in keeping with our celebrations of the anniversary of the immortal 6 October victory!

The Second Lesson

Israel wants to make its Arab enemies understand that it insists with total determination and insistence on following and carrying out the method of violent, direct, immediate deterrence. Since this is the case, we are not faced here with the application of the principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," as far as retaliation goes. Rather, it seems clear that even if we accept the excuses and justifications offered by the Israeli party to justify the operation of direct aggression against Tunisia on 1 October 1985, Israeli retaliation is founded on totally different thinking as far as the exaction of retribution goes, which is that in exchange for three Israelis who were the subject of an assassination operation recently in Cyprus, the blood of about 60 Arab martyrs must be shed and three times them wounded, to pay the bill for the Israeli retaliation! So let anyone who protests protest and let anyone who condemns condemn!

In any event, in applying this Israeli thinking, all Israelis are equal, whatever political or party symbol they might stand behind, that is, the

Likud is the equivalent of the Mapai and Mapam (the latter two constitute the Labor Party at present), Takhiya, and so forth. The left, right and center, with all the political and ideological ramifications in Israel, are in agreement over this principle of retaliation because the Israeli Council of Ministers resolved on the operation, before carrying it out, by a majority of nine out of 10 votes (the only one who did not agree to it was Ezer Weitzmann, if the report is accurate).

Perhaps it goes without saying, in this regard, that Israel borrowed from its American ally the latter's historic expertise from the Vietnam war in exterminating its enemies by the method of direct violent inflexible deterrence. It appears that it has also borrowed its old historic experience in facing the Indians from it for use against the Palestinians (God be with you, Palestine).

Israel, here, does not act just on behalf of its interests and in service of its policy alone; rather, it is still proving to Western interests and forces the truth of the statement of its early leaders, since Theodore Herzl and Chaim Weitzmann, even before the establishment of the Jewish state, that it still is the garrison state "of these interests and the Western presence" in the face of Asian barbarism! The difference between the past and present is that while Herzl and Weitzmann addressed the British master in the past, when Great Britain controlled the keys of international politics, the rulers of Israel today are addressing the new master, embodied in the United States, and adopting President Reagan's appeal to crush international terrorism wherever it exists as a cover for the likes of its latest operation against Tunisia. It is unfortunate that the American president, by his statements on this operation, has given them legitimate cover, in the American view, not to speak of the statements that are being constantly made regarding American facilities offered to the Israeli air force which carried out the aggression against Tunisia. The source of the contradiction here is that Tunisia, in current American political conceptions, is a friendly country which receives American aid. Arab reader, look and sort out the matter yourself!

The Third Lesson

It is clear that Israel intends to make us Arabs understand that it has absolute freedom to set the time and place of any aggression it embarks on against any area it specifies in the territory of the Arab nation, regardless of the justifications. As long as it has its own justifications for this sort of aggression, it will not hesitate to carry it out, even if its justifications are founded on an individual incident of aggression or on the part of some persons or extremist (anti-Jewish) organizations which might basically be rejected in the Arab context, in form and substance -- indeed even if the Arabs themselves are the victims of their activities on many occasions, and numerous examples exist.

What logic is this? Where is Tunisia's fault, for example, in the case of the present lesson? Indeed, where is the fault of the Palestine Liberation Organization itself, since it has openly denied its relationship with this sort of incident which specific individuals might commit? Has it become

responsible for every act of sabotage or terrorism, individual or collective, against Israel and against the Jews, even if people who basically are not Palestinians or Arabs carry it out? We may wonder what we like, but this is the logic of the Israeli peace, the armed peace which imposes its will by force and arms. Most objectively, removed from all emotionalism, we can say that this truly is the logic of the arrogance of power.

I say this as I ponder the words of the Israeli foreign minister and deputy prime minister, Mr Shamir, commenting on possible Egyptian reactions to the recent Israeli operation against Tunisia: "As regards Egyptian disapproval of the operation, it will not be long before it rapidly disappears." Excuse me, Mr Shamir, this is your personal assessment, and perhaps your government's assessment, and you are free regarding the assessment you make, but I believe that accuracy has failed you and failed it totally.

Even if we assume for the sake of argument that the governments' disapproval may rapidly disappear, what about the disapproval of peoples? Does an intelligent person believe that Israel can carry out aggressions that strike its fancy, which it justifies as revenge and retaliation, without a reaction and without consequences? Indeed, it is a vicious circle in the cycle of revenge and counter-revenge. Thus, the cycles proliferate and the stages of violence and counter-violence escalate, in a manner which we can call the process of "the bloody sequence of violence" or "the sequence of compound violence," a sequence which is truly terrifying. Israel must bear the full responsibility for this before everyone in kindling its flame in the region and in the world.

What is strange, although expected, is that the ink on this article had hardly dried when we started reading news of the beginning of the kindling of the flame of the "sequence of compound violence" (the incident of the Egyptian policeman in Sinai against some Israeli tourists and the hijacking of the Italian ship with 450 passengers on board after their departure from Egyptian waters, passing through the incidents of the demonstrations held in Cairo against the Israeli embassy, all in the same week as the Israeli aggression against Tunisia).

The Israelis, rulers and ruled, must grasp this lesson well. Has the lesson ended, and will they understand, in spite of the exhilaration of the arrogance of power? Remember the lesson well, Mr Shamir.

The Fourth Lesson

History, through its entire course, may not have witnessed the sort of devotion and perseverant effort by every means which the world Zionist movement exerted before and after Theodore Herzl (known as the prophet of Zionism) in the second half of the past century, up to the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine in 1948, for the sake of the establishment of this state in Palestine.

A similar logic holds that a country which suffered in order to be established must subsequently respect the elements and principles of relations with other existing countries so that these other countries can respect its

identity and presence, perhaps at least in the long run, if it proves that it is entitled to that.

However, actual Israeli conduct has, on many numerous occasions, proved the Jewish state's lack of respect for the principles, foundations and bases of international relations, international custom and deep-rooted traditions regarding relations among countries, even in wartime as far as some of them are concerned, even when international relations do not exist among some of these countries. Israel's aggression against Iraq in 1981, then its recent aggression against Tunisia on 1 October 1985, and other aggressions against many Arab countries adjacent to it besides these two, further support what we are saying.

The reader may not need to have me remind him for example that Tunisia, specifically, and Morocco, were in the forefront of Arab countries which opened their doors to the Jews and in which they received and still do receive full respect and a healthy life. Indeed, some Jews have had ministerial positions there, since Tunisia, a long time ago, was one of the first areas in the whole world (along with Morocco) to which the Jews of Spain (the Sephardim) sought refuge in the distant past; there they found the blessings of refuge and a safe haven after massacres and dispossession in Europe, and the Jews lived there and became part of its people, enjoying life, once it had become good, benefitted them and aided their yearning. None of this today has aided Tunisia's cause with the Jewish state! The latter, it seems, to this moment, has had nothing but bombs and destruction for the Arabs, including Tunisia and others.

Israel has continued to act in the mentality of the Haganah and the Stern in this regard; it has continued to live with the pre-1948 mentality.

The Fifth Lesson

However Israel might try, with all it possesses, domestically and in the world, in the way of media and publicity agencies, to give others the impression that it is a country which came into being to last and that it is a stable, firmly-implanted country in this region of the world, I say, however it might try to do this, in my opinion it has not yet succeeded in doing so.

The country, any country, like a living human organism, has its own psychology or internal state of mind, and consequently has its conscious, voluntary behavior. It also has its unconscious, involuntary behavior. Israel, in its turn, has its own involuntary, unconscious behavior, which is reflected in its actual political conduct and decisions.

There is a deep-seated feeling latent in the psychology of the Jewish state that though it has expelled and dispossessed the Palestinian people and replaced them by Jews by every means, these people, who were expelled and dispossessed from their land, some day, if only after a while, must return to it, no matter how long it may take. This is a truth, and the facts and philosophy of history confirm it, especially since the Palestinian people by nature do not know submission and surrender, and the circumstances of these people's collective dispossession have not weakened the force of their will

to live and return from generation to generation. The circumstances of their persecution in Lebanon have made them more determined and the challenge to them has met a response which is consistent with them and strengthened their response to the challenge, which takes more than one form and more than one mode of expression. Israel has not been remiss in subjecting the Palestinian people, its first number [sic], to every type of lesson, examination and rigorous investigation. The results, it appears, are in favor of these fighting people. These people have proved to their tormentors that they do not resemble the Indians and that there is no basis for comparison. If it has struck Israel's fancy to call its generations which have been born and flourished in the Jewish state since 1948 as the generations of "Sabras" (a reference to the prickly pear which grows, develops and flourishes in the harshest, most arid climatic conditions; consequently the expression is a symbol of strength and firmness) the objective facts prove, every day, that the modern generations of Palestinians are true prickly pears, stronger, firmer and of firmer mettle, in form and in substance. These thoughts are not a sort of Arab bias toward Palestinians, but they are deeper ones than those mentioned by objective Western observers in press, military, political and diplomatic circles. Israel knows this well after study, oversight and profound examination on the part of all Israeli research institutions, universities, intelligence agencies and investigators (the Shin Beth agency, which is modelled after the American Federal Bureau of Investigation, and so forth). Israel takes this matter with the utmost seriousness and caution and it causes it eternal unrest. Therefore it acts toward the Palestinian people, under the pressure of its latent feeling that they will not be subject to its will forever, most barbarously and harshly, even if the situation reaches the point of a war of extermination against them. It persecutes them and seeks to exterminate them, not coexist with them, not just in Lebanon and not just in Tunisia, but even at the end of the earth, when it can find a way to do so. (One thing that provokes laughter and tears is that Israel discovered that the war of Lebanon only increased the Palestinians' strength and viciousness and broke the complex of fear of it among their young generations.)

The discussion is indeed ramified and complex, although what is important here is that the Israeli feeling, in this regard, reflects an indication which is of great importance as far as we and all Arabs are concerned. What is meant is the indication that Israel, in spite of all the manifestations of its relative stability which might appear on the surface, continues to be terrified deep down inside itself.

In my opinion its recent aggressive act against Tunisia is indicative of this, among other things: indicative of the state of terror. This is a factor which you must take into consideration with all the necessary seriousness while comprehensively, objectively evaluating the management of the Arab-Israeli struggle, without any desire to try to promote specific notions which are aimed at desensitizing general Arab feelings in any way.

The Sixth Lesson

The sixth lesson in itself merits the offering of thanks to Israel from me personally, and perhaps other Arabs and Egyptians like me might offer them

along with me. The inspiration for the thanks of course does not arise from its aggression. God be praised, we are not of those pathological sorts of people who take delight when others torture them. However, I will try to summarize the source of the thanks in the following brief words. Many people know that most of us, in the years which followed the signing of the peace treaty with Israel, thanks to the prevailing climate and even in order not to be accused of defiling the purity of the peace, chose words and expressions carefully, and, even though the principle of the freedom of the press has been established among us, especially in recent years, some writers were averse to using explicit, precise expressions and descriptions of the notions of the Arab-Israeli struggle. Some did so spontaneously lest they cause the government embarrassment, contenting themselves with allusions lacking in explicitness, while some did so after Israeli objections were repeatedly made that it was permissible to use certain expressions, words and adjectives and that it was not permissible to use other ones against Israel, with which we contracted for peace and with which we established relations and exchanged tourist and cultural groups. The truth is that some people did not take note and continued to use explicit expressions which express the truth of the struggle. The fact also is that each time the government replied to the protest by stating that the press here is free and not restricted, and that freedom of opinion and expression is guaranteed to all by force of the Egyptian constitution. However, the result has been that the pens of some writers have in one way or another been fettered and have not slaked the thirst that is in people's spirits in the face of Israel's excesses and its many violations after peace was contracted with it.

As for today, Israel, through its latest aggressive act against Tunisia, on the excuse of retaliating against the Palestine Liberation Organization, has enabled us to do without much that must be said about its nature, the true nature of peace as it understands and conceives it, its real conceptions of international relations, the extent of its readiness to honor the entities and sovereignty of countries, and so on and so forth.

It has dotted the I's and it appears that it always likes to reveal its consistent true nature, from time to time, lest we forget and so that our memory may be revived and our young generations which grew up and flourished in the atmosphere of peace with Israel may be aware.

It thus is enabling us to do without explaining much to our sons and daughters. Through the likes of the recent operation of Tunisia, it is itself voluntarily assuming this task for us and giving them the lessons, through all the means of explanation as well. It is restoring the memory of the Egyptian sea of cattle to the Tunisian baths of Hamamet!

For this reason specifically I say, truly, thanks, Israel.

As for you, the Arab community, Arabs:

Are we truly grasping the lessons and morals?

Is there anyone to answer, or is the answer up to God, my fellows?

The lesson has ended; will the moral end?

11887

CSO: 4504/74

EGYPT

IMPLICATIONS OF CAIRO DECLARATION ANALYZED

Overview of Declaration

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 16-22 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by Fu'ad Matar: "Is This the Next-to-last Step Before a Palestinian Government-in-exile?"]

[Text] Once again Yasir 'Arafat has displayed considerable skill in playing the political game. At a time when the world thought that he was besieged on all sides and that all his boats were without sails, he set off a bombshell which is sure to be heard amidst such nerve-racking silence.

The bombshell was a statement 'Arafat issued in Cairo on Thursday, 7 November 1985, following intensive meetings with President Husni Mubarak and some of his aides. The statement contained what was called the "Cairo Declaration," stating that "the PLO, in an attempt to push forward the efforts being made to hold an international peace conference, declares its denunciation and condemnation of all terrorist operations, be they state-sponsored or committed by individuals and groups against innocent and defenseless people everywhere. The PLO affirms its 1974 resolution condemning all external operations and all forms of terrorism and reaffirms the adherence of all its groups and institutions to this resolution. Furthermore, as of today, the PLO will take all deterrent measures against the perpetrators, and since adherence cannot be realized by one side alone, the international community must compel Israel to halt all internal and external terrorist activities."

The following observations may be made about this unexpected declaration:

First, this step is similar in some respects to the announcement of late President Anwar al-Sadat that, for the sake of peace, he was ready to go to Jerusalem. The only difference is that al-Sadat's step was spontaneous, undesired, and ill-timed, while 'Arafat's step, represented by the Cairo Declaration, as it relates to halting external activities specifically, is a deliberate, desired, and well-timed undertaking.

To explain further the matter of timing, it can be said that it was unreasonable for a Soviet-American summit to be held without a Palestinian position to whet the appetite for discussion and debate and on which the two leaders,

who will meet in a few days in Geneva, could agree. The position contained in the Cairo Declaration cannot be the subject of disagreement between the American and Soviet leaders, particularly since each of them has experienced the disaster of terrorist operations which have characterized the last decade.

Second, the import of the Cairo Declaration came after 'Arafat had overcome with great difficulty some considerably complicated episodes, perhaps the most conspicuous of which, or the most complicated, was the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement.

In this regard, the import of the Cairo Declaration came after Abu 'Ammar registered more than one flexible position which cost the lives of some of his supporters among young Palestinian leaders.

Third, there may be some displeasure with the Cairo Declaration, but such displeasure is expressed by some romantics and those with a passion for drawing parallels. As for the overwhelming Palestinian majority, it supports this new-old, or at least semi-old, position. For 'Arafat in 1974 registered positions close to the current one and at times met with Jews sympathetic to Palestinian aspirations and opposed to the Begin-Peres line.

What renders such a position safe is the fact that even 'Arafat's Arab enemies in general, and Palestinian enemies in particular, will not be able to register clear and open positions advocating the opposite of what the Cairo Declaration proclaimed or, in other words, approving the use of violence and terrorism against civilian targets outside occupied Palestine.

In this respect, tactic popular rejection of external operations is felt by many people who believe that internal operations have been modest and disappointing. It is certain that had the interior witnessed effective commando operations, the announcement to halt external operations would not have been met with satisfaction by anyone. Perhaps one merit of the Cairo Declaration is that the occupied interior will find itself expected to fulfill its role, or at least to affirm that Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation is not confined to operations abroad.

Fourth, the Cairo Declaration came at a time of heightened Soviet-American deals. In this regard, it is fair to ask who will benefit from this new position. Will they be the Americans or the Soviets, or will it be Egyptians?

The answer to that is that the beneficiaries will be many. The Reagan administration will benefit, Gorbachev's ambitious leadership will benefit, and the Egyptian regime, which is recovering from the American air hijacking incident, will benefit. All these parties will benefit, each within specific calculations.

At the same time, it can be said that the cause itself will benefit, for to the same extent as the Cairo Declaration brings the PLO closer to the policy of fait accompli, it moves Egypt away from Camp David. To put it more clearly, it can be said that announcing such a declaration outside Egypt is one thing, but announcing it in Egypt is something else. In other words,

announcing it in Egypt is an indication that Egypt is about to adopt a new position in harmony with the contents of the declaration.

It may be said as well that in the course of announcing a halt to external operations, the PLO obtained, in effect, Egypt's approval of internal operations. And in view of the agreements between Egypt and Israel banning military action, the provision in the Cairo Declaration which gives legitimacy to internal operations is a preamble to an extremely sharp conflict between the Egyptians and the Israelis. Any conflict of this kind benefits the PLO and any benefit to the PLO is good for the cause.

Fifth, the Cairo Declaration seems capitulatory if not read carefully and exhaustively. By reading it carefully, one can sense how this declaration tends to revive the Palestinian diplomatic struggle which has been subjected to very hard blows from the West in particular and from the East recently. A deliberate reading of the declaration clearly shows that halting external operations and condemning all acts of violence are conditional on an international position, taking into account that the word "condition" was not used and it seemed as though the condition was more of a wish. It appears that the rules of the political game between Mubarak, 'Arafat, and their silent or open partners require this.

It is interesting that the Cairo Declaration did not brand the United States as Israel's ally but was content to advise of the need to urge the international community to force Israel to halt all internal and external terrorist activities.

Sixth, it may be said here that what Muhammad Milhim should have stated in London in a straightforward way, Abu 'Ammar said in Cairo in the form of a historic declaration. Such a statement can only be made by a desperate or strong person. It is too early to judge a position such as this, as it is too early as well to tell whether Abu 'Ammar, by his position, wanted to turn the tables with all the dossiers on it, or to pull the rug from under a large number of parties, including Israel.

Two things are left. The first is that the Cairo declaration came at a time when the whole world was in a state of indignation brought on by the propaganda campaign against Abu 'Ammar following the Italian ship incident which, until further notice, will remain a "suspicious incident." Following the declaration, indignation will abate gradually unless Israel feels that 'Arafat, with Egypt's support, has pushed it into a corner, embarrassing it and those who support it as well, the United States in particular.

The second thing is that the Cairo Declaration may be the next-to-last step aimed at transforming the PLO into a government-in-exile to settle in Cairo awaiting some kind of relief or happy ending. As chance would have it, a Palestinian government-in-exile was an idea which came of of Cairo when al-Sadat came to power.

Interpretation of Cairo Declaration

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 16-22 Nov 85 p 12

[Article the Hamidah Na'na': "Cairo Declaration a Political Bombshell in the Direction of the Geneva International Summit"]

[Text] The Egyptian-Palestinian summit resulted in a communique called the Cairo Declaration, announced by the PLO and read by executive committee chairman Yasir 'Arafat in the presence of President Husni Mubarak and a group of journalists representing international, Arab, and Egyptian information agencies.

The Cairo Declaration contained a key paragraph which evoked violent reactions in some Arab countries and by some Palestinian organizations which differ with 'Arafat's political orientations. This paragraph says: "And in accordance with the efforts being made to hold an international peace conference, the PLO declares its denunciation and condemnation of all terrorist operations, be they state-sponsored or committed by individuals or groups against innocent and defenseless people elsewhere."

This paragraph was viewed as a departure from the organization's covenant which calls for armed struggle to free the occupied territory. But a careful reading of the declaration and the above paragraph in its context makes one realize that there is nothing new in the PLO's positions, statements, and documents put out by its institutions.

For the PLO, at the peak of its armed struggle, has not for one day abandoned diplomatic or political initiatives, to the extent that such initiatives almost dominate armed operations. Mr 'Arafat was intent, in this communique, on making a connection between international, Arab, and Palestinian political stances embodied in summit conference resolutions, the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, and UN resolutions. It underscores, for example, the 1982 Fez summit resolutions which gave free rein to peace initiatives and, consequently, was the first Arab resolution issued by all leaders and presidents without objection from anyone.

It also underscores the Geneva declaration issued by the 1983 UN international conference which convened to discuss the Palestinian question with the participation of all European countries. These countries upheld the conference's resolutions calling for a just solution to the Palestinian question, giving the PLO the right to represent the Palestinians within the framework of an international conference in which all the various parties to the conflict would participate. The declaration underscores as well adherence to the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement as a practical formula for any political solution.

To underscore further the key points which allow the PLO to move within an international, regional, and Arab framework protected by signed and declared resolutions and agreements, the communique underscored two key issues which make it a Palestinian document in keeping with the organization's legacy or covenant. These two points are:

The Palestinian people's right to resist Israeli occupation of their land by all available means in order to achieve withdrawal from this territory because the right to resist occupation is a legitimate one in the UN charter.

The second point is the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to set up their own state as a condition for peace.

Observers in Cairo are raising the question that if this communique did not present anything new and if the PLO used it to reaffirm its previous positions, why did Egyptian officials regard it as the beginning of a new phase of relations with the PLO or as an "important step which reinforces the peace process and proves to the world that the PLO is intent on condemning terrorism and on pushing the peace process forward," according to a statement by Dr 'Isamat 'Abd-al-Majid, Egyptian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, or as a "meaningful salient sign by the PLO that merits a more positive reaction on the part of all sides, the United States and Israel particularly," according to Dr 'Usamah al-Baz, President Husni Mubarak's political advisor.

Observers in Cairo believe that although the communique did not offer anything new, it gained importance, first by its timing and, second, by the place of its announcement. The communique came before the Geneva summit between the two giants and at the heels of the Palestinian-Egyptian disagreement over how to handle the transfer of the four commandos who hijacked the Italian liner and their leader, Abu 'Abbas, from Egypt to Tunisia.

It also came at the heels of the settlement of the Palestinian-Jordanian disagreement which broke out following Sir Geoffrey Howe's refusal to receive the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation following the Palestinian members' refusal to issue a communique condemning terrorism and recognizing Israel. King Husayn supported the British point of view, thus suggesting the existence of a prior agreement which the Palestinian side breached.

Furthermore, the communique followed an unexpected Jordanian-Syrian rapprochement which the Palestinian side fears will turn into an alliance at its expense and claim as its victim the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement whereby Jordan agreed not to accept any solution in the absence of the PLO.

In the shade of all the above factors, the Cairo communique was regarded, as far as timing is concerned, as a group of coded messages sent to all sides: Egypt, Jordan, Syria, the United States, Israel, and the USSR for each to decode in its own way and at its own discretion.

This is with regard to timing. But what about the place? And why did Abu 'Ammar refuse to allow his delegation in London to issue a similar communique so that he personally could issue a communique going beyond what was required of him in London? And why did he choose Cairo, the subject of an Arab controversy regarding the restoration of relations with it?

Issuing the communique in Cairo means, in 'Arafat's view, that Cairo in the future will be turned into a staging ground for any political initiative

toward peaceful solution in view of its being closest to the United States, which holds the settlement cards, and the intermediary to which Israel cannot object, owing to the fact that Egypt is the only Arab state which is bound to an agreement with Israel. Add to that Egypt's success in the last 2 years in reviving its relations with Africa within the scope of nonalignment. This is in addition to the excellent relations it maintains with Europe. All these factors, in the Palestinian view, confer on Egypt a special status not enjoyed by any other Arab state. Moreover, by issuing the communique in Cairo, Abu 'Ammar sought to hold Egypt as a witness, a guarantor, and an arbiter of his relations with Jordan.

But if these are the Palestinian objectives behind the Cairo Declaration, how far will its practical implementation go in reality and how binding will it be to the other Palestinian detachments? How far will Abu 'Ammar be able to go in exercising his power over his allies and partners in the organization, and what is Egypt's and the PLO's practical interpretation of this declaration? Does it mean a halt to the military operations in the territory occupied before 1948, known as "the state of Israel," thereby restricting operations to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?

A few hours after the declaration came out, an argument over its interpretation ensued. While President Husni Mubarak and his advisor, Usamah al-Baz, said that their understanding of the declaration was a halt to military operations against Israel, restricting them to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Palestinian side, and Abu Iyad particularly, emphasized that the occupied territory meant all the territory which has been occupied since 1948. In a seminar at AL-MUSAWWAR magazine, he added that "there is a difference between revolutionary violence and terrorism. For while we condemn terrorism, we adhere to our right to employ revolutionary violence against culpable Israeli targets such as the Mossad and its agents. We are against terrorism, a position Fatah has espoused since 1974, but we will not give up our struggle."

This difference in the Palestinian and Egyptian interpretations is not thought to be a problem at present because the international situation is on ice and the Egyptian and Palestinian endeavors will focus on what Usamah al-Baz called "restoring international confidence in the PLO" or "regaining its international support following the political massacre it suffered," as Yasir 'Arafat affirmed. But this difference in interpretation may turn into a real problem, should the diplomatic endeavors Egypt initiated while the Palestinian delegation was still on its soil, through messages and attached copies of the Palestinian declaration Mubarak sent to the heads of European countries, fail.

The question now is, what will happen after the Cairo Declaration and what are the undeclared objectives of the Egyptian-Palestinian initiative? Up until the moment Yasir 'Arafat left Cairo, no joint communique outlining the outcome of the discussions between the two sides had been issued. Palestinian sources confirmed to AL-TADAMUN, however, that the debate is still going on about Palestinian recognition of Resolutions 242 and 338 in exchange for U.S. and Israeli recognition of the international conference format, provided

that such acceptance be coupled with practical steps for its convocation. Finally, observers here regard the Cairo Declaration as a diplomatic bombshell set off at the advice of Egypt out of fear of a Jordanian change of heart and in the presence of one of Fatah's historic leaders, Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), who views the United States and Israel as symbols of military operations abroad. It is as though Yasir 'Arafat wanted to say that the PLO, with all its legitimate institutions and personalities, is totally committed to the terms of the Cairo Declaration.

Egyptian, Palestinian Meeting Detailed

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 16-22 Nov 85 p 13

[Article by Ihsan Bakr: "Egypt Advised; PLO Responded; Visit's Climate Suggested Its Outcome"]

[Text] It may be said that the Cairo Declaration was a natural culmination of the climate preceding and following the first public official visit by Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat to Cairo since Camp David and the third one since the Palestinians moved out of Tripoli, Lebanon.

The notion that the Cairo Declaration was the crowning touch of important discussions and a successful working visit is based on a careful observation of all the signals that emerged during the visit and of the climates that accompanied and preceded it. The important thing, however, is that the declaration placed the Palestinian card forcefully on the table of the Geneva summit between the two giants, hence the important and calculated step the PLO and Cairo achieved.

It must be pointed out here, before going into detail, that many sides, Arab and foreign alike and even some internal forces in Egypt, tried to obstruct the visit. Their attempts, which persisted up until the Palestinian leader arrived in Egypt, intensified to the point of writing lead articles in some newspapers expressing skepticism about the visit actually taking place and trying to cast a shadow on the true nature of Palestinian objectives, thus prompting some politicians in Cairo to object to this tone, which is alien to the traditions of Egyptian hospitality. Add to that the many questions raised by Hayil 'AbdalHamid, Fatah Central Committee member, who arrived ahead of 'Arafat. It was as if the Sphinx were wondering about the purpose of this campaign and as though the intent were to cancel the visit, shrink it down to size, or place obstacles in its way.

The official Egyptian reply was that these writers represented neither the official nor the popular Egyptian position and that when some Egyptian writers were expressing skepticism about the visit, President Husni Mubarak was reaffirming repeatedly that there was no substitute for the PLO. Indeed, Mubarak issued a strong warning to all sides about an attempt to exclude the PLO from the peace process, reemphasizing Cairo's established and fundamental stand that the PLO must be included in any peace endeavors as a genuine principal party; that Cairo supports the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and that there could not be a just and comprehensive peace in the area unless Palestinian rights are restored,

including the right to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Upon 'Arafat's arrival and a few hours before the talks began, AL-TADAMUN asked Hayil 'Abd-al-Hamid about his assessment of the situation. He said: "We do not pay attention to these frenzied campaigns for we are well aware of the objectives behind them. The stand of the Egyptian people and government and President Mubarak's clear and specific commitments are enough for us. The only thing for us to do is to reach an agreement with Egypt on clear and well-defined bases, for our way is clear and the official Egyptian position is an excellent one and we are proud of it."

The first attempt to undermine 'Arafat's visit failed because of a complete Palestinian understanding of the nature of the official position which Husni Mubarak personifies. And if there were any Egyptian observations, and indeed there were, they were openly and clearly discussed out of a common belief in the necessity of the Egyptian-Palestinian encounter. Everyone knows that no Arab position can be determined on the national level without Egypt and there can be no Arab leadership role for Egypt without a national position on the Palestinian question. While the Cairo Declaration, which 'Arafat read at the end of his visit, commanded the attention of everyone, 'Arafat's visit to Egypt produced more than one surprise, be it on the part of the Egyptian side or the Palestinian side. In the first precedent of its kind, it was decided that Abu 'Ammar, Abu Iyad, and the rest of the Palestinians would stay at Husni Mubarak's residence at al-'Urubah Palace as a sign of deep Egyptian-Palestinian ties and a warm welcome of the guests.

The second Egyptian surprise was that President Mubarak was sure to invite 'Arafat, Abu Iyad, and the other members of the delegation to the Air Force Day celebrations which were held at Bilbays Air Base and during which a Mirage 2000, 20 of which will be delivered to Cairo in the next 3 months, was seen in Egyptian skies for the first time. This was a clear indication to everyone that Egypt, which, along with the Palestinian people's leadership, seeks a just peace, does not forget nor has it ever forgotten that peace cannot be achieved without a true force to protect and maintain it.

As for the Palestinian surprises, they were many. This was the first time in the history of Egyptian-Palestinian relations that official talks have been held between the two sides: two official delegations for talks and closed working sessions between President Mubarak and Abu 'Ammar, followed by a joint meeting of the two delegations to form a working subcommittee to narrow down the points of agreement and differences and to crystallize the situation in order to come out with a common stance.

This has never happened before. For more than 20 years, talks used to be held between the president and the Palestinian leader or other leaders who accompanied him. But for 'Arafat's visit to turn into a specific working program with two official delegations and meeting minutes is an unprecedented occurrence which reflects, first, the gravity and importance of the issues under discussion and, second, the fact that the PLO, in its present form, is close to being a state entity.

About the climate that prevailed during the talks, the following observations may be made:

- There was total Egyptian insistence that the Palestinian people's inalienable rights be the basis for settlement and that peace in the area cannot be realized without them because they are the crux of the Middle East problem.
- There was a fixed Egyptian position that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and there can be no settlement without it.
- There was Egyptian-Palestinian agreement that the Amman accord is the point of departure toward a settlement and toward a new initiative to put the situation in motion.
- There was a complete meeting of minds and one language among the members of the Palestinian delegation.

An extremely frank discussion took place between President Mubarak and Yasir 'Arafat about the whole chain of events. The situation was assessed from all angles and an agreement was reached on the necessity to resist all terrorist operations that are harmful to the Palestinian people and their legitimate struggle.

Some basic issues remain unsettled such as the issue of PLO recognition of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the matter of when this recognition should come about and whether it should be mutual: should Israel recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination in exchange for PLO recognition of Israel, or should the PLO recognize Resolution 242 in exchange for U.S. and Israeli recognition of an international conference which would include the two superpowers, the permanent members of the Security Council, and all concerned sides, including the PLO?

It is noteworthy that the climate that prevailed over the talks as coupled with important signs which can be summed up as follows:

1. Dr Usamah al-Baz affirmed that Egypt was aware of attempts to exclude the PLO from the peace process and the Egypt was bent on foiling these endeavors because the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, has a key role to play in the peace process.
2. Dr Usamah al-Baz explained as well that Egypt will give appropriate advice to the PLO concerning foreign operations. It seems that this advice has been translated into practical terms through the Cairo Declaration.
3. Dr Usamah al-Baz gave a clear and important signal when he said: "No one can ask the PLO to recognize Israel's right to exist in the absence of Israeli recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination."

4. PLO official spokesman Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman announced during the talks that "the visit will be an important turning point in the Palestinian question and the future of the peace process." Hence, an observer cannot but note that before 'Arafat arrived in Cairo with Abu Iyad and Hani al-Hasan, Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, had already met with Fatah Central Committee members Abu Mazin and Hayil 'Abd-al-Hamid, who were accompanied by Zuhdi al-Qadrah and Sa'id Kamal, to prepare for the Egyptian-Palestinian talks. Right after this meeting the Egyptian chief of protocol met with the Egyptian charge d'affaires to Israel, Muhammad Basyuni, who had been summoned by the Israeli foreign minister, Yitzhaq Shamir, to hand him an urgent message for Cairo, believed to be about Israel's position on the peace process and on 'Arafat's visit to Egypt. Prior to that, Jordanian court minister 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah had concluded an urgent meeting with President Mubarak to deliver a message from the Jordanian King. In the evening, King Husayn made a telephone call to Mubarak shortly before he left Amman for Luxembourg and Paris.

Thus, it appeared to those who followed the progress of the talks and observed the resulting directives and pondered events that preceded Abu 'Ammar's arrival in Cairo that the Cairo Declaration was the crowning touch of a successful working visit by the Palestinian leader as well as an important beginning of efforts to consolidate the rights of the Palestinian people.

