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# Near East/South Asia Report

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6 MAY 1986

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Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11, 18 Mar 86

[Article by Dr Yusuf al-Qirdawi: "Yes to the Scientific Mentality, No to Secularism"]

[11 Mar 86 p 7]

[Text] Secularism (al-'ilmaniyah) is a word whose use in our Arabic language is recent, same as many words which have become expressions or have the force of expressions in our era. The "double y" is for attribution and the "an" is a suffix.

There are people who pronounce it with an i under the ' (al-'ilmaniyah), attributable to "science," with an i; this is better known. There are those who pronounce it with an a (al-'almaniyah), attributable to "world," that is, the terrestrial world, which is the procedure of the al-Mu'jam al-Wasit, which is issued by the academy of the Arabic language.

In any case, the word, whether with an i or an a, is a translation from European languages and is a translation of the English word secular. It could have been translated by the term "nonreligious," because the meaning of the English word is "something that is not religious," and everything that is not religious is non-religious. However, the word "'ilmani" or "maddani" was chosen, because it is less provocative than the word "nonreligious."

In addition, the meaning of the word is alien to our Arabic lexicon. Its meaning and sense, whether with an i or an a, is the opposite of "religion." Secularism is what is not religious, and its converse is the religious or divine. The sense of "secularism" which has been agreed upon means the isolation of religion from the state and the life of the society, and its preservation as a prisoner in the conscience of the individual which does not go beyond the special relationship between him and his lord. If it is permitted to express itself, that is in individual rituals and ceremonies related to marriage and death and the like.

This concept is unknown in our Islamic heritage. Classifying the affairs of life by what is religious and what is not religious is non-Islamic. Indeed, it is an imported classification, drawn from the Christian West.

The classification of life, people and institutions into religious and non-religious categories which we see today in our Arab and Islamic societies is not in any way part of Islam.

There was no religious and non-religious education in Islam, as in our recent times up to today. There were no people in Islam called men of religion or others called men of knowledge, politics or the world, and Islam did not know two powers, one religious and the other temporal or worldly. In the heritage of Islam, a religion in which there is no politics, or politics in which there is no religion, was unknown.

Religion permeated all of life as the spirit permeates the body; nothing separate exists known as the spirit and nothing separate known as the body. That is how religion and knowledge, religion and the terrestrial world, or religion and the state have existed in Islam.

Secularism, a Western commodity, did not come into being in our land, and does not order our beliefs and intellectual premises.

The Justifications for the Emergence of Secularism in the Christian West

The emergence of secularism in the West had its religious, intellectual, psychological, historic and realistic justifications. These are justifications peculiar to the Western world regarding and it is not permissible for the Islamic world to imitate it in their regard.

The Division of Life between God and Caesar

Western Christianity contains interpretations which support the notion of secularism, that is, the separation of church and state, or the spiritual and temporal authority.

One of these is that Caesar, the party which is subject to temporal authority, has the authority of the state, and the second is that God, who is the party subject to the spiritual authority, has the authority of the church.

That is clear in the statement of Christ as the New Testament relates it: "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, and render unto God what is God's!"

From the history of Western thought, one may deduce that it has not been acquainted with the God that we Moslems know, embracing everything, arranging everything, with no hidden thoughts secret to him, no grain in the heaven or earth absent from his knowledge, hearing everything, in mercy and knowledge, enumerating everything, giving everything a fate, sending prophets to bring good tidings and warning and along with them revealing the book with the truth so that they may arbitrate among people regarding the things they differ over.

Islam does not accept the duality which Christian thought and Western thought, that divide man and break down life between almighty God and Caesar, has been familiar with: Caesar is not a peer of God's, to fight with him over his property; rather, he is God's servant, subject to his wisdom and subject to his orders and prohibitions, as are all servants.

The Islamic belief in unification rejects sharing in servitude to God, sharing in loyalty to him or sharing in obedience to his rule. Moslems wish nothing other than God as a lord and take no one but God as a guardian. They do not wish other than God as an arbiter, as stated by the chapter on unification, the Chapter of the Cattle, and the Moslem must belong totally to God and his life must belong totally to God: "Say, my prayers, my ritual sacrifice, my living and my dying all belong to God, the lord of the two worlds." (Chapter of the Cattle.)

#### In Christianity There Is No Legislation Regarding the Affairs of Life

In another area, Christianity does not have detailed legislation regarding the affairs of life to control its dealings, regulate its relations and set out the principles and balances of equity for its conduct. Rather, it consists of spiritual and moral precepts which are contained in the exhortations of the New Testament and Christ's statements in it, contrary to Islam, which has assumed the form of belief and Islamic law and has set out the principles of life for man from the cradle to the grave: "We have revealed the book to you making everything clear and as a guidance, mercy and good tidings for the Moslems." (Chapter of the Bee.)

Therefore, Islamic legislation includes what is permissible and forbidden in the life of the individual, regulates rights and duties within the circle of the family and regulates the affairs of exchanges and transactions in society among people. It is also concerned with the affairs of management, money, Islamic legal policy and everything related to the rights of the overseer and those who are overseen, in addition to international relations between the Islamic nation and other peaceful and belligerent nations.

Christians do not have such comprehensive legislation to which they can refer, by which they can be ruled and in which they can seek arbitration.

When a Christian is governed by a civilian, secular law, he does not become very distressed, because that does not invalidate a law which his religion has imposed on him and he does not feel a contradiction between his belief and his actual conditions that is felt by a Moslem, whose belief in God and his prophet requires him to seek arbitration in God and his prophet with respect to what they have codified and to hear and obey what they have ordered or prohibited: "Rather it was the statement of the devout, when they are called to God and his prophet, that he may judge among them, that they say, 'We have heard and obeyed.' They are the prosperous." (Chapter of the Light.)

#### Islam Has no Papal Religious Authority

However, although secularism has separated the Christian religion from its state, or its state from its religion, its religion has not been neglected and its authority has not vanished, because it has an authority which in actuality exists, which has its power, its danger, its money and its men.

There are in fact two authorities in Christianity: the religious authority, represented by the pope and the clerics.

The worldly authority, represented by the king or president and men of his government and aides of his authority.

While the state is separated from the religion there, religion continues to be present, in the shadow of its strong, wealthy, potent authority, and its armies (of monks, nuns and male and female proselytizers) continue to work in their various areas while the government does not hold sway over them.

This is contrary to what an Islamic government would do; the result is that the religion remains without any authority supporting it or power backing it since it has no papacy, no divinity and no clerics.

This is what happened in Moslem Turkey when Kamal Ataturk declared the secular nature of the state, separated it from religion and separated religion from it, as the Moslem Moroccan writer Prof Driss Kattani did in his book "The Moslem Maghreb against Latinism." The professor stated, "Turkey's experiment over 30 years (now 59 years) has established proof that the application of this system in an Islamic country means eliminating Islam as a living, prosperous belief and an immortal human message, because stripping the government of the religious authority and of the coloration of religion, bearing in mind that there is no one to represent this authority in Islamic society as is the case in Christianity, means only ruining the authority of the Islamic religion altogether. That is exactly what has happened in Turkey. When the Kamalists separated their religion from all authority (religious authority), they actually did not want it to exist. Therefore they deliberately established a small department for religious affairs which would supervise mosques, and that is the only manifestation which has been preserved for Islam in Turkey.

"It is clear that this department has not had any religious authority, because in reality it is a mere government department. It is not possible, in any case, to compare the influence of this department with the great spiritual authority of the pope in the Christian world and his powers of administering the churches and all Christian institutions and departments, which are totally independent.

"Thus it is clear to us that the system of 'no religious nature in the state,' while in harmony with Christianity and not eliminating its authority, but rather specifying its areas of jurisdiction with respect to worldly power, is totally in conflict with the nature of Islam, is a direct threat to it as a total system of legislation for life, prevents its mobile agencies from performing their function, and consequently turns it into an emotion of conscience dormant in people's hearts.

"Therefore, the Moslem Maghreb will not allow the return of the 'Turkish experiment' to its pure territory and will become 'laic' only when its people want to relinquish their belief and faith and disdain their history and mission. That is what it did not permit for colonialism in the past and will not permit for the people who have fallen under its intellectual dominance in the future, God permitting."

The fact is that this is not just the position of the Moslem Maghreb; it is also the position of the Arab east and the position of the whole Islamic

world, because everyone's point of departure is the same, the design is the same and the threat to them is the same.

#### The History of the Church Is Not the History of Islam

Moreover, the history of the church itself relative to science, thought and freedom is a frightful one. The Western church sided with ignorance against science, with superstition against thought, with tyranny against freedom and with the kings and feudalists against the people, until the masses rose up against it, liberated themselves from direct rule by its men, and considered the separation of religion from the state a gain for the peoples against their oppressors.

The history of the Western church, in the mind of Christian Western man, means oppression, killing, courts of inspection and constant massacres among factions conflicting with themselves and the restoration of authority to the church means the return of these tragedies. It is small wonder that Westerners should disdain it and stand against its rule and authority.

#### The Failure of Secularism in the Lands of Islam

For this reason, it is inconceivable that secularism could succeed in an Islamic country, because it is in contradiction with the nature of Islam, which the Moslem peoples believe in devoutly, and in contradiction with their concepts, behavior and history. There is no justification for its existence such as there is in the Christian West.

All secularism does is try to change the nature and the orientation of the nation, and the nation does not respond to it. A struggle arises between secular rule and the Moslem nation which is apparent at times and latent at times, spreads one day and regresses on another, but it is an ongoing, constant struggle, because it is a struggle between the self and aggression against the self. It might be latent like fire in a volcano, but it must erupt someday.

In any event, the secular movement obstructs the nation's takeoff with its full powers, because it is alien to it and strange to it. It does not move it from within itself and does not address it in the language which will shake it to the depths.

The most prominent Islamic country which has been governed by secularism, in which its designs have been carried out, where it has struck with an iron hand at everyone who resisted it and in this regard has strode through a sea of blood is Turkey, the country of the last Islamic caliphate which Ataturk oppressed with the application of the Western model in all of life, in politics, economics, society, education and culture and which he tore away from its heritage, values and traditions, as sheep are skinned, establishing a non-religious constitution totally separating religion from life on whose basis arose laws which were totally offensive to Islam, even with respect to the affairs of the family and personal status.

Have Ataturk, his successors after him, the constitution, laws, education, media, army and police along with them and the West with all its might and

power behind them been able to extirpate the roots of Islamic ideas, Islamic feelings, Islamic aspirations and Islamic values from the life of the Turkish Moslem people?

The actual situation which everyone who has visited Turkey in recent years has seen, where mosques are to be seen crowded with people of all generations at prayer, where Koran schools numbering in the thousands are to be observed, where institutes for imams and preachers are to be noted, where the spread of Islamic books is to be observed, where the state of the Turks who live in Germany and other countries of Europe is to be observed -- this situation, no a thousand times no. It would not be bad for me here to quote what the French newspaper LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE wrote on 18 January 1983 concerning Turkey, between the civil nature of the West and the genuineness of Islam, quoted by the magazine AL-RA'ID which is issued in Aachen, Germany. The paper said:

"After 2 centuries of reforms aimed at imprinting a Western character on Turkish society and after half a century of secular rule, there is now talk about the revival of Islam anew in Turkey, which was one of the first Islamic countries to separate politics from religion.

"The Kamalist revolution of Kamal Ataturk made secularism the basis of the state and the basis of modernization in it, which meant that Islam had to depart from public life and retain only the right to influence the consciences of the devout. Thus, Islam, which is religion and politics before everything, was turned into a special question by the stroke of a pen on the part of the state, which proceeded to supervise it.

"But has Islam nonetheless been extinguished in the consciences of the Turks? Has it disappeared from Turkish political life? It appears that the opposite is the case. With the disappearance of Islam from the world of the ruling class, it has been turned into the focus of political options in the country. Islamic societies and religious teachings have continued to exert their influence among the masses in Anatolia, indeed, have gained new partisans. The Turkish masses' enthusiasm for Islamic symbols is not just attributed to the activity of the al-Naqshabandi, al-Qadiri and other societies or to the regime's essential nature of hostility to religion. Rather, that can be attributed to the rejection by Turkish society of any social model which departs from the Islamic cultural framework and this society's fear of seeing the Turkish cultural identity gradually dissolved in the midst of the growth of the influence of the model of Western life within Turkey. It is difficult now to determine the number of followers of religious societies in Turkey and the number of people who go to secret Islamic schools, because these societies and schools do not operate as parties do; however, it is possible to get an idea through the share of the votes received by the Party of National Deliverance, headed by Mr Arbakan, who is now sitting in prison on the charge of opposing the principles of secularism and violating Article 163 of the law which prohibits the appeal for any connection between religion and economic or political life. The fact is that the Party of Deliverance started with the advent of the Parliamentary pattern to Turkey, received 11.8 percent of the total votes in the 1973 elections and has retained this percentage in general, in spite of a declining trend until the military coup took place in September 1980."

Secularism in the territory of Islam is a microbe that is alien to the body of Islam, and the agencies of natural immunity within it must resist it. It will survive only at the expense of the safety and life of the nation.

[18 Mar 86 p 6]

[Text] The "scientific mentality" is a goal which is attributed to science and seeks arbitration from it in all areas and material and moral affairs of life, civil and military, political and economic, individual and social.

The "people of scientific mentality" are people who embrace this goal, respect what science stipulates, yield to its rule and adapt their lives in accordance with its requirements.

As to the others, they continue on their way in accordance with personal caprices and emotions or assumptions and illusions, or out of imitation of others without examination or choice.

By "science" here we mean what categoric proof has established. How many issues have been presented within the category of "science" which are in no way a part of science!

From this arise many of the conclusions of human and social sciences, some of whose students wish to clothe them in the garment of categoric science, though they are no more than deductions based on uncertain principles, some of which might be accepted and some or all of which might be rejected.

Nothing indicates that more than that conclusions differ as the intellectual schools which the researchers belong to, between West and East, between right and left, differ, each differing in degree from far right to far left!

Nothing more more merits being applied to these people who claim a scientific mentality regarding things that are not scientific than what God said regarding a people who had come before them: "They have no knowledge of it. They follow only imagining, and imagining is of no avail against the truth." (Chapter of the Star.)

We Moslems are the people who are most entitled to respect science and embrace the scientific mentality regarding all our affairs. Religion to us is science, science to us is religion, and our heritage has not been familiar with a struggle between religion and science as was the West, which ground the millstone of war between them for centuries, one effect of which was the courts of inspection and its terrors which are an embarrassment to history.

The miracle of the prophet of Islam was not a "paragon of creation" to which suppressed peoples would be subject, but a "scientific paragon" to which minds with conviction would submit, and this is the holy Koran.

When the Arab apostates asked the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) to have a paragon accessible to the senses, as the prophets before him did, the divine response to them was "Or wasn't it enough for them that we have revealed the book to you which would be read out to them?" (Verse of the Spider.)

It is sufficient for us that the first verse to be revealed in the Koran began with his almighty statement "Read in the name of your lord, who created."

The second verse to be revealed began with his statement "Nun: By the pen and what they draw out." (Chapter of the Pen, verse one.)

The Koran establishes the scientific intelligence, which considers that thinking is devotion and science is a religious duty and considers man, history and all being to be a state for viewing and reflecting: "And on earth there are signs for those who have sure faith, and within yourselves, do you not perceive?" (Chapter of the Winnowers.)

"Or have they not considered the kingdom of heaven and earth and anything God has created?" (Chapter of the Battlements.)

"Say, proceed on earth and see how God began creation." (The Spider.)

"Or did they not proceed on earth and see how the punishment of those who were before them was?"

"Did they not proceed on earth and have hearts to understand with or or ears to hear with? It is not the eyes that are blind, but blind are the hearts which are in people's chests." (Chapter of the Prophets.)

It is the intelligence which does not accept a claim without the proof that establishes its validity; otherwise the claim is to be rejected, no matter what it is: "Say, give your proof, if you are truthful."

Whoever has claimed prophethood has been asked for evidence: "Reveal a verse, if you are among the truthful."

Whoever calls people toward a belief is told, "Do you have the power for this, or do you say things you do not know concerning God?"

Whoever claims something about religion, and those who are in agreement with them, are told: "Do you have knowledge? Produce it for us." (The Sheep.) "Prophecy knowledge for us, if you are truthful."

That is the "scientific intelligence" which requests certain proof in mentalities, the truth of experience in matters of the senses, and the truth of transmission regarding things that are related: "Bring me a book before this, or some remnant of knowledge, if you are truthful." (Chapter of the Sand Dunes, Verse Four.)

The mentality which rejects surmise in the place of what is certain: "Most of them follow only imagining, and imagining is of no avail against the truth in regard to anything."

It refuses to follow caprice instead of following the truth, the caprices of people or the caprices of others: "And no one is more wayward than those who follow their own caprices without guidance from God." (Chapter of the

Stories.) Then, "We have brought you an Islamic law on the matter, so follow it and do not follow the caprices of those who do not know."

It rejects the principle of imitating one's forefathers, if they were in obvious waywardness: "Or if their fathers did not know anything and were not guided." (Chapter of the Table.)

It rejects subordination to others without reason even if they are the people's masters and major figures: "And they said, our lord, we obeyed our masters and major figures and they caused us to lose the way." (Chapter of the Parties.)

It is sufficient for us that the Koran has encouraged knowledge and has praised its effects in a number of the stories of the glorious prophets.

It is in the story of Adam, the person first proposed to succeed God on earth; through knowledge Adam proved his superiority over the intimate angels.

It is in the story of Joseph, the one by whom God saved Egypt and its surrounding area from destructive famine, as a result of firm economic agricultural planning in terms of production, storage and consumption, for a period of 15 years.

It is in the story of Solomon, through whom his companion (who had knowledge from books) managed to bring him the throne of the Queen of Sheba from Yemen to Syria, before his party turned on him, which was something that a demon among the monsters could not do. That proved that the strength of man founded on knowledge is superior to the power of monsters, in spite of the powers and abilities they have.

In the sayings and doings of the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) we see the prophet attacking the illusions and superstitions which soothsayers and clairvoyants relied on in the atmosphere of idolatry.

They also severely condemned reliance on amulets and talismans and their like, unless the suitable cure is sought, declaring that God has not revealed an ailment without revealing a cure which those who have learned of it have learned of, and those who have been ignorant of it have been ignorant of.

We see the glorious prophet deferring his particular view to the view of experts, as at the battle of Badr, and his deferral to the view of al-Hibab Ibn al-Mundhir.

We see him (on whom be God's prayers and peace), after the flight to Madinah, taking the initiative of making a "census" of the people who believed in him, by which to learn the extent of the "strike force" in his possession. He said, "Count for me the number of those who utter Islam." They made the count for him, and they were 1,500 men, as al-Bukhari related it.

We see him (on whom be God's prayers and peace) relying on the results of experimentation in technical matters related to the affairs of the world, in

the form of methods of farming, industry, the provision of arms, medicine and so forth. In this regard the true saying declared "You are more knowing of the affairs of your world."

These Koranic and prophetic teachings were not mere ink on paper. They yielded their fruit, and in the light of them arose a civilization with a proud structure, with firm pillars, which created a brotherhood between faith and knowledge, between belief and thought and between religious law and wisdom, within which explicit objects that were known by the intelligence did not clash with proper transmitted things. Rather, their scholars stipulated that the intelligence is the basis of transmission, and if we eliminate the intelligence no transmission or inspiration will be proved to us, and that the great facts in religion are proved first of all by the mind, before inspiration gives proof.

Through the intelligence, we have inferred the existence of almighty God, through the intelligence, we have inferred the validity of prophecy in general, and through the intelligence we have inferred the truth of the prophecy of Muhammad in particular and inferred that the Koran he revealed comes from God.

Belief, among us Moslems, is founded on the basis of evidence and proof, not on the basis of the imitation of one's forefathers or obedience to major figures. The appeal in Islam must be through knowledge. There is nothing in Islam that in other religions has been known through such statements of theirs as "Believe or you are blind!" or "Close your eyes then follow me!"

Therefore, the Koran has been heavily charged with proof of the unification of almighty God, the veracity of his prophet, the possibility of resurrection, the wisdom of punishment in the hereafter, and so forth.

Religious law in Islam is founded on consideration for the interests of the worshippers in life and in the hereafter, as its jurisprudence expresses, as the deduction of its provisions regarding rituals and transactions shows and as the exegesis of the provisions in the Koran and the prophetic traditions affirm it.

It is a "logical" Islamic law which does not differentiate between two similar things and does not equate two different things. Therefore, analogy has been one of its principles which have been held in consideration among the public of the Moslem jurists.

Therefore, one of those who believed in the prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, said, "He did not order anything where the mind said, 'Perhaps he proscribed it,' and he did not proscribe anything where the mind said, 'Perhaps he ordered it.'"

Morality in Islam is morality which can be understood and explained, and is not mere orders or a core of arbitrariness. Therefore, we find the holy Koran often following the giving of orders or proscriptions with a statement of the wisdom in them and the benefit behind them, even regarding mere rituals, as in his almighty statement on prayer "And hold prayer, for prayer

prohibits licentiousness and repugnant acts," on the tithe "Take from their money as alms which will purify them and by which they will be declared upright," and on the fast "Perhaps you will be pious." In the area of chastity and blamelessness he says "Tell the devout to avert their eyes and guard their private parts; that is more upright for them," "Do not be abject in your speech, so that he in whose heart there is illness will be covetous." Regarding the recommendations of the Chapter of the Family, we find instructions such as these: "Or you will sit reproached and denuded," "Surely it is an indecency and evil as a way" "You will never tear the earth open and attain the mountains in height," and so on.

The "scientific" or "intelligent" approach in Islam is a clear, constant matter and all those who have read any of the genuine teachings of Islam in its pure sources and are fair acknowledge that, even if they are not Moslems but are among those who have taken a position against Islam.

The well known French Marxist writer Maxime Rodinson states, in his discussion of the "Koranic belief," "The Koran is a sacred book in which intelligence occupies a truly great place. In it God ceaselessly discusses and evaluates forms of proof. Indeed, what most draws one's attention is that revelation itself, this phenomenon which is the least characterized by intelligence in any religion, revelation, which God has made to various prophets throughout the ages, and to their final figure, Muhammad, considering it the Koran, is itself an instrument of proof, and on numerous occasions he reiterates to us that the prophets brought 'evidence,' and he spares no effort to challenge his opponents to produce the likes of it.

"The Koran constantly offers intelligent forms of proof of divine power in the creation of heaven and earth, in the difference of night and day, in the reproduction of animals, in the rotation of the stars and celestial bodies, and in the diversities of the bounties of animal and plant life in a fashion which splendidly conforms with man's needs (the verses on the foremost essentials, Al 'Umran). (2)

"The action of the 'intelligence' (in the sense of linking thoughts to one another, the rule of the proof of the intelligence) is repeated about 50 times in the Koran and this disdainful question is repeated 13 times, as if it is essential: 'Are you not intelligent?'

"The infidels are the ones who refuse to hear Muhammad's call. They are decried as 'a people who are not intelligent,' because they are deficient in any intellectual effort which will shake their inherited traditions. They thus are like inanimate bodies and livestock, indeed more inarticulate. Therefore God hates those people who do not want to review the bases of their thinking.

"Although he (he means glorious God) revealed verses which proved his existence and will, most important of which were the verses revealed to his prophet Muhammad, so that people could understand that and make of them a basis for their thinking, we see God advancing decisive evidence then concluding the proof with his statement 'surely there are signs for a people who are intelligent.'"

The writer continues to describe the intelligence of Islam, comparing this with what appeared in the ancient and modern eras of the Jews and the Christians, until he states, "In the face of this, Koranic intelligence seems as firm as rock."

This sort of intelligent atmosphere which the verses of the Koran have fashioned, as the Marxist thinker and others have acknowledged, constitutes the most fertile environment for fruitful scientific production founded on the maximum use of human powers and talents.

This all shows us the nature of the "atmosphere" which prepared Islam for the emergence of the sound "scientific course" that the researchers of the West have not been able to deny.

The scholar Rene Millet says, "The Moslems all came together in a new mission, a principle which branches out from religion itself, that is, the principle of reflection and research. They tended toward sciences and were excellent in them. They are the ones who set out the foundation of the science of chemistry, and great physicians were found among them."

Dr Franz Rosenthal says, "The greatest intellectual activity the Arabs performed is clearly apparent to us in the area of experimental knowledge, within the realm of their observations and experiments. They expressed amazing activity and individual thought, when they observed and investigated, and when they met and arranged the experimentation they were doing."

The famous historian and social philosopher Gustave LeBon says, "The Arabs are the ones who taught the world how freedom of thought is compatible with rightness of religion."

