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# Near East/South Asia Report

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6 February 1985

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN DASHNAK PARTY'S STATEMENT ON ASHJIAN ABDUCTION

GF161702 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 29 Dec 84 p 1

[Statement issued by the Central Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Dashnak Party in Lebanon 29 December 1984]

[Text] Today is the second anniversary of the abduction of Abraham Ashjian, member of the Central Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Dashnak Party and one of the leaders of the Lebanese-Armenians.

The Turkish Government, which does not have a government similar to it in international history and is known for its collective and individual crimes, once again revealed its true face with its low plot hatched against our friend with the naive intention of striking at the strong will of the Armenian people and the Armenian Revolutionary Dashnak Party.

In the current international situation when the big countries are condemning the terrorism and equally considering the Armenian youths who are full of resentment against the fact that the Armenian genocide remains unpunishable as simple terrorists, the same big countries are remaining silent and indifferent toward official Turkish terrorism.

They are not only staying silent and indifferent but also not condemning and on the contrary a number of big countries are supporting the racist and fascist Turkish regime through their aids in political, military, economic and other sectors, saving it from the inevitable danger of downfall.

This biased policy of constantly defending and further spoiling Turkey will encourage it to display further arrogant daringness in its new criminal initiatives.

The principles of international justice and human rights established and accepted by the same big countries demand the end of the policy pursued by them and the recognition of the justness of the struggle waged for rights by the entire civilized world.

The Armenian Revolutionary Dashnak Party awaits the condemnation of Turkey for the kidnap of its friend and corresponding measures by the big countries.  
[Signed] Armenian Revolutionary Dashnak Party Central Committee, 29 Dec 84

CSO: 4605/78

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

BEIRUT DAILY DENOUNCES TURKEY ON ASHJIAN KIDNAPPING

GF161710 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 29 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Editorial: "The Official Turkish Terrorism Will Fail"]

[Excerpts] Exactly 2 years ago the Turkish secret services planned and executed the criminal plot of kidnapping Abraham Ashjian, one of the members of the Armenian Dashnak Party Central Committee.

Two years ago with this civil act that genuinely reflects its racist nature, official Turkish terrorism added a new "heroic act" to the list of its crimes against the humanity and the civilized world.

The kidnapping of Abraham was not the first or last anti-Armenian step of the Turkish Government. Indeed, the bloody fingerprints of the terrorist Turkish Government remain uneraseable from the pages of our history before the great genocide or after it.

Moreover, the conspiratorial act of kidnapping Comrade Abraham is simply one of the versions of the ancient way of thinking of the Turkish Government. Evidently, the Sultanic or Ittihadian Turkey and its heirs the republican regime have pursued and continue to pursue a policy of racism and existence through the use of force and tyranny. The Armenian people and their ancestral fatherland are not the only victims of this Turkish policy.

All the Middle Eastern people--Greeks, Arabs, Kurds, and Cypriots--have suffered bloodshed, persecutions, and tyrannies of the Turkish Government. Turkish reactionarism could not even avoid Turkish opposition elements, thousands of whom are imprisoned in Turkish jails today. Every day the international media report cruel prison tortures and mass trials.

What is the civilized world doing against all this? Unfortunately the opposite of what is required from it.

The United States, which holds the card of NATO concerns in front of a number of European countries that call Turkey to account on this or that occasion, promise full aid and total support to the Turkish leaders who fake democracy.

Taking advantage of the tepid relations between Turkey and the West, the Soviet Union also resorted to the old strategy of winning Turkey over and sent its prime minister to Ankara to sign an economic and trade agreement. The superpowers that are lost in capitalist interests and blind adversities are encouraging the massacre which is becoming more arrogant every day with its "brave achievements," which degrade the humanity and history.

However, history shows that the more pressure increases in the oppressed people and their freedom fighters, the more their determination for struggle and resistance increases.

Abraham Ashjian is one of the victims of the genocidal Turkish tyranny which not only aims at people like Abraham, individuals or organizations but also the entire Armenian issue.

However, as in the past today Turkish governmental terrorism will not reach its goal and will always fail not only in the lives of the Armenian people but also in the lives of the entire Middle Eastern people thanks to their political maturity, unbreakable will for liberation struggle, and undefeatable resistance spirit.

Turkish terrorism will not reach its goals also in the Armenian life because people like Abraham not only represent individuals or organizations but entire generations and an entire people who are tending to their just liberation struggle. A just liberation struggle that will continue without retreat until final and total victory.

CSO: 4605/77

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIANS SAID TO PREFER ADOPTION OF POLITICAL MODUS OPERANDI

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 3 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] Oktai Ekshi writes in GUNES under the title "The Village That Is Visible": "We all entered the year 1985 together and pretty soon came the news we had been expecting. When we say "expecting" we are not alluding to the newly laid taxes, to the slight pay raises, to the tax refunds and to similar novelties which are already known to all.

We are talking of totally different things which were going to place new problems before us during 1985. In fact, GUNES, HURRIYET and TERCUMAN reported at the time about the meeting convened in Frankfurt of the body known as The Armenian National Committee and about the communique published after the meeting which informed that "their attacks directed against Turkey during 1985 would be concentrated in the political field instead of the terroristic field."

According to another field of news, the French minister of Foreign Affairs, Roland Dumas had sent a message to his Turkish colleague Vahid Halefoglou informing him that he hoped possibilities would be created in the days to come to improve Franco-Turkish relations.

On 11 August, 1984 GUNES reported that the French Government which for years had wheedled and humored Armenian terrorism would one day change its course of action since, according to him, "we can now say that the world has been informed about the Armenian Question and world public opinion has some idea about it. The Turks are in no position to forestall or prevent Armenian propaganda. Under these conditions, if we re-established our relations with the Turks, it would no longer harm the Armenians or the Armenian Question in any way. It appears that that day has arrived, as shown by the news already received.

On 18 August GUNES again talked of the change in Armenian activities, of the transformation from "terrorism to political tactics." This also became clear in the latest news arriving from Frankfurt in the communique published about the pursuit of the Armenian Case.

In light of these realities, the expectation of new crimes by Armenians becomes very slight. The reason is very simple. The Armenian terrorists

committed those crimes in order to attract world attention and win sympathizers. While we were content to choose the course of "denial" of Armenian affirmations, thus losing much time, they succeeded in doing what they wanted to do, even to the extent of influencing the American Senate into thinking they were engaged in the "pursuit of a just Cause", and thus consecrating their actions. Exactly in the same way as the Jews in the past who made their voices heard through "terrorism" and later reached the phase of "founding an independent State", as the Palestine Liberation Front which having followed the same course, is being regarded today as a sort of "State" and is treated as such all the while pursuing its Cause through political action. The purpose of the Armenians is not different and they are clearly aiming at the same thing.

We cannot say that terrorism has completely died out but the chances are it will diminish appreciably. So that the Armenians when they realize that terrorism distorts the image of their Cause and makes it ugly, will henceforth pursue their Cause through lawyers, like in American and France and will face us in their company. It is barely at this time that Turkey, that to date has not gathered its wits in this matter, at this time it will come to its senses... Of course, if it is not too late, even in this case..."

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKISH PAPER SUGGESTS DIALOGUE WITH ARMENIAN LEADERS

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 8 Jan 85 pp 1, 4

[Text] Talaat Halman writes in the MILLIYET. We are obliged to accept certain harsh realities in connection with Armenian terrorism:-

--The year 1985 does not present a hopeful picture from the point of view of ending Armenian terroristic activities.

--The crimes are not committed by a mere handful of terrorists. There are various organizations that help and support them which have become considerably stronger in recent years.

--According to other sources of information, the terrorists are encouraged by, among others, Americans, Soviets, Frenchmen, Palestinians, Israelis, Greeks, Greek Cypriots, Kurds as well as others.

--We do not have a special policy regarding the Armenian Question. It would not be wrong to say that what we do does not go beyond the taking of measures to protect more or less efficiently Turkish diplomats. After burying with great ceremony, with speeches and funeral orations the victims of terrorism, we again hide our heads in the sand.

--We can say that during the past ten years, the Armenians have literally given us a sound beating and have destroyed us in the field of propaganda. We have been unable to make our voice heard or to reply to the affirmations and allegations. We have resigned ourselves to the attributes "barbarian" and "murderer" and have remained silent before those who show us in that light. We have tried to be satisfied by publishing a few books which we could not even market. We have only deceived ourselves and have felt satisfied and comforted by so doing.

We are duty bound to present to you these harsh realities. For within a short while, a few of the very valuable sons of our nation will most likely fall victim to Armenian terrorism. When they have lost their young lives, the entire press of the world will once again undertake the propaganda so desired by the Armenians.

When the history of the 20th century propaganda is written, perhaps the most successful and effective propaganda will prove to have been that which the Armenians employed against the Turks between the years 1970 and 1980.

The terrorists enjoy the backing of the various Armenian organizations of the diaspora as well as that of some churches. It is not only to disturb the peace of Turkey and of Turks that the Armenian Question is constantly being stirred up. Its aim is also to keep alive the national awareness of all the Armenians scattered in the world and to try to keep them attached to their Church. In fact, the churches in North America and Western Europe which, until ten years ago, had been neglected and deserted, are now being filled up to overflowing. Today the influence that the Church has on the Armenians is an undeniable fact. These churches have unimaginable endowments and huge sums of money at their disposal. That is partly why the Armenian churches of the Diaspora avoid reproving terrorism openly, although it is contrary to religion and morality and is inhuman.

Some people who remain inactive saying "what can we do" advance legal arguments. They say "to fight and neutralize professional terrorists hidden or waiting in ambush in many countries is not anybody's job", while others argue that "we are not dealing with a State like ours with whom we could start a dialogue facing each other squarely. Consequently, under the present conditions, there is nothing we can do as a State." There are those who say that "if we were to retaliate we would start a blood feud that would take a more negative view of us. "Obviously, such objections and such a reasoning have their logical and justifiable sides as well...But then, those justifications are used as excuses by a number of weak-willed and idle persons and circles who have evaded any action in this matter. It is not impossible to find ways, means and possibilities of solution. And yet these measures are quite different from the sad, organized funeral ceremonies, the heroic orations, the publicity articles and the paid columns that appear from time to time in foreign papers or the series of books that no one reads. Nor can the matter be settled by meeting with Tikhonov or Mitterand, Reagan and others from whom no solution can be expected.

We are forced to find a new approach, a new point of contact in this matter. We have to admit, before anything else, that all the propaganda so far has been ineffectual and almost useless, and consequently the job must be taken away from certain inept individuals and given to such people and organizations that have the necessary spirit of enterprise and influence. That is our first task.

Our second and main task is to enter into negotiations with Armenian leaders and church leaders in Western Europe and North America. It may well be that the State would not wish to do this directly and officially, and it is right. And yet, certain special or semiofficial individuals who are trusted by the State maybe indirectly authorized in this sense. Certain neutral Europeans and Americans acceptable to both sides may also take part in the meetings which are conducted behind closed doors and in full secrecy. Neither side makes any announcements to the press or gives out any information. When these negotiations are undertaken, Turkey makes a point of stressing that it is inclined to show understanding to Armenian claims but that if the Armenian leaders do not prevent terrorist activities, the Turkish Government has decided to resort to retaliation in turn. Of course the meeting will not proceed smoothly and perhaps will give rise to impasses. But the trying will be beneficial because not creating contacts with the Armenian leaders will lead to no solution at all. If the present situation continues, it is we who will be underestimated, it is we who will get killed. But if negotiations are started, a step towards a solution will have been taken. If the decent people speak out and agree, perhaps the evil and dark forces will disappear forever.

ALGERIA

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER STRESSES DIVERSIFICATION OF EXPORTS

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 25 Dec 84 p III

[Interview with Mohamed Aberkane, vice minister for foreign trade, by Omar Belhouchet; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Mr Minister, the world economic crisis and the uncertainties of the international hydrocarbon market propel control of foreign trade into the forefront. How is the current concern expressed in the overall program recently taken up by the Cabinet?

[Answer] Control of foreign trade is an essential element of the policy of independence and development of our country. Its need is now evident, given the prolonged economic crisis that has hit the world, a crisis that has left few nations untouched. Algeria has managed to withstand the crisis thanks to the management of its resources through rigorous planning and a state monopoly over foreign trade.

The general foreign trade program adopted by the government a few days ago could not fail to take the disturbances marking commercial trade in the world into account, any more than the ever increasing aggressiveness of the multinational oil companies through the manipulation of hydrocarbon prices.

Consideration of these various external limitations in all their dimensions and foreseeable manifestations has been the dominant concern in drafting the 1985 Annual Plan and the General Foreign Trade Program (PGCE), which constitutes its application in the field. In this connection, there is perfect coherence between the two and they are perfectly integrated into the development strategy defined by the 1985-1989 Five-Year Plan.

With the launching of this second 5-year plan, foreign trade plays an essential role and clearly appears as one of the main strategic variables in our development process.

In other words, the main basic proportions of our national economy are set, moreso than in the past, once foreign financial limitations are known.

This approach is nothing other than the expression, on the level of planning, of the principle of relying on oneself, in a harsh, dehumanized world.

Today, the process underway (and largely undertaken) of getting our economy out of debt requires maintaining the surplus of our goods balance. In order to do so, given the inelasticity of foreign demand vis-a-vis the national supply, it is indispensable to maintain the rate of deceleration of our own imports compared with gross national production.

Consequently, the coefficient of "extraversion" of our national economy will fall to 20 percent in 1985 (compared with 38 percent in 1978). This rate, which is 22 percent at the end of 1984, is even ahead of the program set by the 1980-1984 Five-Year Plan, which authorized 28 percent for this same year of 1984.

Another sign of the soundness of our economy is its capacity to "absorb the shocks" from one year to another, once again thanks to the state monopoly over foreign trade, which in no way excludes the freedom to reallocate and modify imports in terms of the performance of the different sectors of production of any readjustment in national priorities.

It is significant to point out, in this connection, that the level of imports for 1985 is strictly stabilized compared with 1984 and even 1983, without any negative effect on household consumption and the growth rate of the economy.

In our opinion, this is the true investment approach, in keeping with the slogan of the Fifth Party Congress of the FLN: "Work and Strictness To Guarantee the Future."

[Question] What approach will be used to bring about the inevitable reduction imports and what are the sectors most concerned?

[Answer] As I have just said, there is no reduction in imports, but rather, a stabilization. The notion of reduction is a relative notion: reduction compared with what?

All sectors are concerned by the effort of strictness and austerity demanded of the country within a framework of planning.

No economic function will be sacrificed. In this sense, the General Import Program for 1985 will be rigorously in keeping with objectives drawn up in the areas of consumption, production and investments.

The projects undertaken and the economic units in operation will have AGI [expansion unknown] credits allocated in keeping with the objectives assigned to them. The essential household consumer products will be available throughout 1985. One cannot speak of scarcities when it is a matter of superfluous products. There is quite simply a deliberate rejection of a type of consumption not in keeping with the demand of the broadest sectors of the population, the objective being the realization of food self-sufficiency. Economic independence comes at that price. What is more, it is within our reach.

[Question] What are Algeria's assets that would enable it to achieve that trade rationale without compromising the level of household consumption and the needs of the national economy?

[Answer] The fundamental asset Algeria has to rationalize its imports is the government monopoly over foreign trade.

That is the rock withstanding the negative fallout of the world crisis.

Law No 78.02, which instituted this monopoly, has as its principal merit that of disconnecting the operation of our national economy from any major disturbances of world trade.

Today, given the perspective of time, we can see that only this monopoly, based on a dominant state sector, authorizes us to plan our foreign trade very rigorously.

That planning is based on the following principles:

import credits distributed by product, function, sector and enterprise, in keeping with the respective production plans;

centralized physical arbitration for strategic products (grain, milk, sugar, oil, cement, steel, wood, and so on), thanks to the technique of material balances;

import gaps channeled through several types of AGI (monopoly, operation, planned objectives) and the existence of operational monopolies (products from the A list) regulating overall strategic imports; and

rigorous mechanisms for the protection of national production (largely helping the private national productive sector) through a priori technical controls (AGI) and contract-programs between national producers and monopolies.

This is a summary glimpse of the planning techniques used. Arbitration is obviously adjusted constantly in terms of fluctuations in the national and international situations.

Rationality prevails in this approach, in the sense that outside blows are absorbed by the monopoly and are not transmitted to the consumer, whether it be a matter of households (consumer goods) or enterprises (production goods).

The monopoly guides and constantly regulates, benefiting from the foreign supply when favorable (particularly by using the appreciable weight of the country's "buyer's card") or, on the contrary, by neutralizing the negative effects of the unfavorable situations and preventing the phenomenon of imported inflation.

This monopoly naturally remains an evolving instrument that can be perfected and the government wants to refine it constantly and adapt it to the needs of the national economy, even if slight delays are sometimes perceptible.

[Question] Control of foreign trade as a response to the effects of the crisis and oil uncertainties and a means of preserving the terms of trade also require that exports other than hydrocarbons be promoted. What were the results in 1984 and estimates for 1985 and the next 5 years?

[Answer] Control of foreign trade is a pondered political act, one chosen in keeping with the fundamental options of our country. It is not so much a response as a bulwark protecting national economic independence. That independence now effectively depends on the promotion of exports other than hydrocarbons. Nearly everywhere on the foreign markets, there is a place that belongs to our country and we have to reoccupy it. It is not an easy task, given the nearly universal contraction of these markets due to the crisis, but our operators have tested the waters and found them conclusive. As for the government, it has taken concrete measures, adopted in April (reported in EL MOUDJAHID), expressing its determination to diversify its markets and exportable production.

Fifteen measures were adopted, all aimed at freeing our enterprises' export capacities by making it easier for them to approach potential customers and improve the competitiveness of their products. They have been widely disseminated, not only through the press, but also by means of meetings and debates with exporters, who have truly made it possible to gain control of existing limitations. They are 80-percent operational at the end of 1984 and will be 100-percent so in 1985, when the practical implementation of some of them is completed.

Without a question, exports have been promoted in 1984, but we must say clearly that we can and must do better. The diversification achieved in hydrocarbons is completed and crude oil no longer represents any more than a quarter of that item. The battle is now pitched in making our economy enter the post-oil period. The year 1984 recorded export receipts from products other than hydrocarbons 60 percent higher than in 1983, but those receipts still did not meet our objective -- which we deem feasible -- of 2 billion dinars (we only achieved 72 percent).

The chief of state recently recalled, on the occasion of the 13th session of the FLN Central Committee, that it is not a matter of making ambitious decisions that are inapplicable in the field.

Regarding exports of products other than hydrocarbons, the approach is definitely a deliberate one, but it is based on existing capacities that are recognized and in a growth phase. It is a matter of organization, mobilization and, above all, of an awareness of export possibilities. We must truly create an export mentality and the government is anxious to open the doors of foreign markets to our operators, including from the public and private sectors.

Based on these capacities, the government did not hesitate to double the 1985 goal compared with 1984 results. By 1989 (end of the second 5-year plan), we hope to have, at the close of an increase in exports, annual receipts from products other than hydrocarbons on the order of 4 to 5 billion dinars, even more if the international environment so permits.

[Question] What sectors would be most apt to help this diversification of export products?

[Answer] Regarding exports of products other than hydrocarbons, it is difficult to give priority to a given sector and the mobilization must affect the

entire national production apparatus. But judging from our experience this year, it has been observed that some sectors achieved their objectives better than others. The best performance was situated in heavy industry and in petrochemistry. Light industry normally constitutes the most interesting export sector insofar as its products, both numerous and diversified, contain a great added value and can therefore assume the role of export products (ceramic tile, textiles, leathers, tobacco, cellulose products, and so on).

Agriculture is also called upon to regain its export vocation and one must hope that it will do so during the second 5-year plan, which grants it priority (along with water projects) in its concerns.

One must recall, however, that the domestic market, which remains the main target and the natural framework for national production, continues to need this production. In this sense, we must recognize that national production for the purpose of replacing imports has the same positive effects on our trade balance as exports.

Consequently, no one will blame a given enterprise which can no longer export because its entire capacity is devoted to the demand of the national market.

The fact remains that we have a great deal to learn from countries which, without enjoying our human and material resources, have prospered by penetrating foreign markets by virtue of the value they have added thanks to the genius of their peoples, value added to imported raw materials which they have processed and sold again.

Along this same line of ideas, the time has come, it seems to me, to begin a program of exporting Algerian services, one that will back and stimulate the program of exporting goods, providing the promise of a rapid expansion thanks to the great infrastructure which our country will have in terms of studies, projects, insurance, banks, transport and other services.

[Question] Attenuating the effects of the crisis also means shifting areas of trade, giving more preference to Third World partners and socialist countries. Can you see noteworthy progress in this field?

[Answer] This question touches upon one of the major concerns of the government, so true is it that diversification is, in this case, the key to economic independence. Our trade is definitely still aimed toward OECD countries to the extent of 90 percent for reasons having to do with the influence of the past and the rigidities inherent in our production. An initial effort has consisted in bringing about a diversification of partners within this group of so-called "market economy countries." We can now say that no country in this group controls a preponderant share of our foreign trade.

Second, we have to seek new partners in an effort to shift (meaning acquire a better balance) and expand our trade. This search has rapidly run up against the double limitation constituted by the structure of our exports, essentially hydrocarbons whose consumers are precisely the OECD countries, and the configuration of our imports (essentially food and industrial equipment), of which those same OECD countries remain the privileged suppliers.

We have therefore adopted, regarding those other partners (socialist and Third World countries), a deliberate policy of systematically seeking cooperation and trade agreements on the basis of a balanced advantage.

This policy is followed with positive but still limited results, given the concerns and possibilities of those partners. Particularly with regard to brother countries and friends in the Third World, our approach has consisted of instituting direct import relations to supply the country with products such as sugar, coffee, cotton, wood, and so on. As you know, Algeria has even adopted assistance programs for Third World countries based on its faith in South-South cooperation, programs that can withstand any comparison with aid programs of the wealthier countries.

The fact therefore remains that our country can speak of its international cooperation without any complexes. With an overall approach, it is through a qualitative and quantitative increase in our exports that we shall be able to add to the number of our trading partners steadily. The diversification of products offered for export will affect many buyers throughout the world, from whom we shall in turn be able to acquire new equipment and services that will enrich our tables and our production lines.

That is the rule in the field of international trade and Algeria is determined to put it into practice in the service of its properly understood interests.

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CSO: 4519/71

EGYPT

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY REFORMS EXAMINED

Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic No 425, 16 Dec 84 pp 12-13

[Article by Mahmud 'Abd-al-Mun'im Murad: "Putting Internal Affairs of House in Order and Changing Persons and Methods of Action"]

[Text] What I mean by putting the affairs of the house in order is to put the party's affairs, including those of its leadership and its higher committees, in order because the NDP [National Democratic Party] is the party of the overwhelming majority in the legislative council, i.e., the People's Assembly. It is also the party with the overwhelming majority in the Consultative Council as well as the unanimous party in the executive authority, since all the cabinet ministers are members of the party. Thus, the party holds in its hands both legislative and executive authority. The president of the republic is the party chairman and the chairman of its Political Bureau, which is the highest party organization. Whatever happens in this bureau must inevitably have its impact on the development of legislative and executive action and any change in this bureau must inevitably have its meaning and significance. It is not the change of persons that is important, even though we are always more interested in this aspect than we are in the other aspect, namely, the change of the method of action and what such a change entails. The change of persons may have its numerous manifestations. However, it takes second place in importance. We will try as much as possible to shed light on the extent of this change so that we may understand what is happening and may be aware of the new tendencies of political action methods, both governmental and popular.

The change, which has gone through numerous phases, began with quiet and deliberate steps after the death of Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, the late prime minister. Under his administration, he was both the prime minister and the party secretary general at the same time. He had, may God have mercy on his soul, the ability to work ceaselessly and it enabled him to manage both government and party affairs together. But this often led to confusing the party with the government and the legislative authority with the executive authority and to the absence of a line separating one from the other. Many have perhaps noticed that conditions have changed since his death, since the time Kamal Hasan 'Ali was appointed prime minister, since Dr Muhammad Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim assumed the post of the party's provisional secretary general and since Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub was chosen speaker of the People's

Assembly. Thus, the government, the party General Secretariat and the People's Assembly each have come to have an independent personality even though the three engage in their actions under one canopy, namely, their membership in the ruling majority party under the chairmanship of the head of the state and the party chairman simultaneously. However, the major change occurring after all this did not materialize until 25 October 1984, when the formation of the NDP's new Political Bureau, which is the party's highest organization, was announced. On the same day, Dr Muhammad Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim was chosen the party secretary general and Dr Yusuf Wali and Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi were chosen assistant secretaries. The Political Bureau is comprised of 13 members, including 7 members who joined it for the first time, meaning that the new members constitute more than half of the bureau. The new seven members are: Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, Safwat al-Sharif, Dr Yusuf Wali, Maj Gen Hasan Abu Basha, Kamal Henry Badir and Dr Ahmad Haykal. Only six old members maintained their membership in the Political Bureau after this reshuffle. They are: Kamal Hasan 'Ali, Dr Mustafa Khalil, Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim, Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, Fikri Makram 'Ubayd and Dr Amal 'Uthman.

The second step was to elect the members of the party's General Secretariat and the chairmen of its specialized committees. This selection took 48 days and the new makeup was announced last Monday. The new formation is comprised of 23 members, including the general secretary and the two assistant secretaries whose selection had been announced early. Twenty members were chosen in addition to these 3, including 9 specialized members to perform specific tasks, most of which pertain to the issues of various groups, such as the workers, the farmers, the professionals, the craftsmen, the industrialists, the merchants, women, youth and information, and 11 members to take part in the General Secretariat without specialization. The new General Secretariat includes in its structure 15 new members entering it for the first time, if we count among them the general secretary and the two assistant secretaries. But if we say that these three are not new, then the number of new members is 12 members out of a total of 21 members, i.e., more than half the secretariat. Thus, the number of new members is again higher than that of old members. The same has happened with the Political Bureau.

It seems that the political leadership has been eager to replace more than half the members, not only in the Political Bureau or in the General Secretariat alone but also among the recently selected chairmen of the specialized committees. These committees are founded on the basis of distributing the production, service and political tasks and not on a factional basis according to which the General Secretariat's specialized committees are divided. The number of specialized committees formed amounts to 16 committees. Nine of the chairmen of these committees, i.e., more than half the total number of chairmen, are new.

This comprehensive reshuffle in the membership of the Political Bureau, of the General Secretariat and of the specialized committees has its significance, foremost of which is a reconsideration of the membership in accordance with special criteria. The most important criterion, as demonstrated by the

experience from the start of the latest general elections until the present, is the ability to give and to exert a serious effort and to become totally familiar with the issues these committees are entrusted to study. These indications also point to the NDP's ability to develop and renew with firm and deliberate steps and to absorb new elements whose ability, integrity and vigor are not doubted by anybody. This comprehensive reshuffle further indicates that the NDP contains a large number of leaders who give the party a broad opportunity to select, renew and find alternatives easily. What distinguishes the NDP from the other parties is perhaps its broad territory which abounds with leaders and cadres who enjoy a good reputation and a past which abounds with action and gives whereas the other parties, without exception, suffer from a shortage of leaders qualified to cover the various activities. There is no better proof of this than the fact that the new faces in the NDP's General Secretariat are not new to the ears of Egyptian citizens generally. Mahmud Dabbur, the People's Assembly deputy speaker, is not unknown to the labor unions generally and Drs Mahmud al-Sharif, Mamduh Jabr and Mahmud Mabfuz are bright names in the fields of medicine and public service. All the other members hold important positions in the public life at present and have a past that is well known to all. As for the new faces in the specialized committees, many of them have held cabinet positions or other high state positions. Foremost among these faces is Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub who has been selected ideology secretary and who shoulders an enormous responsibility that must top all other responsibilities insofar as any party is concerned. This ideology committee must formulate the party's ideology in its new makeup and in its dealing with the circumstances that distinguish this phase from other phases undergone by the country in the past.