12502/12948

CSO: 4404/76

MAURITANIA

BRIEFS

EARTH SATELLITE BEGINS OPERATION--Nouakchott, 10 Nov (AFP)--Mauritania's communications earth satellite, which was built in Nouakchott with FR100 million financing by France, officially began operation on Sunday, according to an official communique published in Nouakchott. The communique, which was issued by Mauritania's Information Ministry, indicates that the station will at the beginning function with [word indistinct] "A" connected to the Intelsat satellite. It will be put into full use next December when part "B" will be connected to the Arab telecommunications satellite "Arabsat." [Text] [Paris AFP in French 1846 GMT 10 Nov 85 AB] /12712

CSO: 5500/4604

IRAQ

TRAINING FOR SPECIAL FORCES

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 16 Nov 85 p 8

[Excerpt] In the al-Sa'iqah wing areas and training fields, everything was ready and equipped for training. After walking over these fields, we met the fighter commander of the al-Sa'iqah wing of the Special Forces, Samir, who spoke about the wing's mission and basic role in preparing the fighters: The fighter enters the al-Sa'iqah course after completing the basic training course for Special Forces, which lasts 45 days and is divided into two stages.

The first stage is basic training and includes theoretical studies in planning, map reading, day/night navigation, mobilization, mock exercises, and courses in intelligence and first aid. The operational courses include bayonet and unarmed combat training.

The second stage is advanced training where the fighter encounters non-stop exercises, involving short and medium range patrols in arable terrain, long-range desert patrols, and mountain training.

The wing continually confirms that physical fitness is basic in training Special Forces fighters. The paratroop training wing accepts the fighter when he undergoes basic exercises in the paratroop class after he passes the al-Sa'iqah course. This class includes physical fitness, theoretical studies and operational training. The Special Forces fither, Hamid Kamil, who is in the parachute jump wing says: Physical fitness is composed of rope ladder exercises, push-ups, running in place, sit ups and trunk twisters. These exercises are directly related to the preparation for a paratroop fighter. There are theoretical studies which the course student encounters and these include special lectures on how to control the parachute in a correct and safe manner and how to land safely. There are classes in exiting the plane, guiding the parachute itself, the landing, preparation for emergencies, and tactical operations such as jumping over a coastal area, a village, a mountain, and the like. Operational training includes ground training, which gives form to what the fighter learns from classes, lectures, explanatory films, and advanced training. These are advanced and important exercises. After this, he moves on to the test of self-confidence where he overcomes the high tower and the exit tower bridge. Following this is the special training inside the aircraft and the actual jump stage. This includes the normal jump, jump with equipment, the tactical jump, and the night jump.

IRAQ

FRG TO ACCEPT OIL IN REPAYMENT OF DEBT

Hamburg DEUTSCHE VERKEHRSZEITUNG in German 12 Oct 85 p 15

/Text/ Iraq wants to pay part of its debt to the FRG with oil. The federal government will aid in the sale of the oil. This is the result of the third meeting of the German-Iraqi Economic Commission in Bagdad headed by the federal minister of economics, Martin Bangemann and the Iraqi minister of industry, Subhi Yasin Khudayr.

The largest part of the Iraqi obligations matured in the period 1983 to 1985. Besides it involves a total of more than DM 2 billion. The representatives of both countries agreed on a 2-year extension during negotiations last year.

In accordance with the agreement, Iraq payed the first installment in April 1985, amounting to DM 280 million. The following arrangement was agreed upon for the second payment, likewise amounting to DM 280 million, which would have been due on 1 October 1985: oil deliveries are to cover DM 50 million still in 1985. Deliveries worth an additional DM 115 million are to follow in 1986. About 300,000 tons of oil are involved. Iraq promised to be flexible in price policy. Iraq is to pay the remaining DM 115 million in cash in 1986. An agreement about payment methods was the most difficult part of the talks, which were originally scheduled at the end of May, for which Bangemann came to Bagdad, leading a delegation of representatives of German firms and banks.

In addition to declining oil income, the heavy financial burdens of the Gulf War with Iran are the cause of the Iraqi payment problems. In spite of a sharp decrease of German exports, Iraq is one of the FRG's biggest trading partners in the Arabian area. In 1984 German firms exported goods totaling DM 2.5 billion. In 1983, it even had been DM 3.7 billion. In the first half of 1985, German deliveries of merchandise again increased 9.6 percent. At the present time, a total of deliveries and services by German firms to Iraq amounting to DM 9 billion are secured by bonds of Hermes Export Insurance. As Bangemann explained, the federal government will also insure business in the future with Iraq with Hermes bonds.

ISRAEL

MATI PELED WRITES ON NEED FOR NEW NUCLEAR POLICY

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 9 Sep 85 p 7

[Article by Mati Peled: "Israel in the Nuclear Armament Race"]

[Text] On 28 August of this year, the overt signal was given for the beginning of the nuclear armament race in the Middle East. On that day it was announced that the governments of Syria, Libya, and Iran had decided to acquire nuclear weapons, in order to prepare themselves for a confrontation with Israel. For the first time, senior representatives of Middle Eastern countries--including foreign ministers--are addressing officially the nuclear armament race and declaring their intentions publicly. This political step was taken immediately after the publication of the report of the Institute for Disarmament Research in Washington, in which it was stated that Israel has nuclear capability which can be mobilized on short notice and that the Kfir planes and Jericho missiles in Israel's possession can carry nuclear warheads. Their number is estimated at between 15 and 20.

To this point, Israeli governments have been accustomed to defining their stances in this area in vague terms, stating that Israel would not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons to the area. But, the contention that Israel is in fact developing nuclear capability was never denied. The report of the Institute for Disarmament Research turned the assumption that prevailed until now in the world regarding Israel's nuclear capability into an accepted fact. From this point on, Israel is considered to be a country with nuclear armament, able to employ them in times of war through identified and recognized systems of warfare.

Israel's policy in this area was from the outset adventuristic. With the erection of its nuclear reactors, Israel refused to become a party to the international convention to prevent the dispersment of nuclear weapons. In so doing, it prevented itself from the possibility of acquiring, at relatively favorable terms, American-built reactors, and made itself suspect even in the eyes of its friends. Down through the years, different studies have been published regarding Israel's nuclear strength, which determined, almost with certainty, that the Israeli Army has nuclear weapons. The matter became an accepted fact, agreed to without quarrel by everyone, even in the absence of any possibility of proving it. And now all doubt has been removed in the matter, the most overt expression coming in the decision of the three foreign ministers published in Damascus.

It is possible to estimate in various ways the abilities of Syria, Libya and Iran to nuclearize their armies, but there should be no doubt as to their financial ability to realize this should they just want to. Now that the nuclear race has begun overtly, the question which presently presses on our area is within how much time they will fulfill their nuclear plans.

Lacking Sustaining Power

The conclusion for Israel to draw from this new fact is the vital need to consider anew the question of the nuclear race in the Middle East and its ability to stand up to a nuclear confrontation. This consideration must take into account several basic facts. First, that Israel does not have the ability to sustain a nuclear attack. One bomb on the order of 20 kilotons dropped on Tel Aviv would be enough to put an end to the ability of the state and Israeli society to function for a long period. Second, there is no possibility for Israel to build a passive defensive system against such a bombing, because a network of shelters against nuclear attack requires huge outlays--far surpassing Israel's means. Third, there is no possibility of setting up an active defense network against nuclear attack, because the ranges that a ballistic missile with a nuclear warhead would be required to travel are very short.

There is no possibility of setting up a warning system which would make possible timely entry into non-existent shelters or a system of anti-missile missiles for the purpose of intercepting approaching missiles. The development of such a system implies an impossible burden, even for the superpowers, which is the reason each of them has reached agreement that they would establish only the most limited system of anti-missile missiles, and this mainly for the purpose of studying the subject and developing allied technologies.

The absence of the possibility of establishing an active or passive defense system against nuclear warhead-bearing missiles was accepted in Western European countries at an early stage of the nuclear armament race. Embedded in this view is the unsubstantiated assumption that Western Europe has a limited ability to sustain nuclear attack--something which is by no means correct regarding Israel.

Preemptive Attack

From the facts the elaborated to this point emerges the conclusion that in the reality of nuclear armament in the region, the only thing which can protect Israel from a Syrian, Libyan or Iranian attack is the ability of Israel to launch a preemptive attack with nuclear warheads before its military sector is destroyed. But, as we have learned from the history of the nuclear race between the superpowers, this is a most dangerous situation which requires each side to try to be the first nuclear striker, for it is difficult to estimate ahead of time the extent of the damage likely to be caused the one hit first. In order to reduce the likelihood of a premeditated attack, the two superpowers have invested enormous sums of money to establish sophisticated warning systems and passive defense systems--two systems not at Israel's disposal.

In fact Israel already demonstrated a readiness to launch a preemptive strike when it attacked the Iraqi nuclear reactor, but in so doing it established a dangerous precedent which is likely to prove its stumbling block in the future. For, from this time on, whenever other countries in the area decide to erect an offensive nuclear system, they will take into account Israel's readiness to launch an attack and will take all the precautions to prevent or preempt it. After offensive nuclear capability is acquired, the area will be enveloped in a terrible tension: every side will want to ensure that it will be the first to open the attack, since its ability to respond after absorbing such an attack will always be an unknown. Such will also be the case for the other countries in the area, despite the fact that their larger land masses give them a much greater sustaining power than Israel.

If such a dangerous situation comes into being, the Middle East will turn into an area in which, on any given day, a nuclear holocaust can occur. And there is no doubt that such a holocaust will be more difficult for Israel than for any other country in the area. This notwithstanding, we hear that in the upper echelons of the Ministry of Defense they are discussing "nuclearizing" Israel's conception of security, as if such will bring a solution to all of Israel's problems (see Avraham Schweitzer's article in HA'ARETZ 26 July, No 280. The fact that such discussions are going on was not censored beforehand and was not denied after publication. Yet, the minister of defense refuses to shed any light on the debate taking place in the inner sanctum of his ministry. His conduct strengthens the assumption that Israel is indeed at the beginning of a process intended to nuclearize the Israeli army, and this fact hastens the nuclearization of the entire area.

The time has come--and we might only have a little bit of time left--to define anew the policy of Israel in this realm. If it is Israel's wish to prevent a nuclear holocaust in the foreseeable future (in the range of 15-30 years), Israel must adopt a policy based on the following principles: first, to become a party to the convention against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to initiate an area monitoring system; second, to propose the convening of an international conference which will discuss military nuclearization in the area and means of ensuring nuclear demilitarization; third, to recommend the establishment of a permanent commission which will debate the problems of nuclear energy in the area and will coordinate steps for the safe development of this energy for peaceful purposes. This commission will ensure against excessive pollution of the area with nuclear waste and make possible the establishment of a regional network of nuclear energy sources for the benefit of all the countries of the Middle East.

In the past, steps were taken to coordinate the exploitation of water sources by Israel, Jordan, and Syria--even in the absence of peace. Today, the sphere has to be expanded and an effort made to deal with the question of the nuclearization of the area--this too, without peace and for the sake of peace. It is within reach.

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ISRAEL

EFFORTS TO OPEN CHINA MARKET OUTLINED

Delegation of Businessmen

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 13 Aug 85 Business Supplement pp 7-8

[Article by David Lifkin: "For the First Time: An Israeli Delegation in the People's Republic of China"]

[Text] Breaking through the Great Wall of China is the challenge faced by firms and enterprises in Israel which are investing considerable efforts to gain a foothold in the Chinese market of more than 1 billion people. It was not too long ago that the goal of breaking into the Chinese market was seen as an impossible mission for Israelis. However, in the last few months there have been numerous signs that a change for the better has occurred in Chinese attitudes toward Israel. They are no longer reacting coldly to proposals from Israeli firms and reports are being received about various business deals in advanced stages of negotiations.

According to several reports, a number of delegations of Israeli businessmen have already visited China. Some of the delegations visited specific cantons interested in acquiring information and projects from Israel, some stayed in Beijing and met with senior officials in charge of economic affairs. In some areas, there are already tangible results, such as joint agricultural projects for growing shrimp, cotton and strawberries. There are also negotiations in the final stages for the building of factories, specifically for processing agricultural produce, exploiting solar energy and medical equipment.

Efforts are being made by Israelis to be included in construction projects, such as hotels, resort areas and even housing complexes. The projects discussed are in the range of tens of millions of dollars and the Chinese are evaluating several Israeli proposals in these areas.

Actually, Israel could have been one of the first countries in the western world to have diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. More than 30 years ago, the Chinese were interested in establishing full diplomatic relations with Israel, including trade relations, and at the time, meetings were held between Israeli and Chinese representatives on this subject. But the American government strongly objected to anyone establishing relations with the PRC, and the government of Israel therefore decided at the time to pursue only trade relations.

One of the first delegations from the western world to go to China at that time was an Israeli trade delegation led by the Israeli ambassador to Burma, David Hacohen, along with several businessmen. The delegation returned to Israel and submitted a positive report on the numerous possibilities for developing trade with China. At first, Israel was reluctant to establish diplomatic relations for fear of the American reaction. But in 1955, when the Israeli foreign ministry sent a telegram to the Chinese government announcing an agreement to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries, it was too late. A short time before, the Chinese had decided to join the anti-Israeli front during the non-aligned summit meeting in Bandung and to support an anti-Israeli platform.

Shimon Peres Dropped Hints

Since then, there have been various attempts by Israel to break through the Great Wall of China. Over the last few years, reports have appeared in the foreign press about defense and electronic industries in Israel carrying out exports to China. At the end of February this year, Prime Minister Shimon Peres for the first time hinted about the existence of relations between China and Israel, while lecturing at the Tel Aviv University.

China is now in the midst of economic reform, the goal of which is to close the gap created during Mao's cultural revolution. The giant nation is quickly moving from an era of standing still to a movement of agricultural development and industrialization. This has occurred as the result of a decision made at a meeting of the Chinese Communist party in October 1984. The objective is to turn the world power into an industrial power within 10 years. To facilitate this acceleration of economic development, several large cities were opened to foreigners and they have almost full autonomy to make contact with foreign investors and entrepreneurs. There are approximately 19 special economic regions wherein the Chinese have granted preferred status to foreign investors.

Business contracts with China are based on equal partnerships between the foreign investor or entrepreneur and the Chinese government. In cases of a particularly large investment, the Chinese are willing to lower their participation in the partnership to 20 or 30 percent. The Chinese don't invest foreign currency in the joint projects, but rather cover a significant portion of the local expenditures, such as expenditures for acquiring land, building structures, salaries, etc. The Israelis who are conducting negotiations with the Chinese note that the Chinese are willing to give tremendous special advantages to projects in which they have an interest. However, the condition set by the Chinese is that within 15 years, the project will revert completely to local ownership. This means that the foreign investor or entrepreneur must guarantee for himself sufficient profits within this period. This clause has not deterred western investors, nor has it discouraged interested parties from Israel. To the contrary, the fact that they know in advance that a joint enterprise will revert to sole Chinese ownership in 15 years eliminates the fear that the Chinese will nationalize the enterprise, as has occurred in other countries in Asia and Africa.

Activity in the agricultural sector is linked with several factors. The Israel Water Planning Authority has expressed a willingness to make Israeli expertise available to the Chinese. Koor-Sahar has also been looking for ways to be included in agricultural development. And Klal has successfully reached agreements with the Chinese, including one on the management of a large pig farm and the preparation of a development plan for a large agricultural region. Now, Koor-Sahar is looking for investors to participate in the project, which involves no small investment.

A significant push for the advancement of Israeli trade with China came over the last few months via the partnership between the managing partner of the Menora insurance company, Dr Moshe Prag and the 52-year old American Jewish lawyer David S Boxbaum, who has been living in China for the last few years. The advantage Boxbaum has over other middlemen is the fact that he resides in China. Boxbaum lives with his family in the city of Jiazhou and his office has branches in other important Chinese centers such as Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong. He employs dozens of Chinese lawyers in his offices and he himself is considered one of the greatest experts on Chinese law. He even advises the Chinese government on the wording of laws, especially in the area of encouraging capital investments.

Menora's manager realized that in some cases Israeli firms cannot compete or meet the demands of the Chinese. So he began looking into firms in Germany, France, and the United States, to enable them to answer the Chinese requests. Now, Boxbaum-Prag operate not only in Israel, but also through branches in other countries, to meet the demands of the Chinese who are eager to acquire quickly information and advanced projects. For his services to Israeli companies, Boxbaum takes 5 percent of the total project value upon signing the contract with the Chinese. His fee is 7 percent for other countries. Dr Prag notes that contracts worth tens of millions of dollars have already been signed by Israeli groups with Chinese firms in the fields of industry, agriculture and services. Among others, there are contacts underway to establish joint advertising and insurance agencies. Usually, it takes at least 2 years of negotiations between Chinese parties and foreign entrepreneurs to reach an agreement. But in some cases, it took only 3 months to reach an agreement!

Dr Prag notes, too, that the problem of capitalizing projects is not as difficult as in the past, because now capital can be acquired from the World Bank as well as from banks in Hong Kong. Recently, even financial institutions in San Francisco have been willing to fund projects in China, and there is a particular readiness on the part of Chinese Americans who, for sentimental reasons, have been willing to help bolster the Chinese economy.

Another channel for Israeli activity in China is through Chinese businessman Lee, who lives in Singapore. He is active in the advancement of trade between Israel and China, and has a network of high-level contacts in China which has helped him close several interesting agreements. Over the last few months, Dudai's group has also been active and has established ties with China. Through this channel, initial agreements have been reached and visits by representatives from Israel factories and firms to China have been organized.

["First Official Visit," by Aharon Pri'el]

The most important change in the network of "relations which are not relations" between Israel and China occurred in May of this year, when an official high-level Israeli delegation--according to recent articles in the NEW YORK TIMES and the British weekly on military and defense matters, JANES--entered China using their Israeli passports and were official guests of the Chinese. According to these same sources, the Israeli delegation was led by Professor Shmu'el Pohoriles, head of the Agricultural Development and Planning Authority in Israel. This Israeli delegation was comprised of 9 members, representatives of firms, organizations and enterprises in Israel, mostly agricultural specialists. The first published report about the Israeli delegation's visit appeared in MA'ARIV in mid-June of this year. The article contained a detailed description of the subjects discussed in Beijing by the members of the Israeli delegation, each in his own field.

Israeli involvement in Chinese agriculture actually began approximately 5 years ago. Israeli experts with dual citizenship were invited to work in China and entered on their non-Israeli passports, or with a special travel papers. They stayed for prescribed periods, usually from 1 month to 1 year.

The employment of these experts was arranged by foreign firms with whom China has signed special contracts for that purpose. Every report in the foreign press regarding the existence of these Israeli experts in China was vehemently denied by the Beijing government, except for the visit of the Israeli delegation to Beijing in May, which has not yet been refuted.

The NEW YORK TIMES even wrote that two economic trade delegations from China had visited Israel not too long ago and had discussed strengthening the economic ties between the two countries. One delegation, according to the article, also dealt with preparations for the Israeli delegation's visit to China. The Israeli delegation which visited Beijing in May included top caliber Israeli businessmen and economists in the fields of agriculture, electronics, medical and scientific equipment, computers and solar energy--all civilians. Their visit was planned in advance, down to the tiniest details, and the subjects for discussions as well as the plans of the Israeli experts were made known to representatives of the Chinese government well in advance of the visit. In this way, the hosts were able to put together panels of Chinese experts in fields appropriate to the agenda and joint work groups were set up in each and every field. This made it possible to identify and define the subjects and fields to which Israel can contribute, in the framework of possible agreements for cooperative ventures between the two nations.

The Chinese hosts' knowledge of the status of agricultural development and research in Israel, as well as other subjects, surprised the members of the Israeli delegation. Here, credit should be given to one man, an international businessman from the Far East whose intervention and involvement actually made the visit of this large delegation to Beijing possible. This man is very close to the inner circle of government in China and has many things working for him in the political and economic systems of the Chinese government. This man had visited Israel a number of times to prepare for the Israeli delegation's trip;

approximately 1 month after the Israeli delegation returned to Israel, this same man arrived in Israel and signed agreements for several projects that had been discussed in Beijing.

The First Visit of Israeli Businessmen

Approximately 3 years ago, the Israeli head of a firm well-known in Israel and abroad visited China. He stayed in China for 6 weeks, toured a number of regions where the Chinese government was interested in implementing agrarian and agricultural reform. Following his visit, no small number of Israeli experts went to China, people with dual citizenship, to work on a long and varied list of agricultural projects: regional and village planning, modern irrigation systems, economic planning, and the establishment of a modern system for cultivating field crops. Approximately 1 year ago, Prof Shmu'el Pohoriles, head of the Agricultural Development and Planning Authority, was surprised to receive an invitation to visit China. The invitation was given to him by a well-known Chinese scientist, president of a university, during an international conference held in Canada on the subject of the war against hunger. The Chinese scientist, in a conversation with his Israeli colleague, expressed the hope that it would not be long before Israeli experts could work in China. The vision of this Chinese scientist has come true.

It is also known that 4 Israeli experts recently stayed in China for relatively long periods of time. This is in addition to the involvement of representatives from foreign private firms who are working on a contractual basis on various agricultural projects, such as a large farm for animal husbandry, for example. Three experts, members of kibbutzim and moshavim, have served as advisors on field crop cultivation projects, and another expert served as an economic advisor. These experts stayed in China to fulfill contracts arranged between the Chinese government and private foreign firms, and have no relationship with the visit of the large Israeli delegation that went to Beijing in May of this year.

The first order of priority, according to the Chinese, is agriculture, specifically the establishment of dairy farms and the re-planting of agricultural areas to allow for modern intensive farming; the establishment of factories for industrial production of agricultural products; the establishment of modern irrigation systems, mainly drip method irrigation and controlled irrigation; the implementation of genetic engineering methods; use of fertilizers; and the exploitation of all types of energy, mainly solar, for home and industrial use. In international circles where there is first-hand knowledge of the cooperative plans, there is a feeling that the Israeli delegation's visit to China signals a real change in the network of economic relations between the two countries. The Chinese, who are generally oblique people, did not hide their esteem for Israel's modern agricultural achievements. Based on a conservative estimate, the monetary scope of the various agricultural and industrial projects planned in the framework of cooperation between the two nations amounts to about \$1 billion. All that remains to be done today is actually on the technical level--organizing the entry and use of Israeli experts without damaging the network of relations between China and the Third World.

Until the visit of the Israeli delegation as an official guest in China, in addition to the involvement of a businessman from one of the Far Eastern countries, articles in the foreign press had only referred to the meeting of Prof Pohoriles with representatives of the Chinese delegation. Other clandestine meetings took place in various locations around the world--Europe, the United States, and the Far East. No Israeli source has confirmed these meetings.

The Scope of Current Activity

Israeli business groups are working in China on several horizons:

- The Eisenberg Group is being used as one of the main pipelines for Israeli activity in China. Sha'ul Eisenberg has shifted the operations center of his economic empire to China over the last few years. One of his offices is in Beijing and he personally supervises the activity in this office.
- The managing partner of the insurance firm, Menora, Dr Moshe Prag, has developed over the last few months a pipeline for activity in China via the Jewish-American attorney David Boxbaum, who has offices in China.
- Businessman Lee lives in one of the Far Eastern countries and has close connections with Chinese authorities. He has successfully promoted Israeli civilian activity in China, mainly in the fields of agriculture and industry.
- Eli'ahu Porat, former head of Solel-Boneh-Overseas, together with the firm of Pakar-P'landa and Efra'im Poran, former military secretary to the prime minister, have established a firm working promoting projects overseas. This firm opened an office in Singapore which handles agreements with China, mainly in the fields of construction and tourism, but also trade enterprises.
- Avi Dudai, former assistant to Minister Ari'el Sharon, successfully established ties with several Chinese figures and has promoted a number of agreements for Israeli exports.

Difficulties Involved

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 13 Aug 85 Business Supplement p 9

[Article by 'Amiram Fleisher: "Export Only Enterprises"]

[Text] A few months ago, an Israeli businessman, active in the area of agricultural equipment, examined the possibility of establishing a similar enterprise in China. The man discovered that the Chinese were interested in such an enterprise. Very excited, the man met again with his hosts and began negotiating details related to the business with his hosts. In an attempt to boast about his successes, he told his hosts that his factory in Israel produced goods for export to Europe and the United States. Suddenly, the faces of his Chinese became serious. "But we want to export to those markets, too," they said. Their meaning was clear: The Chinese want to establish

enterprises for export to world markets which will bring in foreign currency. The Israeli withdrew at the last minute from the plan to establish an enterprise in China that would be in competition with him.

This incident is not unique in the increasingly interwoven tapestry between Israeli businessmen and Red China over the last few months. A few months ago, a delegation of businessmen from Israel visited China. Among those participating was the former aide to the minister of industry and trade, Avi Dudai. He is now acting as one of the intermediaries between Israeli businessmen and the Chinese, and he has recently spent some time in China. Dudai vehemently refuses to speak with the press and is not willing to answer any questions. But another businessman who spent some time in China during the same period confirmed that Dudai has for months been trying to act as an intermediary in several industrial and agricultural agreements.

That same businessman, who for obvious reasons has asked to remain unnamed, says that the Chinese are not willing to buy ready-made projects, but prefer to establish joint projects the results of which will be destined for export to western countries. The man explains: "A foreign businessman who arrives in China must know that until he has spent twice as much as he expects to earn, they will not allow him to take money out of their country."

Of course, trips by Israeli businessmen to China are being made quietly and away from the media. Officially, the Chinese have announced that they have no relations with Israel, and in general, they want the projects established by Israelis to be administered through foreign firms. Therefore, almost all the Israelis who traveled to China used passports from other foreign countries, although there were cases where Israelis entered China on their Israeli passports. "The technical arrangements in China are such that in order to get a visa you must have an official invitation from an authorized source. These official sources are well aware that Israeli businessmen are involved, but they prefer to close their eyes," says the businessman.

Preferred Status for Businesses with Export Potential

"The Chinese want everything. Their plan is to develop businesses with export potential with foreign investments being made based on the principle of joint investment (joint ventures). We have a problem with this because the Bank of Israel has stopped giving Israelis permission to invest abroad," says the anonymous businessman. "It should be clear that the Chinese are not seeking out Israel or Israeli businessmen. They are looking for good projects and it does not matter to them who the investor is."

One of the projects that has been agreed upon in principle refers to the export of irrigation equipment to China. There is no intention to establish a factory, but rather to sell irrigation equipment for use by Chinese farmers to improve the soil and the agriculture in one of 14 provinces that have been declared development areas. "In this case, the Chinese knew that it was Israeli-made equipment. They figured out that this equipment was the cheapest and the best offered to them," says one of those involved in this agreement. It is clear, that even in this case, the people involved refuse to be identified and are

willing to discuss the project only "to a degree" and only with the promise that no detail that could identify them would be disclosed.

As far as making contacts, says this same source, each of the Chinese economic firms established for purposes of international contacts, puts out an attractive color brochure with details on the projects in question. In the brochure is detailed information on the project, the marketing plan for the product, the required investment, location of the enterprise, how to contact them and other details. "Approval for each project must be granted by the central government which thoroughly examines each bid," says the same source.

Negotiating Procedures

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 13 Aug 85 Business Supplement p 10

[Article by David Lifkin and 'Amiram Fleisher: "Everything is Open for Negotiation"]

[Text] American attorney Eugene Therox, a director of the national committee for U.S.-China trade relations, is one of the many western businessmen who have developed relations with China over the last few years. With the vast experience he has acquired, he has written the "Do's and Don'ts" of negotiations and contracts with the Chinese.

Contact Before Negotiations - Every businessman must, if he wants to succeed in China, work in direct contact with the Chinese, without intermediaries. Once an intermediary has identified a project, the businessman should be in direct telex communication with the Chinese.

Submitting Proposals - When a businessman reaches the stage of submitting a proposal, it must be complete and should include all details from the technical aspects, sales and the legal and international implications. The proposal must be clear and concise, because the Chinese are exacting people when it comes to each and every detail. It is most advisable to request a response from the Chinese within a reasonable period of time. One thing that insults the Chinese is illegible Chinese writing.

The Draft of the Contract - As in any business, when dealing with the Chinese a draft of the proposed contract must be submitted. It is customary for the Chinese to ask the other side to prepare the first draft. The experience of American businessmen has taught us that one should not expect a response to the first draft until the party has been invited for a visit to China, where negotiations will generally be held.

Negotiating with the Chinese - It is worthwhile knowing that the Chinese generally "do their homework well." You can assume that they have already spoken with your competitors. It is also worth knowing that on the other side of the table will sit a man who will write down every word you say. It is therefore worth the businessman's while to prepare himself for the negotiations, because every word will be transcribed and later you may receive a response to something you said and forgot. Sophisticated Chinese businessmen appear to have

"time to spare," but in reality they prefer to get to the point. Contact with the Chinese includes many social events, receptions and cocktail parties. They expect the foreign businessman to invite them to similar events. Attorney Therox sums up his advice in one sentence: "Before you leave China, prepare a telex for the home office explaining why everything takes so long, much longer than you planned for in advance..." "The best thing about Red China is that everything is open to negotiations," says another American lawyer, Robert Goodein, who also deals in this field. "Anyone who is considering doing business with China must target his efforts in very specific ways, because every day in China brings the establishment of a new organization or authority that will take the rules and turn them inside out."

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ISRAEL

NRP YOUNG GENERATION CONVENTION REVIEWED

Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew 18 Sep 85 pp 16-17

[Article by Ya'ir Sheleg: "From Burg to Gush Emunin and Back Again"]

[Text] Last month a founding conference was held at Giv'at Shmuel of "Young Generation in NRP." This, after more than 20 years during which the term "NRP young generation" characterized the generation of Zevulun Hammer and Yehuda Ben-Me'ir, today nearing the age of 50. In a rare move, Hanan Porat was also invited to speak at the conference; he is a member of the competing Morasha party ("I got special permission from my party to talk here," said Porat). The things he heard there were certainly not pleasant for him. He was attacked sharply, accused of causing schisms, and chasing seats(!) [in the Knesset]. In truth, it is hard to say he was particularly surprised. Porat has been hearing such things almost from the time he decided to leave the NRP (after the Camp David agreements) to form, along with his secular friends, the Tehiya movement, to struggle for the Greater Land of Israel. However, since the last elections, it seems the strength of the criticism has increased. It should be noted that the critics are the same people who 9 or 10 years ago, as members of the Bnei 'Akiva youth movement, followed Porat to every hill in Samaria while thirstily drinking in his words.

Something is happening under those "crocheted skull caps." No longer are they blindly following Gush Emunim. More and more you hear cynical expressions in the Bnei 'Akiva chapters about the "guys with the big skull caps and their fringes hanging out who are driving the entire country crazy." The media is still harping on surveys which point to Kahanistic ideology among religious high school students. and other groups, still marginal ones, are forming God forbid, to the left. At the last Bnei 'Akiva convention such a group drew attention, principally a Jerusalem group, idealistic and intelligent, some of whom today can be found in the Bnei 'Akiva Yeruham gar'in [settlement group]. Several members of that group for a long time participated in a study group with Professor Yeshayahu Leibowitz. There will be those who claim, with justification, that this is not a large group, that the Jerusalem group is an exception in the movement because it is for the most part comprised of intellectual families from Rehav'a and the reabouts. This is all true, but the fact is that during the years when Gush Emunim flowered, such a group did not form.

It is difficult to place this revolution. Actually one cannot even call it a revolution. The change, as was stated, does not encompass the majority of the

youth. Proponents of precise definitions and characterizations will try to attribute the change to the problematic nature of the war in Lebanon, perhaps in the shock caused by the uncovering of the underground. To my best estimation these are factors which perhaps had a marginal influence. The fact is that general support of rightist ideology did not change. What changed, and here the reference is more to a social than political upheaval, is personal obligation. Up to a few years ago it was clear almost to every young couple who had been members of Bnei 'Akiva that they would build their home at the top of a green [ra'anana] hill in Samaria. Today more and more youth are looking for "Samaria Hill" in Ra'anana.

At least from this perspective, the fear of Kahanist surveys is a bit exaggerated. Even the biggest Kahanists, at least from amongst the religious youth, will not trouble themselves beyond the activity of yelling at demonstrations, and usually not even this. The bigmouths in Kahane's demonstrations were not exactly the cream of the Bnei 'Akiva crop, and he who understands will get the point. Their Kahanist opinions can be found only on survey questionnaires, or while sitting on the couch in front of the television in an Archie Bunker-style pose, while making a few racist remarks to empty space. If Kahane's path to the Knesset is blocked, they will not do much about it.

There is then, a process of "bourgeoisification," a search for the comfortable life, for fun, and at the same time the beginning of cynicism toward dreamy idealists, from all sides. The process which all of Israeli society underwent ("Come, let's pass the summer/ the winter/ life in peace") has now reached, somewhat tardily, the "crocheted skullcaps." It is true, by the way, also of the religious realm. The educators who until recently argued about "religious extremism--pro and con" must now begin to deal with the reverse--a process of religious weakening. Recently the head of one of the high school yeshivas said to me, "I have begun to be disappointed in our youth." When I asked why, he told of a group of Bnei 'Akiva members who walked in front of him in the street (by the way, in a religious neighborhood) and argued loudly about which movie was most worth seeing. "It was a difficult argument," said the rabbi, "since they had seen just about every possible movie." Date of the discussion: between the fast of the 17th of Tamuz and the 9th of Av, "the three weeks" during which religious Jews do not go to the movies at all.

At BAMAHANE we recently surveyed in depth the phenomenon of religious women who with growing frequency are preferring regular military service to the alternative of national service. What was not included in the story was the youths who prefer to do regular 3 years' military service rather than attend the Hesder yeshiva [which combines study with army service. Ed.]. The phenomenon not yet examined is that of more and more young people, boys and girls alike, who prefer to remain in a religious high school rather than move to high school yeshivas and boarding schools. It has not yet been published that the honored center of the world of national-religious yeshivas has moved during recent years from Yeshiva Merkaz HaRav, the incubator of Gush Emunim, to the Hesder yeshivas, and in particular to Yeshiva Gush Etzion, which is different both from the point of view of political identification of its administrators and some of its students, and also their openness to general culture and learning.

All these phenomena together paint a picture of an interesting change among the young generation of the "crocheted skullcaps," to a less clear cut and defined politics, a social process of greater closeness, culturally and even geographically, to the secular public (for someone in Samaria it is hard, even if he really wants to, to remain close to the secular world. Perhaps this is also part of the explanation for the sharp political alienation between those in the "hill settlements" and the residents of the "plain").