Although that has been Islam's position on science and the scientific mind, the Moslems' situation today requires that we remind them a thousand and one times of this fact, not because they all are living in what people call the "third world" or "developing countries," which is a polite expression for "backward countries," while they are still dependent on others for the food that keeps them alive and for the weapons that protect them! It is not just due to that that the Moslems must embrace the "scientific spirit" and the "scientific view;" rather, the need for that is affirmed by the dominance by anarchy, emotionalism and arbitrariness of the general climate in our lands.

It is no wonder that years and decades pass, and we do not move forward as we wish and as we should and as others advance. Rather, we either go backwards, stand in place, rotate about ourselves, or, in the best of conditions, proceed with the speed of a tortoise, while the world around us is proceeding with the speed of a rocket!

The "spirit of the scientific mind" we seek is broader and deeper than the mere study of science or excellence in it. It is a spirit which applies in all activities and positions, in the confrontation and explanation of events, and in dealing with friends and adversaries equally, indeed, in dealing with oneself as well.

There are characteristics or appearances in the scientific spirit, to some of which I would like to refer:

1. An objective view of a situation, things, statements and actions, regardless of persons. As 'Ali Ibn Abu Talib said, "You do not know the truth by the men; know the truth and you will know those who belong to it."

2. Respect for areas of specialization. As the Koran said, "Ask the people of the remembrance" "Ask an expert about it." No one can offer you a prediction like an expert. Religion has its own people, economics has its own people, the military has its own people, every art has its own men, especially in our era, the era of precise specialization. As to the person who knows about religion and politics, science and arts and economic and military affairs and gives rulings on everything, he in fact does not know anything.

3. The ability to criticize oneself, admit error, benefit from it and give a just evaluation of the experiences of the past, far removed from the "righteous" opinion which views the past entirely as virtues and glories!

4. The use of the most modern and powerful methods for achieving ends and benefiting from the experiences of others, even from adversaries. Wisdom is the goal of the devout person's persistent search: the one who finds it is most deserving of it.

5. The subjection of everything, except for religious and intellectual matters which are taken on faith, to examination and testing, and contentment with the results, whether they are for or against man.

6. The failure to be hasty in issuing judgments and decisions and embracing positions until after persistent study founded on deduction and enumeration and after constructive dialogue through which benefits become apparent and the objects of rebuke and flaws are discovered.

7. The appreciation of differing opinions and respect for the views of people who differ with respect to issues that have numerous features. The most extreme thing an individual thinker would say about himself is what al-Shafi'i, may God be content with him, said: "My view is correct but bears the likelihood of error, and the view of others is wrong and bears the likelihood of correctness!"

Footnotes:

1. Islam and Capitalism, translated by Nazih al-Hakim, published by al-Tali'ah House, p 134 ff.

2. It would have been more worthy to use the verse of the Cow, 164, as evidence. That corresponds to the author's statement here. It appears from the author's statement that he has just pursued the matter of "intelligence," in the Koran, and if he had pursued other words regarding the subject, such as "view," "thought," "science," "proof," "quintessence" and so forth, he would have produced a great deal, a very great deal.

3. See the chapter "Koranic Belief" from the book "Islam and Capitalism."

## FORMER MINISTER DISCUSSES ECONOMIC SITUATION

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 15 Mar 86 p 15

[Article by Dr 'Aziz Sidqi: "Opinion on Confronting the Economic Problem"]

[Text] We ought to be frank with ourselves. There is ample room for raising the efficiency of agricultural production. I do not wish to start an argument over this point. Production figures achieved by many countries who were in a situation similar to ours have not been realized in our country. There are many factors that figure in this matter, such as choice of seed, automation and fertilizing, etc. There are people who are better equipped than we are to deal with this subject.

At any rate, we must guarantee adequate supplies of basic commodities for the people. I wonder how it is that we were surprised that the area that used to grow a basic commodity such as lentils was too small and therefore, we have been forced to turn to imports. The same thing goes for some other basic commodities.

The government must adopt measures to guarantee that enough agricultural areas are used to grow basic crops.

Some may object on the basis that this constitutes government interference. I say what is wrong with that? The government has always interfered in guaranteeing the cultivation of areas set aside for cotton growing on grounds that this crop is essential to the national economy. Such measures are the essence of the government's jurisdiction and, indeed, its duty.

In any case, the government, according to reports I have read, reclaims about 150,000 feddans a year. Why don't we set aside this land, or the reclaimed portion, for growing specific crops to be determined by the government and honored by farmers.

The agricultural production structure must be designed to achieve maximum self-sufficiency in major food products. I do not care, neither does the majority of the laboring people, to see more strawberries grown as much as I am saddened by the fact we have to import lentils.

This is in connection with guaranteeing an adequate supply of basic food products. We move now to the discussion of whether the prices of these commodities that people buy can be lowered. Experts I have consulted--ask them yourselves if you do not know--say what the price producers (the farmers or the lands) get is sometimes one-third or one-half the price consumers have to pay. Part of the differences goes for expenses, such as loading and transportation costs, but the major portion goes to the merchants.

I must say here that this has always been a problem, but we must admit that much of this exploitation that goes on can be stopped. Based on the rates I have mentioned, I can say that it is possible, without interfering in what producers take in, to reduce the selling price by 20 percent or more. I cite examples that may indicate what can be done. The al-Salihyah project--I am not trying to evaluate this project--has achieved a specific agricultural production level--fruits, vegetables, etc. It has set up distribution outlets in Cairo (I do not know if such outlets exist elsewhere) that sell these products directly to the consumer without middlemen, thus selling them at lower than market prices.

Let us move on to industrial products. Is there room for a price cut? Naturally this depends on the commodity, but there are matters that can be discussed.

1. In many cases our factories operate at less than full capacity.
2. Nonetheless, we allow the importation of similar products.
3. The prices of imported commodities are always much higher than locally-produced ones and examples are many and well-known.

With regard to the first point, I would like to say that increasing production capacity, raising worker efficiency and providing production requirements, modernization and retooling, and providing adequate protection for factories can achieve, without exaggeration, no less than a 15 to 20 percent increase in production at existing factories. By a simple calculation, this figure amounts to over 1 billion Egyptian pounds a year, a significant sum in terms of real foreign currency savings. Moreover, it helps to lower production costs, which is a known economic fact, and consequently, lowers prices.

I am aware the government has recently turned in that direction, sound direction, but at the same time, capabilities for increasing higher production must be made available so as to ensure adequate supplies at reasonable prices. But I must point here to the phenomenon of declining quality. I am sorry to say that our agricultural production standards in the sixties and early seventies were much higher than the current standards and that achieving such a good quality was difficult. But since we have attained it, we must not let it fall.

I was happy to hear President Mubarak say these same words during his recent visit to a factory. The government must translate these words into measures for implementing this wise and needed policy.

I have addressed myself mainly to what the government ought to do. This is natural, given the fact that it makes the policy observed in the country. This does not mean, however, that the government will be able to perform its role without our participation, each in his own way, in realizing our needs.

We must know that we are passing through a very difficult stage in which our economy is coming under much pressure. We must face this situation with appropriate action and I think that purely luxurious consumption, even if produced locally, must be greatly curtailed. We need all the money spent on the importation of luxury items to pay for more basic needs.

I know that there are those who will be vexed by such talk because it may reflect on their interests. I say, however, that our duty is to contribute, each in his own way, to fulfilling our needs at this crucial stage so as to weather our current crisis.

In conclusion, I would like to mention that this presentation does not include everything that can be done. But I wanted to explain that solutions do exist and that the state does have the capabilities to fulfill its duty to protect the citizenry against exploitation and to alleviate their daily suffering to which they want a solution.

If this is the duty of the government, the people must accept all necessary measures the state adopts. I applaud the decision to stop the importation of dried fruits for Ramadan and we must all chip in to cut consumption and not complain about measures the state had to adopt.

In times of crisis each of us must bear his share of necessary burdens and sacrifices. I say again that the great majority of the people accepts and welcomes such action, provided that serious efforts are made in the right direction in an efficient way designed to serve the people's interests.

12502/12951  
CSO: 4504/242

## POLICE RIOT LINKED TO ECONOMIC, POLITICAL SITUATION

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 15 Mar 86 p 15

[Article by Lufti al-Khuli: "Democratic Security, Social Security...and Central Security!"]

[Text] Just as the High Dam has saved Egypt from the waves of drought and famine that seized Africa in the early eighties, democracy has saved it from a Central Security rebellion that tried, through destruction, vandalism, and ignorance, to shake its existence.

Both these things, the High Dam and democracy, are the most important and magnificent accomplishments the Egyptian people have realized through great sacrifices and hard struggle over time, backwardness, tyranny, exploitation, and colonialism.

Hence, defense and furtherance of democracy, like the protection and development of the High Dam, becomes an urgent national task of the highest priority.

And if democracy and the High Dam, like all other human innovations, have side effects and negative aspects, these effects and negativisms, however, have not affected their creative vitality in organizing and enlightening our society, regulating its movement, and developing its agricultural and industrial resources for the benefit of everyone without exception, regardless of political, intellectual, or social status.

Can all the bad side effects of the High Dam that have been cited so far, such as the loss of silt and limited seepage in some agricultural land, be compared to the actual contribution it has made in saving the country from drowing during the Nile's inundation and the long harsh years of famine? Moreover, these negative aspects can ultimately be handled and brought under control through modern science and the completion of the High Dam projects by building small dams along the Nile and a drainage canal network.

By the same token, we wonder if certain negative aspects of democratic practice can be compared to the collective public awareness democracy has been able to crystallize, thus helping the people at an extremely sensitive and dangerous moment in history to be incorporated into one force in the face

of rebellion. For notwithstanding that the rebels are at the bottom of the social ladder in Egypt and have legitimate administrative and social demands, democratic practice armed the people, at that moment, with criteria that helped them make a fine distinction between sympathy for the legitimate demands of an oppressed group and denunciation and rejection of a destructive revolt as a means of expressing such demands in a way that paralyzes the entire socio-political entity, plunging it into bloody anarchy that invariably breeds revolutionaries and tyrants.

The fact is that the democratic system is not free of excesses and provocation in one degree or another, especially when the ruling party robs the democratic practice of its true multilateral content and plays the role of an authoritarian political organization, mixing between its organizational nature and the nature of the state and its agencies, and dealing with opposition parties as though they were discarded fondlings or mere ornaments.

Furthermore, excesses and provocation emanates from the attempt to cram the opposition into a small limited margin of movement and to impose restrictions on its formation, thus rendering the multilateral system too small to make room for all masses interested in political action, on the one hand, and, on the other, pushes those forces who are deprived of forming their own parties, into flocking around existing parties that have escaped the clauses of the so-called "democracy-consolidation laws" so as to gain, in the practical sense, the right of expression and movement, albeit different from and sometimes incompatible with these parties' political and intellectual lines. Meanwhile, the existing parties are forced to accept this abnormal situation at the expense of organizational and political harmony in the face of various practical requirements, including partisan rivalry in the public arena.

Thus, we find ourselves before distorted formations of democratic multilateralism which is the main source of vacillation and instability and perpetuation of the socio-political line of each party in its relations and positions toward other parties, society, and government. This situation always creates disconcerting complications in the democratic practice in excesses by some and provocation by others.

Perhaps one striking irony is that distortion in the democratic multilateral system in our country has crept in through the so-called "political tailoring process," created by the authoritarian rule and the parasitical groups that have linked themselves to it to fit it and then through the use of various suppressive agencies led by Central Security at a time when everyone--the regime, the government, and the opposition--is convinced that the most significant and serious outcome of the Central Security revolt is that the people, with their sweeping masses, have proven their constructive ability to use the measure of multilateral democracy they have attained wisely for the general benefit of Egyptian nationalism with its various orientations. This intelligent use of democracy is what has allowed the president to exercise his responsibilities against counter pressures and advice in a democratic and accessible political fashion. Rather than turning to emergency laws, as was customary, he upheld ordinary laws and natural justice, refusing to open prisons and detention camps, even as a precaution, to herd into them the

opposition forces, and did not try to anticipate judicial investigations and to deal out ready-made accusations right and left, emphasizing at the same time the objective truth of social injustice against Central Security personnel within the framework of the general objective reality of the everyday sufferings of the masses.

This is the great secret of democracy which has taught everyone, from the president to the smallest citizen, honesty, clarity of vision and courage in exercising responsibility.

In light of these momentous events and learned lessons, herein lies the utmost importance of the organic link between the question of emphasizing democratic practice and of guaranteeing social justice, something that presents everyone, through the inevitable emergence of a national understanding in these delicate circumstances, with specific political, economic and social tasks all flowing into the stream of purging democracy of distortion and establishing a minimum human level of social justice in the country.

We believe that the main key for dealing with the democratic issue is to seek to guarantee the broadest possible participation by the masses through their parties and institutions. In this domain, we draw attention to four points:

First point: Amendment of the parties' law whereby all political forces and currents will have the opportunity, without administrative restrictions and impossible conditions, to become legitimate parties and to come out into the open in the shade of a commitment to uphold the constitution.

Second point: Putting a stop to the intermeshing which has reached the melting point in some instances between ruling party organizations and government agencies so that the government may remain, in reality, and in the minds of the masses, a public establishment rather than a private project for a specific social group to the exclusion of others which loses no time in alienating itself from the government and the regime, and every state official may be held accountable for his actions in accordance with general rules and regulations.

Third point: Organization of exchange of information about important issues and problems on a rotational basis between the regime and the opposition parties on the premise that the regime, in accordance with constitutional legitimacy, is not limited to the government and its party alone, but extends equally to include the opposition parties as well.

Such an organizational exchange of information creates a healthy atmosphere for democratic practice, curbs tendencies toward excesses and provocation, and allows opposition parties to adopt their positions on a responsible and objective basis.

Fourth point: Amendment of the electoral system with regard to local councils and the People's Assembly, a system unparalleled in any democratic country at any time, which is based on elections by absolute party slates (local elections) and on conditional proportional party slates (People's Assembly elections),

either by reinstating the system of individual districts or through unconditional proportional slates.

A monopoly by one party, regardless of its strength, of local councils and the People's Assembly in the absence of representation for other parties on the basis of the weight they carry with the people afflicts the monopolizing parties with flabbiness, bureaucracy, corruption, and isolation from the masses and deprives the people of the essence of the so-called democratic game, which is to test the parties' policies and positions for the sake of comparison between them.

As for the main key for dealing with the issue of guaranteeing social justice, it is represented in the fact established by the events that police security, be it in a capitalist or a socialist system, is not the main factor in protecting stability, the regime and its institutions, and public and private money. If voluntary mass security is lacking due to the absence of social justice, and it is the general feeling that fulfillment of duties and responsibilities is rewarded by a fair share of the gross national product, that can provide a decent life at best.

In this domain, we will also restrict ourselves to four points only:

First point: Evolving of the developmental planning concept from the mere gathering of investment projects that are solely concerned with the technological-economic dimension into a universal socio-economic development program to achieve economic growth with an equitable distribution of the gross national product.

Second point: Adoption of a strict general policy of austerity to face the economic crisis with its various local, Arab and international aspects, apportioning the main burdens of austerity to the wealthy.

Third point: Total or gradual discontinuance of tax and customs exemptions granted in the Hatim al-Ta'i fashion to foreign companies. These exemptions deprive the state of revenues Egyptian economists estimate at \$4 to \$5 billion a year, keeping in mind that these companies, under their countries' laws, which do not allow double taxation, are forced to pay much higher rate of tax in their country so long as they are exempt from taxation in Egypt. It is as though we are giving up our rights, despite our poverty, in order to subsidize the American, European, and Japanese treasuries.

Fourth point: Drawing up a detailed and well-defined policy that strikes a balance between wages and prices whereby social groups in their various professional and productive positions can acquaint themselves with the size and nature of the problems and burdens afflicting the national economy and with the truth about available revenues and spending patterns. These groups can then exercise voluntary discipline in putting forth their economic demands.

In short, we can sum up by saying that Egypt's security and progress, at present and in the future, basically depends on support for democracy and how

it relates to social justice guarantees. For it is through the interaction of democratic security with social security that the peaceful path to development and change can be firmly established instead of the path of bloody violence and anarchic revolt. This, to a large extent, depends on how well productive national capitalism understands the nature of its role and how deeply it has grasped the lessons of the insurrection.

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**MIDDLE CLASS URGED TO PARTICIPATE IN AUSTERITY PROGRAM**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 86 pp 1, 11

[Article by 'Adil Husayn]

[Text] President Mubarak has reiterated to members of his government that he wishes the assignments he commissioned them to perform some 6 months ago be completed, holding the nation witness to the fact that he finds the government very tardy in announcing measures taken. Dr 'Ali Lutfi has talked to AL-AHRAM and admitted that no serious action has yet taken place.

But what are the assignments to be realized? Most of them are of an economic nature. We, on our part, insist on the fact that our crisis is neither fundamentally nor substantially economic and that we are unlikely to be rid of the quandary we are in if our reliance on the computations of economists remains uppermost. Have our resources become too constricted? Yes, but perhaps more serious than that is the fact that over the past few years we have grown increasingly avid for our share of what the world has to offer, rather than aspiring to what the Almighty has in store for us in the other world. How can we get out of this dilemma if we do not change our ways? Revenues are the source of expenditures for our requests. Should revenues decline our capacity to obtain our requirements must, of necessity, drop. This is a fact that no economist or magician can alter. What needs to be changed is ourselves (as a society, individuals and groups) and without such a difficult change in attitude and inclination we will never be able to maintain our patience, endurance, and solidarity.

We must put an end to the various forms of ill-gotten gain and repulse the viciousness of those among us rolling in luxury (all of which is tantamount to an arduous social holy war). It is also essential that there be a commonly held creed reminding us of the Hereafter, for it is such belief that taught us and our fathers and forefathers the value of sacrifice, even martyrdom.

Even while maintaining all these reservations about the prevalence of an economic approach to our problems, we do insist that our attitude be integral when we consider economic matters. Both positions reverse the action taken by the authorities. It came as no surprise, therefore, that in response to the nation's expressed desire for comprehensive change (economic and otherwise) the government enacted one single (albeit gravely serious) decree

throwing wide open to the private sector the opportunities of importing food commodities. We do not think that this decree alone will be sufficient (or appropriate) to deal with all the interrelated problems involved, but it will certainly be enough to set in motion wave upon wave of increasing prices, the burden of which will fall squarely on the shoulders of the laboring masses and the middle classes.

The new importation system, it is said, is based on the fact that the foreign currency resources accruing to the Central Bank have been substantially reduced owing to the sharp decline in export prices for our oil. The Central Bank currency pool used to cover the Ministry of Supply's foreign exchange quota on which public sector external trading companies drew for their imports. Now we are told that the quota having decreased, importation of an increasing portion of our food supplies requires that arrangements be made for alternative resources of foreign exchange, i.e., by competing for the savings of workers in Arab countries and purchasing them at a higher price.

This is partly true, partly false, and harmful. While it is true that there is now a growing need to rely on the savings of workers in Arab countries in order to finance our food requirements, why should the operation be left exclusively to the private sector?

Under any circumstances financing importation by means of the savings of workers abroad will increase consumer prices, since import costs in that case will be calculated on the basis of 180 piasters a dollar, while the cost when relying on the Central Bank currency pool was computed at about 70 piasters a dollar.

Increased consumer prices for imported food supplies are therefore unavoidable, but it goes without saying that participation by public sector companies and their competing with private business sector in utilizing Egyptian savings will enable the government to control the rate of price increases. It would also be able to spread the burden of price hikes rationally and equitably among the various categories of society so that the better off can bear a larger share of the burden. In point of fact the government's economic (and political) role is decisive in maintaining a social balance (which Islamic economic theory specifically enjoins). If left to their own devices, importers will in most cases pursue their own individual interests, rarely paying the least attention to any other considerations.

We are particularly concerned in this regard over the ruse of "gradualism," such as seeing to it when executing the decree that certain classes are gradually enabled to avoid the impact of increased prices with a view to more easily prejudicing other groups. We are especially concerned that adverse effects will be concentrated in numerous middle classes including businessmen, professionals, civil servants, skilled workers, and not a small number of farmers. It is true that certain signs of extravagance in spending and self-indulgence appear to be spreading among those classes, but we cannot combat the offshoots of luxury and leave the original high income earnings groups untouched. If that should happen and the middle class finds itself reduced to the lowest levels while the wealthy remain unaffected, that would

be the fastest route to an explosion. Only this time, bearing in mind the middle class and the part it will play, it will be a very cognizant and organized explosion. Let this be a warning.

From a purely economic point of view, there must be austerity. The mid-level classes must participate in the campaign to cut back on consumption. The call for rationalization of spending cannot be directed solely to the government as all social categories must play a part. We wonder how much is spent each year on weddings and private celebrations in the major hotels and clubs? Why don't Egyptians finance tourism in their country (sometimes and partly in foreign currency)? That would be a thousand times better than waiting for groups of foreign tourists. It would be far better vis-a-vis the volume of foreign currency flowing into the Egyptian economy. It would be better since foreign tourism pollutes our cultural environment and values, and in the third place, Western tourism is not merely groups of individuals on the move, it is a well-run industry controlled by international corporations. These corporations are specifically trying to use tourism as a means of stimulating relations between Egypt and Israel, God forbid!

These are merely examples. What we want to say is that the call for austerity and rationalized spending is all embracing. The middle class can offer much and must accept and act, but subject to economic regulations and policies being formulated to ensure equitable distribution, sacrifice, and burden.

Unfortunately, nothing of this is indicated in Minister of Supply Decree Number 121. We have already stated that this is a single decree enacted by the government. There remains for us at the end of this column to take a good look at matters. This, we say, is only one decree so far, but it will be followed by others in the same vein and so-called increases in salaries and wages will not serve any useful purpose since prices will rise at a faster rate.

Now hear this: Society and its economy are in serious trouble, but this is not the way out. Do remember at least that the government has no security force these days.

In any case we shall be meeting again next week, God willing. Beware the IMF "recommendations"! Beware the IMF "recommendations"!

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## BACKGROUND ON CABINET CHANGES GIVEN

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 31 Mar 86 p 32

[Article: "Libya: a Step of Change Over a Constant Line"]

[Text] At a time when American aircraft carriers are returning to their provocative maneuvers facing the Gulf of Surt, and when Colonel al-Qadhdhafi has threatened to use SAM-5 and SAM-7 missiles to hit American planes and ships if they cross the 32.5 degree latitude, which the Jamahiriyah considers to be the border of its territorial waters, a new cabinet change has been announced in Tripoli following the completion of the activities of the General Conference of the People's Committees, which is the highest legislative and executive authority in the country.

The formation of the General People's Committee (i.e., the ministry) took place to reflect the new tendencies of the Libyan leadership. These tendencies do not constitute a change in the line being followed; rather, they emphasize certain principal Libyan interests during the current period.

Perhaps the best illustration of the new tendency is provided by the two main changes in the new government relating to the posts of secretary of the General People's Committee (i.e. prime minister) and foreign secretary. Jadallah 'Azzuz al-Talhi returned to the post of prime minister, replacing Muhammad al-Zarruq Rajab. As is well known, al-Talhi was prime minister during the period between 1979 and 1984 that saw the birth of the Arab Steadfastness Front in the wake of the signing of the Camp David accords. In addition to the Jamahiriyah, the front included Syria, Algeria, the Democratic [Republic of] Yemen, and the PLO. The front broke up after the Israeli attack on Lebanon in June 1982, the departure of the [Palestinian] resistance from Lebanon, and the differences that arose between more than one pair of members in the front. Al-Talhi, however, maintained his good relations with these members, and this will facilitate his new role.

The second conspicuous change is that Hasan Kamal al-Mansur has become foreign secretary, in place of 'Ali 'Abd-al-Salam al-Turayki. Contrary to all the rumors circulated by western sources of information, al-Turayki did not leave the cabinet for any political reason, but rather for personal reasons of health. He has been under treatment in Switzzeland for several

weeks because of complications from diabetes. The period that al-Turayki spent at the head of Libyan diplomacy was distinguished by confrontation with the United States over a large number of issues, confrontation with France over events in Chad, and signing of the Arab-African Union treaty with Morocco in the summer of 1984.

