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# Near East/South Asia Report

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2 December 1983

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No. 2858

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB LEAGUE SECRETARY GENERAL KLIBI DISCUSSES TALKS WITH MITTERRAND

PM071457 Tunis L'ACTION in French 29 Oct 83 p 8

[Unattributed report: "We Want France's Action in the Middle East To Be Increasingly Close to the Realities and Aspirations of the Region's Peoples"--all quotemarks are as published]

[Text] Following his (private) meeting with Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi, President Francois Mitterrand received the representatives of the Arab states, including PLO representative Hakam Balawi, in the Assaada Palace in La Marsa Thursday evening [27 October].

During that audience Mr Chedli Klibi delivered a speech in which he stressed that although President Mitterrand's visit to this country, which is an Arab League member, is taking place, as I can confirm, in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual confidence between France and Tunisia, it coincides with a particularly worrying international situation, and with the tragedy which has just hit dozens of French families--a tragedy which we feel and which deeply afflicts us.

"But this visit which you are making to a country which belongs to the Arab community," he said, "should provide an opportunity to assess the situation in the Near East, where France has played an important role in the past and where it is still taking action which we would like to be increasingly dynamic and closer to the realities and aspirations of the region's peoples and, to be honest, to conform to the ideals of justice, peace, and progress, which are the ideals which France has brilliantly upheld on the international stage, especially since the establishment of the Fifth Republic."

The secretary general also pointed out that the Near East is, as you know, one of the regions of the world in which the absence of justice, peace, and hence progress is most cruelly felt, and he continued: What about justice? An entire people, numbering more than 4 million people, one of the most highly developed in the Third World, are deprived of their homeland and of the right to live there, fully enjoying their legitimate rights, as any other people, even the tiniest people, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are allowed to do. You know the reasons for this humiliating condition to which the Palestinian people have been reduced as well as we do, and there will, therefore, be no need for me to stress them.

But is it logical that Europe and the United States should continue to support the attempts by a state created by the international community to prevent that community from rendering justice to a martyred people who have been driven to despair? Mr Klibi also asked, and he stressed that despair lies in wait for the Palestinian people, who are seeing their struggle for justice and dignity come up against the wall of Israeli intransigence and the international community's powerlessness to change the course of events enabling them to determine their future, freely and without constraint.

In this connection the secretary general stated that the consequences of such despair would be disastrous for the region and for the peace and security of the peoples living in it. There can be no historical justification for the behavior of powers which are capable of taking action to prevent this Near East region from sinking into chaos, and of preserving peace there by putting an end to the expansionist machinations of Israel--a country whose official borders nobody yet knows and which is obstinately trying to extend its military, political, and economic hegemony over all the countries in the region.

He also stressed that the United States could do so, and thus bears the greatest responsibility in this respect.

But the European countries, which are linked by preferential ties to both the United States and Israel, have considerable means of action.

Of course we know, he continued, that our friends often criticize us for what they call the Arab disease.

But what community of states in Western or Eastern Europe, in America, or in Africa enjoys complete harmony of views? Although the Arab states argue among themselves about so many questions they are, nonetheless, in agreement on the essential point: the need to take the right of peoples to self-determination as the basis for settling the Palestinian problem, which remains the central problem in the Near East and which has increasingly poisoned the situation throughout the region because no solution has been found to it for several decades.

The Arab states' position is now clear and unambiguous, Mr Klibi stated, and the Fes plan shows that our states, and the PLO itself, are prepared for a lasting peace respecting international law.

It is Israel which is not really prepared for that. It is Israel which has rejected all the peace plans--the Rogers plan, the decisions adopted by the United Nations following the October 1973 War, the Fes Arab Plan, and President Reagan's proposals. Israel still refuses to fulfill the Palestinian people's legitimate aspirations and to withdraw from the Golan Heights, Jerusalem, and the occupied Arab territories.

It is primarily to Israel, the league secretary general continued, that Lebanon owes its present tragedy, not only because it was the Jewish state which created the Palestinian problem, but also because it constantly interferes in that country by all possible means in order to break up a society which had hitherto been a model of stability, reason, and fraternity.

Your past is that of a great campaigner for freedom and cooperation among nations, he said. As I had the honor to inform you at the Elysee, your Mexico appeal aroused deep emotion but also great hope in us. We understood it as being addressed to all peoples struggling for a better future, without discrimination and without exception. You said to the cabinet just yesterday morning: "Law is indivisible. International society is based on principles which have the same value everywhere, particularly on the right of peoples to determine their own future."

By supporting Iraq, which is carrying the burden of a war from a different age for the fourth consecutive year and which has said that it is prepared to accept a ceasefire, you were anxious to promote peaceful solutions.

In conclusion, the secretary general stressed that the Arab nation, which has feelings of friendship and respect for France, would like to hope that the qualities of determination and courage which you have, Mr President, will be placed in the service of a great and just cause in word and deed, in accordance with the ideals on which France's influence was built.

At the end of the audience Mr Chedli Klibi said that the conversation had related mainly to the situation in the Near East.

We discussed last Sunday's painful events, he said, and I assured the president of our sincere condolences. We also discussed the current situation in Lebanon and the efforts we are both making to help that people and that fraternal country to overcome its problems."

He also said that he stressed the need for a peaceful settlement, accepted by all, of the Palestinian problem, which remains the central problem in the Near East, stressing that the situation is growing worse in that region of the world because this problem has not been settled in accordance with international law.

That is why, he said in conclusion, we hope, as I told President Mitterrand, that the international community, and the EC in particular, will take more dynamic action to achieve that.

CSO: 4500/18

## ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

### NEW SECRETARY OF MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE DISCUSSES LEAGUE'S ACTIVITIES

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 190, 1-7 Oct 83 pp 67-68

[Interview with Dr 'Abdallah Nasif, the new general secretary of the Muslim World League, by 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Tamimi: "Saudi Arabia Has Set Up a Printing Press in al-Madinah To Print Millions of Copies of the Noble Qur'an Which Will Be Distributed in the World"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "The task is difficult and the responsibility great. The urgent Islamic issues need much work and effort. What is required is a unified voice and follow-up on our efforts, so that all the hopes and aspirations of the Muslims will be achieved." With this short introduction, Dr 'Abdallah 'Umar Nasif, the new secretary general of the Islamic World League, spoke to us. He was recently elected, after having been nominated by the constituent assembly of the Islamic World League in al-Makkah.

AL-MAJALLAH met with Dr Nasif after the closing session of the constituent assembly of the Islamic World League. The assembly adopted a number of resolutions dealing with supporting the Muslims and banishing the conflicts between them in the various corners of the world. We asked Dr Nasif:

[Question] How can these resolutions be translated into actions and deeds?

[Answer] As you know, the Islamic World League is a popular organization which has been trying, since it was founded in 1382 AH, to achieve the great and glorious goals given it by the religious scholars and leaders of the Muslims, for the sake of spreading the message of Islam, coordinating efforts in the area of proselytization, providing aid and assistance to Muslims in all areas of the world, distributing Islamic books, setting up schools, educational and religious institutes and libraries, opening mosques, hospitals and cultural offices, distributing copies of the Holy Qur'an, combatting the Christianization of Muslims in many Islamic countries, and aiding the Muslims in their struggle against colonialists and the enemies of Islam. Moreover, we think that every one of these responsibilities is momentous. However, the Islamic World League is working hard to realize all these goals and fulfill all these responsibilities. Praise be to God, may He be exalted, the League has been able to achieve a lot in these areas.

[Question] How do you arrange your workin priorities with respect to these great goals?

[Answer] In truth, we know that Islamic proselytization needs a lot of assistance to help and support it. For example, Christianization operations and other destructive kinds of proselytization which must be stopped do not succeed through sermons and preaching. The enemies of Islam have been able to understand this point. They have preceded us in providing many health and educational services such as schools, hospitals, farms, and scientific and vocational institutes. Thus, they have provided Muslims and non-Muslims with clothing, food and work. Then, when they have gained their confidence and gotten close to them, they have offered them their revolting messages. Therefore, the League has been active in this field. It has tried and is trying to provide our refugee brothers and the Muslim communities in Somalia, the Sudan and Afghanistan, as well as other Muslim communities in great need of medical, social and educational assistance, with some projects. This is done through the Islamic Committee, which set up the League, and with the support of the Saudi government and some other agencies. There is no doubt that it is incumbent on wealthy Muslims today to take the initiative in volunteering whatever funds they can afford, so that the relief committees will be able to exert their constant efforts in this area. There are also many Islamic institutions in Indonesia, Africa and other places, which need this kind of support.

Perhaps I'm adding nothing new when I say that the Christian organizations and institutions receive huge contributions every day from rich people and companies in the West. This supplies the missionary organizations with the money they need to set up churches and the resources required for hospitals, schools and factories. In this way, they attract Muslims to their religion.

[Question] There is no doubt that the missionary organizations have been able to create proselytizers for their principles from learned people and specialists in many areas. There are doctors, engineers, teachers, etc. What has the league done in this field?

[Answer] In fact, the League has set up a center and an institute for scientific training and proselytization. Its headquarters is in al-Makkah and it is supposed to turn out proselytizers from all parts of the Islamic world. We have paid attention to just the points you mentioned. We laid down the condition that anyone wanting to study at the institute had to be qualified on the university level in one of the various scientific fields. Thus, he has to be a physician, an engineer, etc. If the student is accepted, he is taught by excellent scholars who give him lectures on the religious sciences and fields of knowledge, as well as on the ways of thinking which are opposed to Islam and the method for combatting them. The student is also given a broad and comprehensive notion of the issues of the age, along with the Islamic view of them. Then, after years of study, the student graduates, having gained a broad knowledge of the method and thought involved in Islamic proselytization. He is also completely conscious of his great responsibilities. Thereafter, each graduate is sent to the country

from whence he came to be someone who calls others to God, may He be exalted. The League arranges numerous courses for proselytizers and imams in many parts of the Islamic world. These classes are held to treat any problems which exist and to provide the proselytizers and imams with the latest knowledge and information, so they can confront the vicious attack of the missionary organizations on the Islamic world.

#### The Characteristics of the Proselytizer

[Question] What characteristics do you think the proselytizers should have?

[Answer] First, I must say that the time for the traditional method of proselytization has passed, in view of the new currents and the invasion of civilization and culture our modern age has seen. Then there is the revolution in the world of thought which has been wrought by the visual, audio and written means of communication. Thus, the proselytizer must be characterized by intellectual and cultural breadth. That is, in addition to his broad knowledge of the various aspects of Islamic jurisprudence, the Sayings of the Prophet, the Book, and the Way of the Prophet, he must be aware of numerous facets of culture, so that he will be able to reach the hearts and minds of the people and deal with the contemporary problems of their lives. In addition, he must work with all the new and modern communication devices, as well as scientific and cultural devices, in addition to providing health and social services, etc. There is no doubt that the proselytizer's mission will not meet with success, even if all the things I mentioned just now are provided, unless he is cultured, dedicated to the work he is doing to please God and His Messenger, and ready to give of himself and his life for the sake of his proselytization.

[Question] You talked about the written word, while Islamic books are disappearing and losing ground in the area of distribution. How can this point be dealt with?

[Answer] What you say is true. Islamic books have experienced a sort of retreat. A visit to one of the international book fairs will give you evidence of that. Islamic books in the sense we intend are not merely Arabic books, but books in the various world languages and in the local languages. Therefore, the League is committed to printing and distributing Islamic books until the Muslim readers' need for books which speak about Islam's comprehensive doctrine, as well as culture, Islamic history and new ideas which have appeared on the Islamic scene and the world scene, is met.

#### Distributing the Holy Qur'an

[Question] What about printing the Holy Qur'an?

[Answer] In truth, the printing of the Holy Qur'an is the object of broad interest by many of the Muslims' leaders. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been in the forefront of the Islamic countries which have been greatly interested in printing the Qur'an. Therefore, it has set up an independent printing press in al-Madinah which will print millions of copies of the

Holy Qur'an, which will be distributed to all parts of the Islamic world. The League has many good projects for printing the Holy Qur'an, for which it receives a lot of contributions. We welcome any contributions from Muslim businessmen for the sake of achieving these projects, so that the League can confront the slogan which the enemies of Islam shout: the "Gospelization" of the Islamic world, which is to say the flooding of the Islamic world with millions of copies of the Gospels in its various editions.

[Question] What are the agencies and daughter organizations of the Muslim World League?

[Answer] The League has many daughter agencies, including the Supreme Council for Mosques, the World Islamic Jurisprudence Center, the General Secretariat of the General Secretariat of the World Islamic Organization, the World Islamic Coordination Council, the Supreme Council for Islamic Information, and the Center for Islamic Education. The League also has offices in many Arab and foreign countries. Some of these countries have given it diplomatic status. The League is also a member of the Islamic Conference's Organization for the Social and Economic Section, and it has observer status in the Islamic Summit Conference. Through its participation in these organizations, the League tries to represent the viewpoint of the Islamic peoples.

[Question] What is the task of the World Islamic Jurisprudence Center?

[Answer] Its task is to expose and study the entire situation the Islamic world faces, using modern tools, and to make clear the judgments of the Islamic shari'ah, with guidance from the Book and the Way of the Prophet. It is also supposed to revive and disseminate the heritage of Islamic jurisprudence, in addition to printing the most essential books on the subject and composing a general, comprehensive, expanded lexicon of Islamic jurisprudence. The center is composed of six committees: the legal terminology committee, the legal heritage committee, the scientific research committee, the drafting committee and the contemporary studies committee. Numerous scholars from the various parts of the Islamic world make up the center's membership.

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CSO: 4404/79

# NEED FOR POPULATION GROWTH CONTROL, BIRTH CONTROL MEASURES STRESSED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 30 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by N. B.: "Demographic Growth in Harmony With Development"]

[Text] Control of demographic growth is at the same time a family, social and economic imperative, just as the rate of the demographic growth must be in balance with that of economic development.

Having a detailed knowledge of the population and its growth rate makes it possible to check on and evaluate the socio-economic development plans; also, the needs of education and teaching, health, employment stimulated by improvement in living conditions, and availability of funds all require demographic expertise in order to deal with them.

From the general report on the 5-year plan, 1980-1984: "The demographic phenomenon is, because of its scope, the main yardstick by which the objectives, content and value of the economic and social policies are determined."

The economic and social plan, whose goal is a better life and meeting national demand for goods and services, cannot ignore nor overshadow an active and determined policy of demographic control.

## General and Concrete Action

An action program setting the broad lines and the main activities of a policy for control of demographic growth was completed by the government on 20 February 1983, in accordance with the recommendations of the fourth congress and the special party congress. All political levels--ministerial, sectorial, or party--are involved. This is because the direct or indirect implications of anarchic demographic growth, individually and collectively, on the well-being and flourishing of the family, the quality of life, as well as the ability and opportunities for the national economic structure to satisfactorily meet the social needs clearly call for general and concrete action to establish the conditions for demographic control. This is reaffirmed in the general report on the 5-year plan that states: "Active measures to lower the birth-rate have become an essential course toward improving effectiveness in building our economy and being able to respond in a lasting manner to the population's social needs."

Birth control is a process that takes time to introduce, with medium- and long-term results, and is above all delicate in that it affects the profound bases of the family, of the society. That is why birth control is left to the free judgment and desire of families, and is assigned a priority on the level of preventive health measures for mothers and babies.

Hence, the fourth party congress stressed "the necessity, within the context of world health policy, of paying particular attention to protection of the mother and child, in order to achieve an equilibrium of the family in relation to a demographic increase in harmony with the rate of growth of our economy."

The action program approved by the cabinet (20 February 1983) recommends three directions of activity: development of the basic infrastructures and supply organization to support the efforts in spacing of births; promotion of information, education, and consciousness-raising to create conscious support by the largest majority of the population, especially rural population, for the goal of controlling fertility, and also by changing the social values on fertility embedded in the mentality; and third, organization of study and research activities concerning the factors in the demographic growth and their effect on social and economic development. Although Algeria's population has doubled in the last 20 years, the demographic explosion is still to come judging from study of the composition and trends of the population. In 1982, the under-20 element represented 57.3 percent, while the under-15 element was 46.2 percent of the population. The number of women of child-bearing age was 4,214,273, compared to 3,600,000 in 1979.

How can we make child-bearing a voluntary action and not an endured fate? It is a matter of resources, availability, and spacing of births, and also a matter of attitude, social values, and the within-family and outside-family status of women.

#### Health Objectives

It was not until 1967 that the first birth control center was established, and not until 1974 that a national program was initiated. Now there are 300 birth control centers, which were established in the absence of any legal basis (except for the health code) for family planning, since the latter was not a declared, official government policy.

Family planning complements health objectives, because it is the more effective way of gaining the compliance of the concerned population group (couples).

In this connection, note articles 119 and 120 of the health code on protection of mother and child.

Viewed from the medical aspect, birth control, as experience has confirmed, helps reduce the disease rate and maternal and child mortality, and encourages wanted births at the desired age, while at the same time combatting sterility.

One important factor in acceptance and success of a birth control policy is the necessary transformation of the family and social status of the woman, the main one concerned.

Also, the contraceptive approach is not always easy and acceptable to women, who often cite motivations that are more social than economic. Abstinence (with health as the justification) is also mentioned by mothers with many children as a contraceptive means.

That is why it is necessary to improve the material support for educating the public on birth control and the PMIEN [expansion unknown] centers. General education of girls, occupational training, and the number of women working are also factors that promote consciousness-raising and application of the family planning principle.

## Improvement of Status in the Family

Comparative statistics on fertility in 1980 (babies to women) rank Algeria highest in the world with 7.1, compared to 4.8 in India, 6.4 in Morocco, and 5 in Tunisia.

In 1980, according to government statistics more than 90 percent of recorded births involved illiterate women, while 58 percent of women married in 1980 were illiterate.

At the age of 20, 50.6 percent of women are married, thus establishing them in their primary social role as spouses and hence mothers, compared to only 9.6 percent of the men (second population census of 12 February 1977).

Birth control must unavoidably come about through improvement of the family and social status of women. As long as she is viewed and perceives herself only as the producer of children, she will not carry out family planning. As long as her only goals, her only feeling of worth, is in producing children, she will continue to do so.

Birth control also implies availability, accessibility, compliance, and understanding of its implications, its goals. There are all the prejudices and taboos that have to be eliminated, for what contraception encounters is often ignorance and lack of information, much more than definite opposition. This information is even more necessary in that numerous women are resorting to traditional methods that are archaic, hazardous, unreliable, and dangerous to their health.

A policy of demographic control and a program of family planning, so long lacking, have now been developed. Putting them into practice, translating them into real achievements, involves not only the government organizations but families as a whole. It is quite a task.

Constitution: The family is the fundamental unit of society.

National Charter: The National Union of Algerian Women must conduct a continuing work of consciousness-raising, education and training.

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CSO: 4519/20

EGYPT

# SOCIALIST LABOR LEADER CALLS FOR END TO CURBS ON FREE EXPRESSION

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11 Oct 83 p3

[Article by Muhammad Hilmi Murad: "The Government Must Fulfill Its Promise with Respect to the Enforcement of the Emergency Law"]

[Text] Although the government, at the extraordinary session it had called on 1 October to give agreement to the extension of the state of emergency for a third year, declared before the People's Assembly that it had committed itself last year not to use the exceptional powers stated in the emergency law except in cases of armed terror, stressing its commitment to this promise in the following year of the emergency, we find it incumbent on us, in order to realize the truth and to be fair to history, in the demand that the government be faithful to the promise to which it committed itself before the People's Assembly, to set forth before the government, the People's Assembly and all the people a statement on instances when the government has used the emergency power in cases other than those of armed terror, so that it may desist from doing so, especially since it has declared that it challenged [one to] mention a single case!

Herewith is a list of the most important of these cases:

First, proscription of the issuance of certain newspapers, in spite of the restoration of their permits by judiciary ruling:

Among the odious decrees issued on 5 September 1981 was President Anwar al-Sadat's Decree 494 for 1981 cancelling the permits granted to some newspapers, and sequestering their property and headquarters. One of these newspapers was AL-SHA'B, although it had been coming out without a permit, since it spoke for a recognized political party in accordance with the law on the system of political parties. However, haste was made in issuing decrees without discussion or careful thought.

These publications also included the magazine AL-DA'WAH, the magazine AL-I'TISAM, and the magazine AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI, which are all Islamic publications, the newspaper WATANI and the magazine AL-KARAZAH, which are Coptic publications, and in addition the magazine AL-MAWQIF AL-'ARABI.

The newspaper AL-SHA'B and the magazine AL-MAWQIF AL-'ARABI started to reappear after the decree shutting them down had been cancelled by judiciary ruling. The other newspapers and magazines, which were religious in character, were not permitted to appear in spite of the judiciary ruling abrogating Republican Decree 494 for 1981. There is no dispute that to abstain from carrying out a judiciary ruling is to be considered a punishable crime.

However, it appears that the government, in making this prohibition, is basing itself on the emergency law. The issuance of periodicals is not by any standard to be considered to lie within the category of states of armed terror which permit the enforcement of the emergency law, in accordance with the government's commitment. However, the government can adopt the measures stipulated in ordinary law if any of these papers commits a crime against the publication [law] through articles or news it contains.

Second, the imposition of censorship on publications in the city of Alexandria:

Numerous complaints have also been received from the city of Alexandria, some of which were published in AL-SHA'B newspaper, regarding the presence of open official censorship on the presses there, with the result that they cannot print any book or publication unless it is submitted to a state security investigation officer for permission in advance.

One author, Mr Mitwalli al-Salmawi, an Alexandria lawyer, tried, after he had reached his wit's end, to resort to directing a warning in the form of a citation to the officer in charge of censorship over publications in his office in the office of the state security investigator on al-Fara'inah Street in Alexandria, but he refused to receive the warning. Finally, after about a year had passed, he agreed to deliver to him the original manuscript of the book, which was titled "Awareness and Resistance," on the American-supported Zionist aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, in order to avoid a judiciary suit, although the person involved stated that he had indicated to the press that it should not agree to print the book.

There is no doubt that the imposition of this sort of tutelage over freedom of opinion and expression conflicts with Article 47 of the constitution, which stipulates "Freedom of opinion is guaranteed, and everyone may express his opinion and disseminate it by speech, books, photographic forms or other means of expression, within the limits of the law."

However, it is clear that the office of the state security investigator in Alexandria used the state of emergency as its support, since Article 48 of the constitution says "It is permissible, as an exception, in the event an emergency is declared or in time of war, to impose specific censorship on periodicals, publications and the media regarding matters related to public safety or the goals of national security, all in accordance with the law." In addition, one should observe that it seems, on the surface, that the subject of the book referred to is not related to public safety or the country's national security goals.

Third, putting Pope Shannudah the Third, the patriarch of the Orthodox Copts, under house arrest:

It must be automatically assumed that it is not permissible to prevent any citizen from moving around or to put him under house arrest unless by an order which is dictated by the need to bring about and maintain the security of society. This order must be issued by a competent judge or the office of the public prosecutor, in accordance with the provisions of the law, as is stipulated by Articles 41 and 50 of the constitution.

On that basis, Decree 491 for 1981, one of the odious September decrees, which the late President Anwar al-Sadat issued, cancelling Republican Decree 2782 for 1971 appointing His Eminence Shannudah pope of Alexandria and patriarch of the missionary province of Saint Mark, after he had been elected in accordance with the rules of the church, and appointing a committee of five bishops to perform the papal missions, cannot confine his residence to the monastery of Wadi al-Natrun or allow the guard present to refuse to permit anyone to visit him except those in possession of official permission to do so.

One cannot imagine that this measure could be taken, since there has been no order from any judiciary body, based on the emergency law, allowing the authorities in charge of the state of emergency to place restrictions on the freedom of persons to move about and maintain a residence (Article Three, Paragraph One).

The fact is that this measure has been in effect for a long time, and still is, even though all the political and religious leaders who were not subjected to specific charges in criminal cases have been released. One cannot imagine that the leader of a great religious group should still be under detention without being interrogated or tried, saddening the feelings of his subjects and the people of his group at a time when the enemies of the country are looking for opportunities to stir up factional strife.

The Moslems, who are demanding the application of Islamic law, realized full well that Islam gives protected people who follow divine religions the freedom to perform their religious observances and apply their laws to their own personal states. The important thing is that they should live in security and safekeeping, that they should be entitled to what we are entitled to and have the obligations we have; the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, has recommended that they be cared for and has declared that anyone harming a protected person will become his adversary on judgment day.

While the only things attributed to Pope Shannudah, according to the contents of the verdict of the administrative judiciary court, were devotion, fasting and the indication that one should not celebrate the Coptic holidays because of the instances of aggression against some churches, they all preceded the isolation decree by periods ranging from 2 to 4 years, and above and beyond that they were sound forms of protest which did not reach the masses and did not create an effect which would be disruptive of security, as Mr Fathi Radwan, commenting on that verdict, stated in his article "Bring His Eminence Shannudah back to His Seat" (see AL-SHA'B, No 176, issued 26 April 1983).

In addition, the verdict eliminated the papal committee, and the Coptic group was then without spiritual leadership. That is a situation which requires decisive action from the standpoint of national security. It is not difficult to get promises and documents regarding His Eminence Shannudah which will guarantee that the public interest is observed, while the course of events is monitored most firmly to ensure that the country returns to normal conditions and its security is preserved. Ordinary law guarantees that whoever acts wrongly will be brought to account for his wrongful actions.

Fourth, the mass arrest of groups of people praying in certain mosques, without discrimination:

The arrest of groups of people at prayer on their emergence from some mosques, such as the al-Tawhid Mosque in the al-Matariyah area, after prayer, cannot be considered in effect an act against armed terror.

It is not proper to use the charge that some deeply religious young people resort to violence as a pretext for persecuting and terrorizing bearded young people who are zealous about performing prayers in mosques.

This tendency, which is characterized as violence by the public authorities, has the effect of creating a spirit of vindictiveness and loathing against the government and of instigating violence as a reply in kind. We do not in order to eliminate the existing propensity to violence or extremism want to provoke young people to alienate themselves from their religion and pursue other forms of conduct in order to protect themselves from exposure to such calamities.

The definition of armed terror is the use of arms by citizens for the purpose of using them to impose their will or their views. However, it is not right to consider people meeting to pray in the houses of God, without arms, a crime, unless that means applying a state of emergency to prevent people from gathering at specific times.

Political security cannot be maintained by methods of terror and the creation of panic, but rather by providing the proper climate for a dignified humane life, preserving human rights, having the leaders offer good examples, and getting the citizens to participate in reforming and administering the affairs of their country through sound democracy.

However, escalating a state of outrage, feelings of disaffection and a feeling of wrong and humiliation will have the effect of inciting unexpected elements which are not subject to oversight or control to commit vengeful acts or resort to conspiring for the sake of salvation.

Fifth, preparing lists of people who are prohibited from travelling without specific charges:

While it is necessary to prevent the flight of people who are coming to trial or people who have been indicted in cases that are under investigation, or to meet other conditions which the law stipulates, it is not

permissible to prohibit citizens from traveling except for one of these specific reasons.

However, it started to be the case, in the recent period, that some political or religious personalities were prohibited from traveling abroad although they had not been indicted or brought to trial, as happened with Mrs Zaynab al-Ghazali, and indeed citizens were sometimes detained for several hours upon traveling or returning, until an agreement to travel or leave was issued.

None of these procedures can be taken unless founded on a state of emergency, and considered as circumvention of the limits of armed terror which the application of the declaration of the state of emergency is restricted to.

Sixth, the transfer of a number of criminal cases to emergency court although they had no connection with armed terror:

However, one of the most serious applications of the emergency law to cases outside the scope of armed terror was the order the president issued in accordance with the emergency law, that is, Order One for 1981, which is still in effect, having the office of the public prosecutor transfer many crimes which have no relation to armed terror, such as crimes of supply, compulsory pricing, forming crowds and public meetings, and indeed violations of the law on political parties, to the "emergency" state security court formed in accordance with the emergency law.

Since the government has promised to apply the emergency law only to cases of armed terror, it is mandatory that the authorities in charge of the state of emergency issue a new order amending the one mentioned above, so that it will deal only with crimes related to the forcible overthrow of the existing regime and the possession of arms and ammunition without permit, and eliminate all charges which are not considered to be tantamount to armed terror, while contenting themselves with submitting them, in accordance with a permanent law, Law 105 for 1980, to the state security courts.

On the difference between these two types of state security court:

The rulings of the subordinate courts of the state security courts formed by Law 105 for 1980 (issued in the era of President al-Sadat, before he abrogated the state of emergency) are considered subject to appeal before a competent misdemeanor appeal court department, and the verdicts which this department issues and the verdicts of the higher state security court may be contested by reversal and review.

The [verdicts of the] state security courts formed in accordance with the emergency law may not be contested in any manner after they have been ratified by the authorities in charge of the state of emergency.

Therefore we are asking Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, the prime minister, who has been delegated by the president, through the powers allocated to him by virtue of the emergency law, and in this area has been given the title of "deputy general military governor," a title that is odious in the minds of

the citizens (and I do not know where the people who formulated this title came from, since Emergency Law 162 for 1962 avoids the use of the expression "general military courts," which existed in the old law on martial law) -- we are asking him to issue an order amending Order One for 1981 defining the crimes handed over to the state security (emergency) courts, so that these may be confined to crimes connected with armed terror and so that the government will really and truly be committed to the promise it made to itself before the People's Assembly, and that will not just be a sugar-coated statement for ensuring the passage of a decree extending the state of emergency for a third year.

We also ask that all other cases that we referred to above be corrected so that matters will be set right, and confidence may become firmly instilled among the masses in regard to the steps the government is preparing and declaring to the citizens. We are waiting.

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CSO: 4504/34

## EFFORTS OF POLITICAL FORCES TO FORM PARTIES REVIEWED

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 10, 14, 25 Sep 83

[Interviews with leaders of the al-Ummah Party, Wafdist Vanguard Party and National Salvation Party by Hamadayn Sabahi: "New Parties in Egypt. Ahmad al-Sabahi, Founder of al-Ummah Party: I Call for Implementing Islamic Shari'a; 'Abd-al-Nasir's Socialism Is Islamic Socialism; Al-Sadat Had One Virtue and All the Rest Were Vices That Washed Away Virtues; Mubarak Agrees With al-Sadat Policies But Is Different From al-Sadat in Personality; I Will Not Enter Into Front With Opposition Parties Because They Are All Government Parties and Government Prevents Me From Publicizing My Party; Majdi Hasanayn, Founder of National Salvation Party: Al-Sadat Was Not Member of Free Officers Command and His Claim of Having Founded Organization Is False; 15 May Was Plot Hatched by al-Sadat Against His Foes and He Disclosed It to Me Frankly 1 Month Earlier; Dr 'Abd-al-Muhsin Hammudah, Wafdist Vanguard Party Leader: Al-Sadat Sold Egypt for Rubber Check; Siraj-al-Din Is Expression of Right and Wafdist Vanguard Is Sound Line of al-Wafd"]

[10 Sep 83 p 15]

[Text] Cairo--Egypt is witnessing in this phase an intensifying demand from all political forces and currents that they be allowed to establish their independent parties and organizations.

The Nasirist Party, which has already presented its application to the Parties Committee, is still awaiting an official response. The return of the New al-Wafd is still the subject of argument between advocates of the party, led by Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, who maintain that the party's return is legitimate, and the Parties Committee, which does not acknowledge this legitimacy. The National Front Party, whose establishment has been rejected by the court, is still trying to resubmit its request under the name of the Justice Party, in which Kamal-al-Din Husayn, a member of the former Revolution Command Council, and independent deputy Mumtaz Nassar participate. Fathi Radwan, the venerable opposition leader, is still projecting himself, in the name of the National Party, as an extension of leaders Mustafa Kamil and Muhammad Farid.

In the course of these developments, the National Salvation Party recently emerged. Majdi Hasanayn, one of the Free Officers and the man responsible for the famous al-Tahrir Province project, is the man calling for the establishment of this party. Meanwhile, 'Abd-al-Muhsin Hammudah, the intransigent opposition Wafdist leader, is projecting himself in the name of the Wafdist Vanguard Party which, in his opinion, is the reflection of al-Wafd Party's true line.

If these endeavors reflect the Egyptian political forces' dash to acquire legitimacy for the democratic exercise of their right to political organization, the common denominator among all of them is that the Parties Committee, which has the legal power, has not permitted, and there are no signs that it will permit in the near future, these forces to establish their parties.

If the dialogue with all these forces and currents is important for learning their position in the ongoing political and social debate in Egypt and their position toward the numerous issues involved in this debate, then the dialogue with a party that has acquired legitimacy, which has not yet been gained by the others, namely, the al-Ummah Party, becomes significant.

Ahmad al-Sabahi, the founder, general secretary and acting chairman of al-Ummah Party until a party chairman is found from among the public figures to whom this chairmanship has been offered--including 'Umar al-Talmasani, has given AL-KHALIJ a lengthy interview in which he discussed the party, its intellectual line, its dispersal among the masses, the obstacles facing it and its position toward Camp David and toward participation in the forthcoming elections. Al-Sabahi also expressed his opinion on the other Egyptian opposition parties, on the party's Arab policy, on the Iranian revolution and on 'Abd-al-Nasir, al-Sadat and Mubarak. He also touched on the ongoing conflict in the party between al-Sabahi himself and his opponents. He further discussed his real interest in astronomy and astrology in this lengthy interview with the founder of the party that has gained legal approval while numerous other political forces are awaiting such approval impatiently. It is a long interview, which we present to Gulf readers so that they can familiarize themselves with the new party, namely, al-Ummah Party.

[Question] Since issuance of the Administrative Court decision in accordance with which the Nation's Party came into existence last 25 June, we have seen no effective presence of the party. Why?

[Answer] Because they prevent me from publicizing my party.

[Question] Who prevents you?

[Answer] The government. The national papers publish nothing about me, and the partisan papers publish against me. I resorted to another means and had 50 cloth posters, which cost 1,000 pounds, prepared to urge the masses to join the party so as to implement the Islamic Shari'ah. But the government prevented me from hanging the posters and confiscated and tore down the posters.

The agencies that did this were the State Security Intelligence and the Cairo Security Directorate. I have cabled the president of the republic, the attorney general and the minister of interior but have received no response from any of them.

[Question] Do you think you can pursue your political activity in this climate?

[Answer] Rationally and practically, I cannot exercise political activity in this climate. But I am a believer in predestination. I leave this issue to God, may He be praised, with faith and conviction that I will be able to engage in my activity and will succeed because this party has not come into existence through my will or the government's will but through God's will. No matter what calculations and plans I make, destiny must take its course.

[Question] Do you believe in scientific planning?

[Answer] Yes, and then in destiny.

[Question] Which one first?

[Answer] In planning first because the venerable prophet says "tie the camel first and then trust in God," meaning that rational arrangement comes first and then trust in God.

[Question] What is your plan for developing party action in the coming phase?

[Answer] I have a plan to spread the party through all the governorates as a way of calling for implementation of the Islamic Shari'ah.

[Question] What is the party's current membership and in how many governorates does it exist?

[Answer] Nearly 1,000 members in 5 governorates.

[Question] Every party reflects certain social forces. Whom does the Nation's Party represent?

[Answer] All people's classes. We are the party of the Islamic Arab Egyptian nation.

[Question] Your opponents in the party say that your party includes no more than a few vendors.

[Answer] These are people who are against the party and not members of the party. They want to usurp and control the party. But we are not in a jungle. We are in a state. This is why I have reported them to the prosecution and they are being investigated.

[Question] Is the submission of reports to the prosecution the proper way to settle political differences in the party?

[Answer] They are not from the party. They are four persons who were among the founders. But when the Parties Committee rejected the party, they objected to suing the Parties Committee before the Administrative Court because they were afraid of al-Sadat. They announced withdrawal of the power of attorney that they had given me. When the party was approved, they, along with 11 others who are not members of the party, met and decided to dismiss me. They elected another party chairman and announced formation of the party on 6 July. This is why the Constituent Assembly (comprised of 60 members, of whom 41 attended) met and decided to expel the four persons last 8 July. These persons have no right to speak in the name of the party because they are not party members. They are trying to usurp the party.

[Question] Why have you offered the party chairmanship to somebody other than yourself?

[Answer] Because we are suffering from a lack of public figures. I have invited Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi, Sayyid Zaki and Hasan 'Abbas Zaki to head the party but they have declined.

[Question] If your party calls for implementation of the Islamic Shari'ah, then why haven't you asked Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani, the Islamic current's representative, to head the party?

[Answer] I prefer not to reveal anything regarding this issue now.

[Reporter's note] Some sources of al-Ummah Party have told AL-KHALIJ that the party chairmanship is now being offered to Shaykh al-Talmasani and that he has not yet given a definite answer accepting or rejecting this offer.

[Question] What is the intellectual line of al-Ummah Party?

[Answer] The current intellectual line is the immediate demand for application of the Islamic Shari'ah in Egypt as an economic, social, political and cultural system and as a decisive cure for our society's problems. What I mean is that our line is to enact the idled constitutional provision making the Islamic Shari'ah the main source of legislation on the way to making it the only source of legislation and of the revival of the Islamic civilization.

[Question] What is your assessment of the efforts of the People's Assembly committees to codify the Islamic Shari'ah?

[Answer] The codification committees have finished preparing all the bills, except for the sea law. Dr Sufi Abu Talib has presented to me as a gift a number of the bills so that I can study them prior to attending the People's Assembly meetings to debate them in the coming session.

The party has formed a committee of university professors specializing in the Shari'ah and law to examine these bills and to convene a series of symposiums that will be held at the Union of Journalists on Saturday, Monday and Wednesday of each week. The symposiums will begin on the 24th of the current month of September. These symposiums are a great accomplishment that no other party has achieved. They are intended to enlighten the public and to prepare it to receive the greatest Islamic event in Egypt, namely, application of the Islamic Shari'ah.

[Question] What is your opinion of the current parties law now that you have become a party by a judicial decision, especially since your party had twice submitted its papers to the Parties Committee and the application was twice rejected?

[Answer] The current law is very weak because it demands 50 members for a party to be founded. The stipulation should be 5,000 members distributed over at least 10 of the republic's governorates, because this constitutes a guarantee of a party's seriousness and popularity.

[Question] But al-Ummah Party does not yet have 5,000 members. It has, according to you, 1,000 members.

[Answer] I prefer that an initial approval be given for the foundation of a political association or organization, provided that the number of founders is no less than 1,000. If the founders can raise the membership to 5,000 with their movement, then they can become a political party.

[Question] What about the restrictions present in the law, such as the stipulation on approval of Camp David?

[Answer] These are illegal restrictions.

[Question] What about your experience with the Parties Committee?

[Answer] We presented the first application for establishment of al-Ummah Party in November 1979. But the program was "extreme." For example, we said that women could not enter a legislative council and, therefore, had no right to enter the People's Assembly. Some people advised us to change this provision because the lady (Jihan al-Sadat) said that she had gained 30 People's Assembly seats for women. So how could a party demand that this gain be wasted? We were also advised to include among the founders a number of Copts so that it could not be said that we are a religious party. The Parties Committee rejected the party on the pretext that it was not proven that [at least] 10 of its founders, totaling 55, were workers. But the real reason for the rejection was Jihan. This is why we submitted another application on 19 February 1980 to found a party under the same name and with the same founders, after having added 10 workers to them and after having omitted the provision in the program on the unsuitability of women for the People's Assembly. I also added the signature of one Christian member to those of the founders. On 1 June 1980, the Parties Committee decided to reject our party. On 15 June we filed a lawsuit and on 25 June 1983 the court ruled in our favor.

[Question] What is your opinion of the elections law providing for election by the absolute or relative list?

[Answer] It is an undemocratic law tailored by the government to suit its own purposes.

[Question] Then why have you declared that you will take part in the elections?

[Answer] The elections are "clowning" and I will clown with them in order to be able to build my party by publicizing it through the elections.

[Question] The opposition parties and national forces are calling for the formation of a national front in this phase. Will you participate in it?

[Answer] I am not with the existing parties. They are all secular parties and I am against secularism, communism, capitalism, fanaticism and radicalism. Moreover, the opposition parties are government parties. The Socialist Union split into three platforms, then into three organizations and then into three parties by decree of the government. The Labor Party was founded to oppose by decree of the government. They are all government parties, whereas al-Ummah Party is the only party that has risen on the strength of legal and popular legitimacy.

[Question] Does this mean that you don't agree with these parties on anything?

[Answer] On public issues, possibly. But they don't recognize me. They say there are three opposition parties. They don't mention me, and they hold press and political conferences to which I am not invited. Why should I recognize them? Al-Ummah Party is like Joseph born among brothers who plotted against him and threw him into the well.

Moreover, the rule among parties is competition and not cooperation. We are all playing in the same field and competing for the trust of the people. This is more difficult than soccer because in soccer only two teams are involved whereas we are five parties. I believe that even coalition governments do not succeed because every side works for his own interest.

[Question] What is your position vis-a-vis the Camp David accords and the peace with Israel?

[Answer] We oppose the Camp David accords and declare our rejection of these accords because Israel is a devil and there can be no alliance with the devil. Israel is an eternal enemy of the Arabs and the Muslims. The prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, concluded a covenant with the Jews but they betrayed him.

[Question] You have stated that the opponents of Camp David are "animals."

[Answer] Sir, there is something to be said for every occasion. We are not against peace, but peace with Israel is impossible to achieve. We could not say in the program that we are against Camp David because this would have meant rejecting the party. But now the party has been approved.

[Question] Will you change the program to provide for rejecting Camp David?

[Answer] This is up to the majority in the party. As for me, personally, my religion and conscience require me to oppose Israel and Camp David.

[Question] Considering that you are calling for application of the Islamic Shari'ah, what is your religious opinion on the call for holy struggle to liberate Jerusalem, Palestine and all of the occupied Arab territories?

[Answer] Love of homeland is part of faith. Liberating the homeland from the yoke of Israeli colonialism is a religious duty because the Jews have been the eternal enemies of Islam and holy struggle to liberate Palestine and Jerusalem is the religious duty of every Muslim.

[Question] Is it an individual or a collective duty?

[Answer] Under these circumstances, I believe that it should be a collective duty until we reach the point where it becomes an individual duty, because there are many lax and negative people and we don't want to make the matter difficult for them all at once. These are people who need an awakening and an Arab national education. We call for the emergence of an Islamic spiritual leadership at the world level and this is why we call for creation of the position of "imam of the Muslims"--an imam to be elected from among the prominent ulema in all Islamic countries and who will have his headquarters in Egypt. We will thus achieve an international aspiration. When the imam of the Muslims issues a decree for the liberation of Jerusalem and Palestine, the duty of execution will fall on the shoulders of every Muslim, because he who is not concerned with the affairs of the Muslims is not a Muslim.

[Question] What is the Arab policy that you believe must be followed at present?

[Answer] First, I want to mediate, in my capacity as Egypt's Khomeyni, between Iran's Khomeyni and Iraq to put an end to the war between them. Second, I hope to be successful in eliminating the causes of the conflict among the Lebanese people so that Lebanon may regain its good life. Third, I want to end the conflict among the brother Palestinians in Fatah. We hope that all Arabs will meet and renounce their differences for the sake of Arab integration and Islamic solidarity.

[Question] On the occasion of your being called Egypt's Khomeyni or the new Khomeyni, what is your opinion of the Iranian revolution?

[Answer] It is my opinion that it is the greatest white [bloodless] revolution in history.

[Question] White?

[Answer] I do not approve of the massacres now taking place. The opponents there are Muslims who do not reject the Islamic Shari'ah, so why is he killing them? We do not approve this. There has to be democracy and there have to be guarantees for man's rights. It is a great revolution that has swerved from its course! But I hail Khomeyni because he is a new human leader, may God grant him success. When I call myself Egypt's Khomeyni, it is not to emulate him but because I believe that the new savior is the Islamic Shari'ah.

[Question] Who has given you the name Khomeyni, or is it that you have given yourself this name?

[Answer] I have given myself this name, and I mean by it that I am the party's Khomeyni, meaning the party protector and the custodian of the party's principles and ideas. I am the party's watchman.

[Question] What is your opinion of President Husni Mubarak?

[Answer] He agrees with his predecessor's (meaning al-Sadat's) policy and differs from him in personality. No fundamental change has occurred under Mubarak's rule.

[Question] And what is your opinion of al-Sadat?

[Answer] He had his virtues and vices. His virtue is that he honored the constitution with its stipulation that the Islamic Shari'ah is the main source of legislation--and were it not for the existence of this provision, our party would not have been allowed to come into existence--and that the plan to codify the Shari'ah began under his aegis.

As for the rest, it is all negative qualities and vices. Insofar as al-Sadat is concerned, the vices wash away the virtues, contrary to the venerable prophet's words: "Virtues wash away vices."

[Question] And what about your opinion of 'Abd-al-Nasir?

[Answer] He was loved by the people. So he is loved by God because he whom God loves, He makes the people love. He was a national leader who awakened the feeling of belonging to the homeland and who united the people, who had been divided before. He has great accomplishments, such as the public sector, nationalization and socialism, which we had been advocated before him. 'Abd-al-Nasir's socialism is an Islamic socialism and there is no contradiction between it and Islam. Rather, there is a large degree of agreement between the two.

[Question] And what about his negative qualities?

[Answer] His negative points were beyond his control because a people demanding strong leaders must be a strong people and not a divided and fragmented people.

[Question] Many information media have focused on the fact that you are a specialist in astrology and palmistry, and it has been reported that you have demanded that the books you have written in this regard be withdrawn. What is the truth here?

[Answer] I have written numerous things, including religious writings such as "The Morals of Prophets," "The Dreams of the Prophets and of the Pious" and "In the Sacred Presence of God." I have also written scientific books, such as "The Theory of Treatment With Panadol and With Self-Hypnosis." I have also written on sports, such as "The Passing Rocket Ball, Morning Exercises and the Egyptian (Al-Sijah) Game." I have also written spiritual books, such as "Dream Interpretation and Guide to Dream Interpretation," as well as astrological books, such as "The Tower of Luck, Your Luck From Your Name, Your Luck From Your Birthday and Your Luck Is With You." I recently wrote "The Keys to Luck in Love, Sex and Marriage," which is the greatest book in the world in this field. I have asked that these books not be distributed because they are exploited in propaganda against me to claim that I am an astrologer and a palm reader. I wrote these books during the period when I suffered from the political vacuum, all since 1972.

[Question] Do you use your skills in astrology in your political and partisan activity?

[Answer] Of course. I know a man and his abilities from his sign. I can thus put him in the right place in the party. Those born under the heavenly signs are different from those born under the signs of air, water and earth. The first are fit for leadership, the latter for intellectual, educational and similar activity.

[Question] Do you wish to tell the readers anything at the conclusion of this interview?

[Answer] Yes. I say that if I stay as the party chairman I will be the most dangerous party chairman to the government. I will not let the government sleep. This is why I want a moderate party chairman so that things can progress [gradually] in the first stage of the life of al-Ummah Party.

[14 Sep 83 p 15]

[Text] The National Salvation Party is the latest party to project itself onto the political stage in Egypt. It is expected that Majdi Hasanayn, the party founder, will present the new party's program and list of founders to the Parties Committee next October. Since the authorities concerned were notified 3 months ago in a statement prepared by lawyer 'Umar Hajjaj, persistent efforts have been exerted by the party founder to gather the party membership, disseminate its ideas and crystallize its program.

What is the intellectual and political line of the National Salvation Party, whom does the party represent and what are the party's views on the issues of Egypt and of the Arab nation? What is the real historical role of Majdi Hasanayn, the man over whom an uproar developed? This uproar accompanied

Hasanayn's famous project, namely, al-Tahrir Province. The lengthy interview AL-KHALIJ conducted with the man gives him the opportunity to talk about himself, his role in the history of the July revolution, his new party and his role in Egypt's future.

Majdi Hasanayn received us at his plushly furnished office in al-Duqqi quarter where the business Majidu Establishment, which he owns and manages, is located. I started my interview with him by asking him what prompted him to resume his political activity after a long absence. He said that circumstances have changed. Al-Sadat's days did not permit me to engage in political activity because I had been a friend of al-Sadat's since 1941. With this, he regressed for a time to recall Majdi Hasanayn's memories which we will recount here as he narrated them and without comment:

I participated in a national cell that we formed in the army in 1941. The cell included Anwar al-Sadat, Hasan 'Izzat, Sharih Tal'at, myself and others whom I did not know. I am the one who obtained the grenades that were used in the attack on Amin 'Uthman and delivered those bombs to Hasan 'Izzat, who hid them with a lawyer in al-Jizah until the operation was carried out. Al-Sadat left the cell when he was arrested with a dancer on a ferry in the Nile on the charge of communicating with the Germans. He was expelled from the army in 1942.

Yes, this cell is the reason al-Sadat said once that he, not 'Abd-al-Nasir, was the one who founded the Free Officers Organization. But the truth is that we were not an organization and did not have a specific name. The name Free Officers was coupled only with the underground organization founded by 'Abd-al-Nasir, with whom I took part in forming it. Moreover, Hasan 'Izzat, not al-Sadat, was the officer in charge of the cell and the only one who knew its members.

I then formed a cell of national officers in the army service corps, which included the transportation, fuel and supply branches, in 1943. I became acquainted with Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir in 1944 while forming the army service cell. We also established contact with the Muslim Brotherhood. Hasan al-Banna [then the Muslim Brotherhood leader] used to sit with the cell members and speak to them, and he ended up with the impression that we supported them [the Brotherhood].

I did not join the Free Officers but took part in forming the organization. At the outset, there was no organization and the group relied on friendships, especially 'Abd-al-Nasir's friendship with 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir. Then 'Abd-al-Latif Baghdadi, Kamal-al-Din Husayn, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, Hamdi 'Ubayd and myself joined the organization. Ibrahim al-Tahawi joined a little later and was followed by Amin Shakir, 'Abd-al-Mun'im 'Abd-al-Ra'uf and Ma'ruf al-Misri. The last two had affiliations with the Muslim Brotherhood.

During the Palestine war, most of us volunteered and went to the front. I recall that 'Abd-al-Nasir came to me and we both went to bid farewell to Kamal-al-Din Husayn and 'Abd-al-Mun'im 'Abd-al-Ra'uf, both of whom had

volunteered with the hero Ahmad 'Abd-al-'Aziz. We found that Kamal-al-Din Husayn had already departed and that his wife was in labor. I did not join the Palestine war because I was entrusted by the army and the intelligence to seize a British army munitions dump, and I did carry out that mission.

After the Palestine war, we began to form our organization (the Free Officers) around the end of 1948 under the leadership of 'Abd-al-Nasir. Our formation was as follows:

Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir as representatives of the infantry.

Zakariya Muhyi-al-Din as representative of the army schools. He joined in al-Falujah by way of 'Abd-al-Nasir.

Salah Salim, who was brought in by 'Abd-al-Nasir after they had met in al-Falujah. Salim did not represent any army branch. He was an officer in artillery maintenance.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din as representative of the cavalry.

Amin Shakir for the signals corps.

Majdi Hasanayn and Ibrahim al-Tahawi for the administrative corps. The only one elected among those officers was myself. I was elected treasurer.