From a private viewpoint, I can say without exaggeration that the NDP has been reborn and has rid itself of the shackles of the near and distant past in the wake of the latest formations [organizational changes]. These formations, along with the change in the methods of partisan action accompanying them, are perhaps enough to convince those who like to attribute at times the NDP to the era of the late President Anwar al-Sadat and at other times to the era of the Socialist Union before al-Sadat assumed power. These formations include the good elements capable of developing and of giving, regardless of whether they participated in public action in the days of the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir or of the late President Anwar al-Sadat. What is important in the selection of the new leaders is not that they participated in this or that era. Rather, what is important is the ability of these elements to surpass the past, to live in the present and to look forward to the future. There remains after all this an important role and a major responsibility facing the party, namely, the role and responsibility of training new young cadres and selecting from among the young generations the good elements who can prove their capability and their ability to contribute positively to performing the national action and to achieving unity with the popular bases, especially with the great majority of elements that are indifferent, suspicious or unconcerned. The first step in this regard is for the party to take the major step on the path of sound democracy, which is what President Husni Mubarak promised in his meeting with the General Secretariat last Tuesday when he said that the method of

action in the coming phase should grant the popular bases the opportunity to select their candidates to assume the leadership positions at the levels of the village, the quarter, the city, the district and the governorate.

The absence of the democratic system for many years has denied the new generations the opportunity to engage in the sound democratic partisan action which many demand. It was impossible for us to move from the single-opinion system and one political organization system to full democracy with all its components which are founded on a selection of the higher cadres and structures and the general leaderships from below and move gradually upward as in the sound pyramidal structure known to the countries that are deeply-rooted in democracy and that have had a full opportunity to carry on with this system without any prolonged interruption. This is not a justification for what has happened in recent months in terms of the manner in which the leaderships of the Political Bureau, the General Secretariat and the specialized committees were selected. Rather, it is an explanation of an existing reality that cannot be disregarded, namely, that we are still at the beginning and that democracy is not just a slogan we raise but is a long activity and a way of life that must find its full opportunity in the behavior of the individual so that it may settle deep in the emotions and the conscience.

The party also shoulders another responsibility, namely, that it act as a model for the other parties in practicing democracy from within and in having the masses take part in serious political action. All the Egyptian parties shoulder a historic responsibility in entrenching the democratic spirit and in bolstering the bases of democracy. This cannot be achieved unless the masses feel that they have the freedom of choice.

We, both majority and minority and government and opposition, must elevate the level of dialogue, debate and discussion and must put the country's supreme interests above all considerations.

There is no doubt that there are before us numerous issues that are fit for popular partisan action and for ceaseless efforts to be exerted to develop and advance society. The issues of illiteracy eradication, of family planning of sanitation in the house and in the street and of drug control must be at the heart of partisan action, and not confined to government efforts only.

We must learn how to perform our duty in every position. The objective of partisan action is not to attain positions and make gains but to serve the masses. It is a purely voluntary action and not a profession intended to grab opportunities or to make financial profits.

In his first meeting with the party's General Secretariat, President Husni Mubarak asserted the formation of the Political Bureau, of the General Secretariat and of the specialized committees will now be accompanied with a large-scale and active movement, with an action phase and with a new start toward finding the practical solutions for the masses' problems.

The president also said that the party abounds with qualified cadres capable of giving to the country and to the party. Every member, regardless of his position, must perform his role, be he an ordinary member in the base or a leader at the top. The party members must adhere to the party's intellectual framework, which reflects the hopes and aspirations of Egypt's people, and must abide by the people's values, traditions and supreme interests. The president also pointed out that democracy is the only path to achieve major objectives and a better future.

He also said that any changes in the party structures at the level of the governorates and districts must emanate from the base's selection and agreement and from its nomination of these leadership. He added that we, as members in the party, must be able to agree and be eager to unite and put the public interest and the national interest ahead of all else.

He further asserted that giving, work and devotion in serving the citizens and an upright character and abidance by principles and values should be the criteria for selecting the party leaderships at all levels.

He emphasized that democratic dialogue is essential and is a fundamental element of democracy but that dialogue in itself is not the objective. It is, however, necessary to correct the course, to exert a serious effort in the country's interest and to insure the future of the Egyptian citizen on his land. We are going through a difficult phase of our life, namely, the phase of development and of building at the political, economic and social levels. We must be clear and must tell the facts frankly. People respect the honest word and honest effort.

We hope to see in the near future a fundamental change in the system of partisan action--a change whose impact will be reflected on democratic political action generally, on the parties' relations with each other and on the level of debate and dialogue in both the national and the partisan press. We want the People's Assembly to continue its policy of tolerance and of opening the doors and the windows to every constructive opinion, be it from supporters or from the opposition. We need ideas, not applause, and we want objective studies, not personal vituperation. The NDP must be a vanguard and a model. It is in this party's hands to paint a new image of political action--an image that encourages the citizen to participate and not to retreat into a shell. At the same time, the opposition parties must exert their utmost efforts to reorganize their structures, to expand their base and to attract capable elements to their leaderships so that they may become strong parties capable of equal dialogue with the majority party.

Democracy means multiplicity. The presence of a large party enjoying the overwhelming majority of supporters abolishes the role of the other parties and makes the opposition weak and unworthy of performing its constructive role.

There can be no party without thought. One of the first tasks is to make this political thought clear to the young generations in particular. This

thought must be clear, definite and detailed at the same time. Definitiveness is not opposed to detail. Thought is the torch that lights the way and the force that attracts the masses to rally behind a party out of belief and conviction. Thus, the masses break away from the circle of aimlessness, misguidedness, frustration and indifference. It is a shame to waste the creative capabilities and resources with which the homeland abounds despite all the hardship it has experienced in past years. This hardship must be a motive for all of us to make up for what was lost in the past. Let us start a new era that gives every man the opportunity to use his latent capabilities, without impounding any opinion, monopolizing any action or subjugating public activity to the service of a few individuals.

The homeland belongs to all and all must think and work with utter self-confidence and with the aspiration to build a great future for the people who deserve life, progress and prosperity.

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#### NDP COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN DISCUSS TASKS

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[Interview with Chairmen of NDP Political Bureau's Specialized Committees by Amir al-Zahhar, Suhayr al-Husayni, Ibrahim Qa'ud, Zakariyah Abu Hiram and 'Ala' Mustafa: "What Are Ideas Which NDP Committee Chairmen Carry; 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman, Popular Development: National Campaign To Develop and Cultivate Desert; Fu'ad Abu Zaghlal, Industry: Program To Implement Slogan of 'Made in Egypt'; Ahmad Nuh, Supply: Solving Problem of Subsidy and of Production Loss; 'Ali Lutfi, Economy: Balance Between Wages and Prices and Budget Deficit; and Husayn 'Uthman, Housing: Designing Economical Housing and Program To Vanquish Problem"]

[Text] The NDP [National Democratic Party], headed by President Husni Mubarak, has issued its decision forming the party's specialized committees, which number 16. What are the ideas of each committee chairman within the framework of the party's general strategy? What are the broad lines of these committees in conformity with the general lines of the government, the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council? What are the problems of each committee and what is the method of partisan action to solve them?

AKHIR SA'AH interviewed the chairmen of these committees and has lived with the ideas, proposals and ideal solutions which they deem fit to eliminate all the problems in the coming phase. These are just broad lines for the actions of these committees and these lines will become clearer when the committees begin their forthcoming meetings.

At the Popular Development Committee, we interviewed Eng 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman, whose chairmanship of this committee has been renewed under the recent reorganization of the NDP. Regarding the Popular Development Committee's action program for the coming phase, 'Uthman said:

When I thought of taking part in national action through the party, I put one fact before my eyes, namely, national action through the parties does not at all mean turning oneself into a professional politician and orator. Rather, true political action must be practiced through economic and social accomplishments for Egypt. Thus, the party becomes productive and active at the same time.

If we look at the future of Egypt and of the Egyptian citizen in his capacity as the fundamental mainstay of production and the implementer of development, we will find that the figures say that Egypt's population will amount to nearly 70 million by the year 2000 if the rate of population growth persists at its present level.

The Popular Development Committee chairman added:

Another fact is that Egypt still relies to some degree on imports to meet its food needs. This is what has motivated us to think of developing a stable national plan that emanates from Egypt's soil, is compatible with Egypt's circumstances and resources and relies fundamentally on the youth, who are an inexhaustible and ever-renewable wealth, especially if they are guided in a sound manner that turns them into a productive force. This is why we have been eager in the various popular development projects to give the youth the full opportunity to assume their responsibility in the building battle.

This is why the outcome of popular development in the past few years has been more than 200 companies with investments of more than 1 billion pounds and 24 national banks. These companies and banks have been founded with Egyptian funds and at a time when the Egyptian investors have felt that the economic climate permits such investment. Instead of freezing, hiding or smuggling their money abroad, these investors have employed their money in those Egyptian firms which operate in the sphere of food security and of land reclamation and cultivation. Thus, the capitalist never holds back on participating in the development projects as long as he finds the encouragement and the security to invest his money.

#### National Campaign To Cultivate Desert

[Question] But it has been noticed that the Popular Development Committee has been somewhat inactive recently. What are the reasons?

['Uthman] This observation may have been sound for a brief period recently as a result of some economic decisions, such as the decision to streamline imports, and as a result of the streamlining committees, of the currency problems and of other problems. Private money is as cowardly as a mouse and it does not surface until it feels safe and secure.

I believe that these causes have been eliminated now, especially since Prime Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali has devoted major attention to solving the private sector's problems by offering cultivable land at the price of 400 pounds per feddan. There is also the prime minister's decision to reconsider the customs tariff and the streamlining committees, to encourage the private sector to enter the sphere of the construction materials industry and to offer this sector all facilities.

[Question] Will these decisions by the prime minister affect the Popular Development Committee and restore to it its vigor which we have missed recently?

['Uthman] Certainly. The Popular Development Committee is no more than a group of national investors. The economic decisions and the country's general economic situation will undoubtedly affect them. Therefore, the Popular Development Committee has, in the wake of the prime minister's statements, drawn up its plan for the coming phase on the basis of developing the desert because there is no way out of the economic problem and of the housing problem except through development in the direction of the desert and through cultivation of the desert. This is why the Popular Development Committee will launch in the coming phase a national campaign to develop and cultivate the desert. We will raise the slogan of "build your own house." This principle has actually been applied in the Engineers Union and we in the Popular Development Committee will spread it. A youth can get a plot of land on which to build his house and utilize the remaining area to raise crops.

#### Comprehensive Survey of Governorates

[Question] The government did raise this slogan in the past and there are those who did cultivate plots of land but failed to gain possession of such plots. Are there sufficient guarantees to protect this campaign and to insure that ownership of the land is given to those who cultivate it?

['Uthman] Certainly. The prime minister has already announced the prices for those who are interested. Whoever participates with us will find all the guarantees that protect his rights.

[Question] When will the Popular Development Committee begin this campaign?

['Uthman] We have already drawn up the plan and we will begin implementation at the earliest opportunity. The Popular Development Committee, with the participation of the Ministry of Local Government and of its various agencies, has conducted a comprehensive survey of the various provinces preliminary to utilizing their resources in the best manner possible. The practical results of these surveys will emerge in the next few months, God willing.

#### Housing Committee

We then interviewed Engineer Husayn 'Uthman, the NDP's Housing Committee chairman, who spoke about the party's plan to solve the housing problem in the coming phase. He said:

The housing problem is one of the main problems faced by Egyptian society. This is why the state has put it at the forefront of popular problems. The efforts must unite to tackle and solve this problem.

Because of the importance of this problem, President Husni Mubarak called for a meeting which was held under his chairmanship and which was attended by the ministers of housing and planning and by housing experts, professors at the universities' engineering colleges, by me in my capacity as chairman of the NDP's Housing Committee and by representatives of the

various political parties to discuss the housing problem prior to holding a plenary conference to draw up the best solutions that will help vanquish this problem.

[Question] What has the NDP's Housing Committee done since last April and until the present to solve the housing problem and to prepare for the forthcoming housing conference?

[Husayn 'Uthman] The engineering subcommittee of the NDP's Housing Committee has held several meetings to design an unconventional house, using unconventional materials at an economical cost, by utilizing the experiences of the countries that have preceded us in this regard to develop a design that emanates from our social and economic needs and is compatible with a less expensive construction method. The subcommittee has selected some designs that are compatible with our needs and with the Egyptian environment. The fact is that the housing problem is divided into two parts:

The first is an "engineering" part. The committees have discussed this aspect several times and at various levels and have chosen some architectural models compatible with the Egyptian environment.

The second part pertains to the "continuity of implementation." What is needed is to find the means that help begin implementation, tackle the problem effectively, insure continued implementation without obstacles, draw up timetables, finance the plan and secure the land needed for construction.

#### Comprehensive Implementation Plan

[Question] What are the main features of the NDP plan to solve the housing problem?

[Husayn 'Uthman] The committee has been eager to find a solution to the problem according to scientific bases and a scientific method. As a result of successive studies and meetings, the committee completed in March 1979 a comprehensive plan in which it defined the role of the government, the cooperative organizations and associations and the private sector. The committee also drew up in March 1980 an appendix to its first report which dealt with some modifications that resulted from studies conducted by the committee in coordination with the reports prepared by the National Housing Committee.

At present, the matter requires the formulation of a detailed executive plan that covers all the elements influencing implementation, especially:

--Population and social studies.

--Selecting the sites suitable for the construction of housing units and supplying them with the main utilities.

--Conducting studies to develop advanced housing models and designs that are compatible with the development of life and take the economic aspects into

consideration. In this respect, the committee has chosen a number of architectural designs.

--Securing the construction materials, either through local production or through importation. In this respect, the Ministry of Housing has been interested in building new plants for the production of construction materials.

--Securing trained labor.

--Establishing a good normal relationship between landlord and tenant.

Proceeding on these bases, the NDP Housing Committee has drawn up a complete plan for solving the housing problem to be discussed in the forthcoming housing conference.

#### Supply and Trade Committee

Regarding the method of action and organization of the Supply and Trade Committee, Ahmad Nuh, the committee chairman, said:

The committee will be divided into three subcommittees, namely, the supply subcommittee, the domestic trade subcommittee and the foreign trade subcommittee. The most important issue to which the committee has given priority in its efforts is the subsidy issue with which we will try to deal objectively on the basis of Egyptian social, political and economic reality. It is easy to reach a quick solution calling for the abolition of the subsidy and it is also easy to decide to maintain the subsidy. But ultimately, we must formulate the solutions and tackle the problem in a manner compatible with the public interest.

The committee chairman added: I have been entrusted by the Higher Subsidy Committee and by the Specialized National Councils to conduct a comprehensive study of the subsidy issue and I have nearly completed this study. I have reached the fundamental conclusion that regardless of whether we abolish or maintain the subsidy as a theoretical solution, we must tackle the causes that have led to the presence of the subsidy problem to start with and that it is certainly better to tackle the issue within the framework of the economic problem as a whole. Considering that the issue has emanated from several causes, it is our duty, then, to eliminate these causes.

We should not forget that a food gap has developed as a result of the difference between what we produce and what we consume. This gap is also one of the causes of the subsidy, since the price policies are not in harmony with each other. It is surprising that hay prices should rise higher than those of wheat prices and those of chaff should rise higher than those of flour, corn, rice and other grains. The examples are numerous. This price issue is also one of the subjects of the committee's interest.

There is also the issue of economic loss and of the diversion of goods for consumption in purposes for which they are not originally intended.

There is, furthermore, the physical loss or the part of the commodity which perishes in the field or at the production site. This loss is connected with the elements of packaging, transportation, storage and other elements which need to be developed and to which we should devote special attention in order that we may preserve our production.

Ahmad Nuh also said that it is disturbing to know that the value of the loss in Egyptian production amounts to \$1.7 billion a year. The percentage of loss in vegetables and fruits amounts to more than 20 percent and in grains to nearly 10 percent. All this is happening at a time when we need every dollar and every grain for our growing rate of consumption.

The issue of exportation is one of the most important issues with which the Supply and Trade Committee is concerned. The committee will cooperate with all of the party's other committees and agencies to find decisive solutions for all the obstacles impeding the exports so as to eliminate the flaw in the trade balance which, in turn, affects the balance of payments and ultimately to earn foreign currencies to meet our needs.

Ahmad Nuh emphasized that he will seek the help of various experts in the party as he did when he formed this committee upon the formation of the party in 1979, since the party includes the best and most varied facets of expertise in the various spheres.

#### Solving Economic Problems

Dr 'Ali Lutfi, the Finance and Economy Committee chairman, said:

The NDP's Finance and Economy Committee will work within the framework of the party's philosophy and strategy and will always seek guidance from the program on whose basis the party waged the elections.

The committee will not start its work from void but will try to utilize the numerous studies already conducted, whether by the committee itself in the preceding phase or by the specialized committees of the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council, or the numerous and invaluable studies conducted by the Specialized National Councils.

In its work in the coming phase, the committee will not be content with the technical aspects of the financial and economic problems but will also take into account the social and political aspects so that any proposals or recommendations may be applicable. It has been noticed that when specialists conducted studies on any problem, they were content with examining the technical aspects and that their proposed solutions only clashed with the social and political reality. This is why we will try to find applicable proposals and recommendations compatible with the social and political reality.

We will also try to encourage individual and collective initiatives by contacting the specialists, be they in the universities, the ministries or in other organizations to contribute their opinions. The committee will also try

to devise intrinsic solutions whose application does not rely fundamentally on large sums of money or on foreign loans.

Dr 'Ali Lutfi added that in light of the above-mentioned considerations, the NDP's Finance and Economy Committee will give priority to a number of problems, the most important of which are:

The subsidy problem and the way to streamline it and to insure its delivery to those who deserve it.

The price and wage problem and efforts to establish a balance between them.

The problem of the deficit in the state's general budget and the means to eliminate this deficit since it is the main cause of inflation and of rising prices.

The problem of increasing production is, of course, the number one issue, since it is the first step to solving all the financial and economic problems we are facing. When production grows, the imports decrease and exports increase. We thus eliminate the deficit in the trade balance and, consequently, improve the Egyptian pound's exchange rate. Growth in production also means increased individual incomes which help solve the problem of wages.

The Finance and Economy Committee chairman also stressed that the committee will try to get in close touch with the broad masses in the various locations to achieve two main goals: first, to enlighten the masses and, second, to familiarize itself with the problems, opinions and tendencies of the various groups. Added to this is, of course, coordination with the other committees, especially on the common issues and problems in which jurisdictions overlap.

Dr 'Ali Lutfi further added that the Finance and Economy Committee will be happy to accept any proposal or opinion from any citizen who wants to contribute to formulating solutions and finding cures for his country's problems and that such proposals and opinions will be discussed and studied with utter interest.

Made in Egypt

Eng Fu'ad Abu Zaghlah, the Industry Committee chairman, said:

The NDP's Industry Committee will work within the framework of the party's general philosophy. The party leaders are supposed to exert ceaseless efforts in all the locations to familiarize themselves with the masses' problems and to work to solve them in cooperation with the executive agencies and free from slogans and promises. These leaders will thus be familiar with the masses' actual needs.

The task of the specialized committees is to represent the party's thinking and these committees are the ones that develop the ideas and strategies for

the economic and social development plans. By discussing these strategies with the party leaders and bases, by having them approved at the party level and then by discussing them with the government, we can make sure that they are achievable with the available resources and capabilities. Then follows a phase that is no less important than the planning itself, namely, the phase of implementation after these ideas and strategies are approved by the People's Assembly.

Insofar as the party's Industry Committee is concerned, the most important issue to which priority will be given is the issue of transforming the slogan of "made in Egypt" into a tangible reality through executive plans and programs tied to timetables and to specific products designed to meet the masses' needs with the desired quality and quantity while devoting fundamental attention to realizing a surplus for export so as to improve the balance of payments.

#### Cultural Issues

Dr Ahmad Haykal, who obtained his Ph.D. in literature from Madrid University in 1954, has a long history of work in the cultural field. He worked as a cultural adviser in Spain in 1973, was then elected member of the Arab League's Advisory Committee for Cultural Programs and was later elected member of the People's Assembly and selected general secretary of the party's Cultural Committee. Dr Haykal said:

We are now in the phase of gathering ideas. As for working in the NDP's Cultural Committee, it is new to me. I will consult with the colleagues in the party to develop ideas and solutions for the projected issues. The cultural issues are numerous and diverse and it is not easy to formulate quick solutions for them or to mention quick ideas about them. They need careful study. The Cultural Committee is not like the Youth Committee where we may find that its issues are subject to constant discussion and are vital issues in the arena. But insofar as the cultural issues are concerned, the situation is different because its issues require careful and deep study compatible with the dimensions of these issues. Culture covers every big and small detail in a society's life and is tantamount to the vessel in which the society's life revolves.

However, we are in the process of developing a complete concept of these issues through consultation with the colleagues in the party. It is premature to announce this concept before it is presented to the party's General Secretariat.

#### Reviewing Education in Egypt

Dr Ahmad Salamah has been selected secretary general of the party's Education and Scientific Research Committee. He is not far from this field, since he is currently the president of 'Ayn Shams University.

Dr Salamah said:

To begin, we must make a distinction between partisan action and executive action. Partisan action is not confined to one individual's ideas but is a collective responsibility, since viewpoints are exchanged between the members, all of whom are qualified people insofar as the principle of partisan action is concerned. As for the issue of education, there is no doubt that education in Egypt needs to be reviewed and reexamined.

This problem is experienced by almost every Egyptian family. It is a problem that begins with the enrollment policies and ends with the graduation of large numbers of people who constitute a burden on the labor market. The problem is diverse. Each of the party's various committees is entrusted to study its problems, each committee according to its field of specialization and keeping in mind coordination with the other committees. Each committee formulates its concept for its action program in the coming phase in light of the partisan tendencies and of the general tendencies within the party and then presents this concept to the General Secretariat. In view of this, we find that the policy is a party policy and not the policy of one individual. This is why we hope that a distinction will be made between partisan action and executive action.

#### Population and Family Planning Committee

Dr Mahir Mahran, the chairman of the NDP's Population and Family Planning Committee, said:

This committee is not new to the NDP organizations. This committee has been present since the party was founded and exists in the party's organizational regulations. Its presence is due to the fact that Egypt's number one problem is the population problem. The party has had to devote special attention to his problem because it affects the masses and the country's future.

In the past, the committee did good work. The credit goes to this committee for defining a clear concept of all the population-related activities pertaining to family planning in Egypt.

These activities are diverse by virtue of the nature of the problem and they are carried out by numerous circles, some of them governmental and some private. They are financed by a budget, part of which comes from the government and part in foreign aid from various countries. What distinguishes this committee is that the members, regardless of their various positions, meet to discuss the various aspects of this distinct and ever-recurring problem.

As for the future, in the wake of the issuance of the decision to re-form this committee and to continue to entrust its responsibility to me, the new structure will be somewhat different from the past. The difference comes as a result of the extraordinary effort exerted in the past 2 years by the various committees of the National Population Conference which concluded

with numerous distinguished and clear recommendations which were announced at the final session which President Husni Mubarak chaired in March 1984.

It is fortunate that the decision to form the National Population Council, which will oversee all the activities and which will be headed by President Husni Mubarak, will be issued shortly.

Therefore, the party's committee will operate as a working team to study the particulars of the population issue and to refer the procedural recommendations it reaches in connection with the national conference's recommendations to the National Council to examine them and issue its decisions on them. The decisions of the National Population Council are final and binding insofar as implementation by all the government and private circles is concerned.

I have prepared a list of candidates for the membership of this committee. This list is comprised of a large group of experts on the various aspects of the population issue, be they technical, political or educational.

One of the most important tasks of this activity is, in implementing the National Population Conference resolutions, to transmit family planning activity to the local governments and to revitalize all of the party's family planning committees so that they may perform their message in family planning at all levels, the most important of which is perhaps the village level. This activity will by necessity be followed by the committee members proceeding to take part in the meetings of the governorate committees and this will be followed necessarily by the participation of the governors and of the secretaries of the governorate committees in the objective field studies so that we may become familiar with the dimensions of the real problems impeding the family planning efforts and find the means to solve these problems.

These are, of course, problems that vary from one governorate to another, since Egypt's governorates are divided into different demographic groups and in terms of population. There is no doubt that restoration of the party's Population and Family Planning Committee truly reflects the extent of the top political leadership's awareness of its enormous responsibility vis-a-vis the issue of population and family planning.

The international establishment [presumably meaning United Nations] in its entirety is following with strong interest the national and partisan efforts on this issue and it is prepared to offer greater assistance if the process begins to move on the right path.

#### Local Government Committee

Maj Gen Ahmad al-Minyawi, the Local Government Committee chairman, said: The committee's task is to act as a liaison between all the popular agencies, local authorities and executive agencies at the governorate level.

It will be a base for studying all the local government plans concerning the masses. Its opinion will be issued as a result of profound studies and of gathering the opinions of the various popular bases and of the local authorities and as a result of crystallizing these studies and opinions in a draft resolution, either in the form of an advisory draft resolution or the form of a law amendment bill, that will be beneficial to the masses generally.

At the committee's first meeting, a complete plan will be drawn up for the committee's action throughout the year. In light of this plan, the action program and the timetable will be determined and the subcommittees will be formed to study all the issues.

We will devote special attention to some issues, such as issues pertaining to the services, utilities and joint projects between the governorates. There will be cooperation among the committees, the local government and the agencies concerned with developing the villages and the craftsmen. In light of the ideas presented to the committee on these issues, efforts will be exerted to make the village a producer, not a consumer.

#### Masses and Communications

Eng Muhyi-al-Din 'Abd-al-Latif, the Transport and Communications Committee chairman, said: I am no stranger to this field in which I have been working since 1976. I headed the People's Assembly Transport and Communications Committee for 5 years. The committee's discussions will encompass several spheres, among them land transportation, including railroads and public transportation vehicles, river transportation, roads, bridges, maritime transportation, ports, air transportation, airports, telecommunications, postal services and freight transportation.

These spheres are connected with the masses' daily lives. The committee will draw up a plan emanating fundamentally from the masses needs' and from the hardship the masses experience with these utilities. The committee will also act as a channel of communication between the masses and the officials.

The committee will study all these issues according to a working plan and to priorities so as to make it possible to convey the proper service to all. Our role as a committee in the majority party will be to enlighten the public and make known what the officials want from the masses.

One of the things from which the citizens suffer is the complexity of the procedures connected with these utilities. Our role will be to study how to simplify these procedures. The outcome of our studies will be ideas and proposals on legislation whose promulgation we deem to be necessary. These ideas and proposals will be presented to the General Secretariat to study them and then refer them to the government.

The other and opposite line is when the government thinks of issuing decrees or submitting bills. The committee's role then will be to study them and express its opinion on them, meaning that the committee will act as a popular

channel. When the committee meets in the near future, it will draw up for itself an action plan and will form specialized subcommittees in the spheres of transportation and communications so that they may study the ideas and proposals profoundly and may convey the outcome of their studies to the party's General Secretariat.

Eng Muhyi-al-Din 'Abd-al-Latif believes that the most significant problems from which the transportation and communications sector suffers is embodied in the bottlenecks resulting from the constant excavation work carried out by the various utilities and the problems of internal emigration from the villages to the cities, especially to Cairo. Our role will be to follow up on the progress of this utility's projects and to help the executive agencies carry them out. The committee will also study the problems of transportation between the governorates, be it passenger or freight transportation, so as to establish suitable means of transportation that are affordable by the citizen and to preserve the roads, which are the infrastructure for development. We will also study river transportation as an easy and cheap means of transportation and will study how to utilize this means ideally. We will also conduct studies on maritime transportation, especially on cargo transportation and on the volume and problem of imports and exports so that we may emerge with proposals for all spheres.

#### Legislative Inflation

AKHIR SA'AH also interviewed Counselor Ahmad Fathi Mursi, the party's Legislative and Constitutional Committee chairman, who said:

I believe that the committee has a long and hard task ahead of it. Legislation in Egypt needs numerous aspects of organization and reform. Foremost among the problems facing Egyptian legislation generally is perhaps the problem of legislative inflation to which President Husni Mubarak referred in his latest statement to the People's Assembly and Consultative Council. Legislation in Egypt is growing at an extraordinary pace.

Counselor Mursi added: The number of laws issued in the past 30 years alone exceeds 6,000 original laws and nearly twice this number in subsidiary pieces of legislation. No human mind can absorb such a number. The fact is that the problem of legislative inflation has numerous causes which the committee will study extensively and for which it will propose the proper solutions and recommendations.

There is a horde of old and outdated laws promulgated nearly a century ago -- laws unrelated to the age in which we live. These include some basic laws which are applied by the judiciary and which regulate some of the country's vital activities. It is enough to cite two examples of such laws: the maritime law which governs one of the most important economic activities, namely, maritime transportation and maritime insurance, was promulgated more than 100 years ago. What goes for the maritime law also applies to a more important and most serious law, namely, the trade law which governs Egypt's commercial life and regulates all commercial transactions and contracts. This law was also promulgated more than 100 years ago and still

talks of his highness the khedive and describes commercial activity as the purchase of crops and grains for the purpose of selling them. Despite the enormous development, even coup, in commercial transactions, we still apply a law that was promulgated to organize commercial life in the past century. The committee will study these and other similar outdated laws to develop them quickly so that they may become compatible with the country's advanced conditions, especially since there are numerous bills and studies on developing these old laws.