As for Hasan Kamal al-Mansur, al-Turayki's successor as head of the Libyan foreign ministry, he epitomizes in his person the possible new tendencies of Libyan policy. As is well known, the new foreign secretary's original name was Hasan Kamal al-Maqhur ["the vanquished"]. At the beginning of 1985, Col al-Qadhafi asked him to change his name to Hasan Kamal al-Mansur ["the victorious"], because "in the Libyan revolution there is nobody who is vanquished; all are victorious." Al-Mansur studied law in Cairo and became a legal consultant in the oil industry in 1970. He was his country's representative to the World Court of Justice in the Hague, then ambassador to the United Nations (until 1976), to France (1976-78), and to China (1978-81). He was appointed secretary for petroleum affairs between 1982 and 1984, and served in this capacity as head of OPEC from late in 1983 to the end of 1984. Immediately afterwards, he was appointed general secretary of the Arab-African Union ratified in the Moroccan city of Oujda between King Hassan II of Morocco and Col al-Qadhafi on 13 August of the same year.

Aside from al-Talhi's return to the prime ministership and al-Mansur's appointment as foreign secretary, the third feature of the cabinet change in Tripoli is a reduction in the number of ministries (secretariats) from 20 to 11, thus making the ministry one of action and more capable of movement than the preceding ministry, which was formed last year on 7 May 1985.

One can say that three points sum up the new tendencies in Libyan policy: On the international front, there is a facing up to the American challenge by closing Arab ranks and by putting the country on the alert to confront any possible military or political developments, including developments of the situation in Chad. On the economic front, there is a facing up to the sharp drop in oil prices. There is no doubt that al-Mansur's experience in this field will be useful, especially since the intention is to build up a cohesive oil block with members from producing countries inside or outside of OPEC to confront the rapid decline in the price of "black gold." The nucleus of this front was in fact formed during meetings held in Algiers and Tripoli during the last few weeks. In the first phase, these meetings included Algeria, Libya, and Iran, countries united by a single position on oil. In the second phase, they included Algeria, Libya, Nigeria, and Gabon and resulted in the foundation of the Association of African Fuel-producing States.

On the Arab front, finally, there is no doubt that the Jamahiriyah will continue to strengthen its relations at once with Algeria and with Morocco. Contacts with Algeria occur almost daily--a few days ago, a high-level Libyan military delegation visited the country. Relations with Rabat are becoming more solid--a few days ago, the capitals of the two countries were, with great celebration, declared to be "twins." Relations with other Arab states are moving in the direction of improvement, thus making the Jamahiriyah a candidate to play a role in the continuing mediation effort to solve more than one Arab crisis, especially in the Arab West.

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POLL TAKES VIEWS OF NABLUS INHABITANTS ON ADMINISTRATION

Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in Arabic 25 Jan 86

[Article by Farras Hamdi al-Qisas: "Conditions in the West Bank Municipalities: How Do the Inhabitants View the Elected Municipal Councils?"]

[Text] This research work deals with the conditions of some municipalities on the West Bank whose mayors have been removed from their positions and whose elected councils' powers have been frozen since March 1982 because of their failure to recognize the civil administration and cooperate and due to the authorities' initiative of appointing Israeli officers to administer the affairs of the municipalities, which has led to an aversion on the part of the agencies in some municipalities to work and to their failure to carry on wholly or in part in other municipalities.

This research work contains a comparison between conditions of the municipality in the period before 1982, when they were administered by an elected council, and the following period, between 1982 and 1985. The city of Nablus was considered a model for what has gone on in the other areas since it is the greatest town on the West Bank and because it was not possible to fill out research forms in various towns. Perhaps the importance of this research does not lie in the comparison between the two administrations only but also extends to a knowledge of the dimensions of the municipalities' role which are new since the stipulations of the Jordanian law on municipalities. This law, Number 29 for 1955, defines municipalities as local organizations by virtue of Article 1/3, and Article 41 defines their powers, various functions and other services they supervise.

These dimensions have been embodied in the vacuum which was produced following the occupation in the absence of national authorities and expansion of the responsibilities of the municipalities (in their character as legitimate organizations) in helping to reduce the suffering of citizens in various areas and their participation in national issues, on grounds that they are elected by the inhabitants and express their pains and ambitions.

The premise of the research is founded on three bases:

1. The citizens' confidence in elected municipal councils is greater.

2. The political dimension of the role of the municipalities has come into being, contrary to the stipulation made by the Jordanian law.

3. The services offered by the elected councils are better than others.

In order to arrive at these premises, it appeared that the method of interviewing people concerned with the matter and the overseers of municipality affairs was insufficient. It was necessary to carry out a broader poll representing the distribution of 100 forms among various sectors of citizens in the city, as follows:

A. Landowners and businessmen -- 10 forms, that is, 10 percent.

B. Merchants and shopkeepers -- 30 forms, that is, 30 percent.

C. Professionals in various specializations -- 30 forms, that is, 30 percent.

D. University students -- 10 forms, that is, 10 percent.

E. Workers -- 20 forms, that is, 20 percent.

In apportioning these ratios, consideration was given to including most sectors which generally take part in municipal council elections, in accordance with the following bases:

1. The participation of women in this poll.

2. Regarding the participants, attention was given that they should be greater than 18 in age.

3. Merchants, shopkeepers, professionals and workers constitute the base and the broadest sector for learning about the municipality and its various services and problems.

It is well known that the amendments which have been made to the abovementioned law on municipalities since 1976 have guaranteed these groups the right to be elected, whether or not they are taxpayers, contrary to what the Jordanian law on elections stipulates.

Numerous problems and many difficulties stood in the way of this research, perhaps the most important of which was a group of citizens' aversion to filling out the questionnaire forms. This in my opinion can be attributed to the following reasons:

1. The ordinary citizens' lack of familiarity with participating in polls, questionnaires and referenda and their fear of expressing their views in writing on public issues, although the questionnaire does not ask for the recording of names.

2. Some people's belief that the questionnaire's goal is to serve a specific group and draw citizens into responding in a specific direction.

3. Some people's ignorance of the role the researchers from al-Najah National University can play in dealing with the issues of the local society.

4. The performance of this research at a critical time, prior to the handover of municipality positions to the chamber of commerce and the rumors and gossip surrounding it, which have dominated public opinion in the city, especially the group of merchants.

It was necessary to exert unremitting efforts to convince the participants of the importance of the research and to convince them that there was no relationship between the appointed Israeli administration (that of 1982-1985) and the chamber of commerce the authorities appointed as a municipal council to administer the affairs of the municipality.

In addition, one cannot consider that this research work includes all the municipality's issues and conditions or expresses the views of the citizens in a truthful manner, because emotions, in the treatment of such issues, sometimes override sound logic. In addition, the answers in many cases have been founded on a basis of individual dealings and not on a basis of public interest.

#### Analysis of the Answers

This research work was confined to the asking of 10 questions which were listed in the questionnaire form, and the answers were as follows:

#### First question:

Most municipalities in the bank and the strip have gone through two experiences with councils (elected and appointed) since 1967. Do you believe the elected councils are better?

The citizens answered this question as follows:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	8	1	1
B. Merchants	30	--	--
C. Professionals	29	1	--
D. Students	10	--	--
E. Workers	19	--	--
Total	96	2	2

It is noted that there is near-unanimity (96 percent) on the part of the various groups of citizens in giving preference to elected councils, in consideration of democratic principles and usage and the citizen's right to elect his representatives to the local authorities. One should bear in mind

that the abovementioned Jordanian law on municipalities asserts that municipal councils must be elected except in overriding situations when the councils do not perform their duties, at which point it is permissible to appoint a committee for a specific period of no more than a year.

The municipal councils are local organizations whose essence is:

A. Political.

B. Political and service-oriented.

C. Service-oriented.

The following answer showed that the municipalities are political in essence by a ratio of just 4 percent:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	3	7	--
B. Merchants	--	30	--
C. Professionals	1	27	2
D. Students	--	10	--
E. Workers	--	20	--
Total	4	9	2

The following answers considered the essence to be political and service-oriented in combination by a ratio of 63 percent:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	5	5	--
B. Merchants	13	15	2
C. Professionals	22	6	2
D. Students	10	--	--
E. Workers	13	7	--
Total	63	33	4

The essence in the following answer was confined to services, by a ratio of 30 percent:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	3	7	--
B. Merchants	14	14	2
C. Professionals	6	22	2
D. Students	--	10	--
E. Workers	7	13	--
Total	30	66	4

From an analysis of these answers, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of citizens do not agree that the municipalities should be only political in essence (section A) or that their functions should be confined to public services (section C). Rather, they consider that politics and services should be combined. The reason for that may be clear, in the absence of a national authority since the occupation and the great void it has created in the people's elected institutions, which has prompted the citizens to turn toward the municipal councils to fill this void, on grounds that they represent them truthfully, especially since the holding of general elections under the occupation is not possible.

The third question:

The municipal services offered by the Nabulus municipal administration appointed in 1982 are in general better than they had been before.

The citizens responded to this question in the following manner:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--
B. Merchants	6	24	--
C. Professionals	1	29	--
D. Students	--	10	--
E. Workers	--	20	--
Total	7	93	--

The majority of the citizens (by a ratio of 93 percent) consider that the general services the municipality offered before 1982 were much better than they were during the appointed Israeli administration. This is normal and is conspicuous on the part of all the groups of citizens, who noted the appointed administration's failure to perform services, since the citizens' complaints of a lack of water and electric resources and lack of attention to roads, health and sanitation were widespread.

In reality, the city of Nabulus fell back many years in the course of this period because of the backwardness it suffered from as a result of neglect by the appointed authorities.

The fourth question:

The financial burden imposed on the citizens of Nabulus in the form of electricity and water tariffs and permits for buildings, occupations and industries has increased in an unreasonable manner since 1982.

All citizens (by a ratio of 97 percent) agreed that great increases had occurred in the past 3 years in various municipality tariffs, as indicated above:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	10	--	--
B. Merchants	27	3	--
C. Professionals	30	--	--
D. Students	10	--	--
E. Workers	20	--	--
Total	97	3	--

There are many examples which confirm this fact. For example, the price of a unit of electric power (a kilowatt hour) rose from 1.8 shekels in March 1982 to 264 shekels at present. The price of a cubic meter of water rose from 8 shekels to 780 shekels at present. This is apparent from the electricity and water department bills in the two periods.

This also applies to tariffs for building permits and occupation and industry permits, the value of materials and other accessories the municipality sells and other services it is not possible to enumerate.

The fifth question:

The method of collection the appointed municipality followed by issuing checks on the postal bank is better than the previous method of collection.

It is apparent from the following answers that a large proportion (72 percent) does not agree with this view and considers that the previous arrangement of issuing bills to water and electric service users was better than the method of issuing checks to the postal department.

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	3	4	3
B. Merchants	4	19	7
C. Professionals	2	27	1
D. Students	2	5	3
E. Workers	1	17	2
Total	12	72	16

The previous collection method gives consideration to the conditions of citizens who are unable to pay tariffs, since the collector observes the financial circumstances of the user and makes the payment method easy for him, while the authorities specify the date of payment of the check and impose high fines and numerous restrictions as a result of delays in payment.

In another area, collection by the municipality in the abovementioned manner retains the value of the sums in dinars, while the actual value of the amounts deposited in the postal bank in Israeli currency is reduced because of its constant decline.

This may be what recently prompted the appointed municipal council to reinstate the previous collection method as of 1 January 1986.

It is observed from the table shown above that 16 percent of the users had no opinion, that is, that they were not concerned with this subject.

The sixth question:

Treatment by the appointed municipality agency was better than that of the previous agency.

Ninety percent of the citizens asserted that treatment by the system of appointed employees has been bad, as is apparent from the following table:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--
B. Merchants	5	22	3
C. Professionals	--	29	1
D. Students	--	9	1
E. Workers	--	20	--
Total	5	90	5

From an examination of this subject, it is clear that there are many reasons for this, most important of which are:

1. The absence of competent persons in the appointed system because of qualified citizens' aversion to working with this department, at a time when the previous agency contained 24 professionals of various specializations and 84 university graduates.
2. The coercion of a number of former employees to work in the municipality for circumstances peculiar to themselves.
3. The suspension of most employees without continuity of employment at low salaries and wages because of their urgent need for work.
4. A lack of knowledge on the part of the system concerned with municipality affairs and various municipality issues; meanwhile, the former system contained experts in various affairs, since some of them had performed service extending 40 years in the past, and a number of them had been sent by former councils on fellowships and training courses abroad.

The seventh question:

The connection of the city of Nabulus to the Israeli national electric grid has been in the interests of the city.

The citizens' response to that was one of absolute rejection, by a ratio of 96 percent, while a single merchant supported it and three people declined to answer, as is shown in the table below.

On examining this subject, it is apparent that the refusal to connect the city of Nabulus to the national grid is not [sic] in the interests of the city, for the following reasons:

1. The citizens' confidence in the municipal electric project, which is their property and which they must defend and not neglect.
  2. The failure to rely on any Israeli source of power, out of fear that electricity will be cut off from the city in critical circumstances.
  3. Limiting the amount that is permitted in supplying the city in a manner that does not permit its development, especially in the industrial sector.
  4. Eliminating the Nabulus electricity project on grounds that it produces power, is a great source of income and transmits it to the distribution and collection center on behalf of the Israeli national company.
- 6 [sic]. The numerous complaints about the large number of blackouts covering long periods by the regional company and the low level of the electric current supplying the city, which has led to the burning out of dozens of home appliances in various areas of the city connected to the national grid.

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--
B. Merchants	1	28	1
C. Professionals	1	28	1
D. Students	--	10	--
E. Workers	--	20	--
Total	2	96	2

The eighth question:

Are you in favor of linking the sources of water in the city of Nabulus to the regional water system (Makorot)?

The answers of the majority were of rejection, as is shown below:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--
B. Merchants	1	29	--
C. Professionals	--	29	1
D. Students	--	10	--
E. Workers	3	17	--
Total	4	95	1

Perhaps the most important reason which led to the rejection of the linkup between the city's sources and the Makorot company system is the fear that the city's source of water will be at the mercy of this company, to dispose of in a manner which is compatible with its own interests. One should bear in mind that in the past 10 years the competent authorities have not allowed the Nabulus municipality to drill more than one well (al-Fari'ah) while wells are being constantly drilled for the settlements at great depths which affect the wells of the citizens of the bank, not to mention limiting production of these wells so that they will not affect Israeli water sources.

The ninth question:

Do you believe that building violations and other acts of trespass have doubled in the past three years?

The majority of the citizens affirmed this point by a ratio of 81 percent, as follows:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	10	--	--
B. Merchants	26	3	1
C. Professionals	22	5	3
D. Students	5	1	4
E. Workers	18	--	2
Total	81	9	10

Specialists also reaffirmed this view after they had visited the municipality of Nabulus. There are for example eight building violations on a single street (on the west side of Rafidiya Street) and numerous, uncounted excesses and violations in various areas. That can be attributed to the appointed administration's failure to be careful about putting things in their proper order for various considerations.

The tenth question:

Would you prefer that the municipal council be:

- A. Elected in full?
- B. Half-elected and the other half appointed?

C. Appointed in full?

The citizens' answers were as follows:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Elected in full	90	9	1
B. Half elected and the other half appointed	4	95	1
C. Appointed in full	5	93	2

This categorically shows the citizens' desire to have the members of their municipal councils be elected by them, in embodiment of this democratic right which every citizen demands.

Conclusion

Through this poll, which involved a limited number of them, the citizens expressed their legitimate right to elect their municipal councils and their rejection of the appointed bodies and administrations. This was not in violation of actuality; rather, there were convincing motives and reasons for this, the most important of which we raised on asking these questions.

It was also apparent that the premises of the research were to some extent reasonable and accepted by a large proportion of the citizens, since it became apparent that they expressed their views and convictions, as showed by the conclusions of the questionnaire.

In conclusion, one can say that the citizens expressed their desire for participation by municipality councils in local and domestic issues, whether they be social, political or economic, in the current circumstances of the occupation, in addition to the responsibilities cast upon their shoulders in normal conditions on the basis of the stipulations of the law on municipalities. This is in conjunction with their rejection of the appointed municipality boards, which cannot respond to their aspirations through their dealings with the competent authorities.

Profession	Age			Sex		First Question											
	18-25	26-40	41 and Above	Male	Female	Yes	No	Do	Not	Know							
Landowners and businessmen	--	--	--	--	--	8	1	1									
Merchants	--	--	--	--	--	30	--	--									
Professionals	--	--	--	--	--	29	1	--									
Students	--	--	--	--	--	10	--	--									
Workers	--	--	--	--	--	19	--	1									
Total	--	--	--	--	--	96	2	2									
	Third Question					Fourth Question				Fifth Question							
	Yes	No	Do	Not	Know	Yes	No	Do	Not	Know	Yes	No	Do	Not	Know		
Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--			10	--	--			3	4	3				
Merchants	6	24	--			27	3	--			4	19	7				
Professionals	1	29	--			30	--	--			2	27	1				
Students	--	10	--			10	--	--			2	5	3				
Workers	--	20	--			20	--	--			1	17	2				
Total	7	93	--			97	3	--			12	72	16				
	Ninth Question					Tenth Question											
						A				B				C			
	Yes	No	Do	Not	Know	Yes	No	Do	Not	Know	Yes	No	Do	Not	Know	Yes	No
Landowners and businessmen	10	--	--			8	1	1			--	9	1			1	8
Merchants	26	3	1			25	5	--			2	28	--			3	27
Professionals	22	5	3			28	2	0			1	29	0			1	28
Students	5	1	4			9	1	--			1	9	--			--	10
Workers	8	--	2			20	--	--			--	20	--			--	20
Total	81	9	10			90	9	1			4	95	1			5	93

[Facing previous page]  
Profession

Second Question

Profession	A			B			C		
	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Yes	No	Do Not Know
Landowners and businessmen	3	7	--	5	5	--	3	7	--
Merchants	--	30	--	13	15	2	14	14	2
Professionals	1	27	2	22	6	2	6	22	2
Students	--	10	--	10	--	--	--	10	--
Workers	--	20	--	13	7	--	7	13	--
Total	4	94	2	63	33	4	29	66	4

Profession	Sixth Question			Seventh Question			Eighth Question		
	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Yes	No	Do Not Know
Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--	--	10	--	--	10	--
Merchants	5	22	3	1	28	1	1	29	--
Professionals	--	29	1	--	28	2	--	29	1
Students	--	9	1	--	10	--	--	10	--
Workers	--	20	--	--	20	--	3	17	--
Total	5	90	5	1	96	3	4	95	1

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## POWER OF THE ORTHODOX PRESS DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew No 175, 9 Apr 86 pp 26-29

[Text] The inaugural issue of a new ultra orthodox Friday weekly, called SHAVU'A TOV, was published a little over 1 month ago. The publication is intended to be the Chief Rabbinate's response to the 3 year successful history of the ultra orthodox weekly 'EREV SHABAT. But SHAVU'A TOV suffered a heavy blow, possibly a fatal one, even before it was issued. The inaugural issue was distributed to rabbis and they shuddered. Among others there was a color report titled "Shimshon -- A Jewish Rambo." The report opened as follows: "The Shimshon Institute, Jerusalem, gives you muscles. Me'ir Yolovitz, the boss, 30 years plus, a skull-cap wearing family man who sells a dream of power. A strong Jew instead of the Ziys (sweet) Jew. What he has is power, sweat, champions on the wall, masculine fraternity, love of God. If you were to worship God spiritually, Me'ir will see to it that you do it with your body. Yeshivas of higher education, the seder, Rafael Halperin. Now Me'ir Yolovitz and his machines will give you energy that will make you flow with belief. A local power institute. American strength. 40 new sheqels. Avishay Tzomber was there. Me'ir Rabinovitz investigated. Just a minute, there is also a story for women. "No, that does not suit us," giggled the rabbis and the young orthodox students who read the paper. In the section dealing with criticism of the press, there were some spicy stories about Dan Ben-Amotz's daughter, as she appeared in MA'ARIV's magazine GEVER LA'INYAN. There were also some advertisements that were quoted from other papers. The yeshiva students and the rabbis, who are experts at reading the small print, were astonished to find the following advertisement: "Naturalist, bi-sexual, 38, is interested in a broad-minded lonely male or female." "Oh no," said the rabbis and suspended the publication of SHAVU'A TOV's indefinitely. Avishay Tzomber, one of the editors, promises that it will be published eventually. He says that there is a vacuum between 'EREV SHABAT and YEDI'OT AHARONOT that he intends to fill.

The man behind SHAVU'A TOV and its chief editor is Efrayim Shrayber, 23, a student at Merkaz-HaRav Yeshiva. He changed his name to Sofer in time to coincide with the publication of the first issue. He is a stocky man who wears a black skull-cap. He thus is different from his fellow students who wear knitted skull-caps. He did not resolve the mystery regarding his military service. His journalistic career started with Rabbi Shakh's orthodox publication YATED NE'EMAN. He and his friends were very concerned about these

publications which are almost completely dominated by the anti-Zionist rabbis. He and his friends believed that Marcus Katz, an Israeli emigrant who deals with arms in South America, would finance their paper. Katz is a secret part owner of MONITIN and HADASHOT. He is close to Zevulun Hamer's faction in MAFDAL.

The ultra orthodox are unique customers for the press. Unlike the non-observers, they do not watch television, at least not officially. Most of them do not subscribe to the secular dailies. They do listen to the radio, but that does not give them the information they are really after. They really get excited over the printed word, to the point of becoming violent. They are not willing to bring home anything that excites them and that is printed on paper. Any such paper has to take into account not only the needs of its readers, but more than that, the sensitivity of the rabbis. One careless word about a rabbi may cause a boycott of the paper, a boycott which may mean economic doom.

Israel Qatzover, beardless, with a knitted skull-cap, lives in a secular neighborhood in Jerusalem. He was the religious affairs correspondent for Qol-Israel and a SHE'ARIM correspondent, SHA'ARIM being a relatively moderate religious daily. Qatzover's biggest scoop was when he found out that the F-15 planes were arriving in Israel on the Sabbath, in 1976. The news brought about the downfall of Rabin's government and eventually brought Likud to power. Qatzover became Menahem Begin's friend. He is an experienced correspondent, free of ideological fixations, a perfect example of a religious person who succeeded because of secular acumen. He has a friend by the name of Yitzhaq Nahshoni, associated with religious programming for the IDF Radio Station. Mr Nahshoni now wears a black skull-cap with side curls, but otherwise dresses in a secular manner and speaks like any other Israeli. Together they had a dream of a religious weekly, like so many other local papers which appeared in the early eighties. When Danot started publishing its local papers under the name REHOV RASHI, Qatzover and Nahshoni approached them. This is how YOM HASHISHI, a national ultra orthodox publication came to be. It is jointly owned by the editors and Danot. This was the only profitable paper in the network, according to Qatzover. When it collapsed Qatzover and Nahshoni turned to YEDI'OT AHARONOT and MONITIN. There were some legal problems. Eventually the paper's name had to be changed to 'EREV SHABAT (or 'EREV SHABES, as the ultra orthodox refer to it) -- and be published under the auspices of THE JERUSALEM POST. According to one story the rabbis decreed that the secular English daily is kosher, relatively speaking. According to another version the REHOV RASHI network was in debt to THE JERUSALEM POST. The ownership of the religious weekly became part of the deal to wipe out the debt.

Qatzover maintained recently that his paper has a higher circulation than all other religious publications put together. He refused to disclose any figures. Most of the income comes from advertisements. Ethics is not much of an issue for this kind of a paper. Thus, for example, the editors's wives own a public relations firm which works with the paper. There is no clear cut separation between advertisement and editorial material. The paper costs 40 sheqels per issue. Its estimated circulation is 20,000-25,000, rather astonishing. Some people who work for the paper quote even higher figures.

They say that it is also successful in the United States (3,000 copies) and even in Australia.

Rabbi Shakh is purported to have said that when he sees someone returning from morning prayer on Friday with his prayer book and shawl under one arm and 'EREV SHABAT under his other arm, he cries inwardly. 'EREV SHABAT interpreted this as referring to rabbis only. They cannot afford to waste their time reading papers. Everyone else ought to read 'EREV SHABAT.

'EREV SHABAT is the only ultra orthodox magazine which is economically viable. It is also the only one on a rather professional level. This combination has made it into an ultra orthodox representative paper, with extreme nationalistic views, the closest thing in the Israeli press to Me'ir Kahane. It turns out that this is what the ultra orthodox want to read: hatred of secular Jews, hatred of Arabs, and flattery to any rabbi with the potential to threaten the income of the paper. Occasionally it criticizes religious members of the Knesset, but the only rabbis to be attacked are those associated with MAFDAL. The latter, to their chagrin, do not have the courage to call a boycott. The boycotted issued of SHAVU'A TOV tried to respond to 'EREV SHABAT's attack on Rabbi Goren: "Where were your leaders when Rabbi Goren crawled in a mine field to extricate bodies so as to bring them to a proper burial? Where were your leaders when he endangered himself in an outpost on the Canal during the War of Attrition? No, we will no longer be silent when you attack our rabbis and other leaders in your little prayer hall." What is strange is that there really is no real connection between the views expressed in the paper and those of its two astute editors. The author asked other religious journalists about that. They rubbed their fingers together and nodded their heads as if to say: "Money, money."

