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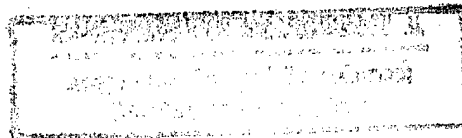
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# Near East/North Africa Report

No. 2598



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10 August 1982

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RECENT CRISIS UNDERSCORES IMPORTANCE FOR OPEC OF LONG-RANGE PLANNING

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 38, May 82 p 10

[Article: "The Oil Crisis...On the Road to Recovery?"]

[Text] This issue includes two exclusive interviews conducted by AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL with two ministers: Saudi Minister of the Treasury and National Economy, Shaykh Muhammad Aba al-Khayl, and Bahraini Minister of Development and Industry, Mr Yusuf al-Shirawi. Coincidentally, the two ministers expressed similar opinions about the current sluggishness of the oil market and its significance. They believe that the crisis will be over by the end of the year and that the OPEC nations will win the battle, according to the Minister al-Shirawi. What are the variables and assumptions in the world oil market that were focused on by the two ministers? Here is a presentation of these variables and assumptions:

It appears that there are faint stirrings on the oil market's horizons indicating that the recession is on the retreat and that a gradual revival of the market is taking place. Apparently, the time has come where OPEC can emerge from the severe trial it passed through during the past months. One indicator of this change is the revival of oil prices on the spot market. The spot market has come to be known as a barometer of the entire world oil market. In the past few months, this market has witnessed a decrease of oil prices in the last few months amounting to several dollars less than the official OPEC price of \$24 per barrel, the official price of standard Saudi light crude oil. Nevertheless, in the last few weeks, the price has gradually risen to return in some instances to the official price levels, especially to North Sea crude prices. Although official prices have not yet started to respond to this development in the spot market, people are now looking to the oil producers in the North Sea to at least raise their prices in correspondence with new prices in the spot market. It shouldn't be long before the spot market starts to climb to the level of the official market.

There are other factors waiting to play a direct role in stabilizing the oil markets and return a semblance of normalcy to them, even though these same factors were originally the cause of the market's deterioration to begin with. One such factor is the huge oil reserves stockpiled by the consumer nations at the peak of the oil glut in order to encourage the market's breakdown. But the glut is dwindling, and only a few weeks remain before

the market returns to the world level determined by the International Energy Agency. At that time, the consumer nations will have no choice but to end their reliance on their stockpiles and return once more to the world market in compliance with their own daily oil requirements. The consumer nations are now drawing close to 4 million barrels per day from their reserves.

Another factor is that the demand for oil will itself revive, in light of the return of economic activity in the industrialized nations, during the second half of this year.

It is doubtless these variables that moved Arab officials like Shaykh Muhammad Aba al-Khayl, Saudi Minister of the Treasury and National Economy, and Mr Yusuf al-Shirawi, Bahraini Minister of Development and Industry, to express optimism about the improvement of the oil situation by the end of this year (see the two AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL interviews with the Saudi and Bahraini ministers in this issue). It is also doubtless that the reason for this optimism is the belief in OPEC's capability to pass through the current crisis and to ultimately triumph over a situation that had previously looked like it was going to run away with everyone.

But in the opinion of two high-ranking Arab officials, this optimism should not be misinterpreted as believing that matters will return to exactly where they stood 2 years ago. Nor does it mean under any circumstances that OPEC will quickly return to its golden age in which it held almost complete sway over the oil industry's production and pricing. Over the last 2 years OPEC has gone through a dangerous experience which will undoubtedly have a long-range impact on the oil organization's structure, power bases, and strategic policies. Perhaps the most severe experience, and the one that offers itself for considerable contemplation, is when OPEC found itself at one time faced with destruction from within after having withstood attempts at its destruction by external forces throughout the decade of the seventies. It should also be mentioned that OPEC's current crisis revealed the existence of certain weak links within the organization. It found out that its true strength must really be measured by its weakest links, not its strongest links. We have seen clearly how it is possible for the weakest links to affect the rest of the links, as occurred in recent times with regard to Nigeria. Had it not been for Nigeria's colleagues in OPEC who rescued it in the nick of time, Nigeria would have collapsed under the pressure of market conditions and its own persistent need for greater oil revenues by increasing exports and lowering its prices, until the entire pricing structure of OPEC collapsed.

OPEC will soon emerge from its severe test, but probably without the strength that its producer-members would like. OPEC's actual exports were estimated at about 15.8 million barrels per day, a figure lower than the agreed-upon ceiling of 17.5 million barrels per day. Even the revival of demand, from today until the end of the year, will not raise the demand for OPEC oil to much more than 18 million barrels per day. This figure should be compared to OPEC's average production of 31 million barrels per day in 1979. It may be a very long time before OPEC production approaches once more this latter figure, if it ever will. This means that OPEC's survival of its

current trial should be the beginning of a new phase, one of adjustment to a new reality: A reality of less oil revenues for long periods of time, accompanied by a review of its plans for expenditure, consumption, and development. Some OPEC nations have forced, under pressure of the quick collapse of oil revenues, to take speedy measures in order to cope with the deteriorating situation. They cut back on expenditures, cancelled projects, and reviewed plans. In the near future it might be necessary to give new consideration to the future of projects and construction plans based on more long-range, farsighted estimates.

OPEC has always been aware of the limits of its oil resources and their inexorable trend towards exhaustion. It has constantly called on consumers to be economical in their use of the precious source of energy represented by oil. Perhaps these latest events, despite their negative nature, can provide a timely opportunity for OPEC to put its concerns into practice.

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CSO: 4404/484

## RECENT ANNUAL ECONOMISTS' CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS REVIEWED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 703, 5 Jul 82 pp 14, 15

/Article by Dr 'Ali 'Abd-al-'Aziz Sulayman: "When Economists Become Bewildered and Pessimistic"/

/Text/ The annual Egyptian economists' conference is considered one of the most important gatherings of economic thinkers in Egypt. We look forward to it year after year, in hopes that the foundations of economic thought will be firmly implanted and that the results of the practical research which students of the Egyptian economy and economic policy preoccupy themselves with may be discovered.

The conference this year was nicely organized and the papers presented were at a high level, in keeping with the importance of the subject, which is the course of the Egyptian economy in the eighties.

Nonetheless, we left the halls of this conference with a feeling of amazement at the attitude of pessimism and discontent reflected in many conference papers on the Egyptian economy's experience during the seventies. This viewpoint extended to the eighties, which many researchers found to be full of pitfalls and challenges.

Perhaps this view of matters found its obvious embodiment in the paper by Dr Jawdah 'Abd-al-Khaliq regarding "the possibilities of growth for the Egyptian economy in the decade of the eighties in light of the experience of the seventies." The researcher concluded that the rapid growth and structural transformations which were created in the Egyptian economy in the seventies created an economy of large size and weak foundations. Dr Jawdah complained that the growth in the domestic economy was unbalanced, since the rapidest rates of growth were confined to the sectors of services, transport, communications, especially trade, banks, tourist activity and the Suez Canal, and the sectors of primary production, in particular the oil sector. As a result of this, the service and primary production sectors produced a greater share of national product than many countries which enjoy a similar level in terms of population and average per capita income.

Although the science of economics has become known, since the era of Malthus, as "the dismal science," it inspires consternation that some of the researcher at the conference saw many warning signs in data and developments which most development experts in the third world agree are extremely encouraging. Everyone agrees that the rates of real development of the Egyptian economy in the second half of the

seventies, which came close to 9 percent a year, as well as the investment rates, which came to 28 percent of gross national product, are record ones as far as the Egyptian economy and most developing countries go. When we recall that these rates were attained in the wake of the glorious October war, which cost the government great revenues and which we sacrificed many productive investments preparing for, permitting many of our public utilities to deteriorate and fall apart, the full clarity of the achievement of the domestic economy in the seventies becomes evident to us and that should allow us to feel satisfaction rather than anger.

The fact that economic growth in the seventies was unbalanced did not harm it. Economic development, by its nature, is an asymmetrical process, in which leading sectors grow at rates in excess of those in other sectors. I believe that Dr Jawdah would agree with us that the rapid growth achieved in the seventies would not have been realized had we just relied on the sectors of industry and agriculture, since these industries require exorbitant investments and their projects take a long time to reach the production stage.

The claim that the Egyptian economy in the seventies was transformed into one of large size and weak foundations because of its reliance on the service and oil production sectors is one which can be disproved. In my view, it arises by giving biased preference to the sectors of commodity production over the sectors of services, and a (paromantic) comparison of commodities. Dr Jawdah mourns the fall of cotton from the throne of Egyptian commodity exports and its replacement by oil, as if we in economics can prefer one commodity over another on its own account. As regards services, I agree with the statement that the achievements in the commodity sectors have been disappointing and that there is great room to improve the commodity sector in industry and agriculture by reforming price policy and public sector management, eliminating obstacles to investment and so forth. Nonetheless, a long-range view of the Egyptian economy will hold that its salvation lies in concentration on services, alongside industries which will grow great through Egyptian workers' participation in production.

The success of the seventies was based on Egypt's ability to respond to the Arab market's demands for Egyptian expertise as well as the growth of the international transportation sector, especially the Suez Canal and the Sumed pipeline, after Egypt and the world had been deprived of these services during the Israeli occupation of Sinai. In addition, Arab and foreign tourist activity brought in incomes which were in keeping with Egypt's cultural and historic wealth and role in the region. Finally, we would like to mention the growth in the banking and investment sector. There is no doubt that the growth in this sector caused Egypt to leap forward at least 20 years from the technical standpoint and raised the capabilities of banks in the private and public sectors to a level approaching that which banks in the advanced world and the Arab world possess. This success has been reflected in the doubling of bank deposits and the spread of the banking habit in a manner that had not been anticipated in the sixties. Prof Mahmud Shakir's paper on "the role of national banks in mobilizing domestic savings" addressed itself to this aspect of development.

Here we can assert that the growth in the services sector in the seventies corrected an unnatural situation which was reflected in deliberate neglect and restrictions which shackled this sector in the sixties.

Here we would like to address ourselves to the paper which Prof Mahmud 'Abd-al-Fadil presented on "new features of the Egyptian economy." This paper is an outstanding attempt to foretell the future through the lessons of the present. The researcher reviewed the new currents and factors in the Egyptian economy which economists must be aware of. Indeed, one major shortcoming of the economic analysis of Egyptian society is researchers' failure to respond with adequate speed to the broad changes in the Egyptian economy in the last decade.

Dr 'Abd-al-Fadil laid emphasis on four new phenomena, or, as he called them, new mechanisms in the Egyptian economy, especially in the second half of the seventies. These phenomena will have the greatest effect on the course of the economy in the eighties. These are:

The emergence of some features of rent in the Egyptian economy. By that he meant that the source of a large part of national product has now come to consist of incomes in the form of rent or quasi-rent, not productive incomes. What is meant by rent, in economics, is the difference between the income from the current factor of production and the income from alternative uses. Dr 'Abd-al-Fadil included oil exports, income from the tourist sector and income from the Suez Canal, in addition to remittances from workers abroad, in this category. He estimated these incomes in the form of rent at more than one third of national income.

The spread of conspicuous consumption has resulted from the emergence of these new incomes in the form of rents in addition to a decline in the value of honorable labor not based on rents. Nonetheless, we differ with this appraisal, because the massive new incomes of people working abroad simply cannot be considered incomes in the form of rents, even if the source of the demand for them is rents from oil production. This is because the productivity of the people working abroad is greatly in excess of the incomes they receive, because of the exploitation by employers in those countries of the circumstances of the Egyptian market. We all know that wages in many markets in the Middle East are determined not by productivity but by the worker's origins. In addition, competition between Egyptian tourist activity and tourist activity in southern Europe and North Africa prevent factors of tourist activity in Egypt from obtaining an income in the form of rents. The same thing can be said about the Suez Canal, since the economics of maritime transport, especially with the appearance of supertankers, prevent the increased canal transit tariffs which would make it possible to obtain an income based on rents.

Notwithstanding all of this, we agree with Dr 'Abd-al-Fadil that the diverse sources of income from oil, remittances of workers abroad and so forth have increased the chances for the Egyptian economy to succeed in the long range--if these incomes are spent in a manner which will strengthen the domestic economy and reduce its dependence; however, Dr 'Abd-al-Fadil foresaw a difficult time for the Egyptian economy in the eighties, since he anticipated a retrenchment in the four sources of income based on rent.

The second phenomenon which Dr 'Abd-al-Fadil mentioned, is the fact that transactions are in dollars, since foreign currency deposits (basically in dollars) now total 25 percent of all local deposits. There is no doubt that this phenomenon complicates monetary policy and limits the economic authorities' dominance of the course of the national economy.

The emergence of the sector of liberalization companies, which have come to more than 550; this sector possesses distinctive features in its wage structure, the extent of capital intensiveness, the tax advantages and the other features it enjoys. The existence of these companies engenders a schizophrenia in the national economy which we had rid ourselves of in the fifties and sixties.

The emergence of a sector of hidden transactions: this means the emergence of a broad sector of transactions which take place out of sight of the economic authorities and are not subject to taxes or consumer protection laws.

Dr 'Abd-al-Fadil concluded his paper by emphasizing the new challenges which these new phenomena or mechanisms are imposing on the domestic economy.

Perhaps we can summarize our impression of the spirit of the seventh scholarly conference of Egyptian economists by stating that the researchers at this conference found many warning signs in changes in the seventies which inspire pessimism and some of them were reflected by bewilderment with regard to the course of the national economy in the eighties. Adding to this feeling is a shortage of accurate statistical data and difficulty of acquiring it.

Therefore we are calling for more research and study on the experience of the seventies and more preparedness for the difficulties of the eighties by strengthening the government institutions that are responsible for the formation of economic policy.

Can we also demand greater optimism from Egyptian economists?

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CSO: 4504/395

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES REPORTED IN VARIOUS SECTORS

Plans for United Road Systems

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 12 Apr 82 p 3

[Report by Engineer Hadinezhad Hoseynian, minister of roads and transport]

[Text] Accompanied by his deputies and the heads of related agencies, Engineer Hadinezhad Hoseynian, minister of roads and transport, called on President Seyyed Ali Khamene'i early yesterday morning.

According to the ISLAMIC NEWS AGENCY correspondent, Hoseynian first gave the president a detailed report on the ministry's operation in the areas of sea, land and air transportation, construction of roads and the assistance given by the ministry to the imposed war fronts.

This was followed by President Khamene'i's statement about the importance of road construction and its positive impacts on the nation's economy. He also emphasized the need for rural planning and said that road construction in the rural areas should be given priority by using the service of local contractors and by contractors in the neighboring countries, should that become necessary.

The president said that road construction was an important factor in bringing people closer together and in creating national unity. He also referred to the importance of air transportation system saying that it should be run by people of faith with Islamic behavior. The president said that because of the importance of the system, special care should be taken in selecting those individuals who must deal with foreign guests. He said these people should be from among those of highest moral characters.

In conclusion, the president praised workers and employees of the Islamic Republic Railways and wished all those who are serving Islam and the Muslim people success.

## Expansion of Edible Oil Storage

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 12 Apr 82 p 2

[Article: "Appropriation of 500 Million Rials for Expansion of Oil Storages Approved"]

[Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran cabinet, presided over by Prime Minister Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi, began its meeting yesterday by reading verses from the Koran. According to reports by the correspondent of the ISLAMIC NEWS AGENCY, latest development at the front and the news about recent political and social developments in the country and in the region were reviewed. After the meeting, minister of labor and government spokesman Tavakoli told newsmen and representatives of the radio and television that the discussions had also included the arrest of Sadeq Qotbzadeh who he said had for a long time been under the surveillance of Hezbollahi elements who had, by the grace of God, recorded all his conversations. He said that in one of these conversations Qotbzadeh had called himself one of the statesmen of the century, the same way Bani-Sadr had described himself as one of the most prominent thinkers of the century. He said that it was surprising that people with so little power could believe they were able to resist against our struggling people. The government spokesman also said that at the cabinet meeting yesterday, foreign minister Velayati had submitted a report regarding new provocations with regards to foreign problems. Mr Tavakoli said it only proves that we were right. We see now that those who did not want to listen to us now do so more willingly. At yesterday's cabinet meeting the question of expansion of the oil storages that had been destroyed in the port city of Khuninshahr and are now being redeveloped again was discussed and 500 million rials was appropriated for the purpose. Governor Abedini of Lorestan Province, who attended yesterday's cabinet meeting presented a report about the existing conditions in his province. He expressed his appreciation for the cooperation of the tribesmen in the war with Iraq and presented a report about the post-revolution achievements in the province. He reported that during 25 years of the old regime only 9 villages in the province had electricity but now, 3 years after the revolution, 229 villages have electrical power and more than 1,700 rural roads have been constructed throughout the province. He also reported that orders had been given for more extensive use of the province's natural wealth. In conclusion, the government spokesman talked about the recent visit to Tehran of the nonaligned countries mission. He said that we had made our position known before and should not be expected to alter our Koranic position.

## Development of Rural Service Centers

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 12 Apr 82 p 7

[Interview with Engineer Fazel, deputy minister of agriculture and development]

[Text] Engineer Fazel, deputy minister of agriculture in charge of coordination of agriculture and rural development in different provinces, who is now visiting Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiari, discussed with reporters the questions of rural services center organization, new plans by the ministry for the new year, the implementation of the Islamic land reform program and its effect on agricultural

self-sufficiency, providing water for the farms and the revival of the qanat [underground] water system. He said that creation of rural service centers was among the top priorities of the Ministry of Agriculture that is to be carried out during a 5-year plan. He said the plans will be completed soon and will be submitted to the cabinet and the Majlis for final approval. He added that in order to revive and develop the country's agriculture the rural service centers will replace all other agricultural organs in the country and under the new procedures, which are being worked out, they will take over all the responsibilities that other ministries are now discharging at the rural level.

At the same time, rural service centers will be under overall supervision of the Reconstruction Crusade with the Ministry of Agriculture taking care of the agricultural section of the centers. All organs attached to the Ministry of Agriculture are to help in the process of the setting up of the centers, regarding personnel, as well as, administration and training. This has been approved by the council of deputy ministers of the Agriculture Ministry.

He said that the philosophy behind the establishment of such centers was the uprooting of former unpopular and incorrect administrative system. He said the purpose was to move the agricultural experts from behind their desks into the rural areas and to start planning from bottom up. Under the new arrangement, he said, the highest planning authorities will be the districts and provinces which will play the role of directing the plans. This will reduce the role of Tehran as the center for all activities and replace it by more logical system of command.