There are also problems from which the masses suffer, such as the slow and protracted litigation procedures and the complex land register procedures. The committee will be careful to study these problems and to propose the proper solutions and recommendations for them.

Moreover, the committee will help the other committees study important bills examined by the People's Assembly. Our committee will help them study such bills from the technical aspect, the feasibility aspect and the aspect of applicability and of expected obstacles so as to avoid any flaws or deficiencies that may surface in a law upon implementation, thus exposing such a law to the tremors of successive amendments.

It is no secret that the amendment of any law intensifies the problem of legislative inflation. The committee will study all these issues, in addition to whatever legislative or constitutional issues the General Secretariat refers to the committee to study and to express an opinion.

Dr Ahmad al-Banhawi, the Health Committee chairman, said: The future emphasis in the plan's committee will be on the masses' health problems, on the citizens' complaints and on the means to overcome the obstacles in order to deliver medical care to the citizen. There is the problem of the shortage of drugs in the market. To solve it, we will exert efforts to encourage Egyptian drug factories, to increase their number, to secure the requirements needed to increase their production, to facilitate the importation of drugs from abroad, to offer customs facilities for such imports, to study the local drug market and to avoid the emergence of a shortage in a certain drug at a time when there is an increased demand for it.

Dr al-Banhawa added: There is also the difficulty of developing an economical medical care system or a system of proper medical care that is affordable by the middle-income citizen. We consider medical care and drugs as important as food, perhaps even more important. Any sick person is willing to fast in order to secure medical care for himself or for his child. When in need of medical care, the citizen should be able to find it in free services or in the clinics of the private hospitals at a reasonable cost within the limits of his income.

This problem is considered one of the fundamental problems in the coming phase. The Health Committee is holding discussions at present and will hold more discussions in the future to find a formula for adopting a medical care

plan at a cost that can be applied to the public hospitals, the health insurance hospitals and the Egyptian university hospitals.

Dr al-Banhawi further said: There is also the problem of health insurance and of efforts to expand its base so that it may include the citizens and their families.

The fundamental and final objective of health care in Egypt is to have health insurance cover all citizens so that every citizen and his family may have a medical card, a general practitioner, specialized doctors and a specific hospital, all at a proper level.

The party will also deal with endemic diseases, such as bilharzia, with the fundamental problem of disease prevention in Egypt, with the problem of environmental pollution, with the problem of nursing and nurses and with health education for the citizens through the press and the various media. There will also be field visits to the governorates to meet with the health officials and with the masses and to solve their problems.

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MINISTER GHALI REVIEWS DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2618, 26 Dec 84 pp 15, 85

[Interview with Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, by Qamar Shah Dhu al-Fiqar: "Butrus Ghali Speaks to AKHIR SA'AH: Statement of Account for Egyptian Movement; Picture Was Gloomy at Outset of 1984 But Position Has Improved Greatly"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Amids the international changes around us, amidst the ocean of successive events in the area and on the threshold of a new year, what is the view of events beyond the horizon? What is the statement of account for Egyptian diplomacy, whether in the Arab arena or the international arena? What is the picture in the area and on the African continent in light of the latest developments, and what is Egypt's role in the Nonaligned Movement?

This interview with Dr Butrus Ghali, the minister of state for foreign affairs, conducted after his return from the French-African summit meeting, turns the searchlight on the dimensions of the political situation and offers a panoramic view of all Egyptian diplomatic activities.

[Question] While we are approaching the end of one year and preparing to receive a new year, what is your evaluation of the outcome of Egyptian diplomacy in 1984?

[Answer] I believe that answering this question requires, to start with, that we recall Egypt's geographic and political position on the international map so that we may find out clearly the components and capabilities of this movement on the one hand and its dimensions and spheres on the other. Egypt's distinguished position at the center of the Arab nation between the Arab East and the Arab Maghreb, its position at the northeastern gate of the African continent, the extension of its territories to the Asian continent and the fact that its shorelines overlook the Red Sea on the one hand and the Mediterranean Sea, facing Europe, on the other hand--all this has always made Egypt a unique link between three continents with varied and intermeshed interests. Throughout the ages, Egypt has been a safe meeting point for deep-rooted civilizations and a secure passage for fertile cultures.

Moreover, Egypt's organic bond to the Arab world, its historical and fateful relationship with the African continent, the bond between its principles and goals and the Nonaligned Movement and the Third World countries as a whole and its pioneer participation in formulating the principles and bases on which the United Nations is founded form the background on which Egyptian diplomacy moves and the framework by which it abides. This background has redoubled its responsibilities and role in all these directions and has added further significance and importance to Egypt's resources and capabilities to act and to influence the world community as a whole.

#### Picture Was Gloomy

[Question] Should we begin with Egyptian diplomacy in the Arab arena and in the direction of solving the Palestinian issue?

[Answer] Honesty perhaps requires us to admit from the outset that the picture of the Arab world seemed gloomy and sad at the beginning of 1984. The infighting in Lebanon was shattering the blood ties between the sons of the one people, the evil doers were igniting the fire among the sons of the Palestinian people with the aim of destroying their legitimate establishment, the PLO, and its leadership and the differences among the Arabs were obstructing their solidarity and preventing them from moving in unity toward a specific goal and a clear strategy and toward finding the means to settle their number one issue.

Amidst this division and infighting, Egyptian diplomacy mobilized its efforts to keep the Palestinian problem alive in the hearts of the people and in the conscience of the entire world, holding numerous contacts and ceaseless consultations with the parties influencing the problem. Egyptian diplomacy did so through the numerous meetings President Husni Mubarak held with a number of Arab, African and Asian leaders and with the presidents of the United States, France and the FRG, in addition to the important meeting the president had with Yasir 'Arafat in Conakry last April and which was an extension of the consultations which took place between President Mubarak and the PLO chairman in Cairo in December 1983. This is in addition to the concerted contacts we have held with the foreign ministers and the officials of these countries.

Even though 1984 is the year of the U.S. presidential elections with all the shadows they cast on the ability of the U.S. administration to move and make decisions, Egyptian diplomacy succeeded through these efforts in maintaining U.S., European and international interest in the Palestinian problem. The latest and most prominent manifestation of this interest is the tour made recently in the area by Murphy, the U.S. envoy, and the issuance of the communiqué of the latest European summit which asserts Europe's eagerness to exert efforts to find a just solution to the Palestinian problem and which reaffirms Europe's adherence to the principles of the Venice declaration.

[Question] What is the most important accomplishment achieved by these diplomatic contacts?

[Qnsver] This accomplishment is reflected in the courageous steps witnessed in the last few months of 1984 on the path of achieving Arab solidarity, which is embodied in Jordan's decision to restore diplomatic relations with Egypt. The decision was crowned with President Husni Mubarak's visit to Amman and then with King Husayn's visit to Egypt which launched a new phase of joint action and cooperation between the two fraternal countries. Then there was the holding of the Palestinian National Council's conference in the Jordanian capital between the two visits. The holding of this conference has come to reaffirm anew the PLO's legitimacy and popularity and the independence of its decisionmaking in the face of attempts to dominate and control it and as a proof that the Palestinian people stand behind the PLO's leadership and policies which seek a rapprochement with Egypt and Jordan and seek to have the three parties move together to achieve a comprehensive settlement.

Egypt's restoration of its membership in the Islamic Conference, despite all the desperate endeavors of the rejectionists, and Egypt's effective participation in the latest meetings of the foreign ministers of the Islamic Conference are new proof of the sound political line of Egyptian diplomacy, which has adopted peace as a strategic objective for which it has mobilized all its resources and devoted all its efforts and capabilities. I am confident that all these positive features constitute a new start toward a serious and effective movement to achieve a just and comprehensive solution of the Palestinian problem.

#### Egypt's Role in Africa

[Question] The African continent has witnessed numerous developments in 1984. Where does Egyptian diplomacy stand vis-a-vis these developments and what is its role in them?

[Answer] Egyptian diplomacy in the African continent in 1984 has been concerted and encouraging and has taken numerous forms and acted in numerous spheres. At the political level, Egypt has moved bilaterally, regionally and collectively. President Mubarak has met with a number of his brothers, the heads of the African states, the Tour which President Mubarak made to a number of African capitals has had broad reverberations and a deep impact on bolstering the bonds of friendship, fraternity and cooperation between Egypt and these countries within the framework of Egypt's interest in African issues and its ties with the African continent. For my part, I have visited a number of other African countries and these visits have given me the opportunity to discuss issues and to take a number of steps to bolster Egypt's relations with these countries in various pheres. We should not forget in this respect the aid that the Egyptian Fund for Cooperation with Africa has made available to our brothers in the African countries by supplying them with technicians, experts, physicians, teachers and engineers out of a belief in Egypt's message and its role in achieving development in Africa--a development whose effects will undoubtedly be reflected in the development efforts in Egypt itself. Regionally, Egypt has intensified its contacts at this level. The Ndugu--which means fraternity in Swahili--countries group, which includes Egypt, Sudan, Zaire, Central Africa, Uganda and

Rwanda, was established to achieve greater cooperation between these countries and to exchange expertise in the various spheres so as to achieve the common goals of the group's countries.

Amidst the problems and differences from which the African continent suffers and out of our desire to see the continent's countries, which have not realized their freedom and independence, achieve development and prosperity for their peoples, Egyptian diplomacy has proceeded in its movement toward securing what we call "African detente" so that these countries with their various systems and tendencies may not just coexist but may also establish relations of firm cooperation and mutual reliance to attain prosperity, security and peace for their peoples. The Egyptian movement has taken a dual course through contacts held by Egypt with the disputing countries in an attempt to settle the differences existing between them. This movement has also taken a collective form through concerted Egyptian efforts within the framework of the OAU and its various agencies. It can be said unequivocally that these efforts have succeeded in solving a number of problems in a number of locations and in stopping the intensification of differences in other locations. The approach of calm diplomacy followed by Egypt had its direct impact on convening the 20th African summit in Addis Ababa at a time when it seemed impossible to convene it. Through its concerted contacts with the parties concerned, this diplomacy also had its effective impact on enabling the summit to overcome the political problems that almost torpedoed it, especially the Sahara and Chad problems. This gave the leaders of the African countries the opportunity to devote more attention and time to discuss many of the urgent economic problems which affect directly the African peoples' standard of living, even their lives and futures, especially the problems of drought and desertification, and then to agree to hold an African summit to be devoted to discussing the economic problems of Africa--a summit to be preceded by preparatory meetings at the ministerial level to make the proper arrangements and preparations for this summit.

[Question] Now that you have returned from Bujumbura where the French-African summit was held, what is the outcome of the meeting and what is the position of the Egyptian movement in it?

[Answer] The 11th African-French summit was attended by 36 delegations, including Egypt. Nineteen delegations were at the presidential level. In addition to the French-speaking countries, the delegations came from other Arab and English-, Portuguese- and Spanish-Speaking countries. The conference discussed the African continent's economic problems, in addition to the Chad problem, especially in light of Libya's disavowal of the commitments it has undertaken in the French-Libyan accord on the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Chad. Egypt's participation in this conference for the third time is new proof of the extent of the need and appreciation for Egypt's role and for its effective contributions in confronting the African problems and achieving development, stability and peace in various parts of the continent.

Before concluding my words on the dimensions of Egyptian diplomacy in Africa, I would like to point out another form of cooperation embodied in

trilateral cooperation including Egypt, Africa and a third party within the framework of common action to achieve development projects in Africa.

Trilateral Cooperation.... How?

[Question] The "trilateral cooperation" formula seems to be a new approach for cooperation in Africa. Could you shed more light on the emergence and dimensions of this formula?

[Answer] It is actually so and it is simply founded on matching three elements: Egyptian expertise, foreign aid and African development projects. I had called for this form of cooperation sometime ago. My visit to Japan in July 1984 was a good occasion to present the formula and I proposed to Japan's prime minister and to its minister of foreign affairs to establish joint cooperation founded on the aid that Japan advances to the African countries and on the technical aid, experts and specialists that Egypt offers them to set up economic, social and cultural development projects on the African continent.

The idea was welcomed warmly by the Japanese officials. During my meeting with the African ambassadors in Cairo a few days ago, I felt among them a similar welcome to and a great interest in this idea. Two days ago, I met in Cairo with a high-level Japanese delegation which came especially to reach an agreement on the practical steps for implementing and crystallizing this idea. Agreement has actually been reached on conducting two training courses for which the Japanese government will provide the necessary financing. The first course will be conducted at the Maritime Transportation Academy in Alexandria. Trainees sent by the African countries will take part in this course to receive technical and administrative training in the hands of Egyptian and Japanese experts and instructors to work in the spheres of maritime transportation. The second course will be held in Cairo to train African nurses under the supervision of specialists from the Egyptian and Japanese ministries of health.

There is no doubt that these two courses represent a first step toward broader trilateral cooperation that may extend to include the various spheres of development. Moreover, this cooperation is a distinguished formula for diversifying and bolstering the various forms of dialogue between the North and South and a practical inlet offering the opportunity to utilize the North's contributions in achieving and bolstering the inter-South cooperation which crystallizes a dual goal of bolstering relations between Egypt and Japan on the one hand and Egypt and the African countries on the other hand.

I am eager to add here that during my visit to Brussels at the beginning of December I had the opportunity to discuss with (Gaston Turon), who is the chairman of the European Committee until the end of December, the possibility of establishing similar trilateral cooperation among Egypt, Africa and the European group. I have a great hope that 1985 will witness a greater movement toward such cooperation in numerous spheres that contribute positively to achieving development and prosperity for the African peoples.

## Egypt and Nonalignment

[Question] Do you see in Egypt's movement within the framework of the Nonaligned movement within the framework of the Arab and African groups?

[Answer] This is true. There is no doubt that the diplomatic efforts is an extended and continuous movement. Egypt has actually succeeded recently in regaining its vanguard role and its distinguished place in the Nonaligned Movement which had gone through a period of inactivity. The lack of clear vision by some member states on the one hand and the attempts of the superpowers to polarize other member states on the other hand contributed to this inactivity. In the face of this situation, it was necessary to devote special attention and to exert concerted efforts to bolster the movement, to steer it away from the conflicts of the major powers and to restore it to its normal course. Egyptian diplomacy, along with a number of the movement's pioneer countries, such as India and Yugoslavia, have had a major impact on restoring balance and cohesion to the Nonaligned Movement as a force calling for peace, for settling problems and disputes in peaceful ways, for eliminating the cold war between the two superpowers and for achieving international peace and security. Though the departure of Indira Gandhi has come as a shock to the Nonaligned Movement, especially when India is chairing the movement, it is still hoped that the group's member states will achieve greater solidarity and cohesion and will move more effectively to serve their interests.

Within the framework of the Third World countries, I would like to note Egyptian diplomatic activities in Asia and Latin America in their capacity as the other two sides of the triangle which links them to Africa within the framework of the common dialogue between the North and the South. This activity has been embodied bilaterally in the numerous meetings at the various levels with the leaders and officials of these countries to bolster and develop Egypt's relations with the countries of the two continents. At the collective level, these relations have witnessed continued consultations between Africa and Latin America within the framework of the dialogue conference which was held in Mexico in June 1984. Cairo will also witness next April a special conference on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Bandung Conference to revive and entrench the principles and manifestations of Afro-Asian cooperation.

### Movement's Statement of Account

[Question] What remains for us is to find the role of Egyptian diplomacy at the international level during the past year.

[Answer] The year 1984 abounded with brilliant victories scored by Egyptian diplomacy in the various international lobbies and organizations. The year started with the election of Egypt to the membership of the UN Security Council and Egypt chaired this council during the month of December. There is no doubt that this membership, which extends to the end of 1985, is a big responsibility and that it reflects the international community's confidence and belief in Egypt's international position and role by virtue

of Egypt's relations with and influence on the circles to which it fundamentally belongs in the Arab world, Africa, the Nonaligned Movement and the Third World as a whole.

Egypt's election to the chairmanship of the 77-country group in both New York and Geneva simultaneously has come as a reaffirmation and re-acknowledgment of Egypt's role and of the capability of its representatives in the various international organizations.

Egypt also succeeded in 1984 in winning membership to the WHO Executive Council for the first time since 1967. The term of membership to this council is 3 years and the council is the main agency that formulates this organization's important health policies and programs. Dr. Tulbah, an Egyptian, has also been reelected to head the UN Environmental Program. Ambassador Muhammad Shakir, an Egyptian candidate, also won the support of the various geographic and political groups to head the Nuclear Non-proliferation Conference, scheduled to be held in September 1985, during the preparatory meetings held to make arrangements. It is well known that more than 120 countries representing all the countries that are party to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty will be invited to this conference.

Even though I have cited here some accomplishment of Egyptian diplomacy and of its movement at various levels, there is no doubt that this movement is not tied to a set period of time but rather is a firm and complete line that extends and continues to achieve the objectives of Egyptian policy and strategy for the establishment of security, peace and prosperity for the Egyptian people, the area's peoples and all peoples of the world.

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## SECOND PHASE OF CIVIL DISCIPLINE DISCUSSED

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2618, 26 Dec 84 pp 16-17

[Interview with Maj Gen Mustafa Kamil, Cairo security director, and Maj Gen Kamal 'Abduh al-Shurshabi, Cairo traffic director, by Suhayr al-Husayni: "Second Phase of Discipline and Why It Has Not Been Announced; Control over Markets and Bakeries and Elimination of Drug Dens; 13,000 Violations in 1 Week; What Is Required of Car Owner"]

[Text] The second phase of implementing the discipline laws pertaining to disciplined behavior by the individual citizen has begun. In the past week, the outcome of this phase has been 13,000 violations cited by policemen. With the start of this important phase, AKHIR SA'AH interviewed Maj Gen Mustafa Kamio, the director of Cairo security, and Maj Gen Kamal al-Shurshabi, the director of Cairo traffic.

The questions posed to the director of Cairo security were: has the Egyptian citizen responded to the first phase? What are the features of the new phase and why has it not been announced? What are the obstacles of the first phase, such as the unavailability of parking spaces, especially since the fine for parking in prohibited areas has been stiffened? Major General Kamil said: The first phase has been completed successfully and the citizen has risen to the level of the responsibility. All public road and sidewalk obstructions are being removed. There is control over prices, food supplies, vegetables and meats. The inspection of bakeries continues. One of the features of the second phase is to wipe out the phenomenon of drug pills. He asserted that the university guards are necessary and that they exist in the advanced countries.

The traffic director said: What is required of the vehicle owner is to make it roadworthy and not to move it from its place unless it meets all the traffic requirements, or else he will be cited and punished. He asserted that the discipline laws have helped facilitate traffic flow in the streets, that work is in progress to build parking lots in the Opera Square and in al-'Atabah Square and that steps are underway to conclude contracts for the construction of three parking lots at the sports stadium and 'Umar Mukarram, at al-Husayn site and at Roxy Square and 'Ushash al-Turjaman. The road network will also be improved and a number of overhead bridges will be built.

On all these questions and numerous others, we interviewed Maj Gen Mustafa Kamil, the director of Cairo security, and Maj Gen Kamal al-Shurshabi, the director of Cairo traffic.

### Discipline Philosophy

[Question] I started the interview with Maj Gen Mustafa Kamil, the director of Cairo security, with the question: when did implementation of the second phase begin?

[Kamil] Nearly a month ago.

[Question] Is the Ministry of Interior and the Cairo Security Directorate certain that the citizen has fully absorbed and responded to the first phase of discipline that they may move to implementing the second phase?

[Answer] (The director of Cairo security said confidently:)

Discipline is a philosophy of which Maj Gen Ahmad Rushdi, the minister of interior, was convinced when he held the position of director of Cairo security and about which he has convinced the Ministry of Interior officials. We started implementing this system in the Egyptian street and the people have become convinced of it and have clearly responded to it. It is my belief that there is nothing impossible. It is not true that the Egyptian people are chaotic and that they find it difficult to observe discipline, as has been rumored. But we must be first convinced of what we are doing, must plan for it and then must implement it seriously and sincerely, provided that a regular followup is made in the implementation by the authorities concerned. The Egyptian people are not against discipline as long as they know that this discipline will serve first the public interest and then the private interest. I am confident that the people responded to the discipline campaigns when they felt our serious determination to implement it.

### Repairing Sidewalks

[Question] Regarding the traffic law in force at present, there are some observations that must be taken into consideration by the officials in charge of discipline. For example, if parking and double parking are prevented in some places, these officials must provide alternative parking sites out of compassion for the vehicle owners. What is your opinion?

[Kamil interrupting] Insofar as the traffic problems are concerned, I prefer that you talk about them with Maj Gen Kamal al-Shurshabi, the director of Cairo traffic.

[Question] I will take care to interview him. Now, what are the most important features of the second phase of discipline?

[Kamil] The most important feature distinguishing the second phase of discipline is the emphasis on the citizen's individual behavior. Out of

eagerness to achieve greater discipline in the Egyptian street, the pedestrian is required to cross the streets at designated crossing points now that the Traffic Directorate has planned all the streets. The citizen is also required to walk on the sidewalks. A fine of 110 piasters has to be paid on the spot by a pedestrian crossing a street where he should not and for a pedestrian not walking on the sidewalks. This measure is to insure the safety of the citizen.

[Question] Insofar as not walking on the sidewalks is concerned, some people may do so because the sidewalks have potholes or are cluttered with vendor's stands, cafe chairs, vehicles belonging to workshop owners or something else.

[Kamil] We have asked the citizen to adhere to walking on the sidewalks only after we removed, in cooperation with the Cairo governorate, all the occupants crowding the sidewalks and the streets and impeding the pedestrians, be they vendors, cafes, workshop vehicles or other objects which you have mentioned. It is sufficient to note that we cited 7,855 violations concerning sidewalk obstruction last week alone. We have also been careful to repave and renew the sidewalks. Therefore, there is no excuse whatsoever for a citizen to walk in the middle of the road.

[Question] Has the Cairo Governorate fully resurfaced the sidewalks and removed the obstructions from all of Cairo's sidewalks?

[Kamil] Yes, even though there are side streets in which the work still goes on.

#### Discipline and Prices

(Maj Gen Mustafa Kamil added:) Out of our eagerness to provide urgent services to the citizens at the right time, we have exerted efforts to implement the relevant law. When rescue vehicles, ambulances, fire trucks and civil service vehicles sound their sirens, all vehicles on the street involved must move to the right so that they may free the left side of the street for the emergency vehicles in order to enable them to perform their task at the right time. Anybody violating these instructions will be cited immediately.

[Question] What is the share of attention devoted to the control of food supply prices in the second phase of discipline?

[Kamil] To observe and control the prices of food supplies, we conduct regular inspection campaigns in the markets. We have even made sure to set up a police post in every market. There are at present 60 police posts in all of Cairo's markets so that they may be able to engage in a constant followup in order to implement the declared official prices. As we know, there is a compulsory price for all essential supplies, such as bread, tea, sugar, vegetables, cigarettes, carbonated drinks and so forth, and a voluntary price applied to fruits, meats and other commodities.

[Question] Insofar as the voluntary price is concerned, does the merchant commit a violation if he does not observe it, and what is the penalty?

[Kamil] Certainly, whoever swerves from selling at the voluntary price commits a violation and is given a citation immediately. As for the compulsory price, whoever swerves from it is cited for a state security misdemeanor. Regarding manufactured goods, such as clothes, electrical appliances and other commodities, they are subject to Ministerial Decree No 119 which sets the merchant's margin of profit. Whoever violates this decree is issued a citation immediately.

It is also necessary that every seller display the commodity price in a prominent place. The mere failure to post the price is a crime punishable by law. The merchant is also forbidden from transporting subsidized goods, such as flour, sugar and oil, from one governorate to another without permission from the governorate or from the supply authority to whose jurisdiction he is subject.

#### Police Post in Every Market

[Question] Regarding vegetable prices, it has been noticed that though they are subject to compulsory pricing, as we know, these prices differ from one quarter to another and even from merchant to merchant in the same quarter?

[Kamil] There are vegetables sold out of season, such as okra, and these are not priced.

[Question] I mean the priced vegetables subject to the compulsory price which are sold at higher prices.

[Kamil] Does the merchant sell at prices other than the posted prices?

[Question] Yes, and his excuse is that he sells good-quality goods.

[Kamil] This is untrue because the price for the top-quality vegetables is fixed. It is my opinion that this is not the task of the police alone but also the task of the citizen who agrees to pay a higher price than the official price. There is, as I have already said, a police post in every market. In this case, the citizen must go to the police post. This will not cause him delay or waste his time, because the post is in the market. All we ask of the citizen is to report the incident and then go on his way immediately. But the citizens' tolerance of the seller and their paying higher prices than those posted is the main reasons of the loss of their right and for the seller's continued exploitation. If every citizen clings to his right and resorts to the police to protect him, this phenomenon would disappear completely. In any case, the Supply Intelligence policemen cited 209 vegetable sellers last week for violation of the official prices.

There is another unhealthy manifestation for whose elimination the citizens must cooperate with the police. This is the phenomenon of the widespread

presence of middlemen and brokers at the gates of consumer cooperatives. We have begun organized campaigns to fight this group. These campaigns resulted last week in the arrest of 115 middlemen and women brokers. We also carry out regular campaigns on the bakeries to make sure of the quality of the loaf of bread and to find out if it has been produced according to the correct specifications and in the right quantity (so that the bakery may not sell the subsidized flour) and also to check the type of bread a bakery is licensed to sell.

#### Where Are Meat Prices Heading?

[Question] It has been noticed that every time the price of the loaf of bread is increased, the bread momentarily improves in quality and size only to return to its previous condition. What is your interpretation?

[Answer] We are pursuing the cheating bakers. Whoever cheats in weight or violates the specifications is arrested immediately so that the specifications and the quality may be observed. In the past week alone, we cited 215 owners of contravening bakeries. There are a daily, weekly, semi-monthly, monthly, quarterly, semi-annual and annual followup and inspection.

[Question] We hope to see the results of your discipline campaign shortly. Insofar as the voluntary price of meats is concerned, some butchers abided by them for a time and then the prices started to rise unchecked. Should we hope for the return of control to the meat prices with the concerted campaigns carried out by the police against the markets?

[Answer] Insofar as meat prices are concerned, they pose a problem which the government is trying to solve through the Ministry of Agriculture or the Ministry of Supply. However, we perform our role in implementing the voluntary price to which the meat merchants have committed themselves. Whoever violates this price is cited immediately. Last week, we cited 42 butchers for selling at prices higher than the set price or for selling on prohibited days.

[Question] The phenomenon of the use of drug pills has spread among the youth recently in a manner unprecedented in Egypt. Have you given this phenomenon your attention in the second phase of discipline?

[Kamil] One of the most important features of our plan in the coming phase of discipline is to combat drugs by putting the emphasis on synthetic drugs manufactured from chemical substances, especially pills and injections, which have actually spread recently. An urgent plan has been drawn up to fight the drug dens. We will completely eliminate these dens in the next few weeks. In the past few days, we were able to confiscate 400,000 cubic centimeters of Maxton Forte. This is the biggest drug bust made so far. When we know that 1 cm is enough to drug any person, then we realize how dangerous this enormous quantity could have been if it had found its way to the markets.

This is in addition to the constant campaigns to stop the sexual harassment of young women. We arrested 336 young men for such offenses last week.

#### Fines for Smokers

[Question] What is the penalty for someone who is caught committing the crime of sexual harassment in the new law?

[Kamil] Such a person is arrested and cited for the offense and then released on bail. He is then brought before an urgent court session where he is given a prison term of 1 week to 1 month and the organization employing him is notified. We have also escalated the campaigns against smoking in cinemas and theaters. Last week, we cited 1,193 persons for smoking in movie houses and theaters and 293 persons for smoking in various means of public transportation. Our campaigns to combat vagrancy have also produced very good results. If you go to houses and places of worship where this phenomenon was widespread, you will find a big difference, since we have been able to arrest and cite 588 beggars. The sums of money found on their persons were confiscated and they were referred to the vice prosecution department. A total of 278 juvenile beggars were also arrested.

[Question] I have a question that may seem to pertain to traffic but I want to hear your answer to it.

In the latest traffic law, a fine is imposed on vehicles emitting smoke from their exhaust pipes because of the danger of such emissions to the public health. What about the smoke emitted by the factories built in the middle of crowded residential quarters--factories whose chimney stacks emit real poisons that pose a danger to the citizens' lives? What have you done to protect the citizens from this danger?