"Things have not reached that low point when we have to disassociate ourselves from them," says JERUSALEM POST editor Erwin Frankel when he discusses this successful ultra orthodox magazine. "Even if the paper is economically viable, on the balance sheet of the JERUSALEM POST it is insignificant, maybe even a burden."

The only permanent journalists that 'EREV SHABAT employs are Nahshoni and Qatzover. In addition to them there are about 60 occasional contributors, among them religious journalist under assumed names, and reporters, usually yeshiva students, who report by phone by way of moonlighting. This is very similar to the method employed by Arab papers on the West Bank. According to those in the know, the most outspoken and extreme writers are religious journalists from the secular media who vent their feelings in 'EREV SHABAT.

'EREV SHABAT does not publish editorials. According to the editors the viewpoint of the readers is determined by the holy scriptures, not by editorial opinion. The editors note two exceptions. The first occurred during the elections when an editorial called for voting only for religious parties. The other occasion was when they demanded to release those accused of being in the Jewish underground. From time to time they publish a lengthy interview with Rabbi Kahane.

When an important rabbi requests to report, omit, or dictate an item, he is always granted his wish. The paper avoids publishing advertisements where one party attacks another. Before the elections it was decided to not publish any Alignment or Likud advertisements. "We lost \$30,000," they said, "but we gained in the long run." The paper is also careful not to publish any advertisement with photographs of women.

The front page captions are meant to reinforce, to the point of absurdity, the ultra orthodox patriotism. This week there was a report of a 500 percent increase in the number of Arabs wishing to convert. The actual number is 11. The front page of the previous edition was decorated with a large stamp saying that the paper was confiscated according to the 1986 racial law.

The split within Agudat Israel gave birth 8 months ago to a new daily, YATED NE'EMAN. The first word is really an acronym meaning "A daily for the knowledge of the scriptures." The paper is funded by Rabbi Shakh's supporters. Rabbis Shakh became tired of the way the Rabbi of Gur and his supporters were running Agudat Israel and its paper, HAMODI'A. YATED NE'EMAN's editors are Ashkenazi.

HAMODI'A was founded 36 years ago at the initiative of the then Agudat Israel leader, (Icha)-Me'ir Levin. The idea was to feed the ultra orthodox public with the correct opinions when it had to face the challenge of a secular state. It was Levin's son who was the paper's editor until 1979. When he died, three editors were appointed, each representing a faction within Agudat Israel. HAMODI'A must be the only paper in the world with three editors and only one full time correspondent -- the one in the Knesset.

Even the night editors, who prepare the news columns for the next day's edition, are picked according to their faction affiliation within Agudat Israel. The paper plays an important role, sometimes a crucial one, in relations among the various factions. Sometimes, when there is a difference of opinion, the decision is passed from the night editors to the major editors. If they cannot resolve the differences, the decision is made by the Rabbi of Gur or Rabbi Shakh. Since the founding of YATED NE'EMAN the Rabbi of Gur has had the upper hand in HAMODI'A.

Most of the material is picked up from ITIM. The editors ensure that the news is slanted to reflect the outlook of the paper. Recently references were made to someone's beautiful wife. The next day the phone did not stop ringing. "This is not proper for us," the readers protested. When there is a news such as: "Passersby accidentally discovered explosives under a bench," the word "accidentally" is replaced by "miraculously."

As in other religious publications, many of HAMODI'A's correspondents use false names. There are yeshiva students who do not consider it proper to write in a paper. It could even hurt their chances for a good marriage. Others say: "Only hidden deeds are the ones which deserve to be blessed." One real practical reason is the fear that the IDF will find out that those exempt from service because they study in yeshivot are really journalists. Still others write for other religious papers as well. Thus, HAMODI'A's military correspondent, A. Pe'er is none other than Israel Qatzover, the 'EREV

SHABAT editor. One of HAMODI'A's editors, Israel Spiegel, who was put in a deep freeze following the publication of YATED NE'EMAN, vents his anger in 'EREV SHABAT in a section called "Hitting Back" which he signs Dov Alon.

HAMODI'A never publishes any reports on rapes. Murders are always blamed on television's bad influence and inadequate secular education. If there is a report on a bad accident happening on the Sabbath it will try and create the impression that the whole thing happened because the parties involved were driving on the Sabbath. Many of the articles deal with religious subjects, warning of desecrating the Sabbath and autopsies. Recently it has dealt a lot with "assimilation meetings" between Jews and Arabs.

Events which cannot be ignored, such as an important victory for the Tel-Aviv soccer team, are mentioned in the section "Day by Day." This is where the readers can find out who won and who lost and why the whole thing has a degenerating effect and why it should be condemned.

YATED NE'EMAN, HAMODI'A's young competitor, is housed in eight spacious room in the stock exchange building in Tel-Aviv. During the dramatic struggle against the construction of Hotel Ganey-Hamat in Tiberias, the Rabbi of Gur reached a compromise agreement with the hotel's management. Rabbi Eli'ezer Shah, leader of the Lita faction within Agudat Israel, was opposed to the compromise and instructed his followers to continue the struggle. HAMODI'A, which had protested the construction all along, ignored Rabbi Shakh. When Rabbi Qanyevsky, who until his death several months ago was considered the foremost theological authority among Lita circles, was informed about HAMODI'S indiscretion, he mumbled in Yiddish: "We need a paper." That was sufficient.

Later Rabbi Qanyevsky contributed \$100 to the paper. The bill's photographs, hundreds of them, were distributed among potential contributors to solicit funds.

Rabbi Shakh hesitated to give his final blessing for fear that another paper will only increase discord in an already divided electorate. The impetus came with the death of an important Lita rabbi in Haifa. HAMODI'A did not even bother to report the death. "From the time of YATED NE'EMAN's establishment Lita rabbis started to die. In other words, people began to become aware of their passing away," says Rabbi Israel Glis, smiling. He is one of the two editors.

YATED claims to have 5,000 subscribers and several hundred regular readers. According to them 14,000 copies of the weekend paper are printed. About 3,000 are flown to the U.S. to be sold in Lita yeshivas there. The weekend success is attributed to the supplements which contain stories about known scholars. About 2 weeks ago Rabbi Glis climbed to a good vantage point during Rabbi Einstein's funeral and looked at the large crowd. "I saw 80 percent Lita style hats. I asked myself, why is this not reflected in the subscriber list?"

Glis is an old timer in ultra orthodox circles. He started at a young age in the extreme Yad-Le'Ahim, and later in Or Same'ah, the yeshiva frequented by born-again Jews. When he was put in charge of the paper a year ago he did not

even know where to begin. "I had no idea what it was all about. For me it was as if I was charged with landing a spacecraft on the moon." After a study period in which he visited several papers Glis started gathering writers from within the young leaders of the ultra orthodox circles. The investors, according to Glis, who know that for the time being it is a money losing proposition, established a company named Yeda Pirsumim. The editorial staff meets daily in MONITIN's office. Cooperation with the monthly magazine, which makes its money publishing color nude photographs, has been the cause for many attacks by opponents. Glis claims that due to this cooperation MONITIN allowed him to remove the nude photographs from the walls and attach mezuzas to the doorposts. Young students of a certain committee come to the office nightly and scrutinize every word that is to be published.

YATED NE'AMAN is printed by the atheist paper 'AL HAMISHMAR. This association, too, is a trouble spot. One evening, the messenger lost a photograph of the prime minister visiting the Ethiopians protesting in front of Hekhal Shlomo. 'AL HAMISHMAR people calmed Rabbi Glis over the phone: "Don't worry, everything is all right, we have a photograph, the very same thing." Glis was not worried. The next morning, when he opened the paper, he was horrified. In the center of the photograph, right next to Peres, there was a woman. Not only that, her arms were bare. The paper had to apologize to the readers. When the IDF removed the Knesset members who tried to settle in the Hebron Kasbah, one of the photographers that YATED NE'AMAN sent to the scene, requested Member of Knesset Ge'ula Cohen to move aside for a minute so he could take a "clean" photograph." YATED NE'AMAN also censors titles of rabbis opposed to it. Thus, for example the title Ga'on was omitted from a writeup about Rabbi Pinhas Menahem Alter, the Gur Rabbi's brother. The title "Maran" is reserved exclusively for Rabbi Shakh. The HABAD hassidim are ignored altogether. Their names are removed from reports on activities where they participate. Recently there was a news bulletin from ITIM. It related to an explosion at the water pipe near Lod. The report ended with a list of settlements which might be affected by the water shortage. One of the censoring committee members removed Qfar-HABAD from the list. Because of all these erasures HATZOFE called the paper YATED LETIPEX, referring to the common white-out liquid.

There is an all out war between HAMODI'A and YATED NE'AMAN. Member of Knesset Avraham Shapira, who advertises his carpets in full page ads in all secular papers, refuses to even answer YATED's questions. YATED has no Shtihey Karmel ads. Anyone who advertises in YATED may find his business under fire, literally. The last fire happened about a month ago at Photo Avigdor of Hazon Ish St in Bney-Braq. The arson fire was preceded by an ad in YATED. A restaurant owner who advertised there was clubbed. Another way to annoy advertisers: a person goes into a large store and places a particularly big order. When the merchant and his helpers finish packing the items, another person, as planned ahead of time, enters the establishment. He points to the owner and attacks the buyer: You are buying from that person? He advertised in YATED. The order is cancelled right then and there. Rabbi Shakh's supporters do the same to those who advertise in HAMODI'A. In self-advertising YATED requests to "tell the advertiser he was seen at YATED NE'AMAN." With a commendable sense of humor the ad was reprinted in the Purim issue with an addition "and I haven't seen you since."

In addition to HAMODI'A and YATED there is another successful ultra orthodox paper, published by the Belz hassidim, HAMAHANE HAHAREYDI, edited by Israel Eikhler. Eikhler has opened his paper to all ultra orthodox factions.

One of the conditions that the Rabbi of Gur followers place on signing a peace agreement within Agudat Israel is the closing of YATED. Glis says that he is not worried. He does not think this condition can ever be met.

Table on pp 28-29 listing ultra orthodox papers.

Catogories	HAMODI'A	HATZOFE	YATED NE'EMAN	EREV SHABAT
Periodicity	Daily	Daily	Daily	Weekly
Run by	Agudat Israel	MAFDAL	Rabbi Shah	JERUSALEM POST
Zionism	Negative	Positive	Negative	Reserved
Mishna	Low profile	Reserved	Very supportive	Positive
MK Shapira	Very supportive	Reserved	Reserved	Factual
Arabs	Negative	Negative	Negative	Aggressive
Territories	Hawkish	Hawkish	Dovish	Hawkish
Secularism	Aggressive	Reserved	Aggressive	Aggressive
Women	No names mentioned	Some	No names mentioned	Some
Catogories	SHE'ARIM	HAMAHANE HAHAREYDI	QFAR HABAD	NEQUDA
Periodicity	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	Bi-weekly
Run by	Po'aley Agudat Israel	The Belz Rabbi	HABAD young cadre	YESHA Council
Zionism	Somewhat positive	Negative	Reserved	Positive
Mishna	Reserved	Positive	Varies	Reserved
MK Shapira	Reserve	Critical	Reserved	Reserved
Arabs	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative
Territories	Hawkish	Hawkish	Hawkish	Hawkish

Secularism	Negative	Negative	Negative	Somewhat positive
Women	Some	No names mentioned	Yes	Yes
Catogories	'EMDA	BAT HAYIL	HA'EYDA	HAHOMA
Periodicity	Monthly	Periodical	Weekly	Irregular
Run by	Moreshet	Batya Karmi	Ultra orthodox faction	Neturey Qarta
Zionism	Positive	Positive	Aggressive	Aggressive
Mishna	Reserved	Reserved	Negative	Negative
MK Shapira	Reserved	-	Aggressive	Aggressive
Arabs	Reserved	-	Positive	Positive
Territories	Hawkish	Hawkish	Dovish	Dovish
Secularism	Reserved	Reserved	Aggressive	Aggressive
Women	Yes	Mostly women	No mention	No mention

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## MA'ALE ADUMIM CELEBRATES TENTH ANNIVERSARY

'Ofra NEQUDA in Hebrew No 97, 25 Mar 86 (Supplement) pp 2-3

[Text] The Violin, The Lute, The Cymbal, The Ram's Horn are names of streets in Ma'ale Adumim, in the Kley Shir (musical instruments) subdivision. The theme continues to The Zither Entrance, The Bell, and The Organ, not far from The Horn Circle. Shim'on Ansbakher, one of the old-timers, has an idea to place an image of the instrument at the corner of any street bearing such name. For the time being this orchestra is just part of a fast growing city on the slope of a mountain, 10 km east of Jerusalem. At the (priest's) Breastplate subdivision, no precious stones are exhibited. Perhaps there is no need for it. The precious stones are the homes on the streets bearing the names Carnelian, Topaz and Emerald.

Suddenly, bordering on the desert, a city has grown. Among the reddish rock and the streambeds, in the heart of the ancient, fascinating setting, there is a new city coming to life. Dan Edre'i, city manager, claims that youthfulness is not just a matter of age. "Youthfulness is also a culture, freshness, and open and innovative thinking. This youthfulness, along with the youth of the people, is felt everywhere in Ma'ale Adumim. More than 1,000 children spend their mornings in kindergartens alone. The lines in the maternity clinic and the activities in the youth center prove that the planned "Golden Age Village" will not house any of Ma'ale Adumim's people. The first elections to the local council are soon to take place. There are many accomplishments. True, there are goals that have not been attained. Those who are running for the chairmanship, now held by 'Amos Tartman, are bound to stress the latter.

Ma'ale Adumim observes its tenth anniversary after three and a half years of existence. A logical contradiction? Not necessarily. The first group arrived 10 years ago on the seventh day of Hannuka. It consisted of 23 families and six singles. They started out under very difficult conditions at a point now called Giv'at HaMeyasdim (Founders' Hill). They started implementing the dream of a city east of Jerusalem. The dream itself started 2 years earlier among the group which just started forming then. Shim'on Ansbakher, born in Frankfurt, goes back a few years: "It started a few years after Qiryat Arba. We were walking around with an uneasy feeling, with an unclear conscience. We formed a nucleus and started distributing leaflets. One day I heard a discussion by a well known-rabbi, Levi Nahmani. He talked

about a Jewish settlement in the Judean desert. Several other members joined in and it was decided to establish an open settlement, facing outward." Today, many of the founders are walking around like Alice in Wonderland. They find it hard to believe that the dream has turned into a road and a neighborhood, a youth center and a supermarket. Eli Tzalgo, one of the first settlers: "The dream has come true. The place is now a city. Ma'ale Adumim has something unique to offer. In the long run I would like to see some sort of continuity between here and Jerusalem. This would solve some political problems. But what we really have to concentrate on now is the uniqueness of this place."

It turns out that the proximity to Jerusalem is both an advantage and a drawback. On the one hand moving to Ma'ale Adumim does not necessarily entail a new job. The advantages of a close, big city are also not to be discounted -- education, commerce, culture, and entertainment. On the other hand, the very same proximity discourages independence and is likely to turn Ma'ale Adumim into a suburb of the capital.

Smarayahu Kohen, manager of the Jerusalem region in the Housing Ministry, has been following Ma'ale Adumim in all stages of construction and occupancy. "The goal in establishing the city was political. The ideas of solving a housing shortage for young couples or improving the quality of life were not the major issues. It was necessary to block all entrances to Jerusalem from a potential Jordanian attack. This political goal has been achieved." This political issue, mentioned by Mr Kohen, is very important, but anyone looking for ideology in Ma'ale Adumim is not very likely to find it. A large majority of the people came for practical considerations. Not that the political issue has been obliterated altogether, but it certainly is not the dominant one in their considerations. Therefore, the association between Ma'ale Adumim and the YESHA (Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip) Council, or Gush Emunim is rather loose. "When the time comes," say YESHA people, "this loose relationship may turn out to be dangerous." But in Ma'ale Adummim nobody thinks that this time will ever come. The massive construction and the accelerated development will isolate the city from any political negotiations. Some rumblings can already be heard that the city is not properly recognized for what it is in the YESHA Council. Anyhow, there is some reminder to former cooperation in the names of streets in the industrial park: Yamit Road, Ofira, Holit, Talmei Yosef.

'Amos Tartman, council head, points to four factors that have to be taken into account in the construction of a city. They are planning, social, educational, and vocational aspects. "The process takes time. We are now in the first third of development. We succeeded mostly in integration. We could serve as a model to others on this issue."

The heterogeneous population in Ma'ale Adumim consists of all ethnic groups and political parties, religious and secular, old-timers and new immigrants. They are all integrated in the educational system and other social frameworks in a way that could be envied. One of the great advantages was that the city was built before people moved in and so it was possible to plan and prepare while learning from other settlements' experiences.

Some history: The original group was recognized as a group of workers who were there because they were working in the industrial park under construction. In Nov 74 the government agreed to construct an industrial center which was to serve Jerusalem. It was the late Israel Galili who was instrumental in pushing the idea. But the foot-dragging which followed forced "the Ma'ale Adummim group" to establish a "sudden settlement" on the 15th km east of Jerusalem. There was a long debate in the government which resulted in clearing the place by the IDF. This beginning was shared by other settlements, too. Later the structure became a synagogue which, naturally, had to be guarded along with the Tora book stored in it. Uri Ari'el has been there ever since. From that day, Independence Day 1975, there has been a continued Jewish presence here. In September 1977 the government decided on the construction of a city in Ma'ale Adumim. A year and a half later the local committee was recognized as a local council. The 50 families and the yeshiva people on site considered that an important victory for the idea of constructing a city between Jerusalem and Jericho.

Today there are about 2,500 families in Ma'ale Adumim. Avi Greenberg, the council's treasurer: "We have reached this number, 12,000, within three and a half years. There is no other city in Israel that managed to do quite that. We have established a model system. We grew in a controlled fashion, while learning from the experiences of places like Arad and Karmi'el. Naturally, and because of the kind of people we have, they maintain the structures, the gardens, the lighting, the bus stops, and all the rest." This family feeling is healthy for a young, growing city, but sometimes people want things that are far and beyond what a local council can offer. One day a woman showed up with a youngster. She insisted on seeing me immediately. When she came in she said: 'How can you sit here while my child did not get a hot meal in nursery school last week?'" There are other examples to how much people in Ma'ale Adumim care and what they expect of their elected officials.

There certainly is a lot to be proud of in Ma'ale Adumim. It gets an "A" for cleanliness. The local paper in Ma'ale Adumim has a detailed schedule of activities in the local swimming pool as well as a detailed response to a woman who is concerned that some construction may obstruct the view. Involvement is the key word here. Israel Goldstein, the city's secretary, says that Ma'ale Adumim brought comfort to settlement by thinking of all the details, without much fanfare, just going about it quietly and diligently. "Ma'ale Adumim enjoys both the biblical manna and the quails and since the city is in the desert, this is most appropriate. We have received the best and we had better be modest and know that we did not do it single-handedly."

The city does have many partners. There are large and small construction companies such as the Jerusalem Economic Co which built and is now expanding the industrial complex, and there are other contractors in all facets of construction. Obviously, the Housing and Construction Ministry is the central authority responsible for what is taking place in Ma'ale Adumim. Minister David Levi visits the city regularly and is kept up to date as to what is happening there. Asher Vayner, who was general manager of the Housing and Construction Ministry helped a lot. Yet, there is always someone who is nostalgic about the days when everything was small and intimate, the beginning of the settlement, not so long ago. Menahem Ansbakher wrote about it with

some humor: "...a local council has come instead of an observer from a settlement committee. The gardener was replaced, dear sirs, with a gardening department. The guard who was looking for a tenth man for morning prayers has been replaced by several synagogues: a Sephardi, a general, a Moroccan, an Iraqi, and one for those from Yemen. The shack was replaced with a supermarket; there are olive groves where nothing grew before. The mountain, across from the shop, has a garage and a horse ranch. We have a medical center and a youth center and Ethiopians and a post office and a police station and a master sergeant. Let's hope we don't have a jail..."

The origin of the name Ma'ale Adumim is in the the Book of Joshua where the site is described as the border between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The name refers to the road leading from the valley to Jerusalem where the red color rock is dominant. "And the border went up to Debir from the Valley of Achor, and so northward, looking toward Gilgal that is over against Ma'ale Adumim (ascent of Adumim) which is on the south side of the brook" (Joshua 15,7).

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## SETTLEMENT OF TEL HAYIM DESCRIBED

'Ofra NEQUDA in Hebrew No. 97, 25 Mar 86 (Supplement) pp 16-18

[Text] Stories of renewed Jews are often published in the Israeli press. The words that repeat themselves are "renewal," "inner happiness," "light," with all their variations. From this point of view the settlers of Tel Hayim in Shomron are no different from any other renewed Jews. Many went the normal route of renewed Jews: life on a kibbutz, life in a city, IDF service, a long trip abroad, activities in all kinds of sects, other experiences, vagrancy, coming back home and a feeling that "this is not it" followed by being "renewed." This is a period of life that, with the possible exception of the last step, is typical to many Israeli youths. This is a generation of confusion and doubt where curiosity is the fueling force behind wandering. The fuel runs out after 2-3 years and then lands on the capitalistic living room and the safe--a grey route that eventually leads to retirement.

This is not the case in Tel Hayim. This is a communal religious settlement near Nablus at Tel Rujayb, about 1 km away from where Elon More was evacuated following the famous court case. This is a group of young people, many are graduates of Mekhon Me'ir, that wanted to build a home, a settlement according to their image. They started arriving here after the question of the land was settled. The settlement was founded 2 years ago, on Independence Day 1984. Now it consists of 30 families and many other families from Mekhon Me'ir and the "spiritual environment" those who are interested would also like to join. Only a housing shortage is holding them back.

Avi Rontzqi, the settlement's rabbi, himself a renewed Jew, is an IDF paratroop commander now in the reserves. If it were to be said that he is the decisive force in this settlement it would not be an exaggeration. "The group started in Mekhon Me'ir in Jerusalem by those who wanted to continue with the "incubation" that the institute had offered," he says. "Implementation went according to how we had been educated. It is our contribution to the People of Israel. In as much as we can we are trying to improve ourselves first. The very fact that there is a settlement living according to Jewish law is in itself a contribution to the people, and a basic one at that, one that can serve as an example to other settlements wishing to lead this kind of life." The rabbi and the other members have no doubt as to how they want to educate their children: a Talmud Tora (an ultra orthodox school), not a regular school. On the surface it would be very difficult to discern the inner

struggles and the differences among the members: thinking seems to be alike, as do the conclusions. Theoretically one would expect people who have undergone such a drastic change in their lives to be more philosophical and critical. "Not necessarily," they say. "It is precisely those who have seen other ways and realized their shortcomings who can accept the antithesis to their former lives without any questions." It is this latter opinion which prevails in Tel Hayim. The plan, which is now taking shape, is to establish a regional Talmud Tora for children from other settlements, whose parents are not content with the public religious schools and who want to stress religious studies in education. Within a year and a half many Tel Hayim settlers will graduate from Kolel MARATZ in neighboring Elon More with a teaching degree. They plan to be on the teaching staff in the planned Talmud Tora. There are other plans, too. These, also, relate to religious education. There is talk about establishing a higher institution for Jewish studies where seminars and lectures for soldiers are to be held. Even now the settlement is visited by various groups who talk to the settlers and to the rabbi. "We are not trying to convert any of them," says the rabbi. "We give them the experience, we meet with them. The fact that all of us here are in the IDF and consider military service as being highly important removes barriers immediately."

Students of a religious school who visited here were deeply impressed. Among the compliments and thanks received later in many letters were those of the school's principle, well known in the orthodox community: "The settlement consists of former IDF soldiers, many of whom served in important and high positions in elite combat units. This fact has special significance from the prevalent religious point of view in that it does not preach that those who devote themselves to religious studies should not participate in public responsibilities, especially defense." Yet, Amana, the settlement authority for Tel Hayim, is not content with just reserve service. Efforts are made to diversify the single line of occupation, namely, education. They are trying to raise their interest in raising sheep. Some members have begun diamond cutting. There is already a grocery store in Tel Hayim, unlike neighboring Yitzhar and Ma'ale Levona. This fact, too, is a source of local pride.