About the Ministry of Agriculture's plans for the year 1982-1983, Fazel said they were mainly basic and long-range projects. He also added that the ministry had a series of short-term, job-creating projects and also a series of projects for the recently liberated areas such as irrigation projects and development of rural service centers and animal husbandry. Regarding coordination in agricultural agencies, he said that in the past year provincial coordinating centers had taken major steps toward directing all agricultural development possibilities in one single channel. At the seminar of the director-generals of the provincial agriculture agencies in Esfahan, it was decided that information concerning the regionalization of planting be submitted to the regional committee. It is hoped that the committee will soon announce its projects.

Concerning the effect of the implementation of the Islamic land reform law in agricultural self-sufficiency, the deputy minister of agriculture said: "The implementation of the land reform law has the top priority in the ministry's 19-article policies. We believe that the development of the country's agriculture is possible after the status of ownership (of land) and the implementation of the land reform law has become clear. The land reform law, the principal part of which had been approved, is now before the Majlis and it is hoped that it will be approved in detail and will be sent to the Agriculture Ministry for implementation."

About the operation of the seven-man committees responsible for land distribution throughout the country, he said the results had been so impressive that one could not express it properly.

He admitted that mistakes had been committed in certain areas but that compared to the vastness of the task they could be excused. About water for irrigation and its appropriations for the current year, the deputy minister of agriculture said: "There is no budget limitations for the irrigation projects of the ministry." This is so because of priority given to agricultural projects by the government. Noting that the water bill is now before the Majlis, he said that in carrying out various projects this year's irrigation and drainage operations will be given top priority.

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CSO: 4640/289

## KANI ELABORATES ON DUTIES, RECRUITMENT OF REVOLUTION GUARDS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 26 May 82 p 2

[Text] ETTELA'AT News Service--At a radio and TV press conference last night, Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani, member of the Council of Guardians and the head of the Islamic Revolutionary Committees, answered questions by reporters about the current problems of the Islamic Revolutionary Committees.

## Philosophy of the Guards Day

Speaking about the idea behind the Guards Day, he said: First I would like to say a few words to our dear nation about the idea behind the Guards Day. It should be noted that the Islamic Revolutionary Committees was the first institution that began operation for the purpose of protecting the revolution. To honor the Guards, it was suggested in 58 [21 Mar 79-21 Mar 80] at the presence of the Imam that a day be set aside as the Guards Day. The day picked was the birthday of the martyred Imam Moseyn and was named as the Guards Day. This year the Revolution Guards Corps and the Central Committee set up a headquarters to arrange programs for the Guards Day. The program includes a magnificent parade by members of the army, the gendarmerie, police, revolution guards corps and the committees which will be held on the third of Sha'ban. At the same time, there will be seminars on Wednesday and Thursday. On Friday, 50 brother and sister Guards will get married to the spouses of the martyred [as published].

## Committee Operations

Regarding the operation of the Islamic Revolutionary Committees, Ayatollah Kani called the committees as the protectors of the revolution. He said that the committees had been formed from among the people and had performed an important task during the early days of the revolution. He noted that the committees' guards had played an important role in the arrest of the officials of the former regime and in turning them to proper judicial authorities.

## Formation of Intelligence Organization

Questioned by reporters about the formation of an intelligence organization in the country, the head of the Islamic Revolutionary Committees said: "The Revolution Guards Corps believes that it should have the control of the intelligence

organization. It is of the opinion that an institution charged with the protection of the revolution must have access to intelligence. But there are people who believe intelligence should not become the sole responsibility of the Guards Corps. As you all know, we collect intelligence from both outside and inside the country about various fields and subjects. A number of members of the Majlis already believe that there should be an independent intelligence organization which would give related information collected by various agencies. Under the charter prepared for the Guards Corps, a separate intelligence unit for the Corps is envisaged.

#### Welfare Issues

Concerning the welfare of the Guards, Ayatollah Kani said: "Very little attention has been paid to this matter because the charter of the committees is not yet approved. But after the same privileges envisaged for the Guards. In the meantime, following discussions with the Defense Ministry officials it was agreed that brother Guards will be able to shop at the army co-ops.

#### False Orders

Questioned by newsmen about the misuse of the Guards uniform and fictitious committee orders, the head of the Revolutionary Committees declared: "Military Police, the committees and the Guards are charged with the task of identifying the opportunists and antirevolutionaries. They have been successful in this. At the same time, we have prepared plans under which a joint headquarters composed of various security forces will be formed to operate throughout the city. An intelligence unit will be set up within the headquarters with special cards and identifications for its members which could not be duplicated and misused.

#### Charter of the Committees

About charter for the Islamic Revolutionary Committees, Ayatollah Kani said: "The charter that had been drawn earlier by the central headquarters of the committees was submitted to the Ministry of Interior. It was decided that the committees carry out their responsibilities under the Ministry of Interior. For that reason the charter for the committees was submitted to that ministry to be reviewed and then submitted for approval to the Majlis."

Ayatollah Kani further said: "In the charter, we have spelled out four main responsibilities of the central committees of the Islamic revolutionary councils. The Guardians will carry out their duties within the framework of these four principles which are:

"1. Acting as the arm of the Revolutionary Court, identifying and fighting against antirevolutionary elements.

"2. Acting as the arm of antidrug and antidrug smuggling courts.

"3. Acting as the arm of the revolutionary court dealing with unlawful activities to fight unlawful acts.

"4. Acting as the arm of antiprofitereing courts and fighting against hoarding and profiteering."

He added that the guards committee will act within the framework of these four main articles. He said that the charter has other articles which will be made public after its approval. He said that he wanted to take the opportunity and ask the people to bring to the attention of the central headquarters of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts whatever complaints they might have against members of the Guards Corps so that violators could be punished and expelled. He said the committees belonged to the people and their members must be among the most qualified.

#### Dispatching to the Fronts

Concerning the dispatching of the Committee Guards to the war front, he said: "As of Mehr 1360 [22 Sep-22 Oct 81] Committee Guards have been active at the war front after two stages. First, they receive military training at the garrisons that are at the disposal of different committees. They are then sent to the fronts. At the present time, 1,000 Committee Guards are serving in Khuzeistan fighting the Ba'thist enemy. A number of brothers from the committees are also serving at the fronts in the Western part of the country. So far some 7,000 men have been dispatched for short-term service at the fronts and have returned. Up to now, some 500 Committee Guards have been martyred. We still continue to send men to the fronts to fight against the wrong."

#### Employment by the Committees

About qualification for employment of Guards by the committees, Ayatollah Kani said: "Two groups of people are now active in the committees. The first group is the conscripts serving their regular time. The second group consists of the original members. Their employment is subject to age requirement, length of service commitment, cultural Islamic maturity and their commitment to the principle of the revolution. Minimum educational requirement is junior high-school diploma but until the approval of the charter of the committees by the Majlis, qualified individuals with less than high-school education are also accepted."

9561

CSO: 4640/328

## SUDDENNESS OF IRANIAN ATTACK TOOK OBSERVERS BY SURPRISE

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 80, 15 Jul 82 pp 2-3

[Text] Many observers were taken by surprise by the suddenness of the Iranian invasion of Iraq, expecting a much slower build-up to action.

The shortages and other hardships of day-to-day life in Iran, which have become the subject of nationwide complaint in recent weeks, were seen as a possible reason for the shrill criticism of the complainants over radio, television and in the media which has been so noticeable in the past week. It was felt the war hysteria was used to provide the excuse for these shortages and problems until the regime was in a position to remedy them.

The public was told that in the Prophet Mohammad's time people would eat a single date and then go to war without hesitation, and good Muslims had to follow that example. The speeches and broadcasts held out no hope that things would get better soon.

The economic blockade was still hampering the provision of supplies and materials, the regime's spokesmen claimed. Iran was facing big obstacles, too, in selling its oil and other possible exports as a result of efforts against her by her enemies.

This contrasts strongly with the impression officials have tried to give to the foreign media and business that Iran is taking off well over 2 million barrels of oil a day and selling it all without effort, to a considerable degree for cash. This cash, officials hint, is available for business.

The contradiction between the two pictures had led many observers to see the growing campaign to get back to war as a means of keeping the restive public involved in other things and also of convincing them there are valid reasons for the appalling shortages and discomforts of life in Iran for all but the privileged few.

All sections of the regime were mobilised to build up the campaign to go to war again. First it was military chief Zahir-Nejad and army boss Sayad Shirazi who claimed that Iran could not stop at the border and made rallying calls to the forces. Then it was the families of those already killed who said Iranians could not let the blood of the fallen be forgotten. They had given their

lives for Islam, they said. Then came refugees from Iraq, the clergy and others saying why they thought the fight should go on.

Prime Minister Mir-Hossain Mussavi assured the people that the task of getting rid of Saddam Hossain and defeating agents of the enemies of Islam had been 90 per cent completed so there was nothing against finishing the job. Ayatollah Montazeri said God was with the Islamic republic so there was no reason why the war should not go on. Both these statements were seen as attempts to reassure the public that the cost in human lives need not be so high this time. The state-controlled television devoted hours to films of the Iranian forces lined up for action at the borders to impress the public.

Montazeri added that Iran was sending delegations to 24 countries to explain that the road to Lebanon and Jerusalem was through Iraq.

Food shortages in southern regions of Iran have resulted in serious riots and attacks on storage depots, reports from inside Iran indicated last week.

In the Fars and Kerman provinces there is still a shortage of essential supplies. It was reported that in Behbahan in Fars, angry people set fire to the local office of agricultural and pest control officers, forcing the young bearded officials to flee the town. The inefficiency of these officials, who are young, inexperienced hezbollahis, is being blamed for a serious crop failure there.

In the same province men of two small tribes in Fassa and Darab region were reported to have fought with two units of revolutionary guards who had arrived to confiscate livestock for use by the guards' garrison in Shiraz.

Similarly in Kerman angry unemployed youths are reported to have attacked the grain silos and stores of two wholesalers who are dealers in grain. The two merchants are said to be close aides of Kerman's Friday prayer leader.

In Ahvaz and Susangerd food supplies are said to have greatly diminished. Government agents are now holding back former residents from returning to their war-devastated homes because of this and similar problems.

Government spokesmen have blamed western governments for the scarcity of provisions in Iran. Chief Justice Mussavi-Ardebili said recently that western suppliers had imposed trade sanctions against Iran and that was the reason there were shortages.

But he scorned those Iranians who were unhappy over shortages calling them "cowards and lacking in faith." Such individuals, he advised, would do well by staying at home because they were not suitable to take part in the activities of the Islamic republic.

CSO: 4600/683

## FOREIGN MINISTRY RESPONDS TO SECURITY COUNCIL

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 18 Jul 82 pp 1, 4

[Text]

**UNITED NATIONS (IRNA)-**

The 22-month-old complete silence of the United Nations Security Council about the Iraqi imposed war on Iran, when Iraq had directed its attacks against Iranian civilians and economic installations in Khuzestan and western Iran, attested to the Security Council's deliberate violation from its responsibilities as set forth in the U.N. Charter, and especially against Article 39 of the Charter, this was announced by Iran's Foreign Ministry Wednesday in its reply to the Security Council's resolution issued recently on the Iraqi imposed war on Iran.

Iran's response, submitted to the U.N. Secretary-General, by the Iranian mission in the U.N., specifically pointed out the violations of the council's resolution vis-a-vis the U.N. charter.

Quoting a paragraph 2 of Article 24 of the U.N. charter, (the Security Council shall act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the U.N.), the Foreign Ministry stated the Security Council's measures in 1980 about the Iraqi imposed war on Iran, had been disagreeing with the Charter.

Quoting paragraph one of Article 33 of the Charter (the parties to any dispute, the continuation of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution, through negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resorting to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice), and paragraph one of article 37, (should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that article, they shall refer it to the Security Council), and paragraph 2 of article 33 (the Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means). The Foreign Ministry stressed that a U.N. member country was obliged, due to its obligation to the U.N. charter, resort to the said ways and means to solve any dispute prior to resorting to force and invasion, and thus implement articles 33 and 37.

The ministry then added that it was incumbent on the Security Council to condemn

any country which violated the Charter and ask that country to re-establish the conditions existing before the aggression.

The statement of the Foreign Ministry continued

that Security Council Resolution Number 479 has evaded the recognition of the aggressor has not condemned the aggressor, and has not asked the aggressor to re-establish the conditions prior to the aggression, and hence that resolution, the statement added, was not conforming with the U.N. charter.

Speaking on the resolution, the statement said it was an effort to endorse Iraq's aggression, and obtrude one-sided peace conditions on Iran, benefitting the Iraqi aggressor.

Acting against Article 39 of the Charter, the statement added, has led to the council's implicit defense of the Iraqi stands. Also the ministry noted that the council's Resolution

Number 514 was in the same line as its afore-mentioned one, and has not recognized Iran's indisputable fight in punishing the war criminals.

Quoting the Iraqi foreign minister as saying that Iraq killed as many Iranians as it wished and destroyed as much as it wanted, the statement added that the Security Council waited for the realization of that goal of the Iraqi regime, and then issued its resolution to make the Iraqi rulers immune from all punishments.

In conclusion, the statement stressed that this attitude of the Security Council was a prima facie violation of the U.N. Charter and Article 24, hence the Islamic Republic of Iran, deems itself absolved from any measures of the council about the Iraqi imposed war on Iran. Iran will cooperate with the council provided that it would be responsible vis-a-vis the facts and so far, the council will be held responsible for its heedlessness in this regard.

CSO: 4600/681

## IRANIANS REPORTED ANXIOUS OVER OUTCOME OF WAR

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 80, 15 Jul 82 pp 1-2

[Text] Though Iran's invasion of Iraq on Tuesday was received with acclamation among supporters of the Islamic Republican Party and other more fervent supporters of the Khomeini regime there were widespread fears among other Iranians that their rulers were taking dangerous new risks.

In particular, Iraqi threats against the oil installations and loading facilities at Kharg island, together with renewed bombing attacks on Iranian cities, suggested that the gains of the war so far might soon be offset by fierce blows to the economy and more heavy loss of life.

"Having won the war with the oil industry intact and with the world now anxious to pacify the new tiger, weren't we in a very strong position for the future?" was a question posed in different form by many people. "We are taking an enormous chance," was a frequent comment.

This fear was reflected in the general welcoming of the invasion among Iranian exiles. Not only were they, as nationalists, delighted to see the Iraqis getting another punch on the nose, but they felt Khomeini's move could land him in difficult waters where he could well find himself out of his depth.

The fact that the Soviet Union could hardly dare to support the Iranians against an Arab country if it wanted to keep its image with the Arab masses provided some assurance to many Iranian observers that they would be in no hurry to compromise themselves by interfering in any positive way. Thus, opponents of the Khomeini regime feel, the invasion must continue to either bring about a strong Arab reaction and new dangerous complications for Tehran, or it will prove a disastrous military operation that could affect the future of the regime drastically.

"With Western policy towards the area one of negative observation and acceptance of the inevitable, the fact that Khomeini is now ready to take such hazardous actions is a hopeful turn for those who want to see some change in the present dangerous situation in the Persian Gulf," one exile politician in Paris told IPS. "The Arab Gulf states were hardly either pragmatic or sympathetic when the troubles began in Iran in 1978 so every Iranian will be happy to see them writhing with anxiety now."

"If their governments fall and they are caught up in Khomeinism, then the West will get a salutary--and perhaps fatal--lesson. If things do not go that far it will have to start thinking about some more pragmatic policy towards the area--and that can only benefit us all."

Analysts had a variety of reasons to offer for the decision to invade Iraq by the Iranian authorities. They suggested there was a real element of fanaticism among the clergy in their desire to take control of the Shi'ite holy places in southern Iraq. The fear that Iran might not be able to pressure the Arabs into paying the reparations which it desperately needs to keep its administration going was thought to be another factor. Without some effective bargaining weapon, the rulers felt they could not exert the real pressure needed to impel the Arabs to pay their due.

The fact that Israel's attack on Lebanon meant the Arabs who might support Iraq were in real disarray and preoccupied was also a contributory factor in deciding the time of the move, it was felt. The overriding impetus for the invasion, most agreed, was the desire to cash in on Iran's earlier victories to try to change the regime in Iraq, and thus strike a crucial blow for Khomeini's ultimate policy of spreading his creed to the whole region. Success in establishing a pro-Khomeini regime in Baghdad could clinch the whole issue, it is felt.

Independent analysts expressed some reservations about Iran's ability to follow up its recent military victories in different circumstances. They pointed out that it was now the Iraqis who were fighting for their homeland against invaders and this could be a crucial factor in stiffening their morale. At the same time the Iranians' fervour would be lessened in a battle on somebody else's territory.

It was also believed that not only had Iraq attained new missiles and other weapons in recent weeks but they had also hoarded much hardware in case they were forced to fight on their own soil. There was also the possibility that Jordan and other countries would provide more practical military help this time.

Against this, some analysts said, one had to bear in mind the confidence the Iranian forces had. Army chief Sayad Shirazi is reported to have been one of the strongest supporters of the invasion idea, though air force chief Moimpour was said to have discouraged it. The pathetic showing of the Iraqi land and air forces so far also led to doubts about their ability to withstand a really determined onslaught.

CSO: 4600/683

## IRAQI CHARGE IN BANGKOK DENIES MERCENARY RECRUITMENT

Bangkok SIAM MAI in Thai 19 Jun 82 pp 24-28

[Interview with (Nu'aym) Al-Khalil, the Iraqi first secretary and acting charge d'affaires in Thailand; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Concerning the reports about Thai volunteers being recruited to go fight in Iraq, why has the embassy said that this is just "propaganda aimed at harming Iraq?"

[Answer] These reports are in fact just propaganda. Those who are spreading these stories want to destroy the good relations between the Thai and Iraqi governments and between the people of Thailand and Iraq. As we have already pointed out, if the Iraqi government wanted volunteers to go fight, it would do things through the embassy. The reason that we have an embassy here is to support the various activities between the two countries.

Thus, how could the Iraqi government want to hire security units or mercenaries to fight Iran without the Iraqi embassy knowing about this? I think that those who have announced that they are recruiting such volunteers are doing so for personal profits, and they certainly do not have good intentions toward the Thai people. As far as I know, at present, there are approximately 25,000 Thai workers in Iraq. Each month, these workers send 300 million baht back to Thailand. I think that this is a large sum of money. Those who have spread such stories have harmed these workers and damaged the good relations between the two countries.

