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5 February 1985

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

IRAN SAID TO LOSE ITS MILITARY OPTION IN GULF WAR

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 81, 27 Oct 84 p 12-13

[Article: "Will Iranian Suicide in Sayf Sa'd Be Prelude to Iraqi Termination of War; Tehran Has Lost Its Five Options and Military Experts Believe It Is Playing Its Last Card Before Accepting Negotiations"]

[Text] Baghdad--Will the Sayf Sa'd battles in the central sector, which have shattered a calm that prevailed for 6 months, be a prelude to Iraq's military termination of the Iraq-Iran war and to forcing Iran to sit at the negotiation table?

This question has been raised by more than one observer since the start of the Iranian attacks on the Iraqi positions--attacks described as a small-scale operation intended to divert attention from a broader offensive that Iraq expects the Iranian forces to launch in the southern sector of the front in the direction of the city of al-Basrah.

In the latest military communique, Communique No 1622 issued by the Iraqi command 3 days after the battle, an Iraqi military spokesman said that the Iraqi forces destroyed four Iranian brigades and three Iranian regiments during the counterattack launched by units of the II Corps in the Sayf Sa'd area. Baghdad television showed a film in which President Saddam Husayn appeared at the II Corps command headquarters and told the pilots: "Strike the Iranian positions with force."

The Iranian offensive came at a time when 7 million Iraqi voters were casting their votes for the new National Assembly--parliament--and after Iranian propaganda campaigns intended, according to sources close to the Iranian government, to maintain a state of tension within the Iraqi forces with the aim of putting psychological pressure on them.

While the Iraqi command seems confident of absorbing and destroying the Iranian attacks, it believes that the offensive on the central front seems primarily to be a small-scale operation to divert attention from a bigger and more comprehensive offensive. The central sector offensive has also come in the wake of statements by Iraqi military and political officials in the past 2 weeks concerning a large-scale offensive by the Iranian forces in the southern sector of the front.

Maj Gen Mahir 'Abd-al-Rashid, the commander of the 3d Division and the officer in charge of protecting the southern sector of the front, said in a previous statement: "We don't care how many men they send against us. We are prepared to face 2 million men. We will not only wound or kill them but will annihilate them with all the weapons we possess so as to put an end to this war."

Foreign observers agree with the developments cited by the Iraqi major general. According to the diplomatic sources, the immensely superior Iraqi arsenal has been bolstered in the past few weeks with Soviet S-4 and S-55 air-to-surface missiles and long-range SS-12 surface-to-surface missiles.

The commanders of the Iraqi divisions can rely on their own initiative in the first hours of the battle.

It is concluded from the Iraqi communiques and statements that Iranian military "tactics" have become well known to the Iraqi command. The methods of deception adopted by smaller units of the Iranian army to infiltrate the central and northern sectors of the front have not encountered a weak front nor have they misled the Iraqi army or diverted its attention whose main objective is focused on defending al-Basrah. When the Iranian offensive was launched last March, the Iraqi army stood fast in its positions and inflicted on the attackers enormous losses of lives and equipment. Therefore, in view of the preparations taking place on the Iranian side for the start of the long-awaited offensive, western sources expect a devastating end to this offensive. The reason, according to these sources, is the strong defensive positions established by the Iraqis, in addition to their superior weapons and to the supremacy of their air defense. The picture looks different on the Iranian side. The quantity of reinforcements in weapons is small and weak and the soldiers generally are adolescents with poor training and deficient preparation. To put it briefly, according to the same sources, the Iranian forces will likely suffer enormous losses that could constitute an opportunity to establish a truce in the wake of the failure of Iran's five options against Iraq, embodied in the following:

1. The Iranian leadership's conviction that it will not be able to solve its military problems in the near future.
2. Exhaustion of all the military capabilities to achieve victory over Iraq --a victory on which the Iranian leadership had wagered to change the course of the war.
3. The truce of the past 6 months has not achieved its objectives of acquiring new supplies to fill the gap in the balance of forces with Iraq.
4. The war of attrition against the Iraqi front has not achieved its desired goals. Rather, the losses resulting from this war have affected Iran to a large degree, as evidenced by the reality of the tanker war and the Kharj Island blockade.
5. The practice of putting pressure on the Gulf Council member states has failed and the attempts to broaden the scope of the war have only led to increased Gulf support for Iraq and to developing a united Gulf position toward any Iranian steps against the area's countries.

However, the special signals on whether Iran is prepared to end the war and whether any other offensive on the Iraqi front will lead to the end of the war are contradicted by the reports issued by Iran itself. Nearly 5 months ago, it was reported that the Iranian Consultative Council may be given the power to manage the war, thus enabling the Iranian leadership to back down. But it has been proven to observers that in return for every signal indicating that Iran is prepared to end the war, there is another signal indicating that it is prepared to continue it. An examination of the latest statements by Hashimi Rafsanjani, the Consultative Council chairman, and Ali Khamenei, the Iranian president, make one realize that Iran seems to be interested in ending the war and in continuing it at the same time, since contradictory statements are issued on the same day.

This is why more than one observer does not believe that Tehran's rulers will, under the current circumstances, hasten to the negotiation table and that any statement asserting that the war will end this year is worthless unless signs surface to indicate that the military commanders have been able to convince Khomeyni that Iran cannot win the war, that the damage resulting from the war is unendurable or that there is an offer the Iranians cannot refuse. So far, none of these criteria can be observed.

An informed source who has closely observed the developments of the Iraq-Iran war said that a certain defeat will be inflicted on the Iranian forces if the Iranian command decides to launch the major offensive about which a lot has been said. But this does not mean that an end will be put to this war. It is true that an Iraqi victory will move the war from one phase to another but it will not end it.

The source added that there is little hope of any settlement of this war. The Iraq-Iran conflict may continue to be an open wound in the Gulf area, exactly like the open Arab-Israeli wound which has dominated Middle East events for more than 30 years. Moreover, informed political sources have raised a specific question: why the new Iranian offensive? From this sources' answers and analyses, it has become evident that Iran cannot withstand for long the Kharj blockade and the continued drop in oil exports because this means that it will not be long before Iran discovers that it can no longer carry on with the war.

The fact is that Iran has tried to overcome the weak point embodied in Kharj Island by threatening navigation in the Gulf. It is within this framework that the Iranian attacks on the Saudi and Kuwaiti tankers and the Iranian threats to close the Gulf in the face of all unless Iranian oil is allowed to flow from Kharj Island--it is within this framework that these attacks and threats have come. The Iranian attacks on the tankers of countries not involved in the war have a dual message. They are, first, a message addressed to the Gulf Cooperation Council member states within the framework of the threats which Iran has been constantly making against these countries. They are also a message addressed to Europe and Japan and containing a similar request. But this message, which carried within it the danger of broadening the war, has not achieved its intended objective. The fact is that it has led to an adverse reaction.

The Cooperation Council member states consider the attacks an aggression against them and a violation of their sovereignty and of international practices and treaties. They underline the difference between the Iraqi air attacks, which occur within an area of military operations, and the Iranian attacks, which have been aimed against tankers heading for ports far from the area of operations, not to mention these ports in countries that have not declared war on Iran and whose forces have not taken part in any military action against Iran since the outbreak of the war, even though they support Iraq's position.

The attacks against the Kuwaiti and Saudi tankers have led Iran to a state of diplomatic isolation. The Gulf Cooperation Council has abandoned its reserve to denounce the Iranian attacks and has enhanced the coordination between its member states, especially at the security level. Thus, it seems that Iran is compelled to carry on with its military suicide after the loss of its tanker war option and the option of internationalizing the war by broadening it.

The most significant meaning of the Kharj blockade is perhaps what the Iraqi authorities have announced through their prominent officials, namely, that Baghdad will not permit Iran to persist in a long-term war of attrition. Regardless of whether Tehran is wagering on the element of time or whether it is experiencing a crisis resulting from the inability of any of its officials to make the decision to end the war, Iraq has declared that it will not permit this attrition and will make it so costly to Iran that it will be forced to reconsider its calculations and its positions, especially vis-a-vis the issue of ending the war.

Military experts doubt that Iran will be able to make gains. Rather, they believe that the offensive will be accompanied by a "Kharj battle" and that Iran will incur enormous human losses and oil losses. The Iranian authorities will then face a real dilemma. They will not be able to continue the offensives nor to finance the war. This confirms what these experts have pointed out, namely, that Iran is facing a new phase that may be the most difficult since the war started more than 4 years ago and that with its current offensive [in Sayf Sa'd], Iran is playing its last card before regional and international realities force it to respond to the call for ending the war.

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL'S REGIONAL, ARAB ACHIEVEMENTS CITED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 252, 8-14 Dec 84 pp 12-13

[Article by Patrick Seale: "After the Fifth Summit in Kuwait, the Gulf Cooperation Council Is the Greatest Success Story on the Arab Political Scene"]

[Text] Since its establishment in 1981, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has been regarded as the great success story on the Arab political scene. In fact, the GCC is this luminous spot in this bleak atmosphere pervaded by disputes and divisions.

The reason is that the GCC has set for the Arabs an example to follow in the way collective action should be executed on the basis of mutual respect and judging things with logic and justice. The economic assimilation of the six GCC member states is now taking place calmly and consistently, having earlier set forth from this very basis. This is because a regional bloc with firm foundations is now being "sculptured," not to form a force rivaling Arab unity, but as a basic and important step taken toward the consolidation of this part of the Arab world and the strengthening of its foundations--which makes the oil wealth thus constitute a vital matter for the future of all the Arabs.

The GCC can say that it has made the following three major achievements:

1. Through diplomacy, and also through armed forces, the six member states have contained the Iraq-Iran war and prevented it from engulfing the whole area and destroying it.
2. The GCC states, particularly Saudi Arabia, have played a decisive role in keeping oil prices stable at a time when world demand for oil has diminished because of the glut from which the markets are now suffering. Such a thing has required political wisdom and strong nerves in the face of the strong pressure that has been put forth by the world markets.
3. The GCC member states have done their utmost in mediating the bitter conflicts that now endanger the Arab world, not just in the Gulf war, but also in the other conflicts that are raging among the Palestinian factions, as well as between Syria and Yasir 'Arafat, between Syria and Jordan, and between Morocco and Algeria--just for the sake of mentioning some of these conflicts,

not for the sake of enumerating them. Furthermore, it is very important for the Arabs that, on numerous occasions, the GCC states raise the voice of reason to achieve settlements and solutions.

The other aspects of the Gulf diplomacy, which has not been unveiled, has to do with the Arab-Western relations. To the benefit of the Arabs, the GCC states are extending bridges of close cooperation with Europe and trying to steer the United States away from anti-Arab policies.

Just as one example among many, strong voices in Washington have for the past 2 years adhered to the policy of "punishing" Syria for opposing U.S. policy in Lebanon. It is possible to disclose at this point that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its other allied Gulf states have been lobbying actively to restrain the United States from taking measures that it might regret in the future.

Therefore, it has transpired that the record of the GCC through its young age teems with activity. But, how about the future? What are the signs that can be noticed through the fifth GCC conference that convened around the end of November in Kuwait? Are the six states now proceeding in the direction of a federation?

I believe that the answer to these questions will be in the negative. This is because the Gulf summit conference was one of unity, not a summit conference for taking great strides forward. It was also the summit conference that publicly demarcated the actual boundaries--be they political or technical--that preclude the greater union.

It is important for us to mention at this point that Europe is learning the same lesson, that is, it is impossible to build a united Europe in just one day, or even in several decades, and that it is impossible for coordination to occur unless it emphasizes a feeling of identity and of the private interests of all the member states, instead of endangering these interests.

It was a strange coincidence that the sessions of the Gulf summit conference in Kuwait were held synchronously with those of the British-French summit conference convened in France. Just as is the case in the Gulf summit conference, there are some idealists in Europe who desire to move toward more integration for the purpose of seeing the states of the "old continent", which are engaged in conflicts among themselves, proceed on the path of union to form a new great power.

But what has Mrs Thatcher told Mitterand concerning this subject? I quote her verbatim as follows: "I do not believe that we will see the United European States on the pattern of the United States of America, because the whole history of Europe is completely different ...

"I do not believe that, to the community of European states, which must work collectively and freely and consolidate cooperation among themselves, unity constitutes a worthwhile target standing on its own.

"I believe that it behooves us to work for the essence, not to talk about the shadows."

Such words might serve as a slogan for the six GCC member states for the sake of achieving greater economic unity, for making the Gulf's voice audible in world affairs, and for making a joint endeavor to absorb new technologies without broaching the matter of the "United Gulf States", for whose discussion the time has not yet come.

The issue of defense figured as the most prominent item on the Gulf summit conference's agenda. This is because it was imperative for the six leaders to determine whether the rapid deployment force should be established or, consequently, to effectuate coordination among their various air and naval defenses.

Such issues are not purely technical matters, but they also involve difficult political options. The reason is that an effective defensive coordination, as is now occurring in NATO, signifies conceding some territorial sovereignty to the supreme command, or, conceding to the joint command the making of some decisions which the individual governments would like to keep in their own hands.

Therefore, it is not at all surprising that the Gulf summit conference has been unable to cover a long distance on the path of defense integration, although they have, for instance, approved the matter of joint maneuvers and agreed to adhere to the discussions of the officers of the general staffs, and to improve the means of joint communications and intelligence, in addition to the principle of consultations in connection with arms purchases. However, they did not, for instance, endorse the decisions on joint defense in times of crises, because each one of these governments desires to make its own decision on the best means for answering any external danger.

In Europe, the 10 members of the European Community agree, in one way or another, that their common and potential enemy is the Soviet Union, with the exception, naturally, of Greece and Turkey, each of which views the other with great suspicion.

But when it comes to the GCC, the six members have not reached any agreement with regard to the enemy.

For instance, so far as the Sultanate of Oman is concerned, the enemy is the Soviet presence in Aden. This is because so long as the Russians have access to the naval and air bases in the PDRY, the Sultanate of Oman will continue to feel the need for striking a balance through welcoming the U.S. and British presence in its territory. Contrary to this state of affairs, Kuwait, which lives on the edge of the Iraq-Iran war, has placed its confidence in the nonaligned states. Kuwait has its diplomatic relations with both the United States and the Soviet Union, although it prefers to distance the military presence of these two superpowers from the Gulf area. The reason is that, in this era of missiles, the area of Kuwait is so small that it is absolutely impossible to defend it. Therefore, instead of risking coming under attack by way of flexing its muscles, Kuwait tries to rely on its diplomatic skill to insure the protection it needs. Kuwait also depends on its many friendships throughout the world and on the regional balance of power.

Kuwait fully realizes that none of the three regional powers around it will not permit it to fall completely under the influence of any one of the other two states.

When it comes to Saudi Arabia, it is the largest of all the Gulf states. This is because it has a large area and immense natural resources. Therefore, Saudi Arabia's concept or view of the world and of the area differs completely from the view held by the Sultanate of Oman, by Kuwait, let alone mentioning the Gulf states, such as Qatar, Bahrain and the UAE. Saudi Arabia alone among the rest of the GCC states is building its armed forces in such a way that they constitute not only a national force, they will form a force to reckon with on the regional level, too. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia's air force has also proved its power in the Gulf area. The early warning system which Saudi Arabia is now setting up to protect the whole of the Arabian peninsula is the strongest and largest in the area. The reason is that the five "military cities" located in various parts of the kingdom insure a large scale defensive capability at all times.

Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia is implementing an ambitious plan to transform itself into a big state in the domain of industrial production. This is because from industrial complexes such as Yanbu' and Jubayl have emerged from among the sand dunes. Furthermore, some 17 large plants which use the basic sources of oil and which depend on the most modern achievements of modern technology will soon go into production.

In fact, the position of Saudi Arabia in connection with the GCC can be compared to the position of the United States in relation to the western alliance. This is because Saudi Arabia's mission is to lead, and it wields sufficient power to do this, and all agree on this point. However, this state of affairs does not prevent the other small states from trying to retain their free decision making.

Just as France and Britain sometimes resist U.S. policy in Europe, the same is done by the Sultanate of Oman, Kuwait and the other Gulf states which sometimes differ with the other states over Arab and Gulf affairs--and such a dialogue is the quintessence of politics.

In Europe, the European community is now about 20 years old, but its members are still in the throes of differences over issues such as agriculture in general, the common budget, and the relationship with Washington, and these issues have all become a substance appropriate for daily comment. We here in Europe have grown accustomed to such differences and the clash of interests, because we will be greatly astonished if, one day, full harmony prevails among the European countries--and it will be difficult for us to believe that such harmony prevails.

However, in contrast, the GCC is still young, it has not yet been in existence for 4 years, and it is still finding its way in the world. Perhaps this is the reason which induces the GCC to meet at sessions behind closed doors, contrary

to what is now taking place in Europe. Naturally, the GCC member states dedicate their attention to showing their achievements, not their differences, to the world.

In any case, the GCC fifth conference drew one step nearer in the direction of maturity when it was able to admit--while being confident of its successes and of the weight that it carries in the world--that there are fundamental and historical obstacles, as is now happening in Europe, that presently hamper the process of full political integration.

Therefore, it is completely preferable, as Mrs Thatcher has said, to work for the quintessence of cooperation, instead of talking about the shadows of unity.

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB MARKET FOR BRAZILIAN ARMS INCREASES

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 245, 20-26 Oct 84 pp 20-22

[Article by Muhammad 'Ali Qasim: "Prince Sultan's Visit Timely. Brazil Most Important Arm Supplier to 25 Countries"]

[Excerpts] Up to a few years ago, Brazil had not been one of the industrial countries that had to be reckoned with in the world, particularly in the area of military industrialization, not to mention its ability to export military products abroad. On the contrary, this largest of Latin American countries was always considered as a geographical and population giant, and a political and industrial dwarf, lacking any real capability to play an international role commensurate with the measure of its latent strategic capacities. In fact, the former situation of the Brazilian Armed Forces had reflected an extremely faithful picture of the country, for those huge forces were openly lacking in the simplest requirements for modern equipment and outfitting. And those forces had not only been almost completely dependent on foreign countries to fulfil their arming requirements, but their outfitting had been laughably simple and outdated, since the greater part of the equipment in their possession had been an assortment, limited in number and effectiveness, of American-made arms and equipment, most of them being the legacy of World War II.

Prince Sultan's Visit: A Dedication to Arab-Brazilian Cooperation

If, a few days ago, the visit of Prince Sultan, second deputy prime minister and minister of defense and aviation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, to Brazil had taken place in order to affirm the nature of the excellent bilateral relations which have traditionally come to link Brazil and the Arab world in various political, economic and commercial areas, then this visit has also been characterized by its outstanding importance on the military level, and particularly, the armaments level, especially in the light of information from international sources about the possibility of the Saudi and Brazilian sides arriving at important agreements during the visit in regard to raising and strengthening the level of military cooperation between them. It is perhaps this aspect in particular which recalls to mind the necessity of consolidating the nature of stable relations which have come to characterize Brazil's position in the Arab world on this basis.

It has now become established that Brazil is currently one of the most important sources for supplying the Arab states with their defense needs in various areas. The beginning of this Brazilian role goes back to the end of the seventies, but its importance has grown perceptibly in the past 3 or 4 years, in which the sale traffic of Brazilian-made arms and equipment to Arab countries has witnessed an acceleration whose dimensions and repercussions on the totality of Arab-Brazilian relations are impossible to ignore. It suffices to mention the vital role which Brazil's support for Iraq in its ongoing war with Iran has played in this regard. This support was rendered in Brasilia's agreement, practically without any reservations, to supply the Iraqi forces with their requirements in weaponry and equipment. All announcements by Iraqi officials have been unanimous in lauding the effectiveness which those weapons have repeatedly shown when used operationally in the field of battle.

Selling Weapons, Then Producing Them

Perhaps what is most outstanding and worth mentioning in this regard is the qualitative jump which Arab-Brazilian cooperative military relations have achieved only in the past few months, as represented in the shift of those relations from a level of merely buying and selling weapons to one of greater vitality, including cooperation in the joint development and manufacturing of weapons. This was achieved when the Brazilian and Egyptian government recently agreed that the Egyptian aircraft factories at Hilwan should undertake the local production under official licence of the new Brazilian tactical training and support aircraft, known as the T-27 Tucano. According to this agreement, Egypt will attempt to produce throughout the next 5 years nearly 120 such aircraft, in addition to 20 aircraft which will be received ready-made from Brazil. These aircraft will not only be for the Egyptian air force account, but will also include a number of aircraft which will be produced for the Iraqi air force account which intends to designate them in the future as the main training and support aircraft in its ranks. The Egyptian-Brazilian agreement also provides for an increase in the number of aircraft produced in Egypt depending on the demand for them, be it from the Egyptian air force account or from Arab countries intending to acquire these aircraft in the future.

At the present time the arming and manufacturing cooperative projects between Brazil and the Arabs are not limited to the Tucano aircraft production program. There are reports, current in western defense sources for some time, but unconfirmed so far, to the effect that in its turn, Libya has reached an important agreement with Brazil specifying that the latter would develop and produce a new type of principal combat tank answering the requirements of the Brazilian and equally, the Libyan forces, in addition to the possibility of exporting it to all the Arab countries that might show an interest in purchasing it. About 2 years ago Brazilian factories actually began work on developing the new tank, which was named Ozoryo, and which is expected to be on proficiency and operational levels equal to the most modern combat tanks in operation in the world today, as far as fire power, armor and maneuverability are concerned.

Brazilian Weapons in the Arab Region

These recent developments in the area of Brazilian-Arab military cooperation have added a new dimension to the Brazilian arms export traffic to the Arab region, a traffic that has greatly gained in thrust during the past few years. According to western defense sources, the Brazilian weapons which were in service during the current year 1984 in the ranks of the forces of seven Arab states are:

Iraq: Data indicate that its forces are currently employing approximately 500 Casavel combat armored vehicles, 200 Jararaca armored combat and reconnaissance vehicles and 400 Urutu armored personnel carriers, in addition to various weapons and munitions, including 300 mm caliber SS-60 (Astros) and 108 mm caliber FGT-108 rocket launchers.

Libya: It has acquired 400 armored Cascavels and 200 Urutu armored troop carriers in addition to 25 training, transport and communication Xingu aircraft, in accordance with a deal concluded in 1983.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: According to western sources it currently employs approximately 200 armored Cascavels.

The United Arab Emirates: Some years ago, they acquired 50 armored Cascavels.

Qatar: It employs 20 armored Cascavels.

Sudan: Approximately 2 years ago, its air force had purchased six Brazilian Bandeirante transport aircraft.

Egypt: It has recently started to receive the first T-27 Tucano training aircraft at the same time that Egyptian factories have begun to prepare for the initiation of local production for these aircraft. Current Egyptian plans provide for the production of 120 aircraft of this type, including 80 aircraft for the Iraqi air force account. The first Egyptian Tucano is scheduled for its maiden flight in the 1985-1986 period, with Egypt continuing with its production up to the beginning of the nineties at least.

In conclusion, it remains to point out that in most of the instances referred to above, the numbers and quantities mentioned comprise no more than a small part of the sum total of Brazilian weapons which the above mentioned Arab states actually intend to acquire, for Brazil currently remains in possession of ongoing agreements with most of these countries to supply them with more arms and equipment. This especially applies to Iraq, Libya and Saudi Arabia, all of which intend to acquire additional quantities of Brazilian-made armoured vehicles, troop carriers, artillery and missile launchers. This naturally means that if Brazilian-Arab military cooperation relations are heading anywhere, then they are undoubtedly heading towards an increase in their development and firmness in the future.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

DOCUMENT SETS OUT REASONS FOR SYRIAN HOSTILITY TOWARD JORDAN

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 346, 29 Oct 84 p 18

[Article by Yusuf al-Rimawi: "Causes of Syrian Assault on Jordan"]

[Text] Amman--The issue of restored political relations between Jordan and Egypt still dominates the development of events in the Jordanian arena and the circles concerned are still preoccupied with observing the various Arab and international reactions that have accompanied this step.

Of these reactions, it seems that the Syrian reaction, which has been characterized by a sharp rejection of the Jordanian step and even by the instigation of the boycott of Jordan and by accusations that Jordan is joining the Camp David current--it seems that this reaction is still attracting major attention in Jordanian political circles.

Even though the declared official Jordanian position toward what has emanated from Damascus in this regard has not gone beyond defense and the denial of charges, there is a feeling among higher Jordanian circles that Damascus is intentionally escalating the campaign against Jordan for purely Syrian reasons that have nothing to do with the Arab situation or with the schemes of U.S. and Zionist circles. AL-DUSTUR has obtained an important document exposing one aspect of the undeclared Jordanian position toward the Syrian escalation. This analytical document has been distributed within a very narrow circle among the higher authorities within the framework of studying future options and the possibilities of developments in Damascus-Amman relations. The document states that the Jordanian rapprochement with Egypt has revived the Arab world's political movement, breaking the freeze that Syria has exploited in order to monopolize all the possible political cards in its interest, since before the resumption of Jordanian-Egyptian relations, Syria was able to emerge as the sole active force in the Arab area that was trying to achieve objectives which are still not adequately clear to Jordan.

The document notes that the contradictions and ambiguities of the Syrian objectives emanate from the constant vacillations in the political positions and actions issuing from Damascus. The document also notes Syria's conduct in the Lebanese arena where Damascus has pledged not to permit the Palestinian forces to have a presence in Lebanon or to infiltrate behind Israeli lines in the south.

The document further says that Syria has been eager to exaggerate its role in abolishing the 17 May accord between Lebanon and the Zionist enemy despite the presence of numerous pieces of evidence indicating that Damascus is working to pave the way for a new agreement with Washington and Tel Aviv--an agreement which, if it sees the light, will be more dangerous than the abolished accord.

The document says that there are constant behind-the-scenes contacts and discussions between the United States and Syria and that the current situation and the latest indirect agreement between Syria and Israel, which was reached through Washington and a number of rightist Lebanese parties, will lead to a more serious situation than the conditions imposed by the 17 May accord.

The document adds that through its influence in the Lebanese arena, Syria seeks to monopolize the movement in the direction of the United States to achieve its undeclared objectives which are still characterized by a great degree of ambiguity. The document asserts that it is impossible to characterize the current Syrian policy as leftist or pro-Soviet because it has been proven that Syria shifts its loyalties according to its interests. Moreover, Soviet-Syrian relations, especially since the emergence of the Syrian role in creating and deepening the current rift in the Palestinian arena, are going through a period of tepidity and retreat.

The document rejects strongly Damascus' allegation that the resumption of relations between Cairo and Amman means the creation of a new axis that includes Jordan and Egypt, and perhaps Iraq and the PLO, and asserts that the resumption of relations and the bolstering of ties with Egypt means the creation of a unified Arab strategy to confront Israeli challenges.

The document refutes the allegation that the Jordanian-Egyptian rapprochement seeks to pave the way for a new peaceful settlement in the Middle East and asserts that the Jordanian step has rearranged the Arab cards or has put the affairs of the Arab house in order anew to achieve the interests of the entire Arab nation. The document says that Jordan is committed optimally to the convocation of an international peace conference and that Jordan and the PLO are in agreement on the urgent need to hold such a conference with the participation of the Soviet Union, the United States and all the parties concerned, without discussing the details of the future Jordanian-Palestinian relations because Jordan and the PLO are still discussing the means to liberate the occupied Arab territories and have not dealt with the phase following this liberation.

Finally, the document asserts that the voices rising in the United States and Israel and demanding that Syria be viewed as the only side in the area to deal with in order to achieve a peaceful settlement expose the true nature of the expected Syrian role which Damascus is trying to conceal behind various masks. It seems that escalating the campaign against the Jordanian-Egyptian rapprochement is one of these masks.

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

'PRISONERS WAR' INTENSIFIES IN GULF CONFLICT

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 82, 3 Nov 84 p 23

[Article by Husayn Karim: "Because Military Decision Is Impossible, Tehran Opens Second Front of 'Prisoners War'"]

[Text] London--In an amazing development that has shocked most political circles, Iran proceeded on the 25th of last month to kill or wound 10 Iraqi prisoners held in one of Iran's detention camps.

Three Swiss citizens have been quoted as stating before the International Red Cross Committee that they saw Iranian guards firing indiscriminately on the Iraqi prisoners in Korkan camp, 800 km from the Soviet border.

The Iranian act, which is in violation of the Geneva treaty on prisoners of war, has come in the wake of the failure of the latest Iranian offensive in the Sayf Sa'd area in the central sector of the Iraqi border and of the subsequent eruption of conflicts within the Iranian leadership emanating from this failure.

The explanations given for this incident flow into the confusion from which the Iranian government is suffering--a government whose reactions exceed the most pessimistic reports concerning the irrationality of Iranian behavior in the political and military spheres.

But Iran's murder of the Iraqi prisoners cannot be included in the category of unpremeditated action, as Tehran has tried to say in the context of justifying the incident by saying that it was a "bloody" brawl among the Iraqi prisoners themselves.

A study of the escalating reactions throughout the past 4 years of the war reveals that the Iranian leadership has repeatedly tried to drag Iraq into marginal battles with the aim of perplexing the Iraqi leadership and of obstructing its movement in the international arena to win over the greatest support for Iraq's positions toward the continuing war.

The political circles note that Iran tried in the past to "fabricate" the issue of chemical weapons that have been banned internationally by accusing Iraq of using them. When world public opinion did not take the Iranian accusation seriously, Tehran rushed into the tanker war, which it lost before it even started.

The epitome of the Iranian "diversion" has been embodied in expanding the scope of the war in the direction of the Gulf countries. Initially, Tehran imagined that heating up the situation in the Gulf would be likely to generate Gulf pressures on Baghdad to force it to reconsider its calculations and to give Iran an opportunity to take a breather.

With the loss of the Iranian wager on torpedoing the situation between the Co-operation Council member states and Baghdad, more than one circle observing the Iranian tendencies had to expect Tehran's resort to a new approach in its reactions that have become like an open book.

It is worth noting here that the murder of the Iraqi prisoners was preceded by several official Iraqi statements on the mistreatment that Iraqi army prisoners receive in the hands of the Iranians. It was not surprising that Iran would counter the Iraqi charge with a similar charge at a time when the passengers of an Iranian airliner hijacked to Iraq were lauding Iraqi hospitality and a time when the observers had not forgotten that Iraq offered to return Iranian children captured as war prisoners to their families whereas Iran rejected such a step.

Moreover, Western sources find it likely that Iran's objective behind killing the Iraqi prisoners is to push Baghdad to a similar reaction, as has happened in the case of the tanker war. Iran's purpose here is dual. It is, on the one hand, trying to open another gap within the framework of its past and present attempts to create more than one Deversoir [gap] in the Iraqi front so as to divert the Iraqi leadership's attention to a side battle by which Iran seeks to gain time and to complete preparations for the Iranian offensive about which a lot has been said. On the other hand, Iran is trying to impose on Iraq another war called the "prisoners war"--a war one of whose main consequences would be to deface the image of the Iraqi leadership in the Western countries which support Iraq's position or sympathize with Iraq's readiness for peace.

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB WORLD'S ALLIANCES, DIVISIONS SURVEYED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 250, 24-30 Nov 84 pp 8-9

[Article by 'Amad-al-Din Adib: "Three Prospective Arab Fronts for an Arab-Arab War"]

[Text] Where are the Arabs going? Will the worsening events push them to a stage of converting from direct or indirect propaganda wars to military confrontations? AL-MAJALLAH has followed the movement of recent alliances and divisions in the Arab world and has acquired information from Arab sources which rings the danger bell and turns on the dark red, blood-tinted light. Who will fight whom? Why? To achieve what objectives? This is what the following distressing report contains.

When you sit with 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Rifa'i, the former Jordanian premier, you hold a dialogue with a person with well over a third of a century of political experience and mastery of the Arab area's affairs.

"I have not seen in my life circumstances worse than those in which our Arab nation lives. What saddens any one of us even more is the fact that the cause, the tool, and the executor of the present contradictions in the area comes from the area itself."

You ask him: Will matters become worse than what they now are? He falls silent and calm engulfs the place. He then says: "Regrettably, I believe that they will deteriorate further."

You find this "feeling", which Al-Rifa'i, has circulating among numerous foreign embassies in several key Arab capitals. A western diplomat in Washington is quoted as having said that he has seen a set of reports sent in the course of last week by his country's diplomatic missions in the area. And these reports can be summed up as follows:

1. That a number of Arab leaders are genuinely pessimistic over the possibility of reaching minimum agreement on the healing of Arab rifts.

2. That with the exception of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), all the Arab axes and blocs have not made any noticeable progress among themselves in political, economic, security and military affairs, and that the Gulf summit conference which will convene in Kuwait is the sole Arab date on which agreement has been reached, and which has not been deferred, in the recent period.

3. That there are strong Arab fears that the Palestine National Council (PNC), which will convene in Amman, will be the last PNC to be held prior to the "legalization and codification of the historical political schism" within the PLO in such a way that there will be two organizations, two PNC's, two policies and two leaderships.

4. That the expected Palestinian rift is an expression of the current polarization in the Arab world and of the Arab states' reaching the point of inability to freeze the main contradictions existing among them and to achieve specific points of agreement on the method of Arab collective political moves.

5. That the American sources working in several Arab states hold the view that the features of the coming phase will be shaped in reliance on the following points:

- a. New alliances
- b. New divisions
- c. Border tensions and Arab mutual violent operations

Whether this report is fabricated and has been deliberately leaked, or whether it is true, the bases on which it is built are backed by evidence.

The reason is that the Arab area is presently divided into axes and into contradicting blocs. Meanwhile, disputes in the area have reached phases of intense tension.

The information available to AL-MAJALLAH emphasizes that, just for the sake of giving an example, and not for the sake of enumerating, the intelligence services of eight Arab states devote 75 percent of their financial resources and human efforts to observing and following the activities of Arab regimes and agencies, and that these states top the list of hostile activity.

The GCC states serve as a model of the states that effectuate coordination among themselves in the security domain in a positive and effective manner to face any coming foreign designs.

At the same time, high level Arab political sources expect the coming few months to witness the beginnings of strong tension in the relations existing among several Arab states.

The two Moroccan-Algerian and Sudanese-Egyptian-Libyan fronts are expected to be the Arab fronts with the greatest potential for the coming tension.

This is because Morocco's withdrawal from the OAU and the statements of Mohamed Rida Guedira, the Moroccan monarch's adviser, affirm that the Algerian-Ethiopian coordination at the Addis Ababa OAU summit conference on the Polisario issue is none other than an "Algerian dagger driven in the heart of the prospects of pacification in the North African area."

A followup of the armament trends of both Morocco and Algeria in the past few months confirms that each one of them is hammering out plans for the possibilities of a confrontation with the other side.

Well-informed sources emphasize that the moves that will take place among Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia, Libya and France within the coming weeks will project the image of the way in which things will develop in the relationship between the two countries.

It seems that there is Algerian dissatisfaction with the French role in the area, while there is Moroccan resentment of the Algerian-U.S. rapprochement.

Furthermore, a visit by King Hassan to Washington in the near future is expected to lead to the step which Morocco will take in answer to the Algerian backing of the Polisario Saharan "Republic."

The information available up to this time on what has been achieved in the Moroccan-Libyan union cannot contribute to reassuring the Moroccan monarch that Libya will stand on his side, if the form of the Moroccan-Algerian military dispute assumes a military dimension.

However, the covert intelligence war going on between Egypt and Sudan on the one side, and Libya on the other, warns of an escalation among these states.

Meanwhile, Dr 'Umar al-Sudani, a prominent organizer of the Libyan people's committees in London, had told AL-MAJALLAH prior to the closure of the Jamahiriyah's London embassy: "We have no differences with any one. But some people in the Arab world do not understand us, nor do they understand that our revolutionary experiment is still nascent and that it is rectifying itself from within. However, and concerning the story that every member of the Libyan people's committees carries a pistol, like the American cowboys, then this is a distorted picture."

When AL-MAJALLAH held a dialogue 3 weeks ago with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and asked him about the Egyptian-Libyan contacts, the Egyptian president said "that Colonel al-Qadhdhafi tried to contact him well over 12 times to achieve a rapprochement" but he, that is Mubarak, rejected this rapprochement "because while these contacts were taking place, the Libyan information media were launching violent attacks against the regime in Egypt."

What the Egyptian president did not say is that Egyptian officials had met several times with Qadhdhaf-al-Damm, cousin of the Libyan president and head of the Jamahiriyah's intelligence, and that agreement had been reached at these

meetings that Egypt would halt any military escalation on its front with Libya, in return for Libya's stopping any hostile security activity against Egypt and Sudan.

Libyan sources deny having taken any action against Egypt, or having financed the rebel movements in Southern Sudan.

The picture of the future relations within the Cairo-Khartoum-Tripoli triangle looks bleak and it is not reassuring.

Yasir 'Arafat, the PLO leader, now stands on most of the dangerous squares drawn on the terrain of his political career.

It seems that his political dispute with Damascus is the basic component of this danger.

Has the relationship between Abu 'Ammar and Damascus reached the point of no return?

There are two answers to this question:

The first answer says: "There is nothing called 'no return' in inter-Arab relations. There is moderate obduracy, and there is obdurate obduracy." The Palestinian source adds: "But what has happened between Damascus and the PLO is that each of them has opted for obdurate obduracy!"

The source says: "Abu 'Ammar cannot possibly become Syrian. And President al-Asad cannot possibly become Palestinian. It seems that both of them have reached the point of clashing interests. It is to the benefit of President al-Asad to gain time in between military escalation and the prospects of negotiation. Meanwhile, Abu 'Ammar has reached a point of 'determining the fate' of Palestinian action for the subsequent phase."

Then the Palestinian source summarizes his statement in an important phrase: "Time is against Abu 'Ammar, and gaining time is the wager of President al-Asad. This is from whence the conflict of interests came."

However, the second answer is given by a Syrian official, who says: "We consider that Abu 'Ammar has wronged Damascus. Furthermore, we are against him and against his inclinations, but we are not against the PLO or against its free decision-making. Therefore, we find it difficult to deal with him again."

Therefore, the convening of the PNC in Amman, and without the pro-Syrian organizations, is regarded as a challenge posed by the Fatah leadership to Damascus.

However, Abu Iyad says: "We challenge nobody, but we refuse to continue forever waiting for what does not come!"

These things give rise to the question: Can the convening of the PNC in Amman possibly lead to the escalation of the political dispute between the Fatah leadership and Damascus into a more tense and violent form?

There are divergent viewpoints in answering this question. This is because some people believe that the Amman conference is the beginning of the divorce proceedings between Fatah and Damascus. Meanwhile, other people believe that no marriage had taken place between Fatah and Damascus for divorce to occur between them, and that the reinstatement of Rif'at al-Asad in the post of the Syrian president's adviser for national security affairs might show its positive results for the future of Palestinian-Syrian relations in the middle of next spring, (by which time Rif'at will have arranged his affairs in the Syrian domain).

Arab sources emphasize that the Syrian attitude toward 'Arafat is still obdurate up to this time. As an example, these sources cite the stance taken by the Syrian delegation toward 'Arafat at the Arab lawyers conference that was held in Tunis during the first week of this month. This is because while making his speech, Abu 'Ammar was subjected to heckling and strong protests by the Syrian delegation in a violent manner that almost prevented 'Arafat from making his speech.

While some quarters accuse the Fatah leaders of having rashly convened the PNC, Abu Iyad replies: "We waited for 7 months during which the Algerian-PDRY mediation delegation visited Damascus 38 times!" He adds: "Therefore, how long shall we wait?"

Meanwhile, Sulayman 'Arar, Jordanian deputy premier and interior minister and one of the most prominent internal affairs men in Jordan, has told AL-MAJALLAH: "We do not expect any danger from the convening of the PNC in Amman. Any state in the world, large or small, is exposed to a bomb here or a bullet there. However, we believe that the political openness in which Jordan now lives in the Arab arena and at home guarantees the containment of any coming problems."

He added: "No matter what developments occur between us and sisterly Syria, we wield the ability to deal with it with the greatest self-restraint and with the wisdom required."

However, what is feared is that the Palestinian division might result in the return of violent operations in the area.

At the same time comes the warning made by President Mubarak against the violent operations unearthed by the Egyptian intelligence services against some regimes in the area.

When it comes to the present situation in Lebanon, the violence that is inherent in this situation might move to some states of the area, if the legitimate security departments begin checking this violence and controlling most of it in Lebanon.

What is not expected to be known is the future of the relationships between Jordan and Iraq on the one hand, and Syria on the other. Will this relationship continue to be on its present average, will signs of pacification appear, or will the situation explode?

An Arab source says that the results of the U.S. talks on achievement of the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, the developments of the Iraq-Iran war, and Jordan's diplomatic role in the coming phase are the criteria in accordance with which the form of the relations between the sides of the Amman-Baghdad-Damascus triangle can be figured.

At a meeting between AL-MAJALLAH and Chedli Klibi, the Arab League secretary general, well over a month ago in Tunis, in which the secretary general carefully ascertained that the dialogue would not be for publication, the secretary general affirmed his confidence of the Arab states' ability--despite their differences--to reach a "salvation agreement" for the PLO.

When AL-MAJALLAH once took up the deterioration of the Arab situation with a prominent Gulf official, he said: "We, sir, are exerting our utmost efforts to reunite the Arabs and save what can be saved. However, let me ask you a question: Is it possible for us alone to make Arab solidarity, if some of us, to our great regret, conspire against ourselves?"

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET UNION MOVES TO ENERGETIC ARMS POLICY

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 246, 27 Oct - 2 Nov 84 pp 8-10

[Article by Muhammad 'Ali Qasim: "The Arab Market: United States Best Intermediary for Soviet Weaponry"]

[Text] Soviet weaponry is undergoing a situation of great marketability after an increase in Arab demand. Moscow has begun to open up its armories to the Arabs, exploiting the American hesitancy which has forced Jordan to seek non-American sources to equip its army, and which drove Kuwait to conclude arms deals with Russia.

For the first time, the Soviet Union has permitted the export of advance weapons abroad, namely to both Iraq and Syria. Moscow has agreed to supply Iraqi forces with modern missiles of the "SS 12" type which are monopolized by Soviet forces in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union has decided to supply both Syria and Iraq with modern M-23, 25 and 27 fighters. This is expected to be followed by supplying them with the MiG-29 fighter which is superior to all types of modern American fighters.

In this investigation "AL-MAJALLAH" relates the story of Soviet weaponry in the Arab market and uncovers the details of Soviet arms deals, both those that have actually arrived and the ones that are on their way to Arab fronts.

An important transformation in marketing policy for Soviet weaponry towards the Middle East has set in as a result of American hesitancy. Thus the United States has become the first intermediary for Soviet arms in the Arab market, especially in regard to the Syrian-Israeli confrontation in Lebanon and the Iraq-Iran Gulf war.

Through its new policy, Moscow is aiming at reinstating its positions in the Arab region, and at legitimizing the Soviet Union's role as a great world power, capable and determined to influence the course of events in that important and extremely vital region a propos Soviet security calculations and general strategic plans.

What is provoking about the new Soviet policy from the western point of view is that it came after a period of Soviet "aloofness" -- if this is the

right expression -- which stretched over a period of several years and which reached its peak in the late seventies and early eighties. In this period -- in which western analysts describe Moscow's position towards developments in the Middle Eastern situation as resembling the policy of "an ostrich who had decided to hide his head in the ground and ignore what is happening around him" -- the Soviet Union reverted to employing a passive defensive policy, aiming first of all at preserving whatever may be preserved in the region and avoiding the loss of any more footholds in it, in addition to abstaining from any political or military adventures whose outcome cannot be guaranteed.

Of course this Soviet withdrawal of the mid-seventies had its valid reasons. Moscow was still suffering then from the violent shock caused by Egypt's defection -- with all the weight and strategic depth which the latter represents -- from the Soviet circle of influence, after a stage of intimate political and military cooperation lasting nearly a quarter of a century.

Relative to the nature and manner of the cooperative relationships which are apt to be established between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries, or rather between the former and the countries of the third world in general, the shock of their withdrawal from Egypt was very strong for the Soviets in as much as the Soviet-Egyptian relationship represented -- from Moscow's point of view -- an example to be followed. Add to that, that the political, military and strategic gains resulting from the Soviet presence in Egypt were too immense and lavish to be replaced overnight by simply consolidating this presence in alternative areas or in other countries.

The crisis in Egyptian-Soviet relations was not the only source of shocks which Moscow's Arab policy was exposed to in the mid-seventies. The entry of Syrian forces into Lebanon in 1976, and the tensions it caused in relations between Syria on one side and the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement on the other also came in to add another dimension to the reasons for the evident Soviet confusion in dealing with events in the region. To make matters worse, the 1978 Iranian revolution placed Moscow in the extremely awkward and perplexing position of, on the one hand, supporting a nationalist revolution against a dictatorial regime loyal to the United States, and of not supporting it because of the various religious and doctrinal reflections that it contained within its folds which cannot be a source of comfort for Soviet leaders.

The end of the seventies added more confusions and reasons for feelings of frustration for the Soviet leadership of that time. The invasion of Afghanistan took place, and it led and continues to lead to the straining of Moscow's relations with the Islamic world, and consequently to the weakening of its position in the Arab world.

As if all these circumstances and considerations were not enough, they came at a stage when the Soviet leadership itself was suffering from weaknesses and divisions, as sickness and the age factor formed the greatest common denominator in the membership of the ruling Communist Party Politburo. Ambiguity had also

began to surround the position of the former Soviet President, Leonid Brezhnev, which left the door wide open to controversies on the possibilities of succession.

In short, all the factors which had piled up in the years 1976-1981, have contributed to making that period a transitional stage for the Soviet Union on the political and strategic levels, with internal and external immobility as its most outstanding characteristic.

As usual in Soviet-Arab relations, the military aspect had more influence and significance as a result of the general immobility surrounding Moscow's external policy. Available information in this area indicates that the transfer of Soviet arms to the Arab region had reached its lowest levels in the period 1979-1982. After the flare up of the Gulf war, Moscow had also refrained from supplying Iraq with any new weapons, in addition to perceptibly slowing down arm shipments which Iraq had contracted for in pre-war deals. Neither was Syria's position much different in this regard. Israeli sources confirm that in spite of the signing of a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Damascus and Moscow in 1980, the treaty did not lead at that time to any noticeable increase in the mode of military cooperation between the two sides. Those sources also state that Soviet arm shipments to Syria remained, in contrast, very normal and on the same pre-treaty levels, quantitatively and qualitatively.

1982 -- A Prominent Turning Point

This passive situation which characterized Moscow's Arab policies changed suddenly, and in a very prominent manner, after 1982. It would even be possible to say that sometime that year, Soviet policy underwent a comprehensive revolution and a qualitative leap which changed it from a merely passive defensive policy, aiming at no more than holding on to its positions, to an energetic strategy, aiming at achieving a number of vital objectives. The most important, no doubt, were to confront the extension of American influence in the Arab region, and to shrink the gains which Washington had managed to achieve there during the years of Soviet "aloofness."

If in the seventies Moscow's relationships came as a result of the group of shocks which Soviet policy in the area was confronted with at that time, then, in its turn, the reversal of this policy at the beginning of the eighties was a result of new shocks. No doubt the most important was the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and the political and military developments which followed it. The dimensions of these developments were beginning to appear on the horizon and threaten the possibility of the whole area falling under the American umbrella, not to mention Israeli plans which were openly aiming at spreading its influence on all sides of the struggle in the Middle East. It was specifically at this juncture -- the time of Yuri Andropov's arrival at the seat of power and, seemingly, his determination to halt the deteriorating situation from which the positions of the Soviet Union had begun to suffer, not only in the Arab region, but worldwide -- that the decision to shift to

a clearly defined aggressive policy came about. Its most prominent concerns were the assumption of decisive stands by Moscow on two principal questions -- the Syrian-Israeli situation on one side, and the Iraq-Iran war on the other. And it took the passing of only a few months for the results of this new Soviet policy to begin appearing, for it seemed clear that the Soviets had set their aims at supporting Syria in its struggle with Israel and Iraq in its war with Iran; this, in ways and on levels hitherto unknown.

Unparalleled Military Support for Syria and Iraq

Incoming reports about the uninterrupted Soviet support for Iraq and Syria throughout the past 2 years have become common knowledge in interested western circles, but out of various considerations, the details of this support have remained scattered and few in number. Thus AL-MAJALLAH in publishing these details -- relying on the latest available information, and drawn from many reliable international military and political sources -- aims at clarifying the picture of close cooperation now in existence between the two Arab capitals, Damascus and Baghdad, on one side, and Moscow. This is at a time when the Arab region is passing through the most awkward and decisive stage in its contemporary history.

It has been confirmed that Soviet arms shipments to both Iraq and Syria have reached unparalleled levels during the past 2 years. This does not only apply to the quantitative and numerical levels, but also -- and this might be more significant -- has come specifically to include the qualitative side. Recently Syrian and Iraqi forces have obtained Soviet weapons and equipment which were not originally meant for export, not even to Moscow's partners in the Warsaw Pact itself. It is also worth mentioning that some of these weapons entered Iraqi and Syrian service after only a few years, or even months, passed since their delivery to the Soviet arsenal itself. Just in itself, this constitutes a unique precedent in the history of Soviet military relations with foreign countries.

In its aims and points of departure, Soviet military and rearmament support was not the same for both Iraq and Syria. Rather, it observed in each case the designated needs of the concerned party and the operational considerations unique to the nature of the struggle being waged by that party as well as the demands it imposes. From this point of departure, Soviet support meant for Syria for example aims to concentrate specifically on aspects that were brought to light through the experiences of previous wars with Israel, and to contribute to filling the gaps which emerged in the performance and arming of the Syrian forces at that time, benefitting thereby from the lessons and examples of those experiences. Thus the intensification in the development of Syrian air defense capabilities was noticeable, in addition to boosting the capabilities of the Syrian Air Force and modernizing its equipment in various spheres. This support also came in order to take into consideration Syria's urgent need to possess a strategic deterrence capability in its confrontation with Israel. This was achieved by supplying it with a new, highly modern type of ground to ground ballistic missiles.

Syrian-Soviet Cooperation: Towards Achieving Equilibrium With Israel

Perhaps the best that can be said in describing the nature of the current military cooperation between Syria and the Soviet Union is that this cooperation actually aims at enabling Damascus to achieve its announced basic goal, that of achieving strategic balance with Israel. This in addition to bringing this equilibrium to a state of existing parity, guaranteed to deter Israel from contemplating any hostile acts against Syrian territories or strategic interests in the future.

To achieve this goal, Syrian forces have acquired from Moscow in the past 2 years some types of distinctive weapons, the most prominent being:

SAM-5 missiles: These are strategic air defense missiles not exported previously. These missiles have a special importance, inherent in their ability to confront hostile aircraft over long distances, reaching approximately 240 km. This means that it will be within Syrian capability to challenge Israeli aircraft deep in the airspace of the occupied lands, or even over Tel Aviv itself. Currently, Syria possesses 6 batteries of these missiles, containing 48 launching platforms.

SAM-8 missiles: These in turn are anti-aircraft missiles earmarked for low altitude and short distance operations. These modern missiles possess the capability of dealing with several air targets at the same time. They are carried and launched from fast armored vehicles, which renders them difficult for the enemy to confront and discover their positions.

SAM-11 missiles: These are the latest which the Soviet anti-aircraft missile industry has produced, and are considered to be among the most effective ones worldwide. Developed to replace the famous SAM-6 missiles, they are capable of pursuing their targets up to a distance of 60 km and at various altitudes. They are carried on fast armored vehicles, and Syria is the only nation in the world besides the Soviet Union that possesses such missiles.