A few kms away from Tel Hayim, close to the Arab village of 'Awurata, there is the traditional burial site of Itamar, Aharon's son, and the 70 old men. Tel Hayim's official name is to be Itamar. It turns out, though, that this name is not easily acceptable. "Tel Hayim suits us better," agree most of the settlers. The intent is clear: a life of Tora, a new life, and a spriritual life are the stated goals of Tel Hayim's, rather, Itamar's, settlers. It may perhaps be better to resort to a definition made by Yo'av Malka, a settler, originally from Kineret: "The stress in this settlement is finding the common denominator between heaven and earth. Although we are in this life by a decree from heaven, we are mandated to hang on to earthly things and glorify them. This is our approach the whole--the individual--the whole, heaven--earth--heaven. If this seems too esoteric, it really is not. The Talmud chapter now under study in Tel Hayim concerns punitive damages and finances--very down to earth issues.

Some details on the environment. Mt Gerizim and Mt 'Eyval are to the west, symbolizing the blessing and the curse. Many poems have already been on the subject. Ancient travel logs refer to these ancient sites in the Nablus

region as bound for calamity. "Isracard" is not part of life here, but the biblical scenes are. "And let us all say amen" with the rolling mountain between Mt Gerizim and Mt 'Eyval and the fire of the bramble in Yotam's parable (Judges 9,14), together with "let us go to Dotan" and "Shim'on and Levi are brothers". Among all these scenes one can see the olive trees, greyish-green, like soldiers. Rows and rows of them. The Bible, here and now.

Going back to Tel Hayim. 'Ofer Hed came here from Beyt Qama in the Negev. He went the normal route from the kibbutz to the IDF. In 1975, immediately following his military service, he went abroad. "When I was overseas I found certain inner strengths that I did not know existed. The trip made me independent. The main thrust of the kibbutz's goals, so I felt, was ideals that are not expressed through action, or at least not felt. The trip enabled me to transcend the daily trivialities of the kibbutz." After the trip 'Ofer returned to Beyt Qama with a renewed spirit, with a desire for self-realization, with big words. He was disappointed. He moved to Haifa where he opened a natural food store. He did all kinds of things. He turned to yoga for a while, meditation, philosophy, and vegetarianism. His conversations with Yo'av Malka, his reservist colleague, who in the meantime had become a renewed, brought him one day to Mekhon Me'ir in Jerusalem. "I told Rabbi Bigon: 'I did not come here to be renewed, I came to try things out.' Later, when I got involved, I understood that this was my place. Studying there was the first time in my life that I felt I was utilizing all my spiritual potential in a suitable way for me." 'Ofer, 31, is married to a woman with a religious background, the granddaughter of Rabbi 'Atiya. Like many of his friends he spends his mornings studying in Elon More and in the afternoon he works for himself. He too, cannot wait for the settlement to become the educational center for the region. "My goal, and that of many here, after all, is to make a contribution to the settlement and to the people of Israel. But in order to make a contribution to the latter we need more maturity and knowledge. In order to deserve it, a lot of sacrifices have to be made, perhaps personal, but the goal is to give not to receive."

Tel Hayim is an ultra orthodox, Zionist settlement. The author was surprised at the degree of agreement to this definition among the members: an ultra orthodox, Zionist settlement. Women do not vote and are not elected to the settlement's leadership. Head covering is part of the bylaws. When Scharansky came to Israel everyone huddled around the only television set. ("This, too," apologizes one member, "is a small, black and white set."). Newspapers are also hard to find here: "This disassociation actually helps," says Alfonta with conviction. "We don't have the ice cream that city children constantly demand. We have no pornography for yeshiva students. The disassociation is an advantage. Even daily discourse requires studying." Beyond the personal and internal circle Tel Hayim hardly participates in the various activities of Shomron. When the YESHA council or Gush Emunim organizes a demonstration or some other public event it can be assumed that Tel Hayim members are not among the participants. "We have people here who study the scriptures, people whose time is very precious to them. "It is no less important to increase one's knowledge than to demonstrate," says Avi Rontzqi. "We here don't talk about politics. We are too busy studying and building a settlement. I only heard about the YESHA council resolutions when

I served in the reserves." Avi Rontzki, who became a renewed Jew after the Yom Kippur War, is proud of the high degree of theological activities in his settlement. He is a graduate of the Haifa military academy. There were several religious officers in his unit who influenced him and started him on his way to where he is now. Every family that wants to move to Tel Hayim undergoes his scrutiny. One day someone proposed to have an evening of singing. "We did not come here to sing," decreed the rabbi, and the idea was shelved. All cultural activity is religious in orientation. "We hope that Rabbi Aviner will come here for a lecture," says Rakhel Brandwin, to cite an example. "And maybe, maybe, someday, Chief Rabbi Ben-Eliyahu."

Those who want to remain in the Mekhon Me'ir incubator can certainly find their place in Tel Hayim. The women are very proud of the uniqueness of their settlement. Every morning, at about 9, several of them get together for a study session. Every day has an agenda: the Book of Judges, modesty, laws about gossip, etc. It is the rabbi's wife who is the teacher in these sessions. These are spiritual hours. Says Ya'el Ruqin: "It is very important that we have these sessions. Otherwise we would spend all our days with diapers." Ya'el, a renewed Jew herself, came from Russia in 1972 with a B.Sc. in computer sciences and mathematics. She also studied teaching in Jerusalem. "I became a renewed Jew because I studied mathematics. It enabled me to see that infinity does exist. It broadened my horizons." She married Aharon, an immigrant from England. He, too, is a renewed Jew, the former treasurer of kibbutz Merom Golan. In their home ("No, we don't have any secular books, we tried to get rid of them...") the author was served almonds, dates, and beet juice; they are vegetarians.

An interesting phenomenon. About one third of Tel Hayim's people are vegetarians. Some give in on the Sabbath and taste some meat. "This is a bodily rebirth, too," says Ya'el. It may be part of the self-searching, an attempt to attain perfection in all facets of life. For some, vegetarianism preceded a return to a religious way of life. Others went about it the other way around. When a child in nursery school answers correctly, the reward is not candy, it is some fruit.

Rakhel Brandwin says that this is only one of the unique things in this settlement. She also points out the congenial relations. "If the Jewish Agency were to help us on the issue of hosting, it would help us a great deal. We love to host individuals and groups. There are many groups that want to visit here via Mekhon Me'ir, or otherwise. There is a very special atmosphere here. Often we hold the last Sabbath meal together. Is that why you are here?" Among other activities in the settlement she mentioned the local children's library which includes books about ancient sages or pious men. One probably could not find a popular adventure book there.

Yo'av Malka, with a dark long beard, was born in Kineret. Nine people from Kinert have already become renewed Jews. The kibbutz did not really take it too hard. About 6 years ago he went abroad with the idea of emigrating. He maintains that the return to religious life has always been an inner drive for him. "Wherever I looked for something good someone always came along and trampled it all over. I have a lot of appreciation for the kibbutz movement in general, and for Kineret in particular. But equality in the kibbutz often

came at the expense of self expression. They want you to be like everyone else. They think that equality has to rule everywhere. I left the kibbutz for life abroad and I came back. I once had some free hours in Jerusalem, waiting for a bus to Eylat. I went to visit a friend in Mekhon Me'ir. I heard Rabbi Bigon. This was a lesson on being renewed. No, I did not leave the place with a skull cap. But for the first time in my life I heard people giving answers to the more important questions in life. I went to Eylat. Up to then Eylat's sunrises were a source for romantic dreams, now they began to symbolize renewal, a symbol for a much deeper ideal."

There is a saying that each person is a world unto himself. In Tel Hayim this acquires a further meaning. There are so many worlds, such a variety of stories, with only one common denominator--aspiration. Aspiration to find the truth, to grow spiritually. There are those who are worried about this settlement. What will come out of this unconventional group? Construction of permanent homes has started. The settlement's institutions are very well organized, but the future may hold surprises and decisions which are bound to be the real challenge. The character and way of life of the settlement will be determined by the current group, as well as by future individuals and groups who will join shortly. The plans are encouraging. The accomplishments, spiritual and other, in 2 years of existence, cannot be discounted. Rabbi Rontzqi and his people will certainly take into account the influence of this way of life on the children who grow up here, a problem that many YESHA settlements are now struggling with, although from a different point of view. They will have to think of broadening of horizons, of community life, and association with others. Actually, they will have to think about everything, just like everyone else, but a bit more cautiously, with a bit more wisdom.

The human framework in Tel Hayim-Itamar is rather fragile, still being woven. The combination of renewed Jews and those who have spent all their lives in a religious surrounding such as the very religious settlement and other social ingredients and experiences expressed here certainly merit attention. It could be said, without exaggeration, that the whole issue of being renewed is undergoing an additional test here. Are we witnessing a process where the individual renewed Jew is transcending to the sphere of doing for the public, contributing to others? Are there any potential dangers that may disturb this ideal in the future? These, and other, questions, are bound to be part of the settlement later on.

Wisdom, caution and time will, with God's help, give the answers.

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## PRESSURES ON NATIONAL MORALE ANALYZED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 9 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Yosef Mikhelsqil]

[Text] The resistance of the Israeli public to psychological pressures is weakening. The first signs of this weakening are, among other things, a decreasing willingness to volunteer in civilian life and in the army, and increased emigration from Israel. Israeli leaders, generally speaking, ignore the morale of the people. They do not understand, or do not want to understand, that this front is no less important than the political-military security front, the economic front, and the social front. Resistance, morale will determine the tenacity of the state in the future.

With these words Professor Shlomo Broznitz, head of the Institute for the Study of Psychological Pressure at the University of Haifa, concluded a lecture that he gave on "The Pressures of Life in Israel" at the dedication of the scientific-academic club at the University. Professor Broznitz has been studying for years resistance to conditions of pressure in Israel and around the world. In recent years he has conducted such research for the American army, with funding of several million dollars. Shlomo Broznitz notes that in addition to the pressures which operate on people in Israel as a result of external events and personal problems, we have sources of pressure that are uniquely "our own": we are a land that absorbs immigration, and the condition of immigration is one of the most deadly pressure situations known to man, especially since in Israel immigration means a mixture of cultures and life styles because our sources of immigration are so many and so varied; we have the pressure of war, which has persisted already for 38 years with no end in sight; we have the pressure of continually maintaining security, and the economic pressures. A particular point of pressure is the Holocaust, the memory of which oppresses a large part of the population.

It has been proven scientifically that the large numbers of pressures which are different from one another do not simply accumulate, but in fact (magnify each other). If an individual has a problem in a certain area and then has another problem in a second area, the weight of the first problem is certain to grow. Human reserves are not infinite. If we allocate a part of them to one area, there is insufficient strength to cope with an additional area.

For example, in a survey that was done among students at Haifa University the question was asked: has someone close to you been hurt in one of the wars? 21% answered that someone close had been killed. 52% had participated in a war themselves. "These are astronomical figures," Professor Broznitz noted.

Pressure expresses itself in various ways from inability to sleep or relax to constant tiredness, tension, and nervousness. If one wants to evaluate the influence of pressure on the population, one cannot always be satisfied with health statistics, although what one learns from these statistics is very worrisome, Broznitz observes. For example, the number of people in Israel stricken with high blood pressure--which in most cases derives from psychological pressures--is 8 or 9 times higher in Israel than in the United States. Out of every 100,000 citizens of Israel 11.5 people suffer from high blood pressure. The number of suicide attempts in Israel is higher than in many other countries; according to statistics, for every 100,000 residents 52 have attempted suicide.

Another area in which research has been done is children's comprehension of the idea of death. In this area the children of Israel are two years ahead of children in other places in the world.

The constant tension is expressed in answers to questions from a different area--creativity in children--when one examines their ability to invent interesting answers to different questions.

To the question: what can you do with a shoe?, more than a few children responded: One can throw a shoe at a terrorist.

Unlike in other countries, there is no difference in Israel between survivors of the Holocaust and the remainder of the population when it comes to the degree of their psychological distress today.\* "We see Air Force commanders, senior officers of elite combat units, business leaders, students--and it is impossible to describe the pressures and the tensions that these people must contend with. It is really a miracle that they continue to function, a miracle that I cannot understand, says Professor Broznitz.

In this context the question arises: What happens to people or to groups of people who must live many years with such pressures? There are two approaches to this question among scientists. One group claims that people are strengthened by a multiplicity of troubles. The others claim that in resisting pressures, every person has a limit, and the more he is burdened, the closer he comes to the breaking point. The subject is a matter of dispute in the scientific community. It is no longer claimed today, as it was in the past, that "getting stronger" is the only possible model of response.

How can we know if the tendency will be in the direction of becoming stronger, or in the direction of exhaustion leading to breakdown? Many studies have

\* The reason for this - everyone in Israel is distressed.

found that continuing pressures, which return again and again, become chronic, and every addition then brings a man near to the breaking point. Who knows what the resistance of our soldiers in previous wars would have been if they had known that the war in which they risked their lives was only one in a long line of wars that were expected in the future? Psychologists have discovered that the way in which we interpret and relate to reality determines the burden which this reality imposes upon us. In fact, the primary factor which determines the resistance of an individual is his morale at the time of conflict. "Our morale today will determine our resistance tomorrow," notes Professor Broznitz.

According to Broznitz, there are people who think that it is possible to overcome pressure through denial. Ben-Gurion, for example, exercised denial as a matter of national policy on the subject of the Holocaust during the 1950's, on the assumption that if we were to deal with the subject, the young state would not have the strength required to handle serious challenges. However, denial works only for the short run. On the other hand, hope helps an individual when he is in trouble. It is easier to handle a difficult task if one believes that he will find a solution. Without hope, resistance disintegrates.

Professor Broznitz thinks that the our psychological resistance is a "hidden front" that has been completely neglected. The Israeli people have always related to it as if it were unlimited: "We have withstood difficulties in the past, and we will withstand them again in the future--therefore, we must worry about the pragmatic things." This has been the attitude of our heads of government. "If they say to us every week that there is no one to talk to, there is nothing to be done, there is no light at the end of the tunnel, that we must dig in and wait--perhaps this is a policy that is valid on the economic, social, and political levels, But on the level of public morale it is a total failure, because it kills all hope," states Broznitz. "Strengthening hope is a matter of life and death, a security concern of the first level, an existential concern. This is our fuel, we have no other."

Professor Broznitz thinks that the time has come to turn the "hidden front" of psychological resistance into an "open front," and to derive from it lessons for all realms of life.

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## RELIGIOUS TERROR AGAINST SECULAR MERCHANTS

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 7 Mar 86 p 14

[Article by Natan Ro'i]

[Text] A few days ago, the telephone rang in the shop of a merchant in the Me'a She'arim section of Jerusalem. On the line was a man who identified himself as Haredi ultra-Orthodox Jew who had threatened the shopkeeper several weeks previously. He had announced that he would burn down the store of the shopkeeper's neighbor. The store had been burned down. Now-- announced the ultra-Orthodox caller-- we "will kill you if you do not get out of here."

For several years the secular merchants who have shops in Me'a She'arim have been suffering from the threats of the ultra-Orthodox. Yesterday, when I came to the shopkeeper in order to hear his story, he was frightened. "Come to the back part of the shop. I am afraid that these Haredim ones will burn my shop or hurt me."

We went to the back part of this shop, and there he told me: "It began six months ago. The ultra-Orthodox began to burn shops. Since then thirty shops have been set on fire. A few weeks ago they burned the shop next to me. A few weeks later I came at night to my shop, and I saw several Haredim trying to break the lock. I ran to the Border Police, which was patrolling here, and I said that they were trying to break into my shop. The policemen told me that they had received an order from senior officers not to get into situations of friction with the ultra-Orthodox so as to avoid creating unnecessary tension. Therefore, they did not come to chase the Haredim away."

The merchant related to me a series of torments that he and his fellow merchants had had to undergo: "They punctured the tires of my car several times. Many times during the month when I arrive in the morning, I must break the lock because they have put glue in it so that I won't be able to open it. My neighbor was beaten by several of the Haredim who threw a stone at him, swelling up his cheek. We turned to the Minister of Police and the Minister of the Interior, but to this day nothing has been done to improve this terrible situation. We live here in terrible fear, but we can't leave our shops because no secular person is prepared to purchase them in view of "the ultra-Orthodox terror."

While I was in the shop, a young, red-faced ultra-Orthodox man with red hair stood in the doorway watching our movements. When I left the shop, he accompanied me to the car.

Eliyahu Haro'eti, a Jerusalem photographer, said to me: "Even I am deathly afraid of them. There is one merchant here who came from Iran and who says that he left the terror of Komeini only to find a new terror in the Komeini style."

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ISRAEL

BRIEFS

WATER EMERGENCY IN NORTHERN ISRAEL--At the end of the week, the Meqorot Company instituted emergency measures for pumping water from the Kinneret, after it became clear that the Kinneret's water level for this time of year has reached its lowest point since the establishment of the State. Within the framework of the emergency, water will be pumped from the Kinneret only for directly supply of the daily needs of farmers and other consumers. The Kinneret's water level now stands at minus 211.24 meters, 2.20 meters short of the optimal level. Experts from Meqorot say that if there is not a sudden and drastic change in the weather, the water level will soon reach its red line, which is minus 212 meters, and that during the summer it will go down even further. The reservoirs of the Golan and the Galilee are also almost empty. A spokesman for Meqorot has stated that the situation is extremely serious, and that during the summer difficult problems are expected in supplying water to consumers. [Text] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 9 Mar 86 p 9] 13235

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN LONDON INTERVIEWED

Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in Arabic 1 Feb 86 pp 16-18

[Interview with Faysal 'Uwaydah: "Margaret Thatcher Working for Americans. No Peace Without the PLO"; in London, date not specified]

[Text] The British capital has recently turned into an active center for political movement. This has been caused by the role the British government and its chief, Margaret Thatcher, have assumed toward the Middle East. It is a role, however, that serves the objectives of American policy and impedes any development in the position of the EEC countries.

This what the PLO office director in London, Faysal 'Uwaydah, reveals in an exclusive interview in AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI, while talking in detail about the nature, goals, and dimensions of the British role, by virtue of his position. He also refutes British allegations and discloses the dubious link between the British government and the American administration who are jointly seeking to find a substitute for the PLO to take part in passing a liquidative solution to the Palestinian problem.

Faysal 'Uwaydah, this active diplomat, in the course of this replies to AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI's questions, puts forth important facts about Arab positions, political initiatives, the role of the Palestinian community, and the positions of British parties toward his people's cause. The following is the text of the interview:

[Question] Our meeting with you comes at a time when London has turned into a center of political activity related to the peace process in which American envoy, Murphy, is taking the initiative. On the other hand, it comes after a short stormy period during which Great Britain appeared to have entered the field of political initiatives in the Middle East in an effective way, while the only thing such action has produced is a "fiasco." Since you are in the middle of all this, we would like to hear the details from you.

[Answer] Had I been asked at the time to assess what was happening, I would have expressed a less optimistic view and events would have quickly justified my pessimism. The British role in the Middle East crisis, ever since the conservitives came to power, has been one that is delegated by the Americans to do their probing for them and, is delegated by the Americans to do their

probing for them and, sometimes, to send up trial balloons. In the events you mentioned above, the British initiative and the cancelled visit of the Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to London, the British objective was to obtain PLO recognition of Resolution 242 to pass on the Americans for them to use in their political planning. This does not mean that Great Britain does not have any role in play. It has an important role at the EEC level, on the one hand, and as a certain element of pressure on the Americans, on the other hand. The British position is what is impeding EEC recognition of the PLO. Putting an end to British opposition will put an end to European opposition, thus allowing the EEC to join as an element of pressure on the Americans toward accepting the PLO's role in the peace process. The British role, therefore, has its significance at the European level.

[Question] What happened then with regard to the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation's visit?

[Answer] What happened is that Margaret Thatcher, by her personal initiative, overstepped the bounds of the British role by inviting the delegation, thus infuriating the Americans and the Zionists. This is when the phrase, "recognition of Israel within safe and recognized borders," was introduced without the PLO's knowledge. Khury and Milhim rejected this, as was expected, and the delegation's visit was cancelled.

[Question] The British say that the text, including the aforementioned phrase, had been agreed upon in advance.

[Answer] This is not true. The Palestinian side approved the visit on the basis of Thatcher's message. The phrase in question was not mentioned at all in this message (Thatcher's message was sent to the Jordanian government: AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI). The message contained only the following:

1. An explanation of the Jordanian-Palestinian accord and of peace steps to be undertaken on its basis.
2. Condemnation of international terrorism.
3. Recognition of the UN resolutions related to the Palestinian issue, including resolutions 242 and 338.
4. Milhim and Khury would attend in their personal capacity as part of a joint delegation.

[Question] Where does the British initiative stand now, especially since indications are that London is only a host to current movements?

[Answer] Judging by the recent visit of the British secretary of state for foreign affairs to the occupied territory and his meetings with leading personalities there, the British role has returned to the orbit of American-Israeli attempts aimed at finding a substitute for the PLO in the Peace process, or to a vicious circle as we see it.

[Question] What are the conditions that can influence the British position?

[Answer] There are many conditions, including winning British public opinion and creating economic and political pressures to urge the British role to distance itself from the American line. With regard to British public opinion, there has been considerable progress. The press has become more wary and more critical of western positions toward the cause. Mass organizations have developed a certain sensitivity toward Palestinian rights and secondary official levels do not hide their displeasure with the British position. However, this position's link to the American position is strong enough to warrant an change in the given facts in order to have an effect on it, which is beyond our capabilities as Palestinians. As for Arab pressures, the least that can be said about it is that it is not enough and does not make maximum use of Arab capabilities. To have a good sense of Arab pressure potentials, if such pressure is employed as it should be, it is enough to look at the incident of the film, "Death of a Princess," which was banned through Arab pressure, notwithstanding, that freedom of the mass media here is a holy cow that no dares to touch.

The fact is that we, as Palestinians, are working alone without any Arab support, not only on the British level, but also on the western level as a whole. Neither Arab economic nor political capabilities are expressed as they should be. Take, for instance, the British arms deal with Saudi Arabia. The deal is worth \$16 billion, a sum Great Britian urgently needs, but Saudi Arabia has not used it to imposed any conditions.

[Question] How do you explain such reluctance?

[Answer] This is simply due to the existence of an Arab position unconcerned with the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. I cite here the statement Jimmy Carter issued during his administration in which he said that he had not heard any demand from any Arab King or president for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. This statement was not rebutted by any Arab leader. Add to that the negative Arab position in the face of aggressions and attacks against the PLO and you have evidence to substantiate this Arab position which I have just described.

[Question] What, in your opinion, makes the Arabs unconcerned with a Palestinian state?

[Answer] To put it simply, the nature of the Palestinian revolution does not appeal to most Arab regimes, and the American position that rejects a Palestinian state and the PLO alike, prompts most Arab regimes that are linked to Washington to lose their incentive to support the cause. Frankly speaking, the Arabs not only accept the fact that America does not give in to their pressure in the matter of the Palestinian state, but they also accept its position of not using this pressure in the first place.

[Question] Nonetheless, there are Arab initiatives marked by coordination with the PLO, like the Jordanian-Palestinian accord, for instance.

[Answer] The primary aim of the Jordanian-Palestinian accord is Jordanian-Palestinian relations on Jordan soil. If this accord can lead to a just peace

as we see it, so be it. Otherwise, the accord, as we have already said, is a framework for relations between the PLO and the Palestinian people in Jordan and between the Jordanians and their government. This framework is necessary, regardless of the peace process. Our relations with Jordan are different from those with any other Arab country. We have a social and historical relationship that must be protected and crystallized in order to avoid any deviation, such as one of us dominating the other.

[Question] What is the PLO's goal now beyond the Jordanian-Palestinian accord?

[Answer] The West, America particularly, is seeking to exclude the PLO from any peace process. There will be no progress toward peace without the PLO. The way things stand now, if new serious directions should emerge, we will support peace. Otherwise, we will persist in our endeavors to realize the aspirations of the Palestinian people by whatever means we have, including a push toward a political settlement.

[Question] And the inhabitants of the occupied territory must be satisfied with that?

[Answer] Our biggest concern is the people inside the occupied territory. We want to alleviate their pain as much as we can, but not at any cost. We will not overlook any hope or ray of hope of saving the people and the land, but the basic rights of the Palestinian people cannot be forsaken.

We believe that Israel has begun to feel the strain and its allies are beginning to grumble. In America, the grumbling is at the popular level and, in Britain and Europe as well, it has even reached the official level. However, things have not reached the point of abandoning efforts to forge a peace to Israel's advantage. It all boils down to patience and tireless struggle until the right people are convinced of the impossibility of settling the problems in accordance with Israeli interests alone and at the expense of Arab interests.