Another thing that I would like to mention is that, at present, there is not one foreigner helping the Iraqi army fight Iran. Why would we need to hire Thais to help fight? According to the reports, they want to recruit 50 Thais [now] and they need a total of 300 Thais. I don't think that this number of men would be able to help Iraq in any way in view of the fact that the war has been going on for 2 years.

This is why we have said that this is just propaganda that is of no benefit to the people of Thailand or Iraq. This is because relations between us have always been good and we have constantly tried to preserve the good relations. At the same time, the Thai workers in Iraq are doing a very good job. We

can say that the Thai workers are the best. Among those workers from Arab countries, we have 2 million Egyptian workers. And we have more than 50,000 Indians. In addition to these, there are workers from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Korea, China and many other countries.

As for the Thai workers, I do not think that there are any problems since we look after them well. I do not think they have any problems.

[Question] But concerning the recruitment of mercenaries to go fight abroad, in the past this has always been done secretly. Isn't it possible that some other sector in Iraq is doing this?

[Answer] There are no secrets between the Iraqi government and the Iraqi embassy. We need to know everything. I want to say that the system in Iraq is not like that in the other Arab countries. The government and Revolutionary Council are responsible for everything. We are the representative of the government and Revolutionary Council. The first one to know any secrets would be the Iraqi embassy in Bangkok. I do not think that our government would do anything secret without informing us.

[Question] Has the embassy conducted an investigation in order to determine definitely whether or not the companies that have announced that they are recruiting volunteers have a contract with the Iraqi government or some other sector?

[Answer] I do not know about these companies and I do not think that such companies exist. But if they really have contracts to hire people, why don't they show these contracts in their recruitment announcements? I hope that the Thai government is investigating this matter.

[Question] But from what has been learned from the Labor Department these companies have had contracts to hire people and they have in fact sent workers abroad.

[Answer] As for Iraq, if they really have contracts, they must show them to us. The important thing is, who will give them a visa? How can they leave Thailand without going through us?

[Question] I would like to ask about what is happening in the war between Iraq and Iran in this period, especially after Iran reoccupied the port city of Khorramshahr.

[Answer] Nothing has changed. Iran has retaken one of its cities. Khorramshahr is in Iran. At the same time, we want to return other areas to Iran without fighting. Our goal is peace. And another aim is that there not be interference in the internal affairs of any country. We do not want Iran to interfere in our affairs.

At the same time, we do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of Iran. What we do want is our territorial waters -- the Shatt Al-Arab River -- and our territory. I think that, at present, Iran is in a terrible situation, especially with regard to its internal political situation. But in Iraq, we are very strong. We want peace. Thus, regardless of whether Iran reoccupies Khorramshahr or some other city of theirs, we never intended to take possession of Khorramshahr or any other city of theirs. The only thing that we want is our border territory. And we are making every effort possible to end the war. We hope that Iran agrees.

[Question] Is there any hope for peace in the near future?

[Answer] We are doing everything we can and we hope that Iran agrees. They should have realized by now that war cannot solve the problems. And as I have said, Iran is well aware of the fact that we do not want any of [their] border territory since Iraq already has everything it needs. We are wealthy enough already. We do not want anything from Iran.

[Question] Is the only major problem in the dispute the Shatt Al-Arab River basin?

[Answer] That is only one of the basic problems. Another problem is the interference by the Iranian government, and Iran's system, in the internal affairs of Iraq. They have bombed some of our schools and universities. They have sent people to assassinate our political leaders. Six months before the war broke out, we sent diplomatic officials to discuss matters and to ask them to stop such actions. We sent more than 200 protests. They never answered us even once. And then on 4 September (1980), they started firing artillery into various border cities in Iraq. They fired at us from the 4th to the 22nd. We did not counter this in any way except to send five protests to their embassy requesting that they cease such actions. But, again, we did not receive an answer. Their response was to start firing on several other cities.

[Question] According to recent news reports, Iraqi fighter aircraft have penetrated to Tehran. Does this mean that the war is now expanding?

[Answer] Our fighter aircraft have penetrated as far as Tehran and other cities but we did not bomb these cities or destroy anything. This was a warning by us that if Iran does not stop firing on our cities, we have the capabilities to attack them everywhere. Our fighter aircraft have not dropped any bombs. We have just warned them to stop firing artillery into our territory.

[Question] Does this mean that Iraq can bomb various cities to the point where Iran will surrender?

[Answer] It is not our intention to end the war by bombing Iran since that would not mean the end of the war. What we want is for the two armies and the two countries to sit down together at the negotiating table and find a way to end the war. We do not want Iraqi or Iranian cities bombed.

[Question] According to recent reports, the Arab countries in the Persian Gulf have offered Iran \$25 trillion as published if Iran will stop fighting Iraq. Do you think there is any truth to this?

[Answer] That story appeared in the Thai press. We have not received any official reports about this. Thus, I cannot tell you whether Iran has accepted or refused this. However, we are not involved in any way with this money.

[Question] Concerning the 7th summit conference of the non-aligned countries that will be held soon in Baghdad, is there any chance that these countries will cooperate to solve this problem?

[Answer] We welcome the resolutions of the United Nations, of the Arab countries and of the non-aligned countries. We have accepted various resolutions before. But Iran has never accepted any proposal or resolution. If the non-aligned countries propose a new resolution, we will be happy to discuss it. Our president Saddam Hussein, is a man who wants peace.

Thus, at the last conference that was held in Cuba, the non-aligned nations issued a resolution choosing Baghdad as the site of the next conference in 3 years. This decision was made by the leaders of 90 non-aligned countries. This conference is about to be held in Baghdad. At present, over half of the member countries have issued resolutions to have the conference held in Baghdad. Why does Iran have to fear the decision of these countries?

[Question] A matter that has received much attention is the fact that Iraq has received much help from the Soviet Union. Would you please say something about this?

[Answer] We purchase weapons and necessities from all groups, with the exception of Israel. We have received military support from both the Eastern and the Western countries. We have good relations with the Soviet Union. We have good relations with both the Western and the Eastern countries. And we have good relations with the third-world countries. We accept help from all countries except Israel and South Africa.

[Question] Concerning Iraq's need for laborers, how much longer will this need exist?

[Answer] Speaking frankly, we like Thai laborers very much. They do a very good job, as I have said. They are polite. We still want and need many more Thai workers. But if such propaganda against Iraq continues, we will have to discuss this matter with the government. The stories in the newspapers concerning Thai workers going to help the Iraqi government wage war, concerning Thai workers dying in Iraq and concerning Thai workers having to lead very hard lives in Iraq are completely false. We greatly need Thai workers, as I have said. But we do not want to have problems with the Thai people or the Thai government just because of a few people who do not want Thailand and Iraq to have good relations.

I hope that the Thai government investigates this matter in order to discover the facts. We are doing everything we can to keep the Thais in Iraq out of danger. But in Thailand, just the opposite is said. There are people from more than 10 countries now working in Iraq. But no one has complained about the work and living conditions in Iraq. The stories about Thai workers started appearing last month. These stories have focused on Iraq; nothing has been said about other countries in the Middle East. There has to be some hidden motive for this. And after an investigation is conducted, I hope that the facts are printed in the newspapers so the Thai people learn the truth.

[Question] The stories have said that the lives of the Thai workers in Iraq are very hard. Would you please say something about this?

[Answer] A Thai delegation visited Baghdad for only 3 days. I do not think that they could have surveyed the living conditions of all the Thais living in Iraq. There may be problems in a few places that can be solved easily. But concerning the delegation's statement that there is a great shortage of food in Iraq, I do not think they could have said this. They also said that women cannot work in Baghdad. This is not true. I think that if they had wanted to conduct an investigation in order to discover the facts, they should have gone and talked directly with the workers at their places of work. They should not have talked to people who wanted to return home, since these people may have wanted to return home because of family problems or because of other reasons, and then printed what these people said as if it were the truth.

No one can survey all 25,000 Thai workers in just 2 days. In particular, the Thai workers do not all live in Baghdad. There are also Thai workers in nearby towns and in remote areas.

As for Iraq, we are glad to welcome all delegations. But we hope that they will tell the truth when they return. And they are welcome to stay in Iraq as long as they want in order to determine the facts. I think that if there are any problems, they can be solved by the two governments. Our countries can solve any problem if we help each other. And the 25,000 workers definitely have some problems. It is the same in Bangkok. Among that number of workers, there will be problems. This is true everywhere. This is common. But [the delegation] should not have returned and talked about the minor problems and then printed stories in the newspapers saying that the Iraqi government is not treating the Thai workers well.

One fact is that only 20 percent of the workers are working there on government-to-government contracts. The other workers are the affair of foreign companies in Iraq and employment agencies in Thailand. The Iraqi government has nothing to do with these work contracts. But if any of the workers in this 20 percent who are working with the Iraqi government have any problems, they can come to the embassy and file charges against the Iraqi government. I would be glad to provide help in order to have people go see the workers who are living in these terrible conditions.

We are making every effort possible to see to it that the Thai workers are protected by Iraqi laws. The problems are with the work contracts made between the employment agencies here and the foreign companies in Iraq. Thus, the Thai side must watch the employment agencies here to see if they are doing things in accord with the law. As for us, it is our duty to give them protection while they are in Iraq.

[Question] Concerning those workers who are not under direct contract with the Iraqi government, do you have any proposals for solving the problems?

[Answer] We are giving them as much help as we can. We have gotten involved in the internal affairs of the foreign companies many times in order to protect foreign workers who are working for them.

11943

CSO: 4207/110

## STUDY SHOWS KIBBUTZ LIFE EQUALIZES ETHNIC DIFFERENCES

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 30 Jun 82 pp 5, 7

[Article: "The Influence of Kibbutz Education on Sephardi Youth that Left the Youth Groups"]

[Text] Alexander Avnat of Haifa University's Institute for the Study of the Kibbutz has conducted a comparative study between the graduates of the youth groups from Sephardi background who have left the kibbutz and their siblings who did not belong to the youth groups. The following is a summary of the study written by Avnat in the journal of the Yotu Division of the Kibbutz Ha'artzi:

The two groups are identical in their average age, sex, place of birth, the origin of their parents, the number of siblings and the type of relationship with their parents. But the demographic data show differences: the graduates of the youth groups are better educated than their siblings. A married couple of the youth group graduates has less children than the siblings who were not educated in the kibbutz.

In terms of the fulfillment of needs the picture is differential. Social, security, autonomy and self-realization needs are more strongly felt, subjectively speaking, by the graduates of the youth groups than their siblings who were not educated in the kibbutz. Yet in terms of standard of living, housing and number of friends there is no difference in the fulfillment of needs.

The situation is similar in regard to the importance of needs: imputing importance to existential and social needs is similar in the two samples, yet the youth group graduates place greater emphasis on the needs of self-realization, autonomy and security.

In regard to other adaptation criteria, (in addition to need fulfillment), we found out that most of the criteria (satisfaction with life, number of items needed), the graduates of the youth group have an advantage.

The impression is that the graduates in real terms had more income, but we are not fully certain about this important item because of inflation. What we

did find out is that the graduates have a higher number of employment of both partners than the members of the other group.

In terms of ethnic relations the three criteria (origin of friends, the Sephardi heritage and sensitivity to ethnic attacks), show a certain distancing on the part of the graduates from their ethnic origin, more so than their siblings who were not educated by the kibbutz. In regard to other questions dealing with discrimination and ways of changing one's status, there were no significant differences between the two samples.

In the area of socio-political stands there was more similarity than expected between the two samples. Only in regard to three questions (preferring democracy to efficiency, income differences in Israel as marginal and affinity with the Alignment) we found greater closeness in the positions of the graduates to the typical kibbutz positions than we did in the positions of their siblings.

#### Greater Political Involvement

On the other hand, in regard to five questions where we expected a similar difference--a way of solving the Arab-Israeli conflict, the importance of socialism, the nature of the desirable equality, etc.--we did not find a difference. But we did find an important behavioral difference: the graduates voted in greater numbers than their siblings.

The similarity in socio-political positions led us to the conclusion that the graduates (and their siblings) may come from underprivileged families, but they are also from families that are sympathetic to the labor parties and the Alignment. We did not have direct proof, but we did find out that the position of the siblings was closer to the graduates' than to the positions prevalent among Sephardi Jews, especially the youth.

In regard to civics in terms of both military attitude and interest in public issues, the graduates had a certain advantage over their siblings. In regard to all the questions dealing with Judaism and Zionism there was hardly a difference between the samples. There was no difference regarding Israeli identity, sensitivity to attacks on Jews and the importance of immigration to Israel. Yet the graduates were more lenient toward those who leave Israel and were more secular (their siblings were not particularly religious, but considered themselves more "traditional").

In terms of attitude toward the kibbutz there was hardly a difference between the two samples. The attitude could be defined as moderate sympathy.

Two theoretical areas opened up in the study. One was more psychological, having to do with the ability of the kibbutz to compensate for the relationships the young people experienced in their childhood and prepare them for adulthood, and the other sociological, having to do with the encounter between the two cultures--one more traditional, the culture of the ethnic group and the family, and the other more modern, represented by the kibbutz (including the young person's adoptive family). Israeli society is closer

to the kibbutz culture, at least in terms of its being more modern, and in this respect we tried to find out if the kibbutz was able to help the young person meet the demand of such society.

On the whole the answer is positive. The kibbutz helps its youth free itself from its background and adapt itself to adult life in the modern society.

Kibbutz graduates become better adjusted to modern society than their siblings. Their needs are better fulfilled, especially the needs they (and modern society) consider important. They are better satisfied with life, and their income appears to be higher. Their civics is also better.

There is, however, a certain price tag attached to this adaptation, but it seems to be reasonable. A certain distancing from the ethnic group and from religion, but not from "Israelism", Judaism in general and Zionism, at least in comparison to the siblings who did not grow up on the kibbutz.

#### Those Who Remained in the Kibbutz Acquire a Status

The respondents who are graduates of the kibbutz youth groups and were during the time of the study between the ages of 20-35 are mostly Israeli born of Sephardi origin. They had a deprived childhood. Their parents were of low socio-economic status, there were many divorces and deaths of parents, a backward environment and few intellectual stimulations.

Upon joining the youth group they received a certain compensation through their adoptive family, proper education in keeping with their ability, sympathy and encouragement from their teachers, youth leaders and members of the kibbutz. They rose above their earlier environment and achieved a proper status in their adult life.

Their education is above the average of their peers in the Israeli population. The income of those who leave the kibbutz is equal or perhaps a little higher than their peer group (regardless of ethnic belonging).

Those who remain in the kibbutz acquire a status both at work and in kibbutz leadership roles (members of committees), higher than the natives of the kibbutz of their age group. Their life-satisfaction is higher than kibbutz natives and the graduates of the youth groups who leave. This strong status seems to be to a large extent the result of a rigorous process of selection: only a small percentage of the graduates remain in the kibbutz.

In terms of attitudes, the graduates who remain in the kibbutz show greater loyalty to the kibbutz, comparable to kibbutz natives who remain, and in certain respects even greater. The graduates who leave have a bond to the kibbutz and a good deal of sympathy, greater than other groups in terms of political views. The graduates (especially those who stay, but also those who leave) are closer in their views to the kibbutz members. They are politically closer to kibbutz members than to their own ethnic group.

In terms of inter-group relations, many of them marry members of other ethnic groups (equal among those who stay and those who leave) and are only slightly aware of ethnic discrimination.

What stands out is their view that there is hardly any ethnic discrimination in the kibbutz. The lack (or near-lack) of feelings of ethnic discrimination among the graduates shows the objective narrowing of ethnic gap among them.

In the beginning of this summary we presented several theoretical and practical questions that the study has tried to deal with. There were four practical questions:

To what extent does the youth group education ensure better adaptation to life for the graduates?

To what extent do the graduates become good citizens in the State of Israel?

To what an extent do they form a potential of membership for the kibbutz?

To what an extent did the graduates--both those who remain and those who leave--assimilate the ideological values of the kibbutz?

We do not have at this point definitive and unequivocal answers to the practical and theoretical questions we have raised. These should come at the end of the study, as a result of the analysis of causation and comparison with the sibling group that will allow the isolation of the kibbutz influences.

#### Youth Group Education Contributes to Good Adaptation

We do, however, have partial answers. In practical terms we find out that:

(a) The youth group education does contribute to good adaptation of the graduates in the adult society.

(b) The study shows that the interest of the respondents in public affairs, in volunteering to special army units and in army promotion is an indication of good civic responsibility. Public and political contribution, however, is moderate.

(c) Only a minority of the graduates remain in the kibbutz. The results of the study show that some of them may return to the kibbutz.

(d) The socio-political views of the graduates are close to those of the kibbutz members and quite far from those of their ethnic group.

The above also answer some of the theoretical questions we have raised:

It appears that the youth group education can partially compensate the youth for the deprivation of its childhood. It can also facilitate the adaptation to life in the modern Israeli society, help integrate ethnic groups and lessen

the conflicts between Western and Sephardi cultures. The compensation for childhood problems has theoretical importance, especially since certain psychologists (of the Freudian school and those close to it) believe that such problems cannot be remedied.

The lessening of conflicts and the lack of a feeling of discrimination are important at a time when new ethnic conflicts have flared up. But this conclusion too is problematic.

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CSO: 4423/185

ETHNIC GAPS IN EDUCATION DIMINISH

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 1 Jul 82 p 8

[Article: "Ethnic Gap in Education System Narrows"]

[Text] The ethnic gap in the educational system is narrowing in all age groups. This is the conclusion arrived at by a study presented to Minister of Education Zevulun Hammer at the end of the school year.

The study was conducted by Dr Percheq Bilitzki and by Hayim Turqi of the planning division of the Ministry of Culture and Education. The study points out that between 1969 and 1980 the number of second-generation Israeli natives in the school system doubled (in all ages).

Other finds of the study:

There is hardly any ethnic gap in kindergartens and elementary schools, where those of Asian and African origin are fully represented.

The number of children of parents of Asian and African origin in post-elementary education is growing and the gap between their percentage in the population and in the schools is diminishing, from 14.3 percent in 1967 to 5.4 percent in 1980.

The gap has also begun to diminish in the universities. The study shows that the percentage of second generation native Israelis at the university level has grown, as well as the percentage of those of Asian and African origin, while the number of those of European and American origin has declined.

A Productive Year

Minister Hammer said yesterday that the school year has been educationally productive and did not go through any kind of turmoil.

The minister spoke during a tour of schools in the Giv'at Mordkhay section of Jerusalem.