Equipped with those facts and with a faint sense that "something is happening," I went to talk with two people. Intentionally they are not well-known public figures, whose analysis is influenced naturally by interests and intentions. Two young people, partners in building the "young NRP generation" despite the fact that their political outlooks are diametrically opposed: Mikha Gidron (30), a young lawyer, and Rami Hofenberg (25), regional coordinator for Bnei 'Akiva. Hofenberg represents a political position close to that of Gush Emunim. Gidron claims he does not represent an opposing position ("I am not opposed to settlement in Judaea and Samaria"), but among his friends he is nevertheless described as a symbol of the left in the "Young Generation."

I asked them: is it an upheaval, and if not, what actually is happening?

Gidron: "What is happening is that up to now, at least in the past few years, our public put sole emphasis on the subject of the Land of Israel. This was a comfortable goal, which easily attracted people. Today it is not as appealing. Judaea and Samaria are full of settlements and the motivation to continue settling there is naturally weakened."

"I also would not say that today there is an alternative goal which is attractive. Generally, it is not the kind of process in which the moment one ideological horse dies, you immediately jump on another. Usually the public is asleep from the ideological point of view. Once in a while something grabs them and spurs them to action, and afterward it is possible to go back to sleep, until the next time. Right now we are in the process of dozing off again."

Rami Hofenberg claims that there is no real upheaval, that in the end it is the process of turning right politically, and "religious improvement," in his words, which is dominant, but, he admits, "it is true that there is some degree of temporary deviation." The phenomenon of rises and falls, he says "is known in all types of society. Today, for example, there is a worldwide process of neo-conservatism. I would describe it as a counter-revolution to that of the "flower children." They of course did not need anything. Today, in contrast, there is a need for something to depend on. This can be mystical sects, religious or national. By the way, part of this phenomenon is of course the "penitent" movement [return to Orthodox observance]. In our public the phenomenon of counter-revolution is more complex, even paradoxical. Since the revolution of the "high school yeshiva generation" against the parents' generation was toward religious and nationalist conservatism, today, now that Gush Emunim is firmly established, the revolution is against it, but in principle, it is still the same phenomenon."

As proof that there is no actual ideological change, Hofenberg mentions the subject of settlement in Samaria: "It is true that fewer couples today are settling in Samaria. But if you do a survey you will not find amongst this population an increase in willingness to relinquish Judaea and Samaria. What has happened is a decrease in the motivation to settle there after so many settlements have already been established. This is exactly like the difference between the high volunteer rate for service in select elite military units, as opposed to volunteering to serve in the armoured corps, which is certainly no less important in terms of its mission."

Apparently the starting point for the change is on the religious and not the political side. According to Hofenberg's "wave theory" the "religious extremism" of recent years caused a reaction and counter-reaction. There is also a combination with another process, about which much has already been written. Until 1967, the Six Day War, the religious public would follow the Labor movement and the kibbutz members. After the war, when the kibbutz members started concentrating on self-examination and expressing doubts in the style in [the book] "Soldiers Talk" and [the magazine] SHDEMOT, the religious youth arose and took the lead. This was the process which gave birth to the strength of the Hesder yeshivas and Gush Emunim. Today, it seems, the process was so successful that it became a monster that turned on its creator. The national religious youth of today feel so involved in secular society that they are beginning to aspire to cut themselves off from the partitions which still bind them, which still emphasize differences.

On the personal level, the reference is to the Hesder yeshivas. Many youth prefer to serve in the regular army in order not to be different. On the political level, these are the religious parties. It is no coincidence that more and more young religious people are voting for secular parties. Many of them, who serve together with secular youth in the army, study with them at the university, and "punch the time clock" together at work, are sick of perpetuating the differences. If the breakdown of young "crocheted skullcaps" votes for religious parties in the last Knesset is examined, it shows that the majority of voters are yeshiva students. There, the internal religious orientation is still high. Their friends who did regular army service are growing closer and closer to their secular counterparts.

Hofenberg: "The internal dynamics of NRP-Morasha-Tehiya today interests only a small portion of the youth. This perhaps is the true tragedy of our political arm, and, principally, of the NRP: its collapse and contamination goes hand in hand with this process of youths 'going out into the wide world,' and no longer looking for a religious framework. Now that the voters have already escaped from us, it will be very difficult, even if the NRP completely rehabilitates itself, to bring them back home."

Hofenberg, despite everything, believes that the "return home" will indeed occur. "Today the youth believe that basic needs of the religious public are guaranteed, are already in the pocket. When they see that there is a dramatic decrease in concern about these areas--which already is starting to happen today--in budgets for religious education, in Sabbath observance, on the matter of Kashrut, they will understand that there is no choice but to maintain a strong religious political arm. All this, of course, on condition that our political arm is rehabilitated and becomes an attractive choice."

Mikha Gidron is even more extreme. "Rami and I are in the same party," he says, "because we believe that what unites us, Zionist religious thought, is greater than our political disagreement. The serious secularization process which this country is undergoing (by the way, in contrast to all and talk about increasing religious coercion) will force more and more of our people to understand that this is the main battlefield. The time will come, and it is not that far away, when our apathy in the religious-social area will have to snap. Two things will happen then "first all, the religious parties will again grow, since if there is any real danger to our educational values those who have already voted for secular parties will be forced to stand again in the framework of a religious party. The second thing is a blurring of the differences between us and the ultra-orthodox parties, since it will have to be a common struggle. I just hope that the differences do not become too blurred, at least not in the methods of action."

The shared evaluation of Gidron and Hofenberg is, thus, that the rebirth of the NRP will come, at least because reality demands that it arrive. The central question, despite this, remains who and how many will be the soldiers of this party, who at this stage are disappearing. To this question there is as yet no answer.

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CSO: 4423/18

KUWAIT

KUWATI PAPER ON GCC-USSR RELATIONS

GF220712 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 20 Nov 85 p 1

[Exclusive report from Washington]

[Text] Diplomatic relations between the GCC countries on one hand and the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc countries on the other occupied a prominent place in the talks held by the Arab ambassadors and diplomats during the ceremony held by Oman's ambassador in Washington, 'Ali al-Hana'i, and his wife on the 15th anniversary of Oman's independence. The ceremony was attended for the first time by Soviet diplomats and military men after the recent establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Kuwait's ambassador, Shaykh Sa'ud Nasir al-Sabah, said that the establishment of diplomatic relations between all the GCC countries, without exception, and the Soviet Union is "inevitably a normal matter that will take place sooner or later." Because UAE Ambassador Ahmad al-Muqarrab was abroad, UAE charge d'affaires Mahum 'Abd al-Rahman received especially amiable attention from the Soviets, the Chinese and the Bulgarian guests and the CSSR military attache.

As usual, Saudi Ambassador Prince Bandar ibn Sultan drew the attention of most of the invitees, who numbered over 800 people from the diplomatic and military corps in addition to U.S. Government and congressional officials. When asked about the Kingdom's intentions regarding the exchange of diplomatic representation with the Soviet Union, Prince Bandar said, quoting a Koranic verse: "Say, O ye disbelievers, I worship not that which you worship; nor worship you what I worship. And I am not going to worship that which you worship; nor will you worship what I worship. For you, your religion; and for me, my religion." The prince did not object when one of the diplomats interpreted the Koranic verse as "a reconciliation verse."

The ceremony held by the Omani embassy on national day was held at the Ritz Carlton Hotel. It attracted masses of people. One of the diplomats termed this "the balance summit" as if it were a continuation of the distinguished "muscat summit."

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CSO: 4400/64

KUWAIT

KUWAITI ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES DOMESTIC ISSUES, FOREIGN AID

GF181553 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 17 Nov 85 p 5

[Text] A Kuwaiti deputy yesterday criticised the country's labour policy and its "East Asian society" in which 54,000 Asian workers were engaged in the contracting sector alone.

Deputy Sami al-Munayyis said there was too much concentration on the contracting sector in labour policy and that this sector wanted only profits and not development.

He also criticised the employment policy and said that only 12 percent of bank employees were Kuwaitis.

Al-Munayyis complained that the standard of the health services was going down and he demanded that the private sector, especially the contractors, provide medical services for their employees.

He said that cooperation between the Assembly and the government also meant that neither authority should concede its rights and duties as specified by the constitution.

He claimed that statements made during the summer recess could be interpreted as a sigh of pressure on the Assembly to concede some of its rights, but the Assembly had overcome this.

On education policy, Deputy Dr. 'Abadallah al-Nafisi said the Education Minister was trying to imitate the West, particularly the U.S.

"It must be remembered that the re-evaluation of the education policy does not mean giving the minister a free hand to appoint or dismiss people he likes or dislikes," he said.

Dr al-Nafisi also said that government plans to diversify the country's economy and achieve a balance between Kuwaitis and expatriates in the population structure could not be achieved without legislation to revise the policies governing immigration residency, nationality, education, professional training and social security.

He also referred to the oil sector, saying it needed to revise its employment and training policies and its relations with trade unions. He also called for a reshuffle of the boards of oil companies.

Dr al-Nafisi said the Kuwaitisation of the oil sector was an "urgent political, economic and security requirement under the present conditions."

On the country's economic situation, Dr al-Nafisi said the majority of outstanding bank loans were in the hands of 5 percent of debtors and public money should not be used to help these few.

Deputy Mubarak al-Zuwayyir also referred to the Kuwaitisation policy, saying that some oil companies were offering projects to contractors in an effort to sidestep Kuwaitisation.

Other deputies criticized the admissions policy at the university, emphasised the need to tighten security and called on the government to honour its pledge to provide 25,000 new homes in the next five years.

The chairman of the assembly's foreign affairs committee, Deputy Jasim al-'Awn, said that one of the reasons for the terror attacks in Kuwait in recent months was the spread of corruption caused by the non-adherence to Islam.

"Kuwaitis will no longer tolerate the negligence of the government in implementing the Islamic Sharia. Officials open functions by reading verses from the Quran, but they don't do anything to implement the Sharia," he said.

Turning to the attacks on Kuwait, he said that apart from the corrupt element in society, another problem was the lack of an efficient system to recruit security personnel.

He said new recruits should be committed to the teachings of Islam and should be made to understand that "they come to serve the people of this country and nothing else."

Al-'Awn called for the deportation of expatriates, both Arabs and others who attempted to disrupt the country's security and for a clampdown on liquor and drugs.

Speaking during an Assembly debate on the Amiri Speech. Al-'Awn also called on the government to review its foreign aid policy.

He made particular reference to Syria, which he said after receiving aid supplied tanks to the Lebanese Amal movement which carried out raids on Palestinian refugee camps.

He said it was illogical that money should go to the Syrian regime when limited-income groups in Kuwait were facing financial problems.

Al-'Awn also called on the government to "remain aloof" from submissive peace initiatives on the Middle East and to denounce the Cairo Declaration made by

PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat, in which he said commando operations should be carried out only in the Israeli-occupied territories.

Returning to domestic issues, al-'Awn said if the government imposed a rationalisation policy on spending there would be no need to impose charges on public services. "It can certainly save more money than it expects to collect from service charges," he said.

Al-'Awn also called for reforms in the housing policy and said private sector companies should be forced to provide accommodation for their workers.

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CSO: 4400/64

KUWAIT

BRIEFS

RADIO INAUGURATES KORAN SERVICE--It pleases the Ministry of Information to announce to the noble listeners that Kuwaiti radio will begin as of tomorrow, Sunday [24 November] a new radio service: The Glorious Koran Radio from Kuwait, from 1900 to 0000 [1600-2100 GMT]. The programs will be broadcast on FM 97.5 MHZ. The Ministry of Information hopes while it is introducing a new service on the anniversary of the Great Prophet that this radio would achieve its objectives of serving the message of Islam and the Muslims all over the world. [Text] [Kuwait Domestic Service in Arabic 1000 GMT 23 Nov 85 85 LD] /7358

CSO: 4400/64

LEBANON

TRIPOLI FIGHTING DAMAGE, SYRIAN FORCES DISPOSITION REPORTED

Beirut LA REVUE DU LIBAN in French 12-19 Oct 85 pp 14-17

[Article by Nelly Helou: "Tripoli: the 'Pax Syriana'"]

[Text] The hell of Tripoli has ended, at least for the moment. The guns are silent, but after what, and at what price? The total calm that follows the hurricane is heavy with the toll of more than 500 dead, 1,200 wounded, and these scenes of ruin and destruction. Anything one can say or write about this "apocalypse" that afflicted the second largest city in Lebanon falls far short of the reality. A man, holding his bundle of belongings, with his wife and children at his side, moves with a totally bewildered look along a street devastated by shells: "I have not been able to find my house, it is leveled." At the height of the fighting, he had left for safer ground. Today, they no longer have a home.

We return from this morning of 8 October spent in Tripoli passing from one quarter to another, one street to another, with a profound feeling of sadness and outrage. Why did someone want to destroy in this way the capital of northern Lebanon? Thus, who had an interest in doing so? The spectacle reminded us of the old Beirut destroyed in the 2-year Lebanese-Palestinian war of 1975-1976. Without exaggeration, Tripoli is in ruins.

Along the dividing lines between Tebbaneh and Baal Mohsen, I could not believe my eyes! In Rue de Syrie buildings had totally collapsed and others were three-fourths destroyed. Hardly 2 months before, I had been there to cover a strike and had gone down the length of this long and wide street flanked by a succession of buildings, and which at that time had been partly deserted by its inhabitants because of the frequent clashes taking place. But I never could have imagined finding this whole sector in such a state of destruction. Yet, as if by premonition, the Tripoli people knew what awaited them in September. More than one predicted it to me.

Fierce Battlefield

At Tebbane, the mother of a family leading 12 children told me: "In our house there are still 2 rooms that are more or less intact. We are going to move in there. We have no choice." The fundamentalist militia of the Movement of Islamic Unity (MUI), some still in combat uniform, others in civilian clothes,

and all without weapons, guided me around the destroyed areas: "They fired at us with '240's' that destroy buildings." Very proud, another added: "Don't believe what was reported in the media, they were not able to advance a step."

A few hundred meters further, we were with the Arab Democratic Party (PAD) at Baal Mohsen. There, all the units were completely out of combat uniform. However, a Tripoli resident whispered: "They have swapped them for Syrian uniforms, or carry Syrian intelligence service cards."

The man in charge of Baal-Mohsen sector, a poorer quarter, confirmed: "We have turned our arms and positions over to the Syrians, under the Damascus agreements. Here in this quarter," he added, "we have always lived in an atmosphere of perfect understanding between Sunnis and Alawites. There have never been religious problems between us. That is how it will be again."

During this tour of the dividing lines, there was the constant spectacle of a battlefield, reminiscent of the world wars. The fighting had obviously been furious. In other words, one doesn't need air power to destroy a city. Some of the famous "souks," including the grain market, the vegetable market, and others, will have to be completely rebuilt. The eye is transfixed also at the sight of the populated sections of Harat el Saide and Harat el Berraniye, which collapsed like a house of cards and now are only a pile of stone. I encountered other families that no longer had anything, that were totally destitute and searching for lodging. In this war as everywhere, it is the poor man who pays the price.

15 September Was Our Dawn

Abou Samra is the stronghold of Shaykh Said Shaabane. There also, this large quarter reflects the violence of this almost 20-day war that pitted the Islamic fundamentalists financed by 'Arafat, and supported by the 'Arafat Palestinians, Muslim Brotherhood members survivors from Hama, and other ultra-fanatic groups against the pro-Syrian militias: PAD, PSNS, PCL, and OACL. One street after another one sees burned houses, others with gaping holes and the electric wires in pieces. At one of the circles controlled by the "Allah" of the MUI are exhibited shrapnel and rockets.

We continue our tour of Tripoli toward the heights of the city, toward Kobbah, which at its borderline presents everywhere the same spectacle of desolation as elsewhere. The Kobbah casbah is now uninhabitable. The opposing factions had bombarded each other with heavy weapons with a fury that left its impact. We stopped at Kobbah in the MUI sector to take a picture of an exhibit of shrapnel at the corner of a busy street full of people. A militiaman in civilian clothes asked us: "What caption are you going to put on this photo?" He added: "Use this comment: 'Arab civilization in Tripoli.'" Another asked me to mention: "They wanted 15 September to be our tomb. It was our dawn, our awakening." A third person, very aggressive, looked at me and said: "Didn't I meet you at Saïda?" I answered no, since I did not know him at all.

He added more forcefully: "Tell the one there not to put his foot here because he is a Kataeb."

The presence of this militiaman both in Tripoli and Saida was very significant in relation to the connection from north to south among Islamic fundamentalists. The least one can say about their objective is that it is to Islamicize the country to the extreme.

They Destroyed Every Religious Symbol

The shore area of Tripoli, called Al-Mina, was one of the major targets of the September war. It was through the port that the fundamentalists were receiving arms, ammunition and reinforcements of men. Shaykh Hashem Minkara, the lord and master of the area, refused to the last minute to lay down arms. How could he willingly sign his death warrant and particularly give up his substantial connections that had made him a very rich leader in such a short time.

The Al-Mina battle was tough and its impact is evident everywhere. Streets strewn with rubble, broken pipes, and children splashing in the escaping water. Here there were no dividing lines, strictly speaking, since Minkara's MUI was in control of the area. The goal of the pro-Syrian militias was to advance and occupy the port, and their efforts to break through were continuously covered by an intense Syrian artillery barrage. On Al-Mina road we stopped at Ibrine School, heavily damaged by the war. The Syrians have taken position at the entrance, which is heavily damaged. A nun received us: "We stayed in the school until 27 September. Then the MUI militia came to station themselves in the building. Since the shelling became more and more intense, we had to leave to a nearby house. The MUI converted the school into a fortified bastion, using all the school equipment as barricades. They drove their military vehicles into the hall. When they left, they took all the school and scientific equipment that was still intact, but worse yet, they destroyed everything that had any religious meaning or value: chalices, crosses, statues, pictures, medals... and this with obvious desire and attitude to destroy any Christian symbol.

"When the cease-fire was announced, we returned to the school and we have undertaken a complete clean-up. We hope to be able to resume classes as soon as possible." Also, and we witnessed this, the parents are coming to find out when school may start again.

Al-Mina Well Controlled by Special Troops

The Al-Mina sector is well controlled by the Syrian troops, who often do not allow pictures, especially at the entries to the port. There a soldier has written in large letters on the wall of a building: "Syrian Commandos." In some quarters, soldiers let one take their picture.

One of them even joked about his appearance: "You're going to take a picture of me this way, and I haven't shaved." In Al-Mina you no longer encounter militia in combat uniform. Obviously they are present, beaten and unwillingly accepting their surrender, perhaps awaiting the day when vengeance will be possible. Because one can lay down arms, but it is difficult to erase hate from hearts. Also, did the MUI turn over all its heavy, light and medium weapons to the depots controlled by the Syrian troops: "This is not evident," said more than one person asked. They have so many arms caches in Al-Mina, this bastion fortified by Shaykh Minkara. The MUI turned over six truckfuls

of heavy weapons. It must have had much more to have stood fast for two weeks against the Syrians."

We then took the Ras Sakhr road, which skirts the sea and links Bohsas to El-Mina. This road, which is long and totally open, bears the marks of intensive shelling. The PSNS, supported by Syrian artillery, tried to advance to occupy the port, but in vain, aside from a few infiltrations through the olive groves and fields. There, at the various posts already established, the Syrian soldiers are rather nervous and not very cooperative.

We passed the El-Ahdab workshop, the scene of violent fighting, and stopped not far from the International Fair building, where the MUI was supposed to turn over its weapons. We were forbidden to take pictures in this area.

Syrian Deployment in Tripoli

Under the nine-point Damascus agreement of 3 October, on Tuesday, 8 October, the Syrians had more or less completed their deployment throughout Tripoli. They are located at the entrances to the city and now occupy the "shake points" that had been assigned to the 12th brigade of the Lebanese Army in August. Today you do not encounter any legal military presence in Tripoli. The 12th is confined to its barracks of Bahjat Ghanem in Kobbeh, which bears the marks of the shelling.

At the entry to the main boulevard, we noted the presence at the Syrian post of a civilian of the Syrian SR's [expansion unknown]. Cars went through without any problems when it was families returning home, but when a vehicle containing two or three young men passed by it was subjected to a strict identity check. The Syrians were also in force on Abdel Hamid Karame square, now Allah square. Along the length of the boulevard, where on Tuesday there was heavy traffic toward Tripoli, no building is intact. The shelling was very intense because of the desire of the opposing groups to control the entries to the city.

During our tour of the dividing lines, as well as at Abou Samra and at Kobbeh, we noted that the the Syrian presence was more evident in the sectors previously controlled by the PAD, and more discreet in those predominantly fundamentalist. Nevertheless, as noted, the Syrians cover and patrol the entire al-Mina. The citadel, that very beautiful Crusader castle built by Raymond de Saint-Gilles, has not been occupied by the Syrians, who are not very far from the walls of this fortification. The thick walls resisted the largest rockets, which lodged in the walls without penetrating them. At Kobbeh, the Syrians are present near the Army and gendarmerie barracks, on the dividing lines. The headquarters of the Syrian forces now dominating Tripoli is at Haikaliye.

It was there also that the PAD turned in its heavy and light weapons. It was also confirmed to us that the other pro-Syrian militias, that is, in particular the PSNS and the PCL, had left the city, to the areas they came from: Koura, Akkar, Bekaa, and Haut-Metn.

In driving in Tripoli, particularly on the road to Kobbeh, we had to zig zag to avoid the unexploded shells buried in the roadway. Also, we observed

everywhere the will to survive of the Lebanese people. Where it is possible to quickly repair the partially destroyed apartments, people are at work.

Rue Azmi, a residential quarter, and El-Tall sector were relatively spared. Aside from those, there is not a street or quarter that is intact in this second city of Lebanon of 600,000 people.

Seraglio, Scene of Violent Combat

In the course of this long morning of 8 October spent in Tripoli, we had to make a stop at the Seraglio of the city that houses various administrative services and the office of the mohafazat. As the media reported during the battle, the Seraglio was the scene of violent fighting, of which it bears the marks. The mohafez office is destroyed, like so many other offices floor by floor. When he received us in the Seraglio, the administrator of Northern Lebanon said to us: "Look, I am a displaced person like the others, since for the moment I am located in the police offices, which are relatively intact."

After an initial tour around Tripoli, Iskandar Ghobril had made the following observation: "Without exaggeration, one can speak of an earthquake having hit this city."

As for the return of the thousands of families who had fled the hell of the shelling, Mr Ghobril explained: "For the present, the security situation enables everyone to return to inspect their houses and work places, but since the minimum repairs to water, electricity and telephone facilities have not yet been made, it will be difficult for people to reestablish their homes."

The Northern Lebanon administrator mentioned the meeting held on that same day under chairmanship of the prime minister and attended by the general directors and officials of the administrative services involved for normalization in Tripoli. He expressed his confidence that it will yield expeditious results.

On leaving Tripoli, after these scenes of desolation and ruin, one can only have one hope: to see the Northern Lebanon capital heal its wounds, as quickly as possible, for a complete return to normality. One cannot help asking a number of questions about the future of a city with a proud past. Has the war situation passed permanently, or is there still a powderkeg in the weapons caches? Will peace indeed ultimately reign in hearts among those who were playing the game of others?

9920

CSO: 4419/3

OMAN

BRIEFS

MINERAL AGREEMENT WITH RA'S AL-KHAYMAH--An agreement for mineral cooperation between the Government of Oman and Ra's al-Khaymah was signed yesterday. The agreement was signed on behalf of Ra's al-Khaymah by Shaykh Khalid ibn Saqr al-Qasimi. For Oman it was signed by Minister of Petroleum Sa'id Ahmad al-Shanfari. Under this agreement, geological and mineral works will be carried out in areas which are likely to contain minerals in the amirate of Ra's al-Khaymah. The agreement is valid for 2 years. Copper is likely to be found in Ra's al-Khaymah in commercial quantities. The agreement is a culmination of the existing cooperation between Oman and Ra's al-Khaymah. [Text]
[Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 20 Nov 85 p 1 GF] /7358

CSO: 4400/64

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

HAWATIMAH CALLS FOR PLO UNITY, DENOUNCES 'AMMAN AGREEMENT

Nicosia AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 27 Oct pp 6-8

[Interview with Nayif Hawatimah, general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, by Samir 'Abdallah: "We Are Not an Obstacle to Lebanese National Reconciliation; It Is Not Too Late To Solve the PLO Crisis"; time and place not given]

[Text] The Key to Exiting from the Crisis: Full Retreat from the Path of Reliance on Washington, Abrogation of 'Amman Agreement, Opening of the Door to Comprehensive National Dialogue, and Restoration of PLO Unity

The Palestinian arena has witnessed in the past weeks many rapidly unfolding steps that will have a plainly visible effect on the overall Palestinian situation.

In the face of these Palestinian developments that have accompanied renewed escalation of the provocation campaign against the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, AL-HURRIYAH went to meet Comrade Nayif Hawatimah, general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The interview covered the latest Palestinian developments, the meaning of recent Jordanian steps, prospects for national unity, the situation in the occupied land, and the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. The interview follows:

We Call on Everybody To Return and To Abandon the Divisive Defestist Policy

[Question] British refusal to meet the Palestinian side in the joint delegation has clearly exposed the sterility of the policy pursued by the PLO's rightist leadership since the 'Amman agreement. Could these developments be a prelude to an abrogation of the agreement and the opening of the door to the restoration of Palestinian national unity?

[Answer] The PLO leadership's policy derived from the 'Amman agreement has met with extensive failures. Every time this leadership thinks that its concessions will bring it closer to the desired solution, practical reality makes it clear that because of these concessions the solution becomes more

remote than before, American and Israeli policy becomes more arrogant and stubborn, and the powers and countries which had taken a relatively wavering stand have turned to positions that are close to or completely identical with the American-Israeli one.

Some countries of Western Europe that were trying, if only formally, to set themselves apart in their policy from the policy of Washington found in the 'Amman agreement their chance to rid themselves of this "ebarrassment" and to adopt explicitly and publicly the American stand toward the PLO and Palestinian rights. We well remember that the Venice declaration issued by the EEC countries 5 years ago referred to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination without linkage to Jordan and indicated that the PLO should have a role in negotiations toward a settlement. Some of the European countries espoused to a certain degree the call for an international conference to be attended by all parties, including the representatives of the Palestinian people. Indeed, these countries were close to accepting the demand for an independent Palestinian state, at least insofar as they voted to approve some UN resolutions calling for that.

Now, however, with the 'Amman agreement limiting self-determination to the framework of a confederation with Jordan and opening the door to representation being divided between the PLO and Jordan, these states have all retreated from the position they had defined in the Venice declaration.

It is certain that the state of division and fragmentation has also contributed to weakening the influence of the PLO. The most important event we can adduce as an example of this is the withdrawal of the invitation to the chairman of the PLO to address the UN General Assembly.

The PLO and the Fatah leadership bear fundamental responsibility for frittering away many Palestinian national gains and accomplishments. Even if there are some who would dispute their bearing a comparable responsibility for the state of fragmentation and splintering, events have proved that this leadership's response to the state of division by rushing into the holding of the isolated 'Amman meeting has only led to a deepening of the chasm of divisions and has added a new danger: the unprecedented placing of this leadership at the mercy of reactionary Jordanian pressure.

The experience of the years before the crisis in the PLO proves that the policy of falling back on aid from various Arab axes to overcome other Arab or Palestinian axes is a sterile policy that leads to the destruction of the most important of the PLO's cornerstones, its independence. Stated simply, this independence means that PLO policy is derived only from a faithful expression of the true interests of the Palestinian people and of the highest pan-Arab interests, to the exclusion of anything else.

All of this notwithstanding, it is not too late to preserve the gains of the people and the revolution and to regain the accomplishments we have lost. The key to the entire situation lies in completely backing away from the path of reliance on Washington and on 'Amman and Cairo as intermediaries with Washington in reaching a just settlement. Tangible proof of such a retreat

would be the abrogation of the 'Amman agreement and the halting of all activities and operations dependent on it, so as to open the door to a comprehensive national dialogue and the restoration of PLO unity on the basis of its nationalist line.

What has been published concerning the reluctance of Muhammad Milhim and a number of Fatah leaders to be swept into signing the notorious statement proposed by the British Foreign Office to the joint delegation--not to mention the increasing loss of enthusiasm for this policy on the part of a number of its supporters within the occupied land--all of this indicates how practical experience has convinced some of those who were following the path of capitulation that such a path leads to an abyss and will bring only ruin and destruction to the cause of the Palestinian people. From time to time we hear appeals to us from some brothers in the PLO and the Fatah leadership to return to dialogue. We say without hesitation: We--and the broadest masses of the Palestinian people are with us--are the ones who call urgently for opening a way of salvation out of the murderous crisis by a return on the part of everyone to the program of national consensus and the abandonment of the divisive defeatist policy, so that the dialogue will be useful and fruitful and will lead us to real salvation.

We Have Stressed from the Beginning That the 'Amman Agreement Is the Prelude to Authorizing Jordan To Negotiate

[Question] After the series of insults that the official leadership of the PLO has received from the London government and the United Nations, we have begun to witness a clear revelation of official Jordanian complicity in an attempt to write off the PLO and its role in the Arab-Israeli conflict. How do you expect the stands of the Jordanian regime to develop after all of this?

[Answer] Since the signing of the 'Amman agreement between the PLO leadership and the Jordanian regime, we have stressed that the latter regime will be the only beneficiary of such an agreement. Subsequent events have emphasized to us that all the Jordanian stands--and especially the recent one holding the PLO responsible for the British retreat from meeting the joint delegation--have served to expose the role the Jordanian regime is playing in pressuring the PLO in order to force it to yield to the American settlement conditions and demands.

The official Jordanian position after King Husayn's statements in New York and Washington has the effect of emphasizing that the 'Amman agreement is merely a prelude to authorizing Jordan to negotiate directly with Israel to conclude a separate deal involving capitulation, a deal to take place at the expense of the rights of the Palestinian people and of the PLO's role as representative of that people.

The Jordanian regime is still using the 11 February agreement as a cover while it goes forward with preparations to enter a new phase of its capitulatory movement, a phase to be based on bypassing the PLO and preparing for direct Jordanian-Israeli negotiations. The Jordanian communique holding the

Palestinian side responsible for the failure of the meeting with the British foreign secretary can be understood in this framework. The communique is a new step by the Jordanian regime in the direction of participation in the American-Israeli campaign to sidetrack and destroy the PLO. The essence of the Jordanian regime's policy lies in considering the PLO a nonessential element and on the need for inter-Arab reconciliations to sanction the elimination of this element and the cancellation of its role.

All these developments emphasize what we warned against: The 'Amman Agreement, which gives King Husayn half the right of representation, will end with giving him the whole right of representation, for there is no place for the PLO in the American settlement. And now, here is King Husayn standing in the very trench from which the PLO is openly fired on, after having enticed the PLO leadership and having made it fall into the trap set for it.

The Situation in the Occupied Land Has Caused the Essential Struggle in the Region To Resume its Natural Form.

[Question] Some Israeli political analysts have announced the Israel's primary aim in intensifying its "iron-fist policy" is to strike at the DFLP's influence, as was said in an article in the newspaper DAVAR a week ago. What is your opinion on this matter?

[Answer] The escalation of the iron-fist policy by the occupation forces comes as a clear step on the part of the Israeli leaders to strike at the national struggle in the occupied territories and at all the national forces that from the beginning have clearly defined their stands against all settlement proposals involving occupation, on the one hand, and against all attempts to revive Jordanian ambitions for annexation, on the other hand, including all proposals and steps that end by joining up with these ambitions.

The escalating steps by the occupation against the national and popular forces, including the DFLP, of course, as well as numerous mass and informational organizations and associations, come within this framework. However, we can say that all these repressive measures aimed at muzzling the national uprising and setting obstacles before it have not succeeded. The best indication of this is the development of forms of struggle within the occupied land, especially the daily increase in forms of armed struggle for a mass uprising within the occupied land.

The occupied lands have for some time been witnessing an escalation in the daily confrontation between residents of the occupied land and the occupation. One can say that this daily confrontation has once again brought out the true facts: the essential struggle going on in the region is the Palestinian-Israeli struggle, a struggle that more than one party is now trying to blot out and convert into a struggle between certain Arab states and Israel concerning borders.

The developing escalation in armed operations and forms of mass resistance, combined with the general national and mass uprising, once again emphasizes the effective and basic role of the Palestinian national struggle within the

occupied territories and restores these territories once again to the forefront of the basic struggle.

This makes it necessary that all national efforts and capacities be directed and channeled into supporting the resistance and uprising in the occupied land, and it requires clear participation by all the Palestinian groups in the struggle within the occupied land and in the heart of the enemy's state. There lies the center of the struggle to force the foe to end the occupation and admit our people's right to independence and self-determination!

We Will Not Be a Roadblock to National Reconciliation in Lebanon

[Question] Certain hostile circles are now trying again to raise a provocation campaign against the Palestinian presence in Lebanon and to present it as an obstacle to national reconciliation among the Lebanese. Phalange and isolationist circles are again resorting to a revival of the pretexts under the banner of which they have fanned the flames of civil war since 1975, alleging that the Palestinian factor is the reason for the continuation of the Lebanese crisis. What is your position on this subject?

[Answer] We have stressed more than once that we are not and will never be a roadblock to efforts aimed at bringing about national reconciliation in Lebanon on grounds agreed upon by the national forces, grounds that guarantee the Arab nature, unity, and independence of Lebanon. On the contrary, we welcome any effort to reach a national solution to the crisis, one which would place Lebanon within the national and pan-Arab alignment resisting the Israeli enemy and the Camp David schemes, instead of its remaining an arena in which the national forces exhaust themselves in bloody and destructive conflicts. Especially at this time, a return of security and stability to Lebanon is in the interest of our Palestinian people and their camps, which have suffered greatly in the campaigns of expulsion and destruction. Every attempt to portray matters otherwise is aimed only at driving a wedge between the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and fanning the flames of conflict between their national forces, so that Israel and the isolationist forces can pursue their schemes aimed at "Zionizing" Lebanon. The real obstacle to national reconciliation is Israel and its agents who want to do away with all the victories realized by the national forces in the Lebanese arena when they overturned the 17 May agreement, expelled the multinational forces, and forced the occupation forces to retreat in the south. The Palestinian revolution will always remain a firm ally of the Lebanese national forces and will back them in their struggle for a national solution to the Lebanese crisis. There can be no contradiction between such a solution and the Palestinian people's struggle to liberate their homeland, return to their home, and establish an independent state.