[Question] Let us go back to the British political map and the possibilities of Palestinian action within it.

[Answer] There is official recognition by 11 international unions of the Palestinian Labor Federation which is a PLO faction. Such recognition turns into votes in the Labor Party convention, which constitute 40 percent of the vote.

However, official party recognition of the PLO requires two-thirds of their vote. The Labor Party has adopted numerous positions supporting the Palestinians and their cause.

The Liberal Party, under the leadership of David Steel, has recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the leaders have exchanged visits.

As for the Conservative Party, it is committed to the decision of its leader, namely the current prime minister. Mrs Thatcher's position, in our view, is influenced by the fact that she comes from the "Finchley" electoral district that this a large Jewish constituency, making her more vulnerable than the party to Jewish lobby influence.

There has been some progress as far as Thatcher is concerned following her trip to al-Buq'a camp. She has stated that she was moved by what she saw, but what rules, as we have said, is the electoral influence and the British policy's link, in the conservative areas, to the American position due to Britain's fragile economic and political situation with respect to Europe.

At the political level, there are good relations and strong sympathy with several social and professional institutions, as such as medical and charitable organizations.

As I have indicated, the situation has improved greatly at the press and mass media level as a result of sympathy for our cause by a number of journalists, as manifested in greater media coverage, on TV in particular. This has led to a change of attitude toward us at the official level. They treat us like an embassy, ask for our political reactions, and invite us to functions. Moreover, our presence here is as a PLO liaison office independent of any Arab country, as used to be the case, and this is very important.

[Question] One last question: What about the Palestinian community in Great Britain?

[Answer] From the standpoint of size, the community is very large. However, it has not yet crystallized to the point of having palpable influence on everyday life. We estimate that there are 5,000 families living in England under good economic conditions, unlike other immigrant workers. There is a very small number of students who shoulder the responsibility of political action single handedly. This is not a happy situation, but, nonetheless, it is the truth.

Palestinian mass organizations are present on British soil as well, such as the Labor Federation, the Student's Federation, and the Writers Federation as well as the Red Crescent. All this is in the open, of course.

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FEMINIST LEADER IN GAZA INTERVIEWED

Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in Arabic 22 Feb 86 pp 32-32

[Interview with Miss Yusra al-Barbari by Muhammad al-Mashukhi: "AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI Interviews Yusra al-Barbari, President of the Palestinian Women's Federation. I Have Been Tried by Military Tribunal Several Times"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Miss Yusra al-Barbari is a well-known national and humanitarian figure and a pioneer in the feminist field in every sense of the word, as well as a woman of indubitable contributions and struggles.

Suffice it that she earned a university degree in history and geography from Cairo University in 1949. Today, she is the president of the women's federation in Gaza.

Professor Yusra al-Barbari has worked in all fields of national and social services, the field of education and charitable organizations in particular.

In recent weeks, the name Yusra al-Barbari jumped into newspaper headlines and news columns.

Our interview centered around the life and accomplishments of Yusra al-Barbari.

[Question] Can you give us a brief idea about yourself?

[Answer] I am a Palestinian who was born in 1923 in Gaza, where I attended elementary school, then was graduated from the Schmidt High School in Jerusalem. I earned a BA in history and geography from Cairo University in 1949, thus becoming the only Palestinian female college graduate in Gaza. Thereafter, I began preparing for a master's degree with Professor Shafiq Ghurbal who was my mentor, but he died before I finished my studies and, therefore, I did not take the exams.

I worked in education as a teacher and as principal of al-Zahra High School which combined the general high school, the teacher's institute, the business department, and the popular college in the evening, in addition to the junior high school. I then worked as an education inspector.

After 1967, I stopped working because of my occupation which created in me an aversion to work.

Ever since 1967, I have coupled the position of president of the Palestinian Women's Federation in Gaza as a volunteer.

[Question] What are the characteristics that set the Palestinian woman apart from other women?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman, at this stage, is almost distinguished by her struggle at all levels due to the circumstances and situations that have been imposed on her. In the first half of this century she had to brave the British Mandate as a mother, wife, and child because the British Mandate's function was to carry out the Balfour Declaration, which was aimed at dispossessing her of her being and her country. In the second half of this century, she has had to brave homelessness and the loss of a major part of her country, a private and public possession, be it inside or outside the homeland.

After 1967, she had to face occupation under which she has been suffering for 20 years. This is the greatest challenge, for it has forced her to take part in all struggles and conflicts alongside the men.

[Question] Is there a difference between the Palestinian woman inside the occupied territory and her counterpart outside the territory?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman under occupation has to endure more than Palestinian women outside the occupied territories, albeit that expatriation is a tragedy in itself, no less severe than what their sisters have to endure under occupation. Women in the occupied territory suffer the lack of the most basic human right, namely living on national soil and maintaining the Palestinian personality inasmuch as the vicious attack on the Palestinian people, which is aimed at doing away with them and their national goals, deprives them of stability and life as a human being with a nature and a personality, just like other women of the world.

[Question] What is your connection of the Palestinian woman's struggle?

[Answer] The Palestinian women's struggle is not limited to the carrying of arms. The woman who watches over her children is a struggler. The woman who educates her children is a struggler. The one who hangs on to her land to plow and cultivate is a struggler, and the one who denies herself to give her children is also a struggler. These are sacrifices, but there are other strugglers for the woman at higher levels.

There is not a Palestinian family that has not experienced tragedy because of catastrophe.

[Question] How does sister Yusra al-Barbari describe the Palestinian woman in one sentence?.

[Answer] The Palestinian woman is the symbol of struggle and sacrifice.

[Question] What advice do you give the Palestinian mother?

[Answer] The Palestinian mother must be aware of her situation and circumstances and must act accordingly. She must raise her children to be patriotic and must preserve the unity of the family which is the nucleus of of Palestinian society.

She is mother, sister, wife, homemaker, head of household, teacher, worker, doctor, engineer, and childbearer who supplies the Palestinian people with human resources that are their treasure and their pride.

[Question] To what extent is the Palestinian woman working along side the man?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman has been working alongside the man at various economic, social, political, and struggle levels. Most Palestinian women work to supplement the family income and raise its social and economic standard. They have held jobs in all working fields, as employees, teachers, doctors, and engineers. They have joined men in their political and military struggles at home and abroad.

[Question] In what new way does the Palestinian woman stand out?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman is different from other women of the world in that she is facing a greater challenge at the current stage and most stand up to such a challenge, noting that, compared to most Arab and third world women, she is considered to be more liberated, from the economic and social standpoint in particular.

[Question] Can you mention an unforgettable honorable stand taken by Palestinian women?

[Answer] Throughout the day I have the honor of meeting Palestinian ladies who are the model of steadfastness, patience, and endurance. This alone is honorable.

[Question] What about an embarrassing position?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman with her intelligence and long experience in endurance and defiance is able to overcome embarrassing situations.

[Question] What role can the Palestinian woman play in these difficult economic circumstances?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman must appreciate the difficult economic circumstances the country is experiencing and must manage her household

accordingly, keeping in mind that she has endured the past worse conditions which she has overcome bravely and defiantly.

[Question] Can you tell us about the recently postponed court case against you before the military tribunal?

[Answer] The fact is that this is not the first time I have been brought to trial before the military tribunal in Gaza. I am accused of organizing sewing and English-language classes, noting that the Palestinian Women's Federation has been in existence since 1964 and is licensed by the Ministry of Social Affairs and is officially registered. We have kept up our activities following the occupation, and to other activities are represented by sewing classes, language instruction, knitting, crochet and embroidery courses, elimination of illiteracy, offering assistance to needy families, including families of prisoners, and supplying winter and summer clothing to prisoners and artificial limbs to those who need them in cooperation with some local and international societies. We also run nurseries and kindergartens for children between the ages of 1-month and 3 years and 3 years to 6 years, respectively, at the federation's 5 centers in Gaza: Khan Yunis, Rafah, and Bayt Hannun and a nursery in the city of Gaza.

We usually advertise at the beginning of the school year our need for teachers, sanitary workers, nursemaids, and drivers and new courses in sewing, languages, knitting and embroidery.

It happened that the Ministry of the Interior sent us a notification concerning the organizing of sewing and language classes without permission and I was summoned by the police for questioning. I was fingerprinted just like any other defendant or Mafia figure, then was referred to the military tribunal for the first court session last 29 January. The attorney for the defense was counselor Fayiz Abu Rahmah.

Upon reading the indictment, the military judge argued that such cases must not be brought before the military tribunal because they are outside its jurisdiction, but the public prosecutor asked for a postponement and the right to present his argument in the next session on grounds that that was in violation of an amended article in 1909 concerning Ottoman associations, bearing in mind that the federation, like other institutions, had renewed its certificate of registration 3 years ago. What is strange is that there is an objection to a specific part despite the approval and licensing of the whole.

[Question] Were you expected such a trial or such an indictment?

[Answer] Of course. I was expected such an indictment because the administration imposes stiff restrictions on the federation's activities and sources of finance.

I was brought to trial on the charge of inciting the indigenous population against the occupation when a magazine which used to be published by a medical association asked me a question about our most significant social problems and ways to remedy them. My answer was that the most significant social problems

were the occupation and the most effective way of dealing with them was the elimination of occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian state on Palestinian land under the leadership of the PLO.

These sessions were held and the judge was about to pronounce his sentence when counselor Fayiz Abu Rahmah asked for a postponement so that he could bring in mass media and Hebrew University figures as witnesses to testify to Israel's democratic system and freedom of expression. The Gaza military governor had no choice but to announce on radio and TV his decision to ask for an indefinite postponement due to the defendant's old age and her important services in the fields of education and social activities.

I had received a letter from the civil administration, dated 10 November 1985, saying that "a careful investigation of the Palestinian Women's Federation showed that the association was currently running a sewing class and an English-language course without the necessary permission from the competent authority (Ministry of Interior department). Such an action is in violation of the Ottoman Associations Law, second amendment, Article 17, paragraph B. Awaiting your prompt answer to this action." On 5 November 1985, I received another letter saying: "We inform you that, in accordance with legal rules and regulations, educational courses are not allowed to be organized without the necessary permission of the Ministry of the Interior."

I have sent a written reply to these letters to the civil administration, but I do not know how convinced they are of this position of ours.

12502/13068  
CSO: 4404/284

## OPPOSITION PAPER COMMENTS ON U.S.-USSR POWER STRUGGLE

GF141424 London KEYHAN in Persian 10 Apr 86 p 16

["Behind-The-Scene Politics" column: "Soviet Maneuver to Draw the Islamic Republic Toward Itself"]

[Text] The heads of the two superpowers, prior to each of their meetings, try to conquer new fields in their power struggle so that they may speak from a position of strength during their upcoming talks.

Reagan and Gorbachev will most probably see each other this year to keep the "Geneva Spirit" alive. However, although these meetings are held for the purpose of having talks to reach some understanding with each other, they are also considered a test of strength. Therefore, they cannot but do their homework properly.

The American show of strength against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra was not just for the purpose of punishing Al-Qadhafi. The United States considers Libya one of the three links in the chain of the international terrorism. The other two links are the Islamic Republic and Syria. But why did the United States pick only Libya for this "chastisement?" The reason seems to be that the United States has no effective means [word indistinct] Israel to punish Syria. To invoke Israel militarily against Syria might have repercussions in the Arab world which may not be very pleasant for Washington, which is always showing its sympathy toward the moderate Arabs. Such a course would not have been advisable when Vice President George Bush was visiting some countries in the Persian Gulf -- Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, and the YAR -- to, among other things, affirm that the United States would safeguard the Arab oil fields against any possible aggression from the Islamic Republic.

In any case, for the time being the United States does not have the sufficient and effective means to chastise or discipline the Islamic Republic except through indirect support to the opposition. Moreover, the fact that Iran is a neighbor of the Soviet Union makes the United States very cautious in selecting the means to combat the Islamic Republic.

Nevertheless, the show of strength toward Libya was a warning to the Islamic Republic also. This has given an opportunity to the Soviet Union to draw the Islamic Republic toward it and also to point out to the Islamic Republic the policies in which both of them have common interest.

The Soviet ambassador in Tehran Vil Konstantinovich Boldyrev had a meeting with 'ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic, in March of this year. He pointed out to him two common points. The United States has ordered a reduction in the diplomatic personnel of the Soviet Union at the UN and the Soviet Union condemns the show of military strength against Libya. The Islamic Republic considers its friendship with Libya one of the main pillars of its foreign policy, and it also has been subjected to the restriction the United States has imposed on the diplomats of some countries at the UN.

However, Velayati, while offering sympathy toward Libya, did not condemn the U.S. action in asking for a reduction in the Soviet personnel at the UN. He only said: "The Islamic Republic condemns expansionism by any country in the UN."

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CSO: 4640/255

VELAYATI: WAR TO BE CONTINUED UNTIL SADDAM'S OVERTHROW

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 30 Mar 86 p 3

[Text] There are many reasons to believe that Saddam's supporters--both on a regional and on an international level--are losing their hopes with each and every passing day regarding the survival of his regime. With a little reflection on the statements and political analyses of the press and radio of the superpowers one can easily discern this fact. Moreover, the truth of this matter becomes quite clear by reading between the lines of the statements which are made by some diplomats. This lack of hope in Saddam becomes more extensive with each passing day.

In a special interview with the political service correspondent of ETTELA'AT, Dr Ali Akbar Velayati, our foreign minister, made the above statement. Also in this interview he answered our correspondent's questions regarding the recent political provocations in the region, the oil price reduction plot, the relations between Iran and France, the recent statements made by Arafat and the results of the visit by the UN delegation from Iran. The text of this interview appears below.

Here it should be noted that this conversation took place on one of the last days of 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986].

Question: After the operations of Val-Fajr-8, there were a lot of goings and comings between Tehran, Damascus and Riyadh and the Saudi Arabian foreign minister travelled to Damascus and Baghdad a few times. What was the main reason for all this travel and what were the results?

Answer: All the countries of the Persian Gulf region have always been worried about the spread of the war to their countries. This has been a baseless fear which existed despite frequent emphatic statements by Islamic Republic officials to the effect that Iran has never intended to spread the war to other nations and that our system is not a war-mongering system but what is happening right now between Iran and Iraq is a war which has been imposed on us by Iraq and we are only engaged in an honorific defense and that what is going on at the battle-fronts is only a defensive war. Of course, the reason for the frequent trips of some of the foreign ministers of the Persian Gulf littoral states to Damascus--the way we probably presume--is mainly to take advantage of the extremely friendly relations between Tehran and Damascus and try to persuade Syria to ask the Islamic Republic to discontinue the progress of its troops at the war fronts with Iraq. However, with due consideration to the fact that Syrian's policy regarding its friendship with the Islamic Republic is one of a long-standing and genuine nature and that they like ourselves believe that the cause of agitation or disturbance

in the region is the ruling system of Iraq, therefore they have many times blamed Saddam Huseyn as the main culpable person for imposing this situation over the region. Furthermore, considering the Syrian government's policy of friendship with the Islamic Republic on the one hand and their opposition to the ruling system in Iraq on the other hand is but a fundamental policy, one should know that they are not going to change their policy for the mere reason of such comings and goings. And as we have noticed, there has been no change in policy. Here we would like to seriously advise our neighbors that instead of calling on X and Y, they would do better to desist helping Saddam and value the good neighborliness of the Islamic Republic and relinquish their supportive stance of Saddam's regime, since that regime is not going to be around too much longer. We hope that according to the wishes of the Iraqi people a new government will be established in that country in the future which will be both to our own advantage and that of the other countries of the region as well.

Question: After the trip of the Algerian foreign minister to the region, AL-SEYASSA newspaper quoted Arab diplomats proclaiming that the Iranian government has deviated from its principal condition which is the downfall of Saddam's government and it has even reduced the previously-claimed 150 billion dollars retributions to 50 billion dollars. In general, what is your opinion regarding such claims?

Answer: It is very rare for Kuwaiti newspapers to print something correct and many of their articles are full of unfounded and baseless statements. What has been printed in that newspaper is a sort of wishful thinking of some of Saddam's supporters in the region which has been manifested in this manner. Today the whole world knows that our nation will not settle for anything less than Saddam's downfall.

Question: How are the relations between Iran and France under the present circumstances? Considering the rumors that relations between the two countries are improving, how do you evaluate the future of these relations?

Answer: We have on several occasions stated that basically there are no reasons for the turbid relations between Iran and France and what has come to pass is the result of the ill-intentions of some political figures in France. For instance, look at what French diplomacy has done during the past few months, it is something which one expects from the fledgling and greenhorn diplomats. Otherwise, no sane person would abandon the side of a popular, powerful and stable government like the Islamic Republic and attach himself to the government of Saddam which is falling apart. They always claim that they are supporters of democracy and for this reason they are giving refuge to a number of criminals.

On the other hand, they expelled two Iraqi nationals contrary to their wishes, and most cruelly delivered them to the executioners of Baghdad. After they were pressured by the Muslem strugglers and also from within France the government was criticized by the people, each one tried to lay the blame on the other.

Our nation brought down the shah and kicked out the United States and did not give in to the wishes of any superpowers so as to remain independent. We did that to set our foreign policy according to our national interests and establish relations with others based on mutual respect. We intended to practically follow the principle: "Neither East nor West," and it is quite clear that we are not going to accept any imposition at all. We hope that in the near future a new government will be running the affairs whose officials truly understand the genuine interest of the people of France.

Question: In an implicit way, Claude Cheysson, the commissioner of the Common Market has stated that in order to confront any probable operations which will disrupt or stop navigation in the Persian Gulf, the western European countries will take some actions. Furthermore, he has added that the European Economic Community condemns the continuation of the war by Iran. What is your view in this regard?

Answer: France has completely lost its political prestige in the Middle East and as I mentioned before, such problems as the French hostages in Lebanon, expulsion of some innocent third-world people from France under the pretext of recent bomb explosions in that country and finally the expulsion of two Iraqi nationals and their compulsory dispatch to Iraq all derive from the same political turmoil. As a result that country is looking for a pretext or subterfuge to regain its lost political prestige.

On the other hand, in comparison to other western countries France has a very weak as milk and water navy and its recent threats were merely for the purpose of acquiring prominence and propagandizing the sale of French arms--and this is exactly the same allegation which is levelled against the ruling authorities by French people, namely, the sale of arms.

With a wider outlook one can say that from the viewpoint of arms sale France is in intense competition with England. This competition for the sale of arms in the Persian Gulf area takes advantage of muddying the waters as a result of the region's countries apprehension arising from assistance which is extended to Saddam by France. It only seems appropriate that the two rival countries [France and England] show off their presence the best way they can. Therefore, the presence of the French naval fleet in the Persian Gulf is meant to be a show-case to persuade Arab leaders to buy more of their arms.

Question: The reduction of oil prices in the world markets has been deduced as the opening of a new front against Iran. What have been Iran's political measures for counteracting this issue? And how do you evaluate the long-term effects of oil price reductions in the economic and political interplay or interaction of the country?

Answer: As you indicated, this is a plot against the Islamic Republic and generally speaking, it also applies to the third-world nations. As you see, right now the third-world countries are in general the producers of raw materials and

the purchasers of industrial products; however, the industrial nations are constantly increasing the price of their products or through their connections and underhanded dealings are reducing the prices of raw materials. As you know the most valuable raw material in the world is oil which has no other substitute. Let's suppose that they can produce electricity by using nuclear energy, but when it comes to oil we know that its use is not only confined to the manufacture of electric power. Today, the petrochemical industry as a very useful and complex industry plays a very effective role in the life of man.

Therefore, the very oil which is consumed throughout the world today has nothing else which can simply replace it and if the oil-producing nations of the third-world coordinate their decisions, they can properly guard their own interests and prevent the dominant powers of the world from applying pressure on them. The recent action by some of the industrial countries to exert pressure on the oil-producing nations of the third-world was a premeditated plot which had deep roots, and unfortunately some of the oil-producing countries of the third-world have gone along with this plot and others have either out of necessity or by dint of force taken a resigned attitude. Meanwhile, our recommendation and that of some of our friends in OPEC to all OPEC and non-OPEC members who are one of the oil-producing nations of the third-world has been to show some resistance for only a short time and undoubtedly they will be the final winners. In this regard, various political comings and goings have taken place either by our officials or other officials of the region's countries to some of the oil-producing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and many negotiations have been held with various countries. Undoubtedly, there is no other way except an increase in the political arena, continuation of these comings and goings and finally making a unified decision by the oil-producing countries of the third-world to mutually defend and protect their own interests. Similarly, the Islamic Republic will defend its interests in any shape or form which it deems appropriate. We will not exchange our national interests with anything at all. And oil as a national capital for attaining growth, development and progress of the country will be used accordingly. We will not consent, under any circumstances, that a part of our nation's interests and those of other nations of the third-world be swallowed up by the world-mongers. We will make every effort in this regard since we have a country with immense natural possibilities and more importantly we have a nation with a firm resolve for preserving our independence, reconstructing it and improving its lot. We are certain that such actions will make our people ever more determined to continue their struggle.

Question: Recently, the international press relayed the news that the Syrian government has agreed to reopen the Iraqi oil pipeline. What is your view in this regard?

Answer: We have also read this news in the press, but as far as we know Syria, and being quite aware of the intentions of the relevant mass media in the world which plans to create doubt in the minds of the region's nations...such statements follow the same trend. We believe in the stability of the political stance

of the friendly and brotherly country of Syria. Furthermore, this not the first time that such intimations or bare suggestions have been reflected in the mass media of the imperialist countries. We have to say that in the long run such propagandistic actions will not prevent us and Syria from following our mutual objectives in the region.

Question: In his interview with the weekly AD-DUSTOR, Mr Yasser Arafat confirmed the stance of the Iraqi in its war with Iran. How do you analyze the reason for this inclination of the PLO?

Answer: If Mr Arafat can really do something it is better for him to make a serious and sincere effort for the liberation of the Palestine territory. Unfortunately, both Mr Arafat and some of his friends in the Palestine Liberation Organization have sold out the interests of the Palestinian people very cheaply. Instead of taking up arms and fighting against the occupying regime of Jerusalem, he and his friends sit around in various hotels and discuss compromise with Israel.

What he said in his recent interviews is only a token of his subserviency to some of the rich supporters of Saddam, otherwise he knows well enough that such statements are worth as much as the paper which it is printed. Moreover, the world people do not give too much credence to such baseless political bluff and it is unfortunate that the people of Palestine have to have a leader like him. The only thing that he does not do is make an effort for the liberation of Palestine.

Question: With regard to all the recent political comings and goings in the region, are there any indications for the overthrow of Saddam?

Answer: There are many reasons to believe that Saddam's supporters--both on a regional and on an international level--are losing their hopes with each and every passing day regarding the survival of his regime. With a little reflection on the statements and political analyses of the press and radio of the superpowers one can easily discern this fact. Furthermore, the truth of this matter becomes quite clear when one reads between the lines of the statements which are made by some diplomats. This lack of hope in Saddam, in my opinion becomes ever more extensive with each passing day.

Question: After his trip to Iran, Mr Turgut Ozal recently travelled to Syria and held negotiations with the authorities of that country regarding the imposed war on Iran. Moreover, he also made a trip to Iraq. What are your views concerning such visits. Does Turkey have an intermediary role as regards the imposed war?

Answer: As has been announced on many occasions by the responsible officials of the Islamic Republic, it will never accept the intercession and mediation of any government and it will continue the imposed war until the downfall of Saddam

and the realization of the conditions set by the government. Turkey is well aware of the viewpoints of the Islamic Republic and all the responsible officials of that country, including Mr Ozal have clearly announced that until and unless their role as intermediators are accepted by the ruling authorities of the Islamic Republic as such, they will not take any steps to intercede in the matter in question.

Question: What was the results of the visit by the UN delegation with wounded victims of the recent chemical weapons bombardments by the mercenary Ba'thist regime of Iraq?

Answer: Even though the special UN delegation arrived in the Islamic Republic of Iran after a two weeks delay, they accomplished very good results in regard to substantiating the use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi aggressor regime which is duly reflected in their report to the secretary general. In this report it is mentioned that on many occasions Iraq has used chemical weapons against Iranian troops and the specific kind of chemical materials are mentioned as "mustard gas" and "nerve gas" in some cases. The investigating UN team reached the conclusion that Iraq also deployed chemical weapons in the area close to Abadan and in the Al-Faw region. This report indicated that the use of chemical weapons by Iraq this year was much more extensive than in 1984.

The main points which can be considered in the report by the UN chemical experts delegation is that in the first place they have specifically confirmed that Iraq has used chemical weapons and secondly, not only has the Iraqi regime used chemical weapons in the battlefronts it has also made use of such weapons in Abadan as well.