[Kamil] There is the so-called industrial safety. This is why the police role here is secondary. The Ministry of Industry is in charge of looking into technical violations in factories. Insofar as the small plants are concerned, the police intervenes directly and often gets an order to shut them down if they do not observe the industrial and health safety requirements. As for the public sector factories, they are the primary responsibility of the Ministry of Industry. Generally, this issue is the subject of a complete study at present and we will try to control it as much as possible in coordination with the authorities concerned.

#### University Guard Is Not Innovation

[Question] It is well known that you worked for 4 years in the university guards. What is your explanation for the clashes that have occurred recently in the universities and who is responsible for them?

[Kamil] To start, I would like to say that the university guards are not an innovation. I have visited Boston University, which is one of the biggest universities in the U.S., and found that there are at this university armed guards with their own vehicles. The same exists in the various

universities of the advanced democratic world. University guards are not confined to Egypt alone.

Second, what is the task of the university guards? Their task is to serve whoever is present on the university campus, be they students, professors or administrators. This is in addition to guarding the university buildings and installations, including libraries and laboratories which, in addition to their literary and scientific value, contain articles valued at thousands of pounds. Finally, the university guards provide all kinds of police services to the university's students and professors.

[Question] If the guards perform all these services for the students and the faculty, then are these clashes attributable to the rigid or violent approach adopted by some of these guards, thus encouraging the students to rebel against the university guards generally?

[Kamil] On the contrary. The broad base of the students and faculty members supports the presence of the university guards and appreciates the efforts the guards make to serve them. The presence of the guards is opposed only by a minority of students who have certain tendencies and who see in the presence of the guards a danger threatening them because the guards curtail their suspect activities. This minority always tries to hide behind another slogan, namely, the university guards' interference with the students' liberty, keeping in mind that the guards function on the basis of the policies of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Education which are eager to secure the full freedom of university students.

#### Grave Violations

I then proceeded to Maj Gen Kamal 'Abduh al-Shurshabi, the director of Cairo traffic, so that he might tell us about the second phase of discipline in the sphere of traffic. He said:

We are focusing in this phase on the safety and reliability requirements in a vehicle--requirements whose violation may cause a vehicle owner to commit a flagrant offense that exposes his life and the life of the citizens on public roads to grave danger or that may harm the public health.

[Question] What are these grave violations?

[Al-Shurshabi] The examples are:

- Improper vehicle brakes
- Absence of front or rear bumpers.
- Presence of big dents or breaks in the vehicle's body.
- Absence of front or rear lights in the vehicle.
- Smoke emissions from the vehicle exhaust pipe due to a fault in the engine.
- Absence of license plates on the front and rear of the vehicles and tampering with the plate numbers so that they may be misread.

- A crack or a break in the vehicle's front or rear windshield.
- Absence of windshield wipers in winter.

[Question] What should a driver do in case he loses his license plates on the road or in case his vehicle is new and he has not yet received its license plates so that he may not commit a violation?

[Al-Shurshabi] In such cases, the vehicle owner can acquire temporary license plates from any police station or from the Traffic Directorate in return for a fee of 1 pound per day. These plates are used only to get the vehicle to the Traffic Directorate or to test it after it is repaired. The vehicle may not be used in this case to transport passengers or goods, or else it will be considered as operating without license and the necessary penalties will be applied to it.

#### Compassion for Vehicle Owner

[Question] What is the penalty in case the vehicle owner commits one of the mistakes you have just mentioned?

[Al-Shurshabi] The penalty is suspension of the vehicle's permits and license plates and the vehicle is then subjected to a technical examination so as to correct its flaws. The vehicle driver is referred to the traffic prosecution to pay a fine of 25 pounds.

[Question] Regarding the technical testing of a vehicle in case it commits a violation, does the Traffic Directorate have a sufficient number of technical outfits to test these enormous number of vehicles so that the driver may not waste his time in an annoying manner while waiting for the technical testing processes to be completed?

[Al-Shurshabi] Yes, certainly. All these issues have been studied and we are fully prepared for them now, without wasting any of the vehicle owner's time.

[Question] It has also been noticed that tow trucks are used to tow away vehicles in a manner that undermines the vehicle's safety. Why don't the people engaged in the towing activity take the vehicle's condition into consideration?

[Al-Shurshabi] A vehicle is towed by a tow truck the same way that is done throughout the world. However, there are vehicle owners who park their vehicles in prohibited zones and who still fail to put on their brakes firmly.

[Question] There is an issue which pertains to the first phase of the discipline but from which we are still suffering a lot, namely, the issue of parking in prohibited areas and of double parking. We welcome discipline, but must we first provide enough alternative parking spaces out of compassion for vehicle owners?

[Answer] It is indisputable that the citizens suffer from a shortage of spaces where parking is permitted. But it has become evident now that application of the traffic discipline laws has achieved an obvious smoothness in the flow of traffic. As for providing parking spaces, this is undoubtedly important and the state has actually turned its attention to building multi-storey parking lots. The actual construction of two such lots, one in the Opera Square and the other in al-'Arabah, has already begun and will be complete before the end of 1985. Steps are also underway to conclude contracts to build three other multi-storey parking lots in the stadium-'Umar Mukarram areas, al-Husayn-Roxy Square area and 'Ushash al-Turjuman area.

Regarding improvement of the road network, a number of overhead bridges are under construction along most of the main, such as the airport bridge which will be completed within the next 2 months, al-Jala' bridge in Air Force Square in Heliopolis, the Conscription Square bridge in Heliopolis also, Muhammashah bridge linking Ramsis with October Bridge as a first phase of extension of October Bridge to al-'Abbasiyah and the 15 May bridge which will begin in the Information City in al-Jizah and will end at Abu al-'Ala bridge to replace this latter bridge and to be completed in July 1985.

8494

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EGYPT

HIGHER EDUCATION OFFICIAL DISCUSSES NEW POLICIES

London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 14 Nov 84 p 8

[Article by Labib al-Siba'i: "Mustafa Kamal Hilmi Announces at a Press Conference: 17 Million Pounds to Subsidize the Campuses and University Books; Limiting Student Exchanges to Unusual Specializations and Encouraging Domestic Missions"]

[Text] Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, deputy prime minister and minister of higher education, announced that measures have been adopted for a complete review of the development and modernization of higher education in light of the philosophy of reform related to the development plan, the mission of higher education, and scientific research. These would include systems and policies for approval, university and higher studies, university structure, the matters of the students organization members, and instruction. The Higher Council for Universities has issued a call to the entire academic community to undertake the national mission.

Hilmi added that in its meeting the cabinet had discussed the universities' executive programs during the current academic year, including the conduct of 400 studies and scientific research projects connected with the development plan, which were agreed to by the appropriate ministers.

He added that the universities' programs include supporting the national higher studies. He said it was decided to dispatch new student missions to acquire new and unusual specializations and to encourage internal student missions. It was also resolved to set up approximately 600 study programs in accordance with the system of joint auspices with several countries of the world, foremost of which are Germany, France, the United States and Great Britain.

The deputy prime minister announced that the 5-year plan for student missions aims to train 6,000 teaching assistants and tutors during the 5 years, with a budget of 105 million pounds, 21 million per year, in order to send 2,000 students abroad and 4,000 in jointly sponsored programs, and internal programs.

Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi added, at a press conference he held yesterday, that with respect to the social welfare of the students, the university

programs include designating 6.5 million pounds to expand the university campuses and to accept 50,000 students on the campuses, providing 30 million meals at reasonable prices, designating 3.2 million pounds for social welfare, from which 100,000 students will benefit, and facilitating for some 40,000 students their obtaining subsidized clothing, at a cost of 8 million pounds. It was decided to set aside 10.7 million pounds for academic texts and 3 million pounds for exceptional students.

Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi added that university rectors reviewed the studies that the universities have completed on the subject of aid and that include a review of the issues that were the subject of an agreement between the universities. As per the general guidelines, attention was given to the subject of aid and the proposed solutions in a comprehensive, strategic framework that includes gradual steps and measures related to defining the groups deserving support and types of subsidized commodities, improving wages, increasing the investments that lead to an increase in the production of basic commodities, especially in the areas of agricultural production and coordination between support policies and economic policies in general, including supply, taxation, and pricing policies, and the directives pertaining to the universities. It was agreed that the committee formed under the chairmanship of Dr Hasan Hamdi, president of Cairo University, be charged with preparing a complete report during the early part of next month to be submitted to President Husni Mubarak.

9614

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EGYPT

NEW WHITE BREAD DECLARED UNHEALTHY

London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB 'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 15 Nov 84 p 16

[Editorial by Anis Mansur: "Opinions"]

[Text] Now that the fine grained white loaf of bread has been wrapped in celophane and sold for two piasters and you are free to buy it, I can tell you the simple, scientific truth, which confirms that the improved, fine grained white loaf is not healthful. Had I said that before it appeared, the people would have doubted the authority of these lines, as though I were writing propaganda for the government or in support of the minister of supply--although, indeed, he usually needs this assistance. He is only one among several ministers and he is doing what necessity dictates. Necessity has its own rules, and among its rules is that we collect ourselves, for we are indebted for billions!

The healthful bread loaf is the old loaf that was not white but coarse in texture. This coarseness is the "bran", wheat or grain fibers. These fibers are what doctors advise us to eat, because the new theory in digestion and the movement of food through the intestines says: If there is no bran in your food, you must add it. In all the pharmacies of Europe and Paris for sick friends in Egypt. That is to say, you must have fiber (cellulose), which helps facilitate the movement of food and prevent stomach upsets.

I remember that I wrote on this topic 20 years ago, and I encountered a violent response from a reader, who became a famous socialist writer, in which he said that I am going against the poor. Instead of demanding for them a loaf of "Fino"--an Italian word meaning fine--I am trying to numb them with prattle.

But the prattle in truth is the fine grained loaf--this is medical theory!

There is nothing for those who complain of constipation, flatulence, and indigestion--young and old--except to buy the white bread loaf and swallow with it a spoonful of bran. Or otherwise return to the healthful loaf which the people, out of ignorance and progress, have rejected.

EGYPT

BRIEFS

SHARP RISE IN EXPORTS--Egyptian exports realized a large gain during the past fiscal year that ended last June. They reached 3.209 billion pounds in value, among which were 495 million pounds worth of agricultural exports, 448 million pounds in industrial exports, 1.796 billion pounds worth of petroleum exports, and 417 million pounds worth of non-traditional exports. The cotton exports amounted to 322 million pounds, versus 220 million pounds the previous year. Citrus exports were worth 50 million pounds, and vegetables, 25 million pounds. This was announced by Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of economics and foreign trade. He added that agricultural exports increased during the last fiscal year by 30 percent after adjustments. The exports include non-traditional commodities and medicinal and aromatic plants. The value of onion and peanut exports amounted to 11 million pounds, an increase of 214 percent; flax increased 162 percent; melon, 170 percent; rice, 121 percent; and the rest of the agricultural products increased between 6 and 42 percent. The increase in industrial exports was 55 million pounds and textile exports reached 214 million pounds, versus 158 million pounds during 1982-83. Mineral commodities exports reached 77 million pounds, chemicals 62 million, and food products, 40 million pounds, the proportional increase ranging from 13 percent to 212 percent. Petroleum exports increased by 3 percent and amounted to 68 percent of all exports. Non-traditional exports rose by 126 percent, amounting to 417 million pounds, versus 184 million pounds during 1982-83. [Text] [London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 20 Nov 84 p 1] 9614

ISLAMIC HIGHER EDUCATION DECISIONS--The National Council for Education and Scientific Research in its meeting yesterday chaired by Dr Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qadir Hatim discussed the stages of Al-Azhar's growth and its admission policies and their directions, both with respect to the role of Al-Azhar University and its mission and the challenges laid before it, especially after the establishment of regional colleges. The council recommended that no regional colleges be built before all the material and human resources that guarantee an appropriate higher education are made available. It also recommended that the programs and curricula in the colleges reflect the university's mission in various branches of science and culture, the increased attention to linguistics, and the development of the preparation of religious scholars and missionaries, while keeping pace with the advanced requirements for missionary work. This is for the purpose of training knowledgeable and capable scholars to carry out the

mission of Islam for the community. It also recommended that the university add a special printing press in order to print university books and other publications so as to make things easier for the students, and that it furnish a special building for the central library and set up a private fund in order to support Azhar education at the provincial level through private investment and efforts. The council also discussed the report that Azhar education branch prepared on al-Azhar University. [Text] [London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 7 Nov 84 p 8] 9614

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MOROCCO

MOROCCAN-LIBYAN UNION EXAMINED

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 829, 21 Nov 84 pp 34-36

[Interview with Abdelouahed Radi, minister of cooperation and secretary general of the union between Libya and Morocco, by Mahmud Ma'ruf: "Algerian Opposition to the Union Will Disappear"; Rabat, date unspecified]

[Text] Each nation has its own existence, institutions, alliances and programs, but they are attempting to agree on the points and goals they feel they have in common. According to Professor Abdelouahed Radi, secretary general of the union, they are strategic goals on which all Arabs agree.

Not all the institutions of the union have been established as of now. The councils have not yet been appointed, their internal make-up has not been established, and phased programs have not yet been drafted. However, at each stage steps are being taken. The secretary general has been appointed. The assistant secretary general has also been named. Libyan defense minister Muhammad Qasim al-Zawawi has been named minister resident in Morocco. Former president of parliament Dey Ould Sidi Baba is expected to be appointed Morocco's minister resident in Libya.

AL-YAMAMAH met with Abdelouahed Radi, Moroccan minister of cooperation who has been appointed secretary general of the union, before he left his ministry and headed for Tripoli, headquarters of the secretariat general for the next 2 years. It discussed certain problems about the union with him.

[Question] Even though more than 3 months have elapsed, one still wonders why there is the union between Libya and Morocco.

[Answer] The most obvious problems from which our Arab world is suffering are fragmentation and even mutual conflict often. Therefore it is impossible to correct this situation without reaching a kind of truce and acceptance of the idea of peaceful coexistence among Arabs, regardless of the differences and disparities among them in economic, social and political domains. Truce is a means for creating a new atmosphere, mutual understanding and confidence.

We think that the African Arab Union between our two countries Libya and Morocco is an important step on this path, because we have gone beyond

the stage of truce and laid down the first building blocks of cooperation on the bases of mutual respect.

[Question] However, some people are of the opinion that the union is only transitory and that it was imposed by economic conditions in Morocco, the Saharan dispute, Libya's international circumstances and its war in Chad.

[Answer] No chapter or clause of the Oujda agreement is concerned with or deals with a temporary or transitory problem. How can a union be transitory?

All the long-term objectives of the union try to create permanent, common ties and interests in all social, economic and cultural domains. These domains are neither transitory nor temporary. Achieving them requires patience and the meshing of bodies and institutions in the two countries. This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to retreat from them.

[Question] Is Algeria still wary of the union? Does it feel the union is aimed against it?

[Answer] When Morocco and Libya decided to create a union between them, they exercised the right of sovereignty over what each of them felt was for the good of their country and people and the Arab Maghreb, the Arabs and Africa as well.

The treaty aims at strengthening cooperation, solidarity and brotherly relations in the Arab Maghreb. It is not directed against anyone else at all. Whoever has the opposite opinion, let him produce proof.

We are certain that the Algerian position is a circumstantial reaction and that they will understand the matter at a later stage. If there is a difference over a clearly-defined, known problem, then it must not create tension in other domains. We will find a solution to this difference and overcome it.

[Question] The possibility of intermarriage between the Oujda treaty and the treaty of brotherhood and concord among Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania is often discussed.

[Answer] We have not said that the treaty of brotherhood and concord is a negative treaty or that it bears some negative aspects. We believe that it is something positive because it aims at improving relations and creating an atmosphere and circumstances for good neighborliness and cooperation. The Oujda treaty aims at the same goals. We do not see any contradiction between the two treaties.

However, in the Oujda treaty there are other positive goals to create economic, social and cultural cooperation. It is not a political agreement, but a comprehensive agreement touching all facilities of benefit to both peoples.

Now there is a treaty uniting the wills of Libya and Morocco. Another treaty unites the wills of Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania. We hope to make a treaty uniting the five wills in the near future.

[Question] But doesn't the dispute over the Sahara remain one of the obstacles to uniting these wills?

[Answer] I think that the present situation does not differ much from what it was last year when the border summit was held on 26 February between King Has II and President Chadli Bendjedid. During those days optimism reigned in both countries.

The brothers in Algeria and in the OAU have been demanding that the Sahrawis be given the right of self-determination. Morocco has declared its acceptance of this in accordance with the resolutions of the African summit. It has expressed its readiness to organize a referendum for the population of our Saharan regions. It has not reneged on this.

Today Morocco's conscience is clear. Its Sahara is developing and is secure. If the referendum does not take place, it is not Morocco's fault or responsibility. It is the responsibility of the organs of the OAU which were charged with the referendum.

[Question] After clarifications about the union, do you think international attitudes hve changed?

[Answer] There were hasty reactions at first, especially on the part of the information media, and many hostile interpretations, appraisals and commentaries, yet people did not know the contents of the treaty! However, we note a change these days, not only in the information media but also among responsible authorities on both the Arab and international scene. Commentary on the union has begun to take on a clam, objective character.

[Question] However, there is still American wariness. We even heard about economic pressure to be applied against Morocco.

[Answer] Indeed we have heard statements of American officials in which there is wariness about the union. However, we have not heard any hostile statement. The hostility was prominent in the American information media which was quick to make a premature judgment.

I think that American wariness and the hostility of the information media are due to the fact that the United States of America is in an election period. Every external factor, no matter how small, plays a role in the electoral campaigns. We are confident that the situation will return to normal in the future, because we have performed a natural act, and it is our right.

[Question] What do you think of the doubts expressed by Syrian officials regarding this union?

[Answer] Every country has the right to express its point of view. However, we know that Syria is an Arab country. One of its most important goals is Arab unity and uniting Arab ranks. When we realize positive achievements, all the reservations and fears of our Syrian brothers will disappear.

[Question] Where will you place your union in the law of the constitution?

[Answer] I think it is something new. It is not a federal union, nor is it a confederation. There are no local governments nor a central government. There are organs which meet periodically to coordinate and discuss uniting as many measures, activities and institutions as possible in order to create human, political and economic ties and increase mutual confidence and knowledge of each other in the initial stage.

The union is a step toward the future. Its development is still possible, even necessary, in the future. However, instead of creating structures of unity which were ideal in theory and difficult to apply, we agreed to start on the basis of something modest which would grow and develop through strong will and relentless determination so that we suffer no reversals in future stages.

[Question] But there is an obvious difference in the fundamental economic and social structures.

[Answer] This is a union, not a merger. Congruence is not necessary. What is important is will and desire. Take Europe since World War II, for example. It is developing a framework for cooperation which it created in the absence of any common bonds. What about us? We are tied by the Islamic religion, the Arabic language, a common history and culture, and our future and aspirations.

Therefore I see no contradiction or obstacle in our choice. One thing only is necessary and that is the will to cooperate. Fortunately that abounds.

[Question] There is the Gulf Cooperation Council, Sudano-Egyptian integration and now the union between Libya and Morocco. Do you think that these regional unions are a step on the path toward Arab unity?

[Answer] Yes, because there is an important goal and it is unity of the Arab nation. It rose as the framework of the Arab League. However, it is a framework which has remained the same for more than 40 years without a change. This indicates that it is not a dynamic framework, although it is necessary, and it should be preserved.

Nevertheless, that does not mean that there are no attempts at coordination and cooperation which are not incompatible with the charter of the League. This serves the goal of unity. The more we progress on the road toward regional unity, the more we contribute toward achieving the desired goal.

Unity does not come all at once in perfect condition overnight. In Europe there is the Common Market and other forms of cooperation. There are also attempts at rapprochement and union among a number of European nations. For example, there is the Benelux union among Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, and there are attempts at rapprochement between France and Italy and between Spain and Portugal.

As for us Arabs, why don't we take steps such as these and create regional unions and blocs which pave the way for a comprehensive union?

[Question] The union has been named the "African Arab Union." What can it offer the African continent?

[Answer] There is great intermingling between Africa and the Arabs. There are African nations which are Muslim and there are countries which speak Arabic. It has a common history with the Arabs, whether in the northern part of the continent or in the Arab Gulf. There are several factors which have bound the Arabs to the Africans in the past and present. We have common goals. Our adverseries are the same. There is integration in social, economic and to some extent cultural domains.

Africa needs the Arabs, and the Arabs need Africa. However, Africa wants to cooperate with united, harmonious Arabs. Thus whenever Arab union and cooperation are evident, they will be followed not only by an overall Arab rapprochement, but also by Arab-African rapprochement and cooperation as well.

[Question] Concerning the legislative body of the union, how will it be set up?

[Answer] In his speech to parliament the king made clear that 60 Moroccan members of parliament would be chosen, and their counterparts would be 60 members of the General People's Congress in Libya.

[Question] I mean the 60 Moroccan deputies. How will they be selected?

[Answer] They will be chosen from all divisions in parliament and the internal code of the representative assembly and its conventions. There is always representation proportionate to these divisions in any internal or external activity. I think the same standards will be applied.

[Question] And the executive council?

[Answer] It will be composed of all Moroccan ministers and members of the secretariat general in Libya. Their meetings will be held regularly and rotate each time between one capital and the other.

[Question] How will the councils of defense, economy, politics and culture be composed?

[Answer] So far there has been no discussion of this problem, because the basic task in coming days is to establish the general secretariat and prepare its headquarters. After that the make-up of the councils will be discussed and their members appointed.

[Question] The interest of the union in cultural matters is noteworthy. This is new in treaties of Arab union.

[Answer] This interest is both popular and official, because we are a cultural common denominator as Arabs and Muslims. Therefore this denominator must be developed not only through schools and universities but also through the theater, cinema, music and all other cultural fields.

That will help create, strengthen and reinforce ties between our two peoples. We are contributing toward the creation of more favorable circumstances for success in other fields.

[Question] The crowd of Algerian workers in front of the Libyan Embassy in Rabat has been noted. Is this due to the atmosphere created by the union?

[Answer] Perhaps the phenomenon of Moroccan workers going to Libya is not new. So far no officials in either country have discussed the problem of developing regulations for sending Moroccan workers to Libya. In the past there have been laws. They will continue to be valid and in use until we establish a new framework and law.

[Question] How do you, as general secretary of the union, perceive the difficulties you will face?

[Answer] The task with which I have been entrusted is not easy, but I am proud of the confidence which King Hasan II and his brother President Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi have placed in me. I will make every effort to strengthen and serve this union.

I am optimistic that my brothers in Libya and Morocco will give me all the help and assistance necessary to carry out my functions. I have felt a desire on the part of everyone for the success of this union.

I believe that every project has its difficulties--administrative, financial, political or human. What is important is that people are optimistic. On several occasions I have met Kamal Hasan al-Maqhur, the Libyan secretary for petroleum affairs who has been appointed assistant secretary general. Indeed I am proud to work with him in an atmosphere of brotherhood and cooperation, because I find in him both a colleague and a friend. His feelings and his faith in unity are among the most important factors in the success of my mission. Therefore I am optimistic. We will succeed in overcoming any difficulties. At the same time, if things are routine and problem-free, they lose their pleasure.

6 February 1985

MOROCCO

## CITRUS GROWERS DISCUSS PROBLEMS FACED IN 1983-84

Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE in French 9 Nov 84 pp 4, 13

[Text] Our citrus exports dropped by 13 percent in 1983-84 but domestic consumption rose by 50 percent. AGCM's primary suggestions and demands: revision of MEO mechanisms; elimination of customs duties and taxes on agricultural equipment; government-run operations to tap underground water--too costly for citrus growers; preferential prices for fuel used in agriculture.

The Association of Citrus Growers of Morocco (ACGM) has just held its 26th general meeting in Casablanca. Mr. Azeddine Guessous, minister of commerce, industry and tourism, attended the proceedings.

It emerged from the discussions that for the 1983-84 season, Morocco's citrus output, in terms of quantity, reached 1,017,000 metric tons, compared with 958,000 in 1982-93, for an increase of 6.16 percent. In terms of quality, it is evident that the drought that the kingdom has been experiencing for 4 years has adversely affected citrus production, the grade of fruit in particular; the amount of water available at the main dams--it was brought out in ACGM's board of director's report on activity--was considerably reduced and on the average, barely 26 percent of capacity was being used at 30 June 1984.

## A Decrease in Exports

The total tonnage of citrus fruit exported by Morocco in the 1983-84 season amounted to 521,873 metric tons, compared with 601,226 in the preceding season, for a decrease of 13.20 percent. Out of total exports in the 1983-84 season (521,873 metric tons), Western Europe accounted for 173,532 metric tons, destined for contract purchases. Thus in spite of a 6.16 percent increase in production, exports dropped by 13.20 percent. The causes of this decline? The activities report by ACGM's board of directors enumerates them: certain problems of quality related to the climatic conditions of the season, of course, but primarily the increasingly severe restrictions on the grade of fruit to be exported.

For this reason, the prices announced by the MEO [Marketing and Export Office] and paid to producers for the 1983-84 season were less, on the whole, than those of the preceding season, the decrease ranging from 6.65 to 25.97 percent, depending on the variety, as is shown in the following table:

Table 1.

<u>Variety</u>	<u>83-84 Prices</u>	<u>82-83 Prices</u>	<u>Percent Change</u>
Clementine	116.20	150.44	-22.76
Navel	67.01	75.37	-11.09
Hamlin [Hameline]	44.24	50.60	-12.57
Salustiana	62.90	84.97	-25.97
W. Sanguine	90.21	102.63	-12.10
Sanguinelli	89.61	90.27	-0.73
Maroc-late	106.19	113.75	-6.65

Moreover, in addition to deteriorating export revenues, there was a sharp reduction in exports in relation to total production which was only 51.38 percent this year, compared with 62.73 percent in 1982-83 and 74.25 percent in 1979-80. This decrease in tonnage exported, notably due to limitations on grades allowed to leave the country, gave rise to an over-abundance of supply on the domestic market, producing an imbalance that led to a drop in prices on the local market where 495,000 metric tons were sold, compared with 356,000 in 1982-83, for an increase of 39 percent in local consumption.

In addition, production costs rose considerably: 35 percent in fertilizer prices, 15 percent in fuel, 20 percent in labor costs, etc...

#### An Increase in Local Consumption

A radio and television advertising campaign made it possible to increase the consumption of table fruit from 275,000 metric tons in 1982-83 to 349,000 in 1983-84; processing plants accounted for 145,000 metric tons, compared with 30,550 in 1982-83.

The problems can be summed up as follows: repercussions from the economic situation nationally and internationally which were felt at the production level as well as in the exportation and marketing of our citrus crop; the continuing drought over the last 4 years which has seriously affected the citrus groves; the increasing rise in production costs.

#### The Lack of Water

In some regions, the lack of water has forced citrus growers to reduce their groves in area, sacrificing a part so that the rest will survive. In the Souss and Marrakesh regions, it is necessary to have wells continually deepened to reach water that is becoming increasingly scarce and, of course, more costly, given the exorbitant costs of fuel, electricity, and pumping equipment.

## ACGM's Suggestions

On behalf of the citrus growers, ACGM is therefore asking that work on the Issen (Souss) dam and the Ait Chouarit (Marrakesh) dam be stepped up. It is also asking that the government be responsible for pumping the deeper underground water, as this is not within the producers' means, considering the large sums to be invested, particularly in the above-mentioned regions. It asks that priority, as concerns irrigation, be given to citrus groves in areas within the jurisdiction of the ORMVA's [Regional Office for Agricultural Development]; that authorization be granted to producers wishing to open or deepen wells; that fuel and electricity be made available to producers at preferential rates; and finally, that the prices and quality of pumping equipment and spare parts be stabilized and controlled.

In order to check the rise of production costs, ACGM also asks that customs duties and taxes on all agricultural equipment, processing supplies and spare parts be permanently abolished; that fertilizer prices be stabilized; and that a preferential sales price be established on fuel used for agricultural purposes, as exists in the ocean fishing industry.

## MEO Structures

ACGM also asks that marketing structures, i.e., the structure of the MEO, be revised so that it become "a marketing organization directly responsible to the production sector, with the government remaining active within it to supervise quality control of exports and repatriation of currencies in the country." On this last point, ACGM suggests that a preferential exchange rate, the "green dirham", be created by the government.