The Lebanese crisis has its domestic elements, but it is also bound up with the crisis throughout the Middle East insofar as American and Israeli policy has continually striven to turn Lebanon into a base from which to attack and destroy the Arab liberation movement or into an arena in which to settle scores against the forces opposing the American and Israeli proposals. The fight against this imperialist and Zionist policy is the common aim that

unites us with the Lebanese national forces. Current efforts to provide conditions for a solution to the Lebanese crisis and for national reconciliation on the bases proposed by the Lebanese national forces meet with the support and backing of the masses in the camps. Like the rest of the masses of Lebanese people, the masses in the camps have an interest in a speedy end to the destruction of their security and lives, just as they have an interest in rooting out the sources of aggression and destruction represented in the tools of Israel and America and in the reactionary forces in the country.

Reaching a national reconciliation ending the bloody civil war that has continued for 10 years will open the way to reaching a Lebanese-Palestinian understanding about regulating the Palestinian national presence in Lebanon and about maintaining relations between the two peoples on the basis of brotherhood and solidarity in the fight against Israeli aggression and imperialist schemes.

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CSO: 4404/57

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

FATAH'S KHALAF ON CAIRO DECLARATION, EGYPTIAN TIES

PM281325 Cairo MAYU in Arabic 18 Nov 85 p 16

[Interview with Fatah Central Committee member Salah Khalaf with Sana' al-Sa'id in Cairo; date not specified]

[Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted] Question: During the past few months Salah Khalaf has appeared to be the sharp and critical hawk in his statements and stands. Indeed, in more than one statement he appeared to be contradicting 'Arafat's statements regarding relations between the PLO and Egypt, to the extent that some people wondered whether this was a case of differing just to be different?

Answer: First of all we have no hawks and doves in the PLO; we all speak for one and the same cause. This, however, does not prevent us from disagreeing with one another on certain details. Everyone has his own style of expressing stands.

I, for example, like to be straightforward; I hate beating about the bush. For this reason my statements regarding situations reflect my senses and feelings. I do not try to couch my statements in diplomatic and polished language.

Question: What about rumors to the effect that decisions within the leadership, Fatah in particular and the PLO in general, are contradictory and that some of the elements that claim loyalty to 'Arafat are actually aiming to undermine his credibility?

Answer: I must tell you that there is no Palestinian leader as fortunate as 'Arafat because, although we disagree with him on certain matters, the consensus among us is that we love him and we want him. Despite our differences over details, everybody respects and loves Abu 'Ammar ['Arafat]. Therefore he is the fortunate one among us, and there is no need for him to fear anybody. It is inconceivable that we love him and yet at the same time are trying to undermine his credibility. Such allegations are only intended to sow doubts.

Question: With regard to Cairo Declaration, I wonder whether it was issued in Cairo at this time in particular in order to please the United States or Egypt? That is, to whom is the declaration basically addressed?

Answer: The declaration is in the first place a true expression of our thinking as regards terror and boycott and the difference between them. It is intended to explain to the Arab citizen what we mean by boycott. The citizen may wonder whether certain events are an expression of the real method of Palestinian struggle or not. The declaration is basically an expression of our own thoughts. At the same time it is addressed to a world opinion which we respect and which we would like to understand our situation and what we represent, as well as what we think and our method of action. So the declaration is addressed to Arab public opinion and world opinion which we respect and which we would like to understand our situation and what we represent, as well as what we think and our method of action. So the declaration is addressed to Arab public opinion and world opinion, but it does not mean asking charity from anybody.

Question: What is the objective benefit for Egypt and the PLO in dealing with one another? If it means for Egypt the strengthening of its Arab role and for the PLO its participation in the peace negotiations, I wonder if this can be achieved easily in the midst of the present turbulent situation in the area?

Answer: In fact, I would like first to confirm that our recent visit to Egypt was for the purpose of rectifying the course of the historical relations between us and Egypt. There is absolutely no price being paid for these relations on either the Palestinian or the Egyptian side: we are not asking an Egyptian price for these relations, nor are our Egyptian brothers asking a Palestinian price for them; they are unselfish. But there is no doubt that Egypt's alienation from us as Palestinians affects us politically and diplomatically. Egypt represents moral force for a people struggling for their rights. So relations with Egypt in their new form will have a positive effect on the Palestinian problem in the various spheres, which could include giving impetus to the peace process.

Question: This means that you are not speaking from a desperate position.

Answer: I am not desperate, but there is an important point which many people do not understand: It is not through concessions, which some of the Arabs sometimes ask us to make, that we can make progress toward peace. The point that everybody fails to see is that Israel rejects a Palestinian peace. Israel wants peace with the Arab countries but not with the Palestinians, because it believes that accepting a Palestinian peace means accepting a reality-- A Palestinian entity and state--that might in the future deprive us of all foreign aid. Internally Israel would lose the security incentive which it tries to use as a rallying point for its people: That is, fear of external attack. The question of security ensures that all Israeli society remains in a state of alert. In the event of a Palestinian peace such alertness would lessen and attention would be focused on the international problems from which the Israeli citizen is suffering, especially racial discrimination between oriental and Western Jews. Moreover, the U.S. aid to Israel would decrease because there would no longer be any justification for continuing aid and oiling the military machine.

For this reason I believe that Israel is avoiding the question of a Palestinian peace and does not wish it. It wants a flimsy peace with the Arab countries that would enable it to expand gradually.

Question: Is it for this reason that Israel is striving for direct negotiations with Jordan, keeps harping on this tune, and presents such negotiations as its primary objective? Is it for this reason too that the United States makes such negotiations a basic condition?

Answer: I wonder: If a Palestinian says that he is willing to negotiate with Israel directly now, will Israel accept? Of course not. I wonder: Why does Israel always ask the maximum and leave it to its American, British, and other clients to press for concessions from the PLO that in the end will deprive it of its identity and its rights? Everybody is asking the PLO to do something, while nobody is asking anything of Israel. Therefore, the real test for Israel is to be invited to an international conference to be attended by all the parties concerned--foremost among them the Security Council member states and especially the Soviet Union and the United States. This will be a test for Israel to prove its seriousness regarding a political solution and peace.

Question: Syrian quarters, for example, have described the Cairo declaration as a step toward treachery and surrender. Do you believe that you can uphold the Cairo declaration in the face of opposition from Syria and the Palestinian factions that come under it and are opposed to you?

Answer: Syria, which is allied to Elie Hubayqah [chairman of the Executive Committee of the Lebanese Forces], who is known for his relationship with Israel and for his 'heroic' role in the Sabra and Shatila massacres that shocked the world and who is eager to deal with anyone who is an agent to the United States and Israel, has no right to talk about the PLO or compete with it. We know what the Syrian regime has done and is still doing to the Palestinian people. What it has done is more criminal than any other Arab regime has done. In the past we differed with certain Arab regimes and they struck at us politically, while other Arab regimes have struck at us militarily. But the Syrian regime is continuing to strike us politically and militarily. The deal that Syria concluded involves destroying the PLO in return for giving it a free hand in Lebanon, so that it can do what it wishes. The price is to try to destroy the PLO by all Palestinian and Arab means. For this reason I pay no attention to what the Syrian regime says.

Question: What is your opinion of the allegation that the Cairo declaration could in the future be undermined by some duplicity in the decisions and initiatives you make and that the PLO has accustomed the people to speaking more than one language, depending on the time and place where it happens to be? It is feared that, with the Cairo visit once over, other countries might pressure you to change the Cairo declaration into some other kind of declaration.

Answer: Such questions reflect the mood of the Arab world. Sometimes extremist and at other times very moderate. I would say: God help the Palestinian revolution in the midst of all these contradictions. Some people regard the

Cairo declaration as a declaration of war, while others view it as a prelude to surrender and concessions. The fact that this is so shows that we are pursuing a sound line.

Question: Even if you mean to put the Declaration into effect, can you do so in relation to the elements opposed to 'Arafat? In other words, what will the declaration achieve in practice, and can it be applied to all the Palestinian factions?

Answer: This is a question that foreign correspondents usually ask for the purpose of provocation. Is it possible to control all the factions? I wonder: Has Craxi been able to control the Red Brigades in Italy? Has Germany been able to control Bader-Meinhoff. Has the United States been able to control every terrorist? In every place in the world and in every nation there are dissidents.

Show me one Palestinian group pursuing a different line without the encouragement and support of a particular Arab regime. It is because of such support that a group breaks away from the PLO. This applies to those who toe the Syrian line or the line of other countries. What we pledge in this declaration is on behalf of the PLO mainstream; we are responsible for it. We do not bother about anything else. If Abu Nidal or Abu 'Afrit [the devil] emerge here or there, is it my fault? It is the Arab regime which encourages and produces such characters that should be accountable.

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CSO: 4400/64

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PLO OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON RELATIONS WITH LIBYA, USSR

GF230514 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 21 Nov 85 p 20

[Interview with Rafiq Shakir al-Natshah, PLO representative in Saudi Arabia by AL-ANBA' correspondent Shahab Muhammad--date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Shahab Muhammad] Has the dialogue with Libya been completed and what is the future of Palestinian-Libyan relations?

[Rafiq Shakir al-Natshah] We cannot say that any national or political dialogue has been completed unless its aims are fulfilled. As long as the aim of dialogue is to reach an agreement on certain points, it must continue until that aim is fulfilled. The nature of Libyan-Palestinian relations must stem from Arab brotherhood and common national interests to stand united vis-a-vis imperialism and Zionism. We base our national policy on independent decisionmaking, which can only benefit our struggle at its various stages, and hence our people and country. I do not think that there is any Arab who does not agree with us in this regard, including our Arab brothers in Libya. Based on this premise, the dialogue with our Libyan brothers continues. We must produce tangible results from this dialogue.

[Muhammad] During Salah Khalaf's visit to the Soviet Union, Soviet newspapers published reports rebuking the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement and pointed out what they called a lack of consideration for the views of the opposition within the PLO. Does that mean a change in the Soviet stand on the issue of differences in the Palestinian arena?

[Al-Natshah] Palestinian-Soviet relations are based on the strategic need to jointly stand against U.S. imperialism. The Palestinian leaders consider relations with our Soviet friends to be of great importance and are very eager to develop these relations in the interest of our people and cause. We base our relations with the Soviet Union on our principles, which we will not allow to be tampered with by our brothers or friends.

Independent Palestinian decisionmaking is not a motto we use before our Arab brothers and ignore when dealing with our international friends. Our relations with the Soviet Union are based on mutual respect, which we are proud of and eager to preserve. The Soviet Union has never tried to interfere in our internal affairs and we have not attempted to interfere in theirs. The support

we receive from our Soviet friends leaves us eager to continue deep-rooted relations based on friendship and respect.

The Soviet Union has not changed its stand on the PLO or its leaders. Its negative stand on the Palestinian-Jordanian agreement is not to be considered a change in its stand on differences in the Palestinian arena because the Soviet Union knows who is behind these differences and that we do not ignore anyone's opinion. We are still prepared to discuss anything within the framework of the PLO when other Palestinian sides attend legitimate meetings away from outside influence.

[Muhammad] It has been said that the current U.S. President is qualified to take a stand that could make the peace process more acceptable to the sides of the conflict. How true is this? Can it be that the United States is seriously trying to find solutions to the Palestinian problem?

[Al-Natshah] Without doubt the current U.S. President--as the previous and following presidents--is the only person qualified to achieve peace in the region--if that is what the U.S. Administration wishes. He can achieve peace if the U.S. Administration is serious about the peace based on justice and righteousness. This peace must stem from recognition of the rights of our people, including their return to Palestine, self-determination in Palestine, and the establishment of an independent state on Palestinian territory. Without this recognition, peace cannot be achieved.

I firmly believe that the U.S. Government is not seriously trying to find solutions to the Palestinian problem. It does not wish to find these solutions because its imperialist interests demand that Israel remain the main tool for terrorism in the region to divide the Arab nation and prevent its unity and to delay developments in the Arab world, exhaust its resources in armaments and military projects, and control its economic and political resources.

[Muhammad] What is the use of dialogue with the United States in light of the "new Yalta" meeting between the superpowers?

[Al-Natshah] I do not believe that the features of a new Yalta loom in the horizon. Nothing in the world has happened to demand that. Europe still fears the East and the West and is not in a position to modify the international equation. Japan's situation is the same. The PRC has not yet caught up with the superpowers in order to push toward the direction of changes. Third World countries still suffer from weakness and backwardness, and hence completely depend on either or both superpowers. This applies to the Arab and Islamic worlds which have not progressed far enough on steps of solidarity and power to be able to push for any radical changes in the superpowers' policies concerning national and international issues.

I would like to say to those who expect much to come out of the superpowers summit to not be too optimistic. The meeting will be like its predecessors, despite the media attention accompanying it.

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

FATAH'S KHALAF ON SYRIAN-JORDANIAN RECONCILIATION

PM021550 London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 30 Nov-6 Dec 85 p 20

[Interviews with Fatah Central Committee Member Salah Khalaf, also identified by his nom de guerre Abu Iyad, by Najih Khalil in Amman; date not given]

[Excerpts] AL-TADAMUN: How do you view the restoration of Syrian-Jordanian relations?

Abu Iyad: We consider the Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement to be a support for the Arab position and a contribution to Arab unity of ranks. That is why it is our duty to support it and work for its successes. We are optimistic about this rapprochement because we see it as a step toward comprehensive Arab solidarity covering the entire Arab homeland including Egypt. The question of Egypt's return to the Arab fold must be raised.

AL-TADAMUN: But here are those who believe that, in the final analysis, the Syrian-Jordanian reconciliation is not in the interest of the PLO.

Abu Iyad: I do not believe that Jordan is prepared to sell its relations with others and I do not think that the PLO is so lean or weak as to fear Arab reconciliations or rapprochement. We, in fact, are one of the sides working for the promotion of such reunion because we believe that it could pave the way to real and comprehensive Arab solidarity.

AL-TADAMUN: Do you not expect a political deal excluding the PLO to come out of this rapprochement?

Abu Iyad: I believe that the parties which have a vested interest in sabotaging Jordanian-Palestinian relations tried that in the past and they managed to cause a boycott between the PLO and Jordan for 15 years, but during that period was Jordan able to pursue a unilateral settlement? Of course not. That is why we are sure that Jordan is now above thinking along these lines, but I do not rule out such an attitude from Syria.

AL-TADAMUN: Is there a PLO-Egyptian-Jordanian agreement on the idea of an international conference attended by all the parties to the conflict including the PLO, and how can Egypt enter into such an agreement while still committed to the Camp David agreement?

Abu Iyad: During my visit to Cairo it became clear to me that the Egyptians insist on an international conference attended by the PLO. The mere fact that Egypt supports the idea of an international conference is a gain which must be preserved. That is why we should not have a complex about Camp David, otherwise we would achieve nothing. We are fully convinced that an international conference is the answer to all the U.S. and Israeli attempts to arrange direct negotiations separately with each Arab state. Although I am not very optimistic about the question of a settlement I do maintain that as long as we are engaged in a fight with the Zionist enemy for world public opinion's support an international conference is the one factor with which we can embarrass our enemy.

AL-TADAMUN: But it seems that the United States rejects the idea of an international conference.

Abu Iyad: Actually there is no U.S. rejection, just Israeli rejection. It is regrettable that where our causes are concerned the United States has consistently adopted the Israeli stand. We Arabs have been unable to cause a change in U.S. policy toward our issues, and that as a result of the conflicting Arab attitudes in dealing with the U.S. Administration.

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

FATAH'S SALAH KHALAF ON REGIONAL ISSUES

GF011940 London AL-MAJALIS in Arabic 30 Nov 85 pp 24, 25

[Interview with Salah Khalaf, alian Abu Iyad, Fatah Central Committee member, by unidentified AL-MAJALIS correspondent--place and date not given]

[Text] Question: How do you evaluate the restoration of Jordanian-Syrian relations?

[Salah Khalaf] We regard this rapprochement as support for the Arab stance and a contribution to bolster the unity of ranks, and therefore, we should all support it and regard it as a successful act. We can also say that we are optimistic about this rapprochement because we regard it as a step to achieve a large Arab solidarity which includes the Arab region, including Egypt, whose issue of return to the Arab rank should be presented for discussion.

Question: But some people say that this rapprochement will be against the PLO one way or another.

[Khalaf] I do not believe that Jordan will put its relations up for sale in this manner.

Question: Do you expect the Jordanian-Syrian rapprochement to reflect on the PLO in the future?

[Khalaf] I do not believe that the PLO is so weak to be scared of meetings and Arab rapprochement, particularly when we are among those who have been exerting efforts to make this rapprochement the beginning of a comprehensive Arab solidarity.

Question: It is clear that you are satisfied with the Jordanian side on this issue, but what about the Syrian side?

[Khalaf] If the meeting is a beginning of schemes, we are used to the schemes which we have been facing directly or indirectly since 1976. I also believe that the Jordanian stance is not so low that it will be in a position to choose between relations with Syria or with the PLO. That is why I say that it is about time that people understood that the matter is not so. Thus, we are

convinced that the rapprochement will not be against the PLO, otherwise Jordan will move from the position of the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement to a position that is hostile to the PLO. This is not in anyone's favor.

Question: Does the PLO expect a political deal in light of the rapprochement, and does it expect to be far from this plan?

[Khalaf] I believe that the sides that were trying to spoil Jordanian-Palestinian relations tried that in the past and succeeded in causing an estrangement between Jordan and the PLO for 15 years. But, was Jordan able to pursue a separate political solution during this period? Certainly not. That is why I am convinced that the Jordanian officials are too noble to think in this manner.

Question: Does this mean that the PLO is scared that the Syrians will take a political step in the region that will exclude the PLO?

[Khalaf] We are not scared of that. We know that the Syrian regime cannot do such a thing because it is very difficult. Can the Syrian regime ignore the PLO, when the United States and Israel were not able to do so? I think that is difficult.

Question: How do you view the concept that the Jordanian-Syrian rapprochement will be a step toward Syrian-Palestinian rapprochement?

[Khalaf] If a Palestinian-Syrian rapprochement takes place and Syria abandons its ambitions to contain the Palestinian action, the process of organizing the Palestinian home will be easy, particularly when the Palestinian home is strong and coherent. I do not believe that there is a political difference among the Palestinian sides. I wonder, what is the difference between the Amman agreement and the transitional program that was presented by the opposition and Syria, which we in the PLO approved and regarded as a political program for the PLO. Thus, our conclusion is that the problem is not a political difference, as is said, but that the problem lies in the fact that some Arab regimes do not want the unity of the Palestinian people on the level of their commando organizations.

Question: How can Egypt be on good terms with Jordan and the PLO, when it is still adhering to the Camp David accords, which contradict the Palestinian rights?

[Khalaf] It is known that Egypt supports the idea of an international conference, which we regard as a reply to the attempts made by Israel and the United States to arrange separate and direct negotiations with each Arab country. Therefore, we regard the Egyptian stance which supports the holding of an international conference as a gain to the Palestinian issue, which should be preserved. I believe it is necessary for us not to continue to live with the Camp David complex, because in this case we cannot do anything. Thus, we accept what the Egyptians are saying about their support for the international conference and regard it as a gain. During my visit to Cairo, the fact about the Egyptians' stance toward the international conference was made clear to me. I can say that it is a stance that stems from faith and conviction.

I hope that we will adhere to the results of the recent Egyptian-Palestinian meeting, during which both sides stressed the international conference, through which we can confuse our enemy.

Question: It is clear that the United States rejects the concept of holding an international conference?

[Khalaf] Actually, there is no U.S. rejection of the international conference, but Israel rejects this concept. Unfortunately, the United States persists to adopt the Israeli stance with regards to our issue. We Arabs can change this U.S. policy toward our issues, through a unanimous Arab stance, not as it is happening now, where the Arab countries are using two languages when speaking with the U.S. administration: the language used by the Arab masses, which is denunciation, and the language of direct contacts in which Arab countries are not exerting minimum pressure on the U.S. administration. [sentence as published]

Question: How far do you support the concept of establishing a joint Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli rule in the West Bank?

[Khalaf] We reject autonomy in all its forms. If we wanted this we could have agreed with al-Sadat on this matter. In my opinion, one of the reasons for beginning significant relations with the Egyptians was their approval to the PLO's demand to freeze the Palestinian paper in the Camp David accords, which states the establishment of autonomy. What is presented by Peres is less than this. It is a part of a series of projects through which Israel is trying to confiscate our national rights.

/7358

CSO: 4400/64

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

'ARAFAT ON ARAB-INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LD021611 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1228 GMT 2 Dec 85

[Interview with Yasir 'Arafat, PLO Executive Committee Chairman, by correspondent Mohamed Bou'azara; date and place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Bou'azara] It is clear from the final statement issued at the end of the recent Central Council meeting in Baghdad that it contained a sufficient reply to the American pressures on the PLO. It was also a stance by the PLO on the proposed settlement plans. Brother Abu Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], can you please evaluate the circumstances in which the meeting took place and the fundamental results reached?

['Arafat] In actual fact the meeting which was held in Baghdad [words indistinct] and contained a large number of the leaders and cadres in Palestinian revolution. In addition to the Central Council meeting, there were meetings held by the Palestinian leadership and the Executive Committee. At these meetings details of the situation in which the Arab region and particularly the Palestinian question are passing, were discussed, especially in light of the new developments and the Arab, Palestinian, and international moves. As you know, we timed the meeting so that it was held after the meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan. During which results not only at the international level but also [words indistinct] the Middle East question on account of the latter being one of the hot issues discussed at the superpower meeting.

As is known, these meetings were held following a series of important, serious, and fateful events in the Arab region and the Palestinian question, beginning with the Israeli air raid on the Hamman al-Shatt PLO headquarters and on my own residence. As you know I live in that area. That attack was not only an aggression on the PLO but also on Tunisian sovereignty, as Tunisia is an independent country enjoying full membership in the United Nations. Israel, without any justification, ignoring all international laws and norms, and situated about 2500 km away, attacked Tunisia by air. That was not an Israeli raid, but an Israeli-American raid. America, according to Israeli admission --on 4 October 1985 for example, that is to say 3 days after the raid, Israel radio admitted in its 0830 Hebrew-language broadcast that the Israeli Government had informed the American Government about this raid in advance. This is very important because it is an admission by the enemy itself. Also there was

help in refuelling--supplying fuel from the air; this was carried out by American fuel tankers. Some European fleet commanders who are friends of America also admitted that there were American electronic aircraft south of Sicily backing these aircraft. I say there is no doubt at all that the operation was not an Israeli operation but an Israeli-American operation. This is in addition to the statement which was made immediately afterward before many people in the world discovered what had happened--that is to say that the statement was made by the official spokesman of the American White House and President Reagan himself supporting this operation exactly 15 minutes after the raid.

This was then followed by the hijacking of the Egyptian airliner--a matter regarded as an aggression on Egyptian sovereignty--by American aircraft which took off from the American aircraft carrier "Saratoga", which is in the Mediterranean. This matter was considered an aggression on Italian sovereignty by their attempt to take the Egyptian airlines passengers as prisoners, when a force landed at the [name indistinct] Italian base. A clash was about to take place between the Italian and American forces--the latter was part of the so-called Delta Force--that is to say an American rapid deployment force. At the same time, it was also an aggression against Yugoslav sovereignty because the aircraft carrier "Saratoga"--as the Yugoslav Government announced later and then protested--was sailing in Yugoslav territorial waters when the aircraft took off to carry out the aggression on the Egyptian airliner.

Therefore, all these events, in addition to the threat addressed by the American White House, the American administration, and American President Reagan himself to the United Nations member-states; and America using all its influence to stop the vote on the invitation to me to attend the United Nations meeting--are regarded as a violation of the simplest rights of hospitality, as the United Nations is in...

[Bou'azara interrupting] That is to say that the United States is the international headquarters of the United Nations and not...

[Arafat interrupting] And as all of know, this was at the initiative of President Reagan himself. From here I want to say that this means that the American President has decided, has made a serious decision--and this should be realized by the Arab Nation--to be a direct party to the Arab-Israeli conflict, exactly like the stupidity committed by President Johnson when he decided to be a party to the Vietnam war. This places the entire Arab nation face to face with grave responsibilities. After that, as is known, there were pressures exerted by America on Thatcher and exerted by Israel and the Jewish lobby in Britain to prevent the meeting between the British Foreign secretary and the Palestinian-Jordanian joint delegation--this was part of the American-Israeli campaign against the PLO.

This was followed by many events. America's aim was to launch a campaign against us. It believed that we could be frightened, intimidated, or influenced. But the Algerian people passed through many of these practices by NATO, France, etc. What was the Algerian people's response? More firmness in confronting these events. This also applies to our Palestinian people--more

firmness in confronting events. Therefore, herein lies the importance of this PLO Central Council meeting with the Palestinian leadership in Baghdad in these precise circumstances to reply to all these practices, pressures, and organized official terrorism against the PLO. It is American-Israeli terrorism, not only against the PLO but against Tunisia, Egypt, Italy, Yugoslavia and even against the United Nations, as I have outlined. Thus this declaration came to put things right and to answer any American endeavor aimed at frightening us, terrorizing us or controlling us. We are, as they say in the proverb, "You do not eat the flesh of every bird." Our bones are strong, the same as the Algerian people--the people one and half martyrs-strong. We, the Palestinian people, also have strong bones and the Palestinian revolution challenges all those who would try to terrorize it or to coerce it.

[Bou'azara] Occupied territories have witnessed a noticeable increase in the armed struggle. Are they, in your opinion, the repercussions of the Zionist entity, in the political, military, diplomatic, and economic fields?

['Arafat] I do say, with pride, it is not true that the Israeli raid on the PLO and Tunisia [w ds indistinct]. The threat to hit Algeria, Tunisia, Yemen, Iraq, Sudan, and Jordan, where we have some forces, has not been there just for the last 4 months, but before that.

[Bou'azara interrupting] Sharon's statement says that the Israeli weapons can be used for strategical purposes against other countries which have strategical weapons, like Pakistan and others.

['Arafat interrupting]...and said that Israel has a long arm and can reach the middle of Africa and even Pakistan. This threat is a very important one, if I may stress that. Here is the importance of what we say, with pride, that we have made the decision at our Palestinian National Council to increase military operations and the armed struggle inside our Occupied Territories. I say, with pride, that, with the acknowledgement of the Israeli enemy and through a booklet written by General (?Yahourda) which he distributed at the United Nations and (?among) the Israeli delegation there on 1985 military operations. He asserted that during the first 9 months of 1985 the Palestinians were able to carry out 662 operations, during which they killed 810 persons among the Israeli enemy and wounded 151 others; for the first time the number of those who were killed exceeds the number of those who were wounded.

For this I say that when the Cairo declaration was announced, in which we said we are against external operations, some people, or at least those who have been trying to cast doubts about the PLO, say that the PLO has stopped external operations. No, we have increased our armed struggle, but in the right place, inside our occupied land and against the Israeli enemy.

We are against terrorist operations against any civilian in the world. Well, just have a look at what happened, few days ago, to the Egyptian plane for example. We were against the hijacking of the Italian liner "Achille Lauro" and we, together with the Egyptian brothers, exerted enormous effort to rescue the 400 hostages who were on board the Italian ship, and we succeeded in

rescuing them. Instead of being thanked, America and Israel carried out a huge campaign that the PLO is a terrorist organization. We say, we have increased and we will continue increasing our operations against this Israeli enemy until the Palestinian flag is hoisted in Jerusalem, the capital of our Palestinian state, God willing.

[Bou'azara] Brother Abu Ammar, there are intense moves in the Arab region aimed at clearing the Arab atmosphere. How would you define the PLO position regarding these moves?

['Arafat] We have stated our position clearly and frankly and we support all endeavors taken to clear the Arab atmosphere. Furthermore, as you may know, during the Casablanca meetings, we agreed to the committees which were established to clear the air. A committee meeting which was entrusted to clear the air between Syria and Jordan and Syria and Iraq took place, as you know. The committee achieved a partial success between the Syrians--the Syrian Government and the Jordanian Government. Another meeting also took place in Morocco between Libya and the PLO on one hand and Libya and Iraq on the other. Endeavors still continue within this committee.

We support all the endeavors aimed at clearing the Arab air in order to achieve Arab solidarity. Our Arab nation at this difficult stage, I have called it the bad minimum level. We are not dreamers, we call for solidarity in the minimal sense, at least solidarity on a minimum level, as we would (like?) to see an Arab agreement. The tragedy has reached the level that the Arab ministers of foreign affairs cannot meet at the United Nations unless as non-aligned countries, the ICO or African countries. This is a tragedy, a tragedy. That is the way we are with every Arab effort to achieve an effective Arab solidarity.

[Bou'azara] Moment ago you mentioned the noticeable improvement in Jordanian-Syrian relations. What improvements in the Jordanian-Syrian relations are reflected in the joint Jordanian-Palestinian agreement?

['Arafat] I say only one thing, Palestinian-Jordanian relations are (?built) on a decision that we took at our Palestine National Council Session in Algiers, and then we affirmed these relations and this decision at our Palestine National Council session in Amman. Thus it states clearly that the distinguished relations between the Palestinians and Jordanians will in the future be based on confederation between the states of Jordan and Palestine. These are strategic and historic relations which cannot be easily disregarded.

[Bou'azara] Brother Abu Ammar, what is the political framework of the recent statement in Cairo?

['Arafat] As I have already stated, the most important thing which it contained was that we affirmed in this declaration our stated positions, which were previously declared through a number of resolutions that we adopted; for example, we adopted a resolution against terrorism at our National Council session in 1974 in Cairo, because we are a people who are suffering from Israeli terrorism and therefore, we are against any sort of terrorism.

There is a very important distinction, which I hope will be clear, there is a difference between resistance carried out by an oppressed people under colonialism, which is a legitimate right approved by all religions and all international norms and has also been approved by the U.N. Charter--any people under colonialism or oppression have the right to undertake all sorts of resistance, including armed resistance. It is, however, an American-Israeli endeavor and scheme to confuse the terrorism of Israeli settlers, the Israeli government and the Israeli army against the Palestinians and the terrorism carried out by the white settlers and Pretoria government against the Africans, which is exactly what had happened in Algeria, there is of course a difference between such terrorism undertaken by these people and the legitimate resistance undertaken by any people whose land is occupied. [sentence as heard] Thus, the declaration of Cairo was intended to clarify the difference between them and affirmed the unvariable positions which our National Council session have confirmed and the decisions that we adopted at the Fez Arab summit and the summit of Casablanca.

[Bou'azara] Attempts to convene an international conference on the Palestinian question so far have met with several obstacles, at the forefront of which is the U.S. attitude which rejects Palestinian representation, and its well-known partiality to Israel. Do you think that the current Arab and international circumstances permit the convening of such a conference bearing in mind that the Geneva meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan did not include the Middle East issue on its agenda?

['Arafat] No. I mean let us be precise. The meeting did not exclude this issue from the agenda. I mean to be precise--and as I have been told by our Soviet friends in a message--they touched upon all hotspots in the world, including the Middle East--they quickly passed over these hotspots, but they were discussed at a meeting between the foreign ministers and it was agreed to raise these issues later between the two superpowers.

[Bou'azara] News agencies spoke about the exclusion of this issue.

['Arafat] No. It is not true. They agreed that it is essential to deal with burning issues in order to lessen tension in the world, including the Middle East question. But it is clear that the Americans do not want an international conference and do not want the participation of the Soviet Union in solving the Middle East problem. Also they do not want even the participation of the PLO and the Palestinian people--who have the basic right to participate in solving the Middle East problem. Also they do not want even the participation of the PLO and the Palestinian people--who have the basic right to participate in solving the Middle East problem. Therefore, who is going to solve it if the one who has the right is absent, and if there is no international guarantee through an international conference?

[Bou'azara] Brother Abu 'Ammar, reports speak about contacts between Arab sides and the Zionists. What is your attitude regarding these contacts?

['Arafat] We are against any such contacts. When we say this our attitude is very clear. Any meeting or any dialogue with these enemy forces should be either at the United Nations as the case is at the moment at the Security Council and at the U.N. General Assembly--or through an international conference to be attended by the Soviet Union, America, and the permanent member-states of the Security Council: Other than this there is no guarantee for anyone. This is because the Israeli enemy wants only to blackmail us into giving more Arab concessions at the expense of the legitimate national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return, to self-determination, and to the establishment of their own state on their land and national soil.

[Bou'azara] The world marked the day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people. What position does the word solidarity occupy in the hearts of the Palestinian people in the circumstances in which these people are living, and does the UN adoption of this day represent for the PLO a retreat from what the United Nations adopted at the end of the forties vis-a-vis the issue of the Palestinian people?

['Arafat] This resolution was adopted 8 years ago--to mark 29 November as an international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people. If we want to translate the meanings which this resolution embodies, then we can say that it is a self-criticism process by the United Nations, which approved the partitioning of our homeland and thus (?reduced) the Palestinian number [word indistinct] the Palestinian people makes us stronger and more (?determined) [words indistinct] all the free and dignified peoples in the world standing by the Palestinian people in their just war.

[Bou'azara] Brother Abu 'Ammar, how do you see the future of the Palestinian revolution in the light of the current changes? Is it by resorting to the United Nations--while Israel has reaffirmed more than once that it pays no attention to its regional or international resolutions--or by adhering to the armed struggle as being a basic condition for retrieving the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people?

['Arafat] [Words indistinct] What has been taken by force should inevitably be regained by force.

/7358

CSO: 4400/64

SAUDI ARABIA

SAUDI OIL MINISTER CITED ON COMMITMENT TO OPEC

LD260914 Kuwait KUNA in English 0718 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] Kuwait, 26 November (KUNA)--Shaykh Ahmad Zaki al-Yamani, Saudi Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources was quoted here today as saying that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will not commit itself to the official price and production quotas fixed by OPEC if other countries do not adhere to them.