Hammer said that all education institutions gave broad attention to the central theme of the school year, 100 Years of Settlement. He stated that his ministry has decided to continue with this theme next year.

Hammer added that last year the activities of Jewish-Zionist education were expanded, new plans for working with marginal youth were put into effect, and steps were taken to raise the training standards for teachers.

He pointed out that in 1982 there was a drop in violence in the schools due to close cooperation between the schools and the police.

#### Television Programs During Vacation

This morning the educational television began a series of special programs for students on vacation. The spokesman of the Ministry of Education and Culture announced that the programs will start at 9 and will continue until 11:30 am. Afternoon programs will remain the same.

The summer programs will be geared for children and adolescents. A previously popular program, "This Is It," will be shown again live.

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CSO: 4423/185

## IRRESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION TO PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION DENOUNCED

Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 1 May 82 pp 1, 9

[Editorial by 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Masa'id: "Revision of the Constitution Between Its Proponents and Its Opponents"]

[Text] In Article V of the Constitution, paragraph 174, there is the following text: "The Amir and one-third of the National Council have the right to propose a revision of this constitution by amending or deleting one or more of its provisions or by adding a new provision. If the Amir and a majority of the members who make up the National Council approve the principle and subject of the revision, the council shall discuss the proposed bill paragraph by paragraph; two-thirds of the members who make up the council are required to confirm it. Thereafter, the provision shall become effective only after the Amir approves it and promulgates it, with the exception of the provision of paragraphs 65 and 66 of this constitution. If the proposed revision is rejected from the standpoint of principle or from the standpoint of subject, it is not allowed to be submitted again until 1 year after this rejection. It is not permitted to propose an amendment to this constitution until 5 years after it is put into effect."

This is the constitutional paragraph with the aforementioned number which clearly and unequivocally explains the legality of proposing a revision of the constitution. We are publishing its text in response to what we and other newspapers have published, such as the note signed by Dr Ahmad al-Khatib and Jasim al-Qatta'i. It contains allegations and exaggerations concerning the bill submitted by the government to revise certain paragraphs of the constitution. Actually, we published the note referred to above to assure freedom of opinion, in spite of our conviction that it was not valid or well-intentioned, because the tone of the note was intended to exaggerate a topic which we do not believe is taken from the aspect which the note's authors intended. Regrettably, they appeared to want an opportunity to be conspicuous or to be noticed. In addition to this, the opposition to the amendment started from strange illusions, which we do not believe exist outside of the authors' minds, to wit, that the proposals submitted by the government are limited to a general procedural framework, which means getting rid of certain restraints which have been obstructing the course of joint action between the executive and legislative powers.

Actually, these government proposals and others were the subject of debate in the constitutional revision committee. One member in it was not referred to, and there were other members who were lawyers, PhD's, and experts who are concerned with legal and constitutional matters. Note that the discussions came to agreement on the necessity of including in the revision a number of procedural aspects for the sake of facilitating government action or council action. The reason was that some bills, for example, were staying in the custody of the council for several years without being decided. Thus, what is to be done? There are constitutional loopholes adhered to in many nations which have a parliamentary system; they must be adopted in order for action to be proper. They establish the progressive basis for guaranteeing the interests of the citizens. Thus, it was decided in the constitutional revision committee that there was nothing to prevent constitutional amendments toward making it possible to bring out a number of bills which would be permitted to remain in council without being settled for a specific and reasonable period of time by decree of the Amir. This does not depart from the backbone of democratic operation, which is that the council be given the reasonable and requisite timeframe to resolve such and such a law. If it does not, then it has, itself, given justification for this bill to be promulgated by decree.

This is a rule which has been adopted in Lebanon, for example, and it is a nation more deep-rooted than us in this area. In Lebanon there are experts and great scholars in constitutional science. Along with this, no outcry has been raised there about an amendment like this. Thus, there is no justification for this wailing which was raised, and with which it was desired to frighten, to threaten, and to don the garb of defenders of democracy, or deliverers, in the face of a danger which, in fact, does not exist.

Actually, the strangest thing in this matter is that the objection issues from a society which never ceases to talk about progress and the need to adhere to it and not stagnate, which is incompatible with human existence itself. It has been assumed that these people would be, on the basis of their literature, the first to support amending the constitution, from the aspect that the constitution is compiled by men, and that men progress as their needs develop and their growth accelerates. As long as this is so, about which there is no argument, why is there an outcry over the amendment? The constitution is not a fixed model, nor is its text divinely inspired. It is principles drawn up to regulate the procedure of the state under conditions which may not remain the same, in a context of accelerating development. This requires that we go along with the development, not remaining prisoners of form and sitting inside it while time and the world move along. Unfortunately, bad taste was shown by mentioning the drafter of the constitution, the late Amir 'Abdullah al-Salim, and repudiating him as though the current government is determined to withdraw and abrogate it, while the truth is that the government wishes to obtain orderly principles for regulating procedures between the two powers.

Actually, the government is not defenseless in what it has submitted. In practice and in fact, it has a popular base which is the widest, indeed the greatest majority of the people. Thanks to this, it is capable of much and knows that the people are favorable to it.

While a certain few believe that, through the opposition which they are conducting improperly, the people will be held back from their leadership, nonetheless this opposition knows full well that it does not control that which it opposes. All citizens, and others, know this fact along with them. That is, the government has not left the opposition anything with which to seize power. On the domestic scene, no other government could present, in the same amount of time and in the same way, what this government has presented to the citizens, on any level. On the level of Arab nationalism, we have not seen any Arab government adopt a stance of greater integrity, devotion and truth.

Therefore, the tumult which was instigated wanted to exploit a situation which it cannot exploit. With all due respect to the authors of the note, their arrow has missed its mark. Even the phony meeting held between them for this purpose made it clear that their intention was not as good as could be desired, and that the objective was purely personal.

In any case, let the opposition be more serious, with respect, at least, for the meaning of opposition. Let us also be ready if something comes up which actually requires that opposition be present. However, if it is like this--exploitative and self-serving--then it casts shadows on motives and stirs up doubts. This is something we do not want our young people to learn.

In the end, we still have the nation and we still have higher interests. It is certain that everyone flows within the framework of these interests, so that we do not neglect standards and lose the ability to distinguish between opportunism and what the people truly want.

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CSO: 4404/457

## BRIEFS

WATER USE--The Minister of Electricity and Water, Mr Khalaf Ahmad al-Khalaf, stated that there are four water distilling stations with a production capacity of 100 million gallons of water, distributed as follows: Al-Shuyukh station (7 units), production capacity 14 million gallons; Al-Shuyukh station (3 units), production capacity 7 (a new unit is being activated and tested); Al-Sha'abiyah station (7 units), production capacity 14 million; Al-Sha'abiyah South station (6 units), production capacity 30 million, Al-Dawah East station (7 units), production capacity 42 million. In response to a question from Deputy Faysal al-Qadibi, the minister added that the average daily consumption of ground water from the Al-Raudatayn field is 400,000 gallons throughout the year, while daily consumption from the Al-Shaqaya field comes to 20 million gallons throughout the year. He indicated that the average daily consumption of fresh water is about 70 million gallons. Also, the average daily consumption of slightly saline water is about 30 million gallons. [Text] [Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 30 Apr 82 p 3] 9605

CIVIL SERVICE RAISES--In accordance with information reported solely by AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM during the past week, the joint committee from the financial and legislative committees in the National Council agreed yesterday to submit a bill to raise the salaries of civil servants. The head of the financial and economic affairs committee, Deputy Jasim al-Kharafi, said that the committee, in the meeting held yesterday, decided to submit the bill to increase the salaries of civil servants in the following manner: A 20 dinar raise for all civil servants, added to the base pay; a 10 dinar raise in the social bonus for married and unmarried Kuwaitis; a 10 dinar bonus for an unlimited number of children; and the committee also agreed to increase retired pay by at least 30 dinars. Mr al-Kharafi added that this raise constitutes an obligation estimated at 133 million dinars, about 33 million dinars greater than the government's proposal. From another standpoint, the financial and economic committee approved a bill submitted by the government to determine the budget for the Kuwaiti News Agency for the 1982-83 fiscal year, along with certain reductions in its budget. The committee will submit a report on this, accompanied by a number of recommendations. [Text] [Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 3 May 82 p 1] 9605

CSO: 4404/457

## LEBANESE CRISIS CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF HABIB-SHARON CONFLICT

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 28, 3 Jul 82 pp 26-27

[Article by Salim Nassar: "Habib-Sharon Conflict Over 'Murphy's Role' and a 'Basket of Crabs'"]

[Text] One day before Alexander Haig resigned, Philip Habib twice threatened to withdraw from his special mission after complaining to President Reagan that the Secretary of State was not taking his proposals seriously.

The proposals put by Habib to the State Department represented, in his views, the maximum that the PLO would accept and the minimum agreed to by Israel. Suddenly, it was revealed through Premier Sa'ib Salam that the assurances given to Riyadh by William Clark, National Security Advisor, over a disengagement differed in principle from the other formula that the Secretary of State was working at implementing. It was not a political formula, but one aimed at eliminating the Palestinian's military lines and structure in a manner that would guarantee Israel's defense and security.

It was said that Habib grumbled at having his own proposals ignored, and he expressed to President Reagan his misgivings over Secretary Haig's initiative. He accused the Secretary of stalling for time at the risk of aborting Habib's own role, just as Kissinger had done when he sent Dean Brown on an undefined mission to Lebanon, leaving him to conduct meetings without having any clear political directives. The special envoy objected to his awkward position, and told President Reagan that he was attempting to define the goals of this process of interference so as to find out where Israel's interests end and where America's interest begin!

It appears that the interests of both countries are militarily and politically intertwined in Lebanon, as they never had been in the past. For this reason former President Nixon regarded Reagan as the most sympathetic U.S. President with Israel since Harry Truman. Indeed, this was what encouraged former President Carter to call for the necessity for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, so that they would not pose a strategic burden on Washington. Perhaps the nightmare of America's overt interference in Vietnam crossed Carter's mind then, particularly since Menachem Begin skillfully played upon Reagan's ambitions when he proposed American participation with the Rapid Deployment Force, which is the force proposed as an alternative to the international peace-keeping forces. Reagan had considered this step from time

to time in the past, and he never disregarded it. This is because he saw in it a renewal of the Sixth Fleet's role in 1958, which former mediator Murphy described in his book as a "diplomatic role between two combatants" in that it brought to a standstill Abdal Karim Qassim's coup in Iraq and prevented it from spreading beyond Iraq's borders.

Lebanese who met with Reagan during the presidential campaign in Los Angeles mentioned how Reagan chose Eisenhower's decision to respond to their questions relating to the fate of Lebanon. He said that he found no better choice before him than the military solution elected by Eisenhower in the past, if it looked like Lebanon's political situation was going to break down, its political order change, and its official institutions fragment completely. But President Reagan was aware that Congress rejects in principle any such kind of foreign military adventure, and that the Vietnam War resulted in a huge psychological complex that is difficult to overcome at present. Similarly, Reagan is aware that a 1982 marine landing on Lebanon's shores might provoke a Soviet response that could leave open the possibility of international confrontation. In this way, America's intervention in Lebanon was achieved by using Israel as a kind of Trojan horse. But there is one main difference: The limited military operation aimed at achieving unlimited political gains. This is what led to the objections of Philip Habib during the attempt to reconcile the two interests.

Diplomats try to draw a comparison between Murphy's mission in 1958 and Habib's role in 1982. But the obstacles which Murphy had to remove in order to clear the way for Fu'ad Shihab to assume the presidency cannot be compared to the difficulties faced by Habib.

Twenty-four years ago, it was required to give a share of Lebanon to 'Abd al-Nasir and to diminish some of Britain's influence, as well as a little of the Soviet's. But the forces present in Lebanon today, which have taken root over the last 7 years, have made the matter of the presidency a triviality which cannot even be proposed until the end of the summer. Observers believe that Philip Habib's mission will be confined over the next two weeks to maintaining the current situation in Beirut, awaiting George Shultz to formally assume his office. The complications stemming from Haig's resignation have obliged Reagan to reconsider certain of the solutions proposed by the special envoy that had been received with silence or disregard. Of course, this does not mean that Israel won't take advantage of the vacuum left by the Secretary of State to consider new military-security action that might reach the geographical borders of Beirut.

In the meantime, international pressure has thwarted, to some extent, Sharon's plans and prevented him temporarily from destroying the capital. From another aspect, it has pushed him to modify his strategy and threaten a military siege and cordon extending from al-Awza'i to Burj al-Barajnah. With this process of pressure, as the Israeli newspapers speak of it, Sharon hopes to empty the camps around Beirut and keep close to half a million people enclosed within an area of no more than 3 kilometers.

In the opinion of some commentators, Sharon is trying to wage collective psychological warfare in West Beirut, just as he is trying to use the element of time to obtain valuable political concessions, i.e., to concentrate all of his strength within a situation called "a basket of crabs." This means the assembly of the largest number of enemy forces into a confined area, a situation which results in continued fighting. He is also wagering that in the days to come there will manifest one single Palestinian force that will lead to increased resentment on the part of the Lebanese. And in Reagan's latest statement and his claim to the multiplicity of Palestinian representation, there was a hidden indication that the PLO is not the only representative of the Palestinians, and that he is ready for a dialogue with the PLO only if such a move was supported by all parties. This is not the first time that the Palestinian resistance rejected this sort of theft. It was tried in the past by Nixon, Ford and Carter, when all three claimed that the PLO did not represent the majority of Palestinians because it refused to recognize Israel!

Judging from the statements of Reagan, Shamir and Sharon, it appears that there does exist a difference between the American view and the Israeli view over the method for dealing with the Palestinian issue in Lebanese territory. When President Reagan was demanding an end to the Palestinian military role, he simultaneously announced his willingness to start a dialogue with PLO political representatives through the autonomy negotiations and the Camp David Plan so as to arrive at a solution that would include all the various parties to the conflict in the Middle East crisis. And in order to prevent any such direct American-Palestinian dialogue, Sharon attempted to obtain a resolution from the Israeli government and Knesset to destroy West Beirut, believing that by liquidating the Palestinians militarily, he would also end, once and for all, the Palestinians' political representation in Lebanon. This explains Sharon's insistence in his latest interview with a reporter on British television that autonomy does not mean that the inhabitants of the West Bank would be granted political and administrative independence. As for the Palestinians in Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and the Gulf states, Sharon claimed that this issue is more a concern of the states in which they are found than it does Israel. This kind of logic was repeated in the past by Ben-Gurion when he was asked by the Jewish Scientist Einstein what he would do with the Palestinians if an Israeli state were created. Ben-Gurion replied evasively: "They are a non-existent people." The noted French commentator and writer Rayon Aron says in the latest issue of L'EXPRESS: "Sharon will discover, as other Israeli leaders discovered before him, that victory is unable to change many truths, just as Napoleon discovered that force is incapable of organizing certain matters in the world."

When Philip Habib threatened to withdraw from his mission, it was out of an objection to the underhanded method adopted by Haig for reasons that are no longer unknown.

The special envoy admits that in all of the successful negotiations which he monitored, particularly the Paris negotiations over Vietnam, he would present his opponent with a number of choices and then leave him with a way out if he did not want to push him into a corner. This is the opposite of Sharon,

who gives the Palestinians the choice of two evils and leaves them with only a narrow tunnel leading to nowhere but political suicide. On top of all this, he demands that the Lebanese, who for 7 years have not agreed on a minimum of national relations, to decide within a week on an issue which has preoccupied the Middle East for the last 30 years. Any conditional decision of this sort will inevitably lead to a tragedy for the country.

To escape this whirlpool, Premier Sa'ib Salam is trying to excuse the Lebanese leaders from making such an historical decision, considering it to be the right of the Palestinian resistance alone to take such a strategic step, taking into account the Israeli military situation in which Beirut and its inhabitants have become similar to a hijacked airplane which no one can help except those who have sacrificed Lebanon, its security, its army, its institutions and its sovereignty, to the PLO ever since its first communique of a military operation from southern Lebanon in 1965. It is a difficult decision in which national struggles are mixed with humanitarian feelings.

Abu 'Ammar says that the resistance has ready, alternative plans. Among them is a plan for the final stage of a battle of despair. But he does not imagine the PLO reaching this turn yet!

Amid this tension-laden atmosphere, Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance are facing the most extreme tug-of-war game yet. On one side is the United States and Israel. On the other side stands Syria and the Arab states. The two sides are struggling over this small country, each one attempting to bring it over to its own side. And since Lebanon has lost all of its resistance to political and economic breakdown in 7 years of continuous strife, the bankruptcy of the state, its leadership, and its parliament is to be expected. For the most part, this bankruptcy is further hindered by certain complications, the least of them being the process of the state putting its hand in the hands of those agencies chosen by the court to appraise the state's assets and distribute its shares.

In light of the Arabs' powerlessness and international collusion, Philip Habib is trying to carry out a difficult process aimed at disengaging American interests from Israeli objectives in Lebanon. Alexander Haig had had them intertwined in such a way that the greater power's policy became hostage to the military decisions taken by Begin and Sharon. This is the negative reflection of the contradictory state of affairs existing today. It is as if the Reagan Administration is jockeying behind the back of the European community into a position where it will be safe from the consequences of its past aimlessness. In the estimation of upcoming Secretary George Shultz, this aimlessness' failure became apparent after the fact that Alexander Haig was working on his own terms and for his benefit, and had exploited the Administration's decision in a Machiavellian fashion.

Diplomatic circles in Washington are talking about the tumultuous meeting held between President Reagan and the former Secretary of State, before the latter announced his resignation (which appeared more to be a dismissal). And during his visit to Riyadh, George Bush heard some things from Saudi officials that totally conflicted with the words that Haig was volunteering without informing

anyone. The Saudis regarded this as sheer fabrications, lies, and a distortion of a position of principle from which there could be no retreat from. This is why the Saudi threat of "using every means available" was the essence of the warning carried by George Bush to Reagan. Immediately, Reagan decided on Haig's dismissal and informed George Shultz of his new appointment while he was still in Norway attending an economic conference. Those who heard Shultz's speech noted that he spoke on politics with authority. The only reason he showed up in London when his new appointment was announced was for appearances' sake; he had already agreed to it. Rumors circulated that George Shultz was to be nominated for the office of Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration. However, the Jewish lobby exerted considerable pressure for his removal from consideration, accusing Shultz of lacking objectivity and independence since he worked as Vice-President for the Bechtel Contracting Company. This company has contracted for several projects in Saudi Arabia, like the project for natural gas storage, the building of housing complexes in Jubayl, and some of the work on the Riyadh airport. Israel objected to Shultz' appointment to such a sensitive office, claiming that he would insert the interests of the company he represents into any decision pertaining to the Middle East crisis. That same objection was directed at this friend Caspar Weinberger, who assumed an important position in Bechtel after having served in the Nixon Administration as Secretary of Health and Education. Both of them cooperated with Reagan in California and helped raise contribution funds for his election campaign.