SS-21 missiles: Only about 2 years have passed since their entry into Soviet service. Syrian forces have acquired them at approximately the same time as Soviet forces in Eastern Europe. These missiles afford Damascus a strategic deterrence capability hitherto unavailable to it. They have a range of approximately 170 km, and their distinctive characteristics lie in their accuracy, as they are capable of hitting designated targets within a distance of 50 meters, which means that they can be employed against various kinds of vital strategic targets inside Israel. Usually SS-21 ballistic missiles carry one warhead, packing approximately 2 tons of warheads. It is worth mentioning again that Syria is the one single country which uses these missiles besides the Soviet Union.

MIG-23MF Fighters: The Syrian Air Force acquired them in 1983. They are an improved version of the MIG-23 fighter, awesome in design and perhaps capable of confronting the current generation of American fighters serving in Israel

like the F-15 Eagle and the F-16 Falcon. This aircraft is distinguished by its superior ability to maneuver and engage in close air combat, in addition to being equipped with modern radar and electronic devices. In comparison with the regulation model of the MIG-23 fighter, in Syrian service before the recent Lebanon war, it represents an important qualitative stage in the Syrian air armory. It is currently in service only in the Soviet Union, India and Syria, which possesses about 60 such fighters.

In the past 2 years, Syria has been able to replace all its losses in equipment and weaponry, and to reinforce its military forces in various spheres. Its operational number of tanks has thus increased by 40 percent after the 1982 battles (4,200 vs 3,000), approximately one third of which are currently of the advanced T-74 and T-72 models. The number of Syrian field guns has increased by approximately 35 percent, and that of its combat aircraft by 25 percent (550 vs 440), while the number of anti-aircraft missile batteries has increased by approximately 75 percent (175 vs 100).

Soviet Support for Iraq Prevents Iran from Achieving Its Aims

Soviet support for Iraq in its war with Iran, has in the past 2 years come to be equal in importance with that intended for Syria, even if the types of weapons involved differ in accordance with designated Iraqi requirements. Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the new Soviet arms shipments to Iraqi forces is that they are intended to achieve a double aim. The first through enabling Iraq to prevent any real Iranian accomplishments on the land front, and the second by supplying Iraq with the capability of threatening strategic Iranian interests and targets, maritime and petroleum ones especially.

In the past 2 years, the Soviet Union has re-occupied its eminent position in the area of arms supplies for Iraqi forces, in spite of the increasing importance which other Iraqi sources for arms -- like France, China, Brazil and Egypt -- had began to assume. In that period, Iraq has been able to increase the quantities of weapons available to its forces by a tremendous amount. Thus its combat planes have increased by at least 20 percent (500 vs 380), and tanks by a like percentage (4,500 vs 3,500). Most of this supplementary equipment was Soviet, including MIG-23, MIG-25, MIG-27 and Sukhoi-20 fighters as well as T-74 and T-72 tanks, which is sufficient to replace war losses and reinforce the Iraqi forces quantitatively and qualitatively at one and the same time.

Only the Iraqi Forces Share the Soviets' SS-12 Missiles

As was the case regarding Syria, the more prominent factor in Soviet support for Iraq was its acquisition in recent months of distinctive new Soviet weapons, the most important being:

SS-12 missiles: These are strategic missiles with a range of 900 km. Up until now, their use remained a monopoly of Soviet nuclear forces in Europe. During 1982, Iraq acquired 15 batteries of these ground to ground missiles which are capable of reaching the depths of Iranian territory, including Tehran itself.

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

FEMALE WRITER DISCUSSES ARAB MINDSET, WOMEN'S ISSUES

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 87, 14 Dec 84 pp 61-62

[Interview with Dr Su'ad al-Sabah, Kuwaiti poet and writer, by 'Isa Ibn Hisham: "The Arab Mindset Is Surrounded by Fear, How Then Can You Want It To Be Creative?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Dr Su'ad al-Sabah is a well-known Kuwaiti poet and writer, in addition to the fact that she is an expert on matters of economy and development. Her doctorate is basically in economics, but, for some years now, she has been participating in intellectual seminars and in matters of modernization and contemporary affairs. Furthermore, she participates in sessions of poetry and literature in the best way participation can be made. This is because she is an original poet with many collections of poetry and she is a revolutionary and liberal writer, as though she were the opposition's sole spokesman while, as is known, she is part of official Arab society, not part of opposition and rejectionist movements.

In the following interview conducted with her by AL-TADAMUN, the reader feels the extent of the revolution blazing in the heart of an Arab woman seeking greater liberation for women, while various restrictions preclude disengagement of Arab women from the past and, consequently, lead to a spontaneous and automatic normalization with the age.

The interview went as follows:

[Question] In your opinion, what is the course leading to the "liberation of Arab women," or to their emancipation, and are you with this liberation, or complete and full emancipation? Then, do you not believe that man should remain the "head of the woman"?

[Answer] Just as independence is taken and not given, women's freedom is usurped and men do not give it graciously to women in the form of a bribe or a "gratuity." Furthermore, the history of wars and revolutions teaches us that any colonialist does not voluntarily and willingly withdraw from the land which he occupies. And women are colonies, to which applies the description of all the African colonies, whose experiences, water fountains, resources, and natural ores were stolen by the male colonists on the grounds that women are unqualified for ruling themselves by themselves.

The revolutionary poet adds:

However, at this time, and in the era of socialism and the proletariat, there is no longer any room for blackmailing human beings on grounds of their color, race or creed. Subsequently, there is no longer any justification for sectioning human limbs into heads and feet, because neither man is the head of woman, to use your anatomical expression, which I reject, nor is woman the feet and toes.

If this sectioning is meant to cause men to be considered as the center of rationality and wisdom, then not all men are rational and wise. This is because if the brains of women like Marie Curie, Margaret Thatcher or the late Indira Gandhi are weighed against the brains of men, then these women's brains would outweigh men's brains. However, if this sectioning is meant to keep men in the social scale always "above" and women always "under," then Marxism has left nothing "above" and nothing "under," but it has reversed these things.

Su'ad al-Sabah rests from talking for a short while and then says on an afterthought: "I am one hundred percent with full emancipation, and through violence if need be, from all the vestiges of the colonialism of tribal males. This is because the unpaid labor system is rejected, the slavery system is rejected, Shahriyar is rejected, Jamal-al-Din the Bloodletter is rejected, and "Dracula" is rejected. We want to end the myth of man "the lord," and man "the ruler by the Divine Right of Kings," "that is, ruling by the right of general intelligence. We want men as friends and partners. Are you prepared to embark on these partnerships, not in your capacity as chairmen of the boards of directors, but as ordinary shareholders? Let those of you who dare enter this partnership raise their hands."

[Question] But Islam's views on the subject of women are clear

[Answer] And before we could end the question, Su'ad al-Sabah picks up the conversation.

"In the authentic Islamic tradition, there are very beautiful things reserved for women which I can cite. However, there are in the misinterpretations and distortions--that have been added by some users of the Islamic religion--things that I reject, and I demand that they be revised in light of contemporary concepts. There is also the dignity of women, as well as the spirit of our religion, which is characterized by justice and tolerance.

"It is certain that at the end of the 20th century, the circumstances of women are different from those of the Arab women in the 1st century. There are now Arab female doctors, lawyers, scientists, university instructors, ambassadors, ministers and poets. And such positions held by women require making a constant revision of all the laws that are no longer compatible with the existence of modern Arab women and with their ambitions. Therefore, heritage is not an everlasting garment that can cover the women of all centuries. However, it is made of cloth that can be cut and tailored in accordance with the specifications and shapes of a specific group of women in a specific era of history."

[Question] Where have women arrived in our contemporary Arab life?

[Answer] Arab women have not yet arrived where they should have arrived, because, on the one part, Arab men have blocked their paths and have banned them from walking alone to the university, lest they be devoured by the wolves. There are only a few examples of Arab women who have been able to break through the wall of fear and walk alone in the forest of knowledge, without having been eaten by the wolves. However, the majority of women in the Arab countryside, villages and deserts still cultivate and plough the land, and give birth to children as frequently as rabbits do, with all their ambition being that the "master" is satisfied with them and keeps them in his possession, exactly as he keeps his cows. Therefore, it is imperative for the mind of women to awaken and emerge from its calmness and submission to the matter of fact. It is imperative for women to become aware of their conditions in order to topple them.

Culture carries the seeds of revolution, and every book that is read by an Arab woman is a match lit in the darkness of the pre-Islamic era.

[Question] In your life as a poet, are some subjects taboo to you, or are all subjects free of taboos?

[Answer] There are pyramids of taboos around me but, as a poet, I try to surmount them, and I even try to provoke these taboos, and I pull my tongue at them in all my writings. I know that thousands of slogans shout in my face: No, no, do not talk, do not write, do not publish, do not breathe.

However, I have been destined to be a writer, that is, to be an angry and aggressive woman--these are my greatest virtues. I prefer one thousand times to bang my head against the pyramids until my forehead bleeds, rather than wear a straw hat and take pictures wearing it, just like foreign tourists do.

[Question] Have you expressed love in your poetic experience?

[Answer] Love is one of the pyramids of the taboos that you have mentioned, and it is even the fourth pyramid that stands in our subconscious mind. The time has come for us to demolish all the mythical pyramids in our life. Personally, I do not regard love as one of the "taboo" subjects, nor do I consider that talking about love harms my reputation. A human being's reputation is perfumed only by love. Qays and Layla are the most fragrant perfume in our Arab deserts."

[Question] With the eye of an expert in economy and development, how do you view the present and future of the Gulf in the political, social and economic domains?

[Answer] The present of the Gulf area, in a part of it, reflects the present of the Arab area, with all its contradictions. This is because the political situation, whether among the Arab states or in this situation's relationship with the world, is in a state of confusion and blurred political vision, and the economic state of affairs is epitomized in numerous problems resulting from

the failure of many development experiments and the nonexistence of a clear-cut and efficacious economic policy. The reason is that the economic structure is imbalanced and many dangers are inherent in the demographic structure. When it comes to the social situation, it is the simultaneous byproduct of the economic crisis and the political crisis, in addition to the spread of the spirit of pessimism and lack of confidence, and the inability of the rulers and the despairs of the ruled.

Before we could insert a question in the conversation, Su'ad al-Sabah has an afterthought and adds: "Furthermore, the Gulf states have problems, whether from the economic, political or social angle. This is because extensive reliance on a primary and exhaustible substance, oil, will result in great harm in the short and long terms, particularly in the present circumstances in which the oil market faces counterpressures that have led to a drop in oil prices and revenues to the extent that some Gulf states are now indebted, after they had earlier been envied for their financial surpluses. The political situation is a very critical one in view of the possibilities of the extension of the Iraq-Iran war and of the nonexistence of indications that it will end in the near future, despite mediations. The social situation has been affected adversely by two factors: The first factor is the enormous and sudden wealth of the seventies, which has affected the fabric of Gulf society, and customs and behavior have appeared that completely run counter to the customs and traditions of the area. The spirit of tampering and dependence have spread among the people of the Gulf, and work has lost its value because people have begun to be judged by what they own.

The second factor is the presence of a high proportion of foreigners in the demographic formation, particularly the proportion of non-Arab arrivals, which has affected social harmony and political stability. The Suq al-Manakh phenomenon which we have here in Kuwait is a true picture of the economic-political-social crisis. The disaster has occurred because of the material greed and the desire to amass wealth, regardless of the method used. About the future, well, ask the big states about it, because the Arab human being--from the ocean to the Gulf--lacks vision.

[Question] This is a return to the intellect. In the present Arab thinking there is constant talk about modernization and modernisms. How do you view this subject and what are your proposals?

[Answer] The plight of the Arab mind is that it has changed from a "dynamic", adventurous, and ambitious mind to a "static" and metallic mind satisfied with what it knows and convinced of its convictions. This mind has closed the door to diligence, has abandoned the desire to make discoveries, and has contented itself with worshipping idolatrous laws or atheistic laws, regarding them as the final vistas or ceilings of human knowledge. What is more dangerous than all these things is that all attempts at modernization or contemporization have been considered as a kind of sabotage and violation of the rules laid down by the forefathers. We all remember that every attempt to create something new in the domains of science or culture was called an "innovation." This is because, instead of being linked to the subject of creation [English word "creation" actually used], the concept of innovation, to us, has assumed a religious

character. It has come to mean a departure from the prevalent, from perpetual values, and from the general ethics. To those in love with their narrow-mindedness and fanaticism, it has come to mean blasphemy and apostasy.

Su'ad al-Sabah explains further: "Since the day that it has forfeited its right to diligence, the Arab mind has forfeited its right to freedom, and it has turned into a tomb with the tombstone inscription written in bold Kufic type, saying: It is impossible to achieve more than what has been achieved." And this phrase, which has dominated our intellectual life for nearly 5 centuries, was the lethal round fired in the Arab mind. This is because this round has changed the Arab mind from lightning illuminating the vistas of the future to a vehicle without engine and wheels parked in the parking lot of history. After having been a dialectic mind rejecting and criticizing the "isolationist" authority, "brothers of rank," the "populists," and the craftsmen of the science of talk, it has become a submissive and receptive mind, and most of our intellectuals curry favor with authority or have become authority's proteges. This is because the Arab information ministries, not the universities or academies, shape the Arab mind as their image and form, to the extent that some Arab intellectuals have become like the government newspapers, that is, they are subject only to the government's power.

Dr Su'ad al-Sabah says in conclusion:

My friend, after having been a comprehensive and universal mind, ("Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Rushd, al-Ghazali"), the Arab mind has become a divisive, regional, immature and sectarian mind that does not deal with the affairs of the greater Arab homeland, but with the affairs of villages, hamlets, and quarters, as the mukhtars, village headmen, and candidates in municipal elections do.

After having destroyed the wall of fear and entered the phase of martyrdom like al-Halaj, the Arab mind has become a frightened mind because of the atmosphere of bigotry, suppression and intimidation with which opinions are faced in the Arab area, and a frightened mind cannot think soundly.

And words run out and ink dries in the pen.

With Dr Su'ad al-Sabah you have no third choice; you are either with her or against her.

You either reject all that she says, part and parcel, or you draw back and you do not then think that what she has said about wounds and pain and about actual conditions and fate can be refused.

Let those among you who have objections raise their hand and engage her in a discussion.

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARTICLE REPORTS PRO-ARMENIAN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN POLAND

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 10 Dec 84 pp 5,6

[Text] World War II dealt an irremediable blow to the Armenian community in Poland. During and after the war, Armenians left Lvov and other western Ukrainian cities with sizable communities. Some of the Armenians were killed during the war, while others escaped to cities in Poland, Eastern Europe and America.

As a result of this dispersion, Polish-Armenians lost their will to survive as a community, but they nevertheless managed to preserve their identity.

In Poland today, there are nearly 10,000 Poles of Armenian origin mostly living in the larger cities. They are mainly concentrated in Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw, Katowice, Gdansk, Sopot, Poznan, Brzeg, Swidnica, Szamotuly, Gliwice, Olawa and other population centers. The Armenian identity is particularly visible in Katowice, Wroclaw and partly in Gliwice and Krakow. This is because Armenians living in Wroclaw and Katowice are mostly former inhabitants of Kuti, which until recently was the only Polish-Armenian center where the customs and traditions of the Polish-Armenians were preserved. The Armenian inhabitants of Kuti used to speak, sing and pray in their own dialect.

Approximately 3,000 Armenians live in and around these four cities. There is a particularly large number of Armenians living in villages around Wroclaw. Even today, in this area one can find tall men who remember the dialect of Kuti, who can pray and sing in Armenian and who tell each other Polish-Armenian folk tales.

Mrs Moisesovich, 62 and a resident of Katowice, is an "encyclopedia" of Polish-Armenian folklore, customs and history. She can still remember the dialect of Kuti. She is probably the only person alive today who knows the sayings, tales, legends and folk songs that were once common among Polish-Armenians. Kazimir Roshka, M. Moisesovich, A. Pisovich and others who are interested in Polish-Armenian folklore have recorded and transcribed Mrs Moisesovich's recollections and have published them as separate papers and booklets or in academic journals.

There are many who write articles about Armenians and Armenia. Warsaw columnist and publisher Romwald Karash's lengthy book entitled "I am Looking for Heaven" is particularly successful. The book was reprinted for a second

time in 1979 and has since been translated into Czech, Hungarian and English. In 1965, Polish historian Mirosława Zagzevka-Dobasova Zamosdia published in Lublin a book entitled "Armenians and Their Role in Trade and Cultural Exchanges in Poland and the East." In 1977, the same historian published a 328-page work entitled "Armenian History" as part of a collection entitled "General History." According to the author himself, this work was the first attempt in Polish historiography to present a critical history of the Armenian people starting from ancient Armenian kingdoms to the present day. The latest book by the said Polish historian is entitled "Armenians in Ancient Poland" (Lublin, 1982). In the book, the author attempts to present a history of Polish-Armenians from the 16th to the 18th century using archives, documents and previous studies.

A collection of poems entitled "Bazors" by the renowned Polish poet Jezy Kharasimovich has also received critical acclaim. The collection includes 20 poems dedicated to Armenians.

As a result of this growing attention to Armenian culture in Poland, a large number of Poles have begun to learn our language, to study our culture and to translate Armenian literary works.

The work to translate examples of Armenian literature has proceeded vigorously since the 1960's. Translations of major works by Mesrob Mashdots, Krikor Naregatsi, Hovhannes Yertzgatsi, Krikor Makisdros, Nerses Shnorhali, Nahabed Kuchak, Hovhannes Toumanian, Yeghishe Charents, A. Bakunts, Avedik Isahagian, Barouir Sevag, Hovhannes Shiraz, Kevork Emin, Silva Gaboudikian, V. Bedrosian, Medakse, V. Boghosian and other writers have been published in various journals and periodicals. Excerpts from "The Giants of Sasoun"; collections of works by Avedik Isahagian, Yeghishe Charents, Kevork Emin as well as medieval writers; the novels of "A Life's Story" by Stepan Zorian, "A Matter of Bread" by Berj Broshian, "On the Shores of Sevan" by V. Ananian, "Where Have You Been Oh Son of God?", a collection of novellas by H. Madteosian and other works have been published as separate volumes.

One outstanding publication (1962) is an illustrated book of Armenian and Georgian folk sayings by Kazimir Roshka, the Armenian language lecturer at the Jazielonian University in Krakow. In the book, the sayings are presented in the original languages accompanied by Polish translations. In 1958, the same author published a catalog of Armenian and Georgian manuscripts in Poland. From 1960 through 1968, Roshka published in segments examples of the folklore of the Armenians of Kuti in French.

Other authors who have published books, poems, articles and translations on Armenia and Armenian culture and literature include Romwald Karash, Maciej Popko, Monica Warenska, Jezy Wlogarek, V. Dobrachinski, Jezy Kharasimov, Anjey Mangalian, Jezy Litwieuk, Marian Piekhal, T. Zkhevich, H. Zareg and A. Srosoki.

Recently, there has been a trend to translate original works by Armenian writers. The leading worker in this area is Armenologist Anjey Pisovich who is the chairman of the Persian studies department of the Jazielonian University in Krakow and who has been teaching a one-hour Armenian language course every week since 1980 in addition to his translation work.

His translations of several works by Barouir Sevag--such as "The Chief of the Masquerade," "Modern-day Prayer" and "Foundation of Midcentury"--helped to arouse interest about the poet.

Foreign-language studies on Armenian history and culture, such as Marshall Lang's "Armenia: Cradle of Civilization", as well as Armenian manuscripts, such as works by Canon Simeon the Pole and Aristakis Davrizhetsi, are also translated in Poland.

There is also heightened enthusiasm for new studies on Polish-Armenian history and culture. One notable work beside works by well-known and accomplished Armenologists is the series of extensive articles published in 1976 by Augustynovich Chiecherski on Polish-Armenian cultural and political figures. The same author is currently working on the history of Polish-Armenian girls' schools. Meanwhile, Mikhal Bohosevich (Boghosian) is writing a book entitled "Polish-Armenian Noble Families."

Other major works include "The Music of Polish-Armenians" (1976, 2nd printing 1977), "Polish-Armenian Music Book" (1978) and "Observations on Polish-Armenian Musical Accomplishments" by musicologist Zbigniew Kosziew. The first book presents the various stages of development of Polish-Armenian music and contains transcriptions of all musical pieces that have reached us in writing or orally. Particularly noteworthy in the book are the folk songs whose melodies and lyrics Kosziew has salvaged and which form an integral part of the Polish-Armenian folklore. The second booklet summarizes popular, lyrical and patriotic songs which were popular among Polish-Armenians in the 19th and 20th centuries and which prove that the Polish-Armenians were not completely cut off from the culture of their homeland. In the last booklet, the author tries to point out the contributions of the Armenians in the history of Polish music.

In the city of Nowy Sacz lived Jan Agopsovich Hasso who is a descendant of one of the best-known Polish-Armenian families. Hasso, who died in 1982, was a woodcarver and a painter. A. Donigevich, another resident of the same city, is preparing a book on Polish-Armenian cuisine.

An Armenian-language study book was printed, published and distributed among Polish-Armenians in the city of Gliwice in 1971. A copy of the book is kept in the Yerevan central library. In the preface of the book, Polish-Armenians are called upon to maintain close ties with Soviet Armenia.

A book entitled "The Story of a Family During Two Exiles" published in 1973 by Kornel Kzechunovich contains extensive information about the beginnings of the Kzechunovich family and its spread in Poland. One chapter of the book is dedicated to the history and culture of Armenia from the ancient times to the 1970's.

One of the leading exponents of Armenian-Polish relations and friendship and the Polish-Armenian renaissance is Jan Kamocki, an ethnic Pole. He works at Krakow's Museum of Ethnology and has established ties between the said museum in Krakow and the Museum of History in Soviet Armenia. Thanks to his efforts, in March 1980 the Association of the Friends of Armenian Culture was established next to the Krakow branch of the Polish Ethnology Association. The

goals of the new association are to study the history, culture, customs and traditions of the Polish-Armenians; to establish contact with centers of Armenology in Soviet Armenia and the Armenian Diaspora; to promote Armenian art, culture and literature in Poland; to determine the number of Polish-Armenians; to preserve the remnants of their folklore and ethnology; to hold regular academic conferences and to build a library and document repository.

The association organized its first academic conference dedicated to issues concerning Polish-Armenian history and culture in Krakow in November 1980. The conference, which was attended by more than 500 Poles and Polish-Armenians, was a major success. At the end of the conference, six papers were published of which the most important were "The History of Polish-Armenians" by Geslaw Lekhitski, "Genealogy and Coats of Arms of Polish-Armenians" by Mikhal Bohosevich and "Recognition of Armenian Language and Literature in Poland During the 19th and 20th Centuries" by A. Pisovich. These papers will soon be published as a separate booklet.

Since November 1980 the association has also offered courses in Armenian language taught by Armenologist A. Pisovich.

In May 1981, the association opened a branch in Warsaw. A second conference dedicated to Polish-Armenian history and culture will be held in Warsaw this summer.

It is evident from all these developments that Polish-Armenians are experiencing a new period of renaissance.

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN CAUSE COMMITTEES ISSUE STATEMENT

GF161410 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 31 Dec 84 p 1

[Statement issued by the Council of the International Conference of the Armenian Cause Committees--date, place not given]

[Text] The representatives of the Armenian cause committees of the Armenian Revolutionary Dashnak Party in 15 countries held an extraordinary conference in Munich from 27-29 December. This conference adopted basic decisions pertaining to the Armenian cause, agreed on future plans, and set a corresponding work method.

The conference decided to expand all political and propaganda work next year which were already being efficiently pursued in recent years by our Armenian cause committees on local, regional, or international levels.

The conference affirmed that as a result of the constant efforts of the Armenian cause committees in recent years a number of important political personalities and national and international bodies discussed the Armenian issue in 1984. For example, French President Francois Mitterrand publicly affirmed the historic fact of the genocide and supported the just demands of the Armenian people. The people's standing court, which comprises international lawyers, held the Turkish Government responsible for the 1915 Armenian genocide. Through a special statement the U.S. Congress recognized the Armenian genocide as a crime against humanity and finally one of the UN human rights committees discussed the issue of the Armenian genocide in one of its sessions.

The conference decided that on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the great genocide the Armenian cause committees will resort to a political campaign in initiating new steps, particularly toward the U.S. Congress and the European Parliament. At the same time these activities will aim at acquainting international public opinion with the national and political demands of the Armenian people.

The conference also affirmed that for years the Armenian cause committees have carried out a productive work in pursuing the Armenian cause and have obtained important achievements which reinforce our commissions to push the demands of the Armenians with a new incentive.

Thanks to the moral and financial support of the Armenian people, the Armenian cause committees have decisively and constantly followed up and will continue to follow up their work until the Armenian genocide is officially recognized; the human, economic and cultural losses of the Armenian people are compensated; and the Armenian people restore their ancestral fatherland.

[Signed] Council of the International Conference of the Armenian Cause Committees

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKISH PAPER COMMENTS ON BOOK 'FULL OF ARMENIAN ALLEGATIONS'

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 17 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] Yesterday's GUNAYDIN writes: The celebrated publishing house TIME-LIFE has published a book on Istanbul that not only gives biased information but makes terrible allegations about the life of the minorities. The book is full of falsehoods from beginning to end and carries pictures of the dirtiest and poorest neighborhoods of the city.

The book has been prepared by the English writer Collin Tiurbon and the finishing touches have been made by the authoritative editors of TIME-LIFE publications. The book affirms that 7000 Armenians were killed in Istanbul in the years 1894-1896 and that later on 1 million were killed in Eastern Anatolia. On the same page, the editors state that there are at present 45,000 Armenians in Istanbul engaged in commerce, without realizing that they are in flagrant contradiction with the above-mentioned slanderous statements. On the other hand, the book affirms that other minorities are also being subjected to pressures, our Jewish compatriots in particular.

The book calls the city "Stambul" instead of "Istanbul" and states that the Greek Patriarch is being kept hostage, that the ringing of church-bells has been forbidden and that as a result of these restrictions, the minorities have abandoned Istanbul.

The book notes that the slave-trade is flourishing in 20th century Istanbul and that due to the spread of nationalist fanaticism and Islamic ideology, the minorities have been obliged to leave Istanbul.

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

WEST: 'TALAT WAS NOT NAZI TO BE PROSECUTED AS CRIMINAL'

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 22 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by V. Brutian]

[Text] Talat was not a Nazi, nor did he dare to raise a hand against God's chosen people. Otherwise, his collaborators would be investigated by the judicial authorities of a number of Western countries.

That appears to be the practice.

Today, 40 years after the end of World War II, government and private investigative organizations continue their pursuit of former Nazis, uncover their tracks, arrest them and deliver them to courts. The most evident example of this work was Klaus Barbie who was found in Bolivia and who is currently awaiting trial in Mitterrand's court.

Barbie is not alone. According to an investigative organization run by Simon Wiesenthal and other "Nazi hunters," thousands of war criminals are currently living in the United States. Thanks to the work of this organization, its appeals to judicial bodies and its investigations, five former Nazis chose to leave the United States and renounce their U.S. citizenship rather than sitting in the defendant's dock in court. One of these men, Arthur Rudolf, who has developed the Saturn-5 rocket that carried the Appollos to the moon, supervised the production of German V-2 rockets in the 1940's working thousands of slaves to death.

Of course, Mr Rudolf is not alone. In addition to Von Braun and 118 other scientists (who are currently working in NASA), nearly 500 German specialists were taken to the United States immediately after the war to work in army, navy and air force laboratories. All these scientists were taken to the United States without checking their "war past."

And today, 40 years later, many of these men are being subjected to court investigations. Why? Because American justice is timeless--even if Klaus Barbie and many others have been used by American intelligence organizations.

Given all these facts, we can conclude that:

a) American officials, through their intelligence services, helped war criminals to escape from justice. Furthermore, these criminals were provided with "jobs" in U.S. military and intelligence organizations.

b) Today, U.S. judicial authorities have initiated judicial proceedings against these same criminals as a result of pressures from various circles. All this is naturally being done with the consent of the American government in an effort to "uphold" the image of American justice. We thus see that the independence of the American judicial system is a myth; everything depends on the political ends of the government of the day.

c) Today, it is "permitted" to pursue German military and government officials who committed crimes during the war, but it is "forbidden" to acknowledge the genocide committed against the Armenians. At best, the word "genocide" is accompanied with the word "alleged."

Here we have a paradoxical situation which, to say the least, outrages all Armenians. On the other hand, however, is that outrage necessary or justified? Because both the West and East have made us "accustomed" to such paradoxical situations--that is what [satirist] Hagop Baronian would have said.

The archives of all nations that took part in World War I contain voluminous information about the genocide committed by the Turkish government. The present American administration which refers to that genocide as "alleged" naturally knows the absurdity of its contradictory stance. But it nevertheless wants its ploy to succeed. In other words, while it tries to silence the voices of protest from the Armenian nation, it wants to appear before the world as a symbol of "justice" and as a government of timeless rights and truth by initiating judicial proceedings against the Barbies and Rudolfs who have worked for itself.

Why should we be surprised or outraged when the Turkish poet says "I will tie justice to the edge of my sword" and when the American government, the champion of freedom and democracy, has already tied justice to the edge of its sword.

It is not surprising that the Western public does not realize these legal anomalies. Because for decades it has known only one criminal, the Nazis, and one victim, the Jews. After all, here are the Western "justice-seeking" governments who have not forgotten the criminals to this day and who are pursuing and arresting them.

Were we ask the Western justice system what stance they would take against the Talats who planned and implemented the Armenian genocide, they would probably reply: "Talat was not a Nazi."

This response has already begun to be heard. Anyone who has ears should listen.

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

'ARMENIAN HISTORY, GENOCIDE, DIASPORA' TELEVISED ON DUTCH TV

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 22 Dec 84 p 5

[Text] On September 22, the Jerusalem branch of the Armenian General Athletic Union screened a film which was made for a Dutch television program entitled "The Tower of Babel" and which is dedicated to the Armenian genocide, the Armenian Cause, the current hardships of Armenians living in Turkey and Father Manuel Yergatian.

As we reported previously, the appearance of this film caused a major controversy in Holland, and Turkish propaganda efforts failed to block the screening of the film.

In February 1984, the administration of the Armenian monastery in Jerusalem was invited to send a representative to Holland to take part in a television program that would discuss the current condition of Armenians in Turkey and the situation of Father Manuel Yergatian. But since the monastery refrains from getting involved with political issues, the administration of the monastery deferred the issue to the Armenian Cause Committee.

In accordance with the decision of the committee, Levon Ohannesian and Manuel Hasesian went to Holland on 27 February. Having been informed about this "anti-Turkish" program, the Turkish government tried to pressure the Dutch government to block the screening of the program. Its appeal was not only rejected, but it was protested for interfering in the internal affairs of Holland.

But the Turks did not stop. They threatened the program's producers and participants using their newspapers and demonstrations and protests by their 300,000-strong community in Holland. They threatened on the phone to blow up the television station on the day the program was broadcast.

The two Armenian representatives were placed under police protection to head off any surprises. The two representatives held a meeting with two Dutch parliamentary deputies who had expressed an interest in the Armenian Cause and Father Yergatian.

As a result of the interest generated by this meeting, the Dutch Prime Minister expressed the desire to meet with the two Armenian representatives for 15 minutes. The meeting lasted 45 minutes, and after the meeting the Prime

Minister asked the producers of the program to dedicate the entire length of the program (70 minutes) to the Armenian question rather the previously allocated 10 minutes.

The program is a monthly bulletin on the life of dispossessed nations and features footage on the condition, demands and activities of these peoples. The program has become very popular in Holland and neighboring countries.

The film on Armenians is divided into three parts: The first part is a portrayal of Armenian history, the Armenian genocide and the Diaspora. The second part features interviews with the two Armenian representatives, a Turkish-Armenian priest studying in Europe, an Armenian youth who fled from the Armenian provinces of Turkey and took refuge in Holland, a Dutch historian and two Dutch journalists one of whom has written a booklet on Armenian history. The third part surveys the state of the Armenian youth in the Diaspora and gives a correct appraisal of terrorism. More than 3 million people watched the program.

Four Armenian Cause Committees (Los Angeles, Lyon, Lausanne and Munich) have formed defense committees for Father Manuel Yergatian and are working persistently. The Armenian monastery in Jerusalem, however, has not taken any steps in this regard.

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EGYPT

TOP ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIAL DISCUSSES REFORM POLICY

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3137, 23 Nov 84 pp 24-29, 72

[Interview with Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd, minister of state for cabinet affairs and administrative development, by Majid 'Atiyah, Yusuf al-Qa'id, Badawi Shahin and Ghali Muhammad: "The Problems of the Masses or the Problems of the Government Employees?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "This is the news on tomorrow's events in the People's Assembly."

Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd came to us after working in silence for a time. He had not previously announced the start of the administrative revolution and had not specified a time for bursting through the government red tape. Nor had he declared war on bureaucracy. However, he was a man of few words and much action.

Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd, the minister of state for cabinet affairs and administrative development, is the one who is now responsible, on the level of planning, thinking, study and followup, for the government apparatus in Egypt and the public and private sectors. He stands in the zone where the problems of millions of Egyptian masses are intertwined with the concerns of Egyptian government workers.

He talked about the resources of the government apparatus and the public and private sectors and spelled out the problems between the millions of Egyptian masses and the thousands of government employees. We asked him about the phenomenon of administrative corruption and bribery and how long government employees would continue to be the representatives of the people in power, in the view of the people.

A person reading through this conversation would imagine that Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd might have entered the discussion hall in al-Hilal House carrying massive files containing numerous figures and statistics. However, we say that the man came bringing nothing with him but a single piece of paper. Everything he said was in his mind alone.

What remains is what we ourselves discovered. We had imagined that the seminar would perhaps be an ordinary one, but we were all surprised when the conversation turned out to be one of AL-MUSAWWAR's most important discussions so far. He talked about the thousands of employees and workers who make

up the Egyptian administration, the oldest administration the world has known so far.

And about the cares and vexations the millions of Egyptians have with the offices of the government.

AL-MUSAWWAR: We believe that we will receive a comprehensive vision of the issues of the subject of red tape, the administrative revolution and the productivity of the government employee. It appears that the subject today is connected to the degree to which the government can have a vision of the future which will realize its own productive strategy, even as far as foreign policies and economic options are concerned. All this arises from the function of the minister of state for administrative development. Let us say that while we are talking about administrative development, we see the situation in another way, since the extreme inflation of the government apparatus in the government -- we see large numbers of employees who have no work and we see low work productivity among employees. What is the view of the minister of state for administrative development regarding a bureaucratic entity which is becoming inflated without sufficient cause?

The minister: At the outset, let me define my notion of administrative development, which differs from what resides in people's minds and what has been practiced for the past 15 years, although I have been a participant in this practice, in the context of groups of committees to which I submitted the issue of administrative development during those years.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is your position on this issue, specifically?

The minister: The issue of administrative development is not restricted to cooperation with the government apparatus alone; otherwise, our vision would be insufficient. It involves administrative development of the resources that exist in the country.

It involves better administration, based on a scientific platform, of the resources that exist in the society. Consequently I can define my role, for which I am to be held accountable before my superiors.

Administrative Development and Specific Tasks?

AL-MUSAWWAR: What are your tasks, specifically?

The minister: First, tabulating the resources that exist, after which I define the program which will help lead to their best use.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What actually are Egypt's resources?

The minister: The resources are restricted in form to government agencies which are operated by a group of items of legislation, then an actual situation which imposes itself through a series of activities which take place in the government agencies. I consider that this constitutes part of the resources. The fact that they are not properly used is something else, but they form part of the resources which must be properly used.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What about the next part?

The minister: The resources that exist in economic projects, which it has become customary to call public sector projects. We must increase the output of the government apparatus and the public projects together.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What about the third type?

The minister: The resources that exist under the jurisdiction of the private sector, which are no less in terms of quantity and value than those that exist under the jurisdiction of the government. The private sector today owns more than 90 percent of the farmland; in the context of the nationalizations it controlled more than 75 percent of the volume of domestic trade and had more than 70 percent of the means of transport. This prompts us to say that the private sector exists and will continue to exist, because its share of general national product is high. In the form of private savings it has in its possession resources whose output any official would have to increase if they were in his possession.

Egyptian Individuals and What They Own

AL-MUSAWWAR: There also are resources in the possession of the private sector in individual form, which are not organized. What are these?

The minister: For instance the resources that exist in the possession of Egyptians working abroad, who are estimated to number about 3 million. If this number is measured by the volume of the workforce that exists in Egypt, on the basis of official figures, it constitutes about 27 percent. If we look at the average income of the individual working abroad, we will find that the total the people working abroad make is equal to half the national product realized in Egypt. Thus, we cannot ignore this resource which exists in the possession of the Egyptians working abroad.

AL-MUSAWWAR: There are resources owned by social institutions.

The minister: There actually are social institutions which have an important role by virtue of historic conditions. These are the religious institutions, such as the mosques and churches, which have wealth under their jurisdiction which at least consists of groups of buildings inhabited by groups of people who are devoted to divine missions. Therefore it is important to increase the product realized by these institutions. Therefore I can say that anyone thinking of the administrative development process must think about what better and greater output can be realized through the use of all these resources, and must move in all these areas.

The Egyptian Family and the Issue of Resources

AL-MUSAWWAR: Do the resources stop there?

The minister: There is another area of concentration which has started to appear recently, which is the Egyptian family in the rural and urban areas. The ratio of wage earners in the Egyptian family, according to official figures, comes to one person in four, that is, a workforce of 11 million.

Therefore, if we can increase the number of productive persons in the family, it will be possible for us to expand another form of output, and this is a possibility, something we can sense in the receptivity of some family members who have not yet finished their education to engage in productive work. We can sense a readiness on the part of wives now to work by getting a job or through productive work whose output they sell. I must develop this resource, because the ratio of wage earners is large here, and it is possible to put people who are of productive age to work. What I have presented is my notion of the issue of administrative development.

AL-MUSAWWAR: The issue is more comprehensive than we had imagined. It is an issue of red tape, an issue of eliminating obstacles, and an issue of the productivity of government employees. The issue is related to increasing production from all available Egyptian capabilities, whether they be the government sector or the private and public sectors, even in the context of individuals and the family. Let us start by looking at each resource by itself.

The minister: If we look at the government apparatus, we will find that it contains the three workforces that exist in Egypt and the structure of wages in it represents the lowest wage level in the country; therefore it drives out competent persons rather than attracting them. This wage structure has been subjected to a series of acts of legislation which for the most part lacked a clear conception of the task of the government apparatus. Is it this notion which is raised everywhere in the world? Is this the legislation which organizes the government apparatus' way of dealing with individuals or other sectors? Moreover, when I organize this apparatus, will it be governed by the presence of activity which will maintain good relations among workers, or will we advocate relative, tentative, partial stability for a specific group? We have perhaps seen the recent legislation, for instance Law 83 and the amendments which have been made to that. We can say that these laws did not arise from an idea. For example, we find that the issue of gradual advancement in employment is, everywhere in the world, based on a gradual advancement in the level of skills. Persons working with their hands or machinery, people working as clerks, people working in technical jobs, and people working in supervisory capacities, we call all these technical administrative labor positions. In each of these groups there are three levels -- beginning, intermediate and skilled. This is the breakdown in every country in the world: skilled laborer, ordinary laborer, beginning clerk, clerk, and chief clerk, such as existed in the past. As far as technicians go, we had beginning technicians, technicians and master technicians. Among leaders in leadership positions, there are supervisors, heads of sections and directors. Consequently, in accordance with the gradual advancement in level, that must be matched by a gradual advancement also in the jobs included in the structure of the government apparatus, so that it will be possible to create homogeneous relations among the classes of workers, because the government apparatus is now suffering from contradictions and mutual antagonism produced by the application of these items of legislation which have created amorphous forms of distribution of workers in government agencies or inside single agencies. If we look at another characteristic, we will find that that is not separate from historic developments, since the power of the government was the strongest and consequently this was reflected on the

government's representatives in their exercise of power, and therefore the government representatives, the employees, would carry out their work in accordance with the notion of control and not expertise. To the contrary, the notion of the servant of the city did not manifest itself clearly.

The Government Apparatus and Its Role

AL-MUSAWWAR: Who does the government apparatus deal with?

The minister: With two groups, the ordinary citizen who requests that a service be performed, such as admission to a school, a visit to a hospital for treatment, a visit to the real estate notification office to record something, or a visit to the Civil Registry Department to obtain a card. The citizen must deal with all these agencies because they have a monopoly of them.

The second group that deals with the government apparatus is the sector of businessmen, which cannot tolerate the ills of the apparatus. Legislation has obligated the business sector to deal with the government apparatus in such a way that the business sector cannot evade this interaction.

AL-MUSAWWAR: In the context of this picture, services must be improved.

The minister: That was brought up in all previous conferences, under the watchword of this government apparatus and the administrative revolution. When I say that I will make a change in the government apparatus, I must be honest about whether I am able to change the structure of labor, review the structure of existing jobs and convert the notion of establishing control to the notion of service. Therefore if I am able to make this change in a short period, it will be possible to bring up the watchword of administrative revolution, and if I am not, we must not bring up any watchword which we are not strong enough to carry out; otherwise, we will lose people's trust. When I assumed this position, I did not make any statements; rather, I said I would think about practical solutions because I cannot wait until I change the picture, since the business sector cannot tolerate waiting, and reform needs some time. This is what happened in the West when it became enthusiastic, before the Oriental world did, about reforming the administrative apparatus because the business sector is the moving force for everything in the Western countries.

What Egyptian Administration Requires Now

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is required at the present stage?

The minister: We should prove to ourselves and to the people that the improvement of service in the context of all these circumstances is a possibility. In this event, we will have to think about solutions resulting from actual conditions in a limited framework, so that it will be possible to benefit from this limited experiment and have it not die in the cradle. Mere use will help us to put the experiment in general application after that. Therefore, I started feeling my way with my minister colleagues who supervise government agencies, because any idea I try to apply must be carried

out through the ministers. I started with a series of meetings with the ministers in the first two months, in order that we could reach agreement over the form of the change. In fact, we did agree to choose 50 places of different types throughout the country for the services they offer, through each ministry, and we are trying to look at the places we chose so that they would have no relationship at all to the existing picture. In other words, we would isolate these places and develop the service in them in a comprehensive manner. The development of service depends on the quality of the buildings that exist, the furniture, ways and means of work, notices providing guidance, ways of guiding the public, maintenance and sanitation, the employees' clothing and appearance, and the employees' incentives and wages. We took all these foregoing factors into consideration when thoroughly developing service in the places. We will determine the investment cost of the experiment, because we will continue with any procedure unless we compare the output with the cost. If we succeed in this, we will then have results based on testing, not on study. However, if you look at these places in terms of the general picture, you will find that they are minor. That prompts us to say that there are changes which do not need more than the use of logic, even in the context of the elements I mentioned from the state of the government apparatus. These will not be essential modifications but rather a step toward improving the rest of the service.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Could you offer us specific examples?

The minister: I told Eng Sulayman Mitwalli, who is one of those who are the most extremely enthusiastic and responsive, that we would take some places in the postal service, telephone service and marine transport. However, he said that must not wait till overall change is made in some places -- indeed, we must start with partial change in dozens of places. We in fact did start a study of the possibility of creating such a development in service, and in order to be successful in the development, I said that I would proceed with the same pattern the world proceeded with when it approached administrative reform, in that it did not rely on an apparatus; rather, it set up a project and established a director for it, because people realized that if the development took place through an existing apparatus, that apparatus might suffer from the same problems as the government apparatus.

Let us see what approaches the people who preceded us, such as the United States, France and Japan, used. In the United States, when it was not possible to rely on the government apparatus to develop a service which was urgent for the nation, as happened when the project for missiles to launch satellites was developed in 1957, they found it preferable to establish a project for this goal; the American Space Agency was established basically as a project relying on resources coming from the government apparatus with freedom to act, and it was not subject to the bills that existed in the government apparatus. In France they did the same thing, establishing a number of projects when they found that the government apparatus would not function.

AL-MUSAWWAR: That happened here, with the High Dam project.

The minister: If you want to carry out any task, create a project for it and provide the manager of the project with every resource, so that that will prompt him to carry out this project in accordance with a plan that has been set out. That is what I do; I form a project to develop government service in the targeted body. It starts very simply with a director who has his aides. I consider the postal service a project, and also railway transport, air transport and the Civil Registry. I consider every service a branch project subsidiary to the project manager who is present, who is responsible for the development of government services as a whole.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Have the places actually been chosen?

The minister: They have actually been chosen, and we have set out the plan, with the provision that it begin with what is the most important, then less important, and so on. I have distributed this plan among the ministers so that each of them can choose an official to work with the official I will designate. Then the working team which will take charge of the development will start.

Developing These Places

AL-MUSAWWAR: Will the provision of diverse services be taken into account in the selection of places?

The minister: We have in fact chosen various services. In the Ministry of Transportation we have actually made a choice, in the Ministry of Justice we have chosen the Real Estate Notification Office, in the Ministry of the Interior we have chosen the Civil Registry and traffic [department], in the Ministry of Health we have identified a group of hospitals, in Education we have chosen a group of schools, and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs we have taken the documentation offices.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What we know is that the procedures in these agencies require performance by a number of officials. The filling-out of a paper needs 20 signatures, for instance. How will these procedures be abbreviated in the places themselves?

The minister: Service ultimately is the product of performance, in which the place, the building, the equipment inside the building, the statutes and rules and the people who apply these rules take part. In the development process, it is necessary to develop all these factors, because it is not possible to develop one factor to the exclusion of another, as this will be reflected ultimately on the output of the service; in addition the system of incentives will be developed so that the employee will proceed to serve with conviction. The comprehensive approach is the only way to improve service.

Wages, Incentives and Review

AL-MUSAWWAR: We consider that the problem of wages today requires a pause for reflection, and that it also requires a review because there now are what are known as wages and incentives. For example, in Cairo University, assistant professors now obtain wages and incentives for every extra lecture

and every paper presented, and ultimately we find that the professor does not have conviction in what he gets. What is your conception of the issue of incentives in Egypt? Will we indeed receive an improvement in service in exchange for these incentives, or have they become part of the improvement in incomes which are just paid out, without expectation of any improvement?

The minister: The incentives in the government sector have been offered as palliatives to answer the demands of groups which have started exerting pressure for an increase in their incomes. The response has been made to that. This is a technique which has not been followed in any government sector which offers service rather than production anywhere in the world. In all places in the world, people work on a fixed salary or by production; combining the two is a heretical innovation.

There is a minimum for wages all over the world. This goes to the lower classes; the classes that are higher work on production or at a fixed wage. The wages of people who work at a fixed wage are increased annually through raises. When we look at the total incentives listed in the budget, rather than looking at any group, we will find that the person's wage, in the form of fixed wages and incentives, is close to the per capita income in the private sector. This is a state of affairs which we do not deny as far as some classes go, but the wage structure of the great majority of government employees is the lowest there is. It is difficult for me to carry out a change in this, because the total wages in the government budget due to the inflation in the government apparatus have reached a figure which one absolutely cannot exceed, or at least it is necessary to carry out calculations carefully before any change. The only approach to modifying the wage structure is to lower the volume of the labor in the government apparatus, and that can be done over the long run. I am one of those who demand that a review be made of the system of commitment to distributing university graduates within the government; this commitment must not be turned into pressure which keeps people from thinking about solving the problem, with the result that we are surprised by the aggravation of problems.

In addition, it is necessary to make a review of relations among positions, since the structure of positions has shifted, as is the case today where the pyramid has become turned upside down and the number of supervisors now comes to approximate the number of people supervised, to the point where supervisory positions are now just formal. I must deal with all these things I have mentioned.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Under the watchword of shifting to local government, an extensive transfer process has occurred which has been frightening to many people, to the point where they have started to receive their salaries without offering any returns. All that has happened is that we have moved the site of the problem from Cairo to the regions.

The minister: Dealing with the various parts of the picture requires reflection and the adoption of a platform that has been agreed upon.

AL-MUSAWWAR: In spite of the need for reflection in decisionmaking, we find that that requires boldness as well. We will give an example with what

happens in the advanced world. Machinery and means of production become obsolete, new patterns are introduced and great waves of transformational training takes place involving massive groups of people, and that happens in record time. Here we talk a great deal about shrinking the government apparatus and retraining and redistribution, but the actual situation says that nothing is happening.

The minister: Therefore I say that the program requires an organized effort, whose burden will be borne by an official, not an agency, so that I will be able to tell him, "You have a specific task and I will hold you to account for it."

AL-MUSAWWAR: How many heads of sectors are there here?

The minister: Thousands.

AL-MUSAWWAR: That prompts us to say that the magnitude of the bureaucratic apparatus is swelling while the magnitude of the productive apparatus is diminishing.

The minister: There is no argument that, in comparison with the countries of the world, the ratio of the number of people working in the government to the total workforce in Egypt, excluding people working in the public sector, is the highest in the world.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What are reasonable ratios?

The minister: Five to 6 percent.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Regarding the productivity of the Egyptian employee -- has that increased?

The minister: Measuring productivity in services specifically varies from place to place.

AL-MUSAWWAR: We hear of measurements which claim that government employees work just 2 hours; are these measurements truthful?

The minister: A development has occurred in service techniques in the countries of the world, reducing the volume of labor, but we are among the very few countries in the world, even in the developing world, which depend on couriers to provide janitorial service and internal postal service. The world today relies on work teams, teams which do the cleaning in the morning, at noon and in the afternoon.

Work Leaders and the Masses

AL-MUSAWWAR: How are leaders who are responsible for the new work techniques in the places of service improvement chosen?

The minister: We choose a post office, and we choose leaders who will be capable of execution and will participate with us in the development of

service technique. They will be given full powers of execution, so that we can isolate these locations from the entity entirely. There is another development plan which clearly exists in the world, which is to give the private sector permission to carry out the development; there, private firms are assigned to take charge of providing this service.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Could you discuss an example of service that has actually been developed with us?

The minister: I faced a number of choices, which were to deal with the apparatus in its entirety, a very serious approach if you have dealt with the picture; I am not able to and do not grasp the whole picture, in which case I will fail, which is what people who preceded me came up against when they raised the slogan of dealing with the system in its entirety in the form of shocks and revolutions, neither of which happened.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Is it possible to make a description of government apparatus positions which the apparatus needs, on a basis where what is not needed will be given transitional training, and thus we will guarantee that this inflated, increasing burden will be removed?

The minister: There are numerous solutions which have been propounded in the countries of the advanced and developing world, and here we must benefit from the experiences of others so that we can start where the others have ended up. The others have ended up by ceasing to add further inflation to the volume of the problem; it is the most minor of solutions for me to put a stop to this inflation for a period and redistribute the labor, at the same time offering inducements for leaving temporary and ongoing government work. We have adopted this line by paving the way for unlimited loans and transfers as far as some fields of specialization go. There is also the entree to transitional training. These are all selection programs, on grounds that I grasp the views of the social dimensions that will be selected.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Will the application be general, after the development of some services is completed?

The minister: I will expand the base at a greater rate at present, in the light of the success of the current experiment.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Your excellency is talking about development at present, and we have heard from every official who comes here about the simplification of procedures. Is this development connected to what the Organization and Management Agency has done in this regard, or is it different?

The minister: I will not deny the Organization and Management Agency's effort in the area of simplification of procedures, and we will benefit from what has been done, but I can say that simplification of procedures is part of the development process.

AL-MUSAWWAR: In spite of the talk about the proliferation of higher management, there is a problem with the second echelon. For example, the General Industrialization Authority lacks a second echelon of leaders.

The minister: Perhaps the problem is related to quality, rather than quantity.

AL-MUSAWWAR: A wave of severe dizziness comes over us when we discuss candidates for any position, even in the government.

The minister: The wage structure is the reason.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why is the age of the leaders here higher than in any advanced country, to the point where the age of a minister is greater than that of his counterparts in many countries?