Neither al-Sadat nor Husayn al-Shafi'i were members of this organization. I did not know that al-Sadat had joined the Free Officers Constituent Committee, if he ever joined it, until I was surprised to find him present in the Revolution Command Council. Neither was Jamal Salim among us, and I had objected to his accession before the revolution.

We set a monthly dues of 25 piasters. The meetings were held at my house and the members used to leave their dues in a metal vase in the house. We used the money on commando operations.

I had control over my own stores of munitions which the army knew nothing about. Those stores were formed by weapons stolen from the army and we used them to arm the commandos. Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, who was then the minister of interior, sent me his secretary, accompanied by Tawfiq al-Malat from the Muslim Brotherhood, to get weapons and munitions to be used against the British on the canal in 1951.

We decided to blow up the Suez Canal in 1952 with an enormous mine in order to block it so that the world would become aware of Egypt's just cause and its demand for independence. I and 'Abd-al-Nasir studied how to place the mine. We contacted Hasan al-'Ashmawi from the Brotherhood and agreed to manufacture the mine and transport it to al-Qantarah, east of the canal, where the Brotherhood would collect it to drop it in the canal. Salah Hidayat held the post of minister of scientific research under the revolution, who was an officer in the Army Research and Development Center, helped

us manufacture the mine at the center, with the approval of the center director, who was a nationalist officer (Brig Gen Hasan Rajab). The mine was a full meter in diameter and its lower half contained 75 kilograms of TNT placed by Capt Sa'd al-Din Yusuf from the army TNT plant. The upper half of the mine was empty so that it could float in the water. 'Abd-al-Latif Baghdadi prepared a plane to transport it east of the canal and Salah Hidayat accompanied the mine to al-'Arish. From there, the mine was transported to al-Qantarah where it was buried to wait for the signal to carry out the operation. But the operation was not executed because the revolution preceded it.

We planned in the Free Officers to assassinate King Faruq. But there was disagreement among us regarding the assassinations. 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir and Salah Salim supported them whereas I opposed them.

My role on the eve of the revolution was to move the army vehicles from al-'Abbasiyah (barracks) to Hikstep [base] from which the forces necessary to seize the army command were to proceed. I performed my role and instructed the troops to open fire on whomever opposed them. We succeeded and I met 'Abd-al-Nasir on the eve of the revolution at the site where his tomb is now located and asked him: Did you assign anybody to seize the radio station in Abu Za'bal? He said that no plan had been made for this and instructed me to go to Tharwat 'Akashah to get an armored vehicle and head for the Abu Za'bal radio station. What actually happened was that I was able to seize the radio station on my own and, before Tharwat 'Akashah's vehicle could catch up with me, to gain control of the station and to force its chief engineer, who had received royal orders by telephone to dismantle it, to reassemble the station. There was a power outage that night and I headed for the power plant and forced its engineer to restore power, without which the station could not be operated. The king had ordered through his aides that the power be cut off. Thus, but for my role, the people would not have been able to hear the declaration that brought them the good news of the revolution on the morning of 23 July.

After the revolution, I was surprised that I was not included in the Revolution Command Council and that I and Ibrahim al-Tahawi had been excluded from membership in the Free Officers Constituent Assembly, whereas Anwar al-Sadat, Jamal Salim and Hasan Ibrahim had been included in the Revolution Command Council.

This was an unethical act, and they lost my respect as a consequence because I hate opportunism and plotting. But I am confident that 'Abd-al-Nasir had no hand in this and he simply respected the opinion of the majority. I am confident that the man responsible for this act was Jamal Salim, because he hated me from the moment I had opposed his inclusion in the Constituent Assembly. Jamal Salim had influence beyond his weight because he was the liaison with the Americans at the time.

I refused to be included as a member of the committee that took inventory of the royal palaces because this was unbecoming for me. I withdrew and then replaced 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir as director of Muhammad Najib's office.

I worked for my own interest to prove to them that I was still present. I appointed Dr Sidqi 'Aziz as technical director of the Council of Ministers without the knowledge of the Revolution Command Council. I also carried out the winter aid and mercy train projects, the plan for donations to the Palestinian refugees and the tree project. All were successful projects inaugurated by Muhammad Najib and to which the media devoted attention. They were the fruits of my ideas. Muhammad Najib was a good, patriotic and upright man but was not a leader like Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. But my allegiance was to the revolution because I had taken part in making it. How could I disavow it? This is why I stood with the revolution against Muhammad Najib.

I initiated al-Tahrir Province project in November 1952. 'Aziz Sidqi was in charge of the project's technical study. I proposed that Sidqi be appointed director of al-Tahrir Province, but Jamal Salim refused and treated me vulgarly. I retaliated. The Production Council rejected the project and we demanded a meeting of the Revolution Command Council, which did meet and support us, approving the project. When the Production Council appointed a director for the project, I disregarded the appointment and paid it no attention. So the Production Council, which included a large number of ministers, submitted a memorandum to the Council of Ministers saying that either Majdi Hasanayn continues to be in al-Tahrir Province or the Production Council continues to exist. At the time, Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir summoned me to the Council of Ministers hall and I said to him: Boss, they level criticism while sitting behind their desks and while I do the work. 'Abd-al-Nasir returned to the Council of Ministers and said: The project will be transferred to the Council of Ministers and I will be responsible for it. This was a victory for me. I formed an executive council, which included four ministers, with me as the commissioned member. I gave the financial responsibility for planning and implementation to financial officials, including the undersecretary of finance, and the technical responsibility to a committee, which included 128 university professors.

Al-Tahrir Province project cost 9.5 million pounds and resulted in the reclamation of 21,000 feddans, including 17,000 feddans that were cultivated. This sum included the cost of building houses, roads, utilities, 22 food processing and cement plants and a complete military airfield--the only airfield that was not hit in 1967 because it was built underground. The project was a great victory for Egypt in invading the desert and developing a new model for an advanced and industrialized agricultural society. All this was done in just 4 1/2 years.

The reason for ousting me from al-Tahrir Province is that the rightist wing of the revolution, led by 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir and Zakariya Muhyi-al-Din, became aware of my great influence and my strong position, especially since I had paid no attention to them. They launched a propaganda campaign against me and against the project on the grounds that it was a losing project, that I was dumping the money in the sand and that it was a "communist" project. At the time, 'Abd-al-Latif Baghdadi was minister of municipal affairs and he had started demolishing the old quarters, including Ma'ruf quarter, which I represented in the National Assembly. Along with the quarter residents, I confronted Baghdadi and I blocked demolition

of the quarter before new housing could be secured for the residents. On the following day, 2 November 1952, they decided to dismiss me from al-Tahrir Province and intensified the campaign against me.

I went to 'Abd-al-Nasir and said: I will only say to you what Isma'il [Ishmael] told Ibrahim [Abraham], may peace be upon both of them, namely: "Father, I will do what you order and you shall find me patient." The boss said to me: Majdi, be like Khalid ibn al-Walid when he agreed to hand over the command of the Muslim army to Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn al-Jarrah. My relationship with 'Abd-al-Nasir as a patriotic leader was a relationship that could never cause me to get upset with him and I said to him: I know those who are around you. But I am a "brave" man and I will accept what you say. I tolerated my dismissal for the sake of 'Abd-al-Nasir.

'Abd-al-Nasir asked me to go to his resthouse in al-Qanatir to relax. While I was preparing my suitcase at home, 'Abd-al-Nasir contacted me by telephone and said: Majdi, go to the National Assembly. Be courageous and face the people because something is being hatched against you. I did go and discovered that 'Abd-al-Latif Baghdadi had given the deputies the impression that the Revolution Command Council had decided to dismiss me, which was not true, and also discovered that 10 deputies had demanded my dismissal from the Assembly. I confronted them and demanded that an investigation be conducted before a decision could be made. The Assembly was courageous and supported my request, despite the objection of Baghdadi, who wanted to end the matter before 'Abd-al-Nasir could intervene. The conclusion of the committee investigation was that I had not committed any violations in the province.

'Aziz Sidqi had contacted 'Abd-al-Nasir and submitted his resignation in protest but 'Abd-al-Nasir told him that the Revolution Command Council had no position on the issue and that the matter was in the hands of the National Assembly. The plot to dismiss me from the Assembly was foiled. Baghdadi wanted to depict that incident as intervention by the executive authority, 'Abd-al-Nasir, in the legislative authority's work. But Baghdadi forgot that 'Abd-al-Nasir was not just the head of a government but rather the leader of the entire nation.

The rightist wing opposed me in the 1964 elections, as did 'Ali Sabri. They supported 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Shurbaji, chairman of the Lawyers Union, as a candidate running against me in Qasr al-Nil district. They launched a large-scale campaign against me. But 4 days before the elections, 'Abd-al-Nasir delivered a speech at Cairo University in which he lauded al-Tahrir Province. So I scored an overwhelming victory in the elections.

But they continued to plot against me and in 1965 trumped up the issue of the greater feudalism--an issue in which they accused my uncle of planning to assassinate 'Abd-al-Nasir with my help. But God exposed their allegation.

In 1966, I no longer had the desire to continue to be embroiled in those conflicts and expressed my wish to 'Abd-al-Nasir, who appointed me ambassador to Czechoslovakia, where I stayed until 1972.

In April 1971, al-Sadat met with me after he had become president and told me that he was planning to get rid of 'Ali Sabri and the others. He actually revealed to me what he later did on 15 May 1971. Yes, it was a plot by al-Sadat against them. Al-Sadat trumped up the charge against them that they had been plotting against him. How could they have been plotting when they had not prepared a single bullet against him?

Majdi Hasanayn's lengthy recounting of his recollections of the prerevolution phase and of the internal conflicts among the revolution's elements after the start of the revolution was enough to consume most of the interview time and to draw attention to and raise questions about much of what had been said. It was time for the present and the future and for questions on the National Salvation Party that he is trying to form.

[Question] Why the name National Salvation?

[Answer] Because al-Qattarah Depression project, which constitutes the backbone of the party's program, is the salvation for Egypt's future and a guarantee for achieving prosperity for all its citizens.

[Question] How?

[Answer] Al-Qattarah Depression project is based, as I have already pointed out in my book "The Desert, the Wealth and the Revolution," on opening a canal that carries Mediterranean Sea water to al-Qattarah Depression. The fall of the water into the depression, which is 70 meters deep, is to be utilized to generate electricity. I add to this the fact that the water would be desalinated at the southern end of the depression and pumped through small canals to cover the Western Desert, proceeding southward until it covered the entire desert. I also add that it is necessary to use nuclear energy and solar energy, which is our future wealth because the sun shines over our country 326 days a year. We will be thus able to cultivate 50 million more feddans, enough to meet Egypt's needs for generations to come and to provide for Egypt's population when it reaches 300-400 million.

[Question] When will this project begin?

[Answer] Not before 20-30 years, during which a complete and profound economic feasibility study would be conducted.

[Question] How many years will it take to complete the project?

[Answer] Two hundred years.

[Question] Will your party be able to implement it?

[Answer] No, the government is the one to implement it.

[Question] If the government does not implement it, then what is the use of the party?

[Answer] This does not hurt the party. What is important now is to demand, not necessarily implement. There are numerous parties making demands, as the Greens are doing in Germany. This party does not have the power to implement its demands but it is gaining popularity and support for these demands.

[Question] Can a party (be formed) for a project?

[Answer] Our objective is not just one project. We are a party founded for development in all of its forms and al-Qattarah Depression is a part of this development.

[Question] What is the party's complete program?

[Answer] The program has not been put in its final form yet. The party application will be submitted to the Parties Committee next October. However, the program is a simple one that basically emphasizes development in Egypt.

[Question] Some say that the "development" slogan is just a smokescreen behind which to hide other political demands that the party does not want to declare so that there will be no objection to its foundation.

[Answer] Why? Israel waged war on us to put an end to the development achieved in the first five-year, 1960-65, plan and to obstruct the second plan. Israel's goal is to obstruct our development. Have Israel's friends, beginning with al-Sadat and Mustafa Khalil and ending with 'Uthman [Ahmad 'Uthman], implemented a single valuable industrial project? No. I am afraid that such people will lead Egypt in the future. This is why I want to make a distinction between those who do nothing for Egypt and those who offer it everything. I seek to gather engineers and technicians so that we can create revolutionary development in Egypt.

[Question] What is your opinion of the social structure now prevalent in Egypt?

[Answer] There is currently in Egypt a jellylike structure that doesn't know who is leading it. Neither the workers, the farmers nor the intellectuals are leading. Unknown classes have emerged illegally, especially in the capital, and have moved into the countryside with the intervention of the ruling party, particularly in the construction and development projects.

[Question] What is your evaluation of Egyptian capitalism at present?

[Answer] There is a clean capitalism and a dangerous capitalism. The latter is the capitalism that "will lead the country into catastrophe" and is the capitalism that emerged in Egypt in the 1970's.

[Question] Do you support 50-percent representation by farmers and workers in the elected councils?

[Answer] I am against this.

[Question] Why, considering that they were the troops in your main experiment in al-Tahrir Province?

[Answer] The experience has proven that because of illiteracy and ignorance and the absence of respectable parties, the farmers and workers can be tempted and corrupted. How can one be a worker when he gets 300 pounds monthly for taking part in People's Assembly sessions?

[Question] Which of society's classes do you represent then?

[Answer] The middle class. Most of those who are with me are university professors, lawyers and technical cadres.

[Question] You mean it is a party of technocrats?

[Answer] Not under that name.

[Question] What would you call or how would you describe your and your party's intellectual line?

[Answer] I represent the left-of-center middle class.

[Question] What is your opinion of the open-door economy?

[Answer] It is ruinous to Egypt. My party's program will oppose this open-door economy. I support a productive open-door economy, serious austerity and respect for public monies and the manner in which they are used. As an Egyptian taxpayer, I cannot spend 3-4 million pounds on the Consultative Council, which is no more than an appendage.

[Question] What is your opinion of the parties law?

[Answer] It is an insult to the Egyptian people because it does not respect them. It is a duty to respect every human being, no matter how different his opinion.

[Question] And what about the special laws?

[Answer] They do not respect the Egyptian people and it is a disgrace for the ruling party to maintain them.

[Question] What is your assessment of the existing opposition parties?

[Answer] They are all honorable and sincere patriots and we attach great hopes to them. But their movement is limited by laws and regulations. Even though they exist, their dispersal is limited due to the government's monopoly of the media, because the government wants us as a Hyde Park, without influence.

[Question] Do you approve the formation of a front from the opposition parties to face the government?

[Answer] I am not against any alliance with them. It is also possible to get into an alliance with the ruling party if it responds to the terms I set forth (!!!)

[Question] Will your party, if it is approved, participate in the forthcoming People's Assembly elections?

[Answer] We hope so.

[Question] What is your position toward the demand of the Nasirists, al-Wafd and others for the formation of their independent parties?

[Answer] They are fully entitled to form their parties. As long as they have their masses, they must be respected. Every Egyptian must be respected.

[Question] What is your position vis-a-vis Camp David?

[Answer] I am not for it and not against it. I support the people and support what they decide. But I am against the neutralization of Egypt. The neutralization of Egypt is an old colonialist objective which means to kill Egypt. Egypt does not exist without its Arab role. Husni Mubarak stresses this, and I believe that he is waiting for the right moment to take a courageous step to correct the entire situation in Egypt, even if this correction comes at his personal expense. The Egyptian people will greatly and boundlessly appreciate such an act.

[Question] What is your view of Arab unity, and how can it be achieved?

[Answer] As long as I say that I respect 'Abd-al-Nasir, then I respect all his concepts. I am for unity but a well-studied unity that begins economically, as in the EEC, and then socially and politically. I am against unity founded on emotions.

[Question] What is your evaluation of Egypt's relations with the United States and the Soviet Union?

[Answer] I am not a communist and not against communism or any other system. What binds me to the Soviet Union is a relationship primarily in the interest of Egypt. The Soviet Union did offer Egypt [aid on] "serving trays," as al-Sadat himself said. I cannot be an ingrate. So far, we have not made up for their friendship. As for the United States, it is a super-power, and we have no interest in being against it. I hope it will respect us as long as we don't seek to tweak its nose.

But regrettably, the United States does not respect the blacks among its own people. It treats us haughtily and gives us charity, [expecting] us to receive it gratefully. I am against "charity," even if I starve to death.

I am certain that if a leader speaks to his people frankly, as 'Abd-al-Nasir did, about their interest and asks them to eat half as much, they will agree, except for the parasitic class. The Egyptian is prepared to share his loaf of bread for the sake of Egypt, provided that his money doesn't end up in the pockets of corruption.

[Question] Are you a millionaire?

[Answer] I wish. I am a millionaire in the negative because I owe the Agricultural Credit Bank for an egg-production project that I am building in my town (Tahla in Banha district). I have been engaged in the import and export business since the 1970's. I have had an import and export business since 1958. In 1962, I told 'Abd-al-Nasir: As long as you are planning to follow a serious socialism, then I will close down my office. And I did.

[Question] What is your opinion of 'Abd-al-Nasir?

[Answer] A leader. Suffice it to say that he was the first Egyptian to rule Egypt. If there were some violations under his administration, I am confident that they must have taken place behind his back. This happens in every country. I believe that 'Abd-al-Nasir's popularity was the result of his being the true expression of the people.

[Question] And al-Sadat?

[Answer] He was my friend and "friendly." We exchanged greetings--"a noble morning to you"--but he sold himself to the enemies of the revolution and became their friend. The revolution that we had built with our blood and soul over many years was lost to us at the hands of al-Sadat. We did not want the power in 1952. We wanted to restore to Egypt its civilizing role and to achieve progress for it, not see the day come when a vagabond like Begin or somebody else has the upper hand in the area.

[Question] And what about Mubarak?

[Answer] A sincere and upright patriot who works seriously because he is young and athletic and his generation is different from ours. But al-Sadat left him a difficult legacy that is strangling him politically, economically and militarily. He will not get rid of the noose around his neck unless he cuts the rope itself, i.e., unless he rids himself of al-Sadat's entire legacy.

[25 Sep 83 p 18]

[Text] For a long period, the political forces in Egypt continued to watch without much interest, perhaps even ignored, the ceaseless endeavors of Dr 'Abd-al-Muhsin Hammudah, in the name of the Wafdist Vanguard Party, to hold a ceremony at al-Tahrir Square on the anniversary of national leader Mustafa al-Nahhas. But all these forces could not but express their appreciation for the persistent efforts of the man who was able, through a court

decision and after successive abortive attempts, to succeed in what no opposition force has been able to do, namely, wrest the right to hold a political rally in a public square on the 16th of last December and who was able to repeat the experience and to reaffirm this right in another rally held 9 June 1983.

When thousands massed on the 23d of last August to celebrate the anniversary of leaders Sa'd Zaghlul and al-Nahhas and when Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din delivered his address in his capacity as chairman of the New al-Wafd Party, which has resumed its activity, Dr Hammudah was amidst the masses shouting protests against the words of Siraj-al-Din, words declaring a truce with Mubarak. This is because Hammudah views himself and his Wafdist Vanguard Party as the true expression of al-Wafd. He also believes that his party has been in existence legitimately since he declared it in 1977 and that he may join al-Wafd and engage in opposition inside this party if some conditions are met by the political line and structure of the New al-Wafd Party.

What are the intellectual and dynamic features of the Wafdist Vanguard, what is this party's disagreement with the New al-Wafd, and what is its position toward Egyptian and Arab issues? This interview with the founder of the Wafdist Vanguard sheds light on some of these areas.

[Question] What is the current status of the Wafdist Vanguard Party? Is it a party under formation or is it a legally established party?

[Answer] We consider ourselves a legally existing party. We declared formation of the Wafdist Vanguard Party in May 1977, 2 months before promulgation of the parties law. At the time, we took advantage of the absence of a law regulating the formation of parties and announced the formation of our party. We also announced the party program and a list of its founders, numbering more than 50, half of them farmers and workers. We also published four editions of our magazine, AL-TALI'AH AL-WAFDIYAH. The parties law was issued afterward and we do not acknowledge that this law is retroactive. As long as we founded the party before promulgation of the parties law and under a constitution that serves a number of parties, then we cannot be abolished legally.

[Question] Hasn't the government objected to your engaging in political activity in the name of the Wafdist Vanguard Party?

[Answer] When the socialist prosecutor interrogated me during the September campaign, I was asked about a citation submitted against me by the Government Litigation Directorate for engaging in activity in a party that is legally nonexistent. But the investigation came to a halt after al-Sadat's assassination and the government has not reopened the case. If engaging in activity in a public party is a misdemeanor, this misdemeanor becomes moot after 5 years.

[Question] If the government asks you, as it has asked the New al-Wafd Party, to resubmit your party papers to the Parties Committee, what will you do?

[Answer] We will not submit a new application under any circumstances.

[Question] It is said that the Wafdist Vanguard Party is no more than 'Abd-al-Muhsin Hammudah by himself.

[Answer] Suffice it to tell you that we have received more popular support and sympathy than we can absorb. Such a judgment should be passed on the party's overall activity. The holding of a mass rally in al-Tahrir Square cannot be judged as the work of one individual, no matter how much of a genius he is, because it is something that all the existing opposition parties could not achieve.

[Question] Is your party confined to the generation that historically belonged to the Wafdist Vanguard before the July revolution?

[Answer] Of course not. Members of the current party are not the same persons and include younger generations.

[Question] What social forces do you represent?

[Answer] The working classes of the Egyptian people, not capitalism.

[Question] What is the distinction between the Wafdist Vanguard and al-Wafd?

[Answer] Insofar as movement is concerned, the Wafdist Vanguard has been the primary dynamo moving al-Wafd since the 1940's. Theoretically, the Wafdist Vanguard is the line developing and renewing the doctrinal content of al-Wafd. As for democracy, the Wafdist Vanguard stood, for example, against issuance of the press legislation, against the palace information, against the State Council law and against [detention on] political suspicion. The Wafdist Vanguard waged with its men, men such as Dr 'Aziz Fahmi, Ahmad Abu al-Fath and Mustafa Musah, a battle to protect democracy in the parliament. Insofar as the national issue is concerned, the Wafdist Vanguard expressed a decisive position against colonialism--a position that led to the abolishment of the treaty (1936 treaty between Egypt and England), to the declaration of the popular struggle against the occupation and to rejection of bases and alliances. Insofar as the social imprints are concerned, those of the Wafdist Vanguard were deeper. The Wafdist Vanguard demanded nationalization as of 1945. All the leftist Egyptian currents grew up in the bosom and under the canopy of the Wafdist Vanguard.

[Question] What are the basic features of the Wafdist Vanguard Party's program?

[Answer] Our program is based on the program formulated by Mustafa al-Nahas after the development of al-Wafd in September 1952. We have also taken into consideration the changes that have occurred in Egypt in the past one-third century. What is most prominent in al-Nahas' program is its description of al-Wafd as a democratic socialist organization, as being against colonialism, Zionism and Israel and as being tied to the interests of the popular classes.

We call in our program for reliance on comprehensive economic and social planning, on the people's ownership of the means of production through a public sector and on control of the private sector to the extent possible and then on positive neutrality and nonalignment. Al-Nahhas' al-Wafd must take some credit for all of this,

[Question] What is the position of the Wafdist Vanguard toward the New al-Wafd Party?

[Answer] The New al-Wafd Party must meet certain conditions, the most important being that this party emanate from developing the principles of [the old] al-Wafd and from completing the content of those principles, that it represent the interests of the working people and that it call for winning and safeguarding national independence against colonialism, Zionism and Israel. Those participating in the party must meet conditions set by a committee of veteran Wafdist. This should not be left up to just one person--meaning Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din. We also reject al-Wafd's submission and its desertion of its traditions to the extent of submitting a request for a license to declare its formation.

[Question] Do you think that the New al-Wafd meets these conditions or not?

[Answer] Of course it doesn't. Al-Wafd's Higher Council, with 21 members, includes just 5 Wafdist members. Nationally and socially, the other members do not follow the past policy line of al-Wafd or are from among the remnants of the other totalitarian schools. I believe that all leftovers of al-Sadat school--such as Mansur Hasan, who is expected to supervise the party press, Isma'il Fahmi, 'Abd al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid and Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil--will join al-Wafd Party.

[Question] Does this mean that you are against the New al-Wafd Party in its present condition?

[Answer] No. As long as it uses the name of al-Wafd, we are its cadres because it is the nation's national and social legacy. We represent the other current in al-Wafd and we represent the continued internal opposition in al-Wafd, no matter how fierce and open, because this opposition reflects popular tendencies. The party will not grow unless it submits and responds to these tendencies.

[Question] Does this mean that you will join the New al-Wafd Party?

[Answer] If it meets the conditions we want, then we will join it.

[Question] Is it likely that it will reject you if you decide to join it?

[Answer] No.

[Question] What is the explanation for your opposition during al-Wafd's latest celebration of the anniversary of Sa'd and al-Nahhas?

[Answer] The list of written cheers distributed by al-Wafd with the approval of Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din and topped by the cheers for Mubarak angered us. We wanted to compel all to respect the anniversary. So while Siraj-al-Din was delivering his address, we shouted: "Al-Nahhas abrogated the treaty. Abrogate the treaty [with Israel], abrogate the treaty." When Siraj-al-Din said that he envies the National [Democratic] Party for having Mubarak as its chairman, we shouted: "The revolution party, not the state party. Al-Nahhas was the enemy of Zionism and did not conclude a peace treaty. No hypocrisy and no capitulation on al-Nahhas' anniversary." When Siraj said, "My brother and friend Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din," we shouted: "You now have a friend, Muhyi-al-Din, as al-Sadat is Begin's friend."

[Question] Do you have a personal grudge against Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din?

[Answer] It is not a personal grudge but a political one. We held this position inside al-Wafd even before the revolution and demanded that Siraj-al-Din be ousted because he corrupted political life inside al-Wafd and because he represents the heart of the right in al-Wafd.

[Question] What is your evaluation of the July revolution?

[Answer] Nationally, the revolution was no different from the Wafdist direction, except in particulars. Socially and economically, what is described as al-Wafd's imprint on social justice was given a more advanced significance. Our emphasis was on political democracy, whereas the July revolution focused on social democracy. The retreat from the revolution's accomplishments occurred because the accomplishments were separated from the masses benefiting from them due to the absence of the democratic dimension. This is why al-Sadat was able to scrap the accomplishments without popular resistance.

[Question] What is your evaluation of al-Sadat regime?

[Answer] It sold Egypt for a rubber check and the sale extended to include the entire Arab area and Arab cause, which has thus reached its present condition.

[Question] And what about Husni Mubarak?

[Answer] It is a continuation of al-Sadat's regime, but with less intensity and more discretion. No fundamental change has occurred under this regime. What has happened is a change in form and approach.

[Question] What is your evaluation of the existing Egyptian opposition parties and what possibility exists for the formation of a national front?

[Answer] They all emanate from the government, flow into the government and beautify the face of the government to the extent that it pleases the membership. These organizations are wary of a new progressive platform because they want to avoid competing with it, especially if this platform is distinguished from theirs by its popularity, its legacy and its

seriousness. This is where the disagreement between the Wafdist Vanguard and these parties arises. As for the front, such a front is established among political forces defined in organizations. This is why such a front cannot be formed before the formation of independent organizations for all political forces in Egypt.

[Question] What is the position of the Wafdist Vanguard toward the issue of the vanguard and of unity?

[Answer] Unless the countries of the Arab nation win their national independence, then engulfing them with unity becomes, democratically, premature and a cause of retreat, not progress. National independence must be present first and then there has to be democratic popular readiness to produce unity, which should have a socialist content.

[Question] How can this concept agree with the policy of al-Nahhas, which you adopt and which created the Arab League before complete national independence was achieved by the Arab countries?

[Answer] That was just a start. Ideas and policies can be developed.

[Question] What are the next steps for the Wafdist Vanguard?

[Answer] We are now striving to hold three public rallies before the end of 1983. The first will be held at al-Sayyidah Zaynab Square on 25 September and the second in Bab al-Sha'iriyah on 6 October. These two rallies were supposed to be held in 1977 but al-Nabawi Isma'il prevented us. A final decision was issued in our favor by the State Council in 1980. The two rallies must be held in implementation of the court decision. The third rally is scheduled to be held in al-Tahrir Square on the 55th anniversary of al-Nahhas' assumption of al-Wafd Party chairmanship. The question of this rally is being examined by the State Council and a decision on it will be made at a session to be held on 4 October.

Dr 'Abd-al-Muhsin Hammudah is himself a phenomenon that merits attention. He alone carries the burden of the movement to keep the name of the Wafdist Vanguard before the arena of events in Egypt. Perhaps we would not be exaggerating if we say that were it not for the persistent and querulous presence of Dr Hammudah, the Wafdist Vanguard would be just a past legacy kept by the history of the Egyptian national movement in the pages of books.

The man has talked about himself in a manner that makes both the listener and the reader certain that he is the rare sort that survives only in constant struggle. The struggle of Dr Hammudah, who was born on 6 April 1929, began with the successive student demonstrations against the British in which he took part. In 1946, he was secretary of the National Committee of Workers and Students, which led the tumultuous demonstrations against the colonists. He was also elected deputy chairman of the Wafdist Vanguard, which was led by Mustafa Musa. After reaching the final year of his college studies, which he began in 1944, he was dismissed because of his

political activity. So he went to France to complete his studies there in 1949. Because he wanted to go to the United States, the Council of Ministers issued a decision appointing him press attache in Washington in 1950. But he was deported from the United States on a court order after spending 6 months under arrest there. When the July 1952 revolution broke out, Hammudah and the Wafdist Vanguard opposed it. He was jailed at the outset of 1953 and acquitted in July of the same year. But he was arrested before he left the jail and stayed in prison until June 1956 when he was released. He then left Egypt and lived as a roving opponent of the revolution for a period of 10 years. In 1959-60, he managed a radio station hostile to 'Abd-al-Nasir and financed by 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim. This station transmitted its programs from Iraq! When Qasim's downfall became imminent, Hammudah left Iraq, using a forged Iraqi passport, for Romania where he spent 2 1/2 years. From there, he proceeded to Czechoslovakia under an assumed name. In Romania, according to Hammudah, "I learned litigation, because I filed numerous lawsuits against the Czech authorities!" In 1966 Dr Hammudah, who had assumed the name Muhammad 'Adil while broadcasting from Qasim's Iraq against 'Abd-al-Nasir, presented himself to Majdi Hasanayn, then Egyptian ambassador to Czechoslovakia, revealing to him his true identity and his anti-Nasir activity and asking the ambassador to [help him] return to Egypt. When the ambassador submitted a memorandum, which Dr Hammudah himself had prepared on his situation, to 'Abd-al-Nasir, the memorandum was referred to Amin Huwaydi for study and a decision was issued allowing him to return. Thus, Hammudah returned with three sons, each born in a different Arab or European capital, none bearing his father's true name and all born from a Spanish wife. He returned to Egypt to be appointed in the petroleum sector--an appointment compatible with his Ph.D. in geological engineering, which he had obtained in Paris in 1958. None of 'Abd-al-Nasir's men or his government officials harassed the man who had toured various capitals for 10 years during which he attacked 'Abd-al-Nasir, his regime and his people, describing them as fascists, terrorists and collaborators with Zionism and colonialism. After recounting in detail his interesting story against 'Abd-al-Nasir and its conclusion with his return to live in 'Abd-al-Nasir's Egypt, without being subjected to any harm, Hammudah talked about his participation in the Cairo University student movements of 1971-72 and 1973-75 and in the popular uprising of January 1977. I still remember him during that uprising jumping on the shoulders of the demonstrators in al-Qubbah quarter to shout calls that he seemed to have retained from the days of his demonstrations against the king, calls such as: "Where is the food, where is the clothing, oh you government of the womanizer." Hammudah has said: "The Wafdist Vanguard has shouldered--perhaps it is more accurate to say Hammudah has shouldered--the burden of confronting the dark image that has been attached to al-Wafd and has proven that al-Wafd is still alive and has courageous and firm positions." As for the rest of the story of Dr Hammudah and the Wafdist Vanguard, it has had the chance to become well-known. The rest of this story centers mainly on his persistent efforts to win the right to a public rally on the occasion of the anniversary of Mustafa al-Nahhas, the man whom Dr Hammudah holds almost sacred and for whom he still wears a black tie in mourning.

OPPOSITION, GOVERNMENT DEBATE PROBITY OF CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

Various Election Irregularities Detailed

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11 Oct 83 pp 4, 5

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qaddus, 'Atif Husayn, Ahmad al-Suyufi and Muhammad al-Sa'dani"]

[Text] In Giza, The Attendance Was Less Than 1 Percent and There Were Students and Policemen in the Committees!

In the Governorate of Giza, blatant violations of the election law occurred. The masses boycotted the elections in a striking fashion which Egypt had not witnessed before, to the point where the attendance rate in one committee came to less than just 1 percent!

Lest one not just seem to be committing slander, in Committee 10 in Bulaq al-Dakrur, whose headquarters were the Jihan al-Sadat school, the number of voters came to 1,276 while the number of people who appeared came to only nine, that is, less than 1 percent!

Muhammad Abu-al-Fadl al-Jizawi, member of the executive committee in the Socialist Labor Party, was a member of this committee.

All evidence showed that the Egyptian people decided to boycott these elections. I went around a number of committees in Giza and Cairo. Accompanying me on this tour were Sayyid Hasan, director of the office of Muhammad Abu-al-Fadl al-Jizawi and member of the general conference of the Labor Party, and Ibrahim Dahdad, the photographer for AL-SHA'B newspaper. Our attention was drawn by the fact that the public was given no guidance. The voters had to be election experts in order to know where the committees were. It was really hard to get to some committees, such as the Hasan Suwaylim school in Misr al-Qadimah, where there were two committees. It was in an alley branching off from a narrow street. All the committees we went into had either no voters, for the most part, or we found a voter or two in them at the most. In the Nasr-al-Din joint elementary school, where my companion, Sayyid Hasan, cast his vote, the committee chairman told him, "You are the third person since the morning." That was at noon.

This committee had 1,200 voters, and he was the third to cast his vote, 5 hours after the start of the elections.

Close to the al-Zamr canal, we observed a line. I thought it was a line of voters, and we stopped there. It was apparent that it was a line of people registering supply cards in the National Party. Thus they failed to draw people to the Consultative Assembly elections, but they did succeed in attracting them to the party to record their supply cards!

We observed only policemen, police officers and large numbers of "children." Most of the committees were in primary schools. In one of these committees we observed a rally of children and realized the reason behind the secret of their happiness and joy -- it was a holiday that day, because the elections were being held there!

Most of the committee chairmen had anticipated what happened. They were sitting down, resigned to drinking tea or reading the newspapers.

While I was in the al-'Umraniyah committee by the Pyramids, a voter came in whom I stopped to observe. There had been a mistake in his name. He was called Kamil Sa'id Sulayman. On the list, his father's name was Sayyid rather than Sa'id. The voter changed [it to] "Sa'id," correcting the change that had occurred regarding his father. The important thing is that the chairman of the committee agreed to give him an election card in spite of that mistake. He could not ignore any voter, because they were extremely scarce. The voter read the names of the candidates more than once, then said to the committee chairman, "I do not know anyone -- who will I vote for?" He answered him by stating, "Vote for the ones you have." The voter made an almost invisible cross mark, then went out saddened, as if he felt regret at having taken part in these elections, in which he did not know anyone. However, he had gone out of fear of being fined.

I observed flagrant violations in the various election committees during my tour of them. Article 24 of the law regulating them stipulates that each committee is to be made up of a chairman, a secretary and two members, "delegates," but in each committee I went to I saw only the committee chairman and secretary, meaning that their work was not properly performed, because there was no legal quorum, and there was no basis for the administrative work, thus rendering it invalid. When the chairman of one of the committees, Committee Six in Misr al-Qadimah, whose headquarters were the Hasan Suwaylim school, was asked, his response was very strange. He said that he was content to have policemen, because they were strongmen, and the leading figure in the area, and there was no need to have any delegates!

A further violation occurred when the lists of the voters required overall review. This is what the chairman of the al-'Umraniyah school committee at the Pyramids told me. He told me, "The lists are very old. They were set out 20 years ago and many people must have died, or moved to other places, but what can I do -- I am the slave of the station chief!"

I witnessed an additional blatant violation, which was that in the overwhelming majority of election committees I found no curtain behind which a voter

could go to write out his vote, to guarantee secrecy. That conflicted with Article 35 of the law regulating these elections. Indeed, it was in conflict with decent elections anywhere in the world.

The strange thing is that some of the very few voters who appeared wrote out their votes while leaning on the ballot box itself, and others gave their votes before the committee chairman himself, who did not ask them to move away from him. These are elections Egyptian style.

#### Police inside the Committees

One of the greatest violations I observed was the presence of police inside the committees themselves, which marked a blatant violation of the law, specifically Article 23 of the law bearing on Consultative Assembly elections. This "scandal" was to be found in Committee Six in the Hasan Suwaylim school in Misr al-Qadimah, where I observed a number of policemen with the chairman of the committee, where there were no voters. There was nothing surprising in that: the chairman of this committee answered, when asked why there were no delegates in his committee, as the law stipulates, that he was content to have the police because they were strongmen.

The farce reached its climax when the leading figure in the area, who belongs to the Ministry of the Interior, asked to have his photograph taken as he was engaged in putting a ballot in the box. Thus the mockery reached its farthest limit, with the ballots and indeed all the elections!

At the committee in the Martyr Ahmad 'Abd-al-'Aziz school in Giza, we took note of a police sergeant and detective inside the committee. The sergeant told the detective, "Stay here and be careful about talking to anyone." When we began to proceed to photograph them, someone came and said, "The general has arrived," and everyone rushed out. After that a "well-meaning" officer came and told us, "Look out, you have photographed the sergeant and the detective, taking photographs is forbidden, so please do us a favor." Thus we were politely ejected.

#### Even the Judges Ignored Their Duty

Through all these violations, I observed the degree of negligence of the people supervising these comic elections!

Even the judges themselves and the committee heads supervising the branch committees were negligent in their work. I found the judge supervising the elections in Misr al-Qadimah in the police precinct, sitting in the investigative officer's room, not in his normal place in the general committee. I did not find the judge in Bulaq al-Dakrur at all. I proceeded to ask about him in the precinct station, and a civilian told me, "His job starts at 0500 hours." One of the officers discovered how wrong the person making the statement had been, and told me, "No, he is here, come with me." I went with him from one room to another until we ended up in the station chief's room. He told me, "Basically his honor the judge is a little ill and went to the hospital for an examination. Come in a little while!"

In the Al-Wasita District in Bani Suwayf: The Government Threatens Citizens with a 300-Pound Fine

In al-Wasita District, citizens were surprised to find government cars circulating in the streets when the citizens boycotted the elections, warning them of the fines that would be imposed on them in the event they did not go to the election committees. After an hour of these warnings had gone by, and no one had appeared, the government cars made another cautionary tour, stating that the government would impose a fine of 100 pounds on people who did not go to the ballot boxes. After another hour, the government raised the amount of the fine to 200 pounds. At 1600 hours in the afternoon, an hour before the work of the committees ended, the vehicles made a "disruptive" campaign among the citizens, warning them that the fine would be 300 pounds. Thus the fining process was subjected to an auction, reaching 300 pounds in the case of the people who boycotted the elections in the District of al-Wasita.

In Heliopolis, Public Sector Company Vehicles Brought Workers to the Committee

In Heliopolis, there were no voters in the election committees. However, the government sought to round up citizens, and brought four Nile General Construction and Paving Company vehicles carrying company workers to the Heliopolis Military Secondary committee on Farid Street. The company management gathered these workers together to cast their votes, thus committing a blatant administrative violation. That happened at 1530 hours. The numbers on the buses were 20524, 20058, 21324, Cairo, and 172 Giza!

In Al-Matariyah, Cairo, a Police Sergeant Visits the Elections and Assaults the Labor Party Secretary, Beating Him

In al-Matariyah, Cairo, some policemen falsified the elections themselves. Salim al-Zuqlah, secretary of the Socialist Labor Party in the al-Matariyah District, discovered this fraud as early as 1215 hours when he went to election committee 32 in the 'Arab al-Tawilah School, where he found a police sergeant sitting at the desk in the committee, with the chairman of the committee beside him and a citizen in front of the two of them named 'Ali Rajab al-Rayyan, who asked the chairman of the committee to make a mark on the voting card in his place. The police sergeant took the card from the citizen and made a crossmark on it. At that point Salim al-Zuqlah protested vehemently over the presence of the police sergeant in the committee, and the fact that he had made a mark on the voter's card. At that the police sergeant abused the Labor Party secretary with the vilest language and assaulted him, beating him in front of everyone present!

At that point Salim al-Zuqlah decided to inform the police of the incident so that it could investigate it. The deputy station chief came, along with the chief of the investigation unit in the department, and they tried to reconcile the police sergeant and the Labor Party secretary. The police sergeant offered an apology, but the Labor Party secretary demanded that that be set down in the police ledger, and the deputy station chief refused to write up a report on the incident!

A group of officers then appeared and asked that Salim al-Zuqlah go with them to the station to meet the station chief and the judge. He went to the station at 1500 hours, but the chief informed him that the judge had gone for lunch. He then returned and said that the judge was passing by the committees. In this manner, the police tried to keep the Labor Party secretary away from the committee!

Salim al-Zuqlah discovered a number of violations of law. In committee 32, there was a committee chairman but no appointed secretary, and the two delegates stipulated by law for the voters were not present. There was no one in the women's committee, except for one person going back and forth among the committees. When the judge appeared, Salim al-Zuqlah asked him to go down to the committee to see the violations for himself. The station chief tried to prevent that, up to 1700 hours, when the judge went out, accompanied by the chief and deputy chief. Then he was surprised to see a box being taken away by truck. Salim al-Zuqlah demanded that the judge receive the two reports on the committees, the chairman of the committee said that the reports were in the boxes, and at that time the young person who was present in the women's committee tried to escape into the school with the reports. Salim al-Zuqlah asked the judge to take the two reports, because they were not in the boxes!

In [Marsa] Matruh: The Name of the Current People's Assembly Chairman Was Not To Be Found in the List of Localities in Matruh

In Matruh, the governorate witnessed a form of perversion of the will of the voters. The masses largely boycotted the elections for two essential reasons: first, the base of the tribal groups in Matruh reject Consultative Assembly candidates who do not represent them, and second, the masses reject the actions of the National Party in the governorate. This boycott prompted the Sidi Barrani station chief to demand that a member of the election committee circulate among the inhabitants. That member was only the organizational secretary of the party committee in Sidi Barrani. Nonetheless, the citizens were surprised to find that the results of the referendum the minister of the interior declared came to 78.6 percent in Matruh Governorate, prompting a number of citizens to send cables to the president, among them the citizens Idris Hibah Jabr and Harbi Shalluf. There were 279 words on one of the cables sent to the president, all asserting that the will of the voters had been perverted in their absence!

#### Government Official Answers Charges

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 17 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by Muhammad Rashwan]

[Text] The most recent elections to the Consultative Assembly have been the object of analysis and commentary. Some people have linked the results of the elections to the degree of conviction among the masses over the political role the Consultative Assembly plays or the popularity of the National Party!

I will not try to shirk any responsibility here. The parties are becoming more rigid in confronting challenges, and the results of the elections, whose probity everyone has acknowledged, underline the fact that the National Party lists obtained more than 6 million votes from the voters, while the law stipulates that the party lists have to obtain just 20 percent, that is, the equivalent of 1.5 million votes, [for the elections] to be valid. Doesn't that prove that the party has firm support among the bases of the masses and that the opposition has failed in its appeal to the citizens to boycott the elections? The National Party was on the side of legitimacy and democratic practices at a time when the opposition clung to an attitude of negativism and fled from the field. Is this reserve of capital with the masses in our favor or against us?

Some people have said that the masses' tepid reception was due to a lack of clear vision and the limited role of the Consultative Assembly, which is restricted to discussing certain general issues and does not discuss the 5-year plan as the People's Assembly does. It is not our fault that the people who have said these things have not referred to the constitution, which assigns numerous tasks to the Consultative Assembly, among them the discussion of laws supplementing the constitution and the draft general economic and social development plan. The fact is that the report the Consultative Assembly made on the 5-year plan should be considered one of the greatest reports to have been produced in parliamentary history, and the fact is that the discussions which take place in the assembly contain criticism and political guidance which the government takes into consideration -- indeed, ministerial decrees have been issued on the basis of Consultative Assembly recommendations, in the marine transportation sector for instance.

Although the representatives of the press persist in monitoring the sessions of the Consultative Assembly, the nationwide press publishes very little on its activities. We have no tutelage or right of guidance over it and the chairman of the assembly has not even used his eternal influence as chairman of the Higher Press Council. On whom does the blame lie, when the press has a serious role to play in enlightening public opinion?

#### Neutrality of Administration

Some people imagine that the leaders of the National Party were not to be believed as far as neutrality of administration of the election process went, and the political leaders' insistence that the elections be clean ones.

We believe that President Mubarak, since assuming his constitutional responsibilities, has meant every word he says, and knows that he is being held strictly to account for it and that the power of the law is above the heads of everyone, whether that person is in the majority or the opposition. All political circles are taking what the president says seriously and the minister of the interior's statements reflect the government's policy and the responsibility of the police in protecting the legitimate authority and the sovereignty of the law. In fact, the supplementary People's Assembly elections have confirmed all that.

We do not derive pleasure from being in the position of administrators, because we are familiar with it and are confident that it is an honest one. The people who talk about these notions must advise the opposition of them; it is still harboring doubts about everything -- indeed people in the opposition have formed a committee which they claimed was for the defense of freedoms. It is as if freedoms in Egypt are totally unrestricted and the law has no power and the judiciary no control over them!

#### The Opposition and the National Party

I was amazed by the statement of one writer, that the opposition is biting its fingers with regret at not having entered the elections, although it had been faced with a great chance, and it missed the opportunity for a real test by which its ability and true magnitude could be measured.

Who said that?

The people who voted against the National Party lists came to 1 percent. Isn't that an indication of the true magnitude of the opposition? The opposition called on the masses to boycott the elections and more than 6 million citizens rushed to the ballot boxes. That was the second test.

Where is the statement on the crushing campaign which the opposition led, which had the objective of casting doubts about the personalities and means of the National Party and used every type of provocation and intimidation on the subject of democracy? Where are the interests of the masses and honest political action? Are we asking that the files of opposition personalities be opened so that we can launch similar attacks of provocation and lead the masses to the brink of despair and frustration, thereby opening the door for the tyrant to escape and slip away with his booty, while we content ourselves with sermons and with condemnation of the oppressed? That is one issue.

#### Why 51 Percent of the Votes?

Before anyone talked about the lessons that were to be learned, the Secretariat General of the National Party, under the chairmanship of its secretary general, Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, held its periodic meeting last week. One of the subjects discussed was the results of the Consultative Assembly elections. We reviewed the results in the party family most objectively at the governorate level. Numerous issues imposed themselves upon us at the same time -- nominations for elections to local councils in every village and town in Egypt, Consultative [Assembly] elections, the preoccupation of workers with union committee elections, all things which were known to us, although it is the laws which specify the times and dates, and no one has the power to change those.

We are not objecting to the opposition's attempts to persecute some National Party personnel who were not chosen in the localities; suffice it to say that they sent the opposition emissaries back empty-handed and taught them a lesson in party morality and principles.

The elections showed that there was less voting in the towns than in the villages and rural governorates, in view of the difference in and nature of the electoral traditions in the two areas; we were not surprised by that, because that is the case in the People's Assembly elections.

In Cairo, for example, the turnout at People's Assembly elections does not exceed 30 percent, and in many departments there are runoffs among candidates because the minimum turnout, which is 20 percent, is not attained, in spite of the heated competition and the competing publicity among candidates.

Thousands of families were not moved from sections like al-Wayili and Bulaq to new areas in 'Ayn Shams, al-Salam, and al-Zawiyah al-Hamra'. They did not change their voting residence, and did not participate in the election. In addition, a large percentage of women failed to vote because they had no personal cards in their possession, and the workers were not allowed to leave an hour early, as had happened, to enable them to cast their votes. In spite of that, the turnout was 33.5 percent.

We are not belittling the importance of the element of competition and its absence from the stage; here is where the challenge and the criterion of the election results lay. We are not saying that it was not possible for matters to have been better than they were, but we do believe that the results were better than they had been, that we are trying to achieve better things, that the opposition did not succeed in anything, except in refraining from offering candidates out of fear over the results, and that some negative elements in the electoral tradition are normal and we have referred to some others, which require study from all political forces, the majority and the opposition.

#### Attempts To Corrupt the Elections

AL-SHA'B newspaper published the statement that a police sergeant attacked Mr Salim al-Zuqlah, the Labor Party secretary, during the consultative elections in al-Matariyah. In the report on this incident, of which I was informed by Mr Mustafa Ghubashi, the lawyer, the secretary of the National Party in al-Matariyah stated that Salim al-Zuqlah had run in the People's Assembly elections in 1979 after coming back from Libya. He did not win, and, the morning of the elections, came to the headquarters of the 'Arab al-Tawilah committee and stood inciting the citizens to rule the results of the elections invalid or go out and cast invalid votes. The police sergeant's attention was drawn because his conduct was considered interference in the election process, and no sooner did Mr Salim al-Zuqlah start verbally abusing the police sergeant than upstanding people intervened to resolve the problem, and the judge and deputy station chief appeared in the headquarters.

Salim al-Zuqlah comes from a respected family in al-Matariyah which rejects much of his conduct. In spite of that, we do not agree that anyone should attack him, and peace should belong to people who observe calm.

#### A Correction and Amendment

In last week's article about the plan, "Between Opposition and Blundering," it was stated that we are spending investments of \$600 million a day. This is a material error; what was meant was \$600 million a month. The matter requires attention.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF ISLAMIC SHARI'AH DISCUSSED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2889, 23 Oct 83 p 56

[Interview with Sayyid Zaki, deputy speaker of the People's Assembly, by Muhjah 'Uthman: "Deputy Speaker of People's Assembly Says, 'Codification of the Canonical Law of Islam Is One of the Most Important Acts of Business for the Next Session of the Assembly' "]

[Text] A committee was formed in 1978 to codify the provisions of the canonical law of Islam, but the years went by and so far the proposed law has not yet been enacted.

I asked Sayyid Zaki, deputy speaker of the People's Assembly about the secret behind the delay of this law. I asked him if the law will be introduced to the assembly during its present session for ratification.

[Answer] Action will be taken on the bill this session, God willing. Some people may think that a long time has gone by since the committee was formed in December 1978. But the time factor was necessary for study and examination. Time was necessary in order to come out with an integrated law that would fulfill the demands of the public in that regard. This is because putting Islamic law into practice and yielding to its provisions is considered a return [to basics] for the Egyptian people or rather for all the Arab and Islamic nation.

It was for this reason that Dr Sufi Abu Talib, speaker of the assembly proposed in June 1982 that the assembly's special committee be reorganized and that it be assisted by seven subcommittees. Each one of these subcommittees would undertake to study one of the projects completed by the previous technical committee.

These subcommittees were given the right to seek the assistance they wanted from scientists and experts in the canonical law of Islam.