Mr Azeddine Guessous, who also took the floor, sought to dispel the growers' worries concerning the outlook for the future, because if the 1983-84 season was disappointing, it must be remembered that it was an abnormal season, marked by unusual climatic conditions.

## Morocco-EEC

Speaking of the expansion of the EEC, the minister recalled the steps undertaken by Morocco--including H. M. King Hassan II's trip to Brussels--with regard to the "adjustment of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) the principle of which is established, as concerns Morocco."

Mr Guessous also dealt with the problems of packaging and handling, demonstrating the need to "promote packaging that sells according to the specific conditions of exportation." In particular, the minister drew attention to the importance of the North American market which, in the near future, should be able to take in as much as 150,000 metric tons of our exports. In addition, the Soviet market is now guaranteed for a 5-year period.

Speaking of the MEO, Mr. Azeddine Guessous stated that it will successfully fulfill its mission only if it improves the quality of its relations with producers whom it should be constantly striving to serve. "Farmers," he stated in conclusion, "have a national responsibility; consequently they must be aided in assuming their roles as agents of development."

Table 2. Breakdown of Tonnages Sold on the Local Market

Variety	Table Fruit		Processing	
	1983-84	1982-83	1983-84	1982-83
Clementine	100,500	84,000	11,700	6,000
Navel	69,700	75,400	31,500	3,600
Mid-season	25,900	36,000	22,800	8,150
Late	131,600	67,200	76,800	57,750
Other	21,800	13,200	2,700	5,050
Total	349,500	275,800	145,500	80,550

Table 3. Breakdown of Exports by Variety and Destination

Market	Clementines	Navels	Mid-Season/	Maroc-Late	Other	Total
			Spring			
France	36,678	24,377	9,573	54,406	-	125,034
FRG	25,523	28,634	8,931	25,910	-	88,998
Belgium	4,854	107	2,103	5,526	-	12,590
Holland	9,838	68	7,131	9,338	-	26,375
Great Britain	7,568	9,539	4,320	16,375	-	37,802
Denmark	528	775	485	358	-	2,146
EEC Total	84,989	63,500	32,543	111,913	-	292,945
Scandinavia	27,832	6,245	9,942	6,952	-	50,971
Other W. European	685	264	284	742	-	1,975
Total W. European	113,506	70,009	42,769	119,607	2,450	348,341
USSR	-	17,362	6,383	82,581	-	106,326
Saudi Arabia	4,554	9,902	12,624	16,484	-	43,564
Canada - USA	12,132	133	193	6,930	-	19,388
Others	579	1,386	324	1,965	-	4,254
Total [contract markets]	17,265	28,783	19,524	107,960	-	173,532
Grand total	130,771	98,792	62,293	227,567	2,450	521,873

LEBANON

#### POLITICAL DISPUTES IMPACT LEBANESE BUDGET

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 401, 27 Oct 84 pp 59, 60

[Text] Last week the Lebanese cabinet overcame the "impasse" of the general budget for 1985 in an emergency session held on Monday 15 October.

A dispute broke out over the budget at the previous session between the ministers, especially Walid Junblatt who demanded a cut in the budget of the army, president of the republic, and National Council for Foreign Economic Relations.

Aside from the political background of these stands of Minister Junblatt and others and regardless of the hidden factors behind the request of some that the budget deficit be reduced and of others that it be increased, the issue has an economic aspect that transcends any other matter in importance; especially under the difficult financial conditions that Lebanon is experiencing and the recent serious decline in the exchange rate of the Lebanese pound.

The following observations must be made on the nature of the dispute which arose and on the nature of what was eventually agreed to:

(1) The budget increase amounting to \$1.62 billion pounds preserved a relatively large deficit of \$2.675 billion pounds.

(2) The decrease introduced into the draft budget primarily affected the public projects and not the miscellaneous expenditures. The first part of the budget which deals with administrative matters and employees' wages and compensation, renting of offices, and administrative expenses, contractors, consultants, representation, and social and health services - this is the part which sustained a decrease of only 144 million pounds.

On the other hand, the second part "A" concerning the works and projects to be carried out in 1985 and therefore has a developmental character, although partial, suffered a greater decrease of 341 million pounds. A still greater decrease of 1.425 billion pounds was experienced by the third part of the budget involving works whose date of completion was extended for more than a year.

(3) It may be concluded from this that the overall decrease did not eliminate the deficit, if only the bookkeeping figures, estimated to total about 10.8 billion pounds. The decrease affected mostly expansion and, consequently, involved credits not expected to be used, whereas the administrative expenditures that were completely used up suffered a limited decrease.

Be that as it may, budget figures, especially in Lebanon for several years now, are not very reliable because they remain a matter of bookkeeping not to be implemented with respect to revenues or outlays.

The "structural" nature of the budget is revealed by the following considerations, especially in recent years:

(1) The government undertakes from time to time to request the opening of a line of emergency funds to cover the various unremarkable expenditures or asking for a sum to be transferred from the reserves to some other section (of the budget).

(2) The government ventures, rather generously, to make advance payments from the treasury to government departments, public institutions, and independent agencies. All of these advance payments are off-budget, thereby permitting actual expenditures to increase without showing up in the budget.

(3) The Ministry of Finance is slow to wind up the accounting of the previous budgets to determine actual expenditure as closely as possible.

The "illusoriness" of the budget becomes increasingly obvious when we learn that the 1985 draft budget includes a 4 billion pound estimate of the customs duties to be collected during the year. This figure is really very peculiar in light of the survival of the illegal ports and the government's refusal to close them and in light of the experience gained in the "legal" Beirut port from last July to today. All the custom duties collected during the last 9 months of this year amounted to only 263 million pounds compared with 1.043 billion pounds in 1983.

If the 4 billion pound figure is based on the government's determination to close the illegal ports next year, it will acquire realistic and reasonable meaning. But if it is content with the mere intention of closing these ports without actually doing so, the budget will become a real deficit, especially since revenues from customs constitute 40 percent of the country's income. If these vanish, all the other sources of direct taxes will vanish as well because tax collection under the present conditions is dependent both on the political situation and on the extent to which the government can extend its authority.

It should be remembered that what happened with the 1983 budget is happening with the 1985 budget. In 1983, customs duties amounted to 2 billion pounds. The security situation then deteriorated, the port of Beirut was closed and the illegal ports returned. Revenues shrank to about one billion

pounds, that is, a decrease of 100 percent below the amount estimated.

What was said about customs can undoubtedly also be said about our other revenues, figures that remain illusory as far as collecting taxes is concerned unless there is security and government control and the true economic activity that produces income and revenues for the government is stimulated.

Hence, the outcry provoked by the budget and the importance attached to it are unwarranted because what counts ultimately is the condition of the treasury and not the budget. What we can discuss are some basic observations on the budget before the detailed figures are published. These observations are as follows:

(1) Neither the blackout which was imposed by the minister of finance as soon as he was appointed last June and which calls for austerity in preparing the draft budget nor the other blackout imposed by the prime minister in this regard was very effective. Their apparent purpose was to register a position or "throw sand in the eyes."

Where is the austerity or where is the belt tightening in the overall budget whose total figures will be close to those of last year? Yet austerity demands that it be squeezed out as much as possible.

(2) But even more important is the mentality of those who prepared the budget. It did not occur to them to make any changes worth mentioning. It was not imbued with any practical maturity. It is as though the country were normal and as though the treasury were 1000 times better with the grace of God. Can we allow in 1984 the mentality involved in preparing the budget to be what it is after the public debt began to exceed 30 billion pounds and after the state's revenues vanished?

Then there is the monetary dimension that appears in the budget and that aims at dealing with the inflationary situation which places pressure on the pound so that the treasury's weakness has become one of the main factors contributing to the decline in the exchange rate of the pound.

The government may be a captive of a fixed administrative position so that it cannot carry out any monetary or economic policy in the budget. There are essential administrative expenditures. Correct, but it is even more correct to say that there are many areas for curtailing expenditures, provided that the expenditures are based on specific and established priorities that are for purely economic purposes aside from their political background.

Therefore, any radical action taken on the budget must be preceded by a political agreement on all issues and on ways that guarantee the salvation of the deteriorating economic situation far from the mentality of exhausting the government and eliminating the legacy.

If such an agreement is reached, it will then also be possible to provide the government with actual revenues that can reduce the deficit since sources of income require political stability and security. Stability presupposes the supremacy of state authority and supremacy itself presupposes political agreement.

Apart from these considerations, what has happened concerning the budget does not go beyond positions that are essentially political and unrelated to economics. Let no one think that the state has taken through the present government a well-considered step based on the current reality in the treasury and on actual economic data and on the true needs of the people.

Miscellaneous expenditure still exists and areas of waste and extravagance are still abundant. The treasury's situation is getting worse; it remains then, to deal with the crisis created by the rise in the dollar.

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LEBANON

JUMBLATT: 'NO PEACE IN LEBANON UNDER A PHALANGIST PRESIDENT'

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 31, 10 Dec 84 pp 2-4

[Interview with Walid Jumblatt by Randa Takieddine]

[Text]

**How do you see the situation in Lebanon today?**

Internally, the Phalangists have consolidated their position. They are trying to spread their hegemony by any and all means so as to control the rest of the population. Politically and economically, everything in this country will soon be in the hands of the Phalangists. As for the national problem — the liberation of the south — I do not think the Israelis will withdraw just like that, without conditions or some physical or military presence to ensure their, so-called, security.

Economically, Amin Gemayel has placed his men everywhere: in the CDR (Council for Development and Reconstruction), BOFER (Board of Foreign Economic Relations), Intra Investment Company and so on. We will see, firstly, the Phalangisation of the Christians, then of the country — including the Sunnis, Shiites and the Druse. That will be followed by alliances with Israel and the USA: with the US publicly and Israel in the back door.

In a way, Gemayel is the most powerful man in the country. He controls the whole of Lebanon through his control of the Christian areas, since there are no longer rival militias. Chamoun and Franjeh are fast losing ground, while Raymond Edde is, unfortunately, in Paris. Gemayel has clearly consolidated his position over the rival militias since his father's death.

**How can you sit in the government and be its opponent at the same time?**

It is a question of *politique oblige* rather than *noblesse oblige*! Yes, I am part of this government, but that does not mean that I play a part in all the decisions it takes. The only thing I can do for the moment is to block some decisions, no more than that because the opposition is now divided. The opposition that was represented by the National Salvation Front is split. Rashid Karami joined Gemayel's government. Nabih Berri is an ally, but he has a problem — the south. The regime blackmails him by saying: the south could be liberated but for one obstacle called Walid Jumblatt. Selim el-Hoss has interesting ideas. But these four, united or divided, are not strong enough to block the Phalangists.

**Since the Gemayel regime is backed by Syria, what can you do? Can you withstand Syrian pressure?**

Let the regime be supported by everybody. There will never be peace in Lebanon so long as the Phalangists are in power. You may regard these words as just so much rambling. But I repeat: there will be no peace with the Phalange — whether I am alive or dead. For me, it is a question of survival, nothing more. On such a question, one cannot joke, whatever the consequences may be. But a certain honour is necessary sometimes.

**What do you mean, that you are an obstacle to your ally, Berri?**

I'm not saying this. But the whole of the press claims that I am the obstacle, that I am preventing the liberation of the south. We know the liberation of the south is not a military question. It will be a compromise between Israel and Lebanon. We know very well that the Phalangists want to maintain the military and political apparatus they have established in one part of the Shouf, in the Kharroub and in the south. This is why the army will have two roles: a policing one against the progressive forces and Amal in the south; and the second one, to protect the Israeli borders from infiltration. My position is this: I am against the political and military presence of the Phalangists on the southern road and even in the south. And that is the difference between Gemayel and me: he tries to play with words and claims that I am an obstacle to the liberation of the south. I am willing to allow passage for the army between Beirut and Sidon. But not deployment. If there were deployment of the army, this would mean a third front against us.

**What do you mean by "passage"?**

We agree that the army should pass through to the south. We grant the right of passage, but not of posting troops along the coastal road; nor should there

be any fixed check points nor any deep presence that would threaten the security of the mountains. We already have an abscess called Souq el-Gharb, we do not want another in Damour or Khalde or the Iqlim el-Kharroub.

**What are your relations like with Nabih Berri and the Shiites?**

The basic Lebanese question is a social one. There are the poor and the have-nots of all confessions, and above them a power structure that dominates everything. But when we look at this greedy, threatening bourgeoisie and see them only as Sunnis, or Maronites, or Shiites or Druse, we are changing the issue. This is not the issue, but this is why there are internal wars. This is why there is an Amal movement and why there is an extremist Druse tendency or why the Sunnis sometimes feel pushed to one side or why the Maronites may feel scared. But this is the wrong view. Some 90 per cent of the population are the poor masses, and there is the bourgeoisie. That is the problem. At the same time, the militias on the ground have been blinded by religious fanaticism. But this is not the real issue.

**During the recent clashes with the Mourabitun, the Sunnis of West Beirut said you were interfering in their internal affairs.**

The problem is that even with our allies, be it Amal or the others, we have not been able to achieve this revolution to abolish confessionalism. We must achieve it, but for the moment it has been aborted. Here my allies are scared; scared of taking power, when they have all the advantages.

**You mean, you'd like an Amal Shiite regime?**

No. An Amal that goes beyond confessionalism. Berri, himself, says he is for the abolition of confessionalism. He says this and it is a revolutionary idea. So, let him implement it! But if this is not possible, we will have a compromise or an amicable coexistence among the various communities. But there will be a new war within ten to 15 years.

**Do you want a Druse canton?**

A Druse canton is not viable. Politically, it is suicidal. It goes against history. The historical position of the Druse has always been in the avant-garde of the Muslims and the Arabs. The Druse came to Lebanon to protect the coastal areas against the Crusaders. We cannot buck our history and join a suicide pact.

**You are very pessimistic about Lebanon.**

I am not pessimistic but realistic. The situation is obvious, so why should we be misled by a stupid official optimism — the optimism of prime minister Rashid Karami, for instance?

**What do you think of what's happening in Tripoli, Karami's home town?**

The ideas of Sheikh Said Shaaban are very interesting. Indeed, one might well accept them. He sees very well the danger of the Phalangisation of Lebanon. I don't know where the man comes from, but if things get much worse, he may well be one of my allies.

**What are the current relations between the Druse in Lebanon and those in Israel?**

The poor Israeli Druse are only mercenaries in the Israeli army. They are used by the Israelis only to fight. There were some relations with them when the Israelis occupied the mountains, but there are none now. The Israeli authorities realised that the Israeli Druse were discovering a new world, different from what they had been told and were likely to change their conception of their position in Israel. So they stopped them from coming and have prevented further relations.

**It is said that of all the militia leaders, you are subject to the most pressure, since it comes from both Syria and Israel.**

I am naturally allied to Syria. My interests and history as a Druse, as a socialist and as an Arab nationalist lead me to make common cause with the Syrians. In fact, I believe that Lebanon is an artificial creation, resulting from the events after the second world war. But one has to respect this, so-called, independence.

As for Israel: I cannot accept the presence of this state, if there is to be no recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. In the long term, Israel is a new crusade, a new Western crusade against the Arabs and Islam.

The Syrians, quite rightly, are trying to achieve an Israeli withdrawal without conditions. If this happens, it will be a Syrian victory over Israel and over that other Arab clan, those who support Camp David. So, the stakes are high. They're strategic and go beyond tactical considerations in Lebanon.

**What is the current situation in the Iqlim el-Kharroub?**

The Phalangists are in the Iqlim with some 40 tanks and they are backed by the Israelis. They have free access to the "Fifth Basin" [the formerly illegally-held quay in the Beirut port, which has now been taken over by the Lebanese Army]. It is a kind of pressure against me as the leader of the Socialist Party and against the Sunnis of the Iqlim. I cannot see them withdrawing and meeting our demands in the area. They insist upon keeping a presence there.

**When you speak of the Phalangists in the Iqlim, do you mean the Christians of the villages or the Phalangist militias?**

There is no longer any population there! There are some villages — Jiyeh and Rmaile — but there is no population. They have fled: there was an exodus of Christians and Muslims. You cannot live there in these war conditions.

**How do you explain to the West that the current population of the Shouf cannot go back to their homes in the mountains?**

This West became interested in the Christians only during the siege of Deir el-Qamar. Everybody was concerned to express solidarity with the Christians there. But this West is racist and I include here the Socialist International. It took sides with the right against the left, against me. They did not see what happened to the Druse and Muslims — at the Shatilla, Sabra and Kfar Matta massacres. They saw only Deir el-Qamar. They claimed there were 40,000 Christians there. In fact, there were only 10,000, including the militias. I should have liked to liquidate only the militias, but I couldn't.

**Is it possible to reconcile after all this?**

With the Christians, yes. But not with the Phalangists. The Christians of Lebanon are, without exception, the hostages of the Phalangists. This is the future danger to Lebanon's Christian population. The Phalangist grip will particularly affect the younger generation — those who did not know the old Lebanon, in which there was a tradition of coexistence.

**So, there's complete deadlock.**

There are no deadlocks in history. There is always a political outcome. It could be a military conflict or a political compromise. But history never stops.

**How do you react to the recent statement of Dr Elie Karame [head of the Phalange party] accusing you of obstructing the peace plan?**

This is simply a manoeuvre: a means of pressuring me. The obstacle is not me, but Israel, the Lebanese Forces [the Phalangist militia] and the United States. I can't see why the Americans would force the Israelis to leave Lebanon while leaving the Syrians carte blanche, particularly now that Syria is isolated and encircled, American-style, on the new front.

I repeat, I do not see any compromise as long as the Phalangists are in power. Our democratic principles cannot coexist with this totalitarian Phalangist. Or, maybe, we'll coexist; but surely there will be a military or political clash some time. I cannot see Lebanon based upon US-Israeli policy. I cannot see the Israelis leaving the south, abandoning the Litani

waters and their strategic positions in the Barrouk mountains with nothing in return. I can even foresee a war between Israel and Syria, provoked by Israel.

**What is the position in all this of your friends, the Syrians, who are, after all, backing Gemayel?**

Gemayel is not strong because of Syrian support. He has been able to show an innocent face to the world in rejecting the May 17th agreement with Israel. But this was a fools' bargain because the agreement was stillborn. But, to maintain the façade, it had to be abrogated and, hence, there was a certain opening in the Arab world. But the Arab world has always been fooled by the Phalangists. Phalangism is like Zionism: its interests are to dislocate Arab unity — especially in Lebanon and Syria.

**What of Soviet policy in the area?**

We cannot deny the Soviets an interest in the area. During the mountain war, the US regarded Souq el-Gharb as a security outpost, when they were 10,000 kilometres away. The Soviets are less than 3,000 kilometres away. The least we can say is that they have the right to show an interest in the area, particularly, since they have always backed the Arab cause against imperialism. I'm entirely with the Soviets on this.

**Reports say Moscow opposes the Naqoura talks as leading to a Pax Americana.**

In a way, the Soviets are right, Naqoura could be a very dangerous chapter leading to an opening for the Americans. Where Shultz failed, Murphy may yet succeed. I say perhaps; but I hope not. I am against an American and Western presence in the Arab world. It would be an unjust peace dictated by a racist, blind West that would stand to benefit from the Arab world's resources. It would be a humiliating

peace and I completely reject it.

**What is your view of French policy, particularly following President Mitterrand's visit to Damascus?**

Apart from selling arms to the Arabs, France no longer has any importance in the area. It has become a middleman for the Americans. Part of its role in the Multi-National Force was to help protect the Phalangists.

**Couldn't President Mitterrand's good relations with Shimon Peres be helpful?**

His good relations with Peres and Zionism *are* the problem. There must one day be a seminar on the fundamental question: can Zionism and Arab nationalism coexist? This is basic; everything else is detail.

**Why do you oppose the MEA-TMA merger?**

To start with, TMA is different from MEA. TMA is a private company controlled by the Abu Haidar family. It is of very little interest to Lebanon, since it does not bring the country very much. MEA, however, directly affects some 5,000 families, distributed evenly throughout the communities. I think that a merger will lead to a takeover by the bank (Intra Investment Company) controlled by the state and such a takeover would lead, politically, to the company's takeover by the Phalangists. Intra is part of the Phalangist infrastructure. That is why I oppose the merger.

There is also this issue of aircraft. At one stage, it was decided that MEA should buy Airbuses. Now the company wants Boeings because Lebanon's orientation is different. On this, I do not understand the position of Air France, one of MEA's shareholders, who have said nothing. It is strange and very fishy.

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LEBANON

BRIEFS

INDUSTRIAL EXPORT INCOME--The income from industrial exports certified as to source by the Lebanese Ministry of Industry until the end of last September was 641 million pounds compared with 973 million pounds in the corresponding 1983 period. Thus, there was a decline in exports of 332 million pounds or 34.1 percent during this period. The decline will continue to about 45 percent if secondary prices are taken into account. It almost exceeds last year's export decrease. This export decline is due both to the weakness of Lebanese industry and to the difficulty of exporting to some Arab countries, Iraq and Jordan in particular. Saudi Arabia is still Lebanon's principal competitor. [Text] Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 401, 27 Oct 84 p 52] 5214

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SAUDI ARABIA

COMMUNIST PARTY HEAD WRITES ON PARTY'S SECOND CONGRESS

PM161509 Moscow PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in Russian No 1, Signed to Press  
11 Dec 84 pp 27-30

[Article by Mahdi Habib, general secretary of the Saudi Arabian Communist Party: "Ability To Overcome Difficulties"]

[Text] The second congress of our party held in late summer last year was later than scheduled by its statute (Footnote 1) (Under the Saudi Arabian Communist Party [SACP] statute, a party congress is convened every 5 years. The first congress was held in 1975--PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA editor's note). The reasons are connected with the difficulties of working deep underground and with the extremely complex situation in the domestic political arena, especially in the period 1979-1983 as a result of the broad campaign of repressions unleashed by the authorities against the communists and other progressive forces. The convening of the congress was made possible only thanks to persistent preparatory work which was conducted for a long time by the leading party organs and by the grass-roots organizations which took part in drawing up the agenda and discussing and enriching the content of the documents submitted for the delegates' examination.

The holding of the party forum after the blows struck throughout the past few years by the repressive Saudi regime against the country's progressive patriotic movement under the conditions of the deteriorating economic situation and the decline in the living standard of the working class and working masses was convincing evidence of our party's ability to withstand difficulties and overcome them. To overcome them while displaying unity of will and action and a high degree of ideological-political and organizational cohesion. It is indebted for this to the fact that it has always steadily followed and continues to follow the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The SACP has proved that its existence and activity, which are a continuation and at the same time a qualitatively new stage of the national and social struggle of our country's people and working class, are a necessity dictated by objective and subjective conditions and by the requirements of the present historical stage of social development. This is a concrete embodiment of the conviction that the working people can only rid themselves of oppression and exploitation by organizing and serrying their ranks. The consolidation of the Communist Party--the vanguard and expresser of the working class' interests--serves to strengthen the progressive-patriotic

movement as a whole and creates the prerequisites for fulfilling the national and international tasks imposed on it.

The Second SACP Congress took place against the background of a dangerous aggravation of the international situation and the activated offensive by imperialism, Zionism, and the reaction against the Arab national liberation movement with a view to delivering a crushing blow against all its detachments and compelling the Arab peoples to capitulate. This is a manifestation of the aggressive militarist strategy of the U.S. and NATO imperialist circles based on the desire to achieve hegemony and to interfere in the peoples' internal affairs, attempts to become the shapers of their destiny and the masters of the resources which belong to them, and the desire to aggravate confrontation and to use any means to put an end to the atmosphere of detente and international relations.

Pursuing a policy of acts of provocation and aggressive adventures, U.S. imperialism is stoking tension in the Persian Gulf and Arabian peninsula region. Washington is stoking the flames of the destructive Iraq-Iran war and is exploiting it as a pretext to build up its own direct military presence in the region, which is in no way impeded by local reactionary rulers. The overt interference by the United States and other NATO states in events in the Persian Gulf zone is an attempt to restore their impaired prestige and to compensate for their loss from the harsh defeat which was inflicted on them in Lebanon and the Near East as a whole by Syria, the Lebanese national patriotic forces, and the PLO which acted jointly with the support of fighters for freedom and progress in the Arab countries and throughout the world. Together with its interventionist actions Washington is preparing to deploy medium-range Pershing missiles in Saudi Arabia, frenziedly seeking to turn our country and the other Persian Gulf states into a base and bridgehead for plots against the patriotic forces and regimes (particularly in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan) and for the creation of an additional threat to the Soviet Union from the southern flank.

As a result a grave danger looms over the region and indeed over the whole world. Great responsibility for this rests with the reactionary regimes of Saudi Arabia and the other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Footnote 2) (The council includes Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, and Oman--PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA editor's note). They are unreservedly joining in the implementation of imperialism's aggressive designs and are hostile toward problems vitally important to our people and the other Arab peoples notably the Palestinian problem. Of course, secondary contradictions sometimes arise between these regimes and U.S. imperialism, but they are amenable to solution within the framework of a common strategy based on fierce hatred for the forces of freedom, progress, and socialism.

At the same time the present situation in the Arab world and the international arena is characterized by the growing revolutionary upsurge and activation of the rebuff from these forces, in whose vanguard the Soviet Union marches, against the destructive policy of world imperialism headed by the United States--a policy which is causing the senseless arms race and which has confronted mankind with the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. The influence of

the peace-loving circles is strengthening and the antiwar movement in its various forms is becoming a mighty current merging into the mainstream of the battle against imperialist oppression and for peace and socialism.

All our party's activity is developed in close interconnection with the struggle of the Arab peoples and their progressive forces to repel the attacks of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, to liberate the territories seized by Israel as a result of the 1967 aggression, and to restore the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination and the creation of their own national state on the soil of their fatherland. In cooperation with the other communist and workers parties of the Arab countries, the SACP is persistently seeking to strengthen the staunchness of the anti-imperialist fighters in the region, with Syria, with its patriotic course and resolute rejection of separate capitulationist settlement plans, acting as their main bulwark at the present stage. We see the need to strengthen the alliance of Syria, the Palestinian fighters, and the Lebanese national patriotic forces and to help to restore and consolidate the unity of the PLO on a patriotic, anti-imperialist, and anti-Zionist platform rejecting any manifestations of capitulationism and we support all constructive initiatives in this direction.

Considering the defense of the Soviet Union and the great party of Lenin against any attacks to be one of its program tasks and the communists' statutory duty, the SACP acts as an unbending champion of Arab-Soviet friendship. We highly rate the diverse, purposeful initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist community states aimed at defending and asserting the relaxation of international tension and strengthening the bastions of world peace and we support, in particular, the proposals regarding a just peaceful settlement of the Near East crisis and the transformation of the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean into zones of peace. The importance of the Second SACP Congress is that it confirmed these fundamental aims and enshrined them as clearly formulated party policy.

The period under review was full of stormy events, of rapid, sharp, and very contradictory changes in various aspects of the life of Saudi society. A scientific, consistently class-based analysis of the new phenomena was given in the documents and materials of the second congress, primarily in the Central Committee's political and organizational reports and the new draft of the party program. The introduction of substantial changes and amendments to the SACP program was aimed at reflecting more precisely and correctly the situation which has objectively formed in the country, and at providing communists with guidelines enabling them to raise and rally the masses more successfully to struggle for their rights and interests.

The congress noted that since the early seventies Saudi Arabia has begun to advance rapidly along the path of capitalist development accompanied by the intensification of social differences and the aggravation of class contradictions. Although the structure of Saudi society retains its transitional nature, manifested primarily in the incomplete establishment of a system of bourgeois social relations and in the resultant unfinishedness of the process of social and class differentiation, the past decade has been marked by the fact that the features of antagonistic social classes and strata have emerged

increasingly clearly and distinctly. The Saudi Arabian people are now faced with the tasks of completing the stage of national liberation connected with the full implementation of the aims of the national democratic revolution. Proceeding from this premise, the party program defines the main contradiction of the present stage as the antagonism between the class block of the exploiters--the feudalists, landowners, and parasitic strata of the local bourgeoisie closely attached to world imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, on the one hand, and the workers, peasants, bedouin masses, revolutionary intelligentsia, petite bourgeoisie, and influential strata of the national bourgeoisie on the other (Footnote 3) (See program and statute of the SACP with the changes made at the Second SACP Congress pp 9-10 (in Arabic)).

The dominant position in the exploiting bloc belongs to the feudalists and semifeudalists in the shape of the Al Sa'ud clan, which concentrates in its hands (primarily through the king) all legislative, executive, and legal power because, as is well known, Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy without a constitution or any elected representative organs whatsoever. The trend toward the broader (but still limited) recruitment of the bourgeois-bureaucratic and technocratic elements to manage the country, particularly in the economic sphere, is evidence merely of the consolidation of the ties linking the partners in the feudal-bourgeois alliance.