Shaykh al-Yamani expects, however, that the price of oil per barrel will go down from \$26 to \$20 if anarchy and temperament prevail at any OPEC meeting.

Al-Yamani told the Kuwaiti paper AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM: "I hope that adherence to quotas and prices will continue. If this is not to take place the only thing that I hope that nobody will blame us if there is no commitment by us within OPEC."

He added "We hope that the brothers will adhere to the prices and that there will be cooperation between producers both inside and outside OPEC. With such a commitment the prices will stay good. But if there is anarchy, temperament and noncooperation among producers both inside and outside OPEC by producing and selling as much as they want, I expect that the price will fall to \$20.

Answering a question Shaykh al-Yamani said that the Gulf countries are committed to OPEC pricing, and added: "Yes, there is cooperation and we are undoubtedly committed, which does not need any clarification."

/12232
CSO: 4400/61

SAUDI ARABIA

BRIEFS

STRATEGIC STUDIES CENTER--His Highness Prince Nayif ibn 'abd al-'aziz, minister of interior and chairman of the Board of Directors of the Arab Center for Strategic Studies and Training, today opened the permanent headquarters of the center in Riyadh in the presence of High Highness Prince Salman ibn 'abd al-'aziz, the amir of Riyadh. [Excerpt] [Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 5 Nov 85 GF] /12232

GULF TELEVISION FACILITIES--Abu Dhabi, 6 November (KUNA)--Riyadh-based Gulf Television, a joint undertaking of the Arab Gulf states, is soon to have its own station fitted with full production and transmission facilities, made available by Saudi Arabia, the television's director general, sa'ud Dahlawi [KUNA spelling as received] said Wednesday. Asked about future programs, the director general said the proposals include a weekly television magazine covering cultural, social, artistic, sport and literary events and activities in the Gulf states in addition to a daily pool newscast carrying political, economic and sports items. Dahlawi said the Gulf Television can also benefit from development and cultural programs which are due to be transmitted via the Arab satellite. [Excerpts] [Kuwait KUNA in English 1026 GMT 6 Nov 85 LD] /12232

LOAN AGREEMENT FOR TURKEY--Jeddah, 6 November (SPA)--An agreement was signed today in Jeddah between the Islamic Bank for Development and Turkey. According to the agreement, the bank will give a \$20 million loan to Turkey to finance the import of crude oil. [Summary] [Riyadh SPA in Arabic 2020 GMT 6 Nov 85 GF] /12232

SAUDI DIES OF AIDS--One Saudi citizen has died and another five are being treated for the killer disease AIDS. A seminar in Riyadh this week was told that the Saudi authorities had suspended all imports of blood following the discovery of the AIDS cases. Al Seyassah said the Saudi who died had been infected from the AIDS virus from blood imported from the United States. [Excerpt] [Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 9 Nov 85 p 1] /12232

NEW KUWAITI AMBASSADOR--His Majesty King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz received in his office at the royal court today the credentials of 'Abd al-Rahman Ahmad Al-Bakr, the new Kuwaiti ambassador to the Kingdom. [Text] [Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1430 GMT 10 Nov 85 GF] /12232

PHOSPHATE DISCOVERY--Jeddah, 9 November (SPA)--The geological mission affiliated to the Projects Administration of the Mineral Resources Department in Jeddah has recently discovered a huge resource of phosphate in al-Jalamid, al-Sirhan

basin, in Turayf region in the northern part of Saudi Arabia. The reserve of the phosphate resource is estimated at about 1 billion tons, according to Muhammad Rushdi Dahlawi, general director of the projects at the Mineral Resources Department in Jeddah. [Excerpt] [Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1330 GMT 9 Nov 85 GF] /12232

ISLAMIC LOAN TO PAKISTAN--Jeddah, 17 November (SPA)--An agreement was signed today at the headquarters of the Islamic Development Bank [IDB] in Jeddah by which the IDB will finance a foreign trade deal for the import of crude oil to Pakistan worth \$20 million. [Excerpts] [Jeddah SPA in Arabic 1600 GMT 17 Nov 85 GF] /12232

ROYAL PROTOCOL CHIEF NAMED--His Majesty King Fahd ibn 'abd al-'aziz issued a decree today appointing Staff General Muhammad ibn 'abd al-Rahman al-Shaykh as chief of royal protocol, with the rank of minister. [Summary] [Jeddah Domestic Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 27 Nov 85 GF] /12232

IDB LOAN TO TURKISH COMPANY--An agreement was signed today between the Islamic Development Bank [IDB] and the Turkish (Betlas) Company for trade and tire manufacturing, whereby the IDB will finance the purchase of machinery and equipment by the Turkish company to the amount of \$12.6 million. [Summary] [Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1600 GMT 27 Nov 85 GF] /12232

TAX AGREEMENT WITH ITALY--Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal and the Italian charge d'affaires in Saudi Arabia today signed an agreement to allow a mutual tax exemption between Saudi Arabia and Italy in the field of air transport. [Summary] [Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 24 Nov 85 GF] /12232

PRC DELEGATION VISITS FACTORY--Mecca, 24 November (SPA)--A PRC Muslim delegation led by Ismail Amat, chairman of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional People's Government, today visited the factory where the Ka'bah's cover is manufactured. The delegation is visiting Saudi Arabia at the invitation of the World Muslim League. [Summary] [Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1300 GMT 24 Nov 85 GF] /12232

SAUDI-EUROPEAN PETROCHEMICALS COMPANY--Riyadh, 30 November (SPA)--An agreement was signed today at the headquarters of the Saudi Company for Basic Industries, SABIC, to set up the factory of the Saudi-European Petrochemicals Company Ibn Zahr. SABIC will own 70 percent of its capital while the Arab Petroleum corporation APECORP, the Finnish (City Oye) Company, and the (Ankem) Italian Company will own 10 percent each. The total cost of the factory will be 1.1 billion riyals. The factory will annually use in its operations 170,000 tons of methanol and 400,000 tons of butane. The factory will begin its production operations in 1988. [Summary] [Riyadh SPA in Arabic 0900 GMT 30 Nov 85 GF] /12232

CSO: 4400/61

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

NEW WATER SCHEDULE TO AID CONSERVATION, DISTRIBUTION

Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 24 Aug 85 p 5

[Interview with Deputy Assistant of the Abu Dhabi Water and Electricity Department Sa'id 'Atiq, by Yusuf Kirkuti: "New Water Rates--Why?"; place and date not specified]

[Text] The Abu Dhabi Water and Electricity Department has drawn up a new rate schedule for water consumption, as well as other rates for connecting and re-connecting water service in the emirate.

Furthermore, about 2 months ago the department set up a new system for distributing water throughout Abu Dhabi during certain times of the day.

Because these measures adopted by the department are so important, AL-BAYAN has been following the details, economic feasibility, and actual scope of these measures, which affect the consumer first and last.

AL-BAYAN has interviewed Water and Electricity Department Deputy Sa'id 'Atiq, the person who is in constant contact with all citizen and resident consumers, and who is constantly and tirelessly working to extend water and electricity to all parts of the emirates.

The interview ranged from a discussion of the new rates for water consumption and the distribution system to the actual volume of water consumption and the department's efforts to meet the remote areas' needs for water and other services. The interview went as follows.

[Question] The Water and Electricity Department has drawn up a system for distributing water to areas within Abu Dhabi City during certain specified times each day. What is the reason for this, and on what basis was this system drawn up?

[Answer] We found that the previous system of providing water to these areas on a continual basis 24 hours a day was costing the UAE a lot of money.

The system for distributing water for specific periods of time each day for each area was primarily drawn up because of the vast, irresponsible wastage and useage by most consumers, even though we have made every effort to urge water users to conserve our water resources and use them wisely.

Once we put this new water distribution system into practice, it became clear to us that we were saving close to 3 million gallons of water a day, part of which was then used to supply other parts of the emirate and meet the needs of remote areas such as al-Samhah and its environs and al-Shihamah, formerly "Abu-Muraykhah," which had been receiving only 400,000 gallons a day; today it receives about 1 million gallons daily.

This system is the first such experiment conducted in the emirate, and so far it can be considered quite successful in fulfilling the desired intention: the continued, unvarying provision of water to some parts of the emirate and the meeting of needs in other remote areas.

In this respect, we are willing to look into any complaint submitted by any citizen or resident of any part of the emirate, and to increase the amount of water requested once we ascertain that those areas actually need more water.

[Question] Will the present water distribution system continue in effect?

[Answer] This system will continue in effect until work is completed on improving the emirate's roads, water grids and other public utilities; then the former system will be restored.

[Question] What is the actual daily volume of water consumption? How effective are the water desalination plants? Is there a trend to make existing plants more efficient or to build new plants to meet the increasing demand for water?

[Answer] The actual daily volume of water consumption in Abu Dhabi and adjacent areas is 48 million gallons, 40 million gallons in Abu Dhabi itself and approximately 8 million gallons in the outlying areas and al-'Ayn. Of the above-mentioned 40 million gallons, 15 million gallons are diverted each day for agricultural purposes.

Abu Dhabi's water desalination plants are quite efficient; the Abu Dhabi plant is operating at 80 percent capacity and the Umm al-Nar plant at 100 percent capacity.

Furthermore, a new main plant, the al-Tawilah plant, will be constructed in three stages according to the area's water demands and requirements.

Following instructions from His Highness the crown prince, deputy commander-in-chief of the armed forces and chairman of Abu Dhabi's Executive Council, water production will be increased by 20 million gallons a day, bringing the actual daily production of the al-Tawilah plant up to 40 million gallons.

The al-Tawilah plant is being constructed not because the existing plants are inefficient; it is a known fact that all desalination plants in the world, including those in Abu Dhabi, are continually being run down, so that their

performance level drops from one year to the next. This is a natural occurrence. Furthermore, Abu Dhabi's rapid growth and development in all fields has necessitated the construction of new plants to meet future water and electricity needs. The al-Tawilah plant will be constructed in three stages, the first costing about 1.2 billion UAE dirhams and producing 20 million gallons of water and 210 megawatts of electricity a day. We have begun work on this stage, which will be finished by the end of this year.

[Question] The department has drawn up a new schedule for water consumption rates in Abu Dhabi, and has also instituted new fees for connecting or re-connecting service, as well as other fees for the meters which the department installs for water users. Why was this new schedule drawn up, and when will it go into effect?

[Answer] The department has set new proposed fees and prices for water consumption in Abu Dhabi. These proposed fees will be submitted to the Executive Council, which will review them and express its opinion before approving them.

The department drew up this schedule to keep pace with the policy of conserving the water resources so important for our daily life and to distribute water usage better, as well as to limit the irresponsible wastage of water by many users and to achieve clear-cut, tangible consumption guidelines for this vital field of service.

It was obvious to us that were the new water connection fees to be put into effect, they would guarantee the department approximately 200 million dirhams, which would cover one-third of its general water expenditures of 600 million dirhams.

In addition to the new rates and fees, the department has also drawn up various measures and rulings for application and implementation. It has set a suitable fine in case bills are not paid when due, amounting to 10 percent of the amount due. Water will be cut off for delinquent parties more than 60 days late in paying their bills. Furthermore, a fine of 500 dirhams has been set for tampering with meters, as well as a 100-dirham fee for reconnecting service, a 300-dirham fee for reconnecting service after late payment, and a 100-dirham fee for cutting off service.

The new schedule exempts certain locations and government installations such as mosques, government offices, schools, hospitals and ports, and also defines those parties to whom the fees will apply, as shown in the attached schedule.

Schedule 1. New Monthly Water Rates in Abu Dhabi:

1. 50 dirhams for unmetered houses occupied by citizens
2. 75 dirhams for unmetered villas without gardens occupied by citizens
3. As follows for metered villas with gardens, occupied by citizens:
 - 15 dirhams per thousand gallons for the first 1,000 gallons
 - 20 dirhams per thousand gallons for the next 10,000 gallons
 - 50 dirhams per thousand gallons for everything above 20,000 gallons
4. 50 dirhams for unmetered low-cost housing and two-room flats
5. 100 dirhams for unmetered villas without gardens and two- to four-bedroom flats
6. As follows for metered villas and houses with gardens:
 - 15 dirhams per thousand gallons for the first 10,000 gallons
 - 20 dirhams per thousand gallons for everything above 10,000 gallons
7. As follows for commercial and public buildings:
 - 150 dirhams for unmetered two-bedroom flats, shops and showrooms
 - 300 dirhams for unmetered three- to four-bedroom flats, shops, showrooms
8. As follows for metered restaurants, cinemas and automotive workshops:
 - 20 dirhams per thousand gallons for the first 30,000 gallons
 - 25 dirhams per thousand for everything over 30,000 gallons
9. As follows for metered heavy consumers such as hotels and factories:
 - 15 dirhams per thousand gallons for the first 1 million gallons
 - 25 dirhams per thousand gallons for the next 4 million gallons
10. Connection fees:
 - 700 dirhams for a one-third inch diameter pipe; 1,000 dirhams for a three-quarter inch pipe; 1,500 dirhams for a one-inch pipe; 5,000 dirhams for a one-and-a-half-inch pipe; 10,000 dirhams for a two-inch pipe; 25,000 dirhams for a three-inch pipe; 40,000 dirhams for a four-inch pipe; 60,000 dirhams for a six-inch pipe; 100,000 dirhams for an eight-inch pipe; 150,000 dirhams for a ten-inch pipe; and 200,000 dirhams for a twelve-inch pipe.

Schedule 2. Water Distribution to Various Areas of Abu Dhabi

1. 900 to 1600 for the downtown commercial area
2. 2030 to 0400 for Madinat Zayd and the Power House and al-Wahdah Club areas
3. 2000 to 0330 for the Tourist Club area
4. 0500 to 0930 for the al-Murrur and New Airport Street areas
5. 0500 to 1200 for Dawar al-Mushrif and the Madinat Zayd sports area
6. 1200 to 1630 for West al-Khalidiyah and the Corniche area
7. 1130 to 1700 for the vegetable market area
8. 1200 to 1630 for the Qasr al-Hisn area
9. 24-hour service for other parts of the city and for hospitals
10. 0600 to 1600 for Umm al-Nar
11. 0700 to 1100 for the al-Musaffah area
12. 0600 to 1100 for the Turayf area
13. 0600 to 1500 for the Bani Yas area
14. 24-hour service for the International Airport area
15. 24-hour service for the al-Mufriq Hospital area
16. 0600 to 1200 for the western al-Wathbah military district
17. 1200 to 1800 for the rest of the al-Wathbah military district

AFGHANISTAN

PEACE SAID PREVAILING IN KHOST

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 10 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

The working people of Khost division, who had suffered from the crimes and cruelties of the counter-revolution, resumed their peaceful life after the successful mopping up operations carried out in the southern parts of that division for purging it from the filthy counter-revolution.

A BIA reporter who has witnessed the proceedings of the combat operations of our heroic armed forces and subjugation of the last satanic nests of the enemy in the Lezha and Zhawra regions located at the proximity of Khost city, reports about the state of life and normal conduct of the routine affairs in the division. The working people of Khost and its related villages convened functions and festivities in support of their state for smashing the mercenary counter-revolutionary bands. They also declared their readiness to implement the resolutions of the high Jirgah of the frontier tribes.

A peaceful atmosphere prevails in the city and related districts of Khost division and the miscreants are not able anymore to resist the vigilant security forces of the country. There exists no place in that region by the name of base or committee of the so-called Mujahiddin. For the smashing and deadly blows of the DRA armed forces have cancelled the enemy's dare to confront with the defenders of the April Revolution.

Today, the working people of Khost including workers, peasants, clergymen and intelligentsia have responded to the call of the Jirgah of the frontier tribes and defend the state and public utility establishments and the frontiers of the country against the assaults of the sold-out bands and militia of the military government of Pakistan.

They do not allow the servants of reaction and imperialism to make use of their region to be used

to transport weapons and ammunition to the southern parts of the country. The efforts of the enemy for crossing the borders and dispatch of terrorists into the territory of the DRA through the Khost division are resulted in vain. That is why, it has evoked the hysteric hue and cry of the propagandistic media of the West for misrepresenting the truths.

The reporter adds that the working people of Khost lead a tranquil life, sufficient quantity of foodstuffs is available in the markets, and the prices fixed by the state are observed.

Schools, cultural and social centres are active in the division and the people are rallying around them with a revolutionary zeal. Among other schools one can name the girls lycee of Khost where 935 students are engaged in acquiring education.

Kubra, one of the 12th grade students of the lycee talking to this repor-

ter regarding the teaching proceedings and life of the women in Khost division said:

"Today, the girls and women of Khost are no longer confined to the household. But they acquire education along side their brothers and take visible role in social life.

The WDOA council in Khost, being the defender of the women's rights, plays a significant role in enlightening our women and their further mobilisation around the revolution. Teaching subjects on politics besides other subjects has a special impact on the training of the students. The teaching process run by the experienced teachers of our lycee is normally forging ahead. We are receiving education in a fully calm and secure atmosphere and no body can disturb our studies threat our security and put our school on fire. Because, the revolutionary sovereignty is ensured even in the remotest parts of our division and the counter-revolutionaries are doomed to eternal defeat.

/9274

CSO: 4600/100

AFGHANISTAN

PYLON MANUFACTURING ON INCREASE

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 16 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

KABUL, (BIA)—

Kabul Pylon Manufacturing Plant of the Ministry of Power Energy has produced around 18,000 concrete pylons of different sizes and capacity since its establishment, that is, since 1354 HS (1975).

The plant produced over 2,500 pylons of different sizes and capacities last year. This number is 26 per cent more than the plan.

The plant manufactures as an average of 1,200—2,000 pylons of different kinds from the viewpoints of resistance, height, weight, thickness and so on. The pylons manufactured by the plant are used for extending power lines, establishment of communication networks in new construction projects of Kabul city and its surrounding areas.

The pylons' manufacturing in most of the

red in the plant are the best ones for transmitting power energy. They, on the one hand, are cheaper comparing to metal pylons, and work for longer time than metal ones, on the other. A pylon can be used for 80-100 years if the technical norms are observed.

The plant, which has rock-crushing people and graving washing, concrete-mixing, carpentry and construction sections, manufactures power and communication pylons of 7-15 metres long of 260-2,500 kgs.

Around 150 workers, engineers and other technical and administrative employees are working in this plant having the daily production capacity of eight pylons.

Since full and semi-automatic machines are fu-

sections of the factory, therefore the need for man labour is felt less.

In addition to the manufacturing of power pylons and concrete pipes, the casting concrete of 110 KV power pylons of northern sub-station, construction of four distribution centres in different localities of Kabul city, construction of administrative building of Kabul electricity department and construction of a sub-station in Butkhak village are also included in the plan of the plant for the current Afghan year (begun March 21, 1985).

Currently, the plant has in its go-downs over 1,500 pylons of different size. They are used for the projects of the city.

The plant made a revenue of Afs 6,000,000 last year.

/9274

CSO: 4600/99

AFGHANISTAN

HARVESTING OF 75,000 TONS OF COTTON ANTICIPATED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 15 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Text]

KABUL, (BIA)—

The harvesting of cotton in cotton-growing provinces of the country started in mid-September. Our peasants indefatigably harvest individually and collectively - their yields.

The cotton yields collected so far show that the volume of this year's cotton products will be around 25 per cent more than that of last year.

According to Abdul Ghaffar Sharki, General President of Agricultural Extension of the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reforms, due to the profound attention of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the State of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan devoted to the further development of the cultivation and production of industrial plants, partic-

ularly, the cotton, which plays a valuable role in raising the living standard of cotton-growers and strengthening their economic position and the economy of the country, preparatory plans have been worked out and put into effect for the inttime delivery of financial and technical assistance including the supply and distribution of cotton seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides, agricultural implements, granting bank credits, auxiliary tools and consumer goods.

Thanks to this assistance, the cotton-growers of the country have cultivated an area of 75,000 hectares of land with cotton

this year with the material and moral co-operation of the revolutionary state.

The harvesting of a total of 75,000 tons of cotton is anticipated from the area.

All necessary facilities have been provided for collecting and purchasing cotton from the peasants according to the resolutions of the Council of Ministers of the DRA.

Necessary guidance is offered by the technical employees and experienced peasants in collecting the cotton yields without rubbish. The gin and press institution has prepared necessary means and personnel including the balances sensitive ag-

ainst wet, sorters etc.

The institution is also obliged to put at the disposal of cotton-growers sacks and other packing means to be used for transferring of cotton to the cotton purchasing centres, and to pay the cost of the cotton in one-three days after the delivery of cotton. A series of other material and moral privileges are also given to the cotton-growers of the country by the Ministries of Agriculture and Land Reforms, Light Industries and Foodstuffs, Irrigation and Water Reforms and other ministries concerned, and local organs of state power and administration in provinces.

Currently, the harvesting of cotton is going on in full swing in cotton growing provinces of the country, that is, Kunduz, Baghlan, Takhar, Samangan, Balkh, Jauzjan, Fariab, Badghis, Herat, Farah, Helmand and Kandahar. This process will continue till the beginning of January 1933. It should be stated that in case snow and rain falls delay would take place in the cotton harvesting. In this case, the process of cotton collection would last till the mid-February or the beginning of March.

Under present conditions, the cotton products besides supplying raw material for the textile mills, producing edible oil and soap in the country, are also exported abroad. For instance, this year a quantity of 6,400 tons of ginned cotton, the product of the gin and pr-

ess plants of the country will be exported to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Hungary.

Contracts on the export of the said quantity of cotton to the Soviet Union and Hungary were concluded by the Spinzar Company of Kunduz, Bust Enterprise, the Cotton Company of Herat and the gin and press plant of Balkh. Some portion of this quantity of cotton has been exported and the remaining will be sent till the end of the current Afghan year.

The attention of the party and the revolutionary state devoted to material and moral encouragement of cotton-growers of the country, the possibility of cultivation and production of cotton in the revolutionary Afghanistan are expanding with every passing day.

For instance, the cotton collected last year in the country was two-times more than the previous year.

Last year a total of 51,000 tons of cotton was collected. Now it is hoped that this year the quantity will exceed 75,000 tons.

It is worth mentioning that the cotton yields in Helmand zone which covers the cotton-growing areas of Kandahar, Farah and Helmand provinces are much more compared to other cotton cultivation zones of the country. It is expected to harvest over 27,000 tons of cotton from this zone.

AFGHANISTAN

VARIOUS CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS UNDERWAY IN KABUL

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 13 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

Kabul city is witness to extensive construction plans. Every day new and modern constructions for various purposes, are built. These include building for social services, residential purposes, cinemas, hospitals, markets, production and transport complexes etc. The construction work of Shahrara residential projects are rapidly going on.

According to head of the Shahrara construction project, the construction work of the first and second phase of the project began in the year 1981. Right now 40 per cent of the work has been completed. The project is considered to be constructed in an area of 8 hectares of land.

The project includes 2000 residential apartments which will be constructed in the form of 4.5 and 9 storeyed buildings.

The construction work will be carried out by the workers of the construction enterprise of the executive committee of the Jirgah (council) of the representatives of the pe-

ople of Kabul city. It is envisaged in the plan to complete 84 apartments and to distribute them to the deserving homeless and needy people upto the end of the current year.

The project also includes other essential buildings such as a school, a kindergarten, stores, garages, play grounds and a mosque.

The construction project of the market at Wazirabad area has already been started by the concerned department of construction enterprise.

The head of the project in this regard said, "The construction work of the Market Project, at Wazir Abad area, which was started in Haut, 1363 (February, 1985) on an area of 5400 square meters, has been completed 50 per cent.

The project is divided into two parts. The construction work of the first part will be completed at a cost of Afs. 13 million on an area of 2400 meters of land till the end of the current year.

"Likewise, the second part will be completed and put into operation on an area of 3,000 square meters in the near future.

The construction work, in the project of the offices of the Irrigation and Water Resources Ministry, has been completed upto 80 per cent. The head of the project with regard to the work at the project, said:

"Work of the project has been started on an area of 12 hectares of land, occupying an area of 60 thousand square meters in Sunbulla 1363 (September 1984) by the joint cooperation of the rural and pastures water supply department and the construction unit of Helmand.

It has four blocks and the total expenditure of the project is calculated to reach Afs. 80 million.

In the construction work of the project, in addition to the administrative of-

fices, construction of play grounds, depots for lubricants, parking areas, sports ground, electricity network buildings, central heating system, cinema hall, dining rooms, conference rooms, swimming pool, kindergarten and recreational area have also been taken into consideration.

The construction work of the project is envisaged to be completed up to the end of December, 1985. It will then be put at the disposal of the Ministry of Irrigation and Water Resources.

The corner stone of the primary work of the construction of new factory of Ghuri Cement has been laid down which will be built in two storeys. It includes carpentry shops, metal rods, turnery machine room, and storages.

The factory will be constructed at an expenditure of Afs 30 million by the Afghan Construction Unit.

/9274

CSO: 4600/100

AFGHANISTAN

WORKERS PROVIDED WITH EDUCATIONAL, ENTERTAINING PROGRAMS

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 12 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

In order to elevate the cultural level and creative knowledge of workers and members of the Trade Unions of the DRA, the TUs cultural House was set up, in line with the cultural policy of the PDPA, at initiative of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

One of the ancient buildings of Kabul city, built 60 years ago, i.e., during the reign of King Amanullah Khan, known to our people as the "Coffee-House", was selected for the Cultural House.

The House was inaugurated recently by Mahmoud Baryalai alternate member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PDPA. CC.

The Cultural House established 5 artistic associations such as: "Poetry and literature, music, theatre, fine arts and child training".

In spite of being at its initial stages, the house, organized yet several literary functions, concerts and theatrical performances, attended by thousands of workers and state employees, in the factories

and enterprises.

Likewise, the House has arranged many educational and entertainment programs.

Activists and artists-workers have been among the organisers and performers of the cultural programs and functions.

The Cultural House launched an over-all contest for the divulgence of the creative abilities of workers.

The Music Chamber of the House, has 19, vocalists, soloists and artists in its ranks.

They have given enthralling concerts of both traditional and modern music, watched by thousands of workers and state employees.

The artists of the Chamber are rehearsing twice a week regularly, under the supervision of a music master.

The poetry and literature association of the House is composed of 9 poets and writers.

They have organized yet 4 literary and poetry fun-

ctions.

The theatrical troupe of the House, staged 4 dramas. They are rehearsing four days a week.

The Fine Arts Chamber of the House, which is divided into painting, sculpture, miniature and mesh-work sections, has more than 17 members.

A spokesman of the House reporting to a KNT correspondent said: The TUs "Cultural House has multi-dimensional duties and responsibilities. The Cultural House, will play an important role in improvement of the cultural life of our workers.

We plan to open regular training courses in many sphere of culture and arts.

Furthermore, we have decided to establish an association of craftswomen, in the near future. It will open an exhibition, for the first time in the hall of the House.

In the child-training chamber of the House, over 30 children have regular membership. All of them are children of workers

and members of the trade unions.

Educational courses at different levels, screening films, watching video, music and dancing are among the programmes of the Chamber.

The House, has decided to organize discussion functions, where the party and state leaders, would reply the questions posed by workers.

Providing and organizing several educational lectures, films, dramas, chess and other sports tournaments, seminars, book and study days, inviting artistic ensembles of the friendly countries, to the DRA observing international day of workers are among important aspects of our duties, the spokesman said.

In conclusion the spokesman stated "the Central Council of the Trade Unions which is a member of the World Federation of Trade Union, is determined to expand its relations and contact palaces and cultural houses of the trade unions of the fraternal countries.

/9274

CSO: 4600/98

AFGHANISTAN

WATAN NURSERY OPENED IN KONAR

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 15 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

KABUL. (BIA).—

The Watan Nursery of Kunar Province was inaugurated by Mahbooba Karmal, General President of Watan Nurseries in Asadabad city, centre of Kunar Province on Sunday.

At the gathering held on the occasion attended by the school students, state employees and members of social organisations, Mofatahuddin Safi, Chief of the Eastern Zone talked on the expansion of nurseries in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan with the special attention paid by the party and the state of the DRA.

Addressing the gathering Mahbooba Karmal said: "On the order of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the state of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the wish of noble residents of Kunar Province, today a centre is being inaugurated which like a cradle rears in its embrace the offsprings of the martyrs of the revolution and the homeland for the future prosperity, development and flourishing of the country".

Mahbooba Karmal also noted with appreciation the selfless and fraternal assistance of friendly Soviet Union rendered to the Watan Nurseries during the current Afghan year.

The gathering was also addressed by Habibul Rahman, a representative of Kunar people in the High Jirgah of Frontier Tribes. While expressing gratitude to the attention and care of the revolutionary party towards the health bringing up of patronless children, he said: "For sure, the people of Afghanistan do not worry about the future of their children, for the party and the state are the kind care-takers of the offsprings of this homeland.

Later, Mahbooba Karmal inspected the classrooms, the dinning halls, playing and bed rooms of the Nursery.

The Watan Nursery of Kunar Province, which can accommodate 120 children has been built at a total cost of Afs 900,000

from the state budget with the active cooperation of the people.

A spokesman for the Watan Nurseries has reported that it is planned to set up such nurseries in the future in a number of other provinces of the country. The Watan Nursery of Kunar Province is the 12th in its kind, which have so far been opened in the capital and provinces.

Equipments and other materials needed by the Watan Nurseries established so far, have been gifted by the friendly Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The spokesman added, the main purpose behind the establishment of Watan Nurseries in the capital and provinces of the country is to train and rear those children whose parents have either been martyred on the path of the defence of the gains of the glorious April Revolution or cannot afford to rear their children due to the economic problems.

BANGLADESH

PROGRAMS OF PARTY ALLIANCES DETAILED

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 11 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] The Five-Point Movement was simultaneously launched by the Awami League-dominated 15-party alliance and the BNP-led 7-party combine through an identical statement issued on September 6, 1983.

The original Five-point Demand is:

1. Martial law must be withdrawn immediately and the army must return to the barrack.
2. Democratic atmosphere, including fundamental rights, must be restored immediately and all restrictions on political activities will have to be withdrawn.
3. Elections to sovereign parliament must be held in the next winter (that is, the winter of 1983-84) before any other elections are held, and the sovereign parliament must be convened and power must be transferred to the elected representatives of the people. The right to take decision on all national issues must be vested with the sovereign parliament, and none else will have the right to take any decision regarding the Constitution.
4. All political leaders and workers, who are detained on political grounds, and under-trial prisoners and sentenced under martial law regulations, will have to be freed, and all political cases must be withdrawn.
5. Persons responsible for the mid-February (1983) student killing must be tried. The list of the dead and the wounded must be published and they must be paid compensation.

The Five-Point Movement has been developing as the political situation has been drifting during the last 24 months from one position to another. New elements have been added to it at various stages.

On October 14, 1984 the 15-party alliance and the 7-party combine held two 'national rallies--the former at the Manik Mia Avenue and the latter at the Dhaka Stadium gate. To their common Five-point Demand, the 15-party alliance added a 21-point programme and demand, and the 7-party combine a 9-point demand.

15-PARTY ALLIANCE

The 21-point programme and demand of the 15-party alliance is:

1. Prices of all essential commodities, including rice, pulses, oil and wheat, will have to be brought down. Fair-price shops will have to be set up all over the country. Hoarding and profiteering will have to be strictly dealt with.
2. Stealing, dacoity, murder, hijacking, cruelty to women, bribery etc. will have to be sternly suppressed. Especially, patronage to lawlessness and anti-social elements will have to be stopped.
3. The policy of reducing subsidy in agriculture will have to be rescinded. The prices of agricultural inputs like fertilisers, seeds, fuel, pesticides and irrigation pumps will have to be reduced by 50 percent, and their supply will have to be ensured. Share-croppers and poor peasants must get loans interest-free, and other peasants at nominal interest. The taking of bribe while advancing loan to the peasants must be strictly suppressed. The minimum fair prices of agricultural products will have to be fixed and these prices will have to be ensured. The system of lease will have to be abolished. No tax or rate in any form will be realised from land upto 25 bighas. The enhanced tax and rate on land will have to be reduced.
4. A thorough land reform and the abolition of the remnants of retrogressive feudalism will have to be carried out on the basis of "land to the tiller and cooperative" with a view to achieving self-sufficiency in food. The pace of modernisation of agriculture will have to be accelerated.

The land ceiling will have to be further reduced. The excess land will have to be distributed among farm labourers and landless peasants on the conditions that these lands will be non-transferable and will form part of cooperatives.

Eviction of share-croppers from the land will have to be strictly stopped and the system of 'tebhaga,' that is, the two-third of the produce for the share-cropper, will have to be introduced.
5. Agricultural labourers must get all-the-year-round jobs and their minimum daily wages must be equal to the price of four seers of rice. All farm and agricultural labourers must get the right to trade unionism in accordance with I.L.O. conventions. The system of ration must be introduced for agricultural labourers. The activities of foreign aid organisations in the rural areas must be curbed.
6. The agreement the government signed with the Sramik-Karmachari Oikya Parishad (worker-employees solidarity council) will have to be immediately implemented in full. A living wage for the workers and the employees will have to be ensured. The prevailing illogical disparities in pay, allowances and other benefits and also in working hours will have to be eliminated. The workers and the employees must get all the rights in accordance with the I.L.O. convention.

Daily necessities, including rice, pulses, oil salt and sugar, will have to be supplied to the workers and the employees, irrespective of whether they are in the public or private sector, through their respective organisations at cheap and fixed rates. Retrenchment of workers and torture to them must be stopped. In the interest of proper running of the mills and factories, active participation of the workers in the management of industrial units will have to be ensured.

7. The policy of de-nationalisation will have to be rescinded. Handing over of bank, insurance, industries, railway, Biman, electricity, gas, agricultural inputs etc. to the private ownership will not be allowed. The public sector must be preserved and consolidated, and kept as the main current of the national economy.

8. Steps must be taken for the permanent solution of flood and also for proper utilisation of water resources.

9. Various problems of communities, lick blacksmiths, potters, weavers and fishermen, will have to be properly solved on that they can survive.

All measures must be taken to enable the poor, rootless and destitutes, like the slum-dwellers in towns, rickshaw-pullers and day-labourers, to earn a livelihood and live a hygienic life.