Therefore, this issue points to the fact that the international reaction has so far been inadequate and once more by using chemical weapons in its warfare Iraq has shown complete disregard to international and humanitarian regulations. We expect all the international forums and other countries of the world to condemn this anti-humanitarian action of Iraq which has been perpetrated despite all the international regulation, particularly the 1925 Geneva Protocol and make an effort to prevent the use of chemical weapons by this regime any more.

12719  
CSO: 4640/250

DECEASED CLERGY EULOGIZED FOR RESISTING KHOMEYNI

London KEYHAN in Persian 10 Apr 86 p 16

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] There were quite a few people who entered into a running battle with the shah's government, and after the shah was dispatched and Khomeyni appeared on the scene they felt quite sorry and remorseful. Ayatollah Shari'atmadari was one of the most famous amongst such individuals.

Shari'atmadari's disagreement with the shah revolved around the point that the clergy ought to take part in enacting government policies as far as the constitution rightfully allows them to do so; while his difference of opinion with Khomeyni centered around the fact that the clergy must not interfere in state affairs more than what is really befitting them. It was this kind of reflection and reverberation which made him deemed as a moderate and right-of-center personality.

However, if during the reign of the shah, particularly in its most reposeful and calm period, the government had tolerated moderation, in a period when and where the revolutionary fervor sets the tone of a society's course, moderation seems to be considered a great sin with a least allowable punishment which confines one to stay at home and never say a word. This was the fate of Shari'atmadari.

He was confined to stay at home for several years and it was only in the last few hours of his life that he found an opportunity to see the outside world as a result of the discovery of a virulent and deadly cancer for which he was seeking a cure.

Now Shari'atmadari's body has been buried. But before that happened, the grating and strident propaganda and publicity machines of the regime made extensive efforts to likewise bury his fame and renown as a first-rank source of emulation in the Shiites' world.

Conservative and moderate men have never been makers of history. In order to reach that level of heroism, there needs to be a certain temperament or disposition which not only Shari'atmadari lacked, but he really didn't crave to have at all. And this was his point of power. This is the point which needs to be stressed. Since under various circumstances--such as when the revolt of Tabriz came to pass or when Qotbzadeh was contemplating a coup--it was expected of him

to step in the arena as a political leader and like the hero of a great tragedy ever courageously follow the course of a victorious defeat which he was destined to meet.

What is the point of power of a man? Is it when a man, contrary to his temperament, resorts to ways and means to accomplish something which is senselessly expected of him by the masses? Is it when a man pretends to be what he is not? Such pretensions or false shows might be put on by a youngster, but certainly not by an oldster.

In the heat of the clerics' opposition to the shah, Shari'atmadari was a well-known opponent, however he never used such smutty or obscene words as Khomeyni used to utter. He was more spiritual and mindful of others than to use his delicate hands to hit someone in the mouth or on the face. And his mouth was not to be soiled with foul language. Moderation, temperateness, geniality and mildness of manner were all the points of his power. He was not willing to let go of this point of power, in order to assume the character of a personality which befitted the wishes of the people who became desperate as a result of the evil deeds or iniquities of the regime.

A person who remains faithful to oneself and continues to do so until the hour of death must be endowed with a firm and an unshakable personality. Shari'atmadari was not in favor of harshness. It was for this reason that when the Islamic revolution revealed its harsh and grim face, Shari'atmadari distanced himself from it. Despite many of his peers, he never appeared in a poll booth to vote for something which was said by the leader and founder of the Islamic Republic. Although he remained silent, he never expressed his confirmation. This was the reason why they had to make him confess. The kind of confessions which they were able to draw from others.

Shari'atmadari was tremendously fearful of politicizing or gerrymandering religion. Thus, it was but natural when in a revolution-stricken Iran, where religion had turned to be completely politicized, he fell victim to it.

His big difference with the ayatollah Khomeyni was that Shari'atmadari intended to inject the very ethical essence of religion into politics while on the other hand, Khomeyni has made a political tool out of religion which does not conform to any ethical musing with all its inevitable ups and downs.

In those feverish days of the revolution, when on every occasion hundreds of thousands of people marched through the streets, Shari'atmadari's pictures with his prominent face and smiling eyes side by side with Khomeyni's pictures with his sullen looks and gloomy eyes would leave no doubt with the on-lookers as to who was the leader of this revolution.

The very first reactions of Khomeyni clearly indicated that whoever was not with him, was going to be against him. And Shari'atmadari was not with Khomeyni, therefore he showed him his animosity. Not in the manner of truly heroic people,

but in a style which befits Khomeyni alone. Certainly in the annals of honors of Khomeyni--if such records ever existed at all--they will not write that he succeeded in bringing Shari'atmadari to his knees, however this will remain as one of Shari'atmadari's honors that he never succumbed to Khomeyni. He never ceded to the theocratic ruler. He remained silent and died silently. Nevertheless, the sound of his silence will reverberate in the future history of Iran and continue forever.

12719

CSO: 4640/249

SHARI'ATMADARI'S POPULARITY, RELATIONS WITH REGIME DISCUSSED

London KEYHAN in Persian 10 Apr 86 p 16

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Tehran--KEYHAN News Service. A large number of people in Tabriz, Tehran, Qom and other Iranian cities who intended to arrange memorial meetings and prayer sessions for ayatollah Shari'atmadari, the great Shiite leader, were arrested. According to some eye-witness reports, in order to disperse people in Tabriz, the regime's agents resorted to firing their guns.

On the occasion of the death of ayatollah Seyyed Kazem Shari'atmadari bazaar storekeepers and other traders of Tabriz, Tehran and Qom quit work for the first three days of the current week. In Tehran and Tabriz the entire bazaar was closed on Saturday and on the following day the Islamic Revolution Committee of the Bazaar summoned a large number of the merchants and those who had worn black clothes as a sign of mourning over the demise of Shari'atmadari, and detained some of them.

A group of Azarbaijan mourners who were travelling by several buses from Tabriz to Qom to participate in the memorial services were stopped on the way and they were directly dispatched to the war fronts.

In Tehran, Tabriz and Qom no permission was given to hold mourning and memorial services.

In Qom, the regime's agents stopped convening special mourning sessions which had been announced by the great ayatollahs Golpayegani and Mar'ashi.

In Tehran, ayatollah Alavi Borujerdi, son-in-law of ayatollah Borujerdi who was speaking in Fakhrieh Mosque about ayatollah Shari'atmadari, was arrested. Likewise, ayatollah Seyyed Reza Sadr, brother of imam Musa Sadr was arrested in Qom.

At the time when ayatollah Shari'atmadari was on his death bed in the hospital, a large number of people from Tehran and Azarbaijan gathered in front of the hospital, but the revolution guards and regime's agents scattered the people and arrested some of them.

Many people have been detained in Tehran, Tabriz and Qom. However, some of the detainees, among them ayatollah Sadr, were released after 24 hours.

More than one month ago, ayatollah Shari'atmadari, who was in excruciating pain, was transferred from Qom to a hospital in Tehran for treatment. He was hospitalized in Mehrdad hospital which has been established by a group of Azarbaijani doctors on Takht-e Tavus Avenue and was being treated under supervision of Dr Eshraq. On the last days of his life when his illness had become unbearable the hospital officials asked the regime's authorities to allow ayatollah to be sent abroad for treatment, however not only did they not grant his request, but a few days before his death some of the regime's agents known as "Hezbollah Nation" gathered in front of Mehrdad hospital and after staging a demonstration they asked the hospital officials to send Mr Seyyed Kazem Shari'atmadari packing since, they claimed that while there were not enough vacant hospital beds for the war wounded people why should Mr Kazem Shari'atmadari occupy a hospital bed over a month!

This request by the demonstrators was fully published in the regime's newspapers. Also, the news concerning the death of ayatollah Shari'atmadari was mentioned after 72 hours in a few lines which were printed inside various journals of Tehran in this way: Mr Seyyed Kazem Shari'atmadari died of cancer in Tehran. Furthermore, in this brief news it was added that all the honorific titles of Mr Shari'atmadari had been taken away from him as of five years ago by the clerics and seminarians of Qom's theological center. Mr Hassan Shari'atmadari, son of ayatollah Shari'atmadari who lives in exile in Germany the day after the death of his father in an interview announced that if the regime's officials had permitted the grand ayatollah Shari'atmadari to go abroad for treatment, it was possible that his illness could have been cured and he would have regained his health.

Hassan Shari'atmadari further announced that after the death of the ayatollah, his house has been surrounded by the regime's agents and ayatollah's son-in-law was also arrested.

While confirming the news concerning the detainment of some of the people, the son of ayatollah also pointed out that the detention of the passengers of the buses which were transferring Azarbaijani mourners and stated that in the afternoon of Saturday, 12 buses, which were transporting 150 people from Tabriz to Qom, were detained by armed agents of the Islamic government with all their passengers.

The families of the abovementioned 150 people who were on their way to participate in the mourning and prayer sessions for ayatollah in Qom, referred to various organizations of the regime such as the War Headquarters to find out about their fate and it was in the War Headquarters where they were told that all the 150 people had been dispatched to the advance lines of the war front.

Hassan Shari'atmadari also added that ayatollah Seyyed Reza Sadr, brother of imam Musa Sadr was released 24 hours after his arrest as a result of public pressure, however ayatollah Alavi Borujerdi is still in prison.

The son of ayatollah Shari'atmadari went on to add that according to the reports

he received, the Islamic Revolution Committee of the Bazaar in Tehran has called many people in for investigation, especially those who had worn black clothes.

#### A Look at Ayatollah Shari'atmadari's Life

Ayatollah Seyyed Kazem Shari'atmadari was born in Tabriz between the years 1280-82 [21 March 1901 - 20 March 1902 and 21 March 1903 - 20 March 1904]. He finished his religious studies in that city and joined the theologian center of Qom in 1330 [21 March 1951 - 20 March 1952] as a teacher. Soon thereafter he became one of the highest-ranking sources of emulation of the Shiites in this city. Both before and during the course of the revolution he adopted a moderate stance. But from the very beginning of the revolution he decisively opposed the issue of "theocratic rule" and his position-taking versus Khomeyni started from this point. Ayatollah Khomeyni in order to win ayatollah Shari'atmadari's favor and assistance once went to his home, but he did not succeed in ending their differences. Ayatollah Shari'atmadari believed that the issue of "theocratic rule" was not something which belonged to a special person. This kind of opposition stood in the way and created some restrictions for him until the issue of the Muslim Nation Party incident, and thereafter the claim of coup d'etat by Qotb-zadeh came to pass. Subsequently, a confession by him was broadcast over Islamic Republic's television which as has been stated by his son was only a brief segment of a long conversation which had been retouched. From that date until his death, ayatollah Shari'atmadari was in captivity by the Islamic regime and he was not permitted to visit even his family members and close friends.

In the former regime, ayatollah Shari'atmadari also announced his opposition to some of the rules and regulations, but he would never flatly denied the constitution. At one time when ayatollah Khomeyni took special position regarding the distribution of landed property and the participation of women in the social and political issues and wished ayatollah Shari'atmadari also to participate in his abrupt stance but met the cold shoulder or rebuff of Shari'atmadari and eventually in the month of Ordibehesht of 1342 [21 March 1963 - 20 March 1964] they were separated and distanced from one another. Notwithstanding, when ayatollah Khomeyni was detained, ayatollah Shari'atmadari together with ayatollahs Qomi and Mahallati came to Tehran and began efforts to win his release and at the same time they announced that Khomeyni had reached the rank of emulation source and thus a source of emulation cannot be executed. It was as a result of such measures that the former regime decided to send ayatollah Khomeyni into exile and as a consequence his relations with ayatollah Shari'atmadari once more were renewed until 1356 [21 March 1977 - 20 March 1978] when the murmurs and rumors regarding opposition with the former regime began and once again relations between the two took a down slide.

#### Beginning of Disagreements

The hidden disagreement of ayatollah Shari'atmadari with ayatollah Khomeyni reached its zenith in the month of Ordibehesht of 1361 [21 April - 21 May 1982] and on the orders of ayatollah Khomeyni, ayatollah Shari'atmadari's classes were cancelled.

The Islamic regime has indirectly accused the grand ayatollah Shari'atmadari of having had a hand in the 12th Farvardin [1 April] coup d'etat and his connection with the CIA and Qotbzadeh.

Simultaneously, the agents of the regime began their attack on the home of the grand ayatollah Shari'atmadari and some of ayatollah's supporters including his two sons-in-law were arrested. In order to forestall any possible challenge by ayatollah Shari'atmadari's supporters, the Islamic regime placed him under close scrutiny and surveillance.

In the announcement which was published by the regime against ayatollah Sahri'atmadari, while enumerating his so-called counterrevolutionary actions, the announcement quoting a sham or spurious scholars of the Qom's theological center, proclaimed the demotion of ayatollah Shari'atmadari from being a source of emulation.

The aforesaid announcement went so far in disrespecting the rank of the source of emulation as to call him Mr Shari'atmadari. Following the publication of the spurious scholars of the Qom's theological center, the Islamic Republic radio in its news bulletin broadcast another report regarding another sham announcement in confirmation of the previous one signed by the scholars and seminarians of East and West Azarbaijan residing in Qom. The artificiality and spuriousness of this announcement became quite clear when the regime's officials made a mistake and a slip of the pen in phrasing the announcement. As was mentioned before in the beginning of the news report it was said that the announcement in question was published by the scholars and seminarians of East and West Azarbaijan residing in Qom while there was no mention of any names of such scholars at all. Publication of these announcements together with other news pertaining to the troubles and inconveniences which were caused by the regime's officials for ayatollah Shari'atmadari attracted the attention of the political observers of Iran, and subsequently it was said that the action of the regime in accusing the grand ayatollah Shari'atmadari, which undoubtedly had the approval of ayatollah Khomeyni, will be the beginning of a civil war in Iran.

Here it should be noted that in order to quell any possible reaction or demonstration by the people of Azarbaijan and other followers of ayatollah Shari'atmadari, the Islamic regime has dispatched large forces of revolution guards and Hezbollahis to Qom, Azarbaijan and other sensitive localities as of some time ago.

In the spurious announcement while quoting Qotbzadeh they implicated ayatollah Shari'atmadari in this way that after Qotbzadeh's arrest in a televised interview he alleged that the plan of a coup d'etat had been discussed with ayatollah Shari'atmadari through an intermediary and that he took a conservative stance toward the said coup plan.

Here, it should be noted that Khomeyni's fright of ayatollah Shari'atmadari-- who had once demonstrated his influence to Khomeyni in the events of Tabriz-- from the very beginning was so much that two months before ayatollah Shari'atmadari was put under surveillance when he had intended to go abroad for treatment,

Khomeyni sent him a message stating that God willing, as long as I live you will not take one step outside of Qom.

The news of ayatollah Shari'atmadari's death met with extensive repercussions by the world press and news agencies. AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE [AFP] relayed the news of the ayatollah's death at 0100 a.m.--a few hours after his death--to the rest of the world and a few hours later French and British newspapers wrote articles about his life and position.

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CSO: 4640/248

## AMAL LEADER GIVES VIEWS ON LEBANON, OTHER ISSUES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 24 Feb 86 p 16

[Interview with Zakaria Hamzeh, date and place not specified]

[Text] Zakaria Hamzeh [Abu Yahya], who is in charge of the general military operations of Amal and deputy director of the executive committee of the same movement, travelled to Iran to take part in the 10 days of Fajr [dawn] celebrations. KEYHAN took advantage of his presence in Tehran and arranged an interview with him which appears below.

But before we begin the interview, let's mention that Zakaria Hamzeh is one of the political-military leaders of the Amal movement whose prospective views completely coincide with the point of views of the Hezbollah and that of the Islamic Amal. It is for this reason that he is adored and respected for his orthodox Islamic principles. In this interview we asked various questions and for reasons which will be discussed later we did not get answers to some of our questions. We discussed such issues as the fighting between various camps, the skirmishes in western Beirut between the Amal militia and the Druze socialists, Marabetun, Jibel fightings, position-taking of Walid Jumblatt and that of Druze, their stance on new agreements, the internal situation of the Amal movement, the general conference of Amal next June, and other issues pertaining to southern Lebanon which involve the Amal movement and Hezbollah. While enumerating the reason for not answering some of the questions, Abu Yahya stated: Because of the existing complex situation in Lebanon and due to the present agreements and accords between various parties, the current political and military scene in Lebanon does not permit me to speak of the official stance of any group. However, I am willing to sit down and talk in general terms about all the aforesaid issues.

As regards the fighting between various camps, with apparent sorrow Zakaria Hamzeh said: For three years the Amal movement vehemently fought against the Zionist regime. While we gained some respect and honor, we also suffered the loss of lives of a few martyrs. However, the fighting between the camps will always be remembered as the result of unselfish effort, devotion, sacrifice and three years of relentless resistance. He went on to add: In 1977, imam Musa Sadr said that the Arabs were looking for a knife to thrust into the body of the Palestine Liberation Organization and all other Palestinians, and as long as he was alive he would not allow the Shiites or the Amal movement to be turned into such a knife.

Today, we see that the Amal movement has become something similar to the knife in question and it has fulfilled the Arabs' wishes.

Question: Is it possible to separate Lebanon's crisis from that of the Middle East?

Answer: In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. As far as Lebanon's crisis is concerned, it ought to be said that this crisis is composed of two sections, one internal and the other external. The internal crisis of Lebanon in reality pertains to such issues as the political system and the person of Amine Gemayel as president of Lebanon. Considering the present circumstances, this internal crisis cannot be resolved permanently unless and until there is a transformation in the very political system of the country. The fundamental motivation of the Lebanon's crisis, the very stability of the political regime is based on a division or schism in the various camps and the domination of the Maronites on the political scene and the important power axes. Thus, we can emphatically state that the internal crisis can only be resolved through a transformation of the regime from a system which is based on schism and division between various sects and factions to one in which people are all considered equal regardless of their religion or their personal identity. Moreover, such a regime ought to bring about an opportunity for each and every individual to enjoy complete justice and certain traits of democracy as far as possible.

On the whole, this issue pertains to the first stage solution for the current crisis in Lebanon as far as favorable local and regional conditions are concerned.

For this reason, when the separatist or sectarian regime of Lebanon is changed to one based on individual democracy, then we should witness the complete transformation of the existing situation. In other words, some people talk about Amine Gemayel's removal, and further improvement of the regime through agreements between various sects for a division of power, but under the present circumstances this process would not lead to a correct solution to the problem. Since in the first stage, the elimination of the existing political regime from the internal scene ought to be considered and thereafter as a result of the eradication and exclusion of the existing regime, Amine Gemayel's political supremacy will be ended. It is because of the present sectarian political regime that Amine Gemayel has been able to become president and dominate the political scene. This issue completely pertains to the internal crisis of Lebanon. As regards the external crisis of Lebanon, I personally believe that Lebanon's external crisis cannot be resolved without resolving the Middle East crisis since the two crises are so invariably intertwined that one cannot possibly be separated from the other. In other words, the external crisis of Lebanon is closely related to the Palestine crisis.

Of course, with the intensification and expansion of Islamic activities throughout Lebanon other parameters have come into play in the Middle East crisis and furthermore, the Persian Gulf war has to a great extent exacerbated the Middle East crisis and that of the internal crisis of Lebanon. Since the expansion and growth of Islamic activities in Lebanon, which has close religious ties with the Islamic Republic, have created a strong parameter in the equation of the Middle East and that of Lebanon.

Briefly stated, one can say since under the present circumstances the Lebanon's crisis has been transformed into a local and regional crisis, it cannot be resolved without due consideration of the Middle East [or Palestine] crisis.

Question: How do you evaluate Syria's relations with Lebanon?

Answer: The relations between Syria and Lebanon is a result of historical and geographical relations and this is something which has existed for long years, especially since the advent of independence of the two nations. On the northern and eastern side Lebanon is bordered by Syria. In other words, aside from the western routes which connect Lebanon and Syria by sea, the northern and eastern Lebanese roads, which end in Syria, are the only commutable roads of Lebanon with the rest of the world. Thus one cannot disregard the historical and geographical relations of the two countries.

As a result of their contiguousness the two countries ought to establish definite and distinct relations. As regards the presence of the Syrians in Lebanon, there are certain reasons, one of the most important of these is preventing the segregation of Lebanon which in the long run would have resulted in partitioning Syria and other Middle Eastern countries into a form of feudalism and nationalist states. The eventual plan of Israel and United States is based on partitioning the Middle East into smaller states, each under the rule of certain tribes. And at the top of the list Lebanon was to lead this partitioning trend, however as a result of Syria's intervention in Lebanon, this objective did not materialize and furthermore as a result of Syria's presence in Lebanon, the domination of one sect over another was not realized. Therefore, if Syria can succeed in its goal, the above-described role will be properly realized, otherwise Lebanon's crisis will face a dark future.

Question: What is your opinion regarding the plan for "figural democracy?"

Answer: In order to resolve Lebanon's crisis, figural democracy seems to be the means for achieving the fundamental goal--which is the establishment of Islamic rule throughout the world. Our objective is not only confined within the framework of Lebanon, but our primary goal is directed toward God and installing His rule over the earth.

Therefore, with due consideration to the council's principle, creation of figural democracy as a principle can be accepted by all the sects and tribes, since at the present time there are 17 various tribes in Lebanon. Therefore, Lebanon's present sectarian rule cannot continue as long as it is based on preference and domination of one sect over the other. Furthermore, considering the fact that the installation of an Islamic rule in Lebanon will be faced with certain difficulties, the above-stated plan originated with due consideration to the existing realities in Lebanon. Because of the existing realities, execution of the aforementioned principle will provide every citizen with equal opportunity as far as individual rights and performance of assigned duties are concerned.

Question: How do you evaluate the results and accomplishments of the Hezbollah and Amal movement's joint delegation trip to the Islamic Republic of Iran?

Answer: As regards the trip of Hezbollah and Amal movement's joint delegation, first we have to say that negotiations are the means for bringing about an understanding between the contesting parties who have been avoiding one another. On the other hand, it is one of the most important means of understanding and entente cordiale between two groups which have close ties. Negotiations tend to pave the way for reaching an understanding, particularly negotiations which are conducted under the supervision of the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

However, in order to be more precise I must add that the relations and current of events are based on the stance and pertinent ways of executing relevant affairs. Similarly, when the stance and method of execution of a certain issue pertaining to two sides [contesting parties] are properly in accord, undoubtedly great results can be achieved by both. As a result of unanimity of views and actions in the political arena and coordination of our efforts and methods with the relevant affairs of the Islamic issues for the purpose of attaining a pertinent objective, eventually we can reach our goal.

For this reason, as I said, relations are based on this stance and God willing, we will be able to work toward harmonizing our stance and be able to put into execution those measures which have been agreed upon by both sides. Regarding our present relations with the Hezbollah, I must say that we have favorable relations with them, however I would like to add that there are some sullied or tainted hands at work which constantly are making every effort to create more tension and animosity between the Amal movement and the Hezbollah. This fact is particularly evident in the army cadre which inflicts blows and suppresses our Islamic movement affairs throughout Lebanon, where the Shiites constitute the very backbone of the movement. The United States, the Intelligence Organization of the Zionist regime [Mossad] and the Lebanese Intelligence Organization are constantly trying to create discord between the Hezbollah and the Amal movement. However, here I should add that a decrease in the existing tensions comprise one of the resultant dimensions of the joint delegation, and God willing there will be no more unfavorable events in Lebanon which could affect the trend of Muslem movement in our land.

Question: Will the Islamic resistance of southern Lebanon continue its attacks against the Zionist regime after the liberation of the south; furthermore, what assures or stands behind the continuation and stability of this resistance?

Answer: The Islamic resistance in Lebanon has achieved some accomplishments which could not be realized by 180 million Arabs. This resistance has achieved a brilliant and remarkable victory against the Zionist regime and the multinational forces of the United States, France, England and Italy. These forces are jointly making an effort to weaken this resistance since they are well aware of the fact that after the liberation of the occupied southern territory of Lebanon, the resistance will continue on its way to Jerusalem. In this regard,

I would like to add that the present conflict of southern Lebanon can be considered one of many stages of our strife with world Zionism for liberating Jerusalem and destroying Israel, which as the grand imam Khomeyni stated, constitutes the very roots of imperialism.

Our strategic and fundamental views are based on the fact that our fight and conflict with the Zionist regime ought to continue until the liberation of Jerusalem. However, at the present time, for the purpose of liberating southern Lebanon, as our first step we are continuing our struggle and awaiting the arrival of the liberating army of the Islamic Republic in order to march into Jerusalem. As regards continuing and prolonging this resistance, I have to add that our belief in God and the spiritual and material support of the Islamic Republic of Iran constitute some of the principal foundations of our resistance.