Then another issue: we have many organizations which investigate the negative features of people. We have information agencies and security agencies. So far, there is not a single agency in Egypt which chooses leaders and personnel at an early age, supervises them and develops them, so that I could say that the second echelon among journalists, in the offices of prosecutors or among accountants is such and such.

The minister: Some countries have followed a program, but for them to leave the marketing factor which will perform the selection to the leaders -- it is the forces of competition which perform the selection. Free economy countries can only hand their companies over to the people who are the most competent. People vie ruthlessly to move up, and everyone wants to prove his ability. It is through ruthless competition that competence stands out. Other countries in the West have also created organizations which train leaders and create them from zero, as in the French experiment, which Dr Hasan Tawfiq and I studied when we went to France 3 years ago. There are people who choose leaders at the time of secondary school. They believe strongly that leaders have personal characteristics and need preparation, and attention must be given to who has these personal capabilities and unique powers. Then they move on and are put in organizations which give them further preparation, then they are given opportunities to take leadership positions.

I can say that the nation's institutions in which the citizen is formed, that is the family, then the school, which are the two institutions which create abilities, increase these abilities and impart growth to them, need a review. The resources directed toward education are limited. I know that the quality of output depends on the type of "selected ingredients" that are used in forming this output, and it also depends on the way in which the process of using these selected ingredients is managed. I cannot ignore that. I am an advocate of our presenting an idea. Educating the greatest number of people is relevant. Keeping education free of charge is for our benefit, although there is a dispute over it, except for a minor reservation in the case of the affluent; in our society today we have no less than 25 percent who are abundantly affluent.

Who Are the Affluent?

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is the standard of affluence, as far as the 25 percent go?

The minister: People whose incomes are above 1,000 pounds a year. We rely on two indices, which the world follows: possession of resources which are

owned and registered, such as automobile ownership, and the second index, electricity consumption, a study which was made last year. I am not against education for the greatest number of people based on these limited resources, whose quality might not be acceptable. It is possible that we can benefit from them, but, in addition to this education, whose quality is not at the desired level, there must be an excellent level of education which will qualify a different type of student, who subsequently will be the basis for the creation of leaders. The basis in choosing these places which constitute or make up leadership absolutely need not be financial ability. The people who have the ability to excel, and whose personal makeup is excellent, should enroll in these places and be given special attention. For example, in the university I made a recommendation which was not given a chance to be studied: in the Faculty of Commerce, every year there are 4,000 students and there are 1,000 students in each class. What if, alongside the four classes, we take the best 100 students and choose them, with the only criterion for selection being intellectual ability and competence, and give them the same quality of education that is given to education in any advanced school in Europe and the United States? If we graduate 100 exceptional persons, we will not need more than 100, in the leadership positions.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Where will they go?

The minister: I will take charge of them, look after them, educate them and guide some of them.

Bureaucratic Corruption in Egypt

AL-MUSAWWAR: We have been talking about developing the government apparatus and have ignored the administrative corruption that exists in Egypt. Isn't this bypassing reality, since that is a basic characteristic of all the bodies that deal with the public?

The minister: I rule out generalizations and [the word] corruption, because that might give the reader an impression that the general phenomenon that exists is corruption. I am not a proponent of generalizations; if there are some manifestations of corruption, we must understand the reasons. First, the wage levels. For example, I agree to become an employee for the sum of 30 pounds, then I travel to the worksite, paying 50 piasters a day, that is, 15 pounds a month, instalments on clothes are 10 pounds, then I drink coffee and tea. Shall I stretch out my hand or not? I am not offering excuses for the people who do stretch out their hands, but the wage levels could be the reason. The second reason is the low level of service. If the person getting the service is affluent and there is someone to pay, there will be someone to receive, that is, the payment will be made and the receipt will be made. The third reason is the choices facing the person getting the service. If he has another choice it is very possible that the phenomenon of payments will be alleviated.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Let us add another reason: perhaps, as a citizen, I do not know the procedures, I do not know how to get my papers, and I facilitate matters by paying.

The minister: The more profound the atmosphere of democracy becomes, the more this decreases, because then the employee feels that the citizens of Egypt must receive what they are entitled to, and Egypt must defend them. If a university student asks for a service and finds that a payment is to be made for it, it is very possible that the employee who demands it will be subjected to embarrassment. I believe that this analysis, that the government administration is corrupt and bribery has returned, is very exaggerated. If we take it as a percentage, in comparison with what takes place in the developing world, that is still very limited.

AL-MUSAWWAR: How many cases of bribery are there here per year?

The minister: If we take the number of cases recorded, that might not be a real index, but on the basis of dealing with government agencies, no record has been made of this in order for me to be able to say.

AL-MUSAWWAR: There is another type of bribery which takes place in exchange for a service, for instance a person who does not want to move around among traffic windows and gives an "officer" some money with which he can finish the job and move on at the end.

The minister: People have dealt with this before we did. The rate of performance of services takes 6 hours. If you want it in 2 hours, you must make a payment. This has happened with Passports. If you want a passport at once, that sum of money is received during the collection and distributed among the same employees, outside the country in greater form, with the establishment of special offices. You want your permit, give me your documents and I will give you the permit the next day. I will take charge of this in your place. As I say, every type of service has its cost; in order for me to improve the service I will have to defray a higher cost.

AL-MUSAWWAR: The issue of arbitrariness in the administrative apparatus: one famous example is the person who went to ask to build a hotel with 11 stories and he was asked to build a seven-story garage for the hotel!

The minister: One of the cases that have been submitted to me is that of the proliferation and increase in the number of government units taking part in decisionmaking. I must for example deal with seven agencies ultimately to obtain a permit. The greater the number of people taking part in the provision of the service, the more the period for providing the service increases and the greater the complexity of the procedures becomes. The reform of the government apparatus will take place in the future by reducing the number of agencies I have to deal with, such as giving permits for the agreement of the Investment Authority: investors deal with 14 bodies, and if they were reduced to four, it is possible that the period of execution would be abbreviated. Your handling of the matter would be done through the elimination of the participation of numerous agencies in decisionmaking or provision of the service.

AL-MUSAWWAR: You have reduced the Investment Authority from 14 to how many bodies?

The minister: Let me say once again that I cannot eliminate the legislative framework, because the legislation which regulates economic activity makes the need to obtain agreements from these bodies, local government, housing, irrigation, industry and so forth mandatory. Legislation. In the past 25 years we have embarked on a hurricane of items of legislation which have given the government agencies powers which ultimately interfere in giving permits and making prohibitions.

Loss in the Government Apparatus

AL-MUSAWWAR: Since we consider that the function of the minister of administrative development is to improve and regulate the resources that are produced, can you tell us, in numerical terms, what the loss in the government apparatus is, and what can be gained by improving its performance?

The minister: Loss in what sense?

AL-MUSAWWAR: I believe that by reducing the number of government employees from 3.3 to 1.3, I will have 2 million employees without work. We want to see the final calculations. You are responsible for providing the most thorough possible productivity and increasing its results. What is the situation today, what is the output of the government apparatus, and how can it be increased?

The minister: I consider, through a simple calculation founded on a sample, and not a study, that we can abbreviate the period which providing a service to the citizen takes in most places where it is carried out to more than half. Consequently, the loss is half. You can reduce the size of the government apparatus needed to provide the service by up to a third without having the quality of service affected.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Consequently, we can calculate these people's wages.

The minister: Subsequently what you pay three people you will pay to one; you can pay him triple.

All These Studies

AL-MUSAWWAR: Fortunately, Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd has said that Egypt is full of studies and that there is no subject in Egypt for which a number of studies do not exist. Dr 'Atif has surprised us by saying that he had asked about the existing studies which one authority in Egypt made and found that the titles of these studies filled 2,000 legal size pages. We can imagine what the 10,000 studies were that were carried out by a single authority in Egypt. What have all these studies provided? Where have they gone? Does a compendium of them exist? Is there a justification for new studies? That is because Egypt has indeed entered the cycle of studies, studies on studies, studies on the same subjects, and updating of studies. Three months ago, a group came to us from the Ministry of Irrigation and disclosed to us that the most serious thing to have happened in Egypt is that a special problem was created known as the problem of "the danger of the High Dam," for which 23 million was spent on studies! What is the subject of the studies? Why

have they proliferated? Are we in need of new studies? Where do these studies go? We want to hear a decisive statement from you concerning this sort of subject, because people might accuse us of ruling out scientific theory, or the like.

The minister: I imagine that none of the problems Egypt has faced, and is facing, have been addressed without being studied more than once, and up to tens of millions being spent studying them. You can ask me, freely, about any issue or subject.

AL-MUSAWWAR: The issue of housing, for example.

The minister: According to the tabulation which was made that I have, since 1974 800 studies have been made, done by international organizations, Egyptian organizations or jointly by the two. Eight hundred studies recorded.

AL-MUSAWWAR: The issue of administrative development and the shaking up of the government apparatus.

The minister: I personally have lived through at least six studies, the first in 1954 with an English expert, when I was looking for a subject for the master's thesis. In 1964, the most famous expert on government administration in the world, Gulak, made a study and report. The people who had given him the assignment did not trouble themselves to publish the report. In addition, there was the committee subordinate to the Revolutionary Command Council, chaired by 'Abd-al-Latif al-Bughdadi, to reform the government apparatus, which contained the top personalities among leaders in Egypt and continued working for 2 years under the chairmanship of Dr Ibrahim Hilmi 'Abd-al-Rahman; then, after that, there was a series of studies.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Where did these studies go?

The minister: These studies are spread around and have not been tabulated. As a minister who is responsible for the affairs of the cabinet, and one who thinks in terms of serving this country, I was surprised to find that there were groups of studies in my own office on subjects which are presented to the ministerial committees and the Council of Ministers, and that the council, the ministerial committees or the body which sent for these subjects did not know that these subjects had previously been studied! How can it happen that the basic agency which writes to the government, and that is supposed to be government money, sent for studies and these studies were not in its possession and under its review before these issues were presented to it?

AL-MUSAWWAR: How many studies are there on subsidies?

The minister: The studies on subsidies come to 12.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Is it really true that a single scientific authority prepared the studies dealing with Egypt which are listed on 2,000 legal sized pages?

The minister: I have them in my possession. Send someone to look at them! I have done the following. I have said that the Council of Ministers and the

ministerial committees must be bodies in which there is at least one copy of each study on all the subjects on which ultimately a decision must be made. The prime minister is one who believes in the process. Anything that is presented must be preceded by a study, and resources must be used in the best manner: if it has been studied, there is no need for a study; we will use what has been studied previously, and he will listen carefully to what has been studied. I presented him with what there was and what is available, and his directive was that there should be a library in the Council of Ministers containing all the studies that have been made, so that when an issue is presented to a ministerial committee or the Council of Ministers we can first start by reviewing the study that has been made, the conclusion these studies have made within the subject can be presented, and consequently whoever is studying this subject can benefit from the results of studies which they have spent money on. I began by forming a group. I went to the bodies in which these studies were made and sent to each of the ministries, asking them "Send us the studies which have been made under your jurisdiction from 1974 to now, with the title and contents, and send us a copy of them." At the same time I said that the bodies in which these studies were made might not know about these studies and that they might have been put to the side or neglected. At the same time I have been dealing with the bodies which might have financed these studies, which are four: the American Aid Authority, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the United Nations, then the scientific centers which exist in the universities and scientific and academic organizations. I wrote to these bodies, and received lists with the names of the studies which have been made since 1974, done by financing from the American Aid Authority, in two volumes 30 by 50 centimeters with 2,000 pages -- the names of studies. In 6 months I will have this library. We will take the abstracts of these studies and make an index of the subjects, and they will be put into the computer.

The Public Sector and the Minister's View

AL-MUSAWWAR: You talked to us about the government sector and the public sector as well, and said that you have a massive problem with the public sector, because you said at the beginning of the new year, at least the revenues of the public sector will increase by as much as the money that is spent on it through renovations, at least. You actually determined that each sector ought to realize a specific return, and this return is said in some sectors to be excessive. I also believe that you have a common belief, you and the prime minister, that the public sector's problem is also more a problem of bad management than an objective problem. However, part of the problem, represented by the causes of losses and the failure to realize goals, may in fact be attributed to the issue that management is not distinguished by competence. What is your view, today, of the subject of the public sector? What do you think will arise from it? What do you expect?

The minister: As far as this part of my task in administrative development goes, I consider myself lucky. In 1974 I was invited by the United Nations to prepare a study for it on the performance of the public sector in Egypt, since it was financing a series of studies on the public sector in the area, and, through these studies, wanted to hold a symposium on the public sector in 1975. I prepared the study, which was aimed at a number of goals, among

them determining the volume of [land] reclamation in the public sector, determining the rate of profitability of money invested in the public sector and the accomplishments of the public sector in terms of production, labor, value added, price equilibriums, surpluses lost to the government, and taxes and insurance. I was able through the data available in 1974 to answer these questions, which the study was aimed at, which I found remarkable, because at that time I started from a fact, which was that the public sector contains part of the resources of Egypt: it contains 1.8 million workers, in the sense that if the ratio of the number of persons [to providers] is 5.6, close to 10 million people live off the public sector, representing today one fifth of the population -- a little more, 22 percent of the population. As a citizen of this country who was in the university, I consider that these studies are remarkable, and that was connected to the series of conferences which were held at the beginning of the sixties on production and management. In 1975, proceeding from these studies, I decided to direct the greatest number of the master's and doctor's theses I was supervising toward the economic performance of the public sector, and I found that the opportunity was to a large extent favorable for these theses to be concentrated on the industrial sector, for a simple reason: this sector began starting in 1973 to compile an abundant, comprehensive record on the financial performance of each of the companies of the public sector and organize the publication of this condition every year, where a crop of pithy, rich data for every researcher existed in organized form in the combined budget and the calculation of the results of each company in an annual volume, "statement of accomplishments," which was published started in 1973. No researcher would have the excuse that the data did not exist. I directed about eight doctoral theses and 12 masters' theses on economic performance to the public sector.

Consequently, when I came to the cabinet, I had come into possession of a picture of the performance from 1973 to 1982 which was not false. I had a complete analysis of the financial status of the industrial public sector, 140 companies. When I speak I do not speak from a vacuum, but from a situation analyzed by 20 theses directed at 140 companies.

The picture of the public sector, in brief, is that there are investments with a book value of 19 billion and a market value of 38 billion. At the end of the plan the book value will double and will become approximately 40 billion, and the market value will become 80 billion. By any standard, that is greater than the investments which could be found under any category.

The second fact is that half of these investments have been financed through borrowing, from the banking system or from lenders on the world market. Borrowing, as far as we, as specialists in business management, are concerned, means that you pay instalments on annual debts at interest that ranges from 10 to 12 percent on the average. That is, this borrowed money must on the average "realize" from 10 to 12 percent, and pay out a surplus which leaves one-fifth, if there is an average payout of 5 years, so that the one-fifth will be 50 percent, or the equivalent of 10 percent of the total, which must be available to pay the instalments on the loans, 10 plus 12 percent; therefore the surplus must be around 22 percent, if I want the current and future generations not to bear the burdens of paying the sector's debts and the interest on debts for which the public sector is liable.

Four Facts about the Situation

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is the current situation regarding the surpluses?

The minister: The overall figure now is 1.5 percent on the average. I must realize from 10 to 12 percent, but I realize 1.5 percent. Whatever the reason might be, then, it is necessary that the 1.5 percent move.

The third fact is that there are successful experiments in the public sector, and unsuccessful experiments in the same sector. For example, the group of textile companies; you find that there are companies that realize a return of 20 percent, and there are companies which lose money or make 2 or 3 percent and belong to the same sector, produce the same products and work under the same circumstances and restrictions. What is the difference between the two? You can go into depth in greater detail. We find that in one company the ratio of wages to every pound of sales is 40 percent, and in another company the ratio of wages is 22 percent. You find that the ratio of the cost of raw materials in one company is 38 percent, and in another company producing the same products, the cost of raw materials is 28 percent. What does that mean? These are companies working in the same sector.

The fourth fact is that the public sector, after experience from 1962 to 1984, 22 years, that is, I believe that it has reached the stage of maturity, and we no longer have to give further opportunities for training.

The fifth fact is that part of the sector is operating within a framework of restrictions, which are restrictions related to the stabilization of prices at rates that are below cost, that labor was imposed on it at a period and is no longer imposed on it now, and they might not have needed it at some point. These are two basic restrictions. The third restriction you will find is that the structure of wages at present is totally different from the structure of wages in the economic units to be found on the market.

All this ultimately goes to say that the economic performance of the public sector must improve and progress and that improvement in performance is not just an inevitable matter, but is also possible. If there are units in which performance has advanced and the performance in the other units has not, and the two are working under the same circumstances, the performance must improve and performance must be possible.

I have acted in two directions. The first direction is that I will create the legislative climate which will allow administration to improve and promote progress, in order that the desire for improvement not founder before the claim that there are legislative obstacles. The second direction is that I will find a platform for improvement and development which we will agree on and will start to apply in all companies without exception, relying in that on my experience in taking over companies which had been operating at a loss and, praise God and the efforts of the people who were working with me, have become better. If I have experimented and succeeded in improving companies that were operating at a loss and others whose returns were low, and also participated in the boards of directors of companies and lived through the experiment, and if we can create development, therefore it is necessary

that development be relevant and possible. I am talking from the perspective of a person who has gained experience, and not just someone who supervises research.

The legislative approach concerned the executive bill of the law on general authorities, which is the legislative context organizing the freedom to act and the method for dealing with management in the public sector companies, and the role of public sector authorities.

The most important thing, as I am setting out the bill, setting out the notion and imparting it to the law so that it will provide a format for the notion, is that it is supposed to happen, and my thinking is concentrated on something extremely simple, that I as an owner sign my contract with management so that it will improve profits, provided that I share in the returns from the improvement: company management, I will assign you to manage this company, and we will share any increase in profits over the profit realized in 1984. We will divide each additional pound of profit: management will take a percentage, and I will get the greater percentage.

I am one of those who believe that if there is leadership that is able to bring about change, the change will occur, and that change comes about through the leadership's belief in change and its persistence and constant striving toward change. This happens in all countries of the world, even in the most advanced. In 1982-83, Chrysler's losses came to 70 percent of the money invested. Leadership was chosen for it which came in from Ford, which is acknowledged to have the highest level of competence in American industry, as a result of a dispute, and took over the management of Chrysler, on the basis of a challenge, which stipulated that a salary of no more than a dollar per month would be paid out until the company started to realize a profit. That is, the leadership would work for free as long as the company was sustaining losses, and would start to receive a wage when the company realized profits. In a single year Chrysler paid off half its debt, which came to 1.6 billion, and started to realize profits. The leadership's situation was that it was under pressure to realize a profit and had to think in terms of profit, and had to be given the opportunity to participate in the results of its thinking.

The group of people in management gets 5 percent, and we get the rest. You will make the 5 percent in the form of management income which approximates management's income from the revenues of the private sector, and I will be happy if its income increases 10 times over, because that means that my income will increase 950 times over, since I am getting 95 percent. We in Egypt, in public sector companies 100 percent owned by the government, have agreed to sign management contracts with foreign management, and we have been pursuing that since 1962 without announcing it. For example, the Nile Hilton Hotel, the Meridien and the Sheraton are 100 percent owned by the government and I have made contracts with a foreign company -- on the condition, however, that it be managed on my behalf, and I give it absolute powers to administer and liberate it from all laws, except for the labor laws, and from all bills. It takes 20 percent of the total profit from me before deducting depreciation and interest, while I say I will give 5 percent of the net profit.

AL-MUSAWWAR: And the workers?

The minister: The workers have a system of bonuses. The manager's bonuses are connected to profits, because he is the thinking mind and the power that can bring about the realization of a profit. I say that the systems of incentives in the world have not taken a form where a pattern is set out that is applied to everyone. Every group in an economic unit has its own system of incentives. People who work in sales receive a commission. People who are employed in production are paid for production. People working in services are paid for improved service. People working in management are paid for profits. As for people paid for everything, that occurs only in countries which want to do everything and convince the people that that is being realized under some slogan. We are bringing things back to their observed, acceptable and logical roots and roots which have been applied in numerous places in the world. The bill addresses itself to many things. I was concerned that wages should advance along with increases in production. Therefore, in the bill we said that the ratio of wages to the value of production should be fixed, that is, the ratio of wages for every 100 would be fixed at 20 or 30 percent. The percentage should be fixed but the figure on the wages can rise. If you say that the proportion of wages is 20 percent of the value of a production of 1 million, the wages will be 200,000; if the value of the production is 2 million, we have no objection to the figure on wages rising to 400,000, double. There is absolutely no objection to the figure on wages being tripled over 3 years if the value of production triples. In the next session of the policy committee, we will present the bill. In order to set out the bill, and in order for it to be acceptable, I sat with each minister and held meetings with the heads of authorities and meetings with the heads of companies and all the surveillance agencies which might object to some sections of the bill. I took 52 meetings, and each meeting lasted 3 or 4 hours.

The Basic Features of the Bill

AL-MUSAWWAR: What are some of the basic features of the bill?

The minister: Only two things should be raised at a higher level, to an authority or a minister -- amendments in price policies and wage ratios, and issues that bear on investment projects. This is the premise that is applied in all countries of the world which have given an impetus and urged their economic units to progress. I have hundreds of examples from every country for anyone who wishes to read them.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is your aspiration in that?

The minister: The aspiration is based on an actual situation: if we move along this road over a period of no more than 5 years, we will attain a rate of return on investment which is close to the rates that are realized by successful countries in the world.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Meaning?

The minister: At least 12 percent.

Interconnected Labor Relations

AL-MUSAWWAR: Haven't you addressed yourself to the problem of existing interconnected organizations and labor relations, workers on boards of directors and union committees, and their conflict with and interference in general policies and labor relations? Don't you consider that our workers have matured to the point where their rights have become sufficiently affirmed so that we can somewhat distance these organizations with their political role from interference?

The minister: I have gone through the experience of being on the boards of directors on which there is [labor] representation. The basic error, when I introduced the experiment of participation, and participation through elections, is that I introduced something which is very serious, and to which I had not been attentive, along with that, that is, the possibility of auctioneering over the rights of the voters in order to obtain their votes, even at the expense of the installation and its survival, and the submission of subjects related to workers' affairs to the board of directors. Someone is promoted and another person is dismissed and so forth. He does not deserve to be promoted and does not deserve such and such, a series of accumulated things and patterns of gains, although they cannot be freely discussed in the boards of directors, because the discussions of the board of directors, after the board is finished, will then take place on the floor of the factory or the installation.

The only solution is for us to remove all issues bearing on workers' affairs from the board of directors, because, in earlier laws, before workers' participation, there was a committee for workers' affairs which enumerated all the workers' issues, and they did not come before the board, because the board is a board for policies, a board which reviews the accounts of the results at each session, the performance which has been presented and the profit that has been realized. We never saw boards review promotions, transfers, the imposition of leaves or loans; that is absolutely not the board of directors' job.

One of the best and most useful of studies is the one which was made on workers' productivity in the industrial sector; workers' productivity in the period from 1974 to 1980 in the public industrial sector increased 0.5 percent.

Have Wages Increased?

AL-MUSAWWAR: What about the increase in wages?

The minister: Real wages have increased 5 percent a year. The other thing is that contrary to all the countries which have thought about progress, you have not raised the two together. You have not placed increased production alongside the increase in gains. When the world thought about increasing production, the first notion, after the industrial revolution, was to increase production through mechanization and increase the workers' working hours, then it moved to develop the workers' performance, then it started to introduce auxiliary machines and instruments, and when it achieved this and

it came to realize the production of resources, it started to think about welfare. The countries which started after that, such as Japan and the countries of southeast Asia, linked the two together. They did not reduce work hours, but rather left the work hours as they were, so that when production improves, I will give you part of the output in the form of services. However, it did not think about reducing the hours of work or think about reducing output. On the subject of factors influencing production: we have not dealt with productive persons who work more hours, are serious, disciplined, well-versed, and honest about the job. The second direction in which you must move is to start moving in the context of each commodity. Let us begin stating that profit consists of the yield from incomes less expenditures on invested money. If you are to progress, you must increase revenues and reduce expenditures and money invested.

You would be surprised that the advanced world, which does not need more profit and more savings, is more aware of this. In order for us to increase revenues it is necessary to increase production, and we must organize it. In order for us to advance it in the context of each unit, we must work in three focal areas. For each unit I will specify the profit figure which must be realized. This must be realized and whoever cannot realize it will give up his place to someone else.

One basic issue also is that the function of the board of directors is not to terminate or appoint. Its preoccupation is, what are the positive points? What are the resources that can be put to use to increase revenues and reduce expenditures? At this point they drew up a work program and put someone in charge of it who would make progress, would carry everything out, and then it would be presented to the board. Our role, as administrative development, is an auxiliary one. We have the general budget from which we can employ any local or international expert and provide any material resources needed for development. We can provide expertise and material resources, then oversee what takes place in the context of each unit. I started to present this program to the economic units in every sector. I sat down first of all with the minister and presented it to the heads of the authorities. It was printed and distributed among the companies. In the course of the past 2 weeks, there was a meeting with company heads at each meeting, and it was presented publicly. Is this possible? This is the conception for increasing profitability; if it is carried out in detail, is it possible or not?

Fortunately, the response exceeded what had been expected in the course of my meetings with the leaders of the industry and trade sectors, 190 companies representing about 75 percent of the public sector companies.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Management has been liberated, which is a good development, but there are other elements which it might not be possible to liberate, such as secret and open oversight agencies.

The minister: You say that in a context imposed by sovereign and historic conditions affecting the competence of management, such as compulsory pricing, the proliferation of oversight agencies, the emigration of skilled labor, the mediocre quality of the financing structures of some projects, and the presence of patterns of bills governing workers which have to be

applied regardless of the nature of the job, a single pattern, advancing this context to the benefit of the management in any project, will take some time, if management is to develop. The raising of prices must take place in a calculated way, because it is founded on the balance in the society, what you can permit and what is not possible, what can bring about stability in the society; you must raise the commodities of affluent people, which affluent people consume, or the affluent group in the society must obtain the same commodities at a higher price. How can you raise them? There are many solutions, where you can permit the consumption of goods in the case of affluent people, and people who are not affluent, but also allow the affluent to pay the greater cost. The second point is to reform the financing structures, granting financial independence. In the sense of financial independence, when for example I build a hotel, I should provide what I might call public capital, or the person who does the managing should provide the public capital; he can borrow and reserve, and there is a certain amount of financial independence. That is included in the bill. As soon as it is completed, and in execution of the project the process of developing management from within is begun, that will make me think about the context, that is, moving or departing from the formal bill on workers' affairs. Every organization has its own bill with rules which will bring about stability in labor relations and at the same time in the system of wages, relations with oversight agencies, and the analysis of the role of the oversight agency, so that no overlap will occur. I say the framework needs to be dealt with, or needs to be promoted before it is amended.

The New Bill and Old Rights

AL-MUSAWWAR: We are afraid that the new bill might entail a reduction of some rights.

The minister: I would like to say that the new bill entails no reduction of rights; rather, it entails an organization of work and stimulation of people to move in positive areas and reduce the negative role. Should someone say that the board of directors of a company is, for example, to discuss the transfer of a person, the return of a person, or the placating of a person for 5 hours and that I should leave the discussion of the issue of an accumulated reserve whose value is 1 million pounds for a period of 1 year, on which I am paying 18 percent interest? That is wrong!

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why are the general authorities restricted to companies belonging to the Ministry of Industry but do not include similar companies belonging to other ministries? For example the Binha Electronic Industries Company, which belongs to the War Production [Ministry], is not a member of the Machinery Industries Authority, and this results in a lack of coordination among the companies of the industrial sector in Egypt in general!

The minister: In the bill, we have created a consultative board, a higher board, heads of authorities together with the minister and a technical bureau which they have for coordination among the various sectors. The coordination might be desired, and there are common issues. I might produce things that others besides me produce. It is a consultative board so that people can meet for the sake of exchanging views. However, the idea is that these

boards meet without preparation. The technical bureau has an official who is assigned the subjects, studies them, and prepares them for the board meeting.

AL-MUSAWWAR: How will you apply the 5 percent to the public service sector?

The minister: Let us take for example a service sector such as supply. The bakery companies operate at a loss because the prices are controlled. What is their fault? What is the position of these companies that operate at a loss? We expect that with the increase in profitability the 5 percent will increase in volume to the extent that we have described regarding compensation for the members of the boards of directors. This increase will be collected into a fund throughout the authority, and we will pay members of the board of directors of companies which operate at a loss for sovereign reasons, and are compelled to lose money, out of that.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What about the issue of the dollar and the issue of the exchange rate?

The minister: The rise in the rate of the dollar or the drop in the value of the Egyptian pound -- the rate of the dollar is determined in accordance with the price of supply and demand.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is your role as a minister of administrative development?

The minister: We increase demand, the demand for the dollar constitutes the demand for imports, and imports are a result of the inability of local production to meet requirements. Imports are made from various countries of the world. If they are made under better conditions, that means a better price and a better period of time for payment; if you get a better price, that will affect the amount required to pay for the imports and consequently the balance of payments. That is as far as what I have to import and what I will continue to import are concerned. The second part is that it is possible that it can affect the balance of payments if I have a clear strategic goal in guiding the president to support and encourage local production gradually to take the place of imports, so that the permanent drain and headache represented by the deficit in the balance of payments and consequently the drop in the exchange rate in the Egyptian pound will not continue. The approach is obvious. It means, ministers, specialists, that it is necessary to get the issue of supporting the balance of payments in movement and raising the exchange rate on behalf of the Egyptian pound through an objective view of imports and support for the production sectors. Three weeks ago the prime minister requested a list of what is now being imported, broken down by commodities, along with relative importance, and asked me how much weight each group of commodities had in the volume of total imports and what the composition of imports in the last 5 and 10 years had been. He presented the two questions so that I could now think about two things -- what was certain to be imported (which I must import), and what I must try, through the efforts of sincere people in this country, to obtain through long-term agreements on easy terms.

The prime minister's questions had the goal of getting us to try, by becoming acquainted with the list of inevitable imports, and getting us to plan, from now, for a concentrated effort to reach a form of agreement whereby these commodities will arrive in easy form at reasonable prices. As we know, even in the private sector, when you deal with parties through long term agreements, and large volumes, they obtain better conditions. Every ministry will prepare a table of the commodities it imports and the commodities it will continue to import, along with this quantity and its current and future sources of supply, and we will start planning.

The second important policy is that which involves substituting domestic production for imports, or reducing consumption.

An obvious example: we import \$1.2 billion worth of wheat flour a year. The average per capita consumption is 183 kilograms a year. A kilogram produces 10 discs. That is, an individual consumes five and a half discs a day. He also consumes 600,000 tons of sugar. If we take an average price, 200 pounds, that means \$1.2 billion. Can we continue with this? Just producing half the sugar means \$600 million, 200,000 tons of oil means about 200 million at least, about 100,000 tons of poultry, 684 million cars, and 850 million in cement, reinforcement iron and wood. I have the list in front of me. I can start dealing with it through the following premise: how, over a short period, can I encourage existing domestic production projects to expand, hasten to carry out the projects that are under construction, or embark on new projects through a group of unusual measures and incentives? This is one of the important issues for realizing stability for the Egyptian economy, which is what concerns me. I believe that the list will be ready in 6 weeks and we will deal with it on the basis of this premise.

The New Loans and Expenses We Have

AL-MUSAWWAR: One point is that we in most countries of the world are surprised to see a severe difference between estimates by Egyptians and estimates by foreigners relative to loans and credit. This has happened in America and it also happened recently with President Mubarak in Germany. They estimated that they gave us 3 billion marks the past 10 years, and all we used was approximately 1.3 million [sic] marks -- that is, this means that 1.7 billion were not used. The issue now is that we have an argument and the answer is given us, if we ask for new loans or credit we are told that we have not used it up and that our absorptive capacity is limited. As administrative development, what is your opinion on this subject?

The minister: The motive force for the disbursement of loans is three things: the presence of projects in which these loans can be used, the speed of execution of the projects which have started, in the hope that these facilities will be used, and third your evaluation of the benefit or lack of benefit that will be derived from the facilities available. These facilities serve the two parties: they serve you in obtaining easy conditions, and the demand for your production rises, so that consequently purchases increase when these facilities are disbursed. There is a fourth condition, which is that sometimes they request local guarantees. They give you facilities with local guarantees, facilities for constructing a hotel with guarantees from

domestic banks to pay off these facilities. The domestic banks may not be at all prepared, because it might be their opinion that the project is noneconomic. I say that the issue is not one of the disbursement of international facilities but rather one of mobilizing the resources present in our possession so that you can make the disbursements that have been provided. The money is available. If you read the figure on Egyptians' deposits in domestic banks, these greatly exceed the volume of the facilities we are asking for. Egyptians' current deposits are about 13 billion. This is the property of Egyptian individuals. It is possible that these could remain as deposits in the banks or be directed toward investment services. Since they are not directed toward investment uses, I consequently turn to investments from abroad to provide my needs. This means that there is something which must be promoted, and that is to encourage and direct these savings to investment projects. We have encouraged the establishment of investment projects. Who has financed them? Seventy percent of the Egyptian investors, basically.

We have a study on Egyptians abroad which cost about \$25,000, covering 10,000 Egyptians. The study was aimed at average annual savings and average annual remittances, and the amount remaining abroad -- why isn't that remitted to Egypt? If we want to encourage you, will you remit it? What will you ask for?

The study concluded that average savings as far as Egyptians abroad are concerned range from \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year, and we have 3 million Egyptians abroad; their average annual savings will be about 9 million [sic] a year. Of that, the amount remitted is 3 million. Six million remain abroad. The reason is that that amount has not managed to come upon open investment areas, or there was an experience with investment areas that had been open, but some people were deceived, costs were estimated which were not attained, or the administration of this money was not sound. Egyptians want to remit their savings, provided that is on behalf of an assured project. For them, the only assured way is for a bank to receive this money, which is insured, and if the project is not carried out they get interest on it and their money is returned in full, or they agree over a project whose cost is well known in advance and the bank commits itself to carrying out this project in advance. They have specified the types of projects. Farmers want small farms and engineers want engineering firms.

I would like to say that if there is an honest, concentrated, regular, orderly effort based on the picture as the prime minister wants it, I can assert that the issue of the disruption in the balance of payments could be very much less than the disruption has been for 2 or 3 years.

The Private Sector and the Role of Absent Persons

AL-MUSAWWAR: Do you believe that the private sector in these circumstances specifically is using all its resources in order to take part in the process of domestic construction?

The minister: I will put the question in another form: Do you believe that the private sector is prepared really to offer and participate in development? Does it have the readiness? Does it exercise it or not?

I believe that the private sector is most prepared and my opinion, most honestly and frankly, is that we are a society that is suffering from scarcity, scarcity of production, which is less than we consume. The society of scarcity must offer encouragement, with all its strength, without reservation, even with sacrifices, to all efforts to increase production, in the sense that if I have customs disputes with producers, owners of projects which are being carried out, I should settle them, even if the two make concessions, because the alternative is that these projects will not come into production and I will not receive the customs. If I have disputes with taxes, I should settle them through reconciliations so that people will continue. If I have any kind of dispute, it must be settled. The final thing is that the constant presence of disputes is the basic element for the emergence of an atmosphere of a lack of trust, because people who have a problem will not be silent, whether they are right or are mistaken.

Then this money, even if part of it [text ends at this point]

11887

CSO: 4504/163

LIBYA

COLLUSION WITH EXPATRIATES ALLEGED

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 24 Dec 84 p 9

[Article by Sayyid Qadhdhaf al-Damm: "Dogs and Stray Dogs"]

[Text] In one of the addresses he delivers on certain occasions, the leader gave those who had fled the country an opportunity to return. Some of them did, and some did not. Those who did not return were executed abroad, and everyone forgot about the matter. Something similar to an alliance was forged between the power of the Revolution and reactionaries. But the power of the Revolution does not lie still.

It is with that assumption that I decided to write this article for which I assume full responsibility. The agencies and the committee that have been charged with the task of negotiating with those who had fled the country have to prepare the necessary reports when asked to do so. This is only the beginning. Writing becomes a worthless commodity in a market full of numbskulls who do not read; and if they were to read, they could not understand what they read. This is where we are or what we have now come to. Writers use broadcast and news agencies as their sources of information [even though] the failure of these agencies has been established. Their news is false, and they are merely mouth-pieces whose propaganda sounds like the croaking of frogs. When I tackle a subject that I feel has nothing to do with broadcasting, I am encouraged to write.

I wrote last time about the people's bureaus, and I told you, [the readers], that there would be a follow-up article with proof and damaging evidence. There is, however, another subject that has been brought to my attention. It is the subject of dogs: all kinds of dogs, stray dogs and non-stray dogs. In my opinion all dogs that leave the camp site of the tribe are stray dogs. Let us discuss the matter with a discerning eye. When the revolution broke out, a few of the hangers-on fled. Each one of them fled in his own way. Some of them decided to stay in spite of themselves, and a trading and trafficking phenomenon emerged. Many of these people became wealthy, and citizens began to feel there was a vast difference and a huge discrepancy between them and that class which came into being in the aftermath of formidable revolutionary changes.

While companies were building homes, bridges, factories, etc., middlemen were building their own castles in the sand inside the country and abroad. Then

socialism was put into practice; privately owned firms were taken over; workers took over the sites of production; and these establishments came to be managed by people who were very much like those who had worked in them. Some of these people did what they were supposed to do, and some of them tried to follow in the footsteps of those from whom the firms had been seized. The association of producers thus found itself in an unenviable position. Everyone was entitled to something, even those who had nothing to prove what they claimed they were entitled to. In this confusion a few Libyans fled the country where they collected the funds which they had sent to the banks by certified means before their flight. With those funds that they found waiting for them they proceeded to manage their offices in Libya from abroad.

You, [the readers], know the scale of Libyans' relationships with each other. Because Libyans are few in number, they treat each other with courtesy. Instead of sending an agent, who is the middleman, to facilitate the task of companies meeting with suppliers, especially for military purposes, the company itself would make a telephone call to arrange an appointment with the supplier who would be relieved because no middleman would be involved in the operation which would be completed through a foreign firm whose name would be stated. A contract would be signed, and the Libyan who had fled the country would leap with joy and laugh with glee because he had achieved what he wanted to achieve from Switzerland, London, Rome or Madrid. The purchasing agent would then arrive and find all the means of comfort available. A plan for another operation would then be made.

This is not fiction; it is fact. When we round up those stray dogs into the country or arrest some of those who are in the country now--even as this article is being written--we will find that some of them are claiming to be revolutionaries even as they ridicule the Revolution abroad. We have the names of these people; we have the evidence; and we have addresses. The firms are still there, thank God. If we were to suspend operations at some of these firms and conduct a revolutionary investigation with them, I could prove to you that what I am saying is true.

Let's go back to the dogs who were contacted by the stray dogs. They talked with each other, and at first the dogs did not report this. When the power of the Revolution, not the agencies, heard about this, reports about good intentions and agreeable dispositions started pouring in. The reports also stated that they were not working together. Nonsense! It was nothing but falsehood and lies. They are in control when they are abroad.

Let's take the case of Yahya 'Umar, for example. Who is living in his mansion now in al-Qadisiyah Square? It is rented, but to whom is it rented? Who gets the rent? This is one example, and there are others. I will mention other names in future articles. I will mention the dirty role they played in dealing with U.S., British and Swiss intelligence. The intelligence game is a free-for-all game, and the channels [of communications on intelligence] between the countries are always open even if there were a break in relations. Swiss intelligence, for example, fearing disturbances in Switzerland, provides files on those who had fled. These files show that they are working in Switzerland legally. If they break the law, they are either fought or recruited to work for Swiss intelligence.

Merchants became aware of this game, and bribery began to play its role in European countries. This is because the merchants had foreign partners who were more concerned about a large income and solving the problem of unemployment. They were not concerned about who they were dealing with. In fact, those Libyans who had fled their country would assure their foreign partners that they had good relations with Libya. One of them would then produce a few military stooges and a few civilians and present them as though they were people with power and influence in Libya. The foreigner would be pleased, and he would report to his country that he had become acquainted with new people who could be bribed. These are people who come from a country that is fighting bribery and corruption! Then the files would start making the rounds from one place to another, and the firms would find out how to make their contacts. They would contact the Libyan official directly, invite him for dinner and offer him the company of a prostitute. On the following day the official would ask for their bid, and he would return to Libya delighted with his success in securing for Libya a wonderful deal which others had failed to secure.

And the Libyan agent would leap with joy and laugh with glee. This time, however, the situation is different. When one is abroad, leaping with joy and laughing with glee are things that one does not keep on doing for too long, even if one were hiding in a fortified tower. If an agent were to pull off something like that in the country, there will be a cane ready to beat the information out of him.

If the dogs want safety, they have to repent and return to the tribe's camp sites. They are to band together, and we will give them a role to play. They may thus serve their country in another way. No one has the right to make them any false promises. We are not asking for their affection; they are prodigal sons. They can either come back or not at all. Their corpses will line the streets of the clean cities where they live. There are only honest people in the pure land of Libya; they are people who bear arms and defend their country.

In future articles I will mention the names of a few people whom I will expose. I will produce witnesses who were with them and who know everything about them. Let AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR be a free forum for free opinions. We ask fellow readers to shed more light on this matter so we can fill up the file on dogs and stray dogs.

8592

CSO: 4504/154

MOROCCO

ECONOMIC RESULTS AS OF END OF AUGUST REPORTED

Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE in French 30 Nov 84 p 10

[Text] Trade Balance

At the end of the first 8 months of this year, Moroccan trade with the rest of the world showed an increase in the trade deficit of about +49.9 percent, as compared to a noticeable reduction of -25.6 percent during the corresponding period in 1983. The balance figures were as follows:

Imports	
1983	15,950
1984	23,057
Exports	
1983	8,565
1984	11,973
Deficit	
1983	7,394
1984	11,084

Thus the rate of coverage of imports by exports dropped by 3.4 percent, from 53.7 percent to 51.8 percent.

This situation was first of all a result of the strong rise in the dollar which greatly influenced import prices, and the very substantial development of our purchases following the liberalization steps taken to encourage imports.

Imports Up

Imports (CIF) came to 23,057,000,000 dirhams as compared to 15,959,000,000 a year earlier, thus showing an increase of 44.5 percent. They accounted for 65.8 percent of all transactions.

This increase in purchases reflects the effects of a certain liberalization of the import system which came about at the beginning of the fiscal period.

The considerable increase in expenditures also resulted from the purchases of energy products, which came to 6,390,000,000 dirhams as of the end of August 1984, as compared to 4,314,000,000 a year earlier, thus showing an increase of 48.1 percent.

With regard to food products, there was an increase of +68.9 percent to a total of 3,830,000 dirhams, as compared to 2,268,000,000 a year earlier. This development was due to the increase in purchases of basic products, in particular 2,230,000,000 dirhams spent on wheat (+106.3 percent), 362,900,000 dirhams on tea (+75.0 percent), and 302,700,000 dirhams on sugar (+34.6 percent).

Imports of raw products came to 2,733,000,000 dirhams as compared to 1,774,000,000 as of the end of August 1983, representing an increase of +54.1 percent. This development basically involved the following: raw vegetable oils in the amount of 625 million dirhams (+114.3 percent); raw or sawed timber and scantlings in the amount of 416,900,000 dirhams (+63.5 percent), cotton in the amount of 129,500,000 dirhams (+14.7 percent), and raw sulfur in the amount of 722 million dirhams (+32.9 percent).

Semimanufactured products increased from 3,152,000,000 dirhams in August 1983 to 4,343,000,000, representing an increase of 40.0 percent. In this connection there was an increase in purchases of natural and chemical fertilizers (+38.5 percent) and steel wire, rods, sheeting pile and profiles (+35.5 percent).

Purchases of industrial equipment products came to 4,277,000,000 dirhams instead of 3,144,000,000 a year earlier, representing an increase of 36.0 percent, while farm equipment goods declined (-45.6 percent) from 218,000,000 dirhams to 118,000,000.

Our imports of consumer goods totaled 1,366,000,000 dirhams as compared to 1,139,000,000 at the end of the first 8 months of 1983, up 19.9 percent. This increase was the result of purchases of medicines, which increased from 129,200,000 dirhams in the earlier period to 149,300,000 in the latter.

Exports Up Also

Moroccan sales to foreign countries reached 11,973,000,000 dirhams at the end of the first 8 months of this year, as compared to 8,565,000,000 at the end of August 1983. Income thus increased by 39.8 percent as compared to an increase of 14.3 percent by the end of August 1983.

Moreover, the turnover total for our sales of food products increased by 26.3 percent to a total of 2,705,000,000 dirhams, as compared to 2,141,000,000 a year ago. The products which best illustrate this development are crustaceans, shellfish and canned vegetables, totaling 261,400,000 dirhams (+86.4 percent).

Exports of raw products totaled 3,439,000 dirhams, with an increase of more than 36 percent. Income from shipments of phosphates, representing almost

73 percent of the total for this category and 21.2 percent of total exports, came to 2,534,700,000 dirhams, showing an increase of 35.5 percent. This is explained by the rise in prices and above all by the strong rise in the dollar.

Income from semimanufactured products came to 3,350,000 dirhams, as compared to 2,119,000,000 during the comparable period last year. Among the products which showed an increase were phosphoric acid, with a total of 2,396,100,000 dirhams (+108.1 percent) and cotton thread, totaling 108,100,000 dirhams (+87.7 percent).

With regard to finished consumer products, an increase of 41.2 percent was seen. This development was due above all to ready-made garments, the income from which increased by 57 percent, rugs (+16.3 percent), knitted goods (+43.8 percent) and footwear (+31.2 percent).

Tourist Income

Following the question raised by another journal, AL BAYANE, concerning the estimated amount of tourist income for 1984, the Ministry of Tourism made a point of explaining that these estimates did not take the contribution made in foreign exchange by the TME into account at all, such that the figure represented only the foreign exchange sums obtained from nonresident foreign tourists, as reported by the Exchange Office.

Income for the first half of 1984 was up nearly 39 percent over the total for the corresponding period in 1983. If the rate of progress continued during the second half of the year, there should thus be total income reported in the neighborhood of 4,000 MDH.

	First Half	Second Half	Total
1979	620.7	747.2	1357.9
1980	657.6	895.3	1552.9
1981	850.2	1018.9	1869.1
1982	937.3	1201.3	2138.6
1983	1222.8	2647.4	2870.2
1984	1696.9		

It should be stressed at the outset that this is actual income obtained either from transfers made to the tourist sectors (hotels, travel agencies, clubs) or foreign exchange (bank notes) paid in by tourists during their stay in Morocco. This information is reported by the banks on forms sent regularly to the Exchange Office to account for operations they initiate.

Where bank notes exchanged at bank windows are concerned, a distinction must be made by the banks between tourists (nonresident foreigners) and Moroccans living abroad. As a result, only the payments made by tourists are reported as tourist income.

Foreign exchange paid out by Moroccan workers abroad, on the other hand, as well as bank notes changed at bank windows and transfers received from abroad,

are regarded as transfers in the category of labor income, and are not added in as tourist income.

The above table shows that the average annual increase in total income is 30 percent, and that income for the first half of the year is usually below that seen in the second half, accounting for about 43 percent of the income for the year.

Development and Foreign and Domestic Debt Charges (in MDH)

	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>
Total debt:	9448	10747
including:		
Amortizable	7698	8846
Floating	1750	1901
Foreign debt:		
Total	6710	7735
including:		
Capital	4205	5093
Interest	2505	2642
Domestic debt:		
Total	1018	1110
including:		
Capital	469	510
Interest	548	600

5157

CSO: 4519/60

MOROCCO

FOREIGN POLICY FOLLOWING WITHDRAWAL FROM OAU EXAMINED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1466, 7 Dec 84 p 46

/Article: "One Eye on the Common Market and the Other on Madrid"/

/Text/ Morocco withdrew from the Organization of African Unity on 12 November 1984, following acceptance of the Saharan Arab Republic as a full member during the 20th congress of the OAU in Addis Ababa. This was accompanied by a broad Moroccan movement toward West Europe. Morocco requested admission in the Common Market. Many voices were raised calling for abandonment of Africa and a greater rapprochement with nations of more significance in the foreign relations of Morocco, in both political and economic terms.

The movement of Morocco toward Europe has proceeded in two directions: Spain first and the European Common Market second.

Moroccan-Spanish relations in past years have been characterized by hot and cold gusts. In 1975 the Spanish military administration left the Western Sahara, with the knowledge that after the Green March, Moroccan forces would fill the vacuum. In the following we are publishing details of the tripartite Madrid agreement on division of the Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania.

In a second stage the army came to power in Nouakchott, and they withdrew from the part of the Sahara which they had acquired. The Moroccan Army filled the vacuum once again, while POLISARIO forces grew stronger. The military confrontation between the Sahrawis backed by Algeria and Libya and the Moroccan Army backed by France and America assumed dangerous proportions. This was accompanied by the assumption of power in several European countries, and in Spain itself, by the Socialist Party. Morocco thought at first that Spain would be more sympathetic with Algeria by virtue of its new political orientation. However, the gas crisis between Algiers and Madrid drove a wedge into Algerian-Spanish mutual affection and nearly brought the countries to the brink of total rupture, after the case had gone to international courts.

This crisis caused Madrid to turn to Rabat. Here began the final stage, the new honeymoon stage. It appeared that the two sides were ready to overcome the deep-seated differences between them and enter a new era of mutual exchange of facilities and services.

The problems between the two countries are limited to two questions: fishing at sea and two Spanish enclaves in the Moroccan flank, Ceuta and Melilla. The problem of fishing at sea is in the process of being solved. Moroccan rights were recognized. The problem of the two enclaves also emerged as a matter which has been "raised." Both sides are trying to find a satisfactory solution. Up to now the problem had been suppressed. It could have exploded at any moment under the influence of various factors and circumstances. The Dutch Deputy Tom Freyniknigh submitted a resolution to NATO on 13 November 1984 in which he raised publicly the idea of returning Gibraltar to Spain in exchange for the return of Ceuta and Melilla to Morocco. The Spanish military commander of this region even declared that it was impossible militarily to hold the two enclaves if Morocco decided to regain them through military means, as India had done with Goa and as Argentina had tried to do with the Falkland Islands. Even though the Spanish commander lost his position because of this statement, wide-scale emigration from these two enclaves to the Spanish mainland began. It seemed to the inhabitants of the region that their future was no longer assured and that a change in the political and military map might occur in the foreseeable future.

Moreover, Moroccan-Spanish cooperation has made greater strides forward after establishment of the "Arab-African union" between Morocco and the Jamahiriya was announced.

It even reached the point where the air forces in both countries conducted joint air maneuvers called "Atlas '84" to test their capabilities. Spanish Defense Minister Narciso Serra i Serra arrived in Rabat to submit to Moroccan officials what can be described as a dossier on joint defense. The Spanish even expressed their readiness to arm the Moroccan Army and compete with the French and Americans in this domain. Among the arms which Spain may offer are helicopters, armored cruisers, guns and light equipment. Thus we find that relations between Madrid and Rabat have quickly become better than at any time in the past.

It is worth pointing out in this regard that the first visit abroad made by Socialist Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of Spain was to Morocco. The same holds true for the new Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Moran.

Abderrahim Bouabid, secretary general of the Moroccan Socialist Union of Popular Forces /USFP/, summed up relations between the two countries as follows: "As soon as the problem of the two enclaves is solved through negotiations between brothers, Spain will become the most important Mediterranean nation linking Europe, Morocco, Africa and the Greater Arab Maghreb."

The problem of Spain's joining the EEC has been a time bomb on the path toward new cooperation between Madrid and Rabat, because Spain's agricultural exports may compete with Moroccan exports. The new Moroccan orientation to consolidate relations with EEC nations to the point of requesting admission may be an important development in respect to overall Moroccan-European relations.