I told the man who has been a veteran politician for 30 years, "Can you point out to us the principal features of these laws that the people are looking forward to?"

[Answer] All these laws are either taken word for word from the canonical law of Islam or they are derived from a legal ruling or from one of the principles of a legal ruling. None of these laws is restricted by a particular school of jurisprudence.

[Question] As far as financial transactions and social relations are concerned, will modern international economic transactions be consistent with the canonical law of Islam?

[Answer] The subcommittees have been trying to derive judgments on social relations and new financial transactions that have been introduced into the world and which Egypt has adopted but which scholars of jurisprudence have not touched upon. The subcommittees have been trying to derive those judgments that are consistent with the conditions of society, provided those judgments conform to the spirit and the principles of the canonical law of Islam. This of course will include bank transactions, insurance and investment methods.

[Question] Have these laws actually been drafted and prepared for discussion, or are the subcommittees still considering those matters?

[Answer] Most of them have actually been drafted, such as the Code of Civil Procedure. The subcommittee has also completed drafting the explanatory memorandum to that law as well as a statement of its legal principles. A prosecution bill, the explanatory memorandum to it and its statement of legal principles have also been drafted. A litigation bill has also been drafted, but the subcommittee is still engaged in preparing the explanatory memorandum for that bill. A draft penal code has also been drafted--a general section, mandatory punishments and discretionary punishments. The explanatory memorandum and a statement of the legal principles of that law have been drafted. A trade bill has been drafted: financial and economic laws. An alms tax bill, a social equality tax bill and the explanatory memoranda for all that have been drafted.

With regard to social laws and insurance legislation, the new bill required some changes in a number of past laws. All these draft laws, their explanatory memoranda and their statements of legal principles were actually sent to the Holy al-Azhar, to the universities and to judicial organizations for their consideration of the final form of these documents and for an opinion on them. The assembly has thus completed an important and a sensitive stage in the history of the birth of codifying the canonical law of Islam. The only thing that is left is to have the assembly's Constitutional and Legislative Affairs Committee discuss this matter.

[Question] What do you expect will happen, and what do you hope will happen during the next period in the way of fulfilling the demands of the public by dealing with the People's Assembly, the government and the opposition?

[Answer] I would say quite honestly that the mark of the stage we are experiencing now is earnestness in implementation and sincerity in work on all levels. It is essential that this earnestness and the ability to complete [tasks] to all stages be carried out. It is not enough for upper management alone to be careful about applying the demands of the public which were presented by the assembly and approved by the government only to have performance standards decline and efficiency drop when the time comes for application in the various agencies.

The next period must be dedicated to work only. This can be achieved by having us all--the People's Assembly, government, the National Party and the opposition--[feel and act as though] we were in the same boat. We have to feel that every decision that is made is a decision that is made for the interests of all the people.

# PROBLEMS PLAGUING EXPORTERS EXAMINED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2889, 23 Oct 83 pp 24-27, 55

[Interview with Dr Faruq Shaqwir, director of the Center for Export Development by Fatmah Ihsan: "Economic Intelligence Threatens Egyptian Exports; Director of the Center for Export Development Says, 'Exporters' Complaints from Control Agencies Continue; Customs Do not Understand the Export Philosophy; Ban on the Export of Hides Led to Rise in Prices of Shoes; How Do We Pay the Price for Very Essential Information?' "]

[Text] What is the story about exports in Egypt?

Is the principle of exporting permitted or not?

If the facts affirm that any exporter is required to submit a form on the basis of which he would get the approval of the Ministry of the Economy to export [goods] and to confirm the receipt of foreign currency proceeds, what then is the use of the decree that was issued by the minister of the economy stating that an exporter was free to dispose of the foreign currency proceeds from his export activity through the national banks?

Is the problem one of conflicting export measures? Or is the problem merely one of administrative obstacles?

There are numerous problems and complications that distress 7,000 exporters who are listed on the register of exporters. Only 300 of those exporters are actually engaged in export activity.

The measures that are applied by the Public Organization for Controlling Exports are among the restrictions that stifle any successful export operation. There are only general and non-specific rules for exercising control.

What is curious [in this case] is that the organization's employees apply the standard rules of control that were determined by the countries of the European Common Market. These are strict rules which the specifications of exported Egyptian merchandise rarely meet. These rules are applied to everything that is exported to any country in the world, despite the fact that standards for goods exported to Arab countries differ from those for goods exported to African countries, to Third World countries or to the Americas. Standards for these countries vary, but the strictest standards are those for goods exported to European countries.

Because the Organization for Controlling Exports does not have its own control regulations for each market in the world--the only regulations it has are the European regulations--the only recourse for exporters is to ask for an exemption. Consequently, they pay exemption fees, and that constitutes a burden they do not need.

Dr Faruq Shaqwir, director of the Center for Export Development, is calling for the development and strengthening of existing agencies that control Egyptian exports. He said that this was necessary and that if these agencies were to continue in their present status, they might as well be abolished. "It is unreasonable," said Dr Shaqwir, "for exporters to assume an additional 15 percent increase in expenses for the merchandise they export as a result of the existence of these rigid control agencies. This drives Egyptian goods out of the market because they cannot compete."

"In the quarantine for agricultural products, for example, an employee is not required to provide more than one permit to prove that goods which are being exported are fit for human consumption. But what actually happens is exactly the opposite, and the work of that employee now interferes with that of employees who control the grades and varieties of the goods that are exported. And here is the tragedy because there are no clear-cut rules on the boundaries of the job which employees of those agencies must not cross."

Dr Shaqwir added, "There are some glaring examples of these erroneous interventions. One of them, for example, is that Sharikah al-Maharith wa al-Handasah [Plows and Engineering Company] obtained a contract to export to Italy Egyptian marble that is similar to Turkish marble. The price that both parties agreed about was 375 dollars per ton. But we were surprised when the Organization for Industrial Control refused to close the deal unless the price per ton was raised to 500 dollars.

"Those who are employed in the organization are forgetting an important fact. They are forgetting that it is the world market that sets the price. If we were to assume, for the sake of argument, that that was not a suitable price, it is enough that with this contract Egypt would have entered a new world market, the marble market, which it had not entered before.

"How can exporters here function with agencies that are still living under the conditions of the sixties? How can exporters tolerate such treatment at a time when all doors are opened to importers and everything is made easy for them?"

#### The Story of Customs

Dr Faruq went on to add, "The Customs [Administration] too doesn't seem to be satisfied with the difficulties exporters encounter with other agencies. The Customs [Administration] comes up with ways to delay measures without cause. But in order for us to be fair to customs, [we have to say that] there are old disputes between customs and exporters. I do not imagine, however, that the Customs [Administration] would stand in the way of a national objective, which is exporting. That national objective is being supported by all state agencies.

"However, things are not being seen clearly. Therefore, we have always been careful to hold friendly meetings [with customs officials] to discuss with them the

problems of exporters. These meetings are then translated into decisions to solve these problems.

"It was through these meetings that customs agencies began to be convinced that they were not executive agencies functioning like swords hanging over exporters' necks. It is my view from where I stand that those who are employed in various export agencies adhere to measures that are mostly erroneous and ultimately damaging and thwarting to the export process. I believe that the success of the Center for Export Development inside the country is the key to the process of promoting exports."

#### Matching Deals

[Question] The minister of the economy has adopted the [notion] that one of the ways for stimulating exports in Egypt is to make matching deals with the countries of the world. [This is desirable] to overcome the problem of liquidity in many countries of the world. Will anything new come out of this system?

[Answer] This system can add a great deal particularly in trade relations between Egypt and the countries of Africa and the Third World. These countries have supplies of goods that can be consumed in Egypt at prices better than those that are available. These countries may have goods they can export to a third country. In these matching deals the world price is used as a standard. Thus, we would export goods and import other goods in return, and Egypt would dispose of these imported goods either locally or in a third foreign market.

[Question] Can this system be used successfully with European countries?

[Answer] Definitely not because this system is directed basically to the African countries. Exports to African countries fell to 20 million pounds. In the sixties the value of these exports had been 75 million pounds. Fortunately, the branches of al-Nasr Company for Exports and Imports are still open. That company was in charge of export operations of Egyptian goods to African markets. All that these branches need is something to spur them on, and this is one of the functions of the center. But there are priorities, chief among which are making export measures easier and eliminating internal problems so that Egyptian goods can flow into export markets freely and without restrictions.

#### Financing Exporters

[Question] Is the Export Bank really valuable to exporters, when most of them affirm that they do not need that bank? Exporters state that the Export Bank is nothing but a new burden to the banking system. They say that each one of them has a bank or banks he deals with. What do you think about that?

[Answer] The Export Bank was established basically to strengthen an exporter's position in front of the bank with which he does business. We are not asking exporters to turn away from these banks and do business with the Export Bank. Quite the contrary. The Export Bank is a national organization that has three functions. First, it ensures refinancing for exporters. Second, it ensures financing for some exports where some delay in payment would be involved. This is because local banks refrain from financing such export operations because they are commercial banks that cannot take upon themselves the risks of such operations.

The third function of the Export Bank is that of insuring Egyptian exports. All Egyptian exports are still being insured by international insurance companies. The insurance process here would not be restricted to exported merchandise only; it would also include exported services.

If a contracting firm, for example, had a contract to carry out an operation in an Arab country, and if that firm needed continuous financing over a 5-year period, the National Export Bank would step in and insure the entire operation. The firm would get all its rights even if it were to encounter some difficulties with the other party. And this is an extremely important point.

[Question] Where does the bank get its funds? What do you think about the fact that exporters declined the request made by the Ministry of the Economy that they contribute to the bank's finances?

[Answer] First of all, the National Export Bank is wholly funded by the state through public sector companies, national banks and insurance companies.

With regard to the second part of the question about the contribution of exporters to the bank's finances, the request of the Ministry of the Economy was withdrawn at the recommendation of the IBRD. The IBRD recommended that exporters do not contribute to the bank's finances. In this case those exporters would be private sector exporters seeking a profit from the process of financing the bank. The IBRD suggested that the bank start out as a public or a government organization so it could have the flexibility [it needs] to apply policies that support exports. It could do so without the intervention of its founders regarding how much profit the bank should make. The private sector would thus not constitute a force that would apply pressure on the bank and, consequently, cause the bank to depart from its objectives.

As far as loans are concerned, the bank will finance exporters at an interest rate that will not exceed nine percent. That is less than the interest rate in public sector banks or investment banks.

[Question] Will the IBRD take part in offering the bank loans and assistance?

[Answer] The IBRD will offer some easy-term loans. An agreement has been reached to finance export [operations] or extend loans to them through the National Export Bank so that we can utilize these funds again in accordance with the economic interests of the export sector.

#### Economic Intelligence

[Question] Are Egyptian exports affected by the fact that international companies have economic intelligence [agents] whose function is to gather information and data about export deals in countries that produce the same merchandise produced by these companies? These economic intelligence agents find out the prices of these goods and then cable the client [an offer with] a price that is much lower than that with which he would have accepted for importing the deal from Egypt. Thus, Egypt and many other countries lose many deals.

[Answer] This system does in fact exist in Egypt and in the countries of the world. And here the function of the Center for Export Development lies in creating a kind of daily contact with exporters. My role here would be to serve as liaison between an exporter and the responsible minister. There are many export deals for which no applications are filed. The deals are made verbally and quite confidentially so as not to lose them or cause Egypt any embarrassment in front of some international organizations.

We have three companies, for example, that are exporting manufactured aluminum to Saudi Arabia. Egypt's export capability in this area does not exceed 2,000 tons a year. These three companies want to increase their exports to 10,000 tons, and the Saudi market can absorb many times that figure. But these three companies are facing numerous obstacles, particularly with regard to electricity. The prices they pay for electricity are based on world prices. These companies are also facing problems with the Misr Aluminum Company because its prices are high. In this case we would intervene and inform the authorized minister about these problems so he would solve them.

At the same time we would not make any details about the deal public so that the economic intelligence [agents] of competing companies would not ruin the deal and Egypt would find itself in an embarrassing position in front of international organizations like the IBRD and the IMF.

#### Secret Expenses

We also face the problem of gathering confidential information about foreign markets that compete with Egypt. The center's expenses are not strictly itemized. The simplest example of this is that we needed to know detailed information about exporting furniture to the United States. I was surprised when someone offered to provide me with this information in confidence in return for 10,000 pounds from the center. Under what item would I enter these expenses?

Therefore, we try to benefit from the reports that are sent to us by our trade offices abroad. We try to use those reports as much as possible so we can offer services that can stay in step with the changes that are taking place in world markets.

[Question] Some of our offices are blamed for being very lazy. In fact, in many cases it would be best to shut down those offices to save expenses.

[Answer] The commercial agency staff are the official representatives of Egyptian trade and economic relations abroad. But not all our offices abroad are like that. Some of the studies I get are very valuable, but this does not deny the fact that [our] commercial agencies need a strong push from the staff themselves. The president of the commercial agency staff announced that our trade offices abroad will be evaluated in accordance with their contribution to increasing exports to the country where these offices are located.

The question here is that we entered the field of exporting recently. But entering the market on this large scale requires that all state agencies work together closely. It requires that there be a national incentive for all those working in this field.

## Imports First

[Question] More than one export conference and symposium were held during the past 2 years and this year, but, unfortunately, there is nothing new even though all concerned state agencies did take part in these symposiums. What is your reaction to that?

[Answer] Unfortunately, the agency that is looking after export outlets in Egypt from airports, ports or customs is geared to imports and not to exports. Changing that requires a long time. This change cannot be settled in a symposium or a conference. This rather needs numerous symposiums and meetings.

[Question] Where do you stand on those promotional missions that spend thousands in hard currency and then come back to Egypt empty-handed?

[Answer] Only one promotional mission has gone abroad since I took over the center. That mission went to the leather fair in New York.

[Question] Is Egypt in a position to export leather products despite the high prices of leather goods, chiefly shoes?

[Answer] We must make a distinction here between tanned leather and processed leather. We have companies [which produce] the latter kind that made a name for themselves in the world.

The Ministry of Supply has banned the export of tanned hides. In my opinion this decision is a mistake. In fact, it is one of the principal reasons for high shoe prices.

Not all kinds of tanned hides should be banned from export. For example, goatskin, whose export is banned, is an inferior grade of leather that is used in Egypt to make shoes. But goatskin is used to make pilots' jackets, which are the most expensive kinds of jackets in the world. Where then is the wisdom behind banning the export of goatskin even though its use in Egypt is minimal and exporting it would yield more than 10 times the price it would yield locally?

Why don't we leave ourselves open to the so-called opportunity to put something to alternative use? Consumers are indirectly hurt by this. In 5 years prices tripled as soon as the decree banning the export of goatskin was applied. At first, each kind of hide had its special use. If that turned out to be not the ideal use for that hide, a producer would import a better and a lower-priced raw material. But now the Ministry of Supply is forcing producers to use the more expensive variety. The ministry is forcing producers to use goatskin in producing goods for which goatskin is unsuitable. Producers thus sustain losses which they could have made up if they were to export goatskin products and import alternatives to those products. But in this case producers can only pass those losses on to consumers and, consequently, shoe prices rise.

Until recently we used to import hides from African countries worth 40 million pounds. We would tan those hides again and then export very valuable leather. Today, as a result of this decision we have to use our own hides which would be worth much more if they were exported.

## Decline of Exports

It is the national duty of the Center for Export Development to disseminate information among Egyptian exporters and stimulate the export sector so it can benefit from the assistance and grants that come from these agencies.

But if we were to look at the problem and regard dealing with foreign agencies, markets and organizations as a matter of duty or a task, the functions of the center would be endless. For example, how would we stimulate the functions of the center on the outside, at the same time that a number of obstacles is impeding the marketing of merchandise abroad?

The functions of the center are multi-faceted. First, the center has to promote Egyptian exports abroad by publishing information, sending trade missions and taking part in international fairs. This function has not been performed with the efficiency that is required to enable the center to bring about a tremendous change in the past 3 years ever since it was founded. This is regarding improving the image of Egyptian exports abroad.

Also the center has made a mistake in selecting the markets it did select for promoting Egyptian exports. It is known that the best markets for Egyptian goods are the Arab and African markets because of their proximity to Egypt, on the one hand, and because of the emotional and historical ties that consumers in those countries have with Egypt. But we preferred the European markets, and that is the mistake we made in Egypt's export policy.

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## HISTORICAL, CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN WAFD PARTY EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 191, 8-14 Oct 83 pp 31-32

[Article by 'Amru 'Abd-al-Sami': "Why Are Some Americans Telling Their Friends in Cairo That the Appearance of the Wafd Party Will Guarantee the Continuation of a Climate That Will Safeguard Their Interests? The 'Pasha' Does not Speak, but His Sources Speak about the Wafd and Its Positions"]

[Text] No observer of Egypt's internal political life now can consider the story of the Wafd Party to be one that began with the celebration [commemorating] Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahhas and ended with the declaration of the Commission on Parties. The fact of the matter is that there is a silent duel going on between two parties each of which is refusing to yield to the opinion of the other. These two parties differ on everything, from political outlook to the method of political dialogue. These two parties are the Commission on Parties and the New Wafd Party. Everything [between them] remains unsettled. The Wafd has not yet gone to court, and Fu'ad Siraj al-Din Pasha does not give interviews to the press because he is barred from any political activity by law, in accordance with the 1978 referendum, and he does not grant interviews. AL-MAJALLAH contacted sources close to the Pasha, and it found out what his point of view was on numerous problems. It also contacted some sources of the Egyptian opposition and confidential government sources as well in order to come out with this investigative report.

The setting for this stage of the Wafd Party's political history began with a high-minded, reserved statement in response to the statement of the Commission on Parties. In that statement Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim, president of Egypt's Shura Council announced that the Wafd Party had disbanded itself finally and that if it wanted [to re-organize], it had to file its papers all over again with the Commission on Parties. Hence, the statement of the Supreme Board of the New Wafd Party dealt with all the points made in the statement of the Commission on Parties and discussed all those points calmly. The statement included:

"The New Wafd Party announces the following facts:

"1. On 2 June 1978 the general assembly [of the membership] decided to dissolve the party because political activity under present conditions was impossible.

"2. On 3 June 1978 the president of the party reported this decision to the Commission on Party Affairs.

"3. When that decision was presented to the party's Supreme Board on 6 June 1978, the board vetoed it. The board decided that suspending the party's political activity would be an adequate measure. The board has the right to take such action in accordance with Article 19 of the party's bylaws. Needless to say, the fact that the president of the party assumed the initiative of reporting to the Commission on Party Affairs the decision of the general assembly [of the membership] the day after that decision was made does not deny the Supreme Board's right to veto that decision, as long as that veto is exercised within the legal period.

"4. The Commission on Party Affairs did not accept the party's decision to disband: it did not consider that decision final and not subject to review. Responding to the notice in writing, the president of the commission, Dr Mustafa Khalil requested a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the general assembly which made the decision to dissolve the party. He also requested the names of the members who attended that meeting. But it was pointless for the president of the party to respond to that request after the party's Supreme Board decided to veto the decision to disband the party and to be satisfied with a suspension of the party's activities. The party's funds were not liquidated for the same reason. The party continued to have its funds in a special bank account in the Bank of Cairo in the name of the New Wafd Party. The party still receives monthly statements from the bank.

"5. On 6 May 1983 the party's Supreme Board decided to end the suspension [that was imposed on] the party's activity, and it convened a general assembly [of the membership] to reconsider the decision to dissolve the party that was made on 2 June 1978.

"6. On 23 August 1983 the general assembly of the membership was convened, and it deferred to the Supreme Board's veto of the decision to dissolve the party. The general assembly of the membership also agreed that the suspension of the party's activity should be ended and that the party was to resume its activities."

The party did not inform the Commission on Party Affairs that the decision to disband the party had been retracted for the following reasons:

--The party is not required by law to give such notice. Article 16 of Law Number 40 for 1977 pertaining to parties does not require parties to give the Commission on Party Affairs notice except in four cases only. Neither retracting a decision to disband the party nor making a decision to suspend the party's activities is one of those cases. These cases are:

1. Changing the president of the party.
2. Amending the party's bylaws.
3. Merging the party with another.
4. Disbanding the party.

--The political climate that was prevalent at that time and the violent campaign which the party and its leaders were subjected to by the late president Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat himself revealed that al-Sadat had intended to dissolve the party.

President al-Sadat had revealed his intention to do just that in an address that was broadcast immediately after the forementioned notice was given. Referring to the notice in his address, the president stated, "Thank God! They spared me a measure I was planning to take." This means that if the party had announced a retraction of its decision to disband and its decision [instead] to suspend the party's activity, it would inevitably have been dissolved by the president. It is for the same precautionary measures that the Supreme Board postponed presenting its veto to the general assembly [of the membership] at that time, particularly since Article 19 of the forementioned bylaws did not set a time limit for that review. The party tried to make the decision to disband itself visible to the president to avoid having him dissolve the party. A decision to suspend the party's activity would not have afforded the party that protection. At the same time the party's Supreme Board utilized the right that is afforded to it by the forementioned Article 19, and it did so within the legal period, thereby maintaining the party's statutory and legal existence. It delayed revealing those facts until a time when the revelation would be appropriate and the party would not be exposed to that danger.

The New Wafd Party wanted the Commission on the Affairs of Parties to consider the matter of its resumption of political activity in a broader fashion. The New Wafd Party wanted that consideration to be more consistent with the democratic political climate that has been prevailing in the country since President Muhammad Husni Mubarak became president, for legal provisions and formalities were not everything. The commission had forgotten that the existing parties were founded in accordance with a permit from the late president in November 1976. That permit clearly violated the provisions of Article Five of the Constitution which stipulated that the Arab Socialist Party was the only political organization in Egypt. Also Law Number 34 for 1974 regarding the protection of national unity absolutely prohibited the establishment of political or popular organizations outside the Socialist Union. In fact, anyone violating that ban either by establishing such organizations or joining them was to be punished by imprisonment.

But parties were founded despite these unequivocal, preventive provisions, and they exercised their activities. Then they were regulated by Law Number 40 for 1977. That law also violated Article Five of the constitution until the constitution was amended in April 1980 to recognize the existence of the law and to legitimize it.

It is no secret to the Commission on Parties that the absence of the New Wafd Party from the political scene since the 2nd of June 1978 was not the result of a binding court decision or a sovereign executive order. It was rather a result of the party's decision, as has already been stated. That decision was made under certain conditions. The party has the right to reconsider its previous decisions and to resume its activity after conditions change completely, after that change becomes stabilized and that stability continues, and after the party itself becomes reassured.

All the foregoing indicates quite clearly that the New Wafd Party has not lost its legal character since it was founded in 1978. The announcement made by the party on 21 August 1983 that it was resuming its activity was consistent with the party's bylaws, with what is lawful and with the law. It was hoped that the Commission on Parties would welcome the return of the New Wafd Party to resume

its former activities so that democracy can be furthered. The New Wafd Party would contribute, along with other existing parties, to the effort to build the country and solve its problems. The New Wafd Party believes that if all these facts, which are in the statement, had been available to the Commission on Parties, the commission's statement would have been compatible with the party's point of view and consistent with the letter and the spirit of the Constitution and with the principles of democracy as well.

Drawing on assistance from God Almighty and support from the loyal people, the Wafd is declaring its firm determination to proceed on its course within the boundaries of the constitution and the law to achieve its national mission.

#### The Tenacious Approach

This statement raised several legal and political points which a government politician summarized to me as follows:

1. Both the party and the Commission on Parties are now holding positions that are quite incompatible.
2. The nature of the Commission on Parties differs from that of the party. The commission can get the administration to take action against any activity exercised by the Wafd Party, considering the fact that the parties which do [not] receive the approval of the commission are illegal parties.
3. The New Wafd Party is using a tenacious approach in the campaign it is conducting this time. It is not retreating back into its shell after the first blow as it did in 1978.
4. The government is now undergoing a frightening test; it is being tested by the statement of the Wafd Party. It would be difficult to catch a political or a legal mistake in that statement which returned the ball once again to the government's court. If the government opposes the party and bans it once again, such action would be a blow to the government which on many occasions had established a real democracy.
5. The party did indicate in several ways that it would somehow become involved in the next elections. It also indicated after issuing its statement that it did not recognize the status quo which the Commission on Parties had tried to impose on it. Accordingly, the party will not go to court unless the government openly denies it a permit.

#### What is the Pasha Saying?

One of the most important players in the game, Siraj al-Din Pasha has not yet expressed his thoughts. Instead, the pasha hid behind a ceremonial statement, leaving matters after that to the Wafd Party's Higher Board. What is Siraj al-Din saying about all these points? How is he responding to the remarks that were made criticizing his address on the anniversary of Sa'd and al-Nahhas? AL-MAJALLAH tried to find out directly what Siraj al-Din thought about all this, but he affirmed his commitment to abide by the provisions of the law that barred him from political activity. He does not want anyone to question him, even though he

does of course have reservations about the law itself. In fact, Siraj-al-Din did go to court; he filed a lawsuit against the government asking it to lift the ban on his involvement in political activities.

However, one source close to the pasha relayed to us the pasha's point of view on numerous matters quite accurately. These points of view may be summarized in the following:

--Comparisons cannot be made between the Wafd Party before the Revolution and the New Wafd Party because the Wafd Party before the Revolution was not a party but rather an organization that was founded on the basis of a popular mandate from the nation to solve the national cause. The New Wafd Party, however, is a party according to the world's modern notion of parties. It has an assistant secretariat; it has a vice president; and it has a political organization as modern parties do.

--The New Wafd Party would not be hurt if it enters parliamentary life once again as a minority party, if the people want that. But it is natural for the New Wafd Party to try to be a majority party and to run in one election after the other until it becomes a majority party. The decisive point in this matter is that the interests of the public are not served if the party remains in power forever. However, the required political movement would develop as a result of the shift back and forth between majority positions and minority positions as each party tries to move from being a minority party to a majority party. What matters, however, is what the people think.

--The pasha feels confident about the future of the party among the people, particularly when he learned that the government was setting up obstacles to its establishment. Fighting the Wafd Party means that there are those who... [words missing].

--Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad and the pasha never discussed the merger of the Labor Party and the Wafd Party. There is a big difference between thinking about something and saying that Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad talked with Fu'ad Pasha about it.

#### The People and Democracy

The source which is close to the pasha added [the following]:

--Some of the ideas that are being proposed now about gradually "conditioning" the people to democracy are erroneous ideas because Egypt has had a parliamentary life that is over 100 years old. Its first parliamentary councils date back to 1866.

--The kind of political activity that the Wafd will be engaged in after its statement has not yet been determined. However, the Wafd will always adhere to the law because the value of the party--and this is something the party's adversaries have always attested to--lies in the fact that it has been a party of law.

--There is no such thing as enemies of the Revolution. The Wafd is the enemy of the Revolution's shortcomings. It is the enemy of actual transgressions and conduct. But hostility to the Revolution is incomprehensible. The Revolution is now 30 years old. Does anyone in France now say that a person or a political group are enemies of the 1789 Revolution?

--People who made observations on the pasha's statement said that it was confined to a historical account. What these people actually missed is the fact that the statement was made in a commemorative celebration. Consequently, the pasha found that occasion an appropriate one to acquaint young people with Sa'd, with al-Nahhas and with the Wafd Party.

--The pasha mentioned the government's positive actions because his point of view is that the opposition should not speak only of shortcomings. [The pasha thinks] that mentioning positive actions tends to make other people listen.

--The pasha defined the vital area for the public sector's activities as that of the means of production and public utilities because this is [the pattern] that is prevalent all over the world. There is no point in having the public sector involved in a bakery shop or in a shop that sells beans and falafil. This view of the public sector which is held by the Wafd Party has in it some features of socialism.

--The pasha tried to maintain the dignity of the celebration commemorating Sa'd [Zaghlul] and al-Nahhas. He did not want that celebration to be like those of the Wafd Vanguard which would begin by having posters of al-Nahhas plastered on all the walls of Cairo as though they were posters of actresses. Those celebrations would usually end with festivities commemorating the day on which al-Nahhas was born, the day he died, the day he became prime minister and the day he was removed from office. The fact of the matter is that there is no longer a Wafd Vanguard. Before the Revolution that group had consisted of individuals who were members of the students' committee. These people are now a group of old people: there is nothing left of their organization, and no members of the Wafd Party attend their celebrations. At first, some members of the opposition parties were taken in by them. But then they came to our party's celebration, and they were welcomed by the pasha.

What Are the Americans Whispering?

If these are the pasha's points of view, as relayed to us by sources close to him, there are other aspects [to the situation] that scholars of constitutional law shed some light on in the following fashion:

--Al-Sadat's attempt to establish a people's party, the National Democratic Party, instead of the Wafd Party was not a haphazard attempt. Ever since their parties were founded, Egypt's politicians have followed one of two currents. One included Mustafa Kamil, Muhammad Farid, Hasan al-Banna, Ahmad Husayn and Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir; and another included 'Ali Yusuf, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, the politicians of the Wafd and Wafd Party dissidents.

It was natural for al-Sadat to resort to the formula of the National Party to oppose that of the Wafd Party which proved its feasibility among the people in 1977 and 1978. The Wafd had threatened to expose the myth that al-Sadat had the political mainstream in Egypt in his pocket.

--The value of the Wafd Party as a liberal party lies in the fact that it did not resort to contrived formulas, such as those that were utilized by the Liberal Party when its members called themselves Socialist Liberals and claimed that

their party was a liberal party. It is known that there is a world-wide international [organization] of liberal parties which prevents any of these parties from calling itself a socialist party.

--The need for the birth of a large people's party in Egypt, particularly with the failure of the National Party to become such a party, lies in the fact that the birth of a people's party is that which will guarantee that the social struggle which is taking place in Egypt under the surface will be turned into a political struggle. This may explain the fact that some U.S. politicians are bent on discretely letting their friends in Cairo know that it is necessary for the Wafd Party to emerge because it is the Wafd Party that will guarantee the survival of a climate that would safeguard their interests in Egypt. The Americans think that Egypt will be facing a sharp crossroads [and that it will have to choose between] liberalism or violence.

--The Wafd Party has been a winning, historical statement for 50 years. It's been a sign that is associated with the survival of the capitalist system and with the liberal political effects of that system. The party will not be diverted from the context it represents whether it survives, is changed, frozen, opposed or abolished.

--Not all the chapters in the story of the returning party have been written!

8592

CSO: 4504/31

## TUNISIA

### BRIEFS

COOPERATION PROTOCOL WITH BULGARIA--Tunis, 5 Nov (TAP)--The Tunisian-Bulgarian talks ended with the signing in Tunis on Friday, of the protocol of the 9th session of the mixed commission in the field of economic, scientific and technical cooperation. Mr Rachid Sfar, the Tunisian economy minister, and Mr Georgi Pankov, the Bulgarian chemical industry minister, signed the document. In a short speech, Mr Rachid Sfar said that the good results which have been achieved are in agreement with our joint aspiration for the realization of a better balance of trade and for a more judicious use of the Bulgarian credit granted to Tunisia while seeing to it that the realization of a workshop for the production of spare parts intended for mining work be speeded up. [Text] [LD052350 Tunis TAP in French 1300 GMT 5 Nov 83 LD]

ARAB FUND LOAN--Kuwait, 24 Oct (WAKH)--An agreement was signed here today between the Arab economic and social fund and Tunisia, whereby the fund will grant Tunisia a loan of 1.5 million Kuwaiti dinars to finance an agricultural project. [Excerpt] [GF242046 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1215 GMT 24 Oct 83 GF]

CSO: 4500/17

# RIFTS IN OPPOSITION BLOCS DISCUSSED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1403, 30 Sep 83 p 30

[Article by Sulayman al-Farzali: "Overweening Powers Exaggerate Iraqi Opposition's Differences"]

[Text] The Gulf war, which in Europe they call the "forgotten war" now that it has entered its 4th year, will be the subject of internationalization within the next year and will no longer be forgotten, according to well-informed diplomatic sources. With the Gulf war approaching the phase of internationalization, the factions opposing both the Iraqi and Iranian regimes have begun to probe the likely solutions and their ramifications to the internal conditions in both countries. The signs of political battles have emerged between these factions, especially the factions opposing the Iraqi regime, "along the lines" of disagreement over sharing the bear's skin before the bear is hunted.

The two main blocs sharing the Iraqi opposition are the Higher Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, led by Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, son of the late higher authority of Iraq who died in 1970, who is headquartered in Tehran, and the National Front, which is headquartered in Damascus and which encompasses a number of other opposition parties, including the Kurdish Revolution's Provisional Command, led by brothers Mas'ud and Idris al-Barzani, Jalal al-Talabani's faction, the Islamic Action Organization and al-Da'wah Party.

What is interesting is that the Iraqi Communist Party is tied to the two aforementioned blocs by relations of phased cooperation. Recently, however, these relations have turned somewhat tepid due to differences in political perceptions of the future phase. It is the opinion of some opposition sources that the Communist Party is still betting on a "Soviet advance in the area through the Lebanon war and the Gulf war," with an internal advance by the Communist Party parallel to the Soviet advance at the international level.

These sources say that the friction between the Higher Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq and the Communist Party developed when the Council recently issued a statement saying that the cooperation formula "should be established through Islamic goals." The Communists have said in reply that the Council's statement poses prior restrictions and conditions and that this is undesirable

in sound political relations. The Communists say, moreover, that this position "emanates from the tendency to monopolize political action in our country--a tendency that has been catastrophic for our country."

It is the assessment of circles close to the Communist Party that this position of the Council "constitutes a retreat on a number of sound previous positions."

These sources assert that the disagreement goes beyond phased political action to specifications "determining the alternative to the current situation," according to the said sources. Whereas the Council asserts that the people will choose no system other than the Islamic system, the Communists say that this determination will ultimately lead to "usurpation of the democratic right and of the goals of most of the opposition forces that demand a democratic republic led by a democratic national coalition government."

By taking this position, the Communist Party is dealing with the political action in its entirety and is addressing a direct and strong criticism to the Higher Council because its statement "has not underlined the freedom of political action for the other forces and has not uttered a single word on freedom of the press, freedom of expression or freedom to demonstrate and strike."

It is also natural that disagreement would arise between the two positions on foreign policy and international conditions. The Higher Council, as noted in its statement, deals with the international issue from two positions. The first emanates from "defending the rights of all the powerless," and the second emanates from the slogan "neither Eastern nor Western and fighting all the world's overweening [al-istikbar] powers" without defining the identity of these forces.

But the Communist Party, which has not answered the first point because it is compatible with its propaganda, has answered the second point very sharply and angrily because it puts the socialist camp on the same footing with the imperialist camp. The American overweening and the Soviet overweening are in the same basket insofar as the Higher Council is concerned, whereas they are not the same to the Communist Party, considering that the Soviet Union is the only support on which one can rely to defeat the U.S. schemes in the area and that any departure from this perception is a waste of time, not to mention that such a departure reduces the chances of victory!

However, some opposition sources abroad say that the signs of this disagreement in views between the Higher Council and the Iraqi Communist Party began to emerge from the time the Islamic Republic of Iran pounced on the Communist Tudeh Party and tried and executed its leaders on the charge of spying for a foreign power. This is why these sources believe that this disagreement in views is the result of reflection of the given situation in Iran.

These sources further say that the disagreement between the Higher Council and the Communist Party has had its ramifications within the two factions. There are those in the Communist Party who believe that all these disputed

projections are premature and must be shelved temporarily, and there are those in the Higher Council who believe that the declared goals of the opposition generally are exaggerated and that the possibility of an end to the Iraq-Iran war must be visualized. Those who advocate this include 'Abbas al-Madrasi and his brothers Kazim and Husayn.

But these sources have quoted Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, the Council chairman and its official spokesman, as saying that some of these groups include elements that do not support his chairmanship of the Council and that the groups receive support "from well-known members of the Iranian Consultative Council." Perhaps what is more important than this is that the Council official spokesman has asserted that these factions include some that call for ending the war between Iran and Iraq before the objectives of the Islamic revolution are achieved in Baghdad.

As for the opposition National Front, which is headquartered in Damascus, the issue is somewhat different, considering that the Islamic Action Organization and al-Da'wah Party last year took a rigid stand against accepting the Communist Party as a side in the front. These two parties have justified their position on the grounds that the Communists hold atheistic views and that the historical positions of the Communist Party "have not been sound nationalist positions," referring in this regard to the failure of the Iraqi Communist Party to oppose the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

The opposition is trying to infiltrate the internal situation in Iraq from the north and not from the south, as previously expected. This is because these factions have been present in the north for a long time due to the ruggedness of the area. SAWT AL-'IRAQ, a publication issued by the Islamic Call Vanguards in Europe (No 39, September 1983), has underlined the need for Iran to launch a decisive offensive in the north to achieve three objectives: control Dukan Dam, control the pipeline that passes through Turkey and carries oil to the Mediterranean and control the Iraqi Army camp in Rawanduz, which is considered, according to the publication, "the core of the northeastern area."

The publication has implied a wager on "the overweening powers" due to the "development of a natural change in their positions vis-a-vis the Islamic Republic. These powers have begun to change their spastic dealing into flexible dealing. This is the course these powers are trying to follow in their efforts to move closer to Iran or to abandon Iraq."

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CSO: 4404/62

## PRESS CONFERENCE ON IRAQI-JORDANIAN TRADE RELATIONS

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 16 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Sami al-Husani: "In a News Conference Given by the Leader of the Iraqi Trade Delegation; Contracts Valued at Four Million Dinars With Jordanian Industrialists Anticipated; Jordanian Goods to Be Granted Customs Breaks and Priority in Entering the Iraqi Market."]

[Text] Mr Abu Talib 'Abd al-Matlab al-Hashimi, chairman of the executive board of the General Establishment for Iraqi Consumer Goods Trade, said that the Iraqi people express their deep appreciation and gratitude for the supportive position of his majesty, King Husayn and the Jordanian people for Iraq in its just war on which it has embarked in defense of the Arab homeland.

He added that Jordanian support for Iraq transcends the limits of meaningful support to actual participation in Iraq's victory when the Jordanian volunteers began to join the soldiers and the people of Iraq in their just struggle, and Jordanian blood was mixed with Iraqi blood at various places on the battle fronts.

Mr Hashimi said during a news conference held after the signing of the [protocols] of the Jordanian-Iraqi trade talks that were held recently: "Jordan, which is situated along the longest lines of fire and which confronts vicious Zionist aggression, is able, through its limited power, to build a flourishing renaissance, by virtue of the glorious character of the Jordanians and the Arab nation. By the same token, Jordan is a part of this nation, and what good comes to it is its wealth as well."

He stressed that the Iraqi delegation was delighted with the level of industrialization that this developing nation has achieved, indeed surpassing the limits of its allotted capabilities.

Regarding his visit to Jordan, Mr al-Hashimi said that it came about at the invitation of the Ministry of Industry and Trade and that it included economic activities between the two countries provided for by the protocols of the meetings of the third session of the Iraqi-Jordanian joint ministerial committee that was held in Baghdad last

February. These set forth the need for an increase in and diversification of the volume of commercial exchange between the two sister countries in harmony with the development of economic relations in different domains.

He explained that the Iraqi delegation learned about different types of Jordanian industries during its visit, especially in the field of consumer goods, through field trips and the special exhibition that the 'Amman Chamber of Industry set up for just that purpose.

Likewise, the delegation conducted extensive talks with Mr Walid 'Asfur, minister of Industry and Commerce and the Council of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and the 'Amman Chamber of Industry, demonstrating that these agencies have provided a good opportunity to the delegation to accomplish its mission in Jordan.

He said that the visit resulted in the signing of agreements numbering more than one hundred with several Jordanian industrialists, the value of which amounted to 4,211,098 Iraqi dinars.

These agreements, which have realized the ambitions of the two countries for the development of economic relations between them--i.e., that the bonds between them should increase limitlessly--will bring about visits soon by a number of Jordanian industrialists to Baghdad in order to sign new contracts for large amounts.

[Al-Hashimi] said: "The increase in the volume of commercial trade between Iraq and Jordan is a pioneering step that could bring together other Arab participants in order to realize the slogan that we are constantly raising, citing the need to create a shared basis for Arab economic integration."

He pointed out that the leadership of the two countries are truly serious in implementing the economic protocols signed by the two countries and in developing the size of the agreements according to whatever seems to be in the interests of the two sister nations and the entire Arab nation.

Replying to a question from AL-DUSTUR regarding the ability of Jordanian products to achieve the ability to compete, in light of the existence of alternative products coming into the Arab markets from abroad, Mr al-Hashimi said: "Jordanian industries have imitators in the developing countries and have encountered problems and obstacles. Nevertheless, Jordanian industry has been able to make various leaps that have been effective in its entry into the Jordanian and Iraqi markets and has been able, thanks to its excellence and its uninterrupted development to gain the confidence of the Iraqi citizens and enter on a wide basis.

In response to another question by AL-DUSTUR regarding the practical incentives that the responsible Iraqi agencies have provided to support Jordanian commodities, Mr al-Hashimi said: "The responsible Iraqi economic agencies have granted the many Jordanian products easements and incentives, the most important of which are by exemption from customs duties and giving them priority in entering the Iraqi market, in effect carrying out the articles of the Arab Common Market. Likewise, the Iraqi-Jordanian Company for Land Transportation has played a prominent role in transporting Jordanian products to the Iraqi market. More importantly, the Iraqi economic system is protecting Jordanian and other Arab goods from foreign competition by imposing high customs duties on the latter."

He added that the continuance of Jordanian industrial products in maintaining their current excellence and their development toward excellence whenever possible will preserve the level of trust by those with whom they deal and their consumers.

Muhammad Salih al-Hawrani

Then Mr Muhammad Salih al-Hawrani, Deputy Minister of Industry and Commerce, spoke, praising in glowing terms sister Iraq for its army, its government and its people for their stand of heroism and genuine sacrifice that they have made to protect the land of Iraq and the eastern flank of the Arab nation.

He added that our position in support of Iraq is equivalent to a position of trueness to self and of national duty that all principles of brotherly relations between the two friendly peoples ordain. He also said that Jordan and Iraq are partners in signing the commercial protocol regulating the course of economic cooperation between the two countries. From this protocol springs a number of agreements that contributed to a great extent to the development of the bonds of cooperation and the deepening of economic relations with what promises well being and comfort for the people of the two nations.

In response to another question from AL-DUSTUR about the policy that the Ministry of Industry and Trade is supporting to remove the negative attitudes that inhibit the Jordanian industrial movement and its role in preserving its good name in foreign markets, Mr al-Hawrani said: "In the beginning when we did business with the Iraqi market there were some discrepancies in the variety of exported goods in that the exporters were intent on exploiting every weak point that existed in order to export commodities not conforming to specifications.

He stressed that the ministry has taken firm action against them and has applied emergency procedures that have gone as far as to close factories and turn them over to the military courts. He said that the ministry has formed a permanent apparatus from the directorate of industrial specifications and the 'Amman Chamber of Industry to

monitor goods exported to foreign markets, in particular to submit their products for inspection, examination, and assurance of compliance with the established specifications before they are exported.

He explained that the violations have totally stopped and will never resume under the effect of the stern supervision imposed on the products undertaken because of the need to preserve the standard of specifications that the ministry has established and that the fulfillment of which by the industries has been stipulated at the time the production licenses were issued.

#### Signing the Proceedings

Then there was the signing of the minutes of the meetings that took place during the visit of the Iraqi delegation and that lasted several days. The minutes were signed on behalf of Jordan by Mr Muhammad Salih al-Hawrani and on behalf of Iraq by Mr Abu Talib 'Abd al-Mutlib al-Hashimi, president of the General Establishment for Commercial Goods Trade.

Mr 'Ali al-Dajani, director of the Amman Chamber of Industry and members of the Iraqi delegation were present at the signing of the agreement.

After that, Mr Walid 'Asfur, minister of Industry and Commerce welcomed Mr al-Hashimi and the accompanying delegation, at which time there took place a review of the results of the talks that the delegation in Jordan had conducted, as well as of what the visit achieved in the way of increasing the volume of commercial trade between the two sister countries.

9614

CSO: 4404/607

SOCIAL DIMENSION OF AL-MANAKH CRISIS EMPHASIZED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 345, 1 Oct 83 p 42

[Interview with Salah al-Marzuq, member of Kuwait's Chamber of Industry and Commerce: "The Crisis of al-Manakh Is a Social Question; the New Law Does not Solve the Whole Problem Because the Crisis Requires Treatment of the Patient; a Settlement That May Please No One May Be Inevitable"]

[Text] Kuwaiti authorities are trying to resolve some of the problems that still stand in the way of implementing a recent law, Law Number 100 which pertains to solving the problem of deferred debts. Kuwaiti authorities are attempting in particular to prepare a list that would determine spot prices for Gulf shares on deferred transactions. They are trying to correct the monetary insolvency and the financial positions of the remaining traders. Alongside these efforts the government has put into action some measures whose purpose is to stimulate the market. Some projects have been resubmitted, and banks were asked to reduce restrictions on loans to the sectors of production.

In the context of evaluating the present status of the Kuwaiti stock market and the extent of [its] contribution to solving the crisis, we had this interview with Mr Salah al-Marzuq who played a role in drafting the Credit Act. He did so in his capacity as a member of Kuwait's Chamber of Industry and Commerce. The chamber had drafted a proposed solution which was submitted to the government, and the government adopted key proposals in that draft solution.

The interview follows:

[Question] What is your evaluation of the economic situation in Kuwait after the new law?

[Answer] The situation has undoubtedly been affected by the crisis of al-Manakh market, particularly since that crisis was so extensive and so profound that it affected a large part of Kuwaiti society. In addition, this situation affected the stock market which experienced the worse crisis. What heightened the impact of these effects on the financial market is the fact they coincided with the slow-down in projects and the onset of the effort to set a right course for spending.

As far as the new law is concerned, it must be acknowledged that there is confusion regarding the elements of the problem: the individuals [who are involved]

and their rights and duties. There are many mysterious points that cannot be disputed in application, and this requires that details be actively monitored. It requires that efforts be made to set up foundations for settlement between traders. Nevertheless, I do not believe that the law can solve the whole problem. The law may help solve 20 percent of the problems after previous measures help solve another part.

[Question] What is the reason for this?

[Answer] The principal reason for this is that proposals that are being made are trying in vain to reconcile two difficult matters: saving a large group of people who suffered enormous losses and preserving the full interests of their creditors. This is a contradiction that surprises us with a new problem, whenever we believe that we have solved a problem. It is therefore inescapable to choose between one of two priorities: either remove the effects of the crisis, which is regarded as a social question, or alleviate those effects by applying the law and making every individual assume his responsibility on the basis of the fact that a commercial question must accordingly be subject to the law. It is my opinion that priority should be given to the former opinion, that is, that which involves the social consideration because the shake-up was not a commercial event in a normal market. It was rather an aberration that accordingly required a special remedy. That special remedy should be gentle with the patient instead of seeking reprisal. If there is a reason for being strict, such strictness should be manifested in future precautions and in organizing the financial market so as to restrict the listing of companies, and subject the trading and pricing of shares to rigid rules to rectify the shares and the issuing process, to provide information and to protect the interests of investors, particularly small investors. I believe that three matters must be taken into consideration:

1. The mutual reduction of accounts receivable, even if the assessment of funds for each of the traders differs.
2. Adjustment operations are to be completed on the previous basis without delay.
3. A modest deferment is to be made for payments on debit accounts, and traders are to be asked to pay back the debts. If they become delinquent on their payments, they are to be turned over to the institution, and their involvement in the crisis as a whole is to be taken into account. There must also be no discrimination.

[Question] But this solution may create an impression of injustice among some of the traders, particularly those who preserved [their] assets. It also rewards a group of speculators, [doesn't it]?

[Answer] In a crisis as profound, as broad and as involved as that of al-Manakh is, it is inevitable that a settlement may not please everybody. In fact, it may not please anyone. What is important, however, is that the state in its position as a representative of society, determine the priorities that must be adopted to remedy the situation. The state must act effectively because a delay in settling the debts of the crisis would cause the country and the traders themselves to lose the opportunity to resume activity and restore the economy to its natural cycle.

[Question] There is, nevertheless, one point of view which states that holding speculators liable, even if that were to affect a sizable group of them, would give us immunity from speculation and risk-taking for a long period of time, whereas any ambivalence about their responsibility may encourage them to make the same mistakes again.

[Answer] I believe that a sizable group, within the proposed settlement, received a deterrent and a strong blow. Some people actually lost everything. But I still believe that broadening the scope of punishment and going for the maximum punishment is something required by numerous fundamental considerations upon which the balance of Kuwaiti society is based. We are a small society that is controlled by a family spirit and by personal human relations, not to mention considerations that have to do with the makeup of society and its social groups. The Kuwaiti individual has ties and bonds with his family or his tribe. It would be difficult to hurt that individual without hurting a broader circle of people [in the process], whether one wanted to or not. Let's not forget that some people think that the authorities themselves, by their tolerance or at least because they did not react forcefully to what was happening, merely gave the wrong signal and also provided enough time for the phenomenon to develop and overwhelm many people. Accordingly, there is no justification in this case for the authorities to become more strict with traders all of a sudden.

8592

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BROADCAST OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON MEDIA'S ROLE

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic No 639, 4 Oct 83 p 15

[Interview with Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Mansur, director of Radio Programs: "A Point of View on Kuwaiti Radio"]

[Text] [Question] Kuwaiti radio is supposed to be connected to Kuwait's domestic and foreign policy. Is this connection evident in radio programs?

[Answer] Any radio broadcast service, particularly those of Arab countries and Third World countries, are government broadcasts. Radio broadcasts for which states assume full responsibility must interpret the country's political, economic and social policies in the country and abroad. There is no radio broadcast service in the area and outside the area that would say one thing while the state says another. In fact, it is radio that conveys [to people] the ideas of the state, which cannot carry out a campaign to raise people's consciousness, to guide them, mobilize them or win over public opinion locally or internationally except through radio. When one hears the news on Kuwaiti Radio, for example, one finds that the news broadcast interprets Kuwait's relationship with the area. One would find nothing in the news that might infuriate neighbors or call for an idea that may give the country a political headache. News broadcasts on Kuwaiti radio are moderate and reliable.

[Question] As far as radio broadcasts in the Arab area are concerned, Kuwait Radio is one of the old radio broadcasts in the region. It is widely heard in various countries of the world. Why then isn't the news on Kuwaiti Radio broader, more varied and more credible as other international radio broadcasts are?

[Answer] One can say that Kuwaiti Radio is the only radio broadcast in the whole area which can be heard without bias because it does not represent a specific political ideology. Radio news broadcasts offer news about the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers and public issues. Unlike other radio broadcasts Kuwaiti Radio's presentation of the news is not tinged with the political ideology of a party or a religious ideology. Kuwaiti news is not biased. Therefore, it is the news that is heard most in the area, particularly in the morning. The news is reported on Kuwaiti Radio without any "hoopla." For example, on some radio broadcasts news of the cease-fire in Beirut can be heard 15 or 16 times in the same bulletin. [Besides], Kuwaiti Radio offers other broadcast services such as news of the local and world press, a news program following the 1 p.m. news bulletin and other programs as well.