Municipal taxes and house rent etc. in towns and cities will have to be reduced. Rates of electricity, gas, water etc also will have to be reduced.

10. Foreign dependence and unbridled capitalist line must be shunned in the interest of progressive development of an independent national economy. The role of the imperialist finance capital and multinational corporation, which is detrimental to national interest, will have to be resisted. Strict restriction on imports will have to be imposed with a view to ensuring market of domestic industrial products, this is necessary for the development of national industries. The quality and price of domestic products will have to be regulated. The naked plunder by the rich will have to be suppressed and genuine industrialists will have to be encouraged. Smuggling and wastage will have to be stopped. Imports of luxuries will have to be totally prohibited. Trade with all countries, irrespective of their social systems, will have to be increased in national interest.

11. The infamous education policy will have to be scrapped. The education system will have to be thoroughly reformed on the basis of the recommendations of the Kudrat-e-Khuda Education Commission and on the principle of uniform education for all. All types of higher educational institutions must get full autonomy. The curse of illiteracy will have to be eradicated. The students must be taught the correct history of the independence struggle.

12. The right of all to practise their respective religions must be maintained. All kinds of reactionary, fanatical and communal activities and cultural perversions will have to be resisted in the interest of pro-people, progressive development of national culture. Writers and literateurs must get

full freedom of expression and of publication. All steps must be taken to reduce the cost of publication. The Drama Regulation Act will have to be scrapped.

The present anti-people, reactionary line and also the propagation of perverted culture by the radio and the television will have to be completely stopped. Radio Bangladesh must be re-named as "Bangladesh Betar."

13. The unemployed youth must be provided with jobs, and till they get jobs, unemployment allowance must be introduced for them in phases. Use of the youth as political 'muscle-men' must be stopped. Moral degradation of the youth must be stopped.

14. For women, the UN convention on "Equality of Women" must be adopted in full and the government must sign that convention. Women must be granted equal rights in economic, social, administrative and inheritance fields in accordance with the UN convention. Effective measures must be taken against torture to women, including dowry, which should be made a serious punishable offence. Child labour and torture to children must be suppressed.

15. Health policy will have to be formulated with a view to ensuring medicare for all. Budgetary allocation for the health sector will have to be increased.

16. Full freedom of the Press and journalism must be granted. All black laws, including the Printing Presses and Publication Ordinance, which curtail the freedom of the Press, will have to be scrapped.

17. A thorough reform of the bureaucratic administration, which is a legacy of the colonial times, will have to be carried out. A development-oriented administration will have to be introduced and the administration democratised.

Pro-people administrative decentralisation will have to be achieved. A new administrative system will have to be established which will grant policy-making rights in respective fields to all experts employed as engineers, teachers, physicians, educationists etc. in development, education, health and other sectors.

18. Decentralisation of the High Court will have to be scrapped, and the full freedom of the judiciary ensured. Genuine demands of the lawyers will have to be accepted. Democratic reform of laws will have to be made.

19. All sorts of repression of the tribal people will have to be stopped and their (Chittagong Hill Tracts) problem will have to be solved politically.

The Vested (Enemy) Property Act will have to be scrapped.

20. The foreign policy, which is subservient to the US imperialism and petrodollar, must be repudiated. An independent and active non-aligned foreign policy will have to be introduced which will aim at achieving world peace, free from nuclear weapons. All problems with India, including the Farakka problem, will have to be equitably solved keeping national interests in fact. Establishment of foreign base in Bangladesh will have to be resisted.

21. The spirit and values of the freedom struggle and the war of liberation of 1971 will have to be re-established and upheld. Independence and sovereignty will have to be consolidated. The four fundamental principles of state--democracy, nationalism, secularism and socialism--will have to be established. Democracy and democratic norms will have to be consolidated.

7-PARTY COMBINE

The nine-point demand of the 7-party combine is:

1. Development of rural economy through lean reform; to provide the genuine peasants with fertilisers, seeds, fuel, insecticides, irrigation facilities and farm tools at a cheaper price and also to advance to them interest-free agricultural loans through subsidies in the agricultural sector: to provide employment to the landless peasantry.

2. Implementation of the agreement signed between the government and the Sramik-Karmachari Oikya Parishad on May 21 last; to grant unfettered right to trade unionism to the workers in accordance with ILO conventions; framing of democratic labour law and labour policy.

3. Formulation of a development-oriented and pro-people scientific education policy on the basis of the opinion of the students, teachers and guardians.

4. To ensure the rights of the women in educational, social and economic fields; to take practical steps to stop torture to women.

5. To ensure the freedom of the Press and of the journalists by stopping suppression of newspapers and repealing all black laws including the Printing Presses and Publications ordinance; withdrawal of ban on the publication of various newspapers including the Dainik Desh.

6. Implementation of the six-point charter of demands of the lawyers which includes the guarantee of the freedom of the judiciary.

7. To show proper respect to the freedom fighters and to ensure their rehabilitation.

8. To provide employment to the active educated unemployed.

9. To ensure agricultural rehabilitation and distribution of sufficient relief in the flood-affected areas.

/12379

CSO: 4600/1102

BANGLADESH

WRITER DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENTS IN COMMUNIST PARTIES

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 11 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Article by Amanullah Kabir]

[Text] Most of the Communist parties and factions, which in the past were known for their pro-Peking, anti-Soviet bias, have now softened their attitude toward the Soviet Union following change in the Chinese policy. They no longer consider the Soviet Union as a "social imperialist" country. They now call it a socialist country, although are still critical of Kremlin's Afghanistan and Kampuchea policies.

The Biplobi Communist League, led by Sharadindu Dastidar and Tipu Biswas, a faction of the Samyabadi Dal, Abul Bashir's Majdoor Party, and some other Communist groups hold this view. Leaders of these parties were once noted for their extremist views. They now maintain that they have adopted a "pragmatic policy", free from bias to either Beijing or Moscow.

On the basis of their identical views and political evaluation, some of these Communist factions have already decided to unite. The decision has been taken that the Biplobi Communist League and the breakaway faction of the Workers Party, led by Nazrul Islam, will merge into a single party.

The leader of the other faction of the Workers Party, Rashed Khan Menon, at a recent press conference, accused the Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) of engineering the split in his party. He has also written a series of articles in the party organ, "Natun Katha", against the policies of CPB.

The Communist League and the Haji Bashir-led faction of the Samyabadi Dal have announced their decision to merge.

Rashed Khan Menon and Abul Bashir of the Majdoor Party recently announced a similar decision at a press conference. It was inconceivable a few years ago that the Workers Party with a tilt toward Moscow and the staunchly pro-Beijing Majdoor Party could ever unite into a single party. Abul Bashir had contested the presidential election in 1978 when the Workers Party supported then JSD candidate, Major (retd). M. A. Jalil.

On the other hand, a faction of the Samyabadi Dal led by Moshtaque Ahmed, a faction of the Sarbahara Party and some other splinter Communist groups have taken critical view of the current Chinese policy and continue to accept "Mao's Thought" as the correct political line. They consider the present leadership of China as neo-revisionist and have joined the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) which was formed on the basis of Mao's Thought at the second international conference of the Marxists and Leninists in March 1984. The RIM consists of 16 Communist parties, including Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party and Samyabadi Dal of Bangladesh. The other components of RIM are: Communist Alliance of Iran (Sarbedaran), Central Reorganising Committee of Communist Party of India, Communist Collective of Italy, Communist Party of Colombia, Nepal Communist Party, Communist Committee of Italy, Nottingham Stalkport Communist Groups (Britain), New Zealand Red Flag Group, Mao Tsetung Regional Committee, Communist Party of Peru, Revolutionary Communist Party of India, Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA, Revolutionary Communist Alliance of Dominican Republic and International Revolutionary Group of Haiti.

The representatives of Samyabadi Dal and Sarbahara Party of Bangladesh also attended an international conference of RIM held in Andhra Pradesh of India recently.

WORKERS PARTY

Our staff correspondent adds: Bangladesh Workers Party and Bangladesh Mazdoor Party have decided to merge into a single entity. The decision was announced in a joint press conference held at the central office of the Workers Party last week.

Abul Bashar and Rashed Khan Menon, the general secretaries of the Mazdoor Party and Workers Party respectively, addressed the press conference. A unity congress of the two parties will be held on October 17 and 18 next to formalise the merger decision.

Disclosing this the leaders of these two parties described the unity decision as a positive step towards Communist unity.

In a written statement, the leaders of the two parties expressed their willingness to unite with any of the Marxist-Leninist parties provided there was clear understanding and unity of thinking on all main organisational and political issues. They emphasised the need for simultaneous participation both in the mass movement and class struggle instead of concentrating on political debate and discussions alone.

In their statement, the leaders attacked parties suffering from both, right and left deviations of the Marxist and Leninist principles. They also criticised what they called habitual reference to "Soviet social imperialism" and "Maoism" and expressed their firm belief in proletarian internationalism.

They were also critical about the evaluation of the liberation war by a section of left forces who did not recognise Bangladesh till 1977. Some of have even joined the Zia government on the pretext of fighting the "Indo-Soviet axis." Others followed the path of Charu Mazumdar and ultra-leftist lines.

Earlier the faction of the Workers Party led by Amal Sen and Nazrul Islam merged with the Biplobi Communist League, of Sharadindu Dastidar and Tipu Biswas.

S.D.B.

The Communist League and a faction of Samyabadi Dal (M-L), led by Hazi Bashirul Alam have decided to merge into one party. A joint communique has been published as a step towards merger of these two parties. Deliberations are going on at district and other levels to reach clear understanding on various organisational and political issues.

A meeting of the central representatives of the Samyabadi Dal and Biplobi Communist League, held in the last week discussed different steps relating to the merger of the party. Tipu Biswas, Sharadindu Dastidar Bimal Biswas, Mozzamel Huq Tara and Mr Masud George were present in the meeting.

/12379

CSO: 4600/1102

BANGLADESH

REPORT ON MEETING OF BANGLADESH MUSLIM LEAGUE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh Muslim League (Siddiqui) which joined the government and became a partner of the pro-government Jatiya Front declared that it would never dissolve its existence and merge with any political party under any circumstances.

A resolution adopted at the extended meeting of the national committee of the party held on Friday said that Bangladesh Muslim League did not give any commitment to join any new party while it decided to become a partner in the Jatiya Front. The resolution was taken to remove any confusion created following a move to turn the Jatiya Front into a united new party a Press release of Muslim League said.

In another resolution Muslim League demanded fixation of a date to hold parliament election during the month January of next year. If the date for parliament election is not announced the resolution warned, Muslim League would take its decision regarding its present organisation at position.

Mr Justice B. A. Siddiqui adviser to President Ershad presided over the extended meeting. On a proposal moved by Mr Salahuddin Quader Chowdhury Joint Secretary of the party who is also the minister for relief and rehabilitation the present central executive committee of the party has been dissolved and a 17-member convening committee was formed with Mr Justice B. A. Siddiqui as the convener to hold the council session of the party on December 23.

The meeting demanded fixation of minimum price for jute at Taka 350 per maund. It strongly criticised the enhancement of power rate that will affect the common people and retard the economic progress of the country.

The meeting expressed concern over the deteriorating-law and order situation in the country. It demanded immediate stringent measures to improve the law and order situation.

In a resolution the Muslim League hailed the government decision to denationalise all the banks except Sonali Bank.

In a political resolution the extended meeting demanded right to open politics. The meeting warned the government against the consequence of the absence of open politics, a press release of the party said.

/12379

CSO: 4600/1105

BANGLADESH

TOAHA HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE ON FACTION MERGER

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 18 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Two factions of Samyabadi Dal--one led by Mohammad Toaha and the other by Khondaker Ali Abbas--yesterday formally announced their merger into a single party through a unity congress after prolonged discussions.

Addressing a press conference of the unified party Mohammad Toaha welcomed the trend of unification among the leftist forces at a time when the country, as he said, was passing through a crisis.

The unified Samyabadi Dal will be steered by an 11-member central committee and a 4-member presidium. Mohammad Toaha has become president of the presidium while Dilip Barua, Asaddar Ali and Khondaker Ali Abbas are its members. Dilip Barua has been entrusted with the responsibility of organising the party.

After unification of its two factions the Samyabadi Dal considers as its main responsibility is the unity of democracy-loving forces to pave the way for governance of the country by elected representatives of the people, Mohammad Toaha said.

He further said that the simultaneous movement of the 15-party and the 7-party alliances aimed at ending the martial law and establishing a democratic government had failed to yield the desired results because of the weakness and wrong steps of the leadership.

He said that the people were no longer interested in the 5-point demand and hence a new programme was necessary instead of the 5-point demand since this did not reflect hopes and did aspirations of different sections of people including peasants, workers and other toiling masses.

He announced his party's 12-point programme as the basis of united movement with the two alliances and other political parties.

/12379

CSO: 4600/1110

INDIA

PRESS REPORTS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN ASSAM SITUATION

Clarification of Citizenship Delayed

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 4 Nov 85 p 1

[Text]

GUWAHATI, November 3.

THE Assam government is worried over the Centre's delay in clarifying the status of the 1966-71 entrants into the state.

This group of people, who will be deprived of their voting rights for a 10-year-period, according to the provisions of the Assam accord, are today not sure whether all other rights enjoyed by them as citizens will remain intact.

The Assam chief secretary, Mrs. P. P. Trivedi, said today that the state government was aware of the tension building up in certain minority pockets on account of this confusion. There is the likelihood of the tension escalating into a major law and order problem with the help of interested political parties.

Mrs. Trivedi admitted that the "delay could be leading to a law and order problem in the state."

The state government had written to New Delhi about a clarification on this issue but had not yet received a positive reply. They were simply told that the home ministry is considering the matter.

The government is in no position to issue clarifications unless New Delhi gives the green signal. Mrs. Trivedi admitted to reporters that while signing the accord, the state government had not considered the consequences of such action. Mrs. Trivedi was one of the signatories of the accord.

The home minister's vacillation on the question has further added fuel to the fire. Soon after the accord, the union home minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, had declared in parliament that all rights of the minorities would be ensured though their voting rights would be temporarily suspended.

NO AMENDMENT

Subsequently, the agitation leaders had said that as these entrants would be registered as foreigners, they would be treated as such and no special rights will be enjoyed by them. Mr. Chavan is said to have assured the AASU team, which called on him in the capital some time back, that the government was not considering the amendment of the Foreigners Act in Assam.

There is widespread panic and consternation among minority groups in the state on this issue. The Congress leaders like Mr. Ghani Khan Chowdhury and the chief minister, Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, have been assuring the linguistic and religious minorities of Assam that the Centre would soon come up with a legislation to protect minority groups in Assam and ensure that besides the bar on voting, all other rights will be protected.

However, all over the state, the minorities are in a belligerent mood and the anger and frustration of these people may take on ugly turn if New Delhi allows the present confusion to continue. Leaders of the citizens rights preservation committee, like Mr. Golam Osmani, and the Jamiat-Ulema-i-Hind president, Mr. Maulana Assad, have been touring the minority pockets in the state, and making political capital of the panic in the minority camp.

Unless minorities are assured of their rights, they are unlikely to opt for the Congress in the forthcoming elections. Minority leaders are seriously considering the possibility of forming a political party, which under the present circumstances will be a severe blow to the Congress.

Poll Committee Named

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Nov 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 3.—The Congress (I) president, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today constituted a seven-member committee to coordinate the election campaign in Assam, report UNI and PTI. The members are Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, Mr S.B. Chavan, Mr A.B.A. Ghani, Khan Choudhury, Mr N.D. Tewari, Mr K.C. Pant and Mrs Rajendra Kumari Bajpai (all Central Ministers). The All-India Congress (I) Committee general secretary, Mr A.K. Antony, will be the convener of the committee.

The State's Chief Secretary, Mrs P. P. Trivedi, said in Gauhati today the Government was getting ready for the Assembly and Lok Sabha polls, likely to be held towards the end of December.

A delay in a Central decision on the exact legal position and rights of the 1966-71 immigrants could contribute to a possible breach of peace, she said.

"It can be one of the factors leading to a breakdown of the law and order situation," Mrs Trivedi said at a Press conference here.

She said the Assam Government had sent to the Centre its suggestions and recommendations regarding the legal and constitutional position of the section of 1966-71 immigrants from Bangladesh who would be disfranchised under the provisions of the Assam accord.

These immigrants would lose their right to vote for 10 years from the date of signing of the accord.

Mrs Trivedi said the Assam Government was awaiting the Government of India's reply to its proposals regarding the 1966-71 immigrants' legal and constitutional position.

In a note to the Centre, the Assam Government has called for

modification of the Prevention of Infiltration from Pakistan scheme, in operation since 1965, as "Prevention of Infiltration of Foreigners (PIF)," and for the extension of its application from four undivided districts to all the 17 districts of the State.

Mrs Trivedi said the Government had intensified its efforts to stop infiltration from Bangladesh and detect illegal immigrants following the recent signing of the accord.

Mrs Trivedi said the State Government had prepared an elaborate plan for the detection of illegal immigrants both from Bangladesh and Nepal.

She said one of the measures in this regard was the proposed modification of the PIP scheme into PIF scheme and extension of its applicability.

Addressing delegates to the Congress (I) camp in Nagpur, the Union Home Minister, Mr S. B. Chavan, at an early election and installation of a popular Government in Assam.

The Deputy Election Commissioner, Mr V. Ramakrishnan, said a meeting of the senior Assam Government officials had been called here on November 6 to discuss the issue.

New Party's Strategy

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 3 Nov 85 p 9

[Text]

SHILLONG, Nov. 2.—The central executive committee meeting of the newly-formed Asom Gana Parishad met for the first time at Guwahati and chalked out its election strategy.

The meeting decided to appoint four conveners in each district who would be entrusted with the responsibility of forming the district committees. The four conveners will be represented from among the former members of the All Assam Students Union, All Assam Jatiatabadi Yuba Chatra Parishad, Asom Jatiatabadi Dal and the Purbanchallya Loka Parishad. Where the PLP or the AJS have no unit, prominent members from the general public are likely to be recruited.

The meeting also decided to coopt six more members to the central committee taking up its

strength to 44, the spokesman said. Mr Prafulla Kumar Mohanta, president-in-chief of the AGP, presided over the meeting which was attended by all the 38 members of the central committee.

The All Assam Students Union representatives also disclosed here that the Election Commission had immediately taken some steps on some of the issues raised by it in their memorandum alleging improper disposal of claims and objections on the voters' list.

According to the AASU team, headed by Mr Kartick Hazarika, president, and Mr Sasadhar Kakati its general secretary, the Commission had issued instructions to the central observers in the six districts, namely Goalpara, Kamrup, Barpeta, Nagaon, Sonitpur and Darrang to personally look into the allegations made by the AASU.

Minorities Form Party

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 11 Nov 85 pp 1, 9

[Article by Manash Ghosh]

[Text]

HOJAI (Assam), Nov. 10.—Five minority organizations, opposed to the Assam accord, announced in this sub-divisional town about 210 km west of Guwahati the formation of a political party to fight the coming elections in the State. The announcement was made in front of a mammoth crowd that had gathered at the local stadium to hear the leaders of the five organizations who have been holding a conclave here since yesterday.

The political party would be known as the United Minorities Front. A 21-member executive committee, with Mr Kalipada Sen as president and Mr Golam Osman as general secretary was formed to fight the elections. Mr Abdul Jaque will be the working president and there will be seven vice-presidents, two assistant general secretaries and two secretaries.

Today's decision was the culmination of efforts during the past three months by these organizations to form an exclusive political platform which would advocate the cause of the minorities. However, as its immediate objective the party has set itself the task of doing everything possible to have the Assam accord

scrapped and to restore the voting rights of one million minorities who are considered aliens under the accord.

As part of its political strategy the new party will contest about 60 Assembly and seven parliamentary seats. Its leaders said the party would have an electoral understanding with six Left democratic parties including the CPI(M), Congress (S), SUCI and the CPI(ML) (Bhaskar Nundy group) which have consistently opposed and criticized the accord.

The formation of the UMF adds another dimension to the politics in Assam as it calls itself the only spokesman of not only the immigrant Bengali Hindu and Muslim settlers but also of the Assamese Muslims, Nepalese and

plain and hill tribals, all of whose representatives have found place in the new party's executive committee. It was primarily to accommodate all these groups and widen the party's organizational base in the State that the size of the executive committee became big and unwieldy.

The political significance of the formation of the party is that since Independence the minorities have never taken part in the elections under their own banner. Politicians are not sure whether this would help the minorities to assert their rights or help them to have a greater say in State politics. Many fear that this would sharpen the ethnic difference.

The representation of Assamese Muslims in the committee is disproportionately large as the sole objective is to woo over and bring this influential group within the fold of the new party. Explaining the need for the formation of the

party Mr Osman, who was a former Minister in the Janata and Congress (I) Ministers, told reporters here that the manner in which objections against voters belonging to the minority communities had been taken up and sustained had raised apprehensions that democracy could be manipulated to serve sectional interest. He said that the two-day conclave agreed to form a front so that a mobilization against the Assam accord could be further intensified.

He said that majority of the 2,000 delegates who attended the conclave had favoured a joint political platform for the minorities as most of the all-India parties had disowned the Assam minorities by supporting the accord. Even the Congress (I), with which the minorities had been traditionally associated, had played the roll of passive onlookers while the minorities were being harassed and their names deleted from the voters' list.

Interview With Chief Minister

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 13 Nov 85 p 9

[Article by S. Guru Dev]

[Text]

ASKED whether the Congress(I) would win an absolute majority in the Assam elections, the Chief Minister, Mr Hiteswar Saikia, said he was confident of an absolute mandate. Misgivings among a section of minorities over certain clauses of the Assam accord were unfounded and "are being allayed. I have never let them (minorities) down and they will not let me down either".

The following were his answers to questions put to him:

Q: Would you say that the coming election in Assam will be a milestone in its political history and what are the issues at stake?

A: Yes, the coming elections will be very significant, not politically alone. It will be significant also for the State's history of material and intellectual development. It will be a real test of our ability to shake off fully the hangover of the most turbulent phase in our contemporary history. The elections will be fought on the vital issue of bringing the State under the full impact of the transformation that is now taking shape all over the country under the leadership of Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Q: Do you agree that to speak of nationalism versus regionalism would be to oversimplify matters in describing the election? do you visualize the developing

situation with regional, linguistic and ethnic forces at play?

A: It will, of course be a fight between nationalism and regionalism, and more. The unfortunate emphasis in the recent past on regional, linguistic and ethnic differences has already cost the State dearly. The people have fully realized it and will not play into the hands of these forces again.

Q: As a seasoned campaigner, how do you feel on the verge of battle and what are the prospects of your party winning an absolute majority? What are the positive factors and the constraints?

A: I am confident of an absolute mandate. The restoration of democratic values, the strengthening of the nationalist ideas and the growing urge for faster progress are the factors that will ensure the victory of our party. Yes, there will

be constraints too. The lingering shadows of sectarian and regional considerations for instance. But these will be overcome.

Q: Observers feel that you are not your confident, bustling self. Apart from the "internal" party problems have the Governor or the Chief Secretary "usurped" your powers as reported, interfering with your style of functioning?

A: The observers are unfortunately wrong. As regards internal party problems, we have none. As a Chief Minister, I draw my powers from the Constitution and accepted conventions. The Governor has been very kind to me. I am comfortable with my officers including the Chief Secretary.

Q: How serious is the minority revolt and to what extent will it affect your electoral prospects? They were your traditional supporters. Is it likely that the younger elements among them will seek new options and explore new political equations; in short, greener pastures?

A: I will not call it a revolt. A section of the minorities has developed some misgivings over certain clauses of the Assam accord. These are unfounded and are being allayed. Protection of the interests of the minorities is for us an article of faith. I have never let them down and they will not let me down either.

Q: What is your estimate of the number disenfranchised? Assuming that 90% of them were eligible to vote, even so, their number

spread over the lower Assam constituencies will be a trickle and hence, unlikely to affect the outcome in areas considered to be the party's "vote banks". Is the furor exaggerated or due to ignorance of the facts?

A: The number will be around a lakh, as indicated by the Union Home Ministry. We do not treat any section of the people as our "vote bank". These people are to us people whom we serve and will continue to serve.

Q: Both the Congress (I) and the Assam Gana Parishad will seek a mandate to implement the accord or have you other attractions for the electorate? What will be the thrust of your manifesto and what are the "lines of action" being discussed?

A: We view the Assam accord as a broad framework for solving various problems confronting the State and we will not only implement the accord which in fact has already been implemented to a large extent, but will also ingrain its spirit into our philosophy. The Congress Party is already on the job of implementing the manifesto it had given to the people before the Lok Sabha elections. Our manifesto for the State elections will be so designed as to ensure implementation of the very same pledges at the grassroot level in Assam in the backdrop of our own peculiar problems of development.

Q: Will the proposed parliamentary enactment suffice to remove the fears of those disenfranchised

in the (1966-71) or has the party High Command accepted the likelihood of some erosion of support?

A: The fears are unfounded and will be removed. I see the disenfranchisement of a section rather as the beginning of the process of their eventual regularization as citizens. We have to see the things in this positive light. The question is of continued enjoyment of all other rights by the disenfranchised people. The Government's anxiety in this regard has already been made clear by the national leaders. I don't think there will be any erosion of support.

Q: Three separate lists will be considered by the Congress Parliamentary Board to finalize the nominations. Are you happy with the procedure and will it ensure impartial selection?

A: Careful selection of candidates is definitely welcome for it will enhance our chances of success.

Q: Are you banking on the Rajiv wave to see you through to safety and when will he begin his election campaign in Assam? If you have your own astrologer cum soothsayer, as rumoured, what do the stars foretell?

A: I am sure the people of Assam will take advantage of the coming elections to affirm their full faith in Rajivji's leadership. He will definitely visit Assam and talk to our people in the next few weeks. The rumour that I have an astrologer is obviously a rumour. The stars are shining bright enough and we do not need an astrologer to read them.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1185

INDIA

INTERNAL SECURITY MINISTER MEETS WITH CHIEF MINISTERS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 23 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 22--Mr Arun Nehru, Minister of State for the newly-created Ministry of Internal Security, has concluded his talks with the Chief Ministers of Congress (I)-ruled States, and has now begun discussions with the non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers on the subject he is handling.

His meetings with the Congress (I) Chief Ministers have been held with cordiality and understanding, the latter appreciating the concern shown by the Centre to help the States in strengthening the police force and intelligence agencies, as also to undertake programmes to extend more facilities to the police, such as housing.

Mr Nehru's charge being what it is, internal security, he has also discussed with the Chief Ministers he has met so far the extent of anti-national secessionist or terrorist elements in their respective states, and on what the Centre could do to help them tackle this problem.

His talks with the Chief Minister of a non-Congress (I) State, Punjab, have gone off extremely well. Mr Surjit Singh Barnala, who is today the most-vexed person on account of the terrorist problem, is reported to have suggested to Mr Arun Nehru that the Army be deployed along the border in Punjab to prevent terrorists from crossing over.

But Mr Nehru felt this was not feasible in view of international laws. Apparently, it is the Border Security Force that has to continue to take care of this aspect on the Punjab order.

While in Chandigarh, Mr Nehru has said that the Centre was giving a lot of importance to guarding international borders. The paramilitary forces deployed along the borders had to be adequately backed by the police. He has also said that he had impressed on the Chief Ministers the need for maintaining a constant vigil along the borders.

The Chief Ministers of the non-Congress (I) States could not agree with him any more on the question of maintaining a vigil along the borders, but they are probably going to resist any intrusion in their own territory as far as the law and order and police administration are concerned. The Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Mr N.T. Rama Rao, is stated to have already put a rider on this aspect.

Mr Rama Rao is said to have pointed out that law and order and the police are exclusively state subjects. Indeed, issues relating to law and order in the states are barred from being discussed in Parliament.

If this is how the non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers feel on the subject, there are going to be more discordant notes in Mr Nehru's meetings with them and especially in view of the fact that the Congress (I) memorandum before the Sarkaria Commission may ask for a more unitary form of government and more powers for the Centre.

Unlike the practice he has followed so far, of meeting the Chief Ministers of various states in Delhi, Mr Nehru has decided to visit the states to meet them and discuss the problems relating to internal security.

/8309

CSO: 5650/37

INDIA

ANALYST ON CENTRALIZATION OF POWER STRUCTURE

Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 3.

There was great excitement in Government circles here today over a report that the Home Minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, and the Human Resources Development Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, had been called back urgently to Delhi from Nagpur where they had gone to attend some Congress (I) function.

The two senior Ministers, who were not told what it was all about, returned to Delhi this afternoon, only to learn that they were summoned to attend the first meeting of the newly-constituted Congress (I) committee for the forthcoming Assam elections.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, himself was away from Delhi today, participating in the Doon School golden jubilee function in Dehra Dun. Mr. Narasimha Rao and Mr. Chavan were in any case due to be back in Delhi before Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's return tomorrow morning.

So the report from Nagpur that they were urgently called back to Delhi, presumably at the Prime Minister's instance, gave the impression that some important developments were expected tonight. But there was an abrupt anti-climax when it became known that the AICC (I) General Secretary, Mr. A. K. Antony, who himself was away in Bombay, had sent the message to Nagpur, so that the first meeting of the Assam committee could be held today.

As it so happened, the two Ministers flew back to Delhi by a special plane, while Mr. Antony was held up in Bombay due to a delayed Indian Airlines flight.

Seven-member panel: The seven-member Assam committee set up by the Congress (I) President, consists of Messrs N. D. Tiwari, A.

B. A. Ghani Khan Choudhary, K. C. Pant and Mrs. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, all Union Ministers, apart from Mr. Chavan and Mr. Narasimha Rao, with Mr. Antony as the convener.

Mr. Chavan and Mr. Narasimha Rao were to address a Congress (I) training camp at Ramtek, near Nagpur, today. It was an announcement made by the Maharashtra PCC (I) President, Mrs. Prabha Rao, at the meeting that they had to suddenly fly back to Delhi that caused the flutter.

The committee finally met tonight and the members had a good laugh over the comedy of errors, since it became known later that the Prime Minister did not say that the meeting should be held today itself even if it meant Mr. Chavan and Mr. Narasimha Rao cancelling their engagements in Nagpur.

Centralised structure: The whole power structure, both at the governmental and party levels, is now so centralised that nobody outside the Prime Minister's establishment has a clue as to what is going on. The high drama and low comedy today is a typical example of the avoidable confusion in such situations.

The Prime Minister has been trying to tide up this messy situation both at the governmental and party levels by defining the responsibilities of his colleagues more precisely, so that they can function more effectively without any confusion. After designating Mr. Narasimha Rao as number two in his Cabinet, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has decided that he should be in Delhi to look after the work of Government in his absence, when he is away from the country on foreign visits.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1186

INDIA

ANALYST REPORTS ON ADJOURNMENT OF TAMIL TALKS

Delhi Seeks Alternative

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 8.

The talks between the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, and the leaders of ENLF, TULF and PLOT were adjourned rather abruptly today, after he had separate discussions with each one of the three groups to ascertain their reactions to the Sri Lankan proposals for limited devolution.

But the Government of India has not abandoned all hopes of persuading them to come forward with their own proposals if they feel that what has been offered by the Sri Lankan Government is not enough to serve as a viable basis for further negotiations.

Four cardinal principles: The ENLF leaders, who made a long statement yesterday at the joint meeting Mr. Bhandari had with all the three groups, maintained that the four cardinal principles propounded by them should be accepted unreservedly by the Sri Lankan Government as a starting point for any serious discussions to settle the island's ethnic problem. These principles uphold the right of the Tamil people to a district nationality, a separate homeland and self-determination, besides grant of full civil rights to the plantation Tamils who are stateless citizens at present.

The text of the statement released today stressed that there was no alternative to Eelam and that the ENLF was not interested in any negotiations for an interim settlement. The ENLF also claimed that its four constituent groups were the sole representatives of the Sri Lankan Tamils and as such they bore the main responsibility for upholding their interests.

Though the ENLF leaders have openly rejected the Sri Lankan proposals contained in the working paper and refused to present any counter-proposals, the Government of India expects them to reconsider their position before they

are called to Delhi for further discussions. The Foreign Secretary will continue to be in touch with them through the Tamil Nadu Electricity Minister, Mr. S. Ramachandran.

Jayewardene's offer: But Mr. Bhandari was able to exchange ideas with the TULF leaders on what could be done to improve the Sri Lankan proposals and make them more acceptable to Tamil opinion. The new offers made by the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, in the Bahamas came in for a detailed discussion.

Mr. Jayewardene has offered to confer the same sort of powers on the chief executives of the provincial councils in respect of law and order that he has given to the Minister for National Security in his Government. But he did not spell out what exactly this offer implied, whether it would amount to a delegation of full executive powers at the provincial level in all matters relating to police administration or only a transfer of symbolic authority subject to the President's overriding powers in all matters pertaining to the maintenance of internal security and enforcement of various nationally applicable regulations enacted by Parliament in Sri Lanka's unitary system.

Colonisation: Similarly, the Tamil leaders are not impressed by Mr. Jayewardene's assurance that in future the colonisation of different communities in newly developed land settlements would be based on the existing ethnic proportions to preserve the present demographic balance in different provinces. The Tamils at one time were in a majority, for instance, in the Eastern Province but it has been reduced over the years through a systematic policy of resettlement of Sinhalese in its three districts.

If Mr. Jayewardene is really sincere about preservation of demographic balances, the Tamil leaders argue, he should agree to accept 1957 as the base year when the Senanayake-Chelvanayagam agreement was signed to settle the ethnic problem. Any attempt to confine land settlement to the present ratio would only perpetuate the imposed Sinhala dominance in areas like the Trincomalee districts.

Similarly, the offer to hold a referendum in the Eastern Province to ascertain the verdict of its people on the demand for merger with the Northern Province has not evoked much enthusiasm among the Tamil leaders who think that the imposed demographic changes have already upset the population ratio there.

Zonal council: The Government of India is re-examining the idea of a zonal council to provide an institutional link between the Northern

and Eastern Provinces as an alternative to merger which is unacceptable to the Sri Lankan Government. But it can be revived only in the context of a resumed dialogue between the Tamil leaders and the Sri Lankan Government.