Recent statistics published in Morocco indicate that more than one-half of Moroccan imports (52.3 percent) come from nations of the EEC, while three-fourths of Moroccan exports go to these same nations (74.4 percent).

Thus it is clear that a new set of given facts governs the general situation in Morocco and the relations planned for it with its neighbors in the north.

What is certain is that the Moroccan-Libyan rapprochement plays a role in this domain. It has given Rabat new importance and made it play an essential role in what the Europeans call the "security of the southern borders of their continent."

7811

CSO: 4504/118

IRAQ

CORRESPONDENT MEETS TROOPS ON MAJNUN ISLAND

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 252, 8-14 Dec 84 pp 20-27

[Article by Nora Fakhuri: "Troops Interviewed on Location; AL-MAJALLAH on the Front between Iraq and Iran; Iraq Controls Half of Majnun Island"]

[Text] "We have an established presence on Majnun Island now. The fact that you as journalists are not being sent there does not mean that we do not have control over the island. I assure you that the two islands are most definitely occupied by Iranian troops."

The Iraqis are saying they regained part of the island. Is this the reason why our visit to the islands was cancelled? "There are things that happen in war that you cannot see. Do you believe only what you see? If the Iraqis had regained Majnun Island, they would have invited all the journalists to see what they did regain."

That was the conclusion reached in the interview that was conducted with Iran's Col Hasan Nasrah, commander of Division 92 by Nora Fakhuri, correspondent for AL-MAJALLAH. This interview, which included a conversation with some leaders of the Revolutionary Guard, was conducted in a camp whose name is unknown, located 70 kilometers south of Ahvaz. It was published in the 246th issue of AL-MAJALLAH which came out on 27 October 1984.

What is the truth? Who has control of the northern and southern parts of Majnun Island? Is it Iranian troops or Iraqi troops? AL-MAJALLAH has been following this matter in a search for the truth. [Its correspondent] returned a few days ago from the Iraqi front--specifically from southern Majnun Island--with this written and pictorial report which provides unequivocal evidence of a fact that has remained distorted for a long period of time.

Who has control over the northern and southern parts of Majnun Island: Iraqi troops or Iranian troops? This question has been asked since last February, specifically since the onset of al-Ahwar Battle: what Iranians call the Khyber Operation or what Iraqis like to call the battle of East al-Basrah 2.

Al-Ahwar Battle was one of the decisive battles in the war between Iraq and Iran. It took place in the area of al-Ahwar which is located on part of the southern borders between Iraq and Iran where Majnun Island is located. It is an

area that is inundated with water, an area where swamps, reeds and palm branches stripped of their leaves abound.

After this battle which cost both sides thousands of dead and wounded as well as hundreds of millions of dollars worth of weapons and ammunition, a state of semi tranquillity prevailed over the Iraqi-Iranian front; it lasted till mid October. At that time Iranian troops launched a limited attack on the area of Sayf Sa'd in the central section of the front, which is 120 kilometers long. The attack was launched at a location that is 115 miles from the capital, Baghdad.

A journalist visiting Iraq today would undoubtedly ask [for permission] to go to Sayf Sa'd, but we did not. Why? We did not ask [for permission] to go to Sayf Sa'd because the attack on Sayf Sa'd was not the attack that had been expected and anticipated; nor was it the major attack that was to decide the war. According to Iraq's minister of defense Mr 'Adnan Khayr Allah, it was rather an unsuccessful operation to test the Iraqis. It was an operation that led to the destruction of a large number of Iranian tanks.

Thus, al-Ahwar Battle and its consequences continued to be the most decisive battle on this front which has been producing casualties for 4 years. And the question of who controls the two parts of Majnun Island remains unanswered because news and allegations about that island are conflicting. Iran says it is occupying both parts of the island and that it has an established presence there. Iran also says it will begin extracting oil from the island in a matter of weeks and that it will export that oil to the world.

Iraq says it regained part of the island, specifically the southern part, and that it inundated the northern part with water from al-Hur after building a man-made lake there. Consequently, it is Iraq that has control over both parts of the island and over any movement that takes place there. Iraq also affirms that it is impossible for Iran to pump oil out of Majnun Island because Iran's troops are within the range of Iraq's artillery and because it needs no less than 5 years of work to build oil installations--if there were peace--before it can produce a single barrel of oil from both parts of the island.

Again we ask: what is the truth?

This time we took that question to a top-level man: to the second man in the decision making process on the Iraqi front. We took our question to the deputy commander in chief and the minister of defense, Staff Lt Gen 'Adnan Khayr Allah.

A Conversation on Defense

One Friday--the weekly holiday in Iraq--at the stadium of (Firas) National Club, which is located in the area of al-Rushdiyah near Baghdad, someone came and said, "That civilian is the minister of defense. He is surveying the club, waiting for the arrival of some guests. If you do want to go to Majnun Island, go ask him. This is your chance."

I asked him for 10 minutes of his time to make his acquaintance. Those 10 minutes extended into a 4-hour private interview. At the outset Staff Lt Gen Khayr Allah said, "I am a man of few words, and I do not usually talk with the

press. You may consider what we will say a casual conversation, and you may print some of it. Go ahead and ask."

The first question I asked was that question which had traveled thousands of kilometers from London to Tehran to Ahvaz and back, and then from London to Baghdad.

[Question] Who controls the two parts of Majnun Island? Did you really regain part of the southern part of the island, and did you inundate the rest? Is it true that Iranians cannot pump oil out of the island?

Staff Lt Col Khayr Allah smiled and proceeded to explain the military details of how the battle of East al-Basrah 2 was fought. He explained how the Iranians, by throwing large numbers of volunteers, armored divisions, infantry and boats into that battle, had managed to put up a bridge linking northern Majnun Island, which is within Iran's international borders, with southern Majnun Island, which is within Iraq's international borders. Iran did this in an attempt to reach the area of al-Qarnah where the Euphrates and Tigris join each other and flow into al-Basrah. Mr Khayr Allah said, "It was a costly and a stupid operation even though some soldiers were able to reach Iraqi territory. However, they arrived on Iraqi soil without air cover and without protection, and they were not able to establish a foothold in the areas they reached. Consequently, they remained only hours in those areas during which they were captured, and some of them were killed. We do not deny that the Iranians were able to occupy both parts of the island, but they fought in the battle and then fled. Afterwards these troops were forced to retreat. After the Majnun Front became somewhat calm, we built a man-made lake. Then, from the positions which we had regained, we let the water flow and we inundated all the dry land area. We raised the water level in al-Hur, and we now have control of both parts of the island as well as the entire area of al-Ahwar. If the Iranians contemplate another attack, they will drown."

[Question] But the Iranians are saying the opposite of that. They affirm that they are definitely in control of both parts of the island. This is something I was not able to confirm because they declined for some military considerations to let us go to Majnun Island to inspect it. Therefore, talking about the situation will not be enough for me. I would like for you to approve my going to Majnun Island, and I also hope you will allow us to take pictures to show the evidence.

[Answer] Tomorrow morning you will fly on a private airplane to Majnun Island, and you will be allowed to take pictures. There you will meet with the commander of the Third Corps, and you will talk with him and with the soldiers. You may also go as far as the most advanced observation post and the last earthwork.

On Majnun Island

On the following morning we flew south aboard a private airplane from al-Muthanna Airport in Baghdad to 'Ali ibn Abu Talib Base in al-Nasiriyah. This is the base from which Iraqi military airplanes are launched when there is any attack. From there we flew in a military helicopter to the command of the Third Corps in the suburbs of al-Basrah. From there, accompanied by Col Abu Hatim, we

were driven in a military vehicle to al-Qarnah and from there to southern Majnun Island. To be specific, we were taken to advance positions in the area where the Sixth Brigade of the Third Corps is stationed.

Personnel carriers filled with passengers were traveling on the al-Basrah-Baghdad Highway, carrying people to their homes after a 21-day tour of duty on the front. It was noon, and military vehicles were speeding on the highway carrying hot meals to the barricades, the trenches and the men seated behind the earthwork. Col Abu Hatim, who is responsible for political guidance in the brigades of the Third corps explained to me his special interest in the morale of Iraqi fighters. He explained that morale was high despite the military standstill. This is because every situation is discussed and treated separately and because care and attention are given to the soldiers' psychological, emotional and family conditions.

I asked Col Abu Hatim, "When wars are prolonged, soldiers have nervous breakdowns. Some of them refuse to fight in battles and flee, and some of them have hallucinations. Have you had these problems?"

"I am not authorized to make statements to the press, but I can speak to you about my own experience. When I see a soldier suffering from isolation or hallucinations, I talk with that soldier and I find out that he has some family problems. A 4 or 5-day leave for that soldier usually solves the problem, and he returns after his leave in excellent psychological health. Those who go AWOL usually do so for family or material reasons. For example, some of them tried to go AWOL in al-Ahwar, and they were the ones who discovered the Iranian attack and reported it. Then they picked up their weapons and returned to the ranks of the army. They were among the first to defend their land."

We had traveled 35 kilometers from al-Qarnah to the outskirts of Majnun Island as we talked about the war and about its social and emotional problems. The road had turned into a dirt road filled with holes, and the green swamps and reed fields appeared ahead of us.

The Majnun Island that I saw was protected by a high wall of reinforced concrete. Armored vehicles stood behind that wall. The island was surrounded with barbed wire that stretched as far as the eye could see. It was full of shelters, trenches and barricades. Soldiers on the island were engaged in civilian work such as building and paving roads and building small rooms. Some of these soldiers passed in front of us carrying bags of tomatoes, pomegranates and milk, unconcerned with the ongoing exchange of artillery fire.

"These are skirmishes that occur every day," said Col Abu Hatim. "It is a kind of military sport: whenever the advance observation post reports some kind of activity at their earthwork, we fire at the source of activity to stop it."

I was asked, "Where do you want to go?"

[I said], "To the position closest [to the Iranians] you will allow."

The Doubt Removed

We proceeded somewhat cautiously to the advance observation post. From there the facts of the situation were clear. The observation post stood on a high earthwork, and there was water in front of it as far as the eye could see, with ducks swimming between the reeds. In the horizon one could see squares of earth floating on the water. These were Iran's advance positions. The distance between this rear position and the first Iranian earthwork was not more than 3 kilometers of flooded land whose water level the Iraqis could raise at any moment. There was no longer any room for doubt. The truth is as follows: most of northern Majnun Island is inundated, and the dry part of the island that is left is controlled by the Iranians. Southern Majnun is controlled by the 6th and 29th Brigades of the Third Corps. From their positions they can control any attack or movement that might be undertaken by the other side.

Under the hot rays of the sun and to the sounds of artillery mixed with the croaking of frogs and quacking of ducks, a few Iraqi fighters were performing the noon prayer while others ate. Still others expressed their surprise at seeing a woman at the front. After a regular military salute we initiated a conversation with them about their other side: that side of them which shows the human and social suffering of men who have been fighting for 4 years.

The Other Side

The first man we spoke with was combat soldier 'Abbas Kamil Mansur, a 29-year old reserve soldier who has been on the island for 4 years. He has been engaged to be married since the start of the war to a young woman with whom he is in love.

[Question] Was one of your colleagues killed in front of you?

[Answer] No. Some of them were slightly wounded.

[Question] But these battles--East al-Basrah 1 and East al-Basrah 2--were fierce battles, and many were killed on both sides. What was your reaction when a soldier lost his life? How did you behave at such a time?

[Answer] We did not let our wounded fight in battle. Our wounded are evacuated, and we stay behind to hold the ground and fight.

[Question] When do you think of your fiancée and what do you write to her?

[Answer] I think of her day and night. I think of her when I'm holding my gun. I write to her about my thoughts, and I go to see her every 21 days. I tell her what life is like on the frontlines.

[Question] Did the war delay your marriage?

[Answer] No. The war did not delay my marriage. My fiancée is encouraging me to fight. It is circumstances that delayed my marriage.

[Question] What problems do you have as a soldier who has been on the front for 4 years?

[Answer] I have no problems.

[Question] This is not a logical answer. Everyone has problems. Don't you sometimes feel tired and bored and wish you could go home to your family?

[Answer] No, not at all. This is our country; if we don't defend it, who will?

Then I talked with a married combat soldier, Jawwad Salman Sab' from Baghdad. He is married and has three children.

[Question] How do your children greet you, and how do they bid you farewell?

[Answer] My children were used to my being with them all the time. When I am gone for 21 days they greet me in a very special way. They meet me in the street. I take the two smaller ones in my arms, and the oldest stays with me and walks home with me.

[Question] What questions do they ask you?

[Answer] They ask their mother, "Where is Dad?" and she tells them he is in the army. They do not appreciate the horrors of war because they live in Baghdad where life is quite normal and people don't feel that there is a war going on.

[Question] Has your relationship with your wife changed after the war?

[Answer] My relationship with my wife is stronger after the war, and especially after we've fought violent battles. My wife and I miss each other more, and we are also separated from each other more.

[Question] Has your view of the world been changed?

[Answer] Life on the front is different from life in the city. When I arrive in Baghdad I feel it is foreign to me. For example, you are the first woman I've seen in weeks. In Baghdad I try to put the time I have there to the best possible use, but I sometimes dream of the front when I am in Baghdad.

Abu Wisam, an enlisted combat soldier was listening to this conversation, and I asked him, "What do you miss on the front?"

[Answer] Nothing.

[Question] Hasn't your life changed? What do you do at night?

[Answer] We listen to the radio. We stay up and talk and tell each other folk tales and thoughts that may be on our minds. Sometimes we meditate and we write. I wrote a poem one time about my trip from home to the front. I was carrying my suitcase and walking out of the house in my military uniform on my way to the garage to ride a car to al-Basrah. I wrote about the soldiers saying goodbye to their families. I wrote about a soldier saying goodbye to his loved ones and another leaving his friends for the glory of the homeland.

[Question] What does your 3-year old son, Wisam, understand about the war?

[Answer] Sometimes his young uncle teases him and tells him, "Your father will go to the front." So he hits his uncle with a small stick and tells him, "My father's leave is not over yet. Why do you want him to go to the front?" He knows, for example, that when I put on my military uniform, it is time for me to go, and he stands at the door. But the moment for saying goodbye is always difficult.

[Question] What moment on the front has affected you most?

[Answer] We did occasionally encounter difficult situations in the battles. In 1982 when we came to the earthwork in the first battle to defend the honor of al-Basrah--he paused for a moment as though he were trying to remember--it was specifically on 13 July 1982, Iranian sectors penetrated the earthwork from the right and advanced far into our lines. The Iranians then were behind us and in front of us, and our situation was desperate. We were waiting for daybreak because Iranian soldiers fear the daylight.

[Question] Were you distressed over the death of your colleagues?

[Answer] I was afraid of being captured. The same situation happened in the area of Panjwin when we were surrounded, and the enemy was in front of us and behind us.

[Question] Don't you get bored sitting behind the barricades and the earthwork when there are no battles?

[Answer] Not at all. I personally think of this as a tourist expedition. When we came to Majnun, this front was on fire. Now the front is quiet, and being here is like being on a tourist expedition. Do you have in front of your house, for example, a garden, reeds, water, ducks, fish and birds? We are living in a very beautiful place.

[Question] Do you hunt and fish?

[Answer] We have orders to do neither, and we have orders not to swim because the water is polluted.

The moment for saying goodbye to the Iraqi soldiers on Majnun Island was very moving. Jawwad Salman al-Sab' offered us pomegranates and carrots from his ration and told us, "This is some of what we eat. These are the blessings of Iraq, and we want you to share them with us."

An Iraqi Plan

At the command post for the Third Corps on the shores of Shatt al-'Arab waterway there were questions that we had to ask Staff Col Fawzi, commander of the troops of the corps.

[Question] What is the area of operation for Third Corps troops?

[Answer] There are military secrets that I am not authorized to disclose. But the area of operation for the corps' troops is about 100 kilometers from north Majnun to the guardpost at (Shalhat al-'Aghwat).

[Question] Did the Iranians reach al-Basrah in the course of their attack on the island?

[Answer] Their movement was broad and their numbers were very large. Their objective was to reach al-Basrah, but they were not able to do that. However, some of their sectors were able to cross al-Huwayzah Lake and reach sectors of al-Rawdah. But these were very far from the general line. That crossing operation was very stupid from a practical standpoint because it did not provide fire cover and manpower support.

[Question] What were the losses of the corps during that operation?

[Answer] We can't mention a figure, but our losses were very small compared with those of the enemy.

[Question] The press has called this battle "the massacre of the 20th century" because of the victims on both sides. What is the percentage of victims?

[Answer] The enemy's losses cannot be compared with ours. The Iranians' losses exceeded two thirds of the troops they put into the battle.

[Question] It is being said that building a man-made lake, raising the water level in that lake and flooding the land was a plan devised and executed by a few Iraqi military men who had graduated from U.S. military schools.

[Answer] The plan was devised and conceived by Iraqis. Those who devised the plan received their education nowhere else but in Iraq. The idea is 100 percent Iraqi. No, it is rather 1 million percent Iraqi, but the Iranian enemy has used it in his own propaganda.

[Question] Didn't some foreign military experts interfere [in this operation]?

[Answer] There is no one here but the staff officers of the Corps.

[Question] Military tension has been eased on the front since February 1984. The soldiers say they think of themselves as being on vacation. When will this military vacation end?

[Answer] There is no military vacation. A lengthy war is interspersed with intervals of calm. Our intentions are clear to the world; our intentions are defensive.

[Question] Don't you think that this war has been protracted, and don't you think that you can decide it with your superior machinery?

[Answer] War is subject to military decisions. The Iranians lost the battle from the beginning, and we declared our wish to stop the war provided that Iran not interfere in the domestic life of Iraq. In my opinion the military battle has been decided.

[Question] Do the soldiers occasionally ask their commander when the war will end?

[Answer] They don't ask because they know we want peace, and they know that Iran refuses peace. They know that it is their duty to fight.

[Question] You may have been asked that question many times, but allow me to ask you again. Were chemical weapons used in the second battle that was fought to defend the honor of al-Basrah?

[Answer] No they were not. Chemical weapons were not used because they could have affected our soldiers . As you have seen we are on the lines of battle too.

[Question] But there is a contradiction in position here. Some Iraqi politicians and military men said when they were asked this question that they would use any weapon if they were repelling an attack. Also, it is possible to protect your soldiers from the effects of chemicals by using protective masks.

[Answer] Chemical weapons were not used. Being willing to use them does not mean they were used.

[Question] Do you expect a battle soon?

[Answer] The enemy is still amassing his troops in our sector, and we expect him to do something. However, the water that we placed in front of us will, God willing, make them unable to cross.

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ISRAEL

PALESTINIAN PUBLISHER DISCUSSES CENSORSHIP

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 86, 1--7 Dec 84 p 60

[Interview with Ya'qub Hijazi, owner of the Aswar 'Akka Publishing House on the occasion of the Palestinian cultural week held in London from 27 November to 1 December, by Wahidah al-Miqdadi: "They Took The Land and They Want To Confiscate The Word"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Perhaps a discussion about the Aswar Akka Publishing House in the occupied land will be a suitable occasion to discuss the publishing movement and the state of Palestinian writing in the occupied territories. This movement, despite the conditions of occupation, censorship and prosecution, is still playing its role in upholding the Palestinian cultural movement under occupation.

[Question] We ask Ya'qub Hijazi about the publishing house and the state of publishing and we are given the answer:

[Answer] The Aswar 'Akka Publishing House was founded in 1977 under circumstances that can be called the phase of cultural drought. In this phase, good Palestinian books were nonexistent, that is, if they were not banned. The establishment of the house was an individual initiative in which numerous difficulties were encountered at the material, administrative and censorship levels.

[Question] What is the nature of the censorship measures to which the house is being subjected, particularly since you have entered the fighting ground of political bookwriting?

[Answer] The Israeli authorities have banned the import of scores of books across the Jordan Bridge. If we know the extent of the cultural continuity that occurs between the 1948 Arabs and the 1967 Arabs, we would understand the meaning of this attempt. Up to this time, the Israeli authorities are trying to prevent the Palestinian people in the occupied territory from supplying themselves with cultural and political books. These authorities have several times raided the house, confiscated books, and asked provocative questions about the lives of some writers and men of letters.

[Question] Does Aswar 'Akka, in this regard itself as the patron of Palestinian resistance literature?

[Answer] There is no resistance or other literature. At this point, I specifically mention the books of Martyr Ghassan Kanafani, which are absolutely banned in the occupied territory, and the books of poet Mahmud Darwish, and we have published most of his collections of poems, the latest having been the collection "Siege of the Sea Panegyrics." We have also published the books of poet Samih al-Qasim, Palestinian researcher Emile Tuma, and writer and poet 'Ali al-Khalili. The House has also published the latest work of poet Fadwa Tuqan entitled "Political Poems." This role which Aswar 'Akka has assumed also applies to writings other than poems. At this point, I mention the work of the well known story writer, Muhammad Naffa', writer Hanna Ibrahim and Zaki Darwish. Among the departed writers, we have published the work of the late writer Samirah 'Azzam. Perhaps the most distinctive work published by the House is an enormous book by Dr Bayan al-Hut under the title "The Political Leaderships and Institutions in Palestine", which has sparked off a great deal of discussion and argument in Palestinian cultured circles. We had felt that libraries were empty of books dealing with the history of the Palestinian issue and its roots and phases of development, as well as of the books dealing with the Zionist movement in thought and practice. Therefore, we published a book by the Palestinian researcher, Dr Emile Tuma, who hails from the occupied territory. This book is entitled "Contemporary Zionism."

[Question] How do you see the factual condition of publishing activity in general in the occupied territory?

[Answer] Regrettably, publishing activity is still feeble, and the basic reason for this weakness is the nonexistence of a group, establishment or entity to patronize this activity. It is regrettable for me to note at this point that the Salah-al-Din House, which is an ancient and pioneering house which has contributed to the publishing of a great deal of Palestinian literature, has recently been compelled to cease publishing. The difficult economic and political situation through which the country is passing reflects negatively on publishing activity.

[Question] If these are the circumstances of publishing in the occupied territory, then what is the condition of the daily and periodic press in this territory?

[Answer] Perhaps the actual condition of the press is better than that of publishing. This is because there is the AL-FAJR Newspaper Establishment; it publishes the newspaper AL-FAJR daily in Arabic, and a weekly issue in English and Hebrew, in addition to its monthly supplement "AL-FAJR AL-ADABI." There is also AL-SHA'B newspaper, which is published in occupied Jerusalem. So far as the 1948 areas are concerned, there is only one newspaper, namely, the leftist AL-ITTIHAD.

[Question] Let us return to the Aswar 'Akka Publishing House. Is there any symbol concealed behind this name?

[Answer] A Jewish journalist has said that this name symbolizes political hypocrisy. He said that the walls signify that, regardless of how much identity and coexistence occur between the Arabs and the Jews, certain walls remain between

them. But, for the sake of objective reality, I say that the walls symbolize the historical steadfastness of this city. For instance, the walls of Akka [Acre] repulsed the legions of Napoleon when he came to invade Akka in 1779.

Akka is of historical importance due to the fact that it is a common city in which, up to this time, 12,000 resident Palestinians, whose great majority are workers and fishermen, still live. Despite this fact, the authorities have tried to restrict them by turning the harbor, which is their basic source of livelihood, into a tourist harbor. Akka has continued to be a center and starting point of the Palestinian struggle, and many tourist conferences have been held in it.

[Question] Has the Aswar 'Akka House tried to emerge from the Palestinian framework to extend into the remaining Arab countries?

[Answer] We find it difficult to move between the parts of the one homeland. Therefore, how could we cross over into the Arab countries? We leave in an illegal manner from Akka to Jerusalem, and to Jericho and Nabulus. But despite this, we have made modest contributions in conjunction with the Arab men of letters and writers. I remember that we had published a study by the Iraqi poet, Nazik al-Mala'ikah, entitled "Divisionism in Arab Society." We have also published for poet 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Bayati a small collection of poems entitled "Dairy Of A Professional Politician." We also believe that we have had the honor of announcing the Yemeni poet, 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Maqalih, who won the Lotus prize for literature. We have also published a small collection of his poems entitled "Songs Of Expatriation And Revolution."

[Question] Does the House have a certain policy toward the literary work of the new generation, or has it dedicated its efforts to publishing the work of the well-known writers?

[Answer] I can say that the house has helped many youthful men of letters who have promising talents. From among them, I mention press writer 'Afif Salah Salim. He is a prominent writer in the occupied territory and we have published for him the firstlings of his literary work. We have also published the work of poet Husayn Muhanna, poet Fathi al-Qasim, and many others....

[Question] Will you acquaint us with the books that occupy a prominent place so far as the Palestinian readers in the occupied territory are concerned?

[Answer] There can be no doubt that political books remain the most important, in view of the nature of the phase in which our people live within the occupied territory and, also, because of the rarity of such books in view of the fact that the occupation authorities try as much as they can to seize and confiscate them.

[Question] Seven years after its founding, has the Aswar 'Akka House been able to transgress the phase of danger to the phase of publicity and frankness?

[Answer] We work and we ask legitimacy of no one. However, this does not mean that, sometimes, we are exposed to seizure, confiscation and arrest."

ISRAEL

ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES EXAMINED

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 23 Nov 84 p 6

[Interview with Dr Taysir Kaylani, deported university instructor, in Doha, by AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT; date of interview not given]

[Text] The universities within the occupied territory are playing important roles in mobilizing Arab public opinion, and in preserving Arab culture, heritage, and authenticity within the occupied territory, Palestine. Moreover, the universities prepare scientific and human cadres in the various scientific and theoretical domains. These universities, in their capacity as bastions of knowledge, have disturbed the sway of the Zionist occupation through the student uprisings that confront the ferocity of the occupation with all confidence, steadfastness and redemption. The Zionist enemy authorities have deported a group of university instructors, as part of their designs aimed at emptying these universities of Arab instructors, for the purpose of dictating their terms and imposing their designs. One of these deported instructors is Dr Taysir Kaylani, whom we have met in Doha, while he was touring some Arab states to explain the sufferings of the Arab people in Palestine and to expose Israel's designs.

The following dialogue ensued:

[Question] Will you give us an idea about the academic educational institutions within the occupied territory?

[Answer] The number of academic educational institutions within the occupied territory amounts to about 17 institutions, including the following six universities: al-Najah National University in Nabulus, Bi'r Zayt University in Bi'r Zayt, near Ramallah, Bayt Lahm University, Hebron University, Gaza Islamic University, and Jerusalem University in Abu Dis, and there are several colleges teaching arts and literature.

In the occupied territory there is the Polytechnic Institute in Hebron and the nursing college in Ramallah.

[Question] What is the number of students, and do these universities qualify them for meeting the needs of the occupied Arab territory?

[Answer] These universities include some 12,000 students and there are in them well over 600 lecturers, most of whom are Palestinians. These universities constitute an intellectual and cultural beacon in the occupied territory and they

foster social, economic and national education. In other words, there are faculties in these universities specializing in rural development and in the preservation of the Palestinian heritage, and also in providing the national industries and establishments within the occupied territories with cadres. These universities also help many students continue their academic study. Most of these students have medium income, and they cannot give themselves the privilege of going outside the homeland to continue their studies. They find in these universities the place in which to continue their studies.

[Question] Some students are subjected to imprisonment. Therefore, what is the role of the Arab universities within the occupied territory?

[Answer] Security restrictions are imposed on some of these students by the Israeli occupation authorities, that is, they are not permitted to leave the territory for one reason or another, and some of them are students who had served imprisonment terms in the concentration camps of the enemy. These universities rehabilitate these youths and open for them the door of hope. These universities also help resolve the problem of the secondary schools graduates.

[Question] How many Arab students do the Palestinian universities within the occupied territories absorb yearly, and what is the importance of this?

[Answer] Every year, about 20,000 students are graduated from the secondary phase, and the universities of the occupied territory absorb around 40 percent of this number. The remaining graduates go to the social colleges and to technical institutes. This signifies that these universities have prevented the exploitation of these youthful hands by the enemy authorities. This is because these youths do not go to work in the enemy's factories and establishments as cheap manpower. In this respect, the Arab universities within the occupied territory adopt these youths and give them a patriotic and national upbringing.

[Question] Do the Arab universities follow the conditions of the Arab students, and how?

[Answer] These universities constitute a protective network for national youth. This means that if a certain student is arrested, we see the university assigning a lawyer to defend him. If this student or that girl is fined a sum of money, the university pays this fine. Should a youth or a girl be imprisoned, the university extends the curriculum to this youth in cooperation with the International Red Cross. Furthermore, these universities offer scholarships on the basis of patriotic stands, academic superiority, or financial circumstances.

More than half the students are given study grants, and they do not pay university fees....

[Question] What is the amount of the university fees, and what is the ratio of Palestinian girls in the universities?

[Answer] The university fees paid by a student range from 150 to 180 dinars yearly, and many students are exempted from this sum. A student costs the university that teaches him about 1,000 dinars. These universities cover these

school fees. Furthermore, these universities play a role in the cultural education of Palestinian girls. Since we preserve our Islamic traditions, girls do not go abroad for education. Therefore, these girls find in these universities a scope for satisfying their desire to acquire academic education and the proportion of girls amounts to 52 percent of the number of students. This means that, within a brief period, most of the educated Palestinian girls will have obtained university degrees. This is why the social and cultural conditions within the occupied territory have disturbed the enemy.

[Question] Do these universities perform a role in the mobilization of youths in the occupied territory?

[Answer] The enemy has felt that these universities discharge a mission which he did not expect. The reason is, at the beginning, the enemy pursued a courteous policy toward these universities in the sense that he would not interfere directly in their curricula in the study material, and in their internal activities, with the enemy thinking that the universities would prevent the Palestinian youths from going abroad and joining the resistance movement. However, the enemy's thoughts have been disappointed, and we now see that these universities have become bastions of patriotism, and they always stand at the fore to take the initiative in resisting the occupation.

12839

CSO: 4404/107

JORDAN

PRINCE'S LIFE IN ARMY OBSERVED, DESCRIBED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 14 Dec 84 pp 40, 41, 43, 45

[Interview with Prince 'Abdallah, oldest son of King Husayn by Layma Nabil: "The Flying Prince;" in Amman; date of interview not specified]

[Text] "I worked hard to make everyone treat me as he would treat an ordinary officer."

"I don't think about getting married before I reach the age of 27."

AL-MAJALLAH accompanied Prince 'Abdallah, the oldest son of Jordan's King Husayn for 2 days, reporting on his life as an officer in the Jordanian army. The magazine interviewed the prince and took pictures of him parachuting from an airplane. Besides, the magazine talked with the prince about the small airplanes he flies and about some of his hobbies which include automobile racing. The pictorial and written record of the 2 days spent with Prince 'Abdallah ibn al-Husayn follows.

Amman woke up to a heavy rainfall on one of the first days of the winter season. At 5 a.m. that day I accompanied Prince 'Abdallah, King Husayn's oldest son, on one of his attempts at free style parachuting. As I gathered my belongings to get ready to go out, it occurred to me that the prince might spare himself the rigors of the exercise that day because weather conditions were poor. But I soon discovered that I was mistaken. I received a telephone call from my co-worker on this interview, "Zohrab", the royal family's private photographer, who told me that the prince, who had grown accustomed to a disciplined military life, would not be sparing himself the rigors of the exercise. The photographer told me that the prince had gone ahead to the exercise site more than half an hour earlier.

Although I felt somewhat sorry for the prince in a situation such as this, the prince nipped those feelings in the bud a few moments after I arrived. He spoke in a welcoming tone of voice that made his pleasure quite clear.

Prince 'Abdallah, who has had good military training, adheres to the simplicity and beloved spontaneity of the Arab.

AL-MAJALLAH spent 2 days in the prince's company, during which it observed his daily life as a young officer in the Arab army of Jordan. Not only did the

magazine make a record of what the prince said during those 2 days, but it also took pictures of him as he parachuted free fall, as he flew small airplanes and as he participated in an automobile race.

A conversation with the prince has its own specific character: one in which the level of thought is high. He is the one whose expressions, features and spontaneous conduct bear the closest resemblance to those of his father, the king. The prince's conduct shows his confidence and his sense of responsibility. When he was coaching his sister, Princess 'A'ishah, he did not forget his sense of responsibility toward her when he tried to dissuade her from parachuting during the early stages of her training. However, he did not conceal how proud he was of her when she became the first Jordanian female to become engaged in this kind of sport.

"These were grim moments when I made the decision to allow my sister to jump, overlooking thereby the instructions of the royal court. But in spite of that I was congratulated by the king," said Prince 'Abdallah. The prince added that he will take advantage of his leave from camp and go with two of his younger siblings, Princess Haya, who is 10 years old, and Prince 'Ali, who is 9, on a trip outside Amman. The prince said he had not seen Princess Haya and Prince 'Ali for some time because they have been busy with their studies.

The King's Wish

The conversation about the prince and with him went on further. He said, "I had decided in the past to study international law, but I heard that "sayyidna" [our chief]--this is how the Jordanian people and the royal family refer to King Husayn--wanted me to continue my studies at Sandhurst Military College, his alma mater. I began my studies there in 1980, taking a preparatory course and other advanced courses which included several specialized military subjects. Then I enrolled in the school for armored forces (reconnaissance tanks), which is a new area in the Jordanian army. I had intended to continue my military studies, but I sensed that our chief wanted me to return to Jordan to perform my military duty in Jordan and to be one of the young, qualified military officers in the Arab army of Jordan. I joined the 40th armored brigade as an officer in the armored force."

[Question] And what do you think of military life now that you have experienced it and are still experiencing it?

[Answer] Life in the army is harsh and difficult, but it does teach one discipline and a sense of duty.

[Question] Did you have difficulty dealing with members of the battalion?

[Answer] I did at first, even though I was doing my best to be treated as an ordinary individual. [Eventually] I was able to persuade my superiors and companions to treat me as an ordinary officer in the Jordanian army who has the same duties and the same rights they do. At first my superiors treated me differently from the way they treated my colleagues of equal rank in the camp. My colleagues also addressed me as prince. But I finally succeeded in persuading them to treat me as a fellow army officer.

[Question] What assignments and responsibilities were you charged with during your military service?

[Answer] I began my career in the army as an assistant to a company commander and a platoon commander. That put pressure on me. I went out on leave once a month only. To me, a newcomer in a military career, the work was strenuous. But now that I've become accustomed to this life, it is less burdensome than it used to be, and I now have the time to spend my leave outside the place where I work. I have the time to get together with members of my family and pursue my hobbies and my other activities.

[Question] How do you see your military duties as a soldier living in an area that is not secure?

[Answer] I learned from my father who assumed his command and military responsibilities when he was 17 years old not to complain about responsibilities. He assumed responsibilities at an early age. Why then shouldn't I accept mine?

I know that the army is the most important thing in Jordan; it makes up the largest sector of society, and it is taking up its positions on the largest borders with the enemy. It is my duty to help the king with his responsibilities. I also think that the only way I can do that is to fulfill my military duties so that I might have the honor of serving and defending the country. I wish we did have security and peace of mind in this area. But the danger is there, and we cannot deny it. Therefore, it is our duty to strengthen ourselves and to support the army. In case of war, I will most definitely be at the forefront of the army defending the land and protecting the country's borders. When I put on the military uniform, I give up my title as a prince and become a military man, a first lieutenant, commander of a platoon and a company. Some people think that the royal family governs from behind desks. But this is a major error. As long as I am qualified militarily, I do not fear war. I am prepared for it, and I am confident of my military ability.

[Question] Would you have preferred to have started your career in the military or in politics?

[Answer] Now I prefer the military work in which I am engaged and through which I became associated with large groups of young people because the army has people from all areas of the kingdom, from the East Bank and the West Bank. I have now been able to learn about their problems and find out more about the needs of their areas. The king sent me to the army not only because he wanted me to become an officer, but also so I can get to know the people of Jordan who come from different areas and so they would get to know me. I am always willing to work for them and to help them. In that I follow the example of the king who has the ability to deal with all groups in society regardless of their differences and the diversity of their cultures.

Starting from Zero

[Question] Other than your work in the army, which takes up most of your time, what are the hobbies that you pursue in your free time?

[Answer] Like any ordinary individual I have a few hobbies. I like most kinds of sports, and I like automobile racing. I try to devote enough of my free time to pursue these hobbies. A group of young men and I started with nothing, and we established a falconry club; we did not wait for the government to provide us with a club. Then we organized a team of parachutists that is considered the first of its kind in Jordan. This team has received intense and precise training in jumping, and we participate in international festivals for this kind of sport. As far as automobile racing is concerned, I take part in the Jordan Rally which is organized by the Jordanian Automobile Club. I try to facilitate, support and encourage this sport.

If they could find what they need, young Jordanians would be able to achieve advanced positions in the race. They are highly competent. However, the resources that are available to them are inadequate, whether it be racing cars or spare parts. This is what I am trying very hard to provide: I am trying to provide support for the Jordanian driver so he can attain an advanced position in the Jordan Rally, which is now considered one of the international automobile races. I am also trying to provide this support so the Jordanian driver can participate in other international automobile races. There was much that I intended to do to support and encourage this sport, although at the present time I am concentrating on what is being done in the capital because of all those things that keep me busy.

The Princess's Jump

[Question] Some time ago Princess 'A'ishah parachuted from an airplane, and she thus became the first Jordanian female to become engaged in such an activity. It is being said that you were the one who encouraged the princess to do that. How did all this start?

[Answer] Princess 'A'ishah became enthusiastic about this kind of activity because I talked about it repeatedly. At first the help I gave her went no further than giving her encouragement. Then she began her training with the coach who had coached me. She wanted to jump on the first day of training, but I did not approve. So I took her with me to get more training, even though her coach did inform me that she was ready to jump at that time. But I was very much afraid for her because she is my sister and my responsibility. The few moments that she took to execute the jump were the most difficult, and I did not believe my eyes until she reached the ground, even though her jump was splendid from the beginning. I ran to her, and I embraced and congratulated her. She was delighted, and she insisted on jumping a second time. I was very proud of her courage and her ability to endure this difficult sport, particularly since she was no more than 16 years old. But she wanted to set an example for young Jordanian women.

[Question] You assumed the responsibility of approving Princess 'A'ishah's parachute jump. What were your feelings when you were making that decision which had to do with your sister?

[Answer] At that time the responsibility was a big one. When Princess 'A'ishah decided she wanted to jump, we were not able to get the king's approval because he was abroad. It troubled me that I had to assume that responsibility by myself. But when she made her jump successfully, and that was only hours before

her departure from Jordan to pursue her education, I waited beside the telephone anticipating a call from the army informing me that I would either be court martialed or reprimanded because I had exceeded my orders. But the king called to congratulate me when my sister informed him of the matter. He assured me that he was very proud of this accomplishment.

[Question] Taking into account the present condition of our societies, what is the role that Jordanian women can play in Jordan's progress?

[Answer] Jordanian women can play an important role in building Jordanian society, a society that needs all its members. However, Jordanian women must play that role in the proper manner, a manner that is derived from our culture and our history. Jordanian women must not follow the example of western civilization which is not suitable to our customs and traditions. Their role must rather stem from our civilization, our culture and our history.

Family Responsibilities

[Question] What is the nature of the relationship between you and your father, King Husayn?

[Answer] The relationship I have with the king is not a father and son relationship. It is rather a fraternal relationship. Despite his numerous activities, which frequently keep us from getting together, I do have a sense of his abiding love and affection for us. No matter how long he stays away, we feel that he is always with us. I sensed how happy and how proud he was when he attended graduation ceremonies at Sandhurst College last year when I graduated from that school.

[Question] What do you talk about when the two of you get together?

[Answer] I ask for his advice on all subjects; I listen to him and I always ask for his opinion, especially on political matters.

[Question] It is known that the king's numerous activities keep him busy. What is the role that you play as far as your brothers and sisters are concerned, especially since you are the oldest son?

[Answer] It's a splendid relationship. I am always trying to relieve the king of some of his work load, so I take responsibility for my brothers and sisters. They come to me whenever they have a problem. Thank God, we are very close to each other, and we have a very close relationship. That is true of my relationship with my oldest sister, Princess 'Aliyah, who is 26 years old, and it is true of my relationship with all my brothers and sisters down to my sister, Princess Iyman, who is 1 year old. The nature of the relationship varies from one brother or sister to the other because of their age differences. I give them guidance if they are having problems that I faced in the past, and I give them the benefit of my experience as an older brother. We always try to find time to get together with each other.

[Question] What do you think about Arab youth in general and Jordanian youth in particular?

[Answer] Jordanian youth are serious-minded; they are self-confident and hospitable. They are respected and appreciated wherever they go. I studied abroad, but it is only in Jordan that I felt I was secure. I consider Jordan, and other Arab countries as well, one of the most beautiful areas in the world. As a young country we are growing every day even though we are facing difficulties and few material resources; but we do have the will [to work and to prosper]. The condition of Arab youth may not be much different from that of Jordanian youth.

The Prospect of Marriage Is Deferred!

[Question] You are now old enough to start thinking about marriage. What do you think about that?

[Answer] I don't think about getting married now. I have many challenges that I intend to take on. First, I want to prove to Jordan who I am; I want to present myself to the citizens of my country and assure them that I am totally devoted to this country and that I am willing to work hard for the country as an individual and a citizen of Jordan. I don't think about getting married at the present time because I am not yet ready for marriage. I mean I am not ready emotionally and mentally. My work in the army keeps me from thinking about that at the present time. Each one of us faces one of two possibilities in a professional career: he will either succeed or fail. I am determined to succeed, and I will not allow failure to come into my professional life. The objective I set for myself is always clear in my mind and achievable. My main objective is to become a good citizen, an individual who is loyal to this country and who will serve it from my position. I am now 22 years old; I think that the proper time for thinking about marriage and starting a family would be when I am 27 years old. That is considered the stage of maturity in a man's life.

The prince left to accompany his younger brothers and to fulfill another aspect of his responsibilities which he carries with extraordinary maturity.

Prince 'Abdallah ibn al-Husayn

--He was born in Amman on 30 January 1962.

--He received his primary education in the Islamic College of Learning in Amman.

--He attended St. Edmond's School in Britain till 1972.

--He completed the preparatory stage of his education (from 1972 to 1976) at Eaglebrook School in the United States.

--He continued his secondary education at Deerfield Academy in the United States (from 1977 to 1980). The prince regards this period the most beautiful period of his life.

--He enrolled at Sandhurst Military Academy in Britain where he graduated in 1981 as an officer. At the academy the prince took part in several intense and specialized military courses including a course in parachuting and another in reconnaissance tanks.

--In 1982 he joined the armed forces in Jordan where he now serves as a 1st lieutenant.

--He has served more than once as the king's deputy when King Husayn was traveling abroad.

8592

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LEBANON

AMAL REPRESENTATIVE IN SOUTH INTERVIEWED ON ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 8-14 Dec 84 pp 31, 33

[Interview with Mahmud Faqih, leader of Amal Movement in the south, by Zaki Shihab: "Amal Official Who Was Deported from South Lebanon Says, 'No Reason To Fear Civil Strife in the South if Israel Withdraws';" in Beirut; date of interview not specified]

[Text] Mahmud Faqih says, "I was asked to deliver a message to Barri."

Residents of Palestinian camps are being subjected to tyrannical practices.

When the UN sponsored negotiations that were being held in al-Naqurah between Lebanon and Israel were frozen at the request of Lebanon's prime minister, Rashid Karami, one week after they were started, the immediate and basic reason for that was not the fact that Israeli authorities had arrested a number of leaders of the Amal Movement in south Lebanon. Chief among those who were arrested was Mahmud Faqih, the leader of the movement in the south. Those people were arrested while they were holding a meeting in a home in a Sidon suburb. Telephone calls between Beirut and Washington, between Beirut and al-Naqurah, and, on the other side, between Washington and Tel Aviv had considerable influence in bringing about the release of those leaders. Moreover, Lebanon insisted that the process which was started in al-Naqurah not be completed. The leaders were released even though Israel insisted on accusing Mahmud Faqih of organizing most of the military operations against its troops. Israel had been interested in finding Faqih and arresting him even before the negotiations began. However, the release of Amal's leader in south Lebanon did not come about in the manner that was agreed upon between these capitals. Occupation forces deported Faqih from the Batir passage point in al-Shuf.

AL-MAJALLAH met with Faqih in the home of Nabih Barri, the president of the Amal Movement, in Beirut, and it conducted the following interview with him.

[Question] Under what circumstances were you arrested?

[Answer] Before I was arrested there was talk about a possible Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon occurring soon. This talk was accompanied by rumors

about the possibility that Israel and its clients may cause civil strife and stir up sectarian biases. This is something that we have become accustomed to and know about. Therefore, we had to act quickly to affirm that south Lebanon stood united with all the sincere and honest forces. Furthermore, there were communications with spiritual leaders and some notables in Christian villages to preserve a continuing coexistence. Besides, Israel was escalating its operations to arrest and assassinate the cadres of the movement so it could curb the power of popular opposition in south Lebanon to the enemy's practices.

At that time my colleagues in the leadership of the movement in the south and I were expecting the occupation forces to arrest us. This was something that we were prepared to face. We went into hiding, and we set up for ourselves a small circle of social relations. Our purpose was to stay in touch with our organization and with other leaders in the south. However, occupation forces forced their way into the place where I was staying, in an alley in Sidon. They broke in in a hysterical manner, and they arrested me in the manner that was previously mentioned.

[Question] When you were in custody, Lubrani, the coordinator of Israeli affairs in Lebanon met with you, and Iliya, commander of the occupation forces in the south met with you also. Both of them questioned you. What did they tell you?

[Answer] During the first 3 days the investigation was limited to security matters. I was charged with the particulars of resistance activities in the south as well as secret activities which the movement had announced it had carried out. Afterwards, the questioning and the investigation were carried out by Lubrani, the coordinator of Israeli affairs in Lebanon, and by Shlomo Eliya, the Israeli governor of the occupied land in south Lebanon. The questions emphasized [various] matters, the first and most important of which was a proposal that the Amal Movement assume responsibility for security in the south. Emphasis was also placed on the possibility of issuing a statement announcing a truce to stop military operations while the talks were being held at al-Naqurah and to stop sects from turning other sects against each other and stirring up sectarian biases. I was asked to come up with a solution and a suggestion that would put an end to what was happening in the south. The answer was clear: the only solution would be a prompt Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon with the Lebanese army supported by the UN Emergency forces going into the area to preserve security. Any other commitment on the subject of operations was rejected because such a commitment would be up to the people of the south, those people who were able to turn the invincible, mythical power of Israel into a confused army that lost its nerve and its ability to control and was, in addition, worried and scared.

The Deportation Decision

[Question] Did you know that a decision to deport you had been made?

[Answer] Until the day before the day I was deported, I thought that I was still in the early stages of the investigation. I thought I would be transferred to Israel where I would be questioned further. Of course I requested several times that I be transferred to Ansar Camp. But it never occurred to me that I would be released and that I would be deported at the same time.

[Question] Were you told that the talks were frozen because you were arrested?

[Answer] The first word I said to the Israeli investigator when I was arrested was this: "You don't want peace, and you don't want talks in al-Naqurah." When he asked me why [I thought that], I told him that the talks would be suspended because I knew from the first instant that the main reason why I was arrested was to use my arrest to apply pressure on Lebanese negotiators so they would make a few concessions. The Israelis consider the Amal Movement, what it stands for and the principal role it plays with other forces against the occupation to be the first and foremost subject of importance in south Lebanon. But it was not until I arrived in Beirut that I learned that the talks had been suspended. Nor did I know of any other action that was taken to secure my release.

[Question] Did Israeli leaders give you a special message to Minister Barri?

[Answer] Absolutely. But while I was being questioned by Lubrani, he tried to get a fellow prisoner to ask me to ask Mr Nabih, the president of the movement, to stop military operations while the talks were going on. [In return], there would be a promise for withdrawal. When I told them that it was useless and that such a message would not get any attention, they turned away from the subject, particularly since I affirmed that it was not a certain organization or an organized front that had been carrying out the operations. I told them it was rather the people of south Lebanon whose orchards you've plowed under, whose children you have arrested and whose families and brothers you have killed. It is only with them that you can make a truce. Furthermore, no pressure of any kind will cause Mr Nabih to change his position.

[Question] From your close experience with the situation in south Lebanon, do you expect an Israeli withdrawal soon?

[Answer] Basically, anyone who lives in the south faces the occupation, especially those of us who are leaders in the movement. We used to take into account that the occupation was here to stay, and we used to act accordingly. It was that which enabled us to reach the people and make them as aware as they are today. But it is my judgment that Israel will withdraw whether it wants to or not, because this is something that has nothing to do with Israel. Rather, it has to do with the power and vehemence of the opposition and with the fact that Israel is continuing to take losses from all sides which it can no longer endure. For example, Israel is building roads outside the villages and cities so it can avoid confrontations with the Resistance. But in spite of that the Resistance is after the Israelis everywhere. The Israelis said they would withdraw because their economy is collapsing. At any rate the effect of our boycott of them and their goods and the fact that their goods are being boycotted by the people of Mount 'Amil, the western al-Biq'a and Rashayya has been considerable.

If They Withdraw

[Question] Do you expect there will be a sudden Israeli withdrawal that will be done by assembling the troops in areas that would not affect the interior of Israel? Consequently, do you think attacks against Israeli troops in the south will be reduced? Will sectarian incidents be the result of that?

[Answer] With regard to the first aspect of assembling Israeli troops, which is what is usually referred to as redeployment, the Israelis will do that to cut their losses. That is something which has already taken place. Lahd's group and local militias have been given responsibility for security. They proved their inability to maintain security despite the support they have been getting from Israeli intelligence forces. Operations have increased, and Israeli troops were forced to assume responsibility for security themselves.

With regard to the possibility of sectarian massacres, I believe they will not happen. Let me emphasize: there will be no massacres because we've eliminated most of the reasons for them and we've defused the situation. As a result, our Christian brothers joined us in the general strike that was held to protest our arrest. That was an unequivocal and a positive indication that we wanted to coexist with all the people of south Lebanon and share their destiny.

[Question] You said that you eliminated most of the reasons for [possible] massacres and defused most of the situations that might lead to them. What are those that are left?

[Answer] Disengagement and no longer counting on the Israeli enemy and on the forces and militias that have ties with the enemy. Then, there is the matter of taking over security in those areas from which Israel withdraws. This is the most important reason. In my judgment all other matters [have been dealt with]. Also the Israelis must withdraw from the area of al-Kharub to help open the coastal highway to south Lebanon.

[Question] What is the principal secret behind the success of the boycott that the people of south Lebanon have organized against Israeli goods exported to south Lebanon?

[Answer] The success of the movement to boycott Israeli goods is due to our reliance on the opinion of Islam on this matter. Imam Musa al-Sadr declared the independent opinion that "doing business with Israel was sinful." He said that Israel was an absolute evil. This premise, which is faith in God, is the most important weapon we and our friends there have used and are using to resist the occupation. In addition, there are national considerations: Israel's success in promoting its products causes the Lebanese economy to decline and that would be a prelude to the collapse of Lebanon.

[Question] What about your responsibility in escalating military activity against the forces of occupation, according to what was mentioned in the Israeli indictment against you?

[Answer] I insist that this matter has to do with the people of south Lebanon with whom and among whom we have been living. My colleagues, the officials of the movement in south Lebanon are still continuing their efforts to bring about liberation. We consider the liberation of south Lebanon, of the western al-Biqa' and of Rashayya to be a matter of divine order; it is our duty to God. If we neglect this duty or abandon it, we would be abandoning our very existence and relegating our future to the unknown.

Resistance in the South

[Question] Instances of heroism in south Lebanon have been numerous and varied. Which ones in your opinion have been the most outstanding?