[Question] What is the purpose of having several broadcasts in Persian, Hindi and English?

[Answer] The aim of every radio broadcast service is to be heard abroad. The Public Program in Arabic is heard in Kuwait and in the Arab area. The Second Program is heard in the Gulf and in the Arabian Peninsula. Broadcasts in Urdu, Persian and English are heard in India and Pakistan in the mornings and in western Europe in the evenings. In the afternoons broadcasts in Persian are heard in Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Through these transmissions one can convey through the news the general trends in the country as well as activities and points of view on national issues.

[Question] Why isn't the Holy Koran broadcast continuously?

[Answer] At the present time the Holy Koran is being broadcast, but little time is allotted to that broadcast. There is a trend in the future to extend that time. Broadcasts of the Koran are heard abroad, even in Afghanistan and beyond. Morning broadcasts are heard over a large area of the Islamic world, particularly on the short wave.

[Question] It is being said that Kuwaiti Radio is not very favorable to some Islamic issues such as the holy war in Afghanistan or the persecution of Muslims in India and elsewhere. What do you think about that?

[Answer] I do not believe this is an accurate statement. Kuwait is part of the Islamic world. It would not be reasonable for Kuwaiti Radio to show interest in the question of Ireland and none in the question of Afghanistan. Kuwaiti Radio broadcasts news about the freedom fighters in Afghanistan, but some news bulletins overstate the facts; we, however, try to be realistic in reporting the news.

[Question] There are transgressions occasionally in some radio programs that infringe upon the Islamic faith. Is there censorship to prevent such transgressions?

[Answer] The transgressions that occur are usually not intentional. The censorship we have precedes the broadcasts; it is not exercised after a broadcast. The censorship we have is strict, but there are some lapses and this is normal among people. However, these transgressions are unintentional, and they are not part of public policy.

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# MOTIVATION BEHIND TIMING FOR REVISION OF PENAL CODE QUESTIONED

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 810, 28 Sep 83 pp 12-13

[Article: "An Event and a Comment: Where Are the Search Patrols? Questions About Amendments to the Penal Code"]

[Text] Speculations have been varied about the reasons that impelled the Ministry of the Interior to increase security patrols that search cars and pedestrians during the day and not only at night to ascertain that they are carrying the required papers.

Some of these speculations attributed the matter to a surge in crime. Some of these crimes are committed by unemployed individuals who do not have legal residence in the country. The patrols, therefore, have been applying themselves eagerly to the task of looking for people who have come into the country and who do not have legal residence. According to what the ministry believes, the patrols do that to ward off the evil of crime and its possibilities.

Other speculations attributed the matter to the fact that a group of infiltrators managed to enter the country with all their weapons and equipment. Some of these speculations mentioned the figure of 600 infiltrators. Others mentioned 100. Reports in the daily press indicated that security agencies had arrested about 37 persons around whom the speculations had been concentrated.

After this information was published, the security search patrols were in fact reduced.

Although we oppose restrictions that are set on people's liberties or actions that are taken to impede people's interests and their travel, we also oppose abrupt and impetuous actions in security measures, unless conditions have gone beyond reasonable and acceptable limits.

We have approved and we still approve of security measures that would provide a continuous remedy for the two formerly mentioned situations, but we do not approve of them as part of a plan of abrupt and impetuous actions.

Kuwait has been infiltrated ever since it's been in existence. Careful security agencies are those that take measures and precautions to prevent the occurrence of crime in the first place and not to arrest the perpetrators of crime after they commit their crimes.

There are greedy, unemployed, straggling, corrupt people [everywhere], and it is those security agencies that are careful that can deal with this kind of people and can keep them from committing crimes before they actually begin carrying them out.

Weapons or contraband materials may be smuggled successfully into one place, or they may be smuggled occasionally. However, it is security agencies that are careful and vigilant that would know precisely from which direction danger may come. Therefore, they would take extraordinary measures at a place and at a time which they believe are targeted for the danger in question.

Therefore, although we oppose arbitrary measures and impetuous plans, we do support [the idea of having] careful and vigilant security agencies that can deal with and react to events in such a way as to control those events and confront them with the appropriate methods, provided that they do not encroach upon the rights of citizens and people coming into the country.

But did the smugglers and the unemployed cease their activities to warrant the disappearance of some of the security and search roadblocks?

More than one question is being asked about the amendments to the Penal Code that were proposed by five representatives, who are considered to be proponents of the Muslim Brothers and the al-Salafiyah School.

First, why have these amendments been proposed at this time in particular?

Second, do these people think that it is an Islamic government that would set up mandatory punishments and carry out those punishments instead of the penalties that are now in effect?

Third, can these amendments pass?

Let us begin [by answering] the first question. It is obvious that it is no coincidence that the proposed amendments were introduced by the five representatives at a time when the fifth legislative session was about to end. The amendments were introduced no more than 15 months before the next parliamentary elections. The timing was carefully calculated with voters in mind because the question that those representatives will face in the next election is this: What did you do while you were serving as representatives?

Their reply to that question will mention the proposed amendment to the Penal Code, an amendment which tries to bring the Penal Code in line with Islamic law. Thus we find that it was the voters above all else who figured in the consideration to introduce the forementioned proposed amendment to the law.

But the forementioned proposed amendment to the law, which establishes mandatory punishments and carries out those punishments, also reveals that the premises of the Muslim Brothers and the al-Salafiyah School lack credibility. This is because their view of an Islamic government is restricted to [the task of] setting up mandatory punishments and carrying out those punishments. Those punishments would take the place of the death penalty, imprisonment, incarceration and the fines that are in effect now. But is the Islamic government that they are calling for a

government of mandatory punishments and reprisals, as is the case with the regime of Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan? Or is Islamic government an integrated system of government with a political, economic and a social basis and a constitutional status as well that is quite different from what is in effect now?

If that is the case, are the proponents of the Muslim Brothers and al-Salafiyah School prepared to make such a demand, or are they going to be satisfied with mandatory punishments and reprisals even though that does not establish an Islamic government?

We are directing this question to the members of these groups in the hope that they might find an answer to it.

Regarding the possibility that these amendments will be approved by the constitutional and parliamentary bodies that are in office, the "difficulties" which the government and another number of representatives will face must be considered. These difficulties will undoubtedly not be few. On the other hand, there are the results which the existing situation in its entirety will have on the constitution, on politics, on society and on the economy. These results also will not be few if these amendments are ratified.

It is not necessary to point out that there are constitutional and political conditions, economic interests and existing social relations that will thwart the ratification of such amendments.

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## HOUSING, ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE PROBLEMS EXAMINED

### High Living Costs Discussed

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1397, 12 Aug 83 pp 59-61

[Article by Ghassan Barri: "Some People Are Unable to Match Their Housing and Living Expenses with Their Salaries: Tell Me How Much You Make, and I Will Tell You How You Live"]

[Text] One man got married but could not find an apartment, so he had to get divorced. Another man came back from South America to settle down in Lebanon, but could not find a widow who would marry him.

University graduates are emigrating in order to provide themselves with a secure future, and the people who are able to buy buildings are people who are working in the Arab countries.

The economic and social crisis in Lebanon begins with its housing problem. It is estimated that, in the case of people living in [Western] nations, a maximum of 20 percent of an individual's income is spent on housing. In the case of some categories of people in Lebanon, however, an individual's total income is not enough to pay for housing costs.

Many other problems have arisen in Lebanon as a result of this housing problem. The standard of living has gone down, more and more people are forced to remain unmarried, and more and more people are emigrating to foreign countries. The Rent Law is still the focus of a battle which is going on between landlords and tenants. Each of these two groups has its cause and its position.

This study, which has been prepared by AL-HAWADITH, provides examples of this two-fold crisis which has many tragic ramifications. Six months ago, in the Zuqaq al-Balat section of Beirut, I attended the wedding ceremony in which Fatimah Haydar was married to her cousin Ahmad. People uttered cries of joy, good wishes and prayers for the young couple. The singer, Muhammad 'Ayyash, sang love songs which melted the hearts of the young unmarried women there and caused them to jump up and dance and do the dabkah [a type of Arab dance] while their eyes were searching among the young men present for bridegrooms who might

be able to provide them with a house to live in. It did not matter to these young women whether or not the prospective husband was an uneducated man or did not come near being the man of their dreams who would come riding on a white horse and carry his bride away from the house of her family. After some time had gone by after the wedding, I decided that I wanted to enjoy the friendly atmosphere of being with a married couple, so I dropped by the residence of Ahmad, the bridegroom, carrying a bouquet of roses. Ahmad opened the door, and before me stood a thin young man with an expression of sorrow on his face. He did not even give me an opportunity to ask him why he was so downcast. Right away he began telling me his sad story, which was as follows:

"Fatimah and I fell in love with each other and our world became one of love and desire. Then I began looking for an apartment which would suit us as a young married couple. I suddenly discovered that life was being relentlessly cruel to us. My salary is 2,000 Lebanese pounds, and the rent for an apartment is 50,000 Lebanese pounds. In the suburbs the rent is 25,000 Lebanese pounds. Where am I going to be able to get such a sum of money? I tried to find a way out of this problem, but I could not. As long as I continue to work at my job with the banking firm where I am employed, I will not have enough energy to hold a second job.

"This painful reality caused me to go through a dreadful emotional crisis. Should I destroy my happiness and divorce Fatimah, or should we patiently await God's mercy? Unfortunately our hardship was victorious over our happiness, so I had to divorce the love of my life after her parents had treated me as a person who was wretched and helpless."

I left Ahmad, who was engrossed in his sorrows and who, for the first time in his life, had started drinking in order to drown these sorrows which were tearing him apart and robbing him of his sleep.

Ahmad's story is like dozens of other stories that take place every day.

The housing problem in Lebanon is not the only problem, although it is one of the basic ones. These economic problems have a negative effect on people's lives and leave behind emotional scars which promise unhealthy consequences later on. For example, al-Hajjah Ghazalah Salih sums up her family problem as follows: "My husband is retired and his pension amounts to 1,000 Lebanese pounds after he devoted all of his life to his job. We own a house which we bought in 1972, and we still have five children. God looks after us and is our guardian. I buy 10 kilograms of flour and bake bread from it for 2 weeks. When I cook, I do the cooking for 2 days. Most of our food consists of grain. Our clothing is of the simple variety. We can only buy shoes once a year or once every 2 years. When my children get sick, the pharmacist is the one who prescribes medicine for them because we cannot afford to pay the doctor bills. But the thing that really depresses me is when I hear my children talk about the fact that they cannot have things which they see their friends in school having. As for entertainment or recreation, this is something which we cannot even consider." Ibrahim Hamiyah emigrated to South America and then returned to Lebanon in order to settle down and get married in his native land. However, the war in Lebanon prevented him from achieving his dream, and he has remained a

bachelor. He said: "The money which I brought with me has all been spent, so I have been forced to work as a construction worker. Since I am an older man, I earn only 1,000 Lebanese pounds per month. I have not managed to find a widow who would be interested in having me as a husband because I earn so little money. After I lost my room in Burj Hammud because of the war, I have been forced to resort to living in my relatives' house."

Mrs Samirah al-Qazaq, a supervisor in one of the hospitals, had the following to say: "My salary is 2,000 Lebanese pounds a month, and the rent for my house is an older rental rate--that is, 175 Lebanese pounds per month. Because of this I am able to continue to live in Beirut. My husband died during the civil war and my children are married. I am a person who lives frugally. I cook one dish of food to last for 2 days. Cooking this dish of food costs me 40 Lebanese pounds. Also, every day I buy eight Lebanese pounds worth of fruit. As far as clothes are concerned, every season I buy two dresses and four pairs of shoes for 500 Lebanese pounds. Every Sunday evening I go with a group of friends to spend the evening out. Sometimes we spend this evening in someone's house or in a restaurant. Whatever the expenses of the evening are, we all chip in and pay them. Also, every year we go on tourist trips abroad which are available at economy prices. My son helps me to pay the expenses of such trips. Life in Lebanon is nice, and a person needs 6,000 Lebanese pounds a month in order that he have even an average standard of living. However, if a Lebanese wants to live better and wishes to acquire an automobile, then he needs to earn 10,000 Lebanese pounds a month. When I found that insurance and guarantees after the war had become difficult [to obtain], I purchased a life insurance policy, the premiums of which are 500 Lebanese pounds a month. Marriages have become rare after the civil war because rents have skyrocketed and Lebanese with low incomes cannot afford this. I am sad concerning the future of the young people in our country if matters remain as they are and the housing and income problems are not dealt with."

Miss Gharam Rabih is the head of a section in the Ministry of Communications. She had been working for the government for 19 years, and her salary is still 1,830 Lebanese pounds. She said sadly: "I pay 800 Lebanese pounds as rent for my room and the things which come with it, and I pay 1,000 Lebanese pounds for food. Nothing is left over for clothes or medicines. This is why, at the end of each month, I used to flee my creditors. But then I found a second job as a telex operator which pays 2,000 Lebanese pounds and at which I work from 2 pm till 8 pm. Because of this I have managed to pay off my debts, help my parents, buy new clothes, and buy a small car. However, no time is left over for me to take it easy or to think about myself. Because of all of this pressure and exhaustion, I had to have an operation and had to pay the hospital 5,383 Lebanese pounds for [the operation and for staying in the hospital for] 1 day. I ask you: How can a poor person get by in this country? How can a person get married if he or she has no financial resources?"

One of her colleagues, the head of an office, also joined in the conversation and said the following: "My wife is an employee, and our combined salary is 3,000 Lebanese pounds. One-fifth of this total is spent on rent for our house, and the rent which we pay is an old rental rate. We try to have this amount be sufficient for our necessary expenses. Our living standard is lower than average."

Mahir Bashir al-Habbal is a teacher in a private school, and his salary is 1,300 Lebanese pounds per month. He lives together with his parents because he is unable to pay the rent required for a house of his own. He said: "I am 22 years old. In a year I will be graduating from the Department of Business Administration at the [American] University of Beirut. I will be working within my specialization in the field of business, and my salary will be 1,600 Lebanese pounds per month. Herein lies the tragedy of a university graduate. How can a person who earns 1,600 Lebanese pounds exist and establish a family? A young male university graduate wants to meet the girl of his dreams and build together with her a future which is full of happiness. The fact is that such a university graduate cannot achieve this. Why is this? The reason is that the salaries in Lebanon are not enough to take care of the necessary requirements in terms of expenses for housing, clothes, and medicines--not to mention recreation and entertainment. Also, we feel alarmed because the labor market is not one which provides for everyone. It is a painful fact that young people are being forced to emigrate to foreign countries and to put their academic qualifications at the disposal of other peoples and other nations rather than our people and our nation. Most university graduates are emigrating in order to find work which can provide for their future. The problems being faced by our young people must be solved fairly soon, otherwise they will be transformed into phenomena which will be negative for our society."

A public school principal whose salary is 1,700 Lebanese pounds, and is married to a teacher whose salary is 1,300 Lebanese pounds, said the following: "I married the teacher in order to be able to pay the rent on my house. But, in spite of this, I still have debts. The rent on my house is 1,100 Lebanese pounds per month, and the rest of our money is spent on clothes and food. What do you expect me to do? We must maintain our dignity and I must maintain my image as a principal. Also, my wife has to be a public school teacher whom the neighbors and other people in our society look upon with admiration. Yesterday, in an effort to maintain my image as a principal, I bought a television set on credit. I curse the day when I became a principal, and I recall the happier days when I was merely a teacher and did not have to worry about my image as far as society was concerned. We fervently hope that the day will come when the salary of a school principal will be commensurate with the status which he occupies in society." During this discussion, the man who serves as principal of the school during the morning shift came in and, when he found out the topic of the interview, he took part in the discussion and said the following: "I have been working for 27 years, and my salary is still 3,600 Lebanese pounds. Since the cost of living has gone up, with this salary we are not able to provide for the requirements of our life in a way which allows us to maintain our dignity. I pay 2,500 Lebanese pounds as rent for our house after having had to abandon it due to the recent events. I ask you: How can we manage to get along with the rest of our money? The answer is that our life is a miserable one."

A teacher in this same school said that his salary amounted to 2,900 Lebanese pounds--consisting of a basic salary of 2,465 Lebanese pounds plus an education bonus of 670 Lebanese pounds. The rent on his house, which is according to the old rate, is 200 Lebanese pounds, he pays 300 Lebanese pounds for his car, 500 Lebanese pounds per month for school tuition and 200 Lebanese pounds per month

for medical care for his three children, and he pays 1,500 Lebanese pounds for food. The rest of the money is spent on buying clothes for him and his family. His complaint is that he is unable to provide for any suitable recreation for his wife and children. Suhayl al-Hajj is a 25-year-old civil engineer who works in an engineering office, and he said the following: "My salary is only 2,000 Lebanese pounds per month. If my parents did not live in Beirut, I also would not be able to live in Beirut. Thank God I managed to find work, because my colleagues have not been able to find work in the field of engineering. We are anxiously awaiting the day when total stability will return to Greater Beirut and reconstruction will begin. About 60 billion Lebanese pounds have been made available to the [financial] markets for the purpose of [financing] the digging of canals, the building of bridges, and reconstruction. But this will provide work for only about 20 percent of our engineers. The other 80 percent of Lebanon's engineers [will have no work]. This work of reconstruction of Lebanon will begin to be in full swing only when all the various foreign forces are withdrawn from Lebanon, and this is what the engineers are now waiting for.

"It is a well-known fact why we are not anxious to get married. We cannot pay the rent of the apartments. And the building owners are asking 400,000 Lebanese pounds for even the smallest apartment. Where can we get so much money? In Lebanon it has become impossible for any person of limited income to purchase an apartment. This is why we have found ourselves in a difficult social situation after the war."

One time I was riding in the taxicab of Muhammad Abu Harb and heard foreign songs being played on a cassette recorder inside his car. All during his route from Burj Abu Haydar to al-Najamh Square he was exchanging greetings with the other drivers. I asked him what the reason was for his popularity, and he answered me: "I used to be an employee in the port and I was flexible with people, so they began to like me. Finally I took my compensation money and bought a public taxi for 65,000 Lebanese pounds. My net earnings every day total 100 Lebanese pounds, and I spend this money on my family, which consists of six persons. The fact is that 100 Lebanese pounds is not enough for what is demanded of me. What can I do other than to put my trust in God and wait for peace to return to our country so that we will have some relief? It is no secret that two of my children are girls who are of marriageable age and no young men are asking for their hand. The reason for this is our social problem and our housing crisis. This is what worries me."

Mahmud al-Suri works as a watchman at a building, and his wife also works in order to help with their living expenses. Before the war most of the building watchmen were from outside the country. However, the owners of buildings and apartments are tending to hire Lebanese in place of them after the government has become stronger. Mahmud said: "My salary is 800 Lebanese pounds, but this is not enough. I am forced to work at another job in a workshop, and I must have my wife watch the building when I am gone. When I am watching the building, she, in turn, then goes and works in people's homes [as a cleaning lady]. She gets 150 Lebanese pounds for working from 8 am till 12 pm. We are saving this money in order to build a house for ourselves either in Syria or in Turkey.

How much money do we have to spend? We do not need to spend very much. We get our clothes from the people who live in the building, and sometimes they even give us food. Our expenses total nearly 1,000 Lebanese pounds a month. By doing things this way, we are able to save some money."

Arkan 'Ali Yasin, an electrician, puts electrical wiring in buildings which have been newly constructed. Concerning his work, he said: "I get 100 Lebanese pounds a day. I pay 450 Lebanese pounds to rent my room in al-Shiyah [a southern suburb of Beirut]. I also help my parents by sending them 400 Lebanese pounds a month, and I also give 100 Lebanese pounds to a poor widow who is a relative of ours. Whatever is left, I spend on food and on my car. In spite of this, at the end of every month I am in debt."

'Ali Jawhari was stirring cement with his shovel so that it would keep the proper consistency. I asked him about the buildings he was working on, and he said: "There are many of them, so there are plenty of apartments for sale. But not many of them are being sold because the prices being asked for them are very high. Any Lebanese who is not a merchant, a doctor, an engineer, a lawyer, or a person who works in one of the free professions cannot buy an apartment. I, as a construction worker, get 100 Lebanese pounds a day, and I think that this is better than going abroad [to work]. In the summer I work in construction workshops, and in the winter I go to Ba'labakk. The rent which I pay for my room in the southern suburb is 500 Lebanese pounds a month. Right now there are no more apartments for rent."

Ibrahim Mardin, a village mayor, said: "Right now we are going through an economic crisis, and there are merchants who will be declaring bankruptcy in the near future. What good is Greater Beirut to us when there are no tourists? Furthermore, there is the high cost of living. If I invite some friends of mine to a restaurant for the purpose of promoting good relations between the various religious sects, the bill will be sky-high. This limits my activities as far as giving dinner parties is concerned. I would also like to mention the fact that the village mayors are being ignored by the authorities. For 20 years I have served as the village mayor of al-Musaytibah without receiving a salary! I would like to see some consideration be given to the village mayors and would like to see their post-war situation studied, especially since the high cost of living now means that a village mayor needs 10,000 Lebanese pounds a month."

Apartments are remaining empty and all sectors of the population are suffering from the crisis because no one can pay the high prices. Al-Hajj Taysir al-Darzi, a building contractor, said: "Lebanese individuals cannot purchase apartments because they are too expensive. Those who can pay for them are people who have emigrated to the Gulf nations, Saudi Arabia and Africa. But a Lebanese citizen who is an employee is not able to even dream of owning an apartment in Lebanon. I sell apartments at a price of 425,000 Lebanese pounds in Burj Abu Haydar. These apartments consist of three bedrooms, a living room, and a dining table. The reason why the apartments are so expensive is the price of construction materials, labor costs, and the price of land. One dhira' [0.5625 square meters] of land costs 4,000 Lebanese pounds. In Mar Ilyas, 1 dhira' of land costs 10,000 Lebanese pounds. For this reason, the price of an apartment in such

locations is 1 million Lebanese pounds, and the annual rent for such an apartment is 100,000 Lebanese pounds. Before the war, 1 dhira' of land in an area such as this was only 250 Lebanese pounds. We are really suffering from a recession lately because we are not getting any overseas Lebanese as customers. Our percentage of sales has gone down to 2 percent. As building contractors we are not able to rent out apartments because renters end up becoming the owners. We are being hit by taxes, and investment licenses are specified [for a certain length of time]. If the government would be more lenient with us concerning construction, we could build buildings with two or three floors and sell them on a long-term basis--that is, for a period of 20 years. We are demanding the freedom to conclude contracts for a period of 10 years, and this would allow us to build apartments for rent. "The matter cannot be solved by speeches being given on television. The matter requires basically coming to terms with the building contractors. If this is not done, then our society will be experiencing a catastrophe which will be worse than the recent war. We wish to be treated fairly by the police when we are engaging in our work (during the curfew)."

The sun went down and people rushed to their homes, and there was an expression of depression on the faces of young people who were searching for an apartment where they could quietly spend their evenings.

#### Rent Law Changes Discussed

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1397, 12 Aug 83 pp 61-63

[Article by Sharbil Zughayb: "A Hue and Cry From Everywhere Is Being Heard About an Amendment to a Law Which Is Being Labelled 'Kick the Tenants Out Immediately!'" ]

[Text] Twenty-five billion Lebanese pounds are involved in the transactions between landlords and tenants under the system of paying fees to arrange the so-called "vacating of the premises."

The head of the Housing Fund expects its monthly earnings to total 10 million Lebanese pounds.

After the promulgation of the Rent Law which introduced some increases in the old rental rates and also introduced some enormous decreases in the rental rates which were newly set, a great hue and cry arose among the tenants and landlords, particularly among the small landlords who live off of the income which they receive from their tenants' rent. This situation led the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Kamil al-As'ad, to get in touch with the deputy and attorney Nasri al-Ma'luf in order to ask him to participate in a television debate during which he would explain what the objectives of the legislators were in passing this law. The deputy from Beirut agreed to this request by the president of the Chamber of Deputies and did this for him on television, bringing attention to the long period of time which was required to formulate this law (3 years). He explained the purpose behind the rent increases and decreases as being an effort to create a type of relative balance between the old rental

rates and the other newer rental rates by the time this law expires in 1985. An incident was related to Mr al-Ma'luf about a widow whose husband had left her an apartment and the widow and her family lived off of the income of this apartment. But now the Rent Law was going to deprive her of half of this income. When Mr al-Ma'luf was asked whether or not this law was one which would be dealing fairly with this widow and her family, he answered: "Yes, this is fair. The reason I say this is because her neighbor, who might also be a widow but whose husband did not leave her anything for her and her children to live from, might not be able to pay the rent on her apartment--even with this amended law in effect. My friend, the legislators had to review all the various types of cases in our society, and not merely the case of your widow."

The law was well on its way to being implemented, but something unforeseen occurred to prevent this.

A few months ago the government submitted an emergency bill to the Chamber of Deputies and called upon this body to ratify the bill. The bill specified the granting of total freedom in contractual matters concerning rent when the Rent Law expires in 1985. However, the deputies reacted to this amendment bill with a strong storm of protest and considered it to be a banana peel on which they could slip and lose their popular support and popular base. The Administration and Justice Committee was forced to unanimously reject the bill, and it lost its status of being a piece of emergency legislation.

At the forefront of those "rebellious" against the proposed amendments was the Tenants' Committee which, via its secretary, Mr George al-Hajj, detailed the dangers of these amendments to the tenants. He asserted that there is absolutely no justification for them at a time when the country is suffering from social, economic, and housing conditions which are deteriorating. He demanded that the government withdraw the bill from the Chamber of Deputies and called upon the deputy committees to cease their study and discussion of the bill. He said: "A large number of landlords have taken advantage of the publication of the amendments in the newspapers and have sent their tenants notices saying that the premises must be handed over to the landlords and that the tenants must vacate them. Referring the bill to the Chamber of Deputies will only serve to spread alarm and turmoil." Mr al-Hajj went on to say: "The Tenants' Committee, in light of the positions taken by the government and the deputy committees and in light of the extent to which they have responded to the campaign which is being waged against the amendments, will define its position which is in opposition to the bill and will do so via effective agreement and cooperation with active political party, union, social, religious, and popular groups in the country because a bill such as this cannot be allowed to pass."

Mr al-Hajj added: "The bill presents us with three surprises. The first of these surprises is the fact that the bill was proposed less than 9 months after the Rent Law was ratified by the Chamber of Deputies, and this is something which means total disregard for the will of the legislators concerning this significant social and housing issue. The second of these surprises has been that the reasons given why the bill was necessary indicated that the objective of the amendment is to correct some of the mistakes and ambiguities which occurred in the interpretation of some of the articles of the law. However, the amendments proposed in the text of the amendment bill have dealt with the core of the legal provisions and the essence of the rights and duties concerning

leasing--and these are legal provisions, rights and duties concerning which the law had achieved a balance between the tenants and the landlords. The third of these surprises was the fact that the period of time between the promulgation of the law and the proposal of the amendment bill was a period of time which was full of breakdowns in the security situation which have increased the amount of suffering resulting from forced relocations in Lebanon, and [because of this] there is no justification at all for even thinking about introducing such an amendment. "The amendment proposed by the government deals with Article 3 of the law and specifies that there be absolute freedom concerning rental agreements. This is something which will lead to a tenant having to take his furnishings out of his apartment at the end of each year and put them on his shoulders and go look for another apartment to rent. And he might not even find another apartment because these days all of the landlords are tending to rent to prosperous people and people with high incomes.

"The amendments to Article 6 of the law takes away from tenants who consider their place of residence to be simultaneously a place for residence, conducting business and practicing their trade--according to the text of the law--the right to obtain other compensation equal to the losses which such tenants incur as a result of vacating the premises such as fees paid to them in return for vacating the premises, to compensate them for losing their places of business and customers, to compensate them for the fact that their business has stopped, etc. This proposed amendment will serve to take away from the tenants all of the rights which they have acquired in the successive rent laws since 1944 and will eliminate the claims which have been made by tenants in all of the cases which have been pending during the last 10 years. The amendment would also abrogate Article 14 since it would involve the immediate implementation of all of the provisions having to do with surrendering and vacating the premises which are at the expense of the tenants. This would mean expelling thousands of Lebanese citizens from their places of residence, especially if we take into consideration the fact that Roger Shikhani, the minister of justice, has said that 85 percent of the cases which have accumulated and which are pending in our courts of law are cases which have to do with renting and leasing." Not only the deputies and the tenants have rejected the amendment bill. The General Labor Confederation [of Lebanon] has also done its part in rejecting the bill. The head of the General Labor Confederation said: "If the bill is ratified, this will lead to the creation of an atmosphere of instability in our nation and it will result in throwing many tenants out into the street. We hope that this matter will be discussed in a quiet, rational and responsible manner in order that we may all arrive at satisfactory solutions for the construction sector and in the realm of providing housing for our citizens. In our opinion, it is not possible to ratify this bill before providing housing for our citizens--and for our workers in particular.

"Although the daily and principal concern at the palace of the republic is that of liberating our country from the foreign armies that are occupying it, President Amin al-Jumayyil has also shown particular concern for the housing crisis. Early last June he invited all those who were concerned about housing in the public and private sectors to meet with him, and at this meeting he put all his cards on the table. He demanded from them that each sector make its contribution toward solving the housing crisis--a process that was soon to be taken up. He

gave those present at the meeting a deadline of 1 week to present reports to the minister of housing. He said that these reports would then be studied, their best features would be sorted out, and the contribution of each sector in the private and public sectors to the process of solving the housing crisis would be determined. However, it appears that the private sector did not take the matter as seriously as did the public sector, represented by the Independent Housing Fund and the Housing Bank."

The chairman of the board of the Housing Bank is Engineer Joseph Sasin, and he said the following: "The housing problem is not a matter of how many housing units are being produced, but rather a matter of the quality of what is being produced. The government has become aware of this problem and is endeavoring to establish a plan to meet all of the demands of the private developers and building contractors in order that they be able to embark upon the construction of buildings whose specifications will correspond to the ability of Lebanese citizens to purchase and own them." Mr Sasin also explained: "The Housing Bank, which was founded 5 years ago, spent the first 2 years of its existence organizing itself in terms of its human and material resources. This is why one can say that the Housing Bank really has been in the housing market for only 3 years. During that time it extended a total of 240 million Lebanese pounds of loans. This total includes both the principal and interest of the loans, and the total number of loans currently being administered by the Housing Bank is about 2,000. The number of applications for loans submitted increases at a rate of from 20 to 25 every day. The basic problem of the Housing Bank is one of resources. This problem is due to the fact that the government has not given the Housing Bank all of the means of financing to enable the Housing Bank to become a bank in the real sense of the word rather than being merely a fund--which is what it is right now--and in order to enable it to obtain new resources needed for the implementation of the housing savings program. Right now we are working on our final study of this program in order to be able to implement it very soon. Also, the government is not guaranteeing the bank, and thus it cannot take out loans from the commercial financial market.

"The housing savings program," according to Mr Sasin, "follows the following basic principles: A client pledges to put away a certain minimum of savings in his savings account in the bank every month, and pledges to do this for a maximum of 4 years. When this period of time has expired, he may withdraw what he has saved, along with his legal interest payments, and this is in addition to a certain bonus which he receives as a result of allowing the bank to utilize his money. In addition to this, he may obtain a housing loan, the value of which equals what he has saved, and he also receives priority when it comes to being granted a long-term loan in case he should submit a request for this type of loan. This approach will serve to have the savings or resources of the public invested in the area of housing, and it will primarily insure self-financing." Mr Sasin went on to say: "Our entire banking apparatus is busy right now, from 8 am till 10 pm [every day], trying to take care of processing all of the applications which have been accumulating at the bank, and we are trying to accomplish this in accordance with a list of priorities which is based on the date that we received each of these requests. We hope to finish the processing of all of these applications which we have within the space of 1 month, and this means that we will have to finish 357 applications. After this is done, each new application which comes to the bank should take no more than

2 weeks to process. It is because of this that we have embarked upon introducing an automated system into the bank, and we will begin using it at the beginning of 1984. At the present time we are engaging in detailed discussions with the Association of Banks concerning the utilization of the facilities of the private banks in Lebanon--which cover all the areas of Lebanon--as a means by which to issue Housing Bank checks. This is in connection with our medium-term objective, which is that of establishing branches of the Housing Bank in the various areas of Lebanon. Until we can accomplish this objective, and in order to spare clients the necessity of coming to Beirut--because the process of filling out the papers requires that a person constantly come to Beirut from whatever area of Lebanon he lives in--the use of the private banks' facilities will enable them to hand in their applications and fill out all the forms at these private banks, and this they will be able to do after we reach a final agreement concerning this matter with the Association of Banks.

"But right now the public is putting pressure on the Independent Housing Fund. The reason for this is that the interest rate on loans granted by this organization is only 4 percent, which is the normal rate, provided that the total value of the loan is no more than 103,000 Lebanese pounds and it is to be paid off in installments during a period of 20 years. The Housing Bank, however, grants loans totalling up to 200,000 Lebanese pounds, but they entail 8 percent compounded interest rates. Whether or not a person requests a loan from the Independent Housing Fund or from the Housing Bank depends on what his annual income is. If his income is less than 40,000 Lebanese pounds a year, then he is entitled to request a loan from the Independent Housing Fund. But if his income is higher than this figure, then he is not entitled to obtain a loan from the Independent Housing Fund, but has to go to the Housing Bank. "The Independent Housing Fund was originally established in order that the government participate in the construction of housing. It was not established for the purpose of promoting the purchase of apartments. The reason for this is that, in the latter case, such a purchaser would be giving the owner of an apartment a profit of more than 50 percent--and one should bear in mind the fact that he is also the owner of the land. Any citizen may apply for a loan from the Independent Housing Fund and, by means of a small-size participation on his part, build a residence having the same specifications as those of any apartment which is for sale. This enables the government to participate in increasing the number of available housing units, because the law requires that a person applying for a loan leave the rented property which he is occupying after he has finished building his new residence. But if the Independent Housing Fund were to grant loans to tenants for them to buy the apartments which they are occupying, then the government would not be undertaking to solve the housing crisis. It would only be solving the crisis which exists between the landlords and the tenants. One should bear in mind that the government is unable to solve the rent crisis by means of the Independent Housing Fund and by means of granting loans for the purchase of apartments. The reason for this is that the landlords may refuse to sell the apartments which are rented to others under the new Rent Law which would permit the landlords to recover their rented property [by kicking out the tenants] and increase the fees paid to arrange the vacating of each housing unit. This would be particularly true in Lebanon where there are 250,000 rented housing units. If we assume that the fee paid for vacating each of these housing units is a minimum of 100,000 Lebanese pounds,

we end up with the fact that about 25 billion Lebanese pounds are involved in the transactions between landlords and tenants under the system of paying fees to arrange the so-called 'vacating of the premises.'"

But, according to one of the loan applicants, the thing which is complained about by those applying for loans from the Independent Housing Fund is the delay in the processing of their papers, especially after the Israeli invasion. Most of the housing was destroyed as a result of this invasion. Most of the housing was destroyed as a result of this invasion, those who occupied this housing have ended up on the street, and the government has been unable to force the owners of the buildings to either rebuild or repair them.

This complaint is responded to as follows by Mr Antoine (Mizhar), the head of the Independent Housing Fund: "There are many reasons why there have been delays in the processing of the papers by the Independent Housing Fund. First of all, the implementation ordinance of the housing laws has established several conditions which must be met by a loan applicant in order that he be entitled to obtain such a loan from the government. In compliance with this implementation ordinance, and as a first step, we are obliged to conduct the necessary investigations to assure that a loan applicant meets these conditions before granting our initial approval concerning his request. The investigations are done in order to assure that the annual income of the loan applicant is less than 40,000 Lebanese pounds. This type of investigation requires that a great deal of time be spent seeking information from the establishment where the loan applicant is employed, from the National Social Insurance Fund, and from the income tax offices. There is also the condition that the loan applicant not own housing which is less than 20 kilometers away from his place of employment. We conduct these investigations in order for us to be able to participate in providing support to loan applicants on the basis of their being persons of low income, and this process is one which requires a great deal of effort and time on our part. Another important condition is that the loan applicant pledge to live in the housing unit which he intends to purchase for at least 10 years and that he vacate the rented property which is occupying, in case the housing unit which he has purchased is a unit other than the apartment which he is occupying when applying for the loan. If the loan applicant wishes to build a housing unit, then he must also present a legal building license. Also, an engineer employed by the [Ministry of] Housing must inspect the real estate property where the housing unit is to be built and give an estimate of the cost of building it. We determine the value of the loan on the basis of the report which is then sent in by this engineer. This estimate is then referred to the Accounting Office which calculates the monthly installments which are to be paid. These installments must not exceed one-third of the total annual income of the loan applicant. It is on the basis of this report by the Accounting Office that the overall total of the loan, the loan's monthly installments, and the period of the loan are determined. Also, the loan applicant must be able to repay three-fourths of the total loan before he reaches 64 years of age.

"So it is not true that there is any delay or procrastination in the processing of the papers. We should bear in mind that, in the advanced European nations, such processes dealing with housing require more than 6 months. In Lebanon,

however, they require no more than 4 months. So far the Independent Housing Fund has received 3,650 applications and has rejected only 610 of them because they did not meet the legal requirements."

Mr (Mizhar) pointed out the fact that the Independent Housing Fund stopped functioning for about 3 months after the Israeli invasion. He went on to say: "When we resumed operations, we utilized our reserves that we had, even though our resources gained from investments had not totalled as much as we had expected. The reason for this is that most citizens had stopped paying the taxes that they were supposed to pay. This forced us to seek money by means of obtaining a cash advance from the treasury. Whatever is being said to the effect that the Independent Housing Fund has no capital is not true. When our security situation improves, we expect our monthly earnings to be 15 million Lebanese pounds as a result of the increase in resources gained from investments. The government decided to grant the Independent Housing Fund 120 million Lebanese pounds in 1983 and to grant us the same amount in 1984. So far we have granted 3,000 loans totalling 254 million Lebanese pounds. We expect to extend another 1,800 loans totalling 140 million Lebanese pounds by the end of 1983."

#### Suburb Infrastructure Crisis Discussed

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1397, 12 Aug 83 pp 68-69

[Article by Amin [last name not given]: "A Million Persons and a Million Problems in the Southern Suburbs!"]

[Text] There is too little housing to absorb the people, and the water and electricity networks are unable to provide services.

The president of the Chamber of Deputies forms a "work group" to monitor the implementation of the plans of the government.

The issue of the development of the southern suburbs of Beirut has once again been brought up for discussion among political and party figures.

This initiative taken to have this issue be brought up again for discussion was within the framework of a review of the steps undertaken by the ministries and government offices in connection with the implementation of the development projects in the southern suburbs and a comparison of them, in both qualitative and quantitative terms, with the overall objective which President Amin al-Jumayyil was endeavoring to achieve when he surprised the people of the southern suburbs with his famous nighttime visit 2 weeks ago, accompanied by a number of ministers and high officials. During this visit he acquainted himself with the painful and deteriorating situation which is being experienced by an area which is so highly populated that its total population nearly equals one-third of Lebanon's entire population. There are estimates, based on academic studies, to the effect that the southern suburbs of Beirut now have a population of more than 1 million persons.

Kamil al-As'ad, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, has recently been leading a campaign to discuss and study the situation of the southern suburbs and to compare the needs of these suburbs with the marginal services which still have not fully addressed the demands of the suburbs--of which few have been implemented--even after President al-Jumayyil's visit there.

In an effort to have the situation and the future of the southern suburbs be considered on the same level of importance as the fate of South Lebanon, Mr al-As'ad undertook to form a work group composed of a number of deputies from the south and the leaders of the Socialist Democratic Party and he entrusted this group with the job of following up on the basic demands made by the southern suburbs of the various ministries and government offices and submitting weekly reports to him detailing the results of the group's follow-up work in order to enable him to pursue the matter on both the executive and legislative levels of government. If these reports show any negligence, Mr al-As'ad's intention is to then bring the matter up with those government bodies which do not wish to see President al-Jumayyil's visit to the southern suburbs become something only to be remembered in passing or recalled as something done merely for show and which, due to red tape, negligence, and incompetence, could not lead to the accomplishment of any goals or objectives. Mr al-As'ad has decided to await the circumstances of the future before undertaking the task of determining how he will deal with this matter--whether by means of a positive or a negative approach--in light of the results of the contacts which are being made right now with the ministries and the Southern Suburbs Development Committee concerning cooperation in the area of providing the necessary services. During a discussion concerning this matter which was conducted with the work group which Mr al-As'ad entrusted with the task of monitoring the progress of the southern suburbs development projects, Mr Anwar al-Sabah, a deputy, said the following: "We see the process of developing the southern suburbs as part of the effort being made by the government to regain its sovereignty in all areas of Lebanon and to build the nation of Lebanon on foundations which are both advanced and just. It was on this basis that we established our program for developing the southern suburbs last 19 April, and it has been on this basis that we have addressed the government and endeavored to achieve fruitful cooperation with it in order to develop the various utilities and areas in this important part of Lebanon. We have done all of this on the basis of the fact that the southern suburbs are clearly important as an area which embodies a painful situation regarding our population--a situation which is one of the most dire consequences brought on by the 8 years of civil war which have afflicted Lebanon."

He went on to say: "Half of the population of the southern suburbs, if not more, consists of people who have lost their homes and places of employment in other areas which have been destroyed by the war such as Burj Hammud, Sinn al-Fil, al-(Nab'ah), etc. These people were compelled to end their forced migration by settling down in the southern suburbs of Beirut since the doors to South Lebanon were virtually closed to persons from the above-mentioned areas who were forced to relocate. This was the case because, for a number of years, the south of Lebanon had been the victim of military events which had forced a great many of the area's inhabitants to abandon and then re-enter the area more than once.

"It was only natural that this sudden density in population should lead to the emergence of difficult everyday social problems. There was not enough housing to deal with this population pressure. The water and electricity networks, the telephone system, and the necessary health services were unable to keep up with the demands made of them. The roads and streets were not able to deal with the congestion. Furthermore, medical facilities and their branch services, with their limited resources, became unable to provide the inhabitants with even a minimum of the necessary health protection. "These shortcomings and deficiencies have become more intense as a result of the consequences of the war and as a result of the near-total absence of the authority of the legitimate government. This, of course, eliminates any justification for assigning the government any degree of responsibility for shortcomings in the exceptional circumstances mentioned above. How can one call government institutions to account when they were unable to even enter the areas engulfed in war in order to find out what these areas' needs were so that they could do what they considered necessary in order to help the citizens of Lebanon?"

"It was only natural for this chaos to lead to the implementation of operations of expansion in the areas of housing and services due to individual initiatives made necessary by the needs of everyday life and which, within the scope of their implementation, would go beyond the city planning blueprints and plans for construction and expansion based on sound technical field studies."

Mr al-Sabah went on to say: "In light of the studies and follow-up work which have been done so far, certain important facts have come to light. They include, for example, the fact that, unless the initiative to restore the situation in the southern suburbs is one which is pursued quickly and seriously and is one which involves sound and well-studied expansion, it will result in the problems which have accumulated there being transformed into a dangerous nightmare which will threaten to turn the situation into total chaos. This would be a nightmare in terms of social, health and living conditions as well as a developmental nightmare which would prove difficult to postpone and with which one would have to deal immediately."

He continued: "The initiative undertaken by our president was one of great importance. It indicates the aspirations of the administration as well as its developmental and social concerns. This is something which gives us great hope concerning what it is possible to accomplish in the deprived areas, especially after the formation of the Southern Suburbs Development Committee which began its work immediately after the tour made by President al-Jumayyil."

Mr al-Sabah added: "The Socialist Democratic Party, on instructions from Mr al-As'ad, has undertaken to form a 5-member committee consisting of Mr Anis Sa'd, Mr Mustafa Hammud, Mr 'Afif Ramadan, Mr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Sabiti, and Dr Ahmad Diyab. This committee was entrusted with the job of doing follow-up work concerning the demands of the southern suburbs both in the field and on the governmental level, and it was also given the task of providing Mr al-As'ad with reports which detail the results of this follow-up work."

"The party has presented a program for the redevelopment of the southern suburbs which includes the project of constructing a large hospital to meet the requirements of these suburbs. For some time no the possibility has been discussed by building this hospital on a plot of land owned by the government in the Bi'r Hasan area near the Kuwaiti Embassy. [The program also involves] the

construction of enough clinics in all of the areas of the southern suburbs to assist the large hospital which will be expected to provide comprehensive medical services. It should be pointed out that the currently existing clinics are not sufficient and do not have all of the necessary medical requirements available in them. It should also be borne in mind that most of the services of the clinics so far have been provided by the Office of Social Restoration, and these are both limited and low-level services."

This is as far as the medical area is concerned. As for public works, Mr al-Sabah has the following to say: "The program that we have established demands that the Ministry of Public Works implement the project involving the construction of two highways in the southern suburbs. The first highway will extend from the Shatila traffic circle to the Faculty of Sciences, which is a part of the Lebanese University. A decree ratifying this project has already been issued. The second highway will extend from the al-Hazimiyah traffic circle to the al-Awza'i highway. These two highways will provide for the requirements of the southern suburbs in terms of communications, access and easy transportation to both the center of Beirut and the surrounding areas, and they will alleviate the pressure and congestion currently experienced on the narrow roads [which lead to these areas].

"About a month ago a study was made concerning the costs of these two highways. This study says that, according to city planning estimates, the cost of constructing the highway from Shatila to the Faculty of Sciences will total 160 million Lebanese pounds, and this includes consumption and implementation costs.

"We have also demanded the construction of three bridges in areas of high traffic concentration such as those in the area of al-Jinah, al-Sultan Ibrahim, al-Miashrafiyah, the Kuwaiti Embassy, and the al-Ghubayri traffic circle.

"As for the Ministry of Hydroelectric Resources, we have demanded that it construct a network of canals and sewers for the drainage of rainwater in order to eliminate, from the southern suburbs, the large pools of rainwater which flood the roads and squares and make it impossible to get around in some areas.

"The development program also includes a project involving the construction of at least two trade schools in order to produce graduates who will be able to pursue a trade and in order to combat the unemployment crisis. This unemployment has been, to some degree, caused by a lack of interest in orienting young people toward the professions and trades which are basically needed by Lebanon and the region--and these are needs which are not being met by the traditional liberal or academic course of education. In addition to this, it is necessary to build public schools with a high educational level to make up for the deteriorating educational level which we are seeing right now in some of the private schools in the southern suburbs. Every municipality in the southern suburbs could contribute toward the building of a comprehensive government school of its own which would be of the intermediate-grade level and would absorb the students, whose numbers are increasing every year.

"In addition to these demands, we also demand that a solution be found to the problem of the trash-processing plant, for which a total area of 50,000 square

meters was appropriated in the al-(Silm) area. The enterprise has not begun operation, in spite of the fact that the premises have been built and in spite of the fact that the southern suburbs need this type of plant.

"Furthermore, it is necessary to utilize the appropriated land areas in some of the areas of the southern suburbs by transforming them into commercial marketplaces and vegetable markets for the masses. This would solve the problem of congestion which right now is afflicting the small marketplaces. Also, we need to have the implementation of a project involving the setting up of a slaughterhouse which would be subject to constant health inspection. "At this point we need to also urgently focus on the task of establishing a federation of municipalities of the southern suburbs. A federation of this sort, with the people who would belong to it, would cooperate in the realm of speedy implementation of joint projects. We also need to urgently and insistently focus on dealing with the problem of houses which have been built [illegally] on the property of others and concerning which decisions have been taken to tear them down. The solutions need to be ones which can be put into practice and will be based on principles of justice which take into consideration the fact that the poor families threatened with expulsion from these houses will need to be sheltered in other housing units which will provide them with some degree of reassurance and security.

"We are, of course, also not forgetting the telephone problem. The southern suburbs have only one telephone exchange which is about 30 years old. It suffers from problems which are threatening to put it out of commission. One of these problems is that of power failures.

"Statistics tell us that there are about 7,900 telephone lines. Of this total, 5,000 lines are in such bad shape that they never function, the reason being that this telephone network is so old. This problem cannot be solved by means of the approach of patching up the system. It is necessary to set up two new telephone exchanges as has already been done in downtown Beirut and in some of the other suburbs. Also, the number of telephone lines must be increased to match the increase in population--which by now is certainly at least 1 million persons. This population estimate is based on one simple statistic which is derived from the number of hours of electricity utilized in the southern suburbs. The records of the Electricity Administration indicate that 150,000 subscription hours of electricity are utilized in the southern suburbs. If we figure that each hour of electricity serves five persons, then we end up with a figure of 750,000 persons. To this figure we must add at least 250,000 persons who provide lighting for their residences and shops by means other than electricity.

"In order for the process of development in the southern suburbs to be complete, it will be necessary to deal with the illegal status of some of the inhabitants and their residences. This must be done by means of taking the initiative to pass legislation which will eliminate the consequences of the war. This must be done in a just manner which takes into consideration the situation of the poor families which are in these houses, especially in the area between al-Awza'i, al-Raml al-'Ali and al-(SILM). We demand that the government, which is responsible for the lot of individuals, provide for the everyday requirements of all of the residents in the southern suburbs and that it provide all of them

with what they need in terms of electricity, water and health and telephone services. And this should include even those who have obtained these services by illegal means, until the time comes when just solutions are found for the problem of engaging in construction on the property of others [illegally].

"As for the decisions to tear down the residences [illegally] built on the property of others or residences which threaten aviation safety, these decisions, as we have said, should deal with these problems by means of just social approaches which take into account the tragedies brought on by the war, migration and relocation. Before the present dwellings are torn down, suitable dwellings should be built for their inhabitants in other areas so that the tearing down of these dwellings will not lead to the emergence of other social problems which will complicate the present situation. This does not mean that we support conferring any legal status upon illegal practices. It merely means that we are anxious to see the law be an instrument for solving our citizens' problems rather than complicating them.

"In this regard, Lebanon today is in need of a housing policy which would enable citizens to take out loans on easy terms which would make it possible for poor families to build suitable housing for themselves. "We understand that there is a trend on the part of the government in the direction of appropriating a land area near the al-(Silm) section and utilizing it for the construction of a housing complex which would provide housing for those who will be affected by the decision to tear down the residences in al-Raml al-'Ali and al-Awza'i. "A lot is being said about the demands of the southern suburbs and detailed debates are being held concerning how few of the demands have been met since President al-Jumayyil's visit and the importance of what should be done by the government on the basis of the view presented above--a view which the president of the Chamber of Deputies, the deputies from the south, and those of the Socialist Democratic Party consider to constitute a step that must be taken in order to save the southern suburbs from their deteriorating social and everyday-life situation. This situation is one which, if it continues, could lead to turning the southern suburbs into a time bomb which could explode very soon.

"The important thing is that the government should keep an open mind--via all of the concern being shown by President al-Jumayyil, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, and those in the cabinet--regarding channels which are useful for the purpose of providing for the needs of the southern suburbs. This should include more than, for example, picking up the trash in some areas and patching up some of the streets in other areas."