It is for this reason that Mr. Bhandari has been pressing the Tamil leaders to come forward with counter-proposals if what has been offered by Mr. Jayewardene is still inadequate in their opinion. And it remains to be seen whether the Foreign Secretary would be able to persuade the ENLF to change its mind and agree to a resumed dialogue without prejudice to their basic position.

PTI reports:

The Tamil leaders are leaving for Madras tomorrow possibly after a meeting with the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, who is here for the National Development Council deliberations.

Delhi Assumes More Responsibility

Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 9.

The Government of India is now trying to work out a set of counter proposals in consultation with the leaders of ENLF, TULF and PLOT, which reflect the views of both the moderates and the militants, without directly identifying these groups with them.

The intention is to piece together the various objections raised by them to the limited devolution offered by the Sri Lankan Government, so that a broader basis could be evolved for bringing about a resumption of the peace process through a more active utilisation of the Indian good offices.

In other words, the Government of India is emerging behind the scenes in a more important role as a peace-maker by assuming greater responsibility for finding a political solution to the Tamil problem. The very logic of this development will willy-nilly oblige India to adopt a tougher attitude towards the Sri Lankan Government, if it continues to prepare for a military showdown with the Tamil Tigers under the guise of a ceasefire.

The earlier Indian policy of placating the Sri Lankan Government while pressuring the Tamil groups to engage in a dialogue with it is being quietly reversed in the wake of these developments. When the Sri Lankan Minister for National Security meets the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, in Oman on November 18, he is going to be told in no uncertain terms that his

Government must refrain from savage reprisals and indiscriminate killings and adopt a more conciliatory attitude.

The two Tamil members of the monitoring committee met the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr. J. N. Dixit, and gave him a disquieting picture of the atrocities being committed by the Sri Lankan army on the Tamil population. The High Commissioner's report has enabled the Government of India to have a more comprehensive picture of the happenings in the island during the ceasefire.

The Indian officials, who are dealing with the Sri Lanka problem, would have been happier if the Tamil militants and moderates had come forward with some joint proposals spelling out their common position. They are not unduly disturbed over the ENLF's strategy of publicly ruling out any further direct talks with the Sri Lankan Government, but privately cooperating with India in exploring the possibilities of better terms that could satisfy the legitimate Tamil aspirations.

The Indian peace efforts are thus entering a crucial stage as India emerges as an active participant in a triangular dialogue with all its implications. The new role involves not only a more vigorous effort to exert equal pressures on both sides through friendly per-

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CSO: 4600/1187

INDIA

COMMENT, REPORTAGE ON SINO-INDIAN BORDER TALKS

Importance of Talks

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Nov 85 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 1.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who is taking a keen interest in the border talks with China, will be briefing the Indian officials tomorrow on the broad approach they should adopt to the procedural and substantive aspects of the problem during the sixth round of official-level talks opening here on Monday.

He will preside over the strategy session to be attended among others by the External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, the Chairman of Policy Planning Committee, Mr. G. Parthasarathi, the Minister of State, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, the Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, the Ambassador to China, Mr. K. P. S. Menon and Mr. C. R. Gharekhan, Additional Secretary dealing with foreign affairs in the Prime Minister's office.

An important feature of the latest round of the Sino-Indian talks is that it is taking place in a better atmosphere even if nothing tangible is expected at this stage. The two sides have more or less reconciled themselves to the idea of elevating the dialogue to a political-level to carry forward the efforts to a higher plane.

It is felt that the official delegations can at best crystallise the complex issues involved in arriving at a mutually acceptable settlement, leaving the final shape of the agreement to be determined by the leaders of the two countries through direct discussions. The sixth round has thus assumed some intrinsic importance in preparing the ground for a political-level dialogue in the not too distant future.

Positive attitude: The Prime Minister himself observed today, in the course of his talk with Indian correspondents covering foreign affairs, that "we are taking a positive attitude", while voicing the hope that China also would adopt a flexible stance. He also observed that if the Indian and Chinese officials got bogged down in their respective positions on the border question, "we shall try to see how to break through the walls that have been created," by thinking of alternate methods for meaningful discussions.

At a meeting of the Consultative Committee of Parliament on External Affairs, Mr. B. R. Bhagat also struck a hopeful note, reflecting the Prime Minister's cautious optimism.

An important departure was made by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi today from the earlier Indian stand in reply to a pointed question during his talk with the Indian correspondents, whether Sino-Indian relations could be improved in other spheres without resolving the border dispute. He said: "May be we can do both together."

The Prime Minister also disagreed with the suggestion that India had not come forward with any concrete proposals of its own in response to the Chinese package offer made by Mr. Deng Xiaoping, before the commencement of the current series of official level discussions. He said: "Our proposals are very specific based on geographical and other basic criterion." The Chinese, on the contrary, had been adopting a nebulous position by propounding some vague principles.

Exchanging views: The recent meeting of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi with the Chinese Premier, Mr. Zhao Ziang, went off quite well from all accounts. The atmosphere was good and the two leaders talked candidly about the need for an early border settlement, although they did not go into the details of the problem. They agreed to keep in touch, exchanging views on various issues, both bilateral and international, from time-to-time in mutual interest.

The 13-member Chinese delegation headed by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Liu Shuqing, will be arriving in the early hours of Monday from Bangladesh and the first plenary session will be held in the afternoon. But much of the talking on the border issue will be done during informal exchanges by the leaders of the two delegations, Mr. Liu and Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, and the two Ambassadors, Mr. Li Lian-qing and Mr. K. P. S. Menon, not in the sub-group dealing with this problem.

The other three sub-groups will be having detailed discussions on property issues, scientific and technological cooperation and cultural exchanges. A Chinese trade delegation, led by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Economic Relations, Mr. Lu Xuejian, will be arriving a week later to sign a trade protocol and explore the prospects for increased commercial cooperation.

First Day's Session

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 Nov 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, November 4.

INDIA and China today reaffirmed their firm resolve to solve all outstanding problems in bilateral relations and set the stage for a substantive discussion on the boundary dispute, beginning tomorrow.

The first-day session of the sixth round of official-level talks on the boundary question and other matters witnessed the two sides taking note of positive developments in Sino-India relations.

The leader of the Indian team, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, secretary in the external affairs ministry, said the tone and mood for the session had been set by the recent talks between the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the Chinese Premier, Mr. Zhao Ziyang, at the United Nations.

The leader of the Chinese delegation, Mr. Liu Shuqing, who is leading a 14-member party, said barring "one short unhappy phase", both the countries had adopted a forward looking ap-

proach. He said Sino-Indian relations had developed normally and satisfactorily over the past 35 years.

According to a spokesman of the external affairs ministry, the leaders of the two delegations will meet in a miniplenary tomorrow to discuss the boundary dispute. Today's discussions lasted about 90 minutes.

The sub-group on boundary constituted today, will be led on the Indian side by Mr. R. S. Kalhan, joint secretary (East Asia) in the external affairs ministry, and by Mr. Yang Shengya, head of Asia department in the Chinese foreign office.

The cultural exchanges sub-group will be led by India's Mr. T.C.A. Rangachari, director, external publicity division, and on science and technology by Mr. J. D. Dhar, director in the department of science and technology. The group on property and assets will be headed by Mr. Shyam Saran, counsellor in the Indian embassy in Beijing.

An official spokesman said substantive issues relating to the boundary will be discussed during the current talks on the basis of principles agreed to at the last session.

PTI & UNI add:

On Wednesday, the Chinese delegation will leave for Goa for two days. Some members of the Indian delegation will accompany the Chinese and it is likely that informal consultations will be held between the two sides there.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Venkateswaran recalled that the Chinese vice prime minister, Mr. Yao Yilin last year attended Indira Gandhi's funeral and the sentiments of deep solicitude expressed by the Chinese government at her assassination had been appreciated by the Indian government.

He reminded the Chinese guests that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had said beneficial results in the Sino-Indian talks was a

question of having the right attitude and firm resolve to solve all outstanding problems.

Meanwhile, over 100 Tibetan refugees demonstrated at the Boat Club this morning protesting against the Sino-Indian border talks.

The demonstrators said that there was no Sino-Indian border only an Indo-Tibetan border. "By holding talks on the border, India is not only legitimising the Chinese occupation of Tibet but also the principle of aggression and war", they said.

Raising pro-Dalai Lama slogans, the demonstrators said any settlement reached between India and China on the border issue would not be recognised by the people of Tibet.

In a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the assembly of Tibetan people's deputies called for India to use its influence on the Chinese to make Tibet a de-militarised zone of peace. "This would result in the border problem being automatically solved and

would make the people in the region to devote their time towards development and prosperity," they said.

BJP DEMAND

The BJP urged the government not to compromise any part of Indian territory to China during the talks between the two countries.

In a statement, party general secretary, Mr. Krishanlal Sharma said the government should not violate its 1962 resolution which clearly states the nation's resolve to liberate every inch of its territory captured by China.

"The borders between India and Tibet had been clearly defined by definite treaties and traditions and there should be no confusion on restoring the border line," the statement said.

The party also urged the government to raise the issue of Tibet, thus enabling the small Himalayan state, now under Chinese rule to become an independent state.

5 Nov 'Mini-Plenary Session'

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Excerpts] New Delhi, Nov 5--The Indian and Chinese officials who met today in what was described as a "mini-plenary to tackle the border problem," spent almost five hours together in two stages, exchanging views on boundary definition, for commencing a sector-by-sector discussion on the territorial aspects of it.

The leaders of the two delegations, Mr A.P. Venkateswaran and Mr Liu Shuqing, and the two Ambassadors, Mr K.P.S. Menon and Mr Li Lianqing, and the members of the boundary group, headed by Mr R.S. Khalla and Mr Yang Zhengya, met for two-and-half hours in the morning to decide how they should proceed to consider the "substantive" aspects of the border question as agreed upon at the last round of official-level talks in Beijing last year.

After a brief meeting lasting only half-an-hour in the afternoon, the leaders of the two delegations and the two Ambassadors left the meeting for the members of the sub-group to carry on the discussions for another two hours without really coming to grips with the crux of the border problem. If they were no longer talking of principles and procedures, the two sides were no nearer either to a mutually acceptable basis for going into the territorial issue.

Progressive Change

There has been a progressive change in the attitudes of the two countries over the last few years, in the wake of this official-level talks on normalisation. They have, however, not been able to evolve an agreed concept of a negotiated border settlement based on a balance of concessions.

India is no longer insisting that China just withdraw from all occupied territory before it could discuss any territorial adjustments. Instead, it has been talking of a "just" settlement that takes into account the "legitimate interests of both sides."

The Chinese too, have for all practical purposes, given up their claims to vast areas on the southern side of the McMahon Line, while they have not so far shown any inclination to return the annexed territory in Ladakh if India agrees to cede the occupied parts of Aksai Chin.

Though India continues to regard a border settlement as the central issue for the normalisation of the Sino-Indian ties, it has now more or less agreed to simultaneous efforts to improve relations in all spheres. It has also conceded the Chinese contention that the present series of official talks will have to be upgraded to the political-level at an appropriate time to sort out the persisting differences over the border problem.

Element of Surprise

In agreeing to sector-wise talks on the territorial aspects of the boundary dispute, the Chinese have in effect left the door open for some adjustments as part of an overall settlement. The Chinese continue to rely on their "package offer" as a basis for a comprehensive settlement, but they are no longer averse to the idea of any accord involving some territorial concessions that goes beyond their earlier insistence on a de jure acceptance by India of the present de facto position.

If he has come with any brief to make some new concessions, the leader of the Chinese delegation did not reveal his mind at today's discussions. It is usual for the Chinese diplomats, as skilful negotiators, to preserve the element of surprise till the last moment, and then make the maximum impact with a friendly gesture or a political concession.

No Flexibility Seen

Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Nov 85 p 12

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 9.

At a three-hour long plenary session today, the Indian and Chinese delegations had a wide-ranging discussion on the International situation.

They had a fairly candid exchange of views on issues like Kampuchea and Vietnam, relations with neighbours like Soviet Union and Pakistan, and each other's efforts to promote better understanding in their respective regions, besides bigger global problems like preservation of peace, nuclear disarmament, prospects for Geneva summit and north-south relations.

During their three-day stay in Goa, the leaders of the two delegations, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran and Mr. Liu Shuqing, and the two Ambassadors, Mr. K. P. S. Menon and Mr. Li Lianqing, had two informal sessions during which they had a free and frank discussion on Sino-Indian problems, particularly the border dispute. It enabled the two sides to get a deeper insight into each other's latest thinking on the border problem and the extent to which they might go to arrive at a settlement in a spirit of mutual accommodation.

The border sub-group met this afternoon to resume its sector-wise deliberations against the background of the informal exchanges in Goa, which do not form part of the official record, but serve nevertheless as guidelines for further discussions. The Indian and Chinese representati-

ves on the sub-group, Mr. R. S. Khalla, Joint Secretary in charge of East Asia, and Mr. Yang Zhengya, head of the Asian Department in the Chinese Foreign Ministry, talked for about 2½ hours about the substantive aspects of the border problem, working their way from the eastern and middle sectors to the western one where China is under occupation of Indian territory extending to 14,500 square miles.

The opening exchange on the eastern sector which started on Tuesday ran into rough weather with both sides restating their publicly declared position. The discussions today on the middle and eastern sectors were more or less on the same pattern, reflecting no flexibility at all on either side on the territorial aspects of the border dispute.

But the last word has not yet been said by either side, since the leaders of the two delegations will be continuing their informal exchanges tomorrow, before they meet on Monday at a full plenary session. It is still possible that the Chinese might come forward with some new gestures before the conclusion of the present round of official level discussions.

At the same time, the leader of the Chinese delegation has left his Indian counterpart in no doubt whatsoever that in Beijing's view the border problem can be settled only at the political level, while the current series of official talks can at best generate and sustain an atmosphere of conciliation.

Element of Controversy

Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 10.

The Chinese have introduced a new element of controversy into the current series of official level talks by reviving some old territorial claims in the eastern sector across the McMahon line, frustrating the so-called sector-by-sector discussion on the substantive aspects of the border dispute.

The package offer of Mr. Deng Xiaoping has been reinterpreted to pose the alternative that India should agree to settle the issue either on the basis of what are described as existing realities in all the sectors or through territorial adjustments for compensating the areas that China might give up in Ladakh with matching concessions across the McMahon line.

At the two mini-plenary sessions followed by two lengthy meetings of the sub-group dealing with the border problem, the Chinese Vice Foreign Minister, Mr. Liu Shuqing, and his de-

puty, Mr. Yang Zhengya, sprung this surprise on their Indian counterparts by pressing for territorial concessions in the eastern sector which, if conceded, would enable China to establish a presence on the southern side of the Himalayas across the McMahon line. The implications of this demand were made quite obvious to the Government of India in the course of the informal exchanges that followed that there could be no return of any of the occupied areas in Ladakh without this matching compensation in the East.

Inconclusive

As a result the sector by sector discussions on the substantive aspects of the border dispute ended inconclusively after the sub-group ran into this difficulty when the two sides were just about to come to grips with the nuts and bolts of this problem. Consequently, there was no meeting of the border sub-group today and

none is scheduled for tomorrow before the concluding plenary session.

The Chinese did not spell out what exactly were their demands in the eastern sector, other than reiterating their formal position that 80,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory was under India's illegal occupation and that the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh had been set up on it without any legal justification. But the repeated use of the word concessions seemed to imply that they were not insisting on the transfer of the entire 80,000 square kilometres claimed by them, but only some politically and strategically important segments like the Tawang area south of the Thagla ridge as adequate compensation for any territory they might yield in Ladakh as part of a comprehensive settlement.

The Chinese also refused to agree to the Indian contention that the border in the eastern sector extended from the trijunction of Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet along Bhutan to the McMahon line terminating north of Dhipu pass at the trijunction of India, Burma and Tibet. But in refusing to recognise Sikkim's integration with India, they did not maintain that Sikkim like Bhutan was an independent entity with which the border demarcation in this segment had to be settled through separate negotiations.

An informal assurance was given that though it was not prepared to accept Sikkim's integration at this stage pending a comprehensive settlement of the border problem, China would not do anything to impair India's interests there. In other words, the Chinese delegation had tried to leave the political status of Sikkim wide open for the present, pending an understanding on the overall position in the entire eastern sector where they were seeking concessions to match the territorial adjustments that might be made in Ladakh to arrive at a comprehensive settlement.

The Chinese delegation, which had evidently come with a tough brief, could not have been unaware of the fact that, along the entire Sino-Indian border extending to some 4,500 kilometres, the Sikkim area was the only one where the boundary had been demarcated by pillars long ago, leaving no scope at all for any new dispute. It was not for Beijing to question the legalities of Sikkim's integration with India, since China had no locus standi at all to raise this issue in the context of its negotiations with India for a border settlement.

The latest Chinese stand, demanding territorial concessions in the eastern sector as compensation for any of the occupied areas they might agree to give up in Ladakh as part of an overall settlement, has complicated the border talks by introducing a new element of controversy into it. The two sides are keeping up an appearance of great cordiality and some semblance of progress since neither of them wants to bear the responsibility for calling off this frustrating dialogue on the border dispute, which is central to Sino-Indian normalisation.

The Chinese delegation has chosen to throw this spanner in the works by demanding territorial concessions in the eastern sector, which goes against the earliest offer of accepting the McMahon line, perhaps to re-emphasise that this highly complex problem could be resolved only at the highest political level and not through official level discussions. Whatever the real purpose of introducing this new element, the sixth round is concluding tomorrow without the slightest progress over the border problem.

The sub-groups dealing with science and technology and cultural exchanges have concluded their deliberations. The group entrusted with the settlement of assets and properties, especially to Indian demand for more acreage at reasonable rates for its embassy premises in Beijing, met today for the first time to carry forward the earlier discussions in Beijing last month on the subject.

Talks Inconclusive

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Nov 85 pp 1, 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 11.—The sixth round of Sino-Indian talks ended here today with the boundary issue remaining as thorny as it has been for decades. The only solution to emerge from the discussions was an agreement on what the Chinese would give to India as compensation for the property and assets seized in Beijing as a result of the action of Red Guards years ago. There was also acceptance by both sides of proposals for greater exchanges in the cultural, scientific and technological fields.

The outcome of the discussions on the border issue hardly matched the optimistic expressions by the Prime Ministers of the two countries after their recent meeting in New York.

Any expectation of a change in the Chinese stance on the issue was belied and the two sides ended by restating their well-known positions. The talks, starting off with discussions on the eastern sector, revealed the disturbing fact that the Chinese still firmly believed the McMahon Line was unacceptable and that Arunachal Pradesh ought really to belong to the Chinese.

Linked with this was the old Chinese offer of a package proposal to leave the border on the east undisturbed in return for India's acceptance of the present line of actual control in the western sector, with minor adjustments.

The Chinese had been stating in the past that the two nations should keep the border issue aside and try to further improve relations in other fields. India, on the other hand, had been maintaining that the border issue was the focal point of better relations.

A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry said at the end of the talks today that "It is recognized by both sides, that it (the boundary) is the central issue in regard to normalization of relations. However, this, of course, did not hinder agreement on exchanges in the cultural, scientific or technological fields".

According to the spokesman, both sides "achieved a clearer understanding of each other's position". At the next round of talks, the dates of which have not yet been decided, India and China will look at the western sector. But there was nothing to stop the two sides referring again to the eastern sector, the spokesman said.

The talks themselves, ending with a final plenary session today and, significantly, with no meeting of the crucial sub-group on the boundary issue, were described by the spokesman as "useful and conducive to a better understanding between the two countries. It was a frank and sincere exchange of views on matters of bilateral interest as well as on regional and international interests of common concern".

After the two-day deliberations of the sub-group on property and assets, there was a meeting between the leader of the Chinese delegation, Mr Liu Shuqing, Vice-Foreign Minister, and the Secretary (West), Mr J. S. Teja, resulting in an agreement on Indian Embassy property in Beijing.

The Chinese have agreed to make 34,000 square metres of land available on a long-term lease, and at a special "friendship" rate (lower than the prevailing rate). This land would include the area in which the Indian Embassy and Chancery was located. Another 13,800 square metres of land in the new diplomatic area would also be given to India. Also, both sides agreed to assist each other in extension of the existing facilities (within the existing land) in either country.

The sub-group on cultural, science and technology reviewed the progress made in the respective fields and found that it was "satisfactory". There would now be new areas of cooperation. It was agreed to hold exhibitions of contemporary art in either country, exchange scholars in religion and philosophy, exchange information on computer industry, agriculture, education, plasma physics, laser technology and biotechnology.

Leading the Indian delegation was the Secretary (East) Mr A. P. Venkateswaran, assisted by the Indian Ambassador in Beijing, Mr K. P. S. Menon, Mr R. S. Kalha, Joint Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, Mr T. C. A. Ranchachari, Director in the External Affairs Ministry, Mr J. D. Dhar, Director in the Science and Technology Department, Mr Shyam Saran, Counsellor in the Indian Embassy in Beijing and Mrs Maya Rao, Deputy Director in the External Affairs Ministry.

Besides the Vice-Foreign Minister, who led the delegation, the other side included the Chinese Ambassador here, Mr Lie Lian-hua, Mr Yang Zhenya, head of the Asia Department, Mr Ziang Bingshun, head of the Foreign Liaison Section in the Chinese Cultural Department, Mr Ting Qunhong, Director in the State Committee for Science and Technology and Mr Chou Mang, Division Chief of the Asia Department.

Embassy Land Dispute Resolved

Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Nov 85 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 12.

The long drawn out controversy over the allocation of adequate land in Beijing for building the Indian Embassy premises has been satisfactorily settled with the offer of 35,000 square metres on long lease at what was described as "friendship" rate, a political euphemism for concessional terms.

This was about the only tangible outcome of the weeklong official level talks which got bogged down in a new disputation over the Chinese insistence on matching territorial concessions across the McMahon line in the eastern sector as compensation for any of the occupied area they might agree to return in the Ladakh region, if India was not prepared to settle the problem on the basis of the present de facto position in all sectors.

Complicated formula

The Indian and Chinese delegations agreed on a complicated formula which provides for a straight exchange of the 13,500 square metres of the area of the old Indian Embassy premises seized by China in 1967 during the cultural revolution and adjustment of the estimated building values of the demolished properties against the two buildings now occupied by the Indian Embassy in the five-acre compound rented by the Chinese Government.

The value of the residuary area, covering 31,500 square metres, has been calculated on the basis of the same "friendship" rate offered to Nepal five years ago, which was roughly one-third of the price demanded from affluent Western countries wanting to construct their own buildings in Beijing to house their diplomatic mission.

When an Indian team went to Beijing last month to settle this problem, the Chinese Government quoted a price of \$340 per square metre, but brought this down by half to \$170 which was considered still too high in comparison with the measly sum of only Rs. 26 lakhs that India charged for the 30-acre plot given to China 30 years ago in Delhi's diplomatic enclave. The Chinese also were reluctant to sell even at this high price more than seven and half acres in all, only an additional two and half acres in the new diplomatic area under development in Beijing besides the existing five-acre compound housing the main chancery building and the Ambassador's residence.

The rate that has been finally agreed upon, for a total area of roughly nine acres against the ten asked for by India, works out to approximately one-third of the prevailing diplomatic rate after deducting the compensation for the old Indian Embassy premises. The Government of India will have to shell out between Rs. 1.5 crores and Rs. 2 crores depending on how the final figure is worked out to mutual satisfaction.

The Chinese maintained that India was offered land as far back as 1957 at the then prevailing low rates, but it did not avail of the offer at that time. The Indian policy then was to house Indian missions abroad in rented premises to avoid heavy capital expenditure. But by the time India decided in 1967 to build its own embassy in Beijing, China was plunged in the cultural revolution.

The issue was reopened during the current series of official level talks on the border dispute, when the question of assets and properties seized after the 1962 conflict came up for discussion along with other issues for normalising relations. But by then the land values all over the world had skyrocketed and the Chinese Government started demanding what amounted to 200 times more than what it had paid in 1950s for its embassy premises in Delhi.

Now that this issue has been amicably resolved, the Government of India will clear the plans for the main chancery building, cultural centre and other structures the Chinese propose to construct in their vast compound in Delhi. The Chinese, too, have agreed to let India add to the existing buildings in the rented embassy premises and also put a multi-storey apartment house in the three acre plot that is being sold in Beijing's new diplomatic enclave.

The Chinese delegation, headed by the Vice Foreign Minister, Mr. Liu Shuqing, left for Bangkok today en route to Beijing at the conclusion of the week-long discussions. Though the Ministry of External Affairs continued to put on a brave face, maintaining that the so-called substantive discussions on the border problem had "achieved a clearer understanding of each other's position", it could not put any further gloss to conceal the disconcerting reality that the border talks had run into new difficulties over the Chinese insistence on territorial concessions in the eastern sector where the two sides were unable to evolve even a mutually acceptable boundary definition.

The two sides, however, agreed to keep up the momentum of normalisation in other spheres like science and technology and cultural exchanges. It was decided to hold art exhibitions, encourage visits by scholars in philosophy and religion, exchange information on computer industry, agriculture, education, plasma physics, laser technology, biotechnology and such other areas of mutual interest.

The next round of these official talks will be held in Beijing next year when the two sides will take up the central and western sectors for a substantive discussion of the border dispute in those regions. And by then it is quite possible that some new political moves would be made to salvage these talks from this sterile exercise before this protracted dialogue ends up in a near deadlock with both sides speaking from totally irreconcilable positions.

External Affairs Minister's Comment

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 14 Nov 85 p 4

[Text]

Patna, Nov. 13 (UNI): The external affairs minister, Mr Baliram Bhagat, today said the just-concluded talks between India and China have helped the two countries gain better knowledge of each other's position on the border dispute.

The talks were "very cordial and we have started knowing each other's position clearly,"

Mr Bhagat told a press conference here. The external affairs minister said India was making all efforts to improve relations with neighbouring countries, but not at the cost of its own security.

India was aware of Pakistan's nuclear programme, Mr Bhagat said, and was making efforts to maintain peace in the region. He said India had no plans to manufacture nuclear weapons.

Referring to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka, Mr Bhagat said India was trying its best to bring back normalcy to the island state. But "the killings must stop and the ceasefire must be observed strictly," he added, pointing out that a political dialogue was possible only when peace was restored.

On Bangladesh, he said there had been talks on various issues, like the sharing of Ganga waters, and hoped that relations between India and Bangladesh would further improve.

Mr Bhagat said India's prime concern in foreign policy was global peace. He pointed out that the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, had appealed to the two super powers to sit together and discuss disarmament.

He said Mr Gandhi had achieved "a remarkable feat" in the Nassau Commonwealth heads of government meeting, where for the first time a unanimous resolution on economic sanctions against the racist South African regime was passed. "It was a very big achievement and even Prime Minister Margret Thatcher of UK had to change her stand in view of the Commonwealth countries' stand," he added.

On India's relations with the US and the Soviet Union, Mr Bhagat said India was not leaning towards any one of them. "With the USA, we have no bilateral difference, but we differ on certain global issues."

/9317

CSO: 4600/1188

INDIA

OPPOSITION POLICY ON NUCLEAR OPTION DISCUSSED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Oct 85 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, Oct 15--While three national Opposition parties would like India to be free to exercise the nuclear option, two other non-Communist parties are reviewing their position on formulating a policy on an Indian deterrent in view of Pakistan going nuclear.

The three parties to take a stand are the Janata Party, BJP and the Lok Sal, while the Congress (Socialist) and the Telugu Desam, with 27 members in the Lok Sabha, have yet to define their position.

The BJP would like India to have a nuclear deterrent and passed a resolution to this effect at its national executive meeting in July at Bhopal. The Janata Party, after much debate last week decided that the country should exercise the nuclear options in "full freedom."

The Lok Del president, Mr Charan Singh, has gone on record to say that he would like India to make the bomb before a neighbour did it.

On the other hand the Congress (S) has adhered to the Congress policy of nuclear renunciation so far, but its general secretary, Mr K.P. Unnikrishnan, said the party would have to review the question next month at its working committee meeting in view of developments on the sub-continent, Mr C. Lakshman, secretary of the Telugu Desam Parliamentary Party, will raise the question with the party leadership during his five day visit to Hyderabad.

Meanwhile, Mr L.K. Advani BJP general secretary, denied the charge by one of the Congress (I) general secretaries, Mr. Jitendra Prasad, that the BJP was trying to "belittle the nuclear threat from Pakistan."

He said: "The BJP is the first party to take cognizance of Pakistan's resolve to go nuclear. By a resolution the BJP has demanded that India should develop a nuclear deterrent of its own.

"The BJP has never tried to underplay the Pakistani threat. What the party president, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, has criticized is that the Prime Minister

of such a great country as ours should be going round the world making speeches betraying panic and acting as a supplicant seeking Washington's and Moscow's intervention against Pakistan's nuclear threat. India, we believe, can meet, Pakistan entirely on its own."

He recalled that Mr Merarji Desai had, as the Janata Prime Minister, said that India was not going to make the bomb. But he would not let Pakistan make it either, implying that "we will destroy it."

It is learnt that the Janata Party National Council, at its meeting in Deosthali last week, had a heated discussion on the nuclear question and a draft almost renouncing the nuclear option, was rejected after strong objections by Mr Krishan Kant, who had been lobbying for two decades even as a Congressman before he left the ruling party. Even a second draft, which did not satisfy him and a number of other leaders of the party, was rejected.

The final resolution that emerged said: While the Congress (I) is trying to divert the attention of the people from their life of misery, poverty, unemployment and inflation by alluring them with post-dated cheques on the next century prosperity, it continues to mislead them by referring time and again to the possibility of invasion across our frontier. It might be that the Congress (I) in order to hide its failure on the economic and social front feels the need to cry wolf. But one might cry wolf too often. Janata never indulged in this game and maintained the friendliest relations with Pakistan as well as China, but it did not slacken its guard even for a moment.

Mr Krishan Kant and some others objected to a formulation which reportedly suggested that India was responsible for Pakistan's plan to go nuclear. He pointed out that the draft was contrary to a party resolution, adopted in 1981 at Bangalore, despite Mr Desai's opposition, that India would have to go nuclear if Pakistan made the bomb. He recalled that Mr Vajpayee, the then External Affairs Minister, had announced in Parliament in April 1979, that India had information that Pakistan was going nuclear.

/8309

CSO: 5150/20

INDIA

JAMMU, KASHMIR POLICE FIND KHALISTANI NETWORK

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 11 Oct 85 p 9

[Text] Jammu, Oct. 10--The Jammu and Kashmir Police have found that "Khalistani" terrorists were operating under the code name of "Saffron Tigers" and had headquarters at Amritsar, reports UNI.

Disclosing this to reporters today, the Jammu and Kashmir director-general of police, Mr M.M. Khajooria, said the "Saffron Tigers" were operating in Delhi, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.

He said the "Saffron Tigers" were drawn from the All India Sikh Students Federation and the United Akali Dal headed by Baba Joginder Singh. They have also established links with Jatha Bhindranwale the AISSF, the Akali Youth Federation and the Babar Khalsa operating from Pakistan.

Mr Khajooria said Jatha Bhindranwale in Pakistan was led by Gurjit Singh who is married to the niece of Bhindranwale. The AISF in Pakistan was headed by Hatinder Paul Singh, a resident of Bhopal, while Amrit Singh and Sukhdev Singh headed the Akali Youth Federation and Babar Khalsa respectively.

Mr Khajooria said the "Saffron Tigers" have been discovered following the arrest and interrogation of Gurcharan Singh, the AISSF president of Ropore (in Punjab) and Amarjit Singh of Bakshinagar, Jammu, on September 18 at Jammu airport when they were attempting to board an Indian Airlines flight to Chandigarh on assumed names.

Mr Khajooria said that following their interrogation another person--Mohammad Sharrif alias Sartaj--who works for a publishing house in Jama Masjid, Delhi, was also arrested. Sartaj has links with the Jammatt-i-Islami of Jammu and Kashmir and runs a Urdu weekly "Rahi Manzal." He is believed to be a member of the "Saffron Tigers." An alleged terrorist from Gurdaspur district of Punjab was arrested from Sopore in Kashmir Valley, where he had joined the Sopore Muslim Education Trust. Tara Singh was assigned the task of hijacking an Indian Airlines plane from Jammu or Srinagar airports on September 25, the day of polling in Punjab.

Mr Khajooria said that during interrogation all of them had confessed that they had links with Khalistani terrorists in India and Pakistan.

He said the "Saffron Tigers" were formed soon after Operation Bluestar and its members would always move in the company of young women to "avoid suspicion and gain respectability."

He said that soon after Operation Bluestar they were assigned the task of printing and distributing posters in the Army units among Sikh jawans, sabotage activities and looting of banks and post offices.

Mr Khajooria said the "Saffron Tigers" plan to hijack an Indian Airlines plane from Jammu or Srinagar on the day of polling in Punjab had the "approval of Pakistani authorities who had promised the hijackers permission to land in Pakistan and pistols and other arms in lunch boxes to enable them to proceed onwards as the aircraft would not be allowed to stay in Pakistan."

The police chief said two stenguns and a large quantity of ammunition had been recovered from one of the "Saffron Tigers" hide outs in Shahpur village in the Ranbir Singh Pura sector of Jammu bordering Pakistan.

Mr Khajooria said Pakistanis were not training individuals but a select few.

In New Delhi, the Jammu and Kashmir Governor, Mr Jagmohan today met the Union Home Minister, Mr S.B. Chavan, and gave him a detailed assessment of the political situation in the State.