The ruling regime's reactionary, antipopular policy is intensifying Saudi Arabia's all-around dependence on world imperialism and above all on the United States and is preserving its backwardness. A monstrously deformed, one-sidedly developed economy has formed in the country, based exclusively on oil extraction, which supplies 70 percent of the national income and 90 percent of export revenue. The other sectors are in decline: There is virtually no heavy industry, light industry plays no part of any importance, while feudal and semifeudal relations continue to dominate in agriculture.

The massive sums of money resulting from the predatory exploitation of natural resources are by no means utilized in the interests of the peoples masses, but to satisfy the cupidity of the imperialist monopolies and a handful of local feudalists and capitalists. Steering a course toward subordinating the country's economy to the needs of the world capitalist system, the ruling circles are encouraging the development of private enterprise (mainly in nonproductive sectors--trade, the services sphere and so forth) and are giving support to the parasitic strata of the local bourgeoisie. The state sector's role is dwindling and shares in the enterprises of the state sector are being sold off inside the country and in the Persian Gulf states. Inasmuch as Saudi Arabian economy and domestic market absorb no more than 40 percent of the total national income, the remaining money is being transferred to foreign--U.S. and European--banks and is being invested in major economic projects in the capitalist powers (thus taking the edge off the crisis they are undergoing). The money is also being used to buy an incredible quantity of foreign arms, many times in excess of actual national defense requirements (Footnote 4) (The press provides the following figures. Since 1975 Saudi Arabia has spent around \$100 billion equipping its army of little more than 50,000 men. In fiscal 1982 its military budget reached the unprecedented sum of \$24.4 billion. This put it in fifth place in the world, overtaking such industrially developed states as France, Britain and Japan. Military expenditure accounts for around 20 percent of

the Saudi GNP. In 1981-1982 Saudi Arabia accounted for one-third of U.S. and two-fifths of French arms exports. It has also concluded major deals with British, Italian, West German, Spanish and Japanese suppliers [see K. Ja'far, Fahd's Luxury War Machine. SOUTH, October 1984, p 16], and to finance subversive activity against national liberation movements and progressive patriotic regimes and aid reactionary governments, primarily in the Arab world.

As a consequence, the country's economy is in a state of stagnation and crisis, exacerbated by unfavorable fluctuations in the world capitalist market and the falling oil revenue, which has been aided to a considerable extent by the regime's antinational course coordinated with the international oil cartel. And, as usual, the search for a solution is being conducted at the expense of the people's masses and their vital needs and interests. In a country which possesses incalculable wealth and spends astronomical sums on weapons or on prestige projects, the majority of the rural and nomadic population still lacks such elementary items as decent housing, water and electricity, medical services and school education. Appropriations for these needs just continue to be cut. Against the background of a deteriorating economic situation, prices are constantly rising, the real incomes of workers and other strata of working people and the deprived masses are falling, and the number of ruined small and medium-size entrepreneurs is increasing. The authorities are ceasing to finance and are freezing the implementation of some projects and are resorting to mass layoffs.

All this is accompanied by an increase in terror and repression--integral aspects of the monarchys policy, especially since the ascent to the throne of Fahd, who represents the wing of the Al Sa'ud clan which has the closest links with U.S. imperialist circles and is extremely intolerant of any democratic freedoms and the slightest sign of opposition.

The ruling clique is propped up by an inordinately large repressive bureaucratic apparatus which costs nearly one-half of the annual state budget to maintain. An atmosphere of tyranny and violence reigns in the country. Freedom of expression, religion, assembly and so forth is simply nonexistent and if they participate in any political or trade union activity people are given long prison terms without any investigation, trial, or right to defense and they are subjected to sophisticated physical and moral torture. Scarcely anywhere else in the world are such inhuman punishments as flogging, severing of hands and feet, stoning, and beheading still used.

The Saudi regime is speculating on the Muslim religion, using it as a means of keeping the people's masses in a state of oppression, masking the plundering of national resources, sowing hostility toward the ideas of freedom and progress, and kindling inter-community strife. Shi'ites, Zaydis and Isma'ilites (Footnote 5) (Muslim sects which are distinct from Saudi Arabia's ruling Wahabbi Sunnism), in particular, are targets of discrimination and oppression. They are prevented from holding their religious ceremonies, they are not allowed to work in many state establishments, and are generally treated as second-class citizens. Via the so-called "committees to encourage virtue and denounce sin" the authorities are unceremoniously interfering in Saudis' personal lives and are imposing certain standards of morality, life and behavior on them by force.

The reactionary antinational policy of the monarchy and the absolutist, repressive methods of government are encountering growing discontent and resistance on the part of the masses. In the vanguard of the struggle one finds the young Saudi proletariat which is assuming the role of instigator and leader of people's actions, as it did in 1953, 1956, 1967 and 1979.

The events of November 1979--the uprising in the Eastern province and the seizure of the grand mosque in Mecca--were an indicator of increasing revolutionary ferment. It was the biggest and most powerful action in our country's history against the regime of absolute power and its patron--U.S. imperialism. The masses roused themselves and employed various--peaceful and armed--forms of struggle and demonstrated their determination not to accept the existing political and socioeconomic situation. The authorities responded with savage reprisals: Dozens of people were killed or injured and hundreds ended up in jail.

There was a mass peace demonstration in al-Qatif in January 1980. The participants were voicing solidarity with the victims of the reprisals and demanding the release of detainees. Faced with a rising wave of popular anger, the said rulers again resorted to terror. In the middle of 1982 an extensive campaign of persecution and harassment was unleashed against progressive patriotic forces, including Communists. People were seized and thrown into jail and subjected to inhuman treatment and torture. Our party saw the campaign as part of the intrigues of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction directed against the peoples of Arab and Near East countries and against the Communists and all progressive forces in the region.

But the reprisals failed to undermine the morale of the working people and people's masses, who became even more closely united around the national patriotic movement, putting pressure on the authorities to secure the release of political prisoners. In that situation the SACP leadership displayed great vigilance, vigor, and persistence, arranging for the attack by reaction to be rebuffed and taking steps to limit and overcome its consequences. The worldwide campaign of solidarity with the Saudi patriots, our comrades, who were holding out courageously and steadfastly in prison cells, was of tremendous significance. And the ruling regime was forced to climb down: In June 1983 the people languishing in jail gained their freedom. It was a big success for the country's progressive patriotic forces and we regard it as the start of a fundamental historical change in national life.

The SACP program stresses: "The upsurge of the struggle of the working class and working masses is leading to the deepening of the crisis of the autocratic monarchy--which is chiefly responsible for all the trouble that has befallen our country--and creates opportunities for its elimination, which is an urgent task dictated by the interests of the motherland and in line with the people's aspirations for freedom, democracy and social progress" (Footnote 6) (Program and Statute of the SACP, ... p22). It is the communists' view that the solution of this task must be undertaken by a broad national democratic front expressing the interests of the vast majority of Saudis on whom the ruling exploiter bloc is trying to keep the yoke of oppression. We see the creation of such a front as a most vital necessity, as the decisive prerequisite for success. As far as we are concerned, it is not a temporary tactical slogan,

but a firm strategic course: Only by following this course can one hope for victory.

The SACP sees the national democratic front as a union of political parties and trade union and other public organizations, as well as independent persons, on the basis of a national patriotic program in which each of the participants retains his organizational and ideological-political independence. Contradictions between them on secondary matters are perfectly natural and acceptable, as long as they do not stray beyond the bounds of patriotic unity.

Our party is prepared to make a worthy contribution to the national democratic front's activity. Its ability to continue and build up the struggle against the most brutal, reactionary, and stagnant regime is conditions primarily by the fact that it relies on the will of the working class and the other working people and embodies their hopes and aspirations. At the same time, we realize that the party's strength and its consolidation depend not only on subjective factors, but also derive from the might and dimensions of the world revolutionary process. In this sense the party's strength lies in its internationalism, in the fact that it belongs to the international communist and workers movement. And in solving the task of gaining complete national liberation and carrying out the national democratic revolution, the SACP never loses sight of the ultimate goals common to all the Communists of the world--the elimination of all forms of man's exploitation of man and all manifestations of class domination and oppression and the building of a society of socialism and communism.

CSO: 4400/63

SYRIA

#### SHORTCOMINGS OF JOINT ARAB ECONOMIC PLANNING ANALYZED

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 31 Oct 84 p 4

[Editorial by Hisham Bashir: "The Arab Nation and the Economic Challenges of the Year 2000"]

[Text] The meetings of the sixth Arab States Industrial Development Conference in Damascus, which was attended by the Arab ministers of industry, concluded last week. This conference was considered to be one of the most successful conferences held in this field, since its agenda went beyond the stage of studies and assurances of Arab industrial integration. The conferees discussed the implementation of joint Arab industrial projects within the framework of this integration. As a result of their meetings they decided to form a ministerial committee to study and follow up the implementation of these projects. I do not want to be pessimistic, but I do not know why there came to mind what happened at the meetings of the Arab Agricultural Development Organization, or the Council of Arab Ministers of Agriculture as it came to be called, which meets once a year to discuss the gap between Arab food production and consumption and ways and means of achieving Arab freedom from vulnerability in the matter of food.

All of the countries of the Arab homeland suffer from a big deficit in the production of foodstuffs beginning with wheat, cereals, oils, and sugar, though there may not ultimately be a deficit in animal products. According to studies that have been made, the Arab foodstuffs deficit is estimated to have been \$8.3 billion in 1979 and will grow to about \$200 billion in the year 2000 if the growth rate of Arab production continues as it is at present.

Against this background the Council of Arab Ministers of Agriculture met in Damascus in 1980 to discuss the studies prepared by the Arab Agricultural Development Organization. These studies included ones made of 153 Arab agricultural production projects to eliminate the Arab food deficit and achieve self-sufficiency in food. Despite the fact the studies were thoroughly done and had taken many long years to complete, and despite the fact that the Arab ministers thought highly of them at the time, as well as the fact that the implementation of the projects they advocated would not achieve more than a 56-percent Arab self-sufficiency in food by the year 2000, the Arab ministers could not figure out how to assure the necessary financing of these projects. So they formed a ministerial committee charged with the task of setting the

priorities for the implementation of these projects.

In the following year, 1981, the Arab ministers of agriculture met in Tripoli, Libya, and decided on the priorities for the execution of 53 Arab agricultural projects. They referred the matter of financing them to the Arab Development meeting and referred eight projects to the Arab League to find sources of financing for them. The other projects were sent back for examination as to their economic benefit.

The Arab ministers of agriculture met in San'a in 1982 and decided to request each Arab country to get in touch individually with the Arab Financing Fund on behalf of the Arab security-in-foodstuffs projects that were supposed to be carried out within its territory. Their 1983 meeting in Khartum confined itself to issuing a statement on the necessity of continuing efforts to get on with the implementation of the greatest possible number of projects in the Arab food-security program.

I return to the meetings of the Arab ministers of industry, which lasted for a whole week and resulted in a decision to carry out 104 joint industrial projects at an initial cost of \$12 billion that would rise to \$89 billion in the year 2000. The meetings produced also a decision to form a ministerial committee charged with implementing the conference's decisions and preparing all the necessary procedures and studies and submitting them to the 7th Arab Industrial Development Conference. In this connection I say:

The conclusions reached by messrs the Arab ministers of industry in their recent meetings remind me of the 1980 decisions of the Arab ministers of agriculture about the joint Arab projects to achieve Arab food security. These conclusions impel me to hope that the results will not be similar to those of the decisions to achieve Arab security in food.

12541

CSO: 4404/144

SYRIA

PROJECTS DONE BY TARTUS BRANCH OF MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AGENCY

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 29 Oct 84 p 3

[Article: "LS225 Million Worth of Projects Carried Out by Branch of Military Installations Agency"]

[Text] The Military Installations Agency, through its branch No 5 in Tartus, has carried out numerous projects. Over a period of more than 10 years the Tartus branch has been carrying out projects in the provinces of Latakia and Tartus. The value of the projects carried out up to the present is about LS125 million, while the value of projects under way at present is about LS225 million. For more information on equipment branch No 5 we met with comrade engineer 'Amir Khalil.

Cost of Projects Completed was 125 Million

Branch No 5 has carried out a number of vital and important projects. Among them are the naval base and pier project, the civilian port project, the al-Safsafah storage project, the Banyas oil-storage project, the development agency building in Jabalah, the conveyor line at the cement plant, the free zone in Tartus, the industrial components plant building, the eastern roadbed on the corniche in Tartus, and the flood-control project. The total value of these completed projects is LS125 million.

225 Million Worth of Projects Under Way

Projects under way and scattered throughout various parts of the province are:

The As Sinn drainage project, which is almost completed. Its cost is LS10 million. It is composed of a number of drainage canals and other works.

The Baniyas corniche, costing LS8.5 million.

Projects relating to: the cement plant, consisting of a treatment unit; the cultural center; and the social building. Their cost is about LS10 million.

The agricultural bank project in Ash Shaykh Badr, costing LS3 million.

The cafeteria hall and the completion of the Party branch building in Ash Shaykh Badr, at a cost of LS1 million.

Projects including the construction of 17 schools in the province at a cost of 12 million. Of these schools 15 have been completed.

The Kartu clinic, costing LS700,000. Work on it is suspended at present because the bills have not been paid by the Health Administration.

The Kartu-Tall Sunun bridge project. This previously had been carried out by a private-sector contractor, but it was washed out by the river. Work on it now has been started.

A people's housing project and dwelling units costing LS14.5 million. These housing projects are in their final stage and are nearly ready for delivery.

A flood-control project in the city of Tartus, costing LS35 million.

The FARMEX warehouse project, costing LS6 million.

The workers' housing association project in al-Far, at a cost of LS6 million.

The military social agency project, 6 million.

Miscellaneous masonry project in the city of Tartus over the years 1982-84, at a cost of LS9.5 million.

The second stage of the industrial zone project, costing LS20 million.

The Syrian-Jordanian Company headquarters project, at a cost of 1.5 million.

Construction of 83.5 kilometers of the Latakia highway at a cost of LS30 million.

A project for service roads for the plains of As Sinn and Jablah, costing LS20 million.

The new LS7.5-million housing project in the free zone.

The Zahid poultry project, valued at LS12 million.

The branch's headquarters project, valued at LS10 million.

Thus one can say that the cost of the projects under way comes to LS225 million.

#### Difficulties

The most important difficulty faced by the branch is the lack of skilled labor in the province of Tartus to repair the machinery and the lack of concrete-form carpenters and blacksmiths. In addition, workers who are brought in from distant places and provinces first have to be trained,

which in one way or another affects the progress of the work on the project.

#### In the Divisions

In the branch there are about 700 elements, including workers, administrators, engineers, and technicians, distributed among all of the branch's projects.

In the branch is a production division that supplies all the projects with all their requirements in the way of such materials as pre-mixed concrete, reinforced steel rods, and concrete block, water pipe, floor tiles, mosaics, and Arab-style woodwork. Since the division was established it has grown so that its monthly account has increased from LS100,000 to LS1 million in 1984.

Previously it relied mainly on mixers of the regular capacity found on the projects. But with for the increased demand for this material two mechanical mixers were installed, the first in 1981 and the second in 1982. They supply the needs of the branch. Their technical condition is excellent because they always are subject to continual maintenance. In the production division is a number of work shops for iron, concrete blocks, and water pipes. The Arab-style woodwork shop is regarded as one of the biggest shops from the standpoint of production, which amounts to some 1000 square meters per month.

Among the modern shops is that for floor tiles and mosaics. It meets the needs of the branch, its production being about 80 square meters and about 25 linear meters of staircase mosaics.

The workers in equipment branch 5 enjoy a number of perquisites. Medical treatment is free, with medicines for everyone. The workers are transported to and from work. In addition, they are given a permanent type of work along with family allowances, bonuses, supplementary work, and production incentives.

12541

CSO: 4404/144

SYRIA

BRIEFS

OIL DISCOVERY PROFITS--It was recently disclosed that the relatively large oil discovery made not long ago in Syria and concealed by the Syrian authorities and security forces, which threw a security cordon around the discovery site near Dayr al-Zawr, may provide Syria with revenues of \$2.8 to \$3 billion dollars a year. This amount will be enough to meet Syria's development requirements. However, Syrian officials do not want to place great hopes on the large oil discovery before its reserves, production capacity, and investment requirements are known. An American company announced that it made a large oil discovery near Dayr al-Zawr in the north that will enable Syria to produce 300,000 barrels a day. [Text] Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 401, 27 Oct 84 p 52] 5214

ALEPPO UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL ACTIVITIES -- The latest statistics of the Aleppo University hospital show that the number of persons entering the hospital as of the end of the 8th month of this year was 19,029. During this period the percentage of family cases was 78 and the average stay was 7 days. The number of persons visiting outside clinics was 39,000. Those given internal-medicine emergency treatment numbered 18,751 while those receiving emergency surgical treatment were 15,919. During these months about 21,000 X-ray pictures were taken of the hospital patients and more than 200,000 laboratory analyses were carried out. In the field of surgical operations, up to the end of the 7th month were performed 2214 general operations, 667 ear operations, 907 eye operations, 1399 gynecological operations, and 298 dermatological operations. The number of patients treated in the artificial kidney section was 615. The statistics show also that the number of photos taken with the (layer-axial) photo apparatus from the beginning of the year up to the present was only 500. This was because the apparatus frequently was out of service during the first 6 months of this year and after that ceased to function owing to the fact that the contractor refused to maintain the apparatus and tried to cheat the hospital by imposing unwarranted conditions on it. The hospital's 1985 investment plan includes the furnishing and equipping of the hospital's lecture hall, classrooms, new external clinics, and an emergency surgical building, as well as the construction of a repair shop, the purchase of 10 motor vehicles and medical equipment for various sections and for the new emergency surgical section, and the expansion of the two intensive-care units. The plan also includes the purchase of a system of visual aids, a generator, a regulator along with an electrical unit for the (layer-axial) photo apparatus, the renovation of the central-heating system, and utensils and equipment for the kitchen and the laundry. [Text] [Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 3 Nov 84 p 2] 12541

AFGHANISTAN

SOVIETS STRIVE TO CARRY OUT STARVATION TACTICS

Paris LE FIGARO in French 13 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by Serge Chauvel]

[Text] Afghanistan is hungry. A famine whose magnitude is comparable to that to be seen in Ethiopia has been developing for several months, and observers from the aid organizations who are now returning from the country are unanimous on this point: 500,000 people are in danger of starving to death this winter in the zones accessible from Pakistan: the Panjshir Valley, the Logar, Ghazni, and Paghman regions near Kabul, and Badakhshan in the northeastern part of the country. Despite the lack of precise information, it can be assumed that the entire western part of Afghanistan (notably Herat Province) is in a similar or worse situation.

The observers note that last summer's weather problems are being made worse in particular by the effects of the strategy adopted by Soviet troops, who are deliberately trying to starve the country, 80 percent of whose territory is still beyond their control. The burning of crops and warehouses and the destruction of villages and irrigation systems have turned vast portions of Afghan territory into lasting desert. France's five main private aid organizations\* in contact with the Afghan resistance are now revealing that without sizable international aid, the USSR will repeat in Afghanistan the kind of famine it used to carry out the Ukrainian genocide in 1933.

Those organizations met in Paris yesterday to issue an appeal aimed at preventing the famine from spreading--which, from all indications, it is going to do. They say it is important for the scale of aid by the various countries to be resolutely stepped up. And this is being done in the case of the United States, the Netherlands, and the European Community as a whole--but paradoxically, France, which has the most experienced private organizations in the world, is remaining cautious, to say the least, as far as any involvement by the government is concerned. The five French organizations, all members of

\* French-Afghan Friendship (AFRANE), P.O. Box 254.75.524, Paris CEDEX 11; International Medical Aid (AMI); the European Long Trek Guild; Physicians of the World; and Doctors Without Frontiers (MSF).

Humanitarian Coordination for Afghanistan, have decided to approach President Mitterrand and ask him to clarify his attitude. Will they be heard?

#### Providing Supplies Under Surveillance

When it comes to sending food aid to the 12 sectors where starvation is most widespread, surveillance of the Afghan frontiers by the Soviets prevents any caravans from getting through. As a result, the aid must reach its destination in the form of sums of money carried by the aid teams already established and the resistance organizations inside the country, according to coordination officials.

They say that some zones within Afghanistan have suffered relatively less and that a few towns supplied with cereals by the Soviets themselves may make it possible for Afghan peasants to purchase small quantities. The members of the various associations feel that despite the additional danger existing since the Jacques Abouchar incident, they are still perfectly capable of crossing the frontier secretly. The real danger, says one physician just back from Afghanistan, is that if we leave those villages without hope, we will see all of them go over to the side of the pro-Soviet government in Kabul.

11798

CSO: 4619/16

6 February 1985

## AFGHANISTAN

## THREAT OF FAMINE, DROUGHT ESCALATED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 27 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by Claude Lorieux]

[Text] Imagine, if you will, that France has been invaded and that 13 million French people--one-quarter of the nation's population--have been forced into exile. You will have to agree that news of such a situation would cause a big fuss among our neighbors--and even a little farther away than that.

Let one-quarter of the Afghan population live in the camps of Pakistan or Iran, however, and things are different.

But that mass of uprooted people is the clearest result of the fighting--whose outcome is just as uncertain as ever--that has been going on for 5 years between the resistance fighters (known locally as the Mujahidin) and the government and its protectors from across the Amu Darya River.

It has been said that frontiers do not have the same meaning for those people that they do in our part of the world, and that a Pashtun from Afghanistan feels more at home in Peshawar than one of our Basques would if he traveled down to the southern Basque country. That is true. The Durand Line, which separated the British Empire in India from the Kingdom of Afghanistan, cuts through the center of the Pashtun ethnic group (40 percent of the population and 80 percent of the refugees in Pakistan).

That brotherhood of race, added to the circumstance that all are members of Islam, explains the actions by Pakistani authorities as well as the coexistence (so far without serious incident) of natives and exiles living in the North West Frontier Province and even in Baluchistan. But there can also be exile within Afghanistan, and it is growing as the spearhead of the Soviet expeditionary corps, consisting of two divisions, extends its range of action, notably in the non-Pashtun regions. The attractiveness of the Pakistani camps (guaranteed food and "living allowances") has declined, according to Professor Majrooh, former dean of the School of Arts in Kabul, who now lives in Peshawar.

The new underground leaders, who are making a more thorough and more political analysis of their combat, are striving to prevent the exodus to places far away by the inhabitants for whom they have assumed responsibility. But they cannot

always spare their people the torments of flight that Chantal Bruno-Callot of International Medical Aid (AMI) experienced with Panjshir's inhabitants at an altitude of 3,500 meters last June. She writes in her logbook: "Children constitute the majority of the refugee population. There are also many women, but only a few runaways. The men are away fighting. Every morning at 4 o'clock, we go to the shelter of huge rocks on the mountainside. Each refugee melts into the stone that will protect him from the helicopters and MiG's.... At 12 o'clock, we gather a few twigs and build a fire." Further on she writes: "We left behind us people who had no more flour, no more tea, and no more rice--nothing but a herd whose milk production was declining steadily."

### In Danger of Dying

Getting away from the combat zones is not--or is no longer--a guarantee of safety. The Soviet Air Force watches and bombs the trails and their users--an example being that column of 300 refugees who were shelled mercilessly a few months ago. The "Shuravi" (Russians) are also stepping up their operations aimed at closing the Pakistani frontier. If they managed to do so on a lasting basis, it would be an unprecedented exploit. But they have already succeeded in making the "passage" much more perilous than before.

But whether fate decrees that he go into organized exile in Pakistan or remain in internal exile with its growing privations and necessity for living by his wits, the Afghan is experiencing a tragedy. The reason is that he is being cut off from his natural and human environment. "Land, wife, and membership in a community (clan or tribe) are the dimensions of individual identity in Afghanistan," explains Professor Majrooh. "A man deprived of those three dimensions is depersonalized and crushed."

Whether he leaves or remains, the Afghan, frugal though he is, is threatened with famine. Last spring in Badakhshan (in the northeast), a British anthropologist, Dr de Souza, detected early warning signs of famine "in the weight and size of the children" he examined. Travelers who followed him into that region a few months later confirmed his fears. But the officials of French nongovernmental organizations (NGO's)--Physicians of the World, AFRANE [French-Afghan Friendship], and the Long Trek Guild, whose volunteers are experiencing the existence of the Afghans one after the other--have just issued an appeal to governments and particularly our own because their own resources are no longer adequate. Those organizations confirm that "there currently exists a situation of pre-famine in many regions of Afghanistan." A famine during the winter months can definitely be predicted in the "high-risk" regions: Badakhshan and its neighboring areas, Herat and the western regions, the provinces surrounding Kabul, and areas bordering on the road that runs from Mazar-i-Sharif through Kabul to Kandahar. According to the NGO's, "the least pessimistic estimates indicate that 500,000 people are in danger of dying."

The country experienced a great many food shortages before the Soviet invasion! The inhabitants of Hazaradjah have not forgotten the food shortage of 1972. Drought is back. Snowfall was exceptionally light in the winter of 1983-1984, but the Soviet Army--travelers are unanimous on this point--has done everything possible to see that the mujahedin and the inhabitants among whom they live are

punished. "The urban economy, greatly weakened by the war, is now in the hands of the Soviet occupiers, who are trying to integrate it into their own system," explains Professor Majrooh. "On the other hand, control of the rural economy still escapes them, and it is on the rural economy that they have declared war."

To begin with, there are the unfortunately "traditional" demands made by the sector commanders responsible for a strategic road: the 10-kilometer road leading from the city of Herat to its airport, for example. The neighboring villages were "cleaned up," reports one witness. After all, a hamlet might harbor an underground fighter. Those military concerns are being accompanied increasingly by a "political" will to make life impossible for the inhabitants of rural zones not supporting the regime.

#### Crops Burned

Soviet soldiers destroy houses, burn crops with flamethrowers, sabotage water channels, and so on. Testimony as to the result of their actions abounds: "The valley was drying up without irrigation, and there will be no rice crop this year," reports one witness. Another says: "The fruit trees, pomegranate trees, and vineyards of Qandahar are dying from drought."

Two developments reportedly marked 1984: the increasingly massive intervention by heliborne commando groups and the specter of famine. Judging from what some travelers say, the resistance fighters were able to stand up to Soviet paratroopers, especially in the Panjshir Valley. That immediately raised their morale.

But on the other "front," the situation is more disturbing. One indication of this is that for the first time, the mujahedin commanders are demanding food instead of weapons, emphasizes Dr Alain Crovan of Doctors Without Frontiers. The major Mujahidin commanders feel that they have held up very well this year. But on his return from another visit to that martyred country, a major authority on Afghanistan said: "It is chiefly the civilians who have borne the brunt of the escalation!"

#### Security Measures Beefed up

(REUTER-AFP) Security has been beefed up in Kabul in preparation for the anniversary of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, but 5 years after that invasion took place, the war is having little effect on the Soviets, who are being kept in ignorance by strict official censorship.

The number of armed watchmen posted along the lines of communication has been doubled, according to diplomats stationed in Islamabad, and additional measures have been adopted around the Soviet Embassy and the Ministry of Defense. According to a rebel leader, Soviet-Afghan troops in the sector number 20,000, including between 4,000 and 5,000 from the Red Army.

Elsewhere, according to a Western diplomatic source in Islamabad, 24 Afghan civilians were burned alive in a village in the Logar Valley by a Soviet military detachment during a reprisal operation. That massacre reportedly took place in a village north of Mohammad Agha, a small town located about 100 kilometers south of Kabul. The incident reportedly occurred sometime between mid-November and mid-December.

11798

CSO: 4619/16

INDIA

## MEDIA REPORT PROGRESS IN ASSASSINATION INQUIRY

### Plot To Kill Satwant

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 22 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Pratap Chakravarty]

[Text]

Intelligence agencies have been put on full alert following information that a desperate plan has been hatched by extremists to kill constable Satwant Singh, the surviving assassin of the late Prime Minister.

On Tuesday night, Satwant Singh was removed from the interrogation centre in Delhi to an unknown destination in complete secrecy. The investigation team is likely to be shifted to a safe place away from Delhi to foil any attempt to physically liquidate him.

The Home Ministry on 16 November appointed top detective IGP R S Kulkarni to carry on indepth interrogation of Satwant Singh. He is also expected to bear a major responsibility in ensuring his security. Mr Kulkarni is the Director of the Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science, Delhi.