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PLO OPERATIONS IN TRIPOLI DISCUSSED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 192, 15-21 Oct 83 pp 17-22

[Article by Salih Qallab: "The Resistance Is Turning Tripoli Into a New Beirut and Constructing Underground Operations Rooms, As Well As Fortifications, a Radio Transmitter, and Equipment for Connecting 'Arafat's Headquarters with the Outside World!"]

[Text] The return of the chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Yasir 'Arafat, to Tripoli in northern Lebanon has raised many questions. What are the real reasons which have pushed 'Arafat into returning?

A high Palestinian official has informed AL-MAJALLAH that the Palestinian leadership made a series of decisions in its recent meetings in Tunis. Among these was the decision to abandon a written promise made by the Palestinian leader himself to some representatives of the Lebanese president who visited him at his headquarters in the Tunisian capital. The promise states that the Palestinian forces are ready to withdraw from Lebanon in accordance with a formula which would include the Israeli and Syrian forces as well.

The official himself indicated that the Palestinian leadership had reached the conclusion that the wagers made after the resistance left Beirut "had all been lost," including "the possibility of a change for the better in the position of the United States." Thus, there is nothing to do but "escalate the Palestinian position, relinquish the previous flexibility, follow a new path similar to that of the 1960's, and intensify military operation inside and outside the occupied territory."

This official said, "It has become very clear to us that our strength lies in the extent of our independence, and that the only place where we can still move freely is the area of Tripoli and northern Lebanon."

This high Palestinian official reaffirmed that 'Arafat's return to Tripoli came about in this context, and that it was the Palestinian leadership which decided that from now on his permanent headquarters would be the Palestinian camps in northern Lebanon. "Recent developments have proven the correctness of this decision," he said.

The most prominent of the "recent events" have been the clashes that have occurred at the al-Badawi camp to the north of Tripoli and the encirclement by Syrian forces in the Biqa' of more than 1000 Palestinian fighters loyal to 'Arafat at al-Hirmil. According to AL-MAJALLAH's information, the clashes at the al-Badawi camp caused the death of eight fighters from the Popular Front--General Command headed by Ahmad Jibril, and the death of three fighters from the group which has split off from the front, in addition to the wounding of four others from both factions. These clashes were preceded by the conclusion of an agreement according to which all of Ahmad Jibril's barracks were turned over to the Lebanese Islamic Unification Movement, which supports Fatah. This was done because the movement is neutral in the struggle occurring in North Lebanon. After a few days, a group belonging to Jibril began clashes which broke out at a camp lying between al-Badawi and Tripoli. The group which had split off from Jibril responded to this by launching a comprehensive attack on the camp and gaining control of it. All the other resistance factions aided it in this operation. An informed Palestinian source has confirmed to AL-MAJALLAH that the Syrian forces and the forces of the Palestinian organization al-As'iqah, which is loyal to Syria, did not take part in these clashes, but maintained their neutrality and played the role of observers. However, a high Palestinian source had informed AL-MAJALLAH that there is reason to suspect that great clashes will occur and that Syria is making military preparations, especially since the problem of al-Hirmil is growing day after day. It has become "a painful new molar in the inflamed Lebanese jaw."

For about two weeks, 1200 Palestinian fighters and their families have been encircled by Syrian airborne troops in the region of al-Jibab al-Humr at al-Hirmil. Many attempts have been made to break the encirclement which has been imposed on them. The most prominent of these was the attempt undertaken by a delegation from the region of (the clan of 'Al Ja'far and Al Hamadah). The delegation visited Damascus. However, these efforts have produced no positive results. Those who have been trying say the Syrians refuse to lift the encirclement of these forces until they have given up their weapons. After that, they are to be sent to Tripoli.

What Happened Between Khaddam and Abu al-Lutf?

At the same time, political contacts were made between the PLO and Syria in order to solve this problem. Among these contacts was a meeting between the chairman of the PLO political office, Mr Faruq al-Qadumi (Abu al-Lutf), and Syrian Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam. The meeting took place before al-Qadumi headed to the United Nations in New York. AL-MAJALLAH has learned that the Syrians informed the Palestinian side that orders had been given to all the Palestinian forces from all the organization to withdraw from the al-Masna'--Ba'labakk--Shatawrah triangle, and especially from the area which is adjacent to the international highway. The Syrians say that this measure was taken after a high-ranking Arab military officer was killed in the area and a high-ranking Syrian officer was killed under obscure circumstances. However, the Palestinian side denies that it is responsible. The Palestinians say that if these two officers were really killed, it might have happened in the battles in the mountain or in individual incidents with the inhabitants of the region.

AL-MAJALLAH has learned from the Palestinian side that 'Arafat addressed a series of questions to the Syrians through al-Qadumi. Among other things, he said that if the Syrians were committing themselves to a new political and military agreement in the region, then it was incumbent on them to inform the Palestinians, so that things could be arranged peacefully without problems and conflicts arising which no one needed.

AL-MAJALLAH's information indicates that a member of the Fatah Central Committee, Mr Khalid al-Hasan, informed the Soviet Union of the new developments which had taken place between the PLO and Syria. Moscow then informed the Palestinian official that it would soon send a high official to Damascus to deal with the situation.

AL-MAJALLAH has also learned that French President Francois Mitterand sent a letter to 'Arafat in which he told him of his fears concerning the latest developments between Syria and the PLO. In this regard, it is said that French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson informed Khalid al-Hasan that France had information which indicated that a big new strike against the PLO was being planned. Informed sources say that the French advised the PLO to take a flexible position and try to find a solution to this problem before the end of the year with the help of some Arab countries.

On the ground, information available to AL-MAJALLAH states that preparations are in progress for a battle which might happen soon at the Nahr al-Barid camp, 7 miles to the north of Tripoli. Large Syrian forces are stationed there on Mount Turbul, which overlooks the area.

Tripoli ... "A New Beirut"

We return to Tripoli. Official Palestinian sources have told AL-MAJALLAH that the recent decisions of the Palestinian leadership did not merely include the relinquishing of the written promise to withdraw the Palestinian forces from Lebanese territory and 'Arafat's return to Tripoli. Rather, they went beyond these limits to a chain of measures and arrangements designed to transform Tripoli into a new Beirut in which the Palestinians could move with complete freedom, especially since the Biqa' region is under the control of Syria's forces.

Among these measures and arrangements is the call for the majority of Palestinian officials to be present permanently in the camps of the north. In addition, all Palestinian meetings, including those of the Executive Committee of the Central Council, would be held in this area.

On this basis, permanent headquarters and operations rooms have been set up underground in the Nahr al-Barid and al-Badawi camps. Large fortifications have been constructed, and equipment has been installed to link 'Arafat's headquarters with the outside world. In addition, a radio station has been installed which can cover all of Lebanon and be heard clearly in Syria, Cyprus, and part of the occupied territory.

In reality, the transformation of Tripoli into a Palestinian Beirut did not come as a surprise. Neither did it begin with 'Arafat's return--after a three-month absence following his expulsion from Damascus. Rather, it was the fruit of efforts exerted under some extremely difficult circumstances, at the head of which stood the fear the inhabitants of the Palestinian camps had of the Sabra and Shatila experience and the withdrawal of the fighters from Beirut. These efforts were supervised by the deputy general commander of the forces of the Palestinian revolution, Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), who is known in North Lebanon and the Biqa' region as "the Fatah fox".

The first task Abu Jihad undertook was to reinforce the morale of the Palestinians there and give them tangible, material proof that the experience of Sabra and Shatila would not be repeated and that the fighters would not board ships once again and leave the Palestinian camps to their fate. He did this by setting up institutions and reinforcing the organization's military presence.

After that, the internal structure of the resistance's military force was firmed up. A number of bad symbols with an unclean past were removed. Very strict orders were issued forbidding any Palestinian fighter from entering the city of Tripoli with his weapon or military uniform and prohibiting the renting of residential houses owned by Palestinians outside the Palestinian camps.

In addition to all this, contact was established between Tripoli and some European ports, as well as between these ports and a number of Arab capitals, in order to transport more than 5000 Palestinian fighters who had received advanced training in the camps set up in some Arab states following the exodus from Beirut.

In this context, a high-ranking Palestinian military official told AL-MAJALLAH that, in the three weeks prior to 'Arafat's return to Tripoli, more than 2000 Palestinian fighters had been transported from the Palestinian barracks set up in Algeria, Tunis, the Sudan, and North and South Yemen. Among these were special guards for 'Arafat and the majority of the leaders of the Palestinian resistance.

The official himself confirmed that "the number of Palestinian forces present in the area of Tripoli exceeds 7000." This official has pointed out that the resistance has relinquished an idea which was proved wrong in the last war. This idea is dependence on fixed positions supported by tanks and heavy field artillery. It has been replaced by the idea of well trained groups maneuvering without a central point, supply lines or direct, central orders.

#### Contacts Preceded the Return

It is interesting to note that the Palestinian measures in the field which preceded 'Arafat's return to Tripoli were accompanied by political and military measures undertaken by local Lebanese forces. These latter measures

gave support to the Palestinian resistance, and to the Fatah movement in particular. The Fatah movement undertook the extermination of the anti-Fatah rebels' presence in North Lebanon. In addition, via the split which occurred in the Popular Front--General Command (Ahmad Jibril), which exploded into bloody clashes which were decided in favor of the rebels last week, Fatah assured its control in this area.

One should point out that nothing has happened between the Fatah movement and the Syrian forces in the North since the Syrian--Palestinian conflict broke out. Rather, one hears repeatedly in Palestinian circles that visits are being exchanged by the leaders of these forces and the leaders of the Fatah movement and that the dialogue between the two sides is continuing. This dialogue has not been cut for a single day. One hears that perhaps a "balance of deterrence" is determining the relationship between the two sides in this region.

In connection with the preparation for 'Arafat's return to and residence in Tripoli, AL-MAJALLAH has learned from knowledgeable and trustworthy sources that Abu Jihad has sent recently a number of letters to some Syrian officials including Minister of Defense Mustafa Tallas, Chief of Staff Hikmat al-Shihabi, and Intelligence Director 'Ali Duba. He is in the process of sending a similar letter to Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad.

Turning back to the reasons which compelled 'Arafat to make this surprising return and the method by which it was undertaken, AL-MAJALLAH has made a series of contacts and obtained the following information:

Over a month and a half ago, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO informed the general leadership that he was thinking of returning to Tripoli by any means possible because he was absolutely convinced that his presence abroad would weaken the organization. He said, "He who remains outside the arena of conflict will be forgotten by the world and lose all the achievements he has realized."

Initially, the Palestinian leadership rejected this idea and insisted that 'Arafat's presence abroad permitted him freedom of movement. The leadership said, "His return to encirclement once again will confuse the PLO and throw its efforts into disorder."

In the face of 'Arafat's insistence in successive meetings, the Palestinian leadership gave its assent, but stipulated that it should hold contacts in this regard with a number of Arab states and Syria, "so that our Syrian brothers will not think that the goal of 'Arafat's return is to incite and work against them."

In this regard, AL-MAJALLAH has learned from trusted sources that a high-ranking Syrian official welcomed 'Arafat's return to Tripoli when he was informed of it in the hope that it would be a step in the direction of putting a stop to the deterioration of Syrian--Palestinian relations.

Other sources indicated that the Palestinian leadership had informed some concerned Arab states that 'Arafat's return to Tripoli would not pose an obstacle to any movement in the direction of Lebanese reconciliation, and that the PLO would not obstruct any efforts to reunify Lebanon.

At any rate, no matter how this obscure journey was arranged, the oft repeated question is how long 'Arafat will stay in Tripoli, especially since he has prior commitments to look to, including a meeting between himself and French President Francois Mitterand scheduled for next December in Tunis.

Some Palestinian officials say that 'Arafat will exert redoubled efforts to correct Palestinianian--Syrian relations, after which Damascus shall be his window to the world. At the same time, others doubt that things can be as they once were between the PLO and the Syrian capital in the foreseeable future. They say that 'Arafat might be in danger once again, and that he might be compelled to make another obscure journey, if circumstances so will it.

12224

CSO: 4404/78

## SYRIA

### DIPLOMATIC SOURCES REVEAL CONFLICT WITH TURKEY

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 188, 17-23 Sep 83 p 8

[Text] AL-MAJALLAH has learned from well-informed diplomatic sources that a "serious silent crisis" exists between Syria and Turkey. The sources have said that the crisis began when Turkey accused Syrian officials of assisting the "Secret Armenian Army," of supplying bases in al-Biqa' to train "terrorist" elements of this army and of advancing various forms of assistance to them. As a result, the Turkish Government has resorted to the use of strong pressure against Syria. It is well known that 60 percent of Syria's electricity needs are generated by the Euphrates Dam. The Euphrates River originates in Turkey and flows to Iraq through Syrian territory. Turkey has completed the construction of a second dam on this river inside Turkish territory and has begun to fully utilize this dam. At the beginning of last August, the Turks shut off the sluices that let the water flow to Syria and started storing water behind the two dams in Turkish territory in a manner that denies large quantities of water to Syria. Iraq, of course, has suffered as a result of these measures. But the diplomatic sources say that the Iraqi authorities have notified the Turkish Government that they are ready to endure this loss. As a direct result of the Turkish measure, enormous agricultural projects in the Euphrates River basin in Syria have begun to suffer badly and crops have reached their lowest level. What is more serious is that five of the six enormous plants built by the Soviets to generate power have come to a halt and the sixth is threatened with the suspension of operations because of the low water level behind the dam--the lowest level since the dam was built. Thus, the Syrian Government has initiated measures to ration electricity consumption throughout the country and power outages have become an ordinary daily occurrence in many parts of Syria, including Damascus. The outages last 5 or 6 consecutive hours. When Turkey sent a secret envoy to Damascus to conclude an agreement on the basis of "water for security," President al-Asad refused to receive the envoy, who met with 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, the minister of foreign affairs. Khaddam made it clear to the Turkish envoy that Syria will not succumb to this pressure and that it will never agree to discuss it. The crisis between the two countries persists.

8494

CSO: 4404/67

# INDUSTRY MEETS LARGE PERCENTAGE OF QUOTA

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 14 Aug 83 p 4

[Text] Damascus, SANA--Yesterday, state-owned manufacturing companies concluded their meeting at the Ministry of Industry under the chairmanship of Mr Mahmud Qaddur, minister of industry. This meeting took place in order to assess their production and marketing plans for the second quarter of this year and the first half of this quarter.

The minister of industry chaired the meeting yesterday concerning the state-owned sugar company and its subsidiaries in the country.

Attending the meeting were: Dr 'Abdallah Salutah, assistant to the minister of industry; Dr Mustafá Gamus, economic adviser to the Ministry of Industry; Mr Salim Sha'ban, general director of the Public Company for Sugar Production; Mr Kamal Abu Sa'da, president of the labor union for food production; and general directors of sugar producing companies, directors of ministerial departments, and directors of subsidiaries belonging to the state-owned company and other companies.

Those attending the meeting reviewed the report of the sugar manufacturing company mentioned above. This report discussed the production plans of the companies during the second quarter of this year, wherein 100 percent of the intended plan has been achieved. During the first half of the year, 100 percent has been achieved.

The minister appealed to those who are in charge of the companies and agencies to earnestly continue the execution of the plan at the present time, when the white beets are in season. Factories should be given the maximum allocated amount.

The minister urged his listeners to reduce waste by halting administrative appointments. Instead hiring should be done in the production line. He also commented on matters mentioned in the report, and requested that they be examined in a manner that serves the sugar industry throughout the country.

9786

CSO: 4404/591

SYRIA

TRADE EXPOSITION IN TEHRAN TERMED SUCCESSFUL

Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 3 Aug 83 p 4

[Text] Dr Taha Bali, assistant to the minister of economy and trade, left Tehran yesterday afternoon. Before leaving, Dr Bali told our reporter that his mission to Tehran was successful. This mission was aimed at preparing for the first exhibit of Syrian products in the Iranian capital. Dr Bali arrived in Tehran on the 10th of last month and left yesterday.

He added that during his visit, as the head of a committee representing production in the public and private sectors, he concluded several meetings with his Iranian counterparts. The Iranian committee was chaired by Mr. (Gonayme) Fard. The meetings between the two committees was directed toward learning about the Iranian market, its needs, consumer trends, and pricing. Also, these meetings introduced Syrian goods and demonstrated superior quality to satisfy the taste and needs of the Iranian consumer. Dr Bali also indicated that all the Syrian goods which were brought to the exhibit were sold. These goods are valued at \$30 million. The majority of these goods represented Syrian industry, agriculture, and crafts.

Dr Bali praised the high turnout of Iranian citizens visiting the Syrian exhibit and their desire to buy.

The fact that the exhibit was popular indicates that there will be further cooperation in the trade exchange between the two countries.

Mr (Gonayme), the president of the Iranian delegation, told a SANA reporter that the Syrian goods which have been purchased are being sold to nationalized companies and other merchants in Iran, and will soon be available on the market.

Mr (Gonayme) expressed his hope that the Syrian people would, in turn, become familiar with Iranian products during the exhibit which will take place in Damascus in the future.

9786

CSO: 4404/591

## BRIEFS

NEW INDUSTRIAL BANK BRANCH--The Industrial Bank is in the process of opening a new branch in al-Suwayda during the next month; the training of the staff necessary to administer the branch took place in Damascus. It should be noted that the above-mentioned bank has 10 branches in the provinces of Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, Hama, Latakia, Idlib, Dar'a, Dayr al-Zur, and Tartus, in addition to the al-Haskah branch which opened during the first quarter of this year. The Industrial Bank is devoted to executing its present plan in the area of supporting various industrial sectors and financing their projects. In this regard, the bank has allocated 40 million liras toward these sectors. The assistant director of the Real Estate Bank in Homs told an AL-THAWRAH reporter that investment at the bank during the first half of this year reached 189 million Syrian liras. One hundred and eighty-four of this went to the cooperative sector; 2 million to the professional and vocational sectors and 3 million to the public sector. He added that the value of the investment has increased over last year by 50 percent, and it is expected to rise during the second quarter of this year. [Text] [Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 17 Aug 83 p 5] 9786

CONSUMER ORGANIZATIONS' SALES--Comrade Muhammad Ghabbash, minister of supply and internal trade, chaired a meeting of the advisory council at the ministry yesterday. During the meeting the council discussed the performance of consumer organizations for the first half of this year. Attending the meeting were the assistant to the minister, and general directors of the organizations subject to the ministry. During the discussions, it appeared that the situation regarding essential goods during the period mentioned above was excellent; the goods were abundantly available on the market, the value of sales amounted to 967 Syrian liras, and sales during the first half of this year surpassed the same period last year. The plan concerning workers and training courses was also discussed. It was noticed that the training courses were meticulously executed, and covered job descriptions, computer applications in reporting, bookkeeping, and work safety. The total, which the organizations contracted to import, amounted to 3,300 tons of canned cheese. Another contract has been concluded to manufacture and import 13 million school notebooks in order to meet, at a reasonable price, the students' needs. In addition, a contract to obtain a variety of commodities suitable for the needs of the retail company. The problems in regard to the marketing of some goods were also discussed during the meeting. The minister suggested that solutions be found to prevent any damage or difficulty in marketing these goods. A study of the capabilities of the distribution centers was completed and the necessity for the citizen to obtain the goods without difficulty emphasized. [Text] [Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 7 Aug 83 p 4] 9786

## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

### LOCAL BANKING CRISIS, COUNTERMEASURES INVESTIGATED

#### Liquidity, Credit Situation

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 52, Sep 83 pp 64-65

[Article by Yasir Hilal]

[Text] Abu Dhabi--UAE banking sources assert that most banks, including those exposed to serious difficulties, have been able to adapt partially to the new conditions after having become convinced of the need to bend in the face of the crisis instead of venturing into unsecured transactions.

But it is evident on the other hand that this adaptation constitutes not so much a fundamental solution to the problem as it does a postponement of the problem in the hope that the conditions will change and that the days of "prosperity" will return.

Meanwhile, the Central Bank is seeking to use the crisis to establish a degree of regulation and tradition capable of developing a sound banking system.

#### Central Bank's Measures

In regard to bolstering the stability of local liquidity, the bank has adjusted the rates of compulsory reserves for deposits in local currency from 7 percent for all kinds of deposits to 7 percent for on-demand deposits. The bank has doubled from 15 to 30 percent the percentage that the banks must retain on their books for the benefit of the Central Bank for loans advanced in the dirham to nonresident banks, when the term of these loans does not exceed 1 year. The Central Bank has also abolished the maximum interest rates set for term deposits totaling at least 5 million dirhams.

These measures have provided liquidity in the dirham at a time when the state's oil revenues have declined. However, the measures have created negative side effects, such as igniting competition among the banks to attract deposits by offering very high interest rates.

The Central Bank has also adopted other measures via the Banks Control Bureau with the purpose of correcting weak aspects and unsound banking practices

in which the banks engage. This is in addition to the follow-up on implementation of the law and instructions issued by the Central Bank, especially the previously established instructions pertaining to raising capital and to loans and credits advanced to members of the boards of directors. It has been decided that the loans, sureties and guarantees advanced to any member of a bank's board of directors or any bank manager shall not exceed 5 percent of the paid capital and shall not exceed 25 percent of the capital for all members collectively.

Despite this, the increase rates in the various local liquidity indicators remained modest last year, with the money supply increasing by just 8.6 percent compared with 17.3 percent and 21.9 percent in 1980 and 1981, keeping in mind that the increase did not develop until the end of 1982 and that up to the end of November 1982, the rate of increase remained below 3 percent.

As for interest rates for term deposits, they dropped considerably, remaining in line with international interest rates. Deposits earning an interest rate of 10 percent amounted by the end of last year to 46.6 percent of all deposits, compared with 77.3 percent at the end of 1981.

As for deposits, they registered moderate growth last year and in the first quarter of this year, amounting by the end of 1982 to nearly 30.6 billion dirhams, which rose in February 1983 to 32.2 billion and to 32.5 billion in March 1983. The basic observation recorded throughout last year and the early part of this year is the drop in the government deposits in the banking system and in the monetary authority, these deposits totaling 9.9 billion dirhams by the end of 1982, compared with 12 billion dirhams in 1981.

As for credits advanced to residents, whereas these credits rose from 33.6 billion dirhams at the end of 1981 to 36.7 billion at the end of 1982, they dropped to 35.2 billion in March 1983, keeping in mind that the increase recorded last year did not exceed 9 percent, compared with an increase of 17 percent in 1981. This means that the credits diminished practically last year, considering that their rate of increase was lower than the interest charged.

As for the distribution of credit to residents according to economic activity, credits used by the mining, conversion, construction, transportation and storage industries recorded a considerable decline last year and in the first quarter of this year compared with 1981, with the value of the credits advanced to the industry sector dropping from 20.3 billion dirhams by the end of 1981 to 19.9 billion by the end of 1982 and to 19.7 billion last March.

The construction sector experienced the largest rate of decline, with its share of total credits dropping from 32.4 percent in 1981 to 28.2 percent last year. The value [of the credits advanced] fell from 111.6 billion dirhams in 1981 to 100.3 billion last March. Meanwhile, government sectors and commercial and financial organizations registered some increase, with the sum of the loans and credits advanced to the government rising by a high rate of 50.6 percent in 1982 compared with 40.9 percent in 1981.

## Monetary Authority's Optimism

Within these given facts, 'Abd-al-Malik al-Hummar, governor of the Central Bank, said that despite the decline in the state's oil revenues in the past 3 years, the national economy is enjoying stability, as proven by three indicators: the strength of the dirham, the increase in total local liquidity and the increase in the net foreign currency assets of the state's commercial banks.

The monetary cover for the dirham has reached 180 percent, whereas the percentage stipulated by law does not exceed 70 percent.

As for all local liquidity, it has grown in the past 3 years despite the drop in oil revenues and the reduction in spending. This liquidity rose from 41 billion dirhams in 1981 to 42.8 billion in 1982 and 43 billion last May.

The governor also noted that the banking sector is achieving constant growth, with net assets of the commercial banks rising in the first 5 months of this year from 22 billion dirhams to 23.2 billion. He also noted that the Central Bank has stressed to the commercial banks the need to follow a moderate policy in determining interest on loans.

It is to be noted in this regard that interest rates for deposits in dirhams recently rose to 11-12 percent due to the rise in the interest rate paid for the dollar. This has pushed the interest rates paid for loans to high levels that threaten to intensify the investment crisis experienced by the banks and to escalate the severity of the economic stagnation.

## Bankers' Views

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 52, Sep 83 pp 65-66

[Text] On the actual situation of the banking sector, AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL has interviewed Muhammad al-Murr, general director of the Middle East Bank Ltd and secretary of the UAE National Bank Association, and Sa'd al-Muhanna, commissioned member of the Board of Directors of the First Gulf Bank.

Al-Murr: Arab Banks That Have Become International

[Question] What is your bank's policy toward participation in joint international loans?

[Answer] Our bank is a local commercial bank and most of our lending goes to the local market. But with our presence in numerous international financial centers, we have participated in some international loans, advanced mostly to guaranteed governmental and international circles.

[Question] What is the future of the Arab banks' activity, what is the direction of their development and how can the international competition be faced?

[Answer] The future of the Arab banks depends on the strength of the Arab economy and on the Arab governments' support for these banks. There are a number of Arab banks, such as the Arab Bank Ltd and the Afro-Arab Bank and others, that have become international banks and have great banking skills and impact.

[Question] Does the local lending activity by the banks meet local development needs?

[Answer] There are various kinds of banks in all countries of the world. There are the commercial banks, which constitute the majority, and there are the specialized banks (industrial, agricultural, real estate and so forth), which are different from the commercial banks in their financing, their financial base, their lending methods and the duration of their loans. In the UAE, the establishment of specialized banks, such as the Real Estate Bank and the Industrial Bank, has come late, thus compelling the national commercial banks to enter the sphere of industrial and real estate development lending. Most of the development in construction has taken place on the initiative of the national commercial banks and most medium and large-scale industries in the UAE have been financed and embraced by the national banks. We hope that the Industrial Bank, established recently by the state, will take over this task.

#### Large Profits in 1982

[Question] How do you evaluate the results and profitability of the commercial banks in 1982 and what are your estimates of 1983 potential?

[Answer] Insofar as the commercial banks' activities are concerned, they suffered in 1982 from the phenomena of economic stagnation, reduced exports and the stoppage of reexportation to a number of neighboring countries. All this had a negative impact on local banking activity. But despite this, most of the banks made large profits in 1982. As for the 1983 potential, I believe that most of the banks will make greater profits.

[Question] When was the National Bank Association established in the UAE and what role does it hope to perform in UAE banking?

[Answer] The association was founded in 1982 on the initiative of most of the national banks because these banks believe that their interests are different from those of the foreign banks operating in the UAE, with whom they participate in a united association. An executive committee was elected for the National Bank Association. The committee is comprised of the Bank of Oman as chairman, represented by 'Abdallah al-Gharir, and the National Bank of Abu Dhabi as vice chairman, represented by 'Abdallah al-Mazru'i. Members are the National Bank of Ra's al-Khaimah, represented by Shaykh Gulf National Bank, represented by Fadil Sa'id al-Darmaki; al-Shariqah National Bank, represented by 'Abd-al-Rahman Abu Khatir and the United Arab Bank, represented by Shaykh Sultan Ibn Saqr al-Qasimi. The association's executive committee has met several times and a headquarters has been established for the association in Abu Dhabi. The association, in cooperation with the UAE Central

Bank, studies problems involving banking and financial activity. The association is also represented in the Banking Training Institute, which was established in the UAE recently to prepare national banking cadres. The association's general objectives are to develop banking activity in the emirates.

[Question] What are the new means introduced by your bank to develop the standard of its service to its clients and to enhance its position on the local market?

[Answer] The Middle East Bank has been eager to offer advanced banking service to its customers. Most of the bank's operations are performed by computer. We now have branches in London, New York, Egypt, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Tunisia. We are present in joint firms and banks in Nigeria, Kenya, Djibouti, Hong Kong and Bahrain. The bank also has a center of economic research and studies and an internal training center to prepare national banking cadres.

[Question] What changes will develop in the local and Gulf markets' banking activity as a result of the drop in government spending and of the slowdown in growth?

[Answer] The volume of banking activities will be affected, but only slightly. The more important thing is that the quality of the loans will change. This is inevitable, even if government spending did not drop, because many of the infrastructure projects of the Gulf societies (roads, hospitals, schools, etc) are about to be completed. The banking activity that was focused primarily on financing the building, construction and contracts activities will stop or decline. Banking activity in the UAE and the Gulf states is still young and needs time and opportunity to establish firm banking traditions.

#### Al-Muhanna: Receding Crisis

Sa'd al-Muhanna, commissioned member of the Board of Directors of the First Gulf Bank, believes that there are numerous other factors besides the decline in government spending that have affected the banking sector negatively, the most important being the intensifying world economic problems, the Iraq-Iran war and al-Manakh Market crisis in Kuwait.

Al-Muhanna added: The reduction in government spending has not affected the banking sector in the exaggerated manner that some people imagine, considering that the direct impact has been confined to the real estate and contracting sectors. The impact on the banking sector has been much smaller and has taken the form of a drop in profits, without posing to any banks the danger of insurmountable difficulties. This does not negate the fact that a limited number of small banks have been involved in loan transactions that are not guaranteed and not well studied.

He said: The banking sector has not been affected because the government deposits are concentrated in a limited number of well-known banks in the state whereas the other banks depend on the private sector. Consequently, the decline in total economic activity has led to a lull in banking activity-- a lull that could provide a suitable opportunity to learn from experience in order to build a sound and advanced banking system.

In any case, the crisis has peaked and should not intensify further. On the contrary, all indicators confirm that it has begun to recede, considering that the intensity of the international recessionary crisis, which is the main cause of our crisis, has begun to diminish gradually in the wake of the success of plans to combat inflation in numerous countries, especially the United States.

On the contribution of the loan activity of the local banks to meeting development needs, al-Muhanna said: Generally, I don't encourage involvement by commercial banks in development loans, particularly in the industrial or agricultural spheres. There are, to start with, specialized banks for that purpose. Moreover, the production sectors in the UAE still entail a large degree of risk. If these sectors' projects rely on financing from commercial banks, this either exhausts the project if the bank dictates terms to suit it or gets the bank embroiled if it offers more facilities than it should.

Therefore, if a bank has to enter this sphere, it must have management capable of a sound evaluation of projects, and the government should contribute by putting large deposits in the commercial banks.

#### Al-Manakh Crisis: Government Intervention Comes Too Late

As for the ramifications of al-Manakh market crisis, al-Muhanna said: When the circulation of Gulf stocks was permitted, we consider the step a good initiative to encourage cooperation and coordination between the area states. But some sick people exploited the initiative to set up imaginary firms and to engage in imaginary transactions and speculation. The fallacy the governments committed was that they did not intervene in time to wipe out this phenomenon. When they intervened after the market collapsed, their intervention was too late and the efforts were confined to alleviating the danger of the consequences to economic conditions overall.

With promulgation of the law regulating the securities market in Kuwait, it is expected that the consequences of this crisis, which have strongly shaken the Kuwaiti economy, and the UAE economy by a smaller degree, will be tackled.

I believe that al-Manakh experience, with all its destructive consequences, has produced some positive results reflected in the tendency of the area states to regulate the securities markets in a sound manner. This has begun in Bahrain with the establishment of a stock market. Preparations are underway for a similar market in the UAE.

Regarding the First Gulf Bank's international policy, al-Munanna said: The bank was founded through joint Gulf efforts on the ruins of the Arab Bank of 'Ajman, which went bankrupt during the 1977 recession.

Locally, we have contributed to numerous small industrial projects. We have also contributed to the renaissance being experienced by the Emirate of 'Ajman in various spheres.

At the Gulf level, we have contributed to the foundation of more than one joint Gulf company, such as the 'Ajman Investment Company and the International Insurance Company.

At the Arab level, we have contributed to a number of joint loans, such as the (loan advanced jointly with the Bank of Abu Dhabi to the Andosius Bank) and to an international loan advanced to Pakistan for a total of \$225 million. We are also presently studying participation in a loan to be advanced to Morocco and to be managed by the Gulf International Bank.

8494

CSO: 4404/67

## AFGHANISTAN

### TWO SOVIET PLANES REPORTEDLY DOWNED BY MUJAHEDIN

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 2 Nov 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] Islamabad (Reuter)--Afghan guerillas fighting the Soviet-backed Kabul government have shot down two Soviet transport planes trying to resupply a besieged town in Eastern Afghanistan, Western diplomats said yesterday.

The guerillas downed the planes, light aircraft identified as either Antonov-26 or Antonov-32 models, about two weeks ago at Khost, one of three strategic towns under guerilla siege, the diplomats said, quoting reports from their embassies in the Afghan capital.

To the west of Khost, near Gardez, guerillas also ambushed a civilian bus carrying troop reinforcements which was trying to sneak through guerilla lines into the town.

About 30 Afghan army soldiers dressed in civilian clothes and hiding guns under their seats were on the bus. Some 10 of them were killed in the attack, the reports from Kabul said.

Recent Afghan army reinforcements and a heavy Soviet bombing campaign have slowed a two-month-long guerilla offensive against Khost, Urgan and Jaji, three Communist-held strongholds close to the Pakistan border.

The towns are all in Paktia Province, a key infiltration route that many Pakistan-based guerillas pass through on their way towards Central Afghanistan.

Despite heavy fighting around Khost, which the guerillas say they have encircled, the main army garrison remains loyal to Kabul, and the local airstrip, the only supply link to the capital, is in government control.

Because of its proximity to Pakistan, the province is important strategically to both sides. Since the insurgency began in 1979 Afghanistan's Communist rulers have tried repeatedly to establish their control over the countryside.

The army's last sweep through Paktia earlier this year failed to wipe out resistance activity.

Sources in Peshawar said Afghanistan's Communist rulers had twice changed the commander of Khost's garrison since the siege began two months ago. Tuma Khan, who had led the garrison long before the siege, was replaced in September at the height of the fighting, and his successor was later wounded and flown back to Kabul for medical treatment, they said.

The diplomats said that a plane load of dead and wounded was reported to have arrived in Kabul from Khost on October 22.

It is unclear whether the guerillas plan to make a final assault on Khost before snow falls and Afghanistan's bitter winter sets in at the end of the month.

Khost is a settlement that would be hard for them to defend against Soviet air strikes because it is situated on an open plain, the diplomats added.

Afghan guerillas based in Peshawar, the Pakistani town near the frontier, said their forces might instead move on Urgun, a town in mountains further south in Paktia that would be easier to defend.

Meanwhile an IRNA report from Zahedan said a Soviet officer and three soldiers were killed when the Afghan Moslem Mujahideen ambushed an armoured column of the joint forces in a region of Ghurian Governorate in Herat Province last week.

An informed source further added that 6 aggressor soldiers were also killed by the Afghan Mujahideen in an encounter with the joint forces in a region of Herat Province last week.

In these encounters, a tank was destroyed and a Soviet fuel tanker taken booty by the Afghan Mujahideen.

The informed source added that the aggressor forces in their savage attack on the said regions with long-range artillery martyred 13 non-military people and an Afghan Mujahid.

CSO: 4600/114

## INDIA SAID TO FEAR BIG POWER RIVALRY IN AREA

Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, Oct. 11--The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the Defence Minister, Mr. R. Venkatarman, have spoken in the last two days of a perceptible aggravation of tensions in India's geopolitical environment, implying that the country was facing both internal and external threats.

Addressing the Air Force Commanders' biannual conference, Mrs. Gandhi spoke yesterday of a general worsening of the international situation, while stating quite specifically that some unfriendly influences were at work, trying to undermine India's unity and integrity despite its efforts to further the cause of peace.

The Defence Minister confined his observations to the happenings in India's neighbourhood, especially the induction of new weapon systems by Pakistan. The coming months, he said, would call for greater vigilance on India's part.

The acquisition of the Harpoon missiles and other steps taken by Pakistan to increase its naval strength, Mr. Venkataraman said, posed a danger to India's industrial and scientific installations along the coast--a reference to the offshore oil operations and the nuclear establishments. The Indian armed Forces had to be prepared fully to meet this threat from the sea to such vital installations on the west coast.

Super-power rivalry: But what has really been worrying India is not so much the threat that Pakistan by itself can pose for it as the general atmosphere of tension created by the attempts of the big powers, especially the U.S., to enlarge the areas of their rivalry in the region. Though the American and Soviet Navies are not deployed in the Indian Ocean in any great strength at present, the two super-powers have the capacity to reinforce their presence at short notice.

Concept of frontline States: The Indian defence planners are no less worried by the U.S. bid to extend the concept of frontline States for including several other countries in its grand design for the rapid deployment of a multi-nation force in and around the Gulf area, spilling over to the Arabian Sea and

the Indian Ocean, in the event of a military confrontation with the Soviet Union. It is known that the U.S. has been going all out to rope in as many countries as possible to be able to utilise their base facilities and even use their armed forces.

At the political level too, India has been having problems of one kind or the other, with most of the neighbours, whether it is Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal or Sri Lanka, while China continues to cast its shadow over the horizon. As Mr. Venkataraman put it, India did not want to interfere in the internal affairs of any country, but it could not also remain unaffected by the happenings in its vicinity.

Sri Lankan, Pakistani developments: The reference evidently was to the recent events in Sri Lanka and the current political turmoil in Pakistan. The upheaval in Sri Lanka was primarily political which had to be dealt with at the same level by doing everything possible to impress on its leaders the need to seek an amicable solution to the Tamil problem. The situation in Pakistan was quite different because of the inherent dangers of what was essentially an internal political crisis, assuming the character of external tensions for deflecting the domestic unrest through a contrived conflict.

It is against this potentially dangerous background that the Indian defence experts have been reviewing the country's security environment and taking some hard decisions to match the introduction of the latest U.S. weaponry into Pakistan. The fact that these developments are bound to increase India's dependence on the Soviet Union for its defence requirements has not deterred the U.S. from pressing forward with its policy of widening the scope of its strategic pursuits in and around the sub-continent.

Ugly reality: If anything, the very prospect of India turning more and more to the Soviet Union is being used as an excuse for pumping in more and more arms into Pakistan. And the U.S. is not bothered at all by the ugly reality that as many as 17 of Pakistan's 21 Divisions are deployed on India's western borders, while it is supposed to be facing a grave threat from the Soviet Union through Afghanistan.

CSO: 4600/1156

## G. K. REDDY GIVES BACKGROUND TO COMMONWEALTH MEET

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] AFTER the non-aligned summit and the New York consultations, India is busy preparing to play host to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) next month which coincides with the Queen's visit. Once again the capital is being spruced up for the ceremonial part of the two events that will set the tone for Delhi's VIP season.

The Queen arrives on November 17 and stays on till November 26, and the Commonwealth Conference which opens on November 23 will go on till November 30 with a two-day weekend retreat in Goa. As head of the Commonwealth, the British sovereign will be in Delhi during the first three days of CHOGM, meeting individual heads of government participating in this conference before they go to Goa, besides entertaining them together at a banquet at Hyderabad House which has been placed at her disposal on this occasion.

A lot of attention is being paid, as it should be, to both the ceremonial and security aspects of the Queen's visit. After her last trip in 1961 in the after-glow of independence, she will be visiting a different India this time although she is assured of an equally warm welcome. The old link generation with its nostalgia for the past has more or less faded away, and an entirely new one which had not experienced British rule has stepped into almost all walks of life. Though it is shorn of soapy sentimentality, the current Indo-British relationship is in many ways much more enduring since it is based on shared values and interests rather than the mystique of past connections.

#### Ups and Downs

No doubt, there have been many ups and downs in Indo-British relations even after independence. But the two countries have been able to concentrate more on what unites rather than divides them to sustain this relationship even in moments of sharp differences. It is rather ironical that India has been able to get along better with Conservative than Labour governments, despite the fact that right through its freedom struggle the Tories had bitterly opposed the demand for independence, while the Labour leadership finally transferred power to it.

Indo-British relations hit the rock bottom in Mr. Harold Wilson's time and his successor, Mr. James Callaghan had to struggle hard to undo this damage, before anything could be done to improve them. It was left to Mrs. Margaret Thatcher to restore some of the old glow to this relationship by establishing a close personal equation with her Indian counterpart, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, which helped Britain considerably in consolidating and expanding its economic interests here.

The British government had assigned some very able High Commissioners to India who did excellent work in paving the way for an entirely different pattern of relationship free from the hangovers of the past to be able to bear the strains of recurring irritations. The Queen is paying her second visit to India at a time when Indo-British relations are perhaps at their best after independence.

The Commonwealth too has gone through a tremendous transformation during these years in the wake of the far-reaching changes in Indo-British relations, apart from the fact that India had opened the way for most of the former colonies to remain in the Commonwealth as full-fledged sovereign republics without any direct or indirect links with the British Crown. Its very continuance as a member of this unique association of nations also helped to strengthen the multiracial character of the new Commonwealth, free from the stigma of any subservience to the political or economic dominance of the affluent white dominions which at one time formed the hard core of it.

### Third Largest Group

The timing of the Queen's visit to coincide with the Commonwealth Conference which is being held for the first time in Delhi will certainly help to focus attention not only on the changed character of the Commonwealth but also the continued relevance of close Indo-British relations to its increasing importance as a major international forum of fully independent nations.

After the United Nations and the non-aligned movement, the Commonwealth constitutes the third largest group of sovereign countries held together only by shared ideals and traditions, although some of these values have been diluted by the emergence of pocket dictatorships in the wake of rapid decolonisation. What holds the Commonwealth together with all its contradictions is the inherited faith in the rule of law, which compels even the totalitarian regimes in it to keep up a pretence of adherence to democratic traditions even when they openly violate them.

The U.N. now consists of 158 members, the latest one being St. Kitts-Nevis, a tiny Caribbean dependency of Britain which became free only last month. The non-aligned community has 101 full members, besides 16 observers and 24 guests including international organisations.

The Commonwealth has 48 fully independent countries, but these include Nauru, St. Vincent and Tuvalu that are treated as special members with no right of participation in the heads of government conference. But they are entitled to take part in all other activities of the Commonwealth and derive full benefits

from its aid programmes. In addition there are 18 self-governing dependent territories of member-countries which are associated with the Commonwealth and entitled to become members as and when they become independent nations.

The full members of the Commonwealth are Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Botswana, Britain, Canada, Cyprus, Dominica, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Nauru, New Zealand, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tuvalu, Uganda, Vanuatu, Western Samoa, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The associated States and dependencies are Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Christmas Island, Cocos Islands, Cook Islands, Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Montserrat, Niue, Norfolk Island, Pitcairn Island, St. Helena, Tokelau and Turks and Caicos Islands.

After Antigua, Belize and St. Kitts-Nevis in the Caribbean have become fully independent, the only associate territory linked with Britain is Brunei in South-East Asia which is also due to be free next year. The remaining British dependencies, in other words colonies, include Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Montserrat, Pitcairn, St. Helena and Turks and Caicos Islands, in addition to the Chagos Archipelago in the Indian Ocean.

The Cook Islands and Nieu are self-governing territories in association with New Zealand, while the Tokelau Islands are treated as a non-self-governing part of it. Australia's external territories include Norfolk Islands, Heard Island, McDonald Island, Cocos Islands and Christmas Island. The only white Commonwealth that has had no dependent territories is Canada, unless one includes the Baffin Island, Queen Elizabeth Islands, the Victoria Island and others within the Arctic Circle.

The Commonwealth is thus a very complex mosaic of independent nations, associated States, self-governing, dependent territories enjoying varying degrees of freedom. The larger among them is India with a population of nearly 700 million while Nauru and Tuvalu are inhabited by only 10,000 people in each case.

The two largest countries in size are Australia and Canada, while the smallest island territories scattered over the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Ocean are only postage stamp size States with populations as low as only a few hundreds in some cases. It is really a tribute to the tenacity of British Imperialism that its intrepid conquerors could spread their colonial net so wide across continents and oceans.

Despite their baffling diversity, the Commonwealth countries do fall into certain broad patterns. The four white dominions, Australia, Britain Canada and New Zealand, are advanced Western societies which are part of the affluent north, while the rest of the African, Asian, Caribbean and Pacific nations are part of the south as developing nations.

There is thus an in-built north-south conflict of interests within the Commonwealth and against the background of the non-aligned community's crusade for a new international economic dispensation, they get compartmentalised into different sectional interests as part of a global division. The fact that all the Commonwealth countries are also members of the U.N. and that most of them belong to the non-aligned movement has not helped to simplify the complexities of it.

The Commonwealth Conference in Delhi is taking place at a time when the developing world is getting increasingly restive over the uncooperative attitude of the affluent West. The discussions in Delhi will be more in the nature of an extension of the deliberations of the non-aligned summit for carrying forward the crusade for a more equitable dispensation. As members of the OECD and the Commonwealth, Britain and Canada will have an increasingly difficult task at this conference in carrying conviction about their own capacity or readiness to fight for justice on behalf of the great majority of Commonwealth countries even to the point of displeasing the United States which has been standing in the way of any meaningful initiatives for global negotiations.

The Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Mr. Sridath Ramphal, who is a very articulate person, has been putting a gloss on the inner contradictions of the Commonwealth with an eloquent projection of the potential strength of its one billion people and the vast opportunities open to them for collective self-reliance.

As most of the member-countries are in their first generation of independence, it is not at all surprising, in his view, if the Commonwealth has to go through a difficult process of readjustment to the new realities of international life. And what matters according to him is that through consultations and cooperation, they are ready to face these problems with enough confidence in themselves, despite their vast diversities of race, religion and development.

CSO: 4600/1181

## ANALYST GIVES PURPOSE, BACKGROUND OF TALKS WITH PRC

## PRC Delegate's Travel Plans

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 22.

After the conclusion of the Sino-Indian border talks in Delhi — and the meeting of the Chinese envoys in the region — the leader of the Chinese delegation, Mr. Gong Dafei, will be going to Sri Lanka on an official visit.

It would not have normally aroused any special interest in India had it not been for the fact that the Chinese Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs was paying this visit to the troubled island in the wake of the recent stop-over in Colombo of the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Caspar Weinberger, on his way from China to Pakistan.

The visit of Mr. Gong Dafei is also intended to be a reciprocation of the recent trip of Mr. Hector Jayewardene, special envoy of the Sri Lanka President, who went to Beijing recently in the course of a quick swing through several Asian capitals to explain away the ethnic crisis in that country and in the process seek their support in meeting the imaginary threat of outside intervention.

It is not without considerable significance that Mr. Gong Dafei has chosen to combine his visit to Delhi for the Sino-Indian border talks with this side trip to Sri Lanka as a part of China's assiduous attempt to extend its influence to South Asia without the appearance of any overt involvement in the internal turmoils of the region.

Precisely for this reason, the Indian delegation proposes to have an exchange of views during these talks on the happenings in countries like Sri Lanka and Pakistan to make it quite clear to China that India will not brook any outside interference in the developments of this region.

The visit of the Chinese leader to Colombo at this juncture will only encourage the hardliners in the Jayewardene Cabinet who have been toying with the idea of invoking international help to resist the Indian pressures to settle the Tamil problem. It is the timing of this visit, not the visit itself, that is coming in for

some adverse comments in Delhi.

An official spokesman made a brief statement today, in the form of a curtain-raiser for the fourth round of Sino-Indian talks opening on Monday. He said: "Relations between India and China have been improving steadily. There have been continuing exchanges on matters of mutual interest. However, specific progress on the border question still remains to be made. The Indian side is approaching the present round in a constructive spirit and, while examining further possibilities in other areas, will make determined efforts to advance towards a solution of the boundary question".

The whole effort so far has been on finding a mutually acceptable basis for evolving the modalities for substantive discussions in a constructive atmosphere that could step by step lead towards a final solution. So what is being attempted at present is only an agreed framework for detailed negotiations, not any breakthrough for arriving at an early settlement of this highly complex problem.

The Indian negotiators are also waiting to see whether the latest changes in the pattern of Chinese patrolling on the borders of Bhutan are only a part of pressure tactics to drive home the point that the entire length of the border in the eastern sector is disputed, or whether these moves are also intended to extend their territorial claims to Bhutan to further complicate the border problem.

The 11-member Chinese delegation arrived in Delhi tonight after a day's stop-over in Bangkok, reflecting the new relationship that has developed between China and Thailand in the aftermath of the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea. It is not known whether this was only a routine stop-over for taking a connecting flight to Delhi, or it was intended to give Mr. Gong Dafei and his colleagues an opportunity to meet Thai officials and discuss the Kampuchean situation with them.

## Background of Talks

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] THE fourth round of Sino-Indian talks on the border dispute open tomorrow in Delhi in an atmosphere of modest expectations tinged with subdued scepticism. The previous three rounds turned out to be so exasperatingly disappointing and sterile that it would be hazardous to guess whether the fourth round will be more productive in at least evolving an agreed procedure for substantive discussions. The fact that the two sides are equally interested in continuing these official-level talks even in the absence of any tangible progress is in itself a promising sign that sooner or later they may be able to establish an acceptable basis for serious negotiations.

The only thing new about the present round is that the Chinese delegation has a leader who is relatively new to the Sino-Indian scene. But it does not necessarily follow that he has come with a fresh mind or a fresh brief, since he must be fully conversant with the political considerations or strategic requirements that influenced Chinese thinking in the past. He must have done his home work quite meticulously with the characteristic Chinese passion for detail before leaving for Delhi with whatever instructions he has been given by his Government. One must not jump to the conclusion that a change in the leadership of the Chinese delegation implies a change in Chinese approach to these discussions without prejudice to their basic stand on the border problem.

### The Earlier Rounds

The leader of the delegation, Mr. Gong Defei, is one of the two out of the 12 Vice Foreign Ministers who survived the major shake-up in the Chinese Government last year. The two former Vice-Ministers, Mr. Han Nainlong and Mr. Fu Hao, who conducted the talks during the earlier rounds, have been retained as advisers, not purged from the party hierarchy or dropped altogether from the Government. It would, therefore, be a fair presumption that they were associated in one form or the other with the policy discussions in Beijing on the eve of this fourth round in Delhi.

The element of continuity in China's fundamental approach to the border issue is bound to be reflected by what Mr. Gong Dafei says during these talks to display some degree of flexibility on China's part. The first round in Beijing in December, 1981, was devoted almost entirely to restating the known positions of the two sides. The second one in Delhi in May, 1982, got bogged down in discussing the relevance and inter-relation of the principles and working propositions that were spelt out as useful guidelines for further discussions. The third round in Beijing in January, 1983, was equally frustrating since the two delegations were unable to evolve even an agreed procedure for serious negotiations.

### Intermediate stage

The attempt is to move forward from the preliminary stage of discussing principles and working propositions to get down to the tasks of defining a proper

framework for detailed negotiations. There has to be a mutually acceptable concept of a compromise that could form the basis for a settlement. The current efforts are aimed at reaching at least an intermediate stage, in the light of the ideas exchanged during the earlier discussions, for examining in depth each other's approaches to the border problem. It is only after establishing enough middle ground between the diametrically opposite positions of the two sides that the process of narrowing down the differences could begin for exploring the possibilities of a political settlement based on a balance of concessions.

The Chinese have not so far come out with any territorial formula other than suggesting in the form of a package settlement a ratification of what had been established militarily by them. What is still worse, from India's point of view, is that Beijing is avoiding even a discussion on the contents of the package offer by adopting in effect a take it or leave it attitude.