The Israelis regard the Office of the Secretary of State as the most important position after the presidency, because it alone has a direct relationship with them. They remember how Kissinger saved them from disaster in the 1973 War by an air bridge which transported half of their tank arsenal to them, and how he obtained for them the best negotiation terms. Similarly, they remember also how the U.S. State Department surprised them with an arms embargo in 1949, even though Truman had signed the decision recognizing Israel's existence in 1948. Which is why the Israelis turned to Czechoslovakia to make up the shortage. They accuse Foster Dulles of playing a key role in convincing Eisenhower to force Israel to withdraw from Sinai in 1957.

It may be noted that Manachem Begin repeated his threats to enter Beirut, as if by doing so he would test Secretary Shultz and force him to reveal his true intentions. And when Begin announced that he did not promise anyone to withdraw from attacking the capital, he was on the contrary sending signals through President Reagan, casting doubts over the promise with which he had eased the minds of Western European leaders and the Pope that he would not allow the destruction of the most beautiful capital of the East.

The time interval spanning the present until the time when the new Secretary of State assumes his duties will be occupied with the decision of who is able to have the final say. And any conclusion must excuse the state of Lebanon, naturally, because it has always preferred to take a seat with the rest of the audience!

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CSO: 4404/572

## LIKELIHOOD OF HOLDING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN LEBANON DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 28 3 Jul 82 p 23

[Article: "Bashir Jumayyil: 'If I Had Not Been Nominated Before the Occupation, I Wouldn't Have Allowed Myself to be Nominated Afterward.'"]

[Text] What if the Israeli occupation were to continue until the end of President Elias Sarkis' term? Would the election of a new president be possible then? And if a new president were to be elected under the shadow of this new reality, what would be the results?

These questions have started to occupy the minds of high officials and certain political leaders ever since Parliamentary Chairman Mr Kamil al-As'ad suddenly decided on refusing to invite the Parliament to meet to elect a new president under the shadow of the Israeli occupation. He was prepared with justifications and warnings which made the matter of electing the president inconceivable, at the various national and political levels, under the shadow of the occupation.

There were national and political forces that shared the position of the Parliamentary Chairman. Besides, most, if not all, of the members of Parliament were opposed to the idea and agreed with their chairman's position. This political and parliamentary position acted to end any possibility, if there ever was any, of electing a president. There were those who did think that it would be possible to convene parliament for that purpose, relying on the constitutional provision that says that the parliament will convene definitely, even hours before the end of the president's term, so as to elect a new president--if the circumstances are such as to make it impossible for the Parliament's Chamber to call for an election time during the constitutional time limit, which begins two months before the end of the incumbent's term on 23 September.

What would the election of a president mean under the shadow of the Israeli occupation?

There are many cautions which the majority of parliamentary and political forces now agreed on. Ultimately, they constitute a national position which says that any such election is inconceivable under the auspices of the occupation. In addition to the national aspect, in the sense of national sovereignty and independence, it is possible to summarize these cautions into two fundamental matters:

- The first is that the election of the president of the republic under the shadow of the Israeli occupation will always be contested from the national point of view, coming under the auspices of the Israeli forces and under the pressure of occupation. Factions large and small will not hesitate to say that the State of Israel gave Lebanon its president. Accordingly, his position and decisions will also be contested. In such an atmosphere, the country might face a crisis of demands calling for the ouster of the president and the election of a new president upon Israeli evacuation.

- Second, an election under the auspices of the occupation would be dominated by the search for a presidential candidate agreeing to the arrival of Israel to Lebanon and willing to conclude a peace treaty between Lebanon and Israel. In a short time, this condition could almost become one of the main conditions to which the new president would be committed to adhering to. So far, at least, there does not appear to be a candidate on the horizon to undertake this task as a precondition for his election, and without there being a Lebanese, national decision to study the subject of peace with Israel after its total withdrawal and in light of certain conditions existing for the whole Arab region.

At one time, certain politicians did not hesitate to imply that a man like the phalangist leader and commander of the "Lebanese forces," Bashir Jumayyil, would be equipped for this role. But these implications were quickly characterized as a biased viewpoint, and certain politicians were quick to rule out this possibility as unlikely. They emphasized that Bashir Jumayyil is not on the horizon. One political personality related a discussion on the subject of whether or not to elect a new president in the shadow of occupation. Bashir Jumayyil was: "Thank God that the decision to nominate me as a presidential candidate was taken weeks before the Israeli suppression of Lebanon. If the decision hadn't previously been made in this regard and the Israeli occupation taken place, I would never have accepted my nomination. I would have disregarded the matter, only for the sake of it not being said that Bashir Jumayyil benefitted from the Israeli presence in Lebanon in order to nominate himself" This subject was debated by Minister of Communication Michael al-Mur and President Ilyas Sarkis from a standpoint of the personal friendship that bonds them together. The debate turned to ways in which to remedy the situation and escape from this awkward dilemma in the event of a continued Israeli occupation and the impracticability of electing a new president. Minister al-Murr conveyed to President Sarkis one view circulating among certain circles, which says that the only way out of this dilemma will be a return to the proposal of extending President Sarkis' term, since he already holds the office. For him to remain in power would end all of the cautions being proposed, and no one would be able to say that he was put in power by this or that occupier. In fact, it would be said that his continuation in office acted to save the country without falling victim to any trap or creating any sort of vacuum. The president was reported to have said: "It is totally inconceivable that I would be the one to sign a peace treaty with Israel, whatever the circumstances or considerations. From another aspect, the matter of extending my term is in principle out of the question. This is a position I will not withdraw from. Everyone knows that now, especially the Americans. I told them last time, through Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Morris Draper: 'Enough talk about this subject. I hope you will let it drop once and for all. I don't wish to remain in office and I don't want to extend my term. Enough.'"

Despite all of this, there is more than one political and official side interested in this matter out of the necessity for planning for every contingency--including the possibility of Israel remaining in Lebanon and the inconceivability of electing a new president of the republic.

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CSO: 4404/572

## FORMATION OF POPULAR MILITIA, ORGANIZATIONS REVIEWED

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 31 May 82 p 12

/Article: "The Organizational Structure of the Armed People: Final Instalment"/

/Text/ Now, after we have presented you, in the course of four successive issues, with a scientific study drawn from official sources on the conversion of the towns into an army, we today come to a review of the organizational, administrative and technical structure of the armed people, with their various staffs and administrations, people, and technical units, with the goal of raising the Libyan Arab citizen's consciousness of this quantum leap in the concept of the combat and tactical preparation of the armed people.

This has been the outcome of the revolutionary work which began in early 1972 (the system of people's resistance) and 1977 (the battalions of the holy warriors); these were the nucleus of the army of a million male and female combatants.

#### The Goal of the Organizational Structure of the Armed People

The goal of the organizational structure of the armed people may be defined as the attainment of circumstances through which the masses of the people can become trained in all types of weapons in the shortest period of time, possess these arms, weapons, and impose their dominance over them in full. The command of the conversion of the towns into an army is concerned with providing arms for every citizen in accordance with his desires and the circumstances of his status and work, in a manner which is compatible with his physical abilities and organization in tactical military combat units.

For example:

A trainee in Artillery Battalion S.

The trainee is given a card stating his name, his field of specialization, his serial number and his stipulated training program. In addition, the battalion is given a new name and a reference number and a location is set aside in which it is to be concentrated.

The purpose in this is successfully to realize offensive and defensive goals at any moment.

This structure aims at setting forth tactical programs, projects and periodic maneuvers in a manner which will raise the masses' combat capability, will ensure their freedom and will bring them to advanced new positions every day.

No model in the world aside from the armed people and the organizational structure mentioned above can be considered a mass or democratic one if its goal is different from the one we have mentioned, for instance if it keeps arms in the monopoly control of traditional military personnel which they use as they wish when necessary against the remaining defenseless members of the society, unless this monopoly is crushed by training people in weapons and having them take them over, at which point all people will have equal possession of this material, and it will not be the subject of a monopoly, nor will any class arise from it subsequently.

The various governments in the world consider that the masses, in the event they have the arms, constitute a risk to their survival and they deprive them of weapons, oppress them with them and keep them away from their traditional regular armies.

These armies believe that their power to bear arms is by proxy for the masses and they thus create dictatorial classes which monopolize the weapons and crush the masses with them, since the latter confront and resist the authorities monopolizing and controlling the weapons.

The philosophy of the armed people, with their structure, containing their own staff, administration and people, stresses the discipline, precision and scientific training of the people who have enlisted under their banner. They are not to be considered an alternative to traditional military forms, which can in the main take account only of their interests and the interests of their masters the rulers and have fraudulent medals, badges and decorations tarnished by rust spread across their bloated chests and bellies, which have been swollen from eating the sweat of toilers and oppressing them.

Here the people are the rulers, the leaders, the masters and the heads of state and no powers, resources or arms belong to anyone besides them.

Their interests are above the interests of all things.

There is no person who will agree to sacrifice himself by proxy for anyone else. Therefore all the groups of the armed people are requested to make this giant experiment a success, to show discipline and to commit themselves to the census and training programs, because this means speedier progress in eliminating the system of compulsory service, which is for slaves.

The force of the revolution in the revolutionary committees must attract all the groups of society in a broad, ongoing manner by deeply implanting the organizational form and concepts of the mass armed structure in the minds of the masses of the people and by prompting them to make the camp and defense programs a success and protect the achievements of the revolution. The goal in converting the towns, villages and rural areas into an army is to bring about the creation of an armed people, which is the right and duty of every male and female citizen who is able to bear arms, in accordance with a theoretical and practical program which

deepens, implants and propagates various branches of military science among all people, male and female, so that they may become proficient in and assimilate the use of all types of arms, even complicated ones possessing the capacity for comprehensive destruction, through proficient use in practice of methods of sighting, aiming and firing as an executive aspect of theoretical studies in the broad scheme of the armed people, so that they may be able to protect themselves, their honor, their accomplishments, their revolutionary and human values, and their historic internationalist mass theory, through which the era of people who possess power, resources and arms and will destroy all oppressive relationships and traditional forms in the world which monopolize power, resources, arms, technology, education and mathematics may be inaugurated.

In order that every citizen, in accordance with his position, his age and the circumstances of his work in this mass combative achievement, which is responsible for the attainment of the day the people armed with theory and rifles will rise up, and in order that the world, as well, will know the meanings of the words we are stating, which are being transformed by revolutionary deeds into an actual condition that takes concrete form on earth:

#### A Point of Order

The purpose of the census which is now underway in the various mass municipalities is to break the citizens in each municipality down by age, educational level, medical health and preferences as to types of weapons in which they are to be trained by the trainer, as well as to ascertain the types of previous military training members of the army have received in order to take that into consideration upon starting military training in the context of the process of conversion into an army. During this, in the course of the training, attention will also be given to the enemy's situation, the nature of the ground, its requirements for manpower and types of weapons. Thus we will have provided you with a comprehensive picture of the nature and structure of the armed people, which are different from all the recognized military forms, armies imbued with pomp, hauteur, scepters and ivory, and delapidated party organizations, and can stand up to any enemy, whatever form he may take, because, whatever their condition, they cannot be besieged, cannot be driven to hunger and consequently cannot be defeated. They are the people who are able to liberate the land, purify honor, and take revenge for the dignity which has been sullied at the hands of traditional armies which have cost us 30 years of successive defeats.

Perhaps the greatest proof and the best testimony are the people of Lebanon and the masses of the West Bank. Had they been armed, they would have deterred the onslaughts by the Zionist enemy, would have defeated him and would have forced him to flee to the European countries he came from.

/Chart/

/Caption/ Charts showing the organizational structure of the command of the process of conversion into an army.

/Legend, top to bottom, right to left/

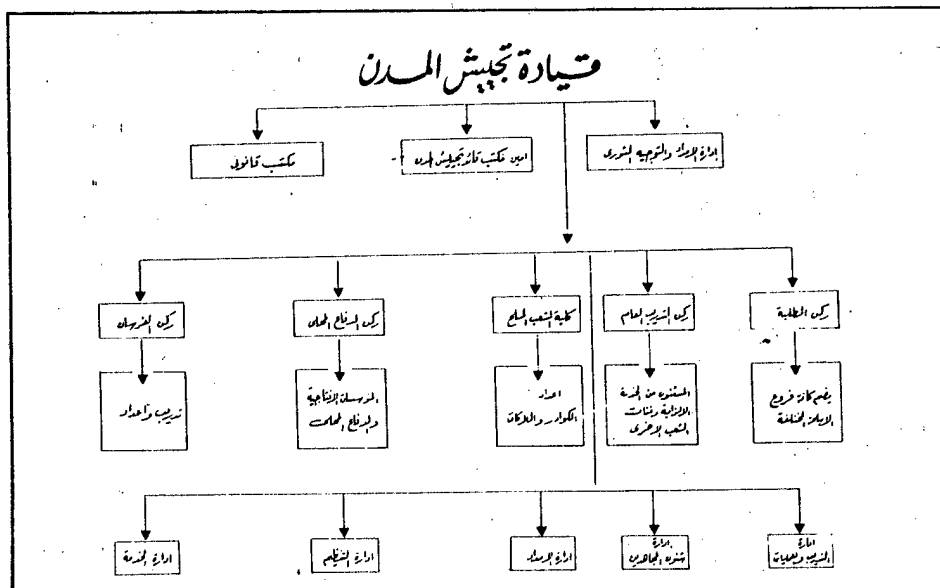
Top Command of the process of converting the towns into an army

Following line Department of revolutionary aid and guidance; secretary of the office of the commander of the process of converting the towns into an army; legal office.

Third line Student staff; general training staff; faculty of the armed people; local defense staff; cavalry staff.

Fourth line Contains all branches of various corps; responsible for compulsory training and other groups of the people; preparation of staffs and personnel grades; productive institutions and local defense; training and preparation.

Bottom line Training and operations department; mass affairs department; department of illegible; department of organization; department of service.



● شكل توضيحي يبين الهيكلية التنظيمية لقيادة التجيش.

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## NATION'S AGRICULTURAL STRUCTURE IS REARRANGED

Tripoli AL-MUWAZZAF in Arabic 27 May 82 p 13

/Article: "Reorganization of the Secretariat of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment"

/Text/ The General People's Committee recently issued a decree on the organization of the Secretariat of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment. In accordance with this decree, the General People's Committee of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment will consist of the General People's Committee of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment and the people's committees of agricultural reclamation and land redevelopment in the municipalities.

In its new format, the General People's Committee of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment will be in charge of setting out executive plans and programs in execution of people's conferences decrees in the field of agricultural reclamation and land redevelopment, the performance of the necessary studies on that, and supervision and guidance of the executive agencies and departments belonging to it. To that end, it will have all the jurisdictions and powers of the general and specific people's committees contained in Law 13 for 1981 and other laws, bills and decrees in effect.

The General People's Committee of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment will assume the responsibility for continuing the reclamation and redevelopment of lands within the agricultural areas specified in accordance with the provisions of this decree, or striving to reclaim land within them and of raising the rates of production and the level of services in existing agencies and projects.

The decree stated that the jamahiriyyah will be broken down into four agricultural areas in regard to the organization of the activities of the General People's Committee of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment, as follows:

1. The Eastern Area, which includes:

The municipalities of Tubruq, Darnah, al-Jabal al-Akhdar, al-Fatih, Benghazi and al-Kufrah.

2. The Central Agricultural Area, which includes:

The municipalities of Ageddabia, Sirt, Suf al-Jin, Misratah, Zulaytin and al-Jafrah.

3. The Southern Agricultural Area, which includes:

The municipalities of Sabha, al-Shati', Murzuq and Ubari.

4. The Western Agricultural Area, which includes:

The municipalities of al-Khums, Tarhunah, Tripoli, al-'Aziziyah, Gharayan, Yifran, Ghadamis, al-Zawiyah and the Five Points.

There will be an agricultural committee in each agricultural area made up of the secretary of the agricultural area committee and the secretaries of people's agricultural reclamation and land reclamation committees for the municipalities lying within the agricultural area. The agricultural area committee will be in charge of setting out executive plans and programs in the context of agricultural reclamation and land redevelopment within the area of its activity, and it will strive to develop and improve agricultural services in a manner achieving the desired results, within the framework of the decrees and directives issued by the General People's Committee of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment, in carrying out the decrees of the basic people's conferences in this sector. Agricultural projects that lie within the scope of more than one municipality will also belong to the agricultural region committee and will be subject to its supervision, provided that the subordination and supervision of the agricultural projects that lie within the scope of a single municipality will belong to the project committee. The secretary of the regional agricultural committee will exercise all the jurisdictions and powers of the secretary of the General People's Committee of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment within the scope of this area, and the General People's Committee of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment will issue the decrees regulating the activities and meetings of the committees of the agricultural areas and will determine the relationship between each region and other regions and agencies concerned.

In addition, this decree stated that the General People's Committee of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment will monitor the following:

- A. The Department of Water and Soil.
- B. The General Grain Department.
- C. The General Department of Pastures and Forests.
- D. The General Livestock Resource Department.
- E. The General Agricultural Guidance, Education and Training Department.
- F. The General Planning, Followup and Statistics Department.
- G. The General Financial and Administrative Affairs Department.
- H. The General Plant Protection and Agricultural Quarantine Department.
- I. The General Horticultural Department.
- J. The Agricultural Research Center.

The decree has spelled out the areas of competence of these departments and agencies. A decree is to be issued on the internal organization of the Secretariat of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment, the Department of Water and Soil, and the Agricultural Research Center by the General People's Committee of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment.

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## LAND RECLAMATION EFFORTS THROUGHOUT NATION ASSAYED

Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 1 Jun 82 p 2

/Article: "Massive Revolutionary Achievements in the Field of Land Reclamation and Redevelopment in the First Quarter of This Year"

/Text/ Sources in the People's General Secretariat for Land Reclamation and Redevelopment have pointed out that the land area reclaimed in various areas of the jamahiriyah in the first quarter of this year came to 17,910 hectares; thus the total land area that has been reclaimed during the transitional plan so far comes to 1,145,212 hectares.