Highly-placed sources on Wednesday said that the plot to silence Satwant was hatched in Delhi following his statements to investigating officers. He is believed to have disclosed sensitive details about his recruitment, associates and some addresses which the enquiry Commission was reportedly looking for.

A wireless message has been flashed to Punjab Police to arrest Satwant's father, Trilok Singh Bajwa, as it is now learnt that the man was a notorious gun-runner, smuggler and a sympathiser of the "Khalistani" cause.

Trilok Singh Bajwa, who had been ar-

rested soon after Operation Bluestar and was mysteriously released, had gone to Pakistan a number of times and had contacts with almost all the infamous extremists.

The Punjab Police is also being asked by the Commission to explain why they had not informed the Delhi Police about the criminal antecedents of Trilok Singh Bajwa prior to the recruitment of his son Satwant Singh, who is also known as Satwant Bajwa in the Delhi Police. It is not known whether Trilok Singh, wanted by the Punjab Police for quite some time, has been nabbed or not.

The sustained interrogation of Satwant has also brought to light the controversial method through which he was drafted into the Delhi Police in 1982.

Satwant has claimed that actually he was recruited in 1981 from Gurdaspur but at that time a controversy had arisen where some Delhi politicians had alleged that a lot of money had changed hands in the recruitment.

The then Delhi Lt. Governor Sunder Lal Khurana had stayed the recruitment through the offices of the then Delhi Police crime chief K S Bajwa. Satwant was recruited from Bareilly. Records show that Satwant was an 'indisciplined type' and was almost thrown out of Delhi Police during his training period. How he survived such remarks and was later placed in Prime Minister's security staff is under investigation.

## Accomplices Named

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 3 Dec 84 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, Dec. 2 (UNI, PTI): Kehar Singh, the second man arrested in the Indira Gandhi assassination case, had taken Beant Singh, the slain assassin, to the Akal Takht in the Golden Temple and made him take an oath to kill Mrs Indira Gandhi. He had also made Beant Singh undergo the "amrit chakhna" ceremony, a Sikh purification rite, at a gurdwara in Ramakrishna Puram here.

Kehar Singh is one of the two relatives of Beant Singh named as accomplices by the surviving assassin, Satwant Singh. The police is looking for the second relative and a constable of the Delhi-Armed Police also named by Satwant Singh as a third accomplice.

Kehar Singh is an assistant in the Directorate-General of Supplies and Disposal and an uncle of Beant Singh.

Satwant Singh in his confession said: "I do not know if any person other than the three are involved. If there were any, only Beant Singh would have known. It was Beant Singh who did everything."

He said the assassination was a sequel to Operation Bluestar and they had tried to kill Mrs Gandhi since the first week of October.

Besides, intelligence sources said, Kehar Singh had disclosed that he had kept a golden "kara" (dangle) and a golden ring which Beant Singh had given him at the "amrit chakhna" ceremony.

The sources said the investigation had so far revealed "a deep-rooted conspiracy with wide-spread ramifications involving the accused late Beant Singh, Satwant Singh, Kehar Singh and others."

Kehar Singh was arrested on November 30 on clues provided by Satwant Singh and remanded to police custody till December 5 by the additional chief metropolitan magistrate, Mr S.L. Khanna, yesterday. Kehar Singh declined any legal assistance.

Satwant Singh, in his confession said he was surprised when the Indo-Tibetan Border Police officers shot him and Beant Singh because both of them had surrendered immediately after shooting Mrs Gandhi. He had become friendly with Beant Singh about a month before the assassination, he said. Beant Singh said, "I had never thought of committing the crime. But I was taken in by Beant Singh's persuasion. I had never seriously wanted to kill her."

Beant Singh had told him one day when they were together on duty that he planned to kill Mrs Gandhi, "you have to assist me." Thereafter, they met often he said.

They decided on the assassination three or four days before the crime. "We decided to arrange to be put on duty together to commit the crime on October 31." After this he and Beant Singh were on duty daily at the point (near the wicket gate between 1, Safdarjang Road and Akbar Road).

Satwant's counsel quits: Mr I.U. Khan, specially appointed as the defence counsel for Satwant Singh, today expressed his inability to continue with the case.

Mr Khan, who was appointed by the Delhi legal aid and advice board in a letter to the board's secretary, said he could not continue "in view of some unavoidable circumstances and pending cases before courts in which he is the counsel."

## Parallel Conspiracy Suspected

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 5 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by Pratap Chakravarty]

[Text] Was there a parallel conspiracy to assassinate Indira Gandhi? Was another plan drawn up to kill Mrs Gandhi with explosives instead of bullets? Is it true that some Delhi lawyers were in contact with Beant Singh, the dead assassin?

These questions have surfaced following the arrest of one more Delhi Police sub-inspector Balbir Singh whose name was given by Satwant Singh during interrogation. The outline of the parallel conspiracy has emerged in course of interrogation of five or six police personnel who have been arrested. Balbir has been put in police remand for two days.

The second conspiracy envisaged the planting of explosives at some public platform or rostrum to blow up Mrs Gandhi along with other leaders. The explosives were to be handed over to Beant Singh, a Delhi Police sub-inspector. But the group was in the process of collecting the explosives when the assassination was carried out. It appears Beant Singh was in the meantime contacted by some other group.

According to reliable sources the detailed plan for the second conspiracy was woven out

and the venue had also been chosen. Balbir Singh, who has just been arrested, is suspected to be a part of the second conspiracy and was to hand over the explosives to Beant, whom he reportedly knew. Two others, a father and son, also known to Beant Singh in Faridabad are wanted by the police.

The assassination of Mrs Gandhi on 31 October had created widespread confusion in the Sikh extremists settled abroad and the confusion was reported by the Intelligence Bureau on 23 November when an IB joint director reported that these extremists were mentally prepared for the assassination of Mrs Gandhi's son first and had no inkling of the plan that was carried out by Beant and Satwant.

Highly placed sources said that senior IPS officer Sumranjit Singh Mann, who was arrested from Gorkhpur, is being brought to Delhi for interrogation in this connection. Belonging to the 1967 IPS cadre of Punjab DIG Mann was in the CRPF before he went underground after Operation Bluestar.

## Charges Against Jasbir Singh

HK271404 Hong Kong AFP in English 1356 GMT 27 Dec 84

[Excerpt] New Delhi, Dec 27 (AFP)--Indian police have charged alleged Sikh terrorist Jasbir Singh, nephew of the late Sikh fundamentalist leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, with sedition, unlawful activity and provoking enmity between different communities, a foreign office spokesman said today.

Jasbir Singh, 22, was flown here early this morning after he was detained in Manila by Philippine immigration authorities and turned over to Indian security agents who escorted him on the flight back to India.

The spokesman said the Indian Government appreciated the "full cooperation" shown by the Philippine authorities.

(In Manila, Mr Singh's lawyer, Antonio Coronel, today said he had learned his client was detained at the request of the Indian Embassy because he was suspected of being involved in the October 31 Murder of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.)

If convicted, Mr Singh, who had earlier been denied entry by airport officials in London, Dubayy and Bangkok, is liable to life imprisonment under relevant sections of the Indian penal code and of the 1967 Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act.

The spokesman also described as "absurd and baseless" the remarks reportedly made by Mr Singh in Manila that his life would be in danger if he returned to India.

Mr Singh will be dealt under provisions of Indian law and will have recourse to all remedies available to Indian nationals, the spokesman added.

Meanwhile, the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA (PTI) agency reported that a special team probing Mrs Gandhi's slaying had taken Mr Singh into custody and was questioning him on the murder carried out by two Sikh members of the late premier's security guard.

Soon after landing here, Mr Singh was removed to a maximum security prison somewhere in Rajasthan, bordering Punjab state, where some other extremists are also held, PTI said, quoting reliable sources.

Earlier informed sources said Mr Singh had been taken to old Delhi's Moghul-built RED FORT, a high-walled structure reportedly housing one of the well-equipped interrogation centres of the federal intelligence department.

Mr Singh had reportedly left India in the first week of October along with Sikh pilgrims to the Nankana Sahib, the birthplace of Guru Nanak, founder of the Sikh religion, in Lahore, Pakistan.

He was reported to have given an interview to the Pakistan newspaper NAWA-E WAQT and held closed door meetings with Sikh extremist leader Ganga Singh Dhillon and others, PTI said.

Mr Dhillon, the self-proclaimed separatist leader of Khalistan or Sikh homeland, permanently resides in Britain.

In the interview he was reported to have said that "Mrs Gandhi's assassination was just a part of the plot and that they intended to kill more Indian VIP's," the agency added.

Indian intelligence officials were investigating how a known "extremist" like Jasbir Singh was permitted to go to Pakistan with pilgrims; according to PTI.

The foreign office spokesman said Mr Singh's Indian passport was impounded by the Indian Embassy in Manila which had issued him an emergency travel certificate.

CSO: 5650/0056

INDIA

REPORTAGE ON INDIAN RELATIONS WITH SRI LANKA

Walters in Delhi

Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 12.

The U.S. Ambassador-at-large, General Vernon Walters, who arrived in Delhi last night after intensive discussions in Colombo with the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, and his colleagues, today had follow-up talks with the Government of India on the Sri Lanka situation.

After a preliminary discussion with the Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. K. Rasgotra, he called on the Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, for a detailed discussion on what could be done to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil community within the framework of a united Sri Lanka.

The importance General Walters is attaching to the U.S. attempt to lend a helping hand in resolving this problem was evident from the fact that he was accompanied by the American Ambassador to India, Mr. Harry Barnes, and two senior diplomats of the U.S. embassy to assist him during the talks with Mr. Parthasarathy. But he did not come with any new proposal from Colombo, or even a private message from Mr. Jayewardene, other than the familiar Sri Lankan plea that India stop its alleged support to the Tamil militants.

The U.S. emissary rounded off his talks with a session with the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Dr. P. C. Alexander, who has also been closely associated with India's efforts at bringing about a peaceful political settlement of the Tamil problem. He is due to leave for Washington early tomorrow since there is nothing more he could do at this stage to pave the way for a fresh dialogue between the Tamil leaders and the Sri Lankan Government.

**Draft on self-government:** Meanwhile, the Sri Lankan President has circulated to leaders of various parties, including the Tamil United Liberation Front, before reconvening the all-party conference on Friday, a draft of the pro-

posed legislation professing to concede a larger measure of self-government to the northern and eastern regions. But he continues to insist that the district council remain the basic unit for devolution, with only some inter-district, and not provincial councils, to provide for greater coordination between them.

This offer, which is only a rehash of the old one, has been found to be totally unacceptable by the TULF and, despite his repeated promises to improve on the earlier formulations, Mr. Jayewardene has not so far come forward with any new formula that could provide at least a semblance of regional autonomy. The Government of India's efforts at persuading him to put more substance into this concept of limited devolution have not produced any positive result.

The Indian position was explained at length to General Walters by Mr. Parthasarathy, Dr. Alexander and Mr. Rasgotra to assure him that the Government was doing everything possible to bring about an early settlement. But there was nothing more that could be done to persuade Mr. Jayewardene and his colleagues to adopt a more reasonable and realistic attitude in the face of their intransigence.

The main Indian concern at present is how to bring about an end to the terrible carnage in northern Sri Lanka, where over 400 people have been killed, more than 1,000 youths arrested summarily and spirited away to secret interrogation centre, the entire civil population has been terrorised in the Jaffna peninsula and the entire coast along the Palk Straits declared a surveillance zone. Apart from giving a free hand to its armed forces to indulge in indiscriminate attacks on the Tamil population, the Sri Lankan Government has been distributing arms to Sinhala civilians to resort to violence.

The Government of India has asked Sri Lanka to recall its Deputy High Commissioner in Madras, Mr. S. Priyasena, for his objectionable activities here. A former press secretary to Mr. Jayewardene, he is due to leave at the end of this week for Colombo in compliance with the Indian decision.

Mr. Priyasena said in Madras he had been called to Colombo before December 15 but he was not relinquishing charge and it was not correct to say that he had been recalled from Madras).

PTI and UNI report:

**No military solution:** During his talks, General Walters agreed with India that there could be no military solution to the ethnic problem.

**'Errors' in Rajiv statement:** Meanwhile, the Sri Lankan Cabinet today held that there were "various errors of fact" in the statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, on the situation in the island republic.

## U.S. Assistance to Sri Lanka

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 14 Dec 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Reagan's Envoy"]

[Text]

General Vernon Walters, President Ronald Reagan's special envoy, during a stopover in Delhi, was reported as telling Mr G Parthasarthy that the US did not want a military solution of the ethnic strife in Sri Lanka. General Walters had reason to talk on this new tack, remembering that the State Department earlier, as a preliminary to the General's "trouble shooting" in Sri Lanka, had expressed in somewhat militant terms its support for President Jayewardene's government. As the death toll mounted in the Tamil-majority Sri Lankan districts, President Reagan considered it expedient to rush General Walters to the island — not, as the General himself has confessed, in a mediatory, peace-making role. What then was the mission entrusted to him? Iteration of US backing for a government in Colombo which is resorting to indiscriminate killings of innocent civilians? But this had been done afresh in Washington by the State Department. Though the General was coy about the errands he was running in Sri Lanka, the government newspaper, Colombo's *Daily News*, was more forthcoming and related his visit with the prospect of American military assistance being made available to Mr Jayewardene's government.

Indeed, US military assistance to President Jayewardene's government is by no means a new development. The UNP government has been abridging by stages Sri Lanka's nonalignment to make possible a closer military relationship with the West. What shape this liaison will take remains to be seen. What is being devised appears to be a military relationship in which US surrogates like Israel and Pakistan and Britain will have an increasing part to play to supplement the US military presence on and around the island. The ethnic strife and the incipient insurgency there have furnished President Reagan the excuse for his intrusion in the affairs of this island. Western support and encouragement is available to both sides — to some groups of Tamil terrorists and the Sinhala chauvinists. If Tamil terrorists have arms and money, Sinhala chauvinists have their race prejudice and paranoia about India inflamed by Washington's emissaries. Aided and abetted by the Jayewardene government they are executing a plan to change the demographic profile of Tamil majority areas.

Trincomalee is being emptied of Tamils and the harbour there is available to US servicemen seeking onshore rest and recreation. Given the failure to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Tamil demands, it is probably a matter of time before the UNP government is made to offer more explicit base facilities to the US military on Sri Lanka territory. India, in the midst of a general election, watches with mounting anxiety and helplessness the carnage in Sri Lanka. The situation in Sri Lanka cannot but produce an impact in this country. We shall probably never know whether or not the terrorist acts and the reprisals the Sri Lanka military is exacting have been timed to queer the pitch in the politics of this country. But, however these events may affect the elections, India cannot passively watch the deterioration in her neighbourhood. It is a crisis which may soon imperil this country's security. India desires a settlement of Tamil demands without jeopardy to Sri Lanka's national cohesion, territorial integrity and nonalignment. To this end, India ought to pursue a more active policy towards her neighbour.

#### Coast Guard Patrols

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 Dec 84 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 14--Following indiscriminate firing on Indian boats and Indian fishermen and the sinking of a trawler by the Sri Lankan forces, the Indian Coast Guard has been alerted.

The Coast Guard has also intensified its patrolling in the area in view of the belligerent posture of the Sri Lankan forces. The Indian Navy has also joined in routine patrolling to ensure the safety of Indian fishermen going to sea. The Coast Guard aircraft have been trying to locate missing boats.

Of late, the Sri Lankan Navy has been causing unwarranted impediments for Indian fishermen off Rameshwaram and Madapam. Indian fishermen have been shot at or captured well within Indian territorial waters. That is why the Coast Guard has been commissioned.

The mission of the Coast Guard is to protect life and property at sea and to counter what is called low grade threats involving a breach of sovereignty like smuggling, illicit fishing, unauthorized presence, illegal immigration and extradition off shore resources.

India has promulgated a 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone where two countries have a land border which touches the sea. The EEZ, as well as the continuous zone and territorial waters are shared by drawing a suitable and mutually agreed line to divide sea areas equitably. India has demarcated such zones with Sri Lanka (and Indonesia).

India today reiterated its concern over the escalation of violence in Sri Lanka, marked by large-scale arrests, harassment and killings by the security forces in the neighbouring northern region of the island republic.

Asked for his reaction to the statement issued by the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister in Colombo yesterday, repeating Sri Lanka's accusations against India, the spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs said that a most unfortunate development had been the fact that attacks against Indian fishermen had increased. "On our part, we had advised restraint but the Sri Lanka Navy has, of late, resorted to firing on innocent fishermen, one of whom was killed the other day."

Stating that the Government was studying the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister's statement, the spokesman expressed India's unhappiness over its tone and apparent tendentiousness. Most of the arguments advanced by the Foreign Minister were but a rehash of earlier statements.

He said it was to be regretted that totally extraneous issues had been brought into discussion by the Minister. The fact was that the escalation of violence had worried the Prime Minister and the Government, violence in all forms was repugnant to this country "and we have repeatedly expressed our strong opposition to it."

The Sri Lankan authorities and media, the spokesman added, had made wild charges against India. "It was a perversion of facts to suggest that Indian territory was being used for operations against Sri Lanka. We reject these charges," he said.

"We hope that the all-party conference meeting today (in Colombo) will be able to reach a satisfactory political settlement," the spokesman added.

Addressing an election meeting in Coimbatore, the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, said today that India could not ignore the Sri Lanka Tamil problem as it was affecting Indian nationals, adds UNI. He said it was high time the Sri Lankan Government realized that there could only be a political solution to the ethnic problem.

#### G. K. Reddy Report

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec 14.

The Government of India today took strong objection to the "tendentious and polemical" tone of the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Mr. A. C. S. Hameed's lengthy rejoinder to the statement of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, voicing his distress over the violence against the Tamil population on the island.

A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry rejected Sri Lanka's "wild charges" that India was encouraging and supporting the Sri Lanka Tamil militants. He said "it was a perversion of facts to suggest that Indian territory was being used for their operations".

He described the many allegations made in Mr. Hameed's statement as merely a "rehash" of the earlier charges levelled against India. Voicing India's regret that "totally extraneous matters had been brought into discussion", he added: "Violence is repugnant to us and we have repeatedly expressed our strong opposition to it".

#### No interference

The spokesman said: "We deplore all loss of life and it was because of this that the Prime Minister reiterated India's concern in his statement". This could not be misconstrued as interference in Sri Lanka's internal affairs, much less

as encouragement in any form to the Tamil militants.

He expressed India's unhappiness over the "absence of any meaningful progress in the political process towards reconciliation". He hoped the All-Party Conference, which was reconvened today, would be able to work out a satisfactory political settlement.

Despite India's repeated pleas for restraint, the spokesman pointed out, the Sri Lanka Navy had been resorting to unjustified firing on Indian fishing boats resulting in loss of life.

"This attempt to terrorise our fisherfolk", he said, "has synchronised with the renewed campaign in Sri Lanka against the civilian population in the neighbouring northern Jaffna region".

The spokesman maintained that the large-scale arrests, harassment and killing of innocent civilians by security forces, both of Sri Lanka Tamils and those of Indian origin, had naturally caused "deep concern among our people". It was against this background that the Prime Minister issued his statement two days back urging an end to this senseless violence followed by a political settlement of the Tamil problem.

### **Disappointment over draft**

There was considerable disappointment in Government circles in Delhi today over the draft proposals presented by the Sri Lanka President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, to the All-Party Conference, since what he offered fell far short of the Tamil community's expectations. The proposed legislation does not go far enough in providing the Northern and Eastern provinces with even a semblance, not to talk of substance, of local autonomy for giving the grouped district councils the necessary administrative or legislative powers within the framework of a united Sri Lankan State.

The U.S. special envoy, General Vernon Walters, who visited Sri Lanka early this week was told by Mr. Jayewardene that his new pro-

posals more or less conformed to the so-called Annexure-C spelling out the scope of devolution. But a close scrutiny of the draft legislation sent to the leaders of various parties, including the Tamil United Liberation Front, before reconvening the All-Party Conference, showed that it continued to harp on the district councils as basic units with some sort of self-government from the rural level built into it. It also provides for grouping them into larger units for some limited purposes.

### **Vague on devolution**

Mr. Jayewardene is reported to be still toying with the idea of an Upper Chamber, and inclusion of some representatives of the Northern and Eastern regions in his Cabinet, but without making them responsible to the two regional bodies from which they are to be chosen by him.

The draft legislation, running to several pages, is reported to be deliberately vague about the scope of the proposed devolution and equally unspecific about the precise role of the inter-district councils committees. The Indian disappointment with the very limited nature of this offer has already been made known to Sri Lanka.

Indian policy, however, is to keep on urging both the Sri Lanka Government and the leaders of the Tamil community to continue the political process despite Mr. Jayewardene's reluctance to come forward with any meaningful initiative. It continues to hope that, sooner or later, the problem will be resolved, if only because there is no alternative to a peaceful political settlement.

CSO: 4600/1231

IRAN

## ISLAMIC REGIME PLANS TO PURCHASE 30 VESSELS

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 25 Dec 84 p 9

[Text]

IRAN'S state shipping line is to embark on a programme to purchase 30 vessels within the next three years in a bid to increase capacity by a quarter.

Two-thirds of the new ships will be bulk carriers — boosting a section of the fleet which the Islamic Republic of Iran Shipping Line was not involved in three years ago.

The company's managing director Mr Mohamad Souri said in London recently that the Iranian government has allocated the first US\$50 million to the programme which would involve an estimated \$250 million.

The \$50 million will be available to the company within the next three

months as part of the country's current budget.

The line is pressing the government for more funds for the remainder of the project.

The fleet expansion is made in a bid to carry more of the country's trade — particularly imports — in its own ships.

Of the estimated 16 million tonnes of imports to Iran this year, Mr Souri said that about five million would be carried by the national flag and a further three million in tonnage chartered to the company.

The extra 30 ships will boost its proportion to a total of 10 million tonnes, thereby ensuring that Iran has less dependence in expensive chartered vessels.

When deciding on the 30

additions to the fleet, Mr Souri originally thought in terms of newbuildings, but recent events in the shipping world have changed his mind.

He has watched the rush of bulk carrier orders following the dramatic order by Sanko Steamship for 123 handy-sized vessels. He believes a lot of tonnage has been left with the shipyards.

So some, if not all, the 20 bulk carriers, the company will buy within the next two years resale vessels purchased from yards with laid-up vessels.

Any newbuildings could be in other shipping sectors as the company also hopes to increase its container fleet. The remaining

vessels will be general cargo ships.

Mr Souri is optimistic that government funds will be available to support the full programme. Newbuilding projects, he said, could be carried out under barter deals.

"The government has been kind to us so far" he observed, referring to its fleet of 91 ships amounting to 2.3 million tonnes — a growth from 450,000 tonnes in three years.

Imports into Iran would be drastically reduced this year compared with 1983 — down to 16 million from 24.5 million last year, Mr Souri said.

In percentage terms, the company's share in the shipment of imports has increased from 78 per cent in 1983 to 85 per cent this year. — Lloyd's List

CSO: 4600/214

PAKISTAN

CONCERN FOR INDIA UNDERMINES U.S. PROMISES OF AID

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 22 Dec 84 p 5

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Security and America"]

[Text] U.S. deputy secretary of state Mr Kenneth Dam has said that Pakistan is rightly concerned about its own safety following the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and that the arms aid given by the United States is justified, since it is the minimum that Pakistan needs to ensure its security. He said this at the end of the year, at his meeting with foreign reporters, in answer to a question on whether the United States would revise its policy in view of Pakistan's concern about the antagonistic attitude of India's new rulers following the death of Mrs Indira Gandhi. He did not answer the question directly but, referring to the Soviet threat to Pakistan, he said that there has been a great increase in Soviet air raids against Pakistan and that its borders had been shelled last summer. This, he said, happened at many places besides where there are Afghan encampments. These attacks, he continued, were not accidental but were part of a definite policy to frighten Pakistan. Hence, Mr Dam concluded, there is no question of a change in the policy of giving Pakistan minimum aid to defend itself.

When President Reagan was reelected in November, it was expected in Pakistan that the United States would now be able to fulfill its long-term treaty (made in 1981) for giving Pakistan economic aid and selling it war weapons, and the above-mentioned statement of the deputy secretary of state bears this out. The arms that we are to buy from the United States are essential for our defense, but we do not accept them as a great favor from it. Giving us help and selling us arms is a part of U.S. world strategy. This fact was clearly stated by the under secretary of state for political affairs, Mr Michael Armacost, a few days ago at a World Affairs Council meeting in Philadelphia. He said that in view of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Pakistan is playing a very significant role in defense of the Gulf. Referring to India, he said that the United States could understand India's concern at seeing a neighbor getting armaments, but it is necessary to arm Pakistan to defend itself against the Soviets, who have already occupied Afghanistan.

The dilemma with Pakistan is that it is not only beleaguered by the Soviets but it is also threatened by India, an ally of the Soviets. India frequently complains at great length about the small amount of arms that Pakistan buys from

the United States, while it not only manufactures the latest war weapons itself but is also buying long-range aircraft and submarines from Britain, France and West Germany. Its policy of crying about Pakistan buying a single plane helps it to buy ten times as much ammunition from all sides. India's hue and cry against help to Pakistan has led Mr Dam to say that helping Pakistan is necessary but that India's discomfort at the armament of a neighbor is also justified. This will encourage India in its protests against Pakistan's defense.

U.S. policy has always been openly pro-India. Despite India's defense of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, which is no secret to the United States, the latter continues its policy of trying to please India. In line with its world strategy, the United States wants to help Pakistan for the sake of defending the Gulf, but at the same time it does not want to displease India. Mr Armacost's statement proves this point. It is a fact that notwithstanding our great need for help, the United States will betray us if India ever gives it even a fleeting smile. The Soviets have caught India in a net of economic and military aid and have made it so strong in its anti-Pakistani attitude that it is next to impossible for India to break away from the Soviet supremacy.

Pakistan will certainly increase its power of self-defense after buying U.S. weapons, and Reagan's reelection leads us to hope that the U.S. policy of helping Pakistan will continue. But as courting India's favor has become a habit or necessity for the United States, we cannot depend entirely on U.S. aid. We should try to increase the number of our friends and allies in the world. At the same time, we have to take care of our national unity and put our own house in order. The defense and security of our country are entirely our own responsibility. American policy may change with changes in this region or elsewhere in the world, but our responsibility to protect our country will always have first priority for us.

12476

CSO: 4656/59

PAKISTAN

REPORT ON SIND ENTHUSIASM AT GHULAM MUSTAFA JATOI'S RELEASE

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 1 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, former chief minister of Sind, wanted to tour his home town of Jatoi on 10 November and preparations had been made on a grand scale to receive him. People having identical political views with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi--influential people and former members of the assembly--had planned a huge auto procession starting from the superhighway toll plaza right up to New Jatoi. If this procession had started as scheduled it would have been the biggest in the history of Sind. Despite restrictions on political activities under the martial law regulations, the way large-scale preparations were made for the procession it appeared that its organizers were hopeful that they would be allowed to carry out their plans. But the Sind ministry of interior issued a regulation restricting Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi from traveling by road. He was asked to travel by air to Nawabshah and thence to New Jatoi by road. The decision to prevent Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi from traveling by road was made at the last minute, when all the preparations had been finalized, his luggage tied up and he was ready to set out for New Jatoi. It is quite possible that during the ceremonies in connection with the anniversary of Sind's great poet Saint Abdul Lateef Bhatai at Bhit Shah, slogans of "free Sindhudesh" and "break-up Pakistan" raised by some youths may have been instrumental in imposing restrictions on Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's travel on the national highway. The program also included a visit by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi to the mausoleum of the saint. Publication of posters bearing Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's picture may also have led to restrictions on his travel by road. According to the government, permission to carry out such processions would be tantamount to giving formal permission to hold political activities. When Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi reached Nawabshah by air, his press secretary Ismail Baloch was with him. Local authorities had allowed Noor Ahmad Shah, former secretary of the National Assembly, to take 10 cars inside the airport area. Outside the airport, hundreds of cars had lined up. "Welcome Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi: and "Respected Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi" were written on the cars, but most of the people had badges showing Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's picture. One significant change was the absence of pictures belonging to any of the members of the Bhutto family, or any slogans or banners pertaining to them. When Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi came out of the airport people shouted slogans in his support, and he set out for New Jatoi in the form of a procession. He rode the jeep that was driven by his brother, Ghulam Mujtaba Jatoi. Participants in the procession shouted slogans of "long live Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi." The procession stopped at Panheel Chandio village and Qaisar Chandio village,

which are next to Sukrand. In Panheel Chandio, breakfast was arranged for the participants of the procession. G.M. Syeed's son and Jalal Shah, son of Imdad Mohammad Shah, former member of the National Assembly, were on hand to welcome the procession. People in the procession had come from various towns and villages and had lined the streets. A team of traffic police in a jeep at the head of the procession acted as leaders. The magistrate and members of the local authorities also accompanied the procession. When Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was the chief minister of Sind, a lead jeep always accompanied his procession. But a lead jeep accompanying the procession of a politician aligned against the government caused considerable astonishment. Most of those in the procession were shouting "long live Jatoi." Nowhere were there any banners, pictures or flags pertaining to the Bhutto family or the defunct People's Party. The sentiments of the people participating in the procession were high. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi would stop the jeep and approach the poor villagers to greet them. Also accompanying the procession was a pickup truck, and youths riding in it were shouting all kinds of slogans. Some were shouting special slogans of "long live Sind", but their voices were nothing more than whispers compared with the loud noise of beating drums. When the procession advanced toward Moro after passing Qazi Ahmad, pigeons and balloons were released. A dance of camels and horses was organized and people danced to the tunes of traditional Sindhi music. At Qazi Ahmad, Haji Ali Nawaz, member of the former assembly, joined the procession. At Moro, all the shops and bazaars were closed. The National highway echoed to an outpouring of melodies. Banners reading "Jatoi Will Be Remembered as Long as the Sun and the Moon Exist" were written on yellow and blue cloth. Hundreds of such banners were hoisted at every step. The refugees and the Punjabi settlers in Moro also participated in the procession and erected "welcome" arches. The procession that started from Nawabshah airport at 7:30 in the morning arrived at New Jatoi at 5 o'clock in the evening. New Jatoi is a small village, which was very tastefully decorated. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, addressing the people who participated in the procession gathered in tents erected in the open ground adjacent to his residence, said that the part played by the people of Sind in the struggle for democracy will always be remembered in history.