The Indian suggestion for resuming the threads of earlier discussions from the stage at which they were broken off in the wake of the 1962 conflict has not been accepted, nor has China responded to the proposal for a sector by sector consideration as a prelude to a discussion of the package offer in its entirety as a basis for a political settlement.

There is very little scope, therefore, for a dramatic breakthrough in these discussions. The visualisation at present is that it is going to be a long haul exercise calling for utmost patience and perseverance on India's part.

#### **Initiative with China**

The first Chinese suggestion was to freeze the border dispute and proceed with normalisation in other spheres to create the right climate for conciliation at the proper time after restoring mutual confidence. It was only when India firmly rejected this approach that they agreed to discuss the border problem, conceding the argument that a settlement of this dispute was central to normalisation.

Unfortunately India has not followed up the Chinese package offer with any counter-proposals to test the Chinese intentions, assess how far Beijing was prepared to go to resolve this problem, instead of confining its probing efforts to merely discerning whether they were really ready to engage in serious negotiations. The result is that the initiative for making or marring these parleys has been left to China which is free to choose its tactics and time, while India can only react to its actions.

The Indian delegation allowed itself to get caught up in the coils of a dilemma of its own creation. There is no clarity still whether the right approach should be to come forward with concrete suggestions for territorial readjustment to first gauge the Chinese response and then draw them into detailed discussions, or continue to adopt a defensive approach as an aggrieved party waiting for them to make the next move at a time and in a manner of their choice depending on other international developments. This is a sad reflection of the confusion that prevails at the decision-making levels of the Government with none in authority

taking an overall view of the border problem and blending different strands of thought into a well-knit policy position.

#### **The dichotomy**

The Prime Minister who has the ultimate responsibility in such matters is too preoccupied with many other issues to give her undivided attention to the border problem when the briefs are being prepared for the Sino-Indian discussions. The External Affairs Ministry, on the other hand, tends to look up to the Prime Minister's Secretariat for guidance and inspiration, before spelling out its own ideas on how India should proceed with this dialogue.

The dichotomy goes down the line with the Ministries of Defence and Home not taking the kind of interest required, or using the opportunity to express their views with candour and conviction, in determining the negotiating positions.

The fact remains that it was India which took the first step as far back as 1976 to open the way for this dialogue by resuming ambassadorial representation. It was again India that sent its External Affairs Minister to China in 1979, during the Janata interregnum, while the return visit of the Chinese Foreign Minister was delayed until 1981 because of Beijing's unhappiness over India's recognition of the new Kampuchean regime. The two countries have been going through the motions of normalisation in different spheres during the last seven years, although the talks on the border problem have remained bogged down in a maze of principles and working propositions for determining the procedures for negotiations.

#### **International issues**

The Chinese suggestion to add a new agenda item for the fourth round of official level talks, for a general exchange of views on the international situation, has given the impression that Beijing is trying to widen the scope of these discussions either to divert the main attention from the border issue or get an opportunity to air its opinions on regional developments of more proximate concern to India, like the hap-

penings in Sri Lanka or Pakistan. In either case there is no need to be apprehensive of the Chinese intentions, since India could utilise the occasion equally to reemphasise the primary importance it continues to attach to a settlement of the border problem and also reaffirm its determination to resist any outside attempts to complicate matters in the neighbouring countries of the region.

It is true that when the Foreign Ministers of India and China got together, first in Beijing in 1979 and then in Delhi in 1981, they did have a general exchange of views on international issues. But unlike the Foreign Ministers who met to break the ice and set in motion the processes of normalisation, the officials have been meeting specifically to discuss bilateral relations with the main focus on the border problem.

Though there was a suggestion from the Chinese side that these official talks could be utilised for similar exchanges on the international situation depending on the availability of time, there was no such discussion during the last three rounds which were totally devoted to bilateral issues. It will not be without significance if the Chinese have their way this time and devote a part of the available time to a discussion of international issues.

#### **Historical data**

A recourse to historical data, based on treaty, custom or usage, to prove or disprove rival claims will lead nowhere, since border disputes are not resolved on the basis of indisputable legalities, established frontiers or other acknowledged principles. In the ultimate analysis, all border settlements are political accords reflecting the capacity or incapacity of the countries concerned to lay claims and enforce them. It is no less futile to try to cover up blatant violations with a set of lofty principles which cannot serve even as proverbial fig leaves for covering up or defending acts of aggression.

It has been pointed out to the Chinese during the earlier rounds that Mr. Deng Xiaoping's package offer, for legalising the present line of actual control in Ladakh, which is more or less the same as China's claim line, includes additional territory occupied during the 1962 conflict, that is quite different from the package proposal of Zhou en Lai made two years earlier confining the Chinese territorial demand only to the then existing line of control there.

#### **Zhou's six points**

The six points of Zhou en Lai were (1) a boundary dispute existed between India and China, which sought to rebut the Indian contention that there was no such dispute; (2) a line of actual control existed up to which each side exercised administrative control, which India refused to concede; (3) in settling this border dispute, certain geographical principles like watershed, river valleys and mountain passes should be given due consideration, which India maintained were already applicable to the existing borders; (4) the settlement should take into account the national feelings of both peoples; (5) pending a settlement, the two sides should adhere to the line of actual control that had

come into existence and refrain from advancing fresh territorial claims; and (6) to ensure tranquillity both sides should desist from patrolling the disputed places.

#### **The five principles**

The new five principles that China has put forward during the current series of talks are equality, friendly consultations, mutual understanding and accommodation, a fair and reasonable comprehensive solution of the border dispute. These are elements of the classic sentence first used by Mr. Han Nainlong and then repeated by Mr. Fu Hao that "we believe that India and China, treating each other as equals, can through friendly consultations and, in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, reach a fair and reasonable comprehensive solution of the border problem."

The six working propositions that India has advanced are: (a) the two sides were meeting to find a solution to the border problem as early as possible; (b) it should be a just solution and should take into account the legitimate interests of both sides; (c) both sides should find a commonly agreed approach and basis for discussion; (d) the proposals advanced by either side, as constituting an approach to the problem, should be considered by the other; (e) it is necessary to create a propitious atmosphere for arriving at an early settlement; and (f) efforts should be made to settle the border issue in each sector taking into account different aspects of them.

#### **Flexibility**

The Indian propositions concede the existence of a border dispute which was not done during the early 1960s when the demand was that China should first unconditionally vacate its aggression. These also talk of a just solution taking into account the legitimate interests of both sides. But the Chinese have not matched this Indian flexibility with any gesture from their side to go back at least to the line of control established before the 1962 war, or make any other concessions to make it possible for India to arrive at an honourable settlement involving the cession of the whole of Aksai Chin. This in short is the crux of the problem which leaves no room for any compromise during the current talks without some fresh flexibility on China's part.

After the opening plenary session at which some platitudinous speeches will be made, the two delegations will split into four working groups dealing with the boundary question, trade and economic relations, cultural and educational exchanges, and technical cooperation.

The two heads of delegations, Mr. K. S. Bajpai and Mr. Gong Dafei, will intercede as and when required in the boundary discussions, while maintaining their high level contacts for a general review of the whole range of Sino-Indian relations, besides sharing views on global problems. And the delicacy with which these talks are conducted is evident from the fact that, despite the continuing stalemate over the border talks, the two countries are keen on discussing collaboration in developing an encephalitis vaccine.

## Composition of Teams

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 21.

An eleven-member Chinese delegation, headed by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gong Dafei, is arriving here tomorrow for the fourth round of official level talks which open on Monday.

An interesting feature of the new Chinese diplomacy is that, in the more relaxed atmosphere of Sino-Indian relations, Beijing has chosen Delhi as the venue for a meeting of the Chinese envoys in the region.

The Chinese Vice-Minister, Mr. Dafei, and the second important member of the delegation, Mr. Lin Shuqing, who heads the first and second Asia departments with the rank of an Assistant Minister, and their senior colleagues on the delegation are staying on for this regional conference.

The Chinese envoys who will be participating in this meeting are their heads of mission in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. After the conclusion of the week-long Sino-Indian border discussions, the Chinese Ambassadors to these South Asian countries will meet for three or four days to review the regional developments.

**A departure from old practice:** It is not customary for China, or for that matter even the Soviet Union, to hold such regional meetings of its diplomats in other countries. But in departing from the old practice of having these meetings only in Beijing, China appears to have chosen Delhi as the venue for this conclave in South Asia as a calculated gesture presumably to get the message across that, despite the continuing stalemate in the border talks, it is keen on better bilateral relations in other spheres.

Mr. Gong Dafei is an expert on Africa where he served as Ambassador to Zaire besides heading the Africa department in the Foreign Ministry in Beijing. The second important personality in the delegation, Mr. Lin Shuqing, was Ambassador to Bangladesh before he was appointed as Assistant Minister in charge of both the Asia departments.

But neither of them is a specialist on Sino-Indian problems like their predecessors who participated in the earlier three rounds of border discussions. The expertise, if any, on the complexities of the border dispute will be provided by Mr. Tu Gouwei, head of the division

dealing with Sino-Indian border affairs in the Asia departments. Another specialist on India who has been included in the Chinese delegation is Mr. Mau Yongmao, a Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

The Indian delegation will be led by the Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, Mr. K. S. Bajpai, who having served as Ambassador to China, has a very good grasp of all Sino-Indian issues including the border problem. He has the additional advantage of having participated in all the three earlier rounds of discussions, first as a member and then as leader of the delegation.

The other important members of the Indian team are Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, Ambassador to China, Mr. Ranjit Sethi, High Commissioner to Malaysia and Mr. P. K. Bhadwar, Joint Secretary in charge of East Asia, who, as head of the China division in the Ministry of External Affairs, is mainly responsible for all the preparatory work that has to be done for these discussions.

But the briefs for the Indian delegation have to be finalised at the political level after carefully assessing the Chinese approach to the border problem. The leader of the Chinese delegation spoke hopefully of the fourth round, on the eve of his departure from Beijing, saying that he would try to achieve a breakthrough on the basis of the ground covered during the first three rounds, but he also added that this would require efforts by both sides.

After her return from Bombay tonight, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, will be presiding over a high level meeting tomorrow to review and approve the briefs for these discussions. Apart from the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, several senior officials from the Prime Minister's secretariat, the External Affairs Ministry and other concerned agencies of the Government will be participating in these policy discussions.

Mr. Venkateswaran and Mr. Ranjit Sethi, a China expert, who served as head of the East Asia division until he was posted to Kuala Lumpur, paid a courtesy call on the Chinese Ambassador, Mr. Shen Jian, today to set the tone for contacts at the personal level between the two delegations on the eve of these talks on the border problem.

## Report on Sikkim

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Oct 83 p 12

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, Oct. 8--A sour note has been struck by China by raking up the Sikkim issue on the eve of the next round of official level talks with India on the border problems which open on October 24 in Delhi.

A Xinhua news agency commentary on the border issue referred to Sikkim as a sovereign State, just as the untenable Chinese territorial claims to a vast area south of the McMahon line were revived last year in the course of a denunciation of the participation of a dance troupe from Arunachal Pradesh in the closing ceremony of the Asian Games.

The Indian Ambassador in Beijing, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, has been asked to take up this question with the appropriate Chinese authorities before leaving for Delhi next week to participate in the next round of the official level discussions. It remains to be seen what attitude the Chinese Government will adopt, whether it will utilise this opportunity to reiterate its earlier stand against the merger of Sikkim or explain it away by maintaining that the Xinhua commentary did not necessarily reflect the official position.

But it is quite clear that China is trying to reopen the border dispute in the eastern sector to reassert its territorial claims to drive home the point that the present de facto situation along the McMahon line can be accepted only as part of an overall package settlement on the basis of the existing realities along the entire boundary line. The Xinhua commentary is clearly intended to get this message across to India before the commencement of the next round of discussions.

## Pressure on Bhutan

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 14.

The Chinese have intensified their pressure on Bhutan, before the next round of Sino-Indian talks on the border problem later this month, by making fresh territorial claims in the north-eastern sector besides reasserting the old ones on the western side.

It is true that the Chinese patrols have been crossing the traditional border from time to time during the summer months in the western sector to sustain their

1965 claim line, but this year they followed up with fresh violations across the hitherto undisputed parts of the border in the north-east along with new

assertions of territorial claims there.

These violations of the Bhutan border have taken place at a time when China has been carrying out an intensive aerial survey of the region. Similar surveys from the air have been made in the last two years of all the disputed sectors along the Himalayas from the Karakoram in the north-west to the McMahon Line in the north-east over a length of 3,500 km.

**Political overtones:** The Chinese incursions across the Bhutan border have acquired some political overtones because the violations followed by fresh territorial claims have occurred at a time when there have been some selective intrusions in Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh during the same period to buttress the Chinese claims on the eve of the impending official-level talks in Delhi. It is not known why Beijing has chosen to turn the heat on Bhutan at this juncture despite the moves under way for parallel border talks with it.

Though Bhutan is a sovereign State, it has a special treaty relationship with India in regard to its defence and foreign relations. The kingdom has by and large been adhering to this obligation and seeking India's advice. It was with India's full concurrence that Bhutan responded to the Chinese call for negotiations to settle the border question.

The Governments of India and Bhutan are naturally concerned over the implications of the new Chinese attempts to create the impression that the entire Himalayan border, barring the Nepalese segment, is still a disputed area that could be settled only through a balance of mutual concessions. The latest incursions are probably intended as gentle reminders more to India than to Bhutan that the present *de facto* position along the border should not be mistaken for a tacit acceptance of the existing realities until the whole alignment is agreed upon through a package settlement.

The next round of Sino-Indian border talks opening on October 24 in Delhi has thus acquired additional importance in the context of these new developments. It is not known whether the Indian Ambassador in Beijing, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, who met the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhao Ziyang, on the eve of his departure for Delhi to participate in these talks, has had the opportunity to discuss this matter with him.

**No new tensions:** But otherwise what is important is that there have been no renewed border tensions despite these Chinese attempts to reopen the whole issue through selective intrusions even in sectors where there are no serious disputes. The stage of talking in terms of first principles is now over and the two sides have to indicate in one form or the other at the coming talks whether they are ready to engage in serious negotiations.

There will be no objection from the Indian side to a candid discussion of any aspect of Sino-Indian relations, whether it is on bilateral or international issues. But in doing so India will make it quite clear that it is not going to brook any interference by China in regional problems that are of no direct concern to it.

The two sides can exchange views during these talks on major international developments of mutual interest so long as these exchanges are not used as an excuse for discussing India's relationship with neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal or Bhutan under whatever pretext. In a dialogue of this nature, conducted against the background of a serious border dispute that led to a war only two decades ago, a proper distinction will have to be kept up, in the opinion of competent observers here, between the concept of beneficial bilateralism and conflicts of regional interests while airing views on international developments.

CSO: 4600/1180

INDIA

## REPORTAGE ON AICC CONFERENCE IN BOMBAY

### Gandhi 20 Oct Speech

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Oct 83 p 7

[Text] BOMBAY, October 20--THE Congress (I) president, Mrs. Indira Gandhi today expressed her deep concern over the fact that anti-national elements felt emboldened to come out in the open at Srinagar immediately after various opposition parties held a conclave there.

She was making her opening remarks on the first day of the AICC session at the Shanmukhananda Hall here.

The local leadership at Jammu and Kashmir did not denounce the shameful incidents during the one-day cricket match between India and the West Indies immediately. The conduct of those who attended the conclave was also not dissimilar. When asked what steps were taken against the traitorous elements, the National Conference government said some action was being initiated. But, so far it is not clear what these steps were, she observed.

"Shame, Shame"

Cries of "shame, shame" rent the hall as Mrs. Gandhi condemned the Srinagar incidents. A delegate from New Delhi, Mr. J. P. Goel, demanded that the J & K government be sacked to which Mrs. Gandhi replied that "governments are not dismissed just like that."

She warned the people about the dangerous tendencies that resulted from the behaviour of the opposition. Mrs. Gandhi said it was not her intention to run down the opposition or belittle their importance in a democracy. Her criticism of them was not the result of malice or contempt. But, the import of the opposition's pattern of behaviour should be intimated to the people. It was a matter of national concern when the opposition encouraged centrifugal forces and distorted issues.

She said it was not without significance that the demand for more powers to the states was being voiced at this juncture. Even before 1977, the opposition had formed governments a number of times, especially in the north. There were no complaints of discrimination then. Allocation of resources was made

by the Planning Commission and other bodies in fair measure and there was co-operation between the Centre and the states.

Mrs. Gandhi said she was for a "strong Centre backed by strong states" and this had been the guiding philosophy of her party traditionally. In this context she said even the local bodies like the panchayats should be strengthened.

#### 20-Point Plan

Speaking in Hindi for a major part of her speech, Mrs. Gandhi also pooh-poohed allegations that she was favouring the majority community. Earlier she was accused of pampering the minorities and now yet another absurd charge was being levelled by vested interests. Pointing to her record in the past, Mrs. Gandhi said she had regarded all communities as equal. It was being said that she was wooing the Hindus to garner their support during the elections. She maintained that she had never attached excessive importance to vote gathering. But, even the compulsions of real-politik required that all communities be treated equally, she added.

Referring to the performance of her party, Mrs. Gandhi said it had made considerable progress despite various hurdles. She, however, lamented that the message of the 20-point programme and other developmental projects did not reach a vast section of the poor. The people did not know anything about these programmes. This was a matter of concern and partymen should not be complacent, she noted. No effort should be made to hide the party's faults.

Mrs. Gandhi made a special mention of the situation in Punjab. Certain elements were trying to shake the respect that various religious groups had for each other. An overwhelming majority of the people had traditionally given respect to places of worship unbiasedly. When Pope Paul visited Bombay, he was accorded a rousing reception by all the communities in the metropolis. She warned the people about efforts to disturb this happy situation. Referring to an article (which incidentally was carried by this paper), she said tradition-bound sections in different communities were finding it difficult to reconcile themselves to changes caused by economic and scientific developments.

Mrs. Gandhi also had a dig at newspapers which regarded the session as a non-event. She said because there was no spectacle and violence, the session was dubbed as being without importance. We are doing a sober and mature discussion of various issues without indulging in sensationalism and bravado, she emphasised.

Earlier, she lauded the role Maharashtra had played in the national affairs. She praised the rich contributions made by Maharashtrian saints, intellectuals, literateurs, and artistes. It was also significant that the session was being held in Bombay which had played an important role in the history of the party.

## Second Day's Session.

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Subhash Kirpekar]

[Text] BOMBAY, October 21--THE two-day AICC (I) session concluded here with a call from the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to all patriotic forces to unite to face the growing dangers all along the borders and the violence and terrorism within the country by elements out to undermine the Centre, disorient the youth through cynicism, spreading disaffection among workers and generating a climate of pessimism.

"I am not threatening anybody. We have always extended a hand of friendship across our borders and within too," observed Mrs. Gandhi who invited the co-operation of people in all walks of life to face the machinations of those who wished to belittle and destabilise India.

In an obvious reference to the West, Mrs. Gandhi accused some powers wanting to weaken India and of adopting double-standards all along the line. These elements lent support to General Zia of Pakistan but "they call us authoritarian", she said.

Without wanting to make this sound like a complaint, she asserted that it meant that people would have to be far more vigilant and united to resist all designs against the nation.

Chiding those who described her family as the "royal family", Mrs. Gandhi pointed out that her critic had himself climbed on the shoulders of royal families. "I don't come from a royal family but we have acquired that status by our dedicated service to the nation, sincerity of purpose and hard work. That road is open to all," she said, adding there was none to help her grandfather, Motilal Nehru, when he entered the freedom struggle.

The message that Mrs. Gandhi gave to her partymen was that at a time when certain forces were trying to drive it from the main road into the by-lanes and corners, they should not surrender their ideals and principles.

Mrs. Gandhi also announced that the plenary session would be held in Calcutta in the last week of December between Christmas and the New Year. There would be a meeting of the Working Committee on the first day. Two days would be taken up by the subjects committee and the plenary session would be held on the fourth day.

She also wanted every state to give an account of the party offices opened and on the functioning of various cells. Some regional conferences would be held prior to the plenary session in December. She was cheered when she urged partymen to enrol more members provided they were "sincere and genuine."

The day saw Mr. Rajiv Gandhi make his maiden speech at an AICC (I) session. The speech, delivered in a sober tone, was well received by the delegates.

Importance was attached to his statement that if the existing laws could not cope with the terrorism in Punjab, new laws may be enacted.

Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, finance minister, chastised the governments of West Bengal, Jammu and Kashmir and Tamil Nadu for not making progress even though they received "massive Central funds". The people in these states had a right to demand how the funds were spent, he said. As many as 33 members had participated in the debate on the economic resolution which was adopted with two amendments, one proposed by Mr. Digvijay Singh and the other by Mrs. Krishna Mehta.

Several ministers and chief ministers spoke today. These included Mr. S. B. Chavan, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, Mr. R. Venkataraman, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao.

Winding up the debate on the international situation, Mr. Rao declared that India's leadership of the non-aligned movement would not preclude it from fulfilling its obligation to defend the country. This was an indirect reference to Pakistan which is a member of NAM. Several speakers described Pakistan's claims for being a non-aligned nation as "pretentious," especially as it was providing military bases to the U.S. in return for sophisticated weaponry.

Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma noted that the movement for democratic rights in Pakistan may compel the military dictatorship in that country to attack India as a diversionary tactic.

The defence minister asserted that India's defence efforts would match Pakistan's newly acquired weapons. Mr. Venkataraman's reference to China was cautious. While speaking about the on-going process of normalisation, he made a fleeting reference to some disturbing reports from the borders of western Bhutan.

Mr. J. K. Jain made a blistering attack on those who criticised Mrs. Indira Gandhi for pleading for the release of the Frontier Gandhi, Badshah Khan. Recalling that Mrs. Gandhi had also appealed to the Pakistani rulers to spare the life of Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, he said that this could by no stretch of imagination amount to interference in the affairs of another country.

#### External Affairs Minister Speaks

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 22 Oct 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by M. H. Jadhav]

[Text] BOMBAY, Oct. 21--An undisguised warning that India would not hesitate to protect its integrity should Pakistan threaten this country's security characterized the resolution on the international situation at the AICC(I) meeting here today. A large number of participants in the debate on the resolution, adopted at noon, highlighted the danger to India's security posed by Pakistan.

In his reply to the debate, the External Affairs Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, unequivocally declared that India's interests would not be subordinated to those of other countries only because it headed the non-aligned movement.

Mr. Narasimha Rao said the projection of what had been said by members on Pakistan was clear, adds PTI. Although India did not want any difficulty with any of its neighbours, it had to be cautious in the context of what was happening in other countries, he said.

Mr Rao said it was also for the first time that India had taken the lead of defining the parametres of disarmament unequivocally. India did not regard nuclear weapons as mere weapons but as a means of mass destruction.

India had also made it clear that the proposals and counter-proposals made by the USA and the Soviet Union for arms reduction were inadequate. "There is no intention of real disarmament in them", he said, The proposals made by each side cancelled one another out while escalation of the race continued unabated. With every minute lost in "this sterile exercise", the world was being brought to the brink of disaster, Mr Rao said.

The non-aligned movement, he said, had taken the initiative of breaking this vicious circle and had taken the lead in speaking out on behalf of humanity and not on behalf of one country or a group of countries.

It was in the context of dispelling doubts about what India stood for in the field of disarmament that the AICC (I) had to take a lead as a political organization. A people's movement should be developed against the armaments race, Mr Rao said, adding that he was happy to note that the Youth Congress had taken up this matter and was in touch with the youth of other countries

Mr Rao also referred to the situation in West Asia which had become more and more complex with the Palestine Liberation Organization in a state of disarray. The question of Lebanon was being made a pretext for not solving the Palestine issue. In fact, the issue was being shelved in an indirect manner by pre-empting it. He said that even the U.S. President, Mr Ronald Reagan, had, at one stage, suggested a freeze on Israeli settlements on the West Bank, a call made by the AICC (I) in its resolution today.

About Central America, the Minister said that what had taken place in Grenada was symptomatic of what was happening in the region as a whole. He reiterated the call for a settlement in the region without outside interference and expressed support to the Contadora group which is engaged in finding a solution.

The Defence Minister, Mr R. Venkataraman, who intervened in the debate also referred to the stockpiling of armaments in Pakistan capable of great destruction to the possibility of Advance Warning Airborne systems being made available to it by Saudi Arabia.

Pakistan and the USA had explained that these weapons were for Pakistan's protection against possible disturbances from Afghanistan. If these weapons were meant for use to deal with the situation created by Afghanistan, why were they stationed on the Indian border? he asked.

Referring to Sino-Indian relations, he said efforts were on to resolve the border dispute through mutual negotiations and, in this context, said the fourth round of talks between India and China would start soon.

Dr Rafiq Zakaria attacked the Western Press and certain editorials in the Indian Press for ignoring or belittling the recent meeting of Heads of State and Government during the U.N. session. Even some of the leading writers in the West had criticized the media for their imperialistic attitude. Such an attitude was perhaps borne out of the fact that India had refused to toe the U.S. line. He also accused Sri Lanka's President Jayewardene of encouraging "one of the worst genocides" in history.

#### Rajiv Gandhi Speaks

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Oct 83 p 9

[Text] BOMBAY, October 21--THE Congress (I) has a pivotal role to play in strengthening the country, it was stated here today by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

The importance of the party was the main theme of his 45-minute speech on the economic resolution at the AICC (I) session at the Shanmukhananda Hall. Delegates extended to Mr. Gandhi the biggest applause of the session before and after his speech.

As soon as Mr. Gandhi rose to speak, the slogan "Rajiv Gandhi age badho" was loudly raised by several members. Mrs. Indira Gandhi waved to the delegates to stop cheering but when it continued, she went up to the microphone and firmly said, "There will be no speech if the slogan-shouting continued."

This immediately had its effect and there was complete silence.

Earlier, Mr. H. K. L. Bhagat, Union minister for information and Broadcasting, stressed the contribution of the Nehru family to the country's history. Criticising the opposition for raising the bogey of "dynastic succession," Mr. Bhagat said each member of the Nehru family had suffered greatly for the country and risen to high position through service. This was as true of Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru, as of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Sanjay Gandhi and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

#### Signal to Stop

At this stage, Mrs. Gandhi repeatedly pressed the bell indicating that Mr. Bhagat should stop his speech. She also orally told him to cut it short. However, delegates continued to applaud the minister.

After Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's speech was over, a large number of delegates began walking away, apparently for the public meeting at Shivaji Park. Mrs. Gandhi told them that the public meeting was for the people who could not attend the session.

As newsmen too started walking away to report Mr. Gandhi's speech the Congress (I) president said amidst laughter "I hope the press won't desert the AICC(I)".

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said it was the Congress Party which had given the country freedom and strength after independence.

"Why should we not teach our children the real history that it was the Congress which fought for and won freedom? Why should we be afraid of criticism if the facts were taught in schools?" he asked.

#### The 'Revolution'

In his first major speech in Bombay, Mr. Gandhi referred to the "revolution" the country was going through, the violence in Punjab and Kashmir which he severely condemned, and the problem of population.

He compared the Congress to a great tree which had spread to all parts of the country, shedding old leaves as in 1969 and 1978 and growing new ones.

Mr. Gandhi also said that the plenary session of the party would be held in Bombay in December 1985. He had talks with the chief minister, Mr. Vasant Rao Patil, in this connection. He hoped that by that time Bombay would be as clean as Delhi.

He reminded the delegates of the pledge which Jawaharlal Nehru gave to serve the poor. Partymen had a duty to implement it. The main purpose of the session was to create this awareness and not politicking.

#### 'Dangerous' Developments

Mr. Gandhi also pointed out that economic problems could not be solved or discussed in isolation. The toil of farmers and industrial workers would not be of sufficient use if all round there was an atmosphere of violence.

The violence in Punjab, he said was an indication of terrorism of the Italian type, not mere extremism.

This violence needed to be countered with all the might and if necessary the laws concerned which were not adequate, would be amended.

He described the recent developments in Kashmir as dangerous. In spite of such an atmosphere, the opposition had held its conclave there and talked in a way that would weaken the Centre and the country, he added.

The incident at the cricket match in Srinagar was a result of the opposition's talks. It was a matter of shame that a Pakistani flag should have been waved at the match, he said.

Even while all this happened, the chief minister did not say anything and took action only when asked by the Centre.

Mr. Gandhi said the chief minister might not have been directly associated with the disturbances but he apparently extended his support to it.

In such a sensitive state as Kashmir, a few people with ugly design should not be allowed to raise their heads. The opposition was working against the interest of the country, which the people would not tolerate, he said.

There were also other problems. What happened in one country now immediately had its impact on another. India could not remain isolated. Like many other countries, it had been hit by recession. Yet, it was continuing the march of programme.

Not Backward

"India may be poor but it is not backward. Foreign papers no longer carried pictures of starving Indian children. Our food production too has gone up," he said.

Yet, the opposition said no progress was being made. This was an insult to farmers and industrial workers, he added.

Some countries like Taiwan were making progress in only limited fields like production of consumer goods. But such countries did not produce steel and heavy machinery and sophisticated equipments like India. India had built up a very strong infrastructure in respect of power, irrigation, communications.

Compared to India, what was the situation in other countries like Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangla Desh. They too had won independence like India but could they be considered to be really free countries, he asked.

However, the great progress made by India had been diluted by the soaring population. Other countries went through revolutions one after another--political revolution, industrial revolution and scientific and cultural revolution.

India had been forced to carry out all these at the same time and had on its hands one more--an electronics revolution. "We will lag behind other countries, if we do not go through all of them simultaneously.

Mr. Gandhi reminded the delegates that the government alone could not carry out all the programmes. The party had to play a very big role in this connection. The youths, particularly, had a great responsibility. They were also numerically a big force--75 per cent of the population was below the age of 35.

The main task was to wipe the tear of every poor man, he said.

He concluded his speech by thanking the people of Bombay for the fine organisation of the session.

Mr. S. B. Chavan, planning minister, said that some stages lagged behind in implementing the 20-point programme, though the achievement for the country as a whole was satisfactory.

Such states had to be told that social commitment had no meaning without the implementation of the programme, he said, moving the economic resolution for discussion.

Mr. Chavan said land reforms had to be completed and, if the judiciary became a hurdle, courts should be approached for getting the injunctions vacated. Land records should be updated and special courts for cases concerning land set up if needed. Now legislation might be needed for the purpose, he added.

He appealed to chief ministers to ensure that land given to the scheduled tribes and castes was not taken away.

The small and medium farmers should be associated with the implementation of the 20-point programme, he said.

He called for better performance by the public sector undertakings, in which huge investments had been made, and emphasised the need for workers' participation in their management.

Mr. Chavan said there was need for qualitative improvement in the implementation of the integrated rural development programme (IRDP) and undesirable activities of some bank and government officials needed to be rooted out.

The planning minister compared the performance of the present government with the Janata government to emphasise that conditions had improved since 1980.

The growth rate had changed to five per cent from -- 5 during the Janata regime (1979-80), inflation running at 21.4 per cent than had been contained and brought down.

#### Text of Draft Resolution

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Oct 83 p 5

[Text]

BOMBAY, Oct 20 (PTI)—The draft political resolution which the AICC took up for discussion today reads:

1. After Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took over the reins of office at the beginning of 1980, the unfortunate reversal of nationally accepted policies and programmes were decisively halted and the nation resumed its purposeful movement for social and economic progress. The economy has regained its vitality, the political outlook is on the whole sanguine. India's voice is heard with respect in the world and the nation is once again on the march towards a bright and meaningful future. All this has been achieved in the face of the heaviest odds, both at home and abroad.

2. The parties and groups in the Opposition, however, have not reconciled themselves to their rout at the hustings. They have continued in their destructive and disruptive activities, which cannot but jeopardise the very democratic process which they so loudly claim to espouse. Divisive and regional forces are being activated as a result of the short-sighted and negative approach and opportunism of these groups. Appeal to narrow parochial sentiments is tending to weaken the national fabric, woven through the untold sufferings and sacrifices of the people of India over a century and more. The AICC-I deeply deplores these developments.

### PUNJAB VIOLENCE

3. In Punjab, grave situations of tension and conflict were created by the Akali Dal. The responsibility for the tragic events that have occurred there lies squarely on the Akali Dal leadership and their allies. They have fuelled the flames of violence and hatred. They have repeatedly condoned crime against person and property. They have allowed holy places to be used for harbouring criminals and terrorists, whom they continue to support, overtly or covertly. Such situations are exploited by subversive elements, both internal and external for their own ends.

4. The country is aware that the Prime Minister has taken measures to meet the religious demands and the Government has proposed methods of solving disputes relating to the distribution of waters as well as territorial claims. Despite these constructive steps, the Akali Dal leadership has continued the violent agitation, with constantly escalating demands. It is abundantly clear, therefore, that the real issue in Punjab is not any demand, but the Akali Dal's bid to grab power by recourse to intimidation and terror.

5. The AICC-I condemns the violent incidents that have claimed so many innocent lives of different communities in Punjab and expresses its deep condolences to the bereaved families. It urges the Government to take stronger measures to re-establish a climate of security of life and property. It is firmly of the view that a solution of the Punjab problem can be found only through dialogue among all the interested parties. The Akali leadership should give up their intransigent posture and work for a reasonable solution.

6. The ruling National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir has introduced certain dangerous trends and methods in the recent Assembly elections which have rightly caused grave concern to all patriotic and democratic forces. The National Conference blatantly violated the sanctity of the electoral process by rigging the elections in many constituencies, manipulating the polls and even defying the writ of the Election Commission. Its political strategy, during and since the elections, has been to befriend and encourage communal

and secessionist forces and to whip up hatred against the Centre. The dangerous consequences of such a link-up in a sensitive area should be realised by all patriotic forces.

7. Regrettably, the Opposition has failed to grasp that the basic issue in the electoral battle in Jammu and Kashmir went far beyond the fortunes of any party, and centred round the question of which political forces would strengthen the institutional framework of our secular and democratic society. The AICC-I compliments the State unit of the Congress-I for having fought bravely against overwhelming odds.

While expressing its deep sympathy for all those who have suffered harassment and hardships during and after the elections, the AICC-I thanks the people of the State who, in the face of violence, supported the Congress-I and made it a force to reckon with in the political life of Jammu and Kashmir. The AICC-I notes that discrimination and victimisation still continue and calls upon the Jammu and Kashmir Government to stop such activities.

8. Faced with the threat to the security and integrity of our country, the position of the Opposition parties is pathetic in its total indifference to the dimensions of the obvious dangers. They have failed, not for the first time, to show a patriotic awareness of the deep interconnections between internal and external forces and events. It is ironic that such a signal should have come from Srinagar where the patriotic forces had waged a valiant and victorious struggle against internal and external enemies of India's unity and integrity.

9. The AICC-I is glad to note that after a long period of traumatic experience which began during the Janata Party rule, normalcy is fast returning to Assam. It expresses its deep sympathy for those who became victims of violence and vandalism and congratulates the Government of Assam for its splendid work in rehabilitating the victims and in maintaining peace and harmony. The issues in

Assam must be solved in an atmosphere of peace and within the framework of law and justice.

### OPPOSITION ROLE

10. In the context of the political situation analysed above, the response of the Opposition parties has been totally unprincipled. Each party and groups may have its own ideas. Perhaps each thinks of the advantage it can gain. All permutations and combinations, of all elements otherwise poles apart, are meant to achieve just that one objective, on which alone there is unanimity and beyond which confusion prevails. It is surprising that the sordid experiences of the numerous previous SVD governments have failed to have any sobering effect on these persons and groups. Even more surprisingly, they refuse to recognise the fact that irrespective of variations in electoral verdicts, the people of India unequivocally deprecate the attitude of personal animosity and negative and unprincipled alliances.

11. The search for a so-called alternative to the Congress by the Opposition groups amounts to little more than a wearisome re-assemblage of old clichés which have lost meaning through constant misuse. This entire exercise has little relationship to any purposeful theme of governance and is only repetition of what the people of India had to experience to their horror in 1977-79. It is a sheer drive for power by any means, unredeemed by any concern for the momentous issues facing India in the eighties.

12. Two groupings have been formed recently, neither with any credible policy or programme. The communal and reactionary character of the national democratic alliance is obvious. It stands opposed to every policy that has helped this country to build a secular, self-reliant and vibrant society. It seeks to put the clock back.

13. The United Front is a collection of heterogeneous elements mainly represented by a group of leaders without any political base. Their only common point is opportunism. In its search

for power, the Front is prepared to stoke the fires of regionalism and communalism. Its slogans are not backed by any commitment to the principles of secularism, democracy and socialism. Above all, the Front chooses to turn a blind eye to the forces which are consciously trying to undermine the unity and integrity of India.

14. It is unfortunate that some parties which proclaim themselves as 'leftist' should have chosen to support the Front. Here also antipathy to the Congress-I and Mrs Indira Gandhi has pre-empted political analysis. They seem totally unable to assess the dangers inherent in the present international situation and to relate them to the over-riding issue of the consolidation of our national unity.

15. The AICC-I expresses its serious concern over the distorted manner in which the Opposition parties have raised issues pertaining to Centre-State relations. The Congress-I has itself encouraged a responsible debate over Centre-State relations in the light of developments since the adoption of the Constitution. The appointment of the Sarkaria Commission is a major step in that direction.

But the Opposition parties are unable to place the issue in the wider perspective of India's historical development as a modern nation and of the compulsions of the socio-economic and technological transformation of a society ravaged by colonialism. They persist in defining the problem as one of Centre versus the States, which is manifestly wrong and is only likely to give a misleading image of the country. India's chequered history underscores the over-riding importance of a strong Centre for the preservation of the unity and independence of the country.

16. The AICC-I cautions the country that the forces of destabilisation are working actively to weaken, and if possible, disrupt national unity. In a developing society, the expectations of the masses are constantly rising. The task of political parties should be to see that complex problems of nation building are resolved on

the basis of policies and approaches that strengthen the unity and the integrity of the nation.

#### BASIC CONCEPTS

17. The AICC-I is convinced that in the overall interest of the country some basic concepts should be held inviolate and beyond political controversy. The policies and programmes of the Congress-I provide the basic framework for a national consensus on such issues as national unity, secularism, planning, self-reliance, defence non-alignment and world peace.

The AICC-I feels apprehensive that the attempt of the Opposition parties to wreck this consensus is ominous portent. The AICC-I calls upon the Government to create a country-wide awareness of the dangers while devising effective ways of countering the forces of disruption. It also exhorts Congressmen and women to give highest priority to this all-important question in their organisational activities.

18. The record of the Congress and of its leader Mrs Indira Gandhi in consistently waging a war on communal forces of whatever description, is self-evident. Minorities and other weaker sections have no greater champion of their rights. Throughout the post-independence period, the Congress, first under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and then under that of Mrs Indira Gandhi, has laboured to build a secular society in which all communities have equal opportunities for growth.

There are difficulties and problems to be overcome — which is indeed the agenda of national action. The people, professing different religions, identify Mrs Indira Gandhi with the cause of national unity and hence give her their unqualified support. Leaders of various parties have, however, failed to grasp this deep-rooted aspiration for national unity. The AICC-I calls upon all patriotic, secular and progressive forces to come together on the wider national platform for preserving and strengthening our hard-won unity and freedom.

19. The AICC-I strongly deplores the barbaric crime against women manifested in dowry deaths. While welcoming the legislative measures proposed by the Government to provide any deterrent punishment for such inhuman acts, the AICC-I stresses that a strong and sustained movement is necessary to attack the very aptitude and values which lie

behind cruel treatment of women. The AICC-I directs Congress cadres to play an active part in holding social consciousness in the right direction.

#### RESPONSIBILITY

20. The Congress-I is the only national party with a nation-wide base. In a very real sense the progress and unity of the country are linked with it. On us has devolved the responsibility of ensuring the fulfilment of the vision of the great leaders of our freedom struggle.

21. Destiny has designated this historic role to our party, and the manner it has fulfilled it over nearly a century bears ample testimony to its capacity to rise to the demands of time howsoever exacting or challenging.

As we look back with a sense of fulfilment at past achievements, the tasks of the present and the demands of the future call from each one of us a greater measure of commitment and involvement to give shape and sustenance to the dreams of a better life for the toiling millions of India. The AICC-I calls upon all Congressmen and women to prove worthy of the party's rich legacy to strengthen it further, with a sense of unity and an abiding faith in the future of our country.

The AICC-I pledges itself to stand by the people of India, as it has always done, an appeal to them to support this great organisation with the quiet determination they alone are capable of, and which they demonstrated as a unique example in the annals of mass movements anywhere in the world.

22. All Congressmen and women should work among the people with single minded dedication. At this hour of trial we need all the vigilance and spirit of service at our command. The Congress will not let anything weaken the country. The greater the challenge the more determined must the Congress be.

23. The AICC calls upon the youth of the country to dedicate themselves to play their historic and dynamic role to strengthen the national fabric of the country and to partake of the excitement and creative venture of shaping modern India. They should respond to the future of the national reckoning to them all its thrill and fascination. The younger generation could not ask for a greater promise.

24. The AICC-I calls upon women who constitute over 50 per cent of the total population of this country to contribute fully in this great national task in the spirit in which they had plunged in the freedom struggle.

25. The AICC-I like-wise appeals to peasants, agricultural and industrial labour, the middle classes and professionals, the intelligentsia and intellectuals to continue to lend their solid support to this great organisation which has always shown utmost solicitude for their welfare and progress.

#### Nuclear Energy Discussed

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Oct 83 p 9

[Text] BOMBAY, Oct. 20--The AICC(I) tonight unanimously adopted a resolution on science and technology, urging the Government to increase the share of nuclear energy in power generation and intensify work on the experimental fast breeder reactor to utilise indigenous thorium.

Praising the Government for its policies that promoted rapid development of science and technology in the country, the resolution called for vigorous steps in the field of space so that in the not too distant future, the country could design, build and launch its own satellite.

The resolution said the "unwavering and dynamic support of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in building up indigenous capabilities in science and technology has enormously strengthened the national effort for self-reliance".

The resolution welcomed the technology policy announced by the Prime Minister in January this year and expressed confidence that its implementation would clearly reflect the objectives of self-reliance and meet the needs and aspirations of the people.

It complimented the Indian scientists and technologists for their achievements in various fields and added that the country was justly proud of them.

The resolution, moved by Mr. Shivraj Patil, Minister of State for Science and Technology, was adopted without discussion.

Asiad organisers congratulated: The AICC(I) today adopted a resolution, congratulating all those who had worked for the success of the ninth Asian Games.

#### CPI Reaction

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Oct 83 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 20.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has expressed its surprise at the reaction of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, to the outcome of the Srinagar meeting of Opposition leaders.

The executive, which ended a three-day meeting here on Wednesday said it was "amaz-

ing that the Prime Minister should attack the Srinagar meeting as total confrontation of the Opposition against her, while the fact is that it is she who has taken to a path of confrontation by attacking the Srinagar meeting".

"It is regrettable that she should accuse the Opposition of encouraging violence and disrupting the unity of the country", said a resolution adopted by the executive.

Releasing the text of the resolution to the press here today the CPI general secretary, Mr. C. Rajeswara Rao, said the Opposition was prepared to extend its cooperation to the Union Government to find a solution to national problems.

The executive condemned the new attempts of the Sri Lankan Government to create obstacles in the way of a political solution to the problems of the Tamil-speaking people. It welcomed the take-over of the 13 textile mills in Bombay by the Government.

**P.M.'s charge refuted:** Mr. H. N. Bahuguna, President of the Democratic Socialist Party, today refuted the Prime Minister's charge that there had been a spurt in violence after the Srinagar meeting. That meeting, he told a press conference here, was concerned with the single issue of Centre-State relations and had condemned the violence in Punjab.

Mr. Bahuguna maintained that the Opposition was playing a much healthier role now than what Mrs. Gandhi herself had done when she was in the opposition between 1977 and 1980.

The DSP leader said the Srinagar conclave had discussed the modalities for the appointment of Governors but had not called for the abolition of the Governor's office nor had it said that the Centre should retain only four subjects delegating the authority in respect of all other matters to the States. He stuck to the view that one of the major irritants in the Centre-State relations was the large discretionary power in the hands of the Centre. As much as 71 to 81 per cent of the funds at the Centre's disposal was distributed at its discretion.

CSO: 4600/1182

IRAN

## NVOI ACCUSES U.S. OF EXPLOITING IRAN-IRAQ WAR

TA160700 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 15 Nov 83

[Unattributed commentary: "America Is Seeking a Pretext for Intervention"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: The administration of U.S. President Reagan is constantly displaying its so-called big stick policy before the eyes of the entire world's population. Under the false pretext of defending the freedom and human rights, U.S. President Reagan is dispatching the aircraft carriers and naval forces of world-devouring America, with thousands of marines, to this or that corner of the world to commit aggression against the territories of independent governments.

By employing the policy of aircraft carriers Washington committed aggression against Lebanon. In accordance with the policy of professional and mercenary criminals, and with the aid of its dependent governments, it is continuing an undeclared war against the nations of Afghanistan and Nicaragua. It attacked the small country of Grenada in the style of pirates. For some time world devouring U.S. imperialism has intensified its aggressive policy in the Persian Gulf, and has caused the intense concern of social opinion of this region's people. United States imperialism is seeking a pretext in order to launch piratic aggression in the oil-rich Persian Gulf region similar to the occupation of Grenada. For a long time now it has prepared itself for such a development by means of its agents in the Middle East region.

World-devouring U.S. imperialism which used several reactionary and dependent governments in Central America to occupy Grenada, will use Islamic Pakistan which has been transformed into America's most important base in the Middle East to commit aggression in the Persian Gulf region. The pretext for aggression, too, is being provided by agents of British and U.S. imperialism in the Islamic Government of Iran.

United States imperialism, under the pretext of defending free navigation in the Strait of Hormuz and the shipment of oil from this region to Europe and America, is getting ready to launch aggression in the Persian Gulf region. Right now the aircraft carrier Enterprise along with 5 warships and 2,000 marines are approaching the shores of the Persian Gulf, and Rapid Deployment Forces in the military bases of U.S. imperialism in Oman and Diego Garcia Island have been

placed on full military alert. Leaders and officials of the White House do not conceal the fact that world-devouring America's war and military activities in the Persian Gulf region are solely aimed at occupying the Strait of Hormuz. The most important pretext for occupying the Hormuz Strait is precisely the war between Iran and Iraq. For this reason U.S. imperialism, by means of its agents in the Islamic Government, is preventing an end to this devastating and destructive war so that at the suitable opportunity it would use this pretext for direct military intervention in our region and country.

The tense situation in the Persian Gulf region could entail grave consequences. World public opinion is extremely concerned over the consequences of the adventures of U.S. imperialism in this area of the world. It is the duty of all progressive and national forces, and all sincere opponents of imperialism, to expose as much as possible the adventurous plans of world-devouring America and its Iranian agents. The concern of our homeland's people and world public opinion at the dangerous situation brought about by U.S. imperialism and the Reagan administration in our area is a justified concern.

One can only realize the depth of this concern if we take into consideration that the rulers of the Islamic Republic of Iran and their various mouthpieces, by expressing irresponsible statements and remarks, are actually encouraging the Reagan administration in implementing its adventurous plans. Thus, one should not only expose the destructive and disastrous plots of world-devouring America but also the ploys of America's overt and covert elements in the Islamic Government.

With the aid of its agents in the Islamic Government, America wants to pave the way for a further military presence in our region, and should the possibility arise for the restoration of its fatal domination in Iran. For this reason exposing the real faces of those who, under whatever name, hand a pretext to America to intervene and escalate its military presence, is one of the urgent, national and human duties of every patriotic, revolutionary and aware Iranian.

CSO: 4640/39

IRAN

GOVERNMENT REPORTS PUBLIC SERVICE PROJECTS

Tehran KEYHAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 29 Sep 83 p 4

[Article: "Islamic Revolution Government Continues Its Efforts To Develop Country"]

[Text] Acting in accordance with the Islamic revolution government to provide comfort to the villages and to offer various kinds of services, such as paving rural roads, supplying farm machinery, building dams to irrigate cultivable land, building bridges on rural roads and other services, the Roads and Communication Directorate of East Azarbaijan Province recently paved the Ardebil Kermeh road at a cost of 120 million rials.

A road has also been paved between Beyn-e Dah Lar and Bidmeshk and another rural road in Esfahan Province has been paved by the Public Roads and Communications Directorate of Esfahan Province, in cooperation with the villagers themselves.

With the efforts of the faithful working brothers in the Reconstruction Crusade Organization, three rural roads have been built in three villages within the vicinity of the town of Langarud.

Through the efforts of the faithful workers in the Public Roads and Communications Directorate in Zanjan Province, this province recently built a 28.5-kilometer rural road in Adli village at a cost of 150 million rials. As part of the directorate's recent efforts, this directorate's branch in Seminar Province has linked four villages by paved roads with a length of 12 kilometers at a cost of 12 million rials.

The branch of the same directorate in Sistan and Baluchestan Province has built a rural road at a cost of 250 million rials. Work has also begun on the construction of other rural village roads with a length of 48 kilometers.

The efforts of the Reconstruction Crusade Organization have included the construction of a 41-meter-long bridge in the village of Siyah Mansuri in Bushehr Province. This bridge will link 12 villages with each other and will cost 50 million rials. Organization members in Ilam Province recently built a 7-meter-long bridge and opened a 200-kilometer-long road between the

provincial villages. They have also built 11 bridges in Marbareh village in the same governorate, and in the past 3 months built two dams to prevent the loss of water.

On the other hand, operations have been initiated to build subsidiary and rural roads in the West Azarbaijan Province at a cost of 1.909 billion rials. These operations include 158 projects for roads between the various villages of the West Azarbaijan Province. In the first 3 months of this year, the Rural Services Center in the town of Zabol built 112 bridges, set up three livestock farms and constructed a government office building in one of the villages within the jurisdiction of the town.

The Rural Services Center in the village of Yengejeh, within the jurisdiction of the town of Sara, has opened a 7-kilometer-long canal at a cost of 2.3 million rials to supply water to Bastan village. It has also built a dirt road between the villages of Jehreq and Shaleslu at a cost of 380,000 rials.

At a cost of 3.21 million rials, a 10-meter-long concrete bridge was built this year in Zam-e Haja Kalayvillage, through the efforts of brothers in the Reconstruction Crusade.

The recent efforts of the faithful brothers working in the Reconstruction Crusade also include the construction of four bridges in four villages in Bakhtaran Province in the western part of the country at a total cost of 1.3 million rials. Moreover, a bridge, a silo and rural roads have been built in four villages in the same province at a cost of 33,295,000 rials.

Meanwhile, work has been initiated to open three canals and to build a bridge and an electric power plant in Siyah Cheshmeh area at a cost of 22,396,000 rials.

Other services that have been offered and continue to be offered by the Islamic revolution government and by faithful workers in the agricultural sector to the villagers include the distribution of agricultural machinery and equipment. In this respect, the Agency for the Expansion and Development of Agricultural Mechanization recently distributed a large number of tractors, 96 pieces of various agricultural machinery and 469 tractor spare parts to farmers in various parts of the country.