The number of producing wells and irrigation systems that were constructed during the same period came to 54 while the number of wells that were drilled in the plan and the first quarter of this year totalled 2,649, or 71 percent of the total program stipulated for this area.

An area of 12,020 hectares has also been covered with irrigation systems and 165 dwellings have been distributed to farmers. Thus the number of dwellings constructed in the transitional plan so far has come to 9,281, that is, 42 percent of the plan total.

In the area of roads, a stretch of 59 kilometers of roads was paved in the first quarter of this year; thus the total roads that have been paved in the plan up to the end of last March come to 2,255 kilometers, or 43 percent of the plan; in addition 259 kilometers of dirt roads have been graded.

Committee sources stressed that 1,408,876 fruit seedlings and palm shoots have been planted, and the total planted during the plan up to now comes to 16,877,719; 1,980,998 forest seedlings have been planted along with 2,005,500 seedlings for wind barriers.

Thus the total planted in this period comes to 62,226,800 forest seedlings and 48,139,641 wind barrier seedlings.

With regard to the farming of various types of grain crops, sources pointed out that an area of 228,742 hectares of grain crops were planted and 500 hectares of land were reclaimed and planted with pasture trees, totalling 44,757,199 seedlings

in the various areas of the jamahiriyah this season. Thus the number of pasture seedlings planted so far comes to 58,811,700, for a completion rate of 83 percent of the total transitional plan.

Sources in the People's General Committee for Land Reclamation and Redevelopment stated that 83 farm tractors, 46 grain sowers, 50 reapers, 110 trailers, 1,356 head of sheep and 157 cattle were distributed among the farmers benefitting from the farms in the first quarter of this year.

In another area, official sources in the General Cattle Development and Raising Department pointed out that the number of cattle development and raising stations in the various areas of the jamahiriyah now comes to 29, in addition to 11 cattle raising stations that are under construction.

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MASSIVE NEW POULTRY, CATTLE, SHEEP PROJECTS LAUNCHED

Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 2 Jun 82 p 4

/Article: "Massive Revolutionary Achievements in the Realm of Livestock Production for the Sake of Attaining Self-Sufficiency"/

/Text/ In order to cover citizens' requirements for animal products and attain self-sufficiency in these products in the context of the Secretariat of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment:

Secretariat sources have stated that the current transitional plan is aimed at establishing a number of projects for livestock production in various municipalities in the jamahiriyah this year, 1982, when a number of projects will be inaugurated, including:

The Sabha cattle station, with a capacity of 500 head of milch cows producing 2 million liters of milk a year.

The al-Kufrah cattle station, with a capacity of 300 milch cows producing 1.2 million liters of milk a year.

The station to produce eggs for eating in the al-Zawiyah area; this will produce 24 million eggs a year.

The station to produce eggs for eating in the al-Bayda' area, with an output of 24 million eggs a year.

The sources added that the first stage of the self-sufficiency project regarding eggs for eating, poultry for eating, turkeys and rabbits will be completed in 1982 in all municipalities.

The intention also is to construct 166 pens for eating poultry with a productive capacity of 12,818 tons.

There will be 61 pens producing 95,375,000 eggs per year.

There will be 36 pens for turkeys, producing 216 tons of meat a year.

There will be 26 pens for rabbits, producing 144,000 tons a year.

The station to produce eggs for eating in the municipality of Darnah; its annual output will total 34 million eggs.

The station to produce eggs for eating in the municipality of Misuratah, with a production of 24 million eggs a year.

The station to produce eggs for eating in the municipality of Sabha producing 24 million eggs a year.

Sources in the Agricultural Reclamation Secretariat stated that stations would be opened in 1983 for milch cattle in 11 of the jamahiriyah's municipalities, with a capacity of 400 head apiece, and that the second stage of the project for self-sufficiency, which would be completed in 1983, had the objective of establishing 10 poultry pens to produce eggs for eating, yielding 19.25 million eggs per year.

There will be 33 pens for eating poultry which will produce 2,548 tons of meat per year. There will be six feedlots for turkeys, producing 36 tons of meat a year, and there will be six pens for rabbits, producing 23,000 tons of meat a year.

Sources in the Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment Secretariat pointed out that the current transitional plan was also aimed at establishing massive complexes for animal products, among them:

An eating poultry production complex in Tripoli, producing 5 million fowl per year.

The Wadi al-Hirah complex in al-'Aziziyah with a capacity of 5.5 million fowl per year; this complex will also accommodate 600 milch cows producing 2.8 million liters of milk per year.

The Tawurgha' area complex in the municipality of Suf al-Jin, producing 5.5 million fowls a year.

This project will also accommodate 600 milch cows producing 2.8 million liters of milk a year.

The Ghawt al-Sultan complex in the municipality of al-Fatih, producing 5.5 million fowl per year and accommodating 600 milch cows producing 2.8 million liters of milk per year.

The cattle complex in the southwestern area of the city of Benghazi, accommodating 3,200 milch cows producing 2.8 million liters a year.

It will be possible to expand this productive complex in the future to accommodate 2,800 milch cows.

Sources in the Secretariat of Agricultural Reclamation and Land Redevelopment stated that the per capita share of various animal products in the jamahiriyah, which the current transitional plan is aimed at, will be as follows:

The per capita share of eggs, 200 a year.  
The per capita share of poultry meat, 18 kilograms per year.  
The per capita share of mutton, 11 kilograms per year.  
The per capita share of beef, 2.8 kilograms per year.  
The per capita share of cow's milk, 75 liters per year.

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## BRIEFS

BREGA METHANOL--Sources in the Brega methanol plant have pointed out that the plant's output in the first third of this year came to 121,569 tons, or a productive capacity of 1,000 tons a day in three shifts. It is widely known that methanol constitutes a basic material for some industries such as various types of plastics, paints, resins and proteins used in the processing of animal fodder. /Text/ /Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 26 May 82 p 4/

BREGA UREA--The output of the urea plant at Marsa Brega came to 80,427 tons, in the first third of this year, in three work shifts per day. Sources in the National Petrochemical Company stated that the urea fertilizer that is processed in Marsa Brega is considered one of the highest quality types of urea in the world in light of the exceptional, distinctive international production specifications and characteristics it possesses. It is well known that urea is used in artificial fertilizer to provide soil with nitrogen to increase its fertility and its production of various types of fruit and vegetables. It is also used to process protein through which animal fodder is processed and is also used in the manufacture, installation and production of certain salts and chemical compounds out of which insecticides, paper and wood are manufactured, along with numerous other industries. /Text/ /Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 26 May 82 p 4/

TECHNICAL INSTITUTE ENROLLMENT--Sources in the General Department of Planning and Followup of the Secretariat of the People's General Committee for Education have stated that in the past academic year, 1981-82, technical educational institutes of various types in the jamahiriyah accommodated 16,936 students, of whom 11,651 were male and 5,279 were female, as compared with 10,617 students in the academic year 1980-81, 7,559 of whom were male and 3,058 were female, for an increase of 6,319 male and female students, or 59.5 percent of the total students last academic year, 1980-81. /Text/ /Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 27 May 82 p2/

SECONDARY STUDENT INCREASE--Sources in the General Planning Department of the Secretariat of the People's General Committee of Education have stated that the number of classrooms in the secondary stage totalled 1,706 in the academic year 1981-82, as compared with 1,430 in the academic year 1980-81, an increase of 16 /sic/ classrooms, or 19.3 percent of the total classrooms in the academic year 1980-81. In addition, the secondary stage accommodated 55,629 male and female students in the academic year 1981-82, 27,244 of whom were male and 18,285 were

female, as compared with 45,195 male and female students in the academic year 1980-81, 22,021 of whom were male and 11,674 female, for an increase of 10,424 students, or 23.1 percent of the total male and female students in the academic year 1980-81.  
/Text/ /Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 28 May 82 p 2/ 11887

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## ISRAELI AGGRESSION ATTRIBUTED TO DIVISIONS IN REGION

Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 12 Jun 82 p 5

[Article: "Israel Strikes Amidst the Impending Collapse of Arab Affairs"]

[Text] "I give to you Beaufort Castle as a gift," is what Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin told Lebanese Major Sa'd Haddad as he inspected Beaufort Castle, which represented one of the first lines of Palestinian defenses in southern Lebanon.

Israel finally struck its blow, striking as the Arabs are headed towards extreme polarization:

- (1) The Iraq-Iran war has gone on for more than 20 months, and the Arabs are divided over it: one side representing the majority is trying to end the war and the bloodshed, and the other side refuses to end the war, wants victory for one party at the expense of the other, and is hastily convening conferences to arrive at conclusions and decisions in order to terrorize the first side.
- (2) The issue of the Egyptian Arab peace treaty is proposed in its turn, raising a great din. The Arab rejection powers, as is their custom, are raising the sword of terror against any Arab state wishing to restore its relations with Egypt.
- (3) The efforts towards a peaceful settlement in the Arab region is postponed, or frozen, after the maneuvering of the rejection forces to make the Fez summit failure. And all everts to convene any other Arab conferences to discuss the whole issue have failed. And if we add to all this the secondary Arab problems that span the breadth of the Arab world, it soon becomes clear that Israel struck its blow at the most opportune time. It has been preparing for it for a long time. And the most auspicious opportunity presented itself as the current international situation provided the necessary cover of international preoccupation. Hence, Israel proceeded with its destruction of Lebanon, as Reagan was on a long-prepared European tour, as two international conferences on world economic issues and concensus were being held in France and Bonn, as Britain continued to be absorbed in the Falkland Islands War. Nevertheless, Israel possesses all the necessary elements for embarking on its operations irrespective of the element of timing. It is the dominant military power, whereas the opposing side possesses only a surplus of statements and weapons issued by Moscow after their usefulness had expired.

## The Blow Against Lebanon was No Surprise to Anyone

What is Israel doing now in southern Lebanon? Very simply, it is executing a plan which it has never stopped preparing or declaring its contents in scores of statements, at a time when the Arabs conduct themselves with no plan in mind, and react without prior planning or calculations. If one follows the stirring events of the peace process in the Middle East, it is revealed that Israel had negotiated with Egypt with one limited design in mind: the return of Sinai with all the reservations we all know, in return for the isolation of the greatest Arab power from the Arab world. Israel did so with determination and, regrettably, certain Arab powers helped it to do so. It was clear to a number of foreign observers that Israel, under the auspices of the Likud coalition, was not prepared to give up anything more. The Sinai was enough for the coalition, although it insisted on keeping portions of it de-militarized. And the Likud coalition, which came to power on the ruins of the Labor Party that had exposed the state to serious danger in the 1973 War, assured the Israelis that it was going to guarantee for them the borders of Greater Israel. It claimed that the West Bank was liberated Israeli territory by right of the Old Testament, and that autonomy for the Palestinians means no more than administrative services for the inhabitants living on Israeli land. It claimed that the settlements were proper and not a subject for negotiations. As for southern Lebanon, Sa'd Haddad and his gang are there to keep the Palestinians from striking at northern Israel.

As for the suspended and strife-ridden Arab position, there was no exploitation of the climate for negotiations with Israel, which swore not to return any part of Arab lands occupied in 1967. From the Israelis' side, their obstinacy and adherence to the claim that Israeli lands had been liberated increased. So did their adherence to its own understanding of autonomy. They even went as far as claiming that the security of Israel's borders could be threatened by Pakistan possessing an atomic bomb. The Arabs proved helpless. The rejection powers resorted to empty claims and the abortion of any steps toward peace. This was transparently clear at the Fez summit at the end of 1981. So it was easy for Israel to strike a blow from time to time to accomplish its goals. It struck at the Iraqi nuclear reactor in June 1981 to reinforce the idea of the long arm of Israel that can reach any source of danger. It meant to announce to anyone concerned that Israel is the sole strategic power in the region capable of confronting any Soviet influence. By doing so, it was gambling on the Arab's failure to take any decision in unison on matters of principle. It proceeded to annex the Golan Heights, in defiance of all international resolutions calling on Israel to withdraw from Arab territories, in particular Resolution 242. It was clear that the Begin Government had its own iron-clad interpretation of Resolution 242, i.e., restricting the area confining it to Sinai and possible demilitarized portions of the Golan Heights. Jerusalem and the West Bank are considered non-negotiable matters. But some though might be considered for making arrangements for the Gaza Strip.

## Israel's Objectives are Many

The latest Israeli operation served to reveal a variety of objectives that Israel wants to accomplish in one fell swoop. It does so as the Arabs

demonstrate their total inability to take any decision with regard to confronting Israel militarily or to serious planning of a peace plan that would put Israel in a tight spot, internationally speaking, and oblige it to negotiate. So it has become routine for Israel to count not only on its military superiority, but also on the continued Arab position of a state of fruitless anticipation that makes it easy for Israel to achieve its objectives in quick succession.

It became clear with Israel's military efforts in Lebanon that the objective is not to remove the Palestinian forces 40 kilometers to the north, but the extermination of the armed Palestinian presence in Lebanon. As an Israeli official put it, the objective is to put an end to the situation that has prevailed since 1970 when the Palestinians started pouring into Lebanon after being forced out of Jordan. It follows, then, that Israeli military operations are working now to fill the gap between the buffer zone in which Sa'd Haddad's forces were posted and which Israel occupied in its invasion of southern Lebanon in 1978, and the area controlled by the Phalange Party. This reveals the harmony in objectives existing between Israel and the Phalange Party, especially as Bashir Jumayyil has come out openly to call for the expulsion of all non-Lebanese Muslims and for the state to allow his party to control Lebanon. In that case, the presence of Syrian forces in Lebanon under the name of Arab Deterrent Forces would have no meaning--if it ever did have any meaning from the beginning--and Lebanon would be transformed into a friend of Israel.

#### Placing the Autonomy Question on the Backburner

The Lebanese issue has now been elevated, thanks to the Israeli operation, to the list of questions that need to be faced in the Middle East. Some observers note that only two weeks ago Secretary of State Alexander Haig promised that the United States was ready to begin a new diplomatic initiative aimed at pushing ahead with the stalled discussions between Israel and Egypt on Palestinian autonomy. However, Menachem Begin pre-arranged the diplomatic work agenda so that now the focus is on the Lebanese issue, and the autonomy issue has retreated from sight and dealt a mortal blow. If Israel succeeds in crushing the Palestinian resistance militarily, it will be extremely difficult to get away from its definition of Palestinian autonomy in the administrative sense. Generally, it may be said that the Israeli operation has dealt a heavy blow to any peace effort in the region.

#### Will the War's Scope Broaden?

Aside from this, the Israeli operation is meant to burn Syria in Arab eyes and make Syria appear as the state that does not agree not only to not clashing with Israel, but also as the state which cooperates with Israel in striking at the Palestinians. An Israeli official stated that the Syrians must permit Israel to expel Palestinian units and destroy their artillery positions that are combined with Syrian forces in Lebanon. Begin warned Syrian forces against opposing Israeli forces, otherwise Israel would be compelled to attack them. So far, only limited skirmishes have taken place between the Syrian Deterrent Forces in Lebanon and the Israeli invasion forces, as well as engagements

between Syrian and Israeli aircraft. But Syria has not made any major effort in the war. Syrian media and press have asserted that Syria will continue to protect Lebanon and defend the Palestinian resistance against any aggression, despite the suspicious Arab silence. They said that Syria will do that in the manner that it sees fit, and not in the manner in which they are trying to draw Syria into. Syria makes the decisions when it wants to, and knows exactly what to do...These Syrian statements correspond to what observers keep saying: that Israel has pledged to attack Syria if Syria doesn't provoke it. And it is not likely that Moscow, despite its stirring statements, will not take action against the Israeli invasion--Moscow, which signed a treaty of friendship with Syria to encourage it to widen the scope of the conflict. An American State Department official says that it is probable that the Syrians will permit themselves to spill a little of their own blood to preserve their honor and reputation as enemies of Israel, but that this is all they will do.

Nevertheless, all of these analyses could change if uncalculated developments were to occur, like the Israeli forces attacking the Syrian missiles in the Biqa' plain.

The course of events in recent years indicates that what is now happening in Lebanon is the natural outcome of wagering on mistaken policies, and not facing Egyptian attitudes in a responsible manner that would rise above personal differences. Regretably, the one who ultimately pays the price is the PLO, whose defeats are the defeats of the entire Arab nation.

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CSO: 4404/562

## MZALI DISCUSSES ROLE OF JOURNALIST

Tunis DIALOGUE in French No 407, 21 Jun 82 pp 39-42

[Article by Mohamed Mzali: "Journalism as a *Mystique*"]

[Text] Beginning this week, we shall devote our "Document" section to exclusive articles or interviews dealing with various subjects and whose common characteristic is their contribution to reflection on a given topic.

How better to inaugurate the series than by choosing the text of a lecture presenting the double advantage of never having been translated and taking up the role of the journalist? When one adds the dimension of the depth of analysis and keenness conferred on it by its author, Mohamed Mzali, one is even more convinced of the benefit to be derived today from something which, although articulated in 1967, is just as up-to-date, just as relevant to the individual and society.

Which is preexistent and preeminent: the function or the journalist?

Is it the press that makes the journalist, introducing, by virtue of its diversity, different molds from one organ to another, with partial personal deviations here and there proving where the system is deficient, or is it the journalist who, as the bearer of a message, of a responsibility ideal in itself, who chooses to be, to think, to say? Or are the two directions not compatible, clashing? What then becomes of the relationship of the press to society, of the journalist to society?

These directions of thought that we are purposely laying out are essential because while these questions were in the context of 1967 the fruit of the give-and-take of the observation of our own reality, a reality characteristics of the so-called advanced societies (the profusion of newspapers, in particular), they are now our own, in the context of 1982.

They are ours to such an extent that we need to update our reflections, that it is a matter, not of drafting new concepts, but perhaps of adapting them through a distinct content specific to this -- for us, privileged -- part of the world which is Tunisia, its government, its society.

Obviously, because everyone knows the man, his work and his thought, the contribution of Mohamed Mzali to this diffuse debate on the press and those involved in it, the press, found everywhere: on the street, in clubs, decision-making circles and elsewhere, this contribution is situated on the level of the human and humanistic ideal. In other words, some will find in it reason to believe, depending on their point of view, that the journalist is but the result of a coercive economic, social, cultural and political determinism, or that the different pressures: material (lack of means), organizational (retention of information), organic (right of the press), social (status of the journalist), do not allow one (even if taken into account by the author) to adhere totally to such a prospective analysis of the function of journalist. Perhaps because it is not, in spite of everything, "good to say" all the truth and because this conference is permeated with it, the ideal will only be perceived through a sometimes singular present. And yet, since the *mystique* is the direction par excellence permitting the possibility of avoiding the contingent, of going after the ideal, it basically remains the most difficult, most arduous mental and moral attitude, but the most thrilling attitude of those who devote themselves to the task of informing, of telling others, of expressing themselves.