Question: The fighting between the various camps has had painful results. What was the result and where was the root of this war?

Answer: In reality, the fighting between the various camps was a plot to keep the warring opponents busy since they are the ones who always create turmoil and disturbance for the Zionist regime, the United States and the world arrogance in the Lebanese arena. Today, the world arrogance, headed by the United States and the world Zionism, are fearful of two issues in the Lebanese arena:

First, The Palestine revolution and second, the awakening of Islam or Islamic activities present in the Lebanese arena. Thus, the filthy plots of the United States and the Zionism are constantly at work to destroy these two pursuits which undoubtedly in the future will be disturbing factors for the plans of the United States and those of Zionism. They are immensely frightened by the expansion of these activities and it is for this reason that they have made every effort to set up Shiite Muslims against Palestinians and they have succeeded to a certain degree in this plan. As a result of this plot the fighting between the various camps of the Shiite Muslims and Palestinians is taking place. This kind of infighting, first of all tends to weaken the Palestinians and second of all, affects the trend of Islamic movement in the Lebanese arena tremendously. I pray to God that we put this stage and state of affairs behind us and prepare the Islamic movement on an ever more expansive basis to pave the way for the liberation of Jerusalem.

Question: What is your analysis of the tripartite agreement of Damascus?

Answer: The tripartite agreement of Damascus was doomed from the very beginning. There are many reasons for this. The very first reason is the strong relations of the ruling Maronites with the United States and the Zionist regime. Israel is opposed to any and all the solutions for resolving the Lebanese crisis. We had from the very beginning made it known that as long as Israel was not able to bring about proper security measures to prevail in southern Lebanon, it would oppose any and all the solutions which might help to resolve the Lebanese crisis. On the other hand, the United States has made certain efforts to make up for the

defeat of the 17th May agreement and additionally it has helped create a powerful central government in Lebanon and orchestrated the signing of an agreement with Israel. Moreover, the ruling Maronites, through the assistance and cooperation of the United States and Israel, has made every effort to neutralize the very principal foundation of the said agreement. The uprising of 15th January in East Beirut against the Ili Hubayqah wing indicated the validity of this assertion. But let's not forget that Ili Hubayqah is not innocent either. He is one of the go-between and the leading officials of the long-standing relations of the Phalangists and the Zionist regime. Despite all the apparent whitewash, the ruling Maronites will dispose of any and all persons from its camps who are not going to protect the interests of Israel and those of the United States. Thus, the uprising of 15th January in Samir Ja'ja, which ended in the elimination of Ili Hubayqah, follows the same trend.

Question: What is your opinion regarding the effort being made to boycott Amine Gemayel, the president of Lebanon?

Answer: In answer to one of your question I pointed out that our problem does not concern specific individuals. Although we support the removal of the person of Amine Gemayel, our primary viewpoint pertains to the downfall of the present political regime of the ruling Maronites headed by Amine Gemayel. Therefore, with due consideration to this fact, first of all the issue of change or transformation of the political regime has to be discussed, thereafter the removal of Amine Gemayel will follow in due course.

Question: What is your opinion regarding the imposed Iraqi war against Iran?

Answer: The imposed war against the Islamic Republic has in reality been imposed on Iran by the world arrogance. The past history of Saddam Hoseyn and his relations with the CIA, particularly during the years 1964-69, are quite evident. Saddam Hoseyn is a product of the CIA. The Central Intelligence Agency selected Saddam, who was one of the weakest members of the Ba'th ruling committee, to take up the reins of Iraq and face the Islamic Iran in the imposed war. They had foreseen the events of the Islamic revolution and therefore they propped up Saddam in advance to be able to face Islamic Iran.

On the other hand, taking into consideration the present bipolarity of the world into an Eastern and Western camp, and the famous slogan of the Islamic Republic: "Neither East, Nor West," has quite clearly frightened the powers-that-be. From the time of the Ottoman rule in Turkey, France, England and the USSR consistently have made a joint effort to bring down that rule, all merely because there has been Islamic rule in that country.

The interesting thing is that one of the famous prime ministers of England several years ago in the House of Commons while holding a Koran stated: "If you wish to gain a foothold in the Middle East, take away this book from them."

Thus, the imposed war of Saddam Hoseyn who has close relations with world Zionism

and arrogance, headed by the United States, is in reality a war of the world arrogance against Islam, since they are not ready to accept Islam as a third world power. Particularly, when they see that the past history of Islam quite clearly has proven the capability of the true religion of Islam in ruling and administration of the government. Therefore, in today's world neither nationalism nor sectarianism can rival the world arrogance and whether it is the East or the West arrogance, both are frightened by the expansion of the Islamic influence.

They have become even more frightened by the slogan: "Neither East Nor West" which is aimed at unifying the Muslim nations. Therefore, they resorted to counterattacks and Saddam Hussein's invasion of Iran is just a clear example of that.

Thank you.

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## KHAMENE'I'S ARABIC SERMON ON LIBYA ATTACK

GF181238 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1100 GMT 18 APR 86

[Friday Arabic sermon delivered by Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Seyyed 'ali Khamene'i, Tehran Friday Imam, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and chairman of the Supreme Defense Council, at Tehran University on 18 April--recorded]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. O men and women of our Muslim nation everywhere. Arab brothers and sisters. Peace and God's mercy be upon you. The impudent U.S. attack against Muslim Libya, the bombardment of civilian areas and cities, and the killing or wounding of a large number of Muslims--including children, the elderly, and women--are among the most terrible events of the hour. Analysis of the incident reveals important matters that deserve the attention of our Muslim nation, particularly the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa.

First of all, the feeble justifications for the incident notwithstanding, the principal driving force behind the incident is the spirit hostile to Islam and to the slogan of Islam that is raised consistently and with determination by the Libyan people and leadership. Such a fact is clearly illustrated in the remarks of Reagan who said that the Libyan leaders are Muslim fanatics.

Second, it is very likely that the move was carried out by paving the way and coordinating with some reactionary Arab leaders. If the United States had expected the least resistance from its Arab allies it would not, of course, have insolently embarked on such an abominable crime. The remarks by George Bush following his visit to the area on his obtaining the agreement of Arab leaders to exercise pressure on Libya strengthens this possibility.

Third, despite its apparent show-off stance and display of force, the United States has exposed its great isolation and weakness. Otherwise, the confrontation of Libya and attacking it in such a manner that provokes the wrath of world public opinion was unnecessary. [sentence as heard] It is very clear that indirect pressure on progressive countries has been futile. The very aggressive U.S. political circles had no choice but to risk their political reputation and throw into the battle aircraft and military personnel.

Fourth, despite the U.s. regime's pretense to defend human rights it has demonstrated more than at any other time in the past its intransigence,

arbitrary behavior, brutality, and lack of all human values. It has clearly shown to the world who are the international terrorists.

Fifth, despite all U.S. political attempts to pretend to be balanced and logical, the confused and chaotic behavior of the United States has been exposed. It is not (?possible) that such a mad action could be carried out by a government capable of correct [word indistinct]. That is a warning of the inevitable danger that faces U.S. policy in the future. Such arrogance has always characterized the moves of all imperialist powers that, since the middle of the 10th century, have begun to decline and pass away.

The incident entails great lessons. The first lesson for our Muslim nation in general, and for the Arab peoples in particular, is that the world oppressors harbor a continuing and deep-rooted hatred of Islam and Muslims. We have seen how Britain, some West European states--and indeed some Arab regimes--have supported the United States in this criminal action. In the face of the cohesion shown by the front of infidelity, Muslims must understand the need to support their front so as to confront the U.S. threat. Libya is the target of aggression today, but any country that rises to oppose the world oppressors tomorrow will be the target of similar aggression.

That is why ranks should be united and wills should be sharpened for resistance on the basis of deepening Islamic spirit in the hearts. The other main issue is that Arab regimes should announce their stand on this incident frankly and clearly. How easy it is to cooperate with the United States and plot against Libya secretly and at the same time announce condemnation of this crime to the indignant world public opinion! But what is strange is that some Arab countries in the region have not even done this easy thing. What does this mean? Does it mean that pan-Arab feelings are boiling in the hearts of these people only when they use them in striking at Islam? Are not the Libyan people Arab people? Are not these oppressed people who were killed in the U.S. attack in Tripoli and Benghazi Arabs? If you are insincere in advocating Islam, are you also insincere in advocating Arabism? It seems that facts prove this.

We view this incident as the beginning of a series of incidents in the future. Therefore, we insist that the United States should be punished. The new U.S. policy in the region contradicts the dignity of Muslim people. People can either rise in order to teach the insane U.S. policy-makers a lesson that they will not forget, as our brothers in Lebanon have done, or they can leave the United States unbridled so that it can spread evil on earth and plunge its claws into the body of the nation and continue to suck blood, plunder wealth, and crush people's dignity. It is a stage of critical and decisive confrontation. People, particularly the youth generation, should have their say on this situation.

We, in the name of Islam and the Islamic revolution, will escalate our struggle against the United States because of the impudence and aggression it has shown. Its recent move makes us more convinced of the weakness of this arrogant show-off enemy. If God is on our side, we do not care who is against us.

Righteous people, I urge you to fear God and to make peace among your ranks.  
"God loves those who fight in his cause in solid ranks." "In the name of  
God, the compassionate, the merciful. When the help of God comes, and the  
victory, and you see men entering the religion of God in troops, glorify your  
lord with his praise and seek forgiveness of him. Surely he is oft-returning  
with compassion." [Koranic verses] Peace and God's mercy be upon you.

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BHUTTO JAIL TORTURE, PAKISTAN-U.S. ANTAGONISM RECALLED

Rawalpindi HURMAT in Urdu 8-16 Feb 86 pp 7-15

[Begum Nusrat Bhutto interviewed by businessman Rahel Hashmi in Paris; date not given]

[Excerpts] "We do not accept Junejo's government, but it is better than martial law." -- Begum Nusrat Bhutto

Begum **Nusrat** Bhutto is chairman-for-life of the defunct Pakistan People's Party [PPP]. As the First Lady, during the PPP rule, she played an active role in every sphere of national life. When Bhutto was put behind bars she entered politics with such courage and confidence that even after 9 years her influence has not waned. Besides a long political confinement, she has had to bear the shock of her husband being hanged and her grown son being murdered. Her health has weakened and she does not meet journalists, but Pakistanis in Europe, especially those in France, keep visiting her. The following interview took place in Paris with a well-to-do Pakistani businessman, Rahel Hashmi.

Begum Bhutto: I agree with you there. Bhutto took a very hazardous step when he dared to challenge the United States. He should have tried to protect himself from the U.S. agents all around him. He made the mistake of trusting the Maulvis who deceived the naive people of the country in the name of Islam. Bhutto once said in Lahore Jail, "I could not discern their hypocrisy." Once during the agitation by the Pakistan National Alliance I said to him, "If you could get rid of the police and the army and go to the people, they would all rally round you." (I had noticed that he was being kept away from the people according to a set plan.) His answer was: "I shall meet the people after I have dealt with the Maulvis." But fate did not give him the chance to do so. We shall continue Bhutto's mission. We are not afraid of the United States.

## The Lawsuit Against Bhutto

We do not doubt the sincerity of the lawyers that tried to save Bhutto. They did all that was in their power. But the issue had been decided before the trial began. The trial was a mere formality.

Mufti Mehmud said that even if Bhutto had been released in that trial, a lawsuit about the secession of East Pakistan would have been brought against him in a military court. Moreover, the police began to arrest party workers and common people even before the judgment had been announced in the Bhutto case. How did the police know what the judgment was going to be and that the people would rise against it? Bhutto would have been released if his case had been heard by any judge other than Maulvi Mushtaq. Even the members of the Qasuri family admitted that the trial was a fraud. Qasuri's father had been killed by his relatives, owing to a family feud. Why else was Qasuri's father always armed with a pistol? There were strained relations between the families of Qasuri and Masud Mehmud. The latter has now emigrated to America. But that is a long story. In any case Bhutto was guiltless.

## General Came to Sahala Jail

Benazir and myself were in Sahala Jail together. We had been given a servant, but the person was changed frequently. Perhaps the authorities feared that the servant might help us to make a connection with the outside world. Most of the time we talked or listened to the radio. Benazir wrote a little, but I only read books. One evening when it was growing dark, we were having coffee. A military man entered the room unannounced, and without apologizing for coming in that way, began to speak in a flat tone like a robot: "Madam, General Saeed is coming to see you at 8 o'clock." Then he turned back and left without waiting for an answer. When I turned to look, I found that he had two other officers with him. We did not give the incident any importance. At 8:20 pm, when we sat down to listen to the BBC, there was a knock at the door. Then a man in plain clothes came and said, "Brigadier Saeed is coming to see you." Then he went away and an army officer came in and asked me if he could sit down, and sat down without waiting for my answer. He gave me a brief oral message from the authorities and then said: "If you get Bhutto's signature on these papers, you as well as Bhutto will be taken safely to Germany tonight."

Benazir spoke at this juncture and handing him back the file said: "My Papa is great. We cannot ask him to do such a shameful thing." I asked him what the papers were about. He said that they were about the tragedy of East Pakistan. Later on I found out that they wanted Bhutto to take the blame for the secession of East Pakistan on his own shoulders. Afterwards, I discovered to my surprise that the person who had visited me was not Brigadier Saeed at all. Somebody had impersonated him. I informed Bhutto of what had happened.

## What Bhutto Went Through

I can prove that Bhutto was tortured in jail. I know the names and ranks of those who did it. According to the information I received, he was kicked,

boxed and slapped. How must Bhutto have suffered when he was maltreated like this after his long illness. He had grown so weak that his wedding ring fell from his finger. When he was to be hanged, he had to be taken to the death chamber on a stretcher. He was too weak to walk. But he walked to the scaffold himself.

How Bhutto was tortured in jail is a secret that I shall tell at the proper time. All I can tell at the present is that the elected prime minister of the country, the chairman of the Islamic Conference and an unarmed helpless man was made the victim of untold torture in jail. I do not think your magazine will ever be able to print what I have to disclose.

Why Was I Not Allowed to Talk to Zia?

When in Rawalpindi I was told that it was my last meeting with my husband, I controlled myself in his presence, but once outside the jail I asked the jailor to let me talk to Zia. I went to his office and repeatedly asked him to let me talk to Zia on the phone. But he told me that he was quite powerless and could do nothing for me. The army, he said, had taken charge of everything. Then I tried to talk to the military man in charge of the jail. I was told that he was resting. In the meantime, Benazir questioned the jailor and he told her that he could do nothing at all. Then an officer whispered to me that Tara Masih had been called from Lahore. This was the first time I had heard this name. I was told that he was a hangman. Benazir cried when she heard this, and I tried to console her. The officer turned his face to the wall and wiped his eyes. Just then an officer entered the room and told us that our car was at the gate and we had to go with him.

On the way I was told that the telephone wires had been disconnected and leave for all jail employees canceled. The stage was set for Bhutto's hanging. When outside the jail, I asked the officer to take me to the Presidency. But he said that all was useless since he had received orders from the authorities that we were not to have any communication with anybody. That military officer looked very sad all the time. When he was leaving us after dropping us at Sahala, he said, "Bhutto's dead body will be taken away by plane between 4 and 5 am." Then he saluted us and left. My daughter and I collapsed to the ground where we stood.

I Shall Never Forgive Chishti

I have heard that General Chishti says that he is not guilty. He has often tried to meet me. I have heard that he tried to meet Benazir in London. But I declare that I shall never forgive him. He is not worthy of forgiveness. I have to be silent. If I were to say one word, Bhutto's faithful followers would come out in the streets, but I do not want to make trouble. Martial law has come to an end at long last. Junejo's government, though we do not accept it, is better than martial law. Chishti can never free himself from the sin of ill-treating Bhutto. He once even threatened to harm me. What was his purpose? I can never forgive or forget what he has done.

## Unforgettable

Bhutto was in jail. I went to the Qaddafi Stadium to watch a cricket match. People became excited when they saw me. This brought down a baton charge by the police. I was among those who were hurt. When the blood gushed out of the wound in my head, I would have fallen to the ground if a worker of the PPP had not held me in his arms like a mother. I did not expect the police to go crazy like that. I shall never forget the young man who cleaned my blood with his own shirt and kept me in his shadow to protect me from the sun. He did not leave me even under the bludgeons of the police. When I asked him to save himself, he answered that he would sooner die than desert me. I remember that young man as if he were my own son. When I recounted this incident to Bhutto in jail, he said with deep seriousness: "Go ahead and save your children."

## I Will Come to Mochi Gate

I do not keep in good health, but my heart is strong and resolute. I mean to come to Mochi Gate once, even if I have to come in a wheelchair. I shall tell people what Bhutto said to me at our last meeting. I shall tell them about the people whom Bhutto unmasked for me. After I have talked to the people at Mochi Gate, I shall not mind if death overtakes me. I have not collapsed even after undergoing so much anguish, because I have not yet completed my mission. If the wife of a general had to bear one-tenth of what I have had to undergo, she would lose her sanity. I will come to Mochi Gate and tell my painful story to my sons and brothers and sisters and mothers. If anybody dares, he can contradict me, but I should be allowed to talk to the people. When I come to Pakistan I will visit Mochi Gate, come what may.

## We Will Make the Atomic Bomb

Nobody should doubt that the United States turned against Bhutto partly because he wanted to breathe dignity and self-respect into the Pakistani people and partly because he wanted to unite the Muslims and make them an invincible nuclear power. Faisal and Qadhdhafi appreciated his plans. Henry Kissinger had said to Bhutto quite plainly: "If you do not give up your atomic program we shall give exemplary punishment."

I remember that the country was in the grip of floods at that time. Kissinger was given dinner at the Governor House. On that occasion Bhutto made a beautiful speech, using the symbols of rivers and floods to illustrate his point. Even Kissinger praised him for his beautiful style and his mastery of the English language. I shall always remember this part of his speech:

"The British governor who lived here used to rule from the Civil Secretariat, 2 miles away from here. In the Secretariat there is the tomb of Anarkali, who was buried alive at the order of Akbar, because she loved. We, too, know how to love. We are not afraid of death."

Bhutto wrote in his last book: "These wolves want my blood." How can I give up the mission for which Bhutto died? People know that when Aziz Ahmad went to Paris to talk about the reprocessing plant, unknown burglars broke into

his room and made off with very important papers. People know that a scientist had brought very sensitive information from the Netherlands, and that Bhutto had received him with great honor. Everybody knows that if Bhutto had given up his atomic program, the United States would have given up its enmity against him. That is what happened afterwards. The United States has now become the country's friend.

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## BACHA KHAN'S KARACHI VISIT REGISTERS SINDHI RESENTMENT

Karachi JANG in Urdu 20 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Mukhtar Aqil in the column "Karachi Diary"]

[Excerpts] The topic of the day lately in political circles is the Karachi visit of the Red Shirt leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and his participation in the 83d birthday celebrations of the aged statesman G. M. Sayyed in his village of Sun (District Dadu). When Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who because of his Gandhian views is also known as Frontier Gandhi, reached Karachi from Peshawar, workers of the NDP [National Democratic Party], PNP [Pakistan National Party], Jiye Sindh Movement and several student organizations, carrying flags and banners, were there to welcome the 97-year-old statesman. Most of the workers were wearing red caps or red kerchiefs while a few persons were dressed in red. It took 45 minutes to conduct Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan from the train to outside the station. He was taken out of the station seated in a wheel chair. As soon as the workers saw him, they started firing in the air. All kinds of firearms from Kalashnikovs and Sten guns to revolvers were openly used on this occasion. Bacha Khan was seated in an open pick-up parked outside the station. Present there to greet him were Sayyed Imdad Mohammad Shah, son of G. M. Sayyed, NDP [National Democratic Party] leaders Abdul Khaliq, Khan Farid Toofan and Amin Khatak, and Habib Ulah Narejo and Qamar Bhatti of the Jiye Sindh Movement. From the station, Bacha Khan was taken in a big procession to Khuhro House, which is also known as the Black House. During the time of the late Khan Bahadur Ayub Khuhro, the Iron Man of Sind, this house had been the center of Sindhi and Pakistani politics. Before the formation of Pakistan, the Khuhro family had twice had the honor of entertaining Pakistan's founder, Quaid-e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Apart from certain other objectionable happenings in the course of Bacha Khan's procession, what caused intense concern among patriotic circles were the anti-Pakistani slogans chanted by some people in the procession. In this leading city, these people were fearlessly shouting slogans like "Break up, Break up Pakistan," "Anyone who is a friend of Pakistan is a traitor" and "Pakistan will break up and Sindhu Desh will be formed." On this occasion, some leaders of the NDP and the Pakhtoon Students Federation approached newsmen to explain that their workers were not shouting these slogans; in a statement issued 3 days after the event, the chairman of the working committee of the Jiye Movement, Dr Hamida Khuhro, laid blame for these slogans on unknown people who had infiltrated the procession in an effort to disrupt the welcome accorded

to the Red Shirt leader and, when they failed in their designs, sought to create an unfavorable atmosphere for Bacha Khan by chanting anti-Pakistani slogans. Whatever the facts, the concern of patriotic circles is justified. If these slogans were not instigated by the people assembled to greet Bacha Khan, then we should trace those forces who sent their agents to chant these slogans and thereby sought to gain their own ends.

During his stay in Karachi, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had meetings with Mohammad Alhaq Usmani, founder of the Sindh Unity Board; Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, founder of the Sindhi Baluch Pakhtun Front; Abid Zuberi, information secretary of the NDP; Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur, former minister of defense; Harun Ahmed and several other political figures. He also had meetings with deputations of the NDP, PNP, Saraiki Province Movement and several other organizations. Dr Hamida Khuhro hosted a dinner in his honor. Several political and social personalities attended. On these occasions, he explained the background of his visit to Karachi and meeting with G. M. Sayyed. In his view, "Pakistan, the land that Mr Jinnah created for Muslims, is finished. Common Punjabi folks are just as oppressed as we are, but the capitalists, landlords and bureaucracy of Punjab have destroyed Jinnah's Pakistan and have forcibly evicted 54 percent of the people from the country." He says that the present Pakistan belongs to the capitalists, landlords and military of Punjab and "we do not accept this Pakistan. If you want to create Pakistan, we are willing, but to this end you will have to agree to the demands of the three oppressed nations, Sindhis, Baluchis and Pashtuns and you will have to negotiate with them. If Punjab is not prepared to agree to this, then neither do we accept this Pakistan because this is not Jinnah's Pakistan." Expressing his grievance against Punjab, he said, "You have snatched from us our wealth, our river and our mines. The Indus River is ours, because Pathans live on both sides of it. This is an international law that the local inhabitants have a prior claim on the river flowing through their area. But by building three dams on this river, billions of megawatts of electricity are being generated while the true owners of the river are without either electricity or water. Mines of precious stones, forests and salt mines are under Punjab occupation. The Frontier Gandhi said that, after Ahmed Shah Abdali conquered Delhi, he told Pathans that all land lying between Jehlum and the River Hemu belonged to them, and its name was Pakhtun Land. But Mianwali and Campbellpur Districts of this area are under occupation of Punjab even though people of this area have passed resolutions in their municipal councils expressing their desire to join us." In this connection, he referred to a letter he had written to the nation's president, General Mohammad Ziaul Haq, in which he had asked the president to resolve this issue and return these districts to the Frontier Province. He said he was ready to forgo Jehlum and Rawalpindi because Punjabis were in the majority there.

During Bacha Khan's stay in Karachi, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, founder of the Sindhi Baluch Pakhtun Front had a long meeting with him and exchanged ideas on his one-point program for confederation. But from Ghaffar Khan's attitude, it appears that at this stage he is not prepared to support this view. He says that they had established unity among Sindhis, Baluchis and Pakhtuns as far

back as in 1983, but the Front claims that it was forged in London. Frontier Gandhi's position is that the Front leaders want a confederation accepting the provinces of present-day Pakistan, whereas "we don't accept this Pakistan because this is not Jinnah's Pakistan." Prior to this, the Jiye Sindh Movement had also revoked its alliance with the Front on the grounds that, if sacrifices have to be made, then why not make sacrifices for a greater goal, the Sindhu Desh?

After 2 days stay in Karachi, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in a big procession, left Karachi on the morning of March 17 for G. M. Sayyed's village, Sun, where 83d birthday celebrations for the old politician are being held. There is a difference of 14 years between Bacha Khan and G. M. Sayyed, but this difference in age has never stood in the way of their political friendship.

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END