In the same period, the agency supplied 651 tractors, 9,379 drilling machines [haffarat] of various types and 156 tractor trailers to farmers in the East Azarbaijan Province. In the first months of this year, the agency supplied to the farmers in the same province spare parts valued at 120,088,000 rials.

The same agency has also distributed 1,058 agricultural machines and pieces of equipment through the Reconstruction Crusade Organization in the town of Beheshtar, with 193 pieces of machinery and equipment going to the farmers of the town.

The Agricultural Committee of the Reconstruction Crusade Organization in the town of Bandar-e Torkeman distributed 113 agricultural machines and pieces

of equipment this year. The efforts of the Agency for the Expansion and Development of Agricultural Mechanization in Sistan and Baluchestan Province include the distribution of 39 tractors, 33 ploughs and 83 pieces of various agricultural machinery to farmers in the provincial villages. The agency has also distributed to the town of Zahedan farmers the equivalent of 15 million rials in spare parts for various agricultural machines.

8494

CSO: 4404/62

IRAN

# NVOI VIEWS OCTOBER REVOLUTION IMPACT ON IRAN

TA100610 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 9 Nov 83

[Unattributed commentary: "The October Revolution and Iran"]

[Text] Dear compatriots: The Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR], the 66th anniversary of which is being celebrated these days by the Soviet Union and all progressive mankind, is the first revolution in the world that abolished the principle of exploitation of man by man in one-sixth of the world, and which removed forever the exploiters from the seat of power. However, the GOSR is not merely an internal Russian event. From the very outset, the October Revolution left its impact on the collective social and political life of the entire world, and this impact is becoming deeper and more comprehensive every day.

The October Revolution took place in a country that is the neighbor of our homeland, Iran, and its impact on our homeland's social and political life, as well as its liberation movements, is very deep and widespread.

In the first years of the 20th century our country had become the sphere of influence of that period's two imperialist powers, namely British imperialism and Czarist Russia. The 1907 agreement between Britain and Czarist Russia ended the official partition of our homeland between these two imperialist powers.

Immediately following the victory of the October Revolution, the Soviet Government abrogated the 1907 agreement and all other unequal treaties imposed by the Czarist government on Iran, and gave up all the concessions won by the Czarist government from Iran, as well as the enormous loans that the Iranian Government owed to the Czarist government. Amid such conditions British imperialism tried to turn Iran into its full colony by taking advantage of the situation. For this purpose it imposed on our people the subjugating 1919 agreement by means of its subservient agent, Vosuqol-Dowleh. One can dare say that had the October Revolution not achieved complete victory, our homeland would have been transformed into the full colony of British imperialism. However, the October Revolution achieved complete victory, and under the direct impact of the October Revolution national liberation movements in our homeland peaked up.

The Iranian people's struggles and the Soviet Government's friendly and fraternal policy toward Iran induced British imperialism to yield to the abrogation of the

subjugating 1919 agreement. The abrogation of this subjugating agreement was a great victory for the Iranian people. Under the situation prevailing at that time in the world this great victory was possible only as a result of the victory of the October Revolution and its liberation impact on the social and political life of the people of our homeland, Iran.

Since the day of the victory of the GOSR, the October path and ideas as well as the friendly and brotherly policy of the Soviet Government and people toward the people of our homeland, Iran, had and continues to have the greatest positive effect and [word indistinct] on the popular and anti-imperialist struggles of Iranian toilers and patriots. For this reason international imperialism and its agents and puppets in Iran have always endeavored and are endeavoring to portray in an adverse manner the essence of the Soviet system and the friendly and brotherly policy of the Soviet Government and people toward Iranian toilers, so that they may be able to reduce its inspirational effects. This cowardly policy which at present too is being pursued more impudently and strongly by rulers and leaders of the Islamic Government has two main (?objectives).

First, by distorting historical facts rulers of the Islamic Republic of Iran are trying to conceal the difference in essence between Czarist Russia and the Soviet Union, and to blame the crimes by Russia's Czarist Government in Iran on the Soviet Union. But indisputable historical facts are so self-evident that it is difficult to project black and white in the same vein. However, the other and main line adopted currently by rulers of the Islamic Government of Iran is to equate the socialist world and the Soviet Union with the world of imperialism and America. Rulers of the Islamic Government who are witnessing the people's deep hatred toward the plundering and war-mongering America, do not dare due to fear from the people's wrath to openly show their association with and subservience to imperialism, headed by America. Thus, they try to portray the Soviet Union--this true friend of our homeland's toilers--as an enemy, so that by projecting the enemy as a friend they may be able to prepare the ground for the renewed domination of Britain and America over our revolutionary homeland.

However, these traitors to the people and the revolution, the same as the mercenary shah, will take their ominous wish to the grave. Today our homeland's patriots, true revolutionaries and toilers realize well that the only way to salvation is relentless struggle and combat on the path of peace and socialism, and against imperialism and the war of the Islamic Government of Iran's warmongers.

CSO: 4640/38

# KHO'INIHA COMMENTS ON FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF EMBASSY TAKEOVER

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 3 Nov 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Tehran--"It is only an independent and powerful stand that can bring victory to nations in confronting the US", said the Deputy Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majlis), Hojjatoleslam Musavi Khomeiniha.

Hojjatoleslam Khomeiniha was talking in an interview on the occasion of 4th anniversary of the seizure of the US "Spy Den" which falls today. He headed the Students Following the Imam's Line during the event some four years ago.

Excerpts of the interview:

"The reason why the students embarked on the move was simply because they, under the teachings of their leader Imam Khomeini did not have the slightest doubt that all the afflictions the country was suffering from were results, of the mischievous and imperialist policies of the US toward Iran.

"But even after the victory of the revolution too, they found most surprisingly, that in spite of the anti-American nature of the Islamic Revolution, the provisional government was acting in such a way that the US shadow was felt looming over the country again.

"Thus the students came to the conclusion that the center of the American-brewed conspiracies against the country and the revolution must be closed shut.

"However, after the committed Moslem students took over the so-called embassy, the move got an en masse welcome in the country that pushed the opportunist and Westernized elements into isolation. The welcome in itself was indicative of the justification and accuracy of the move which had been long desired by all the people. The Imam was the first to support the students at the head of the nation.

"The temporary government then resigned thus proving that by its very nature it opposed hard-line anti-American policies.

"Besides, all those pseudo-revolutionary and nationalist elements that had been brought to the scene by the US were unmasked when the secret documents

in the embassy fell into the hands of the students and clandestine relations between such elements and the US were revealed.

Many pro-US elements who had infiltrated into the Armed Forces and had either destroyed many secret military documents, or had submitted many such documents to the American embassy, were uncovered. [as published] We can then rightly say that the seizure of the Spy Den led to a purge relieving the country of any person inclined to the West.

"As an aftermath of this revolutionary movement, the unity of the people was further strengthened. All the nations struggling with US oppressive policies realized that Iran had turned to a powerful anti-US base.

"It was also revealed to the world's people that if there were any among the world leaders who was capable of launching an all-out combat against the US, it was no one but the Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Imam Khomeini.

In the meantime the Qom Theological School Islamic Propagation Office and the Islamic Propagation Organization based in Tehran issued communiques on the occasion of the takeover of the American "Spy Den" (US Embassy) and anniversary of the Imam's exile 20 years ago, both coinciding, November 4th, Friday.

The Qom communique said that the orders for the Imam's exile 20 years ago came from the US "Spy Den", the 4th anniversary of the takeover of which is commemorated Friday. It added that it was by God's will that this "Spy Den" was taken over by the students almost 15 years later, to the date of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, by a group of committed students.

The communique said that it was indeed this very move which blocked all compromise with the Superpower (US) and made the US mercenaries abandon all hope of any further gain in Iran.

The magic evil spell of the Great Satan was once and for all broken by the action of the students, the communique said. It also added that all the political machinations of the intruders were disclosed following the takeover.

It was indeed a turningpoint and a second revolution in the Islamic Republic of Iran the communique said.

The Islamic Propagation Organization communique said of the US Embassy (Spy Den) takeover by the students in the Line of Imam Khomeini, that all the plans of the liberals for deviating the revolution were stymied by the action of the Students in the Line of the Imam.

The communique also referred to the martyrdom of students on November 4th 1978, by the troops of the shah which showed their spirit of sacrifice and dedication.

This communique also called the US "Spy Den" takeover a second revolution for the Islamic nation and had proved the Imam's contention that America would be helpless to counteract the power of Islam.

Finally, the communique called upon people on the occasion of the 4th Anniversary of the US "Spy Den" takeover to unite further and declared that the UN Security Council resolution on the ceasefire in the ongoing Iran-Iraq war which has been inspired by the Great Satan is of no value to the Islamic Republic and it is the great combatants of Islam who will determine the fate of the war.

The Islamic Associations of the Universities also issued a communique on the occasion of Nov. 4th Friday.

The communique said that exiling the Imam the shah intended to extinguish the light of a Divine revolution in this country, but it had the opposite effect.

The communique ended calling on all the peoples, university students and professors to participate in the rally to be held on Friday commemorating the occasions.

CSO: 4600/111

# ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN REPORTED

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by Umar Latif]

[Text] A ten man delegation, representing several branches of general trade arrived on October 25, 1983 from Pakistan on a week long visit of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The visit concludes on November 1, 1983. What has it brought with it for brothers of Islamic Ummah Iran? To begin with, it brought bouquets of brotherhood and carried a great deal of goodwill. Trade, though secondary in consideration, is for sure an important source of binding further the bonds of brotherhood now existing. It can be made an instrument of injecting enviable and inevitable strength to what that ties the present relationship.

Ten trades being represented by the delegation comprise iron and steel products, pharmaceuticals, drugs and medicines, wool hair, woollen yarn, tobacco, cigarettes, all type of leather including finished crust and wet blue, glue, gelatine, spices, agricultural commodities, tools, workshop equipments, fresh fruits, vegetables, toilet soaps, detergent, sports goods of all kind, industrial airconditioning, ventilation and heating designs and procurement control chemical industry.

The goods being offered by the members of Pakistan's trade delegation are essentially those in which Pakistan has surplus production and, of course, of high quality, acceptable in international trade. Bean bursting production of these articles has been achieved through imaginative production planning intertwined with consistent efforts applied in by all those engaged in their manufacturing activities.

Pakistan offers for sale and supply all these and various other goods and services not just to earn foreign exchange or improve balance of its trade with Iran. The underlying considerations are far beyond money could measure. These goods have already established fairly broad-based markets in several trading partners of Pakistan, and these markets are steadily expanding.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, besides a good neighbour with common borders, shares common conceptual themes and tangible things with Pakistan. Cordiality in their relations has been a historic feature of long lasting

surmounting stormy encounters and shall prove ever lasting indeed. Islam provides foundational strength to it. Peoples of both these countries have burning will for moulding their lives on model presented by common faith Islam. This moving spirit transcending dynamics has brought the two countries closer.

These ties need to be consolidated and flourished through serving economic requirements of each other. It is possible through increasing trade between them. This objective has been a driving force for the trade delegation to come here, assess potentials in person, listen candidly, discuss with keen interest so as to be able to sell more their goods, since these seem to be needed by the people of Iran.

Mutually beneficial economic relations between Iran and Pakistan are not something of a recent emergence. Happy tidings have been in evidence since too long to measure by years. This justifies giving, time to time, a fresh look to what we stand for, with a will to improve upon the past performance. It surely augurs well to record that trade over a year has received a tremendous boost. It is poised to take further positive strides soon and so also in time to come.

Iran now has found many items of its interest to import from Pakistan. As a result, imports by Iran from Pakistan during July 1982-June 1983 period of Pakistan's fiscal year registered a significant surge. In value these imports aggregate over Rs. 4225 million and formed fascinating 5.13 times of the imports made in the corresponding period of 1981-82.

Imports by Pakistan from Iran similarly registered a phenomenal growth over the past year. Iran's exports to Pakistan during July 82-June 83 period also soared by significant 51 times over those of July 81-June 82 period. Iran exported to Pakistan goods worth Rs. 1145 million in 1982-83 as compared with exports aggregating Rs. 22 million in the corresponding period of the previous year. Crude petroleum/mineral oils constituted a single major item of Iran's export to Pakistan. Its sales value stood at Rs. 1134 million. This was followed by sales of plants for perfumes etc.

Iran's imports from Pakistan consist of several consumer items for the common man. It makes for a fairly long list. Some of the important items of Iran's imports from Pakistan have been wheat, rice, food preparations, castor oil seeds, wool raw scoured, sodium nitrate natural, silicate sodium, urea, insecticides, starch, leather and leather goods, craft paper sacks and rolls, silk yarn, silk sarees, woollen yarn, cotton yarn, cotton thread, synthetic yarn, cotton cloth, cotton canvas bleached water proof, cotton prints, blended fabrics under garments and miscellaneous manufactured articles.

These parameters, which they certainly are represent a healthy trend of increasing interest and reflect in effect growing confidence of achieving mutual economic ends through the vehicle of trade between the two brotherly, besides neighbourly countries. Intensifying the present trends is of immense interest for economic strength and welfare of the peoples of the

two countries and it is bound to lend desired support to economic stability and strength of the region. Through trade, the peoples of different countries come to know each other and with increase in trade, their understanding is promoted. Growing outside imperialistic economic influence, fierce in its brute force of exploitation can be first eased out and ultimately driven out by binding strong economic interests through close collaboration and cooperation of regional grouping. Iran and Pakistan can contribute something in this regard, while guarding their own economic well being with open mind and broad vision.

In a year's time from now, Pakistan's steel mills is expected to be on/stream. [as published] With it would step up rolling out of many a machine, fully indigenously manufactured. Soon cement industry will produce more than Pakistan's want. Thus in development activities of Iran, Pakistan can be relied upon as a main source of supply of structural goods and plants, machinery, machine tools and all that can contribute in improved infra-structural facilities.

Relations between Iran and Pakistan stand extended beyond normal trade. As at June 30, 1982 Pakistan owed US \$593,610 million to Iran. Of this, assistance in the form of capital aid provided in 1975-76 amounted to US \$35,430 million. It was followed by similar assistance of US \$150 million in 1976-77. With this assistance, a few industrial projects, have been set up. Iran holds equity interest in Security Papers Ltd; a project which produces bank notes and alike papers for valuable securities. The scope of joint industrial and similar business ventures, so as to cement the existing economic relations is as extensive as of trade itself. Over a year, trade between the two countries has taken a big leap forward and it is expanding well at increasing pace.

CSO: 4600/112

## IRAN

### BAZARGAN'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT BLASTED BY MAJLIS SPEAKER

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 3 Nov 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Tehran—The Iranian Ambassadors and Charge d'Affaires to European and American countries who are now here to attend a seminar, called on Majlis Speaker Hojjatoleslam Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani yesterday.

In this meeting which was also attended by the Foreign Minister Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, the latter presented a report to the Speaker and said that it was decided that Iranian envoys abroad should return home twice a year in order to see the countries affairs for themselves and exchange views with the officials. [as published]

Later Rafsanjani stressed the usefulness of such gatherings and urged the visiting group to mainly rely on facts and realities in their propagation and never offend Islamic teachings.

"Let us staunchly" he observed "follow our Islamic convictions and teachings. On the contrary, those opposing the Islamic Republic are not leaving any stone unturned in using false and deceptive tactics against us. One such opposition group is the Nehzat Azadi (Freedom Movement) which now resorts to a deceptive tactic knowing that they will never win the forthcoming elections for the Majlis.

"It was a few months ago when Mr. Bazargan (the head of the Movement) said, in a speech addressing the Majlis in pre-agenda session, that there is no freedom in this country. This was also broadcast on the Iranian Radio live. One will wonder how there is no freedom while such statement went on the air.

"The same group (Freedom Movement) also declared that it would hold a seminar on Friday (Oct. 28) while it had not obtained permission to do so from the Interior Ministry. The fact is it was never a seminar because they, instead of inviting certain persons, had issued a public communique inviting all people to take part in the gathering.

"These are all calculated tactics against a regime whose best children are now dedicating their lives for the Revolution in the battlefronts.

"Now the committed Moslem people who realized what was going on, gathered in the location for the 'would-be seminar' and did not let them get over with their business.

"One of the movement's members (Hashem Sabbagian) launched another false propaganda on Tuesday's session of the Majlis. The gentleman continued his speech beyond the time limit allowed for a pre-agenda address and it was I who called the opposing deputies to silence so that he could say what he wanted. He then intently clashed with one of the deputies who wanted to stop his speech.

"I do not wish to say that such people (Freedom Movement) are American agents and it is very unlikely. But the fact is that the tactics they have now adopted is very much the same as those taken by elements now residing abroad." [as published]

Regarding the US invasion of Grenada, the Majlis Speaker said that the imperialist power had committed this 'great crime' while it was spouting rhetoric on human rights.

"Plots after plots" he went on saying "are also being concocted against the popular Nicaraguan revolution by the US under the pretext that 'it cannot bear with Communist countries in the area.' Such a statement can never be accepted of course. But judging from the same view, how can the Americans then expect the Moslem and Arab countries to tolerate the presence of Israel as an economic, military and intelligence entity.

Referring to the issue of Hormuz Strait, Hashemi Rafsanjani stressed that if the passage were in the hands of an adventurous country, it would have used it as blackmail against regional states. But, he added, the Islamic Republic of Iran will never resort to such tactics and actions.

The Majlis Speaker also reiterated that both Western and Eastern Super-powers shared one and the same stand as to confronting the Islamic Republic of Iran. They also, added Rafsanjani, take advantage of the chaos created by one another. Let us note that before the US invasion of Grenada, Russia entered some 30,000 of its troops into Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, the Interior Minister Hojjatoleslam Ali Akbar Nateq Nouri who was talking to the daily JOMHOURI ESLAMI on the issue of Nehzat Azadi yesterday said that the group had intentionally named its gathering a 'seminar' in a bid not to obtain permission from the Interior Ministry for meetings and seminars.

He said that he had not agreed with any such meeting by the Nehzat Azadi because "we feared there would be clashes between them and the people."

"However" said Nateq Nouri, "in spite of the fact that we did not grant them permission, the Nehzat had continued to scatter leaflets for the meeting up to last Thursday.

"It was on Friday afternoon when I was informed by people gathered around the premises of the Nehzat that Mr. Bazargan had asked Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani for help on the telephone. That was how the guards of the Islamic Committee went to the place and escorted the movement's members of the Nehzat to their homes."

CSO: 4600/113

TOTAL OF 80 POST OFFICES TO BE OPENED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 20 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] Eighty more additional post offices will be opened in different parts of the country during the current fiscal year, bringing the total to 1339.

Similarly, a sub-post office each in nineteen districts of the country will be opened during the same period. The total at the end of this fiscal year will then be 318.

Meanwhile, it is learnt that postal money order services were extended by the district and sub-post offices, facilitating 126 different individuals or concerns.

During the current financial year, money order system will be introduced in 23 sub-post offices and savings banks opened in 10-district post offices, it is also learnt.

The number of post offices in the country has reached 671.

The total includes five regional directorates, 14 postal control offices, 75 district post offices, 169 additional post offices and 318 sub-post offices.

However only district post office, additional post office and sub-post office handle mail and related documents.

While the zonal postal control office is involved in supervisory and administrative works to ensure smooth intra-zonal postal transactions, the regional postal directorate investigates into offences relating to postal affairs--besides, carrying out inspection and supervision activities.

CSO: 4600/106

MONEY SPENT ON GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENTS IN PRESS LIKELY TO BE WITHDRAWN

Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 26 Oct 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] The government is reportedly considering a plan to doing away with the money given by the Department of Information for its advertisement published in daily and weekly newspapers for what is described as encouraging market competition among the newspapers in the Kingdom, say informed sources here.

The new scheme will have nothing to do with the twin publications of the government, they add.

It is said that a fund will be created out of the money thus saved and given annually in lump sum to newspapers considered best and professional by the government appointed body.

Once the plan is carried out, a number of dailies and weeklies will be losing the monthly one thousand and six hundred rupees which they have been receiving for advertisement from the Department of Information hurting at the same time a number of newspapers which started appearing like mushroom under the 'free license policy' introduced by the Thapa Ministry.

It may be recalled here that the new generation of newspapers have so far been denied the advertisement money and solely depend on advertisement, street sale and what some sarcastically describe the political charity doled out by interested politicians in and outside the government.

Most newspapermen including 53 dailies now in the Nepali newspaper market will be hit hardest unless they can manage to become servile to the government shunning their right to oppose and criticize the government, opine those who have long been in the profession.

CSO: 4600/106

# MINISTER TALKS ABOUT STEEL MILL, OTHER ISSUES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Oct. 29: The Federal Minister for Production Lt. Gen. Saeed Qadir told Majlis-e-Shoora today that the Pakistan Steel Mills was near completion and it would go into full production by the end of the current financial year, 1983-84.

Speaking on the Sixth-Five Year Plan, the Minister pointed out only two units of the mills, hot strip mills and cold roll mills were incomplete and both the units would be completed between March and June 1984. He said by the completion of the Steel Mills the basic industries in the country would have a firm foundation.

He said efforts were also afoot that the country should become self-sufficient in the production of special steel.

He pointed out that to meet the energy crisis in the country the nation should extend its full support and co-operation to the government and the situation could be overcome by conservation of energy. He said that the private consumers should save gas and power in their domestic utilisation so that these resources could largely be used for the industrial development.

The Minister said during his visits to India and China, he had observed that the people were very keen in co-operation with the government in saving energy for productive purpose he said the nation could do it by avoiding unnecessary use of power. He said he himself did not allow the bulbs in his office to be lighted during the day time.

He said the private sector should go ahead in participating in the power generation by setting up small plants.

He said the output in the agricultural sector had been encouraging but still there was lot of potential to be utilised. He said Pakistan was producing 1600 kilogram of wheat per hectare while other advanced agricultural countries were producing to the level of 5000 kg. per hectare. He said if the level of per hectare yield could not be brought upto 5000, it must be brought to about 3200 kg per hectare. He said if this effort succeeded, the country would become prosperous in the production of food grains.

The Production Minister told the House that during the last two years the production of tractors had been raised to 100 per cent. He said during the Sixth Plan

Period this production would be doubled. He said the spare parts of tractors were being manufactured domestically. He said he was confident that the full-fledged tractor manufacturing would start within Pakistan during the next two years.

The Minister said the level of literacy was very low in the country. However he said this task could not be accomplished alone by the government. He said the involvement of the entire nation in this programme was very necessary. He said if every educated citizen of the country was prepared to teach one person in the plan period, the government efforts would succeed. He said in the development of the country the literacy and education had a vital role to play and if the maximum population was literate and educated the development in the country would get a lot of momentum automatically.

He announced that he had given instructions in the industrial units under the Production Ministry to prepare lists of the workers who were illiterate and it would be the responsibility of the managements of the industries to arrange for their education.—APP

CSO: 4600/119

# FINANCE MINISTER ASSURES SHOORA OF EFFORTS FOR INTEREST-FREE ECONOMY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 30: Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs, announced today that a great deal of effort would be made from the next financial year to make the economy of the country interest-free.

Speaking during the "question hour" in the Majlis-e-Shoora this morning, he said the profit and loss sharing (PLS) scheme initiated by the present government brought encouraging results in eliminating interest from all spheres of life.

He said the rate of profit from the PLS accounts had been increasing and remained much higher as compared to other investment schemes. The investment in the PLS accounts showed tremendous increase during the last three years, he added.

To a question from Malik Muhammad Shafi, the Minister said, profit received by an account holder of a scheduled bank from a PLS account was exempted jointly with dividends from other sources up to Rs. 15,000.

The Finance Minister informed the Majlis that in all 41 interest-free loans have been obtained from international organisations and foreign governments during 1981-82 and 1982-83.

Answering another question from Mian Muhammad Naimur Rehman, he also presented a statement before the House showing the details regarding the terms of payment of the said loans.

He said the amount of foreign loans including those repayable in rupees outstanding against the country as on June 30, 1983 amounted to dollar 9,865 million. The average interest and service charges payable over the next 10 years from 1983-84 onwards had been estimated at 284 million dollars per annum, he added.

In a reply to a question from Shahzada Saeedur Rashid Mahmood Abbasi, the Minister told the House that the home remittances received from overseas Pakistanis amounted to 2048,14 million dollar and 256,982 million dollar during 1981 and 1982 respectively.

He said most of the remittances were received from Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait and some other Muslim countries which constituted 75 per cent of the total remittances. The remittances from Saudi Arabia alone were about 50 per cent. The rest of the remittances were from USA, U.K. and other European countries, he added.

Mr. Ishaq Khan told the House that the export of rice, wheat, fruits and vegetables increased remarkably during the last three years due to sound and viable economic policy of the government.

Answering a question from Zahid Hameed Chaudhry, he stated the government took numerous steps to increase the export of these items. He said export of rice, however, decreased last year due to the international recession.

To a question from Malik Muhammad Shafi, he said, the budgeted target of Annual Development Programme (ADP) for 1982-83 was not achieved fully mainly due to operational shortfalls resulting from slow inflow of foreign aid.

He said the revised ADP estimates for 1981-82 and 1982-83 have been placed at Rs. 27 billion and 28.6 billion respectively, he added.

The Finance Minister told the Majlis that deposits of scheduled banks operating in Pakistan as on Oct. 13, 1983 stood at Rs. 108955.696 million.

Replying to a question, he said, foreign exchange reserves as on Oct. 23, 1983 were 1670.2 million dollars. The value of currency notes in circulation as on June 30 each year were Rs. 1974 10,944.9 million, 1977, Rs. 17,221.8 million, 1981, Rs. 37,221.9 million, 1982 Rs. 40,212.1 million and 1983 Rs. 48,480.2 million. [as published]

He told a questioner that the closing balance of the Central Zakat fund as on July 28, 1983 was Rs. 1,265,630,878.47, which he added, was in the custody of the State Bank as trust.

To a question from Zain Noorani, the Minister said, due date for inviting international tenders for the Chashmasnuclear power projects has been extended to Dec. 31, 1983. He said actual work on the project will start after signing of the contract with the successful bidder and necessary financing arranged. The project was estimated to take about seven years to complete, he added.

Speaking in the debate a woman member from Karachi Begum Isphahani praised the Minister for providing a huge development programme for the women, she however, expressed apprehensions that the implementation of such a big programme would not be possible. [as published] She said due attention should be paid on providing educational and recreational facilities to our youth which she claimed had always been neglected, it was because of the lack of proper recreation and other facilities to the young people that cases of vandalism, hooliganism and terrorism were increasing. [as published] She said the youth of the country needed recreation and distraction

side by side with their work and studies. The open areas in the rural areas of the country, she suggested, be utilised as play grounds for the children. She emphasised on a sensible use of the country's natural resources for the development and the economic betterment of the people.

Mehbubul Haq, Minister for Planning and Development speaking during the question hour said the government intended to set up an agro-industries investment centre for the development of agro-industries in the country.

The Minister maintained that a comprehensive strategy had also been laid down in the Sixth Five-Year Plan to this effect. A total allocation of Rs. 15,881 million has been provided for agro, small and rural industries in the plan. [as published]

**Balanced Development:** The Federal Minister for Food and Agriculture Vice Admiral Mohammad Fazil Janjua told the Shoora that balanced development would be attained in all major crops and areas during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The Minister participating in a debate on the Sixth Plan said this scheme would cover all kinds of land whether Barani or irrigated. He said an integrated scheme would be launched to achieve at least five per cent development in all the crops. The government keenly desired to improve the lot of small farmers who would be fully rewarded for their hard work and assured that no arbitrary ejection would be allowed.

The Minister said the investment of zamindars would also be ensured full protection.

He said special attention would be given to the agro-based industries and an attempt would be made to secure more than one crop from the land and improve the existing structure.

CSO: 4600/120

SIX MORE MINISTERS IN NWFP CABINET

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Oct 83 p 1

[Text]

PESHAWAR, Oct. 26: Six more Ministers were sworn in today at the Governor's House to bring the strength of the provincial Cabinet to 11.

The NWFP Governor Lt. Gen. Fazle Haq administered the oath of office to the new Ministers.

The Ministers, who were sworn in today, are Zafar Ali Khan, former adviser to the provincial Governor, Dr. Khalid Reza, P. Sahib of Zakoori Sharif, Nawabzada Azmat Ali Khan, Haq Nawaz Khan, Maj. Gen. (Retd) Abdi Zahid and Nawab Ali.

Provincial Ministers, Judges of the high court, councillors and high government officials attended the swearing in ceremony at the Darbar Hall of the Governor's House.

Later talking to newsmen the provincial Governor Lt. Gen. Fazle Haq said that portfolios of the

Ministers will be announced tomorrow by the senior minister Arbab Jehangir Khan.

The Governor told a questioner that the Provincial Council would also be expanded within about 10 days. The next session of the Provincial Council will be held towards the end of November and its duration would be about four days to enable the members to express their opinions on various matters of importance to the province.

The session would be held in Peshawar, he added.

**CABINET MEETS:** A brief Cabinet meeting was held today, after the induction of the new Ministers into the Provincial Council of Ministers.

The NWFP Governor, Lt. Gen. Fazle Haq presided over the meeting, held at the Governor's House.

-APP

CSO: 4600/116

PAKISTAN

REMOVING MISUNDERSTANDINGS WITH USSR, INDIA STRONGLY URGED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 20 Oct 83 p 34

[In the "Press Round-Up" column from an article by Juma Khan, AMAN, 14 Oct]

[Text]

IT IS MY considered view that a country's military weakness never invites its stronger neighbours to commit aggression against it. Had it not been possible for weak nations to survive, India or China might have gobbled up Nepal and the former would never have recalled its troops from Bangladesh and taken over Sri Lanka after the recent pogrom of citizens of Indian origin there. Pakistan would have annexed Afghanistan long ago, there would have been no Albania and a pro-American Government would have been installed in Cuba years ago or it might have become an American colony.

We have a very strong army. We have no shortage of manpower but our economic condition does not permit us to fight even a limited war. On the other hand, we have India and the Soviet Union which are far stronger than us militarily. Their manpower

resources are richer than ours and their economies infinitely better.

The Russians and the Afghans have on several occasions charged at the United Nations that Pakistan trains the mujahideen and provides them with arms. We have contradicted these charges again and again. Now the Indian Government has alleged that we are helping the Sikhistan movement in East Punjab. We have strongly dismissed this charge also but, in international relations, contradictions alone do not settle complaints. We should send high-powered delegations to both these countries to clarify our position and remove misunderstandings so that mountains are not made of molehills and we secure ourselves against the dangers of war.—From an article by Juma Khan, AMAN, Oct. 14.

CSO: 4600/110

## COUNTRY'S SECURITY NEEDS, RELATIONS WITH INDIA DISCUSSED

GF132002 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 3 Nov 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Security Needs"]

[Text] Former Foreign Minister Agha Shahi formulated the principles that all countries should recognize the sovereignty of others on equal bases and that no country should try to impose its hegemony over another country or interfere in others internal affairs to improve cooperation among the South Asian countries. In this respect he said that India was the largest country in this region, its population was 77 percent of the total population of the region, its gross nation product equal to 78 percent of total gross national product of the countries of the region, and its area equal to 72 percent of the total area of the region. Therefore, India should play an outstanding role in this region. But India, from the very beginning, has been involved in the mania of asserting its hegemony over this region and considers Pakistan the biggest obstacle in achieving this goal.

In contrast to this, Pakistan wants to have peaceful coexistence with India based on equality. What could be more evident of its sincerity in this respect than the open-hearted offer of signing a nonaggression pact with India and its readiness to reach an agreement with India on the question of reducing arms. But India turned down both of these proposals. While it has offered Pakistan a friendship treaty which contains conditions harmful to Pakistan's independence. The difference between the policies of these two countries is apparent. Pakistan wants relations based on equality, while India wants all the smaller countries of the region to toe its line.

Agha Shahi has also pointed out the obstacles which exist in establishing good relations between India and Pakistan. To begin with, India considers Pakistan as the biggest obstacle in its expansionist schemes. It is for this reason that relations between the two countries have remained strained from the very beginning. Moreover, India is suffering from the mania of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries of the region and considers such intervention as its right. Thirdly, India's stand on some international problems, including that of Afghanistan, is an obstacle in improving the political atmosphere in this region. Pakistan, like a majority of world countries, considers the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan as a serious threat to the future of the region, and this presses for a

political solution of Afghanistan problem. But India considers the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan as the Soviet Union's right. India has two aims in this stand, on the one hand it wants to please the Soviet Union and on the other hand India itself has the intention of similar intervention in its neighboring countries.

In the light of this analysis by Agha Shahi, one can conclude that Pakistan should strengthen itself to the utmost of its capabilities. A notable Pakistani diplomat, Mr Sajjad Haider, has made a very shrewd remark in this connection. He said, "If you are weak, your bigger neighbors will consider it as their right to interfere in your internal affairs." It is for this reason that India continues to criticize Pakistan's efforts to strengthen its defenses, although the strength of India's armed forces is far greater than the total defense strength of the other six countries of South Asia. Because of this, Pakistan's continued existence rests on its internal unity and strong defense. It should become an invincible country of the region.

CSO: 4656/39

## PLANNING MINISTER CRITICIZED FOR NOT CONSULTING LABOR LEADERS ON SIXTH PLAN

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 26: Begum Sabiha Shakil, taking part in the debate on the Sixth Five Year Plan, criticised the Minister for Planning and Development for not consulting the labour leaders on the next five year plan.

She said that the worthy Minister had earlier said that he would bridge the gap between the rich and the poor and the plan will be in the greater interest of the masses. But she regretted that the Minister did not make any attempt for consultations with the labour leaders who were according to her, the major component of the industrial growth and for the maintenance of its pace. She said that there are three things which are vital in the country economy including the man, material and machinery. But she pointed out that the Planning Minister had not bothered about the human aspect as far as the plan was concerned, she said that the Minister did consult the industrialists, agriculturists, traders, but the representatives of the labour have been totally ignored. [as published] She also complained that there is no provision for the Education of children of the poor workers and labours who have to roam about knocking doors of various educational institutions in the country for their admission. [as published] She demanded that the education institutions nationalised by the previous regime, which were the property of the industrialists and were meant for the education of the workers, be denationalised.

She said that the Government is receiving Rs. 100 as cess money per labour from the industrialists but that amount was not spent on the education of the workers children. [as published] No provision has also been made for the providing residential accommodation to the labourers and workers, she added.

She said it appears that the workers' class has been treated as third class citizens of the country and as such no contact has been made with them and neither they enjoy those facilities which are enjoyed by the other privileged classes.

She regretted that although a Labour Standing Committee was set up on which she is also a member, but except two or three meetings, the body has

remained ineffective. Similarly now it is said that the new labour policy will be formulated by the next elected government whereas as during the past six years numerous promises had been made for the new labour policy.--PPI

CSO: 4600/117

## OVER DEPENDENCE ON AMERICAN KNOW HOW CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 20 Oct 83 pp 7, 8

[Text] **WHENEVER** Pakistan has entered what could be titled the Thank-you-America phase of its history, one witnesses the strange phenomenon of every tin-pot bureaucrat trying to burden Government's American friends with a vast variety of responsibilities.

All sorts of chores, including menial jobs that do not require high technology and which could easily, with a little diligence, be accomplished without alien experts or dollops of foreign exchange, are put on the agenda for U.S. aid and assistance. The latest example of such xenomania is provided by a Pakistani organization having entered into an agreement with Brinks Inc. — reputed to be America's largest currency transportation firm — so that the new Pak-American combine can provide guarantees of safe transport to Pakistani banks. It is proposed to set up a firm in which Brinks will hold 40 per cent shares and will make their technical services available, even providing the armoured cars needed to transport currency from bank to bank under conditions of safety. The American firm is already reported to be operating in 35 other countries, although its cars have sometimes been held up and looted.

**Need for security**

It is true, of course, that the security system at present in operation in Pakistan for banks and other firms needing to transport large sums of money is not very secure. It is also a

fact that, over recent years, the number of bank robberies — a few during the transportation of currency — has escalated. It is equally relevant that American firms have vast experience in dealing with this brand of crime, because since the Mafia entered the American world in a big way during the prohibition, organized Big Crime competes with the country's big business in its turnover and the spread of its operations. Robbing banks is a common pastime, generally for small-time crooks.

**Local problems**

However, the point to make is that the problems faced by the Pakistani banks are not of a nature that cannot be dealt with within the ambit of local resources. In Pakistan, perhaps the bigger bank robberies have taken place with the connivance of bank employees, through forgeries and other frauds. The more straightforward robberies are possible only because of gross inefficiency among the managers, who have either never received or tend to ignore the instructions given in respect of elementary security measures. The gunmen employed as chowkidars are usually superannuated and untrained and could well be regarded as evidence of the banks' willingness to be robbed with a little earnest effort. These and related shortcomings are easily remediable. Even armoured cars, if required, can be purchased or fabricated locally. It might also be taken into consideration that after nationalization much of the proliferation of bank branches, in

the competition between State-owned banks bearing different names, has been totally unnecessary, thereby inviting an influx of under-trained employees whose venture into banking was often accidental — and not always with honest intent. A little rationalization of the functioning of banks at different levels would certainly make it a simple operation to ensure that

banks can function in safety and security.

Pakistan should certainly take advantage of foreign help where it is really required, but to do so — presumably because of the perks and side-kicks thus made available — when indigenous arrangements or effort can suffice leads to a harmful expansion of needless dependence.

CSO: 4600/110

# LEADER SAYS NON-PARTY ELECTIONS WILL CREATE CONFUSION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Oct 83 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Oct. 27: Rana Zafarullah Khan, acting President of the defunct Pakistan Democratic Party and a central leader of MRD, has said that general elections, if held on a non-party basis, would serve no purpose and instead would create a state of confusion in the country.

These views were expressed by him at a Press conference here today.

He urged President Ziaul Haq to release all the political leaders, detainees and prisoners who have been arrested without any reason, lift the ban on political parties and hold elections by March 1984. Replying to a question, Rana Zafarullah Khan contradicted reports of a meeting of the party chief, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan with any government emissary in the recent past. He said no such meeting had ever been held nor was there any chance of it.

Condemning incidents of bomb blasts in the city, he said, neither it was our programme to resort to such actions. He said it was very surprising to note that no police person

was injured in the bomb blast at Bhati Gate. He also condemned police violence on peaceful workers at the Lahore Railway station last evening.

The PDP Acting President said that he recently undertook a tour of troubled areas of Sindh under instructions from the party President and came to know that the situation in some areas including Qazi Ahmad, Sakrand, Nawab Shah, Moro and Badin was very tense. He said people of Sindh had great love for Pakistan and categorically denied the existence of any separatist movement there. He said it was wrong to say that the Movement in Sindh was the movement of PPP alone. This thinking, he said, was absolutely wrong because the Sindh Awami Tehrik was actively engaged in the movement and it had a massive support. Other parties, he said, were also involved in it.

To another question, Rana Zafarullah Khan said MRD does not believe in violence.

CSO: 4600/117

LABOR LEADERS PRESS DEMAND, THREATEN TO CUT OFF POWER SUPPLY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 83 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Oct. 28: The All Pakistan Federation of Trade Unions has given a stern warning to the authorities that if a positive decision on their memorandum is not taken in the next meeting of the Federal Cabinet, the Federation will have no alternative except resort to token strike during which supply of power will be suspended throughout the country.

This was stated by Bashir Ahmad Bakhtiar, President of APFTU, at a Press conference at the Labour Hall here this morning.

Giving details of his talks with the Federal Finance Minister in Islamabad yesterday, the veteran labour leader said that the Minister gave patient hearing to the Federation's delegation, which included Khurshid Ahmad and Mian Mohammad Munir, and informed it that since a colossal amount was required to meet the demands, the government had no resources to meet them. He said the Minister also informed the delegation that as he had no power to take any decision on these demands, it would be tabled before the Cabinet at its next meeting.

The APFTU President said, "We will wait for decision on the demands put forward to the government and in case no attention was paid, the responsibility of direct action by the workers would entirely rest with the authorities".

He said the labour movement

had two principles, firstly to make efforts for a peaceful settlement of the problems through a dialogue with the concerned quarters in an atmosphere of understanding and added that this course had had no positive response.

The other course, he said, was resorting to strike which would have to be adopted, suspension of power supply throughout the country for a shorter period, so that general public may not face any problem. However, national security, which was of great importance, would also be taken into account before adopting the second course.

Referring to the problems faced by the salaried people in the wake of present price hike he described increase in salaries as very nominal adding that in Rs. 440, being starting salary of scale 1, no house in big cities was available, what to talk of other daily necessities of life.

He said the minimum salary of a worker be fixed at Rs. 2,100, which was hardly sufficient to meet the bare necessities of life.

He alleged that the interest of capitalists, jagirdars and black-marketeers was very dear to the government but it did nothing for the workers, which was against the principles of Islamic equality. He said that the Federation would hold a protest meeting before resorting to the last measure.

CSO: 4600/118

ML LEADER SAYS TALKS WITH GOVERNMENT 'SHEER WASTE OF TIME'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Oct 83 p 8

[Text]

PESHAWAR, Oct. 30: The Provincial President of the defunct PML (Pagara Group), who was a member of the Pir's team for the dialogue with the President, has said that the exercise has been a sheer waste of time as it was not likely to serve any useful purpose.

Talking to newsmen here today he said that what he had been able to gather from these parleys was that the present government was not at all sincere in holding the elections on any basis and it just wanted to gain time through meeting this party and that. His party, he said, was vehemently opposed to the holding of elections on non-party basis because it believed that this could lead to terrible consequences. The situation, he suggested, demanded that the central high command of the Muslim League, instead of being a silent spectator to what was happening around should review its policy and take a bold and realistic stand. The Muslim League, he claimed, has always been champion of democracy and as such should not compromise its principles. He feared that in case the party failed

to play its full and positive role in the present crisis the sufferer would not only be the party itself but the country also.

The PML leader also accused the government of trying to break up the Muslim League. Otherwise, he pointed out, it would not have held meetings with those who had no political status and were just exploiting the Muslim League label. He said that it was because of the ban on the political parties that unknown groups and individuals were also being entertained by the government while at the same time the regional slogans were also being heard from the smaller provinces. He also expressed surprise over what he described the indifferent attitude of the government over the situation in Sind.

Mian Iqbal said that political parties and activities should be revived immediately to pave the way for holding the general election under the 1973 Constitution by March next at the latest and whatever the mandate of the people it should be accepted in all fairness. The 1973 Constitution, he added, is a must.

CSO: 4600/120

# GHAFOR URGES ALL PARTIES TO UNITE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Oct 83 p 8

[Text] Karachi, Oct. 29: Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed, Naib Amir of defunct Jamaat-e-Islami today appealed to all political parties to "unanimously make concerted efforts for holding elections in the country by March 1984.

"All the parties should end their differences and help create conditions for free, fair and impartial elections in the country so that power is transferred to the elected representatives of the people", he said while speaking in the "meet the Press" programme organised at the Karachi Press Club.

The Jamaat leader said his party would never close its doors for talks.

He said all parties should be allowed to contest elections including the defunct PPP. "We oppose elections on non-party basis".

He said the J.I. was not the only party which favoured elections on proportionate representations. The defunct PPP, JUI and PML also favoured this system of elections, he added.

Replying to a question, Prof. Ghafoor said his party feels that the 1973 Constitution should be implemented without any amendments, it should first take all the political parties into confidence.

He told another questioner that autonomy given to the provinces in the 1973 Constitution was sufficient. But he regretted that the provinces were never given this autonomy by the PPP government which made "unilateral amendments in the constitution".

The Jamaat-leader recalled that if the PPP had not insisted on making changes on minor points during talks with PNA in July, 1977, there would have been no martial law in the country. He explained that PNA and PPP delegations had nearly reached agreement on July 3, 1977 but the latter (PPP) insisted on making changes on minor points which delayed signing of the agreement.

Replying to a question he said in spite of the excesses committed by the PPP during its five-year rule including violation of 1973 constitution "we are still prepared to talk to them. The PPP must publicly accept responsibility of excesses done during their rule and promise not to repeat the same in future. We should forget the past and think about the future", he added.--PPI

CSO: 4600/119

# SIXTH PLAN UNDER CRITICISM IN SHOORA

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Oct 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 29: The Majlis-e-Shoora today continued debate on the Sixth Five-Year Plan and a number of speakers suggested that the plan be "more effective, realistic and practicable."

Zain Noorani, a member from Karachi, described the plan as nothing short of poetry. He said it was the work of a dreamer who in the next five years wants to make Pakistan, a land where "manna" will flow from the heavens and no one will be lacking in human needs. He expressed apprehension that half way through the plan the country will have to give a second thought to it and the plan may be reduced from its present size and outlay.

Emphasising that the allocation made in the private and public sector were impossible to meet, he said, the Sixth Five-Year plan of Rs. 490 billion was one hundred per cent larger than the Fifth Five-Year plan. It, he said, relied on two distinct pillars for its success, the public sector which is expected to finance 59 per cent and the private sector 41 per cent. He said he was not sure as to how the public sector would be able to meet the 59 per cent of the finance without some sort of miracle as its performance so far did not warrant much confidence. Similarly about the performance of private sector to the expectations of the planners did not look feasible as according to him it was not prepared to accept the responsibility of providing the 41 per cent of the total outlay of the plan. He listed two reasons for it, the first relating to the steady devaluation of the rupee in relation to the dollar according to which every new project will cost 34 per cent more in its rupee investment. Secondly while the implementation of the plan will depend on 7 per cent increase in the national budget annually, the private sector investment must rise by 17 per cent every year. This, he said, could only be expected to materialise if a considerable tax relief is provided to the private sector which he said would not be forthcoming. In view of the situation, to expect from the private sector that it would be able to start off from 41 per cent and go up to 91 per cent in the final year of the plan was like "crying for the moon."

He said it was being asserted that the reliance on foreign aid which was as high as 70 per cent sometimes back has now to fallen to 20 per cent.

[as published] Though, he added, it was an encouraging sign it should also be remembered that the total outlay of the plan was 100 per cent more than the last one and thus in actual terms the country will be needing much more foreign assistance than that of what was being projected now. He said in a situation where the main donor Western countries were confronted with difficult economic problems, the international lending agencies like World Bank, the IMF and the UNDP were having serious budgetary constraints and the economic position of the OPEC nations was not healthy as one could hope as such the quantum of foreign aid required for financing the plan would be much difficult to obtain. [as published]

Talking about the foreign remittances, he said, the pious hope that these will keep rising by 10 per cent annually and reach 4.6 billion dollars in 1988 was over optimistic. He said the 'gold rush' is over as oil was no more the prime produce, the Gulf countries were reducing their development projects and our labour force has started coming back. The full impact of this, he said, will be visible in the next two years. He said even if these fears were not true the amount of 4.6 billion dollars could not be expected to be available for the Sixth five-year plan as the 60 per cent of the total remittances were already being spent on consumer goods.

He said out of the total allocation of Rs. 116.5 billion Rs. 53 billion have been reserved for increasing power generating capacity by 3800 MW to 8600 MW. Roughly 83 per cent of the enhanced power capacity would be thermal consuming the major portion of the planned expenditure. He said as the thermal stations are run on oil the Minister concerned should also tell the nation as to how much more foreign exchange would be required to import the additional quantity of oil for these stations, and at what cost the power will be available to the consumers.

He demanded the immediate implementation of Chasma Nuclear Project for which he said, a nominal amount of Rs. 8 billion was allocated with the intention that the project will be completed in the 7th plan period.

Relief Goods: Earlier, the Interior Minister, Mr. Mahmood A. Haroon told the House that relief goods were duly distributed among the Afghan refugees.

Another adjournment motion sought to be moved by Hafiz Mohammad Taqi about the sale of liquor to the foreigners in the hotels was ruled out of order. The Minister of Tourism, Arbab Niaz Mohammad told the House that the liquor was sold to non-Muslims under the 1977 Prohibition Act and the liquor was imported by the hotels by the foreign exchange earned by them.

During the question hour, the Federal Minister for Water and Power, Raja Sikandar Zaman, said that it had been proposed to increase to make it 6849 by the end of the sixth Five-year plan.

The Federal Industries Minister, Elahi Bakhsh Soomr also told the House that the government had sanctioned five units for producing writing and printing paper in the country with over 51,500 tons capacity. He said the existing capacity of the paper mills was 47,500 tons.

CSO: 4600/119

SHOORA PROCEEDINGS: LAND REFORMS DEBATED, CONFLICTING VIEWS AIRED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Oct. 27: Continuing debate on Sixth Five-Year Plan on fourth day today, member of Majlis-e-Shoora today appreciated allocation of larger funds to smaller provinces and hoped it would go a long way in rectifying neglect of the past.

Nine members including Minister for Petroleum and Natural Resources Rao Farman Ali participated in the debate. Chairman Majlis-e-Shoora Khwaja Mohammad Safdar presided.

Several members emphasised the need for effective steps to ensure full utilisation of funds allocated in the plan.

Conflicting views were expressed on the question of land reforms. Those supporting land reforms said the previous reforms during 60s and 70s had hardly made any impact on socio-economic pattern of rural life.

Mian Mohammad Shafi strongly advocating fresh package of land reforms said in the past the tenants received only three out of 1,000 acres of land affected by reforms.

Mir Nawaz Khan Marwat opposed any move for land reforms or nationalisation of industry and suggested firm legal protection in this regard so that investors' confidence could be restored.

Maj. Gen. (Retd) Rao Farman Ali Khan participating in the debate said the plan laid particular emphasis on the greater exploitation of all energy resources to reduce pressure on oil and gas.

He said by the end of plan period gas production would be raised to 1331.97 million cubic feet and oil to 20,833 barrels per day as against existing 950 million cubic feet and 1400 to 1500 barrels per day respectively.

Dr. Abdul Khaliq underlined the need for improving working conditions of teachers for effective realisation of plan targets in education sector.

Khar Pir Mohammad demanded reduction in price of fertilizers and grant of subsidy in purchase of tractors.

Others who spoke today included Mushtaq Ahmed Qureshi, Ch. Nisar Ali Khan, Abdur Razak Rajwani and Mian Mohammad Akhtar.

Taking the floor, Dr. Abdul Khalid said, government had assigned top priority to the education sector but the goals could not be achieved till the teacher was given due status in the society. He regretted that a teacher who was a builder of the nation was being ignored in the society.

Khan Pir Mohammad Khan suggested that NWFP had adequate potentials for producing electricity and government should exploit these resources. He said the government should also encourage afforestation to stop silting of Tarbela Dam.

Mir Nawaz Khan Marwat congratulated Dr. Mahbubul Haq for preparing an excellent development plan for the country. He said Baluchistan was ignored in the past.

He said there was no further need of introducing land reforms. He said the present government should promulgate laws declaring that neither further nationalisation of industry would take place nor any land reforms would be enforced. The step, he said, would restore confidence among the investors, industrialists and agriculturists for bringing more investment in these sectors.

**POLICE WORKING:** The government intended to separate

the prosecution agency of the police from the police department.

This information was given to the Shoora by Mahmood A. Haroon, Minister for Interior during the "question hour" this morning. He said separation will first be introduced on trial basis in Islamabad and one in each district in all the four provinces. He said "if it was proved successful, it would be extended to the rest of the country. The question was asked by Mrs. Ameena Ashraf.