This document therefore brings the comfort of an original direction of thought.

Countless countries, whether they be developed or developing, have a breed of journalists that do not hesitate to take the easy path, exploiting the feelings, inclinations, instincts or impulses of the people, taking material and commercial considerations as their fundamental criterion. Thus readers are treated to columns filled with accounts of famous divorce cases, reports on fires, murders, robberies, or are exhilarated by the enticement of attractive photos that these journalists are lured into using for the reason that they bring in both readers and money. Obviously, this is much easier work than an analysis of political events or real economic and social problems.

Likewise, some authors prefer to devote their time to articles on sexuality, on the private lives of famous artists and other subjects of the same nature, because such work responds to the current taste of many people. A much more difficult and arduous task for the journalist would be to try to stick to his role as the instigator of reforms or the sincere educator or to commit himself to the task of being a teacher for his pupil, as a father would be to his son, a faithful leader of his people, a pioneer in the nation.

The same is true of political events. In his treatment, there is nothing easier for the journalist than to write articles of criticism or inveterate protest, personal attacks, slander or exaggerated insults, using a provocative and demagogic tactic, for there are persons who find such reading agreeable, gifted with the mentality of gawkers who would not miss the entertaining spectacle of a street fight for the world. Much more demanding for the journalist is the approach consisting in offering something of substance to his people in the understanding of facts, of information on what surrounds them, in not limiting his work to the narrow field of protest and other formulas for exploiting the emotions of readers.

The journalist may find it no easy task to write an article based on figures in order to explain what may have been done here by the Water Directorate in such and such a region, or to describe the plan, or what the reform of education or the method of promoting culture should be, or finally, to point out the faults of a given sector, accompanied by views or proposals for correcting the situation. Such an attitude requires effort and strength of character and personality in order to avoid allowing oneself to be distracted or tempted by the easy path of facileness.

If the journalist allows himself to be led astray by such "evil winds" or tempted by them like a weathervane, he will never be able to fulfill his mission.

Taking the difficult path, the right path, which is the path of rectitude and uprightness, requires of the journalist a great reinforcement of his qualities. In addition to faith in his mission, taking that path requires a solid, rich training, the ability to assimilate and synthesize different data, to extract the essential elements from what is written in books and reports, to analyze and sift through events.

Likewise, a journalist could never fully play his role in a developed country or a developing country such as Tunisia if he does not demonstrate his commitment, if he does not invest his mission as a journalist with dimensions larger than the purely commercial, so common in some advanced countries.

The journalist must try to develop his culture and conscience and be particularly careful to preserve his moral conscience.

The journalist actually has this in common with the teacher, doctor, lawyer or minister: He can never claim true success or happiness or merit the respect of his fellow citizens unless he remains faithful to his conscience, if he remains faithful to what he considers to be the ideal, the truth, the good, the general interest. He can succeed only if he resolutely leaves behind all that is false, all artifice, deception, provocation. If the journalist cultivates himself, if he has a living, moral and patriotic conscience, he will succeed in his mission and feel the true depths of peace and happiness that it brings.

The journalist's conscience must expand until it takes in the perspective of the world and the essential elements of the human condition, until he can

perceive the interest of mankind, not solely as a Tunisian citizen, but as a man concerned by everything that affects man, wherever he is found, interested in seeing that man triumph over injustice, if he is suffering, that he free himself from his chains. The journalist must work toward the annihilation of colonialism and apartheid, wherever they continue to exist, and he must help root out the reasons for rancor, hatred, discord and war. He must make his contribution in order to attenuate hatred, so that human solidarity may find its best embodiment, so that mankind may gradually move toward an era in which the world is rid of the ugliness of hatred, in which the world is protected from the spectre of war and destruction that unfortunately continue to spread their shadow and pose their threat.

The true journalist is first of all a good citizen, a noble, accomplished man endowed by his culture and ethics with the qualities needed to accomplish his task to the full extent, a noble mission, the most difficult of all: serving his nation, serving mankind, of which his country is an intrinsic part.

Viewed in this way, the mission of journalism and of the journalist is one of honor and greatness. The journalist must understand this with pride.

It is all the more proper and right that the journalist view his mission with pride because he owes his status as an exceptional citizen, not to the fact of birth or connections or social position or wealth -- the journalist is often a poor man who only rarely succeeds in occupying the front ranks of society -- but to the extent that he helps to shape history, that he exerts influence on the course of events and that, like all exceptional beings, he does not follow a path of anonymity in this world, but rather, an itinerary whose mark is left on the face of time.

The profound feeling of the nobleness of this mission will unquestionably help you to assume your heavy responsibilities, to triumph over the difficulties which the journalist encounters in the practice of his profession. I am fully aware of what moral qualities and personal virtues the journalist needs in order to find the strength to continue, to persevere without giving up, defying the obstacles and material or moral traps, beyond the reach of despair or disenchantment, without being affected by even the most stinging failure, with faith that in the end, success is the lot of those who persevere.

The circumstances of life are difficult and it has been quite rightly said that both the journalist and the writer consume themselves in order to light the way for others, explaining the facts to their contemporaries. It is a grandiose undertaking that we journalists can fully appreciate, that we willingly agree to assume, that we will do our best to accomplish, whatever the sacrifices that are required.

And yet, this will be possible only if we continually try to improve our level, to develop, for, as you know, he who does not move ahead falls behind and no journalist could ever claim to have reached the highest possible level. Even assuming that today a journalist might have reached the highest level to which a human being might aspire -- which is practically impossible -- within a year or two he would unconsciously, imperceptibly decline because he would

not have advanced, because he would not have been in contact with living facts, with the events in the world, with what is published and disseminated. Consequently, the journalist must be constantly on the alert, refreshing his knowledge, improving his abilities, sparing no effort, embodying the very meaning of the word "student": one who aspires to knowledge and intelligence.

In Tunisia, we have an essential need for that journalism which participates in and of the new awareness of the masses, which serves man, not the press in some so-called advanced, developed countries which folds under the pressure of publicity and commercial objectives, which resorts to the manipulation of minds, of buying consciences, of creating artificial needs and perverting taste.

In going further with the study of this precise question, we must not allow ourselves to be distracted to the point that we cannot see the forest for the trees, that we go by appearances, that we have neither a profusion of newspapers nor quarrels or insults, forgetting that the profession of journalist in the so-called democratic countries is not a sufficiently secure status for them to do their real duty. Opinions in those countries are manipulated by capitalistic, military or stifling ideological pressure groups, while our press fulfills both its prime task of providing information and that of making the masses aware, of raising their level, despite the modesty of our material and human means, despite a poverty inherited from underdevelopment, poverty amidst which we work with frankness and which prevents those in the sector from enjoying a life of dignity.

Based on this principle, it is natural to aspire to something better for the creative restlessness, the feeling of dissatisfaction, are characteristic of the authentic journalist who, if he were to consider that everything is for the good in the best of all possible worlds, that no improvement is possible, is dead to journalism or has committed suicide. The journalist in constantly on the alert, has a lively conscience, is a critical observer or he is not one. Since every phase of life bears the seed and promise of what is to come, our mission is not so much to have helped exert influence on the course of history in a set of circumstances or a given period -- we are all here but briefly -- but to prepare the conditions for a new departure, for a later step that those who come after us will take.

More than anyone else, the journalist must never let himself believe that society has reached its zenith, its highest peak, or that the way is obstructed or the horizon dim, for the journalist is in the avant-garde, lighting the way, stirring on men of good will, guiding them toward the right path, redoubling his efforts so that other men will not give way to appeasement, to egotistical complacency. His role is to urge them away from that negative or superficial quietude so that he may breathe into them that feeling of constructive restlessness, that simultaneously bitter and sweet restlessness that arouses ambition in men, that makes them constantly aspire to something better, so that they may be God's heirs on earth, so that they will grow and create, invent and tirelessly seek progress. For that which was clear, coherent, useful and beneficial at one time in our lives or the lives of our fathers is now inadequate, subject to criticism, improvement, additions or rectifications.

Who else then is capable of taking the initiative of a good work? Who then brings together the qualities of lively sensitivity, sincerity, courage? Who is willing to sacrifice a friendship, to forget about his own personal interests? Who then is in the forefront, is in the lead in taking any action for progress, in the general interest, if not the jouranlist, the real journalist?

And yet, the journalist cannot bring together these qualities or reach such a level by virtue of his own personal effort. I say this knowing well that under colonialism, there did exist and there still remains a group of self-taught, meritorious, courageous journalists, people who worked hard and who had faith and who were able to persevere and fulfill their mission. But times have changed and this is no longer enough, so greatly have needs changed and the field of knowledge broadened, areas of specialization increased in number and problems become complex. It is therefore necessary for higher institutes of learning to give the journalist a solid, theoretical and practical training. Furthermore, it is necessary to be concerned with moral, spiritual and patriotic considerations. It is a vast undertaking in which one lesson or one year is not enough. It is a long-range task proceeding from a real *mystique*, one that demands inexhaustible effort and will.

It is a question of stimulating, developing and cultivating the journalistic *mystique* so that as the journalist is trained, observes, reads, compares, concludes, feels and is filled with knowledge of political, economic and social sciences, he will discover in his conscience and in his patriotic training the source of light capable of clarifying this set of knowledge, of giving it its justification, of placing it in its context, so that he can orient it and use it for good -- for wisdom, like man, can be the source of all good or all evil -- for it is true that wisdom without a conscience is but the ruination of the soul and perdition. Society has everything to fear from the man of science without faith or law and of the evil-doing man of culture.

It is therefore absolutely necessary that ethics accompany wisdom and knowledge so that conscience will protect man and the citizen, enlighten science and guide it toward the path where it will give forth its fruits for our nation and mankind.

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## MZALI ON RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, HUMAN RIGHTS

Tunis DIALOGUE in French No 404, 31 May 82 pp 39-46

[Article by Mohamed Mzali, Tunis, 24 May 1982]

[Text] The document that follows, presented by Mohamed Mzali before participants in the Third Islamic-Christian Conference, is a vibrant plea, an unyielding defense, a sincere homage and the expression of a conviction as profound as it is intense that "philosophy and religion have a very fine future before them."

In order to overcome, free himself from his anguish and provide answers to his eternal questions, man once thought that the surest instrument of emancipation would be science. But the illusion and disappointment were enormous, for it turned out that science and genius can also be used by man to destroy himself! Mzali enumerates all the prodigious achievements of modern science, which has without question improved the living conditions of modern man, but which has not yet succeeded -- will it ever? -- in making him happy. "Man has never before mastered nature so well. The infinitely tiny and the infinitely large are increasingly accessible to his curiosity," Mzali observes. "And yet, he has never been so unhappy."

Science, which has repeatedly demonstrated that it can engender murderous and destructive phenomena, has never been and will never be able to eliminate religion and philosophy.

It is a special privilege for me to open the Third Islamic-Christian Conference. Having personally followed and actively participated in the two preceding conferences, I can accurately evaluate the importance of this dialogue, which has now become part of Tunisian custom. I also welcome the choice of the theme of human rights, much on our minds today, and which consequently makes their study and analysis that much more urgent. As my personal participation in this meeting, I would choose to ask questions about the current and future relationship of religion, philosophy and human rights in modern societies, which means once again posing age-old questions still as relevant as life itself. In other words, is the purpose of philosophy and religion still

compatible with the idea our times have of human rights? Now then, the topicality of a thought is nothing more than the topicality of the question from which it springs. For many, the human sciences and the techniques of action, on the one hand, and the ideology of human rights, on the other, constitute the privileged instruments of our time that make philosophical reflection and religious beliefs obsolete.

To present the problem in these terms immediately implies placing oneself in a "climate," a state of mind that are perhaps somewhat dated. The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th witnessed the triumph of rationalism and scientific humanism. Victorious Europe, armed with its scientific genius, backed by its vast technical discoveries, its military conquests and its system of production, marked the history of mankind with its personal seal. Overnight, the nation state and its corollary, human rights, became the supreme elements in a new concept of relations between men and societies. Many then thought they were seeing the end of philosophy and proclaimed its "poverty," while others lamented that "God is dead."

We know the ideas of Auguste Comte, who wanted to relegate theology and metaphysics to the good old days and replace them with the positiveness of scientific knowledge. Exaggerated belief in the absolute value of science which makes man the master of himself and of the universe found new strength and regained its eminently mobilizing role. In place of philosophy and religion, Comte proposed sociology as a science of man and a theory of action. Social reorganization would be scientific and positivist morals would establish the ascendancy of sociableness over personality. Reform of the world was to be a purely technical affair. By dint of positive science, man would become more intelligent, stronger and better.

The driving force of the time was that science would henceforth answer all of man's questions. With the question of "Why?" being decreed pointless once and for all, "How?" would now be enough. Knowledge would lead to the ability to foretell and the ability to foretell would bestow complete positiveness and total effectiveness.

It was not mere coincidence that Comtism enjoyed the success it did. One should perhaps apply Comtism to Comtism itself and view it in the light of the thought trends and concerns of the time. The 19th century in Europe was in fact a time of political, economic and social crisis. To understand human history by reducing it to Europe was most likely the greatest concern of Europeans. There was not a single thinker who was not simultaneously concerned with understanding history with reference to a Europe violently shaken by the formidable upheavals of the French Revolution and with assuring the West of security, harmony and finally, supremacy. This is the real meaning of Comtism, which wanted to resolve conflicts by reconciling traditionalism and liberalism, the conservative spirit and the revolutionary spirit. In the final analysis, absolutely everything would be resolved thanks to the positiveness of scientific knowledge.

Despite its appearances and the difference of its approach, Marxism has no other objective. It was by proclaiming the need to go beyond metaphysics and

religion that Marx wanted to put an end to the alienation of man, ensure the triumph of the proletariat and bring about the absolute liberation of mankind. Philosophy and religion, the scapegoats of modern times, were immediately blamed for all the evils afflicting mankind. Both were forever classified as deceptive myths and labeled as the impotent "sighs" of "oppressed man." Confronted with scientific and dialectical knowledge that alone would lead to awareness, philosophy and religion were singled out as "folkloric" hoaxes that the bourgeoisie and capitalism invented in order to maintain injustice and oppression.

In the same vein and with his poetic genius, Nietzsche came to the rescue, proclaiming that God is dead. Religion was treated as a "symptom" of weakness and disease. Philosophy and religion were nothing but signs of the downfall of man.

Despite their intense quarrels and profound divergencies, these three lines of thought are part of the same enterprise: to substitute the no-longer mysterious science for religion and philosophy, science: the mother of truth, the source of power, which now has or will have answers to all man's questions.

Standing on the ruins of philosophy and religion, man dreamed of understanding everything and, thanks to the new "scientific" methodology, of founding a new order. Everyone was convinced that social reform would be based on a reform of intelligence. We would certainly be ill-advised to doubt the generosity of the scientists, but it is on the grounds of the eventual "positiveness" of their concepts and the concrete results of their acts that they have to be judged and one cannot avoid noting that never before has science been in such a poor position or so uncertain.

Furthermore, despite its feats, which are immense, concrete and undeniable, science has not solved everything. Science is not omniscience. The frontiers of knowledge have been pushed back, but there is no absolute science. Nor do we know if there ever will be. Scientists themselves vehemently deny that science should have to answer metaphysical or religious questions. Situating itself on this side of -- or beyond? -- these great questions, science leaves them unanswered, for it has no answers. But today just as in the past, man remains attached to certain far-reaching questions such as the meaning of life and death, of freedom, worth. And I beg you to believe that for the man in politics, these words are not meaningless or futile and that every minute, he is faced with the formidable question of human rights.

Even more fundamentally, science must have grounds; it must be justified, its truth explained, which can only be done by philosophical reflection. Far from destroying philosophy, science has given birth to it. Science calls upon it because it needs it to justify itself, to analyze its own foundations, to have proper grounds, account for its legitimacy and further its own inclusion in fact. In other words, philosophy is a precondition for science. There is no other way to understand the enormous amount of epistemological research so brilliantly undertaken in decades past, which is like a frantic search waged by science -- or in the name of science -- to find, if not a pedigree, then at least a certificate of respectability.

What is more, as a result of its use, its dissemination and its technical effectiveness, science poses as many problems as it solves. Man has never before mastered nature so well. The infinitely tiny and the infinitely large are increasingly accessible to his curiosity. The genesis of life and death, what is mechanical and what is living, matter and antimatter, are privileged fields of action. He has domesticated nearly the entire planet and gone into space. He has accumulated knowledge as never before, harnessed energy, accomplished infinite dreams....

And yet, he has never been so unhappy. Yesterday, Naziism, its pseudoscience and demons that only waited to be awakened; today, the threat of the terrifying weapons of destruction piled up in the East and the West, the barbarity of the genocides cold-bloodedly perpetrated against the Jews crowded into the European ghettos, now on the Palestinians, the Africans or the equally innocent Cambodians, the "clean" torture practiced in countries with different political systems, the denial of justice, the repeated, flagrant and systematic violations of human rights: These are the boundaries of the legitimacy of the use made of science and power which should stifle any facile triumphalism.

Whether from the Western world or the Eastern countries, science is, in the final analysis, only a product of history, but one that leaves untouched the problem of the meaning of life and that of respect for human rights.

"What am I? What can I do? What can I hope for?" Kant asked two centuries ago. These questions are still relevant and what is more, the progress of science has made them even more anguishing and anguished.

The violence that is our daily lot, the absurd that stretches before our eyes, the injustice that governs international relations, expose our searing lack of ethics. The population explosion, the anarchy of urban living resulting therefrom, the anonymity that has become the rule in interpersonal relations, the aridity of modern life, the basic inability of modernday man to communicate: These are the things that assure philosophy and religion, not a possible role or a minor function, but a whole host of prime roles and functions.... We are far behind in understanding, situating, going beyond what technology offers us and whose incompleteness and inadequacy man feels.

Without any question, the alleged death of philosophy and religion did not launch the triumph of human rights. On the contrary, a certain scientism, a certain technical excess, dug the graves of all the "technobureaucracies" so often denounced but insolently triumphant. The glacial silence of the goulags, the anonymity of the decisionmakers, the false certainties in which the people's commissars cloak themselves, formal democracy and its caricatures: All of this has once again brought into question the simple and even simplistic ideas that claim that technical progress and progress go hand in hand and that science means development.