Common people also participated in Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's procession. The outburst of sincere love with which he was greeted in the various places in Nawabshah district is indicative of the new changes in rural areas. This procession was mainly a "Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi show" and it reflected the happenings of 1970 for the first time. The most important thing about this procession was that it did not reflect the political influence of the defunct People's Party [PPP] but the personal influence of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and his family. President of the defunct PPP was not consulted on the preparations for the procession. One day prior to the procession, when Osman Candy, former member of the provincial assembly, contacted Abdul Fatah Memon over the phone he was told that most probably Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi would be taken from Nawabshah by helicopter. Ignorance on the part of the district president of a party about the procession for his party's provincial chief is a matter of unusual significance.

This procession has made it amply clear that those who have influence over prominent personalities and the voters are all with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. There

was a time when the defunct PPP had become a liability for the landlords of Sind. But after the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] campaign the landlords became a liability for the party. It now remains to be seen how long the overseas leadership of the party will tolerate the ever-increasing influence of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi; because he has now become the most important political player in Sind politics. He has not only comprehended the political strength he wields, but he has also demonstrated it.

A consistent campaign has been opened against the bandits in Sind, and positive results have been achieved. In Larkhana, Dadu and Khairpur the law enforcement institutions achieved success with the cooperation of the people. If elections are to be held, law and order will have to be improved beforehand, and with this in view, plans are underway to deal with the lawlessness in Sind; but the basic problem is lack of confidence between the political elements and the government.

Confrontation between the political elements and the government has benefited elements loyal to forces having special interests and for whom Pakistan's security is of no significance. The government has been trying to renew its relationship with the political elements, respect their personal feelings and encourage them to support the government. But the political forces look upon the government's "non-political administration" as being opposed to their existence. In Sind the political elements, despite their desire to cooperate with the government, are not prepared to change their political allegiance because unconsciously they fear they might be deprived of their traditional electoral constituencies and lose the support of the people. The feudalistic political leadership, too, is not safe from the effects of disturbances and lawlessness in the rural areas. But finding themselves in a precarious situation, they are still loyal to their political allegiance in the hope that a powerful political government will be established. But if they decide to support the government as a show or protest, it will certainly be under the leadership of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. The feudal lords and political forces in Sind have given up hope in their fight against the government. Their frustration will lead them to a political settlement because these political forces believe that it is not only the government that will find itself engulfed in the quagmire created as a result of changing situation in Sind but that they too will ultimately become victims of these conditions. The political confrontation will be dangerous. The economic development and strong economy enjoyed by the Sindhi Muslims since the establishment of Pakistan is a powerful factor that will force the political elements in Sind to reach an agreement with the government in the face of threats of external dangers to the security of the country. This can only be possible when the government stops looking at the political elements as if they were forbidden plants not to be used in its administration and begins a direct political dialogue with them in the national interest; otherwise the reaction of the political forces against the government's nonpolitical structure could become violent.

9315

CSO: 4656/46

PAKISTAN

TRIBAL LEADERS IN BALUCHISTAN AT PEACE WITH GOVERNMENT

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 1 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] When Pakistan was established, there was a number of small and large princely states. Of the heads of such princely states, only one is alive today--the head of the former Lasbela, Jam Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan, who has also been the chief minister of Baluchistan, speaker of the provincial assembly and minister for prisons in West Pakistan. He is currently a member of the Federal Advisory Council. The former government announced that former heads of princely states will receive assigned concessions for life but that after their death their successors will no longer receive these concessions and stipends as their due. Jam Mir Ghulam Qadir is the only surviving head of a princely state. The former government's proclamation ending the "sardari system" does not formally recognize the sardars but the government can if it wants give concessions to sardars and other tribal elites. When the proclamation ending the "sardari system" was announced in Quetta, Khan of Qalat Mir Ahmad Yar Khan was the governor of Baluchistan, and in his capacity as the governor he was also present at the meeting at which this proclamation was announced. The late Khan of Qalat, affirming and supporting the announcement, out of modesty said that "he does not consider himself to be Khan but a servant of the people." It may be noted here that in the tribal system of Baluchistan, the Khan of Qalat's personality was considered the most respectable.

The current government does not consider any particular change to be necessary in the decision taken by the former government with respect to the heads of princely states and tribal sardars. However, for reasons of pomp and moral responsibility, the attitude of the current government toward tribal personalities has been friendly and sympathetic. The politicians set free after repealing the "Hyderabad tribunal" included two tribal sardars from Baluchistan. They were subsequently sent abroad by the government for medical treatment. But these two are living abroad under self-imposed exile. Nawab Khair Bakhsh Murree has been living for many years in Kabul and Sardar Ataullah Mengel in London. No statement has so far appeared in the press on behalf of Nawab Murree. But Sardar Mengel frequently has issued heart-rending statements. Despite all this, the leaders of the current government and their colleagues have never spoken against him or hurt his feelings. At the most they said that he should return and serve his country and people. Pakistan is his country, too, and he can return whenever he wants. The government also gave permission to two former governors, Nawab Akbar Bagti and Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, to go abroad for

medical treatment. When they were under treatment in Karachi General, Rahim Khan, former governor of Baluchistan, also paid them a visit to wish them a speedy recovery. Keeping in mind the tribal position and capacity of the sardars, it is a result of the sincerity and style demonstrated by the government that during the past 7 years there has been unprecedented law and order in Baluchistan. Tribal personalities, whether in favor or against the government, declare openly that the current government has neither disgraced them nor harassed them unlawfully in any way.

The present Khan of Qalat, Mir Daud Khan, during an interview with NAWA-I-WAQT, said that during the current administration, not a single shot has been fired in Baluchistan, whereas in the past every government took military action against the Baluchis. The Khan of Qalat is now thinking of taking an active part in politics. He says that if the people deem it necessary, he will form a group that will provide guidance to the people in the fields of politics and economics. He said that Pakistan can only survive on the basis of Islam. If we were to turn away from Islam, he said, then nationalism would spread throughout the country. Speaking of positive changes in development and intellectual fields in Baluchistan, the Khan of Qalat said that the government used to ask us what it could do for the development of this province. Now we ask the government what we can do for the development, stability and integrity of the country, because the country's integrity is above everything else. The Khan of Qalat, expressing his views on the political situation, said that there does not seem to be a single party that is equally popular in all four provinces. He said that one of the reasons for the deteriorating situation in the country is that Punjab, which is the largest province, has no strong political leadership that could claim to have the support of the people. The most important demand of the time is that the political leadership originate in the Punjab, and this is even more important from the standpoint of democracy. Comparing the four provinces to four brothers, he said Punjab, being the largest province, is like the eldest brother, and the younger brothers rely on the elder brother. We want to be treated on the basis of equality. To put it in his words, he said we want "parity not charity." Khan of Qalat Mir Daud Khan wants tribal disputes to be settled on the basis of understanding and for all leaders to serve the people more diligently. It may be noted here that Prince Mohiyuddin Baluch, younger brother of the Khan of Qalat, has been minister for communications in the federal cabinet for the last several years. It is believed that in the forthcoming elections, Prince Mohiyuddin will stand for the national assembly either from Qalat or Makran.

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PAKISTAN

INDIAN MUSLIM LEADER'S REMARKS ASSESSED, CRITICIZED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 11 Dec 84 p 6

Editorial: "Maulana Asad Madni and Pakistan"

Text Addressing a gathering at Jamia Medina in Lahore yesterday, the president of India's Jamiat-e Ulema and the son of the late Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni, Maulana Sayed Asad Madni, made certain controversial remarks, especially at a time when preparations are under way in Pakistan for a decisive referendum on 19 December. If Maulana's remarks are quietly tolerated and taken no notice of, it will establish proof of inattentiveness on the part of Pakistan and its people. In his pleasant speech, among other things, he also said, and in arrogant words, that the Muslims in India today are extremely powerful, and if (and this if is worth paying attention to) they are not guarded by the army and the police, they could change the map of India at any time. These words of his lead us to say only that we are truly pleased to hear them. In this very speech, however, Maulana, regarding Pakistan, every tauntingly observed that when the British became weak due to international circumstances, and the possibilities of Muslim superiority over the subcontinent became evident, the Muslims, for the sake of a smaller portion, relinquished all of British India and ignored those regions of India where the Muslims were in the minority. He also made the accusation that the people who founded Pakistan also thought that the Muslims in India were not worthy of attention.

No matter how lofty Maulana Asad Madni's knowledge is, the way he has utilized his knowledge and wisdom, under Indian designs and politics, in disgust for Pakistan is somewhat disagreeable. The impression that Maulana wishes to give is that only the Muslims of areas where they were a majority pressed a demand and support for Pakistan. But Maulana perhaps forgot that in the historic gathering on 23 March 1940 at Lahore, the gentlemen who delivered the most influential speeches in favor of Pakistan were all connected with the minority provinces. The Muslims of the minority provinces of the subcontinent were fully aware and realized that their provinces would not be included in Pakistan. They also knew very well that after the establishment of Pakistan, the Congress and the Hindu majority of India would never forgive their "crime" in the 1946 elections of voting with full enthusiasm in support of Pakistan and that they would be severely punished for that. Nevertheless, they offered this sacrifice merely because they felt that a few million Muslim brothers could at least become free from the adversity of Indian bigotry and breathe freedom in the environment of a free Islamic state and could conduct their lives according to

Islam. This sacrifice of theirs did produce a result, and thank God a free democratic Pakistan was founded, which today is also a cradle of peace. Indian Muslims even today are paying the price of having founded Pakistan, although the present Indian Muslim generation has no connection with the establishment of Pakistan.

As for the remark Maulana Madni made that if there were no military and police in India, the Muslims there can alter the shape of India at any time, it would not be improper to ask him whether any country can remain as it is without the army and the police; especially a country like India, which is insanely preparing to become a "minipower." Maulana has given us the happy news that the Muslims in India are leading respectable lives and are extremely powerful. Can Maulana enlighten us as to how much Muslim representation there is in the army and the police there? To what extent are Muslims represented in simply show-off government jobs? It's just one or two percent. Again, in the regions of India where Muslims ruled for centuries, such as Hyderabad Deccan, what is the helpless situation in which the Muslims there are victimized today? Is the miserable condition of the Muslims in Dehli, the capital, concealed from anyone? Maulana's remark that if Pakistan had not been established the number of Muslims in India would have been 300 million and they would have had the upper hand in all walks of life is also questionable. Perhaps Maulana Madni forgot, after the act of 1935, when in 1937 congressional governments were established in 7 of the 11 of British India's provinces, what the Muslims of those 7 provinces had to go through within a reign of just 2½ years. Perhaps Maulana Asad Madni has not looked at the Mirpur committee's report. Once again, can Maulana be proud to describe the manner in which Congress treated the Muslims in 1947?

As has been outlined above, although Maulana's speech has no connection with the referendum on 19 December, nevertheless by delivering a sermon against the establishment of Pakistan he has strengthened the referendum, since the referendum is also on the ideology of Pakistan as well. Surprisingly enough, Nawabzadah Nasrullah Khan, too, was present at this meeting. Maulana Saraj Deen Puri and Hafiz Mohammad Yusaf also addressed the meeting. However, on the issue of opposing the establishment of Pakistan, if Nawabzadah Sahib considered silence as the best policy, the other two scholars did not say even a single word about Maulana Madni's unnecessary intervention in Pakistani affairs. If they did say something, it has not been reported in the newspapers.

If Maulana believes that the Muslims would definitely have received a reward in India for Indian favoritism, he need not go too far. He should ponder the recent incident. What reward did the Sikhs receive for displaying extreme loyalty to the Hindus and the Congress, for driving the Muslim population toward Pakistan and uprooting and murdering them? The Hindus, in declaring the Sikhs as their soldiers and guardians, provoked them to kill and destroy the Muslims. The Sikhs served the Congress beyond their capabilities, but what is their situation in India today? Is there any need to comment on the way in which the innocent Muslims are being killed along with the Sikhs? Doesn't Maulana regard the recent disturbances of killing the Muslims in Dehli and Calcutta worthy of attention? Maulana Asad Madni is our guest, and we ask him most respectfully not to intervene in our affairs. Just as the late Maulana

Abul Kalaam Azad and Sayed Ataullah Shah Bukhari, etc. adopted silence by saying that since Pakistan came into existence the door for our opposition has closed. Our wish and prayer now is that Pakistan should remain alive and that its Muslims should achieve progress. Pakistan should be strong. The life and safety of the Indian Muslims lies in this. If Maulana Asad Madni cannot adopt the method of action of those respectable men, it would be appropriate for him to keep his mouth shut, at least in Pakistan!

9779

CSO: 4656/54

PAKISTAN

UNITY IN ISLAMIC WORLD TERMED 'MERE TALK'

Lahore NAWI-I-WAQT in Urdu 20 Dec 84 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the Yemen Arab Republic, stresses effective unity for the Islamic world, so that apart from frustrating enemy designs and meeting current challenges, a specific, planned line of action may be adopted for economic progress of underdeveloped Muslim countries. He said this while inaugurating the 15th meeting of foreign ministers of Islamic countries, taking place in the capital city Sana. At this meeting, 44 representatives from Islamic Conference countries are taking part.

Similar forceful appeals for unity in the Islamic world are voiced not only at every annual meeting of the Islamic foreign ministers but also at the Islamic summit conferences that take place every 3 to 4 years, and communiqués embodying pious hopes are generally issued unanimously. But the way to unity, friendship and mutual cooperation, which get so much emphasis at these gatherings, does not appear to be getting any smoother. The Islamic Conference was established in 1969, and its basic purpose was to strengthen Islamic unity without regard to differences among Arab and non-Arab countries. But even after 15 years this goal looks as remote as it did before the founding of the Islamic Conference. True, under the auspices of the Islamic Conference, several institutions, apart from the Islamic Development Bank, have been set up. These prepare projects for cooperation among Islamic countries in the fields of trade, industry, education and training, science and technology, etc. But if we look at the fundamental problems facing the Islamic world, such as Palestine, Afghanistan, etc., or if we examine the backwardness of most Islamic countries, then we do not find any concerted and positive action to solve these problems. That is why, at every annual meeting of the Islamic foreign ministers, we hear repetitions of more or less the same things that have been heard so often over the past 15 years.

Palestine and Kashmir are the oldest problems facing the Islamic world. To solve these problems, the United Nations has passed many resolutions. But instead of regarding Kashmir as an important problem of the Islamic world, it merely treated as an issue limited to Pakistan and India. Palestine is

regarded as a problem of the entire Islamic world, but because of the conspiracies of American and the Western nations, a tiny Israel remains a challenge to the 20- to 25-times larger Arab nation. Now Arab countries are trying to call an international conference to find a solution to this problem, but America is opposed to it. At a meeting with King Husayn in Amman, a U.S. deputy secretary of state rejected the idea and instead called on Jordan to join Egypt in direct negotiations with Israel.

The issue of Afghanistan is recent--only 5 years old. But in its seriousness it is no less important than Palestine. Besides the Islamic Conference, the United Nations and the nonaligned movement have been emphasizing the need for a political solution to this problem. But just as the Palestinian problem cannot be resolved because of American opposition, so, Russia stands in the way of a solution to the Afghanistan issue. In the course of 5 years, a third of the population of this unfortunate country has been forced to abandon their homes and take shelter in neighboring countries (Pakistan and Iran). Its countryside has been ruined and destroyed but the circle of Russian ruthless destruction is spreading ever wider. In a recent report, a Helsinki-based human rights group cited instances of Russian atrocities, and these have been confirmed in a report published in the New York TIMES. According to these reports, electric shocks are given to infants in the presence of their mothers, women are dishonored in the presence of their husbands and rural areas are subjected to such severe and continuous bombing that the population has been forced either to seek shelter in foreign countries or to move to big cities, which are beginning to look like armed camps under Russian occupation.

Palestine and Kashmir are victims of foreign atrocity and tyranny. But Iran and Iraq have been busy ruining each other for the last 4 years. The Islamic Conference has made many attempts to end this fratricidal war between two Islamic nations. In Sana, too, the Yemen Arab Republic head, in the course of his opening address to the Islamic foreign ministers, called on the Islamic world to take a decisive stand on the issue because the conflict is not only ruining two Islamic nations but Islamic world resources as well. But there is little hope that despite all the expressions of pious wishes any worthwhile progress can be made toward ending the war.

When we examine problems and issues facing the Islamic world from this perspective, one cannot detect any hopeful or encouraging sign. Stress is laid on the unity of the Islamic world. But when this unity is not found in the Islamic world, its absence, even within Islamic countries, becomes a cause of mental anguish. Islamic countries are not able to strengthen themselves. Nor are the attempts at mutual unity proving effective. If this situation continues and if the rulers and leaders of Islamic countries do not take any steps to forge unity, the process of their weakness and dependance will also continue. Conspiracies of enemies will flourish. Despite obvious advantages in terms of area, population and resources, they have been unable to meet the challenges. At their meetings, Islamic foreign ministers have been examining and discussing agendas of over 100 points, expressing pious wishes and raising loud voices, but the frustrating situation through which the Islamic world is passing remains unchanged.

PAKISTAN

PARTY POLITICS DEEMED ESSENTIAL TO DEMOCRACY

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 21 Dec 84 p 3

/Editorial: "You Have Won a Victory, Mr President, But Where Is the Political System?"

/Text/ The preliminary results of the referendum as declared by the election commission show an overwhelming majority for "yes." The number of "No's" is negligible. The final results will not be any different. The results of the referendum are not unexpected but certain things may cause a controversy in the future. First, why did so few voters turn up at the polling booths? Two reasons are likely to be given: People knew that the president would win even if they did not vote, and the weather was extremely cold. But we know that another cause of the poor turnout of voters was mismanagement. Nobody guided the voters. Numerous people who wanted to cast their votes did not know where the polling booths were. In previous elections, workers of the political parties helped the public. They went from door to door telling every voter his vote number and the polling station where he had to vote. This time the announcement for the referendum was made on 1 December and people were not given an directions about polling stations until the 17th and 18th (with the polling to take place on the 19th). We did, through these columns, stress the need for guidance for the voters 3 or 4 days before the polling. Some local councilors showed some interest in guiding the voters, but it was late and very few voters found their way to the polling booths. That was one reason for their poor turnout.

The president will soon talk to the nation about the results of the referedum and is expected to announce his future plans about the rest of the election that has to be completed by 23 March. Whatever conclusions the president and his helpers draw from the referendum, we know that the referendum has come to be a part of our special type of democracy. Now it has become essential to continue this method (referendum) on a wider scale. The next step should be the revival of party politics. Our people are not only acquainted with it but like to as well. Party politics has become a part of our national consciousness. If we do not get a party system even after the referendum of 19 December, we shall, as a nation, always remain without a political system. The rulers will have their day, but we will forever be deprived of the institutions that give stability to a national government. Every new ruler will bring his own pet system, and the nation will never have a stable government.

The Islamic system should be there and so should moral and ethical standards for the representatives. Islam has only given us general principles that, when followed, should certainly bring us prosperity. But in the modern days of democracy, people have to be given a sense of participation in the affairs of the country. For this reason, a system should be evolved that keeps in view the situation in the country, the political persuasions of the people and the demands of the times. Formulation of the rules of this "game" is in the hands of the president and he talked about nonparty elections to reporters after he had cast his vote at the polling station. But the referendum clearly points to the conclusion that in our particular situation the party system is indispensable. It cannot have a substitute. Now the question is, will the president allow party politics for the election to be completed by 23 March 1985, or will the Shoora, elected on nonparty basis, be allowed to decide. In any case, the referendum has shown us that the vacuum created by the ban on political parties cannot be filled by the bureaucratic machinery. That is why there was so little public interest at the polling stations after the people's enthusiasm at the president's public appearance. Hence, it is recommended that in the political system that is established after 23 March there be a guarantee for healthy party politics in addition to democracy and the Islamic system. The referendum has started (in a limited way, it is true) a democratic system that will gain strength and expand in the general election. It should be admitted that political activity can find its true course only through party politics.

One reason why democracy and party politics should be restored is that our neighbors are hostile to us. If we continue our political wrangling and neglect our national unity, they will miss no opportunity to destroy us. They will swallow us completely if we are not on our guard against them. It is time we started democracy in earnest, for that is the only way to prepare our nation to resist foreign opponents. We can say a lot, but suffice it to say that Pakistan was created by the democratic method and true democracy is a must in this country.

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PAKISTAN

PAPER PROPOSES ANOTHER REFERENDUM ON POLITICAL PARTIES

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 21 Dec 84 p 3

/Editorial: "Another Referendum for Political Parties"/

/Text/ When discussing the importance and necessity of political parties it is often regretted that we have a very large number of big and small political parties and an equally large number of self-styled political leaders. It is said that if elections had taken place regularly, only two or three parties (those that had the public's confidence and a nationwide appeal) would have been left. This end can now be achieved by holding a nationwide referendum about political parties. Only the parties that carry a set percentage of votes from every province should be allowed to take part in the general election. The political parties that cannot get the required number of votes will become defunct automatically. This is a simple democratic method and no democratic party or leader can find fault with it.

As every party, big or small, claims to be a popular party with programs to serve the people, it is for the people to decide which political parties have a right to exist.

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PAKISTAN

LEGAL ASPECTS OF REFERENDUM RATIONALE ANALYZED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 22 Dec 84 p 5

[Article by Prof Warris Mir: "The Referendum: Why on Policirs?"]

[Text] It is inexplicable why Gen Ziaul Haq, the most virtuous ruler in Pakistani history and the greatest defender of Islam, refused to make any change in the wording of the referendum question despite the continuous and pressing demands for doing so from all quarters. Even his staunchest adherents said in private that Islam and Pakistani ideology should not have been made targets for a possible "No." None of the groups or individuals allied with General Zia were satisfied with the terminology used in the question for the referendum, but he made not even a passing reference to the objections against the wording of the question. Those who have the greatest faith in the general's love for Islam have been asking why he did not listen even to his well-wishers when it came to changing the wording of the referendum question. We, too, with all our faith in his patriotism, have been trying to find an answer to this question. We have discussed this point with our lawyer friends and with some senior retired military men. Now we have begun to look at the question presented in the referendum from a new angle. We realize that the president had to work under some professional difficulties and limitations. We thought about his announcement of the elections and considered the political and military hurdles he would have to face afterwards, and the following points came to mind.

As commander-in-chief of the Pakistani Army, Gen Ziaul Haq took the reins of government in his hands because (according to him) there was a threat of civil war and the disintegration of the country. Operation Fairplay had become his duty in order to save the country from a holocaust. The High Court too gave the martial law government the status of a legitimate government on the grounds of it being the need of the time and on the promises of a transfer of power. The regime's position was that martial law would be lifted after assurance had been given of a strong government based on stable ideological foundations and a transfer (now a division) of power had been achieved. The search for the "assurance" continues, and the elections of the assemblies to be completed by 23 March 1985 are a part of that "search."

According to General Zia, the Supreme Court has given him the power to amend the constitution. If the president had not resorted to the referendum and had amended the constitution so as to increase the powers of the president and decrease those of the prime minister and had become president through the votes

of the Shoora and the senate, he could not, according to the ethical code of government or military service, remain chief of staff in the army. This question arose in the days of Ayub Khan, too, who was field marshal and as such could not take part in elections. (Field Marshal is a rank in the army, whereas martial law administrator is not; even Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was a martial law administrator.) Ayub Khan had to publish a notification about it. We could not find any guidance on this point in the Army Act, but according to the election rules, no government servant can take part in elections until 2 years have passed following his retirement or resignation. The constitution of 1973 tells us: Article 41 (2) for presidential elections, the candidate has got to be a member of the National Assembly. Article 63(1)(D), one who holds an office of profit in Pakistani services can run for the presidency. To explain this article, employment in the defense forces is included in the "offices of profit" (Authority PLD 1967 Lahore 227 Full Bench).

After reading this article, it became essential to study the Interim Constitution Order of 1981, and political and legal circles will be interested to know that the Interim Constitution Order has been exempted from these articles. The chief order in this connection is the Referendum Order, which is above all military laws, election rules, traditions and courts of justice. Even the name of the general has been given security in these words: "In the case of more votes for 'yes,' Gen Ziaul Haq will be considered president for another 5 years in the joint session of both houses of parliament." Law experts say that the words "will be considered" has taken the referendum out of the rules for presidential elections. Zia can say to his critics that the referendum was merely a part of the policies of his government. Moreover, as long as he is the chief martial law administrator, his policies cannot be challenged in any court of law.

After having won the referendum, it will be comparatively easy for the general to get his presidency endorsed by the assemblies. If he had allowed the election of the assemblies without the referendum, it is possible that some lobby might have grown strong enough to have prevented him from being elected. In that case he could not keep his post in the army. It is true that some people think that army laws are independent of the constitution, and as chief martial law administrator he could make changes in the military tradition with the support of other senior military officials. But he refrained from doing so since the army is the only institution in the country with its rules and regulations (to a great extent) intact. He thought it in the national interest not to tamper with it. Now he has made his position secure for another 5 years and is ready, after the referendum, to face the good or bad situation that may arise from the election of the assemblies. He could have had a referendum on his position as martial law administrator but he probably wanted to save the dignity and image of the army and solicited votes not for himself but for his policies of propagation of Islamic laws and protection of the Pakistani ideology. He can continue these policies now. If he had solicited votes for himself, it would have made him a political personality, which would have gone against all political and military regulations. Now the question arises as to the need for having a referendum on the continuation of his policies when everybody knew them and nobody had attacked them. Again, the opening words of the constitution carry the message of Islamization and Pakistani ideology. Implementing the constitution could have met all the requirements of Islam, the Pakistani ideology and democracy.

Wherefore the referendum? The answer is that the general is very farsighted. He knew that if he allowed regular elections to take place his amendments to the Constitution could be challenged in the parliament. Hence, he very prudently got the right to amend the constitution in order to protect Islamic laws and the Pakistani ideology. According to legal experts, the referendum won in the name of Islam and Pakistan gives greater power to the president to make amendments to the constitution. He gets the people's mandate to make basic amendments to the constitution without incurring the blame for abrogating it. At the same time, he can give his own interpretation to the words "Islamic democracy." He could even change the constitution from parliamentary or "presidential" to "Islamic." After that he could, with a clear conscience, rewrite the constitution according to Islam and give the Shoora the right to make laws in accordance with Islam.

Those who helped the president find these legal loopholes will next tell him that after "winning" the referendum his government no longer needs the security given it by the Supreme Court. Now the creation of a national security council, elections of assemblies and nomination of the prime minister has become so easy for him that he may do it or not at his own sweet will.

Those who saw the "political activity" of people being compelled to vote at the polling stations were heard to say in undertones: "So this is the answer to our prayers!"

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