[Answer] The most outstanding instances of heroism have been discussed by media agencies, but I want to emphasize that those which are held most dearly and which had the most influence [on people] were the death of Bilal Fahs and the arrest of Israeli soldiers in the towns of Ma'rakah and Burj Rahal. There, UN Emergency troops intervened to take the Israeli soldiers back to Israel.

[Question] Some time ago one of the movements that is fighting the enemy in the south under the auspices of the National Resistance Front announced that it was holding Israeli prisoners and that it would reveal their identities at a later time. The movement issued a statement to that effect that was distributed at the time to newspapers. Do you have any knowledge of that?

[Answer] As far as I know there are no prisoners in the south. I wish the National Islamic Resistance had prisoners. If there are prisoners, their identity must be revealed promptly so we can alleviate the suffering of our people who are being held in the enemy's prisons in preparation for their release.

[Question] From your position as an official of the movement in south Lebanon, what is your evaluation of the relationship between residents of south Lebanon and residents of Palestinian camps there?

[Answer] The relationship between residents of south Lebanon and residents of Palestinian camps is a fraternal relationship because they share the same destiny against a vicious, overbearing enemy who usurped Palestine and Jerusalem and wants to complete its plan to do so. No one thinks that Israel's tyrannical practices and its attacks against our people in the camps are in any way less than what happens in the villages and cities of south Lebanon. In fact, the truth is quite the opposite. Morale is high in the camps, and people are doing their duty to get rid of everything the enemy had used to reach those with weak souls and to oppose attacks by militias that have ties with the enemy.

[Question] What about fears that the camps will be subjected to massacres which would be carried out by people known to have ties with Israel? Have precautions been taken to prevent that from happening?

[Answer] As far as I know the people themselves have taken precautions. They are cautious, and they are prepared. Several attempts to attack the camps were recently made by agents, and all of them were opposed by the people of those camps.

Ultimately, any solution will have to emphasize the safety of the camps from any attack, whether that attack is an Israeli attack, or one perpetrated by local individuals who have ties with Israel.

[Question] Are you still waiting for the diplomatic contacts that are being made to try to get you to return to the south?

[Answer] My return to south Lebanon has nothing to do with diplomatic contacts. The most that Israel has agreed to was the decision to deport me. My return has to do with the movement's own private arrangements.

8592

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LEBANON

BRIEFS

INDUSTRIAL SECTOR CAPITAL--The Public Directorate for Industry has estimated that, at current prices, capital currently invested in the industrial sector amounts to about 5 billion Lebanese pounds. This is the amount of capital that was invested after factories were destroyed and new industrial investments came to a standstill. The directorate estimated that the present value of production is about 3.5 billion pounds and the number of workers is not more than 100,000. The directorate attributes the decline to the war whose protraction over the past 4 years has undermined confidence in the future of industry. [Text] [London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1467, 14 Dec 84 p 81] 8592

BANK CREDITS FOR PRIVATE SECTOR--From the beginning of the year till the end of last August, the private sector's indebtedness to banks rose by 6 billion pounds. This is an [annual] increase of 15 percent or a monthly increase of 1.9 percent. Actually, this increase in bank loans to the private sector has been limited when one takes into consideration the cumulative interest on these loans, which is over 1.2 percent a month. This means that the increase in new loans, which is less than 1 percent a month, reflects the extent of the economic stagnation as well as the banks' reluctance to invest because opportunities to provide loans on a proper basis are not available, particularly after the breakdown of security on 6 February 1984 and the disturbances which continued for a long period thereafter. In 1983 loans to the private sector had risen by 8 billion pounds. That is an increase of 30.6 percent. This means that the lending rate in 1983 was much better than the lending rate in 1984. [Text] [London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1467, 14 Dec 84 p 81] 8592

CSO: 4404/132

SAUDI ARABIA

INDUSTRY OFFICIAL DISCUSSES COUNTRY'S INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 832, 12 Dec 84 pp 78-81

/Interview with Dr Muhsin Jalal, chairman of the board of the National Industrialization Company, by A. al-Saykhan and A. al-Mansur; date and place not specified

/Text Early this month shares of the National Industrialization Company /NIC were made available for public subscription. What are the goals this company was established to achieve? What is its view of the industrial future of this country? What are the concerns and ambitions of this future? Following is an interview with Dr Muhsin Jalal, chairman of the board of this company.

/Question When did you begin to think about establishing the NIC, and what are the immediate goals the company, which represent the industrial ambitions of a country like ours, was established to achieve?

/Answer When SABIC /Saudi Arabian Basic Industries Corporation was created, there was consideration of establishing another company alongside SABIC. SABIC would be charged with establishing basic industries and the other company would be charged with small and mid-level industries. The idea at that time came from the Ministry of Industry, and the minister of industry and electricity charged me with examining the idea from my standpoint in the Saudi Fund for Development. My response, at that time, was that the time was not right for the creation of this company because any industry requires a base from which to develop, and if we were to look at SABIC's projects we would find that they took a long time to reach the completion stage. These projects required the construction of basic facilities before they could be started. Two huge industrial cities were built, each one costing dozens of billions /of riyals. For SABIC's projects to get under way, the appropriate basic facilities had to be created.

Now, 10 years after delaying the implementation of the idea, the scene is completely different. There is a foundation which will help the establishment of the NIC so that it can play its primary role in the area of developing national industry and initiating industrial projects.

Now, fortunately, the basic facilities are available and there is a large pool of basic materials produced by SABIC's projects. In addition, there is a class of youth that, because of its experience and contact with large projects during the past 10 years, can confidently bolster an industrialization movement.

When I returned from the United States after completing my tour with the International Monetary Fund and my "retirement at my own request," we began to think about setting up a project that would serve the country and the cause of industrialization and technological development in the region. Without being arrogant, I can say that the idea was mine. I raised the idea on more than one occasion, saying that the time was not right to implement such an idea. I presented the idea to a number of officials and it met with full support and encouragement.

/Question/ The company, which has offered its shares for public subscription, is aware that the recuperation of capital is slow in the industrialization field, and is aware of the subscriber's, or "citizen's," overconfidence in industrialization when it is just beginning. How can these problems be explained to the citizen?

/Answer/ This is true, and we are not trying to cheat the citizen or deceive him. We state clearly that we do not expect to distribute profits for 3 or 4 years because industry, by its very nature, as you mentioned, consumes a great deal of time in the study, implementation, construction and production phases of a project. These phases take time.

We are not interested in the citizen that invests to achieve quick profits, who "buys today to sell tomorrow." Rather, we are interested in the citizen who is looking for a long-term investment. I believe that the NIC was established to achieve this, and our investments are not in a single commodity that can be affected by that commodity's prices in international markets. We are seeking diversified investment and we will derive our revenues from 30-40 different industries. Our projects are not based on aid, but on the marketplace, study and exportability.

We do not associate our projects with time sensitive projects that derive their strength from boom times. Instead, we derive our strength and our profits from organized, planned, continuous development.

The company will seek some established and productive investment opportunities which have already begun to achieve profits. This will help us achieve returns in the shortest possible time. We have already been offered 10 investment opportunities in existing projects. Some suffer from certain management or financial problems. During the next 2 months we will evaluate these projects and opportunities and arrive at capitalization figures for them, then we will make the decisions. Investment in the projects will save us much time. We will try, on the other hand, to benefit from our liquid assets in what are called treasury operations. In 5-6 years, the company will be one of the largest organizations that works to employ Saudis in the country. In other words, we will try to create numerous employment opportunities, and this will help to achieve economic independence and provide other sources of foreign currency through exports and diversification of sources of income.

/Question/ In the publication you are holding, didn't we learn that there is a project to benefit from scrap metal?

/Answer/ Yes, This project is small. It's total cost is about 20 million riyals, and we will participate in it with a capital investment of about 8 million riyals, or 40-45 percent of the total.

The project will involve collecting scrap iron from automobiles, forming it, cleaning it and selling it. This is one of the smallest projects and we have charged an investment firm with studying the project and determining the economic feasibility. This will be completed within 2 months and the project will be set up in the Eastern Province. This project will provide quick returns.

The NIC has other projects besides this. We are currently studying a project for the maintenance of industrial projects. After the study is completed we will construct workshops in al-Jubayl and Yanbu' for the maintenance of projects there.

/Question/ Technology transfer to the Kingdom in particular and the Arab world in general is one of the goals of the company. Technology transfer, however, is often subject to opportunism, if I may use the term, by foreign companies who transfer the technology using their own crews and technicians. They work to establish a foothold here without fulfilling their obligation of training Saudis and creating cadres capable of using this technology. How can we correct this problem?

/Answer/ We did suffer from this in the past and the reason for it was that we had a shortage of educated youth. Foreign companies had no choice but to bring foreigners, sometimes from the same country and sometimes from other countries. The main reason, though, was that the supply of specialists, even those with no experience, was very limited.

I believe that this situation has changed to a large degree. Now there is a supply of educated youth, and, even if they do not have the experience, they are qualified youth. They are still at the beginning of the road, but this will make the training and availability of Saudis who will participate in technology transfer jobs easier than in the past.

This does mean that the problem has been overcome because we will continue to need foreigners here, but any project will at least find a number of Saudis available for the needed specializations.

A year and a half ago when we began with the United Saudi Commercial Bank, we thought that we would not find any youth that were educated and experienced. We were surprised when we learned that about 30 young Saudi applicants came in within 3 days. Ten of them had masters degrees and bachelors degrees, and some of them also had banking experience. Ten years ago we would not have found any Saudis and we would have been forced to bring in foreigners.

Currently at the NIC we have about 25 technicians, and all but 3 of them are Saudis.

/Question/ What is their technical level?

/Answer/ Eight of them have masters degrees and practical experience. Some have 5 years experience and others have 10 years experience in industry. You find them looking for better opportunities as a result of the availability of educated Saudis.

There are those who have bachelors degrees, and some of these have 15 years of industrial experience. This was a rare phenomenon in the past.

I remember that before I went to America and was working in the Saudi Fund for Development, we could not find a single Saudi, and we were part of the government sector. We had asked the civil service office to assign one or two Saudis to us because our organization, which dealt with foreign aid, needed Saudis to represent it abroad.

Now the picture is completely different, and this should make us happy.

/Question/ This is true with skilled cadres, but what about the infrastructure on which the economy usually depends?

/Answer/ This is still in the early stage.

On the leadership level, we can be self-sufficient in both the government and private sectors, but this is the first phase.

The second phase is to expand the pool of technical university graduates. The universities are currently graduating annually about 2,000 engineers, whereas the figure 10 years ago was 30-40 or, under the best of circumstances, 100 engineers. Now, as a result of the larger supply, engineers are forced to do technical work that may not include management responsibilities.

In the past the youth would not accept a job in a factory, but today or tomorrow the youth will only be able to find jobs in a factory.

After this we come to the third phase, which we have not yet reached. By this phase I mean that there will be an abundance of "skilled laborers." Now they are truly rare, but in a few years we will have many of them.

If you were to visit SABIC projects in al-Jabayl you would find technically-qualified Saudi workers (the Eastern Company for Petrochemicals is 70 percent Saudi). SABIC has spent about 500 million riyals on training programs. The workers at Petromin are also Saudi. These two organizations have been able to accomplish this thanks to government support.

/Question/ We visited one of the factories (the automobile factory in Jiddah) and did not get the impression that it was Saudi because the crew that was doing the work and the equipment were all foreign. In our opinion they had not done anything but transfer the entire operation here. What is the impact of such factories on the industrial base?

/Answer/ Many factories do this and they persist in asking for assistance under the pretext that they are Saudi factories making Saudi products. In fact,

the capital is Saudi but nothing else. There are no Saudis participating in the production process. This capital might just as well have gone to the Philippines--or any other Asian country--build a factory there and bring the products back here for marketing. I can say with confidence, however, that this phenomenon will completely disappear in the next few years.

Investors with private capital seek to achieve profits by hiring the cheapest workers. Unfortunately, they forget that there are social goals to be achieved with national capital.

The NIC was established to play a social role as well as make a profit. We are fully aware that we have a social role to play and that we have a development chore that supersedes the problem of quick profits. Saudis working in the company cost more than foreigners, but employing them is something we are proud of. Aside from all of this we must--and this is one of the company's goals--bring out and develop Saudi capabilities.

/Question/ But how can you fulfill this role through joint projects with foreign companies?

/Answer/ We participate on the managing boards of the joint companies with a number of individuals who are employees of the NIC so that they will be involved in the beginning of the project, and will develop with it and learn many management concepts.

Now we are looking for partners, whereas in the past (during the economic boom) it was they who were looking for us.

In past years, they came only to use the name of the Saudi partner, but now it is the Saudi companies that are looking for partners.

/Question/ Saudi workers are nonexistent, or their existence is so slight that they do fill the need of current projects. How do you view the prospects for this problem in light of the economic reality and rapid developments?

/Answer/ Let me tell you something. I believe that the greatest problem that we will face in the Kingdom in the coming years is finding jobs for Saudi youth. I have said this to some officials.

In the past we could not find Saudis. Today and tomorrow we will think hard about how to create job opportunities for many young people. First it will be the college educated. This problem has already begun to emerge. You may not see it but we see it from the standpoint of our work. There currently is an insufficient number of jobs to absorb the new graduates from our universities. There are engineers and graduates of business colleges who have been looking for work for 6 months. This is not a problem now, but it probably will be within the next few years.

The second phase, after the period of trying to absorb university graduates, will involve an effort to absorb graduates of vocational training schools.

The private sector must participate in taking all of these people in because one day the government sector will be unable to absorb the increasing numbers of university graduates.

Therefore, it is evident how important it is to establish a company such as the NIC and other similar companies which must have among their goals the absorption of the various levels of native capabilities.

We must be fully aware of this problem. The government may need to formulate a plan for the employment of Saudis. It may be forced to grant aid to companies in exchange for employing Saudis. This system is currently in operation in some poor countries such as Tunisia. There the government grants assistance for each new job opportunity that is granted to an unemployed citizen.

/Question/ Aside from this, what are some solutions that you believe could be proposed?

/Answer/ One would be an interest in training and raising the skill level of workers so that they are not a burden on the private sector. Also, we should find ways of providing incentives to the private sector for employing Saudis.

/Question/ Some citizens will not buy locally-manufactured products in the free economy climate and the presence of goods of comparable price and superior quality. Do you foresee protectionism for locally-manufactured goods, and how so?

/Answer/ If we want any industry to succeed in the Kingdom we must strive for high quality. In the past it /protectionism/ happened here when local industry was based on a small initiative by an individual with limited capabilities and limited understanding of the industrial game. The issue was clearcut in industries such as metal furniture and air conditioners. Now, however, consumer industries must strive for high quality in order to win over the consumer because the market is open to him and there is no protectionism against imports.

In this case the role of the foreign partner--which is usually a specialist company--is to monitor the quality of the product so that it can compete with imported goods.

Protectionism, however, is a necessity. By this I mean "assistance" in a general way, in the form of either subsidizing production or doing something else because competition is not fair competition. There are those who offer special prices for the Kingdom and Gulf markets, prices that are much lower than the prices of these goods in their own markets. For example, you find that Japanese cement is sold there for twice the price that it is sold here for. This is true for many products that enter our country. Therefore, protectionism is necessary for national industries because the consumer himself relies on local industrial organizations to provide job opportunities to his sons, his brothers or himself.

/Question/ We notice that the NIC usually enters as a 20 or 30 percent partner with foreign companies. Doesn't this have an effect on the decisionmaking in the joint company?

/Answer/ Actually, it does appear that way, but the project--any joint project--is our idea and we are the ones who conduct the studies, look for the other partner and negotiate the contractor who will participate in the project.

We supervise, supply and make the decisions for the projects in which we participate.

/Question/ In terms of the Gulf, what do you see as the direction of the company?

/Answer/ There are projects in which we will participate in Kuwait and Bahrain, and capital from there will be involved in projects to be undertaken in the Kingdom.

The Arab Company for Investments has an important project, the main part of which will be undertaken in Bahrain. Other projects will be carried out in other areas of the Gulf.

/Question/ The Ministry of Defense and Aviation, in cooperation with large Western companies, will undertake projects in the context of the "economic offset program," which stipulates that the Western companies set up investment projects with Saudi industrial organizations. Will the NIC have a role in this?

/Answer/ Actually, this would be a natural thing since the NIC works in the area of industrial technology transfer. However, the basic idea to establish the company as an autonomous initiative independent of any other economic developments.

The idea for the company emerged and development, and we had absolutely no knowledge of the existence of the economic offset idea. The happy coincidence is the simultaneous establishment of the two projects. Unfortunately, there are some journalists who have made a link between the two projects. The idea of the economic offset program came from the Ministry of Defense, and His Royal Highness Prince Sultan bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz developed the idea with the assistance of qualified cadre in the Ministry of Defense. Our company had absolutely no knowledge of the idea for this program.

Offset projects will be large and important projects and will certainly help to transfer industrial technology to the Kingdom. In the end, this is also the goal of the NIC, but it is not yet known who the Saudi party will be in the economic offset program.

We have our planned projects and we welcome the establishment of other companies like ours because this will help to mobilize resources and direct them toward industry. This is the national role with which we are charged.

/Inset: "Who is Muhsin Jalal?"/

/Text/ He was born in Mecca in 1355 AH (circa 1936 AD) and received his BA with honors in economics from the business college in Cairo in 1381 AH (1961 AD). To complete his graduate studies, he received his PhD from Rutgers University

in the state of New Jersey in 1387 AH (1967 AD). Upon his return he worked as a professor at King Sa'ud University where he taught economic theory, mathematical economics, the economics of petroleum, industrial economics and some management courses. In 1395 AH (1975 AD) he was appointed deputy to the chairman and member of the managing board of trustees of the Saudi Fund for Development. At the end of 1398 AH (1978 AD) he was appointed executive director to represent the Kingdom in the International Monetary Fund. He continued in this post until mid-1401 AH (1981 AD), when he retired at his own request.

More generally, he worked as a parttime advisor to the Center for Research and Industrial Development between 1387 and 1392 AH. Here he undertook a number of studies and participated in preparing them. Among the most important of his studies was one entitled Saudi Industrial Activity and the Industrial Scene. He also conducted economic feasibility studies for certain industrial projects and marketing studies for a number of products. He was appointed a member of the technical committee of the Supreme Petroleum Council and he participated in the activities of a number of advisory committees to study and propose economic and social policies.

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SAUDI ARABIA

POOR MARKETING, FOREIGN COMPETITION TROUBLE DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 832, 12 Dec 84 pp 3-9

[Article: "National Industries: Big Production and Troublesome Marketing"]

[Text] National industries--oppressor or oppressed? That is our issue this week. There are varying opinions among knowledgeable, experienced persons, for the issue affects the fate of the nation, and it doesn't make sense for us to stifle the industries which we worked so hard to conceptualize, design and establish. You should read up on this issue, if you don't want to be an obstacle hindering this leading national sector.

Marketing is the lung of industry. While for the sake of argument one can have art for art's sake and literature for literature's sake, not by the wildest stretch of the imagination can there be production for production's sake. Even those who throw their products into the sea, as in the Western countries, do so in order to keep the prices high; in other words, they are executing an obvious marketing maneuver, even though it is immoral and inhumane.

What is our national industry's situation from the standpoint of domestic and overseas marketing? For a start, let us take the advanced petrochemical industries which the government has established. There is no marketing problem there. Although we read and hear about the Common Market countries' attempts to close their markets to our petrochemical products, the state is trying to solve this problem wisely and judiciously. From start to finish, our country, by the grace of God, holds extremely strong cards, which enable it to do justice to itself and to its higher national interests.

So far so good. Therefore our discussion will center around private sector national industries, since a characteristic feature of the Saudi economy is the state's overriding concern with providing better production opportunities for the private sector. In fact, once the government establishes large industrial installations and makes sure that they can turn a profit, it offers the citizens shares in these industries at nominal prices.

How It Was, and What It Became

Before going immediately into details, we must give a brief survey of Saudi industry and its marketing situation over the last 10 years, which is

its approximate age. Secretary General of the Riyadh Chamber of Commerce and Industry Salih al-Tu'aymi puts it very succinctly when he says, "National industry grew faster than marketing, because demand was exceeding production.

Therefore, during the boom stage it was only natural that the equilibrium was upset; the purchaser wanted industrial products, instead of the industry looking for customers, as is the usual situation. Another vital characteristic of that era was that national industry was limited in size, and concentrated on simple, rapid-consumption industries such as building materials."

Director General of Industrialization and Construction Company Ltd Yusuf Hamdan al-Hamdan describes the situation thus: "In view of the country's significant growth during that time, demand was exceeding the factories' production capacities. According to all indications, the industrialists' concern was obviously limited to production, not marketing, which was assumed not to need any special effort."

We might add to our honorable guests' comments our own conviction that this period saw a tendency on the part of the public sector to concentrate on trade, so as to achieve greater, quicker profits. Industry was not as tempting to the businessmen as it was in subsequent years. This conviction is reinforced by 'Abdallah Zamil al-Zamil's comment that as of 1974 there were 352 licensed factories, some of which were factories in name only, and a significant number of which were nothing but small workshops.

Industry suffered from weak financing as a logical result of trade's monopolization of the major part of private sector capital, and this is reflected in the level of production itself.

Director General of the Riyadh Furniture Factory Engr 'Umayr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-'Umayr points out another influencing factor: the ambitious plans which the state started carrying out 10 years ago, such as road, port, airport and communications projects, which inevitably led to some temporary bottlenecks and affected marketing. We think that most likely the effect of this was insignificant, for as we said before, weak marketing techniques lead first of all to increased demand on the rate of production, and secondly to the capitalists' aversion to entering this field of activity.

The Industrial Age

The picture is radically different now. We don't need to go out of our way to prove that; all we have to do is ask Associate Professor at King Sa'ud University's College of Administrative Sciences Dr Tal'at 'As'ad 'Abd-al-Hamid whether goods marked "made in Saudi Arabia" find their way into our homes. Who among us doesn't drink al-Wahah juices? Who doesn't pick up a carton of al-Safi or Sanabil milk on his way home? Saudi-made cement has become preferred among building contractors, and Petromin oil competes with oils produced by the oldest, most experienced Western companies.

Even considering the fact that many national industrial sectors could be expanded in quality and quantity, one can be proud that in some sectors, such

as the building material industry, Saudi production has reached the level of self-sufficiency, and even saturation, according to well-known Businessman al-Hamdan.

While our country's industrial growth has continued uninterrupted, the boom-generated phenomena are beginning to disappear, and things are returning to normal. Because of these two factors, the importance of marketing is beginning to emerge. At the same time, al-Tu'aymi feels that many of our country's industries were designed on the assumption that demand would continue to increase. The inevitable result of the drop in demand is that some factories are finding that they are producing more than the market needs.

The Foreign Complex

Industrial and Commercial Organization Owner Nasir al-Humayd explains falling demand as being the result of the local market's being flooded by foreign goods, which are non-competitive because they are inferior. Al-Humayd finds it unfortunate that many citizens are tempted by cheap prices, and disregard quality.

Factory Owner al-Zamil shares this view, and attributes dwindling demand for national products to the absence of a good marketing system, and to the simultaneous influx of extremely cheap substitute imported products. In the opinion of 'Abdallah Zamil al-Zamil, the secret behind these imported goods' low prices is the world-wide economic stagnation, which has forced industrial countries to export their goods at any cost because they want to keep production going in their own countries. Furthermore, in most cases prices are reduced at the expense of quality.

While al-Zamil says that to a great extent the buyer has been released from the "import" complex and has begun to discover the quality of local industries, we find Dr Tal'at 'Abd-al-Hamid taking the opposite position. He feels that the "foreign complex" is one of the obstacles to the salability of national production. This complex generally prevails in many developing countries, but Dr Tal'at asks the Saudi citizen in exasperation, "Do you know that Petromin's oil is made from the same petroleum we export to the advanced industrial nations? So why do you prefer foreign oil to nationally-made oil?"

The doctor adds, "Especially when Petromin has made its technical specifications public. Related to this is the fact that in the past well-known foreign trademarks dominated the world market, including the Saudi market, and for this reason people unconsciously prefer them and believe that they are the best to be had, regardless of how correct this judgement might be."

Our Industries--Good Or Not?

Therefore, quality is important. Are our national products of lesser quality than their imported counterparts? Before seeking a satisfactory answer, we

must take care to avoid the mistake of giving emotional, zealous answers, whether we tend to be positive and claim that our products are better than all their counterparts throughout the world, or whether we fall into the "foreign complex" and deny the real virtues of our national industries.

What do our guests this week think?

Engr al-'Umayr says, "There are no shortcomings in locally-manufactured goods, for their quality has been proven and sometimes exceeds that of imported goods. This has been made clear at the international exhibitions in which the Kingdom's companies have participated, and has been attested to by many agencies with which national industries do business."

Al-Humayd stresses the excellence of national industries, and attributes it to the relative newness of these industries, which has forced them to continually improve their products to prove themselves in the face of stiff competition from larger, more experienced and better-known industries.

Dr Tal'at, who is convinced that most of our national products are of no lesser quality than their imported competitors, points out at the same time that some foreign goods are better because of greater experience.

In order to arrive at a more comprehensive verdict, let us look back to the 1981 seminar on encouraging national industries, which was organized by Saudi Consulting Services, and in particular to the talk delivered by Dr Khalid Yusuf al-Khalaf, director general of the Arab-Saudi Authority for Specifications and Standards, which is the Kingdom's only national standards agency and the only authority entitled by the government to issue marks of quality and certificates of compliance with Saudi-approved specifications. In his talk, Dr al-Khalaf explained the steps for drawing up Saudi specifications, and emphasized that the authority allows national industries to actually take part in preparing specifications, beginning with their conceptualization. The authority's specialized deputies visit the factories affected by the proposed specification. Related factories are brought into the process and their reactions are sought at every step, even after the specification is applied. Once the specifications are approved, these factories are given time to comply with them, so that they can improve their products' quality if it is less than acceptable.

Dr Khalid al-Khalaf added, "The Ministry of Industry and Electricity reached an agreement with the authority that Saudi specifications and standards must be followed in any industrial licensing. It is a known fact that complying with approved national specifications means quality production, lower costs, and conformity to the Kingdom's climate and environmental conditions." The director general of the specifications and standards authority pointed out that in 1980, 400 factories cooperated with the authority in this respect.

High Prices

We believe that the Saudi industrialists' compliance with Saudi specifications amounts to an impartial, scientific judgement on the quality

of the product. But for the consumer, a system for quality marks and certificates of compliance would have to be established and applied in practice.

But now we are faced with a new problem which must be acknowledged: rising production costs for national factories. For example, Salih al-Tu'aymi voices his fear of continued foreign competition with national industries, because of the rising production costs for many Saudi goods.

In the opinion of the chairman of the Riyadh Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the reason for these high costs is importation. In most cases, the raw materials are imported, the machines and equipment are imported, and the management and most of the technicians and laborers are non-Saudis and are paid huge salaries.

If we recall al-Tu'aymi's scenario of continued international stagnation, then cheap imported goods might continue to control the market, an undesirable and unpleasant situation for official and citizen alike. Engr al-'Umayr even cites the European and Japanese competitors' readiness to sell at prices close to, if not below, production costs! For them, as al-'Umayr says, it is a question of life or death. Although al-'Umayr is not a pessimist, his opinions differ from ours, expressing his conviction that prices for imported goods could possibly rise as a result of nothing more than an improvement of the international market situation.

Al-Hamdani feels that the rising costs of national production are also due to the fact that most of our factories are small compared to the foreign giants.

In elucidation of al-Hamdani's remark, let us point out a self-evident fact in the world of economics: the cost of a unit of production decreases as the size of the plant increases. Of course, our local industries, except for the petrochemical industries, were basically established to meet the demand of the local market, which is relatively small from the standpoint of population. The fact that expanding the market leads to rapid consumption of the product only confirms the need to persistently develop the quantity and quality of production.

Marketing Shortcomings

Although our industries' standards of excellence are in a relative sense open to debate, there is an almost total consensus of opinion that marketing in our country has not kept pace with industrial growth. Al-Hamdan says, "In general, our marketing skills are not very high, although they vary from one field to another. For example, the food industries take marketing--distribution, intense advertising campaigns, and display methods--much more seriously than other industries.

"Our marketing shortcomings can be seen by observing how few young Saudis are employed in that field, even though it is an attractive field with an excellent future. The citizens know their environment and how to deal with it better than anyone else."

Dr Tal'at 'Abd-al-Hamid points out an extremely vital aspect of the issue: the industrialists' lack of concern for marketing studies. They rely on simple individual experience, which is inadequate in the face of the complicated competitive circumstances which exist now. Even when an industrialist does show some concern over these important studies, he assigns them to foreign experts who know nothing about our society, and who generate distorted, incomplete studies. As proof that his view is correct, Dr Tal'at says, "An experiment conducted by some Saudi students in preparing small-scale marketing studies baffled these foreign experts. How could such a thing happen if we assigned marketing studies to Saudi professors who possess scientific skill and practical experience, who are fully aware of the structure of society and how it operates, and who can follow the development of the Saudi consumer's desires and continually ascertain his real needs?"

State Encouragement

Our enlightened leadership, led by His Majesty the King, is known to all for its concern for national industry and its encouragement. Over the past few years, the Industrial Development Fund has offered close to \$US50 billion to support the private industrial sector and help establish about 1,500 factories.

In addition, there have been many encouraging decisions, especially Cabinet Decree No. 1977 of 8 Nov 1977, which stipulates that technical departments of the ministries, general organizations, and consulting companies doing business with the state, when drawing up specifications for government projects, must give preference to national industrial products whenever that would achieve the desired goal.

State support has not stopped there. Directive No 18301, issued by the crown prince on 13 July 1978, contains his observation that some technical departments and consulting companies have not complied with the cabinet decision, and stresses the necessity of following the government procurement regulations, which authorize the purchase of national products even if their specifications fall below those of their foreign counterparts. These products are to be purchased directly if they are produced by only one factory. If several Saudi factories produce the item, they are to submit competitive prices, with the Ministry of Industry and Electricity determining the appropriate sale price in either case.

Such concern is unique to the world, but will the departments involved abide by the decisions? The seminar on encouraging national industries revealed that many departments were ignoring these sublime directives on the pretext of poor quality, even though the crown prince's directives were clear on this point. Furthermore, this excuse falls through, because we know that the Ministry of Industry and Electricity has given all the ministries and government organizations a periodic listing of all factories producing quality goods in compliance with Saudi standards and specifications, so that they can give these factories priority in government procurement.

In order to round out the picture, we turned to al-Zamil, who said, "State procurement is the backbone of the marketing procedure, for both local and imported products. However, we are still seeing complete disregard on the part of some for the legislation passed by the enlightened government. The worst part is that import statistics show that we are still importing vast quantities of all sorts of things, even things that we produce ourselves. The officials, especially those in project management and procurement departments, must help apply the government legislation."

As AL-YAMAMAH sees it, the way to curb this non-compliance with government regulations in this respect is, in short, to do what the General Electricity Organization does: it requires the contractor to itemize, in his submittal, the national products which he would be using in the project, before the bids are even reviewed. After that, the contractor is required to purchase these national products.

Another and perhaps more comprehensive solution might be to centralize procurement for government departments, placing it in the hands of a specialized commission, established for this purpose, which would include all government agencies.

Customs and the Foreign Market

Al-Humayd would like the state to raise customs duties on the imported counterparts of national industrial products to 40 percent. At least this would give our national industry a chance to compete on an equal footing, especially against inferior industrial goods imported from countries like Taiwan and Hong Kong, which we cannot compete with because of their cheap labor, low standard of living and disregard for quality. Such factors will place Saudi industry in an increasingly difficult position if customs duties are not raised for the kinds of imported goods which we produce locally and of better quality.

It is easy to observe the difference of opinion over customs duties. Commercial entrepreneurs feel that ours is a free economy, and that protectionism might give an individual the chance to make a big profit at the expense of production quality and against the interests of the consumer and the nation. We concede that the Saudi economy is a free one, but we must nevertheless emphasize that customs duties are a higher national interest. Furthermore, the Western laissez-faire economies impose exorbitant customs duties on our petrochemical products!

We agree with Nasir al-Humayd that as long as our national industries do not do a better job of marketing their products, they will never develop. Our entire society will be hurt, and the efforts of the state will be gone with the wind, God forbid.

Another issue over which opinions differ is the foreign market. Al-Zamil believes that we do not yet need a foreign market, because we still have a local market for our products, and because most of our industrial

establishments were designed for the local market only. Entering the arena of foreign competition has its own peculiar conditions and circumstances, and therefore we ought to begin planning our entry into this field. Here we agree completely with al-Zamil that prior study is required. In light of declining domestic demand, the foreign market we must break into consists of neighboring Arab states, especially the Gulf states, which are engaged in an integration experiment with the Kingdom within the context of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Al-Hamdan reveals that the way the industrialists think about the neighboring market is a result of circumstances. One method which al-Hamdan feels might help the foreign marketing of Saudi products is allocating a portion of the Kingdom's aid to the Third World to be in kind, in the form of nationally-produced commodities and goods.

Afterwards

Our observations here have left no room for doubt as to the circumstances surrounding the growth of our national industries, and the disparity between this growth and the development of marketing techniques. We and our honored guests have made suggestions which we feel would significantly encourage national industry and improve its marketing techniques at home and abroad. We conclude this issue, the end of which is not yet in sight, with some other suggestions and opinions.

1. The specifications authority must expedite the application of a system for marks of excellence, in order to reassure the citizens as to the excellence of national industry.

2. The Saudi universities and the General Management Institute must show greater concern for preparing applied studies and research about modern marketing techniques. Organizational infrastructures must be developed in order to create the necessary marketing skills and arrive at an innovative marketing strategy which will take into consideration the Saudi environment, the inherent potentials of national industry, changes in the market, and the future outlook, so that local industry can adjust to domestic and foreign markets.

3. Saudi industrialists should launch concentrated, not haphazard, advertising campaigns which address the consumer in an effective manner. In this context, we support the recommendation submitted to the information minister by the seminar on encouraging national industry that television advertising be permitted provided it is restricted to national industries only.

4. The information media should show greater concern for instilling a sense of national belonging, as should the educational curricula. We have repeatedly referred to this point so many times that we don't want to rehash what we have brought up so many times.

5. The participation of Saudi national consulting firms in industrial development should be increased, because foreign consultants would definitely specify their own countries' industrial products and in any case would never suggest relying on Saudi industrial products.

6. Saudi Arabia should participate in more regional and international exhibitions, which have been proven to be a first-class means of information and advertising.

We hope that our discussion of this issue will have far-reaching results, because it is a national issue of the first order affecting industry, the merchant, the consumer, and, first and last, the nation's economy.

8559

CSO: 4404/140

AFGHANISTAN

EDITORIAL EXAMINES REASONS BEHIND SOVIET INVASION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Dec 84 pp 27-28

[Text] To understand the motives of the Soviet Union for the occupation requires a quick look at Afghanistan's past. In July 1973, Prince Davud Khan, the prime minister of Mohammad Zaher Shah, engaged in a coup d'etat in the absence of the latter and a Republic was announced in Afghanistan. Davud Khan, with leanings towards Soviet policy, faced with the two movements of the Parcham Party (the moderate faction of the Communist Party) and the Khalq Party (the extremist faction), appointed members of the Parcham Party to the Cabinet; but after some time, frightened by the growth of the Parcham supporters and their influence in the government offices, he engaged in purging the above-mentioned elements. After this, there was a turn from the Soviet Union towards the United States and the arrests of the leftist elements began.

The chief editor of PARCHAM newspaper was killed and in the aftermath, the large protest demonstration resulted in the arrest of the leaders of both factions of the Communist Party. The next day, a military coup overthrew Davud. The pro-Soviet officers who carried out the coup appointed Nurmohammad Taraki (of the Khalq Party) as president and Babrak Karmal (of the Parcham Party) as his vice president. However, the coalition of these two parties, due to political conflicts, did not last. Taraki engaged in purging the Parcham members and Babrak Karmal became the Afghan ambassador to Czechoslovakia. In order to protect his unstable regime, Taraki gave priority to the execution of combative clerics and the closure of the mosques. This action in its nature resulted in the formation of the center for armed struggle, the Mujahidin. The resistance expanded and forced Taraki to sign a compulsory "friendship" treaty with the Soviet Union. Apparently, the issue was much deeper and the classic friendship treaty, especially its Soviet version, did not provide solutions. For this reason, Taraki went to Moscow. Perhaps the mechanism and the timing of the invasion of Afghanistan was planned on this trip. But what is certain is that the change of Hafizollah Amin (Taraki's prime minister) for Karmal was proposed

to Taraki on the same trip, because Amin killed him as soon as Taraki returned from Moscow. But he did not find the opportunity to strengthen his position and was overthrown at the hands of Karmal with the help of Moscow's Red Army. The Red Army had crossed its borders twice earlier, in 1956 to Hungary and in spring of 1968 it had unsuccessfully gone to Prague. But this time, in its greed for honey, it had stepped into an area whose beehives were overstuffed.

And the golden bees began to fly around the bear to prevent it from plundering their life's substance.

Under what circumstances did the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan? The Moscow strategists may have taken various dimensions of the issue into consideration in their evaluation of the conditions of the invasion, but their strategic mistake was their wrong evaluation of the resistance of the brave people of Afghanistan. Moscow militarily occupied Afghanistan under circumstances of the United States being confronted with a fundamental crisis: The Watergate scandal, disappointment in Vietnam, the oil crisis, recession and inflation, and the involvement of the United States in the heroic occupation of the Spy Nest by the Muslim students following the line of the imam, all in all were factors that caused Moscow to see that the rival was falling. Also, in the international arena, noting the escalation of the alliance between China and the United States and Japan and China, the Kremlin was faced with the nightmare of being surrounded by capitalist fortresses. On the other hand, noting the change in the nuclear balance in its favor, it saw conditions for the invasion at their best. Hence, considering the above-mentioned circumstances, it took action and occupied Afghanistan. But here the mention of one particular point is very interesting, which is the zig-zag Soviet treatment of the Afghan government before the invasion. The Russians first had a friendly position towards Davud. They also supported the two-party (Parcham-Khalq) coalition in the beginning and then reacted favorably to the dismissal of the Parcham members (Karmal). Then, they supported Amin (the leader of the Khalq Party), and finally, they sacrificed this comrade and put Karmal in power. Such changes in the policy of the Soviet Union show very well the point that the occupation of Afghanistan is not confined to an indigenous cadre.

Why did the Soviet Union occupy Afghanistan? This raises a question when we also note the point that the Soviet Union even ignored its theory of the "vast region of peace" in its occupation of Afghanistan. Why is the Kremlin, which calls the Soviet Union and the Third World the vast region of peace, prepared to send the iron regiments of the proletariat to conquer a country which, as history proves, has never had a hostile position towards the Soviet Union? From what point in the scientific view of those in the Kremlin comes the injection of

socialism into a society of shepherds? What strategic objective drags Afghanistan by force and violence into the socialist camp?

The Soviet Union pursued two objectives in its invasion of Afghanistan, on the whole:

A. The creation of a dam on its southern border to prevent the influence of revolutionary Islam, which could cause problems involving tens of millions of Muslims in that country.

B. The breaking of the embargo ring by regimes supporting the United States (an issue which has historical roots in the thinking of Russians) to get closer to and ultimately reach the waters of the Persian Gulf so that in the event of a crisis and need to interfere in this vital area, they would be better able to maneuver. With the occupation of Afghanistan, the Russians have come 500 km from the waters of the Gulf, but for numerous reasons, they are unable to overcome the local limitations of the occupation.

What were the consequences of the occupation of Afghanistan?

The Russians invaded Afghanistan when Iran became a center against the United States with the capture of the Spy Nest. Brzezinski, Carter's national security advisor, issued a freeze on the political actions of Washington vis-a-vis Iran at the juncture of the Soviet invasion. His analysis under those circumstances was based on the point that this invasion provided the United States with the best opportunity to free itself from the attacks of Iran and to organize its supporters under the banner of protest against the Soviet invasion. Brzezinski was trying to attract attention away from the political marsh of the United States in Iran to the political-military marsh of Moscow in Afghanistan, and he succeeded in this effort to some extent. The West did not stop with this action and engaged in confrontation in the diplomatic, psychological and financial dimensions as well. The hardline faction in the U.S. administration found the best cover for increasing arms production and the U.S.-Israel invasion of southern Lebanon, and the occupation of Grenada remained unchallenged. Once more it became very clear how the United States and the Soviet Union feed on each other's crises. The United Nations, the United States, the European community, and the conference of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries demanded the departure of the Soviet army from Afghanistan, each for various reasons, but in fact, the plan to "make Afghanistan another Finland" was at the center of all proposals. "Afghanistan must remain neutral."

Neutrality on the front of truth and untruth, revolution and counterrevolution are meaningless. Afghanistan does not believe in the kind of "neutralizing" that Brzezinski promised the

Russians: "We guarantee a neutral Afghanistan and jointly arrange for an Islamic protective peace force to ensure that after the departure of your forces, Afghanistan will not turn against the Soviet Union."

The brave freedom fighters of Afghanistan have thus far put up resistance against 100,000 Soviet military men and 60,000 of the Karmal government forces, and until the suppression of the aggressor and the overthrow of the functionary regime, they will continue their sacred war. It is hoped that the combative Muslims of that country, by purging their ranks of the impure elements and trying to create a basic and fundamental unity, will essentially suppress the aggression and establish their desired government.

10,000

CSO: 4640/249

AFGHANISTAN

FIFTY THOUSAND SOVIETS SAID KILLED IN 5 YEARS OCCUPATION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Dec 84 p 26

[Text] KEYHAN political service. On the occasion of 27 December, the anniversary of the military occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet army, the representatives of the organizations of Nasr, Jebheh-ye Mottahed-e Eslami, Pasdaran-e Jihad-e Eslami, Hezb-e Eslami and Jam'iyyat-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan took part in a press conference yesterday afternoon and explained the crimes of the Soviet army in Afghanistan and exposed the Geneva conspiracy as well as the negative role of the countries in the region, including Kuwait, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, in the issues regarding Afghanistan.

First, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hoseyni, the representative of the Nasr organization of Afghanistan, said: The issue of 27 December, the headquarters for holding an exhibition and the demonstrations of the Afghan nation shows a small portion of the oppression and enslavement imposed on the Muslim nation of Afghanistan. The Muslim nation of Afghanistan, whose goal has been freedom and Islamic rule and has proven throughout the course of history that it is a free-spirited nation, was invaded after the victory of the Islamic revolution of Iran. Since the West has always wanted to eliminate Islam, in connection with the problem of Afghanistan, they wanted to prevent an Islamic revolution and determined that Afghanistan must be invaded. Another issue is that this area has been of strategic interest to the Russians from old times. In this way, they hope to open a way to the warm waters of the Persian Gulf. The underground resources of Afghanistan have also not been ignored by the Russians.

Hence, they started the military coup d'etat of 27 April led by Taraki, and when he was unable to act in the interest of the Russians, they brought Amin to power. Then, when they were unable to get any results from this action either, they presented

Amin as a puppet of the United States, and on 27 December they engaged in direct military interference. Today, after five years of atrocities on the part of the Soviet Union, we have prepared demonstrations and an exhibition to show some of the crimes of Russia in Afghanistan.

Also, Delju, of the Hezb-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan, said in a speech:

On 27 December, Afghanistan was confronted with an unwanted war and showed a movement which is a point of change in the history of Afghanistan. The date 27 December will not be easily forgotten, because the enemy entered with all its might into battle against a nation which was swallowed up by the enemy.

He added:

Because of the importance of Afghanistan, which is at the gateway to Asia, the enemy was forced to enter the war directly and has now sunken into a muck from which it cannot free itself.

In another part of his speech, he said: The enemy thought that with a rapid war, it could break the resistance of the Muslim nation of Afghanistan, but firstly, due to the mountainous nature of the region, and, secondly, due to the distrust of the Muslim people of Afghanistan of them and also the unfamiliarity of the invading forces with the region, and, most importantly, because of the spirit of the Muslim nation of Afghanistan, the enemy faced defeat in reaching its goals.

He added: Thus far, 50,000 of the enemy forces have been killed, 400 of their planes have been shot down, and tens of thousands of their guns and equipment have been destroyed.

He added: The economy of the country is totally destroyed and 70 percent of the small towns and villages have been destroyed, and we have gained the final victory.

He added: Inside Afghanistan, all the religious forces, including Shi'ite and Sunnite, are fighting on the same front for God and the liberation of the homeland. The remnant hollow forces of the previous regime, which engage in propaganda by using the resources of Western oppression, have no forces inside and in the crimes committed against the Afghan nation, they are no less guilty than the Russian enemy. Mysterious figures who are trying to create disunity are being identified and will not succeed.

He added: Afghanistan is an Islamic country and the enemy must leave Afghanistan in humiliation.

A Deeper Revolution

Also, Hojjat ol-Eslam Salehi of the Pasdaran-e Jihad-e Eslami of Afghanistan said:

When many regions were liberated from the domination of the enemy, the people, instead of forcing the enemy out, began to think of a deeper revolution, and now a movement based on this ideology has been created. He also added:

This issue has shaken the Westerners and the Russians and they have realized that if the uprising of the Afghan people comes to fruition, this movement will spread to other Islamic countries and threaten the interests of both superpowers.

He said: The anniversary of 27 December this year is more than ever before for the purpose of unity.

He continued: In the face of the resources of the Soviet superpower, we have the spiritual power of Islam. The Afghan freedom fighters, while engaged in military means and resources, rely on and stress the power of the faith of the Muslim people of Afghanistan.

Then, Hashemi of the Jebhe-ye Mottahed-e Eslami spoke, adding: The occupation of Afghanistan was carried out through the coordination of the East and the West. When Afghanistan was occupied by the Russians, the United States was severely burning Lebanon and the Palestinian people with its fire.

He added: If not for the unity of the East and the West in the occupation of Afghanistan, today, the West would make much noise about the occupation of Afghanistan, which is of great importance, and would engage in conspiratorial propaganda in its own interests. In another part of his speech, Hashemi said: When the Russians saw Taraki was unable to secure their interests and that the people of Afghanistan had made a united uprising and were occupying the governor's offices, they overthrew Taraki through Amin. This one as well, through the uprising of the Muslim nation of Afghanistan, reached the point of being overthrown and was subsequently overthrown by the Russians and Babrak Karmal was installed in order to keep the people calm. However, our people want nothing but Islam, and their false propaganda cannot deceive our nation.

Islamic Afghanistan

He continued:

Here we state openly that our nation wants Afghanistan to be Islamic and not to be dominated by the Russians.

The political relations that now exist between the heathen regimes favor the destruction of the Islamic movements, including the movement of the Afghan nation. We tolerate the hardship and will continue our battle to victory up to our last bullet. But whether or not Afghanistan will attain victory depends on the Islamic movement on a global level. The victory of Afghanistan depends on the cooperation and help of the Islamic world.

He continued:

The per capita income in Saudi Arabia is more than \$1,400 and in Kuwait, \$12,000, but in Afghanistan, \$150. Considering the situation in Afghanistan, how could we not burst with anger? While we have given 1 million martyrs, Kuwait opens a base for Russians in its country. Should Kuwait put a base at the disposal of Russians under such circumstances?

We are sure that the government of Kuwait is not competent to stop the entry of the Russian advisors. Hence, we say that the defeat or victory of the Afghan nation depends on all the Muslims in the world.

He added:

In their direct confrontation with the Afghan nation, the Russians have faced defeat and the unity of the nation remains as before. Hence, they hold a conference in Geneva which is neither the first nor the last and will not have any results.

When the United States compromises with the Soviet Union, they hold the Geneva conference. The representatives of the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan also sit together. At the same time, on the one hand, the innocent people's residential areas are bombed by the Russians and innocent people are killed, and on the other, Pakistan removes several thousand of the refugees from the Pishavar towns and transfers them somewhere else. We consider this a result of the Geneva conference.

Statement of the Representative of Jam'iyyat-e Eslami

Then Haqju of the Jam'iyyat-e Eslami of Afghanistan said:

Since the Russians have entered Afghanistan, our land has been a target of the bombs and bullets of the enemy and this crime continues to the present. Under the present circumstances, the Russians have been unable to stand up against the Afghan nation, and they continue to commit their crimes, dropping strong chemical bombs. What we expect of the Islamic countries is for them to know that if Afghanistan is not on the first line of the front, the Russians will threaten all Islamic countries because their objective is to reach the waters of the Persian Gulf.

He continued:

Islamic Iran must, before all other countries, pay attention to the problems of Afghanistan and provide the Muslim people of Afghanistan with their experiences. The Muslim nation of Iran must not look at the Afghan Muslims as immigrants and must sincerely cooperate with them.

In the end of this interview, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hoseyni of Nasr organization said:

First, the Russians accused the uprising of being pro-capitalist, but today, hand in hand with the capitalists, the feudal lords and remnants of the previous regime have formed the national fatherland front and fight against the Afghan Muslim strugglers. This is considered a historical and ideological defeat for the Russians.

Another issue is the spread of addiction and prostitution, through which they want to prevent the expansion and influence of the uprising of the Muslim nation of Afghanistan.

To solidify their occupation in Afghanistan, the Russians bomb the mud houses of the people. These are crimes that Russians commit every day in Afghanistan. They even use chemical bombs against the Afghan people. But the world news agencies remain silent and do not publish anything.

He added:

Today is the day of infamy for the Soviet Union and the day of the resistance and steadfastness of the Afghan nation against the aggressors.

10,000

CSO: 4640/248

AFGHANISTAN

IRAN FOREIGN MINISTRY SPELLS OUT SOLUTION TO OCCUPATION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Dec 84 p 26

[Text] Yesterday, with the publication of a communique on the occasion of 27 December, the anniversary of the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet forces, pointing out that the oppressive forces, both Eastern and Western, have realized that they must pay a heavy price for invading the sanctuary of Islam, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that the Islamic Republic of Iran, as it has declared frequently, considers the unconditional departure of the occupying forces without replacement by any other oppressive force, giving the right of self rule to the people, and the honorable return of all the Afghan refugees to their country the only essential solution to the problem of Afghanistan.

The text of this communique is as follows:

In the Name of God the Compassionate and the Merciful

The date 27 December 1979 is a reminder of the bitter invasion of the Soviet forces on the Islamic country of Afghanistan. Five years ago on this day, more than 100,000 fully armed Soviet soldiers were dispatched to occupy Afghanistan, resulting in the martyrdom of 100,000 innocent people, the destruction of thousands of villages, and the homelessness of about 4 million unsheltered human beings. Today, with the passage of five years since that invasion, the Muslim people of Afghanistan feel, more than ever before, the necessity of a persistent struggle under the banner of Islam, because the failure of political solutions and international conferences to resolve the problem of Afghanistan has been obvious to everyone, and to stop the struggle would only be in the interests of the oppressive powers and would not result in the liberation of Afghanistan.

At the present time, the oppressive powers, both Eastern and Western, have realized that they must pay a heavy price for invading the sanctuary of Islam. The Muslims in Lebanon taught a good lesson to the U.S. aggressors; likewise, the Afghan freedom fighters have taught and still teach an unforgettable lesson to the occupiers through sacrificing their lives, property, and families. As it has announced frequently, the Islamic Republic of Iran considers the unconditional departure of all the occupying forces without being replaced by any other oppressive force, giving the right of self rule to the people, and the honorable return of the Afghan refugees to their country as the only essential solution to the problem of Afghanistan. It is hoped that the struggling Muslim people of Afghanistan will continue their persistent struggle up to their final victory against the conspiracies of the East and the West through the unity of word and alertness and that they will have faith in God's help, because "God helps you if you help yourself and remain steadfast in your actions" [Arabic].