To a question from the same member, the Interior Minister informed the House that 42,724 Afghan refugees have so far been shifted from NWFP to Punjab in Isa Khel tehsil, district Mianwali.

No Afghan refugee had been shifted to the province of Sind.

In reply to a question from Maj. Gen. (Retd) Qamar Ali Mirza, the Interior Minister denied that all foreign embassies in Islamabad have been provided with armed guards.

Answering question about murderers of Malik Shahzada Khan Halimzai, a former member of the Majlis, the Minister answered that the investigation of the case was in progress. Clues of some of the culprits, who belonged to Tribal Areas have been found, he added.

He further said that four suspects were arrested and handed over by the political agent, Khyber to the NWFP police. They were, however, subsequently found innocent and released, he added.

Answering a question from Mian Muhammad Naim-ur-Rehman, the Interior Minister stated that investigation in connection with the recovery of "sam" missile from the residence of Aftab Gul, Advocate was in progress and being conducted by the Crime Branch Punjab, Lahore. - APP

CALL FOR ALLOWING SHOORA MEMBERS TO FORM PARTY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 30: Aslam Khattak, a former Governor of the NWFP and member of Majlis-e-Shoora, has reiterated his demand that if the elections in the country are to be held on party basis, the members of the Majlis-e-Shoora should be allowed to form a political party of their own as under the party system they would be stripped of any political status.

Talking to newsmen informally in the Majlis cafeteria the NWFP leader was apprehensive about the political future of the F.C. member as according to his assessment no political party would accommodate them in any of the elections held on party basis.

In a situation like this, he said, it was imperative that the Majlis members should forge a greater unity among their ranks and organise themselves into a political party to contest the general election. He said he had already consulted a number of F.C. members and they all agreed to his proposal. He appealed to the government to accord permission to them and the F.C. Presidential Order may accordingly be amended.

He also expressed the view that till the time of holding of general election and establishment of a national parliament in the country the present Majlis-e-Shoora should be accorded the status of a full-fledged national assembly. It should have its leader of the House and should elect its own Speaker. This, he added, would enhance the prestige of the House and make it more responsible.

Without elaborating his views about the system of the elections, he said he had been contesting elections as an independent candidate for a number of years and was always successful but he thought that contesting elections independently was not possible under the prevailing situation. Sounding a note of urgency the ex-provincial Governor called for immediate political steps to solve the problems.

CSO: 4600/120

# OFFICIAL TALKS ABOUT PLANS FOR EDUCATION IN BALUCHISTAN

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Oct 83 p 6

[Text] Quetta, Oct. 30 A total amount of Rs. 943.519 million will be spent in Baluchistan in the education sector during the Sixth Plan Period 1983-88).

The maximum allocation, Rs. 308.41 [last digit illegible] or 37 percent has been made for the primary education, while secondary education, with 28 per cent (Rs. 242.250 million) comes next.

This was stated by Baluchistan Secretary for Education Syed Mazaffar Ali Shah at a radio news conference broadcast on Friday night from the Quetta station of Radio Pakistan.

The Education Secretary said that during the Sixth Plan Period, the total number of primary educational institutions would rise to 5,500, covering almost all the villages of sizeable population in the province. The present number of sanctioned primary schools, including mosque schools, has grown to 3,096 (2626 boys and 470 girls).

The secretary said that 2,000 mosque schools would be opened during the Plan period. In addition, 300 boys and 200 separate girls primary schools, 15 urban primary schools and 200 mohallah schools will be opened.

Dealing with the secondary education he said that a total amount of Rs. 67 million would be spent in this sector. At present there are 353 middle and 171 high schools. During the period, 250 primary schools (200 of boys and 50 of girls) would be upgraded to middle standard, while 50 middle schools (40 of boys and 10 of girls) would be raised to high standard.

Fifteen new high schools (10 of boys and 5 of girls) will be opened. The present enrolment of 41,570 would rise to about 60,000 by 1988, he stated.

As far as higher education is concerned, no new college will be opened. However, colleges opened by the previous regime on political ground will be consolidated, he stated.

Supplementary readers would be provided to the mosque schools to improve the standard of education in these institutions.

The Education Secretary further said that greater attention would be given to the quality of education. Under this policy, one model primary school would be opened in each district headquarter and one secondary model school in each divisional headquarter, where admission would be strictly on merit basis. [as published] Education would be free in these model schools so that the children of the poor could also draw their benefits.

He agreed with a correspondent that the standard of education was deteriorating in spite of increased facilities. But he said all were to be blamed equally the parents, the teachers and the taught.

The Education Secretary also referred to the scarcity of staff, especially science teachers, for which the government was seeking assistance of other provinces by offering greater concessions and facilities.

Replying to a question, the Education Secretary said greater efforts would also be made for the promotion of adult education in the province on the 10-point programme given by President Ziaul Haq, on which an amount of Rs. 42 million were to be spent in the country during the Plan period, in which 10,000 centres are to be opened. [as published]

He told correspondent that the present literacy percentage in the province stood at 8.2 as compared to 23.3 per cent for the whole country. It has improved by two per cent during the past five years, he said.

He told another questioner that there were in all 20 private educational institutions, including a college, in the province, and an amount of Rs. 50 million is given to them as grant-in-aid.

Giving a resume of the Fifth Plan, he said a total amount of Rs. 260.13 million was spent on education, and the target fixed had been achieved. 984 new primary schools, including 500 mosque schools, were opened, and 80 primary schools had been upgraded to middle standard. The number of students have gone up from 1,47,000 to 1,79,000.--APP [as published]

CSO: 4600/120

# LEADER PRESENTS FORMULA TO RESOLVE CRISIS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 30: Sardar Abdul Qayyum, a former President of Azad Kashmir and a senior politician, has suggested a four-point formula for resolving what he described the serious political crisis confronting the country. He warned that if the prevailing political impasse was not broken immediately it would not only have serious repercussions for the Muslims living in occupied Kashmir but also to the entire Muslim world, which according to him, was worried about the future of Pakistan.

Explaining his formula, Sardar Qayyum told a Press conference here this morning that it would not only provide the continuity, individual and collective safeguards, a stable political government but also pave the way for a peaceful and smooth transfer of power from the Martial Law to a civilian government.

He said the process suggested by him would ensure the continuity of the administration, the retention of which was very important because any sudden change in the government will be disastrous for the country. It would also relieve the nation from the prevailing political suffocation and ultimately lead to a broader political understanding necessary for holding of free and fair elections and smooth transfer of power. He said the prevailing situation of uncertainty should not be allowed to continue on any pretext including that of enforcement of Islam, which he said was an evolutionary process and required at least half a century. A representative political government, he said, would be in a better position to enforce Islamic system in the country as it would have active participation of the people.

Sardar Qayyum said there was no use of the talks going on between some political parties and the President as according to him it was nothing more than exchanging views. The political parleys in a serious atmosphere could only be held with what he said effective and major political parties, including the MRD. He said either one liked it or not it was a fact that the parties constituting the MRD were the effective political parties and without associating them no problem could be solved. He specially mentioned

the PPP in this connection and said the apprehensions that if that party came to power as a result of elections it would take revenge were without any substance. He said this was not the problem which party would come to power, the real problem was through what means a party came to power. Only free and fair elections in the country were the sole answer supervision of a new Chief Executive within a specified period it would be easy for the political parties to offer their cooperation for their success. [as published]

He said the situation demanded immediate action and one should not wait for a country-wide movement to start. If the agitation is subsided it should not be mistaken as a proof to the popularity of the regime. According to him, it was due to some other reasons.

Sardar Qayyum opposed the idea of holding of elections on non-party basis and said such elections would be devoid of any representative character. He also opposed the contention that only registered parties should be allowed to contest the elections. He said it was meaningless to talk about the registered and non-registered parties in the changed situation, as any elections without the participation of MRD would not be elections in the real sense.

Replying to a question he admitted that the bulk of our army wanted to keep aloof from politics. He said if his proposals were accepted he would willingly offer his services for their implementation.

CSO: 4600/120

# REGIME-POLITICIANS TALKS TERMED 'DIALOGUE OF THE DEAF'

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 20 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by Ayaz Amir]

[Text]

THE JUP, the Pagara League, the Jamaat-i-Islami and Maulana Kausar Niazi's Progressive Peoples Party (whose writ extends no further than the spacious lawns of his two large houses in Islamabad) will not be able to plead innocent when the time for doing so arrives. They are engaged in a deadly serious game whose purpose is no less than to dupe the people of this country. The JUL (Darkhwasti Group) for once since its split did the right thing and avoided harakiri. Maulana Obaidullah Anwar had to suffer a stroke in order to make this possible but if ever a 'heart attack' served a lofty purpose, this was the occasion.

## A prisoner

I knew it before but the day Maulana Noorani, along with his high command, gave his Press interview after they had met the CMLA-President, I saw it with my own eyes that the Maulana is a prisoner of his General Secretary or his General Council, for left to himself and his instincts he would pursue a different path. This was my impression when I saw the Maulana hemmed in by his colleagues on the sofa in Pir Barkat's house. To every subtle disclaimer of his about any tangible progress in the talks, Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi would interject with a psychological qualification while Lt.-Gen. (Retd.) K.M. Azhar, who looked a Trojan horse

in that crowd, would weigh in with a blunderbuss. Or it may well be that the Maulana, who has never been accused of being dull, is just putting on the cloak of a helpless martyr.

The Government, however, could have chosen nothing better to obscure the prospect and to confuse things generally than by solemnly initiating a process of talks with a more sublimely irrelevant crew. And even to this crew it has not given anything more than it deserved. The JUP was merely told that there was 'logic and weight' in their submissions (Maulana Niazi seemed quite happy about this), but that the CMLA-President after talking to the other parties would make his announcement (whatever it signifies) some time in November. This was the most Gen. Zia conceded by way of consolation.

## He knows the ball game

It must be said, however, that Maulana Sattar Niazi seems quite aware of the ball game. It was he who told the CMLA-President (this came out in the Press conference) that the military Government was like a 'cold hell' in which everything was swallowed and quietly digested. The only person I am prepared to take at his word is Gen. K.M. Azhar who looked as if he was chairing a meeting of the Pakistan Football Federation.

But for this month at least we seem to be in for an extended dialogue of the deaf. After the Pir of Pagara will come the Jamaat-i-Islami, a formality in both cases, since both entities have been frequent guests at the COAS House. Maulana Kausar Niazi is also tipped to make a solemn entrance and so is the Khaksar chief, Khan Ashraf Khan, who has never had the pretext of a party behind him but somehow always makes it in times such as these.

What will be gained at the end of this elaborate exercise is perhaps known only to a few people in quarters which matter. This much is certain that even the participants hope for nothing better than to buy time and to slow-poison the civil disobedience movement. Whether events actually happen in the way this draft solution foresees is another matter but at least this is the general game plan.

#### Few signs

A serious and sincere effort to resolve the crisis would require a genuine dialogue but of that there are precious few signs. The MRD and the Government, the two principal factors in the present situation, are speaking on entirely different wavelengths. The question has never been one of agreeing on a date for general elections for if that had been the only matter of dispute, it would have been settled with a bit of give-and-take. The differences are conceptual and philosophical.

When the MRD talks of elections it means general elections on the

basis of one-man, one-vote. When the Government talks of elections, it has a host of riders and disqualifications in mind. While the MRD refers to a peaceful transfer of power, the Government has 'positive results' in mind. The MRD's Constitution of 1973 is juxtaposed with the regime's Provisional Constitution Order, 1981. The two sides thus do not speak the same language. How then can negotiations between them take place? No wonder the CMLA-President is talking to a different set of people altogether.

#### Blind man's buff

The only drawback in this blind-man's buff is that it will do nothing to take care of the agitation. The Government propaganda machinery has come round to accusing the MRD of obstructing the road to democracy (progress in the sense that the Government feels it worthwhile to talk of democracy), but the fact that the present yawning chasm makes genuine negotiations impossible can only be an invitation to further trouble for that will be the only way for the people to make themselves heard.

Since the Government has been unable to suppress the movement, the logjam can only be broken if the movement's pace picks up a bit of speed. It was a result of the MRD movement that the Government invited Maulana Noorani and the others for talks. Unless the momentum of events increases (a sad thought, indeed) the Government is unlikely to bring itself round to the position that if it wishes to solve anything it must talk to the leadership of the nine-party alliance.

## IDEOLOGY COUNCIL'S STAND ON WOMEN'S EVIDENCE DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Oct 83 p 4

[Editorial by Miriam Habib: "Woman as Witness: The Issues and Implications"]

[Text] It is interesting that for all the emotion generated over the draft Law of Evidence Ordinance 1982 proposed by the Council of Islamic Ideology the lay public and even the educated, while often taking violent positions one way or the other, have not truly grasped the issues over which opinion has become so divided.

Under Articles 227 to 231 of the Constitution of Pakistan still in force all existing laws are to be brought into conformity with the injunctions of Islam. The Council of Islamic Ideology constituted as an advisory body, composed of suitably competent members representing various schools of thought whose credentials have been laid down in the Constitution among other functions, "to make recommendations as to the measures for bringing existing laws into conformity with the injunctions of Islam and the stages by which such measures should be brought into effect".

### 1980 ORDINANCE

In the course of its onerous responsibilities the CII has made public two draft ordinances which have particularly disturbed women's organisations, which watch all developments within the country relating specifically to the legal and social status of women. Memories are short but in early 1981 a group of 19 women's organisations at a Karachi meeting made its views known after the publication of the Draft of Offences against the Human Body

(Enforcement of Qisas and Diyat) Ordinance 1980.

Telegrams and memoranda were despatched to the President of Pakistan, the Chairman of the CII, the Secretary Law Division and the Secretary Women's Division. Statements also appeared in the press expressing concern over the proposed provisions of the ordinance which it was felt makes women vulnerable. Strong protest was made against section 10 (b) of the draft which requires "at least two Muslim adult male witnesses" for proof of murder (qatl-i-Amd). The provision excludes women as possible witnesses, thus exposing both men and women to grave danger since testimony of women witnesses to murder would not be acceptable in a court were this recommendation to become law. Under the same draft in the matter of Diyat (Blood Money) where the victim is a female the compensation is rated at half of what would have been paid for a male victim. On this baffling provision the memorandum based on the nineteen organisations already referred to, observes: "It is anomalous to an astounding extent that liabilities of females in matter of debts, punishments and taxes should equal those of the male but in the matter of loss of 'Nafs' they should count for half of the male."

### COMMENTS INVITED

The above are not the only anomalies which seem to have no justification in law. The CII elicits comment on its published drafts; however, under article 231 of the Constitution it makes its own rules of procedure. Apparently these do not allow for dialogue,

nor are the members accessible to representatives of concerned organisations, the solitary woman member was not willing to meet women's group.

The CII Draft Law of Evidence Ordinance 1982 also brought dismayed reaction and in this case the Pakistan Bar Council in an exhaustive report pointed out anomalies and discriminatory features in the proposed law. The Ordinance proposes to replace the existing Evidence Act of 1972 with a completely new document which in the view of the CII is more in conformity with Islamic injunctions. The legal fraternity disagree with this approach and independently suggested only eleven amendments where the old sections are found contrary to Islamic concepts. It is also noted that the CII members are not unanimous on the draft, four of them having appended notes of dissent. The Bar Council feels that the CII has stepped outside its mandate in demanding a total repeal of the Evidence Act 1972, and that this advisory body is charged only with amending those laws found repugnant to Islam. The Pakistan Law Commission had earlier expressed a similar view, suggesting amendments in ten sections while a 15 member select committee of the Majlis-i-Shoora has also expressed the opinion that the CII did not have the jurisdiction to frame new laws. The Bar Council objects to numerous proposals in the CII draft.

### UNWORKABLE PROVISIONS

Of interest from the women's point of view is the proposal that two women witnesses are equivalent to one man. It is this approach

which has brought on so much controversy and which in the context of the 20th Century looks discriminatory. The Pakistan Bar Council finds section 6, of the proposed ordinance unworkable, its report states: " . . . no limitation has been imposed by Islam on the number and sex of witnesses in cases covered by this section; rather in certain cases evidence of a single woman or a minor or even a non-Muslim has been accepted.

The section has not taken care of the requirements of the modern society".

With reference to section 8 of draft the Pakistan Bar Council comments:

"The provisions of section 8 are illogical and unreasonable. The restriction imposed on the nature of cases and the sex of the witness covered by this section is not backed by any injunction of the Holy Quran or Sunnah."

We are concerned here mainly with the arguments pertaining to women otherwise the draft is replete with numerous provisions which seem self contradictory and impracticable. Those relating to minors and the retraction of evidence are

strange indeed, and found to be so by the professional community of lawyers who operate the law.

In spite of the intelligentsia's protest the draft was adopted by the Majlis-i-Shoorā after some minor amendments. It was referred back to a CII sub-committee and is now to come before the Cabinet. If approved and adopted it becomes the law of the land with its inherent weaknesses and contradictions, some of which have been highlighted above. By presenting a petition to the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court in February this year women who are wide-awake to issues that affect the status of all women, were making known their apprehensions regarding the draft ordinance and asserting a desire to serve Pakistan as self-respecting citizens of a state in which they are equal in a court of law.

### WOMEN QAZIS

The rigid and unjustified interpretation of a single much-quoted Quranic verse to equate two women with one man in all situations is hardly relational. To modify this by admitting a woman witness

at the Qazi's discretion is also discriminatory.

"And get two witnesses out of your own men, and if there are not two men, then a man and two women . . . ." (282-283 Sura II)

This verse relates only to witnesses for recording transactions, it does not refer to the weight of the evidence either. There is in fact a sizeable body of historical evidence and modern case law where the validity of one Muslim woman as witness has been accepted unquestioningly. As recently as 1982 the Federal Shariat Court has upheld the eligibility of women for service as Qazis, from which it may be concluded that a woman may also give evidence in her own right. The same court has also ruled that there is no reason why a woman's evidence should not be admissible for cases within its jurisdiction.

It is unseemly for the community of Muslims to indulge in mutual name calling or casting aspersions on each others integrity, far better to exercise the God given intellect and follow the path of consultation to arrive at a satisfactory consensus. A defective law is fraught with grave consequences for a society and will not be easy to undo.

CSO: 4600/116

RELEASE OF LEADER DEMANDED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Oct 83 p 6

[Text] Jacobabad, Oct. 26: A meeting of the Central Organising Committee of the Sind Mazdoor Tehrik (SMT) was held recently under the chairmanship Central President Abdullah Jakhro. The meeting reviewed prevailing situation in the country, international situation and organisational matters.

The leaders participating the meeting expressed their concern on the state of affairs particularly in Sind.

The SMT meeting made it clear that it was supporting the people's struggle in a big way. Dozens of its members had courted arrest including its three central leaders, Saif Ullah Bhargari, Ghulam Mohammad Qureshi and Sahab Khan Khoso.

The meeting also demanded that over 500 workers who had been dismissed from their services in the Agricultural Workshop be immediately reinstated and action against the Director Agriculture taken. It also demanded that the decision to idea to put Minto Dero Sugar Mills, Shahdadkot Textile Mills in the private sector should be dropped. [as published] It said that employment on the basis of favouritism in various sugar mills and railway, telegraph workshops should be stopped. It called upon the authorities to allow workers their trade union activities and withdraw cases against them and put an end to the revengeful attitude.

It also urged that the government should stop taking severe action against the lawyers' community instead their problems should be solved. [as published]

The meeting demanded the release of all political prisoners including Rasul Bakhsh Paleejo and holding of elections under the 1973 Constitution.--P.R

CSO: 4600/116

BBC DEFENDS COVERAGE ON PAKISTAN

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Sikander Hayat]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Oct. 26: The British Broadcasting Corporation Urdu service enjoys an audience of 10 million in Pakistan, the network's External Services chief Douglas Muggeridge said here today, and hoped that it would keep growing. He was addressing a Press conference at the residence of the BBC local representative, Ian Hoare.

When asked that there may not be that many radio sets in Pakistan and that now radio is a one-listener source, he replied that the findings were the result of a survey conducted by a Pakistan marketing research outfit. And, that the research based its conclusion on the assumption that there are 3.5 or 4 listeners to one radio receiver.

Mr. Muggeridge explained that he was here to learn and listen. The BBC reporting, he said, might not have been perfect, as most of the journalism is, but "it succeeds most of the time". He also defended the BBC focussing only on disturbances with a reply "that's not our intention, but the bad news is a good news—although its not the justification". For reflection of the democratic process the BBC was also blamed at home, he added.

Mr. Muggeridge, on his own, said that the Corporation chairman, Stuart Young, is a Jew, but is "an extremely good" person with "reputation of impartiality". Under the Charter of the Corporation which was given by the British

Parliament the chairman had no influence over the coverage which, he said, was expected to be always objective.

He described his meeting with the Federal Information Secretary, Lt. Gen. Mujibur Rehman, as "very interesting". The Pakistan Government was obviously concerned over the BBC coverage, but there was no disagreement with the BBC, he said.

In reply to a question the BBC official said that his Corporation had no intention to start a Sindhi service "because we don't have money". He also explained how the external services are funded through a grant-in-aid and regulated, but only to the extent of starting a new service and its duration, by the British Foreign Office.

During his brief stay in Islamabad Douglas Muggeridge also held discussions with the Pakistan Broadcasting and Pakistan Television officials, where the Pushto service of the BBC figured prominently.

The BBC official admired the way the Pakistan Government was handling the Afghan refugees problem. He had just been back from Peshawar where he visited some wounded Afghan refugees in a hospital, and described it as a "moving experience".

In Peshawar he and his wife, who is a half Pakistani, visited her brother's grave who was a pilot in Royal Pakistan Air Force and had died in a mid-air crash in 1949.

Mr. Muggeridge was here in Islamabad at the end of a four-week visit of Asia. He returns home tomorrow.

# RISE IN INDUSTRIAL UNITS INVESTMENT REPORTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Oct 83 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI Oct 26: Private investment in large sized industrial projects has picked up sharply during 1983 compared to 1982, it was learnt here today.

PICIC which finances big projects has sanctioned loans amounting to Rs 500 million so far this year. Its total lending to industrial projects amounted to Rs. 350 million for the whole of 1982.

Informed sources said PICIC is also processing applications involving loans of about Rs. 150 to 200 million. Experts believe that PICIC may end the current calendar year with loan commitments of about twice that of last year.

Yet another redeeming feature of PICIC's activities is that it has been able to induce sponsors to take up engineering and chemical projects that have immense potentials in the domestic market. Projects sanctioned show the PICIC

has succeeded in its efforts.

PICIC sources said they were receiving more applications this year compared to the last year.

Helped by a congenial climate for investment, the PICIC also relaxed its terms and conditions for loans to encourage private investment. For example, the debt-equity ratio for making a project eligible for financing has been changed from 60:40 to 70:30. Besides, PICIC has also decided to forgo its option to convert a part of the loan into equity of a borrowing company wanting finances for balancing modernisation and replacement.

The option would, however, continue in the case of new companies.

Informed sources said PICIC has also succeeded in raising the level of recovery of outstanding loans and its profits this year compared to 1982.

CSO: 4600/116

# RAILWAYS TO SURVEY PROJECT ABANDONED BY U.S. FIRM

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Oct 83 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE . Oct. 27: Pakistan Railways has started the survey of microwave signalling system, a project recently abandoned incomplete by an American consultant firm, Kentron.

Reliable sources disclosed to The Muslim that the survey of 266 sites of the project would take at least 15 days. In the light of this survey, officials of Government of Pakistan and Pakistan Railways would take a decision about the future of the project. Railway authorities said that after the survey they would be able to say exactly how much work on the project had been completed and how much work and money would be required to finish the rest.

The project was scheduled to be completed in December 1984.

It may be recalled that the world's most modern railway signalling system was planned to be erected in Pakistan at a cost of Rs 800 million. The contract was given to Kentron but on Oct. 10, 1983, all the 50 consultants of the firm suddenly disappeared crossing the borders to India.

Railway authorities claim that so far about 600 million rupees had been paid to Kentron which

includes Rs. 300 million state duty paid for goods imported for the project. They are, however, not in a position to tell how much work has been completed so far.

It was also learnt that new signalling system between Lahore-Rawalpindi had been completed and testing process was going on.

Meanwhile, it was also reported that the General Manager of Pakistan Railways along with other concerned officials would undertake a tour of USA to discuss the issue with Kentron and another American Firm, LTR, which provided guarantees for Kentron.

LTR it is learnt, has already filed a suit against Kentron for not successfully executing the project.

It was learnt that Kentron had gone under heavy debts and it owed a sum of Rs. 8 million to 10 million to their sub-contractors in Pakistan. Railway authorities said they had nothing to do with these payments.

Railway experts are of the opinion that they can complete the project with the help of Pakistani engineers in the scheduled time.

CSO: 4600/117

# DIALOGUE WITH POLITICIANS TERMED 'DEAD END.'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 83 p 4

[Editorial by Khalid Akhtar: "Is Dialogue at a Dead End?"]

[Text] The President's speech in the Majlis on Oct. 22 was important in more than one way. It did not spell out the government's position on the political issues confronting the country. But it certainly illustrated without any ambiguity the regime's deep commitment to the solution it has envisaged for the country's problems.

The President asked the Majlis to reconsider its recommendation for holding of polls on party basis. He again reiterated that in Islam there was no concept of party system. He wants that at least first polls should be held on non-party basis and if the pattern has to be reversed it could be done in the next polls. Referring to the Constitutional amendments, the President said that when there was consensus on this (according to government's version, the PNA had asked for these changes) why should he not move ahead to remove the anomalies once felt.

What we need is a permanent and durable arrangement. We cannot afford a crisis after every four or five years. We should not amend the constitution to suit a particular situation. Any such change should ensure the long-term interest of the country.

There was also enough to gather from the President's speech that the government-politician dialogue has hardly made any headway. Much has happened since July, 5, 1977 and it will not be easy for the government to pull back the wheel of history with a single jerk back to the position where it stood six years ago. There may be hazards in any such eventuality but sticking to the present course may prove

even more dangerous.

Nor have the politicians shown any optimism that negotiations with the government could result in a breakthrough. Even the Jamaat-i-Islami, which at one stage thought that an accord with the government was possible, now remains sceptical over the outcome of these parleys. Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, the party's Naib Amir, has shown as much dejection at the existing state of affairs as any other leader in the country. He has expressed the desire and willingness to contact the MRD leaders to forge a broader consensus on national issues. Any contact between the MRD and a Jamaat leader will appear to be a strange development but when political issues are confused beyond any comprehension, unforeseen things do happen. Mian Tufail Mohammad, the Jamaat Amir, after the parleys with the government has remained unusually quiet. Perhaps he does not have much to say. The Jamaat-government dialogue has not turned out to be a 'family affair', as was thought by many. The Jamaat is now faced with making some hard decisions. If it cannot oppose the present regime, it will not find it easy to support it either.

The predicament of Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani is even greater. He has ruled out the possibility of further talks with the government. His ideological differences with some of the leftist parties in the MRD have prevented him from taking active part in the movement. The mediator's role has offered him a way out and also provided the government an opportunity to find a negotiated settlement of the crisis. But the move

now appears to have fizzled out. He must now look to something else. He has kept the option of 'direct action' open. A few days back, the Maulana said in Lahore that JUP-JUI (Darkhwasti group) had held a dialogue and that the latter has supported the former's programme for direct action for the restoration of democracy. What course the Maulana adopts in days to come will have a significant if not decisive bearing on the future events in the country.

Gen. Arif's talks with Air Marshal Asghar Khan have also not helped to ease the crisis. The Abbottabad dialogue probably did not provide enough incentive to the government to initiate similar meetings with other detained leaders. It could be said that the Government has completed its dialogue with the parties it wanted to sit on the table with. But talking to newsmen recently, President Zia said that it would take at least one month more for the government to complete its talks with the politicians. Whom would the President meet during this period? Would he meet some of the MRD leaders, which at the moment seems most unlikely, or would there be a second round with the leaders he has already met and to which Maulana Noorani does not agree?

Apparently, the dialogue has reached a dead end and it cannot be carried forward unless there is a major shift in the stand of the government and politicians. This at the moment seems highly improbable. But the situation cannot be left as it is. The President's Aug 12 programme did not prove to be a solution. Would his next announcement (approximately after a month from now) provide the basis for a compromise between

the government and the leaders? This remains a big question mark.

Meanwhile the situation in Sind has somewhat eased. But it will take quite a long time to heal the wounds caused by the violence there. Already some of the leaders from this province have become desperate. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, never an extremist, has completely changed colour during the last few months. Similar may be the case with many others. This is the price we have paid for the feeling of deprivation. But more agonising is the fact that it is not for the first time that we have turned patriots into disgruntled elements.

In the other three provinces by and large, uneasy calm continues to prevail. But there remain apprehensions that this situation could deteriorate. The lawyers' protest has gained momentum. The workers are also raising their voice. Only last Wednesday they put up a strong show in Lahore. A few days earlier two people were killed in a clash in Quetta. These may appear isolated incidents of violence but in a highly inflammable situation they could cause trouble any time.

More alarming for us are the foreign factors. There have been reports that the U.N. dialogue on Afghan issue has been deadlocked

and Mr. Cordovez has asked to be relieved of his responsibilities. And with the U.S.-USSR relations not in their very best state, this is likely to cause more tension on our western border. Then there is India which seeks domination and hegemony in this region. It has already moved to exploit the Sind situation to its advantage. The holding of Sindhi Sammelan (conference) under the Indian Government patronage and speeches delivered therein give an idea as to what extent Indian intervention could go. We cannot indeed sit on a simmering crisis indefinitely.

CSO: 4600/118

# JAPANESE INVESTORS' TEAM ARRIVES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] Karachi, Oct. 28: A 24-member Japanese private investors' mission, arrived here tonight on a week-long visit to what was described by the mission's leader, Shohei Kurihara, Adviser to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, to explore avenues of common interest for investment and joint ventures.

On arrival here the mission was received, among others, by the Federal Industries Secretary Iqbal Saeed.

Talking to newsmen Shohei Kurihara said that the purpose of the mission was to survey general circumstances and environment in term of investment.

To a question, he said, the mission do not have any specific project to discuss. [as published] However the members of the mission cover various kinds of industries, besides manufacturing, trading, banking and construction fields.

He said that Japanese investors had keen interest in making investments in Pakistan and would seek the possibilities in this regard.

The mission is visiting Pakistan in response to an invitation from President Ziaul Haq, to Japanese industrialists which he had extended through the Prime Minister of Japan during his visit to that country.

During their two-day stay in Karachi, the mission will hold discussions with the leading entrepreneurs, Governor of State Bank, Chairman Pakistan Banking Council besides having a meeting with the leading industrialists to be presided over by the Federal Industries Secretary, Iqbal Saeed.

The mission is scheduled to call on Governor of Sind, Lt. Gen. S. M. Abbasi, tomorrow in the evening.

The mission will split into two groups, one going to the Export Processing Zone, Port Qasim Authority and Pakistan Machine Tool Factory. The other group will visit the Karachi Port Trust, Sind Engineering, a public sector corporation, and Hoescht, a leading pharmaceutical concern.

The mission will also have meetings with the officials of the investment/financial institutions like Pakistan Banking Council, IDBP, PICIC, Bankers Equity, ICP, and NDFC under the chairmanship of M. R. Khan.

The mission will leave for Islamabad on Oct. 31.--APP

CSO: 4600/118

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: REGIONAL DISPARITIES DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Oct 83 p 4

[Editorial by Dr Ijaz Nabi: "Regional Disparities"]

[Text] For a long time there has been little public debate in Pakistan regarding the regional patterns of economic development. This is particularly striking in view of the recent events in Pakistan's politics which underline the urgency for conducting such a debate. Fortunately, sufficient statistical data are now available to conduct a meaningful discussion of the issues involved. This article surveys the findings of studies recently undertaken and attempts to identify the salient features of the debate.

Comparisons at the district level are useful for commenting on the relative development of different regions (Provinces). To do so a comprehensive index of development (reflecting factors such as income and wealth, agricultural and industrial development, housing, education, health, transport and communication and, importantly, sexual equality) is specified in a study by Hafiz Pasha and Tariq Hasan for the Applied Economics Research Centre, Karachi. The ranking of districts based on the values of this index reveals a telling pattern and is reported in Table 1. Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi/Islamabad, Quetta, Peshawar and Hyderabad are the most developed districts which shows that populations concentrated in large cities have benefited most from development policies in all four provinces. It is worth noting that most Punjabi districts are at the intermediate stage of development while

none of the Baluchistan districts have reached even this stage. The vast majority of Baluchistan districts are concentrated amongst the least developed districts. In both Sind and N.W.F.P. most districts fall in the least developed category.

Districts comprise of people and the ranking of districts should be translated into the percentage share of population of each province benefiting from development. Thus the highest concentration of population in developed districts is in Punjab and Sind (42% each) N.W.F.P. accounts for 12% and Baluchistan less than 4% of the total population. Punjabis, overwhelmingly, lie at the intermediate stage of development while Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis are disproportionately represented in Pakistan's population living in the least developed districts.

Most Pakistanis, however, live in rural areas. The urban conglomerates receive a disproportionate share of resources and are not truly representative of trends in the provinces where they are located. For instance, it may be argued (along the lines of G.M. Syed's argument reported in the Muslim's Sind Diary of October 3) that Karachi and Hyderabad districts are highly urbanized where more than half the population consists of new Sindhis (1947 refugees from India) and thus stand apart from the rest of Sind. Such arguments underline the need to make comparisons which emphasize rural indicators of development. To do so I reproduce the somewhat alarming results of a paper by Mahmood Hasan Khan and Mahmood Iqbal published in the

prestigious 'Pakistan Development Review'. 22 indicators of rural development are considered in the study consisting of both direct inputs into agriculture (such as irrigation facilities, tractors and tubewells) and others that affect the general quality of rural life (such as roads, post offices, health facilities and access to government services).

The composite effect of these indicators is captured by an index which enables the ranking of districts reported in Table 2. The results reinforce the results of Table 1. Overwhelmingly, it is the Punjab districts that are the most developed. N.W.F.P. districts are either at the intermediate stage or fall in the least developed category while most Sindhi and all Baluchi rural areas are the least developed in the country.

It is important to know whether the pattern of economic development pursued in Pakistan has helped in improving the regional allocation of resources over time. To comment on this the ranking of districts based on Pasha and Hasan's study (reflecting trends in late 1970's) may be compared with the ranking reported in an earlier study by Helbock and Naqavi (reflecting the development pattern in the 1960's). The results of this comparison are reported in Table 3. In all provinces the number of districts that have improved their ranking is almost matched by other districts that have moved down in the ranking.

Importantly, the most developed districts have retained their rankings over the period under consideration. Thus the available evidence does not suggest that regional

**Table 1: Ranking of Districts by Provinces according to Overall Development Criteria**

|                 | Punjab | Sind | NWFP | Balu-chistan |
|-----------------|--------|------|------|--------------|
| Most developed  | 2      | 2    | 1    | 1            |
| Intermediate    | 11     | 4    | 2    | -            |
| Least developed | 6      | 5    | 3    | 9            |

**Table 2: Ranking of Districts of Provinces According to Rural Development Criteria.**

|                 | Punjab | Sind | NWFP | Balu-chistan |
|-----------------|--------|------|------|--------------|
| Most developed  | 12     | -    | -    | -            |
| Intermediate    | 9      | 1    | 5    | -            |
| Least developed | -      | 12   | 2    | 9            |

**Table 3: Changes in district Ranking by Provinces**

|              | Punjab | Sind | NWFP | Balu-chistan |
|--------------|--------|------|------|--------------|
| Improved     | 7      | 5    | 2    | 5            |
| Deteriorated | 8      | 3    | 3    | 5            |
| Unchanged    | 4      | 3    | 1    | -            |

**Table 5: Land Holding and Cultivation Patterns by Provinces**

|                                                               | Punjab | Sind | NWFP | Balu-chistan |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------|------|------|--------------|
| Percentage of farm area cultivated by farms of over 150 acres | 6      | 8    | 14   | 32           |
| Percentage of area cultivated by tenants.                     | 26     | 50   | 22   | 17           |

income disparities have been removed over time.

An important feature of Pakistan's economy since the mid-1970's has been the phenomenal growth in overseas migration particularly to the Middle East oil rich economies. Recent estimates show that nearly 2 million Pakistanis working in the Middle East remit over 3 billion dollars annually. The dependents of migrants have of course gained enormously but the remittances are a mixed blessing for the country as a whole. An important reason being that the dependents of overseas migrants are concentrated primarily in the Punjab province. (Nearly 70% of the migrant dependents belong to Punjab, 14% to Sind, 12% to N.W.F.P. and only 4% to Baluchistan). Thus it is feared that regional income disparities may have worsened sharply in the recent past.

This implies that the actual pattern of regional inequalities may be even more disturbing than those reported in the two studies above.

The boom-town effect of the "mini-baras" all over urban Punjab must be demoralising for those belonging to regions not sharing in the bonanza.

The process of development is very complex and it is difficult to ensure even development across all individuals or across different regions. However, what makes the pattern of development in Pakistan particularly disturbing is that regional inequalities are obvious, and are easily perceived and articulated by those who belong to the less developed regions. This sense of depravity can form the core of a political movement when the situation is ripe. This happened

in Baluchistan in the mid-70's and is currently being experienced in Sind (Need we remind ourselves of East Pakistan in the late 1960's?)

It may be argued that the sense of economic depravity need not always get translated into political action unless strong bonds exist between the individuals claiming to be spokesmen for the region and their followers. In the context of recent disturbances in rural Sind a view has been taken that the leaders are 'waderas' who force their tenants, bound to them through intricate, exploitative tenancy contracts, to agitate against the state. The pattern of landholdings and its cultivation reported in Table 4 shows that the incidence of tenancy is high in Sind and landownership is concentrated. Also, the nature of tenancy contracts is such that 'Waderas' have considerable hold over their tenants. However, it is very doubtful that 'waderas' use this hold to incite tenants against state authority on which they depend for the protection of their ownership rights in land. The state could easily defeat the 'waderas' by colluding with the tenants to successfully implement land reforms in selected regions or against selected 'waderas' (The weakness of the argument that 'waderas' are inciting tenants comes across clearly in The Muslim's Sind Diary of 5 October where it is argued that the leadership of the movement rests with Sind Awami Tehrik which cares little for the old guard, represented by G.M. Syed, because of its alliance with the 'waderas').

Let us be cynical and assume for a moment that it is the 'waderas' who are inciting tenants to agitate in Sind and that the State is unable to implement land reforms to cut

the 'waderas' down to size. The most effective way of reducing 'wadera' power over tenants in such circumstances is to provide the latter with greater and better employment opportunities outside the 'wadera' farms. This will ensure that a tenant unwilling to be a tool of the 'wadera' can easily walk out of the exploitative tenancy contract. (This is important in explaining why tenants in Punjab and the N.W.F.P., where off farm employment opportunities are greater, are less exploited than in Sind and Baluchistan). This takes us right back to the question of regional resource allocation since that will determine the available employment opportunities in rural areas.

Decisions regarding regional resource allocation in our country are made by planners based in Islamabad. Belatedly but mercifully (and one suspects that at the insistence of donor countries) they are responding to the development needs of Baluchistan. Must there be a similar lag and worsening of economic conditions in rural Sind before we wake up to the sense of economic depravity there? The section in the 6th Plan that deals with issues of income (distribution?) and employment makes no reference at all either to personal or regional income distribution. It is as though our planners today only partially remember the 'sins of planners' about which much chest-beating took place in the 70's.

Perhaps the lucrae in planner's perceptions are best filled when they are made accountable to popular, elected, representatives of the less developed regions. Seen in this light the political events in Sind take on a different, more constructive, meaning.

PLEA FOR SINGHI LEADER IN JAIL

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Oct 83 p 4

[Editorial: "Paleejo Deserves Consideration"]

[Text] Rasul Bux Paleejo, the Sindhi leader now in his earlier sixties, and in a precarious state of health, is left to languish in the Kot Lakhpat Jail in Lahore. Paleejo was incarcerated for a couple of years even during the PPP regime, but he is older now and stricken with an ailment which calls for urgent medical treatment and proper nursing. A prison house is not the place for any man in his predicament. Political dissent is not a crime anywhere in the world except in totalitarian countries, and Pakistan mercifully is not one such state.

Rasul Bux Paleejo, has been a "State Guest" at Kot Lakhpat Jail, for the last 4 years and his detention has nothing to do with the current MRD agitation. In any case, we would hope that non-conformism with the views of powers that be does not deserve prolonged periods of detention. Paleejo is sick. He needs sympathy and not the wrath of Authority. We earnestly hope that the government would act with kindness and show him the consideration he richly deserves. Given the recent context of negotiations between the government and various political leaders to resolve the existing crisis, the release on humanitarian grounds of an eminent Sindhi man of letters will certainly go a long way in clearing the air.

It will be a welcome and timely gesture of goodwill, which should earn the Government some pluses in the current situation.

CSO: 4600/116

## BRIEFS

**GHAFFAR KHAN'S MEDICAL TREATMENT**--Peshawar, Oct. 30: The veteran Khudai Khidmatgar Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who had sought government's permission to go to Kabul for treatment is reported to have changed his mind and informed the authorities that he would like to be treated here. The Khan who is under detention and is currently in the Lady Reading Hospital here had reportedly been advised that in order to get the best treatment he should go to Austria or Switzerland instead of Kabul. He however declined the suggestion and also turned down U.K. and America. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Oct 83 p 1]

**CALL TO REMOVE PHOTOS**--Islamabad, Oct. 30: All pictures, photographs and images should be removed from government offices, courts, and other administrative buildings, says a resolution passed in over 30 mosques in the capital yesterday. The Friday congregations also resolved that the currency notes of Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 proposed to be printed shortly should not carry any human picture or image. The current notes and coins should not have no picture on them as was the case in the first 10 years of urtinal independence. [as published] The resolution said that the Muslim nation which is against idolatry should not be made to offer prayers carrying notes in pockets which carry human images. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Oct 83 p 3]

**ACCELERATION OF ISLAMIZATION URGED**--Rabwah, Oct. 30: Prominent ulema who attended the All Pakistan Tahafuz Khatma-i-Nubawwat conference here have praised the efforts of the present government for the Islamisation of society. They, however, unanimously called for accelerating the implementation of the Islamic system so as to enforce it in every sphere of national life as early as possible. The two-day conference, which ended on Friday, was presided over by Mufti Mukhtar Ahmed. The conference resolved that the area between the hills of Rabwah should be declared a red area, and the sub-tehsil Lalian should be shifted to Rabwah. Explaining the red area, a speaker said under this head, the government takes over the hills and leases them out on contract. The conference was in favour of keeping it a free zone so that labour presently working in the tract should not be disturbed.--APP [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Oct 83 p 6]

DROP IN COTTON PRODUCTION--Multan--Malik Dost Mohammad, chief organizer of the Pakistan Farmers Union, has said that this year there will be less cotton produced in the Punjab and Sind Provinces, that is, reductions of 40 percent and 25 percent respectively. This would mean not only less profits for cottongrowers but for the country as well. Malik Dost Mohammad, who met with the provincial minister of agriculture, later said that the cotton-growers should be exempted from having to pay taxes owing to poor crops due to weather conditions. He said that the government should also ask the agricultural cooperative societies and the banks to relax their loan terms for the cottongrowers. Malik Dost Mohammad said that last year 4.6 million bales of cotton were produced, while the estimates for this year are 3.2 million bales--which means a drop of 1.4 million bales and the cotton-growers will lose 5 billion rupees. Unless the cottongrowers are helped, the shortfall might also adversely affect next year's crop. [Text] [GF161630 Lahore JANG in Urdu 5 Nov 83 p 2]

SITES FOR EIGHT DAMS ON INDUS--Lahore, Oct. 28: Ranking studies have so far identified eight possible sites at which water storage dams can be built on the river Indus. This was disclosed by Chairman WAPDA, Maj. Gen. Ghulam Safdar Butt in a radio interview last night. Answering a question about maximum utilisation of the Indus water, Chairman WAPDA said at present 15 per cent flowed down to the sea. He stated that next storage will be built at Kalabagh, initial work on which is in progress. He said that investigations are in hand for Pasha Dam, and Yugo Dam upstream of Sakardu will be the next site. The WAPDA chief said completion of these dams will reduce wastage of water downstream to a great extent. Answering a question, Chairman WAPDA said Kalabagh Dam will be completed by 1992 but, he added, WAPDA will try to complete it by 1991 as its early completion would increase country's power generation capacity and ease power shortage. He further stated that completion of a project, on target largest depends upon timely availability of funds, which, he said, agencies like World Bank, Asian Development Bank and Saudi Bank to provide. [as published] He said disruption in flow of funds not only delays the project but also increases its cost.--PPI [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 83 p 8]

BIZENJO'S ARREST REPORTED--Karachi, Oct. 28: Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, chief of the defunct PNP has been arrested and confined at Khusar Rest House in Baluchistan. It may be recalled that Mir Ghous Bakhsh was arrested from Karachi in August this year and confined within the limits of his native village 'Nal' in Khusdar District. Today he tried to go to Gulistan to offer Fateha for those who were killed recently, in a clash with police at Quetta. According to PNP, he has been taken into custody under MPO and may be transferred to Machh Jail. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 83 p 8]

PAKISTAN-MADE AIRCRAFT FITTINGS--Islamabad, Oct. 28: The Pakistan International Airline (PIA) is to receive some time this month the first consignment of certain Pakistan-made fittings and fixtures for furnishing the aircrafts, it was learnt here yesterday. It will be for the first time since its inception that a PIA aircraft will be furnished with Pakistan-made carpets, curtains and seat covers, saving foreign exchange and resulting in 20 to 25 cut down in the prices. Currently, more items are being identified where indigenous products could substitute imports and the airline is contemplating the local manufacture of certain spares to the specifications

followed by the aircraft manufacturing companies in United States or Europe. It may be mentioned that the national carriers have been exclusively furnished with imported materials ever since Pakistan appeared on the civil aviation map of the world.--PPI [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 83 p 3]

OPENING OF NWFP INSTITUTIONS DEMANDED--Peshawar, Oct. 28: Provincial Nazim of Islami Jamiat-e-Tulaba Fakhrul Islam while expressing concern over the continued closure of the Peshawar University and other educational institutions for almost eight months had called for their immediate reopening. In a statement, he said, that the students had already suffered much due to the closure and in case the closed institutions were not reopened forthwith they were likely to miss the entire session. He also feared that certain elements were trying to exploit the students for their political motives. These elements, he said, were the same as have been indulging in such activities in the past. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 83 p 6]

OPENING OF COLLEGES DEMANDED--Peshawar, Oct. 28: Sarhad Lecturers Association President Nisar Mohammad Khan has appealed to the Provincial Government that conveyance allowance should not be suspended during vacation as well as when the colleges are closed by the Government for various administrative problems. He asserted that college teachers are on duty and colleges are closed only for students. The teachers of Peshawar University are permanently getting this allowance. He urged upon the Government that the Accountant General (NWFP) be directed not to withhold the conveyance allowance of college teacher during such closures. He also appealed to the Government that the colleges should be opened without further delay, otherwise college teachers will not accept the responsibility of poor results. [Excerpt] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 83 p 6]

PARTICIPATION IN SINDHI CONFERENCE DENIED--Hyderabad, Oct. 26: Dr. Hamida Khoro has contradicted a news item appearing in a section of the Press (Not THE MUSLIM) that she had flown from London to India and had attended the Sindhi conference at New Delhi last week. She said that on that day she was at Larkana in connection with the third death anniversary of her father, Mohammad Ayub Khan Khoro. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Oct 83 p 1]

MINISTER LOSES ELECTION, RESIGNS--Multan Nov 8: Syed Fakhar Imam, Federal Minister for Local Government and Rural Development has resigned from the Federal Cabinet after losing election as Chairman, Zila council Multan today. He said he was now bowing out on account of the verdict against him.--APP [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 9 Nov 83 p 8]

CORRESPONDENT MOVED TO JAIL--The prominent writer and correspondent of daily STAR at Sukkur Anwer Pirzada has been shifted from police lock up to Central Jail Sukkur. He was arrested about two weeks back on the charge of supporting MRD. [Excerpt] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Oct 83 p 6]

JUI LEADERS TOUR VILLAGES--The JUI leader Syed Ahmed Shah, Maulana Ghulam Qadir Panhwar, Maulana Mohammad Hassan and Mualana Khalid Mehmood Sommore have visited Kandjaro Naushaharoferoze, Moro Taluka Lakhat Jatoi village and Punhal Chandio village to see the oppression made by law enforcing agencies with the villagers. They expressed their sympathies with the villagers over the killing of villagers by the law enforcing agencies. [Excerpt] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Oct 83 p 6]

NASRULLAH KHAN'S ON MRD DEMANDS--Muzaffargarh, Oct. 27: Present government is not sincere in resolving the political situation in the country by holding dialogue with political parties. It was stated by Nawabzada Mansoor Ahmed, elder son of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, chief of defunct PDP, while talking to this correspondent. He said dialogue cannot be held on basic demands of MRD. The government should accept MRD's demands if it wanted to hold talks with PDP. He said that recent dialogue between political parties and the government cannot bear any fruit without revival of political parties, lifting of Martial Law and release of all political prisoners. The Nawabzada said that the nation had given its mandate in favour of parliamentary system during Ayub regime. Later elected representatives approved the 1973 Constitution unanimously. He said it did not mean that MRD or PDP was against dialogue or avoiding peaceful solution. However there could not be bargaining on principles. He said at the time of PNA and PPP government talks all political prisoners were released prior to holding of dialogue. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Oct 83 p 6]

MAULA'S SON MEETS BIZENJO--Karachi, Oct. 27: Makhdoom Aamin Fahim, elder son of Makhdoom Talibul Moula and a leader of defunct PPP, had a meeting with Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo in Nal yesterday. Reliable sources said that the two leaders discussed the situation in Sind viz-a-viz the MRD movement. It may be recalled that Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo has been confined to Nal, his native village in Baluchistan. The sources said that Mir Saheb is expected to violate the restrictions on his going out of the village some time tomorrow. He will visit Gulistan, the village of Mehmood Achakzai, to condole the death of those killed in Quetta in police firing recently. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Oct 83 p 8]

COMMISSION ON WOMEN'S STATUS--Karachi, Oct. 29: Khanum Gohar Aijaz, Member Provincial Council of Sind, Khalid Ishaq, a prominent jurist and Prof. Karrar Hussain have been taken as members from Karachi on the Pakistan Commission on the status of women, an advisory body set up to undertake an in depth study on the role, rights and obligations of women. The commission is headed by Begum Zari Sarfraz and its terms of reference include (I) to ascertain the rights and responsibilities of women in an Islamic society and to make recommendations to the Federal Government for effective safeguards of women's rights, (II) to advise the Federal Government on measures to provide educational, health and employment opportunities for women, (III) to identify what services women can render in eradicating ignorance, social evils, poverty and disease in the country, and, (IV) to suggest measures to integrate women of minority communities in the national life. The Commission will have its permanent secretariat at Islamabad and will submit recommendations, suggestions and proposals to President of Pakistan through the women division.--APP [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Oct 83 p 6]

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