If the debate over human rights is now so much in the forefront, it is because it is a sign of a coming to awareness, but also of a failure, of disarray, of the absence of any relevant response to our anguish or our questions.

I cannot help noting that for the past quarter of a century, the major events that have marked the Third World are not the victory of technology and science, to say the least. Mao's Long March, the independence of the Maghreb and of Africa, peace in Vietnam and, closer to home, the Islamic Revolution in Iran, have been victories of unarmed men confronted with technology, power and knowledge, men whose only weapons were faith, determination and the cult of freedom. Under such conditions, we would be ill-advised to despair of man or to minimize the role of religion and philosophy.

Let there be no doubt about it: That is what explains the new religious fervor, the rise of Muslim fundamentalism, the unprecedented vigor of Christianity and Buddhism! As proof, I need but the latest work completed and impeccably presented by Mrs Helene Carrère d'Encausse showing the extraordinary renewal of Soviet Islam. "The Empire is in flames"? But inflamed by religion! It is significant to note that Muslim Asia has definitely benefited from the positive contributions of the Bolshevik Revolution... Développement is real there. The standard of living has substantially improved. The country has unquestionably been developed, but the gung-ho Sovietization, the Russianization undertaken in an eminently mobilizing political and economic framework were unable to do away with Islam, for the faith of those Muslims in Azerbaijan, in Tadzhikistan, is the faith of engineers, of "unalienated" people who have emerged from underdevelopment and who have, based on the most perfect Marxist model, become aware of themselves and of their historic role! What those people ask of Islam, of its beliefs, its rites and its practices is finally a frame of reference, a cultural identity, a way of finding their place and giving meaning to their existence and their lives, an affirmation, in the final analysis, of the inalienability of human rights.

Let there be no doubt about it: Philosophy and religion have a very fine future before them. They are not denied by modernness, but rather, are summoned by it. They are not destroyed by science; they are required by it.

If religion and philosophy have always co-existed, it is because they both respond to a single basic concern of man, rooted -- if I may put it that way -- in his profound biological condition, in his historic existence. They are born and reborn of the shock of life, of the evolutions of history and the very development of existence.

Actually, the main question for us is that of knowing "which" philosophy and "which" religion we are talking about. Dogmatism itself is certainly often disguised as philosophy. It is, they say, the homage of vice to virtue! Even more frequently, religion turns to fanaticism and barbarism. If so many situations now take on the look of religious wars -- or worse, wars in the name of religion -- it is because the exploitation of the law for political and even mercantile purposes is still far from being a part of the past. It is happening before our very eyes. But is this true philosophy and true religion? We believe that hermetically closed, intolerant, exclusive systems that claim to respond to all needs are irremediably doomed. The essential thing in philosophy and religion is not the answer, but the question. What counts is the spirit in which man approaches his life, evaluates his daily action, determines himself historically and makes his choices. True philosophy

questions before answering and always continues to question. It is this effort to reach the truth that affects our quest for freedom, justice and above all, social justice. True philosophy seeks and proposes a meaning to human dignity. True philosophy is a continuing concept of human relations between individuals and nations. It is in this sense that philosophy liberates. It enables us to criticize political systems that negate man, while substituting an effort by man to take charge of his own problems and his own questions.

If there is no final philosophical truth, it is because philosophy is a continuing creation, a thought that goes astray and develops along with life and as a foundation for our actions. It is this essential quiddity of philosophy that enables man to save himself and to save along with him both science and technology, which must be accepted as precious products of his culture.

Opposite this open quiddity of philosophy is the quiddity of religion, which is hope and which enables man to transcend himself by religion. Religion provides us with the supreme guiding inspiration. What counts here is to find a meaning for our anguish and our metaphysical questions for what supports that inspiration: the promise that a response is possible and that by dint of seeking, man will finally find and thus save himself.

Religion is therefore the privileged creator of values. Religion gives us the ethical support needed for our action. It teaches us to love our neighbor, the meaning of solidarity, the importance of sincerity and justice. Above all, it teaches us that man is not alone confronted with an implacable destiny, but that we all have a common fate of which we remain the artisans. Religion is a dialogue with oneself, with nature, with others, with God.

Far from standing in the way of human rights, religion and philosophy seem to constitute their foundation, mortar and strength. I find it unthinkable that today, philosophers, theologians or even simple believers could resign themselves to injustice and crime, much less remain silent in the face of the barbarities committed in the name of philosophical, political or religious systems. The massacres, summary executions, torture, blind repression, but also hunger, infant mortality, the exclusion of the young, the exploitation of workers, illiteracy and the oppression of women must be vigorously condemned and above all, by those fortunate enough to believe and to have the incomparable treasury of philosophical lucidity.

Yes, there is a positive place for philosophy and religion in securing human rights. They have their word to say about the great problems affecting mankind. One cannot honestly speak about the end or death of philosophy and religion in the face of the rise of the modern conception of human rights. It is the common heritage of our kind.

Naturally, every society has its own ways. Every man, as an individual and as a member of a community, has the right to follow his own path and to make the personal and collective choices that define him. If this is done with sincerity, concerned only about truth and authenticity, then peace and dialogue between men are once again possible. The fact is that there is no one universal scheme, no all-purpose philosophy, no general response. Every civilization

is unique and cannot be imposed on another without destroying it. Mankind has long suffered from the fact that Eurocentrism thought it held the key to happiness and that exaggerated Westernism has long been taken for the ultimate. Third World countries -- and the Arabs in particular -- dazzled by European civilization, which is no better and no worse than any other, have long allowed themselves to be subjugated by the success and power of matter and technology. But they have finally become aware of the relativity of things and consequently, of the importance of their own contribution to humanity. Nevertheless, there must be a common ideal for everyone: respect for man, which is understood to mean for his rights.

This tells you how promising the necessary dialogue between Muslims and Christians seems to me to be. It is the sine qua non condition for the building of a new man. It is up to men of good will to think in balanced but decisive, moderate but bold, terms about the necessary cooperation between believers. Once rid of the heritage of the crusades and the colonial burden, we shall be able to find a concrete way to create new relations based on our common faith in God, which is inseparable from our faith in man.

This also tells you how important we think the role of intellectuals is in bringing down the wall of indifference and substituting for the widespread desire for power a spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding. More specifically, philosophers and religious men have a cardinal role to play in debunking the false prophets and charlatans. We believe that this dialogue is possible, that an urgent and beneficial task awaits men of good will: to know one another, to make ourselves known, help others to have a better opinion of us and therefore, to love us in spite of or even because of our mutual differences. I thank you for your dedication and your enthusiasm in organizing this meeting and I wish you complete success in your work and a pleasant stay with us.

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## RECYCLING OF WASTE WATER FOR AGRICULTURE PROPOSED

Tunis DIALOGUE in French No 405, 7 Jun 82 pp 32-34

[Article by Wajdi Saihi: "Recycling of Waste Water for Agriculture. Possible Recovery of 50,000 Irrigated Hectares"]

[Text] The additional demand for water in Tunisia, for irrigation as well as for industrial and domestic uses, is accelerating to such an extent that, by the year 2000, the urban and industrial demand alone is expected to reach half a billion cubic meters per year, i.e. one fourth of the country's potential and water reserves.

Faced with this strong pressure for more water, Mr Slah Amami, manager of the Rural Engineering Research Center (CRGR), has suggested a planning which should meet priority requirements and also strengthen regional balance. This planning will be based on standards and data obtained by technical and socio-economical investigations, experiments and research carried out in Tunisia, and not artificially provided by research or financing organizations whose concern is often limited in space and in scope. Thus, using CRGR as a starting core and grouping together the scattered research units of various organizations and departments, a large national water research and planning organization could be created. This institution would provide a framework for the research and survey of water resources, and would coordinate, reduce waste--resulting from the present lack of a global concept--organize the results and studies and provide the prerequisites for a long-range planning for the mobilization and improved use of these resources.

If water shortages are to be prevented, the policy followed in this field should be to provide impetus to research and, at the same time, continue the efforts undertaken to make use of surface water, ground water tables and deep water tables.

This research should center around several important axes:

- the mobilization of brackish water;
- the recycling of waste water;
- the desalting of water;
- the improvement of irrigation techniques.

With respect to the first point, it is well known that all our waters are so loaded with salt that, were we to go by Californian standards concerning the use of water, our reserves would be found unfit for irrigation; indeed, the salt content is slightly over 1 gram in the North, 3 g in Kairouan, 4 g in Sfax and 6-7 g around Zarzis. For that reason, a project financed by UNESCO (CRUESI [expansion unknown]) has been studying that question since 1962, to see if brackish waters could be used. As a result, our own standards were defined and are now applied in the whole Mediterranean basin. The research and study stations are located at Cherfich (Sidi Thabet), Sbikha (Kairouan), Ksar Ghrisi (Meknassy), whereas the Hebba Tozeur station has been closed since 1971 for lack of financing; all technicians wish to reopen it so as to extend their research to all the regions of Tunisia, each of which has its own specific conditions.

### 200 Million Cubic Meters To Recover

An integral part of the main orientation of research on water economy, the mobilization of waste waters for agriculture is something that the urban world owes to the rural world. Indeed, by the year 2000, the industrial and urban sector will require half a billion cubic meters of water. This implies a corresponding increase to intensify agriculture and meet the food requirements of cities, the green belts of which will shrink as the cities keep increasing.

This contradiction between the increased food requirements of the cities and their considerable consumption of water, a production factor necessary to intensify agriculture, is just what makes it mandatory to recycle and mobilize waste waters.

At least 200 million cubic meters should be recovered by the year 2000. Such a reserve would permit the irrigation of 50,000 hectares, i.e. as much as all the irrigable public areas in all of the Mejerdah valley before the Sidi Salem dam was put into service.

The stakes and the scope of this waste water mobilization are therefore enormous and will condition the future of agriculture around the country's main urban areas.

The main task of the national organization that will have to deal with these problems in the framework thus provided, will be to develop a strategy for the use of waste water in agriculture and to safeguard the environment through the creation of green spaces which are increasingly needed around urban areas (by the year 2000, Greater Tunis will have 3 million inhabitants).

The mobilization of waste water will involve four major urban poles of waste water production. The research work will be done by a network of experimental stations representative of these urban centers, and a central analysis and control infrastructure will be implemented along the following major orientations:

- Mobilization of the waters of Greater Tunis to consolidate the lower Mejerdah valley and the Mornag plain in order to intensify fodder production (milk, meat) and industrial crops (cotton) and to develop the "polders" of Utique plain and

of Kalaat El-Andalous. Waste waters loaded with organic matters would be suitable for this type of lands, which have remained uncultivated. Twenty thousand hectares could thus be recovered.

- Rehabilitation of irrigated agriculture on the western Cap-Bon coast, where an old tradition of irrigation is on the decline for lack of water. The waste water will provide a new life for the famous orchards of Hammamet Nabeul and will compensate the deficit of the ground water table. In 1981, an experiment was begun on a state farm at Oued Souhil (Nabeul) and research is making good progress.

- The Sahel, which has reached a high technological level in the growing of early vegetable, is in danger of seeing its knowhow compromised by a shortage of water from the Nebhana River and will be able to maintain itself only by using waste water which will also be mobilized to intensify the traditional olive growing of the Sahel. This experiment could be extended to the whole Tunisian coast, all the way to Zarzis.

- The Gabes oases, threatened by competition from heavy chemical industries, could be saved only if waste waters are recycled.

#### A Huge Reserve: the Sea

Other experiments and research could be tried, but there seems to be a definite trend toward the largest water reserve: the sea. Research has been undertaken and the Gulf state have now reached the production stage. However, the plants use energy (fuel and gas-oil), which is very expensive, and the cost of 1 cubic meter of water is now about 0.4 dinars. That is out of reach for the time being. This is why Tunisian research is orienting itself toward a desalting-solar energy combination.

The experimental system involving glass houses and evaporation through solar energy is only in its initial stages, but research continues and much can be hoped for.

Simultaneously with the research and mobilization of all water resources, research should also be oriented toward improving irrigation techniques: drip irrigation, or the resurrection of the jar irrigation method discovered in the 12th century by an Arab researcher, Abou El Awam, in Kortoba, or pumping through solar energy (Sbikha experimental station).

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## ALLOCATIONS FOR EXPLOITATION OF PHOSPHATES

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 30 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Y.B.: "200 Million Dinars for the Phosphate Mines"]

[Text] The Sixth Plan is allocating 240 million dinars of investments to the mining sector, compared with 165.5 million dinars under the Fifth Plan, the objective being to obtain a 6.3 percent annual appreciation of this sector, compared with 3.8 percent (in current prices), through a production growth of 6.2 percent per year.

The investments contemplated will be mainly in the phosphate sector which will receive 200 out of the 240 million dinars allocated.

The expected mining production growth will result from an increase in the production of phosphate mines, which is expected to reach 6.8 million tons in 1986, compared with 5 million tons in 1981.

In addition, the iron ore production will decline; it will be only 350,000 tons in 1986, compared with 395,000 tons in 1981. However, fluor spar production will reach 55,000 tons compared with 33,500 tons in 1981.

#### Phosphates: Our Main Mining Resource

The results of the Fifth Plan show that we must intensify our efforts to make up for the deficiencies inherent to this sector. Indeed, in spite of large investments, production did not exceed 5 million tons, whereas 6.5 million tons had been forecast. This small production is due to the fact that the technology is not yet fully mastered.

The Sixth Plan provides for a large development program in this sector, a program which will require investments of the order of 200 million dinars.

In this respect, we should mention that the Sfax-Gafsa Phosphate Company will receive 160 million dinars of investments intended to guarantee the production of 6.8 million tons by 1986. In order to achieve this objective, the Plan recommends a strengthening of the mines, the development of beneficiation units and the extension of the Sehib and Mdhilla mines, as well as the modernization of the Kef Edour open pit mine, and the creation of a new beneficiation unit.

The Plan also provides for the realization of the first stage of the Sra-Ouertain (Le Kef) mine exploitation program; production at this mine will start in 1987.

#### Depletion of Iron Mines

With respect to iron ore production, it should be noted that the depletion of the Gerissa and Tamra deposits will prevent any increase in production.

Thus, the Gerissa mine will maintain a production level of 280,000 tons/year under the Sixth Plan; the Tamra mine, 70,000 tons/year.

#### Nonferrous Metals

In addition to phosphates and iron, Tunisia produces lead, zinc, spar and heavy baryte, which are extracted from ten different deposits. The nonferrous metals sector enjoys considerable reserves, especially at Zriba, Frej Lahdoun and Boujaber. However, in spite of the investments made during the Fifth Plan, the production decreased, especially because of a lack of specialization and the poor organization of the sector.

Therefore, a reorganization program will have to be implemented if production is to be increased.

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TUNISIAN CHILD ORGANIZATION ESTABLISHED

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 29 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Slaheddine: "A Prospective But Necessary Asset for the Child and Society"]

[Excerpts] In Tunisia and in Tunis itself at the Tahar Haddad Club (which was quite happy to serve as headquarters of the organization which we plan to speak to you about) an association has just been formed whose goal is precisely to prepare children to confront the future with the best trump cards in hand.

The Tunisian Child Organization [OTE] plans to focus its activities on three fields:

1) Studies:

To define the reality, the problems and the needs of the child and to find a way of remedying them.

2) Socio-cultural:

To sensitize parents to the importance of their responsibilities as father and mother and to prepare them to receive the child so that he is not looked upon as an undesirable burden. In fact, it is necessary to teach them to have [children] only when they want them.

To make the mother (and the father, too) conscious of the child's development from the fetal stage:

To introduce prospective facilities and services to the family before, during and after the delivery.

To encourage the creation of maternity hospitals, nursery schools and child-care centers in all of the towns, cities, quarters and places of work.

To encourage the maintaining of green spaces in all quarters so that the children can play and rest there.

To polish the athletic and artistic gifts of the child and to encourage him to take up what he likes.

To organize athletic matches and cultural clubs for pleasure. To show educational films and organize plays with the help of the children themselves.

To encourage children to participate in the various organizations and associations, and prepare them for school and student life.

### 3) Medical-Health:

To make the family, in general, and the mother, in particular, medically aware.

To attend to the mother during and after the pregnancy.

To supervise and give advice on diet.

To give periodic, sector-based medical examinations.

To facilitate the hospitalization of children ([medical] files, transportation...).

To attend to the children during their hospital stay (visits, books...) and to follow the development of their state of health after their discharge.

To urge that the sanitary conditions of the environment be ensured.

To sensitize the citizens to safeguard the cleanliness of their city.

It goes without saying that some objectives in these last two fields cannot be realized without the collaboration and help of the specialized organizations and centers.

So what the OTE is planning to do is too ambitious and idealistic, isn't it?

Of course not. It is enough to believe in it to succeed. Its aims are not impossible to achieve--they are even realistic. But it is always necessary that it [the OTE] find support and help, and that stumbling blocks not be placed in its way.

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TUNISIA

BRIEFS

RISING FOOD PRICES--One week after the beginning of "Ramadan," the prices in the market are on the upswing. The consumers, forgetting the voice of reason, are listening only to that of the stomach. People congregate in front of the stands and always buy more, at maximum price, to the great satisfaction of the shopkeepers who enjoy themselves fully. A short walk to the central market will enlighten you about the pricing of the products offered to consumers. Hot peppers--700 to 800 [millimés] per kg. Mild peppers at 800 per kg. Potatoes--220 to 270 per kg. Cucumbers--360 to 450 per kg. Fish--800 to 4,000 per kg (depending on the quality). Lamb--2,600 to 3,200 per kg. Beef--2,200 deboned (set price). Melons--560 to 700 per kg. Watermelons--420 to 480 per kg. Peaches--720 to 960 per kg. Plums--600 to 800 per kg. Apples--800 to 900 per kg. Bananas--480 per kg (set price). One must confess that at this rate, even the "chachouka" [omelette made of peppers and tomatoes], which is the least expensive dish, comes to almost the same price as a main dish, give or take a few tomatoes. And besides, in view of the small quantities of peaches and apples for sale, some consumers are not hesitating to cry speculation. The retailers only bring the merchandise out in a trickle so that the prices will not fall. Where are the regulatory authorities? What is the actual capacity of the cold-storage facilities? [Text] [Tunis LE TEMPS in French 1 Jul 82 p 3]

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END