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Islamic Republic of Iran

10,000

CSO: 4640/248

AFGHANISTAN

VILLAGERS SAID BURNED BY SOVIETS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Dec 84 p 28

[Text] A diplomatic source verified yesterday in Islamabad that in retaliation, a group of Soviet soldiers burned 24 civilians alive in a village in the Kukar Valley of Afghanistan.

The CENTRAL NEWS UNIT, quoting the FRENCH NEWS AGENCY, reports that according to this source, who did not wish to be identified, this massacre took place between mid-November and mid-December in a village to the north of Mohammad Aqa, 100 km south of Kabul.

This source pointed out that the Soviet soldiers engaged in this retaliatory act following the attack of the revolutionaries on their positions in this area, which killed some of them. This source added: Among those massacred were a number of children and elderly people.

In addition, according to this diplomatic source, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Red Army's interference in Afghanistan, the Soviet forces in that country have increased security in Kabul severely and have also increased the air raids on the villages around the capital.

Also, following the arrest and capture of three Soviet advisors by the Afghan Muslim revolutionaries near Sharika, north of Kabul, the joint Soviet and Afghan forces closed the strategic Salanak road from Kabul to the Soviet Union for four days.

Neutralizing Attack on the Occupying Forces of the Soviet Union and Karmal

The expansive invasion of the joint occupying forces and the puppet regime of Karmal against the positions of the Muslim revolutionaries in the Provinces of Yektia and Kunar were successfully neutralized.

According to the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT, based on reports received, with the start of the overall attacks of the occupiers and the Karmal forces, the Muslim revolutionaries rose to serious defense against them. As a result, not only did this attack by the occupiers and the forces of the Karmal regime fail, but dozens of them were killed or wounded and a number were also captured by the Afghan Muslim revolutionaries.

The resistance movement announced: The above attacks were carried out in the (Jaji), (Mangal), and Chamgani areas, located near the northwestern regions of Pakistan. In recent weeks, the freedom fighters had attacked the barracks of the Afghan army in these areas.

The resistance movement added: The freedom fighters displayed severe resistance against this attack and inflicted much damage on the enemy forces.

10,000

CSO: 4640/248

WELFARE SERVICES OFFERED TO BADAKHSHAN PEOPLE

Kabul ANIS in Dari 10 Dec 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] The provincial council of the National Fatherland Front of Badakhshan [NFFB] is composed of 1 city council, 7 district councils, 3 subdistrict councils, 4 area ward councils, 13 village councils and 164 civic councils. These councils have 8,185 individual and 10,241 group members.

In giving the abovementioned figures, a source at the NFFB provincial council said: At the initiative of the Badakhshan council, voluntary group work was performed 111 times, involving 10,310 man-hours and the participation of 17,340 individual and group members which produced a national revenue of 226,755 afghani.

In the course of these voluntary work programs 152,870 fruit trees and other kinds of trees were planted in various parts of the province.

The source said: The NFFB provincial council carried out anti-malaria sprays in some villages and hamlets of the four sectors of Feyzabad city.

The source had this to say concerning the distribution of relief supplies: As a result of the efforts of the NFFB provincial council, 502 seers of Red Crescent wheat and 1,460 seers of salt provided as a relief supply by the friendly Soviet Union were distributed among more than one thousand families. Also distributed for the sick and the needy were 1,000 vials penicillin, 2,000 vials antritymycin, 550 vials neomycin, 10,000 tablets izothiazide as well as 22,380 items of clothing and shoes supplied by the provincial council of the NFFB.

The source added: The NFFB provincial council has assigned 3 representatives to democratic land and water reform operational groups to cooperate in the distribution and settlement of land in the province and the districts of Baharak and Eshkashem.

Moreover, waters of the Sang Mehr canal have been distributed in fair manner among 300 households with the cooperation of a representative of NFFB provincial council.

The source said: As a result of the all-out efforts of the personnel of the provincial council, 77 antirevolutionary gang members, realizing the true meaning of the revolution, laid down their arms and were absorbed within the ranks of the defenders of the revolution. Also, as a result

of the efforts of the Jorm District council, 50 persons joined the national militia of that district and are now bravely defending the revolution.

The source added: The provincial council has evaluated the situation of the families of martyrs of the Sawr Revolution and has given them 64,600 afghani as aid.

Also 1,085 individuals needing help have been referred to clinics, representatives of fertilizer supply offices and relief agencies.

The source noted: The provincial council of the NFFB has extended full cooperation in the care and enovation of holy places, repairing of the Mir-Feyzollah school and the concrete embankment of the Mashhad river in Keshem District, construction of two new bridges over the river in Zibak Subdistrict, repairing the school in Upper Jamuch Subdistrict of Darwaz District, repairing the walls of the grave of Khajah M'aruf Jannin Feyzabad city, repair of the walls of the grave of Mobarak Mosque in Feyzabad, repair of the gravesite of Khajah Shah Yusof Vali in Feyzabad and repair of the gravesite of Khajah Sabzpush Vali. Commenting on family dispute commissions the source said: Eleven such commissions are functioning under the provincial council. These have successfully arbitrated 120 family disputes within the province.

At the initiative of the provincial council of the NFFB, two mixed consultative groups of guardians have been set up at the Nesyan-e Makhfi and Kukacheh schools in Feyzabad to resolve student problems.

The source said in conclusion: Other activities of the provincial council during the current year [ending 20 March 1985] have included the signing of reciprocal aid protocols with Feyzabad Municipality as well as providing social services and economic activity, assignment of a representative of the NFFB provincial council to the military commisariat to help in the recruitment and call-up to the DRA armed forces and the setting up of a 14-man voluntary work team within the city council to act as a task force in performing public welfare work.

5854

CSO: 4665/12

AFGHANISTAN

PAKISTAN REMAINS PROMISED LAND FOR REFUGEES.

Paris LIBERATION in French 27 Dec 84 pp 16-18

[Article by Patrick Sabatier and Annik Roulet]

[Text] Five years after the Soviet invasion in December 1979, the Afghan guerrilla warriors, in spite of all they lack, in spite of their isolation, are still standing up against the occupation of their country. The resistance movement is still as deeply split politically as it was on day one. The "parties" based in Peshawar cannot manage to put together a government in exile or a unified command structure, a fact that effectively keeps them off the diplomatic scene. The differences between "moderates" and "fundamentalists," between shiites and sunnis, tribes and ethnic groups, individual rivalries and the patronage practices of those who disburse their funds constitute so many more obstacles to unity.

In addition to the internal feuding that has brought more death among their ranks than all the Soviet bombs and cannon, the resistance men are hard-hit by the strategy of terror directed against civilian populations. Five years of massacres, bombings, and reprisals have forced 6 million refugees onto the roads and caused more than a million deaths. A scorched-earth policy has cut them off in regions that have been totally emptied of their populations. These are the refugees our special envoy went to see.

Yesterday, information from Afghan resistance sources informed us of two Soviet-Afghan offensives on a broad scale in Paktia and Kunar provinces, apparently designed to interdict the border to guerrillas.

Every evening at 1700 hours, the guard at the gates of Mohmand secures a heavy steel cable across the road. Mohmand thus becomes off-limits until dawn, as do the other five tribal territories in this enclave of Pakistan known as the Northwest Frontier Territory (NWFT) or, more simply, "the Frontier." Afghanistan is a couple of kilometers away, just over the crest of the purple mountains that cut across the horizon to the west. Even during the day, no foreigner dares enter unless accompanied by an armed escort. At the start of this century, Abd'or Rahman, Emir of Kabul, called this land of stony mountains surrounding the narrow, bone-dry plains "Taghestan," (land of the unconquered). Its people, whom he referred to as "starving, backward, and warlike," rebels against the established governments on the plains of Kabul or Lahore, are to this very day, according to their admirers, "the last of the true anarchists."

The vehicles you encounter are filled with armed men, "the jewels of manhood." Even the remotest of their villages boast more gunsmiths' shops than any other kind; you can buy a genuine Kalashnikov for 20,000 rupees, or a creditable copy of a Lee Enfield for 9,000. The houses, with their rammed-earth walls, perched on the rocky spurs of the mountains, are topped with turrets pierced with rifle-slits, giving them the air of fortified castles. You will find neither troops nor policemen here. The central government's presence consists of a single representative (known as the "political agent"), and real power is vested in the tribal councils, or jirgas, sole repository of the only law Gaghestan accepts is the Pashtun-wali, an unwritten code of honor whose fundamental values are hospitality as a duty and vengeance as a right. Special units made up exclusively of tribesmen, keep watch over the hills, and, down in the valleys, maintain a semblance of order marred by incessant quarreling that often degenerates into bloody vendetta.

The common blue eyes, light skin, aquiline noses, and curly hair of these Pathan mountain folk have given rise to speculation that they may be descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, or from the armies of Alexander the Great who, in the 4th century B.C., passed through these mountains on his march to the Indus. To these semi-nomadic farmers who subsist on wheat, fruit, and mutton, war is far more than a habit: it is a whole way of life. These are the men who gave the whole world its standard military uniform color: khaki -- perfect camouflage for guerrilla fighters in these tan-and-grey mountains. Their chronicles of heroic deeds are all compact of honor, of pride, of death, of blood; they continue today, just over that ridgeline where the sun still lingers, and from which sometimes comes the muffled thunder of bombardment: Afghanistan.

Sheikh Wali must be around 30. He has just arrived in Damadola, in the tribal territory of Bajaur, along with his mother, his two wives, his two children, his three brothers, and his two sisters, all part of a caravan of 200 souls. All of them have fled their village in

Qunduz province, in northern Afghanistan. Sheikh Wali explains: 3 months ago, Soviet troops blocaded their valley, because there were guerrillas sheltered there. Then they attacked twice with tanks, and planes came to bomb the village. The people fled to the mountains.

But, with winter coming on, the situation bade fair to turn very difficult indeed. Sheikh Wali sold his 50 goats, bought 2 horses, and set out on the road to Damadola where members of his family had settled 2 years earlier.

You hear stories like that every day. You hear thousands of such stories along the whole length of the border. This region is home, for now, to the greatest concentration of refugees the world has ever seen: some 2 million Afghans, more than 70 percent of all who have fled the Soviet invasion and now live in 280 camps and villages supplied by a ferry system of hundreds of trucks bearing the devices of sundry international agencies and donor countries, carrying wheat, water, gasoline, and other vital commodities. On this border alone, this program is the full-time concern of 6,000 Pakistani officials.

The flood of refugees, which peaked in 1980 and 1981 in the immediate aftermath of the Soviet invasion, shows no signs of drying up: 5,000 have come here since the start of the year, and, with winter coming on, their numbers are increasing. And yet, in the teeth of all adversity, the gates of Pakistan still stand open wide: "We shall never stop welcoming the Afghan refugees, no matter what the cost, even if there are 15 million of them. Pakistan is the land of asylum for all Muslims..." is something Pakistan's head of State, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, never wearies of repeating (c.f. LIBERATION, 14 Nov). Even so, the effort is considerable. It costs more than a million dollars a day. True, most of that is covered by the United Nations, and some by international aid (the World Bank alone has granted Pakistan \$2.3 million over a period of 5 years).

Damadola is a cluster of one-storey rammed-earth houses -- called katchkās -- their ochre walls innocent of windows, that blends into the plain along both banks of a broad dry riverbed. Women, shrouded from head to foot in the traditional veil, glide by like ghosts while clutches of kids with shaven heads and rag-tag remnants of clothing chase each other noisily through the maze of narrow, dusty streets. At the tip of the valley, lofty mountains mark the border with Afghanistan; Peshawar, the provincial capital, is more than a 6-hour drive away. In Bajaur tribal territory, there are almost as many Afghan refugees (180,000) as there are native residents at peak population (260,000). Even so, say the six venerable greybeards who make up the local jirga, "There is no problem at all. Everything comes to pass according to the traditions of Pathan brotherhood and the law of Islam."

They started coming here early in 1980, carrying with them their villages, hierarchies, and customs from the other side of the border. Almost all of them are from Khunar, the Afghan province that abuts Bajaur. On both sides of that border live people of the same clans, the same tribes, the same people. Lord Mortimer Durand in 1893 had to draw a line in the dust with his walking-stick dividing Pathan country into two equal parts, to make the elders of the djirga see for themselves that the boundary did indeed exist. On the map, that is. That imaginary line, however, never stopped the tribes' comings and goings across it, or their marrying women from either side, or, until about 20 years ago, swapping their land for land in another village, according to a custom known as "wesh," designed to assure fair and equitable access to the best fields. Says one Western diplomat, "The Durand Line is the most artificial line in the world."

"I am Pathan, and every Pathan is an Afghan," is the way Dustan Shah Mohamand, the Pakistani government's high commissioner for refugees from the NWFT, sums it up. More than 70 percent of the Afghan refugees, like those from Bajaur, are Pathans from northern and eastern Afghanistan. They all speak the same language (Pushtu), live by the same code of honor, and have the same social organization as their brothers and cousins who live in Pakistan. On their arrival in Bajaur, say the men of the refugee jirga, they sat down with the local jirga, and reached an agreement under which the refugees have been able to settle on tribal lands in exchange for a token rent and a promise never to try to claim ownership of the land. Has it worked? In 4 short years, Damadola has grown into a real town, with its shops, schools, mosques, and dispensaries. Rammed-earth houses have supplanted the tents and other makeshift shelters. The town even has its own armed militia, that parades through the streets in Cuban caps donated by the Afghan army, and uniforms "liberated" from some deserters who arrived from Khumar several months ago...

"Allah'o Akbar! Allah'o Akbar!" Lined up in files in the schoolyard, some hundred raggedy boys shout the war-cry of Islam's warriors. "They are already Mujahidin," says the principal, who used to be a university lecturer, proudly. "All our boys have the same ambition: to leave here and fight in the jihad, the holy war. The prime duty of our teaching staff is to instill in them the spirit of jihad. Every family is required to send at least one of its sons. We give our pupils a sketchy kind of military training ("kwa'id" course, in which they learn to run, to crawl, to negotiate obstacles, and to handle weapons... They are also taught their Koran, mathematics, Afghan history, and Urdu (Pakistan's national tongue)." "We are Muslims. We for the universal triumph of Shariat (Islamic law)..." sing the children in wailing chorus.

Damadola is also "Mujahiristan," (home of Islam's warriors. Its men never weary of telling and retelling their own exploits, real or invented, against the Shuravi (Russians) and the Parchami (the

Afghan communists). Some of them are more than willing to show the weapons they keep at home. "Every family has one man staying here in camp to work, collect the assistance money, and take care of the women and children. After a few months, another man comes home from the fighting in Afghanistan to take over for him, and off he goes to fight again," says a Pakistani government spokesman. At Damadola, and in other villages you can see caravans of mules and camels laden with supplies (and certainly with weapons as well) setting off for Afghanistan.

This village is run by Hezb-e-Islami, one of the fundamentalist Islamic parties vowed to resist the Soviet invasion. Pathans, be they "Afghanis" or "Pakistanis," are devout Sunni Muslims, and the crumbling of their traditional structures has made Islam the one solid rock of national identity to which the refugees can cling. "The Soviet invasion set off a resurgence of religious fervor, and the mullahs play an important role in the resistance," says Pr Majrook, director of the Afghan news bureau in Peshawar. "But political party domination over the refugees also stems from other factors: the old-time maliks (chiefs) derived their power in Afghanistan from their control of the land. In the camps, power has shifted to the hands of those who are recognized as interlocutors by the Pakistani authorities, and serve as middlemen in aid distribution. As a general rule, they are the representatives of the resistance parties. Until this year, getting your identity card, the one document that entitled you to assistance, was dependent on your finding "sponsorship" from one of the seven major resistance parties. In a society where power is directly linked with the ability to distribute wealth and advantages, it was an unparalleled means of building a power base for this or that organization, while still keeping tight control of it, not to mention the fact that part of the aid can more readily find its way to the fighting men themselves...

Damadola, like the other 280 refugee camps along the border, is no paradise. There is an acute shortage of water, sometimes months can elapse between deliveries of basic necessities, and idleness saps the morale of many of the men. Land is at the heart of the problem: 95 percent of the refugees are farmers and cattlemen. However, the one thing the Pakistani government forbids them to do is precisely to own fields or buildings. In a culture where the possession of land (and women) underlies all the fundamental values and traditional hierarchies, exile undermines the very foundation of the Pathan identity. "They feel that they have lost half of themselves with the loss of their houses and their lands," Pr Majrooh explains. "They don't even try to assimilate or settle down in Pakistan. Most of them still believe they are here only temporarily, and their eyes seldom stray from their lost valleys."

One such is Sheikh Wali, who will not listen to talk of Pakistan. "I intend to settle my family here, and go back to the fighting," he says. "I have never set foot in a school, I have no land, no herds now, and I own only 600 rupees and my Kalashnikov. What is left for me but the jihad?"

The Mad Widows of Kerala

"I will avenge my father." On the wall hangs a light carbine.. Yakoub is 14 now, and he is getting ready to leave Kerala for the jihad. For 6 years he has been living for this moment. The 8,246 souls who shelter behind the high walls of this refugee village in Bajaur province of Pakistan are the survivors of one of the most enormous massacres Afghanistan has ever known. They are widows, orphans, a handful of aged men, a few able-bodied adult men. Visitors are rare here, and the reception is more hostile than warm. The members of this tribe of Kunaris, the "wild olive-trees" in Nouristan, are proud people and they have good reason to mistrust the curious.

On Sunday 22 April 1979, it was 10 in the morning. The Afghan commune of Kerala, at the confluence of the Kunar and Pech valleys in Afghanistan, was suddenly surrounded by Soviet tanks driven by Afghan soldiers. Under threat of arms, they forced the entire population to assemble in and around the mosque. "We didn't understand what they wanted," recalls Gulsangua, a woman of about 40. "The whole village was there...Nothing like it had ever happened before."

Noon. Everybody was there, except the people who live in the East portion, a little away from the village itself. The soldiers ordered the men and the boys over the age of 14 or so -- the entire male population of the village -- to step out of the ranks: 1,700 men in all. "Lie down!" ordered a Russian officer, "a tall man with pale green eyes." Bursts of machinegun fire riddled the prone bodies. Before the horrified gaze of the women, the dead and the wounded were scooped up by a bulldozer and dumped pell-mell into one of the three mass graves that had been hastily dug. For long, long minutes the mounds of earth kept shaking and moving. Those who had been buried alive were struggling vainly to get out.

Panic seized the women and children, who ran screaming in all directions.

The 500 men from the East portion of the village arrived, and began to rally the survivors. That very day, a strange procession of more than 5,000 women, children, and old people, carrying no baggage, leaving their herds and flocks where they were, began moving slowly and in total disarray in the direction of Pakistan.

They had made no preparations for the mountains, the cold, the days on the march. They began following the valley, 2,000 meters below the mountain peaks that separated them from Pakistan. As the hours went by, they had to resign themselves to abandoning a very old woman who had taken a fever and could walk no more. Then another of the old one fell by the wayside. Next it was the turn of the babies, the sick children, to be left to die... All would be eaten by wolves and wild dogs. It took them 4 days and 4 nights to reach

Pakistani soil. It was a year later that the Pakistani government decided to recreate for the survivors of Kerala a village that would bear the same name.

The Pakistani version of Kerala was built in a somewhat different pattern than that in other refugee villages. An extra-matrimonial family structure was devised. In each dwelling, three or four families were grouped together, making sure that at least one man (the closest surviving relative) would be able to take care of the women and orphans. Protecting the widows against profane glances was a priority. According to the law of purdah, Pathan women must not expose themselves to the view of others except members of her own tribe. The widows of Kerala, who say they are particularly "ill at ease in this strange land," yearned for this discretion above all else. Houses along the main road were built on foundations raised to the height of about four steps, so that the women could not be seen through the windows. It is strictly forbidden for a foreign man to enter the village. Armed Mujahidin stand guard to make sure none does. The ban on photographs is absolute.

The widows of Kerala have faces far more grave and immobile than any other Afghan women. Some of them have gone mad, others have haggard eyes, and their hands tremble. Most of them have grave psychological problems: insomnia and abnormally frequent genital infections. They constantly "invent" imaginary ailments for themselves. Very few have remarried.

"At home, we had animals, a garden where we grew vegetables and fruit. Here, there is nothing to do," laments young Guldasta, who is 25 years old. "If only I had the sewing machine I left at home!" For 6 years, her two sons, who were spared, have grown up and gone off to the jihad with the others.

According to information obtained by Michael Barry (author of "Kingdom of Insolence," (recently published by Flammarion-Ed.), the Kerala massacre was ordered by five Russian military advisers who happened to be at the nearby fort of Chogha-Sarai

Their purpose was to empty the Kumar valley of its civilian population to facilitate operations there. An American journalist, Edward Girardet, who went there recently, says that while standing at the top of the nearby mountain, in the ruins of Kerala he could see three mounds of earth. Three mass graves. Reminders of that ghastly 22 April, a date to which the new village of Kerala each year devotes a day of mourning.

6182

CS0: 4619/18

AFGHANISTAN

NUR INSTITUTE TO PROVIDE FREE OPHTHALMOLOGICAL SERVICES

Kabul ANIS in Dari 13 Dec 84 p 4

[Text] The Nur Ophthalmology Institute is the largest treatment, prevention and restoration center involved in the national program to fight blindness. In the coming year [beginning 21 March 1985] first-aid eye clinics are to be set up in the provinces and branches of the Nur Institute will open in the central location of the zones according to the abovementioned program. At present a number of doctors are undergoing training at the Nur Institute and will be assigned to various provinces after their studies. Moreover, in order to coordinate public health services provided to our citizens, it has been decided that starting from the first month of the coming spring, health and vocational services at the Nur Ophthalmology Institute will be free of charge.

Medical Professor Dr Abdolsami' Vahedi, head of the institute, spoke about the activities of his organization during the 6 months beginning 21 March 1984: During this period, the Nur Institute has treated 2,856 of whom 1,505 were in-patients, and carried out 1,551 major and 470 minor operations. In the same period, Nur Institute's artificial eye section had 358 patients and 5,999 examinations were carried out in its laboratory.

The professor added: It should be mentioned that the institute has a similar organization in Herat Province. This institute had been closed for a number of years and has now been reopened since the summer in line with the DRA Government's concern for public needs and in order to bring about the slogan, "Health for All."

In addition to its polyclinic which handles more than 100 patients a day, the Heart Ophthalmology Institute has 36 beds and has provided its services free of charge since its reopening.

The director of the Nur Ophthalmology Institute answered another question by saying: In 1363 [beginning 21 March 1984] the institute has initiated a series of in-depth activities including the opening of a recovery ward, organizing conferences and the opening of a teaching department providing disciplines beyond Master's Degree.

A mobile team has been set up in the prevention branch of Nur Institute. Since the start of 1363, the mobile team has carried out mass check-ups in schools,

kindergartens, and mother-and-child clinics, involving more than 4,000 check-ups, with those needing medical attention being treated. And for the first time during group check-ups, it was decided to arrange for the nationwide study of various eye diseases.

In conclusion, Professor Abdolsami' Vahedi said: One hundred twenty beds and 128 personnel are available as health service teams in Nur Institute on a 24-hour basis to serve our fellow-citizens. Emergency cases are treated before noon while cases which come under the program are handled in the afternoon. Examination of patients in the hospital's polyclinic are between 9 a.m. and 12:00 noon while treatment of emergency cases take place 24 hours a day.

5854

CSO: 4665/14

AFGHANISTAN

HOUSING ACTIVITY BY KABUL MUNICIPALITY EXAMINED

Kabul ANIS in Dari 14 Dec 84 p 8

[Text] The Building and Transport Department of Kabul Municipality, which handles paving and graveling of streets as well as the maintenance of residential and public welfare buildings, has, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the PDPA, repaired 4 kilometers of roads and asphalted 5 kilometers of streets in Kabul over and above set targets.

In addition, it has removed 10,000 cubic meters of earth from Chandawal street, has completed two oil distribution points in Seyved Nur Mohammad Sh ah Minah and Bagh-e Qazi, has completed 95 percent of the work on the roof of the public bus transport building and has finished 20 percent of the construction of Shah Shahid Middle School. Also, in anticipation of the 20th anniversary of the PDPA, the department has finished setting up 90 percent of the stands on Rahman Minah street. And in addition to the above undertakings, it has prepared 300 plots of land in section "A" of Rahman Minah for distribution and has improved streets around the Institute of Social Sciences even though this latter has not been scheduled.

Referring to help extended to the workers involved, a source at the General Construction and Transport Department of Kabul Municipality said: In order to resolve problems of workers, the department has provided 22 families with housing in recently constructed buildings in Chamanhozuri, has given plots in Kheyrkhanah Minah to another 21 workers, has settled 30 other families of workers and staff members in the 91-family Kheyrkhanah Minah section. In addition, 138 plots have been distributed among workers in the moderate-priced Pol-e Charkhi sector. It should be noted that in cases where plots have been assigned, the department has provided the donees with building materials at fair prices.

The source said: In line with the humanitarian goals of the revolutionary party and government and in order to make housing available to those residents of the old sector of the city whose homes have been totally or partially destroyed by rebel rocket attacks, this department has completed two good-condition homes in the Vazirabad project where construction activities by various builders are continuing on 20 lots.

Asked why project for housing 400 families in Shahr Ara begun 2 years ago has not yet been completed and put to use, the source answered: Up to now all expenditures for the Shahr Ara project has come out of municipal revenues. Since such revenues are not received within specific time and period, work on that project has therefore been slow. Consequently, this department has proposed to the appropriate authorities to include and register the aforementioned program as part of the government's development projects so that the housing project can be completed with the regular allocation of labor.

The source concluded by saying: This department has had a workshop where motor vehicles and road building machinery are repaired. In order to convert the workshop into well-equipped and modern operations, construction is proceeding with 85 million afghani provided from the government's development fund. Once this project is completed it will handle repair needs of the department and other institutions.

It should be noted that the department's trade guild has a membership of 1,175 with 330 workers taking part in 13 literacy courses.

5854

CSO: 4665/14

INDIA

ANDERSON ARREST TERMED 'DEPLORABLE POLITICAL GIMMICK'

BK231516 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 10 Dec 84 p 6

[Editorial: "Deplorable Blunder"]

[Text] The crude arrest of the Union Carbide chairman, Mr Warren Anderson, and the two top officers, including Mr Meshub Mahindra, chairman of its Indian subsidiary, is a deplorable political gimmick. No doubt Union Carbide must accept accountability and liability for compensation and damages for what has been the greatest industrial disaster in history with over 2,000 deaths. Those directly responsible must be prosecuted. But what is the case for arresting the head of the parent corporation living on the other side of the globe, who had been given an assurance of safe conduct to come to India to see what could be done? According to the chief minister, Mr Arjun Singh, Mr Anderson and the others have a constructive responsibility for the disaster. But does not Mr Arjun Singh himself bear constructive responsibility as chief minister of the State Government which repeatedly assured the public that the plant was safe? The arrests look like a clumsy attempt by Mr Singh to shift the blame on to others and divert attention from the role of his own government. Faced with the danger of losing votes in the election, he thought up the arrest as a mock heroic gesture.

The Bhopal plant has suffered from gas leakages since 1980 and one employee died in 1981. A report by Union Carbide experts from the United States made it clear that there were alarming safety problems at the plant. A series of articles were written by a local journalist, Mr Keswani, in 1982 highlighting the danger that Bhopal faced. The matter was raised in the State Legislature, where the government categorically denied that fears about the plant's safety had substance. How can the same government now try and shift the entire blame to an American living 12,000 miles away, or to Mr Mahindra who is only a non-executive chairman of the Indian unit with no executive responsibilities? How is it that Mr Anderson was arrested for a non-bailable offense and then released on bail? The answer seems to be that the arrest was politically motivated by Mr Arjun Singh, who was then forced to reverse his order at the instance of Mr Rajiv Gandhi.. The charges, however, have not yet been withdrawn.

The whole episode has caused embarrassment and diverted attention from the urgent problem of unearthing the truth about the gas leakage and rehabilitating the thousands affected. Public opinion the world over wants Union Carbide to fulfill its legal and moral obligations and the corporation itself seemed so inclined. The arrest of Mr Anderson was in this context counter-productive and could ultimately hurt those most affected by the tragedy. The State Government has instituted a judicial inquiry into the accident and those found guilty must be prosecuted. But prosecution must not become a political device to save the skin of a chief minister who should have resigned if at all he understood the meaning to constructive responsibility.

CSO: 4600/1238

IRAN

INTERIOR MINISTER DISCUSSES NEEDS OF SISTAN, BALUCHESTAN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Dec 84 p 26

[Text] The Cabinet held a meeting yesterday morning. In this meeting, which was chaired by Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi, the prime minister, the political events of the world and the current charges in the country were discussed.

Referring to the recent statements of the imam of the nation concerning the necessity to strengthen the judicial branch, the prime minister said: The serving government and the officials of the executive branch, as always, declared their readiness to support and strengthen the judicial branch. Naturally, the officials of the country will carry out the imam's decree as a religious obligation.

He also referred to the holding of joint monthly sessions of the judicial and executive branches and expressed hope that by continuing on this course, increased coordination will be created between the executive and judicial officials of the country.

Then, Dr Velayati, who has traveled to the Yemen Arab Republic to participate in the meeting of the foreign ministers of Islamic countries, presented a report to the Cabinet on the results of this trip and the meeting with the officials who participated in the conference.

In the continuation of the session, the law to determine what should be done with the lands for temporary cultivation was discussed and, with some changes, was approved for presentation to the Majlis.

Also, in this session the report of the economic and finance committee as well as the emergency proposal plans were discussed and some of them were approved by the Cabinet as follows:

1. The allotment of the amount of 1.2 million rials for the pasture-keeping projects to the Ministry of Agriculture.

2. The allotment of the amount of 200 million rials to print and publish the Dehkhoda encyclopedic dictionary to the related establishment.

3. The allotment to the concerned executive organizations of 200 million rials for the implementation of the aid projects to the deprived areas of the country.

4. Providing the gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic with 3 billion rials in funds for the cost of unusual military operations.

5. Protocols for establishing the joint border committee of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan.

10,000

CSO: 4640/244

IRAN

PRIME MINISTER: CABINET, OFFICIALS SUPPORT JUDICIAL LAW

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] Zahedan. KEYHAN Reporter:

Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri, the interior minister, arrived in Zahedan yesterday accompanied by some of the officials of the offices of this Ministry and the head of the border headquarters. At the airport, he was welcomed by Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ebadi, the Friday imam of Zahedan and representative of the imam; Nasiri, the governor general; deputies of the governor general; military and law enforcement commanders; heads of the executive organizations; and a group of Shi'ite and Sunnite clerics.

After his arrival, in a brief interview, Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri explained the reasons for his trip to this province as in order to take part in the six-day exploratory seminar for the plan to change identity cards, to visit the borders and law enforcement guard stations, and to examine the issues and problems existing in the province.

After his arrival in Zahedan, the minister of the interior took part in the administration council session of this city.

In this session, participated in by Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ebadi, the Friday imam of Zahedan and the imam's representative in Sistan and Baluchestan; the governor general; the deputies of the governor general; the governors of the provincial cities; the commanders of the military and law enforcement forces; and the directors general and officials of the government offices, organizations and revolutionary institutions, the head of the Plan and Budget Organization of Sistan and Baluchestan, the director general of housing and urban development, the director of the rural cooperative organization, the officials of the fisheries, the director general of the Health Department, the president of the open Islamic university, and the head of the welfare office of the province discussed the issues and problems, including the budget shortage, manpower shortage, comfort resources necessary to attract the necessary forces to this

deprived province, the necessity for the training of the indigenous forces in technical fields needed in the province, the return to farmers of the price of the sale of wheat from 40 to 12 rials, transferring 100 million rials in funds to complete the drinking water project for 120 villages in Dashtiari, the lack of roads between the fishery and fishing villages, and proper planning to absorb more local forces to the open university and the necessary answers were given by the minister of the interior.

Then the minister of the interior emphasized the need for more attention on the part of national officials to the issue of the war and more financial and manpower attention being given to the fronts of the imposed war and added: Our main problem at this juncture is the war. If, God forbid, we are negligent in this vitally important issue, we will be dealt a blow which will cause us to lose everything.

Pointing out that each of us must refuse to stop at any effort or self-sacrifice to protect the independence and security of the country and the Islamic Republic regime and that we must use all of our efforts in this area, he stressed the necessity for the officials to engage in Islamic treatment of the people and on their humility and added: Now that our country is at war and we might not be able to eliminate all the problems financially, we must have a correct Islamic and most humble attitude towards the people, because even 50 percent of the people's problems can be resolved through such an attitude and Islamic action.

Concerning the conspiracies of the superpowers to inflict blows on the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran, he said: The enemy has so far tried hard to bring our revolution off its Islamic course. For this reason, it has replaced prohibited things with addiction and regulations for relations in our society. Therefore, efforts must be made to persistently fight prohibited things, both in the government offices and organizations and in the society.

Continuing his visit, Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri, the minister of the interior, also went to the central revolution committee in Zahedan and in a gathering of the personnel of the revolution committees, referring to the necessity to fight moral corruption, he said: Today, the issue of the spread of corruption and prostitution is a new front that the superpowers, after their defeat on other fronts, have opened against us. Only through the self-sacrifice of all the strata of people can they prevent this conspiracy, with awareness and struggle, and not let the Islamic Republic abandon its Islamic content.

In another part of his speech, the minister of the interior emphasized that all the forces in the country must work harder than ever before to uproot corruption, prostitution and

addiction. He pointed out that the sworn enemies of Islam and Muslims have invested in spreading these ailments and tragedies in our society, because they have realized that they can no longer harm Islam and the revolution on the fronts.

In this gathering in which the governor general, governors, 11 governors, and a group of military and law enforcement people were present, the minister of the interior also said:

Today, we might be less attracted to serving in Sistan and Baluchestan than on the fronts of the battle of truth against falsehood, but the value of serving this province is certainly no less than the battle of truth against falsehood.

In another part of his speech, the minister of the interior pointed to the military and law enforcement agents who serve on the borders of the country, such as Khorasan and Baluchestan and Sistan: You are working in very important and sensitive areas. Therefore, with your Islamic vision, you must neutralize every suspicious movement in this area. In conclusion, he praised the forces of the revolution committees, Revolution Guards, gendarmerie, police, Road and Transport Office, and other organizations and institutions that work to create the border roads and closure of the borders.

During his stay in the Province of Sistan and Baluchestan, the minister of the interior will visit the cities of Zabol, Iranshahr and Chahbahar and the borders.

In the continuation of his trip to Sistan and Baluchestan, Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri participated in a gathering of the Sunnite and Shi'ite clerics of this province and spoke with them.

In this meeting, the Sunnite and Shi'ite clerics explained their problems and asked for more attention by the authorities in regards to the culture of the province and fighting decisively against the narcotic smugglers. Then in a speech concerning addiction, the interior minister asked the clerics to warn the people of this destructive calamity through propagation and guidance in the mosques and from the pulpits.

10,000

CSO: 4640/244

IRAN

OPEC SHOULD REDUCE PRODUCTION TO STABILIZE PRICES.

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 24 Dec 84 p 21

[Text] Engineer Gharazi, the minister of petroleum, following his return from the first round of talks in the 72nd conference of the OPEC oil ministers, explained in a press conference the most important points in the negotiations of these meetings and the items mentioned in the draft of the resolution of the 72nd OPEC meeting.

He said: The 72nd OPEC conference was held in Geneva to review and study the problems of the oil market, including the production ceiling, shares, and oil prices.

The meeting tried to determine the reason for the price of oil not returning to the official price of \$29 per barrel since the previous conference.

Pointing out that it was proposed in this conference that more supervision and control be exercised over oil exports in every member country, concerning the reason for such actions, he said: The price of a single cargo, that is, the daily price, has decreased greatly from the official price. In certain instances, this price has even reached \$3 per barrel. Also, the lack of strict adherence to the OPEC ratifications on the part of some of the members is another reason for imposing such control.

In regards to members not implementing the ratifications of OPEC, he mentioned the reasons as follows: The violations on the part of some member countries of the determined production share, such as Nigeria, which, according to reports, produces 3 million barrels more than its allotment every day, and also, some countries, even those which are in a favorable financial situation, have given official discounts on their oil prices.

He added: Another reason for the weakening of the oil market is the glut of oil products on the market. For instance, at the

present time, the capacity for refining crude oil in the world is about 55 million barrels per day, whereas the level of the consumption of oil products is about 43-44 million barrels per day. He continued: Some of the OPEC member countries have engaged in purchasing refineries in the consumer countries. For instance, 500,000 barrels of oil from Kuwait are refined in the European and U.S. markets. Also, Saudi Arabia has a refining capacity of about 1 million barrels and Venezuela, 500,000 barrels per day. Libya and Algeria also have leased refineries in European countries. According to Gharazi, some of the countries have given discounts to the crude oil producing countries within the country. With the exception of Iran and Kuwait, which produce crude oil without these companies, the OPEC members have signed crude oil production contracts with European and American companies. Even some members, such as the Emirates, have raised the level of discount per barrel from \$1 to \$1.80.

The Reason for the Decline in Oil Prices

The minister of petroleum of the Islamic Republic of Iran said: The use by the consuming country of their reserves at a level of about 2.5 to 3.5 barrels per day has also brought a surplus in supplies in the consumer market and has caused a decrease in prices. Continuing his statements, Engineer Gharazi warned that if OPEC is unable to preserve the production ceiling, the base price of \$29 will certainly not be protected and the price will fall to \$27 or \$25. Hence, the management of the oil-rich countries will need to sell more oil in order to be able to obtain the same revenues as prior to the \$29 base price. Since global consumption of OPEC oil has stabilized at 16 million barrels per day, more oil cannot be supplied to the market. Hence, the price will go even lower.

He said: OPEC must put up resistance for at least six months, and the countries must sell even less than that allotted them in order to reduce supplies on the market and stabilize the oil prices. He added: The oppressive world is trying to force the oil producers to reduce prices in the next six months and then to raise demand and ultimately take away OPEC's power on the world scale.

Iran's Agreement with Production and Price Control

He continued: Global oppression tries to limit the oil market of the Islamic Republic. If OPEC succeeds in controlling this allotment of the members and no one sells more than their allotment, the market will improve and demand for our oil will increase.

The minister of petroleum pointed out that the efforts of the OPEC conference are to prevent the members from signing refining

contracts and the industrial countries from reserving oil again and said: We strongly and with all of our might support and defend the draft of the resolution of the conference in regards to control over the export situation and the sale of oil of the OPEC members. Also, Iran supports the council of ministers--from three to five persons--supervising the members' exports, provided other members are supervised and can be present in the session. Also, Iran fully accepts the control and auditing establishments of OPEC.

The minister of petroleum then said: Iran thinks that as the common market was able to stand up against the U.S. and Japanese markets within 30 years, the creation of the OPEC common market is also very beneficial. Also, although it is possible that this issue requires time, it must be admitted that oil, as our most vital economic substance, must be widely controlled and supervised in order for the oil market not to be attacked in the next two or three decades. Iran considers it its duty to make more sacrifices in this connection. The minister of petroleum, referring to the draft of the resolution of the conference in regards to OPEC being able to tangibly make use of the resolution, particularly for Iran, said: The conference accepted control over crude oil, oil products and natural liquid gas, which are the three main units of oil supply to the market. This control will bring about control over 1 million barrels per day of liquid gas and oil products which had not been under control. Considering that Iran only exports crude oil and has no refineries abroad, it benefits most from this issue. He added: In the conference, it was said that complete control be placed over such areas as bartering transactions, refining and sale contracts between governments, and the substitution or direct sale of oil delivered to companies or partnerships. This will provide the best opportunity to the oil exporting countries to stabilize oil prices.

The minister of petroleum pointed out that OPEC must not participate in price wars, and said concerning the formation of the meeting of the leaders of OPEC members: To preserve and protect OPEC, Iran will not stop at any action. For this reason, it supports the meeting of the leaders of the OPEC member countries with all its power and believes that now that various conspiracies have been imposed, the meeting of the leaders must be held. Concerning examining the difference between the prices of various crude oils (heavy and light) by OPEC, he said: God willing, this issue will be studied carefully in the next meeting. In conclusion, the minister of petroleum said that the Islamic Republic of Iran believes that the OPEC members must have more contact and consultation in order to establish better supervision and control over the market situation.

IRAN

NABAVI: WE OPPOSE OVERINVESTMENT BY PRIVATE SECTOR

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Dec 84 p 22

[Text] Yesterday morning, the first meeting of the managers and officials of the private sector of the units under the supervision of the Ministry of Heavy Industries began its work in the building of that ministry with a speech by Engineer Behzad Nabavi, the minister of heavy industries.

According to an IRNA report, in his speech concerning the production planning for the period 21 March 1985-20 March 1986, referring to the policies of the Ministry of Heavy Industries towards the private sector in the area of heavy industries and introducing the organization of this Ministry, Engineer Nabavi said:

The policy is to support, guide, and encourage the private sector as much as possible in the area of industrial investment and production. The supposition that the Ministry of Heavy Industries opposes investment growth by the private sector is incorrect. What we have opposed and oppose now is overinvestment by the private sector in distribution and unnecessary middle steps. He said: The reason for our opposition is that, considering the low supply of goods, distribution must be appropriate to this low level. Increased investments in distribution under such circumstances is not in our interests and will result in numerous middlemen and consequently increased prices.

The increase in the number of shops with no goods and thriving peddlers next to them supports this claim. On the other hand, the tendency of investments towards distribution, which is much easier than production and industrial activity, will stop the growth of industry and the attraction of investments in this direction.

The minister of heavy industries continued: The private sector cannot be persuaded to make production investments through guidance alone. With the passage of laws and regulations, on the one hand, production investments must be encouraged, and, on the other, the uncontrolled growth of the distribution sector prevented.

He said: In spite of strong opposition to the growth and the expansion of investments in the distribution sector, we agree with the investments of the private sector in industry and, as much as we can, we will create facilities for craftsmen. Of course, our opposition to the expansion and activities of the private sector in distribution does not mean that distribution will be carried out by the government and that the private sector must step aside. Our objective is to prevent the inflation of this sector and the creation of restrictions on uncontrolled growth.

Then Engineer Nabavi, in order to prove the claim for the support of investments and activities by the private sector in industry, he presented the statistics regarding agreements in principle and permits issued which support the attention of the Ministry of Heavy Industries to the investments of the private sector in industry and said: In the area of heavy industries, 46 agreements in principle during the period 21 March 1979-20 March 1980, 147 during the period 21 March 1980-20 March 1981, 227 during the period 21 March 1981-20 March 1982, 600 during the period 21 March 1982-20 March 1983, 1,942 during the period 21 March 1983-20 March 1984, and in the first 9 months of the period 21 March 1984-20 March 1985 alone, 1,759 agreements in principle were issued. In contrast, during the period 21 March 1977-20 March 1978, which saw the highest figures of the past regime, a total of 857 agreements in principle were issued in the whole of industry. Also, the rial amount of the issued agreements in principle for the whole of the industry during the 1977-78 period amounted to 35,421 million rials, while during the 1983-84 period, it had increased to 304,461 million rials, which is 8.6 times that of the previous period. Also, in the heavy industries sector alone, in the first nine months of this year, the number of agreements in principle were twice the number of agreements in principle for the 1977-78 period.

He also said: The statistics show that the number of agreements in principle is higher than during the 1977-78 period and there are very few large investments among them. He added: Some find this a disadvantage; but, in my opinion, this shows the wider participation of the people in industry and is a reason for the regime of the Islamic Republic to be proud; it has been able to attract a larger number with smaller investments rather than a small number with large capital investments and production.

He continued: We do not oppose large investments in heavy industries by any means and welcome them. But we are sure that as long as the Islamic Republic is in place, large capitalists will not invest, and we are not sorry, because the expansive participation of the people with small investments has greatly increased the total volume of capital.

In emphasizing the policy of supporting the private sector in the industry, Engineer Nabavi added: The value of the production of the 120 large units of the private sector under the supervision of the Ministry of Heavy Industries at fixed prices during the 1977-78 period amounted to 40.6 billion rials. This amount increased to 47.7 billion rials during the 1982-83 period and 62.9 billion rials during the 1983-84 period.

The minister of heavy industries then described the organizations of the Ministry of Heavy Industries and the relations of the private sector with the various parts of this Ministry and said: In order to increase production and collect all the information on the shortcomings and problems of the units, a headquarters called the headquarters for production increase for the private sector has been established. We are also trying to create a headquarters for supervision and assistance to carry out the developmental projects for which agreements in principle have been issued in order to have agreements in principle involving all the problems regarding production and the implementary process. In conclusion, Engineer Nabavi asked for more cooperation by the managers in the private sector with the Ministry of Heavy Industries.

10,000

CSO: 4640/240

IRAN

ARTICLE CALLS ON THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES TO SUPPORT UNESCO

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 10 Jan 85 p 2

[Text]

THE YEAR 1985 starts with the withdrawal of the United States from the world body of UNESCO. For that the United States had already given notice one year ago, which was necessary according to the constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The year 1986 will come and the United Kingdom may also be out from this organization which has its real areas of the activities in the Third World. There are other countries who want to come out from this organization such as Singapore but on some other account.

One should be happy that the United States is out from the UNESCO as that country wanted to dominate that organization and its policy. We know that the US used to contribute 25 percent of the total budget of the organization. That cut in the UNESCO budget may inflict a heavy blow on the over-all activities of the Paris-based organization if its own expenditure are not slashed.

Its headquarters in Paris itself poses a big question mark. Is it really necessary to set up the headquarters in a place such as Paris which is costly in every affair. We are sure if the headquarters

building is sold and it is based in one of the Third World countries, the UNESCO would be able to survive in a better way with a considerable cut in its administrative expenditures.

We have to carry out the mission of the UNESCO with modest expenditures and should also try to attract more and more people from the Third World. The UNESCO management can find enough sincere people from the Third World who can serve their community with modest remunerations.

If the UNESCO administrators could succeed in cutting their expenditure to run the organization in a more practical sense it will be a big slap in the face of the US Administration.

However, we would like to remind the UNESCO officials that to get rid of one Superpower's domination never means to accept another's.

UNESCO's doors should be closed for all sort of domination and its activities should continue to run with modest expenditures.

For the genuine needs the UNESCO members will always remain at the disposal of the administrators and we are sure they will have no difficulty.

CSO: 4600/218

IRAN

WASTING FUNDS ON 'IDENTICAL PUBLICATIONS' BLASTED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 6 Jan 85

[Text] Grand Ayatollah Montazeri met with a group of authorities last Friday and, criticizing wasteful expenditures for printing identical magazines and posters, he said: "You must not spend so much money on color pictures and such expensive paper.

"For instance, what is the use of a picture of me, a theological student, and repetitive slogans? Which one of the people's problems do they solve?"

In regards to inviting guests for the ten days of Fajr, he stressed: "More attention must be paid to the quality of the individuals invited. If, rather than inviting a large number of low quality individuals, scholars who are committed to the revolution are invited, even though they may be few in numbers, it would be more effective in introducing the revolution to the world."

Again, referring to the absorption of strong and competent individuals for special responsibilities, particularly in the area of propaganda, he expressed his anxiety concerning the appointment of individuals following a particular "line" and said: "Drawing such lines will be detrimental to the revolution and Islam."

The officials of the domestic and foreign propaganda headquarters for the ten days of Fajr along with the international deputy of the Ministry of Islamic Guidance; members of the propaganda coordination council; directors of the IRNA abroad, accompanied by Kamal Kharrazi, the director of this organization; as well as the members of the Islamic societies of the Ministry of Mines and Metals; the employees and officials of the center for training exceptional teachers in Tehran; and the central labor office of Central Province met with Grand Ayatollah Montazeri last Friday.

In this meeting, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri pointed out the importance of propaganda in the world and its role in advancing

the political and economic objectives and said: "In the world today, the greatest portion of capital investments, even in economic affairs, is spent on propaganda. In this way, the colonialist countries sell much of their goods in the markets of the oppressed countries of the world. Therefore, we must not neglect the importance and the positive and profound results of propaganda. Of course, propaganda in Islam and what we are working for is essentially different from what is common in the world."

He added: "Certain important points which we must note, particularly given the passage of nearly six years since our revolution, are that we must try not to base our propaganda on provoking passing sentiments and slogans alone. We must use propaganda to strengthen and satisfy the thoughts and awareness of the people. We must not try to engage in a series of superficial slogans and empty propaganda without attention to the realities of the society and the people at certain junctures, such as the ten days of the Fajr.

"Such propaganda may be interesting in the short run for some people, but it will not have a positive, deep, lasting effect. For this reason, I think, in propaganda, in addition to the strong points and advances, the problems and weaknesses which may exist must also be expressed in a wise, logical, and constructive form in order to inform the people and help them prepare themselves to confront and resolve the problems."

He emphasized:

"Essentially, general constructive criticism is certainly beneficial to the revolution. What is harmful and must not exist is certain insulting behavior, which corrupts individuals. If we express the greatness of the Islamic revolution, comparing it with the revolution at the dawn of Islam and the problems which existed at that time or with other revolutions in the world, explaining the positions of the East and West against our revolution, the deep effects of the revolution in the world, the hope that it has created in the hearts of the oppressed and deprived nations, the problems which have been created by the enemies of the revolution and the superpowers and the ways to confront them are expressed logically and with proof, and if the weaknesses that have existed in our behavior are criticized scientifically, certainly this method will be more beneficial for the preservation of the revolution and the presence of the people on the scene. When our people realize the weak or strong points, they trust our propaganda as being closer to truth and reality. Naturally, the effects will grow in their minds and emotions."

Ayatollah Montazeri pointed out:

"In my opinion, we must not prevent constructive criticism and the logical expression of imperfections. And we must not be upset when they are told; if a person mentions our personal faults in a friendly manner, we will never be upset by it. Rather, we welcome such a friend who tells us our faults in order to try to eliminate them."

Concerning attention to the quality of propaganda in place of quantity and avoiding repetition and lack of coordination in propaganda, he said:

"Unfortunately, we often see that in certain places, repetitive or identical work is produced by various organizations at great cost, such as the publication of repetitive magazines, posters and photographs. If what we do is sincere and for the contentment of God, we should be frugal under our present circumstances. We must eliminate wasteful and repetitive expenditures and instead of so many identical posters and magazines from several institutions and organizations, we must publish magazines with substance and produce educational and beneficial films through coordination and cooperation. In the Koran, God mentions the purpose of creating human beings to test individuals in regards to the quality and not the quantity of their actions."

Concerning the publication of a great number of photographs, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri pointed out: "In regards to photographs, as well, so much money must not be spent on color pictures on such expensive paper. For example, what is the use of a picture of me, a theological student, and repetitive slogans? Which one of the problems of our people do they solve? Of course, the pictures of the leader of the revolution, within the required limits, are necessary and that is a different matter."

In regards to the need for correct and calculated propaganda abroad, he emphasized: "Unfortunately, with all the poisonous propaganda by the enemies of the revolution and Islam abroad which have presented our revolution in a negative light, there is a need for expansive, active propaganda. This is a responsibility of both the Ministry of Islamic Guidance and the propaganda officials as well as the representatives of our news agency abroad, which must try to inform the newspapers and publications of the world, within the limits of their publications, of the correct news concerning the revolution and its advancements in every manner possible. They must try to find the correct method in whatever country they are on the basis of the needs of the revolution in order to be successful. In every place, a particular method is desirable, which must be accurately identified."

In regards to inviting guests for the ten days of Fajr, he emphasized: "More attention must be paid to the quality of the individuals. If, rather than inviting a large number of people, a small number of scholars who are committed to the revolution are invited, it will be more effective in introducing the revolution to the world."

In conclusion, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri once again emphasized the absorption of strong, competent individuals for any responsibility, especially in propaganda, both in the country and abroad, and pointed out: I feel a danger in such line games, when one person is categorized as following one line and another as following another line; I feel they are detrimental to the revolution and Islam and must be discarded. The standard for selecting individuals for responsibilities must be their commitment, religion, ability, and competence in the work under consideration, regardless of whatever line they follow."