/8309

CSO: 5650/30

INDIA

BRIEFS

NEW ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL--New Delhi, Nov 1--The Central Administrative Tribunal--the long-delayed agency for adjudicating issues arising out of service matters of the Central Government employees--came into operation today. It has its principal Bench in New Delhi and additional Benches in Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The Deputy Minister for Personnel and Administrative Reforms, Mr P. Chidambaram, said that additional Benches would be set up soon in Bangalore and Guwahati. The additional Benches were proposed to be set up, he said, at the seats of the High Courts. The programme would be finalised by December 9. The former Bombay High Court Chief Justice, Mr K. Madhava Reddy, has been appointed Chairman of the Tribunal. Mr Justice Zaheer Hasan, Mr Justice Asha Mukul Pal and Mr Justice G. Ramanujam are the Vice-Chairmen of the Tribunal's additional Benches in Allahabad, Calcutta and Madras, respectively. Mr B.C. Mathur, retired Secretary, Department of Sports and Mr B.S. Sekhon, retired Law Secretary, will be the vice-chairmen of the additional Benches in New Delhi. Mr Justice B.G. Gadgil, who retired as Judge of the Bombay High Court would take over the vice-chairmanship of the Bombay Bench on November 4. Our Madras Staff Reporter writes: An additional Bench of the Tribunal began functioning in Madras today. It will have Mr G. Ramanujam, retired Judge of the Madras High Court as its Vice-Chairman, and Mr G. Sreedharan Nair, formerly Law Secretary to the Kerala Government, Mr K. Ramamurti, retired Director-General of the Border Security Force, and Mr C. Venkatraman, former Financial Commissioner, Railways, as members. The Bench will sit at the Tamil Nadu Textbook Society building on College Road, Njngambakkam. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Nov 85 p 9] /9317

CSO: 4600/1189

IRAN

TRADE BANK REPORTS INCREASE IN BARTER AGREEMENTS WITH FRG

Hamburg DEUTSCHE VERKEHRSZEITUNG in German 12 Oct 85 p 13

[Article: "Barter Transactions Gain Increasing Importance"/Different Priorities]

[Text] Business transactions with Iran have become more difficult. Evidently there are differing ideas in Teheran on the most expedient form of payment for imports. This is also shown in the business report of the Deutsch-Iranische Handelsbank AG (Hamburg) German-Iranian Trade Bank , which states that, in future, the financial institute will have to adapt to "emerging changes in the foreign trade of Iran" and, increasingly, will not only carry out non-German transactions, but will also participate in implementing barter deals. The Deutsch-Iranische Handelsbank is a specialized bank, primarily devoted to carrying out the voluminous German-Iranian trade.

The major activities of the bank concern the service-rendering business, especially credit dealings, and payment transactions with Iran. The bank's credit transactions also derive mostly from foreign trade. Guarantee transactions play a major role in this. The greatly increased demand of exporters for safeguarding exports to Iran through assurances of rediscount of export documents and purchase of accounts receivable by the bank can only be fulfilled in part. At present, credits payable after 180 days are predominant. The bank report states that, as an alternative, exporters can also conclude barter agreements.

As a rule, the sheer size of oil barter transactions requires amalgamation of a number of exports. Although there was no lack of effort on the German side, no transactions through such amalgamations could be realized so far in the FRG. In addition to the difficulty of handling barter deals, in which a large number of parties in the FRG and in Iran are involved--in the latter, with different trade policy priorities--, the cause can also be found in the very high support which German exporters have to procure to bridge the differences between the government selling price and the market price for crude oil.

The bank proposes creation of a joint German-Iranian organization to handle barter transactions, and a changed price policy in oil deals. This could increase the prospects of implementing barter transactions with a

larger number of exporters in the FRG, which would contribute to lowering the imbalance in the German-Iranian trade balance. In the long term, only in this manner can differing interests be coordinated by a central organization, and implementation ensured. After all, it concerns a German-Iranian trade volume of more than DM 9 billion, of which, however, more than DM 6 billion are German exports (1984).

This demonstrates the imbalance in the bilateral goods trade, deplored by Iran time and again. A falling tendency can be noted in 1985: during the first 5 months, 30 percent less on the German export side. But also in the background are evidently the rising difficulties of the war with Iraq, in which the bombing of the Kargh oil terminal in the Persian/Arabian Gulf plays a particular role. The annual statement of accounts of the German-Iranian Trade Bank for the period 1 July to 31 December 1984 covers an abbreviated financial year, in which the bank's supervisory board and the board of directors propose to the shareholders' general meeting that the profit of the abbreviated financial year, DM 13.1 million, be held in reserve. The bank's own capital will then amount to DM 81.6 million, which is 8.8 percent of total assets.

9917

CS0: 4620/12

PAKISTAN

BENAZIR BHUTTO COMPLAINS ABOUT 'STORIES IN PRESS'

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Nov 85 p 2

[Text]

LONDON, Nov 19: Ms Benazir Bhutto has said that some Pakistani newspapers have published totally concocted reports about the death of her brother, Mr Shahnawaz Bhutto, quoting unknown sources.

According to a London-based Urdu newspaper, Ms Bhutto feels that the Government of Pakistan was also taking keen interest in the case of her brother's death.

She told the paper that several reports were published in Pakistani newspapers quoting "Radio Paris", while the fact was that no Radio by this name existed. Besides, even the French Radio had few broadcasts for the sub-continent, and had not given any worth mentioning report about her brother's case.

She wondered how certain Pakistani newspapers could know whether her brother had died instantaneously or after spending several hours in pain when she herself, being in Cannes, did not know it until the latest inquiry report was released.

Similarly, she complained, some Pakistani newspapers published a report that her brother was involved in a motor-cycle accident in Czechoslovakia and had started taking pain killing medicines. She said she did not know who had given them this baseless report.

She also regretted a report that her mother, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, was unhappy on the marriages of her two sons with the two Afghan sisters, and that she had wanted to marry Shahnawaz to one of her (Benazir's) cousins, Jameela, the fact, she said, was that she had no cousin by the name of Jameela, and her mother was extremely happy with the marriages of her two sons.

She said she was confident that ultimately true facts will come out before the people despite concocted reports being published by some of the Pakistani newspapers.

/12828

CSO: 4600/117

PAKISTAN

GHAFFAR KHAN STRESSES RIGHTS OF PUKHTOONS

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Nov 85 p 4

[Text]

MARDAN, Nov 21: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Khudai Khidmatgar leader, addressing a large public gathering near Sardari, said that due to separation of East Pakistan some two lakh Muslims were persecuted.

Throwing light on the country affairs he said that the nation and the people only get success when they talk little and act more. On both sides of River Sind, he said, Pukhtoons are living and it is the basic right of the people, to use those river water who are living close to it.

He reiterated that Mianwali and Campbelpur are part of NWFP and explained that electricity which was produced in NWFP worth crores of rupees add to the national income. Through the electricity cement factories and other industries are run in the country which adding

crores of rupees in the national income, but unfortunately the benefit goes to only a section of the people. If this income would be spent on Pukhtoons it would lying good results in the development of NWFP.

He said Ahmad Shah Abdali the conquerer of India had said that upto Jhelum all the area belongs to Pukhtoons.

He said that he had written a letter to President Zia-ul-Haq about the area of Jhelum and Campbelpur to be in the jurisdiction of NWFP but he had received no reply.

He further said that in the past, President Yahya Khan was nominating Sheikh Mujibur Rehman as the Prime Minister, but due to late Prime Minister Bhutto Mujibur Rehman was sent to East Pakistan and in the West Bhutto was placed as Prime Minister.

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CSO: 4600/124

PAKISTAN

MINISTER SAYS QAZI COURTS POSSIBLE AFTER MARTIAL LAW

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Nov 85 p 22

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov 21: The Federal Minister for Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Mr Iqbal Ahmed Khan, said here today that establishment of Qazi Courts would be possible in 1986 after the transitional period of Martial Law is over.

Speaking as chief guest at the certificate distribution ceremony at the Shariah Academy of the Islamic University, Islamabad on Thursday, the Minister pointed out that there were legal and administrative problems to be sorted out before launching such a historic scheme for providing justice to the common man at the grass-root level. The exercise would consume some time which would be available after the end of Martial Law on Dec 31 and the beginning of democratic era. He said currently there was a lot of other legislative business to be taken up by the Parliament.

At present, the legislative business was being conducted by the Parliament and not a single law was being enforced through martial law orders.

The Justice Minister maintained that as a matter of principle, he had differed on the establishment of Qazi Courts at this stage when there was no character building imperative for administration of justice on true Islamic lines. He said it had been his considered opinion that if God forbid, the scheme failed and there was no visible change and blessing of Islamic

justice in the society due to the fact that the hands which had to run the system did not possess true Islamic character, there would be despondency about Islamic measures

in the world. However, he was convinced in respect of the measure of setting up Qazi courts on the plea that efforts were being made by this academy like the other institutions to impart productive training to the judges and police officers.

He appealed to the administration, police and judiciary to restore the confidence of the common man in them and their so functioning that they could get relief and speedy justice with the enforcement of Islamic system. He said that these persons at the helm of affairs, would have to follow the precedents of Islamic history and had to mould themselves in such a way that a hutdweller could challenge the tyranny of a jagirdar in the courts and get speedy justice.

Mr Iqbal Ahmed Khan pointed out that during his three-day stay in Lahore, a couple of days back he met a cross section of people in his constituency where mostly poor people lived. It was the general opinion that the problems had been complicated by the administration and the police and unless they changed their attitude and outlook towards the masses, there could be no visible Islamic change in the society. The administration, judiciary and the police must comprehend the requirements of Islamic system

being implemented in the country and for that matter the most important factor was the character of the people who had to enforce the Islamic laws.

The Minister requested the Director General of the Academy to widen the scope of the training of the Academy to include the lawyers as well. —APP

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CSO: 4600/124

PAKISTAN

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON PRISONERS ISSUED

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Nov 85 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Nov 19: A recent Amnesty International report on "the trial and treatment of prisoners of conscience by Special Military Court," says that 168 political and politically motivated persons have so far been tried by these courts and 130 of them convicted while another 30 are awaiting judgment in Pakistan.

Releasing the contents of the report, spread over 57 pages and illustrated with various citations and photographs, Dr Mubashir Hasan told a news conference here on Tuesday that it was bound to bring a bad name to the country.

According to the report, thousands have been arrested on the suspicion of having links with the "Al-Zulfikar" organisation since 1981 and most of them have not committed any violence. The report says that persons convicted so far will be deprived of legal remedy even if Martial Law is withdrawn because of the manner in which the 1973 Constitution had been amended.

"Amnesty International feels concerned over the violation of human rights in Pakistan." It says that two-thirds of the 140 people tried by Special Military Courts during 1983-84 were awarded capital punishment which was commuted to life imprisonment in three cases only. Flogging was awarded freely and about two-dozen people were sentenced to amputation of hands though not one sentence had been carried out so far.

According to the report, the Government of Pakistan wrote to the Amnesty International in 1984 that few heinous crimes were generally referred to Special Military Courts. But no probe, the statement proved otherwise. It says that the investigation procedure is tortuous, detentions and fettering and chaining of political prisoners is normally resorted to.

The report has specifically mentioned the Rawalpindi (Libya) case, the trial of 54 in Kot Lakhpat Jail, Lahore, and the details of the trial of Abdul Razzaq alias Jharna in the Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi murder case, together with the proceedings in the case of five convicts in the Central Jail, Karachi.

The report also mentions the International Covenant on civil and political rights and made 12 recommendations to the Government of Pakistan including one on the abolition of Special Military Courts and transfer of all cases of prisoners charged with politically-motivated criminal offences to courts providing minimum legal safeguards for a fair trial.

It also recommends revival of the articles of the 1973 Constitution concerning fundamental rights which ensure against torture.

It appeals to the Government to hold a prompt and impartial investigation into allegations of torture and publish its findings in full. Another recommendation relates to legislative effects to abolition of the use of fetters, shackles and chains.

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CSO: 4600/122

PAKISTAN

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CHARGES DENIED

Karachi DAWN in English 21 Nov 85 p 8

[Article by M. A. Mansuri]

[Text]

LONDON, Nov 20: The Pakistan Embassy in London last evening denied Amnesty International's allegations of treatment of political prisoners by military courts in Pakistan. It said that the Amnesty's allegations were largely based on hearsay, unsubstantiated statements and distortion of facts. Martial Law would be lifted before the end of 1985, and as the new year dawns "there will be no military courts in Pakistan", it added.

A similar contradiction of Amnesty International's report about Zimbabwe was issued by Zimbabwe's Embassy in London which "rejected charges of increased detention and torture of suspected government opponents" in Zimbabwe. The Amnesty had alleged that beatings, electric shocks and other torture had been used at government detention camps since a general election in Zimbabwe in July.

In its report about Pakistan, Amnesty has reminded the authorities of their promise to end Martial Law on Jan 1, when the military courts were expected to stop functioning.

However, it said, "prisoners, serving sentences imposed by special military courts will have no legal redress, as a result of a constitutional amendment introduced this year which keeps a ban on judicial jurisdiction over decisions of military courts".

It said that in addition to the 130 or so political prisoners sentenced or awaiting verdicts, hundreds of other political prisoners have been sentenced by summary military courts to terms of up to three years. Many prisoners, it added, were held incommunicado while awaiting trial, sometimes for months at a time.

Its 47 page memorandum, analysing and questioning some of the procedures adopted by the military courts, was sent by the Amnesty to the Pakistan Government nearly six months ago. Last evening it said that it had so far received no response from the Pakistan Government.

PAKISTAN

REGIME SAID IGNORING 'DANGER SIGNALS' ON SECURITY

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 21 Nov 85 p 6

[Text] The Melodramatic encounter a in Karachi suburb of a special police squad with a gang of dacoits--causing elation over success of the operation among the law-and-order fraternity--will deepen public concern over the strange developments that are spreading to many parts of this troubled land. The North Nazimabad episode in which at least five persons, including one policeman, were killed, reveals that most of the well-armed gangsters finally trapped in Karachi were from Iranjan Baluchistan and for months they had been using student hostels as hide-outs. A dozen or more suspects, including two women, have been arrested. According to the police, the group had been involved in a border clash some time ago; it was responsible for a revenge killing in Karachi; later part of the gang made a daring escape from the notorious Machh Jail after murdering two warders; and they were probably involved in the Korangi bank robbery when three persons were shot and killed. This is, of course, not the only incident of its type in recent years. It seems that Pakistan's soil is used freely by our neighbours to fight their battles and conduct their vendettas; and it needs to be remembered that when bombs explode in Peshawar or there is a gun-battle in Karachi the event is reported but when similar clashes take place in remote places, little or no notice is taken of them.

Pakistan's long, largely undemarcated and unmanned, border to its north-west appears to have become a wide-meshed sieve; everything and everybody goes through in either direction with great ease, since the guardians of our frontiers apparently create minimal hindrance. The massive illegal imports include foreign goods of all sorts which can only depress local manufactures and slow down indigenous trade, as well as dangerous drugs and sophisticated arms. Then there is the virtually unchecked influx of people, whether refugees, foreign agents and spies, smugglers, prisoners of war even from countries which we designate as friendly Powers, clandestine adventurers from the West or masters of covert operations. Control over their comings and goings is lax and may be put down to authorities' unwillingness rather than their inability to interfere with the burgeoning border traffic. The latest reports from across the border revealing that Afridis and other tribesmen living on Pakistan territory have started obtaining arms from Kabul can only presage a worsening in the generally unhappy situation.

These danger signals are there for everyone to see. For some reason they have deliberately been ignored, as if the decision-makers were unaware of the likely consequences or far too busy with other matters. An ostrich-like failure to see that the threat of anarchy continues to grow can exact a very heavy price later. Already, according to reports that do not always find a place in the media, in some sectors only a concerted effort will succeed in stemming the rot that has set in. One more police cell to probe the Karachi incident is not enough; action is required on a much wider scale. The fearful tocsin must be heard by those who are in a position to guide the course of events, whether they are in the Government or outside. Today, many of them refer to the dangers facing the country with an equanimity that would be understandable if they were in this land as foreign observers or are certain of the chances of a hasty escape when the crunch comes. Most of them are citizens of this land; not only will they themselves live and die here, but they will be leaving a country of some sort to their children and their children's children. If they continue to keep their heads buried in the sand or devote themselves entirely to tasks that can bring ephemeral satisfaction, their generation will be charged by history with the unforgiveable sin of allowing the country to drift into deep chaos or worse.

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CSO: 4600/122

PAKISTAN

MRD LEADER CRITICIZES PLANNED RESERVE POLICE FORCE

Karachi DAWN in English 19 Nov 85 p 2

[Text]

LAHORE, Nov 18: Mr. Pervaiz Saleh, Central Convener of the MRD, has described setting up of a Reserve Police, of 10,000 Jawans, as another wrong step which would not only add to an already huge non-development expenditure, but would also be used to crush political opponents.

In a Press statement, the MRD leader said that the Interior Minister's statement in this regard was self-contradictory. On the one hand, he had said that the new force would be used to suppress the students and workers' agitation and on the other, he denied that it would be used against political opponents.

According to Mr. Saleh 96 per cent of the budget was being spent on non-development expenditures and debt servicing. The new Reserve Police would add to the burden.

Kasuri

The Secretary, Information, of the (defunct) Tehrik-i-Istiqal, Mian Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri, has also expressed concern over the proposed formation of a Federal Reserve Police.

In a statement in Lahore today, Mr Kasuri said that "it was quite clear that the main purpose of establishing this force was to suppress political meetings and political processions and it would not be different from the infamous Federal Security Force and the people had not forgotten the atrocities committed by the FSF".

Mian Khurshid said that the formation of the Federal Reserve Force also struck another major blow at the concept of province autonomy. Already a feeling of alienation had been created in the smaller provinces.

He said there was no reason as to why in the presence of the Reserve Police in the Provinces, there should be need for a Reserve Force at the Federal level.

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CSO: 4600/117

PAKISTAN

FORMATION OF RESERVE POLICE FORCE OPPOSED

Karachi DAWN in English 19 Nov 85 p 2

[Text]

KARACHI, Nov 18: Prof Ghafoor Ahmad, Naib Amir of the banned Jamaat-i-Islami, has said that by deciding to set up a reserve police force (RPF) the Federal Government is following in the "footsteps" of the previous regime.

In an interview here on Monday, he referred to Federal Interior Minister Mohammad Aslam Khattak's reported statement that the RPF would help maintain law and order and said that "exactly this was stated at the time of the formation of the Federal Security Force (FSF)".

Mr. Khattak had also given an assurance that the RPF would not be used for "political purposes". Prof Ghafoor pointed out that a similar assurance to people had been given by the previous Government as well.

The Jamaat leader said President Zia-ul-Haq had, on more than one occasion, stated that law and order was primarily a concern of the provincial Governments and as such, the latter could have taken steps to augment the provincial police force to cope with the growing incidence of crimes.

"The proposed formation of the Reserved Police Force, under the direct authority of the Federal Government, shows what actually the underlying purpose could be," Prof. Ghafoor opined.

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CSO: 4600/117

PAKISTAN

MANY CASES SAID REPORTED AGAINST ROBBERS' GANG

Karachi DAWN in English 21 Nov 85 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, Nov 20: CIA investigating offences against the Amanullah Mubarak gang has reportedly brought on record nearly 21 cases of armed hold-ups and dacoities committed by the gang in Karachi, including two cases of murder involving four lives, viz three during the dacoity at UBL in Korangi and one of Sardar Mauladad, in the last few months.

Inspector, Noor Ahmad Shaikh, who has been associated with the investigations, has left Karachi for an unknown destination in search of the absconding members of the Mubarak gang — Azam, Kamal, Shaban Manghi, Mohammad, Ibrahim and an Iranian, Hussain.

Besides, a manhunt for armed desperado Kashmir Khan has been mounted in the interior, and raids on hide-outs near Sind-Baluchistan border are being carried out.

Meanwhile, DSP Choudhry Tufail of Baluchistan Police (Crime Branch), who is currently in the city, is also interrogating Nawaz Mubarak and others, and is believed to have got some "important clues" as a result of which DSP, Mach Central Jail, Malik Mohammad Sadiq, has been arrested in connection with the jail-break case against Mubarak gang members who had killed two wardens while escaping from the jail in Mach last year.

On the other hand, CIA is understood to have decided to move the Martial Law authorities to permit it to add provisions of Martial Law Regulations against the accused persons who, according to it, are directly involved in the dacoities and murders and have since been remanded in CIA's custody till Nov

26 for further investigations by a local court on Wednesday.

A CIA party also brought for questioning two brothers, namely Noor Mohammad and Razaq, of deceased Ghulam Ali from Mohajir Camp, Baldia township, apparently to find out some clues about the activities of the gang.

A Charade car snatched by Amanullah Mubarak, along with Kashmir Khan from Jamshoro, was taken away by the Jamshoro police on Wednesday as part of the case property.

CIA also confirmed having recovered 10 tolas of gold ornaments, said to have been looted from the jewellers' shops in North Nazimabad and Orangi township, on the pointation of three women, including the widow of Amanullah Mubarak. But the same is subject to identification by the complainants.

Further investigations are proceeding.

Meanwhile, IGP has constituted a team headed by DIG Karachi Range, Mir Abdul Jabbar, and including SP-CIA Wahajul Hai, AIG (General), Saleem Wahidy and SP Habibullah Khan Niazi, to recommend names for rewards to officers and men who took part in the shoot-out with the Amanullah Mubarak gang in North Nazimabad recently.

● **APPEAL:** Prof. Mohammad Usman Ramz, MNA and leader of Jamaat-i-Islami's Group in the National Assembly, has appealed to Sind Chief Minister Ghous Ali Shah to make arrangements for early payment of compensation money to the families affected as a consequence of the gunbattle.

PAKISTAN

MINISTER CLARIFIES POSITION ON OFFSHORE OIL

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Nov 85 p 1

[Text]

KARACHI, Nov 19: The Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Resources, Dr Mohammed Asad Khan, has described Press reports of an oil find in the offshore areas, south of Karachi, as "incorrect and misleading."

He told a news conference on Tuesday that so far there was "no indication of any kind in those formations".

The Minister, who visited the offshore drillship earlier, said that out of a projected depth of 3,500 meters, drilling had been completed up to 2,800 meters.

Dr Asad referred to what he called "rumours" about a gas and oil find at PAKCAN well No. 1, 129 km south of Karachi, and said so far there was no good news.

He, however, did not elaborate as to who was spreading these rumours and for what purpose.

The Minister denied that there was any pressure from any quarter outside the country which was prompting the Government not to disclose an offshore oil or gas find.

He said offshore drilling had entered into very high pressure formations and these were the areas where similar drilling in the past could not be controlled and had to be abandoned.

"OGDC and Petro-Canada are using the latest technology and know-how to handle these complex operations," he said.

Dr Asad said the first indication about the existence of oil or gas or otherwise from the offshore well would be available between four to six weeks from now.

He said the drilling was at present going through its most crucial phase and this would continue for another 300 to 400 feet depth.

The Minister, however, emphasised that the basic purpose of the first offshore well was acquisition of scientific data.

To get a better picture of an area, he said, sometimes more than a score of wells had to be dug.

The Minister told newsmen that OGDC was at present carrying out exploratory drilling at four locations.

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CSO: 4600/117

PAKISTAN

OFFICIAL SAYS NEW EDIBLE OIL POLICY TO BE IMPLEMENTED

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Nov 85 p 1 Business Supplement

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov 21: Mr Sartaj Aziz, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister for Food and Agriculture, has said that a new comprehensive edible oil policy was being framed "which would be implemented soon."

He said keeping in view the violent fluctuations in the international edible oil prices, the domestic consumer prices of the commodity can be protected by an increased proportion of domestic oilseed production and by adopting more effective trading policy.

"There will be no piecemeal strategy to overcome the increasing bill of edible oil imports," Mr Sartaj Aziz said and added that "the new policy will be a long term comprehensive policy which will take all the required aspects into consideration."

He was delivering inaugural address at the seminar here on "stock and trade management" organised by the Planning Division.

Mr Sartaj Aziz said the Deregulation Commission was considering decontrol of ghee prices, adding that the Government wants to see the prices determined by competition in the industry rather than by the government control. With the public sector plants producing about half of the total ghee production, the government will be in a position to keep the prices at a reasonable level, and to stabilise the situation, he added.

He said "I would like to make it perfectly clear that the private ghee plants will never be considered sick." The recommenda-

tions of the Deregulation Commission will lead to major rationalisation of the structure of the edible oil industry, he said. "With the opportunities of profits, the owners must accept the risks of loss or even of failure", the Special Assistant to the Prime Minister added.

SUBSIDY: Mr Sartaj Aziz said the import bill had reached US dollar 460 million by 1983-84 and the budgetary subsidy required to maintain prices Rs 2,245 million. This involved the import of 664 thousand tons of edible oil, or some 80 per cent of domestic consumption requirements. By comparison, in 1973-74, 142 thousand tons were imported at a cost of US dollar 83 million, and the budgetary subsidy was Rs 269 million. On present trends, the prospects are for increasing dependence on imports and a rising and unsustainable import bill.

Mr Sartaj Aziz said the government is considering different approaches to develop edible oils market.

"We want buyers to compete for oilseeds and oil and finally we want prices which reflect long term international costs, while protecting the domestic market against short term volatility in world prices."

USAID: Earlier, Mr Eugene Staples, Director, USAID in his address reviewed his organisation's continuing support for agriculture development in Pakistan.

He said the US AID is currently financing a six-year, one billion dollars agricultural development programme in Pakistan. —APP

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CSO: 4600/124

PAKISTAN

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY INSTITUTE OPPOSED

Karachi DAWN in English 21 Nov 85 p 8

[Article by H. A. Hamied]

[Text]

KARACHI, Nov 20: A five-member committee set up to report on the desirability of the proposed National Institute of Science and Technology has instead suggested the reinforcement and strengthening of existing institutions in the field.

The Committee, headed by Dr. Naeem Ahmad Khan, Chairman of PCSIR, has said in its report that in case a fresh start is to be made to set up the Institute, it would involve huge capital investment as well as maintenance and continual modernisation of new laboratories.

The strengthening of the existing facilities, the report says, would only involve inputs for modernisation and expansion.

The first choice of creating a new organisation would take away talented manpower from the existing institutions and thus deprive them of the thrust which was built over the years.

The only difficulty with the old

institutes seems to be that the traditional set up cannot be substituted easily, but would have to be gradually modified with due effort.

It may be recalled that the Government had set up the Committee on May 26, 1985. The terms of reference was whether the Institute should be established during the current plan or deferred till the 7th Five-Year Plan, the priorities of the disciplines and technologies to be set up, the balance between academic workload and supplied research; the role of the Ministries of Education and Science and Technology and salary structure etc.

The Committee instead suggested the alternative and recommended that the decision be taken at the highest level and should involve all the concerned ministries.

Once the decision on the fundamental issue is taken, it would be easy to address the questions raised in the terms of reference, the committee reportedly felt.

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CSO: 4600/123

PAKISTAN

CONTRACT SIGNED WITH CHINA FOR ELECTRICAL COMPLEX

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 85 p 1 Business Supplement

[Text] A heavy electrical complex is being set up in Hazara district with the technical and financial assistance of China. The total cost of the project is estimated at Rs. 537 million, with a foreign exchange component of Rs. 273 million.

This was stated by Maj. General (Retd) M. Saeed Khan, Chairman of the State Engineering Corporation at a Press conference here today.

He said a contract has been signed between the Corporation and the China National Machinery and Equipment Import and Export Corporation (CMEC).

He said that letter of credit would be opened in 60 days' time.

The Chinese, he added, have extended long-term credit of US dollars 10.86 million for supply of machinery, equipment and plant design.

The project is expected to be completed in three years, with commercial production starting in 1988-89.

TRANSFORMERS: The Chairman said that the complex will manufacture 148 power transformers of eight different types annually (total capacity 2885 MVA) having rating up to 40 MVA and with primary voltage rating of 132 and 66 KV.

At present, he said, the country is spending huge amount of foreign exchange on the import of these transformers. It is estimated that at optimum capacity, the complex would save foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 212.728 million annually.

He said that the HEC is part of the extensive programme to combat acute power shortage being faced by the country at present and considerable increase in power demand forecast for the next two decades.

He said the HEC would make an important contribution in the country's programme to expand electrical power generation and transmission system and would go a long way in reducing power shutdown due to overloading of existing transformers through improvements in power system design.

TECH BASE: Enumerating the other objectives of the HEC, he said, it would help develop a high technology base in the field of high voltage electrical power equipment.

Numerous feeder industries are also likely to come up to further reduce the import content of material and components used in the manufacture of power transformers thus effecting further savings in foreign exchange expenditure.

The project would generate employment opportunities to about 600 persons, he said.

The project is specifically planned to benefit the less developed regions, he added and it would also fulfil an essential social objective of the government for equitable distribution of basic industries in the country.

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CSO: 4600/116

PAKISTAN

ECONOMIC COOPERATION ACCORD WITH INDIA HAILED

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 85 p 1 Business Supplement

[Text] Mr. Aziz Zulfikar, President of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCCI) has hailed the accord, in principle, between Pakistan and India to enlarge the area of economic cooperation between the two countries within the framework of South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC).

In a statement to the Press Mr Aziz Zulfikar said that it is gratifying to note that Dr. Mahbubul Haq's visit to the Indian capital is "most likely to result in a real breakthrough in the bilateral ties between Pakistan and India."

He commended the agreement to have at least one or two joint ventures in terms of equity participation and exchange of technology in the private sector.

The FPCCI President recalled that the federation could take some pride in the fact that it had initiated a dialogue with its Indian counterpart--the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) when a high powered FPCCI sponsored delegation, led by the President of FPCCI visited New Delhi and created "a congenial atmosphere for a fruitful dialogue to forge close economic ties."

Since then, he said, the FPCCI and FICCI have exchanged three delegations and discussed possibilities of broader economic cooperation.

He said the FPCCI is planning to invite an Indian delegation to visit Pakistan in February, 1986. "If the visit takes place it would synchronise with the FPCCI silver jubilee celebrations". It would provide an opportunity to the visitors to have a dialogue for cooperation in the fields of industry, technology and trade with a cross-section of Pakistani businessmen, he said.

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CSO: 4600/116

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

SBPF CONVENTION--LONDON, Nov. 19--The Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front has Front has convened a seminar and its first central convention in London on Dec. 7 and 8, the Front's Secretary General, Mr Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, announced here today. TheFront has hired the Greater London Council Hall at York Road for the purpose. The programme includes a seminar at which a number of "distinguished speakers will read their papers", three closed sessions, and the concluding session. "While the three closed sessions of the convention are restricted only to the members of the Front, the seminar and the last open session are not subject to this restriction", Mr Pirzada said. The Pakistanis who are due to read papers at the seminar include Dr I. Baloch, Dr Hameeda Khuhro, Mr Tariq Ali, and Mr Bangash. Others who have agreed to read papers include Mr Neville Maxwell, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford University, Prof Stanley Wolpert, University of California, Los Angeles, Dr Satish Kumar, professor of Diplomacy, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and Mr Leslie Wolf-Phillips, London School of Economics. [Text] [Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 20 Nov 85 p 8]/12828

POLITICAL PRISONERS' CONVENTION PLANNED--LAHORE, Nov. 21--The Political Prisoners' Release and Relief Committee has decided to hold a national convention of political workers and leaders who had been detained during the last eight years. This was announced by Syed Afzal Haider, a former President of the Lahore High Court Bar Association, at a reception held to honour Mr Faiz Engineer, released on Tuesday after four-and-a-half years. The other leaders who spoke on the occasion were Mr Liaquat Warriach, Ms Shahida Jabeen, Mr Arshad Chaudhry (Deputy Secretary-General, MRD), Mr Abdul Rashid Qureshi, Mr Bashir Zafar, Mr Amanullah Khan, Mr Nasim Kashmiri, Mr Javaid Butter and Mr Iftikhar Shahid. Tributes were paid to those who were still in jail. The speakers also criticised the inhuman attitude of jail authorities, and warned that officials, responsible for the maltreatment and violation of the Jail Manual, would be tried in a court of law after the restoration of democracy. The speakers also demanded the release of all political workers sentenced by military courts. [Text] [Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 22 Nov 85 p 2] /12828

UNEMPLOYMENT TRUST PROPOSED--MULTAN, Nov. 18--Speaker of National Assembly, Syed Fakhr Imam, has disclosed that a trust would be set up to end unemployment in the country. Talking to a deputation of the Bazme Shaheen-i-Millat at Khanewal near Multan, he said that a high-level committee consisting of some members of the National Assembly was being constituted to set up the trust in order to end unemployment among the youths. Syed Fakhr Imam said, the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister have been informed about the setting up of this trust. He further said that the Government is making

arrangements for observing the World Year of the Youths. There is need for an organisation of the patriotic and disciplined youths in view of the prevailing situation so that the social evils could be eradicated from the society. The future of the country is in the hands of youths and therefore the responsibility lay on their shoulders to launch a struggle in the same manner as our national leaders have done. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 19 Nov 85 p 5] /12828

WATCH PLANT PLANNED--KARACHI, Nov. 17--A plant to manufacture wall clocks and alarm line pieces will be set up in the Hub Industrial area, Baluchistan, in the private sector, at a cost of Rs 10 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs three million. This was announced by the Executive Director of Citizens Trading Co. of Japan, Mr Rinji Sakamoto, at a press conference held at a local hotel on Saturday. The foreign exchange component would be provided by the Citizen trading Co., in the shape of technical knowhow, raw material, equipment and training facilities to local talents, he said. The decision to set up the industry in Pakistan, Mr Sakamoto said, was a part of the Japanese Government policy "to go out for more cordial business relations and technical assistance with the friendly countries like Pakistan." He said a piece of land measuring one acre has been acquired for the purpose. The industry would provide job opportunities to both skilled and non-skilled workers, he added. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 85 p 1 Business Supplement] /12828

CAR PLANT TO BE EXPANDED--ISLAMABAD, Nov. 17--The Federal Minister for Production, Mr. Mohammad Khaqan Abbasi, has said that arrangements are being made for the modernisation and expansion of the existing manufacturing plant of the Suzuki cars to meet its increasing demand in the country. In an interview to APP he said, that he had a meeting with Mr O. Suzuki during his last visit to Pakistan in which he had shown interest for taking additional equity participation in the Pak-Suzuki Holding Company. The Minister said that he was likely to visit Japan by the end of this month at the head of a delegation to finalise these arrangements. He expressed the hope that it would help increase the production of Suzuki cars to meet the demand of the local public to a large extent. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 85 p 1 Business Supplement] /12828

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