Also, last Friday, Hojjat ol-Eslam Karubi, the representative of the imam in the Shahid foundation, and Haj Sheykh Hasan Sane'i, the head of the 5 June foundation and a member of the central administrative office of Friday imams, met and spoke separately with Grand Ayatollah Montazeri.

In this meeting, first a detailed report on the new decisions of the hajj and pilgrimage organization, which were made following the recent reminders of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, was presented.

Then, expressing his gratitude and hope for more success, he said: Among the issues which have been reported frequently and must also be attended to is the issue of the shortage of clerics knowledgeable on religious questions during the individual off-season hajj pilgrimage and the weakness of individuals on such pilgrimages in providing explanations. It is expected that the hajj organization will provide the people with answers to their religious questions concerning the individual off-season pilgrimage with committed, learned clerics more than ever before in order for the people not to, God forbid, face problems as a result of being uninformed concerning religious problems.

10,000

CSO: 4640/246

IRAN

CONDITIONS FOR EDUCATION GRANT, OTHER ISSUES ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] KEYHAN educational system. On the basis of the new decision of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, provided it is ratified by the Majlis, 1,000 outstanding students with master's degrees and above, educational experts, and university instructors annually will be given grants to study in the country or abroad.

This statement was made by Dr Hasan Johur, educational deputy of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, in a press conference. In regards to the emergency solutions for this Ministry to eliminate the manpower shortage on university faculties, he said: According to the statistics of the government five-year plan, in addition to the present cadre, we need 5,000 professors to teach in the universities. Therefore, if we train 1,000 persons every year, we will be able to respond to this need. To this end, we have prepared and studied some programs which have been presented to the Majlis for final ratification, including the allocation of 1,000 educational grants in the universities in the country and abroad.

Dr Zohur added: A number of outstanding students with master's degrees and above from the universities, and instructors and educational experts who meet the requirements for the honorable position of professor will be selected and grants will be awarded to them. This plan has been presented to the Majlis and will be implemented upon ratification.

Then, concerning the continuation of the education of those with associate degrees, he said: On the whole, those with associate degrees are divided into three groups. The first includes those who do not need other degrees in terms of specialization and experience, such as operation room technicians who must continue to do the same work even if they receive a bachelor's or higher degree. Hence, those who hold these degrees must continue their

education in other similar fields, in which case, the fields will be determined and announced.

The second group includes those in fields in which they can continue their education but for which the programs have not been determined. These individuals must also wait until the programs are determined.

The third group consists of those in fields which can continue their education and in which the programs have also been determined. We will try to hold entrance examinations for them this year.

However, we believe that all persons with associate degrees must continue their education, and with this in mind, we are engaged in studies and planning.

Concerning the military service of graduates from abroad, the educational deputy of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education said: No specific program has yet been announced for the graduates with bachelor's degrees; but in regards to those with master's degrees and above, it has been decided that for their military service, they will teach in a university in one of the provincial cities with full professorial benefits, in which case, their years of service will be also counted, provided they are hired. Or they may teach for four years in one of the cities of Esfahan, Shiraz, Mashhad or Tabriz. Of course, in very rare cases, and if many specialists are needed, these persons will serve in Tehran.

In conclusion, concerning the regulations and requirements for university entrance examinations, he said: The general requirements for entrance examinations, such as grade point average, age, zoning, allotments, and descriptive examinations, are being studied and will be presented to the supreme cultural council for ratification once they are completed.

10,000

CSO: 4640/246

IRAN

DEPUTY MINISTER ANNOUNCES NEW HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] KEYHAN education service. New methods have been devised for the training and elimination of the manpower shortage of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, which will be implemented in the universities of the country.

In a press conference concerning the new decisions of this ministry, Dr Hasan Zohur, educational deputy of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, said this morning: The admission capacity of the universities in the country is 35,000-37,000 students per year. Given the existing resources, this capacity cannot be increased next year. Therefore, new ways, including the elimination of the shortage in some fields, such as medicine, have been devised. If we are able to increase the teaching of basic sciences, it will be some help in regards to the increase in the capacity.

He added: In some fields, by changing the previous educational fields, it is possible to help procure the needed manpower. These include training general physicians in anesthesiology after their graduation. In this case, the non-medical graduates can also be used.

Another way is to shorten the education period in the universities, which we can do while maintaining the quality and educational and scientific level, reducing some units in the general and non-specialized courses and reducing the medical course from seven to six years.

Continuing his statements, Dr Zohur added: Other ways are also being studied, some of which have been approved, such as establishing specialized courses at the level of high school diplomas in the related ministries or free education courses using the existing specialized manpower in the country, which are not at the disposal of this ministry.

Then, concerning the master's examinations, the educational deputy of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education pointed out: The second round of the master's degree entrance examinations will be held late this year. Also, for a number of associate degrees, examinations will be given and we will try to have these entrance examinations this year.

10,000

CSO: 4640/246

IRAN

BILLIONS OF INTEREST-FREE LOANS PROVIDED FOR RURAL HOUSING

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 12 Nov 84 pp 2, 20

[Text] In 1362 [21 March 1983-21 March 1984], the housing bank (Bank-e Maskan), allocated 10 billion rials of credit to its branches based on two criteria: the poverty level of the people and the number of families dwelling in a village. The bank has assisted the villagers in the reconstruction of their housing units based on this. Up to the end of 1362 [21 March 1984] a total of 13.2 billion in interest-free loans was provided for rural housing and was granted to 35,922 rural families. This is a 19 percent increase from the previous year.

Javad Bostanian, the managing director of the Housing Bank in a special interview with IRNA, explained the main activities of the Housing Bank and also the manner and conditions for the transfer of a number of Apadana complex apartments to the applicants. First he explained the differences between the rural homes and the city homes, professional workers and farmers, and finally the basic question of the housing differences in the different parts of the country. In addition, he stated that housing is a part of the economy and is related to a number of industries. The expansion and general needs of housing and the possibilities of finding prompt solutions to solve the housing problem make the activities of this department more complicated. He continued: "The role of this bank is in general to help provide houses for the people, to help construct more dwelling units, and particularly to execute Article 31 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran in regards to giving priority to the needy. Nevertheless, the bank is facing some limitations and among them is the existence of the necessary groundwork for housing investment and construction material in particular, shortages of expert human resources, and limited financial resources.

Then he referred to the amount of housing loans during the previous year and said: "During 1983-1984, the Housing Bank provided 119,443 interest-free rural loans in the amount of 185.1 billion rials for the purchase, establishment, repair, and reconstruction of 136,098 housing units throughout the country. This amount, compared to 1361 [21 March 1982-21 March 1983] from a statistical point, has increased 6.7 percent to a total sum of 23 percent." He added: "From the total paid loans, 24.5 percent is Tehran's share, 41.5 percent is the large cities' share, and 34 percent has been the other cities' share."

Then he talked about the grounds for payable loans against home savings deposit funds and said: "The housing bank in 1982-1983 provided the sum of 116 billion rial in loans to 46,584 of its depositors and this shows an increase of 34.6 in the number of units and a 46.3 percent credit increase from the year 1981-1982. Payable loans to home loan fund holders consists of 63 percent of the total bank loans."

He added: "Contrary to the limitations exercised by the bank for mortgage loans through home saving funds, the minimum waiting period in Tehran has been 12 months and in other cities 9 months for the purchase and 6 months for the completion of the highest approved mortgage loans for the purchase of housing units. Because most of the depositors are among the middle income families of the society and due to the impossibility of finding suitable land for the construction of a dwelling themselves, have been compelled to borrow from the bank to purchase a housing unit."

Bostanian in regard to interest-free loans for rural housing said: "In 1984-1985 the Housing Bank allocated 10 billion rials to its branches based on two criteria: the poverty level of the people and the number of families residing in a village. The bank has helped the villagers to reconstruct homes in this way." He added: "In the middle of the year, 2.7 billion has been added to the mentioned allocation and finally at the end of the year the total sum of 13.2 billion in interest-free loans for rural housing will be provided for 35,922 rural families. This is a 19 percent increase from last year."

The managing director of the housing bank in the continuation of his talk referred to the amount of loans provided for housing cooperatives and the builders of the large housing establishments and said: "The housing bank in 1982-1983 has considered the total of 20 billion rial credit to help the housing cooperatives whether workers or non-workers for strengthening these cooperatives. At the same time, the housing bank has provided 13.2 billion rials in housing loans for 294 worker cooperatives and non-worker cooperatives. These cooperatives and other construction firms whose loans were pending since 1982-1983 were able to use 15.2 billion from this sum for the completion of 17,310 housing units. From this amount, 54.6 percent belongs to the workers' cooperative societies and the rest to non-workers' cooperative societies."

He said: "The bank's specialization is mainly in mobilizing financial resources in order to offer facilities for depositors, but due to the valuable experience gained during many long years in establishing housing units, these operations have increased and expanded." He added: "Pursuant to the execution of this goal, the housing bank in the beginning of the year 1983 had plans to establish 4,904 housing units. During the same year, 649 of these units were completed in the cities of Tabriz, Hamedan, Bakhtaran, Shahin and Esfehan and were turned over to the applicants."

Bostanian said: "In addition to the above-mentioned points, in 1983-1984 the bank participated in the construction and completion of 689 housing units and from this amount, 22 units have been completed and turned over to qualified applicants. It is intended that the 667 other units will be completed and also turned over to qualified applicants. Also, of the housing development

complexes started in 1983, we could mention Nilo Park in Tehran consisting of 56 units and the Kerman complex consisting of 351 units."

The managing director of the housing bank then explained the bank's policies in regard to granting mortgage loans to depositors and also the means and conditions for the transfer of a number of Apadana complex apartments and said: "Based on the laws of interest-free banking activities, the housing bank, in order to grant mortgage loans to depositors of the home-saving plans, will turn over a number of its apartments which will be completed at the end of the current year, to qualified applicants." In this connection, he mentioned that the rest of the housing units will be completed gradually during future years and will be handed over to this bank's home saving fund depositors based on qualifications announced through the newspaper." He said: "The manner of the transfer of Apadana complex apartments is rental with the option to purchase within 12 years, which will be announced in advance in the nation's newspapers. One of the important conditions is that the applicant, besides being married and a home saving fund account in any of the bank's branches of Tehran, when applying for mortgage loans, must have a minimum credit line of 3 million rials of the bank's credit facilities." In conclusion he said: "The self-sacrificers of the Islamic Republic and the imposed war and the martyr families, provided they have the minimum announced qualifications, will have top priority without any other consideration."

9815

CSO: 4640/170

NEPAL

CABINET RESHUFFLE RUMORED

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 1 Jan 85 p 4

[Article by Pema]

[Text] Premier Chand will once again show his strength by recommending a cabinet reshuffle following his blocking the "incriminating report" of the Finance Committee on the billion dollar scandal.

Almost all the politicians in Kathmandu opine a second reshuffle under Prime Minister Chand is imminent. The way Chand aborted the FC report before it could make its way to RP Chairman M. M. Singh is received with mixed reactions by the people.

One Chand insider has spread the feeler that the Prime Minister would not be able to retain his one time supporters all the time. The political meaning of the feeler is that Chand will not retain his colleagues who once helped him.

Politicians here firmly believe that some of the ministers in Chand cabinet could get the post just because the Prime Minister said on the occasion of cabinet-formation "I can not desert friends who stood by me in time of need". That principle is no more valid.

Kathmanduites believe any reshuffle in the ministry will mean now dropping of some ministers including Dr. Lohani.

Moreover, those in the list to be dropped have created problems for Chand in several ways. RP Chairman M. M. Singh chose a public function to refer to the complications generated by the Finance Minister and Minister of State for Education. Singh told the intellectuals' get-together organised by the People's Campus, the ministers are creating problems like the one concerning teachers.

Singh's remarks have angered Chand personally but the public criticism of the ministers has been helpful to him to prepare background for dropping some of his colleagues.

Who will be the new comers? Politicos say the new entrants are Keshar Bahadur Bista, Dambar Bahadur Malla, Krishna Charan Shrestha, Ramananda Yadav and Arjun Narsingh K. C. Whether the forecast will come true in the near future is yet to be seen.

Regarding the reshuffle and change of some ministers' portfolio, most of the politicians say it is very necessary. Otherwise the Prime Minister will not be able to function. The problems are getting complicated day by day referring to the teachers' problems, rising opposition, feuding panchas, squabbling ministers, billion dollar scandal, rising price and the next general elections etc.

Smelling the change in the ministry, some RP members are learnt to have cancelled visit to their constituencies and are on a pilgrimage to Balluwatar where there is the official residence of the Prime Minister.

CSO: 4600/215

NEPAL

NEPALI CONGRESS TO ISSUE BOOKLET ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 26 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] The banned Nepali Congress has finally decided to codify the civil disobedience movement (satyagraha) in a booklet that intends to instruct its cadres about their behaviour and commitment to the satyagraha.

Informed sources say the booklet will be made available to all cadres of the outlawed party this week. The booklet is expected to prepare the banned party workers mentally for its national conference scheduled towards the end of the winter.

Banned Party leader Krishna Prasad Bhattarai is learnt to have written the preface to the booklet. In the write-up, Bhattarai is learnt to have emphasised the need for educating the people on the satyagraha movement and its nature, a political move in vogue from the vedic times.

K.P. is of the view that the outlawed congress is always on the path of struggle. "Satyagraha has been with use since the Panchayat system was introduced in the country in place of the parliamentary system.

Whether Girija has agreed to all the points of the booklet is not known.

Some people say the booklet might divide the banned congressmen further.

CSO: 4600/215

NEPAL

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SAID BEING PLANNED BY NEPALI CONGRESS

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 2 Jan 85 pp 1, 4

[Text] Banned Nepali Congress is learnt to have stressed the need to launch the satyagraha movement for the restoration of democracy.

Leaders and followers of the outlawed party gave vent to the feeling at a programme held here recently to mark the day of the return of some banned Congress leaders from self-exile in India some seven years ago.

Seniormost leader Ganesh Man Singh stood by his previous stand of launching civil disobedience movement.

Other youth cadres are also learnt to have backed the move.

Details about the movement were not actually discussed at the function.

Outlawed congressmen reiterated that they would not participate in the next general elections if the current constitution remained unchanged.

The local administration did not interfere in the indoor function of the banned tongress although the leaders and cadres had feared intervention and taken appropriate precaution.

One source said the banned party is holding an important meeting in the near future to chalk out a programme for the national convention which the organisation had earlier planned for the winter.

CSO: 4600/215

NEPAL

NO ACTION AGAINST BBC FORESEEN IN CURRENCY SCANDAL STORY

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 21 Dec 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] Premier Chand is learnt to have been counselled by experts on foreign policy not to take action against the BBC man on the spot for the latter's despatch on billion dollar scandal and involvement of the Prime Minister in it.

But for the small piece of advice, the BBC correspondent based in Kathmandu would have been fired through withdrawal of accreditation which falls under the jurisdiction of the Communication Ministry, says sources close to the Government.

A denial by the BBC would be enough, the experts are known to have advised the Prime Minister.

One senior minister is learnt to have told newsmen informally that the BBC man would lose his job by Thursday morning, but this did not happen.

Punishing the man on the spot for a report prepared by the London desk of the BBC would not be a good idea, politicians say reminding the Prime Minister and senior ministers of how they had been sold through the international news of the BBC and made popular at a time when they were opposing the then Prime Minister Thapa some nineteen months ago.

CSO: 4600/215

NEPAL

CURRENCY SCANDAL SAID TROUBLING CHAND MINISTRY

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 21 Dec 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] The billion dollar scandal continues to trouble Premier Chand not through the summon of the Rastriya Panchayat Finance Committee but from RP Chairman's office where the details related to the incident including the highhandedness of the government will be presented next week.

RP Chairman Marich Man Singh had very tactfully rescued the Chand Ministry from a fall during the last session of the Rastriya Panchayat. Whether he will re-rescue the ministry this time is to be seen.

Singh will be caught in tricky situation after the FC Chairman, Bagawati Das Shrestha, presents the committee reports to him about irregularity and misuse of power in billion dollar scandal by ministers and the Prime Minister himself.

Politician interpret the situation as one similar to the one created by the registration of the no confidence resolution against Chand in the Rastriya Panchayat some six months ago.

The difference lies in the fact that the censure resolution was entirely a political motion while the present one is all about gross misuses of power by the government.

Chairman Singh has power to simply sit on the FC report until the session of the RP is summoned. Observers wonder whether he can do so risking his own chair, at a time when opposition is becoming stronger.

Prompt action by Chairman Singh might result in the Prime Minister being in a very awkward position. The Prime Minister cannot continue as head of the Council of Ministers once his case is taken up by the Commission for Prevention of Abuse of Authority.

Senior panchas who had helped Singh to protect Chand during the no trust motion are now not in a mood to give a hand to RP Chairman to save "unfaithful" politicians such as Chand.

CSO: 4600/215

NEPAL

COMMENTARY ON THE PANCHAYAT

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 2 Jan 85 p 3

[Commentary]

[Text] No matter who says what, it has been more than evident by now that if the Panchayat system suffers from anything it suffers from the panchas themselves. Those who are in power have been issuing warning time and again that there are elements who are bent upon harming the Panchayat and they say so not because they are concerned for the polity but for their own safety. It is true that there are people who are dead set against the Panchayat but they do not seem doing anything at least openly to harm the Panchayat. It appears as if they are waiting for the Panchayat to disintegrate. If so, one cannot say that they are badly mistaken. The Panchayat instead of becoming stronger is becoming weaker. One set of panchas say that another set of them is engaged in activities detrimental to the system and the constitution. The moral values of the panchas who are really committed to the system is also becoming weaker because the well-meaning panchas more often than not are outwitted by tricky ones. Those who can have their say in the system are those who have really done nothing to consolidate the Panchayat. This kind of practice naturally frustrates those who are sincerely committed to the system. So if panchas are looking for the enemies of the Panchayat, they should not look for them outside the Panchayat, they are very much inside it and are destroying the vitals of the system. Thus if the Panchayat falls, none but the pnahcas themselves will have to be blamed for it. We wish we could name just one pancha who has really contributed to furthering the cause of the Panchayat.

CSO: 4600/215

PAKISTAN

CABINET REPORTEDLY DECIDES SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES REGARDING ELECTIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Dec 84 pp 1, 10

[Article by Aslam Sheikh]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Dec. 26: In its first post-Referendum meeting here on Wednesday, the Federal Cabinet settled all substantive issues relating to the promised parliamentary polls by March 23 next year and an official spokesman did not rule out an announcement of firm dates by the President in a week or two. The outstanding issue of whether to hold elections on party or non-party basis was also decided.

Briefing newsmen after the Cabinet's eight hours deliberations in which the Chief of Joint Services Committee and three Chiefs of Armed Services were special invitees, the official spokesman said after today's consultations the President would announce the election dates at a suitable time after conferring with the Chief Election Commissioner. The President's announcement would be followed by the unfolding of a detailed election schedule by the CEC. Besides Federal Ministers, Provincial Governors also attended the Cabinet meeting.

Responding to a question, the spokesman said, 45 days could be permitted for canvassing after the announcement of election dates but in view of some limiting factors this period could be reduced. He said he was not authorised to divulge the decision whether the elections would be held on party or non-party basis.

Observers noted that if the President announces the dates for the national and provincial assemblies as well as the Senate in about a week or two from now, the polls could be held towards the end of February or in early March.

Reacting to some close questioning on the Cabinet's election discussions, the official spokesman said sets of dates, various options when to hold the polls as well as the sequence of different elections—national and provincial—were discussed. He said there was no need for the President to go back to the Cabinet which has now expressed its opinion. The only matter to be discussed was the convenience of the Election Commission and tying up of loose ends for holding the elections, including printing of ballot and nomination papers.

Questioned about the reason for inviting the top military brass to the Cabinet meeting, the spokesman said, it was meant to keep them in the picture. Further asked if they had endorsed the election dates, he said they were not members of the Cabinet.

Replying to a question, the spokesman said, no date for convening the first session of the federal parliament had yet been decided as election dates had still to be firmed up.

Q: Any decision on the lifting of Martial Law?

A: It has already been indicated in August 12 plan. It will be done after the process of elections has been completed.

Significantly there was no mention by the spokesman about proposed amendments in the 1973 Constitution. Answering a question on that issue, he said amendments will be made when they are considered necessary.

The spokesman had nothing to say when a newsmen asked whether there would be any Cabinet changes before March 23, next year.

Earlier, in the statement he read out the spokesman said the Cabinet expressed satisfaction on

the successful conclusion of the Referendum and appreciated the work of all those involved in the process. He said many lessons had been learnt including "certain loose ends and some slight inadequacies noticed." In fact the Referendum has enabled the organisers of elections to spot these loose ends and make necessary corrections and improvements for the forthcoming polls.

The spokesman said the Cabinet congratulated the President on winning the people's mandate for speeding up the Islamisation process and implementing his August 12 plan and observed that it had put heavy responsibility on his shoulders.

The Cabinet in particular expressed thanks to the people of Pakistan for their enthusiastic participation in the referendum and for endorsing the policies of the President.

Asked when the President would meet the Chief Election Commissioner, the spokesman said the meeting is expected to take place soon. The Cabinet has expressed its opinion on dates and the matter will now be taken up by the President with Chief Election Commissioner in the light of his convenience regarding the date.

Regarding the National Identity Cards, the spokesman said the election rules make the production of identity cards necessary at the time of polling. The referendum rules required that a voter has to identify himself by a document, only it was not mandatory.

The Cabinet was briefed by the Finance Minister, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, about the Islamic Foreign Ministers' conference at Sana'a where he led the Pakistan delegation. The Cabinet put on record its appreciation of the fine job done by Ghulam Ishaq as leader of the delegation.

On a report by Ghulam Ishaq regarding the drought conditions being faced by some Muslim countries of Africa, the Cabinet decided that Ushr resulting from the rice crop would be supplied in kind to the drought affected countries.

The Federal Cabinet expressed concern over the continuing occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet forces.

The Cabinet expressed its resentment by observing that the fifth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of that country, that is the completion of five years of aggression on Afghanistan by the Soviet military forces, was a matter of grave concern for Pakistan.

PAKISTAN

MRD RENEWS PLEDGE TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Dec 84 p 6

[Text]

LAHORE, Dec. 26: Speakers at a public meeting organised by the MRD here yesterday reaffirmed their pledge to steadfastly adhere to the ideals of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah by stepping up their struggle for a democratic order in the country.

They reiterated their stand to accept no solution to the prevalent political situation other than the restoration of the 1973 Constitution and holding of general elections thereunder.

The meeting held at Nicholson Road in connection with Quaid-e-Azam's birthday anniversary was addressed by Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Malik Mohammad Qasim, Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi of JUP, Allama Ehsan Elahi Zaheer of Jamiat Ahl-i-Hadith, Hafiz Kazim Raza of Tehrik Nifaz-e-Fiqah-i-Jaffaria and other.

Nawabzada Nasrullah said Quaid-e-Azam, a great politician as he was, always stood for democracy and civil liberties. He never compromised on principles and offered all-out resistance to

undemocratic legislation. It was a pity that in a country like Pakistan, achieved through political means and a democratic process, civil liberties stood denied to the people and all democratic institutions had been abrogated. He said, Islam was never a point of dispute in the country and every organisation subscribed to it. All the past constitutions had guaranteed that there would be no legislation contrary to Quran and Sunnah while the 1973 Constitution provided for re-orientation of all existing laws according to the tenets of Islam. Had there been no Martial Law in the country all such laws would have been brought in accordance with Quran and Sunnah by now.

Nawabzada went on to claim that MRD had been constrained to adopt a cautious attitude towards the recent Referendum as a 'No' vote would have meant rejection of Islam.

The meeting, first ever using a loud speaker, dispersed peacefully. A heavy police contingent, however, remained posted during the meeting.

CSO: 4600/200

PAKISTAN

DIALOGUE, CONTACT WITH POLITICIANS URGED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 26 Nov 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Elections and Understanding on a Wide Scale"]

[Text] The recent meeting between President Gen Mohammad Ziaul Haq and two leaders of the defunct Jamaat Islami, Mian Tufail Mohammad and Maulana Jan Mohammad Abbasi, has given rise to speculation that many other political leaders will also be meeting with the president. In this connection, Muslim leader Pir Pagara's name was also being mentioned in particular. Now according to a newspaper report, many political leaders desirous of meeting with the president have already arrived in Rawalpindi. Mutual contact and understanding between government officials and people of various schools of thought or political parties is not only essential but is also considered a primary condition and a basic requirement for a gradual and smooth transition of power based on the results of the upcoming elections. In this context, it may be noted here that the president has for some time now been using the terminology of a sharing of power. Mr Zafrullah Khan Jamali, federal minister and a member of the election liaison committee formed by the government, during the course of an interview with a newspaper, said in clear and unambiguous terms that there should be understanding between the government and politicians as well as greater flexibility among the parties in resolving prevailing problems in the wider interests of the country and the people. Everyone concerned should sit down together, with due consideration for finding a solution to the problems. Mutual contact and understanding between the government and the politicians is a basic requirement and there can be no two opinions on this matter. Internal conditions and in particular the external threats are such that creation of an atmosphere of confidence based on mutual cooperation and a desire to improve conditions inside the country and give due importance to national unity has in fact acquired not only basic but top-most importance. This can only be achieved smoothly on the basis of understanding, but it can at the same time be a source of satisfaction, trust and confidence. Which political leaders the members of the election liaison committee or the president himself meet or which political leaders are willing to meet with members of the election committee or with the president is also of special significance. Everyone knows that the number of politicians and political parties is excessive, but the objective of any real and broad understanding can only be fulfilled through contacts with the maximum number of political leaders. Everyone is aware that most of the political parties basically are no different than self-styled private groups and that many politicians, leaving aside the fact that they try to

keep their existence as leaders alive merely by issuing statements to newspapers, are virtually organizations within themselves, i.e., their parties do not exist outside of their own personality. If the government officials wanted to, or if they had the time and leisure, they could contact all of them. If political importance were made the basis for a list of the political leaders whose meetings with government officials and exchange of views could be considered meaningful, then in addition to Pir Pagara and Mian Tufail Ahmed, who have the honor of meeting the president from time to time, the names of other political leaders of considerable significance that one can recall are Mr Asghar Khan, Maulana Noorani, Khan Abdul Wali Khan or Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Maulana Fazlurrahman, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Maulana Abdullah Darkhasti or Maulana Obeidullah Anwar and Maulana Kausar Niazi. These leaders should be contacted without exception, and efforts should be made to come to an understanding with them. Whether all these people are willing to meet with the election liaison committee and the president and at the same time whether the president considers it essential to exchange views with them is in itself an important question. Flexibility in the attitude considered essential for creating understanding between the government and politicians, according to Mir Zafrullah Khan Jamali, can be achieved by exchanging views with all the political leaders without exception, so that the signs of confrontation, tension, lack of confidence and mistrust that are so commonly visible may be removed.

The most important thing is to make a candid and selfless effort. It is not necessary that this effort be successful and meaningful in every way, but is important that such an effort be made. Just as it is difficult to make others accept all our proposals, similarly it is not easy but also impractical to make all the proposals of others acceptable. But if such an effort were to pave the way to a consensus among most, if not all, of the people, then this could suffice to prove the honesty and loftiness of intentions as well as the fact that the efforts were truly concrete and positive. The important thing is that all concerned get together and have open and sincere discussions. Besides, there is always a time for mutual understanding and mutual discussion; once that time passes it never returns. Therefore, in view of the approaching elections it is advisable that a meeting be arranged with all the important leaders worth mentioning and that views be exchanged with them. In this connection, the government will have to take the initiative. The time is ripe for demonstrating the flexible attitude recommended by Mr Zafrullah Jamali as essential for government as well as for politicians. Elections as a rule are the best way to straighten out the affairs of the nation and the state and pave the way for including the people in the affairs of the government and the country. Besides being the best method for the country and the people, it is also worthy of the government and politicians, so that an atmosphere of understanding can be created before the elections and at least the people may start feeling that all the parts of the country and all sections or all schools of thought will have the opportunity to participate in the elections. It is also necessary that the government announce the outlines of the electoral method as soon as possible, because without this the real objective of "dialogue" cannot be achieved.

PAKISTAN

ASGHAR KHAN RULES OUT COMPROMISE WITH REGIME

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Dec 84 p 10

[Article by Maleeha Lodhi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD Dec. 26: Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan has categorically ruled out the possibility of a rapprochement between him and the Government. Speaking exclusively to 'The Muslim', the Chief of the defunct Tehrik-i-Istiqlal asserted that 'there was no truth whatsoever' in the talk of rapprochement. According to him such long-running rumours were entirely baseless. "People," he said, "know that one cannot be sold".

Asghar Khan also dismissed the rumour that he had turned down an invitation from MRD leaders to attend the opposition rally organised on Referendum day in Lahore. This, he said, was "entirely false", and added, "there had been no such invitation."

The former Air Marshal flatly denied telling a newspaper reporter that Pakistani journalists "lacked courage". According to him, what he had actually said about the Press and journalists in Pakistan had been twisted and distorted. He explained that what he had said when approached by a newspaper reporter for a statement was simply that 'your newspaper won't be able to publish what I have to say'. It was also in this context that he had commented

that only foreign journalists were able to publish his statements and interviews in their newspapers. Asghar Khan said he never used the word 'courage' nor did he at any point suggest that Pakistani journalists lacked courage.

Explaining the reason for his decision to reorganise the Tehrik's upper tier, Asghar Khan said, 'I felt the need because of changed political circumstances', adding that 'our party's constitution necessitates that'.

The Central Working Committee of the defunct Tehrik will meet tomorrow (Dec. 27) in Abbottabad to discuss various issues.

OUR LAHORE BUREAU ADDS: Defunct TIP leaders, including Mian Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri, Malik Hamid Sarfraz and Ch. Aitzaz Ahsan today left for Abbottabad to attend a special meeting there summoned by the TIP chief, Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan on Dec. 27.

As understood, the meeting will take stock of the situation arising out of the voluntary resignations tendered by the party office-bearers elected to different tiers during the recently held elections. The meeting is also expected to discuss the post-Referendum situation.

CSO: 4600/200

PAKISTAN

ZIA TALKS ABOUT ELECTIONEERING

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Dec 84 pp 1, 10

[Text]

LAHORE, Dec. 26: President Ziaul Haq yesterday said that the "landslide mandate given by the people in the national Referendum would enable him to take certain important decisions regarding holding of the coming election on party or non-party basis, and bringing about certain amendments, in the 1973 Constitution".

He was talking to newsmen at the Lahore Airport on his arrival from Islamabad on a day's visit to the Punjab metropolis.

In reply to a question about the announcement of the election schedule, the President said, he would shortly announce the date for the elections after his Cabinet meeting on Dec. 26. The Chief Election Commissioner, he said, would give the election schedule.

According to PPI, the President said that 21 days will be allowed for campaigning in the general elections.

To another question about the election schedule, the President said, there were two aspects of the question. In case both the name and the election symbol of the candidates were printed on the ballot paper, it would require 21 days to complete the printing work. However, he added, if only the election symbol was printed on the ballot paper, it would save 10 days.

The President said in a number of countries, including India, only the election symbol was printed on the ballot paper. He also gave the example of the last local bodies elections in Sind in which only the election symbol was printed.

Nevertheless, the President said, these were matters to be discussed at the meeting of the Cabinet.

The decision whether the elec-

tions should be held on party or non-party basis would also be taken by the Federal Cabinet, he added.

Asked whether he intended to meet "all" the politicians before arriving at decisions about the coming elections, the President said, his doors were open to all. He would welcome any useful suggestion from any quarters. "We have no enmity with anyone in politics", he remarked.

Regarding his "present position" after the national Referendum, the President said, till such time as both the houses of the new parliament meet after the forthcoming elections, he would continue to remain both the President of Pakistan and Chief of the Army Staff.

To another question about the formation of a National Security Council, he said, this was one of the proposals under consideration of the Government and a decision on the subject would be taken in due course of time.

President Zia specifically mentioned the difficulties faced by the voters in large cities in casting their votes. He was aware of certain administrative lacunae. However, he added, the Referendum had also proved a rehearsal for the coming elections. It would help in the revision of the polling plan.

The President said the nation-wide Referendum had removed uncertainties and ambiguities lurking in the minds of the people as to what system of government would be adopted in the country. The people, he said, had given a clear-cut decision that they would accept no system other than an Islamic system.

Referring to the Referendum, the President said, while the people of the cities freely exercised their right of vote, the enthusiasm demonstrated by the rural people, who form the big majority of the

country's population, was something that could not be easily described in words.

The President said that in his Dec. 21 speech he had by name thanked certain sections of the people for their overwhelming support in the national Referendum. He said he would now avail this opportunity to express his gratitude also to the businessmen, industrialists and the transporters.

The President described businessmen and industrialists as Islam-loving communities. They, he said, had always played important roles in Islamic movement. He said he was also grateful to the transporters, who voluntarily offered transport to the voters to take them to the polling stations.

Regarding a question about the celebrations of the birth anniversary of the Quaid and the Christmas, the President said, both the events were important for the people of Pakistan. He said that every patriotic Pakistani revered the Quaid as the Father of the Nation, and every Muslim also believe that Jesus Christ was a messenger of Almighty Allah.

Later, addressing a distinguished gathering attending the civic reception hosted in his honour by the Lahore Municipal Corporation, the President said, the massive public verdict in the national Referendum in support of his policies clearly manifested the nation's determination to achieve the goal of Islamic order in all walks of life.

The President said in 1947 Pakistan was achieved as a piece of land where the Muslims in the subcontinent could lead their lives in accordance with the tenets of Islam. Thirty-seven years afterwards on Dec. 19 the nation had again given a categorical decision: that only the Islamic economic system and polity were acceptable to them, he said.

The President emphasised that he had not thought of holding the Referendum to seek a fresh five-

year term for himself, but the real objective of the exercise was to get the public mandate for the continuation of his Islamisation programme.

President Ziaul Haq paid rich tributes to the masses for taking a correct decision in the Referendum. He said it was his conviction and experience that the people of Pakistan were endowed with great political wisdom and foresight which enabled them to differentiate between what was good and bad for them.

The President especially commended the high turnout of the electorate in the national Referendum and said this was highly impressive.

The President said his government had taken a risk in deciding on the Referendum. There were serious administrative difficulties in holding a smooth and orderly referendum within a short period of time. Besides, he said, there was the question as to what would be his alternative course in case he failed to receive a mandate.

Paying compliments to the people of Lahore, the President said, he felt greatly honoured by the massive support given by the people of the Punjab capital in the historic Referendum.

Earlier, the people of Lahore gave an enthusiastic welcome to the President on his arrival in the city.

It was a tumultuous reception as the people gathered in thousands at the Lahore Airport much before his arrival. They were carrying banners inscribed with welcome slogans and were dancing to the beat of drums.

The Punjab Governor Lt. Gen. Ghulam Jilani Khan, received the President as he alighted from the plane. The Lahore Airport presented a festive look. A red carpet was rolled out for the President while colourful flags were fluttering all around. As the President walked past a group of children showered flower petals on him.

PAKISTAN

PROVINCES SAID 'LACKING ENTHUSIASM' FOR ROLLING PLAN

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Dec 84 pp I, IV

[Article by M. Ziauddin]

[Text]

THE REVISED lists of public sector priority projects, which were to have reached the planning commission from the provinces by December 12 for inclusion in the three-year core programme designated as the rolling plan, are said to have been delayed.

This has led, it is said, to cancellation of a top level meeting of the Planning Commission which was to be held in this connection on December 16-17.

Informed circles appear rather convinced that the provinces do not share the enthusiasm of the Planning Commission with regard to the preparation of the rolling plan.

The provinces, it is said, feel that the exercise of preparing a rolling plan would prove to be as futile as the one done at the time of preparing the Sixth Plan.

Prior to the finalisation of the Sixth Plan, responsible people while advising the provinces on the direction of the Plan are said to have given them to understand that they should frame their recommendations in accordance with their needs and should not worry about resource availability.

Resource availability

Since the recommendations made under such circumstances were naturally too ambitious, they are said to have lost their actual shape in the final draft of the Sixth Plan which had to be tailored ac-

cording to availability of resources, which, nevertheless, were projected rather liberally.

Moreover, it is said, the provinces had found the Sixth Plan too radical to suit their style of work. The Plan had contained almost no quick revenue generating project. On the other hand, it had projected highly ambitious social sector targets without identifying the realistic avenues for resource generation for financing these development ideals in health, education and rural life.

The provinces which have acquired the habit of being spoon-fed by the federal government, it is said, just ignored the social objectives of the Sixth Plan and continued to operate as usual which meant neglecting education, health and rural development on the plea of resource constraints.

This led to a serious shortfall in the social sector targets for the first year of the Plan and the matter was further confounded because of the general reversal in the economy due to bad weather.

The first half of the second year of the Plan too has been a repetition of the story of the first year, thereby further making it impossible for the Plan to fulfil its promises with regard to social sectors.

It is said that the Sixth Plan had based its strategy for achieving its social sector targets largely on the ability of the local bodies to generate and manage funds. This meant allowing a sort of financial independence to the local bodies.

But those who actually wield this

power at present presumably did not feel in any way obliged to part with this power and therefore things did not develop in the manner the Sixth Plan had envisaged.

Power structure

Knowledgeable circles feel that the Sixth Plan had visualised a fictional power structure in the country which had no relation with the actual power structure in existence today and which draws its strength from the bureaucracy, the feudal aristocracy and the big money.

Since the realities of the power structure were ignored in the Plan, its strategy to bring about a social revolution through the local bodies, it is thought, did not fare well in the first two years of its operation.

It is felt that as the initiators of the rolling plan, do not appear to be in the mood of making any amendments in their assumptions on this score, the provinces would have no interest in helping them in the preparation of a core programme for next three years.

Since the launching of the Sixth Plan, it is said, a big communication gap has emerged between the authors of the Plan and the provinces. In this connection, mention is being made of the various special development projects like the special programme for Karachi made by the Planning Commission.

All these special programmes, it is said, except for those made for Baluchistan and NWFP (which have received generous foreign assistance) have failed to take off mainly due to lack of interest of the concerned agencies to make efforts to mobilise the needed resources for these projects.

This lack of enthusiasm of the provinces, to take the promises made by the Sixth Plan seriously, it is believed has affected the education sector most. The mosque school scheme appears to have been made to improve the quality of education in the existing educational institutions.

In fact, it is believed that the efforts appear to be in the direction of lowering the number of educated people in the country.

Science, technology

The scheme to improve the science and technology sub-sector of education which gets a rhetorical emphasis in the Sixth Plan, too, appears to have been abandoned for lack of will and resources, it is added.

According to independent economic experts, the world today is in the age of bio-tech and high-tech. Developed world is in the process of making use of these "techs" to reduce their dependence on the Third World's agricultural raw material and labour-intensive manufactures.

In the next decade or so, it is said, countries like Pakistan will have no markets for their cotton, textiles, foods, carpets, etc., and since Pakistan continues to base its development strategies on the outmoded development models, where education, particularly science and technology have no place, it is apprehended that the country would find itself in a more difficult condition in the 1990s than at present.

New exercise

Independent economic experts believe that since the Sixth Plan has practically failed and the concerned agencies are engaged in preparing a new plan for three years, its authors could use the opportunity to correct the fault and consider basing the new exercise on the planks of bio-tech and high-tech and diverting enough resources to develop these aspects in the shortest possible time.

They thought bio-tech and high-tech have the ability to bypass the existing retrogressive social power structure in the country and speed up the process of development.

They warned that if the planners neglected to take into consideration these very vital aspects of development today, they would, in effect be consigning the whole nation to a perpetual night of darkness for years to come.

PAKISTAN

THE PLIGHT OF THE 'SINKING RUPEE' DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 13 Dec 84 pp 7, 8

[Article by "Linesman"]

[Text]

NEARLY THREE YEARS ago, when the Pakistan rupee was demonstratively delinked from the U.S. dollar, it was said by our decision-makers that this was not the devaluation urged upon Pakistan by the IMF but a well-considered step towards "independent management" of our currency in order to provide for "greater flexibility", and also that the move would stabilise the rupee and help the economy in many ways.

Since then, the exchange rate of the rupee against the dollar has declined relentlessly. In January 1982, when the delinking announcement was made, the rupee was valued at 9.90 to one dollar. Today it hovers at Rs. 14.95, and it is expected to cross the Rs. 15 mark very soon. This, according to the simple layman's arithmetic, means a devaluation of 50 per cent. And it may be presumed that the international institutions and consortiums that had been pressurising Pakistan to make a cut of 30 per cent in the rupee value are delighted with the turn of events.

Unrealised expectations

When the decision was taken, the people were told by all categories of official spokesmen that, even if this were to be the effect of delinking, the de facto devaluation would help Pakistan's economy to begin a recovery. The country was promis-

ed that its quantum of exports would increase, and that all inessential imports would be discouraged as a logical result of a fall in the value of the rupee. This has not happened. Pakistan's exports are still curbed by the restrictions and quotas imposed by its Western trading partners. Then, by limiting ourselves largely to the purchase of capital goods from the West, we are importing inflation and pricing ourselves out of the world market, because the rising value of the machinery and raw materials imported, assisted by domestic inflation, increases the cost of production to forbidding levels.

At the same time, the presumption that imports would decrease has been belied; our free import list gets bigger every year and a certain classes of privileged persons have enough money to spare for buying all manner of luxury goods. The fact is that Pakistan's trade gap has become wider with every year, and little or nothing has been done to check its steady spread; and this unavoidably makes the rupee sink deeper.

Debt burden

Then, apart from the question of trade, the actual devaluation has increased our debt burden accordingly. For the present, because of the special climate existing on our borders, the Western aid received meets

— and sometimes exceeds — our requirements, but this also makes it increasingly difficult to service our old debts and only a small part of current aid is available for utilization after debt services and repatriation of profits have been calculated. At the same time, as inflation continues to spiral because more currency notes are printed to meet the rupee expenditure on projects to which Government is committed, life becomes a little more burdensome —, except for those who can somehow share in the bonanza.

Many questions

The situation has become extremely complicated. Many questions arise, but they are not being answered; in fact, most are not even being asked as far as official agencies are concerned. Every Pakistani citizen wonders why his individual share of the national debt is going up annually with little sign of relief. How do we get out of this trap? Obviously, the question is not merely one of restoring a fixed value link of the rupee with any currency (and in any case the link with the dollar was snapped only as far as the exchange rate is concerned); it means making a thorough review of the economy to see how Pakistan can halt or at least slow down the drift towards the disaster of more intensified stagflation. One obvious remedy, which Government spokesmen themselves have offered from time to time, is austerity. Pakistan simply must stop living beyond its means. State expenditure, specially on non-development projects, must be cut drastically. Apart from tightening its belt, it is essential

that Pakistan should make an earnest effort to diversify its trade, so that a substantial part of its trade can be diverted to countries that are not afflicted with inflation; and also to Third World States. On the question of South-South cooperation, there has been much talk, but when it comes to taking decisions the fairly common attitude of virtual subservience to Western dictates seems impossible to overcome. If a proper appraisal is made of what Third World countries could gain by increasing trade among themselves, it will be seen that they could jointly weaken Western dominance of their markets and also make it possible for them to bargain jointly for better terms of trade. During this period, the bonus of vast remittances from Pakistanis living and working abroad has also begun declining. While its inflationary influence heated the economy more than was comfortable for many sectors, it has helped to keep our balance of payments under control. Further falls in the remittances, particularly if it is accompanied — as it must be — by a return of labourers working in the Gulf, will necessitate action to deal with a new problem.

Clearly Pakistan's policy-makers must begin to think in terms not just of today and tomorrow, but also of the day after. Such thinking should compel them to break the shackles of tied loans and mounting debts, of unbalanced trade financed by the aid-givers, for without such a revision of policy — like many other countries in the Third World — Pakistan will not find it easy to

PAKISTAN

LIBERAL IMPORTS, SMUGGLING SAID TO RETARD ENGINEERING GROWTH

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Dec 84 Business Supplement p III

[Article by Tufail Ahmad Khan]

[Text]

NOW when the installation of Pakistan Steel has been completed, and full production has commenced, it is of utmost importance that all our engineering industries, particularly those in the public sector, are geared up and enabled to work to capacity.

Pakistan's imports of iron and steel, and products thereof comprising billets, pipes, tubes, bars, rods, angles, shapes, sections, sheets, plates, strips, fittings, powder, ferro-alloys, etc., have been increasing in quantum and value. The value, which has been affected also by international inflation and cost of the U.S. dollar (both exchange rate and the rate of interest) has gone above Rs. 6.50 billion taking the fiscal 1983-84 into consideration. These imports must now drastically come down, if not substituted altogether.

According to official claim, already dependence on imports has been eliminated in regard to pig iron, billet, hot rolled sheets and coils and formed sections. But some leading engineering concerns complain of excessive imports and smuggling of finished parts and components flooding the market.

It may be necessary to establish additional engineering concerns, particularly in the direction of machinery, parts, components and accessories to achieve self-reliance.

Complexes

Pakistan already possesses heavy mechanical forge and foundry complexes as well as machine-tool plants, and some idle engineering capacity also in the Karachi Shipyard. There is, therefore, no reason why machinery and equipment even for the balancing, modernisation and replacement (BMR) of existing industries, including textile, should not be fabricated locally.

Some headway has been made in this direction but the heavy engineering capacities are not utilised adequately to our own machinery-making requirements. For example, the sugar mill target of the 6th Plan is not being achieved because dependence has been placed on imports of machinery when we have the capacity to make sugar mill machinery.

Annual reports of some leading engineering concerns particularly those in the public sector reveal that due to various causes most of them are operating much below capacity.

For instance, production in Metropolitan Steel Corporation fell from 76,761 metric tons in fiscal 1982-83 to 72,642 metric tons in corresponding 1983-84. Baling hoops, "which is company's premium product," suffered because of lower production of cotton crop during 1983. The reduced quantum of WAPDA's orders for structures had an adverse impact on the company's sales. In all its lines (bar,

hoop, mild steel, special steel, cold profile and transmission tower) the actual production was invariably below the installed capacity; in some branches it was grossly below. For instance the concern has an annual capacity of 15,000 tons on a double shift basis for 10" bar mill, but the actual production was only 1,678 tons in 1982-83 and still lower at a bare 267 tons in 1983-84.

Quality Steel Works Ltd. too, have the same story to tell. The company's production of structural steel and ribbed torsteel was lower by 23% and 36% respectively in 1983-84 compared to the preceding year. The actual production of rolled materials and bright shafts were well below the assessed capacities both in 1983 and 1984. Its annual report for 1983-84 expresses the view that rerolled products market is likely to be competitive in future.

PECO also had to curtail production of 11 kv structures and 132 kv towers which in turn resulted in a reduction in rolled products. Also, the output of steel ingots fell because of the "uneconomical operations of furnaces".

Although the company was able to increase the production of diesel engines, electric motors, power looms (nominally), concrete mixers, pumps and bicycles compared to 1982-83, but production even in these lines was far below the installed capacity with the exception of bicycles.

The above three examples clearly show that depression in one field of public sector has had a chain effect on the other units of the public sector industries.

PECO's annual report for 1983-84 comments that "with the continued recession and curtailment of orders by WAPDA more concerted efforts are required to improve the production and sales of engineering products."

Imports

In addition to domestic recession in some vital fields of public sector engineering industry, liberal imports have been stated to be a danger. For instance, the "automobile industry continues to be exposed to unfair competition with imported vehicles from advanced countries," according to National Motors Ltd.

National Motors curtailed its production of vehicles in 1983-84 to

3,552 in number compared to 4,343 in 1982-83. The number of Bedford truck chassis produced was 2,349 units in 1983-84 compared to 3,068 in 1982-83. The production of bus chassis also fell to 589 from 748 in 1982-83.

The report claims that the local content on the Bedford truck chassis had reached the optimum level of 75 per cent due to high demand in previous years, but with declining sales it was no more "advisable" to continue the local contents beyond that already achieved.

Bela Engineers Ltd., another public sector concern, could produce Bedford engines at a lower level (3,313 in number) during 1983-84 compared to 4,152 in 1982-83 due to recession. This was another chain effect. The production of Bela Engineers declined by 20 per cent as the annual report reveals. They had to sell Bedford engines to National Motors at a discount.

Stiff competition

Even Millat Tractors Ltd., which is among the best managed engineering concerns, claiming to have 42% share of the country's market presently comprising 31,000 units, and claiming to have already achieved indigenisation of parts and components to the extent of 55 per cent, complains of "hard competition" engulfing the spare parts market due to imports in huge quantities" and also of "substantial quantity of sub-standard and spurious parts".

According to independent enquiries these defective and "non-genuine cheap spare parts" emanate from certain countries of the Far East and are smuggled in, through the free ports of some oil-exporting countries in the Gulf region. With decline in the oil revenue, this "business" is feared to increase.

Mechanisation of Pakistan's agriculture is still very marginal, and yet the engineering industries concerned complain of "near-saturation".

International Industries Ltd., a pipe and tube manufacturing engineering concern which was recently converted to a public company, in its annual report for 1983-84 say that three quarters of pipes manufactured are of sub-standard quality and are sold at much lower

prices". In its comments, the report describes 1983-84 "as a year of relatively low growth and the country faced with a widening gap between imports and exports".

The conclusions are obvious: liberal imports, smuggling in of parts and components, rising costs, and general depression and recession in the market due to low purchasing power among the people bedevil the development of our engineering industries and this in turn places a brake on the capacity utilisation of our first-ever basic steel milling industry.

CSO: 4600/193

PAKISTAN

MAKESHIFT MARKETS SAID CENTERS OF SMUGGLING

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 13 Dec 84 p 8

[Text]

BUREAUCRATIC EXPLANATIONS for official actions or inaction are sometimes surprisingly strange; often it seems that the arguments given are meant to convince only those already convinced of the correctness of a certain policy, namely, its authors.

Speaking at Karachi last week, Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaque said, in reply to persistent questions, that it was not considered necessary to do anything about the branch Bara markets dotted all over the country which most people regard as smugglers' bases. And common people really believe that smuggling not only weakens the economy but that to its general corrosive action has recently been added such destructive elements as heroin and hard drugs, on the one hand, and bombs and guns, on the other. The controller and manipulator of our economy, however, does not agree. Speaking almost light-heartedly, the Finance Minister said that most of the goods found in the local Bara markets, which are spread from Nathiagali down to Karachi, were not foreign, because Pakistani goods were being sold carrying a foreign stamp. This may be correct in the case of certain brands of good quality cloth manufactured in Pakistan, but it is certainly not true of a host of other items that are easily available in these markets, including electrical goods, crockery, as well as radios, tape-recorders, videos, and their components.

Not valid

The Finance Minister's second, more serious, point was that as for the real Bara markets, Government was unable or unwilling to deal with them because it would create a law-and-order problem. This is no argument for refusal to enforce the law; it is tantamount to surrender before the smugglers' mafia. Nor is the argument really valid. The fact is well known that since the first day after Independence the Bara markets have gradually expanded with encouragement from buyers, including officials, and it has by now grown into a huge establishment. The fiction that the concession is meant only to serve the tribal areas where Pakistani laws are restricted can only be maintained by shutting one's eyes to facts. These international markets, whether the one carrying the name Bara or the twenty-five others in the tribal belt or places further inland, constitute smugglers' establishments. They control a parallel trade set-up and carry on business without paying any dues to Government in the way of import duties, Sales Tax or Income Tax. Many of those engaged in the business are not even Pakistani citizens.

Whatever the reasons for showing this extraordinary degree of tolerance, it should be realised that the policy not only damages the country's economy, but allows the emergence in our society of elements that can become a threat to social peace and political stability.

PAKISTAN

JAMAAT'S ROLE, COOPERATION WITH REGIME BITTERLY CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 20 Dec 84 p 7

[Article by "Linesman"]

[Text]

THE STRANGE political history of our sub-continent has repeatedly thrown up a breed of politicians (and journalists or religious leaders) who consider it expedient to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. This tactic has often been practised by the Jamaat-i-Islami.

Presenting a confused amalgam of authoritarian religious fundamentalism and a sharp political hunger, the Jamaat leaders have always tried to justify their policies with distortionist intellectual gymnastics of a very rare kind. The Jamaat was founded as a religious organization with the sole aim of propagating Islam in its pristine purity; it deliberately avoided any direct political affiliations. While it professed allegiance to its own notions of an Islamic society, its concept of a State where Islamic values and virtues could be nurtured was not identified with a Muslim State. In fact, the Party pronounced anathema on the Muslim League, and it opposed and vilified the Quaid-i-Azam before and after 1940. It is fortunate that the Muslim people paid little heed to the ranting of this and other groups of maulanas who opposed the Indian Muslims' right to self-determination.

Post-independence role

The Jamaat's opposition to the concept of a Muslim State apparently did not cease with the creation of Pakistan, for a number of fatwas

were unleashed questioning the very basis of the State. The Party's adherents were urged not to take the oath of loyalty necessary for all Government servants, and a well-planned attempt was made to denigrate the Kashmiri people's struggle. When the Jamaat changed course, came into active politics and started taking part in elections, it joined other Opposition parties in demanding a fully democratic State, and campaigned for civil liberties in cooperation with all democratic, even Leftist, parties. When Miss Fatima Jinnah was selected to oppose Ayub Khan in the presidential election in 1964, the Jamaat lent all its strength to support Miss Jinnah's candidature. This strength, however, was limited to a small circle of well-organized Jamaat workers, as was seen in the 1970 elections when the Jamaat won only a few seats in certain urban areas. During the East Pakistan crisis, the Jamaat supported the military action, and historians will certainly conclude that it had a big hand in creating Bangladesh by backing a mad policy which rejected a sensible settlement with the region's majority party.

Path to power

After the dismemberment of Pakistan, the Jamaat leadership apparently realized that its dream of access to the corridors of power

could never materialise through the doors of a democratic dispensation. Hence, when the People's Party introduced certain economic reforms, the Jamaat was up in arms and, finding an excuse, it spearheaded the movement against the introduction of Sindhi in Sind, with its boys raising the slogan of 'Bhutto Jaa, Tikka Aa'. (Tikka Khan was then Army Chief of Staff). The same theme was introduced into the movement started in 1977 by the coalition of Opposition parties after the March elections, but for which preparations had been made well in advance of election day. In this operation to topple an elected government, the Jamaat played a very conscious part. Later, it offered to cooperate with the Martial Law government and its strategy included one of persuading the regime not to hold the elections it had promised on July 5, 1977 — first in October 1977 and then in the fall of 1979. The Jamaat fell out with Authority only because its notions of power-sharing were different from those that guided the Government policy-makers. The Party has never raised any objection to attaining high office through nomination; and its advice on all matters concerning the electoral system is such that the end result — through a careful process of selection — should allow the Jamaat a position it could never attain if it depended on the people's vote in a free and clean election.

Political charade

As on many previous occasions, a desire to court public opinion has persuaded the Jamaat (which has

survived the ban on political parties and activities under the new title of Tehrik-i-Islami) to devise various slogans in order to show that it adheres to democratic norms and principles. But, whatever the words used, its actions usually point in a different direction. On the referendum question, the Party was divided; but the Amir, who wields great influence and controls the treasury, succeeded in mustering a majority for the point of view that General Zia must be supported. To placate the opposition within the Party, a six-point formula was devised and it was said that this had been accepted by the CMLA-President; but, as Professor Ghafoor has pointedly said, no such indication has so far been given by any Government spokesman. However, by the time this issue is discussed by the Party rank and file the referendum will be over. The Jamaat Amir clearly wants to claim a share in Gen. Zia's predictable victory, because it has acquired a big stake in preservation of the status quo, if possible without losing the allegiance of its democratic wing. Hence, the latest political charade.

The Jamaat, like every other political party, is entitled to take its own policy decisions. All that a rational observer can demand is that it should eschew political chicanery. If the Jamaat wants the present regime to stay for the next five or even ten years, it should say so openly — like the Pir of Pagara or Ali Ahmed Talpur — and not pretend that its policies are guided by democratic principles of some sort or that its waywardness has the sanction of Islamic philosophy.

PAKISTAN

CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY VOICES DEMANDS

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 20 Dec 84 p 13

[Text]

CHRISTIANS have demanded the right of dual vote — separate electorates as well as for the national elections — at the conference of pastors last week in which religious leaders belonging to all denominations from all over the country participated.

This is the first time that such a demand has been made from a religious forum representing Catholics, Protestants, the Salvation Army, the Seventh Day Adventists and other denominations.

The conference which was addressed by a number of bishops and other religious leaders felt that the religious educational and constitutional problems of the Christian community remained unsolved despite promises made from time to time. A 21-member delegation was constituted to seek an interview with the CMLA-President to apprise him of the Christians' grievances and seek their redressal. The delegation is headed by the Right Reverend Bishop J.S. Qadir Bukhsh of Sialkot.

Demands

As for the religious grievances, the most important was that Christian employees in different government and semi-government establishments were not given holidays on such event as Easter, New Year's Day and Good Friday. Several speakers deplored the Government's failure to honour its commitment in this regard. They also demanded television and radio time for Christians. They called upon the Govern-

ment to throw open the doors of the Presidency and Governors' Houses to the Christians on religious festivals.

As for the demand for dual vote for Christians, most of the speakers at the conference thought that it was imperative in the light of the Government's own decision of separate electorates for the minorities. They maintained that a majority of the Christians was opposed to discrimination in the political, constitutional and electoral process. Since the community had been separated from the mainstream of the people by the Government, it was justified in demanding a dual vote.

Christian leaders unanimously rejected the census figures of their community. They refuted the Government claim that the number of Christians in the country was 1.3 million and asserted that their population was not less than 6 million. They maintained that 'wrong' census data could adversely affect the Christian community in all spheres of life and their representation in different institutions, including assemblies, would be far less than they actually merited. They demanded a recount of the Christian community. They also called for the establishment of a minorities commission to recommend measures for ameliorating their lot.

On the Christians' educational problems, the conference was of the opinion that with only one step of handing over school and college buildings back to their original owners, almost all of them would be solved.

The Christian leaders were of the view that it was the educational system and not the buildings which had been nationalised in 1972. They said that since many factories and mills had been denationalised during the past seven years there was no reason why taken-over Christian educational institutions couldn't be handed back to their parent organisations. He said that prayers in chapels in the premises of educational institutions was becoming more and more difficult as students had often violated the sanctity of some of these places. They pleaded for denationalisation of missionary educational institutions and said that, as a first step, their buildings be handed over to the Christian community. They also urged a separate religious syllabus for Christian students.

Law of evidence

Some of the speakers at the conference feared that the enforcement of the new Law of Evidence would further relegate the status of Christians in Pakistan. They strongly pleaded that implementation of the Qanoon-i-Shahadat, Diyat and Qisas on Christians should be made subject to the Christians' religious injunctions.

CSO: 4600/194

PAKISTAN

MINISTER SAYS SHIA DEMANDS, PROTESTS 'NOT JUSTIFIED'

Karachi DAWN in English 24 Dec 84 pp 1, 8

[Text]

RAWALPINDI, Dec 23: The Federal Minister for Religious Affairs and Information, Raja Mohammad Zafarul Haq, on Sunday said recent movement launched by the chief of Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria and his followers was unjustified after the government made amendments in the Constitution to accommodate Tehrik standpoint.

A copy of that amendment, the minister said, has also been sent on Sunday to the Tehrik chief Syed Hamid Ali Musvie.

The minister, during an informal chat with newsmen at Rawalpindi Press Club, said he was shocked by the death of two Tehrik men. One of them, he said, he was told perhaps died of heart failure. However whatever happened was extremely unpleasant, the minister added.

When asked about Saturday's repeated police lathi-charge and teargas shelling on processionists, the minister said he was not fully aware of that sad incident. Such things, the minister said, create bad blood.

The minister said what he failed to understand were the causes Tehrik people were fighting for. The fact, he said, was that the Government on September 18, 1980 amended clause 227 to include in the Constitution the demands of the Shias community.

Meanwhile, the chief of Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria, Syed Hamid Ali Musvie, said on Sunday he and his 90,000 followers were deadly against sectarianism. It was the local administration which, he said, disturbed the Tehrik's peaceful procession on Saturday, whose main objective, was nothing but to apprise the Government of their

demands.

Syed Musvie told a news conference at Satellite Town's "Ali Mosque" that the way police on Saturday lathi-charged peaceful Tehrik processionists convinced Shia community here that the administration stood for sectarianism in the country.

Syed Musvie claimed that during Saturday clash over 60 Tehrik workers were seriously injured and scores were arrested by the police.

The number of those missing since the police action, he said, also runs into several hundreds.

Two Tehrik men, he said, on Sunday succumbed to their injuries in the hospital.

Syed Musvie, however, reiterated that their fight would continue till the acceptance of their demands.

Victims identified

Meanwhile, the two victims of Saturday incident were identified as Syed Safdar Ali Shah and Syed Abbas Husain Jafri.

A huge crowd later on Sunday evening at Shaheed Chowk on busy Murree Road offered Namaz-i-Janaza of the two deceased. Heavy police force were present on either side of the road to meet any emergency. However no untoward incident was reported till late in the evening.

They, along with several others seriously injured persons, were rushed to hospital following police lathi-charge on the procession taken out to protest against the death of a detenu Ashraf Ali in hospital on Friday last.

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY VIEWS POSSIBLE COURSE AFTER REFERENDUM

Karachi DAWN in English 24 Dec 84 p 5

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE outstanding facts about the December 19 referendum are that the process was peaceful and that within the given scope of possibilities, a verdict has emerged on the composite proposition that was put before the people. Opinion may differ on the question of voter turnout, which is generally regarded to be crucial, especially when a positive verdict is to have the status of a national mandate and the issues involved are as important as those that were voted upon by the people of Pakistan last week. It is also possible to question the wisdom of some last-minute decisions and changes, especially the one waiving the requirement of producing the Identity Card by each voter. Some critics have also voiced dissatisfaction over instances of bureaucratic interference and prodding to influence the voters' choice. Without going into an anatomical analysis and appraisal of the detailed aspects of the December 19 exercise, it must be accepted, however, that the crucial first step towards the promised restoration of representative rule in the country has been taken. Last week's referendum, besides seeking the people's authorisation on certain vital questions, was meant to be a prelude to that end. Having this

as a long-delayed watershed, the national focus must now shift to the next phase of the promised transition — elections to the federal and provincial assemblies and the Senate which are to be completed by March 23 next. With presidential continuity now assured, the Government is now normally bound to address itself in all seriousness to its commitment to begin re-democratisation. Since the time available is very short, three months to be precise, it is vitally necessary to announce without further delay the polls schedule as well as the rules and modalities that will govern the elections. Even though the period of time to be allowed for electioneering may be restricted so as to avoid generating an excess of heat and fury after a long spell of enforced political freeze, it is not proper to keep people guessing about everything until the eleventh hour. After all, we are, hopefully, going to rebuild political institutions along sound lines. The government should reveal its entire plan without losing a moment and create conditions for eliciting the participation of the people on the widest possible scale.

Among the first things to be settled in this context is the long-deferred question of whether the forthcoming elec-

tions are to be held on party or a non-party basis. Although the issue is still theoretically open, the Government seems to prefer to keep the political parties out of the electoral orbit — at least for the next round of the polls. One may be in sympathy with some of the factors pertaining to an essentially delicate exit out of the present interregnum that are often cited or hinted at as warranting non-party polls. But the balance of advantage still remains heavily weighted in favour of allowing the parties to take part in the elections, thus giving them the responsibility for working the political and constitutional processes and making them answerable to the people — their electors.

Given today's complexities of life, it is impossible to build and work a governmental system without organised opinion — and that means parties of different political persuasions. Can organised opinion be counted upon, in a non-party arrangement, to feel any significant sense of allegiance to the system that comes up next? To overlook this fact will be to deny the political institutions now sought to be built the vital guarantee they will need for their smooth working and durability. This apart, there are the overriding issues of national unity and cohesion, of neutralising the heightened spirit and sentiments of regional, ethnic and linguistic exclusivity and assimilating these into the still forming matrix of nationhood, of providing participatory channels of convergence and interaction which are capable of reconciling diverse ideas, aspirations and outlooks emanating from the different classes of people and regions of the country and preventing divisiveness. Needless to say, political parties alone, in their role as moulders and reflectors of public opinion, can answer these problems and needs in the realm of national solidarity and cohesion.

In the immediate context, too, it is open to question whether the polls to be held next would be widely accepted as a genuine and credible process and whether their outcome would prove effective in solving many of the difficult national problems if political parties are barred from it on some expedient or technical grounds. Indeed, taking a broader view of the overriding national interests and imperatives, it will be advisable for the Government, even at this late stage, to try to reach some understanding and accommodation with the opposition leaders on the basic political, electoral and constitutional issues that are now at stake, secure their participation in the coming polls and thus pave the way for a wider base of support for the next governmental set-up. This will be a major break from the politics of confrontation as at present to a new phase of national reconciliation, which is what must be the guiding spirit of the proposed transition back to representative rule.

The prospect for such a development will be greatly facilitated if, before the elections, the Government announces its plan for all the constitutional amendments it wants. A caution must be sounded here against any drastic change affecting the basic character and provisions of the 1973 Constitution which, in spite some modifications in the past, still remains the nation's agreed Basic Law and, in our particular circumstances, one that is irreplaceable. Some of the consequential amendments, specifically related to the December 19 authorisation, may be in order but bringing in any structural changes in the 1973 document, especially its provisions relating to the parliamentary form of government, the distribution of powers between the Centre and the provinces, the status of the Prime Minister as the principal focus of authority in day-to-day

working, and so on, would be ill-advised and, therefore, must be avoided. The Government must also take care not to do anything politically, constitutionally or even administratively, that might create an impression that the constitutionally provided parliamentary system of government has been virtually replaced by a presidential one. All in all, there is need for proceeding carefully and with full circumspection and foresight in planning and executing the promised transition. Wisdom lies in avoiding any mis-step that might not only upset the immediate scheme for democratic restoration but also foreclose the possibility of future stability, order and cohesion in the national life.

CSO: 4600/194

PAKISTAN

NIAZI URGES MRD 'TO ACCEPT REFERENDUM RESULT'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Dec 84 p 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Dec. 27: While demanding party-based general elections in the country, the Chief of the defunct Progressive People's Party, Maulana Kausar Niazi, appealed to all the opposition parties to accept the referendum result and abandon the 'politics of confrontation'.

Addressing a Press conference here after a meeting of the central committee of his party, the Maulana said that the President too should bring about a pleasing change in the pattern of prevailing politics by initiating a political dialogue not only with 'moderate political groups' but with all parties included in the MRD.

He said his party's central committee had demanded that the final date of the general elections should be announced immediately, the Majlis-e-Shoora should be dissolved forthwith and the Federal and provincial ministers keen to contest the polls should be relieved.

He said the committee was of the view that the President in his next address should assure the nation that the future setup after the forthcoming elections would not be presidential and the parliament would be a sovereign body. In order to avoid any confusion, the National Assembly should not be renamed Majlis-e-Shoora. He said the President had assured him during his recent

meeting with him that the matter would be left to the elected representatives of the people and if they decided to retain the nomenclature of the National Assembly he would have no objection to it.

He said his party had also demanded that the President should make it clear that only a member of the National Assembly who commanded the confidence of the majority of the members would be called upon to form the government.

He said the proposed division of powers between the President and the Prime Minister should be effected in such a way that the fundamentals of the 1973 Constitution are not altered and the provinces continue to enjoy the same quantum of powers as already provided in the Constitution.

The Maulana also announced some structural changes in his party and approved the design of the party flag. It retained the colour scheme of the PPP flag with an addition of crescent and star with the green colour dominating the red and black.

Replying to a number of questions he said his party took stock of the post-Referendum situation and arrived at the conclusion that the lack of interest and mobilisation of the people necessitated party-based elections.

CSO: 4600/201

PAKISTAN

GEN CHISHTI FILES DEFAMATION SUIT AGAINST JI CHIEF

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Dec 84 p 6

[Text]

LAHORE, Dec. 27: Lt. General (Retd.) Faiz Ali Chishti, a former Federal Minister, has filed an application with the police authorities for initiating defamation proceedings against Mian Tufail Mohammad, Amir, defunct Jamaat-e-Islami, under Section 500 of PPC.

In his application addressed to the DIG Police, Lahore Range, the retired Lt. Gen. Faiz Ali Chishti while referring to a press interview by Mian Tufail Mohammad published in a local daily on Dec. 15, said that in his interview "Mian Tufail has accused me of staging a coup d'etat and installing an army regime". "The said interview", he said, "is a distortion of facts to malign me and destroy my image within the country and abroad".

The coup d'etat, claimed Gen. Chishti, was staged "not by me as an individual, but by the Pakistan army on the basis of a unanimous decision taken during many deliberations by the corps commanders and the Chief of Army Staff, to restore democracy in the country which was disrupted as a result of mass agitation against rigging during national and provincial elections".

Mian Tufail's interview, Gen. Chishti said, has harmed his reputation. In view of the above, a case under Section 500 of Pakistan Penal Code may be registered against Mian Tufail Mohammad and he may be tried in accordance with the law", Gen. Chishti's application concluded.

CSO: 4600/201

PAKISTAN

STATE BANK GOVERNOR REVIEWS PROGRESS OF ECONOMY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Dec 84 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, Dec. 27: The Annual Development Plan for 1984-85 envisages gross domestic product to grow by 8.5 per cent during the year based on the projection of 10.2 per cent growth rate in agriculture and 9.2 per cent in industry.

This was stated by A G. N. Kazi Governor State Bank of Pakistan, while reviewing the economic situation in the country during an address to the 33rd annual general meeting of the Institute of Bankers in Pakistan here this morning.

Mr. Kazi said that production targets of major crops had been fixed at 13.1 million tonnes for wheat, 3.7 million tonnes for rice, 5.2 million bales for cotton and 35 million tonnes of sugarcane.

He said that a good cotton crop was being harvested this year and the output was likely to be on target. Rice and sugarcane crops were also good but it was too early to say anything about wheat, he added.

He, however, said the developments in the agricultural sector so far were in line with our plan targets.

Referring to the industrial production, Mr. Kazi said, that growth target of 9.2 per cent had been fixed this year, as against the actual growth of 7.7 per cent last year.

He said that industrial production data available upto October 1984, showed that output in most industries was substantially higher as compared to the output during the same period last year.

He said that increases of 76.5 per cent and 60.5 per cent have been registered in the production of electric bulbs and tubes respectively 57.8 per cent and 22.3 per cent in respect of writing paper and motor tyres and tubes respectively.

Other major industries showing large increases in productions were mild steel products (18.3 per cent) vegetable ghee/edible oil (13 per cent) paper board and chip board

(20.8 per cent) cement (14.3 per cent) cigarettes (18 per cent) safety matches (10.0 per cent) and cycle rubber tyres and tubes (13.1 per cent).

Mr. Kazi further said that production of fertilizers and chemicals also rose by 8 per cent and 4.9 per cent respectively. However, decline of 5 per cent and 7 per cent had been registered by cotton yarn and cotton cloth.

This, he said, was partly due to reduced availability and higher price of cotton due to failure of last crop. Now that the plenty of good cheap cotton was available, the situation should show some improvement, he added.

MONETARY POLICY: Mr. Kazi said a stringent monetary policy is being followed to contain inflation.

Mr. Kazi pointed out that average consumer price index rose by 7.7 per cent during the first four months of the current fiscal year as compared with a rise of 8.6 per cent in July-October 1983.

He said that during the first five months of the current fiscal year monetary expansion was of 2.4 per cent as against 5.4 per cent registered in corresponding period last year.

He said that one of the factors which has contributed to low rate of monetary expansion had been sharp drop in external assets of the banking system.

EXPORTS: Mr. Kazi said Pakistan's export performance received a set-back during 1983-84 mainly due to substantial decline in cotton production. He said during the first five months of 1984-85 exports have declined by 14.1 per cent compared with exports during the same period last year.

Mr. Kazi said the situation was likely to improve with harvesting of bumper cotton and rice crops this year, but it was doubtful whether our original export growth target of 21 per cent will be attained.

PAKISTAN

OFFICIAL SAYS CHANGE TO INTEREST-FREE BANKING 'TO BE SMOOTH'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Dec 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Aslam Sheikh]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Dec. 22: State Bank Governor A. G. N. Kazi today asserted that in Pakistan interest had not served as an effective instrument either for efficient allocation of resources or of monetary policy, and its total elimination from the national banking scene by the end of the current fiscal year would not therefore create any problems for the economy.

The Governor was inaugurating a three-day seminar on Islamic financing techniques organised here by the International Institute of Islamic Economics established last year. Mr. Kazi said the Seminar was well timed as the issue was now of great topical interest.

As a key author of the blueprint for a total switch-over to non-interest banking, Mr. Kazi, however, recognised certain dangers and problems inherent in the adoption of new financing techniques and told the delegates to the Seminar that there was pressing need for 'Ijtihad' (innovations) while applying Islamic injunctions to the present-day economic situation.

But he had no doubt that proper and realistic adaptation of Islamic modes of financing would ultimately contribute to greater efficiency and profitability of the banking system, both by ensuring better return to the depositors and attracting larger deposits. Besides it would lead to substantial deregulation of banks and generate greater inter-bank competition.

The State Bank Governor emphasised that while evolving new modes of financing, factors like illiteracy as well as the existence of unethical business practices had been taken into consideration but denied that certain new concepts of financing were 'disguised interest'.

For example, for certain trade-related transactions the concept of fixed rate of return had been permitted for good reasons. Similarly, for certain compassionate loans as well as those meant to stimulate exports, there would be no charge as in Islamic thinking 'have nots' had a right of access to the 'surplus' of others without any extra payment. In agriculture there were difficulties in applying the concept of profit and loss and therefore the mode of markup applied for lending in kind was not substitution of interest in a different name. In any case while experimenting with Islamic modes of financing there would be a need for constant evolution of new ideas and concepts.

Earlier, explaining the purpose of the Seminar, the Director General of the Institute of Islamic Economics, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, said the evolution of a consensus between ulema, policy-makers and technicians in respect of the vital aspects of change-over to the Islamic system was of great importance. He regretted that lack of sufficient coordination between the thinking of ulema and those associated with the designing of policies in respect of actual conduct of Islamic banking led in the past to certain controversies in respect of the concept of 'Bai Muajjal'. It is a matter of great satisfaction that with the abandoning of the practice of 'mark up on mark up' this controversy had been resolved.

Dr. Ziauddin emphasised that the interest system was disallowed by Islam because intrinsically it was highly inequitable system. Justice demands that the provider of capital funds should share the risk with the entrepreneur if he wished to earn profit. In that context he

argued that the mark-up system, and for that matter all other devices which involved a fixed pre-determined return on capital, were not the ideal substitutes for interest.

While referring to the efforts of Pakistan, Iran and Sudan to make the system of profit/loss sharing the centrepiece of Islamic banking, Dr. Ziauddin recognised that the practice of concealment of true profits by business concerns was a great impediment in the way of banks adopting the system of profit/loss sharing. He, however, did not think that the Pakistani businessman is congenitally dishonest and emphasised the need to probe the reasons for this behaviour pattern, himself attributing it partly to the nature of the operating procedures of the country's tax system. He said it would be unfortunate "if we settle for a mechanical replacement of interest by devices like Bai Muajjal" just because of the observed tendency of the concealment of true profits on the part of certain business concern."

During the first working session today, Mr. D. M. Qureshi and Dr. Mabid Ali al-Jarhi presented their papers on 'Modaraba and its modern applications'. Over the next two days, similar papers will be submitted for discussion on concepts like 'Musharaka', 'Ijara', 'Bai Salam' and 'Bai Muajjal/Muarabaha'.

Mr. Qureshi in his paper said the experience gained by the first 'Modaraba' had encouraged a number of persons in the private sector to launch new ventures of this type in which an investor or group of investors entrusted capital to an agent or manager on the basis of agreed share of profit. Recently, he said, the Religious Board approved a perpetual 'Modaraba' for multipurpose business sponsored by a leading business group. Another leading group had also obtained the approval of the Board for floating a perpetual 'Modaraba' for carrying out the business of leasing of transport vehicles and industrial plants and buildings. He thought Pakistan could claim to have blazed the trail of 'Modaraba' business by codifying the business of 'Modaraba' and launching such ventures for mobilising savings and using them in an Islamic mould.

PAKISTAN

OVER 1,000 PRISONERS SAID RELEASED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Dec 84 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Dec. 22: Over 1000 prisoners undergoing various terms of imprisonment were released today from various jails in the four provinces as a result of President Ziaul Haq's grant of special remissions in his last night address to the nation.

The Inspectors General of Prisons in Sind, Punjab and N.W.F.P. when contacted on telephone today said meetings of the superintendents of different jails were in progress for ensuring release of the prisoners according to the President's directive.

It was difficult to give correct figure of the number of beneficiaries but they said that hundreds of convicts serving various terms would be benefited and necessary work was being done to release them. They said that a number of convicts who were serving 14-year terms but had already undergone 13 years would be immediately released as one year remission had been granted by the President.

The Inspectors General Prisons said the convicts serving seven years terms or more were being granted six months remission. Those serving terms ranging between one and seven years were being given three months remission, while convicts serving one year of imprisonment or less were granted one months' remission.

A convict, Shafi, was among the 14 prisoners released today from Rawalpindi Jail. Shafi was serving seven-year term and about five months were left for his release. He said that special thanksgiving prayers were held in the prison.

Shafi said all the prisoners in Rawalpindi jail prayed for the success of the policies of President Ziaul Haq.

CSO: 4600/195

PAKISTAN

NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDING TO BE READY BY MARCH

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Dec 84 p 3

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Dec. 11: The to-be elected National Assembly and Senate members are expected to be housed in the newly constructed five-storey Parliament Building, situated at Khayaban-e-Quaid-i-Azam, after the completion of the election process by the end of March, next year.

The total land on which the building is constructed measures 153 x 133.2 meters and the total covered area is about 60817.8 square meters. The total cost is estimated at Rs.427 million upto the fiscal year 1983-84, Rs.278.904 million had been spent on the building.

The foundation stone was laid by the late Prime Minister on August 14, 1974 and the construction work started from February, 1975. The building, designed by E.D.Stone of the USA, was to be completed by the end of 1978. But due to several reasons the work has been delayed.

The Parliament Building has separate Assembly and Senate

halls with the capacity for 482 National Assembly and 108 Senate members. The centrally air-conditioned building comprises a cafeteria, interpreter rooms for five languages, Speaker's chambers, Committee rooms, Press Gallery facilities for T.V. and radio networks, close circuit T.V. system, computerised voting system, parking system for 216 cars, 13 elevators and offices for other related staff.

The National Assembly and Senate can meet simultaneously without interfering with each other's proceedings.

The construction work was stepped up last year on the order of President Ziaul Haq and the site was frequently visited by him and the Vice-Chief of Army Staff, General K.M. Arif. President Zia is personally taking interest in the rapid completion of the building before the end of this year and has also decided to personally select the furniture. Previously, certain samples of furniture were rejected by the President.

CSO: 4600/195

PAKISTAN

TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT BODY REVIEWS WORK

Karachi DAWN in English 25 Dec 84 Business Supplement p I

[Article by M. Ziauddin]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Dec 24: The Appropriate Technology Development Organisation has developed a solar cooker, using completely indigenous materials, and estimated to cost Rs. 600.

Dr. M.A. Kazi, Adviser to the President for Science and Technology, who was invited by the ATDO to inspect the solar cooker in operation, appreciated the efforts of the Organisation in developing technologies, which ensured energy conservation and also improved cost efficiency.

Dr. Kazi said that the ATDO had successfully developed the technologies concerning bio-gas, dehydration, water purification and microhydel, which successfully tested. He added these are now in the process of being popularised in relevant areas.

Working explained

The Chairman of ATDO, Mr. Asif Ali Shaikh, explained to the journalists the working of the indigenous solar cooker.

He was optimistic about its efficiency

and said that the cooker has the potential of becoming a commercially viable item.

He also showed the journalists a cheap mud cooker, which he said, would cost about Rs. 25 but which would save 40 to 50 per cent of fuel.

The journalists were also shown a dehydration plant and water purification drum, both of which made of cheap materials.

Cheap toilet soap

The ATDO has also developed cheap toilet soap and washing powder, which it is claimed would cost the consumer at least 50 per cent less than the commercially available soaps and washing powders.

Talking to the Press Dr. Kazi said that the ATDO not only developed appropriate technologies, but the Organisation was also entrusted with the task of disseminating to the consumer the relevant information.

He thought the ATDO was carrying out both of its tasks efficiently. Mr. Masihuddin, Secretary, Science and Technology, was also present on the occasion.

CSO: 4600/202

PAKISTAN

JOINT VENTURES WITH KOREA SOUGHT

Karachi DAWN in English 25 Dec 84 Business Supplement p 1

[Text]

KARACHI, Dec 24: A portfolio of Pakistani projects would be given to the Korea Trade Centre (KOTRA), Karachi for circulation among Korean companies interested in investment in Pakistan in collaboration with private entrepreneurs.

This was decided at a meeting held jointly by the KOTRA, Karachi Pakistan-Republic of Korea Trade and Industry Committee and Investment Cell of the FPCC&I on Sunday.

The portfolio is to be made available to KOTRA during the next week for their onward transmission to Seoul.

Bigger conference

The meeting also decided to hold a bigger joint investment conference by the middle of the next year in Karachi to apprise Korean entrepreneurs of investment opportunities in Pakistan.

The proposed conference would also provide opportunities to Korean private sector to study and monitor joint ventures proposals and suggest ways and means for other trade collaborations between the two countries.

The former President of the FPCC&I, Mr. Yusuf Zia, who presided over the conference, spoke ab-

out the achievements of the Korean economy and said both the countries could benefit further through joint collaboration.

He said the proposed Korean technology transfer through joint ventures would help Pakistani entrepreneurs to further accelerate the pace of industrial development in the country.

Hope

Speaking on the occasion, KOTRA Director, Mr. Dong Jun, expressed the hope that Korean entrepreneurs would show their interest in investing in Pakistan, if they were assured of economic viability of the projects to be submitted by their counterparts.

He assured Pakistani entrepreneurs of KOTRA's assistance in bringing Korean investors closer to them for mutual benefit and collaboration.

The meeting was attended by the President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Tariq Saeed, Mr. Ahmed Dawood and other leading industrialists and businessmen.

Earlier, the Secretary of the Pakistan-Republic of Korea Friendship Society, Mr. Iqbal Mangrani, spoke about Korean economy.

CSO: 4600/202

PAKISTAN

DEAL FOR MORRIS AUTO PLANT TO BE SIGNED SOON

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Dec 84 Business Supplement p I

[Article by Ashraf Mumtaz]

[Text]

LAHORE, Dec 26: Hopes are again brightening that the Birmingham plant of Austin Rover to manufacture Morris diesel cars, may eventually come to Pakistan, as the local sponsors are believed to have found a Saudi financier to replace the U.A.E. group.

Another bottleneck, although small, was also removed by the Government when it fixed the price of the 1800 cc saloon and the diesel taxi cab at Rs. 140,000 and Rs. 110,000 respectively.

The Investment Promotion Bureau has made it obligatory for the parties to put the plant into operation within a period of 18 months from the date of issue of the permission letter — Nov 27, 1984. The company will be obliged to place firm orders for plant and machinery and construction should start within six months after the issue of the above letter.

Clause amended

The Government has amended a clause of the agreement. This amendment frees the Government of any obligation to provide any guarantee for the repayment of the foreign loans needed by the project. Financial institutions and commercial banks may, however, entertain request for rupee loans, as well as a guarantee for their repayment on terms and conditions acceptable to them.

The Investment Promotion Bureau has also allowed the import of 100 completely built-up Morris cars, which would also be sold at the same price — Rs. 140,000 each.

Approval has also been accorded for the import of 3,000 kits for assembly or manufacture of Morris cars during the first year of production.

According to the sponsors of the project, the first car in built-up condition will come in the market by March next and local production will start in the last quarter of 1985 and the end of the fiscal year 1985-86, 3,000 cars will be produced in the country.

Production

In the second year the production is expected to go up to 3,500 cars while in subsequent two years it is expected to rise to 4,000 and 5,000 respectively.

About 23 per cent, parts and components will be deleted in the first year of production, while in the second, third and fourth years, the deletion will be of the order of 50, 70 and 90 per cent, respectively. In case of failure in attaining these specified limits, the undeleted components will be subject to duties and taxes leviable on commercial imports.

The Investment Promotion Bureau has made it clear to the three partners in the project that their agreement with their principals should provide for the transfer of all future improvements in technology of Morris diesel cars to Pakistan free of cost. They have also been asked to undertake a programme of technical training of local personnel in the plant as well as in the plant of British Leyland in England.

Shares

The British Leyland, who own Austin Rover, had recently expressed pessimism that the deal may be close to being abandoned as the financial package was not getting through.

The Saudi firm, M/s Hanco, will contribute Rs. 34.8 million to the project, British Leyland will put up Rs. 24 million and the Pakistani sponsor, Associated Agencies Ltd. will have an equity participation of Rs. 43.2 million.

Two loans totalling Rs. 280 million will also be required.

The local sponsors say British Leyland have been informed about the new financier — the Saudis — and they have expressed their agreement.

Agreement soon

APP adds: Mr Iqbal Z. Ahmed, MD of Associated Agencies Ltd, said in Lahore on Wednesday that the final agreement for the assembly and manufacture in Pakistan of Morris diesel cars and taxi cabs will be signed between the British Leyland shortly.

He said that the site layout plan, construction programme and tender documents for construction were ready. Land had been selected in Kasur District, and a request would now be made to the Punjab Government for the issuance of NOC for the use of land for the project.

He said that the total project in its final shape would now cost Rs. 400 million and all its phases would be completed by late 1987.

The delay in the project, he said, caused certain problems with the foreign suppliers, who were under a time constraint to transfer their facilities to Pakistan.

He said that local production would now commence around October/November, 1985, with a target of manufacturing 3000 cars by June 1986.

CSO: 4600/202

PAKISTAN

HELP TO REFUGEES PRAISED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Dec 84 p 3

[Text]

RAWALPINDI, Dec. 27. The Rawalpindi National Centre was the venue of a function to observe the fifth anniversary of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Two Afghan guerillas armed to the teeth with Klashnikovs and automatic pistols stood guarding the leader of the three-party alliance "Ittehad-e-Islami Mujahideen-e-Afghanistan". Professor Sibghatullah Al-Mojaddedi, who had come all the way from Peshawar to attend the function. The chief guest was Brigadier Saeed Azhar, Chief Commissioner of Afghan Refugees.

Speaking on the occasion, the Chief Commissioner said that Pakistan's stand on the Afghan issue demanded an early political solution of the problem in order to pave way for the return of the refugees. He said that nearly Rs. 15 million were being spent daily to meet the needs of the refugees. Brigadier Saeed highlighted General Zia's efforts to seek an early solution through OIC, NAM and the UNO. He said that there was a total of 10 million refugees in the world who were suffering the torment of living in an alien atmosphere. Out of these 10 million, 3 million refugees were enjoying the hospitality of Pakistan. Only five hundred thousand Afghan refugees were reported to have taken shelter in Iran, he said.

Focusing on the importance of the refugee issue, he said that the President himself had taken charge of the refugee problem and was taking keen interest in their welfare. The Brigadier hoped that the refugee issue was a temporary phase and that the way would soon be paved for their honourable return to Afghanistan.

Thanking the Government of Pakistan and President Zia for the kindness shown to the refugees, Professor Mojaddedi claimed that the Mujahideen were not only

fighting a war of independence but were also performing a Jihad for the Muslim world. "They do not need aeroplanes and tanks, all they want are light weapons, medical supplies, food-stuffs and an assurance of continued support from the free world for whom they are fighting" he demanded.

He said that the Russian planes were taking off from Tashkent to bomb Afghan territories. The mass

genocide still continued and wave after wave of refugees were entering Pakistan. He declared that more than 80% of Afghanistan had been conquered by the Mujahideen. He also disclosed that more than 60,000 Soviet soldiers had been killed, more than 100 planes and gunship helicopters shot down and almost 5000 tanks destroyed during the five years war.

The professor said that during his visits abroad he had tried to convince the West to stop trading with communist countries, especially the Soviet Union. Why had the USA signed a grain deal with the Soviet Union and why was Western Europe getting gas from Russia? he asked. In his concluding remarks, the Professor said that the refugees were aware of the fact that they were guests in a neighbouring country.

Begum Sheher Bano Noor said that Pakistan was a poor country with many problems needing immediate solution. She said that the presence of refugees was a major burden on Pakistan's economy. This fact, she said, should be considered by the refugee leaders.

The audience comprising not more than 50 people also included two European diplomats.

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY FOCUSES ON REGIME'S OPTIONS AFTER THE REFERENDUM

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Dec 84 p 4

[Text]

Notwithstanding the debate and the speculations which the December 19 referendum has generated among political pundits, it does not seem to have set into motion a process to end the uncertainties inherent in the current political situation. The stalemate persists and some of the basic issues regarding the political destination of the regime and the logistics of transition remain unresolved.

Despite repeated assertions by the government that the referendum is a prelude to polls and not a substitute for it, certain political circles are expressing the apprehension that the elections may perhaps no longer be relevant. It is being said that the entire exercise has not quite achieved any tangible results; the referendum has neither discredited or isolated the politicians nor has it helped the regime to broaden its power base. On the contrary, the conflicting versions of the turn out have offered an opportunity for controversies to be raised.

Though the President's post-referendum speech has been described as "conciliatory" indicative of a spirit of give and take, the divergence in assessments of the referendum's outcome seems to have widened the cleavage between the government and the politicians. Even some of the 'soft liners' among the politicians have joined those who are making all sorts of accusations regarding the validity of the results and the conduct of the referendum. Prof. Ghafoor, whose party had decided to take part in the referendum, has claimed that he did not cast his vote and did not think that

there was much popular enthusiasm about it, and even the outspoken Pir Pagara has chosen to refrain from making his off the cuff remarks. Many politicians have made allegations of mis-management and irregularities and have maintained that the bureaucratic machinery is no substitute for a political apparatus in order to motivate the electorate and evoke popular enthusiasm.

The referendum will have little political significance as long as it is not soon followed up with steps necessary to pave the way for substituting 'ad hocism' with a permanent constitutional arrangement. It would entail not only the announcement of an election schedule but also of the framework under which the polls will be held. It would also require a precise explanation of the term 'sharing of power', a definition of the role of the armed forces, the political parties, judiciary and the law-making bodies. If despite a popular mandate for a five year term for the president, he continues to hold the offices of the Chief of the Army Staff and the Chief Martial Law Administrator, the referendum would hardly be perceived as a step towards genuine civilianisation.

Regardless of the inability of the political forces to launch a mass movement it would be naive to suggest that a viable constitutional arrangement can be made by-passing them. Even if some formula of 'sharing of power' has to be worked out for an interim period, it must have the backing of the political forces. Thus prior to the announcement of an election schedule, the most appropriate step would be to arrive at a consensus regarding the amendments that are being

envisaged in the 1973 Constitution.

Basically, there are only two meaningful options for the regime; either to maintain the status quo and let the armed forces continue to remain at the helm of affairs, or to pave the way for the resurrection of a genuine constitutional apparatus. The former will be counter-productive because it will neither earn any credibility for the regime nor ease the situation of confrontation.

Unless the president had decided to embark upon a civilian role, he did not need a popular mandate either to stay in office or implement the policies which he has been pursuing for the last seven years. It is in this context that the exigencies of the new situation should be taken into cognisance and the new "rules of the game" should be framed in a manner that resolves the current political impasse. If the decision to hold the referendum was prompted by the desire to move towards the goal of civilian rule the policy of going ahead alone on this path without taking the politicians into confidence will not prove to be a worthwhile exercise.

The bureaucracy will relish the opportunity to select the candidates from amongst the 'notables', to manage the conduct of polls and to keep the elected representatives as their 'surrogates', but it can always disclaim responsibility for the setbacks. Hence, even if partyless polls may appear to be a safe and expedient mechanism, in the ultimate analysis these would only strengthen the bureaucratic apparatus and leave the destiny of the nation in the hands of those who are not only inaccessible to the people, but are also alienated from them.

CSO: 4600/199

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

FREE LEGAL AID COMMITTEE--LAHORE, Dec 23--The Political Prisoners Release and Relief Committee has brought to the notice of all concerned that a Free Legal Aid Committee under the chairmanship of Mian Mahmood Ali Kasuri has been constituted to help political prisoners who are at present in jail or who may be arrested in the future. The Committee has also appealed to lawyers to form legal aid committees at district, sub-divisional and city levels for relief and release of political prisoners. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 24 Dec 84 p 8]

SUGGESTION TO ZIA--QUETTA, Dec. 23--Mir Nabi Bux Zehri, Convenor Jevay Pakistan Party, has said that General Ziaul Haq should accept the offer made by Pir Sahib of Pagara to join the Muslim League as its President. He said General Zia's decision to take charge of the Muslim League would not only consolidate the shattered basis of this party but the other factions of the League would also eventually merge into it. Addressing a Press conference today, Mir Nabi Bux Zehri pointed out that his party was the first to endorse the decision of the nationwide Referendum. He said the Referendum has certainly given an impetus to the future democratic process in the country. In reply to a question he said that a year or more ago, he had advised the MRD against agitational politics because they would harm the political parties. He said "now everyone can see the position of MRD, and its potential to mobilise the masses." He claimed that his position as a Senator was still secure because the 1973 Constitution had only been suspended, not abrogated. "I will claim all the privileges (including TA and DA) whenever the democratic process and the 1973 Constitution is revised", he remarked. Mir Nabi Bux Zehri also announced an annual grant of ten thousand rupees for the Quetta Press Club. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Dec 84 p 8]

ARRESTS OF MRD LEADERS--ISLAMABAD, Dec. 24--Authorities in Karachi have detained Khawaja Khairud Din, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, Fateh Yab Ali Khan and Iqbal Haider in their houses. Malik Mohammad Qasim, General Secretary of the MRD while talking to this correspondent on phone claimed that the leaders were detained for pre-empting their visit to the Quaid-e-Azam's mausoleum where they were planning to go tomorrow to commemorate his birthday. He also claimed that authorities in Multan had banned the entry of Rao Rashid, another leader of the MRD. He was scheduled to address a public meeting there. Mr. Qasim regretted that the authorities were stopping the alliance of the opposition parties to pay homage to the father of the

nation. He said that it is being done precisely during the days when people supporting the government were openly addressing public meetings and organising mass rallies to 'celebrate' their victory in the referendum. He, however, added that despite preventive measures, the MRD would go along with the programmes chalked out for all major town of the country regarding commemorating the memory of Quaid. PPI Adds: Three leaders, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Sherbaz Khan Mazari and Khawaja Khairuddin were today put under house arrest on the order of the provincial government. The order of their detention for 30 days was made under the maintenance of Public Order Ordinance. [Nusrat Javeed] [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Dec 84 p 8]

TI OFFICIALS SUBMIT RESIGNATIONS--ISLAMABAD, Dec. 24--A number of top office-bearers of the defunct Tehrik-e-Istiqlal have submitted their resignations to their party chief under his directives. The remaining office-bearers it is said, would also soon send their resignations. The Tehrik-e-Istiqlal Chief told 'The Muslim' this afternoon that he had only asked his party office-bearers to resign so that he could bring some structural changes in the party. He said it was not an unusual measure and in the absence of political activities it was the only available option for him to reorganise the top tier of the his party. Asked about his future programme he said he would soon be out of Abbottabad to meet the people. He said he wanted to give a message on the occasion of the birth anniversary of the Quaid but he knew the problems faced in printing it. The Pakistan as envisaged by the Quaid, he said, was not reflected in present-day realities. [Ashraf Hashmi] [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Dec 84 p 8]

SHIA LEADER COMPLAINS--RAWALPINDI, Dec. 24--Syed Hamid Ali Shah Musavi, Quaid Tehrik Nifaz-e-Fiqh Ja'afria has said that the Government has done nothing to meet the demands of Shia community upto now. Commenting on the statement of a Federal Minister, in which he has said that all Shia demands have been accommodated through a constitutional amendment in 1980, Mr. Musavi said that the 1980 Constitutional amendment did not satisfy the Shia community as the said amendment only provided protection of personal laws, whereas in Islam there is no separation of laws into public law and personal law. He said that it was binding on the government to provide protection to the two recognised Fiqh's (Hanafi and Ja'afri) of the country under the 1980 agreement. Mr. Musavi vowed to continue the movement until their demands are met. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Dec 84 p 8]

PPP THREATENED WITH RIFT--MULTAN, Dec. 26--With the prolonged absence from the country of its Chairperson, Begum Nusrat Bhutto and Miss Benazir Bhutto, the defunct Pakistan People's Party is threatened with rifts in its ranks. Some influential party leaders from Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan divisions have gone over the government. Sahibzada Farooq Ali Khan, former speaker of the National Assembly, has been accused of misconduct and anti-party activities and lobbying with the present regime by a group of PPP leaders. On the complaint of the workers, PPP Punjab has expelled Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi, former Chief Minister, Mian Ata Mohammad Qureshi, ex-MPA, Sardar Nasrullah Khan Dreshak, former minister of Punjab and more than two dozen workers for joining hands with the martial law regime. PPP has also issued notices to its workers and office-bearers who took part in the local bodies election any manner. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Dec 84 p 6]

DETAINED IN KARACHI--KARACHI, Dec. 26--According to an official spokesman, some political elements were placed under temporary detention on Dec. 24 as a preventive measure as they were planning to use the premises of Mazar of the Quaid-i-Azam for political purposes. This preventive measure was considered necessary to maintain the sanctity of the Mazar and to avoid possible clashes between various political factions rival groups. On Dec. 25, some persons tried to disturb the peace at the Mazar of the Quaid-i-Azam by making speeches and raising slogans, but they were peacefully dispersed. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Dec 84 p 10]

NDP LEADERS UNDER HOUSE ARREST--PESHAWAR, Dec. 26--Three leaders of the defunct NDP in NWFP have been put under house arrest. According to party sources the detainees included Abdul Wali Khan, Begum Nasim Wali and Mohammad Afzal Khan. It may be added that Maulana Fazlur Rehman of the defunct JUI was already under detention. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Dec 84 p 10]

SOVIET AWARD FOR DR SALAM--ISLAMABAD, Dec. 27--Renowned Pakistani scientist Dr. Abdus Salam was presented yesterday in Moscow with the Lomonosov Gold Medal Award which is the highest decoration given by the Soviet Academy of Sciences, according to a cable received here from Moscow today. While receiving the award, Dr. Salam said that this was an honour not only for him personally but also for the Third World. The award also symbolises the friendship and cooperation between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. The Pakistan Ambassador to Moscow, Shahid M. Amin also attended the ceremony on special invitation. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Dec 84 p 1]

GHAFFAR KHAN'S BOOK FORFEITED--PESHAWAR, Dec. 27--The Government of NWFP has forfeited all copies of book entitled "My Life and Struggle" written by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan with immediate effect. An official handout said the book contains objectionable material which undermines the two-nation theory which is the basis of the creation of Pakistan in the Sub-Continent and directly condemns the establishment of Pakistan. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Dec 84 p 1]

DIVISION OF PUNJAB NOT PLANNED--MULTAN, Dec. 27--The Punjab Government has contradicted a news item appearing in a section of the Press that the Punjab province was proposed to be divided into three administrative units or provinces and described it as baseless, misleading and incorrect. Official sources told The Muslim that another division and two new districts would come into existence with effect from July 1, 1985. However, there was no proposal for the division of the province. The sources said that the Punjab Government was taking necessary steps to upgrade the status of two sub-divisions of Khanewal and Chakwal to district and Sahiwal district to division in the light of the presidential announcement. The sources said that every division will comprise three districts except Sargodha and Lahore divisions. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Dec 84 p 1]

PARTY EXPELS PPP LEADERS--MULTAN, Dec. 27--More than a half a dozen local leaders of the defunct PPP were expelled by the party today for indulging in anti-PPP activities and misconduct. According to a Press release the

provincial body had ratified and confirmed their expulsion as recommended by the relevant units. Those who were expelled are: Sardar Amjad Hameed Khan Dasti, former MPA, Mian Ghulam Abbas Qureshi, Ex-MNA, Sardar Nazar Mohammad Khan Jatoi, Ex-MPA Saeeda Kazmi, Mian Fazal Din and Mehr Manzoor Hussain Sumra, Ex-MNA. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Dec 84 p 6]

RICE DEAL WITH SENEGAL--KARACHI, Dec 24--The visiting Senegalese delegation, headed by Mr. Abdourahmane Toure, Minister for Commerce, Republic of Senegal, here today concluded an agreement with the Rice Export Corporation of Pakistan (RECP) Ltd. for the purchase of 30,000 tonnes of broken rice. The delegation also concluded a long-term agreement with the RECP providing for the purchase of rice by Senegal of a minimum quantity of 50,000 tonnes and maximum quantity of 100,000 tonnes per annum, during the next three years. The agreements were signed between RECP and CPSP (Concerned agency of the Government of Senegal) at the office of Rice Export Corporation of Pakistan Ltd. During the visit the Senegalese Minister for Commerce called on Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Minister for Finance, Commerce and Coordination, Government of Pakistan, who also hosted a lunch for the delegation. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 25 Dec 84 p 1]

BULGARIAN AMBASSADOR ON VENTURE--LAHORE, Dec 26--Mr Georigi Bozhkov, Ambassador of People's Republic of Bulgaria in Pakistan, said that his country was keenly interested to enter into joint ventures with Pakistani investors in the field of manufacturing forklift trucks. This he said in a meeting with the Executive committee of Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The Ambassador said tht there has been great possibility to increase economic relations between the two countries in future by exchanging delegations and holding meetings. He said over the past 40 years Bulgaria has maintained one of the world's highest rate of the economic growth. Earlier Mr. Mushtaq Ahmed, President, Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry, while welcoming the chief guest said that Pakistan can export textile items and many other Pakistani products to Bularia. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 27 Dec 84 p 1]

IMPORTS FROM JAPAN--KARACHI, Dec 26--Japan was the single, most important source of imports by Pakistan during 1983-84, accounting for 14.3 per cent of the total imports during the year, as compared to 13.4 per cent in the preceding year, according to State Bank figures. In absolute terms, imports from Japan went up by dollar 94.2 million o4 13.1 per cent to dollar 812.6 million. Imports from U.S.A. and Malaysia also increased substantially by dollar 127.4 million and dollar 73.9 million to dollar 648.3 million and dollar 239.7 respectively, during the fiscal 1983-84. Other countries from which imports showed major increases were: Federal Republic of Germany (dollar 60.6 million to dollar 366.3 million), Spain (dollar 45.3 million to dollar 71.1 million), Romania (dollar 43.4 million to dollar 62.0 million), U.K. (dollar 34.8 million to dollar 379.4 million), Kenya (dollar 28.4 million to dollar 57.3 million), U.S.S.R. (dollar 14.7 million to dollar 40.8 million) and France dollar 13.4 million to dollar 105.7 million). On the other hand, imports from Saudi Arabia fell by dollar 152.8 million or 21.3 per cent to dollar 563.2 million, accounting for 9.9 per cent of the total imports during 1983-84, as against 13.3 per cent during 1982-83. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 27 Dec 84 p 1]

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